

Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

*Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller
on the Occasion
of Her 65th Birthday*

Edited by

JEREMY PENNER, KEN M. PENNER,
AND CECILIA WASSEN

BRILL

Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea
Scrolls and Related Literature

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

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Peter W. Flint

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PREFACE

This Festschrift celebrates the sixty-fifth birthday of Eileen M. Schuller. It has its origin in a conversation between one of her colleagues and Jeremy Penner, who invited fellow former students Ken Penner and Cecilia Wassen to join in honoring Eileen in this way. The overwhelmingly positive response received from her colleagues and students in the initial planning stages of this volume made it a surprisingly pleasurable task. Indeed, the ease with which this Festschrift has come together has been nothing but remarkable, and we the editors can only credit Eileen's scholarly achievements and commitment to collegial academic research of the highest standard, as well as the heartfelt appreciation, respect, and warm friendship that Eileen's colleagues and students feel towards her as the reason for its success. Eileen has a well-deserved reputation for not only the most careful work on minutiae of Scroll research, but also for her genuine concern for the people she works with and supervises. We, former students of hers, still continue to enjoy the benefits of her wisdom and knowledge of what at times seems to be every aspect of Scrolls research.

In order to maximize the usefulness of this volume, we decided to limit the scope of the contributions to topics to which Eileen has herself devoted much of her research career, especially the prayer and poetry of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It has been over a decade with the last major volume of articles devoted to the topic of prayer and poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls was published (*Liturgical Perspectives*). We are pleased to be able to include new insights and findings of other leaders in this field, to reflect the state of research on specific prayers and poetic texts as well as on topics on which Eileen has written extensively. We would like to thank Florentino García Martínez and Brill for providing the venue for publishing this volume in the STDJ series, in which much of Eileen's work has already been published.

In the spirit of friendship, and *magno cum gaudio*, we present this Festschrift to Eileen to honor her on the occasion of her sixty-fifth birthday.

JEREMY PENNER, KEN M. PENNER, AND CECILIA WASSEN

EILEEN SCHULLER: AN APPRECIATION

ADELE REINHARTZ
University of Ottawa

Eileen Schuller was born on November 26, 1946, in the small farming community of Rimbey, Alberta, Canada, the oldest of 5 children (three sisters and one brother). When Eileen was three years old, the family moved to Edmonton. After completing high school at the age of sixteen, Eileen spent a year in Chatham, Ontario, in order to explore the possibility of joining the Ursuline Religious of the Diocese of London (Chatham Ursulines). She entered the novitiate in 1964, and continued to live in the Chatham centre until 1967, when she returned to Edmonton to attend the University of Alberta. After graduating with an Honours BA in Classics in 1970, Eileen continued her education at the University of Toronto, where she completed an MA in Near Eastern Studies, and, after a hiatus during which she taught at Newman Theological School (Edmonton), she moved to Massachusetts to pursue her doctorate in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University. Upon completion of her doctorate in 1984, Eileen taught at the Atlantic School of Theology in Halifax, and then came to take up her present position as Professor of Religious Studies at McMaster University, Hamilton in 1990.

This biographical sketch adumbrates several of Eileen's most important commitments: to her family, the Catholic Church and the Ursuline order, her research, and her students. Of these important areas of her life, it is her contribution to research that is most easily chronicled. As will be well-known to the contributors to and readers of this volume, Eileen's primary field of research is the Dead Sea Scrolls, and particularly the *Hodayot* and non-canonical psalms. At the time of her doctoral studies at Harvard, 1980–1984, Eileen was one of the few women engaged in the publication of the *editio princeps*. For her dissertation, under the direction of John Strugnell, she focused on 4Q380 and 4Q381, a collection of non-biblical psalms which was published first as *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (1986), and then reedited for the official series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1, DJD XI* (1998).

This initial work was followed by the study of 4Q371 and 372, a fragmentary collection of narrative and psalm materials, including a psalm of Joseph, and in 1990 Eileen took on the publication of the *Hodayot* and *Hodayot*-like manuscripts. The collection was published as “4QHodayot and 4QHodayot-Like, 4Q427–432, 433, 433a, 440,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD XXIX (1999).

More recently, Eileen undertook a collaborative project with Prof. Dr. Hartmut Stegemann, who taught at the Georg-August University in Göttingen. In 2005, Eileen was awarded a Humboldt Fellowship which permitted her to spend a significant period of time working with Prof. Dr. Stegemann on 1QH^a, another collection of *Hodayot* manuscripts. Stegemann died suddenly, shortly after Eileen’s arrival; Eileen spent the rest of her time in Germany completing the task that both were to have done together. This material is now published in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL* (2009), which includes the major reconstruction of the original order of this scroll made by Prof. Dr. Stegemann over forty years ago, as well as his readings of the text and a detailed commentary. Eileen’s current major project is the preparation of a detailed commentary on the *Hodayot* for the prestigious *Hermeneia* Series. In addition to the preparation of textual editions and commentaries, Eileen’s Scrolls research has included general articles and books, thematic articles on such topics as prayer and liturgy, and pioneering studies of the portrayal of women in the scrolls and the role of women in the Dead Sea community.

Eileen’s scholarly contribution however has extended beyond the reconstruction, transcription, translation and analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls. She has undertaken major bible translation projects, specifically a translation of the Psalms for *New American Bible: Revised Edition*, published 1991, and for the International Committee on English in the Liturgy, a commission of the Catholic Bishops’ Conferences in countries where English is used in the celebration of the liturgy in 1995. And she has made an important contribution to feminist biblical criticism and feminist theology. These contributions include articles on biblical and postbiblical texts, women in the Lectionary, and feminist biblical hermeneutics, many of which appeared in volumes that put feminist criticism and theology on the map of biblical scholarship, such as *The Women’s Bible Commentary* (1992), *Gender and Difference* (1989), and *Dictionary of Feminist Theologies* (1996). In addition, however, she has persistently, if always politely of course, insisted on the importance of paying attention to the women of the Dead Sea Scrolls community in

the major publications about the scrolls, to which her articles on this topic for the *Revue de Qumran*, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, and *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*.

On the basis of these publications, Eileen has earned the high regard of her colleagues, and a reputation as a meticulous editor and translator of texts. And with respect came opportunities—which, knowing Eileen, I suspect she viewed as responsibilities—to participate in major publication and research activities in the field, both in North America in Europe. Eileen has served on the editorial or advisory boards of such important projects as the five-volume *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, the two-volume *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford Press, 2000), *Dead Sea Discoveries*, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (2007–2010), as well as the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*, and *Biblischen Notizen*, among others.

Despite the long hours that she spends in University Hall, however, Eileen has not lived her academic life entirely within the ivory tower. She has lectured at conferences, universities, and research institutes throughout the world, always, as one of her colleagues has commented, hitting it just right, in topic, tone and content. Through numerous public lectures, in North America and around the world, as well as popular publications, such as *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?* (2006) and *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned?* (2006), Eileen has introduced crowds of people to the scrolls. The lecture she gave during the 2004 Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa is still remembered by many. More recently, Eileen was deeply involved in the major Scrolls exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum, especially in organizing lectures and speakers. And she herself was part of that exhibit, in a high-definition video on a large screen as one entered the hall. That interview is now readily available on Youtube.

This brings me to a peripheral, but surprising and therefore noteworthy fact: for a scholar over the age of 30, Eileen has a highly visible digital profile. Not only does she have a Facebook profile, but, impressively, she has an entry on IMDb: The Internet Movie Database, the most important resource for those who research or are otherwise interested in film and television. <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm2894000/>, for her (fully clothed) appearance on a 2006 episode of *The Naked Archaeologist*.

For Eileen, scholarship and research are inseparable from teaching. Eileen is a dedicated teacher whose courses are highly sought after;

indeed, she is a luminous presence in a classroom or lecture hall who brings what some have called a cheerful seriousness, a gravitas leavened with warmth, good cheer and humour. Even more than her erudition and careful preparation, it is her ability to engage with the class that accounts for the popularity of her courses. In ways that can be perceived but not articulated, Eileen is able to speak directly both to the minds and hearts of her students; they come away not only knowing and understanding what she has taught them, about the Scrolls, the biblical prophets, and other topics, but also excited about the material and convinced of its importance in the grand scheme of things.

Eileen is dedicated to her students, and in her they find a mentor who will not only spend hours commenting on their written work, but who will also give thought to the best way to enrich their experience, by a summer studying Hebrew in Israel, perhaps, or a meeting with an international expert in their particular areas of interest. As one of her former students has observed, Eileen combines immense learning with humility and genuine concern for her students. For many McMaster graduates, she exemplifies the ideal scholar.

By the same token, she is a demanding teacher and researcher supervisor. The hours of nervous anticipation of Eileen's reaction to one dissertation chapter or another throughout the year or so of thesis writing pay off with confidence that, if the thesis has passed Eileen's muster, it will no doubt be acclaimed by the external readers and thesis defence committee. By now Eileen has raised up numerous students who have themselves become productive and highly-regarded scholars in Dead Sea Scrolls and other fields, as their contributions to this volume will attest. Eileen makes the eventual transition from teacher to colleague in a warm and effortless manner, but she continues to play a role as mentor, not only to the students who graduated under her supervision, but to many other junior colleagues.

I imagine that for Eileen, as for many of us, scholarship and teaching are not just a job, profession or career, but are central to her deepest commitments and convictions and identity. Yet they are not everything. In addition to her academic and intellectual abilities and accomplishments, Eileen has an extraordinary capacity for friendship. Often, though by no means always, these friendships take root in academic contexts, yet far exceed the requirements of collegiality. I have no doubt that all of Eileen's friends have experienced the moments of grace—a thoughtful word, a quiet presence, a hospital visit, a timely

phone call—in times of need both large and small. Eileen is not only generous to her friends, but also with them, sharing them and—as occasion arises, also her family members—graciously with others, and deriving satisfaction from knowing that two of her friends have become friends with each other. I personally have benefitted greatly from Eileen’s “matchmaking” and have thereby found new colleagues who have over the years become close friends.

Over the years our friendship has expanded to include our families as well. From our very earliest acquaintance I have been aware of Eileen’s love and devotion for her own family, evident in the many visits home to Edmonton during her father’s final illness, and her delight when a sibling or child of a sibling moves to Toronto or Hamilton. It has been a privilege to meet several of Eileen’s family members over the years, in Hamilton, and overseas, and even, on one occasion, at Disney World in Florida.

It has also been a pleasure to welcome Eileen into our family and our home. In Halifax, Eileen lived in a lively residence alongside mothers and children, and enjoyed that immensely. Yet I am certain that those women and children enjoyed and loved her just as much. I have had occasion to take note of how closely children, even very young children, are drawn to Eileen. Although, or, more likely, because she noticed them without fussing over them or intruding upon them, they felt comfortable in her presence. So much so that when our then-three-year old daughter Shoshana decided that she was ready for her first sleepover, it was Eileen whom she selected for this honour. I was hesitant, for Eileen’s sake, knowing well the chaos that a three-year old can generate, but Eileen was game. So one afternoon I took Shoshana over to Eileen’s apartment and picked her up the following morning. By all reports, the event was a resounding success.

For many years, Eileen was a regular guest at our Passover seders, where she fit right in due to her knowledge of and sympathy with Jewish life, faith and liturgy, and her knowledge of Hebrew. Indeed, she is legendary in our family for an uncanny ability to hide the afikomen, the half-piece of matzo which is broken in the early stages of the Passover Seder and set aside to be eaten as a dessert after the meal. In our family it is customary for all adults to hide the afikomen, and for the children to search for them, in the hope of discovering them in time to be eaten as “dessert,” and receive a prize. Eileen proved the most imaginative of all of us adults, inevitably hiding the afikomen “in

plain sight”; much as the children tried to keep an eye on her at all times, she managed to find a new place each year, and on more than one occasion her afikomen eluded detection altogether.

Undergirding and integrating all aspects of Eileen’s life is her devotion to the Catholic Church, and the Ursuline sisters who have been her community for so many decades. For her academic colleagues, friends and students, it can be easy to forget, on a day to day basis, Eileen’s profound and lifelong commitment to the Church; at least in the contexts in which I normally see her, this part of her life is not evident in either her dress, or her manner of speech, or in any other overt way. Yet even a quick glance through her publication list will show that she has put her academic training and expertise at the service of the Church. She helped to shape the lectionary, particularly with regards to biblical women, inclusive language and modern translation, as well as the choice of texts, as in her article, “Some Criteria for the Choice of Scripture Texts in the Roman Lectionary,” published in a volume entitled *Shaping English Liturgy*.

Eileen also works closely with the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, especially in the area of Jewish-Christian dialogue, most notably as the 2008 chair of Canadian Christian Jewish Consultation. She has lectured often on this topic to local and international groups, on topics such as “The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Jewish-Christian Dialogue,” delivered on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Nostra Aetate, Gregorianum University, Rome, September 2005.

Still, the aspect of Eileen’s life that is least visible to most of us in the academy is her profound religious commitment, to her order and to the Catholic church and to her Christian faith. Not that she is secretive about it, but simply that her faith, like all aspects her life, is practiced quietly, without fanfare and in joyful humility. One catches glimpses of the richness of her spiritual life, in references to trip back to Chatham to visit with and take care of her Ursuline sisters, in various books and objects in her apartment, in her seeking out morning mass in the cities where the Society of Biblical Literature meetings were taking place. Indeed, despite our different religious commitments, Eileen has been a role model for the life of faith that can be dynamic and sustaining, lived with integrity but also with questions, not separate from but integrated with academia, family, friendship and daily life.

To you, then, Eileen, my cherished friend and esteemed colleague, עד מאה ועשרים (“till 120”).

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THE TIME OF RIGHTEOUSNESS (4Q215A):
A TIME OF WAR OR A TIME OF PEACE?*

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4Q215a 1 ii

...3 the affliction of the oppressor and the ordeals of the pit.
These will purify them so they might become the chosen ones of
righteousness;
And He will blot out all their wickedness 4 because of His faithfulness.
For the era of wickedness is complete, and all iniquity shall [pas]s,
[For] 5 the time of righteousness is coming,
And the land is full of true knowledge
And the praise of God in [...]
For 6 the era of peace is coming,
The reliable statutes and the proper times,
Making [everyone] wise 7 in the ways of God,
And in His powerful deeds [from this time and] for the eternal ages.
Every tongue 8 shall bless Him,
And every person shall bow down to Him,
[And He will make] their he[art] on[e].
For He [prepared] 9 their actions before they were created;
And the right way of worship He apportioned,
Their borders [...] 10 in their generations.
For the dominion of good is coming,
And the [holy] throne will be exalted [...]
11 And strength, majesty, wisdom, insight, and perception
Are tested by [His] holy pur[pose...]¹

INTRODUCTION

In the late fall of 2007 I was honored to take part in the examination of the dissertation by the Norwegian scholar Årstein Justnes, entitled

* It is with great delight that I offer this study in honour of Eileen Schuller. Canada has rich history of involvement in scroll research—I learned this from Eileen herself!—and I am proud to be a partner in it with her. Collaborating with Eileen to train a new generation of Canadian scroll scholars has been one of my greatest joys.

¹ This translation is based on that of E. Cook, see M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (2nd ed.; San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2005), 315–316.

The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4QApocryphon of Daniel ar (4Q246), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2) and 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a), now published in a book of the same title.² The latter document, *4QTime of Righteousness*, or 4Q215a, was not as familiar to me as the first two in the study but was for Justnes a focus of much discussion, comprising nearly 100 pages of his dissertation. My own initial reaction to the document was that it was clearly the work of an author who had been schooled in the same philosophy that produced the *Rule of the Community* and other such sectarian literature. I was therefore challenged by Justnes' well reasoned commentary that concluded otherwise. And it has become clear that the developing *communis opinio*—fueled by such notables as Esther Chazon and Michael Stone,³ Torleif Elgvin,⁴ and Charlotte Hempel,⁵—actually is in concert with Justnes' own conclusions.

What I offer here are my own reflections which flesh out the basis for my initial assessment. At stake are at least two factors. First, the value of Emanuel Tov's studies regarding "Qumran Style," that is, the orthographic and morphological characteristics that are almost always present in Qumran sectarian manuscripts. Second, and more critical, the attendant value of determinations anent sectarian language and terminology gained from the study of texts such as the *Damascus Document*, the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Scroll*, the Peshar texts, and the *Hodayot*, so as to give us some help in recognizing additional sectarian works among the more fragmentary documents. In the assessments of Chazon and Stone, Elgvin, Hempel, and Justnes these two approaches have been made subordinate to a particular construction of Qumran eschatological theology. This theology is conveniently expressed by John Collins in his *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*:

² Å. Justnes, *The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4QApocryphon of Daniel ar (4Q246), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2) and 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a)* (European University Studies, Series XXIII, Theology, vol. 893; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).

³ E. Chazon and M. Stone, "215a: 4QTime of Righteousness," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 172–184.

⁴ T. Elgvin, "The Eschatological Hope of 4QTime of Righteousness," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 163; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 89–102.

⁵ C. Hempel, "The Gems of DJD 36: Reflections on Some Recently Published Texts," *JJS* 54 (2003): 146–152.

We should perhaps allow for some variation in the way the motif [the end of days] is used in the different texts, but in general...the end of days is “the last period of time, directly before the time of Salvation.”⁶ This period includes the time of testing and eschatological distress. It includes the dawning of the era of salvation, with the coming of the messiah(s), and at least in some sources it extends to the final war. It does not, however, include the final salvation that is to follow the eschatological battle.⁷

As Justnes then reasons:

We see from this that materially 4Q215a differs substantially from the eschatology of the sectarians. In 4Q215a there is neither room for the messiah(s) nor traces of war. Instead the text describes and depicts—at length and contrary to most of the sectarian scrolls—the time of salvation.⁸

Although a fuller study than we have time for today might challenge the paradigm that Collins has constructed, we will assume for the moment that he is correct and assess the value of the tools of Qumran Style and Sectarian terminology when they run aground on our understanding of sectarian theology. A test case, if you will. We will first survey the evidence for Qumran Style, then examine the ambiguities that students of this text have found when assessing its sectarian terminology, and finally examine the manner in which the view of sectarian eschatology expressed by Collins has been allowed to make the final determination as to the provenance of 4Q215a.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON 4Q215A

As early as 1957, J. T. Milik announced in *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, “Recently we have identified a second *Testament*, that of Naphtali, written in Hebrew.”⁹ It was not until the publication of Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise’ *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* that the world had access to the text. It would seem that Edward Cook was the first scholar to recognize—in print—the fact that some of the

⁶ A. Steudel, “אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993–94): 231.

⁷ J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1997), 62.

⁸ Justnes, *Salvation*, 380.

⁹ J. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (Studies in Biblical Theology 26; trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 34.

fragments of the *Testament of Naphtali*, 4Q215, did not fit the genre of “testament.” As he reasons in the introduction to the document in the first edition of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, “The [first] fragment tells of a future age of peace for all the descendants of Jacob. It may be from a different text.”¹⁰ This determination was then established upon the publication of the official edition of the text in DJD 36 in 2000.¹¹ 4Q215a, or 4QTime of Righteousness, was born.

PALEOGRAPHY

Following Cross’s categories, the writing is to be characterized as late Hasmonean or early Herodian and thus dates between 30 BCE and 20 CE.¹² The document has not been dated by means of radiocarbon analysis.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

In the published edition of 4Q215a we have but four fragments containing all of 176 words or parts of words. Elgvin and Justnes have examined the plates afresh and discovered two additional fragments which add ten mostly partial words to this total. The largest of these six fragments—and the focus of nearly every study—is the second column of fragment 1. According to Stegemann’s estimations, drawn from the deterioration patterns exhibited by the total remains, the original scroll measured more than four meters in length;¹³ to put this in perspective, the proposed total length is half again longer than the 2.7 meter length of the existing 19 columns of the *War Scroll* (1QM).

ORTHOGRAPHY

Emanuel Tov has noted that most all the ‘sectarian’ documents are written *plene*, whereas non-sectarian manuscripts are often written

¹⁰ M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), 260.

¹¹ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 172–184.

¹² Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 173.

¹³ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 174–175.

defectively.¹⁴ Justnes himself determines that “4Q215a reflects the so-called Qumran practice of orthography and morphology, which shows that the text was both copied and read with the *Yahad*.”¹⁵ Tov concludes in like manner, following the determination of the DJD 36 edition, by including 4Q215a in a group of texts that “could be sectarian, but too little is known about them.”¹⁶ Obviously the community could very well have copied texts that were of interest to them though they had not written them. As a case in point, 1QIsa^a, may very well have been copied by a Qumran sectarian, but it certainly was not authored by one. So in the interest of space allow me to simply point out that of the 17 key words that I have used to assess the orthographic character of a document,¹⁷ four of them occur in 4Q215a, eight total instances when multiples are accounted for. All of these are written *plene*. Note the spellings of כול in lines 3, 4, 7, and 8 as examples.

MORPHOLOGY

The discussion we have had concerning orthography also pertains to the morphological nature of our text. Note the ‘pausal’ form וצרוֹפוּ in line 3¹⁸ and the long spelling of the third masculine singular pronoun in line 8: הוֹאֵהוּ.¹⁹ It is also noteworthy that the ‘locative’ termination of the word מֵאֵד evident in line 11 (וּמֵאֵד) is, aside from the unique occurrence in the *Joshua Apocryphon* from Masada (Mas11), only found among Qumran manuscripts and is by far the most common in the key sectarian documents—1QS, 1QM, and 1QH^a—or biblical manuscripts written in Qumran practice such as 1QIsa^a, 4QNum^b (4Q27), and 11QPs^a (11Q5).²⁰

¹⁴ E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 261–263.

¹⁵ Justnes, *Salvation*, 282.

¹⁶ Tov, *Scribal*, 272.

¹⁷ M. Abegg, “The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More Than (Initially) Meets the Eye,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 53.

¹⁸ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 50, 117.

¹⁹ Qimron, *Hebrew*, 57, 117.

²⁰ Qimron, *Hebrew*, 69, 117. See also 1Q22, 4Q177, 4Q256, 4Q260, 4Q274, 4Q299, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q474, 4Q504, 11Q19.

SECTARIAN LANGUAGE

Every human association exhibits elements of insider jargon. The Hebrew term “*halakha*,” as an example, is a word indicative of a very particular form of Judaism. The mere fact that texts from the Qumran caves may have punned on this expression serves to underline this fact. The expression, דורשי חלקות, “those who derive false laws through exegesis,” appears to convert the insider jargon of one community into a pejorative term in the hands of another. Those scrolls that describe a form of Judaism that we might term Qumranic (1QS, 1QM, 1QH^a, 4QD^{a-h}, 1QpHab, etc.) are characterized by particular set of religious jargon, terms that at first blush sound biblical but are found only rarely or not at all in the Hebrew Bible. 4Q215a is literally littered with the religious jargon found in these scrolls. Although the clearly indicative self determinations such as בני אור, בני עצת היחד, or צדוק are missing, the similarly eponymous בחירי צדק (line 3) is also found at 1QH^a 10:15 and reconstructed by Stegemann and Schuller at 1QH^a 6:13.²¹ At 1QH^a 10:15, the author of this Teacher Hymn proclaims, ותשימני נס לבחירי צדק, “You have made me a banner for the elect of righteousness.”

And there are more such examples of sectarian terms at every turn. The present age of wickedness is termed קצהרשע (sic!) in line 4; a term that is used at CD 6:14; 15:7 and found in the corresponding Cave 4 manuscripts 4Q269 (8 ii 5) and 4Q271 (2 12). The coming age is then described as קצהשלום (sic!), “the age of peace,” in line 6; a term also found at 1QS 3:15 and 1QH^a 21:16.²² God’s statutes are called חוקי האמת at the end of line 6 as they are in 1QS 1:15 and 4Q266 11 11. God’s will is described as דרכי אל in line 7; likewise at CD 20:18; 1QS 3:10; 4Q255 2 5; 4Q257 3:13.²³ God’s determination of the actions of humankind before the world was created is described in line 9 as פעולתם בטרם הבראם, an expression used three times in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 5:25; 7:27; 9:9) and twice in 4Q180, *Ages of Creation* (1 2; 2–4 ii 10). Proper worship of God is called עבודת הצדק at the end of line 9 as it is at 1QS 4:9 and 1QH^a 14:22. Finally, a unique pair of words,

²¹ H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{a-f} and 1QHodayot^b* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), 87.

²² As well as the text of debated provenance, 4Q418c 1 9.

²³ As well as 4Q420 1a ii–b 1; 4Q421 1a ii–b 12; 4Q437 4 5; 4Q438 4 ii 5.

ערמה ותושיה, used to describe God, his actions, and his community at CD 2:3–4; 1QS 10:24–25; 11:6, are clearly visible in line 11.

There are a number of other possibilities reflected in reconstructions or difficult readings and several other “sectarian sounding” expressions, but the above are all sure and make a compelling connection between the language of 4Q215a and recognized sectarian literature.

A WORD ABOUT GENRE THAT ALLOWS US TO HIGHLIGHT THE OUTLINE AND CONTENT

Justnes writes:

...since the smaller fragments give us few formal signals to work on, the genre of the composition must in reality be decided on the sole basis of fragment 1 column 2. That this is methodologically dubious can be well illustrated by highlighting larger compositions like 1QS, CD, and 4QInstruction that all integrate a whole range of different sub-genres in the composition.²⁴

Of course we could well add 1QM to this list and remind ourselves of Stegemann’s determination that this scroll is perhaps half again longer than the extant *War Scroll*. We are thus placed in the rather precarious position of judging a composition of perhaps some 30 columns by the remains of 12 lines. To capitalize on the familiar puzzle imagery, this is akin to trying to determine the scene displayed in a 1000 piece puzzle on the basis of 16 pieces. This is possible, if a button assembled from the pieces is one of a pile of buttons, such as the puzzle currently on our dining table; but precarious if the visible element is on the coat of Gros’s famous portrait of Napoleon. This factor clearly makes one cautious when describing the genre of the scroll: sapiential, apocalyptic, sapiential-apocalyptic, hymnic, poetic, and eschatological, have all been suggested to describe our scroll. Clearly the passage before us is a hymn with eschatological content, the first four lines are the end of the description of the era of wickedness, while the next eight lines usher in a time of peace.

²⁴ Justnes, *Salvation*, 349.

PERCEIVED PROBLEMS WITH THE SECTARIAN CATEGORIZATION

Thus far my description—rather clearly intimating my own estimation of the provenance of 4Q215a—has been presented without response from its potential critics. In the next portion of the paper I will allow, Chazon, Stone, Hempel, Elgvin, and Justnes to have their say with some suggestion as to how I might respond.

1. Starting again with the Elect of Righteousness (בחירי צדק) in line 3, we recall that this term is also found at 1QH^a 6:13 and 10:15 as the name for the group led by the first person author of the *Hodayot*. As suggested by David Flusser, this group might also be the addressees of *1 Enoch*. The very first line of this document reads,

The word of blessing of Enoch, as he blessed the **righteous elect** (ἐκλεκτους δικαίους), who will be present in the day of distress, when all the enemies are removed, and the righteous will be saved.²⁵

Thus according to Chazon and Stone, “the term בחירי צדק cannot be considered exclusively Qumranic although it was used by the Qumran community in its own writings.”²⁶ This is, however, clearly not a proof that 4Q215a is *not* a sectarian text. An historical relation to *1 Enoch* does not have the power to negate an association with 1QH^a. In fact, if, as has been suggested by G. Boccaccini, early *Enoch* literature played an essential or even passing role in Qumran origins, this eponymous expression takes on additional import.²⁷

2. The fact that the “elect of righteousness” are refined by trials in line 3 is discussed by Chazon and Stone and again dismissed as a sectarian indicator because such refining is also a frequent element in biblical and apocryphal passages.²⁸ Again this problem by its very nature does not deny the possibility that 4Q215a may be a sectarian text. See 4Q177 10–11 10.

3. Eschatological terminology abounds in our manuscript—‘the time of righteousness’ (עת הצדק, 4Q215a 1 ii 5), “the period of peace” (קצ השלום, 4Q215a 1 ii 6), and “period of wickedness” (קצ הרשע) are

²⁵ D. Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” in *Scripta Hierosolymitana IV: Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Ch. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), 215–266, see n 25.

²⁶ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 175.

²⁷ G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

²⁸ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 175.

all reviewed by Stone and Chazon and, although there are clear sectarian points of contact, the fact that **קצ השלום** occurs in 4Q418c (but see also 1QS 3:15; 1QH^a 21:16) and the similar **קצ הרשעה** in 4Q509 warn Stone and Chazon from taking a “doctrinaire position on this matter.”²⁹ They admit, however, that **קצ הרשעה** is not the “precise expression” found in 4Q215a. See CD 6:14; 15:7; 4Q269 8 ii 5; 4Q271 2 12 for the precise expression.

This reasoning once again falls far short of denying a sectarian origin for the document. Nor does DJD 36 comment at all on the clearly sectarian terms that I have noted above: **וחוקי האמת** (4Q215a 1 ii 6; 1QS 1:15; 4Q266 11 11), **בדרכי אלן** (4Q215a 1 ii 7; CD 20:18; 1QS 3:10; 4Q255 2 5; 4Q257 3:13; 4Q420 1a ii–b 1; 4Q421 1a ii–b 12; 4Q437 4 5; 4Q438 4 ii 5), **ועבודת הצדק** (4Q215a 1 ii 9; 1QS 4:9; 1QH^a 14:22), or **ערמה ותושיה** (4Q215a 1 ii 11; CD 2:3–4; 1QS 10:24–25; 11:6).

4. As we have noted, the deterministic outlook expressed by **פעולתם** **בטרם הבראם** in line 9 is also found at 1QH^a 5:25; 7:27; 9:9; and 4Q180 1 2; 2–4 ii 10. Stone and Chazon suggest that the verb reconstructed at the end of line 8 of 4Q215a 1 ii might require 4Q215a to “be read and interpreted quite differently” than the clearly deterministic passages in the scrolls. They continue: “If **ידע**, ‘He knew,’ rather than **הכין**, ‘He prepared,’ is restored in the lacuna, then this line would not express a belief in predestination of human deeds but rather in God’s foreknowledge of them.”³⁰ However, the fact that **ידע** occurs with **בטרם הבראם** at 1QH^a 5:24; 7:27; and 4Q180 1 2 and **הכין** at 1QH^a 9:9 and 4Q180 2–4 ii 10 suggests rather strongly that the ancients might not have been aware of this modern bit of theological hair-splitting. The expression appears solidly sectarian whether we reconstruct with **ידע** or **הכין**.

5. The word **תעודה** occurs at 4Q215a 1 ii 6 in a context that Chazon and Stone determine requires the translation ‘testimony’ rather than the accepted sectarian meaning of “fixed time” or “assembly.” This is, however, far from certain. The word occurs as the last pair of three in the clause **בא קצה שלום וחוקי האמת ותעודת [ה]צדק** and requires the modern exegete to determine whether the word **תעודה** is parallel to **חוק** and is thus to be translated “righteous testimony,” or parallel to **קצ**, requiring “proper times.” Of the 46 occurrences of **תעודה** in

²⁹ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 176.

³⁰ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 177.

the scrolls from the eleven caves at Qumran, only the two instances in 4QJub^a (2:5; 7:17) require the meaning of “testimony.” Chazon and Stone make much of a determination that is at best ambiguous.

On the basis of these five discussions, Stone and Chazon determine:

Thus it is difficult to determine with absolute certainty whether 4QTime of Righteousness is properly Qumranic or only peripherally so—that is, whether it was produced within the Qumran community or in circles closely related to Qumran, such as a parent movement or a like-minded contemporary group.

I would clearly not be so reticent to categorize 4Q215a *Time of Righteousness* as a sectarian text based on these very elements and the additional sectarian language they fail to mention.

Justnes adds two additional points that we must take up before we come to a final conclusion concerning the provenance of 4Q215a.

6. The universal nature of the Time of Salvation can be seen in lines 7–8: בּוֹל לְשׁוֹן [וְ] תְּבַרְכְּנוּ וְכֹל אָנָשׁ יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לוֹ, “Every tongue shall bless Him, and every person shall bow down to Him.” Justnes states: “this universalistic outlook seems to be more in harmony with texts like *1 En.* 10... than... most sectarian texts.”³¹ However, these lines are a reflection of Isa 45:23, a passage unfortunately lacking in any of the sectarian commentaries. If it were present it is possible that the commentary would have read as 1QM 12:13–15:

Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open your gate[s] forever, that the wealth of the nations might be brought to you, and their kings might serve you (יִשְׂרָתוּךָ). All those who oppressed you shall bow down to you, and the dust [of your feet they shall lick.

Schiffman comments concerning this passage,

... there is a plethora of material indicating that only the Qumran sectarians and their associates elsewhere in the country are the true remnant of Israel, and that the messianic wars of the War Scroll and similar texts will lead to utter destruction of all Israelites who do not join the sect. They will be destroyed with the rest of the nations. But at the same time, curiously, this vision is not carried through in the War Scroll and related literature consistently. Instead, alternatively, all humanity can be pictured as sharing in the end of days.³²

³¹ Justnes, *Salvation*, 363.

³² L. Schiffman, “Inter- or Intra-Jewish Conflict?” in *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010),

7. My seventh and final point: Justnes, beginning with Collins' quote from *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*³³ that lays out the sectarian eschatological paradigm—testing, eschatological distress, the coming of the messiahs, the final war, but *not* the final salvation that is to follow the eschatological battle—concludes,

We see from this that materially 4Q215a differs *substantially* (my emphasis) from the eschatology of the sectarians. In 4Q215a there is neither room for the messiah(s) nor traces of war. Instead the text describes and depicts—at length and contrary to most of the sectarian scrolls—the time of salvation.³⁴

Collins construct, however, is just that: a construct. He himself introduces his conclusions with the warning: “We should perhaps allow for some variation in the way the [end of days] motif is used.” And one is rather hard pressed to find a text that includes all of Collins' elements. I cannot. As a pointed example, even the *War Scroll* does not clearly reveal the presence of the Messiahs. The reader is left with only a shield at 5:1 and a scepter in 11:6. One must follow Milik's suggestion that 4Q285 is the lost end of the *War Scroll* to find clear expression of messianic activity. And with 4Q285 now before us, I am reminded of the overlapping 11Q14 which until 1992 was still being called *11QBlessings*, *blessings of the time of salvation*, to be more to the point. It was only the recognition that portions of 11Q14 overlapped with 4Q285 that put the blessings in context: they followed the eschatological distress, coming of the messiahs, and the final war. What then might 4Q215a reveal to us if we could place it within its larger setting? A determination such as the current *communis opinio* acknowledges neither the fragmentary nature of the text—perhaps less than 2% of the whole—nor the poetic character: the purpose of the hymn as we have it appears set on contrasting the era of wickedness with the era of peace. Must we require the ancient poet to include Messiahs and war as well before we lately admit him into the *yahad* as a full-fledged sectarian?

362–63. In the same volume, see Schiffman's comments on the destruction of the nations in “Non-Jews in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 376–378.

³³ Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 62.

³⁴ Justnes, *Salvation*, 380.

CONCLUSION

It is worthy at this point to rehearse Chazon and Stone's assessment of 4Q215a:

The initial impression of 4QTime of Righteousness is that it reads like a sectarian composition by the Qumran Community. A heightened eschatology, determinism, and periodization of human history as well as expressions such 'elect of righteousness' (בחירי צדק) and 'period of wickedness' (קץ הרשע) create this impression. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes harder to prove definitively a Qumranic origin for 4QTime of Righteousness.³⁵

And the telling remark of Justnes, "We see from this (i.e. Collins' construct) that materially 4Q215a differs substantially from the eschatology of the sectarians."³⁶

It is my hope that my study casts some doubt on what would appear to be an unambiguously negative determination regarding the sectarian provenance of this document. A reasoned eschatological assessment, a full recognition of the plethora of sectarian expressions, as well as the added strength of the orthographic-morphological nature of the writing should have us describing the sectarian qualities of the text in more positive terms than has hitherto been the case. There is nothing that absolutely denies a sectarian categorization and so much that suggests it.

³⁵ Chazon and Stone, DJD 36, 175.

³⁶ Justnes, *Salvation*, 380.

PERSPECTIVES ON PRIESTS IN HAGGAI-MALACHI¹

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INTRODUCTION

In her commentary on Malachi in the New Interpreter's Bible, Eileen Schuller showcases the fruit of patient and careful exegesis of the biblical text. Her focus in that work is on the inner rhetorical logic of the book in its final form with sensitivity to its general historical context. However, in dealing with the opening and closing verses of the book, she does provide her perspective on the relationship of the book to its broader canonical contexts. First, for her the opening verse of the book (Mal 1:1) "stands outside the regular structure of the discourse" and because of similarities to superscriptions in other books among the Twelve "is probably the work of the redactor of the entire collection."² Although admitting that the "formation of the book cannot be separated from the question of how the Book of the Twelve (the 'Minor Prophets') was put together," she avoids more detailed reflection on this because "so little is known about the whole process of the formation of the Book of the Twelve," which makes "elaborate reconstructions about how this larger context shaped the book of Malachi" for her "highly speculative and abstract."³ Concerning the final verses of the book, however, she is more adventurous, suggesting that 3:22–24[4:4–6] "may have been appended considerably later than the time of Malachi as a conclusion, not just to Malachi, but to the

¹ Eileen Schuller was one of the first to welcome me to McMaster University when I arrived in 2003, not only attending my lecture when I interviewed, but reading Proverbs 9 at my installation in the Chair of Old Testament at McMaster Divinity College. I soon realized what her colleagues and students have long known, that is, that she exemplifies the characteristics of Lady Wisdom who was showcased in that Scripture reading that evening. I am delighted to contribute the present essay to this volume honoring her. With thanks to E. Assis for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² E. M. Schuller, "The Book of Malachi," in *The New Interpreter's Bible* (ed. L. E. Keck and D. Petersen; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 852.

³ *Ibid.*, 849.

entire Book of the Twelve, or even to the whole prophetic corpus.”⁴ These two observations stand as fitting bookends around a superb commentary and reveal her openness to a role for Malachi beyond its own literary boundaries.

As Professor Schuller notes so judiciously, few question that Mal 1:1 and only some question that Mal 3:22–24[4:4–6] reflect broader processes in the development of the prophets as a canonical collection, with the former most closely related to the creation of the Book of the Twelve and the latter to the creation of the *Nebi'im*. As she acknowledges there are those who have advocated for more elaborate processes at work within Malachi and especially the Book of the Twelve. In particular some, including the present scholar, have advocated a relationship between Malachi and the books of Haggai and Zechariah which precede it, even going so far as to talk about a pre-existing collection which encompassed the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.⁵ While Professor Schuller restricts her connection to these earlier books to the presence of a prophetic superscription in Mal 1:1 that is strikingly similar to those found in Zech 9:1 and 12:1, others have noted other similarities between the books. One key problem, however, in arguing for a relationship between these three books is dealing with what is considered to be contrasting treatments of the priests and temple cult in these books. While those responsible for Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 have often been depicted as champions of the hierocracy centered around the temple in Jerusalem,⁶ those responsible for Malachi and Zechariah 9–14 have been interpreted as opponents of this hierocracy who advocate an eschatological vision which rejects the status quo and longs for a breaking in of YHWH’s rule. While Haggai

⁴ Ibid., 875.

⁵ M. J. Boda, “Messengers of Hope in Haggai-Malachi,” *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–131; M. J. Boda, “Hoy, Hoy: The Prophetic Origins of the Babylonian Tradition in Zechariah 2:10–17,” in *Tradition in Transition* (ed. M. J. Boda and M. H. Floyd; London: T&T Clark, 2008), 171–190; M. J. Boda, “Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve,” in *On Stone and Scroll* (ed. B. Mastin and J. K. Aitken; BZAW; Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

⁶ See especially P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 209–279; P. D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), 259–268; cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten Übersetzt und Erklärt* (2nd ed.; Berlin: Reimer, 1893); O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie* (3rd ed.; WMANT 2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968).

and Zechariah 1–8 express their encouragement for and pleasure in the present temple project and its functioning cult, Zechariah 9–14 and especially Malachi ask serious questions about its validity and look for a divine purification of the priestly personnel as well as the community as a whole.

The present article will review key addresses to priestly figures throughout Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi in order to identify both points of continuity and discontinuity. This will provide important data for considering any integration of these books into a collection and possible signs of development in the relationship between the priests gathered around the Jerusalem temple and the prophetic movement(s) associated with the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Even if one does not embrace the view that Haggai-Malachi was at one point a smaller collection later to be incorporated into the Book of the Twelve, this study will hopefully provide important perspectives on developments in the relationship between priestly and prophetic groups in the early Persian period and possibly beyond.

I. MALACHI AND THE PRIESTS

The longest disputation in Malachi is the one directed towards the priests in 1:6–2:9 (O priests; 1:6; 2:1) and which focuses on the lack of respect and honor from priests who are offering defiled food on the altar (1:7)⁷ including stolen or blemished (blind, lame, sick) animals (1:8, 13, 14).⁸ Underlying such offerings is a lack of respect for the altar itself, expressed with such sayings as “the table of YHWH is to be despised” (1:7), “the table of YHWH is defiled, and as for its fruit, its food is to be despised” (1:12), and “behold, how tiresome it is!” (1:13), as well as actions like “disdainfully sniffing” at the food (1:13). Rather than inclining YHWH towards a gracious response (1:9), this attitude

⁷ Although the term “table” (שֻׁלְחָן) is used for the table of showbread at the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 25:27–30) and temple (1 Kgs 7:48), here in Mal 1:7, the reference to מִזְבֵּחַי (“my altar”) indicates it is most likely a reference to a table used for slaughtering sacrificial victims (Ezek 40:39–43) or better the altar of burnt offering (41:22; 44:16); cf. A. E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 178–179.

⁸ While there is evidence that the priests are addressed in a considerable portion of Malachi (see L.-S. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood* [FAT 2, 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006], 17–27), in light of limitations of space the present work will focus on 1:6–2:9.

towards and activity of sacrifice only make YHWH want to close the temple gates since he categorically rejects such sacrifice (1:10). Instead, in a surprising announcement he declares that he will rely on offerings from all other nations on earth (1:11, 14).⁹

While 1:6–14 is addressed to the priests, it also speaks of the people's participation with them in this illicit activity. God's rejection of the people's sacrifice is evident in 1:6–14, but the main focus of the divine response is directed at the priests whose judgment is signaled by the phrase "and now" (וְעַתָּה) in 2:1 followed by the vocative "O priests."¹⁰ YHWH warns of severe judgment: one that involves spreading the "undigested contents of the stomach" of sacrificial victims on the priests' faces,¹¹ rendering them worthy of removal from the community (2:3; וְנִשָּׂא אֵלָי),¹² and dishonoring them before all the people (2:9). There is still an opportunity for change, however, as the conditional clauses in 2:2 indicate, suggesting that responding to this confrontation and taking to heart this call to honor YHWH's name is key to avoiding YHWH's judgment. However, the negative casting of the conditional ("if you do not listen...if you do not take to heart...") along with the threat of curse reveal a skeptical expectation for change.

The positive presentation of God's covenant with Levi (2:4–6) highlights the core values for priestly service: reverence for YHWH and

⁹ There is controversy in scholarship as to whether this refers to Jewish worship throughout the world, or worship of YHWH by non-Jews; cf. Schuller, "Malachi," 860; E. Assis, "Structure and Meaning in the Book of Malachi," in *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel* (ed. J. Day; LHBOTS 531; London: T&T Clark, 2010), 362. However, Mal 3:12 seems to suggest a more universal group, not unlike Zech 8:23; cf. Hill, *Malachi*, 219.

¹⁰ For the connectivity between 1:6–14 and 2:1–9 see especially the superb list of links in Schuller, "Malachi," 859. She wisely notes the heightened rhetorical impact of 2:1–9 in which "no questions or comments are allowed to interrupt what is the most extended word from the Lord in the whole book," cf. D. L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 177.

¹¹ Whether such material rendered someone unclean is not entirely clear. Dung is not identified as unclean in Levitical law, even though Ezek 4:12–15 and Deut 23:11–15[10–14] seem to suggest it; cf. P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 242; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 189. At the least, according to Levitical law פֶּרֶךְ was to be removed from the camp (Lev 4:11–12; 8:17; 16:27).

¹² See Hill (*Malachi*, 202–203) for the difficulty of interpreting this phrase. Most likely it is equivalent to לֶאֱזָרָה Hiph in Lev 4:12 which refers to the removal of the unwanted sacrificial portions to a place outside the camp (cf. Lev 16:27).

YHWH's name and instruction (that is, torah rulings) which promotes righteousness. It shows YHWH's enduring commitment to the tribe in which the priests arose and lays out a normative pattern which contrasts the present practices of the priests. The reference to Levi and especially to the foundational covenant with this ancestor of the priestly and levitical clans in the context of such severe attacks on the priests, suggests that the legitimacy of at least the present ruling priestly families is in jeopardy.¹³

Malachi 2:1–9 ends by returning from the ideal model of the Levi-priest to the problems of the present day and these problems are related to a type of instruction which shows favouritism (נְשֵׂא פָנִים).¹⁴ This phrase is one that is used elsewhere to refer to partiality in legal cases (Job 13:10; Lev 19:15; Ps 82:2; Deut 17:10). Other words used throughout 2:1–9 are also connected with the issue of justice, including עֲלִיָּה related to speech (2:6; cf. Isa 59:3; Job 5:16; 6:29–30; 13:7–8; Zeph 3:13)¹⁵ and מִיִּשׁוּר (2:6; cf. Isa 11:4; Pss 45:7; 67:5). The role of the priest was to provide just rulings for those who sought justice at the temple.¹⁶

¹³ This issue is extremely controversial. Earlier scholarship identified evidence here of a Priest/Levite rift (cf. R. A. Mason, *The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* [CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 147; R. A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics After the Exile* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990], 244, but most today would not see Malachi as advocating rejection of the priestly line in favor of Levites; cf. J. M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* [SBLDS 121; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], esp. 111–112; Schuller, "Malachi," 859). J. Schaper ("Priests in the Book of Malachi and Their Opponents," in *The Priests in the Prophets: The Portrayal of Priests, Prophets, and other Religious Specialists in the latter Prophets* [ed. L. L. Grabbe and A. O. Bellis; JSOTSup 408; London: T&T Clark, 2004], 177–188) has argued that the opponents represented by Malachi are dissident priests; cf. Hanson, *The People Called*, 271–272, 282, 290. However, considering the fact that the presentation places the origins of the priestly covenant prior to the Aaronide foundation (especially under Phinehas, Num 25:10–13; 40:15; cf. Exod 29:29), to the original founder of the tribe Levi (Deut 33:8–11), is at least suggestive that others who share Levitical lineage may have an opportunity to take over what was originally Aaronide/Zadokite privilege. There may be signs in Zechariah 9–14 that the Zecharian traditionists at least envisioned a shift in both Davidic and Levitical clans, which may lie behind the tension of Malachi, see M. J. Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 34, 488–489.

¹⁴ On this idiom see M. Gruber, "The Many Faces of Hebrew נְשֵׂא פָנִים >Lift up the Face<," *ZAW* 95 (1983): 252–260, esp. 258; Verhoef, *Haggai*, 253; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 192–193; contra Hill, *Malachi*, 217–218; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 135.

¹⁵ On the judicial nuance here, see Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 191.

¹⁶ See Petersen (Ibid.), who notes: "They were supposed to offer judicial decisions and to instruct Israelites regarding their covenant responsibilities." Contra M. H. Floyd (*Minor Prophets, Part 2* [FOTL 22; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 601) who

Malachi 1:6–2:9 thus is directed against the priests, attacking the mis-handling of their two key responsibilities: offering sacrifice for worship (1:6–14) and instructing the people for justice (2:1–9).¹⁷ Faithfulness to these responsibilities was seen as an expression of truly fearing YHWH (Mal 1:6; 2:5). In both cases their inappropriate behavior is contrasted with positive examples, surprisingly in the first it is the nations who display normativity (1:11) while in the second it is their ancestor Levi (2:5–6). They are depicted as compromising in both activities and are at risk of losing their status and responsibility, even though priestly activities will continue because of the covenant with Levi.

The sheer length of this section in Mal 1:6–2:9 identifies the priests as the greatest failures within the book of Malachi. The depiction of and attack on the priests reveals a major fissure in the community between the prophetic group responsible for Malachi and the priests. Repentance is clearly encouraged within Mal 1:6–2:9 as well as more generally within Mal 3:1–7, but the message of the book appears to shift towards the emergence of a faithful group within the community which will await and then survive a future severe punishment from YHWH in the coming day (3:16–21[4:3]).

II. HAGGAI AND THE PRIESTS

While most scholars have recognized Malachi's strong rebuke of the priestly caste, most have seen in Haggai one who just as strongly champions the temple project and by extension then the priests who serve in its courts. Signs of Haggai as hierocratic promoter are evident especially in the book's presentation of Joshua as high priest alongside Zerubbabel the governor at key points in the book (1:1, 12–14; 2:1, 4). In the first chapter Joshua (and Zerubbabel) do not appear to be identified with the offending "this people" (הָעָם הַזֶּה) who Haggai upbraids

links the instruction throughout 2:1–9 to inappropriate ritual guidance related to 1:6–14. The language here, however, suggests the issue of injustice, foreshadowed already in 1:13 with the reference to robbery.

¹⁷ Schuller ("Malachi," 861) wisely notes the work of M. Fishbane ("Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 [1983]: 115–121) who traces the negation of the priestly blessing of Num 6:24–26 throughout Mal 1:6–2:9; cf. Schaper, "Priests in the Book of Malachi," 185–186. This may be further evidence of a priestly, possibly Aaronide-Zadokite rejection.

for lack of effort on the temple project.¹⁸ Instead, Joshua along with Zerubbabel lead the group called the “remnant of the people” (שְׂאֲרֵי־תַּבְּרִית) in obedient response (1:12) and Joshua, along with Zerubbabel and the remnant, is stirred up in his spirit to accomplish the task (1:14) and is later encouraged to complete the work (2:4).

However, while Joshua is highlighted in the first two major sections of Haggai (1:1–15; 2:1–9), he is noticeably absent from the final major section (2:10–23). Here one finds Zerubbabel explicitly (2:20–23) and the people implicitly (2:15–19) addressed, but in the place of Joshua the high priest is a group called “the priests” who are addressed in 2:10–14.¹⁹ This contrast, along with a slight difference in the prophetic formulae found in 2:10, 20 from those occurring at 1:1; 21,²⁰ suggests a different editorial process for the latter half of Haggai. What is fascinating about 2:10–14 is not only that it is addressed to “priests” instead of “Joshua, the high priest,” but that within 2:10–23 it is the only section which is entirely negative in tone.

The prophetic word here is cast as a Torah ruling where the priests are asked to perform their core task, that is, distinguishing between holy and common, clean and unclean (Lev 10:10, 11),²¹ here specifically to discern whether first holiness (Hag 2:12) and second uncleanness (2:13) are communicable to the third degree.²² Haggai applies the

¹⁸ Contra Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 223.

¹⁹ There is no question that the priests are addressed in 2:10–14 and Zerubbabel in 2:20–23. Haggai 2:15–19 does represent a significant shift in vocabulary and perspective, thus suggesting it has a broader audience in mind, however, the use of וְעִתָּהּ in 2:15 reveals that 2:15–19 is treated at least in the final form of 2:10–19 as an integral part of the former since וְעִתָּהּ does not appear at the outset of speeches in the HB, but rather at a key transition midway through a speech; cf. M. J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (BZAW 277; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 29–30. The shift in vocabulary and style may reveal that it has distinct oral roots from 2:10–14, the two being combined only on the literary level, or that the prophet turns in 2:15 to the people as a whole.

²⁰ The difference is the use of בֵּינֶךָ versus אֵל for the preposition expressing the means by which the word of YHWH came to the prophet.

²¹ Cf. E. M. Meyers, “The Use of Tōrâ in Haggai 2:11 and the Role of the Prophet in the Restoration Community,” in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O’Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 69–76; M. A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 297.

²² Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 297; cf. D. R. Hildebrand, “Temple Ritual: A Paradigm for Moral Holiness in Haggai II 10–19,” *VT* 39 (1989): 160. There is some debate over the accuracy of the priests’ response. In his extensive study of the temple and its services, Haran argues that people or objects which come in contact with the altar or tabernacle furniture contract holiness and thus become consecrated (see

second case (uncleanness) to the present situation (2:14), focusing on “this people...this nation” (הָעַם־הַזֶּה...הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה), a reference to the inhabitants of Yehud,²³ whose defilement has been transferred to “all the works of their hands” (כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם) and finally transferred to “that which they offer there” (אֲשֶׁר יִקְרִיבוּ שָׁם).²⁴ The particle שָׁם (“there”) must have an antecedent, and the closest is the preceding phrase “all the works of their hands.”²⁵ The only humanly manufactured item where one can offer (קָרַב Hiphil) something is the altar²⁶

Exod 29:37; 30:29); M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 175–188. This view, however, has been revised by Petersen who demonstrates that such a transfer of holiness is only available to a limited group within Israel: the priests. Anyone else would be dead if they touched these items (see 2 Sam 6:7), thus showing that the “contagious character of the holy is radically limited.” D. L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1984), 78; cf. R. J. Sim, “Notes on Haggai 2:10–21,” *JTT* 5 (1992): 27–28.

²³ In the past “this people” and “this nation” were identified as the enemies of the Jews; cf. J. W. Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner: Die grundlegende Scheidung von Judentum und Heidentum. Eine kritische Studie zum Buche Haggai und zur jüdischen Geschichte im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert* (BWAT 3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908); and recently E. Assis, “Haggai: Structure and Meaning,” *Bib* 87 (2006): 532; cf. R. Pfeil, “When Is a Gôy a ‘Goy’? The Interpretation of Haggai 2:10–19,” in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer* (ed. Jr. W. C. Kaiser and R. F. Youngblood; Chicago: Moody, 1986), 261–278. This view, however, has been largely rejected today since these words can be used for Israelites (Exod 33:12–13; Jer 5:9, 29; 7:28; 9:9), cf. A. Cody, “When is the Chosen People called a gôy?,” *VT* 14 (1964): 1–6; K. Koch, “Haggais unreines Volk,” *ZAW* 79 (1967): 52–66; H. G. May, “‘This People’ and ‘This Nation’ in Haggai,” *VT* 18 (1968): 190–197; R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 46–52; Hildebrand, “Temple Ritual,” 154–168.

²⁴ Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites*, 234) helpfully points out evidence from Exod 4:12 and Num 22:6 that supports this translation (which treats this phrase as functioning as an accusative) against her own (which treats this phrase as functioning as a nominative, and thus referring to priestly personnel).

²⁵ Rudolph struggles with the lack of an antecedent for “there” and translates this phrase as: “where they offer is defiled.” This is an awkward translation of the Hebrew phrase and should be rejected; W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi* (KAT 13; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 45.

²⁶ Thus it is more focused than the temple site as a whole, as per W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1967), 73; R. A. Mason, “Prophets of the Restoration,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips, and M. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 144; Verhoef, *Haggai*, 120, and not the agricultural produce of the community, as per P. L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (NCB; London: M. Pickering, 1995), 28; Petersen, *Haggai*, 83. The verb קָרַב Hiphil is associated with offerings (whether animal or grain) at the altar (cf. Lev 1:13; 2:8). The critique of Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 230–231, against the altar view is predicated on the view that those responsible for Ezra 3 and Hag 2:10–14 have to agree on the status of the altar, and on the view that the uncleanness is related to the lack of dedication of the altar, rather than failure to construct the temple (the latter of which is key to Petersen’s view which she critiques).

and this altar is described as being rebuilt by the people in Ezra 3:1–6.²⁷ This prophetic critique is not saying that there was anything unclean about the altar or its original construction, only that the uncleanness of “this people...this nation” has been transferred to this altar due to contact.

The source of the people’s uncleanness is never specified. The LXX translators provided a moral reason: “on account of their early gains, they will suffer because of their toils. And you used to hate those who reprove in the gates” (NETS).²⁸ Petersen suggested that there is a failure in ritual matters.²⁹ Sim sees a symbolic connection so that the temple ruin is treated as a corpse.³⁰ However, in light of the broader message of Haggai, the source of the uncleanness is most likely related to the community’s lack of attention to temple construction.³¹ The lack of a legal basis for uncleanness contracted through disobedience of this sort does not disqualify this connection to the building project. While the prophet may be merely using the torah ruling illustratively in this context, he may also be showing that uncleanness can also arise from disobedience to any of God’s commands.³² In either case, the fact should not be missed that in this final section of Haggai, which focuses on the positive opportunity afforded by the day of foundation laying which will mean agricultural prosperity (2:15–19) and ultimately political hegemony over the nations (2:20–23), priests are addressed in a section dominated by the failure of the past. While that failure is attributed to the people’s uncleanness, it is still clear that the priests

²⁷ See H. G. M. Williamson, “The Composition of Ezra i–vi,” *JTS* 34 (1983): 17, 23–24; M. J. Boda, “Flashforward: Future Glimpses in the Past of Ezra 1–6,” in *Let Us Go Up To Zion* (ed. M. J. Boda and I. Provan; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), for the historical context of the episode in Ezra 3:1–6, which predates the material in Haggai.

²⁸ Cf. P. R. Ackroyd (“Some Interpretive Glosses in the Book of Haggai,” *JJS* 7 [1956]: 165–166) who interprets this translation as an attempt to show that “The rebuilding must be accompanied by moral reformation.”

²⁹ Petersen, *Haggai*, 84. Cf. Exod 29:36–37; Ezek 43:18–25.

³⁰ Sim, “Notes,” 33.

³¹ Verhoef, *Haggai*, 120; May, “This People,” 190–197.

³² This extension of priestly purity law beyond typical priestly rituals is evident in the integration of the Holiness Code and Priestly Torah, so that “the concept of holiness also encompasses the realm of social justice” and so there is a “fusing of the realms of cult and morality,” I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 180, 176. See S. E. Balentine, *Leviticus* (IBC; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 13; P. Jenson, “Holiness in the Priestly Writings,” in *Holiness: Past and Present* (ed. S. C. Barton; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 112. This extension of priestly jurisdiction to non-ritual areas is seen also in Deut 17:8–13; 19:14–21.

who, as this pericope makes clear were responsible for distinguishing holiness and uncleanness, presided over a sacrificial altar and cult which was being defiled by the disobedience of the people.³³ Thus, although the book of Haggai begins with a positive perspective on the priestly stream in Judah, especially as represented by Joshua the high priest, by its end a slight shadow has been cast over this priestly order due to illicit sacrifices on the altar at the temple in Jerusalem.³⁴

III. ZECHARIAH 1–8 AND THE PRIESTS

Zechariah 1–8 displays a similar trend to that observed in Haggai. While Joshua and Zerubbabel are singled out by name earlier in the collection (Zechariah 3, 4; cf. Zech 6:9–15), the concluding section in Zechariah 7–8 does not mention Joshua but rather twice speaks about “the priests,” first, as those who were addressed by the envoy dispatched from Bethel with an enquiry (7:3) and, second, as those who were singled out by the prophet Zechariah in his response to the Bethel group (7:5). In the first case these priests are identified as those “at the house of YHWH of hosts” (7:3).³⁵ They are linked with a group called “the prophets,” but interestingly this reference to prophets is tacked on to the end of the clause after the phrase “at the house of YHWH of hosts,” possibly indicating that the prophets are not as

³³ Wendland wrongly argues that the call to enquire of the priests creates a “literary expectation” in the reader that the prophet is going to confront the priests; E. R. Wendland, “Temple Site or Cemetery?—A Question of Perspective,” *JTT* 5 (1992): 42–43. He adds that this thesis is bolstered by the “curt” answers which come from the priests in reply. This thesis is built on the assumption that when prophets interact with priests in the prophets it is usually in confrontation, that the technique of asking questions is used to force the guilty to condemn themselves. It also ignores the genre of torah ruling which is based on binary options, which are typically short in content (yes/no, clean/unclean).

³⁴ See similarly the conclusions of Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites*, 238) although she interprets this critique as much more negative and direct.

³⁵ The “house of YHWH” here is not located at Bethel, contra J. Blenkinsopp, “The Judean Priesthood during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Hypothetical Reconstruction,” *CBQ* 60 (1998): 25–43; cf. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 34. Tiemeyer’s division of various parts of Zechariah 7–8 and the two references to priests in 7:2, 4 is unjustified. Both priests and sanctuary are located in Jerusalem. See further P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 206–209; M. J. Boda, “From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407.

closely associated with the temple as the priests, or that “the prophets” were added at a later point into this text.³⁶

The question asked by the group from Bethel in 7:3 concerns liturgical practice and its answer is binary, requiring either the answer “yes” or “no” which is best suited to priestly rather than prophetic revelatory practices.³⁷ Thus, as in Hag 2:10–14 a priestly ruling is sought. The priests’ response, however, is not recorded in Zechariah 7 as the prophet delivers a word from YHWH. This word is directed not only at “all the people of the land,” showing that the group from Bethel is representative of the broader community within Yehud, but also at “the priests” (7:5). The following message questions the validity of their various liturgical practices during the past seventy years since the destruction of Jerusalem, mentioning not only the fasting practices which were the concern of the Bethel entourage, but also feasting practices (7:5–6). The validity of these practices is related to two issues in the final form of Zechariah 7.³⁸ The fasting and feasting is rendered invalid because they have been practiced for human rather than divine ends (7:5–6). The second issue, indicated by the call to justice in 7:9–10, is that these have been practiced while the vulnerable have experienced injustice. The prophetic message continues by depicting the disobedience and discipline of the former generation which had been linked to the present generation in 7:7. While the prophetic message shifts to hope in ch. 8, it is clear that the present generation should continue to fast until they have displayed the kind of repentance indicative of the true restoration community (8:14–19). Leadership of this community is specifically identified as “the priests” in 7:5, thus as in Hag 2:10–14, the priests have been facilitating worship activities that are deemed inappropriate by the prophet. While in Hag 2:10–14 most likely the

³⁶ So H. Gilbert Mitchell et al., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 198.

³⁷ See H. Huffmon, “Priestly Divination in Israel,” in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O’Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns/ASOR, 1983), 355–359; C. Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

³⁸ On the development of Zechariah 7–8 and its role in the book of Zechariah see M. J. Boda, “Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?,” in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era* (ed. B. Becking and R. Albertz; Studies in Theology and Religion 5; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69; Boda, “From Fasts to Feasts,” 390–407.

problem lay with the lack of progress on the temple project, here the issue of justice comes to the surface.³⁹

This priestly censure in Zechariah 7–8 contrasts the traditional interpretation of the earlier speeches related to Joshua in Zechariah 1–6. Both Zech 3:1–10 and 6:9–15 reveal the important role that Joshua the high priest would play within the restoration community, the first focusing on his role in the temple precincts, and the second on his role in the political realm.⁴⁰ It is clear that on the surface both of these pieces in Zech 1:7–6:15 display a positive stance towards Joshua and his potential contribution to the community. Zechariah 3:1–10 announces YHWH's defense of Joshua (3:1–2) and shows how the restoration of his line provides hope for the removal of guilt from the nation as a whole (3:9). Zechariah 6:9–15 even places a crown on Joshua's head and grants him a throne alongside the royal figure Zemah whom he will serve as a key counselor.⁴¹ However, there are subtle clues in both of these texts that the prophet has concerns about the priestly role.

First, in both Zech 3:1–10 and 6:9–15 the dressing rituals performed on Joshua the high priest are identified not only as symbolic of the restoration of the high priestly office. In both cases the dressing ritual is linked to the figure Zemah, so that the reinstatement of the high priestly office foreshadows the imminent arrival of Zemah.⁴² This reference to Zemah relies on the logic of Jer 33:14–26, that is, that the covenants with the royal and priestly lines are interlinked and enduring and so the reinstatement of the one means the reinstatement of the other. Thus, rather than giving Joshua free reign in leadership of the restoration community, these two pericopae are actually reminding the high priest that Zemah is about to appear in order to sit on his own throne and not only bear royal honor, and rule on his throne (6:13),

³⁹ See also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 96, 126.

⁴⁰ See M. J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," in *Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures* (ed. E. Ben Zvi; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 379–404. Both pericopae also most likely depict Joshua alongside other priestly figures, most likely who assist him. This is clear in 3:8 in the phrase **יְרֵעִי לְפָנָיִךְ הַיְיֹשֵׁבִים** which most certainly refers to those who are under his authority vocationally (see 2 Kgs 4:38; 6:1). The group of returnees which arrive and supply resources for the two crowns in 6:9–15 are most likely priests, see extended discussion in C. L. Meyers and E. M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25b; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 339–346.

⁴¹ See Petersen (*Haggai*, 278) who notes 2 Sam 15:31, 34 where the phrase **עֲצַת שְׁלוֹם** refers to "counsel received by a king."

⁴² See further Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," 379–404.

but also be responsible for the building of the temple (6:12, 13, 15).⁴³ One should not make too much of the granting of a throne and crown to Joshua in 6:9–15 since both terms are associated elsewhere with lesser figures within royal courts (Jer 23:18; Esth 8:15; 1 Kgs 2:19; cf. 1 Kgs 22:10), most likely related to receiving counsel as indicated in 6:9–15. Just as the royal line had a role to play in the sacred realm (Zech 4:6b–10a), so the priestly line had a role to play in the political realm.

Second, the prophetic message in 6:9–15 is addressed to figures (6:10, 14) who appear to be linked to the priestly realm, if not by name, at least by their function as those who transport gifts from the exilic community for the temple project (cf. Ezra 8:24–34) and by their association with Joshua in this passage. However, the message ends on a negative note, with the condition that the rebuilding of the temple and renewal of the kingdom will only happen “if you completely obey YHWH your God.” This assumes that there is a concern over the present level of obedience, a suspicion that is confirmed in the sermonic material addressed to priests in chs. 7–8.

Third, while Zech 3:1–7 begins with YHWH’s passionate defense of Joshua before the accuser (3:2), it is interesting that the defense of Joshua is based on YHWH’s election of Jerusalem, rather than his election of the Zadokite line (“YHWH who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you”). This matches the focus from the beginning of the night vision reports which is on the condition of Jerusalem (1:12), more so even than the exiles. Here in ch. 3 the attack on Joshua is somehow related to YHWH’s treatment of Jerusalem, from whose ashes Joshua as Zadokite heir has been plucked.⁴⁴

Fourth, the dressing ritual in Zech 3:3–5 uses language which casts a shadow over the priestly investiture event. High priestly dressing rituals are associated with two events in priestly traditions of the Torah. One is the ritual associated with the investiture of the high priest for his normal cult activities in Exodus 28–29, 39 and Leviticus 8. These dressing rituals were part of a larger complex of rituals that qualified

⁴³ See especially D. W. Rooke, *Zadok’s Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (OTM; Oxford: Oxford University, 2000), 125–151.

⁴⁴ Typically the plucking of Joshua as a firebrand from a fire (Zech 3:2) is understood as a reference to the exile (e.g., Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 218), but the image of fire together with the focus on the election of Jerusalem suggests that the emphasis lies in the survival of the Zadokite leadership from the destruction of Jerusalem.

the high priest and his sons to minister in the presence of YHWH on behalf of the people. Another is the dressing ritual associated with the Day of Atonement recorded in Leviticus 16. Both of these dressing rituals are related to the removal of *עֹן* (Exod 28:38; Lev 16:21), as was the case for Joshua in Zech 3:4. The reference to the removal of this *עֹן* in one day in Zech 3:9 suggests that the Day of Atonement ritual is in view, while the setting of the reinstatement of the priest complete with commissioning in Zech 3:7, suggests that the priestly investiture ritual is in view. Both dressing rituals are probably in view here as together they were key to the reinstatement of worship at the sanctuary. The investiture provided a mediatorial figure who would minister on Israel's behalf (Exod 29:44–46) and the Day of Atonement provided the mediatorial space where the relationship between deity and people could be facilitated (Lev 16:16, 18).⁴⁵ Also whereas the investiture garments were worn for the many festal activities in Israel's religious calendar, the Day of Atonement garments seem to be related to the events on this more solemn day which was concerned with the removal of the sin of the nation from the sanctuary.⁴⁶

The one problem, however, with the connections to these Torah dressing rituals is that there is a paucity of specific lexical connections between the description of the clothing in Zech 3:3–5 and the description in the Torah texts. Instead one finds connections to an earlier prophetic passage. For instance, while the clothing given to the high priest in the Torah dressing rituals is called *בגדי־קֹדֶשׁ* (“holy garments”; Exod 28:2, 4, 29; 31:10; 35:19; 39:1, 41; 40:13; Lev 16:4, 32), the clothing that the messenger of YHWH offers to the high priest in 3:4 is called *מַחְלָצוֹת*, often translated as “festival dress.” This term is only mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in Isa 3:22 where it is part of a long list of fine clothing and jewelry which Yahweh will strip from the elite of Zion (Isa 3:18–23).⁴⁷ Furthermore, while the headpiece which is placed on the high priest in the Torah dressing rituals is called a *מִצְנֶפֶת* (Exod 29:6; 39:31; Lev 8:9; cf. Num 20:26–28), the

⁴⁵ See especially R. Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005).

⁴⁶ For the contrast between the two sets of garments see B. A. Levine, *Leviticus* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 101; Balentine, *Leviticus*, 127.

⁴⁷ That these garments are related to both men and women is argued by E. E. Platt, “Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa. 3:18–23,” *AUSS* 17 (1979): 83; “Isa. 3 gives a collection of oracles that denounce *both* men and women *aristocrats*.”

headpiece which the prophetic observer prompts the heavenly attendants to place on Joshua's head is called a **צִנְיָה**. This latter term is only used three other times in the Hebrew Bible and on no other occasion does it refer to a priestly figure (Job 29:14; Isa 3:23; 62:3). Isaiah 62:3 mentions the word alongside others associated with the monarchy (**מְלוּכָה**, kingship, kingdom; **עֲטָרָת**, crown), which has prompted some to see here evidence for priestly assumption of royal prerogatives.⁴⁸ However, the two other uses of this word (Job 29:14; Isa 3:23) have no royal connotation.⁴⁹ Interestingly, again one finds a piece of clothing from the list of clothing which YHWH will strip from the elite of Zion in Isa 3:18–23. This then associates the entire priestly outfit, body garments and headpiece, with these elite in Isaiah 3. A further distinction between the headpiece in Zechariah 3 and the one described in the Torah rituals is the lack of a metal component in the headpiece. This is described in Exod 29:6; 39:30; Lev 8:9 as a golden medallion or rosette (**צִיץ הַזָּהָב**) as well as a holy crown (**נִיָּר הַקֹּדֶשׁ**)⁵⁰ on which was written “Holy to YHWH” (Exod 39:30). It was fastened to the headpiece with blue cord (39:31). Zechariah 3 not only fails to mention this component in the headpiece, but calls the headpiece placed on Joshua's head **טְהוֹר צִנְיָה**, identifying it as “clean.”⁵¹ This not only contrasts the description of the clothing as “holy” (Exod 28:2, 4, 29; 31:10; 35:19; 39:1, 41; 40:13; Lev 16:4, 32) throughout the Torah, but it specifically contrasts the name of the crown (**נִיָּר הַקֹּדֶשׁ**), as well as the phrase engraved on it: “holy to YHWH” (Exod 39:30). While “clean” is a priestly state essential to qualify someone or something for “holy” status, it falls short of this required state.⁵²

⁴⁸ Petersen, *Haggai*, 198; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 192; although see J. C. VanderKam (“Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3,” *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 557), who argues that both terms for headpiece have royal connotations (Ezek 21:31[26]). This evidence actually shows the opposite, that one cannot identify “royal” with either of these headpieces. M. A. Sweeney (*The Twelve Prophets* [2 vols.; Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000], 2:598) suggests that **צִנְיָה** may be a generic term, and **מְצֻנְנֶת** a technical term.

⁴⁹ Cf. J. E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* (JSOTSup 150; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 157.

⁵⁰ The word **נִיָּר** (crown) is also used in connection with kings in the OT (2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kgs 11:12; 2 Chr 23:11; Ps 89:40; 132:18).

⁵¹ Some have suggested a different gloss meaning “pure,” but more likely because of its dissonance with the Torah accounts. In a priestly context “ceremonially clean” is more likely.

⁵² On gradations in priestly legislation see P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World* (JSOTSup 106; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 43–55;

The link to the prophetic tradition in Isaiah 3 prompts a closer investigation of this earlier prophetic passage and any other links to as well as potential impact on the presentation of Zechariah 3. The daughters of Zion are identified in Isaiah 3 with the cause of Yahweh's judgment against the people, one that begins with what appear to be their husbands in 3:13–15 and their abuse of the poor. The rich clothing and jewelry worn by this elite group is thus representative of the riches gained at the poor's expense (3:16–25) and YHWH's judgment is exemplified by the loss of these precious items. This image of the women of Jerusalem lays the foundation for 3:25–26 where a single woman is addressed and depicted, one whose men will die in battle (3:25) and whose "gates" will lament and mourn as she sits deserted on the ground (3:26). This final reference to "gates" and allusion to the book of Lamentations reveals that the Daughters of Zion laid the foundation for the appearance of "Daughter Zion." Interestingly, this figure of Daughter Zion features strongly in the prophetic oracle that sets up Zechariah 3 (2:10–17[6–13]),⁵³ as a female inhabitant called Zion is exhorted to flee Babylon (2:11[7]) and then Daughter Zion is exhorted to rejoice in YHWH's expected return (2:14[10]).

The image of the "Daughters of Zion" reemerges in Isa 4:1 as seven women take hold of one man in the wake of the destruction, but then the prophetic pericope shifts to a picture of restoration. This restoration is linked immediately to something called "Zemah of YHWH" (4:2), a term that appears to refer more generally to the reemergence of lush vegetation, but which in Zech 3:8 is read in light of Jeremiah 23 and 33 as referring to the Davidic figure who will now emerge once the priestly line has been reinstated. In Isaiah 4 inhabitants of Zion and Jerusalem are identified as "holy," suggesting a broader vision of "holiness" than that encountered in priestly texts which includes "everyone who is recorded for life in Jerusalem" (4:3). This emphasis on "holiness" contrasts the offering of but "ceremonially clean" priestly clothing

J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); J. Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement: The Priestly Conceptions* (HBM 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 105–136; M. J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament* (Siphrut: Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 50–52. Only once are holy and pure associated (Exod 30:35), in this case in relation to the incense.

⁵³ Zechariah 2:17[13] signals the appearance of Yahweh from his holy habitation and Zech 3:1 places the reader in the divine court where the voice of Yahweh speaks.

in Zech 3:5. This “holiness” encompassing the entire city is made possible by the washing away of the “filth” (הֶאֱצָ) of the “daughters of Zion.” While this mention of the daughters of Zion reveals the integrity of this section of Isaiah (Isa 3:13–4:6),⁵⁴ it also provides another link between Zechariah 3 and Isa 3:13–4:6, since the word הֶאֱצָ in Isa 4:4 is strikingly similar to the *hapax legomenon* אֶצָּ in Zech 3:3, used to describe the garments on Joshua the high priest. Finally, Isa 4:5–6 speaks of YHWH’s presence as the Exodus pillar of cloud and fire with glory over Mount Zion which appears to have a protective role. As “Daughter Zion” this description of YHWH is strikingly similar to that encountered in the previous night vision report in 2:5–9[1–5] where YHWH promises his presence as protective fire and glory (2:9[5]).

These many connections between Zech 3:1–5 (as well as 2:10–17[6–13]) and Isa 3:13–4:6, especially in contrast to the priestly dressing rituals in the Torah,⁵⁵ reveal a subtle undermining of the priestly investiture. Like reminding a groom or bride of past dalliances on the day of their wedding, so here the language takes the audience back to the faults of the community which caused the exile. Not only does Zechariah 3 play down the holy status of the high priestly clothing by alluding to Isa 3:13–4:6, but the allusion suggests a broader category of holiness which extends to the entire city (cf. Zech 14:20–21).

The fifth clue that Zechariah 3 evidences concern over the role of the priests in the early restoration period is seen in the commissioning which follows this dressing ritual. The commission is expressed in more negative terms than may be expected at such an event. From the beginning the tone of the commissioning is dark as the messenger of YHWH is described as “warning” (וַדַּע Hiphil) Joshua. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible when this verb appears in a collocation with the preposition אֶת it introduces a strong warning given to a human being, whether that is Joseph’s warning that his brothers would not see his

⁵⁴ This integrity extends probably to all of 3:1–4:6 and possibly even 2:6–4:6; see B. Wiklander, *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4* (ConBOT 22; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1984); W. Brueggemann, *Isaiah* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 25; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 34–35.

⁵⁵ To some these links to Isaiah 3–4 in Zechariah 3 would be taken as evidence that the Torah traditions were not in existence when Zechariah 3 was created. However, connections to the removal of guilt (וַיִּטַּע) in the clothing rituals, especially the reference to “one day,” strongly suggest that the priestly clothing traditions are in view, if not actual texts.

face without Benjamin in tow (Gen 43:3) or YHWH's and his prophets' insistent cry to a stubborn people (1 Sam 8:9; 2 Kgs 17:13, 15; Jer 6:10; 11:7; 42:19; Ps 81:9[8]; Neh 9:26, 29–30, 34; 2 Chr 24:19). It is regularly employed when someone is warning another of dire consequences, whether that is YHWH warning the people from touching the mountain (Exod 19:21, 23), Solomon warning Shimei of what will happen if he disobeys his order 1 Kgs 2:42, or Nehemiah warning those who would dare break Sabbath regulations (Neh 13:15; cf. Deut 8:19; 32:46; Amos 3:13). While it may be suggested that this merely expresses the more serious tone associated with a commissioning address, the use of this term elsewhere suggests impending doom. Such a tone also appears to be indicated by the commissioning itself which follows in Zech 3:7. The messenger of YHWH delivers a series of four conditions in his commissioning followed by one result clause.⁵⁶ This is one of the longest conditional protases in the Hebrew Bible, indicating the high demands being placed on the high priest. While the conditions begin with the more general calls to covenant obedience and priestly responsibility, they end by focusing on the dispensing of justice, the same issue that is raised as a key problem for the people of the land and the priests in Zechariah 7–8.⁵⁷

The final evidence of prophetic concern over priestly roles lies in the apodosis of the conditional clause in 3:7. This apodosis identifies the one privilege that the high priest will enjoy if he fulfils this long list of responsibilities and that privilege is the gift of “those who will have access among those standing here.” I have argued elsewhere that this is not giving the high priest his own access into the heavenly court, but rather granting him prophetic figures who have such access.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ There is no question that the first two clauses are part of the protasis and that the final clause is part of the apodosis. Debate has raged over the role of the third and fourth clauses in this conditional, both of which begin with $\square\aleph$. While $\square\aleph$ can occur in either the protasis (Judg 9:16/19; Mal 2:2) or the apodosis (Exod 18:23; 21:29; 1 Sam 12:14; Mal 2:2); cf. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia Biblica 14; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), it never appears in the initial position of either, which means it must be part of the protasis.

⁵⁷ See also Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites*, 143–146) who notes an implicit critique of priestly justice in the flying scroll night vision report of Zech 5:1–4.

⁵⁸ Boda, “Oil, Crowns and Thrones,” so also W. H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period* (JSOTSup 304; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000); contra, e.g., Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 132.

This evidence reveals that even the depiction of the investiture of the high priest in Zechariah 3, often considered the centerpiece of Zechariah's affirmation of hierocratic rule, casts a shadow over the potential of the high priest. That shadow is seen both in the links to the past unfaithfulness of the preexilic inhabitants of Zion as well as the link to the future appearance of the Zemah figure. This link of a priestly figure with preexilic unfaithfulness is echoed in the address of Zechariah to the priests as a whole in Zechariah 7–8. While the address to Joshua in Zechariah 3 and 6:9–15 is more subtle in its critical stance towards the priests, the address to the priests in Zechariah 7–8 is more explicitly combative.

IV. COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

This review of Haggai and Zechariah has provided a more negative reading of the priestly passages than has been traditionally the case. If one focuses first on the three passages Hag 2:10–14, Zechariah 3, and Malachi 2, there are striking similarities. Each contains a direct address to priestly figures with presentations that have a negative nuance. Each is concerned over the categories of holy and unclean. References to unclean or holy clothing is found in Hag 2:10–14 as well as Zechariah 3. Unclean human or animal body fluids are associated with priestly figures in both Zechariah 3 and Malachi 2, although it is more serious in Malachi 2 with the material spread on the priest's face rather than just his clothing. Uncleaness related to sacrifices on the altar is mentioned in both Hag 2:10–14 and Mal 1:6–14. Both Hag 2:10 and Mal 2:6–9 refer to the priestly role of providing torah rulings for the people, something suggested by the call to enact justice in the temple courts in Zech 3:7. Haggai 2, Zechariah 3, and Malachi 1–2 all speak about blessing and cursing. Haggai 2:10–14 and Zechariah 3 make connections to royal figures (Zerubbabel, Zemah), while Malachi 1–2 does refer to a governor. Haggai 2:10–14, Zechariah 3, and Malachi 1–2 are both connected to contexts that speak about the importance of a particular day to the future transformation which will change the negative conditions presented in relation to the priests. Both Zechariah 3 (vv. 4, 9) and Malachi 2 (v. 6) depict the priests as key to dealing with the guilt (חַטָּא) of the community. While Hag 2:10–14 is ambiguous on the precise disobedience of the people (although larger context suggests lack of rebuilding), the priests are implicated in facilitating

unclean sacrifices. In contrast Zechariah 3 encourages priestly justice and alludes to injustice unresolved from past generations. Malachi 1:6–2:9 interestingly intertwines the issues of social injustice (1:13; 2:4–9) and inappropriate sacrificial ritual (1:6–14).⁵⁹

Many of these elements can also be discerned in the address to the priests in Zechariah 7–8. It also contains a direct address to priests with a negative nuance. As the other texts, Zechariah 7–8 focuses on the appropriateness of worship activities (fasting, feasting) alongside the issue of social injustice (7:3–10; 8:16–19). As in Haggai 2, Zechariah 3, and Malachi 1–2 there is a focus on the importance of a particular day (8:9–13) and reference to turning curse into blessing (8:9–13). Zechariah 7–8 showcases an opportunity the priests had to provide proper legal instruction for the people, something exemplified in Hag 2:10–14, commissioned in Zechariah 3, and attacked in Mal 1:6–2:9.⁶⁰

V. CONCLUSION

While past scholarship has treated Haggai and Zechariah as hierocratic promoters, the present work has revealed some distance between these Persian period prophets and the priestly caste.⁶¹ This perspective

⁵⁹ See Schuller (“Malachi,” 846) who concludes: “The passion for justice, the concern for the widow and orphan and laborer of the eighth-century prophets is combined with a focus on Temple, cult, and priesthood that both reflects and addresses the centrality of these institutions for the post-exilic community.”

⁶⁰ More controversial is whether this priestly/prophetic tension can be discerned in Zechariah 9–14, mostly because it is difficult to discern precisely the antagonists within Zechariah 9–14. The fact that in Zechariah 11 the good Shepherd throws his payment into the treasury of the temple, suggests that his antagonist is somehow connected with the temple, the priests being the most likely candidates; cf. R. A. Mason, “The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Bringing Out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14* (ed. M. J. Boda and M. H. Floyd; JSOTSup 304; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 204–205; Hanson, *Dawn*, 280–401. Cf. M. J. Boda, “Reading Between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in its Literary Contexts,” in Boda and Floyd, eds., *Bringing Out the Treasure*, 277–291.

⁶¹ In common with Cook I have sought to undermine the simplistic connections made by Wellhausen, Plöger, and Hanson between certain texts in the postexilic period and certain hierocratic and eschatological groups; S. L. Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). He accentuates priestly elements throughout “eschatological” texts (like Ezekiel 38–39, Zechariah 9–14, Joel) to make these texts appear hierocratic and highlights certain “eschatological” (that is, apocalyptic) elements throughout the clearly priestly text of Zechariah 1–8. I strongly disagree with his analysis of Zech 1:7–6:15 as apocalyptic/eschatological and instead have sought here to accentuate protest elements within Haggai and Zechariah 1–8

prompts a reconsideration of the relationship between these prophetic voices and the one found in Malachi, suggesting that the negative stance towards priests is not unique to Malachi. Nevertheless, one does not hear a mere echo of priestly critique throughout Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Instead, there is a discernible development in these books, from slight critique due to facilitation of inappropriate behavior of the people in Hag 2:10–14, to creatively allusive undermining and strongly worded warning to Joshua in Zechariah 3, to explicit confrontation of the priests alongside the people of the land in Zechariah 7–8 expressed with much hope for future renewal, to finally the biting negative attack on the priests with threat of rejection by YHWH in Mal 1:6–2:9. On the one side, this evidence shows that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi share in common a concern over priestly practices of their time. On the other side, it reveals a slowly emerging response to the priests, most likely highlighting the development of these books over a period of time which saw increasing hostility between the priests and the prophetic group(s) represented by Haggai-Malachi.⁶²

to show how they display signs of critique from the beginning which continued to increase as time progressed and the collection grew.

⁶² See B. G. Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis* (Academia Biblica 25; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2006), for a convincing argument that a single sociological group could be responsible for such a shift in literary shape and outlook, as such groups move from centre to periphery or the reverse in a single generation; cf. Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*, 214.

ASPECTS OF THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PRAYER AND WORSHIP IN THE QUMRAN SCROLLS¹

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In this essay I wish to take up the challenge laid down by Eileen Schuller in 2006 to pay some attention to a theological reading of the prayers and psalms that have survived among the Dead Sea Scrolls.² After some preliminary methodological remarks and some brief comments on the range of texts that could be explored, this study has three sections. First, I wish to outline briefly how several texts can give us insight into the social function of prayer and worship for the sectarian group that lies behind the collection of the Qumran scrolls; such social purposes cannot be entirely divorced from theological issues. Second, I want to ask one particular question concerning the development of individual prayer in Second Temple Judaism as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Third, I will offer a few rather more overt reflections on the theological significance of the prayer and liturgical compositions, especially the sectarian ones that are found in the Qumran library. I offer these comments with some trepidation to honour a leading expert in the field whose contribution to the modern understanding of Jewish prayer and worship in the late Second Temple period is internationally respected and celebrated.

¹ I am very pleased to offer this short study to honour Eileen, to mark her major contribution to scholarship over many years, and as a token of gratitude for all the support she has given me in many ways.

² E. M. Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?* (London: SCM Press, 2006), 76; that challenge is part of a valuable chapter entitled “What Have We Learned About Prayer and Worship?” D. Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 639–642, has described the treatments of theology in the prayer texts from Qumran as predominantly “flat,” “reading theology from the text as propositions.”

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A. *Methodological Caveat*

First, there is a methodological caveat at the outset. There is indeed much to be learnt from the liturgical and other texts that have survived from the Qumran caves that can inform indirectly the modern understanding of the character and practice of Jewish rites of prayer and worship in antiquity, but the information for such rituals is just that, indirect. Scholars have long noted that it is often very difficult to reconstruct an actual ritual, liturgy or worship event from ancient texts. It is simply not possible to visualize precisely what would have taken place and therefore to envisage how a text was part of an overall ritual experience. For the scrolls from Qumran, both the sectarian and the non-sectarian ones, the problem is made more complicated by the fact that many of the poetic and hymnic texts that might have had a ritual setting have no titles or rubrics, no instructions for their ritual use. There may be some very few exceptions, but overall we are not able to reconstruct any of the movement's rituals with any accuracy. Working from the texts that we have to actual ritual events, cultic experiences, is thus fraught with difficulty.

And the point of this methodological caveat is to indicate from the outset that reflections on the theological significance of prayer and worship can only ever be somewhat partial, since the texts that reflect such spiritual activities cannot in themselves convey the fullness of the religious experience, either corporate or individual, that they were intended to facilitate. That is not least because prayers and liturgies are not just reflections of intellectual activity, but find their complete significance only when they are recognised as part of a much wider context. Liturgical texts are the limited vehicles that help create the lived experiences that are enacted by the whole person or group as they put themselves before God, but they do not contain that whole ritual experience. The external actions and the inner attitudes of those involved in any kind of ritual are seldom discernible to the reader of texts. Students of liturgy and those who observe groups at worship, such as social anthropologists, have known all this for a long time. As such the theological statements in this essay are informed imaginative reconstructions, certainly not the whole truth.³

³ This gap between text and ritual is discernible in many examples, such as in the gap between various royal psalms and the New Year enthronement festivals imagina-

B. *The Texts*⁴

In this brief survey of the corpus of texts to be considered I will try to draw out a few significant points.⁵ Not only are there many copies of the Books of Psalms (including 11Q5), as well as scrolls of *Non-canonical Psalms* (4Q380–381), but also there are many liturgical poems and oblique allusions to cultic activity embedded in compositions which overall would not be considered as liturgical, such as the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Rule* and the *Rule of the Congregation*. It is surely important to note that in the Qumran collection it is far more common to find prayers and liturgical texts in other compositions than it is to notice the opposite, namely other kinds of texts, such as rules, embedded in prayers. This strongly suggests that prayer and ritual was given priority in community activity and governed the perspective of other texts; this might not be surprising in a predominantly priestly group, but it needs to be kept in mind. Eileen Schuller has made a

tively recreated by members of the so-called “Myth and Ritual School,” or in the way that it is difficult to know precisely what the ritual of Lev 1:3–17 might have looked like when performed.

⁴ I cast my net widely here in imitation of the descriptive work of E. Schuller, “Prayer at Qumran,” in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran: Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria, 5–9 July 2003* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 415.

⁵ For more complete surveys of the liturgical texts from the Qumran caves, see (in alphabetical order of author), e.g., E. Chazon, “Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:710–715; D. Falk, “Prayer in the Qumran Texts,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume Three, The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 852–876; idem, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls,” 616–651; E. M. Schuller, “Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 153–71; idem, “Prayer at Qumran,” in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran: Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria, 5–9 July 2003* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 411–428.

Several monographs and collections of essays also offer significant insight: see, e.g., D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998); D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller, eds., *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000); E. G. Chazon, ed., *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* (STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

similar point by observing that the very existence of so many prayer texts in written form is probably an indication of the centrality of prayer in the lives of the members of the community.⁶ The theological significance of the centrality of prayer cannot be overstated: this community was not narrowly legalistic but living its spiritual and ethical life as a response to God's self-revelation in several ways.

Amongst liturgical compositions can be included various kinds of technical manuals for the management of ritual practices. Under such a heading should be put the calendrical texts, both calendars proper, and the lists of priestly courses that correspond in some way with such calendars (4Q322–330). These are most clearly sectarian when they use both sectarian vocabulary and reflect a use of the 364-day luni-solar calendar, but one of these factors alone might be sufficient to identify a composition as sectarian, not least because the calendar seems to have been a fundamental hallmark of differences with other Jewish groups. All these compositions indicate the importance of liturgical time for the movement and it is only against such cultic temporality that any consideration of the community's faltering attempts at discovering the precise limits of the end-times should be set. Overall, ritual time was more important than prophetic time.

Then there are many liturgical texts proper, such as the *Berakhot* (4Q286–290), compositions which reflect the dualistic language and cultic elements of 1QS 2–3. There are also *Festival Prayers* and *Daily Prayers*, and there are occasional prayers, poems and hymns of various kinds, such as the poetic fragments on *Jerusalem and King Jonathan* (4Q448). There are confessions, laments, and purification rituals. The mystical *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* largely lack sectarian vocabulary, but are arranged as a set of thirteen, covering a quarter of a 52-week year. Also amongst these compositions can be included the *Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot)*. Many scholars have argued that the Teacher of Righteousness composed some or all of these heavily scriptural and deeply spiritual poems to encourage the reader to identify with his experiences of rejection and suffering and his sense of the saving mercy of God in rescuing him from the hands of his enemies. Although many scriptural motifs, especially from the classical prophets and the psalms,

⁶ Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?* 59–60; Schuller has noted that in rabbinic Judaism the writing of prayers was discouraged (cf. *t. Shabb.* 13.4).

are used, the language also seems to be genuinely autobiographical, though it remains sufficiently stereotypical that it is not possible to identify any historical event.

Attention to the enormous breadth of the liturgical and poetic texts in the sectarian corpus has the significant effect for the modern reader of stressing the mystical and spiritual side of the Qumran community's writings and worldview. For all that the Qumran community and the movement of which it was a part was very much concerned with issues of purity and the appropriate way of living under the law, such was motivated by a profound sense of the intimate concern God had for his elect. This spiritual intimacy can be seen in the way in which in some texts it is difficult to discern whether the worship of the community is taking place alongside the angels in heaven or is on earth with angels in its midst. The *War Rule* has a complex redactional history but is perhaps best understood as a dramatic liturgy expressing the same proximity of God and the community as the battle against evil is fought out on the intertwined heavenly and earthly stages. These texts certainly acknowledge divine transcendence, but they also indicate a strong sense of divine immanence.⁷

A THEOLOGICAL READING OF PRAYER AND WORSHIP AT QUMRAN

A. *The Social Function of Ritual*

Since we are hardly able to visualize the actual rites and rituals that were celebrated by the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part, I move now to describe something of the social function of ritual in the movement. Ritual texts contribute strongly to the expression of community identity as a way of enhancing social cohesion.⁸ All ritual serves this purpose in one way or another; liturgy defines in a particular way and with particular words the community that prays and praises.⁹ I mention briefly three matters of identity construction:

⁷ In terms of the themes of divine absence and divine presence this has also been recognized in the late post-exilic prophets by E. Schuller, *Post-Exilic Prophets* (Message of Biblical Spirituality 4; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988), 162–185.

⁸ For a modern analysis of this topic see L. A. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), esp. 60–74.

⁹ G. Theissen, *A Theory of Primitive Christian Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 31, openly declares Judaism to be “a ritual religion,” and in a stimulating way tries to understand Jesus’ preaching in the light of that definition.

sacred space, sacred time, and the control of change. All these have been variously discussed by those who have studied the role and function of ritual.¹⁰ What is offered here is just one further way of attempting to organize this material, but this time so that the theological hints of what is at stake can be made a little more explicit than is normally the case.

First, sacred space. Although several models of community self-understanding are indeed apparent in the sectarian compositions, two of those dominate the texts. To begin with, there are many instances where priestly and cultic images are used for the community. The strength of these images no doubt rests in part on the fact that at least part of the community, at least at some stage in its development was made up of priests and Levites, those who had had cultic experience or who had once served in the temple. Most famously in the *Rule of the Community* 8:5–17 there is the text that talks of the community as a House of Holiness for Aaron: the text literally constructs the community as a temple with all that that implies in terms of sacred space.

In addition to the modelling of the community as a temple with its priesthood, several compositions refer to the movement as arranged in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. These are the battalions of the people of Israel as they are in their wilderness encampment at Sinai (Exodus 18) and as they are on their wilderness wanderings as an army on the march. This military self-identification is thoroughly appropriate because similar laws apply to Israelites serving in the army as apply to those who serve in the temple. Most notably these laws include instructions about sexual abstinence when engaged in such service.¹¹

So these two dominant images, the priestly and the military, share a concern for ritual purity. This is indeed a hallmark of the community at worship and expresses its identity more explicitly than any other matter. There can be no participation in the ritual life of the community without careful adherence to purity regulations. Those regulations

¹⁰ See especially the writings of C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); idem, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Bell's insights have been applied to the Qumran texts most explicitly by R. C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

¹¹ On some of the implications of these cultic and military models for the community's self-understanding see G. J. Brooke, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament Ecclesiology," in *Holiness and Ecclesiology in the New Testament* (ed. K. E. Brower and A. Johnson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 13–18.

are more widespread than the first generation of Scrolls scholars might have thought. For example, several of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*, known previously only in copies from the Cairo Genizah, contain purity regulations that were perhaps edited out in the medieval period when they were no longer thought to be relevant. Or again, the so-called *Halakhic Letter*, *Miqṣat Ma‘aśê ha-Torah*, presents one side of a dialogue based on selected purity issues, ranging from those concerning who may marry a priest's daughter, through the care with which animal hides must be handled, to consideration of whether impurity can flow from an impure vessel back up a stream of liquid into a pure container from which the liquid derives.

For those in the Qumran community the observance of purity regulations was not a matter of keeping a particular set of legal interpretations for their own sake. The observance of such regulations served a purpose that can be articulated from two aspects. On the one hand there are those aspects that concern how sacred space should be mapped out, with a perspective that runs from the Holy of Holies outwards to the rest of the temple courts, the city of Jerusalem, the land of Israel beyond, and the territories beyond the land. Purity regulations are about access to the different areas of sacred space and wherever possible extending the level of purity required for access to each area.¹² And on the other hand the observance of purity regulations is also an inner spiritual matter. There is motivation for keeping to the rules and that is the great goal of indeed having access to the Holy of Holies or something near it, either eschatologically once the temple is restored or in the here and now in worship alongside the angels in which heaven and earth are joined.¹³ The theological significance of this seems to be that although God cannot be contained or confined, he can be located and approached, he can be turned to, returned to, and revered. Outwardly the community's sense of direction is very much an orientation towards Jerusalem;¹⁴ inwardly there

¹² See, e.g., H. K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 47–67.

¹³ The way in which the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describe the parts of the building of the heavenly temple joining in the praise of God provides a neat counterpart to the way in which the sectarian community is constructed as a temple.

¹⁴ As I have argued: G. J. Brooke, "Moving Mountains: From Sinai to Jerusalem," in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. J. Brooke, H. Najman, and L. T. Stuckenbruck; TBN 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 73–89.

is the intimate local possibility of a kind of mystical union with angels before God.¹⁵

A second feature of the expression of the social function of these texts as they express community identity comes through the very kinds of liturgical celebrations that seem to have taken place. If purity regulations endorse and support identity through attention to sacred space, then participation in the full round of cultic celebrations is the support for identity through attention to sacred time. The chief marker of sacred time for the members of the movement behind the sectarian scrolls found at Qumran is the Sabbath. There are daily prayers, but these are arranged according to a pattern of weeks, and there are annual festivals but again these take place at particular times after a number of weeks, usually a week of weeks, seven weeks or forty-nine days. This produces a pentecostad festival calendar from the Firstfruits of Barley through Pentecost (i.e., the firstfruits of Wheat), the Firstfruits of Wine to the New Oil and Wood festivals, with none of the major festivals ever occurring on the Sabbath.¹⁶ Community identity and cohesion is expressed also in occasional regular events that have a cultic element in them. So, for example, the *Rule of the Congregation* presents a picture of meal practice whenever ten men are gathered together that has an ordered sequence of blessings over the bread and wine at the meal.¹⁷ This attention to regular cyclical time is a kind of natural theology, a search for how the weekly, lunar and solar cycles should cooperate to reflect an ordered harmony that is characteristic of God; to do cultic things at the right time is to enact within the community that same harmonious coherence.

One particular feature of the expression of sacred time appears to be absent from the community's texts, and most notably from the community's liturgical and cultic texts. The community has no celebration of the moment of its founding. In Christian liturgical terms, there is

¹⁵ As strongly suggested by P. S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (CQS7; LSTS 61; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 110–119. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 218–221, suggests the same sense of union for the *Hodayot*.

¹⁶ Amongst several other candidates, *The Hymn to the Creator* (11Q5 26:10–15) might have been composed to serve at one of these firstfruits festivals.

¹⁷ The ritual significance of communal meals as part of a regular temporal cycle are discussed especially by Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 83–101; he has noted the combination of regular time and eschatological time that such meal practice reflected.

no anamnesis, no recollection or remembrance of a key event. What might the explanation for this be? I suggest that this might be a sectarian strategy. Sectarrians commonly claim that they and they alone are the true heirs of the religious tradition that they represent. There is thus little place for the commemoration of a special moment of the sect's foundation for that can be none other than the whole tradition of Israel might claim for itself. So it is perhaps not surprising that the ceremony of covenant renewal that might lie behind the ritual suggestions of the first two columns of the *Rule of the Community* probably took place at the Feast of Weeks, that is, at Pentecost, in the third month (cf. 4Q266 11 17; 4Q270 7 ii 11), because that is when Israel as a whole was considered to be at the foot of Sinai, the feast was a first fruits festival that was also a celebration of the giving of the Law. Indeed, James VanderKam has suggested that the community's self-designation as a *yahad*, a *koinonia*, a togetherness, derives from the adverbial use of the term in Exodus 19:8, "the people all answered *as one*, 'Everything that the Lord has spoken we will do'."¹⁸ The moment of the community's foundation is Israel's commitment at Sinai to all that faithfulness to God would require; that is celebrated in the third month each year within an annual calendar that especially pays attention to the weekly marking of sacred time each Sabbath. Thus Sinai takes its place within a scheme that gives priority to the Sabbath as is apparent in the very ordering of creation itself.

In third place the identity of the community seems to be one that we might instinctively label as conservative. There seems to be a desire lying behind a range of ritually related compositions for the control of change; indeed all ritual to some extent might be understood as involved with this in one way or another.¹⁹ This concern fits very closely with the issues of sacred space and sacred time as people move from one place to another and carry out their tasks from week to week. I think that this aspect of identity construction can be seen in three ways that only need brief mention because they have already been alluded to both directly and indirectly in what has been said.

¹⁸ J. C. VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 52.

¹⁹ Ritual does not seek to prohibit change but to facilitate and control it. A classic study of this process is by C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 142–169: "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example."

First there is the sufficiency of the liturgical life of the community for representing the times and the seasons. This applies to the whole year of fifty-two weeks, but even to larger periods of time in jubilee cycles. That it is carefully mapped out can be seen implicitly in the calendars that can be reconstructed as lying behind such compositions as the book of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, and explicitly in the striking prose note known as *David's Compositions* (11Q5 27). There is a song for every occasion in the annual cycle of events; everything is in order, a concern that is also evident from the wide range of calendars and lists of priestly courses that have come to light from the caves. Prayer and worship are the sufficient symbolic representations of all that is; their systematic recitation and performance is a declaration and enactment of a complete worldview.

A second feature of the control of change involves what might specifically be labelled as rites of passage, but which actually cover a wider range of events that do not fit with the annual cycle of things. I am thinking here of the way in which there is attention to admission to the community from a liturgical perspective; it is not just a matter of signing up or handing over one's credit cards, or of passing an examination, though all those things are indeed reflected in the joining procedure. Rather it is a matter of ritual enactment. It is in the line of worship that the new member finds his particular place in the community.²⁰ This is clear from the point of view of the kind of second birth that joining the movement requires, but it is also apparent in other matters as well, matters which are incidental rather than cyclical.²¹

A more significant matter of control occurs in those texts that seem to describe the community in its serried ranks at specific ritual moments. Hierarchy as a concept originates literally in the priestly ordering of people, both within their own ranks and in others. So, very explicitly, the order for the community at its meal gatherings is very precise:

²⁰ The rite of initiation is the rite of passage that is discussed in most detail by Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 52–70.

²¹ These incidental cultic insights can be seen in a wide range of compositions: e.g., in the assessment of a person's moment of birth in the zodiacal physiognomical compositions (e.g., 4Q186); in the move from sickness to health (e.g., 4Q242); in the celebration of some social moment (4Q502) that might be part of a festal composition. 4Q502 has also been interpreted as part of a New Year festival: M. L. Satlow, "4Q502 A New Year Festival?" *DSD* 5 (1998): 57–68.

He shall come with them [at] the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all [his brethren, the sons] of Aaron the priests, [those called] to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit [before him, each man] in the order of his dignity. And then [the Mess]iah of Israel shall [come], and the chiefs of the [clans of Israel] shall sit before him, [each] in the order of his dignity, according to [his place] in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of [family of the congreg]ation, and the wise men of [the holy congregation,] each in the order of his dignity. (1QSa 2:12–16)²²

It is only once everybody is in the correct place that the blessings can proceed. Similar arrangements for all participants are obvious in large sections of the *War Rule* which is a kind of cultic manual for ritual battle. And so, when it comes to promotion in the community, to changing places, all is clear and manifest.

Here are three matters in the function of ritual that reflect the dominant priestly understanding of the community's identity. It is concerned with purity so that sacred space can be preserved, protected, inhabited, can be lived in. It is concerned with calendars, lists of priestly courses, the festivals and Sabbaths so that sacred time can be followed, imitated harmoniously, can be lived out. And it is concerned with order, order that is predominantly priestly, so that moments of change can be controlled, experienced positively, can be lived through.

B. *The Development of Individual Prayer and the Process of Scripturalization*

In this section I wish to offer a few comments on two developments that seem to be taking place simultaneously in Second Temple Judaism, and not least in the developments associated with prayer in the sectarian or quasi-sectarian texts from Qumran. These two developments, which I think belong with one another in some way that is yet to be fully described, are the increasing scripturalization of prayer and the increasingly significant place that seems to be given to individual participation in cultic acts, what we might call the development of private prayer.²³ These two parts of text and ritual belong together

²² Trans. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (rev. ed.; London: Penguin Books, 2004), 161.

²³ Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?* 61, has noted that "when the scrolls talk of prayer, it is prayer as a corporate activity," though she also acknowledges that there must have also been personal words of devotion and petition. Though prayer and worship was undoubtedly predominantly a corporate

because the process of scripturalization is probably at its richest when the function of texts in ritual contexts of any sort is taken seriously. Even in synagogues today it is the ritual reading from the Torah scroll with its acclamatory blessings that most clearly indicates the authority of the text for the member of the community.

By scripturalization I mean to indicate what can be seen in many prayer texts, that they are some kind of poetic anthologies of scriptural allusions.²⁴ Take, for example, the development of the priestly blessing (Num 6:24–26) in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 2:2–4)²⁵ where it is fairly easy to see how the benediction is extended with scriptural phraseology: “...May he bless you *with all good* (Deut 26:11) and keep you *from all evil* (Ps 121:7). May he enlighten *your heart with life-giving wisdom* (cf. Prov 16:22), and grace you *with eternal knowledge* (cf. Jer 31:31–34). May he raise his *merciful* face towards you for *everlasting peace* (cf. Pss 105, 106, 136 refrain).”²⁶ In this text the following can be noticed. First, *bkwl twb* occurs in only one place in the whole of the Hebrew Bible, in Deut 26:11. Its counterbalance comes from Ps 121:7. Second, the second pair of poetic stichoi are expanded with phraseology adapted for its new context from Prov 16:22 and Jer 31:31–34—in fact the two additional passages are probably put together because they share a concern for the “heart” with the latter passage talking of the Law that is to be written on the heart. Then the third part of the blessing is reduced to a single clause, but then expanded in two places with references to the refrain of several psalms,

communal affair, I am inclined to see more evidence of private prayer in the compositions that survive than Schuller.

²⁴ See J. H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLEJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); J. Kugel, ed., *Prayers that Cite Scripture* (Centre for Jewish Studies; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). Schuller, “Prayer at Qumran,” 425, has also identified “the re-use, *relecture*, of the biblical text” in Qumran prayer as worthy of much further study. Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” 622–623, provides a brief survey of some of the key scholarship in relation to prayers at Qumran.

²⁵ Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?*, 71, has described the expansions briefly as reflections of “the community’s dualistic theology and emphasis on knowledge.”

²⁶ I first discussed this passage in print in G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985; repr. Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 295–302.

most obviously Psalms 105, 106 and 136.²⁷ Overall, the adjustments and additions enhance the blessing through the use of scriptures that echo and reflect the possible liturgy of the covenant ceremony in which the blessing was supposedly used.²⁸ This is the scripturalization of a text for public prayer, but I think that this kind of process is all the more evident in the increasing amounts of private prayer in Judaism of the Second Temple period, not least in the individual prayers to be associated with the members of the Qumran community.

Perhaps four examples can be briefly set out to illustrate what I am thinking of; many others could be cited. To begin with, the earliest evidence for the use of phylacteries, *tefillin*, in Judaism comes from the Qumran caves.²⁹ Several phylacteries have come to light, some with all four sheets in micro-writing preserved for us. The phylacteries are a very explicit form of individual prayer, being tied to the forehead and forearm of each man, each day. We do not know what words were used when the phylacteries were worn, so we have no access to the ritual. Perhaps it was simply a matter of the individual reciting from memory the texts contained in the phylactery boxes. If that was the case, then here is a most explicit case of a prayer ritual being based, perhaps exclusively, on the recitation of scripture, of authoritative texts that represent the divine command in the individual's life, a command which when pursued has an apotropaic protective quasi-magical quality.

A second form of prayer that is quite likely to have functioned in private use is represented in the *Hodayot*. What better way of identifying with the aspirations of the community of which you are a member

²⁷ The revised blessing has eighteen words, which might be significant. The tetragrammaton occurs eighteen times in Psalm 29 and there are eighteen blessings in the *'amidah*; cf. *b. Ber.* 28b. See O. H. Lehmann, "Number-symbolism as a Vehicle of Religious Experience in the Gospels, Contemporary Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Studia Patristica* IV.2 (ed. F. L. Cross; Berlin Akademie, 1961), 129, n. 2.

²⁸ Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 145–171, has pointed out that many of the blessings found at Qumran are extensions or adaptations of the Aaronic benediction.

²⁹ The most thorough analysis of these *tefillin* is by Y. B. Cohn, *Tangled up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* (BJS 351; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008). Cohn's study is both cautious about what can be known of the ritual and also concerned to outline the protective significance of the wearing of *tefillin*. The psalms in 11Q11 and other compositions served a similar apotropaic purpose: in terms of their ritual significance see Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 165–169.

than using the words supposedly penned by the “founding” figure?³⁰ Perhaps the *Hodayot* were used in a corporate setting, but given the large number of other sets of daily and festival prayers that survive it is difficult to know quite when that might have occurred. Probably more likely is their use for private devotion and reflection as is reflected in their use of the first person singular pronoun, “I thank you, O Lord.” From the outset scholars who worked on these prayer-poems engaged in identifying the scriptural sources of the language being used. From Svend Holm-Nielsen to Julie Hughes, attention has been given to how the *Hodayot* use authoritative scripture, mostly from the prophets and the psalms, to provide both structure and idiom.³¹ They are anthologies of scriptural phraseology; almost every line is replete with echoes of scripture. Here are prayers, probably for individual use, full of scripture, not this time the Law as in the phylacteries, but predominantly the prophets and psalms. Here is clear evidence, as E. P. Sanders has pointed out most forcefully, that individual prayer was concerned with the recognition and appropriation of divine justice, mercy and grace,³² in other words with matters of salvation.³³ We may begin to ask what the connection is between the increasing authority of scriptural texts and the place of private prayer. I suspect it may have to do with distance, either physical or metaphorical, from the temple: the greater the distance, the more the dependence on expressing one’s spiritual character and the advantages of one’s prayers and worship through an alternative authority in the tradition, namely various scriptural texts. Scripture becomes an alternative spiritual support to the temple; perhaps it was already recognized as providing the principal theological justification for the community’s withdrawal from the temple and that justification was incorporated in the role given to scripture in corporate, but especially in individual prayer.

³⁰ C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 191–346, provides a brilliant analysis of how the *Hodayot* construct identity, but her interpretation studiously avoids any theological reflection.

³¹ S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960); J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

³² E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 239–321, esp. 305–312.

³³ As has been concisely described, e.g., by G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 133–137, esp. 136–137.

A third example can be briefly cited. In 4Q491 11 there is a fragmentary passage describing an individual transformation, possibly a heavenly ascent: "... a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods above which none of the kings of the East shall sit, and their nobles no[...] silence (?) [...] my glory is in{comparable} and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in [...], in the heavens, and there is no [...]...I am counted among the gods."³⁴ As with the *Hodayot*, commentators from the first editor onwards have been in search of the scriptural terminology, much of it in the Psalms,³⁵ that is reflected in this mystical experience. The point I wish to suggest is that such experience can often only be expressed in such traditional terms. What would otherwise be inexpressible can be described and to that extent shared through the use of scriptural language. It is thus the case that the scripturalization of individual prayers in the late Second Temple period is also the scripturalization of individual religious experience. Without the authoritative textual tradition the transformed individual would not know what he (or she) was experiencing. The language to a greater rather than lesser extent thus also controls the experience. But let me also note that that experience is of the presence of the divine, of divine immediacy and so it is not surprising that there is difficulty in expressing it.

A last matter might also be relevant. In some texts that are expressed in the first person singular the language becomes sexual. The most well known example of this is in the version of Ben Sira 51:13–19 that occurs in the *Great Psalms Scroll* (11Q5 21:11–18):

When I was still young, before I had gone astray, I searched for her. She came to me in her beauty, and up to the end I kept investigating her. Even when the blossom falls, when the grapes are ripening, they make the heart happy. My foot tread on a straight path, for since my youth I have known her. I had hardly bent my ear, when I found much teaching. A wet-nurse she became to me, to my teacher I give my honour. I determined to enjoy myself, I was zealous for good, incessantly. I became ablaze for her, I could not avert my face. I stirred my soul for her and on her heights I was not calm. 'My hand' opened...her nakedness I inspected. I cleansed 'my hand'...³⁶

³⁴ Trans. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2:981.

³⁵ Maurice Baillet, DJD 7, 29.

³⁶ Trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:1175.

And then the text breaks off. There are some echoes of both Qohelet and Proverbs here as well as other scriptural texts. As the writer goes in search of wisdom he fantasizes about her as lover and nurse. What is such a text doing in a book of psalms? Did the compiler simply wish to provide the reader with some insight into David's youthful lusty mind, or was he conscious that through the use of scriptural motifs even the sexual desires of a person at prayer could be sublimated and turned to something positive, namely a search for wisdom?

The development of private prayer in the late Second Temple period may be more apparent than real, simply because we have more texts now that the Scrolls have become available. It seems that in earlier generations in ancient Israel there was indeed individual prayer and cultic practice in the variegated use of votive statues, amulets and a multiplication of local shrines—which, of course, the Deuteronomist railed against. Nevertheless, the ways in which individual prayer and the use of increasingly authoritative scriptural traditions coincide and cooperate seems to indicate something new in Jewish prayer and in the spiritual lives of some Jews. In fact many similar developments took place in other forms of Judaism after the fall of the temple in 70 CE, but not through copying the kinds of compositions we have at Qumran. They largely died in the caves where they were abandoned. However, in those texts found at Qumran scripture increasingly forms the backbone of prayer, especially individual prayer: it provides its phraseology, it provides justification for being away from Jerusalem, it assists in the comprehension of the intimacy of the divine, it encourages the individual search for wisdom.

C. *Dependence on God*

The last section of this essay is the most overtly theological. The prayer and worship in the Qumran texts speak most thoroughly about humanity's complete and total dependence on God.

To my mind the first way that this dependence on God is demonstrated is in the multiple prayers of praise and thanksgiving. Many examples could be cited but the view of the relationship between the individual in the group and God can be readily seen in such texts as the magnificent poem at the end of the Cave 1 version of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 9–11) which remarkably ends with a question about humanity's insignificance, in the forceful victory song in the Cave 1 version of the *War Rule* (1QM 14), and in the many instances

of the expression of dependence on God in the *Hodayot*, such as in 1QH^a 15–16.

A second aspect of the view of the world that is to be expressed as dependence on God concerns the covenant.³⁷ Although it still remains a little unclear precisely what the Qumran community and its predecessors understood by covenant, it is likely that at least something of what was implied in the community's covenant theologies was enacted in some way in its rituals of prayer and worship. Three brief points can be noted about covenant ideology in the Scrolls. To begin with it does indeed seem as if the terminology of covenant is used as a way of expressing the community's allegiance to God based on a significant mixture of authoritative Deuteronomic and prophetic texts. The Deuteronomic perspective is projected, for example, in the way that in the cultic ceremony in the *Rule of the Community* there is a clear place for blessings and curses, just as at the end of Deuteronomy itself; and in the *Damascus Document* and elsewhere there is use of the covenantal passage from Jeremiah 31 that aligns the movement with the prophet's exilic promises. Then, there is the fact that the covenant language is to be found right across the time-span of the sectarian Scrolls, from those understood by scholars to belong to the early period of the movement in the second century BCE right through to the most recent manuscripts and the compositions they contain at the turn of the era. In addition, the covenantal material is indeed to be found in cultic contexts such as in the *Blessings* that are in the second appendix to the Cave 1 copy of the *Rule of the Community*. Covenant as an expression of allegiance to God is scriptural, is persistent, and is marked liturgically.

A third aspect of dependence on God is something not often noticed in terms of its reflection of the spirituality of the Qumran covenanters. In taking themselves into exile and largely or totally withdrawing from the temple cult, the members of the community were removing themselves from the temple's machinery for atonement. In doing this those who signed up for withdrawal were signalling a willingness to take a very significant spiritual risk. They were withdrawing from a

³⁷ See, e.g., Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 240–257; A. Deasley, *The Shape of Qumran Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 138–172; and the essays by C. A. Evans, M. G. Abegg, M. O. Wise, and S. A. Reed in the section entitled “Covenant and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–164.

wide range of cultic practices that were understood to be some considerable means in the process of maintaining or re-establishing a right relationship with God. Several Jewish Christians before its fall and all Jews since 70 CE have taken a similar risk and not found it ultimately problematic.³⁸ But it is remarkable that in a time when there was great focus on the cult and its right practice from the time of the temple's rededication in 164 BCE through the Deuteronomic cultic reforms of John Hyrcanus and the rebuilding programme of Herod the Great, through all this the Qumran group and the wider movement of which it was a part seems to have kept its distance from the attempts by the majority of their elite contemporaries to do the right thing cultically and ritually. This spiritual risk-taking shows that there is no set of assumptions about intermediary systems that could be relied upon to maintain at least something of the relationship between God and the community. Put bluntly, there is no dependence on cultic machinery, but on God alone.

A fourth matter is also significant. In the *Eschatological Commentary A* (4Q174) the significance for the composition of the community of the oracle of Nathan in 2 Samuel 7 is explained and then justified in terms of the presence of angels, holy ones, in the midst of the community. Dependence on God is about aligning oneself in community with the cultic activity of heaven. Alongside those poems of thanksgiving and praise referred to above, the actual worship of the community, at least in some times and places, seems to have been concerned with this heavenly alignment.

In 1996 Devorah Dimant published a notable study in which she made explicit the point that the Qumran "community aimed at creating on earth a replica of the heavenly world."³⁹ Dimant's analysis of the self-understanding of the Qumran community has demonstrated from the *Rule of the Community* and other sectarian texts that the community attempted to imitate their angelic counterparts through forming a special community, living out the covenant with God, being the

³⁸ L. H. Schiffman, "Jewish Law at Qumran," in *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume One: Theory of Israel* (Judaism in Late Antiquity 5/1; HOS 56; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 85–88, comments insightfully on how the Qumran community anticipated the move from temple to Torah that took place for most Jews only after 70 CE.

³⁹ D. Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture; Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 101.

recipients of special laws, offering bloodless sacrifices, existing in perfect purity, living without sin in their midst, praising God, expiating for sin, possessing divine wisdom and exercising the role of teachers. Point by point Dimant has shown that the way of life in the community was an imitation of the functions of the leading angels. Björn Frennesson has taken one further step to conclude that there could be such a thing as communion with the angels. He has investigated the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* closely and has concluded about them: “when performing their own liturgy of praise-offerings, the community members also consciously share in that of the highest angels.”⁴⁰ And Philip Alexander has taken one step further along this path by describing in detail the celestial temple and its angelic liturgy in which the community members participated as if in mystical union.⁴¹

Through poems of praise and hymns of thanksgiving, in expressing covenantal allegiance without qualification, and in taking daring risk, the community members who express their spiritual, that is their complete human, dependence on God can find themselves aligned with the worship of heaven in which such dependence is nothing problematic but a matter of exultation.

CONCLUSION

We cannot be clear about the cultic practices of the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part; we cannot move neatly from text to ritual, from prayer texts to the experience of prayer. However, we can acknowledge the wide range of liturgical and prayer traditions that have come from the Qumran caves. The richness of the spiritual life of the members of this movement is to be investigated seriously. Study of the ritual texts from Qumran strongly indicates that the community’s ritual celebrations served to enhance its identity in manifold ways. Such investigation also suggests that in some way the use of scriptural traditions in prayer is part of a move towards an increasing place for individual rites and ritual acts. And most overtly theologically it seems that the community’s dominant assertion in prayer that human beings depend on God could have resulted in an

⁴⁰ B. Frennesson, “*In a Common Rejoicing*”: *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, 14; Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1999), 100.

⁴¹ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 13–72, 93–119.

experiential sense in the group that its worship was incorporation in the worship of heaven. Some Jews of the time might well have not been able to stomach the strict purity regulations or the refined hierarchies of the community, and many might object to the Sabbatarian 364-day calendar; however, overall, the texts that reflect the prayer and worship of a community and its members are a, probably *the*, key indication of what the community thought particularly important.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN SECTARIAN RELIGIOUS POETRY

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The religious poetry composed by members of the *yahad* epitomizes sectarian terminology and ideas while, at the same time, drawing upon biblical tradition and a common extra-biblical Jewish heritage.¹ This paper—honoring my dear friend and colleague, Eileen Schuller, and greatly inspired by her scholarship—examines the adoption and adaptation of traditional liturgical elements in the *Hodayot* with a view to shedding light on compositional and rhetorical techniques, formation of sectarian identity, liturgical development, and connections between the *yahad* and other groups on the map of Second Temple Judaism.

The centerpiece of the present study is the proclamation of divine justice, also known as *Tsiduk Ha-Din* (“justifying the judgment”) or *Gerichtsdoxologie* (“praise of judgment”). This proclamation is a statement about divine justice or righteousness that takes on the function of acknowledging acceptance of God’s judgment and the punishment brought on for sin. Typically, it consists of a two-part statement: first, a declaration of God’s justice or righteousness and second, a brief reference to the punishment meted out. This liturgical form figures prominently in late biblical and apocryphal penitential prayers (see Table I below), eventually finding its way into the confessional and penitential liturgies recorded in the first Jewish prayer books, which date from the ninth-tenth centuries CE.²

¹ For a nuanced statement of the question of multiple *yahad* communities at Qumran and other locations, see note 22 below.

² For a systematic discussion of the *Gerichtsdoxologie* in Second Temple era prayers and a basic working definition of penitential prayer as “a direct address to God in which an individual or group confesses sins and petitions for forgiveness,” see R. A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLEJL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 1–4 and ad loc. Beginning with the early medieval prayer books, the formula is found in the liturgies for the Day of Atonement, other fast days, the Ten Days of Repentance, and the supplication (*Tahanun*) following the daily Eighteen Benedictions (e.g., *Seder Rav 'Amram Ga'on* [ed. D. Goldschmidt; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1971], 85, 145, 160–161; and *Siddur R.*

Since the early years of Qumran research, scholars have been intrigued by the *Hodayot's* use of biblical proclamations of divine justice and particularly by their adaptation to sectarian deterministic ideology. The sectarian adaptation will be taken up, perforce, in the final section of this study. The first and main part explores the adoption of tradition not only in the *Hodayot's* use of biblical proclamations of divine justice but also in their use of extra-biblical liturgical material, which has seldom been considered in studies of the penitential elements in these sectarian hymns.³

BIBLICAL PENITENTIAL PRAYER AND THE HODAYOT

I begin with a look at the most common biblical and apocryphal formula for the proclamation of divine justice: that which employs an adjective to declare that 'God is just.'⁴

Sa'adja Ga'on [ed. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel; Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1941], 24, 161, 343–345). The formula per se is not included in Talmudic liturgical instructions for fast-days and the Day of Atonement; however, it is indirectly attested toward the end of that period in the *piyyutim* (liturgical poetry) based on Dan 9:7, written by Eleazar B. Kallir for the Ninth of Ab fast (e.g., D. Goldschmidt, *Seder Ha-Qinot Le-Tisha B'Ab: Polish-Ashkenaz Rite in Israel* [Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1968], 79–80). Several of the relevant passages from the Talmud and *Sa'adya's* prayer book appear with English translation in R. A. Sarason, "The Persistence and Trajectories of Penitential Prayer in Rabbinic Judaism," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 3: The Impact of Penitential Prayer Beyond Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLEJL 23; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 3:1–38. For the term *Tsiduk Ha-Din* (צִדּוּק הַדִּין) in rabbinic literature with reference to Dan 9:7 see, for example, *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* X.8; as expressing acceptance of martyrdom by reciting Deut 32:4 and Jer 32:19, see *Sifrei Devarim* 307 and *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 18a (the *Hodayot's* early use of Jer 32:19 in a *Tsiduk Ha-Din* context is discussed below).

³ Exceptional in this regard are Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 138–144 (includes discussion of the hymn in 1QS 10–11) and B. Nitzan, "Traditional and Atypical Motifs in Penitential Prayer from Qumran," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 2:187–208. For the early research, see the still indispensable commentaries by J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), esp. 30–31, 203 [Hebrew] and S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), ad loc. Conversion tables matching the old (E. L. Sukenik) and new (H. Stegemann) 1QH^a column numbers are given in the definitive edition by H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, *1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{c-f}* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 49–53; the text and translation of 1QH^a in this essay follow DJD 40 unless otherwise stated.

⁴ Note that 'God is just' comes at the end of the proclamation in LXX Esth 14:6–7 (last in Table I). Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 9:2c, σὺ κριτῆς δίκαιος ("You are a righteous judge") which appears to be grounded in the 'God is just' formula, and 9:2b, which, like Ps 51:6

I. BIBLICAL 'GOD IS JUST' FORMULA

Lam 1:18 & 1:21	צדיק הוא ה'	כי פיהו מריתי ... כל איבי שמעו רעתי ששו כי אתה עשית
Ezra 9:15	צדיק אתה	כי נשארנו פליטה כהיום הזה הננו לפניך באשמתינו
Neh 9:33	ואתה צדיק	על כל הבא עלינו כי אמת עשית ואנחנו הרשענו
Dan 9:14	צדיק ה' אלוהינו	על כל מעשיו אשר עשה ולא שמענו בקלו
Bar 2:9	δίκαιος ὁ κύριος	ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν. ¹⁰ καὶ οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ...
Pr Azar 4 Tob 3:2	δίκαιος εἶ δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε	ἐπὶ πάσιν, οἷς ἐποίησας (ἡμῖν) καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου δίκαια (G ^{II}) καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου... ἐλεημοσύνην κ. ἀλήθεια, κ. κρίσιν ἀληθινήν, κ. δικαίαν σὺ κρίνεις... (G ^I)
LXX Esth 14:6-7	δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε	καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδοξάσαμεν τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν.

Surprisingly, only one of the numerous statements of divine justice in the *Hodayot* employs the 'God is just' formula: **כִּי־אֵתָהּ צְדִיק וְאֵמֶת כּוֹל**: בחיריך וכול עולה ורשע תשמיד לעד ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעשיך, "For you are righteous and all your chosen ones are trustworthy. All injustice and wickedness you will destroy forever, and your righteousness will be revealed in the sight of all your creatures" (1QH^a 6:26-27).⁵ The closest biblical parallel is with Neh 9:33, which exhibits both the second person address to God and the same word order in the first part of the declaration. However, this opening is so widespread and the degree of difference in the second part so great that it is impossible to prove direct literary dependence on Neh 9:33. The comparison is nonetheless significant because it demonstrates that the author of this community hymn and the editor of the 1QH^a collection were familiar with the 'God is just' formula and used it in addition to other formulations

(cited below), employs a verbal formula (ἵνα δικαιωθῆς, ὁ θεός, ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου, ("that You be justified, O God, in Your righteousness").

⁵ DJD 40, pp. 88, 96. Note also the somewhat similar formulation in 1QH^a 20:22: **וְאֵין צְדִיק עִמָּכָה**, "no one is righteous/just beside you" (listed below in Table II.4).

of the declaration. By extension, members of the *yahad* would have been party to these proclamations of divine justice when the hymns in question were recited liturgically in a communal setting.⁶

By far the most frequent formulation in the *Hodayot* is that resembling Dan 9:7: *לך אדני הצדקה ולנו בשת הפנים כיום הזה*, “To You, Lord, is righteousness, and the shame is on us, as this very day.”⁷ The frequency is readily seen in the table given below, in which the proclamations of divine justice in the *Hodayot* are grouped according to similar formulations and with an eye to the biblical precedents for each formula.

II. THE PROCLAMATION OF DIVINE JUSTICE (צידוק הדין) IN THE HODAYOT (1QH^a)

1. ‘God is Just’ Formula (cf. Neh 9:33)

ואמת כול בחיריך וכול עולה ורשע תשמיד לעד ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעשיך	כיא אתה צדיק	6:26–27
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2. ‘To You/God is Righteousness’ Formula (cf. Dan 9:7)

ולשמך הברכה לעול[ם...] כצדקותיך כי אתה עשיתה את כול אלה ולבני האדם עבודת העוון ומעשי הרמיה ליא לאנוש צדקה וליא לאדם תום ²³ דרך ובחסדכה ישפט[ו...] וכלה בלוא רחמיך	כי לך אתה הצדקה לך אתה הצדקה לך אתה אל הדעות כול מעשי הצדקה וסוד האמת לאל עליון כול מעשי צדקה [כי] לכה הצדק	4:32 8:27 9:28–29 12:31–32 19:21
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⁶ For the *Hodayot*’s communal liturgical context, see C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community At Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 196–204, and E. G. Chazon, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 *Hodayot* Collection,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS, Ljubljana 2007* (ed. D. K. Falk et al.; STDJ 91; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–150.

⁷ Bar 1:15 and 2:6 are virtually identical to Dan 9:7. Regarding the literary relationship between the prayers in Daniel 9 and Bar 1:15–3:8, see Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 65–67. Eight copies of Daniel are preserved at Qumran (none of Baruch); 4QDan^e i–ii 1–9 partially preserves Dan 9:12–17. The *Hodayot* might be dependent on Daniel 9 or a common liturgical source (for the latter, see below).

3. 'You are justified/I justify You' Formula (cf. Ps 51:6)

צדקתה בכול מעשיכה כי ידעתי באמתכה ואבחרה במשפטי כיא צדקתה ואין לנגדכה	וארוך אפים במשפטיך ומשפטכה אצדיק ואין להשיב דבר על תוכחתכה	9:8 17:9 20:33–34
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4. Other Proclamation of Divine Justice Formulae

כיא אתה בראתה צדיק ורשע כי אמת אתה וצדק כול מ]עשיכה באפכה כול משפטי נגע ובטובכה רוב סליחות ולשיב דבר] על משפטיכה...] בתוכחתכה	[וצדק כול מעשיך לכה] א]ל]י] ולא לאדם כול אשר עשיתה כי אמת פיכה ובידכה צדקה ... ואין צדיק עמכה] [...]	5:36 12:38–39 12:41 19:10–11 20:22–23
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Several scholars, Jacob Licht and Bilhah Nitzan among them, have claimed that Dan 9:7 is cited by some of the *hodayot* in group II.2, noting especially 1QH^a 8:27 (=Suk. 16:9) in this regard. Licht and Nitzan further suggested that this line next proceeds to quote the last stich of Jer 14:22, *כי אתה עשית את כל אלה*, “for You made all these things.”⁸ This suggestion reflects the fact that the *hodayot* in group II.2 echo only the first part of the declaration in Dan 9:7, “To You, Lord, is righteousness;” but not its second, “shame on us,” part. Conversely, although Jeremiah 14 acknowledges the woes as punishment for sin, it does not contain a formal proclamation of divine justice.⁹ For a statement approximating that in Jer 14:22d but in the context of a proclamation of divine justice, one might point to Lam 1:21, Neh 9:33 and Dan 9:14 (see Table I). Hence, in the latter case, 1QH^a 8:27,

⁸ Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 203; Nitzan, “Typical and Atypical,” 191; see also Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 238 and 240, who cites Jer 14:22 but oddly enough not Dan 9:7. For the suggestion that these verses are quoted by the *Words of the Luminaries*, see M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 149; I offer a different explanation for the literary parallel below.

⁹ Note also that the demonstrative pronoun *אלה* in Jer 14:22d refers back immediately to the rain showers (14:22a–b) and only in the larger context of 14:17–21, to Zion’s devastation.

may be drawing in a general way upon a common biblical expression at home in proclamations of divine justice.

The suggestions presented above namely, the juxtaposition of two biblical allusions (Dan 9:7 and Jer 14:22) or, alternatively, the combination of a biblical allusion (Dan 9:7) with free use of biblical language (את כל אלה + עשית כי אתה עשית)—are perfectly in keeping with the *Hodayot*'s sophisticated exegetical and compositional techniques.¹⁰ The second technique appears to be operative in the other instances of the 'Righteousness is Yours' formula in 1QH^a: 4:32, 19:21, and twice more (9:28–29, 12:31–32), where both parts of the Dan 9:7 formula (לך אדני הצדקה ולנו בשת פנים) are alluded to rhetorically and structurally, perhaps with an additional allusion to Dan 9:14 (על צדיק יהוה על כל מעשיו אשר עשה).¹¹ I would be inclined to adopt one of the above explanations in the case of 1QH^a 8:27 were it not for a closer, indeed an exact, linguistic parallel that leads in the direction of another source of influence.

LITURGICAL TRADITION AND 1QH^a 7:21–8:41

The proclamation of divine justice in 1QH^a 8:27 is identical to that in the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504 19:4–5, frg. 1–2 vi 3–4): לכה

¹⁰ For an illustration of these techniques as well as a theoretical discussion of criteria for identifying allusions see J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STJD 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 50–55, 186–207. The first scenario is suggested by the biblical uniqueness of each turn of phrase and the potential significance of tapping these Jeremian and Danielic contexts. For the second, I would point to the group of similarly worded proclamations of divine justice in late biblical prayers noted above (Table I.1) and to the common biblical turn of phrase עשה + (את) כל אלה (see especially Isa 45:7, 66:12; Jer 5:19, 14:22). The latter expression occurs at least four more times in the *Hodayot*, usually in an 'election from dust' passage (1QH^a 3:27; 18:14; 21:7; 23:25; cf. 19:16; the sectarian adaptation is discussed below).

¹¹ Consult Table II.2 above. Note also 1QH^a 12:38–41 (in Table II.4); line 41, כי אתה צדקת might allude to Neh 9:33 as might 1QH^a 6:26–27, which exhibits the same exegetical and compositional techniques but using the 'You are just' formula as noted above. The formulation of the proclamation with a verb, "I will justify Your judgment" (1QH^a 17:9) and "You were justified in all Your deeds/rebuke," (9:8, 20:34) might echo the verse justifying God's punishment in the penitential Psalm 51 or that verse's liturgical use, which is already attested in second-first century BCE sources (see 4Q393 Communal Confession 1 ii 2 2–3 and *Pss. Sol.* 9:2, cited in n. 4 above). Ps 51:6c–d employs two parallel verbs in the imperfect of the *qal*, למען תצדק בדברך תזכה בשפטך; a standard translation is "So You are just in Your sentence, and right in Your judgment" (NJPS). For possible allusions to other verses in Psalm 51 in the *Hodayot* passage discussed below, see note 15.

לכה אתה אלהיך כי עשיתָה את כול אלה "To You, Lord, is righteousness for You have done all these things." Both texts reinforce the direct appeal to God by placing the second person singular independent pronoun, אתה, right after the second person singular pronominal suffix affixed to the preposition, לכה.¹² In this respect they differ from the first part of the proclamation in Dan 9:7 besides diverging completely from that biblical verse in the proclamation's second part. It seems to me highly unlikely, although not completely impossible, that both authors would have arrived independently at precisely the same formulation. Rather, I propose that the author of this *hodayah*, who recontextualized the proclamation as well as other traditional penitential elements (see below), was drawing upon an existing, extra-biblical, liturgical source for this formulation. He might have derived it directly from the weekly liturgy of the *Words of the Luminaries*, which was preserved and presumably used by the Qumran community or, alternatively, from a common source known to both authors. In either case, the *Words of the Luminaries* attests a pre-Qumranic, liturgical setting for this particular formulation of the proclamation of divine justice, and brings to light a liturgical source that seems to lie just below the surface of the *Hodayot*.¹³

In this connection, it is intriguing to note the concentration of penitential elements in the same stanza (8:26–27) and those surrounding it (8:22–25, 8:28–37):¹⁴

22. And I know that by [your] goodwill toward a person you have multiplied his inheritance in [your] righteous deeds [] r your truth in all []

¹² Regarding this "emphatic form" see also Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 156. The supralinear addition of God's name, Adonay, in the *Words of the Luminaries* might be a correction of a scribal error due to haplography (both words, אתה-אדוני, begin with *alep*) or, it may represent a hypercorrection assimilating this line to Dan 9:7. The *Words of the Luminaries* and the prayer in Daniel 9 date from about the same period (for Daniel 9, see note 7 above; for the *Words of the Luminaries*, see the next note).

¹³ For the pre-Qumranic date of the earliest manuscript of the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504), the 200 year span of the copies, and the presumption of use by the Qumran community, see E. G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-me'orot* A Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17.

¹⁴ For the section openings see Stegemann, *Liturgical Perspectives*, 230–233. The translation here is from DJD 40:116–117. I have not reproduced l. 37 because it does not preserve any complete words of the stanza.

23. and a righteous guard over your word that you have entrusted to him lest he stray [from your commandments and so as n]ot to stumble in any of [his] dee[ds. For]
24. through my knowledge of all these things I will find the proper reply, falling prostrate and be[gg]ing for me]rcy [continuously] on account of my transgression, and seeking a spirit of understand[ing],
25. and strengthening myself through your holy spirit, and clinging to the truth of your covenant, and serving you in truth and (with) a perfect heart, and loving the word of [your] mou[th].
26. Blessed are you, O Lord, great in counsel and mighty in deed, because all things are your works. Now you have determined to do me gr[eat]
27. kindness, and you have been gracious to me in your compassionate spirit and for the sake of your glory. Righteousness belongs to you alone, for you have done all these things.
28. Because I know that you have recorded the spirit of the righteous, I myself have chosen to cleanse my hands according to your wil[l.] The soul of your servant abhors every
29. malicious deed. I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with the spirit that you have given to me that you make
30. your kindness to your servant complete [for]ever, cleansing me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer by your good favour, according to your great kindness [wh]ich you have shown
31. to me, and causing [my feet] to sta[nd in] the whole station of [your] good fa[vour], which you have cho[sen] for those who love you and for those who keep [your] commandments [that they may take their stand]
32. before you forever, and [atone for iniquity], and savou[r] what is pleasing, and mingle myself with the spirit of your work, and understand your deed[s] I[]
33. not y [] w and let there not c[o]me before him any affliction (that causes) stumbling from the precepts of your covenant, for []
34. your face. And I kno[w that you are a God]gracious and compassionate, patient and abounding in kindness and faithfulness, one who forgives transgression and unfaithfulness],
35. moved to pity concerning a[ll the iniquity of those who love] you and keep [your] commandments, [those] who have returned to you in steadfastness and (with) a perfect heart []
36. to serve you [in to do what is] good in your sight. Do not turn away the face of your servant [and do no]t reject the son of your handmaid. []

The five features typical of penitential prayer found here are: confession of sin and supplication for forgiveness (8:24); repentance-like statements, most petitionary (8:25, 29–31, 35); a double proclamation

of divine justice that cites Jer 32:19 and the ‘Righteousness is Yours’ formula (8:26–27); and recitation of the thirteen divine attributes (8:34–35, see also 8:26–27, 30; Exod 34:6–7 is adapted here in a manner like Joel 2:13 and Jonah 4:2; cf. Neh 9:17, 31; PrMan 7, and *b. Roš Haš.* 17b). This array of features is rooted in biblical prayer, was firmly established in penitential prayers of the Hellenistic period by the time the *Hodayot* were composed, and went on to become the heart of rabbinic and medieval Jewish penitential prayers.¹⁵ In my estimation, the *Hodayot* that display this array of features were composed with a vibrant tradition of contemporary as well as biblical penitential prayers in mind.

The extra-biblical liturgical influence can most readily be detected where particular formulations and traditions not found in the Hebrew Bible come to light as, for example, in the application of Jer 32:19 to a proclamation of divine punishment alongside the formula, “To You is righteousness for You have done all these things.”¹⁶ It is perhaps no coincidence that the hymn in 7:21–8:41, which juxtaposes these two formulae, has what for the *Hodayot* is a relatively large number of petitions to God as opposed to their more typical pure praise and

¹⁵ For these recognized features of penitential prayer, see especially Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 1–4 and M. J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (BZAW 277; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 28–29, 203–204. For the range of texts and the development of penitential prayer from biblical to medieval times, consult the three volumes by M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline, eds., *Seeking the Favor of God* (3 vols.; SBLEJL 21–23; Atlanta: SBL, 2006–2008). Some penitential prayers incorporate the “liturgical pattern of petitions for knowledge, repentance and forgiveness” identified by Moshe Weinfeld (“The Prayers for Knowledge, Repentance, and Forgiveness in the ‘Eighteen Benedictions’: Qumran Parallels, Biblical Antecedents, and Basic Characteristics,” *Tarbiz* 48 [1979]: 186–200 [Hebrew]; note that the last two elements overlap two major features of penitential prayer). Weinfeld suggested that the *Hodayot* passage cited above “looks like an original prayer . . . and, therefore, represents the pattern in a more authentic fashion” (i.e., more than other *Hodayot*, *ibid.*, 189–190; requests for knowledge come in 1QH^a 8:24, 32, alongside those for forgiveness and repentance already noted above). Weinfeld’s characterization of Psalm 51 as a penitential hymn that reflects this pattern and its *Sitz im Leben* in circumstances of repentance (*ibid.*, 196) would appear to be an apt characterization of this *Hodayot* piece as well. Psalm 51 might be alluded to in this hymn; however, even the most striking linguistic parallel—טהרני, “purify me” (Ps 51:4; 1QH^a 8:30)—may simply be generic (see also Ps 155:13 and 11QP^s [Plea] 19:13–16; note that, in yet another generic cross-over, all four of these psalms also incorporate apotropaic language; for the use of Ps 51:6 elsewhere in the *Hodayot*, see note 11 above).

¹⁶ For the use of Jer 32:19 as a proclamation of divine justice, see note 2.

thanksgiving. The vibrant penitential prayer tradition underlying this community hymn is palpable.

In a similar vein, the liturgically well developed ‘Blessed are You’ formula is employed here twice—to open the hymn (7:21) and to begin the stanza containing the double proclamation of divine justice (8:26, “Blessed are you, O Lord, great in counsel and mighty in deed for You have done all these things;” cf. the translation in DJD 40:117, which is provided above). As I have demonstrated elsewhere, this hymn and others, both of the Teacher and Community types, tap into a growing liturgical tradition involving the formal use of opening and closing blessings coupled with a tendency to personalize the blessing by introducing a direct, second person address to God.¹⁷ Here I propose that not only in their use of blessing formulae but also in their proclamations of divine justice, Teacher and Community hymns exhibit a familiarity with contemporary liturgical practice and reflect the combination of stability and fluidity that is typical of the intermediate stage of Jewish liturgical development, between biblical prayer and the rabbinic institutionalization of Jewish liturgy begun in the second century CE.¹⁸

¹⁷ All of the blessings in 1QH^a appear in Community hymns with the exception of the incipit in 13:22, where the scribe deleted the original אודכה, “I thank you,” opening and supralinearly added the formula, ברוך אתה, “Blessed are you.” This exception seems to me to reflect 1QH^a’s liturgical editing as well as the blessing’s liturgical development (Chazon, “Liturgical Function,” 143–144, and idem, “Looking Back: What The Dead Sea Scrolls Teach Us About Biblical Blessings,” in *The Hebrew Bible and The Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. K. De Troyer, A. Lange, and S. Tzoref; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming]). The single extant *baruk* in the 4QHodayot manuscripts (4QH^a 7 ii 12) is in a communal praise section that follows the *Self-Glorification Hymn*; this passage would come near the end of the 1QH^a manuscript (26:[31a]; DJD 40:299).

¹⁸ Nine of the thirteen proclamations of divine justice listed in Table II are from Community hymns, four are from Teacher hymns; two Teacher hymns (9:1–10:1 and 12:6–13:6) and eight Community hymns are represented by these examples. For the distribution of Teacher and Community hymns in 1QH^a, see A. K. Harkins, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a Sixty Years after its Discovery,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, 101–134, and the literature cited there. For a recent discussion of the question of the origin and early development of Jewish liturgy see E. G. Chazon, “Liturgy Before and After the Temple’s Destruction: Change or Continuity?,” in *Was 70 CE A Watershed in Jewish History?* (ed. D. R. Schwartz and Z. Weiss; AJEC; Leiden, Brill; forthcoming).

SECTARIAN ADAPTATION AND INNOVATION IN 1QH^a 7:21–8:41

To round out this study, I turn to a brief look at the *Hodayot*'s distinctively sectarian adaptation of the proclamation of divine justice and other penitential elements as illustrated by the hymn cited above. Strikingly, this hymn's twin proclamations of divine justice have been transformed into statements of praise for God's kindness and compassion toward the speaker (8:26–27). This is accomplished by having the numerous references to God's actions, including the formulaic "for You have done all these things," apply to God's merciful deeds rather than to the harsh but just divine punishments that are typically recounted in penitential prayers. In addition, the hymn compounds the doxological rhetorical effect by couching its transformed proclamation of divine justice as a benediction replete with an opening blessing formula.

Furthermore, all the penitential elements in this passage, including the proclamation of divine justice, are placed in the context of the speaker's divinely preordained election as one of the righteous (e.g., "For I know that by [your] goodwill [רַצוֹן] toward a person you have multiplied his inheritance in [your] righteous deeds," 8:22). The speaker attributes to divine election not only his own repentance, cleansing, and abhorrence of evil but also the very ability to pray for forgiveness of his transgressions and the strength to keep God's covenant (8:24–25, 28–31, cf. 8:35).¹⁹

The larger election context sets the backdrop for the recitation of the divine attributes in the penultimate stanza (8:34–37). Read on its own, this stanza is devoid of any sectarian content and sounds like a typical reworking of the famous Exod 34:6–7 formula, perhaps one representing a floating liturgical piece lifted from a non-sectarian prayer.²⁰

¹⁹ See also Nitzan, "Traditional and Atypical Motifs," 190–191.

²⁰ Examples of the divine attributes' formula are cited on page 8 above. The only unusual element in this stanza would be the word מַעַל, if that uncertain reading is correct (DJD 40:109, 115; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 205, restored פֶּשַׁע וְעוֹן, which follows Exod 34:7 more closely). The use here of מַעַל, which describes the sin against God in several penitential prayers, sometimes alluding to Lev 26:40 (see Neh 1:8; Dan 9:7; 4Q504 19:7; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 48–50; and Boda, *Praying the Tradition*, 47–48, 203), would plausibly indicate that this hymn also drew upon a penitential prayer for its list of divine attributes. For the phenomenon of "floating" liturgical pieces, note the insightful comment by J. A. Sanders (*The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1967], 129) regarding the overlapping verses in Jer 10:12–13

When read near the end of this hymn, however, as a continuation of the preceding stanzas, the reader/listener naturally identifies the penitents (השבים) whom God graciously forgives with the hymn's "I" speaker and the similarly chosen, righteous members of the speaker's community. In this move as well as in its other adaptations of penitential elements, the hymn's compositional technique and rhetorical strategy ingeniously serve to forge the sectarians' identity as the elect righteous, purified and forgiven penitents, inheritors and true keepers of the biblical covenant, and beneficiaries of divine, spiritual gifts—the gifts of knowledge, speech and praise chief among them. Penitential prayer thus proves to have been an important and effective tool in the *Hodayot's* construction of sectarian identity.²¹

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the proclamation of divine justice and attendant penitential elements in the *Hodayot* sheds considerable light on the sect's adoption and radical adaptation of biblical as well as contemporary liturgical traditions. It demonstrates the potential for an enhanced understanding of both the sect and Jewish liturgical history to be gained from mining the sectarian writings for their use of received traditions. It suggests, moreover, that the partisan literary-rhetorical engagement of tradition may open a window onto the sect's permeability and network of connections with other groups engaged in similar liturgical activity. Such a tantalizing possibility fits the picture emerging in other quarters of a sophisticated sectarian movement that managed to absorb diverse—at times contradictory—works, internal developments, and outside contacts.²² This scenario is worth exploring in future research

(51:15–16), Ps 135:7, and the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs^a 26:13–15): "These verses may have originally belonged to some very familiar liturgy of praise of the Creator, easily quotable and frequently used; for they are found equally at home in Jeremiah, the Psalter and this poem. Such 'floating' bits of liturgical poetry may have been even more common than we had heretofore thought."

²¹ As suggested above, this hymn also enlists the "liturgical pattern of petitions for knowledge, repentance, and forgiveness" (see n. 15) and a common opening blessing formula. The very co-opting of biblical and liturgical tradition is itself a statement about sectarian identity. For the *Hodayot's* role in the formation of sectarian identity, see Newsom's groundbreaking study, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 191–351.

²² Glimpses into this complex picture are provided by recent studies on the literary growth of the *yahad's* own writings and its readership of other works in the Qumran corpus, some of which are at variance with such central sectarian principles as the

and would be most fruitfully pursued in the broad context of a cooperative endeavor encompassing the relevant fields of Qumran studies from exegesis, religious law, and ritual to politics, wisdom, and apocalyptic eschatology.

solar calendar and determinism. See, for example, C. A. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit Literature in 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; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 69–155; M. J. Goff, "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hod-ayot," *DSD* 11 (2004): 263–288; and J. Ben-Dov, "Jubilean Chronology and the 364-Day Year," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 49–59 [Hebrew].

I have used the term "sectarian movement" here to include the group inhabiting the Qumran site as well as affiliated communities. For *yaḥad* as "an umbrella term for several communities," see now J. J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010). Collins' attribution of the different editions of the *Rule of the Community* (*Serekh ha-yaḥad*) found at Qumran to different *yaḥad* communities (*ibid.*, 3, 66–69) might reduce the magnitude of the internal dynamic and complexity for any single community but would not negate the phenomenon itself for the sect as a whole. To my mind, the negotiation of the variety of materials in the Qumran corpus by the community based at that site and its affiliates remains a challenge for future research.

PRAYER AND THE MEANING OF RITUAL
IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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THE MEANINGLESSNESS OF RITUAL?

In a famous article published in 1979, the anthropologist Frits Staal argued for “The Meaninglessness of Ritual.”¹ For Staal, ritual is activity governed by rules, and can be understood only as such. “What is essential in the ceremony is the precise and faultless execution, in accordance with rules, of numerous rites and recitations.”² People may ascribe meaning to these actions from time to time, but these explanations are not a necessary part of ritual. A mantra is taken out of its ritual context and rendered as a series of stylized sounds, without regard for their meaning. Brahmin ritual experts are often ignorant of what the sounds they make actually mean, but they are skilled in rendering them correctly. “Like rocks or trees, ritual acts and sounds may be provided with meaning, but they do not require meanings and do not exist for meaning’s sake.”³

Staal’s view of ritual contrasted sharply with other views that had been regnant in the twentieth century. In the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade, ritual is defined as “those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences,” with the parenthetical addition that “verbal behaviors such as chant, song, and prayer are of course included in the category of bodily actions.”⁴ Eliade himself had regarded ritual as “a reenactment of a cosmogonic event or story recounted in myth.”⁵ There is a long history of scholarship

¹ F. Staal, “The Meaninglessness of Ritual,” *Numen* 26 (1979): 2–22.

² *Ibid.*, 9.

³ F. Staal, “The Sound of Religion: Parts IV–V,” *Numen* 33 (1968): 218.

⁴ E. M. Zuesse, “Ritual [First Edition],” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (ed. L. Jones; 16 vols.; 2nd ed.; New York: MacMillan, 2005), 11:7834.

⁵ C. M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11. See M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History* (trans. W. R. Trask; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

on the relation of ritual to myth, dating back to the work of James G. Frazer in the early twentieth century.⁶ Even without the appeal to myth, however, many scholars see ritual as a symbol system, and view rituals as “symbolic statements or encoded performances that act out or dramatize an already existing social message. Ritual symbols have a referential quality that points to a meaning that exists outside the rituals themselves.”⁷ So, for example, the anthropologist Edmund Leach wrote of “the material representation of abstract ideas” as “ritual condensation.”⁸

Staal’s formulation was undoubtedly extreme, but it has struck a chord with many theorists of religion, as a protest against the tendency of scholars to “regard rites as enactments of myths, theological ideas, or moral principles.”⁹ Consequently, there has been a tendency to insist “that ritual enactment refers to itself and not to a message that exists apart from, outside of, or above the ritual enactment proper.”¹⁰ Jonathan Z. Smith urged people to look at “the bare facts of ritual,” although he was far from regarding it as meaningless.¹¹ Roy Rappaport defined ritual as “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances.”¹² Other theorists emphasize ritual as action or practice.¹³

The emphasis on the practice of prescribed actions as distinct from the expression of symbolic meaning is not a modern conceit; in fact

⁶ Bell, *Ritual*, 1–22.

⁷ F. H. Gorman Jr., “Ritual Studies and Biblical Studies: Assessment of the Past, Prospects for the Future,” *Semeia* 67(1994): 13–36, here 23. Gorman objects to this approach.

⁸ E. Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 37.

⁹ R. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1995), 66.

¹⁰ Gorman, “Ritual Studies and Biblical Studies,” 23–24. Compare R. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); R. E. DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World* (London: Routledge, 2008), 7; B. Kapferer, “Ritual Dynamics and Virtual Practice: Beyond Representation and Meaning,” in *Ritual in its Own Right: Exploring the Dimensions of Transformation* (ed. D. Handelman and G. Lindquist; New York: Berghahn, 2005), 35–54; D. Seeman, “Otherwise than Meaning: On the Generosity of Ritual,” *ibid.*, 55–71.

¹¹ J. Z. Smith, “The Bare Facts of Ritual,” in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (ed. J. Z. Smith; Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1982), 53–65.

¹² So R. A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic, 1979), 175.

¹³ See C. M. Bell, “Ritual (Further Considerations),” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 11:7848–7856, and eadem, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

the reverse is more probably true. Talal Asad has argued that in medieval Christianity the goal of monastic life was “the disciplined formation of the Christian self.”¹⁴ “The ordered life of the monks was defined by various tasks, from working to praying, the most important being the singing of divine services.... The liturgy is not a species of enacted symbolism to be classified separately from activities defined as technical but is a practice among others essential to the acquisition of Christian virtues.”¹⁵ One of the founders of modern anthropology, Marcel Mauss, proposed that human behavior should be conceptualized in terms of learned capabilities, for which he used the Latin word “habitus.” “I believe precisely,” he wrote, “that at the bottom of all our mystical states there are body techniques which we have not studied, but which were studied fully in China and India, even in very remote periods.... I think that there are necessarily biological means of entering into ‘communion with God’.”¹⁶ Asad comments: “thus, the possibility is opened up of inquiring into the ways in which embodied practices (including language in use) form a precondition for varieties of religious experience.”¹⁷ Mauss’s approach may be reflected in the entry on ritual in the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: “Ritual is to religion what habit is to life, and its rationale is similar, namely that by bringing subordinate functions under an effortless rule it permits undivided attention in regard to vital issues.... Just as the main business of habit is to secure bodily equilibrium.... so the chief task of routine in religion is to organize the activities necessary to its stability and continuance as a social institution.”¹⁸

If we view rituals, including prayers, primarily as actions, then the fact that a ritual or prayer is performed in the prescribed manner is more important than its overt content. The daily recitation of prayers at fixed times constitutes a habitus, which itself implies a religious attitude regardless of the content of the prayers. This, of course, does not mean that rituals have no meaning at all. (Staal’s provocative formulation was surely a deliberate overstatement). But as Catherine Bell

¹⁴ T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1993), 62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁶ M. Mauss, “Body Techniques,” in *M. Mauss, Sociology and Psychology: Essays* (ed. and trans. B. Brewster; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 122. The idea of “habitus” was popularized by P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹⁷ Asad, *Genealogies*, 76–77.

¹⁸ Cited *ibid.*, 57.

has argued, ritual often “works below the level of discourse.... Ritualized agents do not see themselves as projecting schemes; they see themselves only acting in a socially instinctive response to how things are....”¹⁹ Rituals are widely recognized as an effective way of creating solidarity and social cohesion through common action, on the basis of implicit assumptions about how things are.²⁰ Alternatively, the distinctive character of ritual action may be taken to reflect the contrast between the way things are and the way they ought to be, to represent the idealized way in which the world should be organized.²¹

It is perhaps a flaw in theoretical discussions that they tend to propose universal explanations for variable phenomena. Arguments for the “meaninglessness of ritual” are not without merit, as anyone who has experienced a routinized liturgy knows. In a religion oriented towards practice, as Judaism is, the observance of prescribed ritual is undoubtedly more important than the way it is understood. Moreover, the meanings of rituals may often be displaced, so that the official explanation is distinct either from the origin of the ritual (e.g. Passover) or from the associations that people now bring to it (Easter as a spring festival). But rituals are of different kinds, and communities may differ in the importance they attach to meaning and interpretation. What is true of Brahmin rituals is not necessarily true of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The *yahad* was an unusually literate community, and it placed a high value on the intentions of its members. Moreover, it participated in a tradition that regarded study, especially of the Torah, as an act of piety, and that regarded psalms and traditional prayers as media of instruction.

PRAYER IN DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide us with “the only written collections of established prayer texts from the period before the destruction of the Temple.”²² These include prayers for various occasions: for morning

¹⁹ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 206.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 171–172.

²¹ Smith, “The Bare Facts of Ritual,” 53–65. See also the summary by Bell, *Ritual*, 11–12.

²² E. M. Schuller, “Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the*

and evening of each day of the month, for festivals, for the Sabbath, and so forth.²³ They have been described, reasonably, as “the richest case study for prayer in ancient Judaism, and among the richest for any group in the ancient world.”²⁴ Since many of these prayers are associated with rituals, they provide an opportunity to test the light that verbalized statements can shed on the meaning of rituals.

There has been a general tendency to assume that all these texts reflect the practice of prayer in the specific community at Qumran. As Daniel Falk puts it: “these were all found in the context of a community about which we have unprecedented information, from archaeology, texts preserved and composed by the group, and possible third-party descriptions.”²⁵ There are problems with this assumption, however. Not only is it apparent that some of these texts were “non-sectarian” in origin, and are older than the settlement at Qumran, but it seems increasingly unlikely that all the scrolls hidden in the caves came from the library of one wilderness settlement. While it remains overwhelmingly probable that the entire collection has a sectarian character, the movement to which it testifies was itself widely dispersed.²⁶ The *Damascus Document* speaks of “camps” in which married people lived (CD 7:6). Even the *yahad* cannot be equated with “the Qumran community,” but allowed for multiple settlements with a quorum of ten (1QS 6:3–7). The scrolls, then, may have been brought to Qumran from many settlements, to be hidden in the wilderness in time of crisis. Whether all these settlements had a common liturgical practice, or whether all these scrolls pertain to one liturgical system, are open questions. As James Davila puts it, in the introduction to his translation of liturgical texts from Qumran, “it is perhaps more useful

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), 173–189, here 174; B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994); J. R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

²³ D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

²⁴ D. K. Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 618.

²⁵ Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls,” 618.

²⁶ See my book *Beyond the Qumran Community. The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); also A. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

to think of a broad movement with different subgroups than of a well-defined sectarian community.”²⁷

That said, it is apparent that prayer played a prominent part in the daily life of the *yahad*, whether at Qumran or elsewhere. Much quoted in this regard is the so-called “Hymn of the Appointed Times” in 1QS 10:5–11:22:

At the commencement of the months in their seasons, and of the holy days in their sequence, as a reminder in their seasons, with the offering of lips I shall bless him, in accordance with the decree recorded forever.... At the onset of day and night I shall enter the covenant of God, and when evening and morning depart I shall repeat his precepts.... When I start to stretch out my hands and my feet I shall bless his name; when I start to go out and to come in, to sit and to stand up, and lying down in my bed I shall extol him; I shall bless him with the offering that issues from my lips in the row of men....

As Eileen Schuller as observed, “there is an inherent problematic in attempting to make a poetic text function as a cultic calendar.”²⁸ It represents an ideal, not necessarily a literal description of practice. The passage is part of a section relating to the *maskil* at the end of 1QS (but not found in all copies of the *Community Rule*). The *maskil*, in the words of Carol Newsom, “can be described not only as an apotheosis of sectarian selfhood but of the sect itself.”²⁹ His ideals are the ideals of the sectarian movement. But since the *yahad* was a tightly organized association, it is safe to assume that these ideals were implemented. Some of the preserved liturgical texts are nicely compatible with the ideal of the *maskil*—e.g. the prayers for morning and evening in 4Q503.

We do not actually know the daily liturgical schedule in the *yahad*. Neither do we know exactly what texts were used, nor indeed whether all sectarian communities necessarily recited the same prayers at the same times. Both the passage in 1QS 10–11 and 4Q503 relate the schedule of blessing to the cycle of the sun and to the cosmic calendar, rather than to the times of sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple. It seems safe to infer that “the Qumran covenanters had fixed liturgical prayer

²⁷ Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 9.

²⁸ Schuller, “The Function and Use of Poetic Texts,” 180.

²⁹ C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space. Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 189.

rituals that were tied to their specific calendar, indeed which *enacted* that calendar.”³⁰

The very fact that written prayer texts are found at Qumran shows a tendency towards standardization and institutionalization.³¹ As Shem-aryahu Talmon has observed, “institutionalized prayer is a prayer in which the spontaneous, the individual, and the sporadic are replaced by the conventional, the universal and the periodic.”³² As such, institutionalized prayer must be seen as part of the ritual of the *yaḥad*.

The goal of the *yaḥad* is stated most explicitly in 1QS col. 8:

When these things exist in Israel, the community council shall be founded on truth to be an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the judgment and chosen by the will (of God) to atone for the land and to render the wicked their retribution (1QS 8:4–7).

As is widely recognized, the *yaḥad* is hereby declared to be a substitute for the temple cult, which was rendered ineffectual in the eyes of the sectarians by incorrect halakhic observance and especially by the failure to observe the correct calendar.³³ Prayer, then, serves as a substitute for sacrifice in achieving atonement:³⁴

When these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal, in order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of

³⁰ R. S. Sarason, “The ‘Intersections of Qumran and Rabbinic Judaism: The Case of Prayer Texts and Liturgies,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 179. See also Sarason, “Communal Prayer at Qumran and among the Rabbis,” in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 151–172.

³¹ The increased use of Scripture in prayer is a related phenomenon. See J. H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

³² S. Talmon, “The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature,” in *idem, The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 201.

³³ Sarason, “Communal Prayer at Qumran,” 154. See, however, the reservations of M. Goodman, “Constructing Ancient Judaism from the Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 81–91, who questions the rejection of the temple, and S. Stern, “Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism,” in *ibid.*, 232–253, who questions the significance of the calendrical disputes.

³⁴ D. K. Falk, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–126, cautions that the situation of the *yaḥad* cannot explain the origin of institutionalized prayer in a text like the *Prayer of the Luminaries*, and suggests that elements of prayer already associated with the temple may have influenced the practices of the sect.

sacrifice—the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behavior will be acceptable like a freewill offering (1QS 9:3–5).

The function of atonement, however, is not restricted to any one specific ritual. Rather, the entire life of the *yahad* was sanctified so that the community became “a holy house for Aaron,” a “temple of men.” As Rob Kugler has argued, “ritual at Qumran was hegemonic, making every aspect of their experience religious.”³⁵ Prayer, “in accordance with the decree recorded forever” was an integral part of that ritual, sanctifying life at key junctures during the day, year, and longer liturgical cycles. While the prayers certainly went beyond what was prescribed in the Torah, they were still “in accordance with the decree,” insofar as they used traditional, biblical, language. More fundamentally, all prescriptions of the *yahad*, whether explicit in the Torah or not, were believed to be in accordance with divine decree. The ritualized life, then, was essentially a life of obedience.

DISCOURSE AND RITUAL IN COVENANT RENEWAL

An example of theologically meaningful discourse in a ritual context is provided by the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS 1:16–3:12. The ceremony as described in the *Serekh* is essentially a series of blessings and curses, pronounced by priests and Levites antiphonally, with affirming responses by those entering the covenant. It is obviously based on the covenant ceremony described in Deuteronomy 27, and the renewal of the covenant in Moab in Deuteronomy 29. There are also echoes of Nehemiah 8, Leviticus 16, and other passages.³⁶ As Carol Newsom has argued, “such evocations are part of the way the sect claims for itself the identity of Israel and contests the claims of others to that identity.”³⁷ But as Newsom further notes, the ceremony is accented in ways that are distinctively sectarian. The sins confessed were committed “during the dominion of Belial” (1QS 1:23). In the biblical prototypes, both the

³⁵ R. Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152 (here, 152). Compare R. C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 234: “The Qumran community developed an elaborate and extensive liturgical practice that encompassed all aspects of its communal life.”

³⁶ See Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 119–120.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

blessings and the curses are addressed to those who enter the covenant. Here they distinguish between insiders and outsiders. The priests bless “all the men of God’s lot who walk unblemished in all his paths,” with a variant of the blessing of Aaron from Num 6:24–26: “May he illuminate our heart with the discernment of life and grace you with eternal knowledge. May he lift upon you the countenance of his favor for eternal peace” (1QS 2:3–4).³⁸ The Levites, in turn, curse all the men of the lot of Belial, who are condemned to the gloom of everlasting fire. The final curse, however, is reserved for “whoever enters this covenant, and places the obstacle of his iniquity in front of himself to fall over it.” Such a person posed a threat to the community greater than that posed by outsiders, since he might undermine the community from within. The covenant here is not understood in terms of “a relationship between God and ethnic Israel,” but as “a particularistic covenant relationship” between God and those who enter the new covenant voluntarily.³⁹ Despite all the continuity in language, the understanding of the covenant is transformed.

Entry into the covenant, in principle, is a one-time event. In this case, however, we are told: “they shall act in this way year after year, all the days of Belial’s dominion” (1QS 2:19). The terminology of “coming into,” or “crossing over into” recall the crossing of Israel into Canaan in the time of Joshua, but it also makes the ceremony into a rite of passage for the community, who have separated from the majority of the people, in the phrase of 4QMMT. The contingent and vulnerable nature of the community requires that its identity be reaffirmed, even reconstituted. The idea of renewing the covenant had good biblical precedents, and it dramatized nicely the elements of choice and separation.⁴⁰ In all of this, it is apparent that the language that accompanies the ritual is highly meaningful. Not only does it express the self-understanding of the covenanters by relating it to tradition and also by articulating their distinction from the lot of Belial, but it also uses the occasion to instill the sectarian worldview into the participants.

³⁸ Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 67.

³⁹ E. Juhl Christiansen, *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers* (AGJU 27; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 158.

⁴⁰ On the biblical precedents for the idea of a new covenant, see S. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community. Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 77–232; M. Duggan, *Covenant Renewal in Ezra-Nehemiah (Neh 7:72b–10:40): An Exegetical, Literary, and Theological Study* (SBLDS 164; Atlanta: SBL, 2001).

The efficacy of the ritual, however, is not entirely dependent on the words of the curses and blessings. The ceremony has an extra-verbal component in the hierarchical order of the procession: “the priests shall enter in order foremost, one behind the other, according to their spirits. And the Levites shall enter after them. In the third place all the people shall enter in order, one after another, in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, so that each Israelite may know his standing in God’s community, in conformity with an eternal plan” (1QS 2:19–22). The formation recalls Israel in the wilderness, but it also enacts the internal hierarchy of the community. The order reflects the ideal, of how power and precedence should be recognized, but it also acts it out in the present and thereby instills it in the participants more effectively than could any verbal formulation.

CONFESSION AND ABLUTION

The covenant ceremony described in 1QS 1:16–3:12 departs from the model of Deuteronomy 27 by inserting a confession of sin: “All those who enter the covenant shall confess after them and they shall say: ‘We have acted sinfully, we have [trans]gressed, we have [si]nned, we have committed evil, we and our fathers before us...’” Such confessions of sin are ubiquitous in Second Temple Judaism.⁴¹ They are required in a covenantal context in Lev 26:40–2: “But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their ancestors, in that they committed treachery against me and, moreover, that they continued hostile to me... then I will remember my covenant with Jacob...” (and with Abraham and Isaac). Public confession of sin precedes renewal of the covenant in 1 Kgs 22:11, 19; 2 Chr 34:19, 27 and Nehemiah 9. Recognition, and presumably confession, of their sinful state is a crucial step in the formation of the group that enters into the “new covenant” in CD 1:8–9: “they realized their iniquity and knew that they were

⁴¹ R. A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLJL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline, eds., *Seeking the Favor of God* (3 vols.; SBLJL 21–23; Atlanta: SBL, 2006–2009). Note especially E. M. Schuller, “Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: A Research Survey,” in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLJL 22; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 2:1–15, and R. C. D. Arnold, “Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony,” *ibid.*, 159–175.

guilty.” But one act of confession was not enough. The faithful are characterized in CD 20:28–30 not only by listening to the voice of the Teacher but by confessing: “assuredly we have sinned, both we and our fathers, walking contrary to the ordinances of the covenant; justice and truth are your judgments against us.”⁴² Just as the renewal of the covenant required repetition, so did confession of sin. In this regard, the sectarians were not exceptional in the context of Second Temple Judaism, and it is likely that they continued to use prayers that were not of sectarian origin.⁴³

According to the Priestly source in the Torah, the ritual for atoning for sin required both confession of sin and a sacrificial “sin offering.”⁴⁴ The covenantal ceremony in 1QS does not call for such an offering. Instead, we read that “it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God that the paths of man are atoned...and by the spirit of uprightness and of humility his sin is atoned. And by the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God his flesh is cleansed by being sprinkled with cleansing waters and being made holy with the waters of repentance” (1QS 3:6–9). Conversely, anyone who walks in stubbornness of heart “will not become clean by the acts of atonement, nor shall he be purified by the cleansing waters...nor shall he be purified by all the water of ablution. Defiled, defiled shall he be ...” (1QS 3:4–5).

The practice of ritual washing prescribed in the Scrolls has long been a controversial topic, because of its relevance to the origin of Christian baptism. Frank Moore Cross was one of the more moderate and level-headed scholars in this regard, but even he wrote of “the central ‘sacraments’ of the Essene community,” which he identified as “its baptism(s) and its communal meal.”⁴⁵ (Cross was not the first to use such language. Long before the discovery of the Scrolls, Wilhelm Bousset had spoken of baptisms and communal meals of the Essenes as “sacraments”).⁴⁶ There is no doubt that ritual washing played an

⁴² See further B. Nitzan, “Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:156–157.

⁴³ Notably the *Words of the Luminaries*. See E. G. Chazon, “The Words of the Luminaries and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times,” in *Seeking the Favor of God*, 2:177–86; See Nitzan, “Repentance,” 165–166.

⁴⁴ Lev 5:1–6, 16, 21; Num 5:5–7.

⁴⁵ F. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 168.

⁴⁶ W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3rd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1926), 461.

important part in the life of the sect, a point confirmed by the number of stepped pools, presumably used for immersion, at Qumran.⁴⁷ Whether ritual washing can be described as a “sacrament” is another matter. The differences over against early Christian practice are at least as important as the similarities.

Ritual bathing played a part in the process of admission to the *yahad*, but unlike Christian baptism it was not a unique performative act by which a person became a member of the community. The procedures for joining the sectarian community seem to have evolved over time. In CD 15, applicants are tested by the Inspector and then swear an oath to return to the Law of Moses. Again in 1QS 5:7–8 whoever enters the council of the community “shall swear a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses... in compliance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok.” In 1QS 6, however, a more elaborate, multi-year process is described. The postulant is not allowed to touch “the purity of the many” until he has completed a year in the community, and he may not touch the drink of the many until he has completed a second year. It is often assumed that “the purity of the many” refers to the common food, in contrast to the common drink, which is restricted for a further year.⁴⁸ According to Saul Lieberman: “The ritually clean articles (vessels, utensils, garments and particularly food) are generally called *tohoroth* and sometimes they are styled *tohorah* in rabbinic literature.”⁴⁹ He further observed that “the rabbis of the first century attached a higher degree of ritual impurity to *Mashkin* (liquids) than to solid food.”⁵⁰ The phrase, “purity of the Many,” is unclear, however. Friedrich Avemarie concludes from a thorough study of the use of *tohorah* in the Scrolls that “it seems easier to understand *tohorah* as a quality proper to a person, as his state of purity, which the afflicted one must respect,” and that “although there is no definitive proof, we should face the possibility that *tohorath ha-rabbim* too is to be understood in such a broader sense. If a novice or a penitent during his first

⁴⁷ J. Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Academia Biblica 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 173–183.

⁴⁸ This interpretation was argued by S. Lieberman, “Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” *JBL* 71 (1952): 203 and J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. 1QS, 1QSa, 1Qsb. Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1965), 294–303 (Hebrew).

⁴⁹ Lieberman, “Discipline,” 203.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

year is able to contaminate pure food, we may assume that he, by the same token, is able to contaminate vessels, clothing, and even other persons. If this is the case, the separation from *tohorath ha-rabbim* would be much more than some special kind of table taboo. In its practical consequences, it would come close to a prevention of any personal contact with the full members of the community.⁵¹ Moreover, Russell Arnold has pointed out that in 1QS 6:24–5, one who lies about property is excluded from *tohorath ha-rabbim* for a year and fined one fourth of his food.⁵² The “purity of the Many,” then, cannot be simply identified with the community food. Rather it refers to the whole process of contact with objects (including food) and also with persons within the community.

“Purificatory baths” are not mentioned explicitly in 1QS 6, but the *Rule* makes clear elsewhere that they are necessary before one can fully participate in the community.⁵³ We are told, for instance, that a person who walks in the way of wickedness “should not go into the waters to share in the purity of the men of holiness” (1QS 5:13). They are mentioned as part of the initiation process in Josephus’s account of the Essenes, which says that after a period of probation “he draws closer to the way of life and participates in the purificatory baths at a higher degree,” although he still has to undergo two more years of probation.⁵⁴ Josephus further tells us that the Essenes “bathe their bodies in cold water” in preparation for their common meals. “After this purification they assemble in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine” (*J.W.* 2.129). Even if we do not press the identification of the *yaḥad* as the Essenes, however, there can be little doubt about the importance of ritual ablutions as a pre-condition for participation in the life of the *yaḥad*. Purification liturgies (4Q512; 4Q414) preserved in Cave 4 specify various occasions for lustrations and also specify blessings to be associated with them. These specifications go beyond what is found in the laws of the Torah.

⁵¹ F. Avemarie, “‘Tohorath Ha-Rabbim’ and ‘Mashqeh Ha-Rabbim’: Jacob Licht Reconsidered,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 215–229 (227).

⁵² R. C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 91.

⁵³ Compare Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 141.

⁵⁴ Josephus, *J.W.* 2.137–139.

The idea that ritual washing was an appropriate way of expressing conversion from sin was not peculiar to the Scrolls. The proclamation of John the Baptist, as reported by the evangelists, was “repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near” (Matt 3:2).⁵⁵ According to Mark, he proclaimed “a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (Mark 1:4; cf. Luke 3:3). Josephus gives a more nuanced account: John “exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and in so doing to join in baptism. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by righteous behavior” (*Ant.* 18.116–9). In John’s case the urgency of baptism arose from the imminence of divine judgment, a point overlooked by Josephus.⁵⁶ We find an appeal for baptism in a similar context in *Sib. Or.* 4, where the Sibyl calls on “wretched mortals” to change their ways: “abandon “daggers and groanings, murders and outrages, and wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers. Stretch out your hands to heaven and ask forgiveness for previous deeds and make propitiation for bitter impiety with words of praise” (*Sib. Or.* 4:163–69). If people fail to do this, God will destroy the world by fire. Despite repeated attempts to associate John the Baptist with the Essenes, there is really no basis for such an association.⁵⁷ John’s baptism was a once and for all affair, laden with eschatological overtones, and was quite different from the constantly repeated ritual baths of the Essenes.

It is highly likely that ritual washing was a routinized part of the life of the *yahad*, at Qumran and elsewhere. It was certainly not meaningless, however. Joseph Baumgarten has argued that “the link between the purity of body and spirit is salient throughout the literature.”⁵⁸ Indeed, in the passage quoted above from IQS 3:7–9 acceptance of

⁵⁵ On John the Baptist see C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1964); R. L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991); J. E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

⁵⁶ Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 111.

⁵⁷ So also Taylor, *The Immerser*, 48. See also R. L. Webb, “John the Baptist,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:418–421.

⁵⁸ J. M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7,” in *The Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 207.

the holy spirit precedes sprinkling with water. Moreover, there are also multiple references to sprinkling the holy spirit, and the analogy is explicit in 1QS 4:20–21: “God will refine, with his truth, all man’s deeds...cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water...” Moreover, one of the ways in which the practice of ritual washing in the Scrolls differs from that in the Bible is by the addition of blessings to be recited with the lustrations.⁵⁹

The significance of the purificatory baths must be seen in the context of the priestly tradition in the Bible. As Jonathan Klawans has shown, impurity in the Hebrew Bible may be either ritual or moral. Ritual impurity results from contact with any of a number of natural sources, including childbirth, genital discharges, scale disease and contact with animal carcasses and corpses.⁶⁰ These sources are generally natural and more or less unavoidable. Ritual impurity is not sinful. It can be remedied by ritual means, and washing figures prominently among the means prescribed.⁶¹ Moral impurity, in contrast, arose from sinful behavior, specifically sexual sins, idolatry and bloodshed. According to Leviticus, these sins defiled the land of Israel and ultimately led to the exile.⁶² Ritual washing is of no avail in these cases, but the prophets and psalms often speak metaphorically of washing as a way of purging iniquity nonetheless (e.g. Ps 51:2, 7: “Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin...Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow”).⁶³ In the Scrolls, however, the distinction between ritual and moral purity is collapsed, and sin is held to be ritually defiling.⁶⁴ Consequently: “repentance from sin and purification from defilement have become mutually dependent. According to the sectarians, moral repentance is not efficacious without ritual purification, and ritual purification without moral repentance is equally invalid.”⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 145.

⁶⁰ J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.

⁶¹ Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 26–29.

⁶² Klawans, *Sin and Impurity*, 26.

⁶³ Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 35–38.

⁶⁴ Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 75–85. This aspect of sin is not treated by G. A. Anderson, *Sin: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 85. Note, however, J. Klawans, “Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 386, where he notes that the full-blown conflation of ritual impurity and moral impurity does not run through the entire

The requirement of ritual bathing in addition to confession of sin, then, is not merely complementary, but expresses the sectarian understanding of sin as defilement, and of the efficacy of ritual even in the case of moral transgression. Moreover, the repeated ritual of washing before significant community events dramatized the separation of the members from the outside world, which was viewed as defiled. The ritual is not efficacious on its own. Repentance, the intention of “turning back” from sin is presupposed—hence the designation of the members of the new covenant as “returnees of Israel” or “those who turn from sin” in the *Damascus Document*.⁶⁶ The verbal confession of sin provides a necessary context for the ritual of washing. Yet the meaning of the ritual is not exhausted by its verbal accompaniment. The act of washing dramatizes and enacts the process of cleansing, and thereby expresses an understanding of sin that is not explicit in the traditional, covenant-based, confession such as we find in 1QS 1:24–5.

CONCLUSION

The pronouncement of Frits Staal on the meaninglessness of ritual is clearly exaggerated, and indefensible in the case of the rituals described in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nonetheless, it has had, at least in part, a salutary impact on ritual studies, insofar as it has discouraged the tendency to explain rituals in terms of myths or theological ideas and focused attention on the actions themselves, which often work below the realm of discourse. The explicit theology expressed in prayers and treatises still provides a context for the ritual action, but it does not necessarily exhaust its meaning or fully articulate its effectiveness.

The significance of ritual in the Scrolls, however, cannot be properly appreciated by considering any one ritual on its own. Rob Kugler and Russell Arnold have drawn attention to the “ritual density” of life in the *yahad*. In Kugler’s words, “ritual at Qumran was hegemonic, making every aspect of their experience religious.”⁶⁷ It constituted a *habitus*, an enactment of the world as it ought to be, characterized by obedience

corpus. He does not find the conflation in the *Temple Scroll*, 4QMMT or CD, but finds it especially in 1QS.

⁶⁶ CD 2:5; 4:2, etc. On the understanding of repentance in the Scrolls, see D. Lambert, “Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 501–513.

⁶⁷ Kugler, “Making all Experience Religious,” 152.

to what was believed to be divine law, as interpreted and amplified by the priestly leaders of the community, and by purity, which entailed separation from the outside world. It ensured community cohesion, by requiring that members eat together, bless together and take counsel together.⁶⁸ At the same time, it implemented the hierarchical structure of the community. The common prayers, with texts standardized in writing, were part of this process, and articulate aspects of its meaning. They contributed to the sanctification of the whole life of the *yahad*, but it was that whole life, rather than any specific rituals or prayers, that was thought to be the effective replacement of the temple cult.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The much disputed issue of a “sacred meal” must also be viewed in this context. See D. E. Smith, “Meals,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:531, who describes the community meals as “a centerpiece for the elaborate purity rules specific to this community.”

⁶⁹ It is a pleasure to offer this article to a fellow Strugnell student, in appreciation of her pioneering work on liturgy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and of her many other contributions, especially to the study of women.

4QTEMPLE? (4Q365A) REVISITED*

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In 1994 Emanuel Tov and I published the group of four manuscripts known as *4QReworked Pentateuch*, 4Q364–367.¹ These manuscripts had originally belonged to the lot assigned to John Strugnell, who subsequently requested that we undertake the publication, and turned over to us his extensive notes on the manuscripts. The identification of a group of six fragments assigned by Strugnell to 4Q365 seemed troublesome to us.² Strugnell had placed these fragments in 4Q365 primarily because they were copied by the same scribe as 4Q365. His paleographical assessment was correct; those six fragments were written in the same hand, using the same orthography, as the rest of 4Q365.³ However, prior to the publication of 4Q365, three of the fragments had already been published by Yigael Yadin, who suggested that they were part of the *Temple Scroll* (in a recension different from *11QTemple^a*).⁴ Michael Wise subsequently made a careful study of those three fragments, and concluded that they constituted a source for the Temple Scroll.⁵ Strugnell, however, continued to insist that the

* It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this article to Eileen Schuller, my companion in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship for many years. When I was in Jerusalem in the early 1990s working on these fragments, Eileen was often there as well, and we spent many pleasant hours discussing our mutual work.

¹ E. Tov and S. White, "Reworked Pentateuch," in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 187–252.

² These fragments were subsequently numbered 4Q365 23, and 4Q365a 1–5.

³ E. Tov and S. White, "4Q365a," in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, 319–333; 319–322.

⁴ Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (rev. and eng. ed.; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). The fragments are found in the Supplementary Plates. 4Q365 23 = Plate 40*, 1; 4Q365a 3 = Plate 40*, 2; and 4Q365a 2 = Plate 38*, 5.

⁵ M. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1990).

fragments belonged to 4Q365;⁶ other scholars have since weighed in on either side of the argument.⁷

Tov and I, upon examining the entire group of six fragments, decided that fragment 23 did indeed belong to 4Q365. This decision was based on both physical and content considerations. As stated above, frg. 23 is copied by the same scribe as the rest of 4Q365. Further, frg. 23 contains a diagonal crease which has the same slant as the crease in 4Q365 12b iii, indicating that they came from the same scroll.⁸ In terms of the content, frg. 23 opens with Lev 23:42–24:2, followed directly, without a break or other scribal indication, by the addition of at least eight and one half lines of new material. This layout follows the pattern of the rest of 4Q365, that is, Pentateuchal text harmonized, expanded or rearranged for exegetical purposes,⁹ strengthening the argument that frg. 23 indeed belongs to 4Q365.

The location of the other five fragments was more uncertain. One of the remaining fragments (frg. 2; Yadin, pl. 38*, 5) contains extensive

⁶ See Strugnell's quotation in B.-Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983), 206: "the work to which these fragments belong is not a copy of the 'Temple Scroll,' but a Pentateuch with frequent non-biblical additions; whether they are quotations from the Temple Scroll incorporated by that Pentateuch, or vice versa (i.e. bits of an earlier 'wild' Pentateuch text used as a source by 11QT) remains to be seen." Strugnell is also quoted on this topic by F. García Martínez: "My ms. of which only a bit was published by Yadin in his supplementary Volume, is a Middle Hasmonean copy of a wildly aberrant text of the whole Pentateuch containing several non-Biblical additions, some identical with Samaritan Pentateuchal pluses, others unattested elsewhere.... It is more likely that these additions were copied by 11QTemple from an expansionist text of the Pentateuch rather than that my biblical scroll incorporated excerpts from the Temple Scroll." (in "Sources et redaction du Rouleau du Temple," *Henoah* 13 [1991]: 219–232, 224).

⁷ Stegemann, García Martínez and Lange agree with Strugnell, while Wacholder and Qimron follow Yadin in using the fragments as part of their reconstructed text of the Temple Scroll. H. Stegemann, "The Origins of the Temple Scroll," in *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986* (ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 235–256. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude, "11QTemple^b," 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), 357–410. A. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 39–40. B. Z. Wacholder, "The Fragmentary Remains of 11QTorah (Temple Scroll*): 11QTorah^b and 11QTorah^c plus 4QparaTorah Integrated with 11QTorah^a," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 1–116. E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996).

⁸ E. Tov and S. White, "4Q365," in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, 255–318, 291.

⁹ See, e.g., frg. 6a col. ii and 6c. *Ibid.*, 269–272.

parallel text with the *Temple Scroll*, although it did not appear to fit into the column structure of *11QTemple^a*.¹⁰ The other four fragments contain what appears to be building specifications for the Temple and its courts. Most important for the decision we reached concerning these fragments was the fact that they do not contain any text from the Pentateuch, as is the case for all of the other fragments of 4Q365, including frg. 23. Therefore, we chose to separate out these five fragments and publish them as an appendix to 4Q365, 4Q365a, tentatively titled “4QTemple?”.

After fifteen years it seems appropriate to revisit that decision, and to investigate whether or not the arguments concerning the status of these fragments have advanced enough to allow for a more definite conclusion.

THE TEMPLE SCROLL?

The strongest argument for including 4Q365 23 and 4Q365a 1–5 as part of the *Temple Scroll* is their content. As first noted by Yadin, both frg. 23 and frg. 2 contain parallels to *11QTemple^a*. Frg. 23 contains text parallel to *11QTemple^a*, cols. 23–24 (and *11QTemple^b*, frg. 12).¹¹ Frg. 2, preserving two columns of text, contains in col. i text parallel to *11QTemple^a*, col. 38, and in col. ii text parallel to *11QTemple^a*, cols. 41–42. However, in all three of these cases the parallels are not exact.

The text of frg. 23, which contains a tribal order found only in it and the *Temple Scroll*, nevertheless is not a precise copy of *11QTemple^a*, cols. 23–24. Frg. 23 begins with a quotation from Leviticus 23, in which God, in the third person, is speaking to Moses. This does not accord with the literary practice of the *Temple Scroll*, in which God speaks in the first person, and Moses is not mentioned by name.¹² Further, the text in *11QTemple^a* concerning the Wood Festival (including the unique tribal order) is much longer than the text preserved in frg. 23.¹³ The two texts, while similar in content, are not exact copies of one another. Noting this, Wise suggested that this fragment was part of

¹⁰ See below and S. White Crawford, “Three Fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and Their Relationship to the Temple Scroll,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 259–273.

¹¹ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QTemple^b,” 381–383.

¹² As first noted by B. Levine, “The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character,” *BASOR* 232 (1978): 5–23, 6.

¹³ Crawford, “Three Fragments,” 264.

what he calls the “D Source” of the Temple Scroll.¹⁴ He reached his conclusion before the publication of 4Q365. As argued in that publication, frg. 23 belongs, on the basis of both physical and content evidence, to 4Q365, one of the manuscripts of *Reworked Pentateuch*, a “hyperexpanded” Torah.¹⁵ It is not part of any recension of the *Temple Scroll*. Whether or not it might be part of a source for the *Temple Scroll*, as suggested by Wise, is explored below.

Fig. 2, cols. i and ii, contains substantial parallels with *11QTemple^a*. Col. i even shares a *vacat* (line 7) in the exact same place as *11QTemple^a* 38:11. However, once again *11QTemple^a* contains a longer text, which cannot be fitted into the lines of frg. 2 i.¹⁶ Thus the two texts are not identical, and cannot be copies of each other.

Fig. 2, col. ii contains the closest parallel to *11QTemple^a* 41:4–42:3; the extant material is almost identical.¹⁷ Both texts describe the construction of the outer court of the Temple. However, the text contained in *11QTemple^a* between 38:15 and 41:4 cannot be fitted into the space between the last line of frg. 2, col. i (with a bottom margin) and the first extant line of col. ii.¹⁸ Thus the two texts, while parallel, cannot be identical.

The last four fragments (1, 3–5) do not contain parallels to the *Temple Scroll*, but only similar content. Frg. 1 mentions the Mazzot Festival (lines 2, 5?), and perhaps the Passover offering. Similar content is found in the *Temple Scroll* in the Festival Calendar, col. 17, but the content of frg. 1 cannot be localized in col. 17. Frgs. 3–4 contain building instructions, probably for the courts of the Temple. Frg. 3 mentions a wall seven cubits wide, which agrees with the dimensions of the wall of the outer court in *11QTemple^a*, col. 40, or with the wall of the gate of the inner court (36:5).¹⁹ Frg. 4 may be describing some portion

¹⁴ Wise, *The Temple Scroll*, 58–59.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the nature of the *4QReworked Pentateuch* manuscripts, see S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 39–59.

¹⁶ Crawford, “Three Fragments,” 267, 272.

¹⁷ Frg. 2 ii 11 contains the phrase עֲצֵי אֲרָז, missing in *11QTemple^a*.

¹⁸ Crawford, “Three Fragments,” 269. Such a reconstruction would demand a column height of 43 lines, assuming an average letter space count of 76. Yadin gives a column height of approximately 22 lines for *11QTemple^a* (*Temple Scroll*, 1:12). Qimron estimates the column height for the scroll to be between 22 and 29 lines (*The Temple Scroll*, 7).

¹⁹ Wacholder places the contents of this fragment into *11QTemple^a* 4:1–4, which deals with the Temple proper (“The Fragmentary Remains,” 7–8). Wise (*A Critical*

of the Temple structure, which would localize it in *11QTemple^a*, col. 4. However, this is very uncertain. Finally, frg. 5, col. i, besides mentioning some building specifications (lines 5–7), refers to “the wheels” (line 4; **האופנים**). There is no mention, as far as I am aware, of “wheels” in the *Temple Scroll*.

The obvious conclusion to the data given above is that the five fragments of 4Q365a do not constitute a copy of the *Temple Scroll* (or a recension of it); therefore the title “4QTemple?” is a misnomer. If 4Q365a is not a copy of the *Temple Scroll*, should the fragments be reintegrated into 4Q365?

4Q365?

The strongest argument for placing the fragments of 4Q365a back into 4Q365 is that they were written by the same scribe, using the same orthographic practice.²⁰ Further, Stegemann argued that the crease preserved on 4Q365a, frg. 2, is similar to the crease in 4Q365, frg. 6, adding to the physical evidence that the two sets of fragments should be combined.²¹

If these arguments are accepted and the fragments of 4Q365a are rejoined to 4Q365, the question becomes, where in 4Q365 should these five fragments be placed? Although Strugnell, in his original notes, placed them all together following 4Q365, frg. 23 and before frg. 24 on the basis of content, that placement is unlikely when the physical characteristics of the fragments are considered. Each fragment, therefore, will be considered separately.

Fragment 1 contains material concerning the Mazzot Festival (lines 2, 5?) and probably the Passover sacrifices. Strugnell, as mentioned above, placed it after 4Q365, frg. 23 and before frg. 24, since frg. 23, line 7 mentions the Passover sacrifices, and the Mazzot Festival is always connected with the Passover sacrifice in the received Penta-teuch text.²² Further, frg. 23 contains an expanded text after Lev 24:2a, and he assumed that frg. 1 was a continuation of that expansion.

Study, 53) notes that the text of frg. 3 will not fit spatially or contextually into *11QTemple^a*.

²⁰ Tov and White, “4Q365a,” 319, 322.

²¹ As reported by Lange, *Handbuch*, 38.

²² Tov and White, “4Q365,” 323.

Fig. 23 (Lev 23:42–24:2 + additions) is followed in 4Q365 by frg. 24 (Lev 25:7–9). Since both frgs. 23 and 24 preserve a top margin, the text of 4Q365a, frg. 1 has to fit into the column structure of the fragments after the additional material in frg. 23 and before the beginning of frg. 24. A calculation of the number of lines preserved in 4Q365 23, and 4Q365a 1, plus the approximate number of lines from the nonextant text of Lev 24:20–25:6 according to the Masoretic Text, yields a column height for frg. 23 + frg. 1 of approximately forty-seven lines.²³ Therefore, it is entirely possible that 4Q365a 1 originally was placed toward the bottom of 4Q365 23. However, on the basis of the mention of the Mazzot Festival, it is also possible that frg. 1 could be placed after Exod 12:15–20, Lev 23:6 or Deut 16:1–8, all of which contain instructions for the Mazzot Festival. There is no physical evidence that would speak in favor of any of these placements.

4Q365a 2 preserves two columns of text with a bottom margin. Since according to Stegemann the crease in this fragment resembles the crease in 4Q365 6a, it would make sense to place 4Q365a 2 somewhere in the vicinity of frg. 6a (which preserves two columns of text, with top and right margins). The content of frg. 2, col. i concerns the Day of First Fruits and other sacrificial ordinances; after a *vacat* (empty line?) it contains the beginning of a description of the middle court of the Temple (parallel to *11QTemple^a*, col. 38). Column ii, which is very well-preserved, contains a description of the gates of the outer court of the Temple (parallel to *11QTemple^a*, cols. 41–42). This content might indicate a placement in the vicinity of Exodus 25–30, 35–40, the instructions for building the Tabernacle and their execution. 4Q365 8a–b contains Exod 24:34–36; frgs. 9a–b, col. i preserves Exod 28:16–20, while col. ii contains Exod 29:20–22; and frg. 10 contains Exod 30:37–31:2. Frg. 11, col. i contains Exod 35:3–5. Frg. 12, col. i preserves Exod 36:32–36, col. ii contains Exod 37:29–38:7, and col. iii preserves Exod 39:1–16. Frg. 13 contains Exod 39:17–19. Thus a relatively large portion of those chapters is preserved in the fragments. Frgs. 8a–b, 9b, 10, 11 and 12 preserve bottom margins, like 4Q365a 2, while frg. 13

²³ The calculation was made using a line length of 65 spaces, which is an average of the reconstructed line lengths of 4Q365, frgs. 23–25 (Tov and White, “4Q365,” 256). Where a column height can be calculated for 4Q365 6a i contained 47 lines per column, and frg. 12a–b ii and iii contained 43 lines per column (Tov and White, “4Q365,” 256). Therefore a column height of 47 lines per column (frg. 23 = 12 lines; frg. 1 = 8 lines; nonextant text of Leviticus = 27 lines, for a total of 47 lines) is reasonable.

has a top margin. It is impossible to insert 4Q365a 2 between frgs. 8, 9, 11 or 12 because Strugnell reports that when these fragments were brought into the Rockefeller Museum they were layered on top of one another, with frg. 9a–b beneath frg. 8a–b, frg. 11 beneath frg. 9a–b, and frg. 12a–b beneath frg. 11.²⁴ This indicates that these fragments were in adjacent layers when the complete scroll was rolled up, making it impossible to insert another fragment with a bottom margin in between them. Therefore, the only possible placement for 4Q365a 2 among the 4Q365 fragments containing parts of Exodus 25–30, 35–40 would be after frg. 9, col. ii (Exod 29:20–22) and before frg. 10 (Exod 30:37–31:2). This would add two additional columns of material into these chapters. This is possible, but it would be the most extensive addition in 4Q365. The other additions, even the largest, constitute only 8–10 lines of material. This kind of long, two-column addition would change the nature of 4Q365, making it less like an expanded Pentateuch and more like a more extensively rewritten composition such as Jubilees. Also, the content of Exodus 29–30 concerns the ordination of Aaron and his sons, the construction of the incense altar, the half-shekel offering, and the bronze laver. None of these topics are related to the Day of First Fruits or the middle or outer courts of the temple, the topics of frg. 2. Other possible placement points would be after Num 7:1–88, the passage concerning the dedication offerings for the altar, or Deut 12:2–7, the command to seek “the place where the LORD your God will choose,” and worship there. There is no material evidence, however, which would support those placements.

4Q365a 3 contains content concerning the dimensions of the wall of the outer court (or possibly the inner court) of the Temple. This content would suggest that this fragment was a continuation of the contents of frg. 2. Indeed, Strugnell placed it at the top of frg. 2, col. ii. This placement would argue that the structure being described was the inner court wall, and the house mentioned in line 1 was the Temple. However, frg. 3 preserves a right margin with traces of sutures, indicating that it came from the right-hand side of a sheet of leather, and not from the middle of a two-column (at least) sheet like frg. 2. Therefore, Strugnell’s tentative placement is impossible.²⁵ It is difficult to know where else to place frg. 3 in 4Q365.

²⁴ Tov and White, “4Q365,” 275, 277, 278.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 330.

The same difficulty exists for the last two fragments of 4Q365a. Frg. 4 is a small fragment containing building specifications for an unknown structure. 4Q365 23 mentions “doors” (line 8); it is possible that frg. 4 would fit into the column structure here (see above), but the referent in frg. 23 may not be the same, since it has content concerning the Wood Offering (frg. 23, lines 5ff.); the “doors” mentioned in line 8 are evidently to be built utilizing wood from the Wood Offering.

4Q365a 5 contains two fragmentary columns, evidently again with building specifications. There is no obvious placement for this fragment in 4Q365. The intriguing mention of “wheels” in col. i, line 4, brings the fragment into relationship with Ezekiel’s vision of the divine throne chariot.²⁶ On a more mundane level, 1 Kgs 7:30–33 reports that there are wheels beneath the ten bases underneath the laver in Solomon’s Temple.²⁷ A possible connection might be drawn with the bronze basin for the priests to wash in in Exod 30:18–19; 38:8, but that basin is not wheeled. There is no other evidence for the placement of frg. 5 in 4Q365.

CONCLUSION

I have demonstrated that the five fragments of 4Q365a (along with 4Q365 23) do not constitute a fifth copy of the *Temple Scroll* as that document exists in its Herodian form from Cave 11 (11Q*Temple*^{a, b}), or even in its earlier Hasmonean recension from Cave 4 (4Q*Rouleau du Temple*).²⁸ However, the parallels between 4Q365 23, and 4Q365a 2, strongly suggest that these six fragments contained source material for the *Temple Scroll*.²⁹ Whether these fragments themselves were the source for the composer/redactor of the *Temple Scroll*, or if there was a common, earlier source, cannot be determined.

²⁶ Ibid., 332.

²⁷ Ibid., 332.

²⁸ É. Puech, “4Q*Rouleau du Temple*,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4, XVIII, Texts Hébreux* (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579) (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 411–424.

²⁹ See my remarks in S. White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). See also É. Puech, “Fragments du plus ancien exemplaire du *Rouleau du Temple* (4Q524),” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 19–66; 50.

The strongest argument for the reincorporation of 4Q365a into 4Q365 is their common scribal hand. However, we do have examples of the same scribe copying different documents in the Qumran corpus, so that argument is not definitive.³⁰ The fragments must also be located in the manuscript of 4Q365. Fragment 1 may be tentatively placed between frgs. 23 and 24; frg. 4 even more tentatively may belong there as well. However, it was not possible to locate frgs. 2, 3 and 5 within the column structure of 4Q365; in the case of frg. 2 its size made its placement extremely difficult. Further, if all the fragments of 4Q365a are reincorporated in 4Q365, the nature of 4Q365 changes. It moves further away from the expanded Pentateuch type of 4Q364, and closer to more extensively rewritten compositions like *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* itself.³¹

In conclusion, then, it is more likely that the fragments of 4Q365a belong within 4Q365 than with the *Temple Scroll*. However, the difficulties presented above allow only a tentative affirmation of that proposal. The question of the identity of the fragments of 4Q365a is not fully resolved.

³⁰ A. Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (ed. M. Lubetski; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 288–298.

³¹ Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 46–52.

DAVID'S YOUTH IN THE QUMRAN CONTEXT
(11QPS^A 28:3–12)

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The Hebrew Bible offers a rich collection of traditions about David: David the hero who defeated Goliath through his courage and faith, David the able king who united the tribes of Judah and Israel, conquered Jerusalem and founded the ideal kingdom, and David the chosen king destined to father the elect royal lineage, the future Messiah and the enduring kingdom. Besides his abilities as warrior and governor the biblical tradition depicts David as inspired musician and poet, who composed many psalms. All these features are taken up by later Jewish literature, and the Qumran documents are no exception. David figures in both sectarian and non-sectarian texts in his various capacities just listed.¹

But within his colorful biography, David's youth has a special role. Few are the biblical figures who have won such attention for their tender age—perhaps only Moses. So not surprisingly, later post-biblical literature alighted on the major episodes of David's youth: David tending his flock, his battle with Goliath, and his gift as lyre player, all are presented by the later traditions.² It is interesting, however, that

¹ On David in the biblical tradition see Y. Zakovitch, *David: From Shepherd to Messiah* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi; 1995 (Hebrew)). David in the rabbinic literature is surveyed by A. Shinan, "On the Image of King David in the Rabbinic Literature," Appendix in Zakovitch, *David*, 181–199 (Hebrew). For a survey of the references to David in the Qumran scrolls see C. A. Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997), 182–197; J. C. R. de Roo, "David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 6 (1999): 44–65 (discussing the references in the *Damascus Document*, 4Q174 and 4QMMT). On David's prophetic gifts, especially in 11QPS^a col. 27 and the Qumranic pesharim, see P. W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 158–167.

² Natalio Fernández Marcos discusses several apocryphal works which deal with these themes: Ben Sira 47:3–4, Syriac Psalms 152 and 153 and the *L.A.B.* 59–60 (cf. n. 26 below). See idem, "David the Adolescent: On Psalm 151," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 204–217.

these episodes do not occupy an important place in the Qumran texts. Except for the single reference to the victory over Goliath in the *War Scroll* (1QM 11:1) David's youthful exploits are singled out only by the last psalm preserved in the Psalm scroll from cave 11, 11QPs^a col. 28.³ Accordingly, this psalm has attracted much attention, especially since a shorter version of it has been transmitted in several ancient versions. It concludes the Septuagint canonical Psalms, the Old Latin, and the Syro-Hexapla, and is found in a Syriac translation of several apocryphal psalms.⁴ Most of the scholarly discussion indeed centers on the relation between the Qumran specimen and these textual witnesses.⁵ Many scholars estimate that the Hebrew psalm is the original composition and the translations represent a later, edited and abridged version of it.⁶ But others think that the reverse is the case and that the shorter version of the Septuagint is the earliest while the Qumran poem is a later adapted and enlarged version.⁷ The nature and provenance of this poem are also still a matter of debate. Two facts attest to its connection to the community of Qumran: it is copied in a Qumran manuscript and it is found in a scroll which includes a list of David's compositions according to a 364-day calendar (11QPs^a 27:2–11), espoused by the Qumran community.⁸ Some think it embodies the Psalms canon of the Qumran community, others its liturgical compilation.⁹ Indeed, most

³ This non-biblical psalm is found together with eight other apocryphal psalms incorporated into the collection of 11QPs^a. Cf. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 53–93. On the special character of this collection see P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 39–41.

⁴ Cf. J. A. Sanders, "Ps. 151 in 11QPSS," *ZAW* 75 (1963): 73–5; idem, *The Psalms Scroll*, 54–64; J. Magne, "Les texts grec et syriaque du psaume 151," *RevQ* 8 (1975): 548–564.

⁵ For detailed comparisons with the Septuagint version see Sanders, *ibid.*; Magne, *ibid.*; M. Haran, "The Two Text-Forms of Psalm 151," *JJS* 39 (1988): 171–182; D. Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran and its Relation to Psalm 151 in the Septuagint," *Textus* 19 (1998): 1*–35*, esp. 16*–25* (Hebrew); M. Segal, "The Literary Development of Psalm 151: A New Look at the Septuagint Version," *Textus* 21 (2002): 130–158. See below.

⁶ Cf. Sanders, "Ps. 151."

⁷ Cf. Haran, "Two Text-Forms"; M. S. Smith, "How to Write a Poem: The Case of Psalm 151A (11QPs^a 28.3–12)," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. E. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 182–208; Segal, "Literary Development." See below.

⁸ Peter Flint thinks that the entire 11QPs^a collection was originally arranged according to the 364-day calendar. Cf. idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 172–201.

⁹ For a summary of the debate and further references see *ibid.*, 204–227. This debate will be mentioned here only inasmuch as it bears on the issues discussed in the present article.

previous discussion emphasized the role of this poem in attributing Davidic authorship to the entire 11QPs^a collection.

However, surprisingly little has been written about other possible links which may connect this poem to the library of Qumran, in particular to the specific community which owned it. Early discussions either affirmed or denied such a connection, but on flimsy grounds.¹⁰ They left much room for further study. Such an investigation is now called for in light of the improved readings and better interpretation of the text and style of the poem achieved by recent studies.¹¹ Additionally, it may now be examined in light of the entire Qumran library available for study, which was not the case when most of the research on the poem was done and published. The present article attempts to perform this task by examining this Davidic autobiography in the larger context of the Qumran ideology. It is offered to Eileen Schuller as a token of friendship and appreciation of her lifelong work on the psalmodic literature from Qumran that has taught us so much.

The psalm under examination occupies the last column of 11QPs^a, of which ten lines (3–12) are preserved intact. Some words survived of lines 13 and 14 in the column. An additional line was copied in the column, but only several letters remain of it for the bottom of the scroll has been damaged. Most of line 12 was left blank, indicating that a new section begins in line 13. Only a few words have survived of this new part, referring to the prophetic anointing of David and to his battle with Goliath the Philistine (lines 13–14). So in the Qumran scroll, lines 3–12 constitute a distinct unit, separated from the remaining lines. Yet in the Septuagint Ps 151 both sections are joined.

¹⁰ Sanders rightly says that placing the poem in the last column suggests that “it held great importance in Qumranian beliefs concerning both David and his musical ability.” Cf. Sanders, “Ps. 151,” 77. But he does not elaborate this statement. William Brownlee thinks that the poem is “pre-Qumranian in origin.” See idem, “The 11Q Counterpart to Psalm 151, 1–5,” *RevQ* 4 (1963): 387. By contrast, for Jean Carmignac, a Qumranic origin is negated by the use in the poem of the term אֱלֹהִים and the Tetragrammaton. Cf. idem, “La forme poétique du Psaume 151 de la Grotte 11,” *RevQ* 4 (1963): 378. However, we now know that the use of divine names depends on the literary character of the Qumranic texts so their presence or absence cannot be taken as markers of sectarian or non-sectarian character. As for Brownlee’s suggestion, he does not explain why and how the term ‘pre-Qumranic’ applies to the poem.

¹¹ For the correct reading of the poem, especially of lines 7–8, see I. Rabinowitz, “The Alleged Orphism of 11QPSS 28 8–12,” *ZAW* 76 (1964): 195. Note also A. Hurvitz, “Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm,” *RevQ* 18 (1965): 228, n. 7. In more detail, see P. Auffret, “Structure littéraire et interprétation du psaume 151 de la grotte 11 de Qumran,” *RevQ* 9 (1977–78): 163–188; Amara, “Psalm 151 from Qumran.”

In scholarly discussion 11QPs^a 28:3–12 is labeled psalm 151A, while the remaining lines 13–14 are part of Ps 151B.¹² Given this situation, and that the remaining two lines are very fragmentary, only the unit 151A (lines 3–12) is the subject of the present inquiry.

The character of the psalm on David is partly suggested by its place in the scroll. It is the concluding psalm, since the remaining area of the parchment is not inscribed. The poem follows a section enumerating David's compositions (11QPs^a 27:2–11) and a few verses from Ps 140:1–5 (11QPs^a 27:12–15) and Ps 134:1–3 (11QPs^a 28:1–2). This scribal arrangement shows that the scroll was intended to be a collection of "David's compositions," concluded by the list of David's poetic products and an autobiographic notice.¹³

The poem about David's youth has been variously understood because of the different readings and interpretations of lines 5–8. These lines may be read in more than one way due to two factors. First, the poetic text is copied in one stretch without strophic division, and is thus open to several readings. Secondly, the letters *yod* and *waw* are often undistinguishable in this scroll, so some key-words may be read with either letter. The correct understanding of the psalm depends therefore on a combination of contextual, literary and linguistic factors. The analysis proposed below is based on the following edition.¹⁴

11QPs^a 28:3–12

3	הללויה לדויד בן ישי. קטן הייתי מ'אחי וצעיר מבני אבי
4	וישימני / רועה לצונו ומושל בגדיותיו. די עשו עוגב
5	ואצבעותי כנור / ואשימה לה' כבוד. אמרתי אני בנפשי:

¹² See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 54–55.

¹³ As noted by Sanders, "Ps. 151," 77–78.

¹⁴ The present edition is based on the reading and division of Auffret, "Structure littéraire," and Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran." See also J. B. Storfjell, "The Chiasmic Structure of Psalm 151," *AUSS* 25 (1987): 100; Smith, "How to Write a Poem," 188–189 (with several alterations). Slashes indicate the break of lines.

	ההרים לוא יעידו / לי והגבעות לוא יגידו עלי, העצים את דברי והצואן את מעשי /	6
	כי מי יגיד ומי ידבר ומי יספר את מעשי. אדון הכול ראה אלוה / הכול הוא שמע והוא האזין.	7
	שלח נביאו למושחני את שמואל / לגדלני. יצאו אחי לקראתו יפי התור ויפי המראה	8
	הגבהים בקומתם / היפים בשערם. לוא בחר ה' אלוהים במ וישלח ויקחני / מאחר הצואן וימשחני בשמן הקודש וישימני נגיד לעמו ^ל ומושל ^ל בני /	9
	בריתו	10
		11
		12

- 3 A Halleluja of David the son of Jesse.
Smaller was I than my brothers
and the youngest of the sons of my father,
4 so he made me shepherd of his flock
and ruler over his kids.
My hands have made a harp
and my finger a lyre;
5 And [so] have I rendered glory to the Lord.
I said to my soul:¹⁵
6 The mountains do not bear witness for me,¹⁶
the hills will not report about me,
nor the trees my words
nor the flock my deeds.
7 But¹⁷ who will report and who will speak
and who will recount my deeds?
The Master¹⁸ of everything has seen,

¹⁵ Cf. n. 39 below.

¹⁶ Contextually the reading לִי ("me") with *yod* is preferable to לוֹ ("him") with *waw*. Cf. below.

¹⁷ Translating כִּי in the contrastive sense following a negative sentence, thus stressing the divine omniscience. Cf. Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 198; Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," 12*.

¹⁸ Thus translated by Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 196. The word "master" renders more accurately the Hebrew אֲדוֹן, since the word "Lord" (used by Sanders) is usually reserved for rendering the Tetragrammaton.

- 8 God of everything, He has seen
and He has listened.
He sent his prophet to anoint me,
9 Samuel to make me great.¹⁹
My brothers went out to meet him,
handsome of figure and appearance.
10 though they were tall of stature and handsome by their hair,
the Lord did not choose them.
11 But He sent and took me from behind the flock
and anointed me with holy oil
and made me leader of his people and ruler of the sons of his
covenant.²⁰

James Sanders labeled this poem a “midrash” on 1 Sam 16:1–13,²¹ and rightly so. The poem builds on these verses, albeit with significant additions and alterations.²² The first line being the title is modeled on similar titles of the canonical psalms, and includes the genre of the poem and the name of its author.²³ *Halleluja* as the opening title often appears in the canonical psalms and once in another non-canonical psalm from Qumran.²⁴ In other Qumran texts it occurs as a refrain in psalmic compositions.²⁵ In any case the title indicates that the poem is a praise of God. Significantly, the Septuagint version supplies a different title, a fact important for understanding the specific context of the Qumran version.

¹⁹ Zipora and David Talshir proposed to translate לַגְדֹלְנִי as “for my unction,” taking לַגְדֹל as a calque of the Aramaic רַבִּיָּה “to anoint.” See Z. and D. Talshir, review of J. H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, *IEJ* 54 (2004): 108. However, this may not be the case since לַגְדֹל in the sense of “to make great” is well known from the biblical usage (e.g. 1 Kgs 1:37; Isa 1:2) and fits well with the context of the present psalm.

²⁰ The translation is essentially that of Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 55–56, with alterations to fit the corrected readings, some following Rabinowitz, “Alleged Orphism,” 196.

²¹ Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 56.

²² See the study of scriptural material in Ps 151A, offered by Smith, “How to Write a Poem.”

²³ Cf. the comparative study of the titles in the canonical Psalms by *ibid.*, 203–208.

²⁴ In the Massoretic text the term is usually written as two words יה הללו (e.g. Ps 112:1; 113:1; 146:1) and once as one word הללויה (Ps 106:1). The term also opens the Qumran psalm 4Q448 i 1, and is written as one word.

²⁵ Written in the conclusion of the *Apostrophe to Judah* (4Q88 10:15) and in the fragmentary context of 4Q456 2 3. Here the word is used as in the canonical Psalms (e.g. Ps 106:46; 115:18).

The entire poem is written in autobiographic first-person style, in which David himself tells the story of his youth.²⁶ Lines 3–4 are based on 1 Sam 16:11, which depicts David as the youngest of his father's sons, and the least important. In the biblical text David's youth emphasizes that the youngest, not the eldest, was finally chosen for kingship.²⁷ The fact that he was with his father's flock serves to explain why he was not present at home with his older brothers when Samuel visited the family, but also to suggest his lowly standing within his family (cf. 1 Sam 17:28).²⁸ The Qumran poem takes up this feature by indicating that David's youth, hence his insignificant status, was the reason his father sent him to tend the flock.²⁹ But for the Qumran author, sending David to shepherd the flock made him "a ruler over his kids." The use of the word "ruler" (מושל) obviously plays on the future role of David as the ruler of Israel, described by the same word (מושל) in the final strophe of the psalm (line 11). The word is used of David in the prophecy of Mic 5:1,³⁰ and this verse may have influenced the choice of this word in the Qumran text, as it did the use in the Qumranic poem

²⁶ S. Talmon, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms from Qumran—Psalm 151," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 244–273 (an English translation of the Hebrew article published in *Tarbiz* 35 [1966]: 214–234) characterizes this style "autobiographic psalm," a genre appearing only in Second Temple times (pp. 261–262). But note his recent definition: "The psalm actually may be seen as a poetic expansion in the form of an autobiographical ode of the short prose pericope 1 Sam 16:7–13." See idem, "Pisqah Be'emsha Pasuq and the Psalm Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)," in *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 379. Another autobiographic "psalm of David" is embedded in the *L.A.B.* 59:1–7. See J. Strugnell, "More Psalms of 'David'," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 207–216, with Hebrew retroversion (on p. 215).

²⁷ A similar motif appears in the story of Saul's coronation. He comes from the tribe of Benjamin, the smallest of all Israel's tribes, and his family is the youngest of all his tribe's families (1 Sam 9:21; 15:17). The influence of Saul's narrative on David's description is also noted by Zakovitch, *David: From Shepherd to Messiah*, 77.

²⁸ The biblical story may allude to some enmity between David and his older brothers, a motif explicitly stated in *L.A.B.* 59:4. In the opinion of Yair Zakovitch this may also be alluded to in the Qumranic poem. See idem, "The First Words of David: Studies in Psalm 151 from Qumran," in *On a Scroll of a Book: Articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Mazor; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2001), 79 (Hebrew). See also Fernández Marcos, "David the Adolescent," 210–211.

²⁹ Cf. Talmon, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms," 253; Zakovitch, "The first Words of David."

³⁰ ואתה בית לחם אפרתה צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה ממך יצא להיות מושל בישראל ("And you, O Bethlehem of Ephrath, least among the clans of Judah, from you one shall come forth to be a ruler in Israel..."). Note also Isa 55:4.

of the word “young” (צעיר) to indicate David’s tender age.³¹ The fact that from his early years David shouldered the responsibility to lead his flock prepared him for his future task. Here the author alludes to a major biblical idea, namely, that tending a flock equals leading people, and perhaps even trains one for the task.³² This may already be suggested by the biblical narrative about David.³³ Yet it appears that the Qumran composition lays special emphasis on this aspect for it does not make use of 1 Sam 17:34–36, which tell how David killed a lion and a bear menacing the flock. In the biblical story this detail may have accounted for David’s father’s reliance on his son’s abilities, since the biblical story represents David as a capable shepherd who knows how to protect his flock. But the Qumran poem plays down this aspect of David’s conduct and omits entirely the allusions to his physical prowess. By contrast, it inserts into the description of David’s days with his flock another detail not found in the biblical account.

According to this addition David constructed a harp (עוגב) and a lyre (כנור) (lines 4–5) to play on.³⁴ This duality is puzzling, for David’s musical talents could have been expressed by reference to one instrument, as indeed it is the case in the biblical account. How did the author of 11QPs^a col. 28 view the actual playing? Did David alternate between the two instruments, or are the two mentioned together as a stylistic feature, based on their pairing in Gen 4:21 and Job 21:12? If so, perhaps specifying the two is just a poetic way to describe one instrument and a single piece of music.³⁵ The association of David with music is, of course, biblical, for David is presented as a skillful player of the lyre (1 Sam 16:15–23). But the biblical account does not link this ability to a particular type of compositions, or to tending

³¹ In the opinion of S. Talmon the pair צעיר/קטן in line 3 was influenced by the parallelism of the pair in Isa 60:22. See idem, “Extra-canonical Hebrew Psalms,” 244–272 (the comment appears on pp. 253–254).

³² Note Num 27:17. Compare the depiction of Moses as shepherd before he accepts the mission to take the Israelites out of Egypt (Exod 3:1).

³³ Cf. 1 Sam 5:2; 7:8. The prophets repeatedly use the metaphor of shepherds for the leaders of Israel. Cf. Jer 3:15; 23:1, 4; Ezek 34; Mic 5:4; Zech 11:5, 10. The metaphor was widespread in Ancient Near Eastern literature.

³⁴ Such workmanship may be based on Amos 6:5 and 2 Chr 7:6, as suggested by Amara, “Psalm 151 from Qumran,” 12*.

³⁵ Note the pair כנור נבלי (“the lyre of my harp”) in context of praise of God, depicted by 1QS 10:9: וכול נגינתי לכבוד אל וכנור נבלי לתכון קודשו (“And all my song is to the glory of God and the lyre of my harp for his holy order”). The similarity to 11QPs^a 28:4b–5a is notable.

the flock, whereas the Qumran poem does. Moreover, lines 4–5 make clear that David perfected his musicianship while in the open, tending his flock. Perhaps the author of the Qumran poem wished to explain how David came to be such a proficient player, a point not explained by the biblical story. But if indeed this was one of his aims, it was secondary. The poem itself explains that David's purpose in making the instruments was to render glory to the Lord כבוד לה' (ואשימה). The Hebrew expression is based on a biblical locution (Isa 42:12; Ps 66:2) meaning "to praise God." In other words, David made instruments in order to praise God by playing and probably also singing, for proper praise has to be rendered also by words. So the poem refers to praise of God sung by David and accompanied by his playing.³⁶ The praise probably consisted of telling God's wondrous deeds, a theme current in the canonical Psalms and in the Qumranic *Hodayot*.³⁷ In highlighting David's religious poetry the Qumranic poem is well within the biblical and later tradition. David is presented as the author of various psalms (1 Sam 23:1–7; Psalms 72:20. Cf. 1 Chr 16:4–7; Ben Sira 47:8).³⁸ However, the particularity of the Qumran poem lies in the emphasis on David's offering praise through music from an early age.

Having described David's praise, the following strophes (lines 5–8) introduce David's inner monologue by the words "I told myself."³⁹ These lines have elicited different interpretations since the strophes have been differently analyzed and the *yod/waw* differently read. Most influential has been Sanders' initial reading. He limits David's inner monologue to the words "the mountains will not witness to him and the hills will not proclaim" (ההרים לוא יעידו לו והגבעות לוא יגידו). Such an understanding results from his reading לו ("him") with *waw* as the 3rd masculine singular suffix referring to God. Accordingly, David compares his own praise of God to the inability of the

³⁶ Zakovitch, "First Words of David," 79; Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," 15*. Ibid., 3* she rightly stresses that the word ואשימה ("and I rendered") is best understood as an action performed in the past, expressed by the inverted future *wayyiqtol*.

³⁷ See e.g. Ps 106:2; 107:22; 118:2, and the *Hodayot* (e.g. 1QH^a 9:35–36; 11:24; 19:27). The theme also appears in one of the apocryphal psalms of 11QPs^a itself (28:3–4). Cf. Talmon, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms," 255–256. Cf. also Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism."

³⁸ Cf. Zakovitch, *David: From Shepherd to Messiah*, 48–60; idem, "The first Words of David," 73–75.

³⁹ אמרתי אני בנפשי. This locution is an Aramaism in the late Hebrew of the Second Temple period. Cf. A. Hurvitz, "The Language and Date of Psalm 151 from Qumran," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967): 84–85 (Hebrew).

mountains to do so. But as has been pointed out, the Hebrew verb *עידו* from the root *עו"ד* means “to witness, testify”⁴⁰ but not “to praise.”⁴¹ Also the combination of the verb *עידו* with the preposition *lamed* is awkward. Moreover, this interpretation assigns to the poem an idea alien to the biblical world, since nature’s ability to praise God is repeatedly stressed by biblical texts.⁴² Equally strange is the reading which leaves the verb *גידו* (“proclaim”) without an object. Similar difficulties beset Sanders’ reading of the next strophes (lines 6–7). He understands them as expressing admiration by the trees and the flock for David’s actions: “The trees have cherished my words and the flock my works” (*עלו העצים את דברי והצואן את מעשי*). Such a reading takes the word *עלו* with final *waw* as a 3rd person plural perfect of the verb *על"ה* (*pi'el*), used by rabbinic Hebrew in the sense of “exalt,” “praise.”⁴³ But such a reading creates incongruity in the poem: according to Sanders’ interpretation the previous lines express nature’s inability to praise God, whereas in these lines it praises David.⁴⁴

Sanders’ understanding of the next strophes (7–8) is influenced by his reading of the previous ones. He reads the words *מי יגיד ומי ידבר* *מזי יספר את מעשי אדון* (“For who can proclaim and who can bespeak and who can recount the deeds of the Lord?”) as a string of short sentences with a single object. He goes on to read the next words as two additional distinct sentences: *הכול ראה אלוה, הכול הוא שמע והוא האזין* (“Everything has God seen, everything has he heard, and he has

⁴⁰ See e.g. Deut 30:19; Isa 8:2. It is the current meaning in Mishnaic Hebrew. Cf. e.g. *m. Sanh.* 2.1; *m. Mak.* 1.1. Cf. the comments of Amara, “Psalm 151 from Qumran,” 9*, n. 42.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4*.

⁴² See Isa 42:12; Ps 19:2.

⁴³ Cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York, 1943; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005), 1081 (Cited by Sanders. It is now possible to adduce additional references recorded by the Academy of Hebrew Language database [under *עלי pi'el*]). Patrick Skehane reads *עלי* with *yod* but vocalizes it as plural governed noun of the singular *עֲלָה*, “leaf, foliage,” taking the words *עלי העצים* as a construct pair meaning “the boughs of trees.” Cf. idem, “The Apocryphal Psalm 151,” *CBQ* 25 (1963): 407–409. This reading is followed by Talmon, “Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms,” 251. But as Amara points out, “Psalm 151 from Qumran,” 7*, there is no logical reason for the poet to mention the trees’ foliage rather than the trees themselves.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Amara also notes that nature’s inability to praise God is an idea in sharp contrast to the biblical view (e.g. Isa 43:23; 49:13; 55:12; Ps 19:2; 96:11; 148:9–10). This argument is also valid for Smith’s reading *עלו* as “of Him” ([=עֲלוֹ], namely of God). See Smith, “How to Write a Poem,” 188, 191. Smith quotes Émile Puech for the statement that graphically *waw* and *yod* may be distinguished in this scroll (p. 191). However, regarding the words *לו/י* and *עלו/י* in line 6 this statement must be qualified, for in their case it is really difficult to decide which letter is to be read. See n. 47 below.

heeded"). Yet such understanding disconnects the first statement from the second. David's contrast of his own praise of God to the muteness of the natural elements and animals, as Sanders understands the passage, is irrelevant to the following affirmation that God alone saw and heard everything.

So no coherent line of thought emerges from Sanders' reading. Additionally, it entails several linguistic and stylistic difficulties. The construct pair **אֲדוֹן מַעֲשֵׂי** ("deeds of the Lord") created by Sanders' reading (line 7) is not attested in Hebrew.⁴⁵ More in line with Hebrew usage is to connect the word **אֲדוֹן** ("lord") with the following word **הַכּוֹל** ("everything") and read the locution as the construct pair **אֲדוֹן הַכּוֹל** ("the lord of everything"), an expression well-known from later Hebrew literature.⁴⁶ His reading of several words with *waw*, such as **לֹ** and **עָלוּ**, also creates difficulties: it disconnects the part of David from the following lines. But once the reading **לִי** ("me") and **עָלַי** ("about me") are introduced, and the combination **אֲדוֹן מַעֲשֵׂי** is split, the passage becomes clear. According to such a reading most of lines 5–8 belong to David's inner monologue. Thus, a string of words in lines 6–7 should be read with *yod* rather than *waw*: **לִי** and not **לֹ**, **עָלַי** and not **עָלוּ**, **דְּבָרִי** and not **דְּבָרוֹ**, and **מַעֲשֵׂי** and not **מַעֲשׂוֹ**.⁴⁷ All these words are part of David's soliloquy and refer to himself, not to God. Only such a reading renders the sequence of lines 5–8 meaningful. It describes the inability of natural elements and animals to record David's activity, and contrasts this muteness to the divine knowledge of the boy's actions. The poem thus underscores the scene of David roaming alone with his flock and using his musical instruments to praise God. But he knows that in the company of nature's elements and his flock he is deprived of a human witness able to tell of his praise. In such

⁴⁵ In the Hebrew, the word **אֲדוֹן** ("Lord") stands indefinite, whereas Sanders' translation supplies the definite marker ("the"). In fact, the definite article *he* is attached to the following word **הַכּוֹל**, suggesting that this word is the *nomen rectum* of the definite construct pair **אֲדוֹן הַכּוֹל**. Cf. the comments of Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 194.

⁴⁶ Compare e.g. Ben Sira 45:23; 4Q409 1 i 8. Cf. A. Hurvitz, "The Post-biblical Epithet **אֲדוֹן הַכּוֹל** in Psalm 151 from Qumran," *Tarbiz* 34 (1965): 224–227 (Hebrew); idem, "Observations on the Language," 228; idem, "Language and Time," 84.

⁴⁷ The correct readings were already suggested by Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 194–195. Mark Smith retains the reading **לֹ** and **עָלוּ** and explains the awkward phrasing they create by the argument that "the usage seems to reflect a creative use on the part of the author-redactor." See idem, "How to Write a Poem," 191. However, if the reading **לֹ** and **עָלוּ** with *waw* in line 6, referring to God, is retained, it stands without connection to the following strophes, when read with *yod* (**מַעֲשֵׂי**, **דְּבָרִי**) in reference to David. So Smith's explanation does not justify or do away with the strange Hebrew created by these readings. See n. 44 above.

circumstances God is the sole witness to it. Thus the Qumran psalm uses David's shepherd days and young age to underline his grasp of divine authority from a tender age and his recognition of the obligation to praise God.⁴⁸

While David's meditation on his solitary praise may be assigned to his days with the flock, the affirmation of God's omniscience (lines 7–8) appears as a reflection in retrospect, after David has experienced his elevation to kingship. God as the only true witness to human actions and the judge of his heart is an idea well-anchored in the biblical story of David's election. For he is chosen not because of his good looks, for "man sees only what is visible but the Lord sees into the heart" (1 Sam 16:7).⁴⁹ Moreover, the idea that God listens to and sees human actions is common in the biblical literature, and the present poem undoubtedly takes it up.⁵⁰ But the Qumran text lays stress on David's recognition that only God is capable of observing his merit. This merit is that which earned David the royal function, and only God can initiate such an election on the basis of a true judgment of David's character (lines 6–10). The Qumranic poem then, takes up the biblical distinction between David's handsome brothers and the modest young David (1 Sam 16:6–7), but develops it to contrast the brothers' good looks and David's praise of God's glory (lines 7–10). David did not earn the kingship because of his military prowess or expert tending the flock, or because of his physical beauty, but for his recognition of God's greatness and authority.⁵¹

The reading proposed above disposes of the alleged similarity between the figure of David in the poem and Orpheus. Sanders, who first suggested the connection, based it on the understanding of line 6 as stating that the trees and the sheep are admiring listeners of David's music.⁵² Once this faulty reading is corrected the similarity disappears,

⁴⁸ This motif is reminiscent of the well known story about Abraham, who recognized the existence of God at an early age. See e.g. *Jub.* 12:1–8.

⁴⁹ כִּי הָאָדָם יִרְאֶה לְעֵינָיִם וְה' יִרְאֶה לְלִבָּב.

⁵⁰ Cf. Jer 17:10; 20:12; Mal 3:16; Ps 11:4; 14:2.

⁵¹ Similarly Sanders, "Ps. 151," 82; Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 199; B. Uffenheimer, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," *Molad* 22 (1964): 71 (Hebrew).

⁵² Sanders argues as follows: "A picture of mute animals and trees being charmed by music from the lyre comes to mind and with such a picture the myth of Orpheus" (idem, "Ps. 151," 62). This interpretation was supported by A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le psaume CLI dans 11QPs^a et le problème de son origine essénienne," *Semitica* 14 (1964): 25–62 (esp. pp. 37–40; 58–60). J. Magne believes that the allusions to Orpheus are found in the entire section lines 4–8. Cf. idem, "Orphism, Pythagorisme, Essé-

and with it the alleged Orphic influence on the poem.⁵³ More importantly, the reading proposed above brings forth the true message of the poem. David was selected to be the ruler of Israel (lines 11–12) because through his praise he recognizes God as the true ruler of the world (line 5). He also acknowledges God's providence and omniscience (lines 7–8). This intended message would explain the absence of any allusion to David's military exploits. In the Qumran scroll they are relegated to a separate unit, Psalm 151B, of which only the beginning has survived.

The picture emerging from the poem of David as a religious poet is anchored to and influenced by his biblical image. In the later biblical literature he is depicted as the founder of the Temple liturgy.⁵⁴ But the late, Second Temple character of the poem's language and style was recognized early on.⁵⁵ The debate centered on its provenance. Most scholars opted for a non-Qumranic origin since they could not detect any element specifically sectarian.⁵⁶ But the question is still pertinent because the poem is copied in a Qumran manuscript, and contains a psalm recounting David's composition according to the 364-day calendar (11QPs^a 27:2–11), espoused by the Qumran community.⁵⁷ The answer lies, perhaps, in considering the poem's wider context. No attention has been paid to the fact that the portrayal of the young David, who recognizes that his first duty is to glorify God, is strikingly

nisme dans le texte hébreu du Psaume 151?" *RevQ* 8 (1975): 543; idem, "Seigneur de l'univers ou David-Orphée?" *RevQ* 9 (1977–78): 189–196. But these scholars base this interpretation on erroneous readings of certain lines (cf. above). The picture emerging from the correct reading is not animals and trees "charmed by music," but animals and trees unable to tell of David's praising music.

⁵³ As pointed out by Rabinowitz, "Alleged Orphism," 199–200. He stresses that all the ideas expressed in the poem are biblical. Frank Cross reaches the same conclusion. Cf. idem, "David, Orpheus, and Psalm 151:3–4," *BASOR* 231 (1978): 69–71 (esp. p. 71). Morton Smith supplemented two strophes between lines 10 and 11 but this is unnecessary. See idem, "Psalm 151, David, Jesus, and Orpheus," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 247–253. He too rejected the Orphic interpretation (*ibid.*, p. 250). See also Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," p. 14*. The present analysis shows that some of the biblical ideas reworked by the poem are colored by the specific interpretation of the Qumran sectarian ideas. In any case, no Orphic or other Hellenistic elements may be detected here.

⁵⁴ Cf. Neh 12:24, 36, 46; 2 Chr 29:25; See Ben Sira 47:8–9.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hurvitz, "Language and Time."

⁵⁶ Cf. n. 10 above.

⁵⁷ Dupont-Sommer argued for the "Essene" origin of the poem because he believed he could detect Orphic and Pythagorean ideas in the poem. See idem, "Psaume CLI," 37–40; 42–3. But since both claims are incorrect, they cannot support an Essenic provenance. See nn. 51–52 above.

close to the ideals conveyed by the particular world-view of the Qumran sectarian writings. Especially illuminating in this respect is the role assigned by this literature to human speech. It throws an interesting light on the merits of David in our poem. Significant in this connection is a passage from the *Hodayot*:

1QH^a 9:29–33⁵⁸

	אתה בראתה	29
	רוח בלשון ותדע דבריה ותכן פרי שפתים בטרם היותם ותשמ	30
	דברים על קו	
	ומבע רוח שפתים במדה. ותוצא קוים לרזיהם ומבעי רוחות	31
	לחשבונם להודיע	
	כבודכה ולספר נפלאותיכה בכול מעשי אמתכה ומ[ש]פ[ט]י	32
	צדקכה ולהלל שמכה	
	בפה כול. וידעוכה לפי שכלם וברכוכה לעולמי[ם]	33
29	You created	
30	breath in the tongue and you knew its words, and you determined the fruits of the lips before they existed, and you set the words according (measuring) line	
31	and the utterance of breath of the lips by measure. And you brought forth lines according to their mysteries and the utterances of the breath according to their calculation in order to make known	
32	your glory and to recount your wonders in the deeds of your truth and the j[ud]ge[ment]s of your righteousness, and to praise your name	
33	in the mouth of all. So they know you according to their understanding and bless you for eve[r]. ⁵⁹	

⁵⁸ The edition is that of E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010), 1:68–69 (Hebrew). The periods were introduced by Qimron. It is very similar to the Stegemann-Schuller edition, with a few differences. Cf. H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{c-f} and 1QHodayot^b* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 119.

⁵⁹ The translation is that of C. Newsom in Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40, 131 with my alterations. A few renderings are taken from S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960): 18–19. The same idea is expressed in a concise way in a section from the *Prayers for the Festivals* (for Passover?), 1Q34 3 i 6–7: *כי לזאת בראתנו [ועד] לשמך לעולם* (“And we will praise Your name forever [and ever] for it is for this that you created us”). For the text and translation see D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 177–178.

The passage is part of a poem which depicts the creation of the world according to the divine will and a predetermined plan. Typical of the sectarian literature, this poem underlines the foreknowledge and predetermined plan whereby everything was created. In line with these ideas, the creation of human speech is also described as predetermined.⁶⁰ God has created the speech organs (“tongue,” “lips”) and the manner of pronouncing words through breathing (lines 29–30). More striking, however, is that not only was the physical aspect of human speech created—this is embedded in the biblical notion of the creation of man—but even the words and their content to their last measure and detail are predetermined (lines 30–31). The purpose of this precise creation is “to make known your glory and to recount your wonders” (lines 31–32). That is, the power of speech, and the words to express it, were created by a predetermined plan and for the purpose of praising God’s glory and deeds.

Praising God is of course a major theme in the biblical Psalms.⁶¹ However, in the above *Hodayot* passage the faculty of speech itself is created for such praise. In this way praising the divine emerges as the first and foremost human obligation, especially of those who know and understand, namely the members of the Qumran community. The author of *Hodayot* repeatedly expresses this idea,⁶² and it is found in other Qumranic works.⁶³ It is especially prominent in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, where the major activity of the celestial hosts in the heavenly temple is to praise and glorify the divine.⁶⁴ Israel and, above all, the members of the Qumran community are analogous to the angels in uttering this praise. Well known is the sectarian idea that prayer equals, and at times replaces, tithes and sacrifices, and is more

⁶⁰ See the comments of J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 43–44, 62–63 (Hebrew); Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 26.

⁶¹ See e.g. Pss 19:2; 66:2; 145:5, 11. Compare Isa 4:12. See n. 37 above.

⁶² Cf. e.g. 1QH^a 5:28; 18:22–23; 19:9; 20:33; 23:24.

⁶³ Cf. e.g. 1QS 10:16; 11:9; 4Q511 1 2–5. On the structure and purpose of the songs of praise at Qumran see the survey of B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 190–200.

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. 4Q400 2 5; 4Q401 14 i 1; 4Q403 1 i 1–3. See the comments of C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 29–30; D. Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Bethesda: University of Maryland, 1996), 99–100.

pleasing to God.⁶⁵ So prayer, more especially praise, is the best expressions of religious devotion.

Seen from the perspective of the primacy attached by the sectarian ideology to praising God, David of the poem under consideration emerges as the prototype of perfect piety from a young age, a characteristic which earned him the royal leadership.⁶⁶ Such a typology perfectly accommodates the tradition of David as a composer of 3600 psalms, an achievement recorded by the preceding poem in the same scroll (11QPs^a 27:4–5). This poem attributes such creative ability to the “discerning and enlightened spirit,”⁶⁷ accorded to David by God, but the autobiographic poem confers on David a propensity for true devotion from his youth.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, a comparison with the version of the Septuagint is illuminating.⁶⁸ Completely absent from this version are the strophes about the praise of David and his inner monologue (11QPs^a 27:5–7). Segal rightly stresses that David’s praise is the heart of the Qumranic poem and its absence from the version of the Septuagint Psalm 151 is the main difference between them.⁶⁹ In the latter the making of musical instruments is reduced to a mere statement, without particular purpose.⁷⁰ For without the section about David’s praise some lines remain out of place. The statement, “Who will report to my Lord? The Lord himself, it is he who listens” (Ps 151:3)⁷¹ stands in the Greek version without context and is incom-

⁶⁵ Cf. CD 11:20–21. The expression תרומת שפתים (“tithes of the lips”) in relation to prayer reflects this notion. Cf. e.g. 1QS 10:14 (=4Q256 19:4); 4Q400 2 7; 4Q403 1 ii 26.

⁶⁶ Similarly Rabinowitz, “Alleged Orphism,” 199: “The psalm is a homily with David as *exemplum*: David, though an insignificant stripling, glorified the Lord, and so came himself to glory.”

⁶⁷ רוח נבונה ואורה (11QPs^a 27:4).

⁶⁸ See the Hebrew reconstruction of the Septuagint version, published by Magne, “Orphism, Pythagorisme, Essénisme,” 547, and Amara, “Psalm 151 from Qumran,” p. 19*; Segal, “Literary Development,” 145.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 148–149.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 149–151 tries to smooth out this difficulty by arguing that Ps 151:3 τῷ κυρίῳ μου, which reflects the Hebrew *Vorlage* לאדני, should be read as a reference to David’s human master (לאדני), namely king Saul, rather than to God. But this is an equally forced and artificial reading. It is disconnected from the following verse 4, which speaks of “sending his emissary,” which can only refer to Samuel sent by God, as shown by the following reference to the anointing of David (line 8). It is therefore God who is intended by the word לאדני. Saul has no place in the Septuagint version, or, for that matter, in the Qumranic poem.

⁷¹ Trans. by A. Pietersma, “Psalms,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 619.

prehensible in its present form. It is not linked to the musical instruments mentioned in the previous verse (Ps 151:2), or to the election of David referred to by the following verse (Ps 151:4–5). Moreover, instead of the pericope about praising God the Greek text has a section on the victory of Goliath (Ps 151:6–7), missing from the Qumran version. Remarkably, this military prowess is mentioned after the anointing of David (Ps 151:4), so it does not account for it. Only the statement that God did not want David's handsome brothers (Ps 151:5) suggests some reason for the preference for David. These inconsistencies are not explained by the proponents of the view that the Qumran text is a later expansion of the Hebrew underlying the Septuagint version. Haran argues that the late character of the Qumranic poem is evident from its "forced and artificial language," especially in the sections not found in the shorter version of the Septuagint.⁷² But Haran measures the Qumran style with the biblical yardstick, not allowing for later stylistic variations and alterations. It has been shown that what appears to Haran as "forced and artificial" is not necessarily so.⁷³ Mark Smith likewise sees in the passages found only in the Qumran text additions composed by a later author-redactor, chiefly because of the editorial combination of biblical and non-biblical materials he recognizes in the poem.⁷⁴ Michael Segal accepts Talmon's idea that the two-layer structure of the Qumranic text suggests that it is later than the Septuagint version.⁷⁵ Segal further argues that this late provenance is betrayed by the transformation of David into a religious poet and by

⁷² Cf. Haran, "Two Text-forms," 175–177. But Smith, "How to Write a Poem," 195–198 demonstrates that the late Hebrew usages are distributed in the all sections of the Qumranic poem. See n. 73 below.

⁷³ Some of Haran's claims are based on erroneous readings, which weakens his arguments. Additionally, Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," 27* n. 103 has shown that despite the unusual style and locutions of some sections in the poem, they too are firmly anchored to biblical parlance. Compare the table of biblical references reworked by the poem listed by Smith, "How to Write a Poem," 195–196.

⁷⁴ Smith, "How to Write a Poem."

⁷⁵ Segal, "Literary Development," 154, following Talmon, "Extra-canonical Hebrew Psalms," 258–259. Talmon detects an autobiographical narrative framework which develops a hymnic interlude. However, contra Segal's statement Talmon asserts that "both of these strata display characteristics of biblical psalmody and in both we find linguistic traits which evidence their post-biblical provenance" (*ibid.*, 258). Similar observations are made by Hurvitz, "Language and Date" and Smith, "How to Write a Poem," 195–198. So Segal's arguments for the early origin of the Septuagint version, later reworked by the Qumranic one, are not supported by the linguistic data. See n. 72 above.

the use of additional verses outside 1 Samuel.⁷⁶ But these observations do not explain the Qumran text as such, nor do they smooth out the difficulties of the short version of the Septuagint. However, whether these literary facts imply that the Qumran poem is the original psalm is a different question.⁷⁷ What matters is that the Qumran version of this psalm is close to the particular Qumran ideology. In its present form it seems to have been composed by a member of the Qumran community or a related circle.⁷⁸

How the Septuagint version is related to the Qumran poem is a problem that may never be solved. Clearly, however, the Qumran psalm is a complete and consistent composition, which evinces ideas very close to the beliefs of Qumran sectarian thinking. If so, perhaps it is not the Qumran poem that was reworked and expanded by the Qumranites,⁷⁹ but the reverse. The redactor of LXX Ps 151A abbreviated a version identical or close to that of the Qumran poem. He omitted the sections that evince ideas related to the Qumran community's particular thought and replaced them by the battle with Goliath (151:1, 6–7).⁸⁰ He thus restored a major biblical element, absent from the Qumranic composition, but also laid stress on David's military prowess, a feature wholly absent from the Qumranic version. However, we may visualize an altogether different scenario. Both the Septuagint and the Qumran versions may have been developed independently from a single shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁸¹ Be that as it may, it is important to recognize that the Qumran version of Ps 151A is "Qumranic" not only in being copied in a Qumran manuscript, but also in its major ideological components. This realization does not decide whether 11QPs^a is a psalmodic canon or a liturgical collection, but it strengthens the poem's connection to the Qumran community.

⁷⁶ Segal, "Literary Development," 154–156.

⁷⁷ Thus Sanders, "Ps. 151," 80. See also Amara, "Psalm 151 from Qumran," 28*–29*.

⁷⁸ Contra *Ibid.*, p. 34*.

⁷⁹ As argued by Haran, "Two Text-forms"; Segal, "Literary Development."

⁸⁰ Dupont-Sommer, "Psaume CLI," 56 advanced a similar explanation for the difference between the Qumran poem and the Septuagint, but for the wrong reasons. He detected Orphic and Pythagorean elements on the basis of an incorrect reading of lines 5–8. See nn. 52, 57 above.

⁸¹ Mark Smith assumes, for instance, that the Septuagint "had a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* which differed on a number of points from the extant Hebrew version." Cf. *idem*, "How to Write a Poem," 186.

PENITENTIAL PRAYER AND APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

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Penitential prayers play a minor yet not insignificant role in Daniel, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra, three important apocalypses of Second-Temple Judaism.¹ Such prayers, by their very nature, presume that human action can influence the future. But apocalypticism is an inherently deterministic worldview. Thus the presence of prayers in these texts raises questions about their purpose, as well as broader issues regarding the nature of free will within the limits of the apocalyptic worldview.²

In this paper I contend that the purpose of the penitential prayers in all three apocalypses is identical: they provide a platform for the argument that the worldview is the only appropriate response to the current state of affairs. In order to see things more clearly, one may

¹ It is a real pleasure to dedicate this paper to Eileen Schuller, in esteem and gratitude. The ideas contained in this paper are based on lines of thought described in idem, "History and Apocalyptic Eschatology: A Reply to J. Y. Jindo," *VT* 56 (2006): 413–418; idem, "The Apocalyptic Other," in *The Other in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* (ed. D. C. Harlow et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 211–246, and "Deliverance and Justice: Soteriology in the Book of Daniel," forthcoming in *This World and the World to Come: Soteriology in Early Judaism* (ed. D. Gurtner; London: T&T Clark). Research for this paper has been funded by a 2008–2011 Standard Research Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

² R. A. Werline defines penitential prayer as "direct address to God in which an individual, group, or individual on behalf of the group confesses sins and petitions for the forgiveness as an act of repentance," in "Defining Penitential Prayer," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLEJL 22; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1:xiii–xvii at xv. My paper does not intend to discuss the full range of penitential prayers in Second Temple literature, or apocalyptic texts that also contain covenantal theology. For a fine overview of the taxonomy and definitions of penitential prayer, see E. Schuller, "Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: A Research Survey," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLEJL 22; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:1–15.

distinguish between the formal and probative dimensions of this purpose, but in reality these are not separable.

In formal terms, the seer's prayer instigates an exchange or dialogue involving God or an angel. Together, these elements outline a tension between the traditional notion of covenant-based reciprocity, which is presumed by the seer and espoused in his prayer, and the claims of the apocalyptic worldview, which reflect the opinions of the authors of the texts but are voiced by the representatives of the transcendent reality—or heaven, as it is envisioned. The tension is resolved through the transmission of unimpeachable revelation, which in turn validates the author's general argument for the worldview as a system of knowledge, a theory of justice, and an appropriate response to the historical situation. These claims are expressed by a distinctive historiography and theology of history,³ which carry with them certain assumptions about free will and human destiny.

Most striking in Daniel, 2 *Baruch*, and 4 *Ezra* is the transparency of the general argument and the extent to which it is exposed. These features are critical to the probative purpose of these books. This dimension is extraordinarily rare in apocalyptic literature, which typically states its claims without exposition, explanation, or justification. Not so with these texts. Prayer and dialogue are vehicles by which the authors present their case, even if, in their own minds, it is a *fait accompli*. In the exchange between the representatives of earth and heaven, readers are made privy to the rationale behind the argument for the apocalyptic theology of history. As such, they are invited to participate in a process which derives from, and thus reflects, the personal transformations of the authors themselves. Rudimentary yet remarkably effective in Daniel, the process is developed to its fullest extent in 4 *Ezra*. There, the seer's prayer is part of his persistent questioning of the angel Uriel, through which the readers come to identify with Ezra's protracted and often emotionally painful acceptance of the claims of this theology, and, to a greater extent even still, what these claims demand of him. The conversion of Ezra the seer, which Michael E. Stone poetically calls the "Odyssey of Ezra's soul,"⁴ bestows on

³ Historiography is the selection, arrangement, and interpretation of any set of data considered historical facts. A theology of history is the understanding of God's saving activity in history. History in apocalypticism is not restricted to past events.

⁴ M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 32, and *idem*, "A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions," *HTR* 96 (2003): 167–180.

4 *Ezra* an existential depth that makes it the most sophisticated of all the apocalypses.

1. DANIEL 9

The book of Daniel is set in Babylon, where Daniel is living among the other exiles of Judah.⁵ Chapters 1–6 contain six court tales. They were written during the late fourth or third century BCE for an audience of Diaspora Jews, although some of the tales might have grown out of earlier, non-Jewish traditions. The main function of the tales is to offer instruction on how to preserve Jewish identity in a foreign land. This is expressed by means of a Deuteronomic theology of history and its ideas of causality, reciprocity, and covenantal fidelity, and is given form by life-lessons where God rewards the steadfast piety of Daniel and his companions by saving them from mortal peril and making them prosper. Chapters 7–12 contain four revelatory visions. They were written for Jews living in or around Jerusalem during the oppressive reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE). The first function of the visions is to disclose God’s plan for history, and to identify, above all, the proximity of the intended audience to the time of the end. This is made possible by use of an apocalyptic theology of history, which does not admit the possibility of life under foreign rule, or the prospect of deliverance within history’s compass. The paraenetic and consolatory messages of the visions are contingent on this theology, as are their expectations for salvation, justice, and retribution.

Chapter 9 opens with Daniel considering Jeremiah’s prophecy that Jerusalem will remain desolate for seventy years (9:1–2; cf. Jer 25:11–12; 29:10).⁶ “Then I turned to the Lord God,” says Daniel, “to seek an answer by prayer and supplication (תפלה ותחנונים לבקש) with fasting

⁵ The earliest evidence for the text of Daniel—eight partial Dead Sea manuscript copies—confirms the antiquity of the consonantal framework of its MT form, including its distinctive overlap of languages (Hebrew and Aramaic) and literary genres (tales and visions). See E. Ulrich, “112–116. 4QDan^{a–e},” in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 239–89 + pls. xxix–xxxviii.

⁶ The prayers in the court tales of MT Daniel and in the additions to the ancient Greek versions of the book reflect the Deuteronomic perspective and thus fall outside the scope of this paper.

and sackcloth and ashes” (9:3 NRSV).⁷ In his prayer (9:4b–19), Daniel reflects on the reasons for the calamity. Whereas God has steadfastly kept his covenant with Israel (9:4b, 7, 9, 14–16), Israel has sinned and acted wickedly by rebelling against the law. Significant here is Daniel’s confession that Israel’s present troubles are a result of its past misdeeds (9:8, 11, 13, 16). Daniel petitions God to turn aside his anger from Jerusalem, not because Israel deserves clemency—far from it—but but because of his great mercy and eternal love for his city and people (9:19).

Gabriel appears immediately after Daniel concludes his prayer. The angel reveals to him that the seventy years of Jeremiah’s prophecy are in reality seventy weeks of years, or 490 years (9:24). The end will come at the completion of this predetermined period, which Gabriel correlates to the destruction of the one who will despoil the sanctuary (9:27). This figure would have been instantly identifiable to the intended audience as Antiochus IV, the defiler of the Jerusalem Temple.

Most authorities detect a sharp distinction between the prayer’s Deuteronomic theology of history and the apocalyptic theology of history that informs both Gabriel’s response in this chapter and the other revelations of the book. As John J. Collins observes, the central issue in Daniel 9 is the nature of the relationship between these theologies.⁸ The older scholarship on this matter tends to favor a Deuteronomic reading of the chapter as a whole, or otherwise attempts to explain the prayer without having to subordinate it to its apocalyptic framework.⁹ Such approaches also inform recent research. Hans van Deventer calls the inclusion of the prayer a deliberate return to the older theological tradition of the Deuteronomist.¹⁰ For Paul L. Redditt, the prayer explains why Jeremiah’s prophecy has not fully come to pass: the audience “needs to return fervently to God and confess its sinfulness.”¹¹

⁷ On the meaning of the verb $\Psi\text{ק}\text{ב}$ in this context, see J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 349.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁹ On the older scholarship, see Collins, *Daniel*, 359–360, and L. DiTommaso, “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–4Q244) and the Book of Daniel,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 101–133 at 121–122.

¹⁰ H. J. M. van Deventer, “The End of the End, or, What Is the Deuteronomist (Still) Doing in Daniel?” in *Past, Present, and Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets* (ed. J. C. de Moor and H. F. van Rooy; OTS 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 62–75.

¹¹ P. L. Redditt, “Daniel 9: Its Structure and Meaning,” *CBQ* 62 (2000): 236–249, quotation at 249.

Similarly, for C. L. Seow, the prayer shows that Daniel understands the prophecy correctly, and affirms that the promise of future restoration hinges on the proper response to God in the present, namely confession and supplication.¹² According to Gabriele Boccaccini, “there is no contradiction between Daniel’s prayer and the overall ideology of the book.”¹³ Rodney A. Werline recognises the dissonance, but argues that ancient authors did not always expound their ideas coherently or systematically. Rather, the author of Daniel 9 attempted to “hold together” ideas of his particular group and conventional notions of covenantal fidelity, wishing to be faithful to both.¹⁴ Pieter M. Venter asserts that neither theology is meant to serve as a corrective to the other. Instead, they together create a “montage” that stresses the sovereignty of God, and therein reflects the quietism of the *משכלים* whom most scholars now consider to be the group standing behind the apocalyptic visions of Daniel.¹⁵

None of these arguments is entirely convincing. In my view, any satisfactory explanation for the purpose of the penitential prayer of Daniel 9 must proceed from two premises. First, the prayer exhibits the same Deuteronomic theology of history that informs the court tales of chapters 1–6. Its purpose, therefore, cannot be merely to introduce or reiterate a perspective that already underwrites a major portion of the book.¹⁶ Second, Daniel 9 is a literary artefact, a created work that intentionally incorporates the prayer. Whether this prayer was adapted from an older composition, as the evidence suggests,¹⁷ or

¹² C. L. Seow, *Daniel* (WBC; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 136–137.

¹³ G. Boccaccini, “The Covenantal Theology of the Apocalyptic Book of Daniel,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 39–44 at 44 (cf. 41). N.b. J. J. Collins, “Response: The Apocalyptic Worldview of Daniel,” in Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 59–66 at 60–61.

¹⁴ R. A. Werline, “Prayer, Politics, and Social Vision in Daniel 9,” in Boda et al., eds., *Seeking the Favor of God*, 2:17–32, esp. 30–31, and *idem*, *Pray Like This: Understanding Prayer in the Hebrew Bible* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 80–81.

¹⁵ P. M. Venter, “Daniel 9: A Penitential Prayer in Apocalyptic Garb,” in Boda et al., eds., *Seeking the Favor of God*, 2:33–49, esp. 43–44.

¹⁶ This is implied in Werline, “Prayer, Politics, and Social Vision.” See my reply in “Soteriology of Daniel,” n. 26 (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 348. It is possible that 4QDan^e (4Q116) actually preserves the prayer in its independent state (Ulrich, “112–116. 4QDan^{a–e},” 287). Also, its early Hasmonaean script and minor discrepancies against the text of MT Daniel 9 suggest that this state antedates its incorporation in Daniel 9.

was written for its present context, its purpose must be integral to the function of the chapter.

This brings us to the most singular aspect of the prayer: it has no intrinsic purpose.¹⁸ When Daniel turns to God “to seek an answer by prayer and supplication” (9:3), what is his question? He cannot be enquiring about the failure of Jeremiah’s prophecy, since from the standpoint of the book’s fictional setting in Babylon the seventy years of exile have not yet passed. Consider, too, Gabriel’s reply: the angel displays no reaction to Daniel’s supplication or even acknowledges his confession. For his part, Daniel is neither bewildered by the angel’s reply nor dismayed by the fact that his prayer has not brought about a change in God’s plan.¹⁹ Indeed, as Gabriel explains to Daniel, the word went forth at the beginning of his prayer, not in reply to it (9:23). All this indicates that the purpose of the prayer depends entirely on the revelatory framework in which it has been deliberately set, and the question it implies is intelligible only from the vantage of the audience for which this framework is intended.

As with the other revelations of the book, the first function of Daniel 9 is to identify the time of the end within the divine plan for history, and to situate its audience close enough to that time to facilitate the other purposes of the chapter. To accomplish this, its author had to reconcile both Jeremiah’s prophecy of the duration of the exile and the later statements asserting its fulfillment (2 Chr 36:20–23 par. Ezra 1:1–2; cf. Zech 1:12) with the contradictions implied by the historical situation of his audience, which was living in a place far from Babylon and in an age many centuries removed. The old prophetic timetable had to be recalibrated: Jeremiah’s prophecy, the author of Daniel 9 became convinced, had to have an eschatological horizon. Yet he also must have known that the prophecy could not be overwritten without justification, nor could it be discarded or ignored. The fulfillment of prophecy and the extension of God’s grace, manifested as they were in the edict of Cyrus and the return from Exile, very much shaped Jewish identity during the early post-exilic period (and thereafter). As a result, in order to update the timetable in a meaningful manner, the

¹⁸ By this I do not mean that 9:1–2 + 20–27 should be read as a unit, minus the prayer. As I have said, the prayer is integral to the chapter.

¹⁹ W. S. Towner, “Retribution Theology in the Apocalyptic Setting,” *USQR* 26 (1971): 203–214 at 208.

author was obliged to submit an entirely new theology of history, one that provided a rational basis for reconciling revelation with reality.

With this in mind, the purpose of the prayer of Daniel 9 is clear. Its query prompts the angelic recalibration of Jeremiah's prophecy, which in turn allows the author of the chapter to present an explicit, unambiguous rejection of the Deuteronomic theology of history in favour of the apocalyptic theology of history.²⁰ This theology advances a new view of God's relationship with his people, one that operates under different notions of time, space, and human existence. In this, Daniel 9 is functionally equivalent to the other revelations of the book, despite its formal dissimilarities.²¹ Gabriel's mission is patent: "Daniel," he says, "I have now come out to give you wisdom and understanding (בינה להשכילך)" (9:22 NRSV). The wisdom concerns the mysteries of God, which in the apocalyptic idiom translates to information deriving from or pertaining to the transcendent reality, as it is revealed to humans and comprehended by them. The understanding is that the end of history has been determined, the prophecy remains valid, and deliverance is near. The figure of Daniel was in exile, but so too is the intended audience.²²

All this goes some way to explaining the form of Daniel 9. Where Daniel 7 and 8 present the new theology of history, packaged in the medium of heavenly revelation and without explanation, Daniel 9 unpacks the rationale behind the message of the revelation. This probative impulse must have derived from the author's own struggle with the problem of Jeremiah's prophecy, and thus also reflects it—not prospectively, as a hypothesis meant to be put forward and tested, but retrospectively, as a means to explain *how he himself* solved it. If this is true, then the "I" of the chapter corresponds not only to the figure of Daniel, as might be expected, but to Gabriel as well. (I will return to this line of thought below, in the section of *4 Ezra*.)

²⁰ Here I am indebted to the work of John J. Collins, although he sees the rejection of the Deuteronomic theology of history as implicit only (*Daniel*, 360).

²¹ Daniel is not shown a vision, nor does an angel interpret one.

²² M. A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976): 253–272. His thesis has since been refined by J. C. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. J. M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 89–109.

Several factors may have induced the author of Daniel 9 to outline his rationale in this fashion. Having discussed aspects of this process elsewhere,²³ I will restrict my comments to a few points.

Daniel 7 and 8 were among the first texts that looked to explain the meaning of history from the apocalyptic perspective.²⁴ It is not impossible that in this they raised issues about the new theology of history to which the author of Daniel 9 felt compelled to respond. One issue perhaps was the role of free will in the apocalyptic mode. Most apocalyptic writings have a moral component that declares itself in the choice to persevere in 'the good' or persist in doing evil.²⁵ But the worldview is inherently deterministic, and also proposes that human existence is structured by a systemic dualism. Such features collaborate to minimise the efficacy of free will: destiny and design trump choice and circumstance in any worldview hallmarked by dualism and determinism. As this translates into a theology of history, free will is envisioned to operate within the divine plan, but does not affect its basic design. This allows for a limited range of options, the most acute version of which appears in Daniel 9: the Deuteronomic theology of history has been *superseded* by the apocalyptic one.

Perhaps, too, in delineating the argument for the primacy of the apocalyptic perspective, as well as its implications for the issue of free will, the author of the chapter (or the redactor of the final form of MT Daniel, if not the same person)²⁶ also found an way to resolve a larger conflict between the two halves of the book that were his legacy. Both the court tales and the revelatory visions are concerned with salvation. Both insist that balance and fairness remain overriding principles in the world. Both display a quietist approach and a quiet support for

²³ See "The Apocalyptic Other," esp. 238–240, and "Soteriology in the Book of Daniel."

²⁴ The *Apocalypse of Weeks* of 1 En. 93:1–10, 91:11–17, composed at the same time as Daniel 7 or perhaps even a few years before, perhaps had a part in this process. Several literary venues bear witness to the development of apocalyptic historiography during the age of Antiochus IV, even if the evidence suggests that the process was elaborated most fully within the Danielic corpus.

²⁵ B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola* (Classics of Western Spirituality; New York: Paulist, 1979), 12.

²⁶ Throughout this paper, I refer to the "author" of Daniel 9. Whether this person is the same as the redactor or belonged to the same circle is not relevant to my point here or elsewhere. But the author of Daniel 7 was certainly different from the author Daniel 9 and/or the redactor.

martyrdom, avowing that God alone saves. Both equate salvation with justice.

However, the tales and visions envision salvation very differently, on account of their underlying theologies. In the tales, salvation is contingent on human action, and is reciprocal, personal, historical, and this-worldly. In the visions, salvation is mostly unrelated to human action and almost entirely unilateral and corporate, and it is eschatological and otherworldly.²⁷ The displacement of the Deuteronomic theology in Daniel 9 implicitly resolved this conflict by defining the relationship between the two conceptions of justice. *Subordinating* the traditional theology represents the other end of the spectrum of options for free will in the apocalyptic mode. It allowed the book of Daniel to describe, however imperfectly, a horizon of salvation that extends from life in this world, which is the focus of the tales and allows for the choice to remain faithful to the covenant,²⁸ to life eternal, which is anticipated in the visions (cf. 12:2–3) and is the climax of the divine plan for history.

2. 2 BARUCH 48 AND 54

As with the book of Daniel, *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* are set in Babylon during the Exile, although they were actually written much later, in the decades following the destruction of the Second Temple. The dynamic flow of both apocalypses is generated by a tension between competing worldviews as a way of understanding this national catastrophe in light of the premise of a good God (at their core, all ancient apocalypses are theodicies). The tension is outlined in part by penitential prayers and resolved through a revelation from heaven. In Daniel 9, this process is relatively undeveloped: Daniel's prayer provokes Gabriel's revelation, thereby fulfilling the first function of the chapter, but the lack of true dialogue limits its probative effect. Readers gain insight

²⁷ As J. J. Collins observes, in the apocalypses, "salvation is salvation *out of* this world." In, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 221 (italics original).

²⁸ The court tales themselves were redacted in light of the revelatory visions and the historical circumstances that led to their composition; see the sources cited in "Soteriology in the Book of Daniel," n. 38 (forthcoming). For all this, though, the final redactor of Daniel was not completely able to resolve all the theological discrepancies between the tales and the visions.

into the author's struggle to reconcile Jeremiah's prophecy with the Temple crisis of his own era, but not to any penetrating depth. In contrast, the prayers of *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* are part of a much richer presentation of the author's argument, one that includes visions and a series of dialogues between the seer and his heavenly interlocutor, and that requires a major portion of each apocalypse in order for it to be worked out in full. As a result, the anatomy of the argument is exposed to a very great degree, and the probative depth in both apocalypses is correspondingly greater, particularly in *4 Ezra*.

There are two penitential prayers in *2 Baruch*: 48:2–24 and 54:1–22. Each prayer is followed by a dialogue between the seer and God (48:25ff.) or an angel (55:1ff.), which results in the transmission of revelatory information.

The prayer of Baruch in chapter 48 recalls the prayer of Ezra in *4 Ezra* 8, which is typical of the compositional interdependence exhibited by the two apocalypses at many other places.²⁹ A short introduction (48:1) prefaces a long doxology (48:2–10) and Baruch's plea to God (48:11). The rest of the prayer is given over to elements of confession and petition (48:11–24), which stress Israel's ongoing fidelity to the Law (48:22–24). These elements carry with them a petition for salvation and justice, and behind that, the critical question: When will these things come to pass? The prayer is a model of the Deuteronomic theology of history, particularly in its sense of free will and reciprocity, which stand behind the notion of Israel's covenant with God.

The prayer provokes a response from God (48:26–41), which forms the first part of a longer dialogue that extends to chapter 53. Affirming "nothing will be destroyed unless it acted wickedly" (48:29; cf. 48:40),³⁰ God describes the extreme vehemence and turbulence of the last days, some of the signs of the end (although not in such detail as in the parallel section in *4 Ezra*), and the coming Judge who will act without hesitation. Baruch replies that it would have been better that Adam had never been born, so that his sin could not have passed down through the generations, to work itself out in such a terrible fashion (48:42–43). He also enquires about the nature of the resurrected dead, to which

²⁹ And with Daniel 9; for a thorough discussion, see M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 271–275.

³⁰ English translations of *2 Baruch* are drawn from A. F. J. Klijn, "2 Baruch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 615–652.

God replies that although at first they will appear as they did in life, “to show those who live that the dead are living again,” afterwards they will be transformed, the wicked and the righteous according to their choices they made during their lives.

The prayer of Baruch in chapter 54 is preceded by his vision of a cloud. A series of twelve rains fall from the cloud, alternating between black waters and light waters, six of each (53:1–12). After this, Baruch sees a final black rain, darker than the previous black waters, in which fire is mingled and which brings horrible destruction and devastation. The vision closes with a final period of lightning, which illuminates and heals the earth. After the vision, Baruch prays to God for understanding, confessing his ignorance and proclaiming God’s omniscience and omnipotence. Among the significant points here is Baruch’s presumption that one’s actions in life determine one’s state in the future, which culminates in his declaration that “at the end of the world, a retribution will be demanded with regard to those who have done wickedly in accord with their wickedness, and you [God] will glorify the faithful ones in accordance with their faith” (54:21).

Baruch’s prayer is answered by the angel Ramael, who interprets the vision (55:1–74:5). The twelve rains, Ramael explains, represent the history of Israel. The sequence of black and light waters symbolise alternating periods of wickedness and righteousness, which correlate to historical figures inasmuch as they deviate from or maintain the strictures of the covenant. For example, the bright waters of the second period stand for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while the dark waters of the ninth period denote “the wickedness that existed in the days of Manasseh” (64:1). The final black rain, darker than the rest, represents the imminent apocalypse, and the war, calamity, and death that will accompany it. The period of the final bright waters (the lightning of the vision is missing in the interpretation) refers to the coming judgment of those who have oppressed Israel, and to the time thereafter, which will be marked by eternal peace and release from pain and toil. After hearing the angel’s interpretation, Baruch replies with a doxology that revisits many of the themes of his prayer (75:1–8). The section closes with Ramael commanding Baruch to instruct the people that the last times are near (76:1–5) and to make straight their ways (77:6), which he does (77:1–10).

2 Baruch presents the fullest expression in the ancient Jewish apocalypses of the desire to accommodate covenantal theology under the umbrella of the apocalyptic theology of history, to the extent that

Collins submits that its eschatological revelations are subordinated to its central message of the need to observe the law.³¹ I would rather emphasise the book's apocalyptic orientation, although it must be said that any clear statement about the relationship of its two theologies seems doomed to be undermined by one or more of its passages. The centrality of law and covenant to *2 Baruch* is beyond debate. Yet so too is its apocalyptic eschatology. Is the aim of *2 Baruch* to provide a life-style for its audience, and messages of comfort and hope in this world? Certainly, but only to a point, since the historiography of the book projects an imminent end to history (this, of course, is a property of apocalyptic historiography in general). The nearness of the end-time is a major theme of the book, and is repeated time and again, including the vision of the light and dark rains. Collins himself adds the important provisos that the "traditional Deuteronomic covenant [of *2 Baruch*] ... must be buttressed by the apocalyptic revelations that Baruch receives," and that "the promised salvation finds its fulfilment not in this world but in the world to come."³² So while the author of *2 Baruch* finds more space for the law and covenant than in any other ancient Jewish apocalypse, and this is a message he undoubtedly wants to convey to his audience, on the other hand, given the importance of the book's apocalyptic timetable and the functions it presupposes, it seems to me that he saw covenantal theology as operating within a larger apocalyptic schema.

3. 4 EZRA 8

The prayer of Ezra in *4 Ezra* 8:19b–36 has not received much scholarly attention as a penitential prayer.³³ It is embedded of the apocalypse's long third vision (see below), which contains a series of dialogues between Ezra and the angel Uriel about the fate of the world and its inhabitants, and issues of salvation and justice. Why do the nations rule over Israel, Ezra asks, and when will Israel be granted its promise? Can the righteous intercede on behalf of the wicked? What is the

³¹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 221.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Schuller, "Penitential Prayer," 15. The prayer is not discussed in the essays in the relevant volumes of *Seeking the Favor of God* (see above, n. 2), or in many of the other studies of penitential prayers in early Judaism. Two exceptions are D. Boyarin, "Penitential Liturgy in *4 Ezra*," *JSJ* 3 (1992): 30–34, and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 271.

point of this cruel life, knowing that judgment waits at the end, with punishment for all but a few? The prayer itself, which is not entirely consistent in its reasoning and claims,³⁴ picks up on some of these issues. It begins with a doxology that stresses God's magnificence and omniscience (8:20–25). Ezra then confesses the sins of the people and petitions God to display mercy, particularly regarding to the salvation of Israel (8:26–36). Passages such as 8:26–28 and 33–34 attest to the covenantal focus of the prayer and its overall Deuteronomic tenor.

More than the prayers in *2 Baruch*, Ezra's penitential prayer in *4 Ezra* 8 is impossible to appreciate in isolation from the rest of the book. *4 Ezra* is comprised of seven visions. The first three visions are formulated as dialogues between Ezra and the angel Uriel (3:1–5:20, 5:21–6:34, 6:35–9:25), the next three are symbolic visions (9:26–10:59, 11:1–12:51, 13:1–58), and the last vision is a theophany followed by a narrative (14:1–48[49]). This episodic character has given rise to numerous theories to the effect that *4 Ezra* is merely an aggregate of sources on which a final redactor impressed his creative stamp.³⁵ But such theories disregard the fundamental unity of the book. Although the author of *4 Ezra* used older material, and worked within an imaginative universe inspired by Daniel and the apocalyptic heritage of early Judaism, there is an inspired creativity that is integrally reflected in its form and function. The question is the nature of this function.

Karina Martin Hogan's monograph, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, is the most recent attempt to answer this question.³⁶ In brief, she argues that the dialogues of the book—by which she means its first three visions—reflect a conflict between two schools of wisdom that were active in Judaism at the time. Ezra speaks for the covenantal wisdom of the sort witnessed in Sirach, while Uriel epitomises the eschatological wisdom of the type promulgated in the Dead Sea text *4QInstruction*. According to Hogan, neither school represents the author's perspective, nor does either offer an adequate theological response to the "crisis of faith" (40) caused by the destruction of the Temple.

³⁴ Ibid., 271–272. As with the prayer of Daniel in Daniel 9, the prayer of Ezra might be an earlier composition that has been adapted to fit its present position.

³⁵ For the scholarship, see M. E. Stone, "On Reading an Apocalypse," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (ed. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth; JSPSup 9; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 65–78, idem, *Fourth Ezra*, 11–28, and K. M. Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution* (JSJSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 9–35.

³⁶ Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*.

Instead, the symbolic visions of *4 Ezra* propose a “third theology” (39), and their revelatory information contains the solution to the conflicting worldviews of Ezra and Uriel.

There is much to commend Hogan’s analysis of the details of *4 Ezra*, but in my opinion her thesis proceeds from an essential misunderstanding of the apocalyptic worldview. Space limitations permit a discussion of only the two most relevant objections.

First, in order to argue that *4 Ezra* presents three separate “theologies,” Hogan is obliged to distinguish between the worldview that underwrites the symbolic visions and the worldview that is expressed by Uriel in the dialogues. But would the author of *4 Ezra* have imagined the theology of heaven to be in conflict with the theology of one of its angels?³⁷ More likely, he would have considered the revelations disclosed by the symbolic visions of the book and in the information disseminated by Uriel to emanate from the same source.³⁸ This cosmology is basic to apocalypticism: there is no room in it for more than two realities, the mundane and the transcendent, and I cannot think of a single example to the contrary in the corpus of ancient apocalyptic literature.

Second, Hogan contends that the “solution” offered by the symbolic visions to the crisis of faith is based on imagination rather than intellect: it stems from the “power of mythic symbolism to restore faith” (228–229). The assumption is that apocalypticism is an essentially irrational worldview, and its literature relies on myth and emotion to convince its audience. But this argument misses the point, and in fact represents a retreat to a conception of the apocalypticism that is several decades out of date.³⁹ Although its irrational elements cannot be disregarded, or its emotional appeal downplayed, apocalypticism succeeds as a worldview precisely because it offers people a comprehensive, comprehensible, and internally consistent way of ordering history and the cosmos, and of coming to terms with the reality of their existence.⁴⁰ Holding otherwise ignores the deep logic of the worldview, with its distinctive propositions and corollaries, and permits Hogan, wrongly

³⁷ The basic problem is a result of defining worldviews on the basis of their form, function, and content rather than their propositions and claims; see Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*, esp. 38–39.

³⁸ This is the same logic Jesus uses to reply to those who claimed that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebul, the ruler of demons (Mk 3:22–27 par.).

³⁹ DiTommaso, “History and Apocalyptic Eschatology.”

⁴⁰ DiTommaso, “The Apocalyptic Other.”

in my opinion, to set Uriel's reasoned dialogue with Ezra apart from the "mythic symbolism" of the later visions of the book.

4 Ezra is an elegant and sustained defence of the apocalyptic worldview as a system of knowledge and a theory of justice. It presumes that the worldview accounts for all major issues related to time, space, and the human condition, and that its theology of history explains the audience's present situation. This presumption constitutes the author's perspective, at least in part. Since apocalypticism posits the existence of a transcendent reality as the veritable reality, in contrast to which the present world is inherently transitory and imperfect, the perspectives of the author and of Uriel—the representative of the transcendent reality—are identical.

If Uriel's perspective represents the author's solution to the plight of Israel, Ezra's perspective reflects the drawn out and emotionally painful process whereby the author came to accept this solution. *4 Ezra* gradually harmonises Ezra's perspective with Uriel's: this is Ezra's conversion, which occurs over the first four visions of the book.⁴¹ Hence the "I" of *4 Ezra* is both Ezra and Uriel,⁴² just as the "I" of Daniel 9 is both Daniel and Gabriel. The seer represents the author as he once was, perplexed and unsure about past prophecy, present circumstances, and future expectations. The angel represents the author as he writes the book, having worked out the solution for himself.⁴³

Discrepancies between the two perspectives are manifestations of the conversion process. At the conceptual level, they reveal the innate human inability to understand the mysteries of God. This is a central message of the book, the rationale behind Uriel's enigmatic answers to

⁴¹ Conversion is nearly always a protracted and often intermittent process, usually involving a combination of reason, emotion, experience, and reflection, even if it often culminates in some dramatic "conversion event," as Saul experienced on the road to Damascus. Ezra's conversion, described as it is over the three vision of the book and culminating dramatically in the fourth vision, is a classic example. For an overview of studies on conversion as a religious phenomenon, see L. L. Dawson, *Comprehending Cults: The Sociology of New Religious Movements* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 95–124, esp. 117–119.

⁴² Hence it is incorrect to contrast Ezra's "existential" questions" with Uriel's "theo-retical" answers, as W. Harnisch asserts; see his *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Ezra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (FRLANT 97; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 38–39 and *passim* (discussed in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 137 n. 16).

⁴³ Whether this process actually involved a religious experience, as the author describes in the fourth vision of the book, is unimportant to this point. The same is true for Daniel 9.

Ezra's questions (*cf.* 4:5–12, 5:36–40, etc.), and the reason why the angel has to interpret the symbolic visions. At the probative level, they are milestones marking the author's personal transformation. The "Odyssey of Ezra's soul" is also a record of the author's conversion: Ezra's questions are the author's questions; Ezra's doubts are his doubts.⁴⁴ The penitential prayer of *4 Ezra* 8 is part of this journey. Uriel's responses, both to the prayer (8:37–62a) and to Ezra's questions throughout the first three visions, assert that Deuteronomic presuppositions of mercy, intercession, and covenant have been superseded.⁴⁵ Ezra accepts that God's plan for Israel is largely unknowable yet ultimately favourable, which answers the implicit question of theodicy and logically grounds the book's central proposition that the claims of the apocalyptic worldview explain the evidence of the historical situation.

Just as Ezra's conversion reflects the personal transformation of the author of *4 Ezra*, so too is it meant to guide the book's intended readers through their own process of conversion. This is the true genius of *4 Ezra*, the fullest expression of its probative dimension, and the necessary antecedent to its cathartic function. The book aims to console its readers in view of their catastrophic loss by assuring them that salvation is imminent, justice remains operative, and existence still has a purpose. But it can only do these things if Ezra accepts Uriel's perspective. If Ezra appears persistent in his queries or dissatisfied with Uriel's answers, it is because the author intends his readers to travel the same path as he once did. They too must test the apocalyptic theology of history against both tradition and logic. They too must appreciate fully what its claims entail, however dissatisfying or disagreeable as they might initially appear.

In this way, the readers participate in the journey of Ezra (and the author) toward understanding and acceptance, which culminates in the great fourth vision of the book. In it, Ezra sees a woman who is

⁴⁴ See H. Gunkel, "Das vierte Buch Esra, in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (ed. E. Kautzsch; 2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1900), 2:331–402, and, above all, several studies by Stone, including *Fourth Ezra* and "A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions."

⁴⁵ One example among many: Ezra enquires about intercession, which assumes human action can influence the future (a key component of the old theology of history but incompatible with apocalyptic determinism), on the Day of Judgment. Uriel replies with an unambiguous negative (7:102–115). As Stone comments on the passage: "The angel replies: intercession has been necessary in this world, for glory does not remain in it continually, but it will be different at the end of this world or age" (*Fourth Ezra*, 251).

mourning the death of her son, and who in her grief has decided to fast until she also dies. Ezra is furious: How can she mourn one person, he asks her, when the Temple has been destroyed, Zion ravaged, and its people killed or enslaved? Ezra urges the woman to control her despair, confident that God's justice will ultimately be revealed, and that very shortly she will see her son again. At that point, the woman's face begins to shine, and she is transformed into a glorious city. Ezra faints and is revived by Uriel, who interprets the vision. He tells Ezra that the woman is Zion, and her story is the history of Israel, which will soon culminate with the advent of the new, heavenly Jerusalem. Ezra's conversion is complete. He has internalized the shift in perspective caused by his previous dialogues with Uriel, to the point that he himself has articulated the angel's logic in his advice to the mourning woman. Thereafter Ezra accepts the apocalyptic theology of history without debate, and the symbolic visions that comprise the rest of the book represent the answers to his earlier questions—and not only for him, but for the audience also. For these reasons and more, *4 Ezra* is the most sophisticated of the apocalypses, and represents the intellectual zenith of apocalyptic literature.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Form and function are intimately related in all three apocalypses. The elements of this equation may be displayed graphically, so as to bring the probative dimension of these texts into full focus:

	<i>tension</i> →	→ <i>resolution</i>
<i>worldview</i>	Deuteronomic	apocalyptic
<i>idea of history</i>	undetermined	predetermined
<i>reality</i>	mundane	transcendent
<i>figure</i>	seer	God/angel
<i>expression</i>	prayer, questions	revelation
<i>author</i>	the author before	the author now
<i>audience</i>	the audience now	the audience in the future

The covenantal theology of the prayers in Daniel, *2 Baruch*, and *4 Ezra* provides a platform for their general argument that the apocalyptic theology of history is the only way to correctly understand the crises faced by their audiences. That they do this in different ways is a reflection of the historical circumstances in which they were composed, as well as, one might assume, the predispositions of their authors. The

radical new theology of history of the apocalyptic visions of the book of Daniel was a response to the intolerable situation under Antiochus IV. Yet the visions could never be entirely independent of the collection of Deuteronomic court tales to which they were appended. As a result, Daniel 9 functions in two ways. On the one hand, it makes the case that the old notions of covenantal fidelity and this-worldly justice of the tales have been superseded by the apocalyptic theology of history and its plan for other-worldly salvation. On the other hand, and in light of the uniform concern of the book with salvation and justice, it provides a way of subordinating the tales to apocalyptic visions, the former as a guide to life in this world, and the latter as the roadmap to life in the next.

Patterns of supersession and subordination recur throughout the apocalyptic literature of early Judaism,⁴⁶ and are two ends of a narrow spectrum of options where *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* stand at opposite ends. Composed in the smouldering aftermath of the catastrophe of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, both books are products of an age when apocalypticism had thoroughly permeated early Judaism (and early Christianity), and thus both situate the tension between the conflicting worldviews on a more advanced level than in Daniel. *2 Baruch* finds the most room for traditional covenantal theology within the parameters of the apocalyptic worldview. In contrast, while not entirely discarding the old theology of history, *4 Ezra* considers it to have been superseded. The same spectrum also records a range of views regarding the efficacy of free will within the conceptual horizon of the apocalyptic worldview. In the main, apocalypses which allow more room for covenantal theology, such as *2 Baruch*, also allow for more space for the importance and efficacy of free will. In contrast, free will is more limited in the supersessionist mindset of Daniel and

⁴⁶ Cf. the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and the *Testament of Moses*, the latter as it uniquely known from an incomplete Latin translation. The *Testament* stresses covenantal fidelity to a greater degree than Daniel (see esp. the story of Taxo in chapter 9, and 12:10–11), still subordinates it to an overarching apocalyptic theology of history (see 7:1, 8:1–5, 12:4–5, and esp. the detailed account of the end-time in chapter 10). It comes closest to a statement on the two theologies at the point at which its preserved text breaks off (12:13). However, the *Apocalypse* and the *Testament* lack a penitential prayer or any type of dialogue between earth and heaven, and thus do not have the probative depth occasioned by these features.

4 Ezra. But there can never be genuine free will in the apocalyptic mode, as I have argued at length elsewhere.⁴⁷ This was one of the central problems for the author of *4 Ezra*, and it took him over half the length of the book to resolve it.

⁴⁷ DiTommaso, "The Apocalyptic Other."

PETITION AND IDEOLOGY IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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In an important article on “Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran,” Eileen Schuller considered the question, “What is the interplay between a strongly deterministic theology such as is generally recognized in the Scrolls and specifically petitionary prayer? That is, does ‘the religion’ of the Scrolls allow for petition, supplication, or intercession, and how is this expressed in actual petitions?”¹ As is frequently the case, Schuller cuts sharply to the core of a neglected question, in this case one at the heart of the relationship between practice and belief. Although scholars have devoted a considerable amount of attention to both theological views in the sectarian scrolls and the prayer practices attested at Qumran, there has been little examination of the interplay between the two. Schuller’s article briefly surveys the evidence, focusing especially on the *Hodayot*, and she notes that it is intended as “tentative and a starting point for further reflection.”² My aim here is to reconsider Schuller’s article ten years on, in the light of subsequent treatments of the topic and Schuller’s final publication of 1QH^a in 2009.³

Four years prior to Schuller’s article, Israel Knohl briefly broached the topic in a provocative appendix. He states boldly, “The doctrine of predestination, which was dominant in the Qumran sect, does not allow for petitionary prayer in the usual sense of the word. At most, the person who is chosen by God may ask God to deepen and complete

¹ E. Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Collins and R. Kugler; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 34–35 [29–45]. I would like to dedicate this article to Eileen Schuller. She is a model of the judicious scholar, and we are all in her debt for her careful editions of the Non-Canonical Psalms and *Hodayot* manuscripts.

² Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 45.

³ H. Stegemann with E. Schuller and translation of texts by Carol Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009). Throughout, I cite references to the *Hodayot* according to the numbering in this edition.

the kindness which God has freely given.”⁴ With regard to a petition in the Song of the Maskil at the end of 1QS (11:15–17), Knohl notes that “the author asks God to fulfill that which God had destined and decreed for God’s chosen one.” He similarly regards a petition in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 8:29–30): the petition corresponds to the things one thanks God for having already given.

Knohl notes a single “questionable” example of a petition in the *War Scroll* (1QM 14:16, “Rise up, rise up, O God of Gods”), which he argues is not real petition but “words of arousal and urging to God.” By contrast, he notes that almost all petitions found among the Dead Sea Scrolls are in works that are not explicitly sectarian. He acknowledges that the multiple copies of *Words of the Luminaries* likely indicates that these petitions were used at Qumran, in which case he suggests that “the religious norms here deviated from the strict and rigid theological principles.” As we will see, Knohl’s summary significantly underestimates the presence of petitionary prayer in sectarian texts, but there is a more basic problem: it starts with the assumption that theological statements are primary and determinative for constituting religious life.

Schuller, in her article, notes that the preponderance of prayer in explicitly sectarian works is praise rather than petition, and that this is almost certainly related to the theological framework. Nevertheless, she notes that there are petitions and references to supplication in sectarian works. In the *Hodayot*, she identifies five petitionary passages (1QH^a 19:32–34; 4:35; 8:29–36; 22:37; 23:10) and three references to petition (1QH^a 19:36–37; 17:10–11; 20:7). In the Covenant Ceremony of 1QS, she acknowledges the lack of explicit petition for forgiveness where it might be expected, but argues that the adaptation of the priestly benediction is implicit petition that God bless and curse. She also points out the presence of petition where we might least expect it in this deterministic worldview: in eschatological settings, including the blessings and curses in *Rule of Blessings* (1QSb) and the reference in the *War Scroll* to a “prayer in time of war” recited by the high priest at the final battle (1QM 15:5). This would seem to refer to a petition for victory, which is surprising given the view that victory is assured. In comparison with the greater amount of petition in non-sectarian prayers among the Dead Sea Scrolls, she concludes that the

⁴ I. Knohl, “Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship Between Prayer and Temple Cult,” *JBL* 115 (1996): 29–30 [17–30].

sectarian community predominantly composed “psalms and hymns of praise that confessed and acknowledged the sovereignty and power of the God who has determined all things in his wisdom,” but that petition also was part of the liturgy of the community primarily through the use of traditional prayers.⁵ She suggests a dialectical interaction between theology and prayer: their emphasis on praise was “a direct outgrowth of a strongly deterministic theology” and the practice of petition as part of the religious experience of the community may have “exercised a certain restraining influence... so that the theology of the Essenes never became absolutely deterministic.”⁶

Russell Arnold, in an article on “Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony,” downplays the evidence for sectarian petition adduced by Schuller, asserting the incompatibility of petition with the predeterminism at Qumran. “In such a [deterministic] view, deliverance could not be requested by the people but was determined by God’s preordained plan.”⁷ For example, with regard to the implicit petition in the adaptations of the priestly blessing, Arnold notes that the jussive forms are required by the biblical model, and that “the very act of pronouncing these blessings and curses was required of them.”⁸ Moreover, there can be no true repentance since the lot of everyone is predetermined without change. The prayer of repentance recited by the sectarians is carried out as an ordained act of righteousness that reinforces boundaries, rather than as petition from a changed heart that results in a changed destiny. As with Knohl, Arnold seems to take theology as determinative for practice. Moreover, it needs to be noted that the use of scriptural models does not negate true petition with the expectation that it makes a difference: this is a feature of all Jewish prayer from the Second Temple period on.⁹

Carol Newsom notes that the dominant mode of prayer attested in the sectarian texts is thanksgiving, and the relative lack of petition

⁵ Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 45.

⁶ That is, both meanings of the dictum *lex credenda est lex orandi*: theology determines prayer and prayer determines theology.

⁷ R. Arnold, “Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony,” in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. J. Boda, D. K. Falk, and R. A. Werline; 3 vols.; SBLEJL 22; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:170 [159–175].

⁸ Arnold, “Repentance,” 170.

⁹ See J. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLEJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

gives a unique shape to the “syntax of religious speech.”¹⁰ She relates this to their deterministic theology as well as the sectarian self-consciousness: “the sectarian’s formative moment is not that of crying out and being heard but one of recognition of his place in an already scripted drama.”

In a recent monograph, Emmanuel Tukasi examines the relationship between deterministic ideology and petitionary prayer in 1QS in comparison with the Gospel of John.¹¹ He is not concerned with the sociological question of the place of penitential prayer within the religious life of these communities, but with the literary question of whether petitionary prayer in these two specific texts contradicts the deterministic ideology they express. He concludes that in both cases, the petitions are consistent with the deterministic ideology: “...petitionary prayers within the framework of the determinism in our studied texts do not anticipate a change but ask for the fulfillment of that which is already predetermined.”¹² Although this sounds similar to the arguments of Knohl and Arnold, both the questions they address and their conclusions are fundamentally different.¹³ Tukasi has a more limited view of determinism in 1QS that pertains to “the dynamic by which the universe runs its course”—that is, the ways and destinies of the two spirits—but does not extend to the behavior and destiny of the individual: “Every human being becomes either a child of light or a child of darkness not by any pre-arranged order, but by one’s choice of actions.”¹⁴ That is, he seems to accept the presence of real petition and penitential supplication in sectarian texts, but even this is not entirely clear because he does not directly address the question. He is focused on the question whether there is petition that seeks a fundamental change in God’s order of things. Consequently, this book adds little that is helpful to the debate at hand: does petition in the context of a deterministic community seek a change in circumstances?

¹⁰ C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 206–208.

¹¹ E. Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer in John and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Ideological Reading of John and the Rule of the Community (1QS)* (LSTS 66; London: T&T Clark, 2008).

¹² Tukasi, *Determinism*, 142.

¹³ See the misleading summary of Knohl in Tukasi, *Determinism*, 12 n. 45. He fundamentally misses the point of Knohl’s argument that petition in the context of sectarian determinism is not real petition. Tukasi makes no reference to Arnold’s article.

¹⁴ Tukasi, *Determinism*, 61.

In the rest of this paper, I will review the evidence, including some material not mentioned in the previous studies. I will focus on materials with an explicit deterministic ideology, but also consider briefly the broader evidence for petitionary prayer in scrolls found at Qumran. It must be acknowledged, however, that the fragmentary nature of most of the texts makes it often impossible to reliably detect petition (e.g., the use of imperatives and jussives in speech to God) or references to petition, as well as to determine the ideological outlook of a text.

HODAYOT

The eight *Hodayot* manuscripts (1QH^a, 1QH^b, 4QH^{a-f}) are not copies of a unified work, but collections of psalms of different type and origin. Moreover, the collections vary in terms of order and number of psalms.¹⁵ The best preserved exemplar (1QH^a) falls into three blocks. At the core is a block of so-called Hymns of the Teacher (TH; 9:1–17:36), which many scholars believe may have been composed by the founding Teacher of Righteousness and give voice to his experiences of adversity and divine assistance.¹⁶ This group is surrounded by two blocks of so-called Hymns of the Community (CH I and CH II), the first of which is almost entirely lacking in the Cave 4 manuscripts. Apart from 1QH^a, three manuscripts attest only TH (1QH^b, 4QH^{c,d}), two contain TH and CH II (4QH^{b,f}), and two attest CH II (4QH^{a,e}; only the former also contains part of one psalm from CH I).

THE FIRST BLOCK OF COMMUNITY HYMNS

A. 1QH^a 4:?[–]40¹⁷

The beginning of this psalm is lost, but the whole has a clear structure progressing from perception of spiritual threat to confidence in God's salvation.¹⁸

¹⁵ E. Schuller, "Hodayot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 72–75 [69–254].

¹⁶ See M. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux," *DSD* 6 (1999): 239–266; but see the cautions of Newsom, *Self*, 288.

¹⁷ In division of psalms and transcriptions of the *Hodayot*, I follow the critical editions, with some modifications.

¹⁸ DJD 40, 64–66.

29 Let me [f]ind a reply of the tongue¹⁹ (וּאִם צָאָה מֵעֵנָה לְשׁוֹן)
 to declare your righteous acts and (your) patience,
 [...] your 30 [] and the deeds of your strong right hand;
 to confess former transgressions, (וּלְהוֹדוֹת עַל פְּשָׁעַי רְאוּשׁוּנַיִם)
 to p[rostr]ate myself and beg for mercy (וּלְהִתְחַנֵּן) לְ[תַנְפִּיל]
 concerning 31 [...] my deeds and the perversity of my heart,
 because I have wallowed in impurity. (1QH^a 4:29–31)

He praises God's righteousness, and then makes a threefold petition (ll. 32–33): “[Act] according to your justice. Ransom [your servant. Let] the wicked perish” (עֲשֵׂה [כְּצִדְקַתְךָ וּפְדֵה [אֶת עַבְדְּךָ וִי תִמּוּ רְשָׁעִים]).²⁰ He expresses confidence in God: that for his elect, God guides his way, grants knowledge to keep him from sinning, and strengthens his heart to endure discipline. This is echoed by further petitions in lines 35–37: that God keep his servant from sinning, strengthen him to resist spirits and to walk in God's ways, and purge him of the rule of (evil) spirits.²¹

35 [*Keep*] 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.

The psalm concludes (4:38–40) with praise that God has bestowed his holy spirit on the psalmist and purified his heart.

Several observations are important about the role of petition in this psalm. First, praise, confession of sin, and supplication are juxtaposed as a “reply of the tongue” to God's actions on behalf of humans. The phrase *מענה לשון* occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, in Prov 16:1: “The plans of the mind belong to mortals, but the answer of the tongue is from the LORD” (NRSV). This is probably the source for its popularity in the *Hodayot* (8x) where it is used in the sense of divinely

¹⁹ I diverge from the translation in DJD 40 (“I will [f]ind a ready response”) in reading the cohortative as an indirect request.

²⁰ Despite the gaps, the general sense is clear. The restoration here follows J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), 210. [Hebrew]

²¹ Again, only one of the imperative verbs is extant.

given speech.²² Second, therefore, the cohortative at the beginning of 4:29–31 should probably be regarded as an implicit request that God grant the language of prayer. Third, the petitions directly correspond to things for which the psalmist has expressed confidence and praise to God. Fourth, petition flows from both the circumstance of need and confidence in God’s salvation of the elect, but confidence flows equally from confession and petition. That is, in confession and petition for forgiveness and spiritual strength, the psalmist claims and realizes his standing among the elect. Fifth, the psalm recalls the structure and language of the major examples of penitential prayers attested in the Second Temple period (esp. Neh 9:5–37; Ezra 9:5–19; Dan 9:3–19; Bar 1:15–3:8; 4Q504 2 v 1–vii 2; 4Q393): praise, recollection of God’s mercies in the past; confession of sin and God’s justice; petition for mercy.²³ That is, the psalmist is conversant with penitential prayer practice, and models the psalm on it. Sixth, the psalm also shows some parallels in motif and language to the Maskil song at the end of the Cave 1 version of the *Community Rule* (esp. perversity of heart and council of worms in 1QS 11:9–10, but more generally to the inter-relationship between praise and petition) and to the entry into the covenant in 1QS 1–5 (esp. spirits, confession, cleansing, separation of righteous and wicked).²⁴ The first three points lend some support to the views of Arnold and Knohl respectively, but the last three points show that this must be tempered by recognition that supplication was one of the defining elements of the community’s religious experience.

B. 1QH^a 5:12–6:33

Émile Puech reconstructed a heading at the beginning of this psalm and suggested restorations for the numerous gaps:

12 [Psalm, for the Ma]skil,
 for prostration befor[e God and for seeking favor continually for his sins,
 for understanding] the [great] works of God
 13 and for making the simple understand his [wonder]ful [mysteries,
 for] declaring [all his (works of) justice

²² 1QH^a 4:29; 8:24; 10:9; 15:14, 16; 19:31, 36; frg. A2 2. It is similarly used with regard to the Teacher of Righteousness in 4Q171 3–10 vi 27.

²³ See R. Werline, “Reflections on Penitential Prayer: Definition and Form,” in *Seeking the Favor of God*, 2:212–213 [209–225]; S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms From Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 250–251.

²⁴ E.g., see notes in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 247–251.

and for opening in the] eternal [foun]dations [the fountain of kn]owledge,
 14 and for making humankind understand the [inclin]ation of the flesh
 and the council of the spirits of ini[quity
 because] they walk [in the ways of humanki]nd.

(1QH^a 5:12–14; based on French translation and notes by Puech)²⁵

Although the restorations of gaps are only hypothetical suggestions, the main structure is clear enough to establish two points relevant to this study.²⁶ First, this heading indicates that there are two audiences and two purposes for the psalms: as worship they are directed to God, but they are also intended as instruction to those who hear and recite them. This psalm, along with three others of the *Hodayot* psalms (7:21; 20:7, 14; 25:34), is associated specifically with the Maskil, an instructor and liturgical master in the sectarian community.²⁷ Newsom convincingly argues that their function as recited by a community member is in the formation of sectarian consciousness or subjectivity.²⁸ Second, as directed to God, the psalm functions both as praise—declaration of God’s righteous works—and penitential supplication.²⁹ Although there is no direct request in the surviving parts, there could have been a petition in the part now lost from the middle. Alternatively, the reference could be to the didactic function of the psalm to lead, among other things, to penitential supplication.

The psalm as a whole is structured around the theme of knowledge of God’s mysteries (5:13–14, 35; 6:19–20, 23, 28), specifically the two ways of truth and evil and their respective destinies predetermined by God. It contains numerous allusions to language and motifs about entry to the covenant as described in 1QS 1–5, especially the oath on entering the covenant, the dualistic Two Spirits teaching, a pledge to distinguish people on the basis of “insight” and “inheritance” and to associate only with the elect, and a vow not to bring apostates into community. In the context of this psalm, repentance works closely

²⁵ É. Puech, “Un hymne Essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 59–88.

²⁶ The presentation in DJD 40 (p. 75) refrains from the hypothetical restorations.

²⁷ Given the overlap with the Maskil song in 1QS 10–11, I think it likely that the psalm in 1QH^a 4 was also a Maskil psalm.

²⁸ Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 198, 278, 299.

²⁹ With regard to the restoration “for prostration befor[e God and for seeking favor continually for his sins...],” it should be noted that the term הַתְּנַפֵּל is always paired with הִתְתַּנַּן in the *Hodayot*, in reference to petition for mercy (1QH^a 4:30; 8:24; 20:7; cf. the similar meaning of prostration in Deut 9:18, 25; Ezra 10:1).

with knowledge. Knowledge leads to repentance, but repentance is also a precondition for knowledge as implied in the preface (1QH^a 5:12–14) and also the conclusion: “And as for me, I have knowledge by means of your abundant goodness and by the oath I pledge upon my life not to sin against you [and] not to do anything evil in your sight” (1QH^a 6:28–29; cf. CD 16:5–6). This latter passage supports the argument by E. P. Sanders that overall the divine and human initiative are two sides of a coin in the *Hodayot*, although they are rarely placed together as they are here.³⁰

C. 1QH^a 7:21–8:41

The opening blessing marks this also as a psalm for the Maskil: “Bless[ed] are you, God of mercy, with a]song, a psalm for the Ma[skil . . .]” (1QH^a 7:21–22). Toward the end of this psalm is the passage that Knohl claims as evidence that “[t]he doctrine of predestination . . . does not allow for petitionary prayer in the usual sense of the word. At most, the person who is chosen by God may ask God to deepen and complete the kindness which God has freely given.” This passage, however, needs to be considered in light of its context in the entire psalm, which probably extends from 7:21–8:41.³¹ With some of the immediate context, the passage is as follows:

29 I know that no one can be righteous apart from you,
and so I entreat you with the spirit that you have given me
to carry out 30 your mercies to your servant f[ore]ver,
to cleanse me by your holy spirit
and to draw me nearer by your good favour,
according to your great kindness [wh]ich you have shown 31 to me,
and to cause [my feet] to sta[nd in] the whole station of [your] good
fa[vour],
which you have cho[sen] for those who love you
and for those who keep [your] commandments . . . (1QH^a 8:29–31)

The force of Knohl’s reading of this passage is mitigated by three observations. First, it does not take sectarian determinism to pair thanks and petition; the same is found in the biblical Psalms.³² Second, the

³⁰ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1977), 276. Despite the strong determinism, this psalm does not hesitate to speak of God responding to human action, e.g., 1QH^a 6:12–16.

³¹ See DJD 40: 99–100, 110.

³² Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 41, n. 39, on a comment from C. Broyles.

continuation of the prayer has two petitions that are not as readily dismissed as not real appeals: "...and let there not c[o]me before him any affliction (that causes) stumbling from the precepts of your covenant..." (1QH^a 8:33); "Do not turn away the face of your servant [and do no]t reject the son of your handmaid" (1QH^a 8:36).

Third, the strong predestination language in this psalm is tempered by language of self-initiative. Most notably, the psalm begins with a statement of dedication to God that recalls the vow of the covenant ceremony:

22 And as for me, [...] 23 tru[th...] and I love you freely. With all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I have purified (myself) from iniquity.[And upon] my [li]fe 24 [I] have sw[orn no]t to turn aside from all that you have commanded. I will stand firm against the many appointed for the [day of slaughter, so as no]t 25 to abandon any of your statutes. (1QH^a 7:22–25)

Coming in first position, this declaration is then qualified subsequently by humble acknowledgment that everything comes from God, including the understanding of what is right and the will to do it. This acknowledgment, however, does not negate language of self-initiative, which continues to be prominent throughout the psalm, including the concluding section:

24 through my knowledge of all these things I will find the reply of the tongue,³³ falling prostrate and be[gg]ing for me[rcy] [continuously] on account of my transgression, and seeking a spirit of understand[ing], 25 and strengthening myself through your holy spirit, and clinging to the truth of your covenant... (1QH^a 8:24–25; also 8:28, 37)

Furthermore, the psalmist is not shy to speak of God's grace in response to human initiative (1QH^a 8:31, 34–36).

In sum, supplication to God belongs together with other experiences and behavior of personal initiative that are not utterly eclipsed by profound confession that all righteousness comes from God. Once again, the argument by Sanders that they are experienced as two sides of a coin rings truer.

³³ It should be noted that the reference to prayer as a "reply of the tongue" (מענה לשון) in 8:24 probably intends to emphasize the divine origin of the words; cf. 1QH^a 4:29.

THE SECOND BLOCK OF COMMUNITY HYMNS

The first three psalms in the second block of Community Hymns in 1QH^a are all of the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* type—marveling at the nothingness of humankind in contrast to the absolute nature of God, and that God has enabled him to worship in the congregation of holy ones. They all emphasize dependence on God for both knowledge and utterance, and include supplications for mercy.

A. 1QH^a 19:6–20:6

The dominant theme of this psalm is thanksgiving and praise to God for his kindness in granting knowledge to a lowly mortal that he might praise God in his holy congregation. The ability to praise God is thus itself a gift: “...you have put thanksgiving into my mouth, pr[ai]se upon my tongue” (1QH^a 19:7–8; also 19:30–31).

In a blessing to God for his kindness, the psalmist makes two petitions: “Gladden the soul of your servant through your truth, and purify me by your righteousness” (1QH^a 19:33–34). These correspond somewhat to things already acknowledged by the psalmist (1QH^a 19:13, 26–30), as in the pattern described by Knohl of petition constrained by a deterministic outlook. Moreover, the following blessing presents both thanksgiving and supplication as “replies of the tongue” given by God, similar to the hymn in column 4 discussed earlier: “Blessed are yo[u,] O Lord, for you have done these things and you have put into the mouth of your servant hymns of pr[a]is[e] ([ה]ל[ה]) and a prayer of supplication (וּתְחִנָּה), and a reply of the tongue (וּמַעֲנֵה לְשׁוֹן)” (1QH^a 19:35–37). In this way, the psalm is also compatible with Arnold’s view that petition is predetermined speech.

B. 1QH^a 20:7–22:42

A preface at the beginning of the psalm indicates the intention to offer praise and supplication at ordained times: “[For the Maski]l, [th]anksgiving and prayer for prostrating oneself and supplicating continually at all times...” (1QH^a 20:7; cf. similarities to the Maskil hymn in 1QS 9:26–11:22). Throughout the psalm, the Maskil who speaks (see 20:14) alternates between expressions of confidence in the knowledge he has received from God, revulsion at his lowliness as a creature of clay, and gratitude that God has graciously helped him. Near the end is the petition “do not forsake him in times of [...]” (1QH^a 22:37).

As with the preceding psalm, this could be seen to fit somewhat the pattern observed by Knohl of petition for things the psalmist thanks God for already providing, but this would not be a satisfactory explanation here. Following his expressions of guilt and fear of judgment (“I myself was terrified by your judgment... And who can be cleared of guilt in your judgment?”; 1QH^a 22:27–29), there is a real urgency to this cry, which comes in the climactic concluding blessing.

In addition to pre-ordained times of prayer, the Maskil emphasizes that he can say nothing before God except that God provides speech: “What can I say unless you open my mouth?... What can I s[peak] unless you reveal it to my mind?” (1QH^a 21:35–37). This language might seem to support the argument by Arnold that all prayer—praise and petition—comes from God, but for Arnold the point is about predestination, so that carrying out the pre-ordained prayers is an act of righteousness. Predestination, however, is not really the concern of this language here. In her analysis of similar language about speech as divine gift in another of the *Hodayot* psalms (1QH^a 9:29–33), Newsom shows rather that it is a function of the construction of the self in the *Hodayot*.³⁴ The speaking subject is “plunged into crisis as it contemplates itself” and recoils in self-loathing, overwhelmed by his nothingness and impurity in contrast to the “absolute being of God.” The crisis is two-fold: the observed self without God’s spirit is incapable of understanding, and without moral purity is incapable of praising God. That is, he can neither know nor articulate the very things he is saying. Hence, both the understanding and the utterance are experienced as divine gifts.

C. 1QH^a 23:1–25:33

This psalm praises God as the giver of light and understanding, and then petitions God for spiritual support that he be able to praise and remain faithful.³⁵

8 [...] with your strong right hand to provide... 9 by your mighty power
 [...so that he might ... praise your name and prevail by your glory.
 10 Do not remove your hand from [...]

³⁴ Newsom, *Self*, 222–229.

³⁵ I diverge from the transcription and translation offered in DJD 40 in several respects, and regard line 10 as providing the best clue to the meaning of lines 8–9: petition concerning God’s hand; use of *hitpael* verb for the result on the person followed by divine agency indicated by preposition ׀.

so that] he may become one who holds fast to your covenant
11 and one who stands before you in [perfection. (1QH^a 23:8–11)

The motive clause for the petition mentions that God has opened a source of knowledge and speech in his servant, to proclaim God's judgments and mercies, which indicates that he is elect. He expresses amazement at God's kindness in using a mere creature of dust, but acknowledges that God has done this for his own glory. In this context, he petitions for God to continue to show his kindness by guarding him: "According to the abundance of your kindness set the guard of your righteousness [before yourself] continually until there is deliverance" (1QH^a 23:25–26). The psalm continues to contrast human nothingness with God's glory, and concludes with the psalmist marveling that he, a creature of clay, has spoken in the congregation of holy ones by his knowledge. He pledges to bless God's name continually from dawn to evening (1QH^a 25:31–33). Once again, the motifs identified by Knohl and Arnold are present in the psalm.

THE TEACHER HYMNS

A. 1QH^a 16:5–17:36

The Teacher Hymns are more intensely personal than the Community Hymns, with reference to specific events of distress in the life of the speaker, likely the Teacher of Righteousness. There are no petitions preserved in any of these, but as Schuller has noted, there is a single reference to petition in the last of the block of Teacher Hymns.³⁶

The psalm begins with thanksgiving that God has given him a source of truth and made him a teacher of others, putting in his mouth the words to instruct others. But he is rejected and abandoned, and feels weak and unable to teach. In his distress he cries out in lamentation, and he is sustained by meditation on God's wonderful deeds (1QH^a 17:4–7). In the context of expressing his trust in God and acceptance of afflictions, he states: "You put a prayer of supplication in the mouth of your servant. And you have not reproached my life, nor rejected my well-being, nor forsaken my hope" (1QH^a 17:10–12). Judging from the context of the psalm, the petition included supplication for forgiveness as well as strengthening: "In my distress you have comforted me, and

³⁶ Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer," 41.

in (your) forgiveness I take delight; so I am comforted concerning previous sin” (1QH^a 17:13).

Once again, there is the motif of prayer—specifically supplication—as divinely given speech, and the comparison with teaching implies that the very language comes from God. But the emphasis on real experience of abandonment and lamentation suggests that the petition should be seen as a true cry of the heart in despair, appealing for help. It should not be diminished to the carrying out of a formality.

Moreover, this psalm also betrays a hint that the absolutist language should be recognized as pious hyperbole. The speaker acknowledges that people vary in their correctness and honor, but before God all are as nothing (1QH^a 17:15–17). That is, this relativizes the various statements about nothingness—this is in comparison with God. In turn, this puts in perspective the tension between statements of personal initiative and statements of absolute divine determination: the latter are relative and do not negate the former. There is also a mention of supplication in a small, unpositioned fragment: “[...] I appeal for mercy [...] a reply of the [tongue...]” (Frg. A2).

In sum, we can detect at least fifteen petitions and five references to petition in six or seven different psalms of about thirty total psalms. Since no actual petitions occur in the “Teacher Hymns,” it is more meaningful to note that petitions occur in about one third of the approximately 16 “Community Hymns.” Keeping in mind that more petitions have probably been lost, petition is not as peripheral a motif in the *Hodayot* as sometimes assumed. Still, in contrast to the biblical Psalms on which the *Hodayot* are modeled, there is a remarkable lack of complaint and direct appeal to God. Most notably, although there are a number of references to repentance, and petitions for protection from sin, there is no direct petition for forgiveness.³⁷

COMMUNITY RULE

The psalm of the Maskil at the end of the Community Rule (1QS 9:12–11:22) concludes with a petition that God will establish his works in righteousness and raise him up with the elect.³⁸

³⁷ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 333–343.

³⁸ Part of the petition is preserved in 4QS^j. Parts of the Maskil song are attested in 4QS^{b,d,e,f}.

15 Blessed are you, my God,
 16 who opens the heart of your servant to knowledge.
 Establish all his works in righteousness,
 and raise up the son of your handmaid—
 17 as you are pleased (to do) for those chosen of Adam—
 to take a stand before you forever. (1QS 11:15–17; my translation)

Knohl's observation that this petition "asks God to fulfill that which God had destined and decreed for God's chosen one" is borne out also by the larger context.³⁹ In 11:2b–15a, the speaker begins by declaring that God has established his way, forgiven his sins, and granted him hidden knowledge (11:2b–7a). Describing the glorious position of the elect—with whom God has evidently placed him—who are joined with the angels (11:7b–9a), leads him abruptly to reflect in despair on his inadequacy as a sinful human (11:9b–10a). He finds comfort in reflecting that no human can establish his righteousness or perfect his way, but that all comes from God's knowledge (11:10b–11a). This leads him to rejoice that God forgives him, establishes his way, and purifies him that he might praise God (11:11b–15a). The song ends with the concluding benediction, praising God as giver of knowledge, and asking God to establish him in righteousness and raise him up (11:15b–17a). The motivation clause picks up earlier motifs: all are dependent on God for perfection of way and knowledge (11:17b–22).

It would be a mistake to conclude, however, that the heightened deterministic language means that this is somehow less than real petition. The song expresses the troubling paradox in which the speaker finds himself, the "crisis of knowledge" described by Newsom in discussing similar psalms in the *Hodayot*.⁴⁰ He finds a solution precisely in prayer in which he both loses himself and finds himself in God, part of the "cultivation of the masochistic sublime" described by Newsom.⁴¹ His prayer, both praise and petition, is key in the transformative experience of the speaker. This is above all indicated by the surprising way the song ends: not on a note of glory, but human degradation and the inability to contemplate God. Without divine help he is lost.

The covenant ceremony presents a special problem. Although the recital as described in 1QS 1:18–2:18 is in part based on the form of post-exilic communal confessions (e.g. Neh 9, Ezra 9, Dan 9, Bar 1:15–3:8),

³⁹ Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence," 29.

⁴⁰ See Newsom, *Self*, 216, 219; for her discussion of this passage, see 172–173.

⁴¹ See Newsom, *Self*, 173.

I have argued that it is uniquely adapted by replacing a petition for mercy and forgiveness with blessing on the covenanters and cursing on outsiders and apostates, so that the whole functions as a ritual of confirmation.⁴² Arnold took this observation further by arguing that the confession is best seen as prescribed speech rather than a repentance of the heart, and that “[i]n such a deterministic view, petition of any kind was of no effect.”⁴³ This is probably pressing the point too far. Even in the deterministic context of the covenant ceremony, it is highly unlikely that the community members would perceive their confession and petitions as devoid of intended impact on God and their circumstances. Some clue to the experience of the covenant ceremony may be provided by the psalm in 1QH^a 4 (see above), which seems to be a reflection on the ritual. If so, it would suggest that the member perceived the ritual as effecting penitential supplication for forgiveness: “to confess former transgressions, to p[rostr]ate myself and beg for mercy” (1QH^a 4:29–31). It should be remembered that 1QS 1:18–3:12 does not present the entirety of the ritual; the ritual may have included explicit petition, or its function perceived as supplication to God. Possible support of this may also come from the reference in 1QS 2:7 to those (of Belial’s lot) whose petition for forgiveness is not answered: “May God not show you favor when you cry out, and may he not forgive so as to atone your iniquities” (1QS 2:7; my translation). At least in theory this implies the converse, petitions for forgiveness that are effective.

Schuller finds a petitionary element in the use of the priestly blessing as a model for the blessings and curses (1QS 2:2–8), since the jussive form has the effect of indirect request.⁴⁴ Also probably related to the covenant ceremony are the curses of Melchiresha and those of his lot in 4Q*Curses*, which similarly adapt the priestly blessing (4Q280 2 1–4). The significance of this choice of form is apparent in contrast with blessings and curses in the form of declarative statements: Schuller notes examples in the *War Rule*, but even more relevant are the declarative blessings and curses of the *Berakhot* (4Q286–290). These latter examples, however, may also have been used in relation

⁴² D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 219–226.

⁴³ Arnold, “Repentance.”

⁴⁴ Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 42.

to the covenant ceremony, and if so, they show that the form of blessings may have been variable.⁴⁵

ESCHATOLOGICAL PRAYERS

As Schuller has noted, the most surprising place to find petitions is in eschatological contexts where the outcome is regarded as certain.⁴⁶ Schuller suggests that the use of the priestly blessing as a model in the *Rule of Blessings* (1QSb) for blessing various figures including the Prince of the Congregation conveys a sense of request and not merely praise. The impact of this argument is weakened by recognition that the blessings mirror scriptural statements (e.g., 1QSb 5:24–25 cf. Isa 11), which lends more of a sense of affirmation. The priestly blessing also serves as a model in the *War Rule*: “May God Most High bless you, may he shine his face upon you, and may he open for you his rich storehouse in the heavens...” (11Q14 frg. 1 ii 7–15 // 4Q285 8 4–10). Overall, the frequent use of the priestly blessing as a model is ambivalent with regard to our topic: on the one hand it gives prominence to the jussive form with its indirect petition, but on the other hand it could favor the idea of prayer as prescribed speech, and as affirmation of what God has already determined.

More significant is the depiction of direct petition in the context of eschatological battles in the *War Rule*. Schuller is probably correct that the mention of a “prayer for the appointed time of wa[r]” to be recited by the chief priest (1QM 15:4–5) refers to a petitionary prayer for victory.⁴⁷ Although this prayer is not given in 1QM, it would likely be similar to the prayers that occur in columns 11–12, 14, and 18–19, which appeal to God’s character and past acts of deliverance as a basis for a petition that God rouse himself as divine warrior and destroy his enemies (1QM 12:10–13 and 19:2–5 [cf. 4Q492 1 1–5]; 1QM 14:16). Against Knohl’s argument that these prayers of arousal to God are not real petition is their close connection with appeal to the volition of troops to be brave and not to fear (1QM 15:7–9; 10:3–5; 17:4, 9).

⁴⁵ B. Nitzan, “Berakhot,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:93–94.

⁴⁶ Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 42–43.

⁴⁷ Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer,” 43.

EXORCISM SONGS

There are a number of exorcism prayers and songs among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some are for use by a professional exorcist, specifically the Maskil (*Songs of the Sage* 4Q510–511; 4Q444); others seem to be for more general use. The former are certainly sectarian compositions of the *yahad*, because of both their connection with the liturgical master of the sectarian community, and the display of similar dualistic and deterministic theology.⁴⁸ We might have expected petitions for God to banish the demon and to protect, but in the fragmentary remains, there is a surprising absence of petition. Mostly, they challenge the demon in the name of the Lord. There is one extant exception of a petition uttered by the Maskil in the *Songs of the Sage*:

8 [...let] all the blameless of way exalt him.
 With the lyre of salvation 9 [may] they [op]en (their) mouth for God's
 mercy.
 May they seek his manna. *vacat*
 Save, O Go[d,] 10 [who keeps fav]or in truth for all his creatures...
 (4Q511 frg. 10 9–10; cf. 4Q510 frg. 1; my translation)

Besides the Maskil's direct petition for God to save, there is also a possible reference to petition for mercy by the community. Opening the mouth could refer merely to reception of mercy, but in combination with "lyre of salvation," it more likely refers to sung prayer. It may be that there were other petitions now lost (e.g., frg. 22 3–4).

PURIFICATION RITUALS

There are three manuscripts of purification liturgies that include prayers to be recited in the ritual: 4Q414 and 4Q512 seem to be differing versions of the same work, and 4Q284 seems to be a similar but different work.⁴⁹ These liturgies associate purification with repentance

⁴⁸ See E. Chazon, "444. 4QIncantation," in *Qumran Cave 4. XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 370–372 [367–378].

⁴⁹ J. Baumgarten, "284. 4QPurification Liturgy," in *Qumran Cave 4, XXV: Halakhic Texts* (ed. J. Baumgarten et al.; DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 123–129; E. Eshel, "414. 4QRitual of Purification," in DJD 35, 135–154; M. Baillet, "512. Rituel de purification," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 262–286.

in a manner similar to the *Community Rule* (4Q414 2 ii +3+4 7–8; 4Q512 29–32 8–10; 15 i + 16 1–3; 70–71 2; cf. 1QS 3:4, 8–9; 5:13–14). Esther Eshel suggests that the liturgy consisted of three components: confession, petition for forgiveness, and thanksgiving.⁵⁰ There is, however, only one reference to penitential supplication to be discerned among these three manuscripts:

א[תְּחַנֵּן עַל כּוֹל נִסְתֵּר[וֹ]תְּ אֲשַׁמָּה]

“[...I] ask mercy for all (my) secret guilt[y] act[s]” (4Q512 5:15; = frg. 34 3).⁵¹

The petition may also continue in line 5, seeking protection “from the plague of impurity.” It could be that there were other petitions for forgiveness now lost due to the very fragmentary condition of these manuscripts. For example, the mention of תפלה in 4Q512 65 2–3 probably intends petition (for forgiveness): “and turn from all [evil...] prayer (תפלה) until [...]” Still, the proportion is remarkable: the surviving prayers consist mostly of praise and thanksgiving that God has forgiven and not abandoned. The situation is very similar to the covenant ceremony where petition is strikingly absent from a ritual of confession.

PESHARIM

4Q177 *Catena* is a commentary on selected verses concerning the last days.⁵² In at least two cases, biblical petitions are used as models for eschatological prayer of the *yaḥad*. The petition (of David) in Ps 17:1—“Listen, [O LORD, to a just case!] Take notice of my shout, give ear to [my prayer...]”—is interpreted as concerning the “last days, at the time when he will seek [...] the council of the *yaḥad*” (4Q177 3:4–6). The interpretation may include another reference to supplication of God in line 9 “to the chiefs of mourning, return/repent... [...G]od of mercy and God of Israe[...].” The petition in Ps 6:2–4—“O Lo[R]D, do not re[buke me] in your anger. [Take pity on me LORD,

⁵⁰ Eshel, DJD 35, 136–137.

⁵¹ The transcription and translation are adapted from DJD 7, following Baillet’s tentative suggestion for restoring the first word. It could alternatively be לְהַתְּחַנֵּן.

⁵² These are cited—with minor modification—from F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:362–367.

fo]r I am collapsing. [Heal me, LORD...] My soul is very troubled. And now, O LORD, how long? Take pity on me! Save [my] li[fe...]" (4Q177 4:7–8)—is cited as a prayer of David and interpreted as referring to the trials of the righteous in the last days when Belial seeks to destroy the elect. Somewhat similarly, in 4Q175 *Testimonia* 14–20 the prayer of Moses for blessing on Levi (Deut 33:8–11) seems to be applied to an eschatological Aaronic priest or perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵³

TEXTS WITH UNCERTAIN CONNECTION WITH THE YAḤAD

Daily Prayers

In 4Q503 *Daily Prayers*—which I argue is probably a collection of sectarian blessings—each prayer closes with a blessing on the congregation: “May the peace of God be upon you, O Israel.”⁵⁴ I believe that this has the effect of an abbreviated priestly blessing, and could likewise be considered implicit petition for the congregation.

4QMMT

4QMMT was important for the community at Qumran, as attested by the large number of manuscripts (six in Cave 4), and represents the self-understanding of an early stage of sectarian separation.⁵⁵ But apart from some general dualistic language concerning Belial (see below) there is no language or motifs distinctive to the sectarian texts found at Qumran, and there is no expression of a deterministic theology.

In the exhortation part of the document, the author prescribes penitential prayer and supplication for forgiveness and protection from evil, on the precedent of Moses and David. After citing the biblical precedent for repentance in Deut 4:30 and 30:1–2, and the example of David who was “freed from many afflictions and was forgiven,” the writer urges the reader to “Consider all these things and ask him that

⁵³ F. M. Cross, “Testimonia (4Q175 = 4QTestim),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTS/DSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 309 [308–327].

⁵⁴ See Falk, *Daily*, 21–29.

⁵⁵ See the summary in J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 19–22.

he strengthen your will and remove from you the plans of evil and the device of Belial so that you may rejoice at the end of time” (4Q398 14–17 ii 4–6).⁵⁶ The language assumes the efficacy of petition.

4QInstruction

4QInstruction was not a product of the community of the Teacher, but served as an influential source for the *Community Rule* and the *Hodayot*, especially with regard to a dualism of spirits and a deterministic periodization of history.⁵⁷ There are several probable references to petition.

15 And do not overlook your own [si]ns. Be like a humble man when you contend for a judgment in favor of him[...] 15 you shall take. And then God will be seen, and his anger will abate, and he will overlook your sins. [Fo]r before [his anger] 16 none will stand. (4Q417 2 i 14–16; par. 4Q418a 22)⁵⁸

If the preceding context advising the poor person to be a *baal rib* with regard to their needs (l. 12) belongs with this section on appeal to God, the passage as a whole seems to urge persistent prayer to God to forgive and provide (cf. Luke 18:1–8). Another passage seems to describe intercession as a duty of the sage, although it is ambiguous: “And it is in your charge/power to turn away anger from those whom God favors and to number [...]” (4Q418 81+81a 10). The following passage is also ambiguous: “Seek (שחר) his presence with favor, and according to his language [sp]eak (to him), and then you will find what you desire. [...]” (4Q416 2 ii 7–8; cf. 4Q417 2 ii 10; 4Q418 8 7). If the reference is to God, it describes petition in a divine language (archaic Hebrew?) or divinely ordained words. In the context, however, it seems more likely that the passage gives guidance to the sage in serving an earthly ruler.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Translation follows E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4: V: Miqṣat Ma’āse ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 175, with minor adaptations.

⁵⁷ See M. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 228–232.

⁵⁸ Translations adapted from J. Strugnell and D. J. Harrington, S.J., *Qumran Cave 4: XXIV. Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr L^ᵉMēvîn): 4Q415ff.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

⁵⁹ Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 99–100.

OTHER PETITIONS

There are a large number of other petitionary prayers among the Dead Sea Scrolls that, because of their fragmentary nature and their absence of sectarian theology, are of ambiguous relevance to the specific question at hand. Nevertheless, they belong to the larger repertoire of prayer materials of interest to the sectarian community at Qumran.

These fall roughly into three categories. First, there are prose petitionary prayers that seem intended for liturgical use, most importantly a collection of communal petitions for days of the week (*Words of the Luminaries*; 4Q504, 506) and a collection of *Festival Prayers* (1Q34 +34bis; 4Q507, 508, 509 + 505) at least some of which prominently feature petition. The petitions reflect general Jewish concerns, both physical—for God to remember his people and gather the exiles—and spiritual—especially forgiveness, knowledge and strength to perform Torah, and protection against evil influence. That these share the same form and survive in multiple copies at Qumran—two and four respectively—make it likely that these were of the same provenance outside of the sectarian movement but used by members of the community (*Words of the Luminaries* was composed before the middle of the second c. BCE). Other possible liturgical scrolls with supplications include 4Q292 with corporate petition to increase Israel (2 3); 4Q443 with individual and corporate prayers concerning God's justice and forgiveness (probable petition in 1 3 “may you incline...”); 4Q393 with communal confession of sin and petition to God for forgiveness and spiritual strengthening, and not to abandon his people but to establish a remnant; and 4Q448 with petition for the welfare of the king and the dispersed people of Israel. Further fragmentary prayers include a petition for the gathering of exiles (4Q481c); deliverance from enemies (4Q451); and a possible petition for knowledge (4Q442).

Second, there are petitions in numerous psalms. In the two scrolls of *Non-Canonical Psalms* are a number of petitions and references to petition, mostly associated with scriptural figures, especially kings and probably Moses (4Q381 15 1–3;⁶⁰ 24a+b 4–12; 31 4–9; 33a,b+35 1–6, 7–11; 79 6; 4Q380 2 4–5). Besides Psalms that appear in the masoretic

⁶⁰ I suggest reading the first line as a jussive (“may you turn my heart”). The petition is based on Pss 86:16–17; and the speaker who identifies himself as “your anointed” probably intends David.

Bible, the great Psalms Scroll from Cave 5 has two apocryphal petitionary prayers that plead for mercy and forgiveness as well as spiritual strengthening and deliverance from danger (*Plea For Deliverance* 11Q5 19:1–18, also 11Q6; *Psalm 155* 11Q5 24:3–17). In addition to four copies of the “biblical” Lamentations (3Q3, 4Q11, 5Q6, 5Q7), there are six copies of Lamentation-like texts: 4Q179, 4Q282, 4Q439, 4Q445, 4Q453, and 4Q501. Although these do not show signs of sectarian origin, A. Berlin argues convincingly that their significant presence at Qumran is due to their appeal to sectarian consciousness of being oppressed.⁶¹ By the very nature of complaint, these are implicit supplications. Two are especially significant. 4Q176 *Tanhumim* is—in what survives—mostly an anthology of excerpts from Second Isaiah in sequential order on the theme of divine comfort in response to the suffering of Israel, Jerusalem, and the Temple.⁶² At the beginning of the preserved part of the scroll, preceding the quotation from Isa 40:1, is the end of a non-scriptural petition for God to enact justice and avenge blood shed in Jerusalem, based on the lament of Ps 79:1–3. Similarly, in 4Q501 *Apocryphal Lamentations B* is a plea to God to avenge violence by foreigners against the members of the covenant (frg. 1).

Third, there are numerous petitions embedded in narratives of various kinds. Most of these are introducing prayers attributed to scriptural figures, including: Abram, for the safety of Sarai and healing of Pharaoh (*Genesis Apocryphon* 1Q20 20); Levi, for spiritual strength, protection from evil influence, and mercy (*Aramaic Levi* 4Q213a 1 i 8–ii 10); Joseph, for deliverance from foreigners (4Q372 1 16–17); Joshua, penitence and forgiveness, based on prayers of Moses (4Q378, 379 *Apocryphon of Joshua*^{a,b}; cf. 4Q175 22 ii 9–14); Samuel, for deliverance of the people (*Vision of Samuel* 4Q160 3–5 ii 2–3); an unidentified figure (4Q460 7 12; 8 2; 9 2–6). Also relevant are references in the

⁶¹ A. Berlin, “Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature,” 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. Chazon et al.; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–17.

⁶² C. Stanley, “The Importance of 4Q*Tanhumim* (4Q176),” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 569–582; H. Lichtenberger, “Consolations (4Q176 = 4Q*Tanḥ*),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. by J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 329–349.

Enochic literature to angels interceding on behalf of humans or Enoch interceding on behalf of angels (e.g., 1Q19 1 4; 1Q19*bis* 2 2; 4Q202 1 iii 7–16; 4Q203 8 15; 4Q204 1 vi).

CONCLUSIONS

This study largely affirms the earlier conclusions reached by Schuller, that the relative lack of petition in sectarian prayers must be balanced with recognition that the sectarians both recited petitions composed by others and composed some petitions of their own. In fact, the present study indicates that there is a significantly greater presence of petition in sectarian materials than previously recognized. Knohl and Arnold have made important observations about the distinctly restrained role of petition in the context of a deterministic movement, and the motifs they emphasize are attested, but the evidence does not support the contention that sectarian theology negated true appeal. On the contrary, it is misleading to approach the question as though deterministic theology is absolute, and was determinative for the community's life and practice. The important point is not whether their theology allowed real petition, but whether they really offered petition, and then to ask how their developing theology modulated that practice, and was in turn restrained by that practice.⁶³

There can be little doubt that for the movement we are considering, the practice of petitionary prayer preceded the development of a rigorous deterministic theology. This is attested especially by the probable use of non-sectarian collections of petitionary prayers (*Words of the Luminaries, Festival Prayers*), the role of petition in MMT representing a formative stage, and the role of petition in earlier works that shared a deterministic theology (Enochic literature and perhaps *4QInstruction*). The presence of petition in the *Hodayot* as well as other sectarian texts—although limited—shows that the development of deterministic theology did not stifle the practice and composition of petition, just as it did not negate individual volition.

The preference for the mode of praise and thanksgiving over petition is especially striking in the following contexts. The purification liturgies contain blessing that God has forgiven and has not forsaken,

⁶³ Both Schuller ("Petitionary Prayer," 45) and Newsom (*Self*, 206–208) are sensitive to this point.

but there is only a single reference to penitential supplication. The exorcism rituals are almost exclusively praise of God and confrontation of demons, with only a single identifiable petition for help. But the lack of petition is relative not absolute. We might also ponder why, despite the emphasis on prayer as sacrifice and serving to atone for the land, there are no corresponding petitions to these effects? Why, also, is there no model prayer for the sectarian community, as seems to have some precedent among other pious groups?⁶⁴ Perhaps these needs were sufficiently provided for in the use of traditional prayers. However that may be—and we must admit that we cannot be certain whether or how various of these prayers might have been used in relation to each other—it is probably safe to agree with Newsom that “the sectarian’s formative moment is not that of crying out and being heard but one of recognition of his place in an already scripted drama” and the reception of insight.⁶⁵ It is not safe, however, to go further and judge what these sectarians would have found incongruous and what their theology could not have permitted.

⁶⁴ E.g., John the Baptist and Jesus (Luke 1:1–4; cf. John 17); Ben Sira 36:1–22; the emulation of personal prayers of early rabbinic sages (see J. Heinemann and J. Petuchowski, *Literature of the Synagogue* [Library of Jewish Studies; New York: Behrman House, 1975], 47–51).

⁶⁵ Newsom, *Self*, 208.

INTERPRETING THE POETRY OF ISAIAH AT QUMRAN: THEME AND FUNCTION IN THE SECTARIAN SCROLLS

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

It comes as no surprise that book of Isaiah—which contains some of the most powerful poetry in ancient literature—was one of the three most popular works for the the yahad, the Community associated with the writing and collection of the Scrolls found at Qumran. The yahad was a Second Temple collection of united Essene communities, spread throughout Palestine, of whom the site at Qumran and its manuscript depository represent one important group. Because very few writings survive from other yahad groups, the Qumran community become the main representatives of the movement known to us. Accordingly, while many of the sectarian writings (specific to the yahad) found at Qumran were written or copied by the group that met there (thus the “Qumranites” or “Qumran Covenanters”), many other sectarian writings (especially earlier ones) were written or copied by other adherents of the movement.² This popularity is evidenced by the large number of Isaiah scrolls (mostly fragmentary) found at Qumran and by the many quotations of and allusions to Isaiah in the non-biblical scrolls.

This treatment contains four main parts. *Section 2* will present a brief overview of the Isaiah Scrolls. *Section 3* will identify texts containing

¹ It is with pleasure that I dedicate this essay to Eileen Schuller, whom I have known for twenty years. It has been a privilege to interact with this most experienced scholar and foremost expert in Dead Sea Scrolls studies, especially since my coming to Canada in 1995. For this essay I am grateful to C. J. Patrick Davis, my senior Canada Research Chair assistant, for helping collect data and organize material for this essay. This input was enriched by his own work on Jeremiah traditions in Second Temple Judaism.

² See John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (SDSRL series; SSAP; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 205–08; and Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of the Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden Boston: Brill, 2009), 14–15.

Isaiah scriptures that were composed by the Qumranites or the predecessors of their group, and establish criteria for gathering data. *Section 4* will give a listing of quotations, citations and allusions to Isaiah (which is best done diachronically), offer detailed samples for each period, and conclude with pertinent comments on this material.

Section 5 will discuss theme and function in the citations from, and allusions to, scriptural Isaiah, identify insider / outsider language of separation, consider the formation of the Qumran Community's group identity, and focus on the eschatological emphases found in many sectarian scrolls.

2. ISAIAH SCROLLS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT

A total of twenty-two copies of Isaiah have been identified at Qumran and other sites. Two were discovered in Cave 1, eighteen in Cave 4, one in Cave 5, and one more at Murabba'at further down the western coast of the Dead Sea. All have appeared in the official series "Discoveries in the Judean Desert," culminating with the complete two-volume edition of 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b in 2010.³ The full listing is as follows:

<i>By Siglum</i>	<i>By Number</i>	<i>Range of Contents</i>	<i>Date or Period Copied</i>
1QIsa ^a	—	1:1 to 66:24	100 BCE
1QIsa ^b	1Q8	7:22 to 66:24	Herodian
4QIsa ^a	1Q55	1:1 to 33:17(?)	3rd quarter of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^b	2Q56	1:1 to 66:24	3rd quarter of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^c	3Q57	9:3 to 66:24	middle 3rd of 1st c. CE
4QIsa ^d	4Q58	45:20 to 58:7	mid-1st c. CE
4QIsa ^e	4Q59	2:1 to 59:16	late 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^f	4Q60	1:1 to 29:8?	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^g	4Q61	42:14 to 43:24	2nd half of 1st c. BCE

³ E. Ulrich and P. W. Flint, with a Contribution by M. G. Abegg, *Qumran Cave 1.II The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (2 vols.; DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010).

<i>By Siglum</i>	<i>By Number</i>	<i>Range of Contents</i>	<i>Date or Period Copied</i>
4QIsa ^h	4Q62	42:4–11	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ⁱ	4Q62a	56:7 to 57:8	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^j	4Q63	1:1–6	3rd quarter of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^k	4Q64	28:26–29:9	mid-1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^l	4Q65	7:14 to 8:14	mid-1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^m	4Q66	60:20 to 61:6	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ⁿ	4Q67	58:13–14	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^o	4Q68	14:28 to 16:8?	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^p	4Q69	5:28–30	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QIsa ^q	4Q69a	54:10–13	early Herodian
4QIsa ^r	4Q69b	30:23	Hasmonaeen
5QIsa	5Q3	40:16, 18–19	Herodian
MurIsa	Mur 3	1:4–14	ca. 70 CE

The third column (*Range of Contents*) lists a manuscript's earliest and latest verses in terms of their Masoretic order. It must be emphasized that many scrolls are very fragmentary, with very little preserved content (notably 4QIsaⁱ, 4QIsa^j, 4QIsa^l, 4QIsa^p, 4QIsa^q, and 4QIsa^r). The scrolls with the most preserved text are 1QIsa^a (all 66 chapters, with the exception of a few small lacunae), and—in descending order of contents—1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^c, 4QIsa^a, and 4QIsa^f.

The fourth column (*Date or Period when Copied*) indicates the approximate date of each manuscript on the basis of palaeographic analysis. At least eighteen Isaiah scrolls were copied before the Common Era.⁴ The oldest are 1QIsa^a (125–100 CE) and seven Cave 4 manuscripts that date to the first half of the first century BCE.⁵ Two of the Qumran scrolls are generally classified as “Herodian” (30 BCE to 70 CE),⁶ one is dated to the middle third of the first century CE,⁷ and

⁴ 1QIsa^a, 4QIsa^a, 4QIsa^b, 4QIsa^d, 4QIsa^e, 4QIsa^f, 4QIsa^g, 4QIsa^h, 4QIsaⁱ, 4QIsa^l, 4QIsa^k, 4QIsa^l, 4QIsa^m, 4QIsaⁿ, 4QIsa^o, 4QpapIsa^p, 4QIsa^q, and 4QIsa^r.

⁵ 4QIsa^f, 4QIsa^h, 4QIsaⁱ, 4QIsa^m, 4QIsaⁿ, 4QIsa^o, and 4QpapIsa^p.

⁶ 1QIsa^b and 5QIsa.

⁷ 4QIsa^c.

the sole manuscript from Murabba'at was copied at the very end of the Herodian period.⁸

3. THE USE OF ISAIAH OUTSIDE "SCRIPTURAL ISAIAH" IN THE QUMRAN SCROLLS

3.1 *The Twenty-Seven Key Compositions*

Outside the twenty-one Isaiah "biblical" scrolls from Qumran,⁹ material relating to Isaiah's prophecies, which were all delivered in poetic form, appears in many of the non-biblical scrolls found at the site. It is necessary, however, that a list of sectarian compositions that refer or allude to Isaiah be established. This is because any sustained analysis of the interpretation of Isaiah among the *yahad* must focus on the strictly sectarian scrolls and a few others that seem to reflect the movement's distinctive ideas.¹⁰

Although the list can no doubt be refined further, twenty-seven compositions may be identified as composed by the *Yahad* (the Qumran community or predecessors of their group). Five of these works may not be strictly sectarian in origin, but were at least used by the community and seem to reflect their distinctive ideas.¹¹

CD (*Damascus Document*)
4Q266 (4QD^a, *Damascus Document*)
4Q267 (4QD^b, *Damascus Document*)

⁸ MurIsa, ca. 70 CE.

⁹ The anachronistic term "biblical" serves in this essay to distinguish those texts that contain only Scripture as defined by the rabbinic canon. However, it must be noted that the Dead Sea Scrolls present some fluidity with respect to what was "scriptural" or "authoritative." While the Qumran covenanters and the *Yahad* in general undoubtedly possessed a concept of "Scripture," it remains uncertain precisely how they defined this concept. Regarding the Book of Isaiah, in some documents there are clear distinctions between these Scriptures and their interpretation or function, but in many other instances such distinctions are ambiguous, and do not necessarily conform to modern conceptions of Scripture.

¹⁰ The classification of "Sectarian" texts in this essay is based on D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Content and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way of the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls, by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23-58.

¹¹ The *Sapiential Work*, *Tanhumim*, 4QCatena, *Barki Nafshi*, and the *Messianic Apocalypse* (or *Eschatological Midrash*). Two Psalms scrolls from Cave 11 (11Q5 and 11Q6) also feature because they include the "Plea for Deliverance," which alludes to Isa 38:19.

6Q15 (6QD, *Damascus Document*)
 4Q185 (*Sapiential Work*)
 1QS (*Community Rule*)
 1Q28^b (1QSb, *Rule of the Blessings*)
 1QpHab (*Pesher Habakkuk*)
 1QH^a (*Hodayot*)
 1QM (*War Scroll*)
 3Q4 (3QpIsa, *Isaiah Pesher*)
 4Q161 (4QpIsa^a, *Isaiah Pesher^a*)
 4Q162 (4QpIsa^b, *Isaiah Pesher^b*)
 4Q163 (4QpIsa^c, *Isaiah Pesher^c*)
 4Q164 (4QpIsa^d, *Isaiah Pesher^d*)
 4Q165 (4QpIsa^e, *Isaiah Pesher^e*)
 4Q174 (4QFlor, *Florilegium*)
 4Q176 (4QTanh, *Tanhumim*)
 4Q177 (4QCatena)
 4Q265 (*Miscellaneous Rules*)
 4Q285 (*Sefer ha-Milhamah*)
 4Q434 (*BarkiNafshi^a* [= 4Q435])
 4Q437 (*BarkiNafshi^d*)
 4Q471 (*War Scroll-Like Text B*)
 4Q471b (*Self-Glorification Hymn*)
 4Q509 (*papPrFêtes^c, Festival Prayers^c*)
 4Q511 (4QShir^b, *Songs of the Sage^b*)
 4Q521 (*Messianic Apocalypse or Eschatological Midrash*)
 11Q5 (11Q6) (part of 11QPs^a, *Psalms Scroll^a*) [from the “Plea for
 Deliverance”]
 11Q13 (11QMelch, *Melchizedek*)

3.2 Criteria for Gathering Data

Among these twenty-seven scrolls, there are over 100 references or allusions to Isaiah material relating to Isaiah. At least ninety of these are clear references, whether in quotations using various formulae, representations of pericopae from Isaiah, or allusions to themes from the book.

While it is commonly assumed that the authoritative status for any given scriptural text in the Dead Sea Scrolls is discerned by either the clear presence of a citation formula, or by how closely it mimics an established version of the text, this study does not employ such anachronistic methodology. One reason is that in many discussions concerning the distinction between citations, quotations, allusions or “echoes,” relegating pericopae to the latter two categories tends to prejudice their status with a sense of lesser authority in the mind of

the modern reader.¹² Furthermore, most of the examples listed below seem to reflect the pervasive Essene worldview, which employs Scripture as part of a programme to establish the Community's identity.

Isaiah is used in many ways by several compositions, indicating that while the scriptural book was authoritative to the author, this status is not necessarily assumed for every citation or an allusion. For example, Isaiah in the *Damascus Document* is cited with a direct quotation (CD 7:11–12, cf. Isa 7:17), by a more general reference (14:1, cf. Isa 7:17), and in a variety of allusions with no indication of a reference (e.g. 1:20 [cf. Isa 24:5], 5:13–14 [cf. Isa 50:11; 59:5]). In such instances there is no reason to assume that certain uses of Isaiah reflect a higher level of authority than others; all should therefore be considered equally reflective of the high status accorded to Isaiah. Such examples suggest that a true understanding of what constituted authority in the ancient world and how it was employed is complex, and that “citation” of or “allusion” to Scripture extended beyond the presence and status of “texts.”

When approaching categories such as these, the problem persists in discerning how texts were perceived or functioned in the mind of the writer as well as the intended receiving community.¹³ Since we can only speculate on how the most authors perceived a given text, or how authoritative it may have been relative to other Scriptures, it seems best not to emphasize the distinction between citation and allusion. Yet it remains necessary to classify individual cases according to how each appears. In this study and in the Table below, types of “Quotations” (**q1**, **q2**) and “Citations” (**c**) are distinguished on literary grounds, in accordance with Stanley Porter's definition of quotation as

¹² On the definition of “citations” and the differences between these and “allusions” cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7 (1961): 297–333; S. E. Porter, “The Use of the Old Testament in the New: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (ed. C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; SSEJC 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79–96; C. D. Stanley, “The Social Environment of ‘free’ Biblical Quotations in the New Testament,” in Evans and Sanders, eds., *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures*, 18–27. For an excellent summary and analysis, cf. J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 41–55.

¹³ For an attempt at making this distinction explicit, see R. Gordis, “Quotation in Wisdom Literature,” *JQR* 30 (1939/40): 123–47.

“formal correspondence with actual words found in antecedent texts.”¹⁴ Types of “Allusions” to the Isaianic text (**a1a**, **a1b**, **a1c**, **a1d**)¹⁵ are distinguished by the categories used by Julie A. Hughes:

3.3 *Distinguishing Quotations, Citations and Allusions*

Quotation = **Q**:

Q1) Appearance of biblical passage with +50% correspondence in lexemes, with citation formulae but without clear delimitation.

Q2) Appearance of biblical passage with +50% correspondence in lexemes, and identified with a specific figure or previously known writing.

Citation = **C**:

Appearance of a biblical passage with +50% correspondence in lexemes, but with no citation formulae

Allusion = **A**: Where there is less than 50% correspondence in lexemes:

A1a) Correspondence with a *hapax legomenon* in the Isaianic text.

A1b) A group of words in a similar syntactical relationship in both passages, occur in this combination in only one identifiable passage of Isaiah.

A1c) A more commonly occurring phrase, but with similarities of meaning or context to one identifiable passage of Isaiah.

A1d) Where for A1b or A1c the “one identifiable passage of Isaiah” may constitute a group of passages, if there is some exegetical or other relationship between them that enables them to be viewed as an entity.¹⁶

4. DIACHRONIC LISTING OF CITATIONS OF AND ALLUSIONS TO SCRIPTURAL ISAIAH, WITH COMMENTS

The twenty-seven texts that make some reference to Isaiah scriptures may be grouped under four periods. These periods accord with most contemporary theories regarding the history of the Qumran sectarians and the archaeological finds of the Qumran site.¹⁷ However, this

¹⁴ Porter, “The Use of the Old Testament,” 95.

¹⁵ Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 50–54.

¹⁶ Quoted from Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 52–53.

¹⁷ On the archeology of Khirbet Qumran, see J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SDSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); idem,

alignment of texts with corresponding periods must not disregard the ongoing discussion of the occupation of the Qumran site itself. Rather, these groupings reflect the fairly general assignment of texts to various points of history in the *yahad* movement. The designations, based on de Vaux's original stratigraphy, and the modified study by Jodi Magness, are employed for the sake of convenience and not as contributions to the debate concerning the site's occupation, especially with regards to the Hasmonean period, and to the controversial divisions between Period IB and II. Datings are on the basis of palaeography, radiocarbon dating, or internal features (notably for the *Damascus Document* and the *Hodayot*). As the charts for each period indicate, the pericopae that refer to Isaiah are distributed fairly evenly through the life of the *yahad*.

The ninety-five cases of quotation, citation or allusion are listed as follows, using three columns, and with a solid horizontal line marking content from the next composition or group of compositions. Following the listing for each period, a second and more detailed chart provides a few examples in greater detail.

"Qumran Archaeology: Past Perspectives and Future Prospects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:47–77; J. C. VanderKam and P. W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2002), 34–54; P. R. Davies, G. J. Brooke, and P. R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 166–191. For this study the dividing point between Qumran I and Qumran II is 4 BCE, following Magness. For recent outlines of the history and identity of the Qumran community, and on the various theories, cf. J. C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in Flint and VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, 2:487–533; J. J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); A. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009), especially pages 21–67 and 219–281.

Table 1. Period 1: Formative or Non-Sectarian Texts up to 125 BCE

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
CD 1:1 (mid-late 2nd cent. BCE)	Isa 51:1, 7	A1c, A1d
1:8–9	Isa 59:10, 12	A1c
1:20	Isa 25:5	c
2:14–15	Isa 51:1	A1b
4:14	Isa 24:17	Q2
5:13–14 = 6Q15 2 1–2 (1–100 CE)	Isa 50:11; 59:5	c
5:16 = 4Q266 3 ii 4 (ca. early-mid 1st cent. BCE)	Isa 27:11	c
6:8	Isa 54:16	Q2
6:16–17 = 4Q266 3 ii 21–22	Isa 10:2	c
7:11–12	Isa 7:17	Q2
8:5–6	Isa 58:7	A1b
14:1 = 4Q266 9 iii 17–18 = 4Q267 9 v 2–4 (4Q267, ca. late 1st cent. BCE)	Isa 7:17	Q1
1QH ^a 11:8–11 4Q428 4 1–2 (ca. 125–50 BCE)	Isa 21:3; 37:3; 66:7; 9:5	A1c, A1d
16:5–6	Isa 44:3; 41:18; 35:7; 41:19; 60:13	A1b, A1c
4QpIsa ^d 1 1–4	Isa 54:11–12	c
4Q185 1–2 i 10–11	Isa 40:6–8	A1b

Table 1a. Detailed Chart with Examples

	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
1QH ^a 11:8–11 4Q428 4 1–2 (ca. 125–50 BCE)	<p>וְאֵהִיּ בְצוּקָה כְּמוֹ אִשְׁתִּי לֹדָה מִבְּכֵרֶיהָ כִּי־אֵהִיּ בְצוּקָה כְּמוֹ אִשְׁתִּי</p> <p>“I am in distress, as a woman about to give birth to her first born. For her pangs come over her,</p> <p>וְחִבְלֵי נִמְרִץ עַל מִשְׁבְּרֵיהָ לְהַחִיל בְּכוֹר הָרִיָּה כִּי־בָאוּ בָנִים עַד מִשְׁבְּרֵי מוֹת</p> <p>“(9) and she has excruciating pain at the mouth of her womb, writhing in the womb of the pregnant one. For children come into life through the crashing waves of death.”</p> <p>וְהָרִית גְּבֵר הַצָּרָה בְּחִבְלֵיהָ כִּי־בִמְשֻׁבְּרֵיהָ מוֹת תִּמְלִיט זָכָר</p> <p>“(10) and she who is pregnant with a male child is afflicted by her birth pains. For through the crashing waves of death she delivers a male child.”</p> <p>וּבְחִבְלֵי שְׂאוֹל יִגִּיחַ מְכוֹר הָרִיָּה פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ עִם גְּבוּרָתוֹ</p> <p>“Through the pains of Sheol there bursts forth (11) from the womb of the pregnant one, a wonderful counselor with his strength.”</p>	<p>צִרִים אֶחְזוּנִי כְּצִרֵי יֹלְדָה</p> <p>“pangs have seized me, like the pangs of a woman in labor;”</p> <p>כִּי־בָאוּ בָנִים עַד־מִשְׁבֵּר וְכֹחַ אֵין לְלֹדָה</p> <p>“children have come to the birth, and there is no strength to bring them forth.”</p> <p>בְּטָרְם תַּחִיל יִלְדָה בְּטָרְם יָבוֹא חִבְלֵי לָהּ וְהִמְלִיטָה זָכָר</p> <p>“Before she was in labor she gave birth; before her pain came upon her she delivered a son.”</p> <p>כִּי־יִלְדַּד יִלְדֵנוּ בֵּן נִתָּן לָנוּ וְהָיָה הַמְּשֻׁרָה עֲלֵנוּ שְׁכֵמוֹ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֱלֹהֵי גְבוּרָה</p> <p>“For a child has been born for us, a son given to us; authority rests upon his shoulders; and he is named Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God.”</p>	<p>A1c, A1d Isa 21:3</p> <p>37:3</p> <p>66:7</p> <p>9:5</p>

Table 1a (cont.)

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
16:5-6	<p>וּנְיִי כִי נִתְּנִי [כֹּה אֲדָ] אֹדֹד בְּמִקּוֹר נוֹזְלִים בִּיבֹשֶׁה וּמְבוּעַ מִים בְּאֶרֶץ צִיָּה וּמִשְׁקֵי גֶן וְאֲגָם</p> <p>“I thank [you, Lo]rd, for you have set me by the place of streams, upon the dry ground, and a spring of water in the parched earth, and a well watered garden, and a pool.”</p> <p>מִטַּע בְּרוֹשׁ וּתְדָהָר עִם תְּאֲשׁוּר יַחַד לְכַבוֹדְכָה</p> <p>“The planting of juniper and pine with box together for your glory.”</p>	<p>כִּי אֶצְקֶמֶיִם עַל־צִמָּא וְנִזְלִים עַל־יִבֹשֶׁה</p> <p>“For I will pour water out upon the thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground.”</p> <p>אֲשִׁים מְדַבֵּר לְאֲנָם־מִים וְאֶרֶץ צִיָּה לְמוֹצְאֵי מַיִם:</p> <p>“I will make of the desert a pool of water, and the parched earth will produce springs of water.”</p> <p>וְהָיָה הַשְּׂרָב לְאֲנָם וְצִמָּאוֹן לְמִבְּוֵי מַיִם</p> <p>“And the scorched ground will become a pool, and the thirsty ground will be springs of water.”</p> <p>אֲשִׁים בְּעֶרְבָה בְּרוֹשׁ תְּדָהָר וְתְאֲשׁוּר יַחַדְדוּ:</p> <p>“I will set in the desert juniper, pine, and box together.”</p> <p>כְּבוֹד הַלְּבָנוֹן אֵלֶיךָ יָבוֹא בְרוֹשׁ תְּדָהָר וְתְאֲשׁוּר יַחַדְדוּ</p> <p>“The glory of Lebanon is coming to you, juniper, pine, and box together.”</p>	<p>A1b, A1c Isa 44:3</p> <p>41:18</p> <p>35:7</p> <p>41:19</p> <p>60:13</p>

As expected, the first grouping includes the Admonition in the *Damascus Document* and the *Hodayot*, but also 4QpIsa^d, the oldest Isaiah *peshet* which has been palaeographically dated “hérodienne ancienne” (150–125 BCE),¹⁸ and the *Sapiential Work* (4Q185), dated “approximativement de la fin de l’époque hasmonéenne” (75–25 BCE).¹⁹ While 4Q185 does not fit chronologically within this period, it is the only listed text with no traces of sectarian origin. For this group, the absence of any citation formulae in three texts may be significant. CD is unusual, in that of the eight citations of Isaiah scriptures from the Admonition,²⁰ three follow citation formulae (CD 4:14; 6:8; 7:11; cf. also Isa 7:17 in CD 14:1 in the Legal section). This may be explained by the use of Scripture quotation markers as a gradually developing phenomenon within Second Temple Judaism.²¹ It may well be an innovation within the *Damascus Document*, which would be emulated among many subsequent writings from Qumran.

Table 2. Period 2: Early Yahad, ca. 125–75 BCE

Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
1QSb 5:21–22	Isa 11:4	C
5:24–26	Isa 11:4, 2, 5	A1b, A1d
4QpIsa ^c 2–3 1–4	Isa 8:7–9	C
frgs. 4–7 i 3	Isa 9:11	C
frgs. 4–7 i 5–8	Isa 9:13–16	C
frgs. 4–7 i 13–18	Isa 9:17–20	C
frgs. 4–7 ii 1–3	Isa 10:12–13	C
frgs. 4–7 ii 10–13	Isa 10:20–22	C

¹⁸ J. Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” *RevQ* 7 (1963): 163–284, 196.

¹⁹ Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 269.

²⁰ CD 1:1 (Isa 51:7); 4:14 (24:17); 5:13–14 (50:11; 59:5), 16 (27:11); 6:8 (54:16), 16–17 (10:2); 7:11–12 (7:17); 8:5–6 (58:7).

²¹ Cf. Y. Hoffman, “The Technique of Quotation and Citation as an Interpretive Device,” in *Creative Biblical Exegesis: Christian and Jewish Hermeneutics through the Centuries* (ed. B. Uffenheimer and H. G. Reventlow; JSOTSup 59; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 71–79.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
frgs. 4–7 ii 19–21	Isa 10:23, 24	c
frgs. 8–10 2–3	Isa 14:8	c
frgs. 8–10 4–7	Isa 14:26–27	c
frgs. 8–10 11–14	Isa 14:28–30	c
frgs. 11 ii 1–5	Isa 19:9–12	c
frg. 17 1	Isa 29:15	c
frgs. 18–19 2–6	Isa 29:19–23	c
frg. 21 1	Isa 29:17	c
frg. 21 9–15	Isa 30:1–5	c
frg. 23 ii 3–9	Isa 30:15–18	c
frg. 23 ii 15–19	Isa 30:19–21	c
frg. 24 1	Isa 30:29	c
frg. 25 5–7	Isa 31:1	c
frg. 26 1	Isa 32:5–6	c
4Q521 2 ii + 4 12	Isa 61:1	A1a

Table 2a. Detailed Chart with Examples

	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
1Q5b 5:21–22	<p>וְלִשְׁפוֹט בְּצֶדֶק אֲבִיוֹנִים] וְלִהְיוֹכִיחַ בְּמִישׁוֹר לְ[ע]נֵי אֶרֶץ “with righteousness He may judge the poor,] (22) [and] decide with equity for [the me]ek of the earth”</p>	<p>וְשָׁפֵט בְּצֶדֶק דְּלָיִים וְהוֹכִיחַ בְּמִישׁוֹר לְעַנְיֵי־אֶרֶץ “But with righteousness he shall judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth.”</p>	c Isa 11:4

Table 2a (cont.)

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
5:24–26	<p>והייתה כִּי [בעזו] [פי]כה בשבטכה תחריב ארץ וברוח שפתיכה תמית רשע</p> <p>“Thus may you be r[ighteous] by the might of your [mouth,] lay waste the earth with your rod! With the breath of your lips (25) may you kill the wicked!”</p>	<p>והכה־ארץ בְּשֵׁבֶט פִּי וּבְרוּחַ שְׁפָתָיו יָמִית רָשָׁע</p> <p>“He shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall kill the wicked.”</p>	<p>A1b, A1d Isa 11:4</p>
	<p>יתִן לְכֹהֵן רוּחַ עֲצָה וּגְבוּרַת עוֹלָם רוּחַ דַּעַת וַיִּרְאֵת אֱלֹהִים</p> <p>“May He give [you the spirit of coun]sel and may eternal might [rest upon you], the spirit of knowledge and the fear of God.”</p>	<p>וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה וְרוּחַ חֵכְמָה וּבִינָה רוּחַ עֲצָה וּגְבוּרָה רוּחַ דַּעַת וַיִּרְאֵת יְהוָה</p> <p>“The spirit of the Lord shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.”</p>	<p>Isa 11:2</p>
	<p>והיה צדק אזור [מותניכה ואמונ]ה אזור חלציכה</p> <p>“May righteousness (26) be the belt [around your waist, and faithful]ness the belt around your loins.”</p>	<p>והיה צֶדֶק אָזוּר מִתְּנִיּוֹ וְהָאֱמוּנָה אָזוּר חֲלָצָיו</p> <p>“Righteousness shall be the belt around his waist, and faithfulness the belt around his loins.”</p>	<p>Isa 11:5</p>
4Q521 2 ii + 4 12	<p>כִּי ירפא חללים ומתים יחיה עניים יבשר</p> <p>“For He shall heal the critically wounded, He shall revive the dead, He shall send good news to the afflicted.”</p>	<p>מָשַׁח יְהוָה אֶתִּי לְבָשָׂר עֲנָוִים שָׁלַחֵנִי לְחַבֵּשׁ לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב לְקַרְא לְשֹׁבוּיִם דְּרוֹר</p> <p>“Because the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed, to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives . . .”</p>	<p>A1a Isa 61:1</p>

This group includes the largest of the Isaiah *pesharim*, 4QpIsa^c (85 BCE).²² The early first century BCE date attests to this type of scriptural interpretative technique early in the settlement of the Qumran site, and demonstrates the authoritative status of the text of Isaiah very early on for this community of the *yahad* movement. The *Messianic Apocalypse* or *Eschatological Midrash* (4Q521) was copied in an “écriture formelle hasmonéenne,”²³ and the *Rule of the Blessing* (1QSb) is assigned to the same period on palaeographic grounds. The first two fragments of the *Tanhumim* (4Q176) may possibly be included in this grouping, since they exhibit a different scribal hand from the rest of the manuscript, and are dated by John Strugnell to ca. 150–30 BCE.²⁴ However, this is not certain, and the overall text is dated closer to the Herodian period.²⁵

The low number of manuscripts in this group, as well with the scarcity of citations from Isaiah, poses a challenge. Since it is difficult to locate many earlier texts in view of their complex redactional histories,²⁶ it may be preferable to situate this group of texts with the first one.

Table 3. Period 3: Yahad I, ca. 75–4 BCE

Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
1QS 1:3–5	Isa 7:15; 61:8	Q1, A1b
3:2 = 4Q257 3 4	Isa 9:4	A1a
5:17	Isa 2:22	Q1
8:7 = 4Q259 2 16 (50–25 BCE)	Isa 28:16	A1a
8:14 = 4Q259 3 5	Isa 40:3	Q1

²² E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 226, n. 296.

²³ É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux* (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579) (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 3.

²⁴ Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 229.

²⁵ Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 207.

²⁶ Cf. especially on the *Damascus Document*: P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1982), 3–47; on the *Sitz im Leben* for the Hodayot, cf. C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 196–204.

Table 3 (*cont.*)

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
9:19–20 = 4Q259 3 17–19	Isa 40:3	A1b
1QM 11:11–12	Isa 31:8	Q1
4QpIsa ^a 2–4 2–3	Isa 10:22	C
2–4 6–10	Isa 10:24–27	C
5–6 5–9	Isa 10:28–32	C
8–10 2–3	Isa 10: 34	C
8–10 11–16	Isa 11:1–5	C
4QpIsa ^b 1 1	Isa 5:5	C
1 3–4	Isa 5:6	C
2 2–6	Isa 5:11–14	C
2 7–9	Isa 5:24–25	C
3 1–3	Isa 5:29–30	C
3 8	Isa 6:9	C
4QpIsa ^c 1–2 4	Isa 40:12	C
3 1	Isa 14:19	C
4 1–3	Isa 15:4–6	C
5 3–5	Isa 21:11–15	C
5 7	Isa 21:2	C
6 2–6	Isa 32:5–7	C
4QFlor 1–2 i 15–16	Isa 8:11	Q2
15 2–3	Isa 65:22–23	C
4QTanh 1–2 i 4–8	Isa 40:1–5	Q2
1–2 i 9–11	Isa 41:8–9	C
1–2 ii 1–6	Isa 49:7, 13–17	C

Table 3 (cont.)

Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
4QCatena A 5-6 2	Isa 37:30	Q2
5-6 5-6	Isa 32:7	Q2
5-6 15	Isa 22:13	c
4Q265 1 4-5	Isa 54:1-2	c
4QSM (4Q285) 7 1-2	Isa 10:34-11:1	Q2
4Q509 275 1	Isa 10:12	c
11QMelch 2 8-9	Isa 61:1-2	A1b
2 19-20	Isa 52:7	Q2
2 15-16	Isa 61:2	Q2
2 23	Isa 52:7	Q2

Table 3a. Detailed Chart with Examples

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
1QS 1:3-5	<p>ולאהוב כול אשר בחר ולשנוא את כול אשר מאס לרחוק מכול רע ולדבוק בכול מעשי טוב</p> <p>“to love everything (4) He chose and to hate everything He rejected, to distance themselves from all evil (5) and to hold fast to all good deeds...”</p>	<p>לְדַעְתּוֹ מֵאִסַּ בְּרָע וּבְחָר בְּטוֹב כִּי בְטָרְסָם יָדַע הַנֶּעֱדַר מֵאִסַּ בְּרָע וּבְחָר בְּטוֹב</p> <p>“...by the time he knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good.”</p> <p>כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֹהֵב מִשְׁפָּט שֵׁנָא נֹזֵל בְּעוֹלָה</p> <p>“For I the Lord love justice, I hate robbery and wrongdoing.”</p>	<p>Q1, A1b Isa 7:15</p> <p>Isa 61:8</p>

Table 3a (cont.)

	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
3:2 4Q257 3 4	<p>כִּיָּא בַסְאֹן רִשְׁעִי מִחֲרָשׁוֹ</p> <p>“Surely, he plows in the muck of wickedness.”</p>	<p>כִּי כָל־סְאֹן סְאֵן בְּרִעַשׁ וְשִׁמְלָה מְגוֹלְלָה בְּדָמִים</p> <p>“For all the boots of the tramping warriors and all the garments rolled in blood.”</p>	<p>A1a Isa 9:4</p>
5:17	<p>חֲדְלוּ לָכֶם מִן הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמָה בְּאָפוֹ כִּיָּא בְּמָה נִחְשָׁב הוּאָה</p> <p>“Turn away from mere mortals, in whose nostrils is only breath; for of what account are they?”</p>	<p>חֲדְלוּ לָכֶם מִן־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמָה בְּאָפוֹ כִּי־בְמָה נִחְשָׁב הוּאָה</p> <p>“Turn away from mortals, who have only breath in their nostrils, for of what account are they?”</p>	<p>Q1 Isa 2:22</p>
8:7 = 4Q259 2 16 (50–25 BCE)	<p>הִיאָה חוֹמַת הַבְּחֵן פֶּנֶת יָקָר</p> <p>“They will be the tested wall, the precious cornerstone”</p>	<p>הִנְנִי יוֹסֵד בְּצִיּוֹן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בְּחֵן פֶּנֶת יְקָרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד</p> <p>“See, I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation.”</p>	<p>A1a Isa 28:16</p>
8:14 = 4Q259 3 5	<p>בַּמִּדְבָּר פָּנּוּ דֶרֶךְ . . . יִשְׂרוּ בְּעֶרְבָה מַסְלָה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ</p> <p>“In the wilderness prepare the way of <the Lord>, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.”</p>	<p>בַּמִּדְבָּר פָּנּוּ דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה יִשְׂרוּ בְּעֶרְבָה מַסְלָה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ</p> <p>“In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.”</p>	<p>Q1 Isa 40:3</p>

Table 3a (cont.)

	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
9:19–20 = 4Q259 3 17–19	היאה עת פנות הדרך למדבר {ה} “{This is} the time of “preparing the way (20) in the desert.”	במדבר פנו דרך “In the wilderness prepare the way.”	A1b Isa 40:3
11QMelch 2 8–9	כיאה הוואה הקץ לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק ולצבאיו עם קדושי אל לממשלת משפט “For (9) this is the time decreed for “the year of Melchiz[edek]’s favor and for [his] hos[ts, together] with the holy ones of God, for a kingdom of judgment.”	רוח אדני יהוה עלי... לקרא שנת- רצון ליהוה ויום נקם לאלהינו “The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me ... (2) to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor, and the day of vengeance of our God”	A1b Isa 61:1–2
2 15–16	מה [נאו על הרים רגל[ני] מבשר [מ] שמיע שלום מב[שר] טוב משמיע ישוע[ה] א[ומר לציון] [מלך] אלוהיך “How] beautiful (16) upon the mountains are the fee[t of] the messeng[er] who [an] nounces peace, who brings [good] news, [who announces salvat]ion, who [sa]ys to Zion, ‘Your [di]vine being [reigns].”	מה נאוו על- ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום מבשר טוב משמיע ישועה אמר לציון מלך אלהיך: “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, who brings good news, who announces salvation, who says to Zion, ‘Your God reigns.’”	Q2 Isa 52:7

Table 3a (cont.)

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
2 19–20	לְנַחֵם [ם] הַ[אֲבֵלִים] “... (20) to comfort all who mourn.”	לְקַרְאֵ שְׁנַת־רִצּוֹן לְיְהוָה וַיּוֹם נְקָם לְאֵלֵהֵינוּ לְנַחֵם כָּל־ אֲבֵלִים: “to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all who mourn.”	Q2 Isa 61:2
2 23	לְצִיּוֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵיךָ “[who says to Zi]on ‘Your divine being reigns.’”	אָמַר לְצִיּוֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ: “who says to Zi]on ‘Your God reigns.’”	Q2 Isa 52:7

The third period contains the most extensive collection of Isaianic material among all the non-biblical scrolls, with twenty-two citations or allusions from scriptural Isaiah in ten documents. Besides the three Isaiah *pesharim* (4QpIsa^{a-b, c}), six of the other seven texts contain at least one Isaiah passage introduced by a citation formula (*Festival Prayers* [4Q509] being the exception). This supports the notion that these textual markers were a gradually developing phenomenon in Second Temple Judaism.²⁷ The group also features eschatological or messianic uses of Isaiah scriptures.

This period encompasses a “golden age” for the Qumran covenanters (mid-late first century BCE). Extensive use of scriptural Isaiah and divergent functions for Isaianic prophecies are very evident in these texts.

²⁷ Cf. Hoffman, “The Technique of Quotation and Citation,” 71–79.

Table 4. Period 4: Yaḥad II, ca. 4 BCE–68 CE

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
1QpHab 6:11–12 (1–68 CE)	Isa 13:18	c
3QpIsa 1 1–2	Isa 1:1	c
4QTanh 3 1–3	Isa 43:1–2	c
4–5 1–4	Isa 43:4–6	c
6–7 1–3	Isa 51:22–23	c
8–11 2–4	Isa 52:1–3	c
8–11 5–12	Isa 54:4–10	c
12–13 2–3	Isa 52:1–2	c
4Q434 1 i 9 = 4Q435 1 7–8	Isa 42:16	c
4Q437 2 i 8–9	49:2	c
4Q471a 1 8	Isa 5:20	c
4Q471b 1a–d 2–3	Isa 53:3	A1b
4Q511 30 5	Isa 40:12	c
11Q5 19 2 11Q6 4–5 4	Isa 38:19	A1b

Table 4a. Detailed Chart with Examples

	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Isaiah Passage</i>	<i>Quotation, Citation, Allusion</i>
1QpHab 6:11–12	ועל פרי בטן לוא ירחמו “Even on the child in the (12) womb they have no mercy”	וּפְרִי-בֶטֶן לֹא יִרְחָמוּ “they will have no mercy on the fruit of the womb.”	c Isa 13:18

Table 4a (cont.)

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
4Q434 1 i 9 = 4Q435 1 7-8	ויתן לפניהם מחשכים לאור ומעקשים למישור “He made dark places light in front of them, and He made rough places smooth.”	אֲשִׁים מְחֹשְׁדִּים לְפָנֵיהֶם לְאֹר וּמַעֲקָשִׁים לְמִישׁוֹר “I will turn the darkness before them into light, the rough places into level ground.”	C Isa 42:16
4Q437 2 i 8-9	באשפתיד הסֹתָ רתני ... החביאני ותשימי לחץ ברור “In Your quiver You [hid me, under the shadow of your hand] (9) [you concealed] me, You made me a polished arrow.”	הַחֲבִיאֲנִי וַיְשִׂימֵנִי לְחֵץ בְּרוֹר בְּאֲשַׁפְתּוֹ הַסֹּתְרֵנִי “In the shadow of his hand he hid me; he made me a polished arrow, in his quiver he hid me away.”	C Isa 49:2
4Q471a 1 8	ותשיתוֹ [] מתוק “And you have substituted [bitter for sweet] and sweet [for bitter]”	שְׂמִים מֵר לְמֵתוֹק וּמֵתוֹק לְמֵר “[Those] who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!”	C Isa 5:20
4Q471b 1a-d 2-3	מִי לְבוֹז נֶחֱשַׁב בִּי וּמִי [נִבְזָה כְּמוֹנִי וּמִי [כְּמוֹנִי חֲדָל אִישִׁים “W[ho is considered as contemptible as I am? And who] has been despised like m[e? And who] (3) like me is rejected [by men]”	נִבְזָה וְחֲדָל אִישִׁים אִישׁ מִקְאָבוֹת וַיִּדְוַע חֲלִי וּכְמִסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֵּנִי נִבְזָה וְלֹא חֶשְׁבָּנָהוּ: “He was despised and rejected by others; a man of suffering and acquainted with infirmity; and as one from whom others hide their faces he was despised, and we held him of no account.”	A1b Isa 53:3

Table 4a (cont.)

	Reference	Isaiah Passage	Quotation, Citation, Allusion
4QTanh 3 1-3	ועתה כ[ו]א אמר יה[וה] בראך ... אל תיר[א] כיא גאלתיך [קראתי בשמך לי ... תעבר במים] אתך אני וב[נה]ר[ות] לוא ישטפוך “And now thus] says the Lord, [Your creator ... (2) do not be afraid,] for I have redeemed you. [I have called you by your name, you are mine. When you pass] (3) [through the water] I am with you, and in the [floods, they will not drown you”	ועתה כה-אמר יהוה בראך ... אל-תירא כי גאלתיך קראתי בשמך לי-אתה: כי- תעבר במים אתך-אני ובנהרות לא ישטפוך “But now thus says the Lord, he who created you, ... Do not fear, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. 2 When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you.”	C Isa 43:1-2
4Q511 30 5	ואם בזרת] יתכנו ... [יכול עפר הארץ וישק[ו]ל בפלס] [הרים וגבעות במוזנ]ים Who with a measure] (5) can cal- culat- e the dust of the earth or weigh the mountains in a balance or the hills with scale[s]?”	ושמים בזרת תפן וכל בשקל עפר הארץ ושקל בפלס הרים וגבעות במאזנים: “(Who has) ... marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?”	C Isa 40:12
11Q5 19 2 (=11Q6 4-5 4)	חי חי יודה לכה “The living! The living! They thank you.”	חי חי הוא יודהך “The living, The living, they thank you.”	A1b Isa 38:19

This final grouping comprises nine compositions, including the lone Isaiah *pesher* from Cave 3 (3Q4). The largest text is the *Tanhumim* (4Q376), a collection of comforting words from several Hebrew prophets. It opens with a compilation of pericopae from Second Isaiah (43:1–2, 4–6, 51:22–23, 52:1–3, and 54:4–10), introduced by *ומן ספר ישעיה תנחומים*, “And from the book of Isaiah, comforting words” (4Q176 1–2 i 4). In several respects, 4QTanh is fairly representative of the other texts from this set, notably in its contemplative musings. Two examples are in *Barki Nafshi*^a (4Q434 [= 4Q435]) and *Barki Nafshi*^d (4Q437), where Isa 42:16 and 49:2 are used in consolatory exhortations amid a time of distress.

All the identified Isaiah Scriptures in this group—except in the continuous *pesharim* (3QIsa, 1QpHab 13:8) and one case in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471a 1 8, referencing Isa 5:20)—appear from Second Isaiah. This not surprising, since the conciliatory tone of these texts resonates with the mollifying tones of Isaiah 40–55.

Concluding Comment on the Diachronic Listing

This diachronic arrangement of Qumran texts typical of the *yahad* that refer to Isaiah is admittedly open to refinement, since it is difficult to assign precise dates to several compositions. Nevertheless, a few tentative conclusions may be drawn.

1. First, and most notably, the sheer number of citations and allusions confirm the importance of the Isaiah Scriptures for the Qumran covenanters. This is not surprising, in view of the large number of copies (twenty-one) of the Scriptural book found in the Caves (see section 2 above, “Isaiah Scrolls from the Judean Desert”).
2. Second, there is a wide range of citations and allusions to Isaiah in texts through every period in the sectarians’ history (for example, the Isaiah *pesharim* are disseminated over a period of more than 150 years of production). This argues for the popularity and ongoing significance of Isaiah for the Community, and attests to the adaptability of these Scriptures to the changing needs of the group.
3. Third, citations and allusions apply to virtually every part of scriptural Isaiah.
4. Finally, patterns in the placement of Isaianic source material may be detected in some texts, whether in the use of specific pericopae

from Isaiah, or in terms of generic function. Most textual production took place during the 70-year-period “*Yahad I*” (ca. 75–74 BCE), with a high concentration of eschatological applications of passages from Isaiah. In the following period (after 4 BCE), Isaianic Scriptures were used less often, and in every case only material from Second Isaiah.

5. THEME AND FUNCTION IN THE CITATIONS FROM, AND ALLUSIONS TO, SCRIPTURAL ISAIAH

5.1 *Prominent Imagery Drawn from Isaiah Scriptures*

For the *yahad* community associated with Qumran, at least, Scripture served to illumine their own circumstances. This holds true for all referenced Isaiah Scriptures, including when used without citation formulae. Those classified as “allusions” apply prominent images from Isaiah Scriptures to the Community and its circumstances.

5.1.1 *Separation from Outsiders*

The first prophecy of the Syro-Ephraimite war (Isa 7:4–17) is alluded to in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and the *Community Rule* (1QS). Verses 15–17 read:

¹⁵He shall eat curds and honey by the time he knows how to refuse the evil (מֵאֵס בְּרָע) and choose the good (וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב). ¹⁶For before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good (מֵאֵס בְּרָע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב), the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted. ¹⁷The Lord will bring on you and on your people and on your ancestral house (יְבִיא יְהוָה עָלֶיךָ וְעַל-עַמֶּךָ וְעַל-בֵּית אֲבוֹתֶיךָ) such days as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah (יָמִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא-בָאוּ לְמִיּוֹם סוּר-אֶפְרַיִם מֵעַל יְהוּדָה)—the King of Assyria (NRSV).

Both sectarian texts use Isaiah’s image of division for Israel’s kingdom, but in different ways in order to expressing the Community’s need for separation:

To love everything ⁴He chose (בָּחַר), and to hate everything He rejected (מֵאֵס), to distance themselves from all evil (מִכּוֹל רָע) ⁵and to hold fast to all good deeds (מֵעֵסִי טוֹב).²⁸ (1QS 1:3–5, WAC)

²⁸ Translation: M. O. Wise, M. G. Abegg, and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation with Commentary* (2nd ed.; San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2005), 117.

Days are coming upon you and upon your people and and upon your father's house (יבוא עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים) that ¹²have never come before, since the departure of Ephraim from Judah (אשר לא באו),” that is, when the two houses of Israel separated, ¹³Ephraim departing from Judah (שר אפרים מעל יהודה). And all backslid were handed over to the sword, but all who held fast ¹⁴escaped to the land of the North (CD 7:11–14; cf. 14:1).²⁹

The *Community Rule* alludes to the distinction between Judah and Ephraim by drawing to mind the age of accountability inferred earlier in the same prophecy, but applied now in a dualistic sense, so as to draw a stark contrast between the insiders and outsiders of the new covenant community. Similar imagery from Isaiah is employed later on. For example, 1QS 8:7 uses the “precious cornerstone” of Isa 28:16 to describe the Community, whose work is in fulfillment of Isa 40:3, to reside “in the wilderness” and to “prepare the way of Yahweh” (•••• דרך פנו דרך; 1QS 8:14; cf. 9:19–20).³⁰ The *Damascus Document* is more explicit in drawing a comparison between the tribes of Ephraim and Judah with “all those who reject” (וכל המואסים; CD 7:9) and “all who walk continuously in these (laws) in perfect holiness, according to the mouth of his entire instruction” (באלה בתמים קדש על פי כל יסורו ברית אל כל המתהלכים; 7:4–5).

5.1.2 *Exile and Return*

The Isaiah *pesharim* also reveal a keen sense of symbolic imagery from the source text, frequently mining its word pictures for contemporary or future applications. 4QpIsa^c seizes upon the language of exile and return in Isa 10:20–23, imparting a favourable view of “wilderness” dwelling as a necessary condition for purification and renewal (cf. 1QM 1:2; also CD 1:4–5; 4Q385a 18 i 7; 4Q390 1 5–6).³¹ In similar manner,

²⁹ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 58.

³⁰ G. J. Brooke, “On Isaiah at Qumran,” in *As Those Who Are Taught: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (ed. C. M. McGinnis and P. K. Tull; SBLSS 27; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 69–86, draws attention to the shifting interpretation of this passage in the history of the *yahad*, in which a once metaphorical understanding of “wilderness” eventually came to be understood as a literal command to establish an actual desert community.

³¹ M. G. Abegg, “Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. J. M. Scott; JSJSupp 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 111–126, analyzes the concept of exile in the Qumran sectarian scrolls in accordance with three observations: 1) “Babylon” and “exile” frequently appear as symbols of refuge (CD 3:19–4:3; 6:2–7; 7:9–15; 1QpHab 11:2–8; 4Q177 5–6 7–10). 2) “Exile” was a place of “preparation”: a necessary condition for successful implementation of the Community’s programme of idealistic restoration (1QS 8:12–14; 9:18–20; cf. also 4Q258 3 iii 4;

4QpIsa^a tells us “he will remove [the burden]³² from upon [them]” when the inevitable return from the present “wilderness” occurs in the Last Days, when the true “Israel” will be revealed (figs. 5–6 1–4).

5.1.3 *The Pain of Childbirth and the Author’s Suffering and Deliverance*

Vivid imagery is used in the selections of Isaianic Scriptures in the *Hodayot*. Words describing the pain of childbirth and the distress of labour in 1QH^a 11:8–12 are sewn together from several passages in Isaiah, and serve to describe the author’s suffering and deliverance:

...I am in distress, as a woman about to give birth to her first born (cf. Isa 21:3). For her pangs come over her, ⁹and she has excruciating pain at the mouth of her womb, writhing in the womb of the pregnant one. For children come into life through the crashing waves of death, ¹⁰and she who is pregnant with a male child is afflicted by her birth pains. For through the crashing waves of death she delivers a male child (Isa 37:3; 66:7), through the pains of Sheol there bursts forth ¹¹from the womb of the pregnant one, a wonderful counselor with his strength... (Isa 9:5) (1QH^a 11:8–11; v. 12 not quoted).³³

5.1.4 *Garden Imagery from Isaiah*

Later in the *Hodayot*, the author describes his satisfaction in God’s laws and statutes with extensive garden imagery drawn from Isaiah Scriptures:

I g[ive thanks to You, O Lord, for] You set me by a fountain which flows in a dry land, a spring of water in a desolate land, a well watered ⁶garden [and a pool...] (cf. Isa 44:3; 41:18; 35:7). You [plan]ted a stand of juniper and pine together with cypress for Your glory (41:19; 60:13) (1QH^a 16:5–6).³⁴

This second poem also draws to mind the prophecy from Isa 11:1 in its reference to the growth of the “holy shoot” (נֹצֵר קִדּוּשׁ; 16:11, cf. ll. 7, 9) from the “roots” of the trunk (שׁוֹרְשִׁים; ll. 8, 11).

...hidden among all the trees by the water so that a shoot might grow up into an eternal planting. ⁸Taking root before they shoot up, they stretch

4Q259 1 iii 19). 3) “Exile” was not permanent, but would result in the future deliverance of the true “Israel” (4Q161 5+6 15–20; 4Q171 1–10 ii 26–iii 2; 4Q434 3 2–3).

³² Cf. לוֹ סִבָּר in 4QpIsa^a 2–4 10.

³³ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 182.

³⁴ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 191.

out their roots to the watercourse, that its trunk might be open to the living water. ¹¹... The shoot of h[o]liness grows up into a planting of truth, hidden ¹²and not esteemed (1QH^a 16:7–8, 11–12).³⁵

The examples from the *Hodayot* illustrate the powerful impact of biblical imagery for establishing community identity through the experiences of the individual in each poem. The author draws terms and symbols from the Isaianic prophecies to describe his own anguish and hope, and thereby gives shape to the formation and ideals of the covenant community. The same holds true for the preceding examples as well. The use of such imagery is illustrative of the function of the Isaiah Scriptures in Qumran literature more generally: as both predictions of and descriptors for the conditions of the sectarians, who envisioned themselves as an ongoing extension of the “biblical world.”

5.2 *Insider / Outsider Language (or “Group-Speak”) of Separation*

According to Eugene Ulrich, the book of Isaiah reinforced the Qumran community’s self-identity, particularly with respect to their separation from rest of Judaism.³⁶ The admonition to righteous living and keeping the commandments is underscored by the harsh reality of an evil age as, for example, by the use of Isa 24:17 in the *Damascus Document*:

...But in the present age ¹³Belial is unrestrained in Israel, just as God said by Isaiah the prophet, the son of ¹⁴Amoz, saying, “Fear and pit and snare are upon thee, dweller in the land” (Isa 24:17). The true meaning of this verse ¹⁵concerns the three traps of Belial about which Levi son of Jacob said ¹⁶that Belial would catch Israel in, so he directed them toward three kinds of ¹⁷righteousness (CD 4:12–14).³⁷

CD proceeds to explain the Isaianic text in terms of the three traps of Belial, and provides several ethical principles that differentiated the *yahad* group from others. The covenanters were to avoid Belial’s traps by living as a separate people who observed strict and distinctive ethical norms.

³⁵ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 191–192.

³⁶ E. Ulrich, “Isaiah, Book Of,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 384–388.

³⁷ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 123.

The list of citations and allusions for Period 3 (*Yahad* I, ca. 75–74 BCE) above³⁸ includes Isa 2:22 in col. 5 of the *Community Rule*. Following the scriptural quotation, the text emphasizes the need for those belonging to the Community to live separately from outsiders:

...as it is written, “Turn away from mere mortals, in whose nostrils is only breath; for of what account are they?” (Isa 2:22). Accordingly, ¹⁸all who are not reckoned as belonging to His covenant must be separated out, along with everything they possess; the Man of Holiness must not rely upon futile ¹⁹actions, whereas all who do not know His covenant are futility itself. All those who despise His word, He shall destroy from upon the face of the earth. Their every deed is an abomination ²⁰before Him, all that is theirs being infested with impurity (1QS 5:17–20).³⁹

Another important passage is in column 8, which quotes Isa 40:3 as affirming the Community’s self-identity. This text illustrates the *yahad’s* self-understanding as a holy people who were set apart from the *possession of perverse men*, and proceeded symbolically to reflect this as a conscious decision through withdrawal to the “wilderness”:

When these men have been grounded in the instruction of the Yahad for two years—provided they be blameless in their conduct—¹¹they shall be set apart as holy in the midst of the men of the Yahad. No biblical doctrine concealed from Israel but discovered by the ¹²Interpreter is to be hidden from these men out of fear that they might backslide.

When such men as these come to be in Israel, ¹³conforming to these doctrines, they shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, ¹⁴as it is written, “In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God” (Isa 40:3) (1QS 8:10–14).⁴⁰

George Brooke, taking into account the re-evaluation of the Qumran site and its history by Jodi Magness,⁴¹ proposes that Isa 40:3 was once understood in a purely metaphorical sense, with the “wilderness” a figurative representation of the Community’s self-conception as an ideologically separate group. Over time, the interpretation of this passage came to mean a far more literal removal of the group from

³⁸ Section 4 “Diachronic Listing of Citations of and Allusions to Scriptural Isaiah, with Comments.”

³⁹ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 132–133.

⁴⁰ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 129.

⁴¹ Cf. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran* and above.

surrounding Jewish “outsiders,” culminating in the establishment of the desert community at Khirbet Qumran.⁴² The founding of this *yahad* community may be seen as an ongoing reinforcement of the insider / outsider language (or “group-speak”) that was already quite prominent in the sectarian interpretation of Isaianic Scriptures.

5.3 *Group Identity Formation through Covenant-Keeping as an Extension of the “Biblical World”*

Martin G. Abegg, Jr. focuses on the function of סתר (“to hide, conceal”) as it pertains to the sectarian understanding of the difference between the “old” and the “new” covenant. Through the discovery of “hidden things” (הנסתרות, 1QS 5:11) the Qumranites distinguished themselves as the “Sons of Zadok: priests and preservers of the covenant” (בני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית, 5:9; cf. also CD 3:12–16). Abegg writes:

It is thus manifest by this equating of old and new commandments that the Qumran sectarians viewed themselves as still within the biblical era. This in sharp distinction to rabbinic Judaism which, according to Shemaryahu Talmon, “viewed the biblical era as a closed chapter and their own times as being profoundly different from that preceding age.”⁴³ Indeed, it would appear that the sectarians saw their mission of “preparing the way in the wilderness” (Isa 40:3) as the next chapter of in the continuing saga of God’s covenant people.⁴⁴

The function of Isaianic Scriptures in the present essay conforms almost without exception to a similar pattern: the passages cited locate the Community’s identity within the “biblical world.” Examples include imagery drawn from Isaianic passages used to describe the *yahad*’s separation from the rest of Judaism and to underscore their own future expectations and present struggles. A concern for history emerges as a common interest within the sectarian texts, but only inso-

⁴² Brooke, “On Isaiah at Qumran,” 81–82. Cf. also idem, “Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris, 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. Garcia Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117–132.

⁴³ S. Talmon, “Between the Bible and the Mishnah: Qumran from Within,” in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 214–124, esp. 25.

⁴⁴ M. G. Abegg, Jr., “The Covenant of the Qumran Sectarians,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 81–98, esp. 88.

far as their own history is a continuation of the biblical story. As Carol Newsom notes: “The understanding of torah as possessing a historical dimension similarly requires the cultivation of knowledge concerning the nature of history, its epochs, and the mysteries of the plan of God that are embedded in its structure and events.”⁴⁵

These historical concerns—as they pertain to interpreting Isaiah Scriptures—are developed according to the *yahad*'s understanding of the covenant. What it meant to be faithful to the covenant is also shaped by their own self-conception as righteous and separate from the rest of Judaism. This is particularly evident in the use of passages from Isaiah in Qumranic literature that may have been selected for containing the root YH , which the group applied to themselves as the *yahad* (cf. Isa 41:19; 60:13 in 1QH^a 16:6; 9:20 in 4QpIsa^c 4–7 i 13–18; and possibly Isa 40:5 in 4QTanh 1–2 i 8).

Many quotations of Isaiah in the sectarian writings underscore the fulfillment of prophecy in the *yahad*'s self-conception as part of “biblical history.” One example is the quotation of Isa 7:17 in the *Damascus Document* (CD 7:11–12; cf. section 4.1.1 above). In such passages, one strong theme is the group's need to remain faithful to the covenant by keeping God's commandments. Line 9 predicts the destruction of “those who reject the commandments and the rules.” This hints at the purpose of the quotation of Isa 7:17: The fulfillment of prophecy confirms the inevitability of God's judgment on those who reject his laws, but also confirms the Community's place in the divine plan of history. The lesson to be learnt: “... And such is the verdict on all members of the covenant who do not hold firm to these laws: They are condemned to destruction by Belial” (CD 8:1–2).

A related interpretation of Isaiah appears in col. 5 of the *Community Rule*, which outlines general rules and foundational precepts for entry into the Community's new covenant, and provides stipulations for the examination of initiates. After quoting from Isa 2:22 in line 17, the column outlines what is expected of those who belong to the *yahad* and to the Covenant:

...None of the perverse men is to enter purifying waters used by the Men of Holiness and so contact their purity...¹⁵...None belonging to the Yahad is to discuss ¹⁶with such men matters of Law or legal judgment, nor to eat or drink what is theirs, nor yet to take anything from

⁴⁵ Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 72, esp. 68–73.

them¹⁷ unless purchased, as it is written “Turn away from mere mortals, in whose nostrils is only breath; for of what account are they?” (Isa 2:22). Accordingly,¹⁸ all who are not reckoned as belonging to His covenant must be separated out, along with everything they possess... (1QS 5:13–18).⁴⁶

The covenant provides the direct link through which the Community envisioned themselves as the ongoing extension of God’s divine plan for history. Their distinction as the “keepers of the covenant” was no better enforced than through insider / outsider “group-speak” that vilified the rest of the world, and especially rival groups in Judaism.

5.4 Eschatological Emphases

The passage from the *Community Rule* quoted earlier (in section 5.2) also reveals the eschatological aspect of the movement’s self-identity: “they went to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, as it is written, ‘In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord’,” ... (1QS 8:13–14). The similar use of Isa 40:3 by all four Gospel writers as pointing to John the Baptist’s ministry in the wilderness ushering in the end times has often been noted. (See Matt 3:3; Mark 1:2–3 [conflating material from Isa 40:3 with Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1]; Luke 3:4–6 [quoting Isa 4:3–5]; and John 1:23). The attachment of the Community’s self-identity to the “Last Days” is quite common within the Qumran Scrolls, and shows the extent to which the group understood its place within the “biblical world.”

This community of the *yahad* viewed their world as a fulfillment of prophecy, especially prophecies that pointed to the last days. The fulfillment of such prophecies is especially evident by the handling of Scripture in the Isaiah *pesharim*. 3QpIsa opens with a section that includes the “day of judgment” (יְמֵי הַמִּשְׁפָּט), frg. 1 6).

Furthermore, the first fragments of 4QpIsa^a (4Q161) interpret predictions in Isaianic Scriptures as concerning the preservation of the covenant Community in the last days. Isa 10:22 has been reasonably reconstructed in the lacunae of frgs. 2–4 2–3, and the prediction of the returning “remnant” appears to denote “his people” (עַמּוֹ) in line 4.

In the passages that follow, the original description of Sennacherib’s advance on Jerusalem (in 701 BCE) is interpreted with reference to the Davidic Messiah in the last days: “This saying [refers to] the Last

⁴⁶ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 123.

Days coming [...] [the Leader of the Na]tion, when he marches inland from the Plain of Acco to fight....” (frgs. 5–6 10–11).⁴⁷ In these fragments this same figure is credited for removing “the burden” from the people (line 3), and “there is none like him in all the cities” (line 12). The latter examples present yet another element in the application of Isaianic language to messianic expectation: a divine ruler who would lead the Community to victory.

Isaiah is also quoted several times in the *Melchizedek Text* (11Q13), with reference to the end times and the coming Messiah. Weaving together passages from Isaiah, the Psalms and the Torah, 11Q13 includes commentary with the purpose of explaining the eschatological fulfillment of these texts. The most prominent citation from Isaiah is in col. 2, where the messenger—an Anointed one who comes with a message from God—is described, but then will be *cut off* (line 18):

This vi[sitation] ¹⁵is the Day of [Salvation] that He has decreed [through Isai]ah the prophet [concerning all the captives.] inasmuch as Scripture sa[ys], “How] beautiful ¹⁶upon the mountains are the fee[t of] the messeng[er] who [an]nounces peace, who brings [good] news, [who announces salvat]ion, who [sa]ys to Zion, ‘Your [di]vine being [reigns].’” (Isa 52:7)

¹⁷This Scripture’s interpretation: “the mounta[ins] are the] prophet[s], they w[ho were sent to proclaim God’s truth and to] proph[esy] to all I[srael]. ¹⁸And “the messenger” is the [An]ointed of the spir[it], of whom Dan[iel] spoke, “[After the sixty-two weeks, an Anointed one shall be cut off” (Dan 9:26). The “messenger who brings] ¹⁹good news, who announ[ces salvation]” is the one of whom it is wri[tt]en, “[to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor, the day of vengeance of our God]; ²⁰to comfo[rt all who mourn” (Isa 61:2) (11QMelch 2 14–20; cf. also 4Q521 2 ii + 4 12)⁴⁸

Specific reference to the Messiah as the *Branch of David* is found elsewhere, in the interpretation of Isa 11:1–5 that appears in 4QpIsa^a:

¹⁷[This saying refers to the Branch of] David, who will appear in the lat[ter days,...] ¹⁸[...] his enemies; and God will support him with [a spirit of] strength [...] ¹⁹[... and God will give him] a glorious throne, [a sacred] crown, and elegant garments. ²⁰[... He will put a] scepter in his hand, and he will rule over all the G[entiles], even Magog ²¹[and his army... all] the peoples his sword will control.

⁴⁷ Translation adapted from Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 237.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 592–593.

As for the verse that says, “He will not ²²[judge only by what his eyes see], he will not decide only by what his ears hear,” this means that ²³[he will be advised by the Zadokite priests,] and as they instruct him, so shall he rule, and at their command ²⁴[he shall render decisions; and always] one of the prominent priests shall go out with him, in whose hand shall be the garments of [...] (4QpIsa^a 8–10 17–24).⁴⁹

The biblical text is also interpreted with reference to the last days or the Messiah in the other Isaiah *pesharim*. For example, 4QpIsa^b—where the exposition is apparently organized in two sections—interprets Isa 5:10 as referring “to the last days, when the land itself is condemned by sword and famine; so it shall be ²at the time when the land is punished” (4Q162 2:1–2).⁵⁰ This is part of the first section, in which the Isaianic text is taken as a prediction of calamity and distress in the Last Day. The second section focuses on the Community’s opponents, the Pharisees. After quoting Isa 5:11–14 in lines 2–6, it continues:

These are the men of mockery ⁷who are in Jerusalem.” They are the ones “who have rejected the Law of the Lord, and the word of ⁸Israel’s Holy One they have cast off. For this reason He became very angry with his people, He stretched out his hand against them and struck them so that ⁹the mountains shook and the corpses lay like garbage in the middle of the streets. Even so, his anger ¹⁰[has not receded, his hand is still stretched out]” (Isa 5:24–25). This is the company of the men of mockery who are in Jerusalem (4QpIsa^b 2:7–10).⁵¹

Both sections of this *peshar* (4QpIsa^b) feature important themes pertaining to the Last Days and to the separation of the Community from the rest of Judaism.

5. CONCLUSION

This essay has produced several results. Following a brief overview of the Isaiah Scrolls (*Section 2*), twenty-seven texts composed by the *yahad* or their predecessors of their group were identified (the “sectarian scrolls”), and criteria for gathering data were established (*Section 3*). There followed (*Section 4*) a diachronic listing of quotations,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 238.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 211.

⁵¹ Ibid., 239.

citations and allusions to Isaiah, detailed samples for each period, and pertinent comments on this material. Most notably:

1. The many citations and allusions confirm the importance of the Isaiah Scriptures for the Qumran covenants.
2. A wide range of citations and allusions to Isaiah in texts through every period in the sectarians' history attest to the popularity and ongoing significance of Isaiah for the Community.
3. Citations and allusions apply to virtually every part of scriptural Isaiah.
4. Patterns in the placement of the Isaianic source material may be detected in some texts. Most textual production took place during the 70-year-period "Yahad I" (ca. 75–74 BCE), with a high concentration of eschatological applications of passages from Isaiah.

Discussion followed on theme and function in the citations from and allusions to Scriptural Isaiah (*Section 5*). Prominent imagery was found to include separation from outsiders, exile and return, the pain of childbirth, suffering and deliverance, and garden themes. Also in this section, various texts making use of Isaiah were seen to promote: insider/outsider language (or "group-speak") enjoining those belonging to the Community to live separately, the formation of group identity through Covenant-keeping as an extension of the "biblical world," and eschatological expectations of the "Last Days" and the coming Messiah.

For the Community, the function and purpose of the Isaianic Scriptures—with their abundant prophecies presented in moving poetry—was to provide shape for, and to locate, their identity within the "biblical world" as the keepers of the Covenant, in continuity with the divine plan of history.

HEALING WITH PSALMS

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This article is intended to celebrate the wonderful work that Eileen has done in the field of prayer and poetry the Dead Sea Scrolls. In a seminal study on their *Sitz im Leben*, she has surveyed these prayers and their possible use and practical role in the life of the Essenes.¹ Only a few texts allow us to form an idea about the genre of prayer and its practical use. The best example of this is found in the collection of Daily Prayers (4Q503), a set of blessings preserved only in one copy. The manuscript contains prayers for each day of one of the months in the Jewish calendar—either the month of Nisan or of Tishrei. The prayers are headed by a standard rubrical notation with the exact time for their uttering, and each prayer begins with a blessing formula.² Although the background of most of the poetical texts is unknown, there are exceptions. Some lucky instances of correspondence between various texts may shed light on the purpose and usage of some lyrical compositions and may help us to reconstruct their original context.

The biblical Book of Psalms was the most popular work in Qumran. The book is represented among the Qumran findings more frequently than any other work.³ The Qumran psalm texts display many variations compared to the Masoretic Text known to us. The Great Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs^a = 11Q5) differs from the Masoretic tradition in several ways and includes also non-Masoretic psalms scattered among the Masoretic ones.⁴ Curiously enough, this text

¹ E. M. Schuller, "Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Into God's Presence: Prayer in the New Testament* (ed. R. N. Longenecker; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 66–88.

² *Ibid.*, 74–75.

³ Thirty-six manuscripts containing pieces from the Book of Psalms were found on the Qumran site; two more scrolls were found at Masada, and one in Nahal Hever. On the manuscripts and their editions, see P. W. Flint, "Psalms, Book of," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:702–707 (with bibliography).

⁴ See J. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD 4; London: Clarendon Press, 1965). For a summary of the manuscript, see J. A. Sanders, "Psalms Scroll," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:715–717.

contains a textual tradition that is not part of any known Psalms tradition. At the end of the collection there is a list of the songs attributed to David (11QPs^a = 11Q5 27:4–10). According to this text, the number of David's compositions was:

- 1) Psalms (*thlym*), 3600;
- 2) songs (*šyr*) to sing before the altar accompanying the daily perpetual burnt-offering (*tmyd*), for all the days of the year, 364;
- 3) songs (*šyr*) for the Sabbath offerings (*qorban*), 52;
- 4) songs (*šyr*) for the New Moon offerings, festival days and the Day of Atonement, 30 songs.
- 5) The total of all the songs that he composed was 446, not including
- 6) 4 “songs for charming the demon-possessed with music” (*šyr lgn l hpgw'ym*) (11Q5 27:10).

The sum total of everything, psalms (*thlym*) and songs (*šrym*), was 4,050.

FESTIVALS AND OFFERINGS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The first item on the list entitles the compositions collectively as ‘psalms’ (*thlym*). Items 2–4 list an assortment of psalms for various occasions and label each category “song” (*šyr*). These compositions are to be recited publicly in the cult, during various occasions of the ritual year.

The songs in the second group were intended for the daily ritual sacrifice (*tmyd*) which was offered every day of the year—accordingly, the number of the songs in 11Q5 is 364.⁵ The *tamid* sacrifice symbolized not only the deity's meal but also his presence among the people; its cessation was interpreted as the breaking of the divine-human relationship.⁶

⁵ The *tamid* sacrifices took place both in the morning and the evening and consisted of the holocaust (*lh*) of a lamb along with a cereal and drink offering. The daily sacrifices for the deity are described in Exod 29:38–42; cf. Num 28:3–8, and Ezek 46:13–15.

⁶ Dan 8:11–14 considers the cessation of the *tamid* under Antiochus Epiphanes IV (175–164 BCE) as an impiety that will be followed by divine response.

The songs in the third group were written for the ritual of the weekly Sabbath offerings (*qorban*), numbering 52 for the whole year.⁷ Item 4 refers to a group of songs connected to liturgies offered at various festivals: the rituals for the New Moon offerings, and rituals of various festival days including the Day of Atonement. Altogether these make up songs for thirty festival days.⁸

In sum, the number of the songs in the yearly liturgy is 446. In addition to these songs four compositions are mentioned “for charming the demon-possessed with music” (*šyr lngn l hpgw’ym*) (11Q5 27:10). No information is given about the time and occasion of the recital of these songs. Nevertheless, we can assume that, similarly to the previous ones, they were to be recited on four different days of the year. The total number of the songs written by David is 4050. Nothing is known about the purpose of his 3600 psalm-compositions which is mentioned before the number 450 (446+4). The overall generic term “song” (*šyr*) for a part of the Davidic compositions refers to a musical (probably vocal) presentation. The additional element “to recite” (*lngn* in the title of the group numbered 6) refers explicitly to a musical accompaniment of the song, probably with a stringed instrument.⁹

⁷ The prescriptions for a special offering to be offered at every Sabbath day are two male lambs with their grain and drink offerings, in addition to the regular burnt offering and its drink offering (Num 28:9–10).

⁸ Num 28:11–15 requires on every New Moon a burnt offering of two young bulls, one ram, seven male lambs, together with their grain and drink offerings (*minḥah*). The number of New Moons, in a (solar) year are 13. The Day of Atonement was celebrated, according to Lev 23:27–32 ten days after the opening of the civil New Year, on the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri). This was a day of fasting, self-denial, and rest on which the sanctuary was cleansed of impurities and the Israelites’ sins were sent away on the scapegoat. The rituals on this day had to be performed inside the sanctuary by the high priest (Num 9:7–11). The ritual of the scapegoat is described in Leviticus 16. The other festivals—the Feast of Tabernacles (Num 29:12–39; Exod 23:16; cf. Lev 23:33–43), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Num 28:16–25; Exod 12:14–20), and the Feast of Weeks (Num 28:26–31; Exod 23:16, 34:22; Deut 16:9–12)—are not named in 11Q5. It is an open question how the 16 days (the rest of the 30 days without the days of the New Moons and the Day of Atonement) were allotted to this time.

⁹ The basic meaning of the root *ngn* is “to touch (strings);” in *piel* it means “to play music,” thus the expression refers to a melodic performance of a text. Similarly David, *mngn bknwr* to Saul (1 Sam 16:16), in order to subdue the evil spirit (*rwḥ lḥym r’h*) tormenting Saul. The scene clearly refers to the use of string instrument and music for exorcism. The word *pgwym* (*qal* participle passive masculine plural of *pg* “to meet, encounter, fall upon”) has an overall meaning for cases of the physical evil (disease, epidemic) of unknown origin.

CALENDRIAL BACKGROUND

The specific number of the liturgical songs in 11Q5 implies a calendrical background. The 360 psalms written for the *tamid*-offerings and the four songs written for four additional days envision the number of the days in an ideal (schematic) calendar of 364 days.¹⁰ Schematic calendars consider the approximate number of the days of the solar year (364 of the 365¼ days), and disregard the motion of the moon (which is taken into consideration in lunisolar calendars); thus, the 364 day calendar never changes its pattern, the beginning of the year and feasts is determined solely by the orbit of the sun. The number 364 is a multiple of 7, thus the schematic calendar comprises exactly 52 weeks. This means that according to this calendar any particular date—the New Year, and festivals—always fell on the same day of the week. The length of the year in the schematic calendar is near that of the solar calendar but is not identical with the 365¼ days of the actual solar year. A schematic calendar is a blueprint for a liturgical year in which the times of the festivals are determined according to the days of the week. The schematic calendar is not an idiosyncratic phenomenon from Qumran; similar calendars are known in the ancient Near East and perhaps used from at least the third century BCE to the first century CE. Like the other ancient Near Eastern calendrical systems, the ideal calendar was to be intercalated if used regularly, as was the practice in various ancient Near Eastern cultures.¹¹

¹⁰ The 364 day calendar is known from several Qumran texts like *1 Enoch*, the *Temple Scroll*, and 4QMMT. It serves as a chronological scheme for the *Book of Jubilees*, a work also found at Qumran. The calendar, however, is not particular to a sectarian group. It is rather a schematic system of the solar year which simplifies the calendrical matters. See C. Williams, "Signs from the Sky, Signs from the Earth: The Diviner's Manual Revisited," in *Under One Sky* (ed. J. M. Steele; Munich: UGARIT-Verlag, 2002), 473–485.

¹¹ To solve the problem of the difference between the solar and lunar year the Mesopotamian lunisolar calendar made *ad hoc* intercalations on the basis of observations. See S. Dalley, *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 126; H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (HdO 44.2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 184. Regular intercalations only started in the 4th century BCE; see, O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1; Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1975), 354. The system of practical intercalations in Qumran calendars is not known. Moon computations in the Astronomical Book of *1 Enoch* show that the visibility of the moon and stellar constellations were also observed, and astronomical observations were taken into consideration for correcting differences between the schematic and the astro-

THE DIVISION OF THE YEAR AND THE FESTIVALS IN THE QUMRAN
SCHEMATIC CALENDARS

In the Qumran ideal calendar the year was divided into 12 months of 30 days (not equal with lunar months which are of 28 or 29 days). The sum of these days is 360. An additional day was inserted at the end of each quartal—in other words, every third month consisted of 31 days. As to the beginning of the year, the Judean lunisolar calendar was determined by the autumn equinox and the first visibility of the moon (new moon) subsequent to it.¹² Ideal calendars considered solely the autumn equinox for determining the beginning of the year.¹³ Consequently, the beginning of the year was determined by the autumn equinox. The additional four days at the end of each quartal were the winter solstice, the spring equinox, and the summer solstice. We can conclude that the four songs “for the stricken” mentioned in 11Q5 were recited as part of the liturgies on these days.¹⁴

Equinoxes and solstices are turning-points of the year and considered in various cultures as liminal days and special segments of time. The special status of these days is reflected also in the heortology in 11Q5, which mentions them in addition to the 360 days of the months.

nomical year; see H. Drawnel, “Moon Computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book,” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 3–42.

¹² New Year, the 1st of Tishri, is the new moon following the autumn equinox (months beginning with the New Moon). It must occur after the 1st of Tishri of the previous year. It cannot fall on a Sunday, Wednesday, or a Friday, (if so, it must be delayed by one day). The date falls between the middle of September and the middle of October in the Gregorian calendar.

¹³ This principle is formulated in *Jubilees* as follows: “The Lord appointed the sun as a great sign above the earth for days, sabbaths, months, festivals, years, sabbaths of years, jubilees, and all the times of the years” (*Jub.* 2:9).

¹⁴ Proposed first by J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol 1: Die Texte der Höhlen 1–3 und 5–11* (3 vols.; München, Basel: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995–1996), 1:341, n. 720, cf. A. 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 Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435, esp. 380. On these four days of transition between the different seasons of the year there was a need for special protection against super-human forces and other dangers; see B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 238. On the terminal system of the year in the Qumran 364 days calendar, the relation of the four days of transition to Sabbaths, and questions of the use of solar and lunar calendars in Qumran, see J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol 3: Einführung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie* (UTBW 1916; 3 vols.; Munich: Reinhardt, 1996), 3:52–54.

Time is not homogenous. The basic distinction in Judaism between the holy and the profane applies not only to space but also to time. Holy times like the Sabbaths (recurring periodically during the year) show specific characteristics, and on these days perfect ethical behaviour is required. The special conception concerning the Sabbath practice in the Qumran community is reflected not only in their legal exegesis but also in their liturgical praxis concerning this day.¹⁵ The liturgical composition called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* contains pieces of a special liturgy for the days of the Sabbath; the participants are members of both the human community and the angelic choir in the heavenly sanctuary. It reflects the idea that through prayers uttered during the holy time of the Sabbath the community experienced communion with the transcendental world.¹⁶

THE "FOUR DAVIDIC SONGS" AND 11Q11

The mention of the four songs in 11Q5 gives no information about the texts that were to be recited on these four days. Émile Puech proposed that the texts in 11Q11 should be identified with the four Davidic songs written "for the stricken."¹⁷ He also made a meticulous textual reconstruction of a good portion of the four songs. The text of 11Q11 is very fragmentary and not easy to interpret.¹⁸ Luckily enough, the titles of the individual songs are decipherable in the text. It is through the titles that the manuscript can be divided into four compositions

¹⁵ On Sabbath practice in Qumran and related literature, see L. Doering, *Sabbat: Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 43–282.

¹⁶ C. Newsom, *Songs of the Shabbat Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Harvard Semitic Studies 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); J. H. Charlesworth and C. Newsom, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 4B, Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

¹⁷ É. Puech, "Les psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (ed. D. K. Falk; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–181. Let me say thanks to him here for consultations on the text

¹⁸ J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Le Psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumrân," *RB* 72 (1965): 210–217, pls. VIII–IX. A new standard edition is in: "11Qapocryphal Psalms," 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, pls. XXII–XXV, LIII.

of which the last one is identical with an otherwise well-known text, that of Psalm 91.¹⁹

a) *The Fourth Song, Psalm 91 (11Q11 6:3–14)*

Psalm 91 is the only one among the four compositions the text of which can be reconstructed in extenso, thus its structure and meaning can be expounded. Accordingly, it is appropriate to begin our examination with this song. The psalm text in 11Q11 6:3–14 shows only minor variances with the Masoretic text of Psalm 91. These are mostly changes in the order of words and the omission of a part in 91:14–16. The additions given to the psalm text in 11Q11 are important: first of all, the composition is attributed to David (*ldwyd*) which is not part of the title in the Masoretic text (11Q11 6:2). Secondly, the word “selah” has been added twice in the Qumran text: once following verse 4 of Ps 91, as “Selah” (11Q11 6:6); the other one is supposed to be added at the end of the composition, following verse 16 of Psalm 91, as part of the concluding words, “And they answer: Amen, amen, [selah]” (*wy'nw 'mn 'mn slh*) (11Q11 6:14). These additions show that the composition was recited by the community. The words “and they answer” (*wy'nw*) indicate that the prayer was recited in an antiphonic form, in a liturgical context. An apotropaic role of ritual prayer uttered by the community is well-known from many religions.²⁰

Psalm 91 represents a psalm form called macarism or *'ašrē*-Psalms, named after the beginning of these compositions (*'ašrē my*, “beatus ille”, “blessed who”), followed by the description of persons who live with divine blessing and protection. These psalms are written in the form of blessings and list the virtues of the righteous; they conclude with a statement of the future prospering of the righteous.²¹ The object

¹⁹ Cf. J. P. M. van der Ploeg, “Le Psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumrân,” *RB* 72 (1965): 210–217, pls. VIII–IX; É. Puech, “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.

²⁰ R. Kotansky, “Greek Exorcistic Amulets,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (ed. M. W. Meyer and P. A. Mirecki; Religions in the Graeco-Roman World; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 243–277, esp. 270–273. Cf. also Tob 8:4–8, the prayer of Tobias and Sarah, following the exorcism.

²¹ Beatitudes (*ašrē*-psalms) are scattered throughout the collection, see Psalms 1, 32, 33, 40, 41, 65, 84, 89, 94, 112, 119, 127, 128, and 146; many of them from the Second Temple Period. “In blessings, the formulaic Hebrew term is *baruk*; in beatitudes, *ashre*. The primary difference is that the blessing invokes God's beneficent support of life, while the beatitudes points to and commends the conduct and character

of the blessing in Psalm 91 is, similarly to the other macarisms, the righteous.

Blessing and Magical Content

Blessings can only be obtained by those who are morally pure. Blessing, of course, is not only a speech act. Spoken words have a binding power which assures security and well-being for the object of the blessing. Blessing is irrevocable. Blessing, according to Psalm 91, issues from God. God, the source of the ritual power, is called by several names in Psalm 91: *lywn, šdy* (Ps 91:1); YHWH (Ps 91:2, 9); and *l'hym* (Ps 91:2) (=11Q11 6:3–4). The basis for hope in the delivering act of God is the reference to his divine deeds and by recalling specific examples (*ky hw'h yšylk mḥ*). This assurance also serves as a way of naming the plagues that are threatening the righteous. The plagues are listed in three sequences, separated by sentences affirming that the plagues included in the list are cannot harm the righteous.

The first series of plagues involves “the fowler’s snare/trap” (*ḥy yqwš*), “pestilence” (*ḏbr*), and “destruction” (*hwwt*) (Ps 91:3) (11Q11 6:5).²² The first threat in the series, “the fowler’s snare/trap,” evokes a sense of helplessness, and may be a figurative expression for an unknown physical or psychological illness. The use of bird-metaphors as expressions of distress was common in the ancient Near East.²³ The metaphor may refer to lameness in a physical sense, as well as to being restricted in a psychological sense (thought to be the result of a harmful magical act, a *defixio* by the sufferer’s enemies).²⁴

that enjoy it” (in, J. L. Mays, *Psalms* [Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994], 41).

²² Although only the first member of the list relates to it, the first series of plagues is characterized as ‘Vogelwelt,’ see P. Riede, *Im Netz des Jägers: Studien zur Feindmetaphorik der Individualpsalmen* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 337; F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 51–100* (HTKAT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 433. On “the fowler’s trap” (*ḥy yqwš*), see A. Caquot, “Le Psaume XCI,” *Semitica* 6 (1956): 21–37, esp. 27–37.

²³ The Assyrian king Sennacherib spoke of Hezekiah, king of Judah when the latter sat in Jerusalem under Assyrian siege: “I shut him up (in the city) like a bird in a cage” (*kima iṣ-šur quppi ēsiršu*). Rib-Addi, king of Byblos refers to his own situation in the Amarna letters as “a bird who is in a trap (gloss: cage)” (*kīma MUŠEN ša ina libbi ḥuḥāri// kilubi šaknat*; EA 74:46), see CAD 7:212, with references. A bird trap (*ḥuḥāru*) was constructed to clamp down upon and to cover the birds caught (cf. CAD 6:224–225).

²⁴ The word *ḥy* (“trap”) and its synonyms are frequent in the Psalms (91:3; 124:7; 140:6; 142:4, etc.; cf. also Hos 5:1; 9:8). The hunting scenes in the psalms (chasing the righteous) may refer to psychical illnesses.

Mesopotamian texts describe physical illnesses in metaphorical terms.²⁵ As to the meaning of the second plague, *deber*, it can be unambiguously identified with pestilence.²⁶ The third threat in the list connotes a general sense of “destruction” without giving any specific details. The series is followed by a reference to the future, introduced by the words “do not fear” (*lw’ tyr*) (Ps 91:5 = 11Q11 6:6).

The second series of plagues (Ps 91:5–8) comprises four names: “nocturnal dread” (*phd lylh*), “arrow which flies by day” (*hš y’wp ywmm*), “pestilence coming in darkness” (*dbr b’pl yhlwk*), and “destruction devastating at noon” (*qtb yšwd šhrym*) (11Q11 6:7–8). The plague called “nocturnal dread” may be a reference to the symptoms of nocturnal angst, a type of panic disorder the symptoms of which have been documented since antiquity.²⁷ Incidentally, it can refer to the fear of any danger that may come upon one by night. The “arrow which flies by day” is a plague which strikes daytime, i.e., at the opposite period to the night. The metaphor of the arrow may refer to the arrows of the sun, which are dangerous during the summer heat; thus the expression can refer to sunstroke.²⁸ On the other hand arrows (of the sun) were particularly associated with pestilence in antiquity.²⁹ The next plague in the second series is explicitly called “pestilence,” the plague that is particularly connected to darkness at this time. The same plague is referred to as “destruction (*qeteb*) devastating at noon,” the fourth member of the series. *Qeteb* is another term for pestilence. The temporal adverbs connected with the four plagues change alternately (night-day-night-day). This alteration alludes to the continuous presence of the danger of the plague (which is likely to be identified with sunstroke

²⁵ M. J. Geller, “Freud and Mesopotamian Magic,” in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretative Perspectives* (ed. T. Abusch; Ancient Magic and Divination 1; Groningen: Styx Pub., 1999), 49–56.

²⁶ A. Caquot, “Sur quelques démons de l’Ancien Testament (Reshep, Qeteb, Deber),” *Semitica* 6 (1956): 53–68. Caquot argues that the names are not simply personifications of diseases, but that they stand for demonic beings.

²⁷ See Geller, “Freud and Mesopotamian Magic,” 51–53.

²⁸ Cf. Job 6:4 where Job’s plague is caused by the arrows of God (here also called Shaddai). The arrows cause fever.

²⁹ Cf. Homer, *The Iliad* 1.43–62, the pestilence (*loimos*) is caused by the arrows of Apollon, a sun-god and god of pestilence. In Mesopotamia, the arrow symbolized the deities Erra, Ninurta, and Nergal, the latter one described as “[bearing] bow, arrow, and quiver;” cf. E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (AOAT 11; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1971), 71; see also G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 120. In Biblical tradition pestilence was symbolized by the sword of YHWH’s angel, cf. 1 Chr 21:14–16, 27.

and pestilence) in the community. The second series is concluded by the words “no evil (*r’h*) shall befall you, no scourge (*ng’*) come near your tent” (Ps 91:10).³⁰ The basis of the promise of security is God’s name (YHWH).

The third series of plagues (Ps 91:12–13) includes five parts,³¹ namely “stone” (*bn*), “lion” (*šhl*), “adder” (*ptn*); “young lion” (*kpyr*), and “serpent” (*tnyn*). All of them are terms for physical dangers, caused by natural obstacles (stone) and by animal onslaughts. Two animals (serpent, lion) are doubled by synonyms. It cannot be decided if these terms mean physical perils alone or whether some of them are metaphors. Regarding the first one, it can mean physical danger, injury, or broken bone.³² The synonym for the word “lion” (*šhl*, *kpyr*) may refer to a danger of animal attack while the expressions “adder” (*ptn*) and “serpent” (*tnyn*) may refer to the real dangers of snakebites, against which a number of incantations and amulet texts were written throughout the ancient Near East.

Two elements of the psalm merit our attention in particular since they point to the background of the composition and the worldview of its author. The first is the reference of an angelic helper of God (*ml’kw*) who guards the suppliant on his way (Ps 91:11):³³ “For he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways (*lšmwrk bdrkyk*).” The Deuteronomic metaphor of walking on a way (*drk*), or to keep the way, or to turn off the way is used frequently in Qumran (sectarian) texts. The expression refers to the religious practice of individuals and groups who are governed by the right or erroneous interpretation of the Mosaic Law. Keeping the way, i.e., observance of the Torah, is at the same time an ethical basis for deliverance. Psalm

³⁰ The Qumran text displays a different word order: *lw yg’ ng’* (11Q11 6:10).

³¹ The numbers of the members of the three series in Psalm 91 (3+4+5=12) may also correspond to a numeric symbolism. This would explain the repeated reference to certain plagues by different synonyms and metaphors.

³² This item in the series of dangers appears in the scene where Jesus is being tempted by Satan. Citing Psalm 91:11–12, Satan asks Jesus: “If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down, for it is written, ‘He will command his angels concerning you,’ and ‘On their hands they will bear you up, so that you will not dash your foot against a stone.’” It is apparent from the context that the danger is physical; see Matt 4:6; Luke 4:10–11.

³³ Angelic helpers and mediators in the Psalms are not common figures. Besides Psalm 91, only Psalms 34 and 35 mention angelic mediators: “The angel of the Lord encamps around those who fear him, and delivers them” (Ps 34:7); “Let them be like chaff before the wind, with the angel of the Lord driving them on. Let their way be dark and slippery, with the angel of the Lord pursuing them” (Ps 35:5–6).

91 promises an angelic helper to the righteous. Verses 14–16 may refer to a group of the righteous whom God rewards for their righteousness with deliverance and long life: “Those who love me, I will deliver; I will protect those who know my name. When they call to me, I will answer them; I will be with them in trouble, I will rescue them and honor them. With long life I will satisfy them, and show them my salvation.” Divine blessing assures magical power and protection against physical evil represented in the form of plagues.

b) *The Third Song: 11Q11 5:4–6:3*

According to its title this is a composition attributed to David, “a charm for the stricken, in Yahweh’s name” (*ldwyd* [‘l p_gw’ l]hš bšm yhw_h) (11Q11 5:4). The generic term “charm” (*lhš*) is unattested in the titles in Psalms. It clearly refers to a magical song used against demonic forces. The title also indicates at what time the song is to be recited: “Invoke at any time to the heav[ens when] Bel[ial] comes to you” ([qr’ bk]l ‘t ‘l hšm[ym šr] ybw’ lyk bly[‘l] (11Q11 5:5). Due to the fragmentary state of the text it cannot be decided if the reference relates to a fixed time or (a) special occasion(s), cases of being endangered but which the exact time of which is not known. As for the occasion of the event, one reads the words [šr] ybw’ lyk bly[...], the last word being only partly preserved. Puech reconstructs the word as *bly*[‘l...] (cited above).³⁴ An alternative suggestion for reconstruction is *bly*[lh...] “during the night.” By this interpretation the object of the text would be a nocturnal vision, a vision in a nightmare, or other danger. Another gap in this line can be reconstructed as ‘l hšm[ym “to the heavens” (11Q11 5:5).³⁵ An alternative (and highly hypothetical) suggestion could be ‘l hšm[rym šr] ybw.³⁶ The term *šmrym* is mentioned in Exod 12:42, and means the vigil before the day of the Exodus. It is a fixed time in the year, an occasion celebrated during Passover.

³⁴ Based on an analogy in the same composition where [‘t kw]l bny bly[‘l...] is mentioned and translated as “[tous] les fils de Béli[al]” (11Q11 6:3).

³⁵ Based on parallels in the text where the words ‘l hšmym are clearly (or almost clearly) legible, in a context of prayer, see 11Q11 2:1–2; 4:3. The gap in 11Q11 2:9 is reconstructed on the same basis.

³⁶ The length of the gap in the manuscript allows one to insert a *resh* in the reconstructed text. The problem of the reconstruction of the text needs further investigation.

The noun with the preposition *ʾl* could then be interpreted as “at the vigil.”³⁷

Following the title there is a question to be read: “who are you?” (*my ʾth*). It seems that the charm presupposes a scene in which the reader, or user of the charm, encounters a demon which is to be made harmless. The first objective of any exorcism, and the initial phase of the ritual, is the learning of the name of the demon (if not known to the exorcist). The exorcist can get power over the demon only with the knowledge of its name. To begin the exorcism by a question is well documented from various sources; it suffices here to refer to the dialogue in the Gerasene healing story when Jesus interrogated the demon residing in an obsessed: “What is your name?” With the acquaintance of its name (“Legion”) Jesus proceeds to expel the demon.³⁸ It seems that in 11Q11 the person attacked by the demon and the exorcist are the same person.

Interestingly enough, the text of 11Q11 gives a description of the demon.³⁹ It is described as a visible phenomenon, probably with human traits (face) and animal characteristics (horns): “For your appearance is [nothing,] and your horns are horns of vision” (*pnyk pny [š]ww wqrnyk qrny hl[w]m*) (11Q11 5:7). I will return to the significance of the horns below. The natural element associated with the demon is “darkness” (*hwšk*), which is an element usually connected to demons since they were thought to be dwellers of the nether world, the country of dust and darkness. Moreover, darkness in Essene thinking has a peculiar sectarian terminological function as it is identified with sins and impurity, and with enemies of the righteous.

Further characteristics of the demon are mentioned in the subsequent verses. The words which can be reconstructed in the text with certainty are the following: [... *m*]’*dm wmr*^ʿ *hqd[wšy]m*) “from

³⁷ There is a tendency in Hebrew, especially in 1–2 Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, to use *ʾl* in the sense of *ʾl* which allows for the interpretation “on,” or “at;” cf. E. Robinson, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, s.a.), 41.

³⁸ Mark 5:9; Luke 8:30.

³⁹ Non-human beings (if visualized) appear in human form in biblical literature. The three angels in Genesis 18–19 are wayfarers; the angel Raphael appears as a young man in the book of Tobit (Tob 5:4–8). Samuel’s ghost (*elim*) appears as an old man wrapped in a robe in 1 Sam 28:11–14 (probably a shadow-like figure, like the *eṭemmu*-s, the spirits of the dead described in Mesopotamian texts). Greek sources usually depict evil *daimones* as visible figures, ghosts (*eidōla*, *psuchai*) and apparitions (*phasmata*, *phantasmata*).

humans and from the seed of the holy ones” (11Q11 5:6).⁴⁰ The mention of humans and the seed of the holy ones together recalls the tradition of the Watchers known from the Enochic collection (*1 En.* 6–11). According to this tradition, the sexual union of human women with the Watchers (also called ‘holy ones’⁴¹) results in the birth of giants, from whom demons will later emerge.⁴² The tradition that demons originated from the union between humans and heavenly beings is attested in several texts of the Qumran literature.⁴³

The fragmentary state of the text does not allow us to reconstruct the text, and to form a clear picture of this figure. However, it seems that the demon is a “*phantasma*,” mentioned not only in visionary literature but also in amulet texts. An amulet portrays the demon accordingly: “...this is the figure of the tormentor (*mbklt*) that appears in dreams and takes various forms. The action recommended against the demon is “Sealing of Solomon(?)”⁴⁴ The demon in 11Q11 is visualized with horns, which are traditionally a symbol of power in ancient Israel, as well as in Mesopotamia and Syria. Mesopotamian gods are represented as human figures wearing horned crowns in various reliefs and glyptic art. Horns are the gods’ *differentia specifica*, and represent their divine power. Further figures represented with horns are the protective spirits (*šēdu*) *lamassu*, the human-headed winged bulls in

⁴⁰ The sentence is reconstructed as if it contained the summoning of the demon to leave: [Withdraw from] humanity and from the ho[ly] race! There is no support for this reconstruction of the first word in the lacuna. The readable words refer unambiguously to the tradition of the Watchers.

⁴¹ Cf. Dan 4:10, 20.

⁴² The Giants perished in the Flood together with the humans. Having a spiritual nature from their fathers’ side, the Giants’ spirits subsist in the world as evil demons (cf. *1 En.* 15:8). On belief in demons and Qumran demonology, see P. S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331–353; E. Sorensen, “Possession and Exorcism in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism,” in *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (ed. E. Sorensen; WUNT 2.157; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 47–74. On the Enochic tradition of the Watchers and their role in Qumran demonology, see I. Fröhlich, “Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts,” *Henoch* 32 (2010): 101–129.

⁴³ Cf. *Jub.* 4:15; 5:1–19; 10:1–14; 4Q510 1 5–8; 4Q511 10 1–5.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1993), 122–123. The tormentor (*mbklt* fem.) may be a female night-demon appearing in various forms. It may represent the type of the *ardat lili*. Greek Christian literature calls similar phenomena as *phantasma*—in all probability erotic dreams where the female demon tempted the man living in celibacy to violate the restrictions concerning sexuality.

Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian art.⁴⁵ Another example of horned protective spirits in Syrian and Mesopotamian iconography is the *kusarikku*, the bull man (or bison-man), a human being with horns and hoofs. The Seven Gods, another group of protective spirits, are figured with horned headdresses. Horns are not limited to male deities. Mesopotamian reliefs feature winged male and female genii with horned headdresses.⁴⁶ Representation of a female deity with a three-horned conical mitre is known from an Edomite shrine in the Judaeen Horvat Qitmit (6th c. BCE).⁴⁷ The possible origin of the demonic horned figure in the vision of 11Q11 is probably the imagery of the horned divine and semi-divine figures known generally in Mesopotamia and Syria. They were possibly demonized in Jewish tradition and interpreted as malevolent demons (the demonization of the religious beliefs of “the alien” or of “the rival” group is a general phenomenon in the history of religions). No sickness or plague is named in the text of the third song of 11Q11. It seems that the “plague” was the *phantasma* itself, the apparition of the demon.

Legible words of the subsequent part of the text (11Q11 5:8–6:3) refer to the nether world (*ṭḥyt*, 11Q11 5:9), Sheol, and bronze gates [*d*]lty *nḥwšt* (11Q11 5:9). Sheol is depicted as the world of darkness through the use of the antonym to light (*lw ’wr*, 11Q11 5:10). This part can be reconstructed with the help of well-known pieces of the exorcistic literature where the conquest of the demon is described as its binding, *defixatio* (a well known element from magical literature).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ F. A. M. Wiggerman (*Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* [Groningen: Styx 1992], 143–164) sees as a dominant strategy in first millennium Mesopotamian demonology the creation of demons from animal symbols of force or power through combining these with anthropomorphic elements. However, the difference between demons and monsters or protective spirits depended more upon their function in a given period than on any essential character traits attached to them; on this, see A. Green, “Beneficent Spirits and Malevolent Demons: The Iconography of Good and Evil in Ancient Assyria and Babylonia,” *Visible Religion* 3 (1984): 80–105.

⁴⁶ On *kusarikku* see Wiggerman, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, 174–179; on the Seven Gods (*sibittu*) see J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 162–163.

⁴⁷ I. Beit-Arieh, et al., *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev* (Monograph Series 11; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Publications Section, 1995), 121 (see the chapter by P. Beck, “Catalogue of Cult Objects and Study of the Iconography,” 27–208); P. J. King, *Jeremiah: An Archaeological Companion* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 60–61.

⁴⁸ In Tobit the demon, after having been expelled from Sarah, “fled to the remotest parts of Egypt. But Raphael followed him, and at once bound him there hand

The line containing words referring to God, the nether world, and its bronze gates (11Q11 5:9) is, most likely, a statement concerning the disempowering of the demon and its binding and casting to the nether world. The next line depicts the dark realm of Sheol, the place of punishment of the demon.

The readable words in lines 11Q11 5:11–14 are, “angel” (*ml’k*), “to guard” (*šmr*), “[spirit of jus]tice” (*[rwh ʾ]mt*), “spirit of hostility” (*rwh hmštmh*), “through his power” (*byd gbwrw*), “Go[d] (*yh[wh]*). These terms suggest that this portion of the text is a report on the punishment of the sinners and the delivering of the righteous, supposedly by an angel (11Q11 5:11–14). This act will end with the complete annihilation of the lot of “the sons of Belial” (*bny bly’l*) (11Q11 6:1–3), the group diametrically opposite to that of the righteous.

The word *selah*, preceded probably by two *amen* (*[ʾmn ʾmn] slh*), most likely marks the end of the composition (11Q11 6:3). The closing word demonstrates that the composition was intended as an open and communal recitation (11Q11 6:3).

c) *The Second Song (11Q11 2:1–5:3)*

There are good reasons to reconstruct its title, purpose, and genre on the basis of the third and fourth as, “[David’s composition. For the stricken; a charm] in the name of [YHWH]” (*[ldwyd ʾl pgwʾ lhš] bšm [yhwh]*). In view of the very fragmentary character of the text only some motifs and names can be recognized in the text.

Solomon’s name is mentioned in a context of incantation (*wyqrʿ*), together with spirits and demons: “Solomon. He invoked” (*šlwmh wyqrʿ [bšm yhw h lplṭ mkwl ngʿ hrw]ḥwt whšdym*) (11Q11 2:2). There is no earlier source extant that mentions the name of Solomon in a magical context; thus our text might be, as Puech suggests, “la fondation du rôle de Solomon comme exorciste.”⁴⁹ The magical healing described in the text was performed “in YHWH’s name” (11Q11 2:7–8). Subsequent lines enumerate names and characteristics of the demons (11Q11 2:3–5). The next part probably concerns the work of creation

and foot” (Tob 8:3). In Enochic tradition Raphael is the second in the hierarchy of the angels (*1 En.* 20:3), and it was he who bound Azazel and cast him into a pit (*1 En.* 10:4).

⁴⁹ The names of demons are probably followed by others; É. Puech based his reconstruction on the text of 4Q510–511, see Puech, “Les psaumes davidiques, 169–170.

and depicts YHWH as the creator God of the universe (11Q11 3:6–[14]). The hymnic part continues with enumerating YHWH’s signs and wonders, signs of his almighty power (11Q11 3:1–3).

The word *mšby*’ (“adjuring”) occurs twice in the text of the second song (11Q11 3:4, 4:1).⁵⁰ This term (and its equivalents in other languages) is a substantial element of the exorcistic formula: the exorcist calls up the demon and, with the help of the divine/magic power that is invoked by him, compels it to leave the human community, or the person possessed. The demon is sent to a place that lies outside the borders of the local human community. This can either be an impure place, the desert (thought to be a space frequented by demons), or the nether world, i.e., the home of ghosts and other demons.⁵¹ In 11Q11 it is the nether world, to which the expressions “into the great Abyss” (*lthwm rbh*) (11Q11 4:7) and the “curse of Abaddon” (*qlt h’b[down]*) (11Q11 4:10) refer. These words may refer to Sheol to where the demon was sent as a result of the exorcism. Healing, the effect of the exorcism, is reinforced by the mention of the name of Raphael in the text (11Q11 5:3), who in Jewish tradition was the angel associated with healing in particular (11Q11 5:3).⁵² The specific name of the illness or the plague which the text addresses is not known from the text. The terms referring to a plague or illness that are preserved in the text are of a general nature: “spirits” (*rwhwt, šdym*). The mention of these terms together with Raphael’s name (and the well-known background of the angel’s healing role) lead us to suppose that the theme of Song 2 was an illness caused by spirits.

d) *The First Song (11Q11 1:1–[14])*

The text of the songs treated above is preceded by further fragments that in parts belong to the first song in the manuscript. We can recognize a theme in the fragmentary text. The word *šb’ym* “seventy” (2 2:7)—a “magic” number—may refer to demons, mentioned later

⁵⁰ From the verb *šb*’ “to swear,” “to take an oath;” *Hiphil* “to cause to take an oath,” “adjure.”

⁵¹ The Greek expression *exorkizō* (from *ex* “from,” and *horkos* “fence”) means to exclude something from determined boundaries, to send the demon outside of the ordered world of human. In Jewish exorcisms the demon is often sent to the realm of the impure, such as in the story when Jesus heals the Gadarene demoniac and sends the demons into the swine (Matt 8:28–33; Mark 5:1–20; Luke 8:26–39).

⁵² The meaning of the name Raphael is “God heals.” Raphael in Tobit is God’s emissary, charged with the responsibility of caring for the faithful, advising them of means for healing (exorcising the demon from Sarah, and healing Tobit’s eyes).

in the song (*šdym*, 1:10). Specific words, such as earth, man, and water, probably allude to the works of the creation and the role of YHWH as a creator god. The omnipotence of the creator god is the basis for the success of the charm. The nature of the plague cannot be reconstructed from the fragments. The word *šbw'h* "oath" (1:3), and *mšb[y' lk]* "adjuring you" (1:7) may refer to the exorcism proper, i.e., the forcing and expelling of the demon. The word *wyšb* (1:11) before the clause of the song may refer to the nether world, the dwelling place of the demon who has been overpowered. The end of the song was probably "Amen, amen, Selah," the common ending of (communal) prayer recited aloud.

Given the form and content of the four songs "for the stricken" as outlined above the question arises: on which dates were the songs recited, and what was their possible role and function in the religious life of the community, or in its yearly liturgy?⁵³ As I mentioned above, in ancient cultures the equinoxes and solstices were considered liminal and dangerous times. The astronomical significance of the equinoxes is that of an equal length of day and night, thus there is an equal part of light and darkness during this day. Summer solstice is the time when the sun is at its fullest strength at day, and the period of the light is the longest and darkness the shortest. At the same time it is the beginning of the decreasing of the light. Winter solstice is the opposite: it is the time when light, reduced to a minimum length, begins to increase. There is good reason to suppose that the four songs were recited at these four days of the year, the turning-points of the solar year.⁵⁴

In light of the Jewish ritual calendar which begins with 1st Elul, a date near the autumn equinox (determined by the time of the New

⁵³ The concept of a special time designated for magical healing is known from the Mesopotamian practice of the annual Festival of the Dead, Abu 27–29 of the Mesopotamian calendar when healing ceremonies were performed. This time was the point of the year when family ghosts, benevolent spirits were thought to be returning from the nether world, and healing was practiced with their help. Ghosts were considered as convenient vehicles for getting rid of evil; see J. A. Scurlock, "Magical Uses of Ancient Mesopotamian Festivals of the Dead," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual* (ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 93–107. Abu 28 is the first of the one or two moonless nights at the end of the month; see A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (AOAT; Kevelaer Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchener Verlag, 1985), 161–167; M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (Gröningen: Styx Pub. 1993), 115.

⁵⁴ The idea was first proposed by J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol 1: Die Texte der Höhlen 1–3 und 5–11* (3 vols.; München, Basel: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995–1996), 1:341, n. 720; later on by Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238.

Moon next to the equinox), we may suppose that the schematic calendar fixed the exact time for the beginning of the year to the time of the equinox. This date may also have been the date of the recitation of the first song. The second song may have been uttered at the winter solstice; the spring equinox was the time of the recitation of the third composition, while the fourth one might have been intended to be recited at the summer solstice. Fortunately enough, the text of the fourth song, Psalm 91, is known in *extenso*, and its content can be taken into consideration regarding the function of the text in the ritual. Several plagues mentioned in the text are related to the plague of pestilence, while others refer to sunstroke and physical dangers. Sunstroke⁵⁵ and pestilent epidemics were “seasonal” plagues because of the heat and the increased number of mice and rats (vehicles of the contagion) during the period following the harvest. Sumerian and Babylonian hymns addressed to the god Nergal at the summer solstice suggest that in Mesopotamian thought the plague of pestilence was related to the summer heat. Nergal was venerated as the god of the sun’s burning rays and the god of the nether world. The hymns uttered at the summer solstice ask for his help against sunstroke and pestilence. Nergal was addressed with hymns also at the winter solstice. The hymns addressed to the sun-god Nergal may shed light on an analogous concept in Israel where—as it is reflected in Psalm 91—the sun at the summer solstice was thought to be the cause of noxious effects and plagues, and an absolute healing power was attributed to God who dominates over the heavenly bodies. Song three—the charm (*lhš*) describing the phantasma seen in a nocturnal vision—may have been uttered at the spring equinox, while songs number two and one were recited, respectively, at the winter solstice and the autumn equinox.⁵⁶

It seems that songs one to three have a common structure which is similar to, but not identical with, that of Psalm 91 (and the *ašrē*-psalms in general). Three main elements are common in the three songs. They are, in order: the title, the “fixation” of the demon, and the ending clause. The title refers to the author of the song, and explains the function of the composition (e.g., songs for the stricken, compositions written for healing). The title may also contain the designation

⁵⁵ Sunstroke may be expressed symbolically through the arrow; the sun’s burning arrows cause drought and sunstroke. Other plagues, pestilence and similar epidemics can also be symbolized by “flying arrows.”

⁵⁶ The questions related to the use of the songs need further research.

of the magic power one invokes for performing the magical act (in our songs, “in the name of YHWH”). The second element, the *fixatio* means the elimination of the demon from the human community (or from human body) by the force of magical power (termed *mšby'* or other forms deriving from the root *šb'*) and the “binding”, that is disempowering and disarming of the demon (termed probably by derivatives of the root *'sr*). The third element of the exorcism, the end clause (“Amen, amen, Selah”), means the validation of the magical act. The exorcisms display several additional elements. The part subsequent to the title may contain references to examples of past (and successful) uses of the composition by a notable person or a god (in polytheistic religions). The description of the acts of the god invoked is another form of referring to the efficacy of the incantation (cf. references to God as creator of the world, having power over all its creatures, including the demons). Furthermore, the part following the title may also contain a description of the demon and its functions. Words subsequent to the *fixatio* usually give descriptions of the realm to where the demon is exiled, that of the nether world. This account is the opposite to that of the righteous who is saved and rewarded. The exorcisms end with a clause referring to a loud (and probably communal) recitation.

The length and the form of the 11Q11—six columns containing each 13–15 lines—do not allow for the possibility that the text could be stored inside an amulet worn on the body. In addition, the leather on which the text was written shows no traces of folding. The manuscript was, in all probability, a library copy, used as a manual for appointed days, in special liturgies. The forms of communal recitations in the text (the fourth song) lead us to suppose that at least one of the songs in the text was intended for a communal ritual, a special exorcistic (and purifying) liturgy for the sick. The manuscript that has been preserved to us as 11Q11 may have been a “livre magique,”⁵⁷ a master copy of a handbook for a liturgy of magical healing.

⁵⁷ Amulets represent a special kind of apotropaic texts where the function of the document determines the material, the form of the document, and the writing. Jewish exorcisms written in Greek mention that the text should be written on a *lamella*. Jewish tefillin and mezuzot (known also from Qumran) are biblical texts written on tiny sheets, and encapsulated in small boxes, and are also used for apotropaic purposes. See R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Grotte 4–II: I. Archéologie II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD 6; London: Clarendon Press, 1977); Y. B. Cohn, *Tangled up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* (BJS 351; Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008).

JERUSALEM, CITY OF GOD (4Q380 1 I 1–11): PRAISE THAT COUNTERACTS LAMENT

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In her 1986 dissertation Eileen Schuller presented, among other texts, a reconstruction of 4Q380.¹ This document consists of four fragments, which Schuller classified as a collection of “non-canonical psalms”² because of the occurrence of the term תהלה (4Q380 1 ii 8; 4 1). The major theological subjects treated in these psalms are familiar also from the biblical Psalter, such as creation, wisdom, lament, and Jerusalem/Zion. Still, these texts are only known from this collection and, as a whole, are not found in the biblical Psalter. They probably originated in the Persian or early Hellenistic Period.³

The part of the collection most interesting for the aims of this article is frg. 1. It consists of two columns of eleven and nine lines respectively. The first column contains a song about Jerusalem and Zion, while the second is dedicated to the prophet Obadiah. Whether these two columns should be understood as one psalm with distinctive content in each of its columns, or as two psalms, is not entirely clear, but it does seem more likely that it is two distinct psalms.⁴ For this article the first column is central.

¹ E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). Cf. also idem, “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms (4Q380 and 4Q381),” 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; PTS/DSSP; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Siebeck), 1997), 1–39; idem, *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

² This terminology highlights the distinction between the biblical and the Qumran texts, rather than saying something about its canonical status. Cf. DJD 11, 77; E. M. Schuller, “4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill: 1992), 90–99, 90.

³ Cf. Schuller, “4Q380 and 4Q381,” 96–97. The dating is based on specific linguistic features of vocabulary and syntax, the extensive use of biblical type language, dependence on earlier biblical texts, and the use of the Tetragrammaton (this is unusual in Qumran sectarian texts) (ibid., 93).

⁴ Cf. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 257.

The beginning of the text, though incomplete, draws the reader's attention to Jerusalem and God's commitment to it. This special relationship between God and the city is a major theological theme also in the biblical Psalter and prophetic books. With this in mind, the aim of this essay twofold: 1) to provide a brief commentary on the text 4Q380 1 i 1–11 as reconstructed by Schuller, and 2), to read the text against the background of the traditions of Jerusalem and Zion presented in biblical literature. This paper is written in appreciation of Eileen Schuller and her outstanding scholarship.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF 4Q380 1 i 1–11 TO THE HEBREW BIBLE

In scholarly research the main question discussed regarding 4Q380 1 i 1–11 is its relation to Ps 106:2–5.⁵ It is obvious that there are similarities between the two; 4Q380 1 i 1–11 may even quote Ps 106, although with some variation.⁶ Therefore, when reflecting on the relationship between two texts, it is important to ask where a quotation ends and how it is used or reused, and how standardized phrases or allusions are applied and used to recall a specific passage to the reader's mind.⁷

Regarding 4Q380, the DJD editors state: "The language of these compositions either draws on standard biblical phraseology in a general way, or reuses a specific psalm, e.g. the use of Ps 106:2–5."⁸ I agree with this statement, yet, there are a number of questions that immediately come to mind about the relationship between the two texts. Where does 4Q380 1 i 1–11 differ from Ps 106:2–5 and does this change the meaning of 4Q380? What kinds of allusions to other biblical texts can be detected and how do they shed light on the song about Jerusalem?

The recognition of "standard biblical phraseology" is just the first step. It is essential to identify traces of allusions, echoes of familiar yet distinctive and meaningful elements, and references to other literary

⁵ Cf. G. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 267–292.

⁶ Cf. Schuller, "4Q380 and 4Q381," 92–93.

⁷ Cf. B. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran* (SBLDS 50; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 48–52. She discusses the problem of a narrow use of "quotation" especially in discussion with S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960). Finally Kittel comes to the conclusion that at least four different types of borrowing from OT vocabulary can be detected in some *Hodayot* (*Hymns*, 50).

⁸ DJD 11, 77. Cf. also Schuller, "4Q380 and 4Q381," 92.

texts.⁹ In our case, this means that certain biblical texts and traditions are evoked by reading 4Q380 1 i 1–11. How does the author of the song on Jerusalem use the biblical background in order to reach a new distinct perspective on the subject “praise of Jerusalem/Zion”? In addition, this text can also be read against the background of a certain biblical tradition that has developed around Jerusalem and Zion. It will be shown that the author of 4Q380 1 i 1–11 has strategically re-appropriated the older text material and the biblical traditions about Jerusalem and Zion for a new purpose.¹⁰ This textual re-working gives some indication of the literary freedom the psalms poets had during the Second Temple period, as well as their ability to compose something new inside the framework of tradition. “By alluding, a new work keeps the older works alive and maintains their relevance.”¹¹

A SHORT COMMENTARY ON 4Q380 1 i 1–11

Text and translation:¹²

... [--]	1
[ירו] שלם היא	2
[יה] וזה מעולם ועד	3
[. --] קדשים	4
[כי ש] ׁ יהוה נקרא עליה	5
[וכבדו] נראה על ירושלם	6

⁹ Cf. E. Miner, “Allusion,” in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (ed. A. Preminger; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 18. Cf. as well Z. Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” *PTL* 1 (1978): 105–128. Cf. B. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1998). He differentiates between influence and allusion and stresses the text-relatedness of allusion. Although he points out that one can speak only about the relationship between two texts, text-relatedness is still relevant for our example of 4Q380 1 i 1–11. But it is also not exegesis that we are speaking about: “A writer alludes to an older text for some purpose in his own text, not to suggest a particular understanding of the old one” (ibid., 30).

¹⁰ Cf. Sommer, *A Prophet*, 15.

¹¹ Cf. Sommer, *A Prophet*, 30.

¹² Cf. DJD 11, 78. This text has been taken as the basis for the exegetical discussion with one exception, the conjunction between Jerusalem and Zion (l. 7), as suggested by Schuller (*Non-Canonical Psalms*, 248, 251). The textual reconstruction of Schuller (ibid.) that has also been taken up by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:752–53 offers some more information about Jerusalem; e.g. [העיר בהר...] in the beginning of l. 3. It fits with the whole text under discussion and stresses its perspective. Because, however, it is not mentioned in the DJD version it has been left aside.

[ב]ציון מי ימלל את שם	7
יהוה וישמעו כל תהלת[ו]	8
[זכ]רו יהוה ברצנו ויפקדהו	9
להראות בטוב	10
[בת]ירייו לש[מח בשמחת גויו]	11

- 1 [--]...
- 2 it is [Jeru]salem
- 3 [-- YH]WH forever and ever
- 4 [--.]holy ones
- 5 [For the na]me of YHWH is invoked upon it,
- 6 [And his glory] is seen upon Jerusalem
- 7 [in] Zion. Who can utter the name of
- 8 YHWH, and (who) can proclaim all [his] praise?
- 9 YHWH [remem]bered him with his favour and visited him
- 10 to show the prosperity of
- 11 his ch[os]en ones, to glad[den (him) with the joy of his people]

The first four lines are rather incomplete, giving just single words or short collocations like **יהוה מעולם ועד**, **ירושלם היא**, and **קדשים**. Though incomplete, the main keywords of the whole composition are mentioned here. The text is centred on YHWH, Jerusalem, and the holy ones. The psalm describes and praises their special relationship with God: first the relationship of the city, and later in l. 11, the relationship of the holy ones, God's chosen people.¹³ The relationship between God and the city is defined by God's name that is invoked (**קרא** nif.) upon it. It is YHWH's city (the connection is given grammatically by the 3.f.sg. suffix with **עליה**). And God's glory is seen (**ראה** nif.) upon it. God's name and glory belong to Jerusalem, discernable through the various human senses.

The beginning of l. 7 is difficult to read. The reconstruction of the first letter is not quite clear, and it could be the conjunction ו¹⁴ or the preposition ב.¹⁵ Due to space it is clear that it can be only one letter. The problem is whether Zion (**ציון**) has to be read together with

¹³ Schuller (*Non-Canonical Psalms*, 253) suggests three different readings for **קדשים** (l. 4): angels (e.g. Ps 89:6, 8; Zech 14:5), humans (e.g. Pss 16:3; 34:10), or Jerusalem, recalling the **קדש קדשים**; that is, the Jerusalem temple and its accoutrements. Identifying the people as **קדשים** is not unusual and makes sense in connection with 11. 10–11. To apply this term to the temple in Jerusalem is possible but we have no further hint in the text that points to the temple.

¹⁴ Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 253; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:752–753.

¹⁵ DJD 11, 80.

Jerusalem, as in, “and his glory is seen upon Jerusalem and Zion,” or whether a new thought starts in l. 7 with Zion. Then Zion would be the place where the question should be raised: “Who can utter the name of YHWH?” For the first option the arguments are as follows: Jerusalem and Zion often appear together in parallelisms or as enumerations in the biblical tradition as well as in Qumran texts—although in the opposite order (an important exception is Psalm 147).¹⁶ The word order in l. 7, beginning by mentioning the place and the continuation by the question, is against the poetical flow of the text. Zion would stand without any syntactical connection to the preceding and the following. The argument of the DJD editors, that the second solution would open the reading of the Ps 106 based text in ll. 7–11 from a Zion-perspective,¹⁷ is not necessary insofar as those lines have to be read in this perspective anyway. The whole beginning of the psalm demands this.

In ll. 7–8 two questions are asked. They may be rhetorical questions,¹⁸ pointing to the inadequacy of human praise in relation to God’s greatness. The reading could be supported by the second line of the bicolon using כּל: “Who will proclaim (כּל תהלתו)?” In this case ll. 9–11 have to be understood as a reaction to the inadequacy of human praise. It is YHWH himself who remembers (ll. 9–11). An alternative reading would be as follows: The questions asked in ll. 7–8 are an invitation to the city to praise God. God’s name is invoked upon the city (l. 5) and therefore it is prepared to praise the divine name (l. 7). Support for this suggestion is found in Psalm 147. It is the only psalm that mentions Jerusalem and Zion in this order and the only psalm that calls these two to praise God (Ps 147:12: שְׁבַחֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם אֶת־יְהוָה הַלְלֵי (אלהיך ציון).

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Kgs 19:31, Isa 37:32, 52:2, Zeph 3:16, Zech 1:14, Ps 147:12, and Lam 2:13 against 36 verses that mention Zion first; especially relevant when it comes to parallelisms. In addition it should be mentioned that Ps 147:12 is the only psalm that uses the reverse order—Jerusalem before Zion—like 4Q380 1 i 6–7.

¹⁷ DJD 11, 80.

¹⁸ Cf. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 253. There is a discussion of whether or not Ps 106:2 is a rhetorical question, and scholars have made both arguments (cf. V. Pröbstl, *Nehemiah 9, Psalm 106 und Psalm 136 und die Rezeption des Pentateuchs* [Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1997], 118ff.). The main difference in 4Q380 l. 7 is that no subject follows, unlike in Ps 106:3. The biblical text might very well speak about the righteous who can praise God (cf. F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150* [HThKAT; Freiburg i.B.: Herder 2008], 126–127).

How then are ll. 1–8 connected with ll. 9–11? Line 9 continues with “God remembered him with his favour.” The most crucial question here is how to understand the object 3.m.sg. (l. 9). Schuller suggested two options:

- (1) Jerusalem. The masculine suffix is, of course, unusual for Jerusalem, but does occur in 11QPs^a iii 9 (Ps 122:3) and 11QPs^a iv 4 (Ps 125:2). This interpretation allows us to see the whole poem as a unified composition about Jerusalem. (2) The subject of the preceding bicola, that is, the man who utters the name of Yhwh and proclaims His praise. This is the interpretation adopted in the translation.¹⁹

The latter is the interpretation one finds in the DJD publication and other translations of the text.²⁰ The use of a masculine suffix to represent Jerusalem is indeed unusual as “city” is usually grammatically feminine. For Zion, however, the grammatical gender can be masculine as well as feminine.²¹ It is probable then that the one called to praise in ll. 7–8 is the city and not an unknown 3.m.sg. person. This reading fits with the lines that immediately follow: in l. 9 “YHWH remembered him (i.e. Zion) with his favour and visited him,” and in ll. 10–11, “to show the prosperity of his chosen ones, to gladden (Zion) with the joy of his people.” The text continues after calling Jerusalem/Zion to praise YHWH with proclaiming God’s deeds. YHWH remembered (3.m.sg. perf. qal) Zion with favor and will visit it (פָּקַד 3.m.sg. impf. qal).

The relationship between Jerusalem and Zion in 4Q380 is not easy to describe because the information the text gives is rather limited. The reason to ask for this at all is because one can observe certain differences in what these two terms represent in their respective contexts. Jerusalem is representative of the political centre of Israel while Zion is connected to the temple, the place where heaven and earth meet, the mountain where God dwells, the centre not just of Israel but of the whole world.²² The connotations connected with Jerusalem and Zion differ from context to context, and they also differ when they stand together; but they also influence each other.²³ One of the markers in biblical psalmody that distinguishes these two words is the use of grammatical gender. While Jerusalem is always feminine, Zion can

¹⁹ Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 254.

²⁰ Cf. DJD 11, 78.

²¹ Cf. C. Körtling, *Zion in den Psalmen* (FAT 48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 8–9, 222.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*, 84–86.

²³ Cf. *Ibid.*, 84–86.

be both—feminine as the city and masculine as the temple or mountain. It is difficult to say if this differentiation is really applicable to 4Q380 because the masculine gender has also been used in Qumran-texts for Jerusalem. In this case the connection by a conjunction seems to be stronger than the differences between Jerusalem and Zion and we have to treat them alike. Still, what we can learn from the biblical Psalter as background for our reading of 4Q380 is that we cannot take the whole so-called Zion-tradition (including the fight against the nations or the cosmic mountain) into account as a basis for this song. On the contrary: we have to look first at the information the text offers about Jerusalem/Zion and its close relationship with God. God's name is connected to Jerusalem/Zion, God's glory seen upon both, and God will visit them and show them the prosperity of the chosen ones.

It becomes clear that Jerusalem/Zion is central for the whole psalm, including the prosperity of the chosen ones that give witness to it. In the people's joy Zion shall be glad (l. 11). Here closes the circle opened in the beginning of the text with the inclusion of Jerusalem, YHWH, and the holy ones. The text uses three different terms for those who have their share in Zion's gladness. The terminology sheds light on the people from various perspectives: the people as holy, as chosen, and as a political unit.²⁴ Not everybody is included, only those who have their part in the city's well-being, on theological as well as a political grounds.²⁵ Jerusalem and Zion both will be glad.

ALLUSIONS TO BIBLICAL PSALMS AND PROPHECY

In order to gain a deeper insight into what 4Q380 1 i 1–11 is about, we have to read the biblical texts and traditions the song evokes. The first text to be taken into account is Ps 106, a long national lament.

²⁴ The term גוי is not as often used for Israel (the more usual term is עם), especially when it comes to speaking about God and *his* people, including a pronominal suffix. In addition, it is not quite clear how one should distinguish between עם and גוי in an Old Testament/Hebrew bible context. R. E. Clements ("גוי," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* [ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–], 1:965–973) suggests that the political aspect, the idea of Israel as a nation, is stronger with גוי (ibid., 967). He finds this perspective not just in pre-exilic but also in post-exilic texts, standing for the hope of restoration of Israel as a nation (ibid., 972).

²⁵ In Exod 19:6 Israel is called a גוי קדוש in reference to its political and a theological responsibilities as God's nation. Cf. A. Cody, "When is the Chosen people Called a *gôy*?" *VT* 14 (1964): 1–6.

The similarities are striking and perhaps can even be defined as a quotation, as Ps 106:2–5 and 4Q380 1 i 7–11 are nearly identical.²⁶ It is more illuminating, however, to examine the differences and divergences between the two texts. The first difference worth noting is that Jerusalem/Zion is not mentioned in Ps 106. While the stress lies within the relationship between God and his city in 4Q380 1 i 1–11, in Ps 106 it lies in God's actions on behalf of his people (cf. Ps 106:4). Accordingly, 4Q380 1 i 7 calls to praise God's name, a call that is strongly connected with Jerusalem (4Q380 1 i 5) instead of speaking about his great deeds on behalf of his people (Ps 106:2).²⁷ Ps 106:3 is completely missing in 4Q380 1 i 1–11, while it adds an important aspect to the biblical psalm in presenting a contrastive role model (contrastive to Israel's behaviour)²⁸ for the individual praying. Another important difference between the two psalms concerns the contents of the petition. What the petitioner asks for in Ps 106:4 is granted to the city in 4Q380 1 i 9. YHWH remembers Zion. Finally, in Ps 106:5 the one praying wants to see the gladness of God's nation, whereas in 4Q380 1 i 10–11 God himself will show it to Zion.

The direct connection between 4Q380 1 i 7–11 and Ps 106:2–5 is unquestionable. Nevertheless, the obvious differences do invite us to search for allusions to other biblical texts in the Psalms and Prophets. Five terms will be discussed:

- 1) *For the name of YHWH is invoked (קרא nif.) upon her (Jerusalem/Zion/the city).* The closest parallel is found in Jer 25:29. God, so closely connected to the city by his name, is on his way to destroy it.²⁹ A close connection to God means no escape from judgment in Jeremiah, but in Deuteronomy it means protection

²⁶ Those terms that are used in both texts are printed in bold. Grammatical differences are not marked. Ps 106:2–5:

2 מי ימלל גבורות יהוה ישמיע כל־תהלתו:
 3 אשרי שמרי משפט עשה צדקה בכל־עת:
 4 זכרני יהוה ברצון עמך פקדני בישועתך:
 5 לראות בטובת בחיריך לשמח בשמחת גויך להתהלל עם נחלתך:

²⁷ Cf. Brooke, "Psalms," 277–278. He takes this as one argument among others that Ps 106 is dependent on 4Q380 1 i 7–10. The change from "name" to "deeds" occurs throughout Psalm 106.

²⁸ The verse highlights those deeds that constitute a righteous life as the basis for praise (Ps 106:2), and mentions the requirements that Israel will find its way from lament to praise (cf. Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen*, 127).

²⁹ Jer 25:29: כי הנה בעיר אשר נקרא שמי עליה.

(Deut 28:10), although in the latter it is promised to the people (כי שם יהוה נקרא עליך). The city and the people, so it seems, can be exchanged, just as in Ps 106:4 and 4Q380 1 i 9. God's wrath and the destruction of the city serve as background also for Daniel's penitential prayer in Daniel 9. Daniel uses God's name that is invoked (3.m.sg. קרא nif.) upon the city as an argument to ask for mercy (Dan 9:18–19).³⁰ The motif of the destroyed city and the hope for its restoration can be detected as a recurrent theme also for the following examples (see below).

- 2) *And his glory (כבוד³¹) is seen (ראה nif.) upon Jerusalem and in Zion.* The glory of the Lord is synonymous with his presence. The glory leaving the city and the temple (cf. Ezek 11:23) means handing both over to destruction; its return means salvation and restoration (Ezek 43:4–5). The texts terminologically closest to 4Q380 1 i 6 are Isa 60:2 and Ps 102:17. Both texts speak about a time of salvation when the glory of the Lord will be seen (ראה nif.) upon Jerusalem (Isa 60:2) and in Zion when he rebuilds it (Ps 102:17).³² Once the city lay in ruins because it provoked God's glory (Isa 3:8) but now it will hear the words of Isaiah 60 and Psalm 102.
- 3) *YHWH remembers (זכר) Jerusalem/Zion.* זכר is a term often used in biblical texts, and also when God is the subject.³³ There are, however, only three cases when Jerusalem/Zion is the object of God's remembrance: Lam 2:1, Ps 74:2, and Jer 2:2. According to Lam 2:1, remembrance is denied; God in his wrath does not remember Zion, his footstool. God ignores every bond between himself and Zion, keeping only his judgment in focus. We might add that this is the reason why in Ps 74 a plea is formulated that God should remember Zion, whom he has chosen as his dwelling. The context of Ps 74 is a lament after the destruction of the temple. Ps 74:2 expresses the hope that, if God would remember, he would come

³⁰ Cf. also Ps 102:13–23 where destruction and restoration of the city are the main focus. The text does not use the verb קרא, although it is the only textual example of declaring (ספר) God's name in Zion and his praise in Jerusalem.

³¹ In contrast to the related biblical passages, the reconstructed Qumran text uses the defective writing.

³² Cf. also Isa 4:5; 24:23.

³³ This is the case in 68 instances in qal (cf. H. Eising, "זכר," in *ThWAT*, 2:571–593, 575).

closer again and turn to Zion with salvation.³⁴ Remembrance in Ps 74:2 (cf. also Ps 106:4) and 4Q380 1 i 1–11 is a divine act that creates salvation.³⁵ According to Jer 2:2, God's remembrance is used as a different rhetorical tool. It goes back to the time of Jerusalem's youth (identified with Israel), a time of love. Still, the context is judgment and the view back only makes more obvious what Jerusalem lost (cf. Jer 2:3).

- 4) *YHWH visits* (פקד *qal*) *Jerusalem/Zion*. The term פקד has positive as well as negative connotations. When God visited Sara, she became pregnant (Gen 21:1); God will visit Israel in order to bring the nation out of Egypt (Gen 50:24), but God's visit might also mean destruction (e.g. Isa 13:4).³⁶ According to Jer 6:6, it is the destruction of Jerusalem that is announced (פקד *hof.*). The subject of Lam 4:22 is the end of punishment for the daughter of Zion while God will visit the daughter of Edom to discover her sins. With these passages in the background of 4Q380 1 i 9, it becomes clear that a favourable visit from God is not self-evident just because Jerusalem is his city; but the use of the term דקפ 4Q380 stresses how close the time of judgment still is while the context finally points to God's pleasure in Jerusalem/Zion and his will for salvation (cf. Ps 106:5).³⁷
- 5) *To show* בחיריו בטוב. In 4Q380 1 i 10–11 it is the prosperity of the chosen ones that should be seen. But while it is the person praying who asks for it in Ps 106:5, it is Zion in 4Q380 who shall participate in the joy of the people. Interestingly, in Ps 128:5 it is the righteous, the blessed, who get to witness ירושלם בטוב. The close relation between Jerusalem/Zion and the chosen ones has been stressed before. The joy of the one is dependent on the prosperity

³⁴ A positive turn is also found in Isa 62:6. God will be reminded not to take a rest for the sake of Jerusalem.

³⁵ Cf. W. Schottroff, 'Gedenken' im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. *Die Wurzel zākar im semitischen Sprachkreis* (WMANT 15; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1964), 190. He writes that "Denken an...war...kein gedächtnismäßiger Bezug, sondern ein tathaftes Eingehen der Gottheit auf den Menschen, der sich in Not befand. Das Gedenken wendet die Not, positiv gewandt: es schafft Segen und Heil (Ps 106:5)" (ibid., 191).

³⁶ Cf. André, "פקד," in *ThWAT* 6:708–723, 713ff., 716ff.

³⁷ In Ps 8:5 זכר and פקד are used in order to describe God's amazing care for humanity. In this text, the positive connotation of both terms stands in focus. God's remembrance means salvation and blessing, the special position for all human beings in creation (cf. Schottroff, *Gedenken*, 194ff.).

of the other. 4Q380 turns the perspective of Ps 128:5 in the opposite direction in order to set Zion in focus again.³⁸

CONCLUSIONS

Reading 4Q380 1 i 1–11 without its biblical backdrop gives the impression of a hymn praising God and his city, praising the close relationship between God, the city, and the holy or chosen ones. The terminological catenations between the wording of 4Q380 1 i 1–11 and the biblical texts that combine 4Q380's specific terminology with Jerusalem/Zion produce a clear picture of destruction and restoration as the background for the praise. It looks as if the Psalms, but also select passages from Jeremiah and Lamentations, had an influence on 4Q380 1 i 1–11. The result is that the text, which praises Jerusalem/Zion and God's closeness to the city, moves beyond the tradition represented in Psalms 46, 48, and 87—Psalms representative of the so-called Zion-theology. The hymn at 4Q380 1 i 1–11 proclaims the everlasting God (Ps 102:13), who turns his back to Jerusalem/Zion and restores it so that his glory is seen upon it (cf. Ps 102:17).

A question that can be raised then is how these results fit with the choice of Ps 106 as the one text that is quoted broadly in 4Q380 1 i 1–11. The answer seems to lie in the function of Ps 106:2–5 for the whole psalm. The first verses of Psalm 106 are a hymnal introduction for a national lament.³⁹ The whole psalm, while speaking about Israel's failure, God's wrath, and the people's suffering, aims to change the situation by praising God.⁴⁰

What the two texts have in common is *praise that counteracts lament*. While 4Q380 1 i 1–11 stands in parallel in Psalm 106, the

³⁸ It is again Ps 102 that does not use the same terminology but nevertheless shows the close connection between the people, the chosen ones, or the servants with Jerusalem. Here the servants have a share in the change of the fate of Zion (Ps 102:15) and they will finally live there in security (Ps 102:29). The declaration of God's name, the visibility of his glory upon Jerusalem and Zion and finally the direct relation between the cities' fate and the people/the servants are all to be found in Ps 102. Although it is difficult to speak about dependence, three aspects in reading Ps 102 and 4Q380 1 i 1–11 together are remarkable. The connections are all related to the Zion-passage in Ps 102, vv. 13–23; the passage marks the change of Zion's fate, showing that Zion suffered enough (Ps 102:14) and God's praise shall return to it; the whole passage is part of a long lament.

³⁹ Cf. also Isa 63:7; Neh 9:5. Cf. also Pröbstl, *Nehemiah* 9, 112–114, 118.

⁴⁰ Cf. W. Beyerlin, "Der nervus rerum in Psalm 106," *ZAW* 86 (1974): 50–64, 58.

theological thrust created in the former has changed. In the latter, God remembered and visited. The time of distance and suffering is over, but the experience of God being far and allowing the destruction of his city still stands in the background. It is not self-evident that God's name and his glory are invoked upon the city. However, in the psalm at 4Q380 1 i 1-11 he is now powerfully turning the fate of the city through the promise of his remembrance and closeness while showing the city the joy of the people.⁴¹

⁴¹ Beyerlin ("Der nervus rerum," 58) reads the special combination of praise and lament in Psalm 106 against the background of Jer 33:10-11. Though the text has no terminological links with 4Q380 1 i 1-11, it also gives an understanding for the background of the praise, formulated in the Qumran psalm. The destroyed city awakens again, beginning with praise and shouts of joy.

“BLESSED BE THE LORD AND BLESSED BE HIS NAME
FOREVER”: PSALM 145 IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND IN
THE PSALMS SCROLL 11Q5*

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When one sets out to investigate the tradition of Jewish and early Christian prayer (Kaddish, ‘Amida, the Lord’s Prayer) and, asks for its biblical roots one always returns to one particular text: Psalm 145, “the *Shema*’ of the Book of Psalms” as Shlomo Dov Goitein once called this master piece of hymnic literature.¹ This Psalm contains the main themes that, according to Rabbinic tradition, form one of the pillars on which the universal world order rests: the name and the kingdom of God (*b. Sotah* 49a).²

In the transition from the biblical Psalms to Jewish and early Christian prayer, the hymnic literature from Qumran forms a most important step. I am thinking here of the several manuscripts of the biblical Psalms, the non-biblical Psalms, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and last but not least the *Hodayot*, on which Eileen Schuller has made the most significant contributions. Psalm 145, too, is part of this intermediate step, since it is included in the famous *Psalms-Scroll* 11Q5 (11QP^a). Here, along with several text-critical issues, the Psalm offers

* English translation Anselm C. Hagedorn (Berlin)

¹ See R. G. Kratz, “Die Gnade des täglichen Brots: Späte Psalmen auf dem Weg zum Vaterunser,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (ed. R. G. Kratz; FAT 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 245–279; idem, “Die Tora Davids: Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, 280–311; idem, “Das *Shema*’ des Psalters: Die Botschaft vom Reich Gottes nach Psalm 145,” in *Gott und Mensch im Dialog: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. M. Witte; BZAW 345/II; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 623–638.

² See I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (3rd ed.; Frankfurt: Kauffmann, 1931; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 93; A. Lehnardt, *Qaddish: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Rezeption eines rabbinischen Gebetes* (TSAJ 87; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 299–300. For the wider context see M. Hengel, “Zur matthäischen Bergpredigt und ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund,” *ThR* 52 (1987): 327–400; M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, eds., *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).

two distinct features that distinguish it from the masoretic version: firstly, its position in the composition of the Psalter as a whole, and secondly, the refrain that is repeated after each verse (or bicolon) of the Psalm: ברוך יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם ועד “Blessed be the Lord and blessed be his name forever”.

In the following, I would like to investigate how we are to explain these two distinct features and what they can contribute to our understanding of the origins of Jewish and Christian prayer. I shall begin with the masoretic version of Psalm 145 and then continue with 11Q5. I shall argue that in both versions Psalm 145 has a significant position within the composition of the Psalter and that this position is responsible for the main textual variants which point to the formulae of the later tradition of Jewish and Christian prayer. I shall also raise the question whether the changes of the text and its position have something to do with the transmission of 11Q5 within the Qumran community.

1. PSALM 145 AS PART OF THE MASORETIC PSALTER

The Psalm's external appearance is determined by the Hebrew alphabet. One line (or bicolon) is dedicated to each letter of the alphabet.³ The exception to the rule is the letter *nun*, which is missing between v. 13 and v. 14. The acrostic form suggests a certain completeness: everything that shall be said is spelled out from *A* to *Z* (*alef* to *taw*). This completeness is also reflected in the little word כל which from v. 9 onwards is used in almost every verse and often even twice.⁴ In the acrostic also the theme of the kingdom of God is implied: after the royal title in v. 1 the kingdom of God is only mentioned again when the alphabetic order offers the letters *kaf*, *lamed*, *mem* (vv. 11–13). When read backwards those letters form the root *m-l-k* “to be king”.⁵

Besides the acrostic, Psalm 145 offers further indications of a planned structure.⁶ The grammatical and stylistic analysis of the Psalm reveals a

³ See below 2. Psalm 145 as part of the Psalm-Scroll 11Q5 (11QPsa).

⁴ See vv. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21.

⁵ See W. G. E. Watson, “Reversed Rootplay in Ps 145,” *Bib* 62 (1981): 101–102.

⁶ On this see Kratz, “*Shema*,” 628–634, and for the discussion L. J. Liebreich, “Psalms 34 and 145 in the Light of their Key-Words,” *HUCA* 27 (1956): 181–192; P. Auffret, “Essai sur la structure littéraire du Psaume 145,” in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor; AOAT

threefold change from invitation to praise and its performance: vv. 1–2 + 3, vv. 4–7 + 8–9 and vv. 10–13 + 14–20. The call to praise (cohortative or jussive) is always addressed to God (אֱלֹהֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ)—with the exception of the infinitive clause in V. 12 (לְהוֹדִיעַ).⁷ This address is interrupted by nominal clauses that speak of the Lord in the 3rd person (גְּדוֹל יְהוָה)—again with one exception. Only in v. 13 the performance is introduced by using the 2nd person: מִלְכוּתְךָ מִלְכוּת כָּל עוֹלָמִים. The verses 12–13, then, mark the transition to the last performance in vv. 14–20 that—determined by the quote from Psalm 104—also uses a 2nd person address in vv. 15–16. The resumption of the beginning of the Psalm in v. 21 concludes the hymn. Verses 1 and 21 form a frame around the Psalm.

What do we learn from this structure? In the alternation of invitation to praise and performance the Psalm itself achieves what it calls to do: the praise of the name and the proclamation of the kingdom of God amongst all human beings. Both the praise of the name and the proclamation of the kingdom of God shall take place through the mouth of three witnesses: the ‘I’ of the speaker (vv. 1–2, 5b, 6b), the generations which the speaker is part of (vv. 4–7), and the “works” and “proofs of loyalty” that are in themselves objects of praise (vv. 4, 9b, 17) but are also called to witness before the human beings (vv. 10–12).⁸ They all are summoned up to praise God’s name (vv. 1, 21) and to proclaim the glory of his kingdom to humanity (vv. 11–12, 13).

212; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 15–31; A. Berlin, “The Rhetoric of Psalm 145,” in *Biblical and Related Studies: FS S. Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauer; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 17–22; B. Lindars, “The Structure of Psalm CXLV,” *VT* 39 (1989): 23–30; W. S. Prinsloo, “Psalm 145: Loof Jahwe van A tot Z,” *IDS* 25 (1991): 457–470; R. Kimelman, “Ashre: Psalm 145 and the Liturgy,” *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly* 54 (1992/93): 97–128; idem, “Psalm 145: Theme, Structure, and Impact,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 37–58; E. Zenger, “‘Daß alles Fleisch den Namen seiner Heiligung segne’ (Ps 145, 21): Die Komposition Ps 145–150 als Anstoß zu einer christlich-jüdischen Psalmenhermeneutik,” *BZ* 41 (1997), 1–27. Less is offered than the title promises in L. Bormann, “Diversity by Rewriting: The Divine Characteristics as Part of the Identity Concept of Jewish Groups in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered. Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland, August 24–26 2006* (ed. A. Laato and J. van Ruiten; Studies in Rewritten Bible 1; Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 2008), 103–123.

⁷ *Septuagint* and *Peshitta* read the suffix 2nd pers. sg. In my opinion, however, one has to prefer the *lectio difficilior* of the masoretic version here. The same holds true for the variant readings in vv. 5–6.

⁸ Generally חֲסִידֶיךָ in 145:10 is translated as “your faithful ones”; it should be considered, however, whether in the light of v. 17 the term does refer to the acts of faithfulness by God.

Whoever reads or recites the Psalm joins the string of generations and executes what the Psalm demands.

In accordance with its grammatical and stylistic structure is the phrasing of the Psalm, which employs several catchword connections. The performances of praise always use one catchword from the invitation in the preceding line.⁹ Together with the invitation to praise (also using catchwords from the preceding context),¹⁰ the nominal clauses in vv. 3 and 8–9 lead up to the main part of the Psalm in vv. 10–20. The main part, too, commences with a catchword connection in the transition from the invitation to praise to its performance (מלכות in vv. 10–11, 13). Here, however, the references are reaching further back to v. 4 (דור לדור) and v. 1 (מלך). These connections confirm the impression that vv. 10–13 do not only open the following part in vv. 14–20 but are also the centre of the whole Psalm where the themes of vv. 1–12 are focused on the subject of the kingdom of God.

In vv. 10–13 the kingdom of God is placed as a kind of motto at the beginning of the last performance of praise. What follows can be divided into two subsections that are structured in parallel: vv. 14–16 and vv. 17–20.¹¹ Both subsections are connected via the catchword רצון (vv. 16, 19). At the same time, this word denotes the different perspectives.¹² In the first subsection it is said that the Lord fulfils the desire of all living beings (vv. 14–16). The second subsection states that he does the same especially for those who fear and love him (vv. 17–20).¹³ It is part of this promise that God does not only answer to the prayers of his people and protects them from evil but also that he will destroy the wicked (v. 20).

⁹ See הלל Pi. / Pu. in vv. 2, 3; טוב in vv. 7, 9; מלכות in vv. 11–12, 13.

¹⁰ V. 6 גדל from v. 3; v. 10 מעשה כל from v. 9 (cf. v. 4); חסד from v. 8; vv. 11–12 גבורה from v. 4; כבוד הדר from v. 5.

¹¹ If one adds the line beginning with *nun* both lines in vv. 13ⁿ and 17 begin exactly parallel: two lines formulated as nominal clauses (vv. 13ⁿ, 14 and 17–18) are followed by two lines of which the first one begins with a verbal clause (vv. 15a, 19a), while the second begins with a participle (vv. 16a, 20a); once the line is continued—due to the quote from Ps 104:27–28—by participial predicates with the subject (YHWH) in the 2nd pers. (vv. 15b, 16b; according to 11Q5, *Septuagint* and *Peshitta* already in v. 16a) and once by finite verbs with the same subject in the 3rd pers. (vv. 19b, 20b).

¹² The word רצון in v. 16 can mean two things: 1) the delight of God or 2) that what delights the human person (comp. טוב in Ps 104:28). Due to the parallel in v. 19 I am inclined to opt for the second meaning.

¹³ The variant readings in 11Q5 (v. 18 באמונה instead of באמת; v. 20 כל יראיו instead of אהביו כל) are probably a result of *aberratio oculi* and the errors in v. 18.

After all, we see that the Psalm in form and content focuses the praise of God explicitly on the two main themes that became central aspects of Jewish and early Christian prayer, i.e., the pillars on which the world order rests: the name and the kingdom of God. Here and for the comparison with the version in 11Q5 the position of Psalm 145 within the masoretic Psalter is also crucial. The Psalm is not only a poetic masterpiece in itself, but it also fulfils a certain function within the larger composition of the Psalter, which is divided by several doxologies into five books (Ps 41:14; 72:18–19; 89:53; 106:48).¹⁴

Being a song of praise attributed to David (תהלה לדוד), Psalm 145 concludes the last group of the Psalms of David in Psalms 138–145 that is connected with the beginning of the Psalter in Psalms 2–89 (cf. Psalms 144 and 18). The unique heading of Psalm 145 that corresponds to its final line, however, is a clear indication that the Psalm does not only belong to the group of the Psalms of David. The double use of תהלה points forward to the continuation of the so-called Hallelujah-Psalms (146–150) that conclude the Psalter as a whole. Psalm 145 is connected to these Psalms by several literary or thematic references (see 146:6–10; 147:8–11). There are further connections to the formulae of praise that structure the fourth and fifth book of the Psalms as well as references to several individual Psalms and here especially Psalm 104, which is quoted in Ps 145:15–16. All this points to a fairly prominent position of Psalm 145 at an interface of the last third of the fifth book of Psalms.

Here, the references to the formulae of praise that structure the (fourth and) fifth Book of Psalms are of special interest. These

¹⁴ See Kratz, “Gnade;” idem, “Tora;” idem, “*Sh‘ma*,” 628–634. For the discussion see K. Koch, “Der Psalter und seine Redaktionsgeschichte,” in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. K. Seybold and E. Zenger; HBS 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994; 2nd ed., 1995), 251–259; E. Zenger, “Komposition und Theologie des 5. Psalmenbuchs 107–145,” *BN* 82 (1996): 97–116, repr. and trans. in “The Composition and Theology of the Fifth Book of Psalms: Psalms 107–145,” *JSOT* 80 (1998): 77–102; idem, “‘Daß alles Fleisch,’” 11–14; idem, “Der Psalter als Buch: Beobachtungen zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Funktion,” in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 18; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 1–57, esp. 27–31; M. Leuenberger, *Konzeptionen des Königtums Gottes im Psalter: Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Redaktion der theokratischen Bücher IV–V im Psalter* (ATHANT 83; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); E. Ballhorn, *Zum Telos des Psalters: Der Textzusammenhang des Vierten und Fünften Psalmenbuches (Ps 90–150)* (BBB 138; Berlin: Philo, 2004); U. Dahmen, “‘Gepriesen sei der Herr, der Gott Israels, vom Anfang bis ans Ende der Zeiten’ (Ps 106, 48): Beobachtungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Psalters im vierten und fünften Psalmenbuch,” *BZ* 49 (2005): 1–25.

references manifest themselves mainly in the use of two formulae: the so-called Todah-formula and the Hallelujah-formula. The Todah—הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו (105–) 107; 118 and 136. The Hallelujah groups several Psalms into certain clusters: 104–106 (LXX: 105–107 M); 111–117 (LXX: 111–118 M); 135 (LXX: 135–136 M); 146–150. If one takes both formulae together we find a continuous pattern for the reading of the Psalter, where the Todah-Psalms form the beginning of a section, the Hallelujah-Psalms the end and David-Psalms are placed in the centre:

I–V	ברוך יהוה 41:14; 72:18–19; 89:53; 106:48		
IV	לתודה 100	לדוד 101–103	הללו יה 104–106
V	הודו ליהוה 107	לדוד 108–110	הללו יה 111–117
	הודו ליהוה 118	(מעלות) 120–134 (119)	הללו יה 135
	הודו ליהוה 136	לדוד 138–145 (137)	הללו יה 146–150

Limited space does not allow me to investigate this structure in detail.¹⁵ For our purpose it is simply important to stress that Psalm 145 is closely fitted into the composition of the Psalter created by doxologies. Such doxological formulae, however, are not only important for the overall composition of the Psalter but also shape the later tradition of prayer that tends to employ such formulae at the beginning of each prayer (ברוך יהוה מלך העולם etc.). One step on the way to this tradition is represented by the version of Psalm 145 found in 11Q5. And it is to this version we will now turn our attention.

2. PSALM 145 AS PART OF THE PSALM-SCROLL 11Q5 (11QPs^a)

Next to some additions 11Q5 contains most Psalms that are also part of the masoretic text of Psalms 101–150. According to the edition by James A. Sanders, Psalm 145 is found in columns 16–17.¹⁶ The mono-

¹⁵ See above n. 14 and G. H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); M. Millard, *Die Komposition des Psalters: Ein formgeschichtlicher Ansatz* (FAT 9; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994).

¹⁶ J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

graphs by Peter W. Flint and Ulrich Dahmen list and treat all the textual differences between the two versions of Ps 145 in detail.¹⁷ The comparison shows quite clearly that we deal with the same text here, even though just Psalm 145 contains a remarkable number of orthographic errors in 11Q5, e.g. v. 2 ברוך יום instead of בכול יום, or the *aberratio oculi* in v. 18 קרוב יהוה וברוך שמו. Thus far no convincing explanation for this phenomenon has been offered; maybe the scribe was simply tired when he copied Psalm 145, or—as is the case in vv. 2 and 18—he was just confused by the refrain.

Additionally, there are several minor variants that Dahmen partly traces back to a pre-masoretic form of the text and partly explains them as Qumran-specific variants. The originality of the *nun*-line (11Q5 17:2–4), that is represented in 11QPs^a and in the versions (*Septuagint*, *Peshitta*) but—with one exception (Kenneticott 142)—not in the Masoretic Text (MT) remains an issue of debate. The phrasing of the second colon imitates v. 17 and instead of the Tetragrammaton (written in Paleo-Hebrew characters in 11Q5) the *nun*-line reads אלוהים. Reuven Kimelman adds: “Finally, its first colon is suspiciously like the peroration of the post-*haftarah* blessing that reads האל הנאמן בכל דבריו”.¹⁸ All this rather suggests that the line is secondary. Thus, the lack of the *nun* remains a riddle.¹⁹ The change from באמת into באמונה in v. 18 (11Q5 17:11) and the change from יראיו to אהביו in v. 20 (11Q5 17:14) are explained by Dahmen as being Qumran-specific. But it is also possible to explain the variants as secondary harmonizations with the context (see נאמן in v. 13ⁿ and יראיו in v. 19).

Be it as it may, the most prominent difference is found in the addition of the refrain יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם ועד that is repeated after each bicolon. The variants at the beginning and end of the Psalm are possibly linked to this refrain. The heading changes תהלה לדוד to תפלה לדוד and then there is the mysterious colophon זואת לזכרון

¹⁷ P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 113–114; U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum: Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran* (STDJ 49; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 196–203.

¹⁸ Kimelman, “Ashre,” 108. Here, he also mentions a text from the 18th century, “The Words of Gad the Seer,” which contains another *nun*-line against enemies.

¹⁹ The explanation that the acrostic is imperfect because the idea of human beings blessing the Lord is theologically inappropriate (see Kimelman, “Ashre,” 108) is certainly a nice one but hard to prove. Maybe the omission of the *nun*-line is meant to be just a marker for the following sequence of *mem-kaf-lamed*; or it is simply the case that some poets do fill the acrostic and some do not (Psalm 1).

that is only partly preserved and therefore difficult to interpret. The refrain interrupts the structure of the Psalm lined out above and simply follows the order of the alphabet. Thus, the hymn is transformed into a personal prayer that echoes the style of a liturgical litany. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Psalm 145 and the whole scroll were composed for liturgical purposes. An explanation as a literary composition for its own sake seems to me to be more likely.

The refrain is composed by using the two initial lines (vv. 1–2 ויברך כל בשר וְעַד (ואברכה שמך לעולם ועד) and the final one (v. 21 וְעַד (שם קדשו לעולם ועד). Here, the final וְעַד לעולם is omitted and replaced by the refrain—as is the case in some masoretic manuscripts which have a line from Ps 115:18 at the end of Psalm 145: וְאֵנַחְנוּ וְעַד עוֹלָם וְאֵנַחְנוּ וְעַד עוֹלָם.²⁰ Furthermore, like the Psalm as a whole, the refrain is close to the doxologies (ברוך יהוה) that mark the five books of the Psalter (Ps 41:14; 72:18–19; 89:53; 106:48; esp. 72:18–19: וְעַד עוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם ... וְעַד עוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם; cf. Neh 9:5). Thus, it seems to be hardly coincidence that the refrain is found not elsewhere than in Psalm 145. The new element stresses an idea that is present already in the Psalm itself: Whoever utters the refrain as part of the Psalm confirms and performs what the Psalm says (both, in the invitation to praise and in its performance) and the speaker itself becomes part of the universal praise of God and of his name. Here, we have the beginning of a chain of individual, variable Berakhot that we know well from later institutional prayer, though it is still a literary phenomenon.

The addition of the refrain—like several other variants in Psalm 145—clearly demonstrates that 11Q5 is dependent on the masoretic Psalter and represents a secondary composition. The question whether or not there is a direct literary dependency and in what direction this dependency might go was and still is much debated. However, on the basis of the comparison of the two versions of Psalm 145 and several other features one can state at least the following: due to the manifold similarities, an independent textual tradition can be excluded; furthermore, it is impossible to derive the masoretic Psalter from 11Q5.²¹ Thus, the text of Psalm 145 as represented in 11Q5 has to be

²⁰ Further literary references are listed in Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 196.

²¹ See Millard, *Komposition*, 223; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 308–309,

dependent on the masoretic version; we do not have two independent textual traditions here.

The same must be said of the position of the Psalm within the composition of 11Q5. As in the masoretic Psalter, Psalm 145 occupies a prominent role within the whole composition, which is, nevertheless, entirely different from the masoretic one. This change of structure, too, is part of the transformation of the Psalter on its way to later institutional Jewish prayer.

In 11Q5, Psalm 145 is placed very closely to Psalm 136 and follows it, only interrupted by the so-called Catena, i.e., a selection of verses from Psalm 118 that are added immediately following the end of Psalm 136 and connected by the common refrain, הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי לַעֲלֹם חֲסִדוֹ. טוב כִּי לַעֲלֹם חֲסִדוֹ. This placement goes hand in hand with the fact that Psalm 136 seems to be the example for the addition of the refrain in Psalm 145. Just as in Psalm 136, the formula הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה follows after each verse; here our refrain יהוה ברוך יהוה is added after each verse. A connection between the two Psalms is also to be found in vv. 8–9 of Psalm 145 (וּגְדַל חֲסִד טוֹב יְהוָה לְכָל). Obviously the addition of the refrain has something to do with the position of Psalm 145 within the composition of 11Q5 immediately following Psalm 136.

However, scholars debate whether Psalm 145 belongs together with Psalm 136 (plus Catena) or whether it opens a new section in which, then, Psalm 154 (= syr. Psalm II) follows.²² A blank line after Psalm 136 + Catena seems to speak for the second option. But we must take the arrangement of 11Q5 as a whole into account. It appears that the doxological formulae are again of crucial importance.²³ 11Q5 dissolves the order of the masoretic Psalter in Books four and five (the Todah-David-Hallelujah pattern) and replaces it by a different order. Here—at least in the first two sections (fr. A—col. 2 and cols. 2–17)—Todah- and Hallelujah-Psalms form the closure of a section. To create such a new order several Psalms were rearranged and transposed. This is especially apparent with Psalm 118 and the Psalms found at the end of the

313–315; M. Leuenberger, “Aufbau und Pragmatik des 11QPs^a-Psalter,” *RevQ* 22 (2005): 165–209, esp. 200–203.

²² On this question see Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 293–297, who oscillates between the two possibilities. On the question of the overall structure of 11Q5 see the discussion in Flint, *Psalms Scrolls*, 172–201; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 267–312; Leuenberger, “Aufbau.”

²³ Contra Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 276–278; Leuenberger, “Aufbau,” 181.

masoretic Psalter (145–150). The redactors employed already existing references between Todah and Hallelujah-Psalms (see e.g. the relationship between 104–105 and 146–149 or between 118 and 135–136) when putting this new order together.²⁴ In the case of Psalms 136 and 145 both texts were even harmonized stylistically.

A similar case is found at the beginning of the scroll in fragment E. The fragment was in the possession of the late Yigael Yadin and was published only after the edition of Sanders in *Textus* 1966, where a series of articles on Psalm 145 appeared.²⁵ Here too, at the transition from fragment E to the preserved first column, we find parts of Psalm 118 that together with Psalms 104 and 105 as well as with Psalms 146–148 form the closure of a first paragraph (fr. A–col. 2). The order of the Psalms is as follows: 118–104–147–105–146–148. This cluster is preceded by the Davidic Psalms 101–103 and 109 and perhaps by some parts from 110–117.

The second paragraph (cols. 2–17), which is of special interest for us, consists of a group of Psalms of pilgrimage or “ascents” (מעלות): 120–132 followed by Psalm 119 and a combination of Psalms 135–136 + Catena (Ps 118) and Psalm 145.²⁶ The third and fourth paragraphs (cols. 17–22 and 23–26) simply close with a Hallelujah (without Todah). In the third section, this Hallelujah is a secondary addition to Psalm 93, which is transposed here. In section four it is represented by Psalms 149 and 150 as well as by the apocryphal “Hymn to the Creator”.²⁷

²⁴ Psalms 100, 118 and 136 originally mark a closure in the (proto-) masoretic Psalter. In a later stage, however, they are used as the beginning of passages that conclude with Hallelujah. See Kratz, “Tora,” 297–98, 307–309; idem, “*Shema*.”

²⁵ Y. Yadin, “Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsa),” *Textus* 5 (1966): 1–11, Plates I–V. See also S. Talmon, “Pisqa Be’emsa’ Pasuq and 11QPsa,” *Textus* 5 (1966): 11–21; M. Goshen-Gottstein, “The Psalms Scroll (11QPsa): A Problem of Canon and Text,” *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33, esp. 30–31; Flint, *Psalms Scrolls*, 39, 174; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 25, on the alignment of the text *ibid.*, 68–72.

²⁶ The catch-word connections between Psalm 145 and 154 (syr. Psalm II), mentioned by Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 296, can also be understood when Psalm 145 marks a closure in 11Q5. The same holds true for the masoretic Psalter where Psalm 145 concludes the last group of Davidic Psalms (138–145) and—at the same time—has literary relations to the following Hallelujah-Psalms (146–150).

²⁷ The four sections are followed in col. [26–]27 by 2 Sam 23:1[–]7 and the “Compositions of David” with which the original end of the composition seems to be reached. Cols. 27–28 (Psalms of David) seem to be secondary additions.

How should we interpret this new structure? Since we cannot know whether 11Q5 commenced with fragments A–C (Psalm 101) or whether some other text preceded it, any interpretation of this new structure stands on shaky grounds. We also do not know whether Psalms 106–107 (the transition from book four to five of the masoretic Psalter) were deliberately left out or whether they were simply placed somewhere else. Without these Psalms, however, at least in the block Psalms 101–150, the division of the Psalter into five books by doxologies is lost. Instead, Psalms 101–150 are regarded as a unity, separated into four sections and in the prosaic conclusion counted as “Compositions of David” (col. 27 with appendix in [27–]28). Here we have the reason for the general conviction of a Davidization of the Psalter in 11Q5. The stress, however, is not on the political Messiah but on David as a composer of Psalms and as a pious and praying man.²⁸

Such a Davidization is, however, only one aspect of the new structure. The figure of David can and will teach the art of prayer. But it is not yet said what this art entails in detail. To discover this we have to pay attention to the thematic focal points that are connected with the figure of David. After the Davidic Psalms in the first section (101–102; 109) we find two themes: firstly, the pilgrimage to Zion in the second section that does not—as is the case in the masoretic Psalter—end at the Temple (133–134) but whose climax is the observance of Torah (119); secondly, the lament over the destruction of Zion as well as the plea for instruction (in regard to wisdom and Torah) that dominates section three and four. Here the apocryphal passages, which are crucial for the understanding of the over-all composition, increase.²⁹

This new focus perhaps also tells us something about the historical setting of the Scroll 11Q5. Here I am not convinced of the liturgical interpretation given by Shemaryahu Talmon and Moshe Goshen-Gottstein in *Textus* 1966, who explicitly refer to Psalm 145.³⁰ Rather,

²⁸ On this see Flint, *Psalms Scrolls*, 193–194; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 301, 313–318; Leuenberger, ‘Aufbau’, 194–197, 199–200.

²⁹ The thematic focus of the apocryphal sections is clearly Zion, Torah and Wisdom. These are the topics that have to guide our interpretation of the composition; contrast Leuenberger, ‘Aufbau’, 189.

³⁰ See n. 25; further B. Z. Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter 11Q Psalms^a,” *HUCA* 59 (1988): 23–72; S. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Essays* (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1989), 210–211; Kimelman, “Ashre,” 112–113; B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipmasn; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. 16–17; D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

the new focus was triggered by the special situation of the Qumran community, a community that had turned its back on the Temple of Jerusalem and focussed instead on Torah as the epitome of a sapiential life-style, and employed prayer as a cultic replacement. This becomes especially evident when we look at the transposition of Psalm 119 from the beginning to the end of the **מעלות**-Psalms (120–132) whereby Psalms 133–134 are left out at this point. In contrast to the masoretic Psalter, Torah in Psalm 119 is no longer the entry gate to the ascent to Jerusalem but is, according to 11Q5, the destination of such an ascent.

Both aspects, the Davidization as well as the negligence of the Temple cult in favour of wisdom, Torah and prayer, are already laid out in the masoretic Psalter and its fivefold doxological division as “Torah of David”. The new arrangement of the Psalms and the integration of additional (apocryphal) pieces in 11Q5, however, sharpen this tendency. The same is true for an additional aspect next to Davidization, and the stress on wisdom, Torah and prayer (as a replacement for the Temple cult), which we must not ignore. It is precisely this aspect that allows us to return to Psalm 145.

All four sections of 11Q5 end with hymns. Here, God is praised as king at least once in each section: Ps 146:10 (col. 2:4) in the first, Psalm 145 (cols. 16–17) in the second, Psalm 93 (col. 22:16) in the third and finally Ps 149:2 (cols. ([25–]26) in the fourth section. Already Psalm 103 (fr. C ii) at the beginning of the scroll, as far as it is preserved, mentions this theme. It is therefore impossible to argue that the topic of the kingdom of God has been marginalized in 11Q5 and was replaced by other thematic focal points.³¹ On the contrary: Psalm 145 as well as the combination of Psalms 135–136 + Catena and Psalm 145 occupy a central position within the framework of this composition. After the pilgrimage of the pious David to Zion (Psalms 120–132) and the purpose of such a pilgrimage, i.e., the keeping of Torah (Psalm 119), follow the Hallelujah (Psalm 135) and the Todah (Psalm 136) of the community as well as the Tefilah of the pious David. Here, David spells out the kingdom of God from *alef* to *taw* and speaks the Berakhot of the divine name. This second section and the combination of pilgrimage (**מעלות**), Torah and doxology in the kingdom of God appears to me to be the key with which the composition of 11Q5 (including the additions in sections three and four) can be unlocked.

³¹ Thus Leuenberger, “Aufbau,” 173, 182–183, 186–187, 201, 202–203.

CONCLUSION

ברוך יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם ועד: It is only a small step from this formula to the common opening phrases of a prayer (ברוך יהוה מלך (העולם)). This step is already hinted at in the older version of Psalm 145, which the masoretic text preserves.³² Both the structure of the individual Psalm as well as its position within the Psalter, a position that is determined by doxological formulae (Hallelujah, Todah and the four doxologies that divide the Psalter into five “books”), point towards such a development. Already the masoretic Psalter states that the person who keeps the Torah (Psalm 1) and praises the name of the Lord partakes in the kingdom of God. Temple and the ascent to Zion are also present in this version. Here, keeping of Torah (Psalm 119) serves as the entry gate to the Temple (Psalms 120–134) and at the same time to the kingdom of God (Psalm 145). The way to both is framed by the Todah as opening (Psalms 118 and 136) and the Hallelujah as closure (Psalms 135 and 146–150).

In 11Q5 both, the formulation as well as the position of Psalm 145, has been changed significantly. Both changes indicate a further step towards the development from biblical Psalm to a Jewish institutional prayer formula. The added refrain—following the style of Psalm 136—sums up the Psalm in the Berakhah of God and his name and thus creates the formulation that is very close to the later formula: ברוך יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם ועד. The different position of the Psalm next to Psalm 136 and parts of Psalm 118 brings together what was already connected in the masoretic text; it can be seen as the typical way of inner-biblical interpretation. In contrast to the masoretic text, the combination of Psalms 136, 118 and 145 now forms a climax of the pilgrimage to Zion (Psalms 120–132) that does not conclude first in the Temple but in the observance of Torah (Psalm 119). The praying person who follows the example of the pious David has every reason to intone the Hallelujah (Psalm 135) and the Todah (Psalm 136 + Catena). While doing so he already participates—together with David—in the kingdom of God (Psalm 145), even though Zion is still devastated and other adversities (listed in the two following sections in 11Q5) make life difficult for him. In both its formulation and its position within the literary frame of the masoretic Psalter and its variation in

³² See Kimelman, “Ashre;” idem, “Psalm 145.”

11Q5, Psalm 145, therefore, is the ideal example of a תפלה לדור and an archetype of Jewish institutional prayer.

However, whether Psalm 145 itself or the scroll 11Q5 as a whole was ever used for liturgical purposes at Qumran or somewhere else, is hard to say. Thus, it seems also impossible to decide on the basis of usage, the *Sitz im Leben* which we simply do not know, whether or not the Scroll 11Q5 in some way or the other is to be seen as “canonical”. What can be said is that the literary composition, which is made very carefully, has some sort of liturgy in mind and for those who created and transmitted the Scroll was as canonical as the (proto-)masoretic Psalter which is the literary source of the composition of 11Q5.

Composition of the Masoretic Psalter

I-V	ברוך יהוה 41:14; 72:18-19; 89:53; 106:48		
IV	לתודה 100	לדוד 101-103	הללו יה 104-106
V	הודו ליהוה 107	לדוד 108-110	הללו יה 111-117
	הודו ליהוה 118	(מעלות) 120-134 (119)	הללו יה 135
	הודו ליהוה 136	לדוד 138-145 (137)	הללו יה 146-150

Composition of 11Q5

I (Fr. A-col. 2) “David”		
Fr. A-C, D	101-103, 109	[לדוד 103: 19 מלכותו] [ממשלתו]
	?	
Fr. E-Col. 2	118	הודו ליהוה
	104	הללויה—לדוד
	147	[הללויה]—הללויה כי טוב
	105	[הללויה]—הודו ליהוה
	146	הללויה—[הללויה] את יהוה (ימלך יהוה 10 v.)
	148	[הללויה]—הללו יהוה
II (cols. 2-17) “Ascents” (מעלות)		
	120-132	שיר המעלות (לדוד)
	119	—(Torah)
	135	הללויה—הללו עבדי יהוה הללו את שם יהוה הללויה
	136+Catena (118)	הללויה—הודו ליהוה
	145	תהלת יהוה—תפלה לדוד ברוך יהוה (מלכות, מלך 11-13 v. 1)

(cont.)

III (cols. 17–22) Torah (Wisdom) and Zion		
154 (SyrPs II)	—(Wisdom, Torah;	מפאר עליון as offerings)
Plea for Deliverance	—(19: 7–9; להלל; ברוך יהוה; להודות)	
139	[לדוד מזמור]	
137	על נהרות בבבל (Zion)	
138	לדוד	
Sir 51:13ff	אני נער (Wisdom)	
Apostrophe to Zion	אזכירך לברכה ציון	
93	הללויה יהוה מלך	
IV (cols. 22–26) “David”		
141	[לדוד] (תפלה) as an offering)	
133	שיר המעלות לדוד (mountains of Zion)	
144	ברוך יהוה (om. לדוד)	
155 (SyrPs III)	יהוה קארתי אליכה (Torah)	
142–143	מזמור לדוד	
149–150	הללויה—הללו אל [שירו יהוה] (מלכם 149:2)	
Hymn of the Creator	גדול וקדוש יהוה (ברוך 26: 13 עושה)	
Epilogue “David”		
Last Words of	David (2Sam 23)	
Compositions of	David	
140	מזמור לדוד	
134	שיר המעלות הנה ברכו את [יהוה]	
151 A+B (SyrPs I)	הללויה לדוד בן ישי תהלת גב[ו]רה ל[דו]יד	

A NOTE ON LEV 26:41, 43; 4Q434 1 II 3 AND 4Q504 1-2 RECTO
5-6; AND 1QS 8:3 (PAR. 4Q259 2:12): ON HUMAN AGENCY IN
THE DIVINE ECONOMY AT QUMRAN

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Leviticus 26 uses enormously evocative images to illustrate the ways God expresses pleasure at Israel's obedience and displeasure with its rebellion. As a consequence it has a rich interpretive history in early Jewish and Christian literature, especially texts that reflect on the relationship between humanity and the God of Israel. The Dead Sea Scrolls are no exception in this regard. The scrolls feature something of Leviticus 26 over thirty times, including quotations, allusions and echoes. So it is hardly surprising that two of the very small number of liturgical or poetical scrolls that demonstrably rely upon Leviticus, 4Q434 (4QBarkhi Nafshi^a) and 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a), do so by borrowing rhetoric from chapter 26. Indeed, both texts deploy the very same language from Leviticus 26, language that is in turn almost exclusive in the Hebrew Bible to the chapter, the verb רצה (*qal*) with עון as its direct object (Lev 26:41, 43; cf. Isa 40:2).

Adding still more intrigue to this concatenation of circumstances, precisely this pairing of verb and direct object has from antiquity to the present offered something of a difficult choice for translators and interpreters: Does the pairing of verb and direct object mean that Israel accepts its iniquity or makes amends for it? Does Israel have agency vis-à-vis God in regard to its life in the covenant? I honor Eileen Schuller with this brief note showing how the two prayer texts from Qumran and a passage in the Community Rule deal with this ambiguity in intriguingly contrasting ways.

LEVITICUS 26:41, 43: TO ACCEPT OR MAKE AMENDS FOR INIQUITY?

Leviticus 26 is divisible into four clear parts: a summary of the essence of God's commandments to Israel (vv. 1-2), blessings (vv. 5-13), curses (vv. 14-39), and Israel's remorse and the restoration of the covenant

(vv. 40–45).¹ In the context of the latter section God announces to Israel that if its people confess their sin, if “their uncircumcised heart is humbled **וְאִזְ יִרְצוּ אֶת עֹנֵם**,” then God would remember the covenant (vv. 41–42); further, while they are absent from the land, **יִרְצוּ אֶת עֹנֵם**, the land would be restored by its Sabbath rest (v. 43).

The crux in the passage is the proper translation of the verb **רָצָה** in both verses. The meaning of the verbal root in the *qal* in the Hebrew Bible is, on one hand, “to accept” (**רָצָה** I).² A secondary meaning, though, is “to pay,” “to redeem,” or “to make amends” (**רָצָה** II).³ That assigning one or the other meanings to **רָצָה** in Lev 26:41, 43 posed difficulties from the outset is clear already from the versions. The LXX renders the **רָצָה** of v. 41 with *εὐδοκέω*, a word that reflects **רָצָה** I,⁴ while the occurrence of the verb in v. 43 is translated with *προσδέχομαι*, a more conventional equivalent for **רָצָה** I.⁵ Where extant for 26:41 and 43, Targums *Onqelos*, *Jonathan*, *Neofiti*, and *Pseudo-Jonathan* translate the verb with a close Aramaic equivalent, **רָעָה**, “to accept” (**רָצָה** I). By contrast, the Paris and Vatican fragments of *Targum Yerushalmi I*, preserving only v. 43, read the verb as **מָרַק**, “cleanse,” a verb conveying better the idea of **רָצָה** II. The Peshitta translates both occurrences with an equivalent of “to accept” (**רָצָה** I). The Vulgate, for its part, translates the verb in v. 41 with *orabunt*, “they pray,” and the occurrence in v. 43 with *rogabunt*, “they request,” or “they pray.” Confusion reigns.

Modern translations of the Masoretic text also reflect bewilderment. For example, the NAB, NRSV, NJPS, and NIV all embrace **רָצָה** II, rendering the verb as “to make amends,” or “to atone,” or “to pay.” By contrast, the KJV reads both occurrences as “to accept,” as does the NEB (**רָצָה** I). The NASB and Luther’s translation (1545) split the difference, reading, “And they then accept of the punishment of their

¹ J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday), 2272–2274.

² The *qal* of this version of the root occurs forty-two times in the Hebrew Bible, of which twenty-eight occurrences have God as the subject.

³ The *qal* of this version, with this meaning, is generally considered to appear only in Lev 26:41, 43 in the Hebrew Bible.

⁴ W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 461, describes *εὐδοκέω* in this instance as “metonymic for the causation notion: ‘to make acceptable, making satisfaction for.’”

⁵ *Ibid.*, 462.

iniquity,” and, “Und dann werden sie ihnen die Strafe ihrer Missetat gefallen lassen.”

Likewise, a sampling of modern commentators reveals a similar division of opinion, and not just between them, but also within their own assessments of the verb in Lev 26:41, 43. Evidencing the latter, Erhard Gerstenberger writes that this is the “relatively infrequent Hebrew verb (*rāṣâ* II),” and that it is “an unprecedented notion” that “human beings [can] diminish their guilt before God through their own power.” But then he qualifies his judgment and seems to lean toward reading the verb as רצה I by saying that while the clause “alludes to mutual dependence of action,” God will respond in particular “to confession of guilt and humility.”⁶ Noth and Snaith are not so equivocal, opting clearly for רצה II, while Kiuchi appears intent on sidestepping the issue, saying somewhat inexplicably that the “phrase conveys the idea that guilt is paid for by suffering,” an idea he describes as “new” within Leviticus.⁷ Rounding out this small sampling of contemporary commentators, Milgrom argues most forcefully for reading the verb as רצה I and emphasizing the passivity of Israel in relationship to God, being called on merely “to accept its punishment.”⁸

That one’s choice of meanings for רצה in this case is no small matter becomes clear if you consider the substantive difference between the two meanings for רצה in Lev 26:41, 43: the use of רצה I permits little or no agency for the human seeking restoration to God’s covenant, while רצה II endows the person with considerable power in the matter. It is no wonder that the translational and interpretive history of these two verses in Leviticus 26 is divided.

4Q434 1 II 3 AND 4Q504 1–2 RECTO 5–6: TO ACCEPT INIQUITY

For all of the uncertainty among ancient and modern translators regarding the meaning of רצה in Lev 26:41, 43, the covenanters of Qumran were rather more decisive in the matter, at least when they

⁶ E. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 430.

⁷ M. Noth, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 195, 200; N. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers* (London: Nelson, 1967), 173; N. Kiuchi, *Leviticus* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 2007), 485.

⁸ Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2333.

prayed. Our two prayer texts are best read—against the judgment of their editors—as adopting the intransitive meaning of רצה I.

Following the declamation to God that he has acted to deliver “them” (=Israel?) from their distress, 4Q Bless Oh My Soul^a (4Q434) 1 ii 3 reports that וירצו את עונם ואת עון אבותם ויכפרו במים. The *editio princeps* does not equivocate, translating the sentence, “And they will atone for their sins and the sins of their fathers and expiate (them) with water” (1 ii 3).⁹ But it is hardly certain that רצה must be translated with the transitive meaning that gives its subjects agency. The context is ambiguous at best. The following clause, ויכפרו במים, using a verb that more certainly assigns to its subjects agency in relating to God, resists giving much substance to that power: the subjects of the verb merely atone through washing (presumably). Indeed, if כפר is so weakened, it seems unlikely that the preceding רצה merits its strong, transitive sense in lieu of the more frequent intransitive meaning. Rather, רצה in this instance seems more likely to connote acceptance: “And they will *accept* their sins and the sins of their fathers and expiate (them) with water” (1 ii 3).

Similarly, another prayer text, 4QDibHam^a 1–2 recto vi 5–6, also deploys the phrase from Lev 26:41, 43 in such a way as to urge the translator to render the verb in its intransitive sense: רצינו את עוננו ואת עון אבותינו. In spite of Baillet’s translation in the *editio princeps* (“[N]ous avons expié notre iniquité et l’iniquité de nos pères”),¹⁰ the translation, “We accept our iniquities and the iniquities of our fathers,” seems more likely. Indeed, the sentiments in 1–2 recto vi 2–4 assign all agency to God, who “hurled all our rebellions from us, and purified us from our sins,” and who “has done all these things [for us].” Moreover, 1–2 recto vi 6 goes on to stress the largely passive role of Israel: “And we have not rejected your trials, nor has our spirit refused your chastising.” The spirit of the surrounding prayer material—which also richly echoes Leviticus 26—clearly portrays the human petitioners as passive recipients of God’s active discipline; in such a context רצה is best translated with the intransitive “to accept,” rather than the transitive, “to atone,” “to make amends for.”

⁹ M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, “4QBarkhi Nafshi,” in *Qumran Cave 4, XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 278–279.

¹⁰ M. Baillet, ed., “Paroles des Luminaires,” in *Qumran Grotte 4, Part III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 148–149.

1QS 8:3 (PAR. 4Q259 2:12): TO MAKE AMENDS FOR INIQUITY

The other use of this unusual pairing of רצה and עון from Lev 26:41, 43 in the scrolls appears not in a prayer text, but in the *Community Rule*. This well-known section in the *Rule* pertaining to the elect “Council of the Community” (8:1–10:8) begins by prescribing the activities of this group that, by its existence and activity, will signal the establishment of the *yahad* as an “eternal planting,” “a temple for Israel,” “a Holy of Holies for Aaron” (8:4–6): they will be blameless with regard to all that has been revealed from the Law (8:1–2a); they will deal with each other in truth, righteousness, justice, loving-kindness, and humility (8:2b); and they are to keep the faith with self-control and a broken spirit, *משפט עון בעושי משפט*, “and to atone for sin with deeds of justice” (8:3). Given the emphasis in this limited context on the active involvement of the Council of the Community in establishing a right relationship between God and Israel—and throughout the section as a whole (e.g., 8:9–10; 9:3–4)—there can be little doubt that רצה in this case is to be read in its transitive sense, “to make amends,” “to atone” (רצה II). While it may be the case that when praying, the *whole community only accepts its iniquity* (רצה I), when it comes to the elect of the community establishing it, *they atone for iniquity* (רצה II).

DRAWING SOME MODEST CONCLUSIONS

In 2001 Eileen Schuller, the honoree of this note, took up the question of how petitionary prayer could be found in the literature of a community marked deeply by a deterministic spirit. She observed that in general the prayers among the scrolls that we can identify as having been authored by the group conform to the deterministic theology of the group, and that the prayer and thanksgiving texts that are exceptions to this rule of thumb were “imports” to the Community, “traditional compositions that had been fashioned by the pious in days past.”¹¹ This note on the echo of *עונם את ירצו* from Lev 26:41, 43 in 4Q434 1 ii 3, 4Q504 1–2 recto 5–6, and 1QS 8:3 (par. 4Q259 2:12) offers small confirmation of that observation. But it also adds an interesting twist to the story, placing in still sharper relief the unique role of

¹¹ E. Schuller, “Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran,” in *Religion at Qumran* (ed. J. J. Collins and R. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 45.

the mysterious “Council of the Community” at Qumran: by describing this double-minded deployment of the rhetoric of Lev 26:41, 43 in the scrolls we are reminded of just how exceptional that group was among the Covenanters, possessing agency vis-à-vis God where few others did.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH
IN LIGHT OF ITS ALLUSIONS AND IMPLICIT QUOTATIONS
IN THE QUMRAN HODAYOT

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The Dead Sea Scrolls are Eileen Schuller's lifetime passion. In this corpus, questions of poetry and prayer as well as of the role of women are of special interest to her. Eileen is responsible for the editions of several key manuscripts such as 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A–B (4Q380–381),¹ 4QHodayot^{a–f} (4Q427–432),² 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a–c} (4Q371–373),³ and recently the revised *editio princeps* of 1QH^a.⁴ Since the early years of *Hodayot* studies, scholars have been well aware that the *Hodayot* are rich in allusions to Jewish scriptures.⁵ Such scriptural

¹ E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSM 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); idem, *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 75–172.

² E. Schuller, “4QHodayot and 4QHodayot-Like Texts, 4Q427–432, 433, 433a, 440,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 68–254; cf., idem, “The Cave Four Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 137–50; idem, “The Cave Four Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description,” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Munster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 87–102; idem, “A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b (4Q428 7),” *RevQ* 16 (1995): 517–532; idem, “A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 651–674.

³ E. Schuller, “371–373. 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a–c},” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (ed. Moshe Bernstein et al.; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 151–199 (together with M. Bernstein); cf. idem, “A Preliminary Study of 4Q373 and Some Related (?) Fragments,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:516–530; idem, “The Psalm of Joseph within the Context of Second Temple Prayer,” *CBQ* 54 (1992): 67–79; idem, “4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 349–376.

⁴ H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{a–f} and 1QHodayot^b* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009).

⁵ See esp. J. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament, et spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur, dans les Hymnes de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 357–394;

allusions can even provide the foundation on which a given *hodayah* is built.⁶ While the identification of allusions in the *Hodayot* is well advanced,⁷ their text-critical analysis began only recently. In a series of articles, Elwolde studies the text-critical importance of allusions to various Psalms in the *Hodayot*.⁸ In my contribution to Eileen's Festschrift, I would like to do the same for the allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*. For this purpose, I will first list all allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*. Afterwards I will discuss the individual Jeremiah allusions in the *Hodayot* text-critically and then draw some conclusions. I am not interested though, in this study, in the interpretative history of Jeremiah as reflected by the intertextual relations of the *Hodayot* with the Book of Jeremiah.

1. ALLUSIONS TO AND IMPLICIT QUOTATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH IN THE *HODAYOT*⁹

The allusions to Jeremiah in the *Hodayot* discussed below were identified as part of a research project at the Vienna University's Institute for Jewish Studies entitled "Ancient Jewish Quotations and Allusions," which is supported by a grant of the *Jubiläumsfonds* of the Austrian

S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960).

⁶ See, e.g., recently J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), esp. 81–82, and G. J. Brooke, "Hypertextuality and the 'Parabiblical' Dead Sea Scrolls," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P. S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 57–62.

⁷ See esp. the works of Carmignac and Holm-Nielsen quoted in note 5.

⁸ J. Elwolde, "The Hodayot's Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 1)," in *Psalms and Prayers: Paper Read at the [Thirteenth] Joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland and België, Apeldoorn [21–24] August 2006* (ed. B. Becking and E. Peels; OTS 55; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–108; idem, "The Hodayot's Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 2: Pss 42–72)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold; 2 vols.; VTSup 140.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1:79–99; idem, "The Hodayot's Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 3: Pss 73–89)," *DSD* 17 (2010): 159–179.

⁹ The manuscript 1QH^a is quoted below according to the edition of Stegemann and Schuller (see note 4).

National Bank.¹⁰ For the identification of quotations and allusions, Matthias Weigold and I employed the new search capabilities of Oak-tree's Accordance software. Our work is also based on earlier but incomplete indexes and lists of quotations and allusions such as the ones by Carmignac and Maier.¹¹ In addition, we searched the volumes of the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert for quotations and allusions mentioned in their editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In previous publications, textual dependencies between two texts were construed based on verbal parallels between those texts ignoring the possibility of formulaic or idiomatic rhetoric, but in our search for quotations and allusions we disregarded such formulaic and idiomatic language.

In general, we must distinguish between an explicit and an implicit use of Jewish scriptures.¹² Explicit uses disclose the text they refer to or employ. Such explicit uses of Jewish Scriptures include the explicit quotation identified with a quotation formula or another marked reference, the explicit reference without a quotation, the explicit allusion, and the continuous commentary on a given book of Jewish scripture (e.g. to the commentary in selected psalms in the *Midrash on Eschatology*).¹³ This means, explicit uses of the Jewish scriptures

¹⁰ For more information, see www.univie.ac.at/judaistik/Forschungsprojekte.htm. A complete list of all quotations and allusions in Second Temple Jewish literature to biblical books will be published in A. Lange and M. Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, forthcoming).

¹¹ For the identification of implicit quotations of and allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot* the following lists were employed: Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 357–394; J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol 3: Einführung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie* (UTBW 1916; 3 vols.; Munich: Reinhardt, 1996), 161–182. The list of J. C. VanderKam and P. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 427–433, was employed elsewhere in our work but does not include any quotations of or allusions to the Book of Jeremiah.

¹² For the distinction between implicit and explicit uses of scriptures see D. Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 379–419. The below system of implicit and explicit uses of scriptures is guided by the approach of Dimant but modifies it at several places. A more detailed discussion of Dimant's system and other approaches to intertextual relations between Second Temple Jewish texts and the Jewish Scriptures can be found in Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions*.

¹³ See e.g. the heading of a commentary on selected quotations from the Psalter in 4QMidrEschat^a (4Q174) 3:14: מדרש מאשרי [ה]איש אשר לוא הלך בעצת רשעים ("Interpretation of 'Happy is [the] man who does [...] מדרש סרי מדרש'")

range from textual references without a quotation or allusion to the metatextuality¹⁴ of a continuous commentary. Implicit uses of the Jewish scriptures include the implicit quotation, the implicit allusion, and the paratextual rewriting or expansion of a given text among the Jewish Scriptures¹⁵ and exhibit thus a similar range of possibilities as explicit uses do. Beyond the explicit and implicit employment of Jewish scriptures the use of formulaic and idiomatic language coined by these scriptures can be observed. The implicit or explicit use of a given book among the Jewish scriptures does not reflect a higher or lower authority of the employed text, as a given text can be employed in both ways by the same literary work. We recognize any parallel of at least three words to another text as an implicit allusion.¹⁶ Only in exceptional cases do we recognize a parallel of only two words. An explicit allusion is characterized by a reference to a given text or a quotation formula along with a paraphrase of or a keyword or theme from that given text.¹⁷ An implicit quotation is any uninterrupted verbal parallel of at least four words that does not alter the quoted text but is not introduced by a quotation formula or otherwise explicitly identified.¹⁸ An explicit quotation is any verbal parallel of at least two words which

not walk in the council of the sinners' The interpretation of the wor[d] is: [The]y are those who digress from the way;" quoted according to A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* [STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994], 25).

¹⁴ For the phenomenon of metatextuality in ancient Jewish literature, see A. Lange and Z. Pleše, "Derveni—Alexandria—Qumran: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Jewish and Greek Culture," in *Palimpsests Two: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (ed. S. H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming); idem, "The Qumran Pesharim and the Derveni Papyrus: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Ancient Jewish and Ancient Greek Commentaries," in A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context*, forthcoming.

¹⁵ Examples include the rewritings of the Pentateuch in the Qumran *Temple Scroll* or the *Book of Jubilees* as well as the expansion of the references to Levi in the Pentateuch and the Book of Malachi in the *Aramaic Levi Document*. For the phenomenon of paratextuality, see A. Lange, "In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (eds. P. S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill), 3–40, and the literature discussed there.

¹⁶ For examples of implicit allusions, see below, pp. 259–282.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. the explicit allusion to Num 15:30–31 in 4QMMT B 70: כרת[ת] זב שהואה ("it is written, that he is a despiser and a blasphemer").

¹⁸ For examples of implicit quotations, see below, pp. 271–273.

is explicitly identified by a quotation formula or other means.¹⁹ A reference is characterized by the explicit referral to a given literary work without specifically employing it.²⁰ These definitions are of course subsequent to the ancient literary reality and thus artificial in nature. They should hence be regarded as rules of thumb to which ancient Jewish literature will always provide exceptions. Furthermore, the various types of intertextual employment could be mixed in ancient Jewish literature. An example of such a hybrid form is the referenced explicit quotation.²¹

In the *Hodayot*, only allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah can be found. Whether the *Hodayot* refer to a given part of the Book of Jeremiah by way of allusion or more rarely by way of implicit quotation is motivated solely by the textual and rhetoric needs of the quoting or alluding *hodayah*.

The following examples may illustrate my approach in identifying allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah.²²

A good example is the expression **לב המה** in Jer 4:19 and 48:36 on the one hand and in 1QH^a 13:33; 15:8; and 22:32 on the other hand. Carmignac takes the occurrences in the *Hodayot* as allusions to the Book of Jeremiah.²³ The verb **המה** is a prominent word that occurs thirteen times in the *Hodayot* alone, and is well known from other Jewish texts as well.²⁴ In addition, **לב** is one of the most common words in ancient Hebrew. Although the expression **לב המה** can

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. the explicit quotation of Num 24:17 in CD A 7:19–20: **כאשר כתוב דרך** ("as is written: 'as star came out of Jacob and a scepter rose out of Israel'").

²⁰ Cf. e.g. 4QMMT C 20–21: **ואנחנו מכרים שבאנו מקצת הברכות והקללות שכתוב** ("and we recognize, that some of the blessings and the curses came already to be as it is written in the B[ook of Mo]ses").

²¹ Cf. e.g. the explicit referenced quotation of Ps 82:1 in 11QMelch 2:9–10: **כאשר כתוב עליו בשירי דויד אשר אמר אלוהים** ("as it is written in the songs of David, who said: 'God stands in the council of God, in the middle of the gods he will judge'").

²² Supposed allusions to Jeremiah mentioned in the lists of Carmignac, Holm-Nielsen, and Maier (see notes 5 and 11), will only be discussed below if they meet the criteria explained in the following. For reasons of space, I will not argue individually for each reference why I do not classify it as an allusion to the Book of Jeremiah.

²³ Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 127, 356.

²⁴ Cf. D. J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (8 vols.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-), 2:565–566.

only be found in Jer 4:19; 48:36 and in 1QH^a 13:33; 15:8; 22:32, in the *Hodayot* the shared metaphor of a roaring heart cannot be regarded with any degree of certainty as an allusion to either Jer 4:19 or 48:36. The words *המה* and *לב* are so common in Hebrew that both the Book of Jeremiah and the *Hodayot* could have coined this metaphor independent of each other.

Similarly, Carmignac suggests that the word pair *ששון* and *שמחה* in 1QH^a 17:24 refers to Jer 15:16.²⁵ However, against Carmignac, it must be emphasized that in addition to Jer 15:16 and 1QH^a 17:24 *this* word pair occurs also in Isa 22:13; 35:10; 51:3, 11; Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11; Zech 8:19; Ps 51:10; Esth 8:16, 17; and Sir 15:6; 34:28. The allusion proposed by Carmignac is hence unlikely.

Carmignac and Hughes, furthermore, want to understand the phrase *מזמת לב* in 1QH^a 12:22; 18:3 as an allusion to either Jer 23:20 or 30:24.²⁶ While the exact idiom *occurs* only in these four references, a plural version is *also* attested in 11QMelch 3:8 (*במזמ[ו]ת בלבם*). Hence it seems more likely that the phrase was a common expression in ancient Hebrew. Again an allusion is unlikely.

Sometimes even long phrases that run parallel in two texts should not be regarded as allusions. A good example is the phrase *ולא רצו לא הלכו את כול אשר צויתה להם צויתה* in Jer 32(39):23, Carmignac regards this phrase as an allusion to the Book of Jeremiah.²⁷ Both phrases point to slightly varied uses of the idiom *בל אשר צוה*, which is common in deuteronomistic rhetoric (cf. e.g. Deut 1:3, 41; 2:37; 18:18; 26:14; Josh 1:16; 8:35 etc.). Its use in 1QH^a 7:31–32 and Jer 32(39):23 should hence not be explained by way of a dependency.²⁸

In rare cases even a parallel of two rare and one common word can mark an allusion in one text to another. Based on the occurrence of *רבים*, *דיגים*, and *צידיים* in both 1QH^a 13:10 par. 4QH^c (4Q429) 1 i 2 and Jer 16:16, Carmignac regards 1QH^a 13:10 as an allusion to Jer 16:16.²⁹ The two words *דיג* and *ציד* are paired only in these two references.

²⁵ Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 368.

²⁶ Ibid.; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 113 with n. 194.

²⁷ Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369.

²⁸ Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 77 n. 62.

²⁹ Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 97, 356.

While this observation alone would not provide enough evidence for a textual dependency, diachronic linguistics confirm Carmignac's understanding of the evidence. The word **דיג** is attested only one more time in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature, i.e. in Isa 19:8, and it does not occur in Rabbinic literature. Spelled as **דיג**, the lexeme occurs also in Ezek 47:10. It seems as if the noun **דיג/דוג** went out of use some time in the Second Temple period. This possibility might be confirmed by 1QIsa^a 15:11, which reads a participle of the verb **דיג** ("to fish"), i.e. **הדגים** instead of MT's **הדיגים** (cf. 4QIsa^b [4Q56]). The scribe of 1QIsa^a or its *Vorlage* was so unacquainted with the noun **דיג** that he changed the nominal form **הדיגים** to the participle **הדגים**.

In addition to 1QH^a 13:10 par. 4QH^c (4Q429) 1 i 2 and Jer 16:16, **ציד** might also occur in Prov 6:5.³⁰ The noun is furthermore found on one of the famous "lot" ostraca from Masada (Mas 440)³¹ and is also known from rabbinic literature.³² Hence **ציד** is a term that was used in late Second Temple and Rabbinic literature as well as in earlier Hebrew texts. The word **דיג**, on the other hand, is known only from earlier material and was no longer used in the second half of the Second Temple period. The fact that **דיג** went out of use in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period confirms Carmignac's interpretation of the word-pair **דיג** and **ציד** in 1QH^a 13:10 par. 4QH^c (4Q429) 1 i 2 as an allusion to Jer 16:16. Such an allusion becomes even more likely since both Jer 16:16 and 1QH^a 13:10 speak of **דיגים רבים**.

Applying the criteria outlined above, in our research project, Matthias Weigold and I have identified the following allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah in all *Hodayot* manuscripts.

³⁰ See e.g. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)* (2nd ed.; BKAT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 61, and *BHS*, *loc. cit.*

³¹ See Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions," in *Masada I: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports* (ed. Y. Yadin, J. Naveh, and Y. Meshorer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), 29 and plate 25.

³² See, e.g., M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York, 1943; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005), 1276.

Table 1. Two Implicit Quotations of the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*

Sequence according to Jeremiah MT	Sequence according to <i>Hodayot</i>
Jer 14:22 in 1QH ^a 8:27 Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH ^a 8:26	1QH ^a 8:26 par Jer 32(39):19 1QH ^a 8:27 par Jer 14:22

Table 2. Twenty One Certain Allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*

Sequence according to Jeremiah MT	Sequence according to <i>Hodayot</i>
Jer 1:5 in 1QH ^a 7:28 Jer 1:5 1QH ^a 7:30 Jer 1:5 in 1QH ^a 17:30 Jer 10:12 (par 51[28]:15) in 1QH ^a 9:15–16 Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 in 1QH ^a 10:18 Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 in 1QH ^a 10:29 Jer 10:23 in 1QH ^a 7:25–26 Jer 10:23 in 1QH ^a 7:34 Jer 10:23 in 1QH ^a 12:31–32 Jer 12:3 in 1QH ^a 7:30 Jer 13:21 in 1QH ^a 11:8 Jer 16:16 in 1QH ^a 13:10 (4QH ^c 1 i 2) Jer 17:6 in 1QH ^a 16:25 Jer 17:8 in 1QH ^a 16:8 Jer 17:8 in 1QH ^a 16:11 Jer 18:22 in 1QH ^a 10:31 Jer 20:9 in 1QH ^a 16:31 Jer 31(38):11 in 1QH ^a 10:37 Jer 31:36(38:37) in 1QH ^a 4:26 Jer 38(45):22 in 1QH ^a 15:5 Jer 51(28):55 in 1QH ^a 10:29	1QH ^a 4:26 par Jer 31:36(38:37) 1QH ^a 7:25–26 par Jer 10:23 1QH ^a 7:28 par Jer 1:5 1QH ^a 7:30 par Jer 1:5 1QH ^a 7:30 par Jer 12:3 1QH ^a 7:34 par Jer 10:23 1QH ^a 9:15–16 par Jer 10:12 (par 51[28]:15) 1QH ^a 10:18 par Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 1QH ^a 10:29 par Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 1QH ^a 10:29 par Jer 51(28):55 1QH ^a 10:31 par Jer 18:22 1QH ^a 10:37 par Jer 31(38):11 1QH ^a 11:8 par Jer 13:21 1QH ^a 12:31–32 par Jer 10:23 1QH ^a 13:10 (4QH ^c 1 i 2) par Jer 16:16 in 1QH ^a 15:5 par Jer 38(45):22 1QH ^a 16:8 par Jer 17:8 1QH ^a 16:11 par Jer 17:8 1QH ^a 16:25 par Jer 17:6 1QH ^a 16:31 par Jer 20:9 1QH ^a 17:30 par Jer 1:5

Table 3. One Possible Allusion to the Book Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*

Sequence according to Jeremiah MT	Sequence according to <i>Hodayot</i>
Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH ^a 9:7	1QH ^a 9:7 par Jer 32(39):19

With a total of 23 or 24 implicit quotations of and allusions to the Book of Jeremiah, no other text from the Second Temple period refers more often to the Book of Jeremiah than the *Hodayot*. This quantity alone marks the importance of the *Hodayot* for the reception and textual transmission of the Book of Jeremiah in late Second Temple Judaism. The above list furthermore shows that three times the *Hodayot* employed Jeremiah allusions in clusters, i.e. in the songs 1QH^a 7:21–8:41; 1QH^a 10:22–32; and 1QH^a 16:5–17:36. In the following, I will therefore first discuss those allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot* that are relatively isolated. Afterwards I will turn to the three songs that combine various Jeremiah allusions and implicit quotations to intricate intertextual webs.

1.1 *Isolated Allusions to and Implicit Quotations of Jeremiah in the Hodayot*³³

Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15 in 1QH^a 9:15–16

אתה בראתה ארץ (ב) בכוחכה 16 ימים ותהומות עֲשִׂיתָה בעוזכה ומח
שְׁבִייהם הכינותה בחוכמתכה וכל אשר במ 17 תכ[נ]תָה לרצונכ[ה]

You created **the earth with your strength**, the seas and the deeps **you made** with your might and their plans **you established with your wisdom** and everything which is in them you ordained according to your will (1QH^a 9:15–17)

עֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ בְּכֹחוֹ מִכִּי תִבְלַ בְּחִכְמָתוֹ וּבְתַבּוּנָתוֹ נָטָה שְׁמַיִם

It is he who **made the earth with his strength**, who **established** the world **with his wisdom**, and who with his understanding stretched out the heavens (Jer 10:12 par 51[28]:15)

The combination of עשה, ארץ, כוח, כון, and חכמה is unique in 1QH^a 9:15–16; 11QPs^a (11Q5) 26:13–14; Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15, and establishes an intertextual relationship between the four references. 11QPs^a 26:13–14 represents an implicit quotation of Jer 10:12 according to a non-aligned Jeremiah text.³⁴ The wording of 1QH^a 9:15–16 would allow for both an allusion to 11QPs^a 26:13–14 and Jer 10:12 or 51(28):15.

³³ If not noted otherwise, all translations of the *Hodayot* and Jeremiah texts are my own. Allusions to Jeremiah are printed in bold both in the Jeremiah text and in the *Hodayot* text. Reconstructed text of an allusion is not in bold.

³⁴ Cf. A. Lange, *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (vol. 1 of *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 316–317.

That the *Hodayot* refer frequently to the Book of Jeremiah makes the allusion in 1QH^a 9:15–16 to either Jer 10:12 or 51(28):15 more likely. The fact that 1QH^a 9:15–16 places עשה at a different position than Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15 and adds two more cola to the verse while deleting the last colon of Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15 demonstrates that the *Hodayot* employ the rhetoric of Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15 freely at this place.³⁵ Textual differences between the *Hodayot* and Jer 10:12 par 51(28):15 are thus due to the textflow of the *Hodayot* and are of no textcritical significance.

Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 in 1QH^a 10:18

[וכול] אֲנָשֵׁי רְמִיָּה עָלַי יְהִמוּ כְּקוֹל הַמּוֹן מַיִם רַבִּים

And all men of deceit roar against me like the **voice** of **roaring** mighty **waters** (1QH^a 10:18)

לְקוֹל תִּתְּנוּ הַמּוֹן מַיִם בְּשָׁמַיִם

When he utters his **voice**³⁶—**roaring** waters in the heavens (Jer 10:13 par 51[28]:16)

The phrase *המוֹן מַיִם* occurs several times in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period (see 1QH^a 11:15 par 4QH^d [4Q432] 5 1; 1QH^a 11:17; 11QPs^a [11Q5] 26:10). Furthermore, the metaphor of roaring waters is such an obvious choice that several authors could have come up with it independently. But in combination with קול the metaphor *המוֹן מַיִם* occurs only in Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 on the one hand and 1QH^a 10:18 as well as 1QH^a 10:29 on the other hand (for 1QH^a 10:29 see below, page 27). It is therefore likely that the combination of these three words points to an intertextual relationship between the *Hodayot* and the Book of Jeremiah.³⁷ It should be noted that the intertextual web of 1QH^a 10:18 is even wider than what has so far been observed. The combination *המוֹן מַיִם רַבִּים* occurs only in 1QH^a 10:18, 29 and 11QPs^a (11Q5) 26:10 (*Hymn to the Creator*). Therefore it seems possible that 1QH^a 10:18 employs the rhetoric of the *Hymn to the Creator* as well (see below, pp. 273–274).

³⁵ Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 72, 78.

³⁶ For the translation and explanation of this grammatically difficult phrase, see J. R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21A; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 595, 597.

³⁷ For the allusion to Jer 10:13 in 1QH^a 10:18, cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 39, 356; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 204.

The author(s) of the *Hodayot* are responsible for the textual differences between the text of Jer-MT and 1QH^a 10:18; in other words, the *Hodayot* change the MT text to which they allude. 1QH^a 10:18 changes the sense of Jer 10:13 par 51:16 dramatically. In contrast to the Book of Jeremiah, in the *Hodayot* it is not God whose voice is compared with the roaring waters of the heavens. Instead, the *Hodayot* compare the voice of the Pharisaic Seekers of Smooth Things³⁸ (1QH^a 10:17) with the voice of the roaring waters of chaos to express the destructive potential of the Pharisees. The example shows that the *Hodayot* employ the language of Jeremiah, but not necessarily to evoke the meaning of the Jeremiah-reference(s) in question. It is due to its comparative interest that 1QH^a 10:18 speaks of כקול instead of the לקול from Jer-MT and 4QJer^a. Depending on whether 1QH^a 10:18 employs Jer 10:13 or 51:16, the allusion could be in disagreement with the Jer-LXX. In Jer 10:13, Jer-LXX has no equivalent for the לקול תתו of Jer-MT and 4QJer^a, while in Jer 51(28):16 Jer-LXX reads εἰς φωνὴν ἔθετο for לקול תתו.

Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 plays also a central role in 1QH^a 10:22–32 (see below). Both 1QH^a 10:18 and 29 create similar intertextual webs between Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 and 11QPs^a (11Q5) 26:10. This observation points to the possibility that the song in which the allusion of 1QH^a 10:18 to Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 occurs (1QH^a 10:5–21) was composed by the same author as was 1QH^a 10:22–32.³⁹ As these two *hodayot* are songs of the Teacher,⁴⁰ the comparable intertextualities in 1QH^a 10:5–21 and 1QH^a 10:22–32 confirm once again that the *Hodayot* contain a group of songs that were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness.⁴¹ The prominent role of Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 in 1QH^a 10:22–32 could have been the reason why the scribe of 1QH^a or the scribe of its *Vorlage* grouped these two *hodayot* together.

³⁸ For the identity of the Seekers of Smooth Things, see e.g. L. H. Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees in Peshar Nahum," in *Minḥah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Z. Brettler and M. Fischbane; JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 272–290; idem, *Qumran and Jerusalem* (Studies in Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 321–364.

³⁹ For the demarcation of the two *hodayot* in 1QH^a 10:5–21 and 1QH^a 10:22–32, see Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 134.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündebegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 53–54.

⁴¹ This hypothesis was first developed by G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 168–267.

Jer 10:23 in 1QH^a 12:31–32

ואני ידעתי כי לֵא לאנוש צדקה ולֵא לבן אדם תום 32 דרך

And I know that no man owns righteousness and that no son of a human owns perfection 32 of way (1QH^a 12:31–32)

יְדַעְתִּי יְהוָה כִּי לֹא לְאָדָם דְּרָכּוֹ לֹא לְאִישׁ הַלֵּךְ וְהָכִין אֶת־צִעְדּוֹ:

I know, Lord, that a human does not own his way—not a walking person—to direct his step (Jer 10:23)

Jer 10:23 and 1QH^a 12:31–32 share the use of five words that are rather common in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period. Because these five words are scattered over two lines in 1QH^a 12:31–32, an allusion to Jer 10:23 is far from certain.⁴² What argues for such an allusion is that ידע, כי, לֵא, אדם, and דרך can only be found in 1QH^a 12:31–32 and Jer 10:23. As the *Hodayot* employ Jer 10:23 prominently in 1QH^a 7:25–26, 34,⁴³ an allusion to Jer 10:23 in 1QH^a 12:31–32 becomes likely.⁴⁴ While Jeremiah 10:23 emphasizes that God predestined human actions and that humans can therefore not determine their own fate, 1QH^a 12:31–32 uses the rhetoric of Jer 10:23 to stress another principal difference between humans and God. Neither righteousness nor perfection of way belongs to humans. Most textual differences between Jer 10:23 and 1QH^a 12:31–32 can be explained in light of this difference in subject matter. To emphasize the impossibility of human righteousness and perfection, 1QH^a 12:31–32 inserts לֵא לאנוש צדקה ו תום into the text of Jer 10:23. This insertion caused also the use of לבן in 1QH^a 12:31 instead of לֵא in Jer 10:23. Given the free use of Jer 10:23 in 1QH^a 12:31–32, these as well as other textual differences between the two texts cannot be regarded as textual variants. The only exception to that rule is לֵא instead of לֵא without the copula as in most masoretic manuscripts of Jer 10:23. Jer-LXX renders οὐδὲ and reads thus with 1QH^a 12:31. Jer-LXX is supported in this reading by the masoretic manuscripts Kennicott 30 and 150. That 1QH^a 12:31 did not insert the copula into its text but derives it from its Jeremiah-

⁴² For this allusion, see Cargmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172.

⁴³ See below, pp. 267–269.

⁴⁴ Contra Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 117, 124, who thinks that 1QH^a 12:31–32 depend on 1QH^a 7:25–26.

Vorlage is confirmed by the same reading in an allusion to Jer 10:23 in 1QH^a 7:26. Therefore 1QH^a 7:26, mss Kennicott 30 and 150 as well as Jer-LXX identify לויא as an old reading evident both in masoretic manuscripts and in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Jer-LXX. In reading לוֹא, the main stream of the Massoretic textual tradition of Jer 10:23 suffers from textual corruption.⁴⁵

Jer 13:21 in 1QH^a 11:8

וְאֶהְיֶה בְצוּקָה כְּמוֹ אִשְׁתַּ לְדָה מִבְּכָרֶיהָ

And I was in distress **like a woman giving birth**, to her first born sons (1QH^a 11:8)

הֲלוֹא תִבְלִים יִאֲחֹזְדוּ כְּמוֹ אִשְׁתַּ לְדָה:

Will not labor pains take hold of you **like a woman giving birth** (Jer 13:21)

In 1QH^a 11:8, the *Hodayot* borrow the rhetoric of Jer 13:21⁴⁶ to compare the sufferings of the Teacher of Righteousness⁴⁷ with a woman who delivers a baby. The phrase כמו אשת לדה occurs in exactly the same phrasing in Jer 13:21 to compare the suffering of Jerusalem during its conquest by Babylon with the labor pains of a woman. While the metaphor as such could have been developed by both the Book of Jeremiah and the *Hodayot* independently, לדה occurs in the Hebrew literature from the Second Temple period only in Jer 13:21 and 1QH^a 11:8. Furthermore the comparative particle כמו is relatively rare in the *Hodayot*. In all extant *Hodayot* manuscripts it occurs only nine times. The phrase כמו אשת לדה in 1QH^a 11:8 should therefore be regarded as a verbal allusion to Jer 13:21. Text-critically, this allusion is of little use though, since no textual differences for this phrase exist in the textual witnesses of Jeremiah.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah Chapters 1–25* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 338, and P. C. Craigie, P. H. Kelley, and J. F. Drinkard, *Jeremiah 1–25* (WBC 26; Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 162.

⁴⁶ For this allusion, see Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 60, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172.

⁴⁷ For 1QH^a 11:6–19 as a teacher’s song, see Becker, *Heil*, 53–54.

Jer 16:16 in 1QH^a 13:10 par. 4QH^c (4Q429) 1 i 2

ותשמני 10 במגור עם דיגים רבים פורשי מכמרת על פני מים וצידים
לבני עולה⁴⁸

You put me ¹⁰ in a place among **many fishermen** who are spreading a net over the surface of the water and (among) **hunters** of the sons of iniquity (1QH^a 13:10)

הנני שלח לדוגים רבים נאם יהוה ודיגים ואחר־יכן אשלח לרבים צידים
וצדום מעל כל־הר ומעל כל־גבעה ומנקיקי הסלעים:

Lo, I send for **many fishermen**, utterance of the LORD, and they shall fish them; and afterwards I will send for many **hunters**, and they shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the rocks. (Jer 16:16)

As has been argued above (see pp. 257–258), the pairing of the rare words דיג and ציד in 1QH^a 13:10 par. 4QH^c (4Q429) 1 i 2 indicates an allusion to Jer 16:16. While the text of this allusion to Jer 16:16 is brief, and while most textual differences go back to the *Hodayot* themselves, it is nevertheless of text-critical interest. Most masoretic manuscripts read a Kethib of דוגים instead of the דיגים found in the *Hodayot*. But their Qere, with the *Hodayot*, reads דיגים. The Qere reading is confirmed by several Genizah manuscripts as well as the Kennicot manuscripts 30, 93, and 96. This means that in their allusion to Jer 16:16, the *Hodayot* preserve an ancient semi- or proto-Masoretic reading⁴⁹ that was corrupted later on in part of the Masoretic textual tradition of Jeremiah due to a *waw-yod* interchange.

Jer 31:36(38:37) in 1QH^a 4:26

[תה לעבדיך באמונה [ל]היות זרעם לפניך כול הימים

For those who serve you with loyalty [so that] **their offspring is before** you **all days** (1QH^a 4:26)

גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי לפני כל־הימים

then also the **offspring** of Israel would cease **to be** a nation **before** me **all days** (Jer 31:36)

⁴⁸ Text that is also preserved in 4QHc (4Q429) 1 i 2 is underlined.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (HAT 12; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1947), 94 without reference to the *Hodayot*; contra Craigie, Kelley, and Drinkard, *Jeremiah* 1–25, 214.

The fact that 1QH^a 4:26 shares five parallel words with Jer 31:36 argues for an allusion to the latter in the *Hodayot*.⁵⁰ Among the preserved pre-rabbinic textual witnesses to Jer 31:36, no textual variation is preserved for these words. The textual differences between Jer 31:36 and 1QH^a 4:26 are due to the text-flow of the *Hodayot* and do not preserve non-aligned variants. 1QH^a 4:26 does not include the words **ישבתו** and **גוי** from Jer 31:36. 1QH^a 4:26 speaks of **זרעם** instead of the **זרע** **ישראל** in Jer 31:36. Jer 31:36 reads **מהיות** instead of the **ל[ה]יות** in 1QH^a 4:26, and **לפניך** instead of **לפני**. These textual differences are due to the paraphrastic nature of the *Hodayot* allusion to Jer 31:36. The *Hodayot* address God in the second person, while in the Jeremiah text the Lord himself speaks in the first person. The different preposition used by the *Hodayot* for the infinitive of **היה** became necessary because the *Hodayot* did not include a verbal form of **שבת** from Jer 31:36. The reason 1QH^a 4:26 uses the form **זרעם** instead of the **זרע** **ישראל** from Jer 31:36 is because of the different subject matter of the *Hodayot*. The *Hodayot* speak of a select group whose descendants will be perpetually before God as a reward for their observance and therefore they use **זרעם**. In contrast to the *Hodayot*, the Book of Jeremiah has all of Israel in mind, and therefore at this place uses **זרע** **ישראל**. For the same reason, the *Hodayot* deleted the word **גוי** in its allusion to Jer 31:36. Because the *Hodayot* rephrase the text of Jer 31:36 so much by way of these alterations, it seems likely that they also deleted **ישבתו** to create a smoother poetic rhetoric in 1QH^a 4:26.

Jer 38(45):22 in 1QH^a 15:5

[... זרו]ע נשברת מקניה והטבע בבבץ רגלי

... (my) ar[m] is broken from its shoulder, and my **foot is sunk into the mud** (1QH^a 15:5)

הסיתוּדָה וְיָכְלוּ לִי אֲנָשֵׁי שְׁלֵמָה הַטְּבָעוּ בַּבֶּצֶץ רַגְלִי נִסְגּוּ אַחֲזֹר:

They incited you, they overcame you, your trusted friends; your **feet are sunk into the mud**—they turn away from you (Jer 38[45]:22)

It cannot be doubted that 1QH^a 15:5 alludes to Jer 38(45):22.⁵¹ The combination of the three lexemes **טבע**, **רגל**, and **בץ** can only be found

⁵⁰ Thus Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369.

⁵¹ Thus Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 127, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172 (Maier lists this allusion as Jer 38:2);

in these two references. The intertextual relationship between the two texts is all the more certain because בץ is a duplexlegomenon in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature and occurs only in Jer 38(45):22 and 1QH^a 15:5. On the lexematic level there is no textual variation between 1QH^a 15:5 and the textual witnesses to Jer 38(45):22 from the Second Temple period. The בבבץ of 1QH^a 15:5 instead of Jer-MT's בבבץ is due to a scribal error in the transmission of the *Hodayot*. Two types of scribal error are possible: 1) בבבץ comes from a confusion of *vav* and *bet* resulting in the reading בבבץ instead of בבוץ⁵² as attested e.g. in Ms Kennicot 96. 2) בבבץ is a dittography of בבבץ. The fact that the *Hodayot* introduce the phrase ותטבע בבבץ רגלי with the copula ו as opposed to Jer-MT,⁵³ and that they read in רגלי a suffix of the first person singular as opposed to the second person singular masculine suffix of Jer-MT (cf. Jer-LXX) does not attest to textual variation but marks textual changes made by the *Hodayot* to Jer 38(45):22 in order to accommodate the textflow of 1QH^a 15:5. The *Hodayot* use the rhetoric of Jer 38(45):22 to describe the misery of a first person narrative voice—most probably the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵⁴ They compare the Teacher's misery with Jerusalem's misery during the catastrophe of 587 BCE. Similarly, when 1QH^a 15:5 reads a singular form for both ותטבע (Hophal 3rd person fem. singular waw-imperfect) and רגלי, as opposed to the plural forms of Jer-MT and Jer-LXX, this should not be regarded as a variant reading which goes back to the Jeremiah text used by the *Hodayot*. The two singular forms were provoked by the singular forms זרוע ("arm") and נשברת ("broken") used in the preceding colon due to the synonymous parallelism of 1QH^a 15:5.

Jer 51(28):15 in 1QH^a 9:15–16

For Jer 51(28):15 in 1QH^a 9:15–16, see my discussion of the parallel reference Jer 10:12 above.

Jer 51(28):16 in 1QH^a 10:18

For Jer 51(28):16 in 1QH^a 10:18, see my discussion of the parallel reference Jer 10:13 above.

cf. Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 201.

⁵² Thus Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 201.

⁵³ That Jer-LXX reads a *kai* at this place should not be understood as confirmation of a variant reading attested by the *Hodayot* but as the result of the difficulty to translate *asyndesis* in its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

⁵⁴ For 1QH^a 13:22–15:8 as a teacher song, see Jeremias, *Lehrer*, 171, 226–244; Becker, *Heil*, 53–54.

1.2 Allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in 1QH^a 7:21–8:41⁵⁵

Jer 10:23 in 1QH^a 7:25–26, 34

ואני ידעתי בביתך כיאלא ביד בשר [יוכל להתם] אדם 26 דרכו ולא
יוכל אנוש להכין עעדו

I know through your understanding **that** by way of flesh: a human [can]not [perfect] **his way** and **no man** can **direct his step** (1QH^a 7:25–26)

ומה אף הוא בשר כי ישכיל [באלה ויצ] עפר איך יוכל להכין עעדו

And what moreover is flesh that it should understand [these (things)?
And a creatu]re of dust, how is it able **to direct its step?** (1QH^a 7:34)

ידעתי יהוה כי לא לאדם דרכו לא־לאיש הלך והכין את־עעדו:

I know, Lord, **that a human does not own his way**—not a walking **person**—**to direct his step** (Jer 10:23)

1QH^a 7:25–26 and Jer 10:23 share a common vocabulary of eight words. Five of these words are grammatically identical. Although three words differ in their grammatical form, there can be no doubt that the *Hodayot* employ Jer 10:23 at this place.⁵⁷ In Jer 10:23–25, Jeremiah argues with God that human fate is determined by an agency beyond human will. Humans cannot direct their steps. Therefore, God should turn his anger away from Judah to the other nations. Judah would know God while the other nations do not. The *Hodayot* generalize the statement of Jeremiah. They emphasize that the inclination of every spirit is in God's hand, not in human flesh. Humans cannot perfect their ways or direct their steps. All activity is determined before God created it, even good and evil inclinations (1QH^a 7:25–26). Even knowing this is only possible by way of revelation (ידעתי בביתך “I know through your understanding”). The *Hodayot*'s generalization is responsible for the textual differences between Jer 10:23 (MT and LXX) and 1QH^a 7:25–26. The *Hodayot* insert בביתך (“through your understanding”) to emphasize that even the knowledge about predestination comes from God. When 1QH^a 7:25–26 insert [יוכל להתם] ביד בשר (“by way of flesh a human [can]not [perfect]”) and יוכל (“he can”),

⁵⁵ For the demarcation of 1QH^a 7:21–8:41, see Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 99–100, 110.

⁵⁶ For the reconstruction of the *lacuna*, see Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 103.

⁵⁷ Thus Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 232, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 71–73.

these insertions generalize Jeremiah's statement in Jer 10:23 as well. Again, it expresses a general predestination.

Other textual differences between 1QH^a 7:25–26 and Jer 10:23 are due to scribal corruption and textual harmonization. The reading כִּיאֵל in 1QH^a 7:25 instead of Jer-MT's כִּי לֵא goes back to a scribal correction in the manuscript of 1QH^a, as Stegemann and Schuller note: "The 'alef of כִּיאֵל is added secondarily by Scribe B."⁵⁸ The reading וְלֵא in 1QH^a 7:26 rather than לֵא comes from a variant reading of its Jeremiah base text, as argued above for 1QH^a 12:31 (see above p. 262).

A possible textual variant might be preserved in the *Hodayot*'s use of אָנוּשׁ instead of the לֵאִישׁ in Jer-MT. Jer-LXX reads ἀνὴρ in Jer 10:23. Ἀνὴρ translates in the Jer-LXX both אִישׁ and אָנוּשׁ as well as אָדָם.⁵⁹ As does 1QH^a 7:26, Jer-LXX 10:23 lacks an equivalent for the preposition ל in the לֵאִישׁ of Jer-MT 10:23. It becomes all the more likely that the *Vorlage* of Jer-LXX 10:23 did not have the ל of לֵאִישׁ, since Jer-LXX 10:23 recognizes the parallel construction לָאָדָם with the genitive τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. It seems possible that Jer-LXX did not have the preposition ל in its *Vorlage*. Regardless of this LXX reading, the lack of the preposition ל in 1QH^a 7:26 comes from the way the *Hodayot* construe their allusion. In 1QH^a 7:26 אָנוּשׁ is the subject of the verb יוֹכֵל and can therefore not be construed with ל.

Further light is shed on the Jeremiah base texts of 1QH^a 7:25–26 by 1QS 11:10. 1QS 11:10 employs Jer 10:23 as well and also reads אָנוּשׁ instead of לֵאִישׁ: כִּיאֵל לָאָדָם דַּרְכוֹ וְאָנוּשׁ לֹא יִכֵּן צַעְדּוֹ ("a human does not own his way and no man can direct his step").⁶⁰ The fact that both 1QS 11:10 and 1QH^a 7:26 share the reading אָנוּשׁ in Jer 10:23 could point to a Jeremiah manuscript owned by the Essene movement that attested to this reading.

Against this speculation we must note that the *Hodayot* use the noun אָנוּשׁ more often than the average Hebrew text from Second Temple Judaism. The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library notes 88 occurrences of אָנוּשׁ but 3352 occurrences of אִישׁ. To this count, we must add 21 occurrences of אָנוּשׁ and 81 occurrences of אִישׁ in the Book of Ben

⁵⁸ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 103.

⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 11.

⁶⁰ For the use of Jer 10:23 in 1QS 11:10 and other Essene texts, see Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 87–89.

Sira.⁶¹ In contrast to the overall dominance of **איש** in pre-rabbinic Hebrew texts, the *Hodayot* employ **איש** 31 times in the manuscript 1QH^a but **אנוש** 13 times. The *Hodayot* thus use the term **אנוש** more often than usual. Given that the *Hodayot* like to use the term **אנוש**, it is possible that the *Hodayot* substituted the **איש** from its base text of Jer 10:23 with an **אנוש**. In their use of **אנוש**, the *Hodayot* seem to be influenced by the use of Jer 10:23 in 1QS 11:10. The poetic passage 1QS 9:26–11:22 favors the combination of **אנוש** and **אדם** instead of **איש** and **אדם**. In column 11, **אנוש** and **אדם** are paired three times (1QS 11:6, 10, 15). It thus seems likely that 1QS 11:10 inserted the noun **אנוש** into the text of Jer 10:23 and influenced the *Hodayot* in its reading of Jer 10:23 as well. The *Hodayot*'s favored use of **אנוש** might have disposed them positively towards the text of Jer 10:23 as used in 1QS 11:10.

The last textual difference between Jer-MT/LXX 10:23 and 1QH^a 7:25–26 is the infinitive **להבין** in 1QH^a 7:26 as opposed to **והבין** of Jer-MT and 4QJer^a, as well as LXX's **καὶ κατορθώσει**. 1QH^a 7:26 constructs **בון** here as an infinitive construct Hiphil with the preposition **ל** because of its use of **יוכל**. But this infinitive construction prevents us from determining whether the base text of the *Hodayot* followed Jer-MT and 4QJer^a or Jer-LXX in Jer 10:23.

The great importance of Jer 10:23 becomes evident when it is seen that 1QH^a 7:34 refers back to 1QH^a 7:25–26 by picking up a part of its allusion to Jer 10:23,⁶² i.e. **יוכל אנוש להבין צעדו**. In this way the allusion to Jer 10:23 forms an *inclusio* around a whole stanza which is clearly marked as a textual unit by the scribe of 1QH^a through *vacats* in lines 25 and 34.

Jer 1:5 and 12:3 in 1QH^a 7:28, 30

1QH^a 7:27–30 continue the theme of predestination by referring to two more references from the Book of Jeremiah, Jer 1:5 and 12:3.

⁶¹ See D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Sirach: Mit syrischem Index* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 18–21, 33–34.

⁶² Cf. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 232, 356; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 77.

רק אתה ברא[תה] 28 צדיק ומרחם הכינותו למועד רצון

You alone created the righteous and **from the womb** you placed him for the time (divine) favor (1QH^a 7:27–28)

ורשעים בראתה ל[וי]צֶרְ הַרֹּנְכָה וּמְרַחֵם הַקְּדֻשָּׁתָם לְיוֹם הַרְגָה

But the wicked you created for the passion of your wrath and **out of the womb you consecrated them for the day of slaughter** (1QH^a 7:30)

בְּטֶרֶם אֲצוֹרְךָ בְּבֶטֶן יִדְעֵתִיךָ וּבְטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא מִרְחֶם הַקְּדֻשָּׁתִיךָ נִבְיָא לְגוֹיִם
נִתְּתִיךָ

Before I shaped you in the belly I knew you, and before you came **out of the womb I consecrated you**; as prophet to the nations I appointed you. (Jer 1:5)

הַתְּקֵם כְּצֹאן לְטַבְּחָהּ וְהַקְּדִשְׁם לְיוֹם הַרְגָה:

Lure them away like a flock for slaughter and **consecrate them for the day of slaughter** (Jer 12:3)

1QH^a 7:26–33 discuss how God determined the inclination of every spirit before he created it. Lines 27–30 describe the righteous and what God has determined for them. Lines 30–33 do the same for the wicked. 1QH^a 7:30 opens the description of the predetermined fate of the wicked by employing rhetoric from Jer 12:3⁶³ and Jer 1:5.⁶⁴ 1QH^a 7:30 attests to an almost exact verbal parallel of three words with Jer 12:3. The only difference between Jer-MT and 1QH^a 7:30 is that 1QH^a 7:30 reads **הַקְּדֻשָּׁתָם** instead of the **וְהַקְּדֻשָּׁם** in Jer-MT. This difference is due to the text-flow of 1QH^a 7:30. The *Hodayot* address God in hymnic form. By way of the perfect form they state as a fact that God destined the wicked for the eschatological day of slaughter. While the pre-rabbinic textual witnesses of Jer 1:5 preserve no textual variation for the words **הַקְּדֻשָּׁתִיךָ מִרְחֶם**, such a textual variant is still evident in an allusion to Jer 1:5 in Sir 49:7. Manuscript B reads **מִרְחֶם נּוֹצֵר** in Sir 49:7⁶⁵ instead of the text from Jer-MT 1:5. In this case, 1QH^a 7:30 agrees with Jer-MT and Jer-LXX against Sir 49:7.

⁶³ For this allusion to Jer 12:3, see Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 232, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 76.

⁶⁴ For this allusion, cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 74–75.

⁶⁵ The Greek translation of Ben Sira reads in Sir 49:7 ἐν μήτρῳ ἡγιόσθη. The textual differences within the text of Ben Sira are of great importance for the textual history of the Book of Jeremiah, but because they require detailed analysis, I will discuss them in another article.

In Jer 12:3, the prophet asks the Lord to dedicate the wicked mentioned in 12:1 for the day of slaughter. Therefore Jer-MT uses an imperative. Neither 1QH^a 7:30 nor Jer-LXX read the copula ו in Jer 12:3. In Jer-LXX, the copula is lacking as part of a typical LXX-short text. It lacks וּלְטַבְּחָהּ הַהֵתִקֶם. In 1QH^a 7:30, though, the missing copula does not indicate the use of the Hebrew Vorlage of Jer-LXX as a base text, but is due to the use of the copula ו in the preceding word וּמֵרַחֵם. By inserting מֵרַחֵם into the quotation of Jer 12:3 and thus combining it with the הַקְדַּשְׁתֶּם from Jer 12:3, the *Hodayot* created an additional allusion to the phrase מֵרַחֵם הַקְדַּשְׁתִּיךָ from Jer 1:5. The *Hodayot* also use מֵרַחֵם in 1QH^a 7:28 to describe how God destined the righteous for their fate from their mother's womb onwards as he did with the wicked (line 30). The use of Jer 1:5 in 1QH^a 7:28, 30 thus compares the consecration of the righteous and the wicked to their respective fates with the consecration of Jeremiah to his prophetic office.

Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH^a 8:26 (and in 1QH^a 9:7?)

ברוך אתה אֱדוֹנָי גְּדוֹלֵם הַעֲשֵׂהָ וְרַב־הַעֲלִילֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר מַעֲשִׂיךָ הַכּוֹל

Blessed are you, Lord, **great of counsel and mighty of deed**, because the universe is your works" (1QH^a 8:26)

גְּדוֹלֵם הַעֲשֵׂהָ וְרַב־הַעֲלִילֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר-עֵינֶיךָ פְּקֻחוֹת עַל-כָּל-דַּרְכֵי בְנֵי אָדָם לְתַתּוֹ
לְאִישׁ כְּדַרְכֵּיו וּכְפָרֵי מַעֲלָלָיו:

You are great of counsel and mighty of deed, because your eyes are opened over all ways of the sons of men to give each according to his way and according to the fruit of his doing (Jer 32[39]:19)

1QH^a 8:26 and Jer 32(39):19 share five parallel words with each other, which agree verbally even in grammatical form and occur nowhere else together in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature. 1QH^a 8:26 should therefore be classified as an implicit quotation of Jer 32(39):19.⁶⁶ The reading of a double *lamed* in הַעֲלִילֶיהָ in 1QH^a 8:26 instead of Jer-MT's הַעֲלִילֶיהָ is due to a scribal error either by the scribe of 1QH^a or his *Vorlage*.⁶⁷ The allusion to Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH^a 8:26 becomes even

⁶⁶ Cf. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 240, 356; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 114. This allusion became more apparent in the new transcription of Stegemann and Schuller. They were able to show that 1QH^a 8:26 reads גְּדוֹלֵם הַעֲשֵׂהָ and not גְּדוֹלֵם הַעֲשֵׂהָ as e.g. in the edition of M. Abegg, "Hodayot: 1QH^a," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005), 5:2–77, 14.

⁶⁷ Cf. Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 114.

more apparent when it is recognized that *עליליה* is a *duplexlegomenon* that occurs only in 1QH^a 8:26 and Jer 32(39):19 in pre-rabbinic Hebrew Literature.⁶⁸ A possible variant reading for Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH^a 8:26 might be found in the word *אשר*, which is read by Jer-MT but is missing in Jer-LXX. But the *Hodayot*'s reading *אשר* in 1QH^a 8:26 could also be due to the text that follows the word *העליליה*. In this case, *אשר* would not be part of the allusion to Jer 32(39):19 at all. But because the *Hodayot* do not prefer the use of *אשר* to introduce a causal clause,⁶⁹ it is more likely that *אשר* was a part of the *Hodayot*'s Jeremiah *Vorlage*. In addition to *אשר*, the allusion attests two more variant readings. Instead of *ורב העליליה* ("and mighty of deed"), the Jer-LXX reads *καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ μεγαλῶνυμος κύριος* ("and mighty of deeds, the great God, almighty, bearing the great name Lord"). Neither 1QH^a nor Jer-MT have any equivalent to this long text of Jer-LXX at this place. Furthermore, Jer-LXX reads the plural *τοῖς ἔργοις* instead of the singular *העליליה* in Jer-MT and 1QH^a 8:26.

The phrase *גְּדוֹל הַעֲצָה* occurs also in 1QH^a 9:7. Because in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature this combination of words is found elsewhere only in Jer 32(39):19 and 1QH^a 8:26, it could be understood as an allusion to Jer 32(39):19.⁷⁰ Because the text of 1QH^a 9:7 is rather damaged, this supposed allusion must remain speculative. Both *גְּדוֹל* and *עֲצָה* are prominent words in the Essene texts from Qumran.⁷¹ On the one hand, the Essenes could thus have easily coined the expression *גְּדוֹל הַעֲצָה* without alluding to Jer 32(39):19. On the other hand, the use of Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH^a 8:26 makes such an allusion in 1QH^a 9:7 all the more likely.

Jer 14:22 in 1QH^a 8:27

לך אתה הצדקה כי אתה עשית את כול אלה

You, you alone, possess righteousness **because you have done all these things** (1QH^a 8:27)

וְנִקְוָה לְךָ כִּי־אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה:

We hope for you **because you have done all these things** (Jer 14:22)

⁶⁸ *עליליה* is also read by M. Abegg in 1QH^a 7:15 ("Hodayot: 1QH^a," 50). Stegemann and Schuller have clearly shown though that 1QH^a reads in 1QH^a 7:15 *יהללובה* and not *עליליה* (*1QHodayot^a*, 97, 101).

⁶⁹ Cf. *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* 1:432–433.

⁷⁰ Thus Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369.

⁷¹ Cf. M. G. Abegg, *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (vol. 1 of *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*; with J. E. Bowley and E. M. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 171–72, 589–591.

Whether 1QH^a 8:27 employs Jer 14:22⁷² or not depends on the use of the phrase עשה כול אלה. This phrase can also be found in 1QH^a 3:27; 18:14 and 23:25, and furthermore occurs in Isa 45:7; Jer 3:7; Ezek 16:30; 1QHymnic Compositions? (1Q38) 4 4; and 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) 19:5 (cf. also Deut 18:2; 22:5; 25:16). עשה כול אלה is therefore a common phrase in ancient Hebrew and should not be understood as pointing to an intertextual relationship with Jer 14:22 or any other scriptural reference. In marked contrast, the כי אתה עשיתה את כול אלה of 1QH^a 8:27 occurs in the Hebrew literature from the Second Temple Period only in Jer 14:22; 1QH^a 8:27; and 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) 19:5. Although all words of this phrase are quite common in Hebrew, it should therefore be understood as pointing to a textual dependency of the *Hodayot* and the *Dibre HaMe'orot* from Jer 14:22. Because 1QH^a 8:27 uses six words in verbal parallel out of Jer 14:22, in the case of the *Hodayot*, this textual dependency should be classified as an implicit quotation. No textual variety is preserved for כי אתה עשיתה את כול אלה in the extant pre-rabbinic textual witnesses to the Book of Jeremiah.

1.3 Allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in 1QH^a 10:22–32⁷³

Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 and Jer 51(28):55 in 1QH^a 10:29

ובהמון מים רבים שאון קולם נפץ וזרם להשחית רבים

and like **mighty roaring waters is the tumult of their voice**, a cloud-burst and a downpour to annihilate a many (1QH^a 10:29)

לְקוֹל תִּתְּנוּ הַמּוֹן מַיִם בְּשָׁמַיִם

When he puts up (his) **voice**⁷⁴—**roaring waters** in the heavens (Jer 10:13 par 51[28]:16)

וְהִמּוּ גְלִיָּהֶם כְּמַיִם רַבִּים נִתְּן שְׁאוֹן קוֹלָם

and their waves roar like **mighty waters, the tumult of their voice** is put up (Jer 51[28]:55)

An allusion to Jer 10:13 par 51:16 was found already in 1QH^a 10:18. Above (p. 260) it was argued that the complicated but rather comparable

⁷² Thus Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 240, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 114.

⁷³ For the demarcation of 1QH^a 10:22–32, see Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 134.

⁷⁴ For the translation and explanation of this grammatically difficult phrase, see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 595, 597.

intertextual webs created in both 1QH^a 10:18 and 29 point to a common author of both 1QH^a 10:5–21 and 1QH^a 10:22–32. Above (p. 260) it was also argued that the combination of the noun קול with the metaphor המון מים is unique to Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 on the one hand, and to 1QH^a 10:18 as well as to 1QH^a 10:29 on the other hand. The grouping of these words therefore argue for the employment of Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 in 1QH^a 10:29. In the case of 1QH^a 10:29, the allusion to Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 is paired with a further allusion referring to Jer 51(28):55. It becomes evident that 1QH^a 10:29 alludes also to Jer 51(28):55 when it is seen that several words are in verbal (רבים שאון קולם) or almost verbal agreement (מים) with Jer-MT 51:55.⁷⁵ The remaining differences between the *Hodayot* and Jer-MT 51:55 come from changes made by the author of 1QH^a 10:22–32. Jer 51(28):55 uses the rhetoric of roaring waters and the tumult of their voices to describe how the Lord will devastate Babylon as an enemy of his people. In 1QH^a 10:29 the same rhetoric is used to describe the enemies of the poem's first person narrative voice and how they endanger him. To put even more emphasis on the chaotic anti-divine character of these enemies, 1QH^a 10:29 inserts a המון into the כמים of Jer 51(28):55. The resulting ובהמון מים רבים suggests the chaotic nature of roaring water even more, and in a kind of anti-allusion also evokes Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16. As in the earlier allusion to this passage, the original meaning of Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 is reversed in 1QH^a 10:29 to signify now the chaotic nature of the minions of Belial (cf. 1QH^a 10:24) instead of the might of God. For the same reason, 1QH^a 10:29 erases the word נתן from Jer 51(28):55. Without this verb, the *Hodayot* achieve an adjectival description that fits better into their line of argumentation. While 1QH^a 10:29 displays no textual variation towards the MT text of Jer 51:55, it does so towards Jer-LXX 28:55 (קולם against φωνήν αὐτῆς).⁷⁶ Given the verbal agreement with Jer-MT 51:55 elsewhere, it is unlikely that the *Hodayot* changed their Jeremiah-*Vorlage* in this case. 1QH^a 10:29 reads קולם with Jer-MT and against Jer-LXX.

Because 1QH^a 10:29 inserts only המון from Jer 10:13 par 51(28):16 into the text of Jer 51(28):55, no textual variation for this allusion is evident between the textual witnesses of Jer 51(28):55 and 1QH^a 10:29.

⁷⁵ Cf. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 369; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 45, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172.

⁷⁶ Contra W. McKane, *Jeremiah* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986–96), 2:1345 who seems to regard the LXX reading as a translational variant.

It should be noted that the intertextual web spun by 1QH^a 10:29 is even more complicated than so far observed, since the *Hodayot* incorporate further allusions to other ancient Jewish texts. The combination **המון מים רבים** occurs, e.g., only in 1QH^a 10:18, 29 and 11QPs^a (11Q5) 26:10 (*Hymn to the Creator*). It therefore seems likely that 1QH^a 10:29 employs the rhetoric of the *Hymn to the Creator* as well (see above, p. 260). But even more so, the phrase **נפץ וזרם** is unique to Isa 30:30 and 1QH^a 10:29. It therefore seems not unlikely that the *Hodayot* added also an allusion to Isa 30:30 in 1QH^a 10:29.

Jer 18:22 in 1QH^a 10:31

והם רשת פרשו לי תלכוד רגלם ופחים טמנו לנפשי נפלו בם

And they spread out a net for me which will **catch** their **feet**, and **they have hid traps** for my life into which they will fall (1QH^a 10:31)

כִּי־כָרוּ שִׁיחָה לְלַכְדֵּנִי וּפְחִים טָמְנוּ לְרַגְלִי

for they have dug a pit to **catch** me and **they have hid traps** for my feet (Jer 18:22)

Although they occur in a different word sequence, the four lexematic agreements between Jer 18:22 and 1QH^a 10:31 demonstrate that the latter depends on the former. The combination of **לכד**, **רגל**, **פח**, and **טמן** can only be found in these two texts, among the preserved pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature. The *Hodayot* in 1QH^a 10:31 borrow the rhetoric of the Book of Jeremiah to express a different message than Jer 18:22. In Jer 18:22, the prophet asks God to punish his enemies as revenge for his persecution—his enemies who dug a pit for him and prepared traps for him. The *Hodayot* go one step further and emphasize in the pattern of a sapiential act consequence correlation that those who prepared traps for the Teacher of Righteousness⁷⁷ will be caught in these traps themselves. The differences in grammatical form and in the use of various prefixes and affixes between Jer 18:22 and 1QH^a 10:31 go back to the *Hodayot* and do not reflect textual variants. In emphasizing that those who set traps will be caught in them themselves, 1QH^a 10:31 needed to construe the words **לכד** and **רגל** differently than in Jer 18:22. Nevertheless 1QH^a 10:31 preserves one variant reading for Jer 18:22 that goes back to the Jeremiah text

⁷⁷ For 1QH^a 10:22–32 as a teacher's song, see Becker, *Heil*, 53–54.

it alludes to. In Jer 18:22, Jer-MT has לרגלי (“for my feet”) instead of the ἐπ’ ἐμὲ (“against me”) of Jer-LXX. In reading רגלם, 1QH^a 10:31 agrees with MT against LXX. It is all the more likely that 1QH^a 10:31 agrees with MT against LXX in Jer 18:22, since one would expect that the net mentioned in 1QH^a 10:31 catches a whole person and not only its feet. An equivalent of the LXX reading ἐπ’ ἐμὲ would have resulted in a better metaphor in 1QH^a 10:31.

Jer 31(38):11 in 1QH^a 10:37

ואתה אלי עזרתה נפש עני ורש 37 מיד חזק ממנו:⁷⁸

And you, my God,⁷⁹ helped the life of the poor and the humble one **against the hand of one who is stronger than he** (1QH^a 10:36–37 par 4QH^b [4Q428] 3 3)

כִּי־פָדָה יְהוָה אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וּגְאַלּוּ מִיַּד חֲזָק מִמֶּנּוּ:

For the Lord will deliver Jacob and will redeem him **from the hand of one who is stronger than he** (Jer 31[38]:11)

Although the adjective חזק and the noun יד as well as the preposition מן are rather common in the preserved pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature, they occur in this particular combination and phrasing only in Jer 31(38):11 and in 1QH^a 10:37. The exact verbal parallel between Jer 31(38):11 and 1QH^a 10:37 amounts to three words, and argues strongly for a dependency of 1QH^a 10:37 on Jer 31(38):11.⁸⁰ The text-critical importance of the allusion to Jer 31(38):11 in 1QH^a 10:37 is limited, though, because no textual variation is preserved for the phrase מיד חזק ממנו in the extant pre-rabbinic witnesses of Jer 31(38):11.⁸¹

⁷⁸ The text that is preserved in 4QH^b (4Q428) is underlined.

⁷⁹ The word אלי is written with paleo-Hebrew characters in 1QH^a.

⁸⁰ Cf. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 50, 356.

⁸¹ *The Hebrew University Bible* (eds. C. Rabin, S. Talmon, and E. Tov, *The Book of Jeremiah* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997], קסז) understands the LXX reading στερεωτέρων αὐτοῦ as a variant to חזק ממנו. The Greek adjective στερεός can signify the same kind of physical strength as the Hebrew adjective חזק and should thus against the HUB be regarded as a fitting translation in Jer 31(38):11 (cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon to the Septuagint* [Leuven: Peeters, 2009], 635).

1.4 Allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in 1QH^a 16:5–17:36⁸²

Jer 17:8 in 1QH^a 16:8 and 11

להשריש טרם יפריחו ושורשיהם ליוב[ל] ישלחו

To take root before they sprout, they **stretch** their **roots** towards a **strea[m]** (1QH^a 16:8)

וירמו עליו כול ע[צי] מים כי במטעתם יתשגשו 11 ואל יובל לא ישלחו
שורש⁸³

And all tr[ees] by the water rise over it because in their plantation they grow high and towards a **stream** they do not **stretch a root** (1QH^a 16:11 par 4QpapH^f [4Q432]13 2)

וה'ה כעץ שתול על-מים ועל-יובל ישלח שרשיו

He is like a tree that is planted by the water and that **stretches its roots** by a **stream** (Jer 17:8)

The expression to stretch a root/roots (שלח שורש) is not common in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature. It occurs only in Jer 17:8; 1QH^a 16:8, 11; and 4QInstr^d (4Q418) 243 3. This observation alone is insufficient to prove that the *Hodayot*'s use of שלח שורש depends on Jer 17:8 because the *Hodayot* employ the so-called *Instruction* text from Qumran as well.⁸⁴ Furthermore, both שלח and שורש are common words in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew. But the rare noun יובל I (“stream”) occurs only in Jer 17:8; 1QH^a 16:8, 11 (par 4QpapH^f [4Q432] 13 2) and two variant readings of 1QIsa^a to Isa 30:25 and 44:44. For the later part of the Second Temple period, the noun יבל I (“stream”; Sir 50:8) is attested which is also used in Isa-MT 30:25 and 44:44. Rabbinic literature attests to neither noun. It seems most likely that יובל I was used more often in earlier Hebrew text and went out of use in the later part of the Second Temple period. In Isa 30:25 and 44:44, 1QIsa^a preserves original readings that in the textual tradition of Isa-MT were replaced

⁸² For the demarcation of 1QH^a 16:5–17:36, see Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 228.

⁸³ The underlined text occurs also in 4QpapH^f (4Q432) 13 2.

⁸⁴ 1QH^a 11:9, 11, 13 allude to 4Q416 2 iii 17; 1QH^a 9:28–29 alludes to 4Q417 1 i 8; and 1QH^a 18:29–30 employs 4Q418 55 10 (cf. D. J. Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994], 137–152, 143–144; A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* [STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 226; and esp. M. J. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,” *DSD* 11 [2004]: 263–288).

with the more common noun יבל I. Therefore the use of the phrase שלח שורש together with the noun יובל I in 1QH^a 16:8, 11 points to an allusion to Jer 17:8 by the *Hodayot*.⁸⁵

Most textual differences between 1QH^a 16:8, 11 and Jer 17:8 are caused by the textflow of the *Hodayot*. In 1QH^a 16:8, the *Hodayot* used a third person masculine plural suffix (ושורשיהם) as opposed to the שרשיו of Jer 17:8) because 1QH^a 16:6 and 7 speak of trees (עצי) in the plural.

For the same reason, the *Hodayot* use the plural form ישלחו (1QH^a 16:8) instead of the singular ישלח (Jer 17:8). The additional copula ן in ושורשיהם (1QH^a 16:8) connects the main clause “they stretch their roots towards a strea[m]” with the preceding subclause “To take root before they sprout” and is therefore also necessitated by the textflow of the *Hodayot*.

Just as in 1QH^a 16:8, in 1QH^a 16:11 the plural form ישלחו was necessary because the *Hodayot* speak of trees in the plural in the preceding context (כול ע[צי] מים) and hence indicates no textual variant towards the singular form ישלח in Jer 17:8. Another textual difference is that 1QH^a 16:11 speaks of “a root” (שורש) as opposed to the plural form שורשיו in Jer 17:8. Adjusted to the textflow of 1QH^a 16:11, a form like the שורשיהם in 1QH^a 16:8 would have been appropriate, to reflect the text of Jer 17:8. The *Hodayot*’s use of the plural שורשיהם elsewhere to allude to Jer 17:8 shows that their Jeremiah text read such a plural as well. When 1QH^a 16:11 uses the singular שורש instead, in its allusion to Jer 17:8, it does so to make a point. The *Hodayot* emphasize that trees do not even grow one root into the water.

Instead of the ועל in Jer 17:8, 1QH^a 16:8 and 11 use two different prepositions in connection with יובל, i.e. ל (1QH^a 16:8) and ואל (1QH^a 16:11). The reason 1QH^a 16:8 does not have the copula ן (ל instead of ועל) is again due to the textflow of the *Hodayot*, because it would have been grammatically impossible to insert a second ן in 1QH^a 16:8 after the one in ושורשיהם. The substitution of ועל with ל and ואל in 1QH^a 16:8 and 11 respectively is motivated by the specific purpose for which the *Hodayot* use Jeremiah’s metaphor of roots growing by a stream. The metaphor’s point of comparison is the nourishment the community receives from the mystery of God. Like roots which

⁸⁵ Cf. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancient Testament,” 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 165–166, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 153.

stretch towards the stream but do not grow into it, the community is nourished by the mystery of God, although it remains hidden (1QH^a 16:11–12). To articulate this message, the *Hodayot* substitute ועל with ל in 1QH^a 16:8 and ועל with ואל in 1QH^a 16:11. In addition, 1QH^a 16:11 inserts a לא into its allusion to Jer 17:8.

Therefore all textual differences between Jer 17:8 and 1QH^a 16:8, 11 come from textual alterations made by the *Hodayot* to the text of Jeremiah. No textual variation is attested between the extant pre-rabbinic textual witnesses to Jer 17:8 for the three words employed by 1QH^a 16:8, 11.

Jer 47(29):2 in 1QH^a 16:18

ולא יכזב לפתוח 18 הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יִמוּשׁוּ וַיְהִי לְנַחַל שׁוֹטֵף עֹל כּוֹל עֵצִי
מים ולימים לאין חקר

And he will not fail to open the heavens. They will not cease **and become an overflowing torrent** ov[er all trees by the] waters and to the seas which no one searches out (1QH^a 16:17–18)

הַנְּהַמִּים עֲלִים מִצְפוֹן וְהָיוּ לְנַחַל שׁוֹטֵף וַיִּשְׁטְפוּ אֶרֶץ וּמְלוֹאָהּ עִיר וַיִּשְׁבֵּי
בָּהּ

See, the rising waters from the north **and they will become an overflowing torrent** and will overflow the land and all that fills it, (the) city and those who dwell in it. (Jer 47[29]:2)

Although neither the verbs היה and שטף nor the noun נחל are rare in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature, their combination can only be found in 1QH^a 16:18 and Jer 47(29):2. The fact that both texts are in verbal agreement, with the exception of ויהיו in 1QH^a 16:18 instead of the והיו in Jer 47(29):2, shows that 1QH^a 16:18 alludes to Jer 47(29):2.⁸⁶ The difference in grammatical form does not represent a textual variant in 1QH^a 16:18. The *Hodayot* adjusted the tense of Jeremiah's והיו to the imperfect form ימושׁוּ that precedes it in 1QH^a 16:18. No textual variation is attested for והיו לנחל שוטף among the pre-rabbinic textual witnesses for Jer 47(29):2.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 157 n. 92.

Jer 17:6 in 1QH^a 16:25

ואם אשיב יד יהיה כערער⁸⁷ [בערבה] וגזעו כחרלים במלחה

When I withdraw a hand it (*scil.* a plantation mentioned before) **becomes like a juniper [in the desert]** and its stump like nettles in **salt land** (1QH^a 16:25)

והיה כערער כערבה ולא יראה כייבוא טוב ושכן חררים במדבר ארץ
מלחה ולא תשב:

And he will **become like a juniper in the desert**. And he will not see when something good comes. And he will dwell (in) parched places in the wilderness, (in) a land of **salt land** which is uninhabited. (Jer 17:6)

The combination of a form of the verb היה and the noun ערער can be found only in 1QH^a 16:25; Jer 17:6 and 48:6 in pre-rabbinic Hebrew literature. Stegemann and Schuller reconstruct 1QH^a 16:25 as ואם אשיב יד יהיה כערער⁸⁷ [במדבר] וגזעו כחרלים במלחה based on Jer 48:6, and argue for an allusion to this text in 1QH^a 16:25.⁸⁷ However, the mention of the word במלחה at the end of 1QH^a 16:25 makes the allusion more likely to Jer 17:6, and argues for a reconstruction of the *lacuna* as [כערער⁸⁸ בערבה].⁸⁸ Among the textual witnesses to Jer 17:6 from the Second Temple period, no textual variants are preserved for the words היה, ערער, ערבה, and מלחה. The use of the imperfect form יהיה instead of the *waw*-perfect והיה in 1QH^a 16:25 does not point to a textual variant but simply adjusts the tense of the והיה from Jer 17:6 to the tense of the preceding אשיב in 1QH^a 16:25. Similarly, the additional preposition ב in the במלחה of 1QH^a 16:25 is prompted by the same preposition in בערבה. Thus neither of these two textual differences attest to textual variation but are caused by the textflow of 1QH^a 16:25.

⁸⁷ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 217, 222.

⁸⁸ For this allusion, cf. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 167, 356; cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 158. For the reconstruction of the *lacuna*, see e.g. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch: Mit masoretischer Punktation, Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (3rd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), 144.

Jer 20:9 in 1QH^a 16:31

וַיִּפְרַח כֶּאֱשׁ בּוֹעֵר עִצּוֹר בְּעֵצְמִי

and it (*scil.* my disease) erupts **like a burning fire imprisoned in my bones** (1QH^a 16:31)

וְהָיָה בְּלִבִּי כְּאֵשׁ בְּעֵרַת עִצֵּר בְּעֵצְמֹתַי

then he was in my heart **like a burning fire imprisoned in my bones** (Jer 20:9)

Although used in different grammatical forms, the lexemes **עצר**, **בער**, **עצור**, and **עצם** are combined only in Jer 20:9 and 1QH^a 16:31. The parallel use of these four words is a sure indication that the *Hodayot* allude to Jer 20:9 in 1QH^a 16:31.⁸⁹ The grammatical differences between the two texts go back to the *Hodayot*. Because the passive participle **עצור** is a masculine form, the *Hodayot* changed the feminine participle **בערת** into the masculine **בוער**, thus harmonizing the grammatically difficult text of Jer 20:9. The reading **בעצמִי** instead of Jer-MT's **בעצמתי** also comes from an alteration by 1QH^a 16:31. The *Hodayot* construe the plural of **עצם** in the masculine (see 1QH^a 15:7; cf. 13:37; 19:24). Hence it stands to reason that they altered the feminine plural form **בעצמתי** of Jer 20:9 according to their own grammatical usage.

While the grammatical differences between Jer 20:9 in 1QH^a 16:31 derive from the alluding text, 1QH^a 16:31 agrees with Jer-MT 20:9 **עצור** ("imprisoned"), against the **φλέγων** ("flaming") of Jer-LXX 20:9. The HUB regards **φλέγων** as a textual change by the LXX translator to achieve better parallelism.⁹⁰ However, it seems more likely that this textual difference comes from a divergent Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Jer-LXX, which might have read something like **צרבת**⁹¹ or a form of **אכל** or **להט** in Jer 20:9.⁹² A comparison with the extant Hebrew fragments from Qumran, which are close to the *Vorlage* of the Jer-LXX, have shown that this translation renders its *Vorlage* rather

⁸⁹ Cf. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament," 368; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 167–168, 356; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 160.

⁹⁰ Rabin, Talmon, and Tov, *The Book of Jeremiah*, קח note 4; cf. R. P. Carroll, *The Book of Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 396.

⁹¹ Thus B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia: Erklärt* (KHC 11; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1901), 165.

⁹² For **φλέγειν** as a translation of **אכל** and **להט**, see Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 124.

faithfully.⁹³ A free translation for the sake of poetic elegance would be out of character for Jer-LXX.

Jer 1:5 in 1QH^a 17:30

כי אתה מאבי 30 ידעתיני ומרחם [הקדשתני ומבטן] אמי גמלתה עלי

For you, from (time of) my father, 30 **you knew me and from the womb on** [you consecrated me and from the belly of] my mother you dealt generously with me (1QH^a 17:29–30)

בְּטֶרֶם אֶצְוֹרֶךְ בְּבֶטֶן יוֹדְעִיתִיךְ וּבְטֶרֶם תִּצָּא מִרְחֶם הַקֹּדֶשׁתִּיךְ נִבְיָא לְגוֹיִם
נִתְתִּיךְ

Before I shaped you in the belly **I knew you**, and before you came **out of the womb** I consecrated you; as prophet to the nations I appointed you. (Jer 1:5)

So close to each other, in pre-Rabbinic literature the root ידע and the noun רחם occur together with the preposition מן only in 1QH^a 17:30 and Jer 1:5. 1QH^a 17:30 should therefore be regarded as alluding to Jer 1:5.⁹⁴ The textual differences between the *Hodayot* and Jeremiah go back to changes to the Jeremiah text made by the *Hodayot*. In comparing the Teacher of Righteousness⁹⁵ with Jeremiah, the *Hodayot* employ a part of the rhetoric of Jeremiah 1:5 but alter its text significantly. In Jeremiah 1:5, בטרם emphasizes that God elected and consecrated the prophet even before he was formed in his mother's womb. The *Hodayot* lack בטרם but emphasize that the Teacher of Righteousness was destined for his role from the moment of his conception. This is especially evident in the phrases "from (the time of) my father," "from the womb," "from the breasts of the one who conceived me," "in the bosom of my nurse," and "from my youth" (1QH^a 17:29–31).⁹⁶ Textual differences between the *Hodayot* and the text of Jeremiah thus come from the different subject matter of the *Hodayot*, which describe the special role of the Teacher of Righteousness in employing rhetoric from Jer 1:5. They are therefore of no textcritical value.

⁹³ Cf. e.g. G. J. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 128.

⁹⁴ Cf. Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 172; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 231.

⁹⁵ For 1QH^a 16:5–17:36 as a teacher's song, cf. Jeremias, *Lehrer*, 171, 249–264; and Becker, *Heil*, 53–54 (both end this particular teacher's song already at 1QH^a 16:41).

⁹⁶ Translation according to C. Newsom in Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 233.

2. CONCLUSIONS

The above observations allow for the compilation of the following variant list for the textual readings of the allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*.

Jer 1:5

1QH^a 7:30 הקדשתם with MT, הקדשתיך MT, ἡγίακά σε LXX, Sir 49:7 LXX ἡγιάσθη] נוצר (Sir 49:7 Ms B)

Jer 10:23

1QH^a 7:26; 12:31 ולא and ולוא with MT^{30, 150} and LXX οὐδὲ] MT לא

Jer 12:3

1QH^a 7:30 הקדשתם... ו with MT ו]הקדשם > LXX

Jer 16:16

1QH^a 13:10 דיגים with MT^Q, MT Geniza manuscripts and mss Kenicot 30, 93, 96] MT^K דוגים

Jer 18:22

1QH^a 10:31 רגלם with MT [לרגלי] LXX ἐπ' ἐμέ

Jer 20:9

1QH^a 16:31 עצור with MT] LXX φλέγον

Jer 32(39):19

1QH^a 8:26 העליליה with MT] τοῖς ἔργοις LXX

1QH^a 8:26 העליליה ורֹבּ with MT] καὶ δυνατὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ μεγάλωνυμος κύριος LXX

1QH^a 8:26 אשר with MT] > LXX

Jer 51(28):55

1QH^a 10:29 קולם with MT] LXX φωνὴν αὐτῆς

For a total of 84 words of Jeremiah text in the allusion to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah in the *Hodayot*, 10 cases of textual variation are preserved among the pre-Rabbinic textual witnesses to Jeremiah. In all ten cases, the readings of the *Hodayot* are shared by the Masoretic Text or at least some masoretic manuscripts. Thus, the

Hodayot based their allusions to and implicit quotations of the Book of Jeremiah on a proto- or semi-Masoretic manuscript.

Some the *Hodayot*-readings help to identify cases of textual corruption within the Masoretic textual tradition, and demonstrate that the Qere-readings noted by the Masoretes at least in some cases derive from ancient readings from the Second Temple period.

Jer 10:23

1QH^a 7:26; 12:31 אולא and אולוא with MT^{30, 150} and LXX οὐδέ] MT אלא

Jer 16:16

1QH^a 13:10 דיגים with MT^Q, MT Genizah manuscripts and mss Kenicot 30, 93, 96] MT^K דוגים

Beyond matters of textual criticism, my analysis has shown that the *Hodayot* use the rhetoric of the Book of Jeremiah freely, and often even with a different meaning than the Book of Jeremiah itself. In these cases, the *Hodayot* use the rhetoric of the Book of Jeremiah only loosely connected to its message in various contexts.

In several individual *hodayot*, allusions to the Book of Jeremiah are clustered and can sometimes even become a principal base text for a given *hodayah*. Although it is not among the Jewish scriptures employed most by the *Hodayot*, the fact that the Book of Jeremiah can be used as a principal base text by some of the songs collected in the *Hodayot* points to the high authority their author(s) ascribed to the Book of Jeremiah.

PRAYER IN THE ARAMAIC DEAD SEA SCROLLS:
A CATALOGUE AND OVERVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

The Aramaic texts have been a relatively forlorn corner of Dead Sea Scrolls research up to recent times, though interest has been building in this area over the past decade or so. The most conspicuous reason for this neglect was a lack of easily accessible and reliable editions on which to base further research, and we may now say, with the publication of both of Émile Puech's Aramaic volumes in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series, that this deficiency has been remedied.¹ Consequently, the time is ripe to begin assessing the Aramaic Scrolls more broadly as a corpus; or, perhaps, to determine whether they should be viewed as a corpus in the first place. There is now a real need for synthetic work across the diversity of these compositions in order to reflect on continuities and discontinuities in thought, language, literary forms, etc., with the eventual payoff being a better understanding of how these texts contribute to our broader portrait of Second Temple period Judaism. This essay is meant as a contribution toward building such a profile by investigating one area in particular: their employment of prayer. It is a happy coincidence that this is a topic which both deserves exploration due to its presence within the Aramaic Scrolls, and comprises an area of interest and impressive scholarly contribution by Eileen Schuller, the cherished colleague and friend to whom this volume and article are dedicated. I consider it a joy and honour to take part in this academic ode to her.

The specific questions that I kept in mind while exploring the Aramaic texts for this study are the following:

¹ É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII. Textes araméens. Première partie, 4Q550-549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001); *ibid.*, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXVII. Textes araméens. Deuxième partie, 4Q550-4Q575a, 4Q580-4Q587 et appendices* (DJD 37; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009).

1. Who is praying, and how is God being addressed?
2. In what settings do the prayers occur, or what occasions them (when we have enough literary context to determine this)?
3. What are the character and content of these prayers?
4. Can we perceive similarities or differences in the way prayer is employed by the various Aramaic texts, whether viewed individually or in groups?
5. Related to this, are there specific liturgical formulations or language that occur repeatedly in the prayers, and are these unique to the Aramaic texts?

Of course, it is important to clarify at the outset what is meant by the word “prayer”. For present purposes I define prayer as a direct address to God, either by an individual or group. This may include various types of address, such as praise, thanksgiving, supplication, or repentance, though it does limit our investigation to *direct* address and therefore will not include indirect or third person references to God, which may at times supply borderline examples of prayer. A good illustration of such an ambiguous case is the blessing of Tobias by his uncle Raguel in Tob 7:12, and presumably once preserved in 4Q196: “May the God of Heaven help you on the way with his peace!”² While this is clearly a direct, second-person address to Tobias, at the same time it doubles as an imploration meant to be overheard by God, and is therefore in some sense addressed to him or his angels. The address, however, is formally an indirect one. I also will not treat in detail the exorcistic text 4Q560, which directly addresses not God, but various demons that are being warded off. While in some ways this could qualify as a prayer (it is a direct address to a metaphysical being), it is not treated as such here. I will, however, include mere notifications of direct address to God, or injunctions given by one person to another

² A probable attestation of a single word from the following verse occurs in 4Q196. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 234. Other pertinent examples include: the report of the lamentation and accusation in 4Q206 1 xxii 3–7; Qahat’s invocation of “the God of gods” when addressing his sons in 4Q542; King Nebuchadnezzar’s prayer-like utterance *about* God to Daniel in Dan 2:47 (4QDana 7); Darius’s wish that Daniel’s God would deliver him in Dan 6:17 (4QDanb 7 ii 11–12); Noah’s notification that he clothed himself “in a robe of supplication” (בְּמַעֲלֵי זַעֲקָה) in 1QapGen 6:4, tied closely to his choice of the paths of righteousness over the ways of wickedness; and Abram’s oath before the Most High God in 1QapGen 22:20–24.

to pray, even if the content of a prayer is not provided (e.g., see the second passage dealt with below).

Another problem is the preservation of a given manuscript and the extent to which we might justifiably extend our search to other, better-preserved versions of that work from outside of the Qumran texts, often from a later period and in translation (e.g., in the cases of *1 Enoch* or *Tobit*). I will generally restrict myself to those portions of texts found only among the fragmentary manuscripts of the Scrolls, leaving thorough exploration beyond their borders to the future. However, I may occasionally cite an especially important outside witness if it is helpful for understanding the prayer at hand. It is clear that the extant manuscripts and fragments neither give a complete picture of all the Aramaic prayer compositions that were once kept in the caves, nor witness to the breadth of a given prayer's attestation in antiquity (e.g., in the cases of *Daniel*, *1 Enoch*, and *Aramaic Levi*, where we may safely assume that further copies of a prayer once existed at Qumran). Nevertheless, we may gain some provisional sense of the general character of prayer in the Aramaic Scrolls.

What follows is a rather simple, annotated catalogue, and is meant primarily as a resource for further study, specifically toward a more comprehensive profile of the Aramaic Scrolls. Some brief initial observations and synthesis will follow the catalogue. Rather than try to categorize the prayers by genre or other criteria at this early stage, I will simply proceed text by text, progressing from compositions with the most extensive evidence to those with the least. The one, major Aramaic scroll not treated below is the translation of *Job* from Cave 11 (11Q10); this is due to the facts that this composition is known to depend on an earlier Hebrew exemplar (and therefore cannot really be treated as an Aramaic *composition*), and that it does not deviate substantially from that prototype.³ I will, however, include the Aramaic

³ I avoid use of the more usual designation "Targum" for this scroll advisedly. See the important distinctions made in this regard by S. P. Brock, "Translating the Old Testament," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture, Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 87–98; *ibid.*, "To Revise or not to Revise: Attitudes Towards Jewish Biblical Translation," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 301–338; *ibid.*, "A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac," *JJS* 46 (1995): 274–275; A. Samely, "Is Targumic Aramaic Rabbinic Hebrew? A Reflection on Midrashic and Targumic Rewording of Scripture," *JJS* 45:1 (1994): 92–100 [esp. 98 n. 18]; *ibid.*, *The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums: A Study of the Method and Presentation in Targumic Exegesis* (TSAJ 27; Tübingen:

Daniel manuscripts found in the caves, since it is not clear that the book was accorded a special, more canonical status than other Aramaic Scrolls (e.g. *1 Enoch* or *Aramaic Levi*) in Persian and Hellenistic period antiquity. Each entry in the catalogue will be accompanied by brief comments related to the questions listed above.

1. THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1Q20)⁴

A. *1QapGen* 0:1–18

This column of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is narrated in the first person plural voice, and from phrases like “We have undertaken an adulterous act” (נקבל גִּזּוֹר; 0:9), “And now we are prisoners!” (וכען הא אנחנא) (אסירין; 0:15), and “our imprisonment” (אסרנא) (0:20) it is clear that the narrators are the fallen Watchers, the antagonistic group of many Enochic works.⁵ Moreover, the Watchers are here addressing the Great Holy One, the Lord, as is clear from various phrases: “you will intensify your anger and will be unrelenting” (רגוז תתקף ותתקיאם) (0:12), “the heat of your anger” (חמת רגוז; 0:13), and “Now your hand has come near to strike” (וכען קריבֵה יֶדְךָ לַמַּחָה) (0:19). From these phrases it is obvious that the central topic is the Lord’s judgment of the penitent Watchers, but it also seems that 0:22 alludes to the destruction of the Watchers’ offspring, the giants, through warfare. We have, then, the better part of a column (at least) dedicated to the Watchers’ repentant, petitionary prayer to the Lord.⁶ Though this petition is unique in early

Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 158–159; D. Shepherd, *Targum and Translation: A Reconsideration of the Qumran Aramaic Version of Job* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 45; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), 283–285. Shepherd has noted that a similar argument is made by M. P. Weitzman (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999], 128; and “Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?” in *Targum Studies 2* [ed. P. V. M. Flesher; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 159–193), though his argument is grounded primarily in his study of the Peshitta in relation to the targumim.

⁴ The edition used in this section is my *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁵ See the few brief statements made by them in *1 En.* 6:1–4.

⁶ These points were already made by M. J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group*

Jewish literature, the general narrative setting of the address appears to be preserved in *1 En.* 13:4–7.⁷ If so, then this prayer in the *Apocryphon* may in fact be read by Enoch, who serves as an intermediary between the Watchers and God in this part of *1 Enoch*. In either case the prayer is ultimately that of the Watchers.

B. *1QapGen* 5:23

At the beginning of this broken line we find the participial expression “blessing the Lord of All” (מברך למרה כולא).⁸ Though the context is not entirely clear, this action (none of the benediction’s content is preserved) comes at the end of Enoch’s revelation to his son Methuselah concerning the lineage and righteous portent of Noah.

C. *1QapGen* 5:26–27

Although badly preserved, in *1QapGen* 5:27 we learn that Lamech offers the Lord praise (חדי) as a direct result of hearing the revelation given to his father Methuselah, through his divinely-endowed grandfather Enoch. Lamech’s new knowledge concerned his son, Noah, whom he discovered was not fathered by an errant angelic being (as he had feared), but was rather his own son, destined for a prominent role in the Lord’s mysterious plan for history.

D. *1QapGen* 7:7–9

These nearly three lines of text tell of Noah praising (וחדית) and exclaiming (ואציחת) the Lord of Heaven (מרה שמיא) in the wake of a revelation that he had just received. The vision seems mainly to concern the impressive authority bestowed upon Noah as a result of his righteousness (see col. 6).

on *Qumran*, 15–17 January, 2002 (STDJ 58; ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–64 [44–45].

⁷ See D. A. Machiela, “Genesis Revealed: The Apocalyptic Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited. Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (STDJ 91; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 205–221.

⁸ All translations of this and other texts (including biblical texts) are my own unless otherwise indicated, though I am certainly indebted to translations in the major editions referred to in the notes.

E. *1QapGen 7:20–23*

This very fragmentary passage preserves a mention of Noah blessing (וּבְרַכָּתָ) the Great Holy One (קִדְוֵי[י] שְׂאֵ רִבְאֵ) after waking from a dream. The dream is almost completely lost, but appears to concern historical events that will involve Noah, and should be understood as a locus of divine revelation.

F. *1QapGen 10:1–2*

Here Noah again blesses the Lord of All (לְמֹרֶה כֹּלָא [ת] בְּרִכָּתָ; cf. 5:23 above). Both the context and content are uncertain, but, based on placement in the scroll and the few words still preserved, this is clearly a positive response to being saved from the flood. The notification and blessing are less than two lines in length.

G. *1QapGen 10:8–10*

These lines may be understood as part of an injunction given by Noah to his family shortly after being saved from the flood, and before the patriarch atoned for the desolated earth by way of sacrifices.⁹ The section begins with a double plural imperative to “give praise and glorify” (וְהִלְלוּ וְשַׁבְּחוּ), which later appears to be followed by another imperative (“and listen”; וְשִׁמְעוּ), or less plausibly a fulfillment clause (“and they listened/obeyed”). It ends with the hyperbolic formula “to the King of All Ages forever and ever, unto eternity” (לְמֶלֶךְ כֹּל עַלְמֵיָא), which bears an overtly liturgical tone.

H. *1QapGen 11:12–14*

Having been saved from the flood and surveyed the earth in its rejuvenated state, Noah offers a double blessing to the Lord (אֲדִין בְּרַכָּתָ ... לְמֹרֶה ... וְתַבְתָּ וּבְרַכָּתָ דִּי). These lines simply provide Noah’s self-report of his benedictions, but do not include the contents of the prayers. The first notification is followed by the liturgical sounding expression “whose praise endures forever, and to whom (be) the glory!” (דִּי שְׁבַח עֲמִד לְעַלְמֵיָא וְלָהּ תִּשְׁבַּחְתָּא). Especially interesting here is

⁹ Alternatively, these lines could be simple narrative notifications cast in the 3mp: “So they went... and they blessed, and they glorified...” I prefer the imperative interpretation based on the 2mp suffixes in 10:7 (an archaism or, more likely, Hebraism) and especially 10:9.

the poeticized, irregular placement of the pronoun הוּא, referring back to the subject שֶׁבַח. This emphatic construction (*casus pendens*, or what T. Muraoka terms “descriptive”) lends the entire phrase the sort of heightened linguistic density characteristic of liturgical speech.¹⁰

I. 1QapGen 12:17–19

In these lines Noah reports that, after gathering his family for a feast celebrating the first vintage of his vineyard, he “was blessing the Lord of Heaven, the Most High God, the Great Holy One, who saved us from the destruction...” (מְבָרֵךְ לַמְרָה שְׁמִיָּא לְאֵל עֲלִיּוֹן לְקַדִּישָׁא רַבָּא) (די פֿלֶטְנָא מִן אַבְדְּנָא). This appears to be followed by a recitation of history building up to, or related to, the flood. In essence, then, this is a public prayer of thanksgiving in response to being spared. It is noteworthy that in *Jub.* 7:1–6 there is no parallel to this expression of praise.

J. 1QapGen 15:21–22

We find in these lines a very brief, fragmentary announcement, in which Noah blessed the Everlasting God (לְמַבְרֵךְ אֵל עֲלְמָא) directly after awaking from an apocalyptic dream-vision, in which parts of the divine plan for human history were disclosed. This act of blessing may be a loose analogue to Gen 9:26, where Noah curses Canaan and says “Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem...” However, the reason for the prayer’s utterance has been completely transformed in the *Apocryphon*, as thanks for a revelation rather than a comparison of Shem and Ham/Canaan. *Jubilees* does not contain the vision found in the *Apocryphon*, but does have a blessing closely mirroring the biblical one in *Jub.* 7:11–12.

K. 1QapGen 19:7–8

In Gen 12:8 we read that Abram “called upon the name of the Lord” after erecting an altar early during his time in Canaan. *Jub.* 13:8

¹⁰ On the construction in Biblical Hebrew see T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 67–77; and B. K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 290–300. For biblical examples see Gen 34:21, Exod 3:5, Num 13:32 and Mal 1:7. For the construction in Aramaic see T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (2nd rev. ed.; HdO 23; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 295–296.

expands this to include the actual words of the confession, “[H]e called on the name of the Lord: ‘You, my God, are the eternal God.’” The *Genesis Apocryphon* also provides Abram’s words, though they are now mostly lost: “I called there on the na[me of G]o[d], and I said, ‘You are God... .and King of Etern[i]ty’ (מִלְךְ עֶלְמָ[י]ם). In all three writings the act seems to be an expression of thanks, fidelity, and reverence on Abram’s part after arriving safely in Canaan.

L. [1QapGen 19:22]

It is worth noting, in passing, that no expression of thanksgiving, blessing, or praise is provided following Abram’s (extrabiblical) dream upon entering Egypt (cf. Gen 12:10). Noah had regularly done so following his dream-visions, which are admittedly of a different character than Abram’s.

M. 1QapGen 20:12–16

This response of Abram to the Pharaoh taking Sarai from him “by force” (בְּאוֹנֵס; 20:11) is surely one of the most interesting prayers in the Aramaic Scrolls. At the beginning of the prayer Abram states that he prayed, entreated, and sought mercy (צְלִית, בְּעִית, אֶתְחַנֵּן) through steaming tears. What follows is an extensive plea for justice to be meted out to the Pharaoh. The prayer is provided in full and includes the following elements: 1.) a formulaic expression of blessing to the God Most High (בְּרִיד אֲנִתָּה אֵל עֲלִיוֹן מְרִי לְכוּל עֲלָמִים); 2.) an admission of God’s sovereignty and ability to sit as judge over anyone; 3.) the formal submission of a legal complaint against the Pharaoh (קְבַלְתֵּךְ מְרִי עַל פְּרַעֲו);¹¹ 4.) a final appeal in which God is asked to reveal his might so that the foreigners may also come to know his sovereignty. Abram’s severe emotional distress is highlighted at the beginning and end of the prayer, with culmination in the admission that “I wept and was deeply troubled” (וּבְכִית וְחָשִׁית). Abram’s prayer is swiftly answered with the visitation of a demonic “pestilential spirit” to afflict the Pharaoh and his household.

¹¹ For the technical meaning of the Aramaic in this phrase see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd rev. ed.; *Biblica et Orientalia* 18/B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 202.

N. 1QapGen 20:28–19

As a result of Abram's successful prayer in 1QapGen 20:12–16, Pharaoh is sorely afflicted and begs Abram to “pray over me (צְלִי עָלַי) and my household, that this evil spirit may be driven away from us.” This Abram does, along with the significant act of laying his hands upon the Pharaoh's head (וּסְמַכְתָּ יָדִי עַל [ר] אִישָׁה). This apotropaic prayer-ritual is also a success, with the evil spirit being driven out and the accompanying symptoms disappearing. The practice of laying on hands to cast out a demon is not otherwise known in Judaism during this period, with the striking exception of Jesus in the New Testament Gospels. Examples of the latter bear an uncanny resemblance to this passage in the *Apocryphon*.¹² While the basic exegetical impetus for the prayer here is to be found in the analogous episode of Abram and Abimelech in Gen 20:17, our author has added significantly to its substance.

O. 1QapGen 21:1–4

Upon returning to the land of Canaan safe and sound, and with a great deal of wealth as a result of the incident with Sarai and Pharaoh, Abram rebuilds the altar at Bethel. Echoing the notification in Gen 13:4, he “called there on the name of the Lord of the Ages” (וּקְרִית וְקָרִיאַת בְּשֵׁם מְרָה עֵלְמִיאַת), the author goes on to elaborate both the content of, and reason for, the prayer: “I praised (הִלַּלְתִּי) the name of God, blessed (בֵּרַכְתִּי) God, and gave thanks (אֹדִיתִי) there before God because of all the flocks and good things that he had given me, and because he had worked good on my behalf and returned me to this land in peace.” Thus, Abram's prayer was, in essence, one of thanksgiving for having been shown divine favor.

P. 1QapGen 22:16–17

This passage parallels the biblical blessing of both Abram and God Most High by the enigmatic Melchizedek in Gen 14:19–20. The correspondence is indeed very close, nearly comprising straight translation. The *Apocryphon*'s version reads: “Blessed be Abram by God

¹² On this see David Flusser, “Healing through the Laying-on of Hands in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 21–22; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 213.

Most High, Lord of Heaven and Earth; and blessed be God Most High, who delivered those who hate you into your hand.” As in Genesis, the blessing follows Abram’s return from battle against the league of four kings, and there is no explicit reason provided for the benediction.

2. 1 ENOCH¹³

A. 4QEn^a (4Q201) ii 10–11

In these lines, equating to the opening verses of *1 Enoch* 5, Enoch enjoins the hearer to “[Give pr]ai[se ([ו]ל[ה]), and] contemplate (אֲתִבּוֹנֵנּוּ) all of these works...” after his discourse on the Lord’s magnificent ordering of creation. It is not entirely clear who Enoch is addressing,¹⁴ but the basic premise is that astute observation of creation (the listener has already been told to “observe” a number of times) should culminate in an act of praise, and further contemplation.

B. 4QEn^b (4Q202) 1 iii 13–16

This fragmentary version of *1 En.* 9:4–5 records the request of the angels Raphael and Michael that the Lord render judgment against the errant Watchers on behalf of the souls of the deceased humans who had suffered bloodshed and violence. The preserved text is comprised of an introductory chain of God’s titles (“[You are] our Great Lord; (You) [ar]e Lord of the World...”) and a statement of his greatness (“Your glorious [thron]e is for every generation...”). This would almost surely have been followed by the appeal of *1 En.* 9:6–11 for

¹³ This section includes all those portions of *1 Enoch* known from later versions (e.g. Ethiopic), though I do not assume that this accurately reflects a static redactional situation during the Second Temple period. For sake of convenience, I have separated this Enochic material from the following *Book of Giants*, again without making judgments about J. T. Milik’s claim that *Giants* once comprised part of an Enochic Pentateuch (*The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 4, 76–79). For the sake of convenience, Aramaic transcriptions for *1 Enoch*, *Book of Giants*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, and *Visions of Amram* are those found in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 3: Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), with references to the editions found there.

¹⁴ The righteous elect had been addressed earlier in the *Book of Watchers*, and might be the most natural subject addressed. However, shortly after the command to praise and contemplate Enoch turns to another “you,” who are berated for being transgressors (perhaps the Watchers, though this is also not clear).

justice, which is answered positively in chapter 10. It should be noted that XQ8 also preserves the discourse leading up to this prayer.¹⁵

C. *4QEn^c (4Q204) 1 v 19; 1 xiii 29–30*

Only line 30 of frg. 1 xiii preserves the very damaged verb for blessing the Lord ([בֹּאֲדִיִן אֲבִרָךְ] לְמַרְא רְבוּתָא). However, based on the versions it is very likely that the same act was mentioned in 1 v 19 and 1 xiii 29. In all of these cases the wider context indicates an utterance of thanksgiving for having received a divine revelation, here the disclosure of knowledge about various aspects of the earthly created order.

D. *4QEn^d (4Q205) 1 xi 2–3*

Preserving part of *1 En. 22:14*, we find in these lines a hiatus in Enoch's angelically-guided tour of the earth, during which he blesses the Lord of Majesty for what he has seen thus far. The benediction follows a description of the places of judgment for both the righteous and the wicked, and therefore Enoch calls out "Blessed be the Righteous Judge..." The basic function of this prayer is again to express thanks and reverence following a revelation, an act found elsewhere in this portion of *1 Enoch* (e.g., 27:5, 36:4).

3. BOOK OF GIANTS

A. *4QEnGiants^a (4Q203) 8 15*

The very last word of this fragment is the isolated, plural command to pray (צִלוּ), uttered as the closing peroration in a letter written by Enoch to the abashed Watcher Shemihazah and his companions. The letter recounts the wicked, violent deeds of this group and the decreed destruction issued against them. It is difficult to tell if the prayers of the Watchers would have any effect, but it seems Enoch recommends that they repent as a last-ditch effort to receive mercy.

¹⁵ See E. and H. Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGenf, 4QIsab, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XQpapEnoch," *DSD* 12 (2005): 134–157.

B. *4QEnGiants^a (4Q203) 9–10*

It is not certain where these fragments fall within the broader structure of the *Book of Giants*, but it is evident that they (especially frg. 9) contain the words of a prayer. Fragment 9 2–6 speaks of trembling before God’s splendor (רַעְלִין מִן קוֹדֵם הַדֶּר יִקְרַבָּה), and directly addresses him in the second-person, mentioning such things as “the kingdom of your greatness” (מַלְכוּת רַבּוּתָּהּ). It seems plausible that these fragments contain the words of the prayer recommended in 4Q203 8 (see above), and may correspond in some way to the contents of *Genesis Apocryphon* col. 0 and *1 En.* 12:6–13:6.

C. *4QEnGiants^a (4Q203) 4 6*

This line may read: “[they were prostrate, and wept befo[re...]” (וַיִּשְׁוּ [וּבְכּוּ קוֹדֵם]). While the context is unclear, these words may be related to the episode mentioned in the above fragments (4Q203 8, 9–10).

D. *4QEnGiants^c (4Q531) various fragments*

There are a number of fragments belonging to this manuscript that may suggest prayer activity (especially 1–4, 17–19, and 39); however, their context and full content is no longer clear. Some may have once contained an address to the Lord by the fallen Watchers or Enoch.

E. *4QEnGiants^e (4Q533) 3 1*

The phrase “children prayed before him” (צִלּוּ יִלְדֵי מִן קַדְמוֹה) in the first line of this fragment seems to signal some sort of divine address. The general context of the associated fragments concerns the corruption of the errant Watchers and God’s corresponding judgment through the flood, but no specific context for this fragment is readily apparent. Perhaps this line refers to a prayer of repentance or supplication by the giant children of the Watchers (cf. *Jub.* 5:6–11, *1 En.* 15), or by the children of humans who are suffering?

4. DANIEL¹⁶A. 4QDan^a (4Q112) 3 i 1–5

This fragment from 4QDan^a preserves a good portion of Daniel's prayer from Dan 2:20–23, in which he offers God praise and thanksgiving for having revealed to him both the cryptic dream of King Nebuchadnezzar, and its interpretation. The prayer begins with a blessing of God's name: "Daniel answered [and sa]id 'May the name of the Great God be blessed [מברך ... להוא], for ever and ever!'" The verbs for giving thanks (מהודא) and praise (משבח) are also used later in the prayer (3 i 4), citing the incomparable wisdom and power of God. Formally, this is a prayer of thanks and praise in response to divine revelation.

B. 4QDan^b (4Q113) 1–2 10–15

Six poorly-preserved lines remain of Nebuchadnezzar's utterance of praise to "the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego" in 4QDan^b (= Dan 3:28–29). The prayer responds to the miraculous intervention of God on behalf of three Judean men whom the king tried to kill in a scorching furnace, and would surely have started with the declaration "blessed be their God" (ברוך אלההון) of the manuscript tradition, though it is no longer extant in this fragment. If we assume a general correspondence to later textual witnesses (which seems justified), the king also recounted briefly what the three men had done and how God had acted to save them (ושזיב לעבדוהי; 1–2 12). This is followed seamlessly by a royal decree that no one should blaspheme such a mighty deliverer.

C. 4QDan^b (4Q113) 7 i 17–20

One of the most interesting notifications of prayer in Daniel, and the Aramaic Scrolls in general, is fragmentarily preserved in these lines. Though only an "upper room" and "hi[s knees], praying" are extant in 4QDan^b 7 i, these words reflect Dan 6:11, which states that Daniel "continued to go to his house, which had windows in its upper room open toward Jerusalem, and to get down on his knees three times a day to pray to his God and offer him thanks, as he had been doing

¹⁶ Transcriptions are from E. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

previously.” The specific contents of these prayers are not provided, but we are told that they contained thanksgiving (the MT has the participle מודים). Unlike many of the other prayers in the Aramaic Scrolls, these are not said in response to a particular occasion or event, but are part of a set liturgical schedule.

D. *4QDan^b (4Q113) 9–11 11–13*

Much like Nebuchadnezzar’s acknowledgment and exaltation of the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego mentioned above, here we find the partly preserved prayer of King Darius from Dan 6:27–28. The king praises the God of Daniel, “the living God, enduring foreve[r]” (9–11 11), after Daniel miraculously survived an overnight stay in a den of hungry lions. Like the episode of the fiery furnace, we are told in Dan 6:23 that one of God’s angels was responsible for this marvel. Darius’s prayer praises the power and deliverance of Daniel’s God, and recounts the events that have just taken place. An important part of the prayer is its situation in the broader context of a royal edict (again reminding us of Nebuchadnezzar’s prayer in Dan 3), instructing all those under Darius’s rule to “tremble, and fear (זאעין ודחלין) before the God of Daniel.”

5. TOBIT¹⁷

A. *4QpapTob^a (4Q196) 6 7–12*

This fragment preserves part of Sarah’s prayer to the Lord after she has contemplated and rejected the possibility of suicide (= Tob 3:11–15). The recipient of a demonic scourge that has killed seven previous husbands, Sarah now turns to the Lord in a prayer of petition. We pick up the prayer near its beginning, with a blessing of God’s holy name (אוי קירא [וי קדישא] שמו [ובריך . . .]), followed by a notification of supplication ([“And now I have turned] my face [t]o you and [have lif]ted up my eyes”) and ultimately a request to be “released from the earth.” Sarah asserts her innocence, makes explicit her dire situation (and that

¹⁷ Though there is still some debate over the original language of Tobit (one out of five [or perhaps six] manuscripts found among the Scrolls is written in Hebrew), for the purposes of this study I consider it to be an Aramaic text at some point translated into Hebrew. For a discussion of the various options see Fitzmyer, *Tobit*.

of her father), and then asks once again that God act by taking her life. An interesting detail about the metaphysical mechanics of Sarah's prayer (and an earlier one by Tobit) comes much later in the book, at Tob 12:12, where the angel Raphael informs them that "when you [Tobit] and Sarah prayed, it was I who brought and read the record of your prayer before the glory of the Lord." This prayer, then, may be categorized as both a petition and a lament, with an introductory element of benedictory praise.

B. *4QpapTob^a (4Q196) 17 i 13–18 11*¹⁸

The final, triumphant crescendo of the Book of Tobit is signalled by a lengthy prayer, spoken by Tobit, extolling God's justice and mercy. A portion of this prayer and its immediate context (= Tob 12:18–14:3) is extant in these fragments of 4Q196. It is prefaced by the statement that Tobit and Tobias "were blessing and praising God, and thanking him for his marvellous deeds" (Tob 12:22).¹⁹ The prayer itself begins with an address to God through a blessing (much like Sarah's prayer, mentioned above), but it is, in reality, largely didactic and hortatory, aimed at the secondary audience of the "children of Israel" (see Tob 13:3). In this sense, the prayer is a public acknowledgment on Tobit's part of God's sovereignty and Israel's need to respond through repentance and faithful obedience. In Tob 13:9 (17 ii 8) the prayer turns abruptly to addressing a personified Jerusalem, which has been ravaged but will yet see the superabundant blessings of the Lord. The direct cause of the prayer is the disclosure of Raphael's true angelic identity, which stands as a dramatic token of God's ongoing care for his people. This care, incidentally, is explicitly said to be triggered by prayer in Tob 12:12–15. Despite the content of the prayer (teaching Israel how to act and heaping prophetic exhortation on Jerusalem), the Aramaic of Tob 14:1 almost surely agreed with the other versions in saying that "Tobit ceased his words of thanksgiving," though the beginning of 4Q196 18 12 is now missing.

¹⁸ Note the corresponding Hebrew attestation of these passages in 4Q200 6–7 ii.

¹⁹ This is not preserved in the Aramaic manuscripts, but see 4Q200 6 2–3.

6. ARAMAIC LEVI DOCUMENT

A. 4QLevi^b (4Q213a) 1 6–2 10

This prayer, uttered by Levi, is quite fragmentary in our Qumran manuscript, but thanks to an important and fairly close parallel in the Athos Greek Codex 39 from the Monastery of Koutloumous, and other contextual evidence from the *Testament of Levi*, we may be relatively certain of its basic content and approximate narrative situation.²⁰ There has been some debate over specific details of the prayer's context within the work as a whole, and for the time being this must remain a matter of educated conjecture.²¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that the prayer is a supplication, which essentially articulates a “two paths” dichotomy, separating the ways of the righteous from those of the wicked. Levi's basic request is that he be set by God on the path of truth, so that his deed may be found pleasing before the Lord, and that he be kept far from the ways of the wicked (which in the present context seems to refer most directly to the Shechemites).

Some noteworthy details are found in Levi's supplication. First, several actions are specified at the beginning of the prayer: Washing (likely in living water) both garments and the entire body, lifting up the eyes and/or countenance to the heavens, opening the mouth to speak (reconstructed in the Aramaic), and extending the hands and fingers. Only after these preparations does the prayer commence with an acknowledgment of the Lord's omniscience, which then leads to a meditation on the two paths. The way of righteousness, or truth, is associated with the terms wisdom, knowledge, strength, favor, beauty, and goodness, while the unrighteous way is marked by evil thought and sexual fornication (à la the Shechemites). It is clear that follow-

²⁰ See the edition of J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 5, 60–63, 123–124. The Athos manuscript inserts the prayer at *T. Levi* 2:4. Due to the relative proximity of the Athos version of the prayer, in the following discussion I will simply assume 4QLevi^b to have contained closely related words and phrases where such overlap seems justified by the existing correspondences and context.

²¹ For the two main arguments regarding placement, which primarily concerns whether the incident of vengeance against the Shechemites is to be situated before or after the prayer, see the recent contributions of Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel (*The Aramaic Levi Document*, 11–19), who argue that the prayer followed the Shechem retribution, and H. Drawnel (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* [JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 43–49), who argues rather that the prayer preceded this event.

ing the proper path requires active participation by the Lord, for Levi asks “let not any satan/accuser rule over me,” a statement that accords the prayer an apotropaic function.²² This is followed by Levi’s request to be “brought near” (וקרבני) as the Lord’s servant; undoubtedly a partial allusion to his future function as a priest based on the frequent use of the root קר"ב for sacrificial acts. The prayer appears to end with an injunction to heed the prayer and render a “true judgment” (דין קשט; 2 9) for “the son of your servant” (לבר עבדך; 2 10).

Levi’s prayer, then, stands as a supplication incorporating “two paths” language linked to a metaphysical realm of spirits that may be manipulated through prayer, and likely alludes to Levi’s future priestly role.

7. THE PRAYER OF NABONIDUS (4Q242)²³

This remarkable though poorly preserved scroll begins with the heading: “The words of the p[ra]yer (צ[ל]תא) which Nabonidus, king of [Baby]lon, [the great] king, prayed (צלי) [when he was smitten] by a bad disease by the decree of G[od] in Teima.” A first-person description by the king follows, in which he describes how God healed him and remitted his sin. The actual words of the prayer, signalled in the heading, are no longer preserved (assuming they once were part of the text), but we do receive a good sense of the prayer’s setting, motivation, and function. After praying to false gods for seven years Nabonidus is healed and then informed by a Jewish diviner that this was the work of their God (probably called Most High, though the name is not preserved). The Jewish man enjoins the king to proclaim (החוי), write down (כתב), and ascribe honor and greatness (למעבד יקר ור[ב]ון) to the God of the Jews. Presumably these acts once followed in the now lost text, amounting to a prayer that would have included confession, and most certainly praise in response to healing and correct knowledge.

²² On this prayer in its broader Jewish context see D. Flusser, “Qumran and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 214–225.

²³ The text and translation are those of J. J. Collins in *Qumran Cave 4. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 83–93. See there for additional discussion and bibliography.

8. VISIONS OF AMRAM

A. 4Q*Visions of Amram*^d (4Q546) 9

This line lacks context, and therefore is difficult to place within the overall narrative of the *Visions of Amram*. However, it does seem that a prayer of supplication was offered by Amram, based on the partially reconstructed phrase “until the time of the petition of [my?] pr[ayer]” ([... בְּעוֹת דִּי בְּעוֹת צְלוֹת (י)].²⁴ If indeed Moses is named by Amram two lines earlier (as Puech suggests), then this prayer may have had something to do with the infant.

Synthesis and Conclusion

Over thirty prayers from the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls have been catalogued above, and in conclusion it is worth dwelling briefly on their cumulative character. While it must be kept in mind that such syntheses are sure to obscure the details of any single prayer, I have found the following trends worth noting:

1. Prayers of praise and thanksgiving are regularly attached to the reception of divine revelation, especially through dreams and visions. This sort of prayer is especially prominent in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *1 Enoch*, and *Daniel*, though we could also include here the prayer of *Tobit*. *Tobit*'s prayer is slightly different than the others in that *Tobit* does not actually have a vision himself. Nevertheless, the prayer is instigated by *Raphael*'s self-revelation. It must be said that *Tobit*'s prayer has a somewhat different character than the other prayers of this sort, including elements of repentance and instruction to the constructed audience.
2. Other expressions of praise, blessing, and thanksgiving occur in recognition that God has acted decisively—often miraculously—either on one's own behalf or on behalf of another party (both *Noah* and *Abram* in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, *Daniel*, and perhaps *Aramaic Levi*; *Tobit*'s prayer would again apply here). In *1 Enoch* there is a special association between praise and observation of the created order. In many of these prayers God's sovereignty and power are stressed.

²⁴ See the reading and notes of Puech, DJD 31, 361–362.

3. Most prayers, even those comprised mainly of a petition, begin with some acclamation of God's greatness, very often employing the word for "blessing" (בר"ך) before a divine appellation. With respect to the latter, we find regular use of the "name" (שם) of God as part of the initial address in these Aramaic prayers (e.g., *Genesis Apocryphon*, Daniel, and Tobit). Finally, the act of lifting the eyes (נִטְּלָא + עֵינִין) is explicitly mentioned at the beginning of Sarah's prayer in Tobit, and Levi's in *Aramaic Levi*. None of this language is exclusive to the Aramaic Scrolls (each expression is found in biblical books and in later texts), but it does help us get a sense of the profile of this group of prayers.
4. The distribution of petitionary prayer and prayers of repentance is interesting; in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *1 Enoch*, and the *Book of Giants* these prayers are linked with the primordial sin of the Watchers. It seems that in these writings the idealized ancestors of Israel had no need to repent or confess guilt, and this fits a more general trend of idealizing past figures in other ancient Jewish reworkings of authoritative texts (e.g. *Jubilees*)—apparently those writing these texts were interested in providing readers with a black and white portrayal of righteousness and wickedness, the former typified by the patriarchs of Israel and the latter by the errant Watchers, their offspring, and any others associated with them. This dovetails nicely with the "two-ways" metaphor, which shows up in the prayer in *Aramaic Levi*, and supplied a powerful historical typology of rectitude and sinfulness to be observed by later generations. Others needing to confess wrongdoing were the foreign kings Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel and Nabonidus in 4Q242. By contrast, the petition of Abram in 1QapGen concerns not his own sinfulness, but the fact that an injustice had been done to him. Largely absent are prayers of communal confession and repentance found so often in other Jewish writings of this general time period (and later), such as in the "Prayer of Azariah," added to the ancient Greek version of Daniel 3.
5. Connected with the previous point, we find an interest in angels and demons reflected in these prayers. Angels are often in the purview of those praying, and the assumption in Tob 12:12 that angels act as intercessors for the prayers ascending to the Lord might well characterize the Aramaic prayers more

generally. Demons or misleading divine beings are mentioned in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Tobit*, and *Aramaic Levi*, and play major roles more generally in the overall scope of *1 Enoch*, the *Book of Giants*, and the *Visions of Amram*. In Abram's prayers in the *Genesis Apocryphon* specific activities of demons (instigated by prayer) are described, and prayer is depicted as having an apotropaic application for the control of evil forces. In both of these respects, the righteous character of the one praying (here Abram) seems central. More generally, this example highlights the fact that prayer, at least in some cases, *does* something. It is understood to "get through" to God (at least potentially) and holds the possibility of influencing the workings of the divine realm. An important observation regarding petitionary prayer is that those who are righteous (e.g., Abram, Raphael and Michael, Sarah, and Tobit) are heard and have their prayers acted upon, while those who are not (e.g., the Watchers) or ignored or receive harsh judgment.

One of the striking features of the Aramaic Scrolls when viewed as a whole is their lack of anything we might classify as a "prayer text" per se, such as we find in relative abundance among the Hebrew Scrolls (e.g., the *Hodayot* texts, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 4Q503 [*Daily Prayers*], 4Q504 [*Words of the Luminaries*], and 4Q509 [*Festival Prayers*]). Rather, all of the Aramaic prayers are contextualized within a narrative and placed in the mouths of specific individuals or groups. There are no "anonymous" prayer texts, as we find in many of the Hebrew Scrolls. The latter were presumably written down in order to actually be prayed on specific or general occasions by an individual or community. It is difficult to know what to make of this difference in character for the Aramaic Scrolls.

It seems clear enough that the circles writing this literature must themselves have prayed, probably according to some schedule or plan fixed to a greater or lesser degree (recall Daniel praying three times daily, facing Jerusalem). Moreover, we may gather from the overtly liturgical formulae and language in some of the texts surveyed here that there was some degree of fixity to what a prayer (or at least certain prayers) should ideally sound like. "At the beginning you should say something roughly like X, while at the end you might pray Y or Z." Did those Jews composing literature in Aramaic simply not commit this sort of text to writing (i.e., it was a strictly oral domain)? Is it sim-

ply historical circumstance that they were written but not preserved, in contrast to the Hebrew texts? Perhaps the group(s) or individuals that were responsible for bringing this literature out to the Judean Desert did not originate in the circles that produced prayer texts in Aramaic? Or maybe they prayed in Hebrew? (This seems unlikely given that they portray the patriarchs and other pious figures praying in Aramaic.) We can give no firm answer to any of these questions, but the discrepancy between the Aramaic and Hebrew texts in this respect is intriguing.

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, we may assume that both the settings and contents of the Aramaic prayers surveyed in this essay served paradigmatic and didactic roles; they informed and reinforced the listeners' understanding of when and how to pray. Those reading or hearing these prayers in the mouths of various characters would have gleaned, through *exempla*, the circumstances under which it was fitting to offer various types of prayers, depending on whether one identified more with the ultra-righteous protagonists or the sinful antagonists, as well as the sorts of things one might say. One might justifiably object that the prayers in these texts often occur under such incredible conditions that they would have had little real-life applicability for ordinary Jewish men and women (e.g., after receiving an angelic revelation, or descending from heaven and performing wicked deeds). This is a point worth pondering further, but I do not think it necessarily precludes some paradigmatic and didactic function for the Aramaic prayers.

Finally, it should not be assumed that every prayer found in the Aramaic Scrolls is an exclusive product of the scribal circles composing these texts, for in certain instances it is clear that earlier biblical traditions are being passed along (e.g., Abram's prayer in 1QapGen 19:7–8). However, it does seem that most of the prayers were crafted in highly educated scribal circles that wrote pious Jewish narratives, both technical and more popular, in Aramaic over the span of several centuries (approximately the fourth to second centuries BCE). The majority of this literature sought to shape the reader, inculcating norms, worldviews, and practices that would lead him or her to "walk in the paths of everlasting truth" by appeal to revered figures from Israel's past. Prayer is clearly one area in which we see such concerns exhibited.

THE IDEA OF BIBLICAL GENRE:
FROM DISCOURSE TO CONSTELLATION

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I

In our work on the scrolls, biblical texts, and pseudepigraphic texts, what do we mean by genre? To be sure, much light has been shed on the shared elements in apocalyptic, liturgical and rewritten bible texts over the past quarter of a century. This work has transformed the way we read and think about many texts from Jewish antiquity. What function does generic classification have for our scholarship?

Of course the title of my paper makes an allusion to James Kugel's *Idea of Biblical Poetry* book, in which he challenged the very use of the term "poetry" in biblical studies.¹ Did it characterize or capture biblical song or lament? Or is our use of the term "poetry" asking us to evaluate biblical song with criteria that were developed in a specifically Greek context?

Similarly, I want to raise the question: how can we use the term "genre" in traditions that do not conform to the institutional constraints of Greek and Roman writing? On the one hand, there are some, for example Mikhail Bakhtin and Tzvetan Todorov, who have argued that there will always be generic forms as long as there is literature and, indeed, as long as there are speech acts. After all, genres are simply *kinds* of texts, hence kinds of speech acts, and it is hard to see how there could be such speech acts without recognizable patterns

¹ "From earliest times, this consistency was identified by those steeped in the Greek meters as a comparable organizing system (it was on this that the claim of biblical poetry originally rested). But the 'meter' of the Bible differs from these other meters in that it is only part of a complex of equivalences. Moreover, it is indisputably true that even the most parallelistic sections of the Bible have a markedly different 'aesthetic of regularity' from that observable in metrical poetry: they simply did not demand the same consistency." J. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelsim and its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 71–72.

that allow them to be organized into kinds. On this subject, Bakhtin and Todorov say the following:

We speak only in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical forms of construction of the whole. Our repertoire of oral (and written) speech genres is rich. We use them confidently and skillfully in practice, and it is quite possible for us not even to suspect their existence in theory. Like Molière's Monsieur Jourdain who, when speaking in prose, had no idea that was what he was doing, we speak in diverse genres without suspecting that they exist. Even in the most free, the most unconstrained conversation, we cast our speech in definite generic forms, sometimes rigid and trite ones, sometimes more flexible, plastic, and creative ones (everyday communication also has creative genres at its disposal). We are given these speech genres in almost the same way that we are given our native language, which we master fluently long before we begin to study grammar.²

By defending the legitimacy of a study of genres, we have found, in the process, an answer to the question implicitly raised by the title "the origin of genres." From where do genres come? Why, quite simply, from other genres. A new genre is always the transformation of one or several old genres: by inversion, by displacement, by combination. Today's "text" (which is also a genre, in one of its meanings) owes as much to the "poetry" as to the "novel" of the nineteenth century, just as the "comédie larmoyante" combined the traits of the comedy and the tragedy of the seventeenth century. There has never been a literature without genres; it is a system in continual transformation, and the question of origins cannot be disassociated, historically, from the field of the genres themselves. Chronologically, there is no 'before genres'.³

On the other hand, the idea of genre, like the distinction between poetry and prose,⁴ originated in very specific literary circumstances in ancient Greece, and it can be argued that the idea of genre needs to be reserved for very specific contexts—or, at least, that if the idea of genre is to be extended beyond these contexts, then it must be extended with great care in order to retain its usefulness.

² M. M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (trans. V. W. McGee; Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986), 78.

³ T. Todorov, "The Origin of Genres," *New Literary History* 8 (1976): 159–170.

⁴ Kugel, *Idea of Biblical Poetry*, esp. 85–87.

My argument is not, I should say at the outset, that we should not use the term “genre.”⁵ Rather, my argument is that we should be mindful, not only of the similarities, but also of the *differences* between classical Greek literature and Second Temple literature. While the similarities are sufficient to legitimize talk of genre, the differences also allow us *greater freedom* than we have so far utilized, I will argue, to classify Second Temple texts in a variety of ways. Some of these classifications should clearly count as generic. Others may not count, or may not count in as clear-cut a way, but they may be illuminating nevertheless.

II

Here are two ways of thinking about genre, though they are not the *only* ways for thinking about genre.

- 1) The texts were produced *as* members of relevant genres, and the norms governing their production included *generic norms* which must have been known to those involved in text production. These norms determine a class of possible texts, while excluding other possible texts as ineligible for membership in the class.
- 2) Genre is primarily an idea to be used in the *reader's* classification of texts. Noticing certain patterns, the reader classifies some texts with others, or distinguishes some texts from others. No claim is made that these patterns were consciously known to those involved in the production of the texts. The claim is only that the classification in question contributes constructively to criticism.⁶

The first way of understanding the use of the idea of genre fits well in the context of ancient Greek literature. Distinctions between genres were closely tied to text production and had to be known by those involved. Someone who submitted a tragedy for performance at the Dionysian festival had to conform to certain norms. Tragedies were submitted to the *archon*. Only if he accepted the submission was a

⁵ I have just co-edited an issue of *DSD* (17) dedicated to the impact of John Collins' work on genre, and I am very excited about new work being done with the idea.

⁶ For a neo-pragmatist defense of this view see A. Rosmarin, *The Power of Genre* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

chorus granted for performance. (See Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1449b.) To submit a comedy for performance as a tragedy would have shown the author's incompetence. Here genre distinctions were not merely distinctions between classes or kinds. They were distinctions between different kinds of *conventionalized* and indeed *institutionalized* norms.

The classic work on genre distinctions is, of course, Aristotle's *Poetics*:

Epic poetry, then, and the poetry of tragic drama, and, moreover, comedy and dithyrambic poetry, and most flute-playing and harp-playing, these, speaking generally, may all be said to be 'representations of life.' But they differ one from another in three ways: either in using means generically different or in representing different objects or in representing objects not in the same way but in a different manner. For just as by the use both of color and form people represent many objects, making likenesses of them—some having a knowledge of art and some working empirically—and just as others use the human voice; so is it also in the arts which we have mentioned, they all make their representations in rhythm and language and tune, using these means either separately or in combination.⁷

However, as Farrell⁸ points out, Aristotle was only the first *theorist* to discuss what poets were already *explicitly* aware of. Both poets and critics thought of genres as determined by conventionalized and institutionalized norms.

Ancient critics simply did not recognize the possibility that the *Iliad* might belong to the epic and the tragic genres, or that it might be useful for some purposes to consider it as an epic and for others as a tragedy, or that it could stand partly inside and partly outside both these genres, combining elements of each. Still less did they regard genre itself as a slippery or even a problematic concept. Instead genre was felt to be an immanent and unambiguous characteristic of all poems, not putty in the hands of an inventive poet, and not a discursive tool to be invoked at will by critics for the sake of the argument. So much for the theorists. The poets as well, at least in their most explicit statements concerning generic self-awareness, insist on a stable relationship between genre and metrical form on the one hand and ethos on the other. They had done so, in fact, long before the first treatise of literary theory was written.⁹

⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 1447a (Translation from Aristotle, *The Poetics* [trans. W. H. Fyfe; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932]).

⁸ J. Farrell, "Classical Genre in Theory and Practice," *New Literary History* 34 (2003): 383–408.

⁹ Farrell, "Classical Genre in Theory and Practice," 386.

It is absolutely crucial to say—and to point out the consequences of saying—that we do not have the slightest evidence of anything like Aristotle’s poetics for our tradition of Ancient Jewish texts. (Are Jewish Greek traditions trying to conform to rules of the Greek literature? This has to be considered case by case, for another day.) Nor do we know of any institution like that of the *archon*, with the authority to accept or reject a text in accordance with, among other things, generic norms.

This is not to say, however, that those involved in text-production were completely unaware of generic norms. If we can show that some distinguishing features of texts were, if not institutionalized, then nevertheless *conventionalized*, then we will have good reason to think of these as generic features of which those involved in production were aware. Consider, for example, the everyday speech act of inviting someone to a party. Textual invitations typically include the abbreviation, “RSVP.” Why do they possess this shared feature? Surely they possess it because this is a convention, though not a strict rule. It is a norm that has to be learned through instruction. It is unlikely that anybody would know what the abbreviation stood for unless they had mastered the relevant convention.

Here, then, is an *analogy* with ancient Greek genres. And it is an analogy that can prove fruitful, as it has in fact proved fruitful in the hands of Collins¹⁰ and others. However, the analogy is limited, and it does not license importing into biblical and Dead Sea Scroll studies the *full-blown* Greek idea of genre. Thus there is no evidence whatsoever that Second Temple text-producers thought of genre as “an immanent and unambiguous characteristic of all” (sacred?) texts. And there is no reason to assume that, just as no play could be both a tragedy and a comedy in fifth century BCE Greece, so too a Second Temple text

¹⁰ J. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” (forthcoming): “The conventions, expectations and intentions of ancient authors are certainly a worthy subject of investigation, but there was no systematic reflection on literary genre in ancient Judaism. Such genre labels as we find are quite inconsistent... So, while I do not dispute the value of emic analysis of the self-presentation of texts, this does not invalidate the use of analytic categories, based on the commonalities we now perceive between ancient texts, whether their authors perceived them or not” (3). See also, J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979, repr. 1998); J. Collins, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 417–429.

could not belong to more than one genre. Nor is there any reason to think that generic distinctions will be the *only* or the *most* important distinctions between kinds of text.

III

I have said that the idea of genre has a legitimate use in biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls studies even though there is no analogue of the institutionalized genre distinctions found in ancient Greek literature. For, there is still a partial analogy to the Greek case insofar as generic features are conventionalized. An example may be found in Robert Williamson's work on the genre of *Pesher*.¹¹ These texts typically exhibit, among other things, the following three features: a lemma or scriptural citation; an interpretation; and the identification of a contemporaneous referent. Like "RSVP" on an invitation, these features are shared because the text-producer has been instructed in the relevant norm, which may be expected to be known to his or her reader as well. In this second case, the norm is consciously known to both writer and reader, and the partial analogy to Greek genre is clear.

However, in recent work that employs the idea of a prototype genre, there is not so much an analogy to ancient Greek genre as there is a *challenge* to ancient Greek genre. Here one or more exemplary texts figure as templates, providing an anchor for a schema or "idealized cognitive model," in light of which other possible texts are classified.¹² The model described in the following is based on empirical work on the psychology of classification, inspired to some extent by Wittgenstein's

¹¹ R. Williamson, "Pesher: A Cognitive Model of the Genre," *DSD* 17 (2010): 307–331.

¹² For an explanation of prototype theory and the idealized cognitive model as applied to ancient Jewish texts see, B. Wright, "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts," *DSD* 17 (2010): 288–313; Williamson, "Pesher: A Cognitive Model of the Genre," 335–359; C. Newsom, "Spying Out the Land: A Report from Genology," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients* (ed. R. Troxel, K. Friebel, and D. Magary; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–450. For a helpful overview of genre theory see also, C. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot," *DSD* 17 (2010): 269–287, esp. 271–275. Much of the theoretical basis for prototype theory has been made possible through E. Rosch, "Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories," *Journal of Experimental Psychology (General)* 104 (1975): 192–233 and G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

challenge to the essence-based classification first thematized by Socrates and Plato, and then developed by Aristotle and others.

I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than ‘family resemblances’; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way. And I shall say: ‘games’ form a family. And for instance the kinds of number form a family in the same way. Why do we call something a ‘number’? Well, perhaps because it has a—direct—relationship with several things that have hitherto been called number; and this can be said to give it an indirect relationship to other things we call the same name. And we extend our concept of number as in spinning a thread we twist fibre on fibre. And the strength of the thread does not reside in the fact that someone fibre runs through its whole length, but in the overlapping of many fibres. But if someone wished to say: ‘There is something common to all these constructions—namely the disjunction of all their common properties’—I should reply: Now you are only playing with words. One might as well say: ‘Something runs through the whole thread—namely the continuous overlapping of those fibres’.¹³

This approach promises, I think, to be particularly fruitful for biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls studies, because it captures something central to Second Temple text production: namely, the process of producing new texts by rewriting, recasting and expanding pre-existing and already authoritative texts. However, it would seem that we are dealing here with a genre of the second type distinguished above. Those who employ prototypes and “idealized cognitive models” need not be consciously aware of the classificatory features involved in their thinking. Is there a conception of genre that is like the prototype model in its connection with Second Temple text production processes, but that is of the first type, thematizing features of which the text producers may be said to have been consciously aware?

I believe that the answer is “Yes.” Indeed, I would like to suggest that, in my book, *Seconding Sinai*,¹⁴ I was working with just such a

¹³ L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (ed. G. E. M. Anscombe, R. Rhees, and G. H. von Wright; trans. G. E. M. Anscombe; Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), sections 66–67.

¹⁴ H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 10: “It would indeed be anachronistic to apply a contemporary concept of authorship to an ancient text, but only if it could be shown that a different concept of authorship was operative at the time of the text’s production and/or reception. Perhaps it can be shown that currently employed notions of pseudonymous attribution and rewriting presuppose contemporary concepts

conception of genre. There I discussed what I called—following Foucault—discourses tied to a founder.

We now ask of each poetic or fictional text: from where does it come, who wrote it, when, under what circumstances, or beginning with what design? The meaning ascribed to it and the status or value accorded it depends on the manner in which we answer these questions. And if a text should be discovered in a state of anonymity—whether as a consequence of an accident or the author's explicit wish—the game becomes one of rediscovering the author. Since literary anonymity is not tolerable, we can accept it only in the guise of an enigma. As a result, the author function today plays an important role in our view of literary works.¹⁵

I focused on the discourse tied to Moses, although I suggested that there are also discourses tied to other founding figures such as David, Solomon, Isaiah, Ezra, etc., and I have explored some of these other discourses elsewhere. Now, Mosaic discourse can be conceptualized in terms of a model of genre based on a prototype, namely Deuteronomy. However, I would also argue that the relationship between later works such as *Jubilees* or the *Temple Scroll* and Deuteronomy is to some extent *conventionalized*, and that these conventional features of the relationship must have been consciously known to those involved in producing the later texts.

Two of the four features whereby I characterized Mosaic discourse strike me as more-or-less conventional.¹⁶ First, the new text ascribes to itself the status of Torah by means of the deictic formula “this Torah.” For example, Deut 31:9 (ויכתב משה את-התורה הזאת ויתנה) ואל-הכהנים בני לוי הנשאים את-ארון ברית יהוה ואל-כל-זקני ישראל “Moses wrote down this teaching and gave it to the priests, sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the Lord's Covenant, and to all the elders

of authorship. But this is not sufficient to justify a charge of anachronism. What is required in addition is a reconstruction of the concepts operative at the time of the text's production and/or reception. But how can this requirement be met? Here I will attempt an example of just such a reconstruction. In particular I will focus on the role of Moses in concepts of authorship and authority that develop in the exilic and post-exilic periods. In particular I will study later Second Temple participants in Mosaic Discourse, a discourse that, I will argue, originates with the gradual production of the collection now referred to as Deuteronomy.”

¹⁵ M. Foucault, “What is an Author?” in *Michel Foucault: Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (ed. J. D. Faubion; trans. J. V. Harari; modified by R. Hurley; vol. 2; New York: The New Press, 1998), 205–22 (213).

¹⁶ Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 16–19.

of Israel”), 11QT 56:20–21 (והיה בשבתו על כסא ממלכתו וכתבו לו את) “And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, they shall write for him this law in a book from that which is in charge of the priests”), 11QT 57:1 (וזאת התורה) “and this is the law”), and *Jub.* 2:33 (“this law and testimony”).¹⁷

Second, the new text is pseudepigraphically attributed to, or associated with, Moses, the founding figure. In Deut 1:1, אלה הדברים (“these words”) are attributed to Moses. *Jubilees* purports to record the words that God instructed Moses to write on the basis of angelic dictation, so Moses is not the originator of the discourse as in Deuteronomy, but he is its transcriber. In contrast to both, the *Temple Scrolls* is written in the divine first person. Yet Moses remains implicitly present in two passages: 11QT 44:5 (וב[ו]ל ימין שער לוי ושמאלו לבני אהרון אחיכה) “and the en[tire] right and left of the gate of Levi you shall all[ot] to the sons of Aaron, your brother”) and 11QT 51:6–7¹⁸ where God addresses him in the second person, ולוא יטמאו בהמה אשר אני) “And they shall not defile themselves with them, which I tell you on this mountain, and they shall not be unclean”). So the *Temple Scroll* is not a Mosaic but rather a divine pseudepigraphon, but it is nevertheless associated with Moses, who is its immediate *audience*. Both these features, I would argue, indicate self-consciousness on the part of the text-producers in their relationship to Deuteronomy, and, through Deuteronomy, to other pentateuchal traditions. Mosaic discourse is therefore a genre in a sense that is closer to the Greek idea of explicitly known generic norms than prototype theory alone requires.

IV

I said before that once we depart from the institutionalized norms of ancient Greek literature, there is no reason to think that generic distinctions will be the *only* or the *most* important distinctions between kinds of text. In my current work, I am operating with a class of texts

¹⁷ All citations of the Hebrew Bible are from the JPS (1999) edition. All citations from the *Temple Scroll* are taken from *The Temple Scroll* (ed. Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1983). Any other citations from the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

¹⁸ Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 50–53.

that I would not characterize as a genre, but it is a genuine class nonetheless. Of course, we could just decide to use the term “genre” for *any* classification of texts formed on any basis and for any purpose, and such a decision might be suggested by the Bakhtin-Todorov¹⁹ thought that genres are literary classifications rooted in classifications of speech acts. But this would stretch the term so far that I fear it would lose its specific tie to the history of text-production. Epics, tragedies, comedies, etc., were self-consciously produced by ancient Greek poets, while apocalypses and Mosaic texts were self-consciously produced by Second Temple writers. The class of texts with which I am currently concerned was not, so far as I know, self-consciously produced *as such* by those involved in their production, so I would prefer not to use the term “genre” here.

Following Walter Benjamin, I characterize the non-generic class of texts in question by means of a *constellation* of *features* or *elements*.²⁰ Constellations depend for their legibility on our interests as readers. Still, they are objectively there. Galaxies exist independently of our interests, whereas constellations such as Orion and the Big Dipper are figures that *we* trace because of their similarity to familiar, earthly images. The stars know nothing of them. Yet the constellations are not merely subjective projections. They are objectively there to be read by anyone on earth, and they have long served our interest in finding our way about the sky and indeed in finding our way about our own planet. Similarly, I make no suggestion that the authors of the texts to be discussed were consciously aware of the textual features with which I am concerned. Nevertheless, the constellation is objectively available and is not a subjective projection.

It is not a set of more-or-less conventional criteria that enable one to employ to specify a constellation of texts. A list of criteria, such as the list offered in *Semeia* 14,²¹ or the list offered in my own *Seconding Sinai*, would determine a class of possible texts. The class would include actual texts, to be sure, but it would also include other possible, yet *non-existent* texts possessing the relevant features, or a sufficient sub-set of them. As Benjamin understands constellations, however, they are sets of elements expressing an idea that is exhibited

¹⁹ Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* and Todorov, “The Origin of Genres,” 159–170.

²⁰ W. Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (London: NLB, 1977).

²¹ Collins, *Apocalypse*, 5–9.

in an *actual* set of texts. If one adds, in imagination, another star to the constellation Orion, one has imagined *another constellation*, not merely another member of a galaxy. Similarly, to imagine another possible member of the class of texts is to imagine another constellation altogether.²² The goal of classification here is not to define the concept of a class of possible texts, but rather to illuminate an array of actual texts by means of an idea expressed by a constellation that is found in an exemplary particular.²³ For the purposes of my project, *4 Ezra* is the exemplar or prototype.

Why is this sort of classification worthwhile? After all, it does not claim the same interest-neutral status as classification in terms of genre. Drawing on Benjamin, I would respond as follows. The historical process is continuous and forward moving. When, exploring this history, our thought comes to a standstill, because it has encountered, say, a constellation that interests it, this is because the constellation in question *already* represents a standstill in the historical progress. To understand the constellation is to explain the standstill of our own thought, but it is also to explain the standstill of history itself.²⁴

Here, an illustration is indispensable. The case with which I am concerned is the constellation which represents the trauma of the destruction of the Temple and the subsequent exile, along with the attempt to work through this trauma. The four elements of the constellation are: locus; figure; interpretation; and the renewal of hope.

²² Collins, "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 423.

²³ Cf. Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 38: "Conversely, the idea is the extreme example of a form or genre, and as such does not enter into the history of literature. *Trauerspiel*, as a concept, could, without the slightest problem, be added to the list of aesthetic classifications. But not as an idea, for it defines no class and does not contain that generality on which the respective conceptual levels in the system of classification depend: the average." For a helpful discussion, comparing Benjamin's constellation-ideas with the aesthetic ideas of Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, see F. Rush, "Jena Romanticism and Benjamin's Critical Epistemology," in *Walter Benjamin and Romanticism* (ed. B. Hanssen and A. Benjamin; New York: Continuum, 2002), 123–136.

²⁴ See Benjamin, *Arcades*, 475 [Konvolut N]: "Where thinking comes to a standstill in a constellation saturated with tensions—there the dialectical image appears. It is the caesura in the movement of thought. Its position is naturally not an arbitrary one. It is to be found, in a word, where the tension between dialectical opposites is greatest. Hence, the object constructed in the materialist presentation of history is itself the dialectical image. The latter is identical with the historical object; it justifies its violent expulsion from the continuum of historical process."

Locus

Under the heading of locus, I consider the role of exile and wilderness and explore aspects of purification, holiness, healing, and transformation in a place that is not a promised home, land or city.²⁵ For example 1QpHab 11:6, (אבית גלותו) “house of his exile”) and 4Q179 1 i 12, (נחלתנו היתה כמדבר) “our inheritance has been turned into a desert”).

Figure

Here I consider the explicit ascription to an authoritative figure, such as Moses, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel.²⁶ Ascription to angels, the teacher of righteousness, or to the voice of the teacher is also relevant. For example, the reference to the Voice of the Teacher in CD 20:32–33:

והאזינו לקול מורה צדק ולא יעזבו את חקי הצדק בשמעם

and they lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness;
and do not reject the just regulations when they hear them...²⁷

On the importance of an authoritative figure in the sectarian texts, Florentino García Martínez has recently written, “in my opinion, what

²⁵ See H. Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” *DSD* 13:1 (2006): 99–113. See also M. A. Knibb, “Exile in the Damascus Document,” *JSOT* 25 (1983): 99–117 and M. A. Knibb, “The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” *HeyJ* 17 (1976): 253–272.

²⁶ See for example, Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385–389), understood to “clearly strive to imitate the canonical Ezekiel...the citations and the imitation imply a claim to the authority of the biblical prophet” (D. Dimant, “Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran,” *DSD* 1 [Aug. 1994]: 157). For texts attributed to Moses see, e.g., 11QT 44:5 and 11QT 51:6–7 and Pseudo-Moses (4Q385, 387–390). For Jeremiah texts, see, e.g., *The Apocryphon of Jeremiah* (4Q383, 384, 385b, 387b, 389a) (note in 4Q383 1 i, the first person claim, “And I, Jeremiah...”). See also M. Popović, “Prophet, Books and Texts: Ezekiel, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Authoritativeness of Ezekiel Traditions in Early Judaism,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSupp 141; Brill: Leiden, 2010), 227–352; M. Brady, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four,” in *Biblical Interpretations at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 88–109.

²⁷ F. García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (eds. S. Metso, H. Najman, and E. Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–244 (232). In general, García Martínez argues that the indication of the “voice of the Teacher” is evident in texts other than those where he is specifically named as such, so for example, elsewhere in the *Damascus Document* as well as the *Hodayot*, *Serekh Ha-Yahad*, and *Milhamah* (231–232).

this text clearly teaches us is that for the members of the group, listening to the ‘voice of the Teacher’ is as fundamental as ‘coming and going in accordance with the law (על פי התורה)’ (which obviously refers to the Torah) (20:27), and that it is the ‘voice of the Teacher’ that lends authority to the חקי הצדק ‘the just regulations’.²⁸ Here and elsewhere, the actual producers of the text efface themselves in a way that allows them to occupy a liminal locus in which transformation is possible.

Reading

This transformation involves the *reading* of past traditions, often under angelic or divine instruction.²⁹ As an example, I have written elsewhere on the nonrabbinic interpretive texts in this context: “While nonrabbinic interpretive texts of the Second Temple period varied significantly in form, they shared two basic assumptions: a commitment to render the Scriptures relevant to the communities they addressed, and a belief in the inspired status of their own interpretations.”³⁰ George Brooke has recently written on the close connection between reading and blessing within the scrolls literature. In reference to the *Community Rule*, he writes “however, in 1QS 7:1 *qr*’ is used in describing a list of contexts when the divine name might be misused; it occurs at the end of the list together with *brk* (“reading a book or blessing”),

²⁸ H. Najman, “How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (eds. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 526–536.

²⁹ In particular, the description of the assembling of the ten in 1QS 6:6–8, “...in order to read the book, explain the regulation, and bless together.” See G. Brooke, “Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to the Genres of Scriptural Interpretation in the Yahad.” (Paper presented at the SBL conference, 2010). See also J. C. VanderKam, “To What End? Functions of Scriptural Interpretation in Qumran Texts,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 305. Also, as has been noted by many scholars, the *Hodayot* texts make use of scriptural materials (particularly from the Psalms and prophetic material) which is embedded and rescripturalized in these prayers. On this re-use of scriptural language and form in the *Hodayot* see J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006) and C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. chs. 5 & 6.

³⁰ H. Najman, “Non-Rabbinic Biblical Interpretation,” in *New Oxford Jewish Study Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1835–1844 (1844).

the pair of terms that occur in 6:7–8 on either side of *drš*, implying an almost formulaic pattern of reading and blessing, that the two are similar activities.”³¹ I would like to suggest that whether through interpretation, contemporary application, or mere citation, new scripture emerges.³²

Renewal of Hope

With this emergence, a new beginning becomes possible.³³ Despite the lament of Psalm 137, song becomes possible once more.³⁴ In the *Community Rule* the possibility of renewal and hope is given voice:

ברשית פחד ואימה ובמכון צרה עם בוקה אברכנו בהפלא מודה ובגבורתו
אשוחה ועל חסדיו אשען כול היום...ובהפתח צרה אהללנו ובישועתו
ארננה יחד...

at the onset of fright and dismay and in the place of distress and grief,
I shall bless him for (his) great marvels and shall meditate on his power
and shall rely on his compassion the whole day...when distress is
unleashed I shall praise him, just as I shall sing to him for his deliver-
ance... (1QS 10:15–17)

The Torah may be received. Destruction is not undone. But life can again go on.³⁵

³¹ Brooke, “Reading, Searching and Blessing.”

³² Cf. H. Najman, “Reconsidering Jubilees: Prophecy and Exemplarity,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 229–243; H. Najman, “Torah of Moses: Pseudonymous Attribution in Second Temple Writings,” in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* (ed. C. A. Evans; JSPSup 33; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 202–216.

³³ See for example, the use of Jer 31:31 in the *Damascus Document* as being the recipients of “the new covenant” (CD 6:19, 7:21, and 20:12). As well, CD 11:6–8: “to those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones.”

³⁴ See for example the many references in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* to song and prayer, for example 4Q403 1:1, 36, 41–43, “Sing with joy those of you enjoying [his knowledge, with] rejoicing among the wonderful gods. Proclaim his glory with the tongue of all who proclaim knowledge, his wonderful songs... with them praise all the foundations of the holy of holies...si[ng] to Go[d, aw]esome in power...[praise hi]m divine spirits, prai[sing for ever and e]ver...”

³⁵ See my forthcoming book in which I address this notion: *Destruction, Mourning, and Renewal in 4 Ezra and its Precursors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also, J. Lear, *Therapeutic Action: An Earnest Plea for Irony* (New York: Other Press, 2004), esp. 89–135.

V CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I return to my opening question, “How we can use the term “genre” in traditions that do not conform to the institutional constraints of Greek and Roman writing?” I have argued that Second Temple literature does not conform to these constraints. Yet we can and should use the term “genre” in ways that are partially analogous to Greek usage, insofar as the classifications we employ are supposed to capture generic norms of which Second Temple text producers were consciously aware. At the same time, we should adjust our conceptions of these generic norms to our specific understanding of Second Temple text production, and here both prototype theory and my own work on discourse tied to founders can prove fruitful. However, we need not be restricted to generic classifications, since other classifications may also be illuminating, even if they make no claim to capture norms of which the text producers were consciously aware. Drawing on Benjamin, I have introduced the idea of a constellation of texts, which I do not regard as a genre, but which I hope will turn out to be useful nonetheless.

LITURGICAL IMAGINATION IN THE COMPOSITION OF BEN SIRA

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Of the many institutions that organized life in early Judaism, none rivals the Temple for symbolic significance. From the time of its construction in ancient Israel, the Temple was conceived as the central node of communication with the deity, mediated through sacrificial service of the priesthood on a daily basis as well as during the three central festivals of the year. As a place of religious, socio-political, economic, and geographical/spatial significance, the Temple in Jerusalem, its personnel, its ritualized liturgical life, not to mention its economic significance, played a central role in early Judaism and beyond.¹ Its centrality is evident in its frequent imprint in early Jewish literature. This is true not only of Judeans who were in relatively close proximity to the Jerusalem Temple, but equally in the imaginations of Jews throughout the diaspora both in the centuries up until and subsequent to its destructions and desecrations.² From Qumran to Cairo, Beth-el to Babylon, Jewish authors and the texts they produced can be said

¹ It is my pleasure to offer this essay in honour of Eileen Schuller. She has served as a gracious mentor to me already during my time in graduate school and now is my esteemed Canadian colleague and wise friend. Her careful and considered work on prayer and other liturgical aspects of early Jewish literature has been a gift to scholarship and has proved invaluable to my own research and teaching. I also wish to thank Karina Martin-Hogan and George Nickelsburg for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay when presented at the SBL meeting in 2009, as well as the graduate students in my wisdom seminar at the University of Toronto during the fall term 2010 who offered their insightful responses to it.

² S. Fraade has rightly cautioned against assuming any single understanding of the significance of the Jerusalem Temple in Jewish antiquity given the variety of Jewish communities living in the land and in diaspora, "The Temple as a Marker of Jewish Identity Before and After 70 C.E.," in *Jewish Identities in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern* (ed. L. Levine and D. Schwartz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 237–265. He makes the important point that even before the Temple's destruction in 70 C.E., Jews in the Diaspora could have access to the Temple and its *sancta* through the "iconic contemplation of texts, whether written or oral in their apperception" (263). Such a move toward an idealization and textualization of the Temple is supported by the argument offered here.

to “think with the temple,” that is, they wrestle with the significance of the Temple, sometimes in concrete ways in relation to its rivals in Elephantine, Gerizim, and Leontopolis, sometimes as an abstracted or idealized conceptual vehicle.³ In its absence during such times as its destruction during the Babylonian exile, they ponder its reconstitution and purification as an ideal. Such rethinking occurs even at times when the Temple is standing. This can be seen starkly in some documents from the Qumran movement because of its seeming estrangement from Jerusalem Temple leadership, but it can be evident in more subtle ways even when parties are not fully estranged from the Temple, but when there are competing claims for religious authority.

I want to consider how the book of Ben Sira “thinks with the Temple” or perhaps more accurately, “thinks through and around the Temple and its priesthood” with the use of a liturgical imagination. My argument in this essay is that the composition of Ben Sira in its various forms was organically and generatively connected to liturgical practice from its inception and in its transmission. Temple, or an idealized Temple as the central cult site and communal gathering place, played a crucial role in the conception, development, and maintenance of liturgy. Ben Sira by no means negates the importance of the Temple; he rather idealizes it, but the liturgical imagination at work in Ben Sira offers other ways in which to conceive communication with God and divine service and to construct community other than through the material workings of the Temple. This stance eventuated from the reconceptualization of two traditional institutions of Israelite and early Jewish life, especially prophecy and Temple, as well as the evolution of the wisdom tradition itself and the emergence of the role of the sage in late Second Temple Jewish culture. There are three inter-related ways in which a liturgical imagination shapes the composition of the book: first in constructing Ben Sira as a prophetic sage, second

³ On the concept of “thinking with the temple” see F. Schmidt, *La Pensée du Temple, de Jérusalem à Qoumrân: Identité et lien social dans le Judaïsme ancien* (Edition du Seuil, 1994) translated by J. E. Crowley and published by Sheffield in 2001, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism*. See also J. Økland, “The Language of Gates and Entering: On Sacred Space in the Temple Scroll,” in *New Direction in Qumran Studies* (ed. J. Campbell, J. Lyons, and L. Petersen; LSTS 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 149–165 and cf. E. A. Clark’s essay, “Thinking with Women: The Uses of the Appeal to ‘Woman’ in Pre-Nicene Christian Propaganda Literature,” in *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries: Essays in Explanation* (ed. W. V. Harris; CSCT 27; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 43–52.

in portraying Ben Sira as a teacher and model of prayer, and finally the more subtle work of muting the Temple and its priesthood in favor of the pursuits of the sage and endorsing the acquisition of wisdom as a lifetime pursuit.

Before turning to the burden of the paper's argument, a few qualifications are in order about conceptions of scripture and liturgy. Liturgy is here understood not simply as the rites performed by priests in the Temple, or the fixed texts of prayers that would eventually be crystallized in Jewish and Christian traditions, but as a constellation of actions, including prayers, as that was understood to reflect a covenantal response to Israel's God. Early Jewish liturgy, as Stefan Reif has pointed out, must be understood as broader than the classical world's understanding of liturgy as the formal service of deities in the cult. Rather, beyond the Temple and its sacrificial system, it includes, in his words, the "...whole gamut of worship in and around the study of sacred texts, the acts of eating and fasting, and of course, benedictions, prayers and amulets...Liturgy was expressed in many ways within Jewish society as a whole."⁴ Study and observance of laws and their adjudication might well also be included in this broader conception of liturgy.

In considering how this liturgical imagination shapes the textual tradition of Ben Sira, I would distinguish my approach from the orientation of most recent scholarly readings of the book which have sought to locate a historical Ben Sira as author in early second century Judea and to relate the book's meaning only to one specific local historical context, namely during the time of Ptolemaic or Seleucid domination before the period of Hasmonean independence.⁵ Benjamin Wright's

⁴ S. C. Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; DCL 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 439-464, p. 442. Reif assumes that the *ma'amad* and *shema'* are among examples of a more broadly based liturgical expression.

⁵ See for example, the commentary of P. Skehan and A. Di Lella which includes an eight-page section in the introduction on "Ben Sira and his Times" in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 8-16. A notable recent trend is to evaluate the work from a postcolonial perspective in which Ben Sira's textual production is understood as a hybridized response to foreign empire; see, for example, R. Horsley's recent, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2007). Cf. L. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus: An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), which exemplifies such an approach. Reflective of such an orientation is Perdue's summative comment about Sirach: "What is more, the movement of history has not culminated in the theocracy of Judah and awaits its final realization in the

recent work has pointed in a helpful new direction, by cautioning against reading the autobiographical material in the book at face value.⁶ Rather, the first-person sections of the book must be assessed according to their rhetorical end of shaping an exemplary character worthy of emulation.

Aside from the rhetorical dimension of the text and the way in which Ben Sira might be said to figure in it as exemplar, it is also important to reconsider the dating and provenance of the text. Without denying the influence of the political climate on parts of the book's contents, it seems somewhat misguided to privilege a hypothetical Hebrew text as a singular locus of meaning when in fact the Greek version of the text with its prologue is longer and in fact represents a closer *Vorlage* to that which was finally canonized in Christian Bibles. My concern lies thus with diachronic compositional and reception-oriented issues. The quest, which will not be fully realized here, is to assess how and why the book took shape in its various forms and languages. This requires a shift in focus from thinking about Ben Sira as intentional author of a single synchronic whole to considering Ben Sira and his role in the book as a constructed authorial voice, and the book itself as a traveling and shifting accumulation of textual traditions.⁷ It also requires a shift in thinking from a predominant print-oriented focus to one that allows for the oral composition and transmission of texts in concert with the written transcription. An assessment of the text of Ben Sira is thus a first order of business.

While the difficult state of the text is usually noted in the literature, the implications this might have for reading the book as a coherent whole have not been sufficiently discussed. Indeed, the Ben Sira textual tradition is notoriously complex. The Greek text prepared by Joseph Ziegler contains more emendations and corrections than any other of

elimination of foreign groups from the sacred homeland" (in, *Wisdom Literature: A Theological History* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2007], 266). This is true as well for a recent study of the role of the temple in Ben Sira by J. Zsengellér, "Does Wisdom Come from the Temple," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 135–149.

⁶ B. G. Wright III, "Ben Sira on the Sage as Exemplar," in *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction: Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, the Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint* (JSJ 131; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 165–178.

⁷ On the conception of the amassing of *meshalim* in the wisdom tradition more generally, see J. Kugel, "Wisdom and the Anthological Temper," *Prooftexts* 17 (1997): 9–32.

the Septuagint.⁸ Pancratius Beentjes has evaluated the Hebrew manuscripts and fragments with their many variants and found an equally complicated picture.⁹ Benjamin Wright's study amply illustrated the difficulties of trying to reconstruct a Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text.¹⁰ The quest for the "original Hebrew" would thus seem to be a futile one. Indeed, the process of composition was likely not all of a piece, but like other ancient Jewish texts, reflected a long process of editing and accumulation of older textual traditions.¹¹ As George Nickelsburg has noted, "there is some evidence that the book was subject to a process of ongoing composition and editing rather than being a onetime composition."¹² As a collection of sapiential material, the gnomic sayings of Ben Sira seem particularly suited to oral delivery and collection by students.¹³ The lack of a discernible overall structure

⁸ He laments the text's incomparable difficulty in the very first sentence of his foreword; J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societas Litterarum Gottingensis editum XII/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965).

⁹ P. C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and A Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). See also the discussion of M. Gilbert who notes the problem of the many different readings between the 1973 critical edition of the Hebrew texts and that of Beentjes, in "Methodological and Hermeneutical Trends in Modern Exegesis on the Book of Ben Sira," in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia; DCLS 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 1–20.

¹⁰ B. G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parent Text* (SBLSCS 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 232.

¹¹ See the recent study of J. Corley who has tentatively argued for four different redactional stages of the book's composition, "Searching for Structure and Redaction in Ben Sira," in Passaro and Bellia, eds., *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 21–48. So, too, M. Gilbert posits multiple authors, in the sense of two editions of the book, but does not provide details of how he views the social context of the transmission of the book aside from its literary forms; see his final section, "One author or, better, several authors" in "Methodological and Hermeneutical Trends." Gilbert's article contains an interesting discussion about which translation and which form might be considered sacred and canonical in the Catholic church because, in practice, different communities use different versions of Sirach even though, as he points out, the Hebrew text of Ben Sira was never used by Christians as far as we know.

¹² Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 54. He cites J. Marböck, "Structure and Redaction History in the Book of Ben Sira: Review and Prospects," in *Ben Sira in Modern Research* (ed. P. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 61–79. For composition, see 76–79.

¹³ As noted by B. G. Wright, "...the language and forms of his teaching indicate that he most likely delivered it orally" (in, "The Use and Interpretation of Biblical Tradition in the Praise of the Ancestors," *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Papa, Hungary, 19–20 May, 2006* [ed. G. G. Xaravits and J. Zsengeller; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008], 183–207, p. 206).

in the book and its collection of what Roland Murphy, termed “mini-treatises” on topics such as friendship, poverty, riches, and women, may also be evidence of such oral delivery.¹⁴ The time is thus ripe for renewed consideration of the relationship between the oral aspects of textual composition and such a multi-layered work as Ben Sira because it seems likely that oral performative contexts shaped its textual traditions.¹⁵ These would not have been confined to a scriptorium, but would likely have included the synagogue or some other gathering space for an assembly of Judean or diaspora Jews.

1. THE PROPHETIC PORTRAYAL OF THE LEARNED BEN SIRA

In order to trace how the liturgical imagination at work in Ben Sira supports such a notion of performative composition, we may consider our first point about the construction of a prophetic sage that appears in the book. We turn first to one of the most familiar passages in the book, Wisdom’s hymn of praise in Sirach 24 that fuses creation language with Israelite election traditions. The passage is in the Greek, but not in the extant Hebrew and thus a textual form that may derive not from the Judean homeland but from further afield in Egypt:¹⁶

¹⁴ R. E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: an Exploration of the Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 70.

¹⁵ A number of important recent studies have illuminated the role of orality in the transmission of textual traditions in Mediterranean antiquity. For early Jewish and rabbinic culture in particular, see ed. Y. Elman and I. Gershoni, eds., *Transmitting Jewish Traditions: Orality, Textuality, and Cultural Diffusion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). See especially ch. 2 “Performative Reading and Text Interpretation at Qumran,” in M. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 28–38. It should be noted, however, that in his emphasis on reading and studying the torah at Qumran as detailed in the Community Rule, he, like many other scholars, largely ignores the third activity of communal praying (*lbrk yhd*, blessing) as one of the three activities that is mentioned (with reading in the scroll and interpreting law) in 1QS 6:6–8 (p. 36).

¹⁶ The Greek of Sirach 24 seems idiosyncratic in certain respects compared with other parts of Ben Sira which raises the question of whether there was an original Hebrew version of this chapter. In a careful linguistic study comparing the syntax of the Greek of Sirach 24 with another section of Ben Sira for which the Hebrew has been preserved (Sirach 51), John Screnock observes a distinctive word order with a high presence of verb-third clauses. In comparing other Hebrew and Greek sections side by side, the Greek generally preserves the order of the main syntactical constituents; “Translation Technique and Word Order in Ben Sira 51 and Sirach 24” (unpublished paper).

Sirach 24:1–34 Wisdom will praise her soul and in the midst of her people she will boast. ² In an assembly of the Most High [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου] she will open her mouth, and before his power she will boast: ³ “I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and like a mist I covered the earth. ⁴ I encamped in the heights, and my throne was in a pillar of cloud. ⁵ A circle of sky I encircled alone, and in the deep of abysses I walked. ⁶ In the waves of the sea and in all the earth and in every people and nation I led. ⁷ With all these I sought repose, and in whose inheritance I would settle. ⁸ Then the creator of all commanded me and he who created me put down my tent and said, ‘Encamp in Iakob, and in Israel let your inheritance be.’ ⁹ Before the age, from the beginning he created me, and until the age I will never fail. ¹⁰ In a holy tent I ministered before him, and thus in Sion I was firmly set. ¹¹ In a beloved city as well he put me down, and in Ierousalem was my authority. ¹² And I took root among a glorified people, in the portion of the Lord is my inheritance. ¹³ Like a cedar I was raised up in Lebanon and like a cypress in the mountains of Aermon. ¹⁴ Like a palm I was raised up in Aiggada, and like rosebushes in Iericho, like a good-looking olive tree in a plain, and I was raised up like a plane tree. ¹⁵ Like cinnamon and camel’s thorn for spices, and like choice myrrh I gave forth a fragrance, like galbanum and onycha and stacte and like the vapor of frankincense in a tent. ¹⁶ I, like a terebinth, spread out my branches, and my branches were branches of glory and grace. ¹⁷ I, like a vine, budded forth favor, and my blossoms were the fruit of glory and wealth. [¹⁸ I am a mother of love that is beautiful, and of reverence] and of knowledge and of devout hope, and I give it together with all my children; they are ever-generating, to those who are being picked by him.] ¹⁹ Come to me, you who desire me and from my produce be filled. ²⁰ For the memory of me is sweet beyond honey, and the inheritance of me beyond a honeycomb of honey. ²¹ Those who eat me will hunger for more. ²² He who obeys me will not be ashamed, and those who work with me will not sin.” ²³ All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, a law that Moyses commanded us, and inheritance for the gatherings of Iakob. [²⁴ Do not cease to be strong in the Lord, and cling to him so that he might strengthen you. The Lord Almighty alone is God, and here is no savior beside him.] ²⁵ It fills wisdom like Phison, and like Tigris in days of new things. ²⁶ It supplies understanding like Euphrates and like Jordan in days of harvest. ²⁷ It shines forth education like light, like Geon in days of vintage. ²⁸ The first man did not complete knowing her and so the last one did not track her out; ²⁹ for her thought was filled from the sea, and her counsel from the great abyss. ³⁰ And I, like a canal from a river and a water channel, issued forth into an orchard. ³¹ I said, “I will water my garden, and I will drench my flower bed.” And look! The canal turned into a river for me, and my river turned into a sea. ³² Still I will again make education enlighten like dawn, and I will shine them forth to far off. ³³ Still I will again pour out teaching like prophecy, and I will leave it behind for

generations of eternity.³⁴ See that I have not toiled for myself alone but for all who seek it out.¹⁷

The language of the passage is highly figurative, beginning with the personified figure herself, but also including a description of her location. She is a royal heavenly figure praising herself among the assembled host in Heaven, enthroned on a “pillar of cloud.” (cf. Wis 10:17–18) As the passage continues, she is searching for a place to settle and finally takes up her dwelling in the “holy Tent” among the elect people Jacob and Israel, in Jerusalem. Both the mention of tent and pillar of cloud harken to the Mosaic wilderness experience where wisdom bivouacked in stages with the people until she came to rest and to serve (*ἐλειτούργησα*) the Creator in the holy tent (*σκηνήν*) in Jerusalem. The Temple is never mentioned explicitly, but only in terms of the tent/tabernacle. We thus have a first illustration of the liturgical imagination that reconceives the notion of Temple. The mobile holy tent, the portable shrine, suggests the potential to relocate should the occasion require. In this passage, Wisdom is connected first and most closely to a particular people (Sir 24:8b, 12) and secondarily to a place, Jerusalem.

The passage goes on to identify Wisdom with the Torah of Moses as the inheritance of the community of Jacob.¹⁸ It is then described in figured terms relating to an expanded list of Eden’s rivers, now including the Jordan. The wisdom inherent in the Torah pours forth instruction (*παιδεία*) like the Egyptian Nile and the Gihon at harvest time.

The sage too is like a water source, indeed a rivulet transforming into a river and eventually into a sea. Implicit in this particular imagery is the idea that Wisdom, like the teaching of the sage, is an ever-moving stream, traveling from one place to another until it joins the sea, continually in motion and finally unfathomable by human measurement. The language of the sage here who offers wisdom echoes the words of Sophia herself: both will pour out *paideia*.

The sage makes a further leap, however, by equating his teaching as “for all future generations.” This understanding of prophecy suggests a transformed conception found in the Second Temple period. Such

¹⁷ The translation of the Greek of Ben Sira in this article is that of B. Wright in *NETS* unless otherwise noted.

¹⁸ This is the third mention of inheritance (*κληρονομία*) in the passage (cf. 24:8, 12, 23) and in each case the connection lies more with people than with land as inheritance, especially in this final instance.

prophecy is delivered not simply for an immediate situation (like the narrative of Isaiah's prophecy at the time of the siege of Sennacherib), but is explicitly envisioned as an inheritance for future generations who seek wisdom and functions as an authoritative claim about the sage's discourse. Indeed, it seems that the role of the sage in Ben Sira has usurped the role of the ancient Israelite prophet. The prophets in Ben Sira are depicted as active largely in the pre-exilic period, and their prophetic activity involves acts rather than mediation of the divine will.¹⁹ Here, however, we see Ben Sira as delivering the divine message orally as did the ancient Israelite prophets. Just as Sophia is depicted as opening her mouth in telling about herself, so too, we may presume that the teaching of the sage will be oral with the instruction to be interiorized on the heart, though its lasting legacy will also be preserved in writing, a textual legacy itself growing from stream to river.

2. BEN SIRA AS TEACHER AND MODEL OF PRAYER

From Sage as prophetic figure, we now turn to sage as teacher and model of prayer. Although many have noted the frequency of prayers and the mention of them in the book or referred to Ben Sira as "pious", very little has been written about this aspect of the book. We may start with the observation that the structure of the book consists variously of three parts: chapters 1–24, 25–43, 44–51, each of which concludes with a prayer or psalm: Sirach 24, the hymn of Wisdom's self-praise just discussed; Sir 42:15–43:33, a hymn on God's role in creation; and Sir 51:1–12, or 51:1–30 with an insert, Ben Sira's final prayer, a topic which we will pick up again below.

In addition to these prayers at strategic locations, there is a significant amount of teaching on prayer and additional prayers sprinkled throughout the book. The first excerpt from Sirach 35 provides one illustration. Prayer should be directly heavenward, where the Most High has his dwelling. "The one whose service is pleasing to the Lord will be accepted, and his entreaty [Gk ἡ δέησις] will reach to the clouds.²¹ The prayer of the humble [Gk προσευχή ταπεινοῦ]

¹⁹ B. L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 28. M. Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 32–33.

pierces the clouds, and it will not rest until it reaches its goal; it will not desist until the Most High responds.” Similar views about the efficacy of “everyman’s prayer” are found elsewhere in the book as well (Sir 2:10–12; 4:6; 21:5.)

Maurice Gilbert has observed that instruction on prayer is also knit into the structure of the book in subunits, thus providing a strong linkage between prayer and wisdom instruction.²⁰ That is to say, passages of proverbial instruction are frequently clustered together by theme, and then followed by mention of prayer. Thus a long passage in Sir 14:20–15:10 extols the virtues of the one who pursues Wisdom and follows her ways and paths. The concluding verses of the segment read: “Praise is unseemly on the lips of a sinner, for it has not been sent from the Lord.¹⁰ But praise is offered by the tongue of the wise, and its rightful master teaches it.” Or, Sirach 32:1–13 contains instruction on how to behave at a banquet or symposium. Similar instruction is found in the book of Proverbs (23:1–8), but Sirach ends his instruction with the suggestion to leave the meal quickly and head straight home where you should offer words of praise for your Creator, thus perhaps reflecting the practice of blessing after meals. Another example is found in a long passage in Sir 36:23–37:15 which provides instruction on choosing companions, whether a wife or a friend, counselor or other associate. The final verse reads: (Sir 37:15) “But concerning all this, pray to the Most High that he may direct your way in truth.”²¹

Prayer is also present in the book through allusions to traditional liturgical formulas. Helge Stadelmann has discussed the use of elements from the *Shema* in Sir 7:29–31.²² The echoes of Deut 6:5 in these three verses also serve as an exhortation to liturgical service more broadly understood. Observing the commandments such as honoring parents is treated as equivalent in demand with other more cultic liturgical service that is commanded, including the first fruits and other sacrificial offerings.

²⁰ M. Gilbert, “Prayer in the Book of Ben Sira,” in Egger-Wenzel and Corley, eds., *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran*, 117–135. Cf. Sir 15:9–10, 17:25–29, 39:5–6, 42:15–51:30.

²¹ A section on cultic religion Sir 31:21–32:26=LXX 34:18–35:20 exhorting people to keep the commandments about offering to the temple, peace offering and fine flour, incense etc., also ends with a prayer of petition in 35:22.

²² H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter* (WUNT 2.6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 58–59.

Another important teaching of Ben Sira is that wisdom itself is gained through prayer. A long section in Sir 38:24–39:11 contrasts the lowly vocation of the manual laborer with the exalted one of the scribe, “the one who devotes himself to the fear of God and to the study of the Law of the Most High” (38:34). The second excerpt indicates that he derives wisdom itself from the act of prayer, which is a central part of his daily activity. After he seeks God, petitions, and prays, he confesses, because as noted above, for the author, sinfulness is not compatible with receiving wisdom. The result is potentially transformative: “if the great Lord is willing, he is filled with the spirit of understanding, and will *pour forth words of wisdom*” (39:6) a phrase that echoes the earlier metaphorical depiction in Sirach 24 in which both Wisdom and the sage are characterized as being like a life-giving water source. The reception of wisdom by the scribe and its dissemination is thus premised on the act of prayer as well as the expectation of subsequent thanksgiving for its use.

As for the sage’s modeling of prayer and liturgical activity, we can observe the use of first-person voice in prayers.²³ The last third of the book comprises hymns of praise and prayer, all liturgical material. There is thus a sequence in the final part of the book in which the sage’s praise of the Creator (42:15–43:33), is followed by the sage’s long hymn of praise for the roll of ancestors 44–50 and finally more prayer and praise as the conclusion of the book. This order depicts the image of a transcendent God Most High (who dwells in Heaven), who is responsible for the creation of the cosmos with the spirit of wisdom immanent within it. There are limits to what can be known about God, even the angels, “the holy ones, must fail in recounting all his wonders” (42:17). From the theme of the grandeur of creation, the book shifts to the praise of famous men—a historical recounting in 44–50. This unit is a cohesive one, distinct in theme from the earlier chapters, and may well have circulated independently in some form. The praise of ancestors also suggests a liturgical or other performative context,

²³ Sir 39:12–35 contains another piece of instruction that blends metaphors of garden with temple language “Send up the sweet odor of incense . . . raise your voices in a chorus of praise.” The sage also provides another psalm in 39:16–31 and then concludes with a reflection, “This is why from the first I took my stand and wrote down as my theme: the works of God are all of them good . . .” and closes with a final exhortation to bless God, 39:35.

because the opening lines include the verse: “the assembly repeats their wisdom, and the congregation recounts their praise” (44:15).

It has often been noted that in the historical recital, the priesthood is extolled at greater length than either prophets or kings. The great lawgiver Moses is short shrifted in favor of Aaron. Moses is allotted a mere five and a half verses to Aaron’s seventeen. In contrast to King David’s covenant, Aaron’s is specifically characterized as “eternal” (v. 7) as is that of Phinehas, who is cited for his zeal and securing a dynastic priesthood for his line.

The last figure mentioned in the sequence is Simeon II, a figure thought to be near contemporaneous with the author and to whom is devoted the longest description. As Robert Hayward has demonstrated, much of the figurative Edenic language of abundant trees, flowers, and fruits used in his description is shared with Wisdom’s hymn of self-praise in Sirach 24. Such use of creation language gives the sense that the temple and its cultic apparatus with its Tamid offering is central to the flourishing of a perfected creation, one that gives order and stability to the cosmos. Yet, whereas Wisdom only discusses her presence in the mobile tent among the people, Simeon is described in a quite detailed way as performing sacrifices at the altar in the Temple, attended by the priestly cohort of Aaron.²⁴ In contrast to Sirach 24, Sirach 50 includes the word for temple (*ναός*) three times (50:1, 7, 14) which thus points indubitably to the Jerusalem site. This passage remains one of the few descriptions of the Second Temple and its service deriving from an era when the Temple was still standing. It is likely that Ben Sira’s staunch defense of the Hasmonean priesthood reflected in the Praise of Ancestors was originally shaped in part as a defense against those who challenged its legitimacy as reflected perhaps in the Book of the Watchers with its depiction of heaven as the Temple in 1 Enoch 14.²⁵ Indeed, by the time of the book’s translation into Greek, the Jerusalem Temple would have been desecrated by Antiochus, thus

²⁴ He offers a very fine close reading of the Greek and Hebrew texts of Sir 50; C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 38–84.

²⁵ B. G. Wright, “Ben Sira as Defender of Jerusalem Priesthood,” in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28–31 July 1996* (ed. P. C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 191; cf. B. G. Wright, “Sirach and 1 Enoch: Some Further Considerations,” in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 2002), 182.

calling into question the ability of the Temple, its priests, and sacrificial system to maintain cosmic peace and order. It thus also may have served as counter assertion against the Greco-Roman temple cult.²⁶ Yet, we must consider a tension within the broader textual collection itself about the means of communication with God, because the book provides an alternative route to the divine, if not to maintaining the cohesion of Israel as a whole.²⁷

3. COMPETING VOICES: A SUBTLE RELATIVIZING OF THE TEMPLE AND HIGH PRIESTHOOD

And now we may consider competing views within the book itself: At the same time that Sirach monumentalizes the Temple and idealizes its priesthood as the glory of the people and a sign of perfection and eternal unity, it subtly undermines it as the principal place of communication with God. This is evident in various ways. The first is the central purpose of the book itself, which is to exhort all people to pursue wisdom. We can see wisdom is understood as attainable by all those who “fear the Lord” without respect to dynastic promise, indeed, the attainment of wisdom is seen as equivalent in glory to that of High Priest Simeon himself. Sirach exhorts the disciple to seek wisdom, whose acquisition will be a *glorious robe* (Sir 6:29, 31). The image of a priestly garment obtained through wisdom is found again only in the passages describing Aaron and Simeon, those great figures of yore. This phrasing unique to those two passages suggests, if not the democratization of wisdom, at least the sense of its universal availability along with the idea that the status of a sage is equivalent to an exalted priest such as Simeon or Aaron. The shifting of emphasis concerning the Temple can also be seen in the petitionary prayer in Sirach 36:

²⁶ Hayward notes that the frequent use of God Most High (*hupsistos*) is an epithet known from Genesis 14 and elsewhere, but a shared epithet of Zeus; cf., *The Jerusalem Temple*, 76.

²⁷ L. G. Perdue, for instance, describes the historical-critical context of the book in this way: “The movement of history has now culminated in the theocracy of Judah and awaits its final realization in the elimination of foreign groups from the sacred homeland.” The fixation of the “now” in that sentence is problematic because the “now” of that book likely never was. Cf. L. G. Perdue, *Wisdom Literature: A Theological History* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 266.

¹⁷ Have mercy, O Lord, on the people called by your name, on Israel, whom you have named your firstborn, ¹⁸ Have pity on the city of your sanctuary, Jerusalem, the place of your dwelling [Heb MS B: מְכוֹן שְׁבַתְךָ Gk: your rest *καταπαύματός σου*].¹⁹ Fill Zion with your majesty/ recounting of your wonderful deeds [Heb MS B; Gk: ἀρεταλογίας σου], and your temple/ your people [Heb MS B הֵיכַלְךָ Gk: τὸν λαόν σου] with your glory. (Sir 36:17–19)

Whereas the Hebrew reflects the divine glory dwelling in the temple and Jerusalem, the Greek offers substitutes for the divine presence with the people. Rather than Jerusalem as a site of God's majesty, the Greek suggests the performative role in enacting and memorializing divine activity, perhaps in recitations such as are found in the book of Ben Sira itself.

Another way in which the Temple and its priesthood is muted occurs in the final passages of the book itself. Although many have argued that the culmination and indeed the purpose of the book occurs at the end of the praise of ancestors section in Sirach 50 with its long description of the high priest Simeon II at the Temple, one has to look beyond the review of the ancestors to the finale of the book to determine who has the last word. This is important because like the beginning of a text, its ending is also a powerful statement.

In fact, there are a number of final words that accumulated in different recensions. There is a colophon in Sir 50:27 in Greek that attributes the book to a named author, Ben Sira, which is followed by a blessing. The book concludes with first-person prayers.²⁸ Thus we hear again the voice of the constructed author and exemplary figure Ben Sira. There is a first-person thanksgiving for deliverance in Sir 51:1–12, with a superscription in the Greek manuscripts attributing it to Ben Sira. One of the Hebrew manuscripts contains an addition of sixteen verses that is similar in character to Psalm 136. That is followed in both Greek and Hebrew manuscripts by an autobiographical piece in which the authorial voice of Ben Sira describes his search for Wisdom. The passage is an alphabetic acrostic that is also found at the end of 11Q5, the great psalms scroll from Qumran, so it occurs in Hebrew as something of a traveling text, known from another collection.²⁹

²⁸ See again, Wright, "The Sage as Exemplar," 177–179.

²⁹ E. Reymond argues for Ben Sira's authorship of the composition based on its poetic style, especially its particular form of parallelism which employs fewer common word pairs and less verb gapping; "Sirach 51:13–30 and 11Q5 (=11QP^s) 21.11–22.1," *RevQ* 23 (2007): 207–231.

The question of who has the last word is something of a trick question because the book seems to have invited others to add to the collection upon attaining their own wisdom. To understand the significance of this phenomenon, it is worth quoting Martin Jaffee's observation about the nature of oral performance at Qumran which I think is also relevant here:

Text-interpretive tradition—the cumulative results of multiple textual readings built up over time in the memories of the community's members—was received not as tradition transmitted from the past, but as ongoing revelation continuing into the present.³⁰

Like the manuscripts of psalms at Qumran, the scroll of Ben Sira seems to have been malleable as a collection of writings, and perhaps particularly so toward the end. These additions were conceived as continuing revelation obtained in a continuing dialogue through prayer and liturgical performance between the sage and the Most High.

CONCLUSION

While the book serves its purpose of extolling and keeping the memory of a particular line of high priests and of monumentalizing the Temple even at some distance from it, whether geographically, culturally, or temporally, the depiction of the Temple and its worship remains finally as an ideal on which to pin future hope. The book's larger purpose is not to establish an ancient scribe of blessed memory, such as a Shaphan or Baruch, Enoch or Ezra, but particularly, at least in the Greek texts, to establish a contemporary named person as an ideal type and practitioner of *paideia*.³¹ The fact of his unique colophon in the Greek, as well as the autograph of his grandson in the prologue of the book, is thus significant. It underlines the importance of the individual in this sapiential genre. We know that any wise male might wear the "glorious robe" of wisdom (Sir 6:29, 31; 27:8). Right service to God, comprising pursuit of learning, elevating the life of the mind, and refining the soul through various disciplined practices, including prayer, are part of the liturgical imagination of Ben Sira and

³⁰ Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth*, 37.

³¹ No Hebrew manuscripts preserve the first chapter so we cannot know the superscription. The earliest Syriac manuscript carries the superscription, "The Wisdom of the Son of Sira" *hemeta debarsira* (so, Skehan and DiLella).

is an achievable goal among Jews even at a great distance from the Temple.

What should be central for Jewish life from the perspective of this book, is the preeminent role of the sage, who himself creates an eternal dynasty through generations of future students. Access to God can be obtained through wisdom, a new mobile medium that comes to be. Wisdom is accessible through study of the Torah of Moses, a teaching that is extended in the book itself as a continuation of that Torah. The text was written in order to be augmented. Ben Sira ideally combines *paideia* (Sir 50:27), a cultured well-trained mind, with *sophia*, a state of the soul attained through liturgy. His “grandson” has in part already put on the glorious robe in order to preserve and extend his grandfather’s words for a different culture in an alien land. We can thus explain the growth of the text, both its agglutinative quality and its variant forms, as a result of transmission from teacher to student or from sage to congregation through the generations at some physical remove from this Temple. The work represents the triumph of the sage, and a triumph of the liturgical imagination to carry the community on in diaspora and beyond Temple destruction.

FLESH, SPIRIT, AND THE INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *HODAYOT*¹

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The *Hodayot* are unlike both biblical psalmody and most of Second Temple prayer and psalmody in the degree to which the “I” who speaks describes and reflects on what one might call his “sense of self.” This essay attempts to uncover some of the conceptualizations of the self present in the *Hodayot* and to demonstrate how they differ from antecedent conceptualizations, even as they make use of older materials and motifs. The object of this type of inquiry is often referred to as “indigenous psychology.” This term is borrowed from anthropology and refers to folk theories about the nature of the person and its relation to the world, theories that are often embodied in unselfconscious language usages, as well as in explicit statements.² Even where these conceptualizations of the person are not self-consciously explicit, it is often possible to deduce them from an analysis of the metaphors and even the syntax of the texts.

THEORETICAL MODELS

For several decades there has been a growing interest in the anthropology of the self, an inquiry that has increasingly become tied to cognitive studies (cognitive linguistics, cognitive study of metaphor, cognitive anthropology).³ Cognitive studies has made the case that

¹ It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this essay to Eileen Schuller, whose critical text editions and interpretive work is foundational for all future study of the *Hodayot*.

² P. Heelas, “Indigenous Psychologies,” in *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self* (ed. P. Heelas and A. Lock; London: Academic Press, 1981), 3. See also U. Kim, K. Yang, and K. Hwang, eds., *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context* (New York: Springer, 2006).

³ See, e.g., R. D’Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 158–169. Also important for this topic is G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999). Cognitive studies is beginning to

certain basic facts about our embodied nature entail the recognition that some universals exist in our ways of thinking and of conceptualizing ourselves.⁴ Nevertheless, these universal determinants leave a significant amount of room for particular and varied realizations in different cultures—and, indeed, within a culture.⁵

A particularly helpful and flexible model for analyzing universal and particular features in indigenous psychologies is one developed by Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock, which focuses in particular on the capacity for agency.⁶ The model assumes two universal coordinates, identified as location and control. First, location: every culture must have some ability to differentiate between a self and its other, a conceiver and its environment. In large part, this is the distinction between internal and external, although the nature of what constitutes internal and external admits of considerable variety. Second, control: this has to do with how activity and passivity are conceptualized. Is a person “in control” or envisioned as “under the control” of someone or something else? The accompanying figure 1 illustrates the coordinates.⁷

Working with this set of coordinates, Heelas and Lock plot out a number of ethnographically well-studied indigenous psychologies, as illustrated in figure 2.⁸

Here the polar opposites are what they call “idealist” and “passiones” psychologies. In the idealist psychology the external world is envisioned as dependent upon the self, as in Tibetan Buddhist thought, in which “the world and all phenomena which we perceive are but mirages born from our imagination.”⁹ The self is in control, and the location of this control is internal, in the mind. Other examples would include certain new age “mind over matter” psychologies, such as EST or *A Course in*

make an impact on biblical studies. The most comprehensive study, based in cognitive grammar, is E. van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

⁴ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, 41–43; A. Heelas, “Universals in Human Conception” in Heelas and Lock, *Indigenous Psychologies*, 19–36.

⁵ Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 209, 215–228.

⁶ P. Heelas, “Indigenous Psychologies,” 3–18, idem, “The Model Applied: Anthropology and Indigenous Psychologies,” 39–63, and A. Lock, “Universals in Human Conception,” in P. Heelas and A. Lock, *Indigenous Psychologies*, 19–36.

⁷ After Heelas and Lock, *Indigenous Psychologies*, 33.

⁸ After Heelas and Lock, *Indigenous Psychologies*, 40.

⁹ A. David-Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet* (London: Corgi, 1971), 242, cited in Heelas, “The Model Applied: Anthropology and Indigenous Psychologies,” 40.

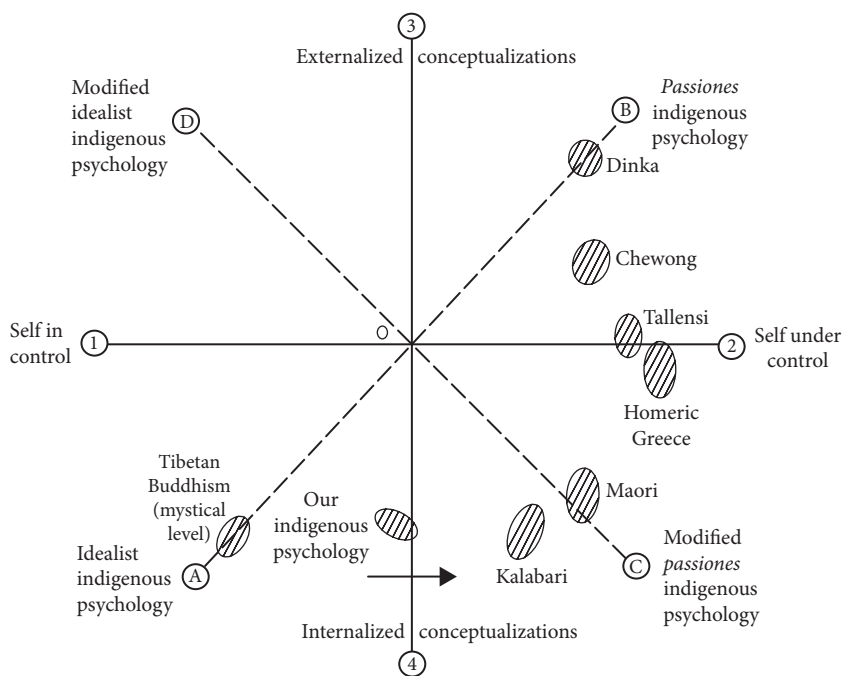


Figure 1.

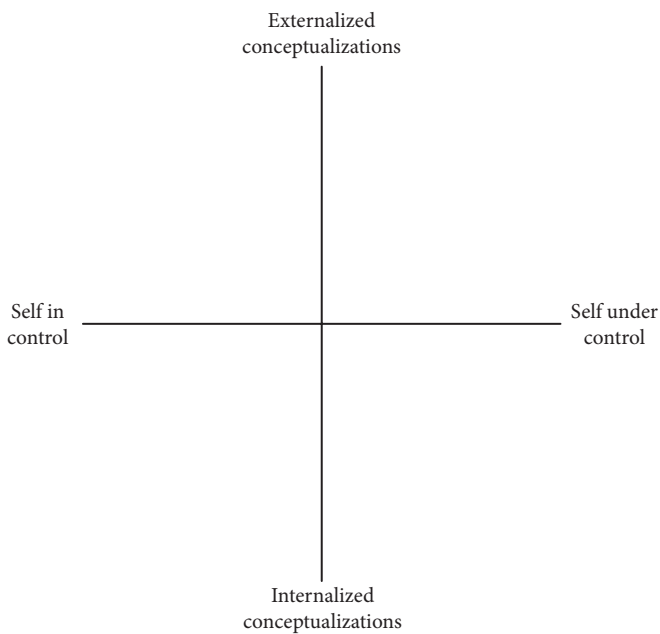


Figure 2. Nature of control v. locus of control

Miracles.¹⁰ In contrast, *passiones* psychologies (from the Latin *passio*, “being acted upon or controlled externally”) conceive of the self as controlled by external forces. The illustration given by Heelas is the Dinka, who conceive of the world as the active subject and the person as the object acted upon. The Dinka do not even possess a category equivalent to “mind.”¹¹ Other examples of this type of indigenous psychology might be astrology, in which human fates are controlled by stars, or certain forms of popular Christian pre-determinism.

These two extreme types of indigenous psychology are easy enough to grasp: a strong sense of a self in control joins easily with an internalized sense of the location of this control. A strong sense of the self as controlled coordinates well with a conceptualization of the source of control as external to the self. But many indigenous psychologies operate as what Heelas calls “modified *passiones*” psychologies, that is to say, they have a strong sense that the self is controlled but locate the source of that control internal to the person.¹²

One familiar model of the person controlled by forces internal to the body is the medieval theory of the four humors, each of which is located in a particular organ of the body but which exercise control over the disposition of the person. Even in less elaborately theorized indigenous psychologies of the person, the self may be envisioned as composed of a multiplicity of internally located active agents. The cognitive theorists of metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson examined metaphors of the self in contemporary American English (though the pattern applies to many cultures) and found that such a complex model of the person is often in play. One aspect of the self, which they term “the subject,” is the experiencing consciousness. It can often be contrasted with one or more “selves” that represent the person’s body, emotions, actions, inclinations, and so forth. The subject is always represented metaphorically as a person, but the various selves can be represented as a person, a location, or an object. For example, emotions may be personified as agents: “I was *seized by* anxiety.” “He is *struggling with* his emotions.” The consciousness may be construed as a location: “Are you *out of* your mind?” Or the subject may act on its self as an object: “I had to *force myself* to go.” The experiencing subject

¹⁰ [No name], *A Course in Miracles* (2nd ed.; New York: Viking, 1996).

¹¹ Heelas, “The Model Applied,” 41.

¹² Heelas, “The Model Applied,” 42.

is thus engaged by other aspects of the self that are represented as in some sense over against it.¹³ Even in a contemporary western indigenous psychology that largely stresses the autonomous nature of the self (lower left quadrant of the model), there are areas of experience in which the embedded metaphors slide over toward the lower right, as the subject experiences being controlled or potentially controlled by objectified aspects of itself.

One final comment is necessary before turning to the *Hodayot*. Heelas makes it clear that human experience actually requires acknowledgment of both poles of each coordinate. A cultural or subcultural indigenous psychology may tend toward an idealist or *passiones* model, but it will also include some recognition of the other mode of conceptualizing reality, though these less preferred ways of envisioning the self may be masked, muted, relocated, or transformed.¹⁴

THE INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *HODAYOT*

If one were to map the *Hodayot's* theory of the person onto Heelas and Lock's model, one would certainly locate it far out on the pole of the self under control. But are the forces controlling the self externally located or internally located? In the broadest sense the forces are certainly external, in that everything is attributed to the will of God. "In your hand is the inclination of every spirit, [and all] its [activi]ty you determined before you created it" (7:26–27). "Without your will nothing comes to pass" (18:4). "What can I say unless you open my mouth" (20:35–36).¹⁵ One could add many similar statements. From this perspective the *Hodayot's* indigenous psychology is radically *passiones*. At a finer grain of detail, however, the indigenous psychology

¹³ Lakoff and Johnson, 267–279.

¹⁴ Heelas, "The Model Applied," 46. The non-reductionist aspects of this analysis have recently been given a more systematic basis by combining the Heelas/Lock model with Robert MacLaury's cognitive "vantage theory," which demonstrates the cognitive means by which dominant and recessive vantage points of cultural perception can shift from figure to ground to presupposition as needed for particular purposes, even though one vantage will be the preferred default. See J. Hill and R. MacLaury, "The Terror of Montezuma: Aztec History, Vantage Theory, and the Category of "Person," in *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World* (ed. J. Taylor and R. MacLaury; Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 82; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), 277–329.

¹⁵ Column and line numbers follow DJD 40. All translations are my own.

is more complicated. This complexity has to do with the ambiguity of “spirit” and its relation to the self.

In the *Hodayot* the term spirit (רוח) is, among other things, used to identify the motivating force within a person.¹⁶ The unimproved person, that is, one’s condition without the intervention of God, is represented as being at the mercy of “a spirit of error” (רוח התועה) “a perverted spirit” (רוח נעוה) and the wonderfully oxymoronic “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר). Sometimes the spirit of flesh is represented as the basic nature of the self (“your servant is a spirit of flesh,” 4:37; cf. 9:24; 11:22), but it may also be objectified as a force opposed to the subject, as in the political metaphor (“and a perverted spirit rules me,” 5:32; cf. 8:18). The term “spirit of flesh” can also simply stand as an equivalent for “any human” (“[how can] a spirit of flesh understand all these things?” 5:30). The individual whom God has chosen, however, is transformed through the gift of a spirit or spirits from God. Although originating externally, this spirit becomes internalized, as one of the *Hodayot*’s favored locution suggests, by describing it as “the spirit that you have placed in me” (נתתה בי, 4:29; 5:36; 8:29; 20:15; 21:34; cf. 8:20). This is a very important locution that will be examined more closely below. Here, however, it is sufficient to note that if one maps the *Hodayot*’s indigenous psychology on Heelas’ grid, it can be mapped either in the upper right or the lower right quadrant, depending on whether the author is focusing at the highest metaphysical level of explanation or is focusing more specifically on the internal psychological dynamics of the individual.

Before one can further explore the *Hodayot*’s indigenous psychology, however, it is necessary to look at the composition’s conception of the physical self and its relation to earlier Israelite conceptions. The *Hodayot* commonly use the term בשר (“flesh”) both literally as a reference to the physicality of the body specifically (e.g., 16:34) and metonymically as a term for humankind (e.g., 5:33).¹⁷ Used synonymously

¹⁶ A. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 94.

¹⁷ Jörg Frey’s recent study, “Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Traditions and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: University Press, 2002), 367–404, provides an excellent survey of the usages of בשר. As he observes, even though many of the usages overlap those of the Hebrew Bible, “flesh” often has a negative connotation in the *Hodayot* (378–385).

with **בשר** in many cases is **עפר** (“dust,” “dirt”; cf. 21:17 with 24:6 and 16:34 with 21:25), which is equally if not more frequent than **בשר** as a term for the person conceived of as a physical being. Synonymous with **עפר**, is the noun **חמר** (“clay”), especially in the parallel locutions **יצר עפר** (“vessel of dust,” 7:34; 8:18; 21:7, 23, 34) and **יצר (ה)חמר** (“vessel of clay,” 3:29; 9:23; 11:24; 12:30; 19:6; 20:29, 35; 21:38; 22:19; 23:13, 28).

The background to this general conception is easy enough to identify—the creation story in Genesis 2, where human beings are shaped (**יצר**) by God from the dust of the earth (**עפר**) and made into living beings when God breaths into them the breath of life (**נשמת** **חיים**). The folk idea behind the myth (common to many cultures) is that of making a clay figure and blowing breath into it, thus animating it. Elsewhere, the term **רוח** is substituted for **נשמה**, as in Ps 104:29, “you gather back their breath (**רוח**) and they expire and return to their dust (**עפר**)”. In other texts **בשר** (flesh) substitutes for the ordinary dust/clay as the term for the material as opposed to the animating element of a person. See, for example, Gen 6:3, “my spirit (**רוחי**) will not abide in humankind forever, for they are flesh (**בשר**).” The potential for anthropological speculation in these metaphors, however, is little developed in the biblical texts (e.g., Qoh 12:7). One can easily see, however, how **בשר** as inanimate matter becomes a negatively marked term in the *Hodayot*, where spiritual perception is essential to salvation.

For the most part, the biblical texts envision the created, self-replicating human to be a psycho-somatic unity. The **נשמה** or **רוח** and the **בשר** function together. To be sure, one can distinguish between the subject and the self in that various body parts (heart, kidneys, liver, bowels, eyes, ears, mouth, lips, tongue, hands, feet) can be seen as agents or objects observed by the conscious subject.¹⁸ But in terms of overall agency, the person assumed by the majority of biblical texts is to be located primarily in the “self in control/internalized” quadrant. It is not a fully idealist model, but what Heelas would describe as a modified idealist model, since there are numerous instances in which the self can be felt as under the control of internal or external forces.

¹⁸ In an unpublished article, “Sinful or Weak? A Body of Rhetoric—on the Use of Physical Metaphors in Paul and the *Hodayot*,” George Brooke observes that the bones and internal organs ordinarily are used to represent emotional states, whereas external and visible parts of the body serve to represent the action and intention of the person. The heart, however, can serve in both capacities.

In general, however, narrative, legal, psalmic, and wisdom literatures assume a self who is an autonomous and responsible agent.

Some intriguing exceptions to this conceptualization exist, however, which exploit the semantic possibilities of the term רוּחַ for describing psychological experiences that deviate from the norm. In contrast to נְשִׁמָּה, which is largely restricted to the notion of breath, רוּחַ has a wide range of meanings. It can refer to breeze or wind, to breath, to an animating quality, to an internal character disposition or inclination, to a talent or capacity, to an external disposition sent by God, and to divine beings who lack material substance. The boundaries between these meanings are not always easy to determine. In the most detailed recent study of the meanings and functions of רוּחַ, John Levison attempts to correct what he considers to be a too sharp differentiation between the animating human spirit that is the breath of God and the divine spirit that is bestowed as a temporary or permanent charisma.¹⁹ Although one may argue about the interpretation of particular examples, he makes a persuasive case that many of the passages interpreted as temporally specific divine interventions should rather be understood as simply the manifestation of that spirit God had given a person at birth or as a certain enhancement of that individual's native spirit. In this category he discusses the cases of the artisan Bezalel and the court counselors Joseph and Daniel.²⁰

For the purposes of the present paper, however, the psychologically interesting cases are those occasions on which God sends a רוּחַ that overrides the subjective autonomy of a person. Some of these spirits are positive; some are negative. Particularly in the Deuteronomistic History, but also in certain of the prophets, and occasionally in the Pentateuch, רוּחַ from God are conceptualized as forces external to the self that overpower an individual's autonomy. The spirit from God that comes upon the elders in the wilderness (Num 11:17, 26), on Balaam (Num 24:2), on Othniel (Judg 3:10), on Gideon (Judg 6:34), on Samson (Judg 14:6), and others is identified as the causal force behind their actions, actions that they would not have had the natural capacity or inclination to do. The "evil spirit" that comes upon Saul (1 Sam 16:14) or the "lying spirit" that influences the prophets of Ahab

¹⁹ J. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009). A succinct digest of his findings is presented in "Holy Spirit," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2007), 2:859–879.

²⁰ Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 48–51, 74–81.

(1 Kgs 22:22) clearly override the autonomous intentions of the individuals involved. In the case of the lying spirit, the prophets would presumably not even be aware that they were being manipulated by an external force.

What is of greatest importance, however, is the syntax of רוח in these situations. In the biblical texts the overwhelming number of sentences conceptualize the רוח that overrides the individual's autonomy as *metonymically* related to the human subject. That is, it is external but contiguous. Most often this relationship is identified by the preposition על. The spirit from God may "be upon" or be "placed upon" or "rest upon" the person (Num 11:17, 25; 24:2; Judg 3:10). It may "fall upon" (Ezek 11:5) or be "poured out upon" (Isa 44:3; Ezek 39:29; Joel 3:1), or "rush upon" someone (Judg 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 16:13). It may also be said to "clothe" a person (Judg 6:34). Moreover, it often exercises external agency in that it "impels," (Judg 13:25), "terrifies" (1 Sam 16:14), "carries off" (2 Kgs 2:16), "takes away" (Ezek 37:1). Finally, it may "turn away from" a person (1 Sam 16:23). Even in cases where the author is speaking of a lasting prophetic charisma, the external terminology is used, as in Isa 11:2 ("The spirit of YHWH will rest upon him") or 42:1 ("This is my servant whom I uphold. . . I have put my spirit upon him [נתתי רוּחי עלוֹ])." In only a small minority of cases (three that I have identified) does the spirit appear to be represented as internal to the person affected, and in two of these cases the locution probably expresses something other than a psychological claim. In 2 Sam 23:2 the spirit "speaks in me" and in 1 Kgs 22:23 YHWH places the lying spirit "in the mouth" of the prophets. In both of these cases the issue is speech. Thus the author may be more concerned with tracing the action in question back to the external cause and not talking about the metaphysical relationship between the spirit and the human person. Only in 2 Kgs 19:7 is it simply said of the King of Assyria, "See, I am putting in him a spirit (נתן בו רוח), and he will hear a rumor, and he will return to his land." Even in this case, the externally originating spirit temporarily overrides the subjective autonomy of the individual and is not to be confused with it, since the king presumably would not have had the disposition to respond to the rumor as he did without being directed by the spirit. To summarize, in the biblical texts in which the spirit sent by God is conceptualized as an agent that overrides the subject's autonomy for better or for worse, it is represented as a external phenomenon that is metonymically related to the subject, whether this changed condition is temporary or lasting.

By contrast, the spirit that one has by virtue of birth is often referred to as “in” an individual, using the preposition **כ** (Gen 6:3; Num 27:18; Ps 51:12). In these cases the spirit in a person is often associated with his capacity for knowledge, as in the claim by Elihu that “it is the spirit in humans, the breath of Shaddai that gives them insight” (Job 32:8). This is the case even where that intelligence is so exceptional as to be characterized as “a divine spirit,” as with Joseph (Gen 41:38) and Daniel (Dan 4:5–6; 5:11). In the instance of Daniel, it is possible that his native capacity was enhanced in response to his fidelity (1:17), but the situation is not like those described above in which the preposition **על** occurs. It is simply the enhancement of the abilities that he natively possessed (1:4; 6:4).²¹ The sense of interiority is also suggested in those expressions using the verb “filled” (**מלא**). While these cases certainly can suggest direct divine action (Micah in Mic 3:8; Bezalel and his associates in Exod 28:3; 35:31, 34), Levison argues that at most the verb suggests the enhancement of a quality already possessed by the persons in question and may simply identify the persons as having been given exceptional native capacities.²² The strongest evidence for this interpretation is the parallel between heart and spirit in Exod 28:3: “You shall speak to all the wise of heart, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, and they shall make Aaron’s vestments.”

To summarize, in biblical texts, references to the breath of God that animates humans and that is responsible for their varied native gifts and talents is represented as interior to the person, even when God may enhance or strengthen that capacity for a person. The basis for this conceptualization is simply the experience of the breath that is breathed in and out of the physical body. The divine spirit that overrides the person’s native capacities or inclinations is almost always represented as an external entity that becomes metonymically associated with the person.

SPIRIT AND FLESH IN THE HODAYOT

As the discussion at the beginning of the article suggested, in the *Hodayot* the spirit that characterizes the ordinary, unimproved person

²¹ See the discussion of Joseph and Daniel in Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 48–51, 74–81.

²² Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 55–57.

is quite negatively characterized: the spirit of error, the perverted spirit, the spirit of flesh. It is specifically God's holy spirit that "purifies" the speaker (8:30) and draws him near to God's understanding (6:24).²³ This holy spirit is not something that he possesses by right of birth but is external to his original status. But how does the speaker conceptualize this relationship between the purifying spirit and his own person? In the portions of the *Hodayot* that are preserved, when the speaker uses the particular phrase "your holy spirit," he tends to use the verb and preposition על הניפותה ("to sprinkle over"; 4:38; 23:33).²⁴ Although this phrase is unattested in the biblical text, it is consistent with the syntax and conceptualization of the placing of the spirit upon a chosen individual. It should be noted, however, that in a third instance the expression is בי הנפותה (15:10), which suggests a different model, the sprinkling of spirit that penetrates into the interior of the person. Perhaps one should not make too much of this phraseology, since the preposition ב can also express the relationship "upon." Other evidence, however, suggests that a model of placing the divine spirit internally within a person is indeed the primary conceptualization present in the *Hodayot*.

When the noun is simply "spirit," as opposed to "holy spirit," the verb and preposition used is not על נוף but נתן ב.²⁵ The speaker thanks or blesses God or explains that he has understanding "because of the spirit you have placed in me" (נתתה בי) (4:29; 5:36; 8:29; 20:15; 21:34). One might ask if there is a substantive difference between "the spirit" and "your holy spirit" that would account for the different pattern of usage, but there does not appear to be. In 20:14–16, the two expressions apparently refer to the same internal experience of insight: "I know you, my God, by means of the spirit that you have placed in me... By your holy spirit you have [o]pened up knowledge within me (לתוכי)...". Here the two terms, "spirit" and "your holy spirit," appear to be synonymous, and both have to do with the interior experience of the speaker. The shift in verbs and prepositions between the biblical locutions concerning the spirit and those in the *Hodayot* is telling.

²³ See Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 72–84, for a discussion of the phrase "holy spirit."

²⁴ In biblical Hebrew the verb נוף ordinarily means "wave," but when the reference is to rain or snow the verb apparently means "sprinkle" (Ps 68:10; Sir 43:17).

²⁵ The one occurrence in which "your holy spirit" might be used with נתן ב is almost completely reconstructed (8:20) and cannot be used as evidence.

What had been seen as an external spirit applied to a fundamentally autonomous self is no longer the operative model. Rather, the originally external spirit from God becomes conceptualized as moving from outside to inside. Nor is the self construed any longer as a simple autonomous subject.

As is often the case in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the change is not simply a novel creation of the authors but is a conceptualization based on scriptural interpretation, in this case the prophet Ezekiel's meditation on the problem of human moral psychology. Frustrated by the people's utter inability to fulfill the divine laws and commandments, Ezekiel can only envision a solution in which God removes the heart of stone from the people and gives them a heart of flesh and puts a new spirit within them (Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27; *רוח חדשה אתן בקרבכם*).²⁶ Ezekiel essentially envisions a new creation of the people, an idea that is given graphic depiction in the vision of the valley of dry bones. There, again using the phraseology *נתן רוח ב* (37:6, 14), the passage describes how people are given new life as the four winds summoned by the prophet enter the reconstituted bodies. What Ezekiel is describing is not a temporary or even a permanent overriding of the people's natural inclination but a completely new being, one now capable of obedience to God's statutes and ordinances (36:27). Thus it is clear why Ezekiel's locutions involve the preposition *ב* rather than *על*.

Although the *Hodayot* appropriate Ezekiel's phrase, they understand the result in ways that are significantly different from Ezekiel's. For one thing, what Ezekiel had described as a collective experience of the people is represented as an individual experience in the *Hodayot*.²⁷ More significantly, in the *Hodayot* the gift of the spirit from God does not result in the removal or eradication of the previously defective spirit in the speaker. Instead, a much more complex model of the self develops.

Perhaps because the spirit from God is particularly identified with knowledge, understanding, and insight, the speaker identifies his subjectivity with it. It becomes his "experiencing consciousness," in Lakoff and Johnson's terminology, that which says "I." But while this

²⁶ Note also the language of "sprinkling" (*זרק*) so as to purify the people in Ezek 36:25. Although the verb is different from the *Hodayot*'s *על נור*, the imagery is quite similar, suggesting the influence of Ezekiel on the conceptualization of the gift of the spirit.

²⁷ Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 207.

internalized divine spirit does *not* entirely override the rest of the person's intentionality, as in the common biblical model, or replace it, as in Ezekiel's model, it does enable the speaker to become aware of those other aspects of his self (his "spirit of flesh," "spirit of error," and "perverted spirit") that he now experiences as part of himself but as an objectified aspect that struggles for control over him. These aspects of the self are resisted, however, because his subjectivity is now constituted by a spirit that is both internal and also external, in that it is a gift from an external divine source that has been placed internally in him, not temporarily cloaking him, but lastingly constituting his essential self. Because that new subjectivity does not eliminate the negative "perverted spirit," the speaker of the *Hodayot* creates something that is quite novel in Israelite and early Jewish indigenous psychologies—the model for a complex interior life in which conflicting desires, impulses, and intentions are given a theoretical basis. Moreover, the *Hodayot*, as first-person singular prayers, provide a mechanism for cultivating the *experience* of such an interior life.²⁸

A NEW MODEL OF THE BODY?

Given this strikingly transformed sense of the person as understood through the psychological category of the spirit, one might ask if there is any corresponding change to the conceptualization of the self as body. The expression "you have placed a spirit in your servant" implicitly constructs the person as a *container* into which something can be *put*. This is not the only expression that suggests the metaphor of the person as container, however. In col. 13 the speaker says "you have *hidden in me* your law (בִּי חִבַּתָּהּ 13:13) and refers later to "the mystery that you have *hidden in me*" (13:27). Since knowledge is particularly characteristic of the spirit that God places in a person, these expressions apparently belong to the same general conceptualization. In all these places, however, although the physical body is implicitly part of the "me" referred to, the physicality of the person is not emphasized. If, however, one looks at the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*, one also

²⁸ For a discussion of the way in which the *Hodayot* shape the speaker's experience of his own self see C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004; Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 196–208.

sees container imagery used for the physical body. These stereotypical passages describe the person as a thing constructed of clay and kneaded with water. The metaphor of the body as pottery is explicit. The terms *מבנה עפר* (5:32) and *יצר החמר* (9:23), i.e., “structure of dust” and “vessel of clay,” are synonymously used as parallels for *מגבל המים*. (“kneaded with water”). The imagery, though alluding to Gen 2:7, is more graphic about the process and materials (cf. also 20:28; 1QS 11:21–22). But what kind of pottery is it? The phrases that follow suggest that this “pottery body” is conceived of as a vessel, a container, for the person is also described as a *מקור נדה*, “a source of menstrual pollution.” Here a very literal analogy is drawn. Just as the female body contains fluids that can pollute, so the speaker envisions himself as a container of impurity. The following image, *כור העוון* (“a crucible of iniquity”) also describes the body in terms of a container, for in antiquity crucibles were pottery containers used for processing of liquified metals. Although the term *יצר* has a range of meaning broader than English “vessel,” the frequent use of the expressions *יצר (ה)חמר* and *יצר עפר* (eighteen occurrences) may also refer to the embodied person as a pottery container.

Is that notion of the person, the embodied self, as a container also part of biblical conceptualization? A few expressions conceive of the body as a container of liquids. The expression *מקור דם* is used of the womb in Leviticus (Lev 27:18), and *מקור דמעה* describes the eyes as a “fountain of tears” in Jeremiah (Jer 8:23). Speech is often envisioned as a liquid that pours forth from the mouth (e.g., Pss 19:3; 72:2; 94:4; 119:171; 145:7; Prov 10:11; 15:2, 28; 18:4; 19:28). But notably, these images are used of specific parts of the body, not as images for the person as a totality. Moreover, even though the notion of humans as shaped from clay like pottery is attested numerous times in the Bible, the image is used only to refer to human mortality (e.g., Ps 103:14; Job 4:19; 10:9) or to the relationship between the potter and the pot (e.g., Isa 29:16; 45:9), not to the person as a container of anything. To be sure, the body was conceived of as having an inside, as the term *קרב* (“innards”) suggests, and the *נפש* or *רוח* is often located there (e.g., 1 Kgs 17:21; Zech 12:1). Presumably, the conceptualization of persons as containers also informs the statement by God concerning Bezalel that “I have filled him with a divine spirit” (Exod 31:1). Thus the representation in the *Hodayot* of the person as a container builds on available conceptualizations but develops them more vividly. Moreover, both the references to the spirits and torah that are placed or hidden

within the person and the descriptions of the impurities contained in the person develop a greater sense of an interior space that is the locus of self-awareness and self-consciousness.

It is difficult to say whether this imagery for the body and the imagery for the implanting of the spirit, both sharing the conceptual metaphor of the person as a container, were specifically linked or developed in relation to one another. If they had been, one might have expected imagery of the spirit as a liquid. Already in Proverbs spirit can be envisioned as a liquid (“I will pour out my spirit to you,” 1:23). But there is no pouring of the spirit into the container of the body in the *Hodayot*, except perhaps in the suggestive change of the idiom נוף על to נוף ב in 8:20. Even if that is the case in this instance, this possible image of the spirit poured into the body was not developed as a prominent trope in the *Hodayot*. More likely, general shifts in the conception of the interiority of personhood simply found their way unconsciously into parallel but uncoordinated imagery for the placing of the spirit in the person and the representation of the physical body as a container.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It is quite possible that the *yahad* operated with a variety of models of the self, some of them more or less continuations of the traditional biblical indigenous psychology. Nevertheless, it is striking that there is not just one but two models for a self with a complex and conflicted interior life, the model of the *Hodayot*, explored above, and the model embodied in the Two Spirits Treatise. While there are certainly significant differences between the two,²⁹ they share a number of broad similarities. Both documents construct dualistic models of the self, one through the imagery of the God-given spirit and the spirit of perversity/error/flesh, the other through the imagery of the two spirits of truth and deceit. Where the Two Spirits Treatise is more explicit about the contention between these spirits in the heart of a person (1QS 3:23), the *Hodayot* express the psychological anguish caused by the persistent presence of the perverted spirit and its attempt to “rule over” the speaker. In different ways both documents locate the

²⁹ The *hodayah* in col. 7 may reflect the influence of the Two Spirits Treatise.

complex interior experience of the individual in the context of the cosmic struggle between good and evil. Even though not all recensions of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* contained the Two Spirits Treatise, for at least many of the communities of the *yahad*,³⁰ it was a model of the self that was explicitly taught. The central importance of the *Hodayot* is generally acknowledged. Thus the creation of a normative type of indigenous psychology with a distinctive form of interior self-experience was intentionally cultivated by the movement. What is difficult to judge is the causal relationship between developing theological ideas of the sectarian movement and developing models of indigenous psychology. It is not inevitable that a dualistic worldview will produce a dualistic psychology, though it is easy to see how useful such a psychological model could be for constructing and maintaining that view of reality. Perhaps it would be better to say that the community's theological worldview and the indigenous psychologies of the *Hodayot* and the Two Spirits Treatise were mutually produced and mutually reinforcing. Even though the clearest representation of the models of the self constructed in the *yahad* occur in these texts, it is likely that other sectarian texts contain additional evidence for understanding the indigenous psychology of the sect. Thus further research is needed. Moreover, the approaches of cognitive anthropology suggest new ways in which scholars might compare the indigenous psychologies represented in a variety of Jewish literature produced during the late Second Temple period.

³⁰ A. Schofield's suggestion that the different recensions of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* were developed in different communities of the *yahad* is highly plausible. See *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 7.

FROM POETIC STRUCTURE TO HISTORICAL SETTING:
EXPLORING THE BACKGROUND OF THE
BARKHI NAFSHI HYMNS

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Five fragmentary manuscripts, 4Q434–438, preserve parts of a poetic text, or a collection of poetic texts, and are designated in the official DJD edition as the *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s).¹ The title is derived from the opening words of the composition, ברכי נפשי את אדוני (4Q434 1 1; 4Q437 1 1), which parallels the blessing formulas used at the beginning and end of MT Psalms 103 and 104 (note the use of אדוני instead of the Tetragrammaton in the composition(s) found at Qumran).² The *Barkhi Nafshi* consists of poetic text(s) that are described by the editors Moshe Weinfeld and David Seely as “hymns of thanksgiving—praising and thanking the Lord for his deliverance and continued grace.”³ The extant portions of the manuscripts display text(s) written from two different perspectives: one is a communal perspective that draws its imagery from the experiences of a group (see esp. 4Q434), and the other approaches topics from the perspective of an individual (cf. 4Q436 1, 4Q437 2).

The studies dealing with these manuscripts have thus far highlighted several areas of interest.⁴ First is the extent of the composition(s). Seely

¹ M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, “434–438. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a-e},” in *Qumran Cave 4, XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 255–334.

² Eileen Schuller has done a considerable amount of significant work on the poetic texts from Qumran and especially the *Hodayot*. Thus, it is not at all surprising that she has also shown a keen interest in the *Barkhi Nafshi*. The first time I met her was during her stay in Göttingen in 2005 and she strongly encouraged me to include the *Barkhi Nafshi* in my studies. Later during my stay under her guidance at McMaster University in 2007, she continued to show a special interest in these particular texts. Thus, it seems appropriate that the *Barkhi Nafshi* should be the subject of my scholarly homage to her.

³ Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 255.

⁴ Most of the studies dealing exclusively with the *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s) have been conducted by the editors M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, and were published already before the DJD edition. See, M. Weinfeld, “Grace After Meals in Qumran [4Q434],” *JBL* 111

has claimed that, because the contents of the five manuscripts have significant overlaps, they represent copies of the same composition and that each of them was originally a complete copy.⁵ While the overlaps between the manuscripts are significant and demonstrate that it is largely the same general composition, caution must still be exercised when drawing conclusions from this, particularly in regards to such things as the order of the contents.⁶ The text and its order might have developed during the course of time. Moreover, if the manuscripts represent a poetic collection rather than a single text, some of them might have had only a part of the whole collection (cf. the Psalms and *Hodayot* manuscripts).⁷

(1992): 427–440; D. Seely, “The Barki Nafshi Texts (4Q434–439),” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 194–214; idem, “The ‘Circumcised Heart’ in 4Q434 Barki Nafshi,” *RevQ* 65–68 (1996): 527–535; idem, “4Q437: A First Look at an Unpublished Barki Nafshi Text,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 147–160; idem, “Implanting Pious Qualities as a Theme in the Barki Nafshi Hymns,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 322–331. The DJD edition contains the editors’ most recent views on many of the specific topics they explored in previous articles, as well as a comprehensive list of other early publications dealing with these manuscripts (see especially, DJD 29, 255–265). For other studies on the *Barkhi Nafshi*, see, e.g., E. Cook, “A Thanksgiving for God’s Help (4Q434 II–III),” in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology* (ed. M. Kiley; London: Routledge, 1997), 14–17; G. Brooke, “Body Parts in Barkhi Nafshi and the Qualifications for Membership of the Worshipping Community,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79–94.

⁵ Seely, “A First Look,” 148–149.

⁶ For the overlaps between the manuscripts, see the charts in Seely, “A First Look,” 149; Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 256.

⁷ Some of the material evidence creates doubts about the overall arrangement of the material suggested by the editors. For instance, manuscript 4Q436 has only 11 lines to a column, and even if it had included only the amount of material that can be confidently derived from analysis of the other manuscripts, it would have been a very long scroll and quite impractical to use. It is more likely that 4Q436 had only part of the whole composition/collection. Another problem caused by the arrangement in the DJD edition has more direct relevance for the order of the overall text presented in it. Weinfeld and Seely (DJD 29, 256–258, 261–264) claim that frags. 1 and 2 of 4Q435 come from the same sheet, and this would in turn demonstrate that the material found in 4Q434 1 (parallel in 4Q435 1) and 2 was followed by that found in 4Q436 1 (parallel in 4Q435 2). The first sheet of 4Q434 has at least three columns with 18 or more lines in each (the column height cannot be determined). Furthermore, the parallel

Secondly, research has focused on the direct connections and thematic links between the *Barkhi Nafshi* composition(s) and the texts of the Hebrew Bible, and how these connections help in understanding the *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s) as a whole. Seely has demonstrated that earlier texts have been used in similar ways in different parts of the *Barkhi Nafshi*, and he has also shown that there are significant lexical and thematic similarities between different sections of the *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s).⁸ These compositional characteristics found in different parts of the text are noteworthy and imply that the same circles may have been responsible for the whole (or most of the) composition(s).

A third topic of interest is the provenance of the *Barkhi Nafshi* and whether it originates from the Qumran movement. Weinfeld and Seely argue for a sectarian origin due to thematic and lexical connections with the texts usually associated with the Qumran movement.⁹ However, George Brooke has appropriately pointed out the absence of any explicit sectarian vocabulary in the extant fragments, and argues that *Barkhi Nafshi* is probably not a sectarian composition.¹⁰ Brooke is right in emphasizing that: “we should allow that the composition of the poems could have been in non-sectarian circles,”¹¹ but because the available evidence is far from unambiguous, it should likewise be allowed that the *Barkhi Nafshi* could possibly be from an early phase of the Qumran movement or its predecessors.¹²

text between 4Q434 1 and 4Q435 1 reveals that the first column of 4Q434 is c. 3 cm wider than the one in 4Q435 1. The lines in 4Q435 2 i are by similar analysis shown to be somewhat shorter than the ones in 4Q436 1. Thus, a rather narrow column was evidently employed throughout 4Q435. If the material found in the whole first sheet of 4Q434, the text preceding the parallel portion in 4Q436 1, and the additional column coming after these as shown by 4Q435 2 ii, is all placed in such narrow columns (as the editors arrangement presupposes), it seems doubtful whether it could fit on a single sheet (even if one allows for more than the typical number of three to four columns per sheet). Therefore, it is probable that either the amount of material in the manuscripts differs, or frags. 1 and 2 of 4Q435 come from separate sheets. Either way the proposed overall sequence of text cannot be maintained without further argumentation.

⁸ Seely, “The *Barkhi Nafshi*,” 208–210; idem, “The ‘Circumcised Heart,’” 528–534; idem, “A First Look,” 150–60; idem, “Implanting Pious,” 325–330.

⁹ Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 258–261; cf. Seely, “The *Barkhi Nafshi*,” 211–213; idem, “Implanting Pious,” 323–324, 330–331; B. Smith, “‘Spirit of Holiness’ as Eschatological Principle of Obedience,” in *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. J. Collins and C. A. Evans; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 95–97.

¹⁰ Brooke, “Body Parts,” 79–83, 93–94; cf. Cook, “A Thanksgiving,” 15.

¹¹ Brooke, “Body Parts,” 79.

¹² The problem poetic texts present—by their very compositional character—for any attempt to distinguish between sectarian and non-sectarian provenance have been

Many fundamental questions still remain open concerning the *Barkhi Nafshi*, and several of these derive from one basic question, namely, what is *Barkhi Nafshi*? The vagueness of the concept *barkhi nafshi* leaves scholars to decide for themselves whether to call the composition(s), e.g., a ‘hymn,’ or a ‘praise,’ or to completely avoid a genre distinction by referring to it just as a ‘text’.¹³ Similarly, it is unclear whether *Barkhi Nafshi* should be understood as a single poetic text or a collection of similar texts.¹⁴ This study will attempt to solve these problems by investigating what information can be gleaned by exploring the “biblical” background of the title, *Barkhi Nafshi*. The label for the Qumran manuscripts was chosen because of an apparent imitation of MT Psalms 103 and 104 in the opening formula of the composition(s). Weinfeld and Seely explain the use of this particular formula as “a deliberate attempt to follow the biblical model, and suggests, perhaps, a genre of *Barkhi Nafshi* texts.”¹⁵ They note the lack of other texts using the *barkhi nafshi* formulation among the Dead Sea Scrolls and the existence of a *barkhi nafshi* tradition in later Judaism,¹⁶ but to trace a genre one must first explore its origins rather than its later developments.

noted by E. Schuller in, “Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 170. When analyzing the origins of the *Barkhi Nafshi* several factors need to be taken into consideration. First, the significance of the thematic and lexical links provided by Weinfeld and Seely (DJD 29, 258–261) cannot be entirely dismissed by the absence of specific sectarian vocabulary, as this vocabulary is not well-suited for poetry, and because texts written by the movement (or its predecessors) prior to the establishment of the specific vocabulary cannot be defined through it. The observation by Brooke (“Body Parts,” 79) that “the contents of *Barkhi Nafshi* are entirely consistent with the community’s world view,” is noteworthy. Second, the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton and its supplanting with **יהוה** in the opening formula is relevant at least for the dating of the text(s). Third, the apparent absence of any MT Psalms (e.g., 103 and 104) among the *Barkhi Nafshi* is of interest because none of the clearly sectarian writings include Psalms, even when songs are incorporated in them. Such is also the case with sectarian poetic collections such as the *Hodayot* and *Songs of the Sage*. All in all, the available evidence is inconclusive and further studies on *Barkhi Nafshi*, as well as other texts, are needed before firmer suggestions on the origin of the *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s) can be made.

¹³ Cf. Seely, “The *Barkhi Nafshi*,” 194–197; idem, “Implanting Pious,” 322; Cook, “A Thanksgiving,” 14–15; Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 255; Brooke, “Body Parts,” 79–81.

¹⁴ Cf. Seely, “The *Barkhi Nafshi*,” 195, 206–214; idem “A First Look,” 149; Cook, “A Thanksgiving,” 14.

¹⁵ Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 255.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

With the Qumran *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts the available evidence for this possible poetic category is multiplied several times over from the two examples in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷ Due to the fragmentary state of the Qumran composition(s) and their probable imitation of the MT Psalms, the investigation has to start with Psalms 103 and 104,¹⁸ and move from there to the Qumran text(s). The structure and general content of Psalms 103 and 104 are explored in order to find what is common to them and could consequently be considered a marker of a *barkhi nafshi* type composition. These criteria are then tested by applying them in a structural analysis to one of the Qumran manuscripts. Manuscript 4Q434 holds the largest segment of text among the *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts, which makes it the most appropriate subject for the analysis. In the course of this article, it will be argued that the different poems have more in common than just the opening formula. They represent similarly constructed poems, which may in turn indicate the existence of a *barkhi nafshi* poetic category. The typical features found in the texts help to establish the nature and extent of the Qumran *Barkhi Nafshi* text(s) as well as give new insight into the communal setting envisaged in 4Q434.

THE STRUCTURE OF PSALMS 103 AND 104

Psalms 103 and especially 104 have been subject to extensive research,¹⁹ and the details connecting these two Psalms have also been frequently discussed.²⁰ The blessing formula at the beginning and end of these

¹⁷ There is not enough available evidence to establish a *barkhi nafshi* genre. It is more appropriate to place these compositions under the already established poetic genres. Therefore, to differentiate between the different levels of classification, the designation "poetic category" is used in this article.

¹⁸ Psalms 103 and 104 are found in many of the Qumran Psalm manuscripts. One or both of them are partially preserved in: 2QPs, 4QPs^b, 4QPs^d, 4QPs^e, 4QPs^f, and 11QPs^e. This shows that these Psalms were apparently well known, and subsequently, it is plausible that someone writing a new composition might have imitated them. For lists of verses preserved in the various manuscripts and variant readings to other versions found in them, see P. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and The Book of Psalms* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

¹⁹ See, e.g., the bibliographies in E. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations* (FOTL 15; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 220–221, 227–230.

²⁰ E.g., L. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* (WBC 21; Dallas: Word Books, 1983), 26; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989), 208; Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 227.

Psalms is the most obvious connection between them, but there are other thematic, structural and lexical similarities that have led a number of scholars to argue for a common origin for these Psalms.²¹ Interestingly enough, the sequence of these Psalms attested by the MT Psalter is only found in one of the Qumran manuscripts, namely, 2QPs. Four of the six manuscripts preserving parts of these Psalms exhibit different sequences of Psalms (4QPs^b, 4QPs^d, 4QPs^e, 11QPs^a), and in the case of 4QPs^l, the Psalms preceding and following Psalm 104, if any, are no longer extant. In the following, a rough outline of these Psalms is given with an emphasis on the broader topics that connect them. Similarities in smaller details, e.g., in vocabulary, are significant for questions of origin, but cannot be taken as markers of a poetic category. Therefore, such parallels are not taken up here.

Psalm 103

The Psalm can be characterized as a praise of the grace of God,²² but formally it is a mixture of a hymn and a song of thanksgiving.²³ The Psalm begins with a blessing formula (vv. 1–2). The basic *barkhi nafshi* formulation, בִּרְכֵי נַפְשִׁי אֵת יְהוָה, is used in both verses (1a, 2a). Additionally, the call to bless the “holy name” is found in verse 1b. It must be emphasized that the blessings are directed to God. He is praised in this Psalm for a particular reason, which is expressed in verse 2b. There the psalmist gives the command not to forget all the גְּמוּלִים of God. This is almost uniformly translated into English as “benefits,”²⁴ but the translation does not accurately relate the meaning of the Hebrew in this instance. It should be translated as “recompenses” which is the usual meaning of the word (cf. Joel 4:4, 7; Jer 51:6; Lam 3:64; Isa 35:4; 59:18). The basic worldview behind the idea is that God repays the sins

²¹ See, e.g., P. Auffret, “Essai sur la structure littéraire du Psaume 103,” *FoIOr* 23 (1985–1986): 117–123; P. E. Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god and Sun-god: The Double Legacy of Egypt and Canaan as Reflected in Psalm 104,” *ZAW* 103 (1991): 43–44, 69.

²² A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (trans. H. Hartwell; OTL; Norwich: SCM Press, 1962), 657. Cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 216.

²³ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 658; Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 19–20. There appears to be a general acceptance of at least classifying the Psalm as a hymn, see, e.g., M. Dahood, *Psalms III, 101–150* (AB 17A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 24; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 200; Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 220.

²⁴ See, e.g., NRSV, KJV, NAS; Dahood, *Psalms III*, 23; Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 17.

of a person (or nation) by a punishment equivalent to the sins.²⁵ However, God can also choose to repay the sins, not according to the deeds of the person, but according to his own mercy (cf. 2 Chr 32:25).²⁶ This is the central theme of Psalm 103, to bless God for his merciful recompenses, when the sins of the psalmist (and the nation) would have merited harsher reparation. Both the psalmist and the nation have still been punished for their sins (apparently by sickness and exile respectively), but later mercifully forgiven (vv. 3, 8–11).²⁷

The two following strophes, vv. 3–5 and 6–10, are thematically quite similar. Both of them mostly concentrate on merciful actions of God done in the past. The first strophe is characterized by the use of hymnic participles and deals with the psalmist's personal experience of God's mercy. God has forgiven his sins, and consequently healed and rejuvenated him. The second section begins with a description of the actions of God on behalf of the oppressed and the people of Israel (vv. 6–7). He has upheld justice, and showed his way to Moses and his great deeds to Israel (cf. Exod 33:13). Then the merciful nature of God is highlighted (v. 8) by mentioning mercy, kindness, patience, and fidelity as God's attributes (cf. Exod 34:6). After this, the perspective changes from what God did to what he did *not* do (vv. 9–10). He did not repay the nation's sins according to what their deeds would have deserved and did not remain angry at them forever.

The next section (vv. 11–14) gives an explanation for these merciful deeds of the past. It describes the present state of affairs, i.e., God is merciful for all those who love and fear him. It serves to explain God's past actions, but is likewise true in the present day. After this, the poet turns to the future (vv. 15–18). Human existence as a limited period in time is contrasted with God's mercy that endures forever. From generation to generation God will always be merciful to those who keep the covenant. The final section (vv. 19–22) is a closing hymn with the whole of creation called on to bless God. The root בָּרַךְ is used four times in this section.

Psalm 103 is a hymn that blesses God for his merciful recompenses. Multiple blessings at the beginning and end of the Psalm frame the central section. In this section the psalmist takes up one aspect of God,

²⁵ Repayment like this is seen especially as the fate of the wicked (cf. Psalm 28:4; 94:2).

²⁶ Cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 218.

²⁷ Cf. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 657.

namely, his merciful recompenses, and deals with this topic from the perspectives of past, present, and future.²⁸ God *has been* merciful to the psalmist and the nation in the past, God *is* merciful for those who fear and love him in the present day, and God's mercy *will be* forever with those who keep his covenant. The blessings, the unified theme and the temporal aspects all seem central to the Psalm and might be considered markers of a poetic category. Note must also be taken of the use of wisdom language, especially in the sections describing conditions prevailing in the present day.

Psalm 104

The Psalm is consistently seen as a hymn.²⁹ It begins with the *barkhi nafshi* call to bless God and moves directly into a hymnic introduction (vv. 1–4).³⁰ The section addresses God in the second person singular and emphasizes by use of the Tetragrammaton that the God of the psalmist, YHWH, is the creator of the cosmos. The words used to describe God in verse 1 (גִּדְלַת מְאֹד, הוֹד, הוֹדֵר) immediately focus the hymn on God as the majestic king over all creation (cf. Ps 96:6; 1 Chr 16:25–27, 29:11).³¹ The rest of the section reinforces this image of God.

The next section (vv. 4–9) describes creation of the dry land and the confinement of the waters. It is about the past deeds of God, but they have consequences for the present as shown by vv. 10–18 that

²⁸ Especially because of the frequent use of hymnic participles, the verbal forms in Psalms 103 and 104 cannot be used to differentiate between the temporal aspects (but in the Qumran hymns the verbal forms are more useful). The timeframe must be deduced from the content, e.g., creation and the exodus are certainly events belonging to the past, observations on how the world works belong to the present day, and things wished for to the future, etc. Psalm 103 has some intriguing affinities with other texts both on the thematic and structural level that deserve more attention in the future. See, e.g., the beginning of *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* (note also that the *Ludlul* concentrates on the past and the present and reflects on the general human conditions). Cf. A. Annus and A. Lenzi, *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi. The Standard Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (SAACT 7; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2010), 29.

²⁹ Cf. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 666; Dahood, *Psalms III*, 33; Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 8; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 208; Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god,” 44; Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 226.

³⁰ The structure of Psalm 104 is understood similarly with, e.g., Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 208; Dion, “YHWH as Storm-god,” 45–48, 69–71.

³¹ Weiser (*The Psalms*, 658) notes that this “utterance powerfully sums up the occasion for the whole psalm, its spirit and its fundamental ideas.” Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 214.

also center on the waters and the dry land. That section is about the benefits of the ground and rain waters, and the dry land for the creatures that dwell on the land. The waters are needed for quenching the thirst as well as for the growth of the produce of the soil (vv. 10–11, 13, 16). The dry land in turn is necessary as the place for growth and as a dwelling for creatures (vv. 12, 14–15, 17–18). Thus, the whole stanza (vv. 4–18) is about the creation of the waters and the dry land and how the lasting value of these past actions of God are seen in the way the world works in the present day.

Then the poet moves to the creation of the moon and the sun (v. 19), and to how the division between night and day serves the created beings in the present day (vv. 20–23). This is quite similar to the way the preceding topic was handled in that first God's creative activity is described, and then, how it is seen from the perspective of the created beings in the present day. This is the background from which the exclamation of v. 24 springs. The psalmist has already demonstrated how wise and beneficial God's works of creation are for the creatures that live on the dry land, and he emphasizes his point by this exclamation. But not all creatures live on the land, and the psalmist finally turns to the sea and remarks a multitude of God's creatures also live there (vv. 25–26).

Next the poet turns to the continued dependency of every creature on God (vv. 27–30). This section is most of all about the present reality and the future. The life of all creatures depends on God, he can nourish them or he can take their life (vv. 27–29). But the breath of God also continues to create new life and renew the earth (v. 30). Finally, the Psalm turns into a closing doxology with future wishes of the psalmist concerning God (vv. 31–32), himself (vv. 33–34) and sinners (v. 35). After that the Psalm ends with the *barkhi nafshi* formula.

Psalm 104 is a hymn that blesses God the creator (and hence sustainer) of all life. It has the blessing formulas at the beginning and end, and like Psalm 103 it concentrates on one particular aspect of God. This central topic (this time God as the creator) is again approached from the past, present, and future perspectives. The timeframes are partly intertwined, as they are in Psalm 103, but all are unmistakably present in the Psalm. The general movement is from the actions of the past to the present and from the present to the future as it is in Psalm 103. Additionally, wisdom language is again present, especially in the final sections of the Psalm.

All in all, Psalms 103 and 104 suggest that the following might be markers of a *barkhi nafshi* poetic category. 1) One or more blessings directed to God at the beginning and end of a psalm. 2) A central theme that is set immediately at the beginning and dealt with for the whole main part of the psalm. 3) The theme is approached from different temporal perspectives, the past, present, and the future (but not necessarily with strict divisions between them), with the past more likely to be described first and the future near the end of the psalm. In addition, while the following cannot be established as strict structural markers of a poetic category, it is to be noted that the use of hymnic elements and wisdom language appears to be fitting in these compositions. Next the usefulness of these criteria is tested on the contents of manuscript 4Q434.

COMMUNAL HYMN(S) IN 4QBARKHI NAFSHI^A

Manuscript 4Q434 consists of fifteen fragments, but only fragments 1, 2 and 7 have enough consecutive text for analysis. Fragment 1 preserves the very beginning of the whole *Barkhi Nafshi*,³² the largest segment of text in the five manuscripts, and a few lines from a second column. According to Weinfeld and Seely, fragments 1 and 2 are from the same sheet, because their skins are so similar and distinctive in color and texture. Fragment 2 would then be from the upper part of the third and last column of the first sheet.³³ Their claim is supported by the similar damage patterns found in fragments 1 and 2. The shapes of the fragments correspond so closely that there cannot have been many revolutions of skin between them. As a result, the suggested placement of fragment 2 appears highly probable. Fragment 7a+b is too small to place with any confidence. It is analyzed here between fragments 1 and 2, because such a placement corresponds to a plausible thematic placement of the fragment's text in a hymn. Together

³² E. Tov (*Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judaean Desert* [STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 115) remarks that 4Q434 1 is the only apparent exception to the usual practice of either attaching a handle sheet to, or leaving a large uninscribed area at, the beginning of a manuscript. However, careful observation of the original shows that the right edge of fragment 1 is uneven and the upper right corner extends further to the right than the edge elsewhere. More importantly, there is a stitching hole in this section of leather. Thus, there apparently was a handle sheet attached to 4Q434, but it has broken off along the left side of the stitching.

³³ Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 268.

these three fragments contain nearly all of the available text that is written from the communal perspective.

Thus, the following arrangement of text represents sections of the composition(s) from three consecutive columns and a separate fragment. Because so much text is missing, and the column height cannot be determined, it is impossible to tell, whether all of the text to be analyzed belongs to a single poetic text or represents several different compositions, but it is estimated that there is material from one to three hymns. More important than boundaries of individual compositions, is how the extant text(s) corresponds to the suggested *barkhi nafshi* model. A particularly helpful feature in 4Q434 for establishing the intended poetic structure of the text(s)³⁴ is that the stanza division has been indicated in this manuscript by the use of sizable *vacats* (4Q434 1 i 6, 12, 15, 2 5).³⁵

First Stanza: God's Past Acts of Deliverance

4Q434 1 i 1-6³⁶

1 ברכי נפשי את אדוני
{מ} על כול נפלאותיו עד עולם
וברוך שמו

³⁴ The definitions of poetic units of W. Watson's (*Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* [2nd ed.; JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986], 161–162) are used in this article. A poem is divided into stanzas that are in turn made of strophes that are made of colons. The number of stanzas within a poem naturally varies according to subject matter as does the number of strophes within a stanza and colons in a strophe.

³⁵ For the use of *vacates* to indicate stanza division in 4Q380 and 11Q11, see M. 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. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 591–605; idem, "The Textual Connection between 4Q380 Fragment 1 and Psalm 106," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. David, A. Lange, K. De Troyer, and S. Tzoref; Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming 2011).

³⁶ The Hebrew text follows the DJD edition unless otherwise noted, the translation is an adaptation from the translation in the DJD, and the strophic division of the text in 4Q434 1 i mostly agrees with the one presented in the DJD edition; see Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 270–272. Noteworthy alternatives for several readings and especially reconstructions in fragment 1 i have been proposed by E. Qimron ("Improving the Editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls [4]: Benedictions," in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls VI* [ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Jerusalem: University of Haifa Bialik Institute, 2006], 191–200).

כי הציל נפש אביון
 ואת 2 ענו לא בזא
 ולא שכח צרת דלים
 פקח עיניו אל דל
 ושועת יתומים שמע
 ויט אֹזְנוֹ אֶל 3 {ש} זַעֲמָתָם

ברוב רחמיו חנן עניים
 ויפקח עיניהם לראות את דרכיו
 ואֹזְנָיו³⁷ הֵם לִשְׁמוֹעַ 4 לְמוֹדוֹ
 וימול עורלות לבם
 ויצילם למען חסדו
 ויכן לדרך רגלם

בר[ו]ב צִרְתָּם לֹא עֲזַבָם
 5 וביד עֲרִיצִים לֹא נִתְּנָם
 ועם רְשָׁעִים לֹא שִׁפְטָם
 ועברתו לֹא הִזְקִדְ עֲלֵיהֶם³⁷
 ולא כֹּלֶם 6 בַּחֲרוֹנוֹ
 ולא יֵעָף כֹּל חֲרוֹנוֹ חֲמָתוֹ
 ובאש קִנְאָת לֹא שִׁפְטָם *vacat*

1 Bless, O my soul, the Lord
 for all of his wonderful acts forever.
 And blessed be his name!

For he has delivered the soul of the poor,
 and the 2 humble he has not despised,
 and he has not forgotten the distress of the helpless.
 He has opened his eyes to the helpless,
 and the cry of the orphans he has heard,
 and he has turned his ears to their cry.

In his abundant mercy he was gracious to the humble,
 and he opened their eyes to see his ways,
 and their ears to hear his teaching.
 And he circumcised the foreskins of their heart,
 and delivered them because of his loving kindness,
 and he set their feet to the way.

In their abundant distress he did not abandon them,
 and into the hands of ruthless men he did not give them,
 and with the wicked he did not judge them.
 He did not kindle his wrath against them,

³⁷ Part of the upper portion of the second letter can be seen beside *he* in הִזְקִדְ. The trace is compatible with, e.g., *waw*, *yod*, *nun* and *'alep*, but the angle of the stroke would be unusual for *taw* that is reconstructed as the second letter by Qimron, "Improving," 191.

and he did not destroy them 6 in his anger.
 Though all his fiery anger was not exhausted,
 in the fire of (his) zeal he did not judge them.

The poem begins with the *barkhi nafshi* formula, and, similarly to Psalm 103:1, it also has the blessing of the name of God. Between these blessings is found the subject of the composition, namely, the marvelous acts of God.³⁸ The word נפלאות can refer to God's acts both in judgment and redemption (cf. Exod 3:20, 34:10; Judg 6:13; Jer 21:2; Pss 9:2, 26:7), and both themes are present in this poem.

The first main strophe describes God's actions in response to the need of the oppressed in a society. Although in light of the next strophes it expresses gratitude for God's redeeming actions in a specific situation of distress, in this strophe these actions of God are treated as general principles, as something God has done and will continue to do (cf. Jer 20:13; Ps 34:7, 16). The second strophe focuses on the positive acts God has done for a community in the past. All these acts are singular events that firmly belong in the past (although they naturally have future repercussions). The cola describe a spiritual transformation that is seen as a turning point in the life of the community.³⁹ The third strophe takes up the past events from the point of view of what God did *not* do to the community. These are probably also rooted in specific events of the past when God evidently showed mercy in his judgment of the community.

The whole stanza is about the saving acts of God done at a particular time in the past.⁴⁰ It is centered on the experience of a community who describe themselves as the poor and the distressed. God heard their cry and did not abandon them. On the contrary, he opened their eyes and ears and taught them his ways. This is strikingly similar to the beginning of Psalm 103 (esp. vv. 6–10). The formal similarities with the alternating positive and negative clauses are reinforced by the connections in the content. Just as God brings justice to the oppressed in Ps 103:6, he hears the cries of the needy and acts in 4Q434. Just as he showed his way to Moses in Ps 103:7, he opens the eyes of the community to see his way and puts their feet on it. Neither does he stay angry (Ps 103:9) with his people, nor does he punish them or the

³⁸ Cf. Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 273.

³⁹ The passage seems to be a fulfillment of Deut 29:3, as Weinfeld and Seely (DJD 29, 275) suggest. For circumcision of the heart, cf. Deut 10:16; 30:6.

⁴⁰ Cf. Seely, "Implanting Pious," 324.

community in 4Q434 with the fullest measure. He is merciful and gracious (Ps 103:8), and these are also given as the basis for his actions on behalf of the community. The author of 4Q434 obviously imitates the structure of Psalm 103 in this instance, and because of this the differences between the passages are especially significant. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is that in 4Q434 the ways of God are revealed to the community, not to the whole Israel. In fact, the nation or its history is not mentioned in 4Q434 at all (except for the sins of the fathers in 4Q434 1 ii 3), and the saving acts of God encompass only those done in the history of the community; the exodus traditions, for example, are not taken up.

Second Stanza: The Road from the Past to the Present

4Q434 1 i 7–12

7 שפּטס ברוב רחמו
 משפטי עוני למען בוחנם⁴¹
 והרבה רחמי[ו]
 [וה]חביאם בגוים
 ו[] 8 אדם הצילם
 שפעת גיים לא שפּטם
 וזבתוך לאומים לא[]
 ויסתירם ב[]
 ויתן לפניהם מחשכים לאור
 ומעקשים למישור
 ויגל להם [ע]תירות שלום ואמת⁴²
 ש[] 10 במדה רוחם⁴³

⁴¹ The last letter in עוני is materially more easily read as *yod* with Qimron, “Improving,” 191, than as *waw* with Weinfeld and Seely, *DJD* 29, 270.

⁴² Reading and reconstructing either [ע]תירות or [ע]תירות, as proposed by Qimron (“Improving,” 191–193) is preferable to תורות read by Weinfeld and Seely (*DJD* 29, 270). The second visible letter’s shape fits *yod* much better than *waw*, and taking the visible traces as the complete word leaves a larger than normal word space, which suggests that a letter is missing from the beginning. The colon is a quotation from Jer 33:6: עתרת שלום ואמת. Qimron suggests that 4Q434 has an unattested form of the word עתרת. However, עתרת is a *hapax legomenon* and in a private discussion R. Sollamo has proposed that the preferable reading might be עתירות (cf. Isa 10:13 עתידתיהם). The form is similar and the meaning of the word fits the context. The author of the hymn at 4Q434 1 i might have understood the rare expression in Jer 33:6 this way, or it might even be that the form in Jer 33:6 resulted from confusing a *dalet* and *reš*.

⁴³ There are traces of two letters at the end of line 9. The first is almost certainly *šin* because both branches are almost entirely visible as is the top of the vertical stroke.

מליהם במשקל תכן
 וישרם כחלילים
 44 י לב א[ח] נתן להם
 וילכו בד[רכ]י []
 11 בדרך לבו גם הוא הגישם
 כי ערבו את רוחם
 שלח ויסד בעד[ם]
 [ומכו]ל נגע צוה לבלת[י הנגף]
vacat 12

7 He judged them in his abundant mercy,
 the judgments of affliction were to test them.
 But he increased his mercy,
 and he hid them among the gentiles,
 and [] 8 man he delivered them.
 He did not judge them (amidst) the multitude of the gentiles,
 and he did not [] them among the peoples.

And he has hid them in []
 9 and he has made darkness light before them,
 and the crooked places straight,
 and he has revealed to them stores of peace and truth.
 He h[as set] 10 to a measure their breath,
 their words he has meted out by weight,
 and has made them sing like flutes.

For he has given them ano[th]er heart,
 and they walk in the w[ay] of [].
 11 In the way of his heart he has also brought them near,
 for they have pledged [with] their spirit.
 He has sent and fenced about [them,]
 and he has commanded [ever]y plague not to [touch (them.)]
 12 *vacat*

The stanza moves between the past and the present day. The first strophe still continues the description of the past events, but it shows a certain progression. First, an interpretation of a period of affliction is

Only part of the top of the second letter remains, and it is compatible with, e.g., *waw*, *yod*, *nun*, *'alep* and *'ayin*. The reconstruction is based on parallelism between this and the next colon and the use of the same two roots in 1QH^a 9:28 in a passage that is thematically similar to these cola.

⁴⁴ The placement of the supralinear *kap* above and mostly to the right of the letter below suggests that it should be read as the first letter of the word. The letter below it can be read as *waw* or *yod* and it is proposed that the scribe accidentally started the colon with *waw*, as is usually the case in this poem, but later corrected it to כִּי.

given as a time of trial.⁴⁵ After this trial period, God acted in his mercy by hiding the community among the gentiles, and apparently thus saving them from someone. The final bicolon in this strophe seems to suggest that he did not leave them among the nations and that time also belongs firmly in the past (cf. 4Q436 2 i 4–6, 10–11).

The second strophe begins with another indication of God hiding the community. From the following cola it can be deduced that this is probably the current place of the community, but unfortunately the key word indicating the real or metaphorical hiding place is missing. Thus, it cannot be shown whether the community is still among the gentiles or somewhere else, but the preceding cola suggest that this is some other place. It must also be noted that the nations are not mentioned again in this column, which may indicate a change in the setting of the community. The rest of the second and the whole third strophe speak of God's actions that began in the past, but not limited there, i.e., they are still true in the present. What was dark and obscure before, has been turned into light by God, and it is still clear to the community. Similarly, a crooked path was straightened by God and it remains so in the present. The concrete images of turning darkness into light and the ragged country into a plain are used here metaphorically to describe a change in the perception of the community that God has bestowed upon them. God has also revealed to them stores of peace and truth, because they walk (both in the past and the present) in God's ways and pledge with their hearts, etc. The quotations from Isa 42:16 and Jer 33:6 in these cola imply that the community believes these prophecies have come true in these events of their past.⁴⁶ The final bicolon shows that wherever the community is now hidden, God is seen as providing protection for them there.

Third Stanza: Divine Protection in the Present and Future

4Q434 1 i 12-?

12 וִיחַן מִלֵּאכּוֹ סְבִי [ב]

שְׁמֵרֵם [מְבִלִי] עַל פֶּן יִשְׁחִיתֵם⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For God testing people, see, e.g., Deut 8:2–4; Isa 1:25; 48:10; Ps 26:2; 4Q381 24a 6; 46a+b 5–6; 48 4.

⁴⁶ Cf. Smith, "Spirit," 96.

⁴⁷ The letter before *lamed* on the left side of the lacuna has been abraded. But it is still faintly visible, and practically the only letter that fits the strokes is *'ayin*. Especially

[ועל] 13 איביהם [י]פח
 [בא]ש עברתו להבע[ירם]⁴⁸
 ואת חרונו

12 His angel encamps around (them),
 watching over them lest [Beli]al destroy them.
 [And upon] 13 their enemies [he will b]low
 [in] his [fie]ry wrath to consu[me them.]
 And his anger

Unfortunately little remains of the stanza. Only parts of the first strophe are extant. The psalmist has now firmly moved to the present day, where an angel watches over the community lest they be destroyed (cf. Pss 34:8, 91:10–11). Another side to this protection is that the enemies of the community will be subject to the wrath of God. The previous stanzas, which described the past, did not talk about the enemies of the community and obviously their punishment is still pending rather than past. If the same poem still continues after this, as seems likely, the address of God evidently changes in the second strophe from the third to the second person singular (4Q434 1 i 14).⁴⁹

*A Section on the Present Day*⁵⁰

4Q434 1 ii 1–5

1 ברעת [ם וב]צֶר[ת]ם [ומ] כֹּל צרה ה[צל]תם [ו
 2 עשיתה להם נגד בני אדם ותצילם למענד]
 3 ודרשו את עונם ואת עון אבותם וכפרו במ[ים]⁵¹

in view of this, Qimron's ("Improving," 191) reconstruction of "Belial" in the lacuna appears plausible (cf. Cook, "A Thanksgiving," 16).

⁴⁸ The reconstructions in the last two cola mostly follow Qimron ("Improving," 191). The preposition at the beginning has been changed from את to על because it is more common with the verb גִּפַח, which has in turn been reconstructed in the imperfect rather than the perfect, as it seems likely that the text refers here to future prospects rather than past experiences. The reconstructions are tentative, but give an indication of the general way these cola proceed.

⁴⁹ Cf. the alternating use of second and third person singular for God in Psalm 104.

⁵⁰ Starting with this section, manuscript lines are used instead of poetic ones in the presentation of the Hebrew text and translation because the text becomes so broken that the exact poetic division into cola can confidently be made only sporadically.

⁵¹ Parts of the first word are preserved on loosely attached small pieces and the identification of the second and third letter depends on how the pieces are aligned. This leaves other possibilities open for both of them. However, the penultimate letter is complete and to be read as *šin* instead of *šade* with Weinfeld and Seely (D)JD 29, 278).

4 במשפטיך ולדרך אשר הורית[ה]
5 עוד כי א[] ◦ קרתם ב[]

- 1 in [their] trouble [and in] their dist[ress,] and you [delivered] them [from] every distress. [
2 you have done for them before the sons of man,⁵² and you delivered them for your sake.[
3 and they examine their sins and the sins of their fathers, and expiate (them) with wa[ter
4 by your statutes, and to the path that you have taught[
5 until when [] [

Whether this section is still part of the same poem or a new one cannot be decided because so much is missing in-between these sections, but the acts of deliverance that God has done in the past are also discussed in this section, and some of the vocabulary is quite similar. The section appears not to be so much on the past acts themselves, but on their interpretation, i.e., God's past acts of redemption lead into the practices of the community, such as the study and expiation of past sins, observance of statutes, etc. These activities have begun in the past, but continue to be performed in the present-day life of the community.

A Section on the Future

4Q434 7b 2-3

2 [] ב[] מלכותם משם ממד[בר ל] פתח תקוה ויכרות להם ברית
לשלום עם עון⁵³
3 [הש] מים וחית הארץ וישם אואביהם כדמן וכאפר ישחקם אדום
ומואב⁵⁴

⁵² Probably reconstruct נפלאות or something similar at the beginning of the colon (cf. Cook, "A Thanksgiving," 16).

⁵³ Weinfeld and Seely (DJD 29, 283) read the first two words as ב[] מנותם. The *bet* is certain, but it is at the very edge of the fragment so it is not necessarily the first letter of the word. The second letter has "legs" and a horizontal stroke that is either between them, or on top of them. This means the letter is probably *taw*, *het* or *he*. The second letter of the second word is slightly smudged, but it starts near the mid-height of the line and has a vertical stroke that goes well above the line, which makes it an almost certain *lamed*. The third letter is completely visible and the top stroke demonstrates it to be *kap*, not *nun*.

⁵⁴ The extant head and vertical stroke of the penultimate letter of the first word suggests it to be *waw* or *yod*, and it cannot be *mem* as read by Weinfeld and Seely (DJD 29, 279). However, the preserved partial top of the letter preceding the penultimate, is compatible with *mem*.

- 2] their kingdom from there, from a de[sert to a g]ate of hope. And he makes with them a covenant of peace with the birds
 3 [of the heav]ens and the beasts of the field. And he makes their enemies like dung, like dust he will pulverize them. Edom and Moab

This short passage expresses the eschatological expectations of a community. The first cola, which articulate the positive future hopes of the community for itself, probably refer to Hosea 2:16–20. It seems that the community expects its own fate to be fulfilled in this oracle. The following images used of the destiny of the enemies are frequently employed to describe the future judgment of the wicked.⁵⁵ Similarly, the mention of Edom and Moab can more easily be connected with future hopes than with concrete past events that would somehow relate to the history of this community.

Expectations for the Future and the Ending of a Hymn

4Q434 2 1–11

- 1 [] כְּהַ [] כֹּה־לְהַנְחֵם עַל אַבְלָה עַנְיָה הַיּוֹם []
 2 גַּיִם לְ[ש]חַת וְלְאַוּמִים יְכַרְּזוּת וְרַשְׁעִים [] חֲדָשׁ
 3 מַעֲשֵׂי שָׁמַיִם וְאָרֶץ וַיִּגְלֹוּ וַכְּבוֹדוֹ מְלֹא [] כָּל הָאָרֶץ בְּעַד אֶשׁ מְתָם
 4 יִכְפֹּר וְרַב <טִי> טוֹב יִנְחַמֵם טוֹב הַשֶּׁׁׁׁ [] ׁ לֹא כּוֹל⁵⁶
 5 פְּרִיָה וְטוֹבָה [] vacat [] vacat
 6 כֹּאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמַר תְּנַחֲמֵנוּ כִּן יִנְחַמֵם בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם [] כַּחַתְּן [] עַל כֻּלָּה עַלֶיהָ
 7 [לַעוֹן] לֵם יִשְׁכּוּן [כִּי] אֶּ כִּסְאוֹ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד וְכְבוֹדוֹ [] ׁ וְכָל גּוֹיִם
 8 [] לֹו וְהִיָּה בּוֹ צִבְּׁ אֶּ הַשָּׁמַיִם [] ׁ וְׁ אֶּ רִצְעָ חֲמֹדָה
 9 [] עַד תִּפְאַרְתְּ [ש] [] אֶּד אַבְרַכָה אֶת
 10 [] בְּרוּךְ שֵׁם עֲלִיוֹן [] vacat []
 11 [] בְּרִכְיָ [] חֲסַדְךָ עֲלֵי

- 1 [] so that (the) poor woman may be comforted for her mourning
 []
 2 to [de]stroy peoples and cut down nations and wicked []renew
 3 the works of heaven and earth, and let them rejoice, and his glory to fill [all the earth] to atone [for] their [guil]t.
 4 And the one abounding in goodness will comfort them. Goodness []
 to eat
 5 its fruit and goodness. vacat [] vacat

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Ps 18:43; Ezek 28:18; Jer 8:2; 16:4; 25:33; 4Q381 46 7–8.

⁵⁶ The scribe's mistake is unlikely to be due to dittography (so Weinfeld and Seely, DJD 29, 279). The second letter is distinctly *yod* in shape and it seems the scribe first accidentally wrote a *yod* instead of *waw* and decided to start the word again from the beginning.

6 As a person whom his mother comforts, so he will comfort them in
 Jerusal[em, as a bridegroom] on a bride, on her
 7 he will dwell[forever] [for] his throne is forever and ever and his
 glory [] and all peoples
 8 []to him and the hos[t of heav]en will be in it, and their precious
 []and
 9 [] glor[y] [] I will bless the
 10 []Blessed be the name of the highe[st! *vacat?*] *vacat*
 11 []Bless[] your grace upon me

Parts of two stanzas from the end of a hymn remain in fragment 2. God is again spoken of in the third person singular, but once more it is impossible to tell whether this means that this is a separate composition from the one that began in 4Q434 1 i 1. The text does describe the actions of God hoped for in the future and there are some lexical similarities with the text of the first column (e.g., the juxtaposition of ג"י, and אומים), but they could also have been used in another hymn (especially if the author is the same).

The remains of the first stanza (ll. 1–5) recount the future hopes of a community that God will act by destroying the nations and the wicked, renewing the works of heaven and earth, and letting the community rejoice in prosperity. The imagery is taken mainly from Isaiah (esp. 54:11; 62:5; 65:17–18; 66:13) and the fulfillment of these past promises is what the community obviously expects to happen in its own future.

The second stanza (ll. 6–10) at first continues the ideas of the previous one. Noteworthy is that the community envisages themselves in Jerusalem. If the poem is still the same as in 4Q434 1 i, there would appear to be a movement first from somewhere unspecified to a place among gentiles, then from there to a place of safety, and finally a hope to move from that place to Jerusalem in the future. After this the poem turns to a hymnic ending. God's throne, glory, and angelic host are mentioned, just as at the end of Psalm 103 (cf. Ps 104:31). Even though the context is fragmentary, the three occurrences of the root בָּרַךְ in lines 9–11 must herald the end of a hymn and the beginning of another. A further sign of this is the return to the first person singular in line 9. The first person singular appears to be consistently used at the beginning and end of the *barkhi nafshi* type compositions (cf. "my soul" in all these hymns; "my inner being" [Ps 103:1]; "my God" [Ps 104:1]; "my Lord" [4Q434 1 i 1]; especially vv. 33–35 in Psalm 104). The poem might end with a double blessing of the lord and his name, which the

hymn in 4Q434 1 i and Psalm 103 start with (although the phrasing would be slightly different), in which case the *vacat* at the end of line 10 would indicate the break between two hymns.⁵⁷

The next hymn could start from the beginning of line 11 (there is just enough space for *את אדוני ברכי נפשי* before the extant writing), but there is enough uninscribed leather before *בְּרַכִּי* that it is also possible that the beginning of the line is still a *vacat* and the new hymn begins with this word. The end of line 11 reveals that the perspective has changed. It not only continues with the use of the first person singular, but has also shifted the address of God from the third to the second person singular. It is possible that the theme of the new hymn is also revealed at the end of line 11 as the *חסד* of God shown to the psalmist.⁵⁸

The elements suggested as markers of a *barkhi nafshi* poetic category were all found in the fragmentary hymns of 4Q434. The compositions begin and end with multiple blessings of God and the use of the first person singular is consistent in these sections. The hymns apparently concentrate on specific aspects of God that are set at the beginning of the composition. The temporal aspects of past, present and future are all found in these hymns and hymnic and wisdom elements are also present in them.

CONCLUSIONS

The question of what *Barkhi Nafshi* is has been dealt with in this contribution. Further nuancing of the theory offered here is needed in

⁵⁷ Thus, Weinfeld's ("Grace after Meals," 433–437) suggestion that the text of fragment 2 as a whole would constitute a grace after meals cannot be maintained.

⁵⁸ The same root is used in 4Q437 2 5 and 4 4, and this might indicate that parts of the same hymn are preserved in those fragments, but the root *חסד* is too common to serve as a basis for such a hypothesis (4Q434 4 demonstrates that the manuscript contained at least some form of the text found in 4Q437 2). Seely ("A First Look," 155) identifies the occurrence of the root in 4Q437 2 5 *וְחַסְדִּיךָ לִי צְנָה סְבִיב* as an allusion to Psalm 91:4, partly because Ps 91:3 was alluded to in the previous line, but it is actually a rather direct quotation of the verse. It is not quoting the version of verse 4 known from the MT Psalter, but rather of the one found in 11Q11 6:6, which reads: *חַסְדִּיךָ לִי צְנָה*. The 11Q11 variant in verse 4 has been argued to be more original than the MT version; see Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm," 595. This quotation demonstrates that the word *חסד* was apparently present in the version of Psalm 91 known by the author(s) of this *Barkhi Nafshi* hymn.

the future, but answers to some of the basic questions asked at the beginning can be given. The Qumran *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts (or at least 4Q434) hold a collection of hymns. They may be from the same author(s) and may even be intended to be recited consecutively, but they are still distinct hymns. Thus, they should be referred to as “hymns” and they belong to a collection of hymns compiled into a single composition because they belong to the same poetic category. Each *barkhi nafshi* type hymn begins and ends with blessings directed at God and deals with one specific aspect of God from different temporal perspectives. These poetic elements were found in Psalms 103 and 104 and the hymns in 4Q434, but can also be recognized in the hymns preserved in the other *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts. The *barkhi nafshi* type hymns do not constitute a separate genre, but they do appear to belong to a distinct category among poetic compositions. They are connected by similarities in structure and perhaps also setting.

An avenue of research that this categorization opens up is the way the community that wrote the hymn(s) understand themselves in relation to God and other people. They appear to be the heirs of the promises of God to Israel. Prophecies have come true in their history and it is their expectation that other prophecies will continue to be fulfilled in their future. What this use of different prophetic books (Psalms probably counted among them) reveals of the community behind the hymns is worthy of detailed study. Another area for future work is the possibility of a common liturgical setting for the *barkhi nafshi* type poetic texts.⁵⁹ This contribution can hopefully serve as a way forward for both the study of the Qumran *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns and MT Psalms 103 and 104.

⁵⁹ Material evidence for a liturgical use of *barkhi nafshi* type compositions is found in 2QPs. In 2QPs, Ps 103:1–4 was written with red ink, which according to Flint (*The Dead Sea*, 32) signifies a liturgical function. R. Arnold (*The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* [STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 230–231) classifies the Qumran *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns as rites of communion, but to recognize more accurately the specific liturgical setting of these hymns, the different poetic elements distinguished in this study, as well as liturgical indicators not analyzed here, have to be taken into account.

L'HYMNE DE LA GLORIFICATION DU MAÎTRE DE 4Q431

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L'hymne dit 'd'autoglorification' est partiellement conservé par plusieurs copies: 1QH^a XXV 34 à XXVII 3(?),¹ parallèle à 4QH^a (= 4Q227) 3 4 à 8 i 3,² à 4QH^e (= 4Q431) 1-2³ et à 4QH^b (= 4Q428) 21 1-5.⁴ Le titre et les premières lignes ne sont attestés que par 1QH^a XXV 34 ss et 4Q427 3 4 à 6, mais alors que l'hymne se situe vers la fin du rouleau de 1QH^a, qui est un début de groupement ou de livret(?),⁵ et de même en 4Q428 d'après la reconstruction du rouleau (col. LXII-LXV), il est le deuxième hymne dans la reconstruction du rouleau 4Q427 (col. II 18-V 3/4), mais le premier en tête du rouleau en 4Q431 I-III (voir ci-dessous). Les éditions de ces fragments ayant souligné la proximité textuelle de ces copies, mises à part quelques variantes mineures, fautes de copistes, etc., semblables à celles qu'on retrouve dans d'autres copies d'hymnes, il est donc possible de compléter des passages quelque peu lacuneux dans l'une ou l'autre de ces copies du fait de recoupements. En revanche, un hymne de facture très proche se retrouve dans une copie de la *Règle de la Guerre*, 4Q491 11 i (-12?), dans une colonne non précisée, que l'éditeur a appelé « Cantique de Michel et

¹ Voir maintenant *Qumran Cave 1.III. 1QHodayot^a with incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*, by H. Stegemann with E. Schuller, *Translation of texts by C. Newsom*, (DJD XL; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), p. 290-309.

² Voir E. Schuller, «4QHodayot», in *Qumran Cave 4.XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 79-81, 91-109.

³ Voir Schuller, DJD XXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 199-208. Le fragment 1a-d a été aussi désigné séparément comme 4Q471^b, par E. Eshel, «4QSelf-Glorification Hymn (= 4QH^e frg. 1?)», *ibidem*, p. 421-432, de même F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden - Boston - Köln: Brill, 1998) p. 952-953 et 904-907.

⁴ Voir Schuller, DJD XXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 125-128 et 158-159.

⁵ Selon une suggestion d'E. Puech, «Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)», *JJS* 39 (1988) 38-55, p. 53: «On n'irait pas jusqu'à dire que le rouleau 1QH^a comportait 5 séries à l'instar du rouleau des Psaumes composés de 5 livrets d'inégale longueur, mais il est au moins curieux de relever des débuts de séries et donc le caractère 'composite' du rouleau».

cantique des justes». ⁶ A-t-on affaire à des versions ou recensions différentes d'une même composition? ⁷ Ces lignes en hommage à l'éditrice des rouleaux des *Hymnes* de la grotte 4 voudraient d'abord reprendre l'étude de ce texte important, dans une version tout au moins, ⁸ avant une conclusion sur ces questions débattues et les identifications proposées.

⁶ M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)*, (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 26-30. Baillet note fort consciencieusement que «le joint entre les deux colonnes est seulement probable». En fait les photographies ne montrent pas un joint matériel indiscutable, tant s'en faut, et il semble bien que de joint il n'y a pas, ce qu'appuie aussi la non correspondance des lignes de part et d'autre. On considère donc le fragment 11 comme ayant conservé des restes d'une seule colonne. D'après E. Eshel, «4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn», *Hommage à Józef T. Milik*, sous la direction de F. García Martínez et E. Puech, *RevQ* 17 (1996) 175-203, p. 175-176 et note 3, voir maintenant M. G. Abegg, «Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness», *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (eds C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1997) 61-73, M. G. Abegg pense avoir démontré que les fragments de 4Q491 sont écrits par deux mains différentes, en s'appuyant sur les dimensions des lettres et les espaces différents entre les lignes, et sur le ductus principalement des *alef*, *qof*, *mem* médial et final et *šin*. À voir de près, les différences perceptibles dans les modules ne le sont pas dans les ductus, car on les retrouve toutes dans l'une et l'autre 'main', aussi cette analyse n'a rien démontré à ce sujet. Abegg a souligné aussi des différences orthographiques avec l'ajout d'un *alef* pour le 'i' en fin de mot; là encore on ne peut forcer l'argument car l'usage est loin d'être systématique: *my'* se retrouve par hasard dans tous les emplois de IQM et n'est pas attesté ailleurs sauf en 4Q491 tout comme *by'*, dans *'ny'* 1 fois sur 4, *kbwdy'* est une correction, 1 seule fois sur 2, *ly'* 2 fois sur 3, *lpy'* se retrouve aussi en 1-3 8 et 20 2, mais jamais d'*alef* en *mkwny*, *kmwny*, etc., ce qui laisse supposer que loin d'être systématique le copiste est avant tout influencé par la copie qu'il a sous les yeux. Cette distinction de trois copies a été acceptée par M.O. Wise, «ג'י כ'מוני באלים». A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH^a 25:35-26:10», *DSD* 7 (2000) 173-219, et la distinction de deux copies a et b (+ c) par F. García Martínez, «Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The 'T' of the Two Qumran Hymns», *ETL* 78/4 (2002) 321-339 = *Opera Minora I. Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*, (STDJ 63; Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2007) 105-125, p. 112-114, note qui reprend abondamment et souvent littéralement l'argumentation de F. García Martínez, «¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesías, Maestro de Justicia? El problemático 'yo' de un poema qumránico», *Plenitudo Temporis. Miscelánea Homenaje al Prof. Ramón Trevijano Etcheverría*, (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis Est. 249; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 2002), p. 103-131. En conclusion, aucun de ces arguments n'appuie l'exclusion des fragments 11-12 d'une copie de la *Règle de la Guerre*, il faut d'autres preuves (voir ci-dessous). Aussi García Martínez en est-il arrivé à analyser indépendamment les deux copies divergentes de cet hymne.

⁷ Voir par exemple Eshel, *cit.*, p. 422: 'Relation between Parallels' qui distingue une recension A et une B limitée à 4Q491, et García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, *op. cit.*, p. 105-125, qui estime le mot 'recension' inapproprié.

⁸ Dans les limites de cette contribution, il n'est pas possible de traiter l'ensemble de la question, l'étude de 4Q491 11 fera l'objet d'une autre note, tant les variantes demandent une approche à part.

Afin de dirimer le débat de l'unité ou de la partition de ces lignes,⁹ est prise comme guide la copie 4Q431 1 (= 471b)-2 complétée à l'occasion par les passages parallèles, puisque toutes les copies sont fragmentaires, sans faire appel directement à 4Q491 11 i. Les fragments 1 et 2, d'abord séparés entre 4Q431 et 4Q471b mais contenant des parties d'un même hymne, appartiennent manifestement à deux colonnes successives de dimensions comparables comme le prouvent la restauration du texte et les comptes lettres-espaces avec une moyenne de 48 par lignes conservées. Les interlignes ne sont pas toujours identiques sur les deux fragments mais la distance entre les 9 dernières lignes est de 5,6 cm au frg. 1 et de 5,8 cm au frg. 2, ce qui demande de compter un nombre de lignes sensiblement égal dans les deux colonnes, estimé à 21 et 20 lignes respectivement, disposées sur deux feuilles.¹⁰ La lanière qui a pu être à l'origine de la cassure devait se situer au niveau des lignes 11-12 du fragment 1. La restauration matérielle du texte n'appuie pas le dépliant (Pl. III) pour la disposition des petits fragments, sans aucun joint d'une part et, d'autre part, elle demande d'abaisser le frg. 1 d'une ligne. Il est ainsi clair que le début de cette première colonne du rouleau devait porter le titre de l'hymne et son début sans avoir affaire dans la partie supérieure à un autre hymne réduit à quelques lignes. Comme les autres copies ne portent nulle césure/*vacat*, 4Q427 en 7 i 13 et 1QH^a en XXVI 9, on doit estimer que l'hymne se poursuivait au-delà de 4Q427 7 ii comme c'est le cas de 1QH^a jusqu'à XXVII 3, partie conservée partiellement aussi par 4Q431 2 et 4Q428 21. Mais en 4Q427 cet hymne est précédé par un autre mieux conservé par 1QH^a XIX 6 à XX 6; et de fait,¹¹ l'hymne occupe les colonnes II 18 à V 3. La mise en place des fragments 4, 5 et 6, non localisés par l'édition, permet aussi de restaurer une grande partie du haut de la colonne de 7 i = colonne III de 4Q427.¹² 4Q431 : colonnes de 13 cm de large, voir figures 1 et 2.

⁹ Voir Eshel, «4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn», *art. cit.*, p. 192-193 et 202, où l'auteur estime que l'hymne est précédé par deux autres en 4Q491 et suivi par un autre en 1QH^a XXVI 10-17 et 4Q427 7 i-ii.

¹⁰ Ou même à 22 et 21 respectivement, voir Schuller, *DJD XXIX, op. cit.*, p. 200, qui estime la col. I avec 21 lignes et le col. II avec 19 lignes. Mais on ne peut accepter la remarque de *DJD XL*, note 11, p. 301, pour le placement correct du fragment b au dépliant Pl. III.

¹¹ La finale de 1QH^a XXVII 1-3 pouvait largement trouver place en V 1-3 où la largeur de la colonne est d'environ 12 cm au lieu des 10 cm de la colonne IV, et un *vacat* devait même précéder le début de l'hymne suivant en V 4.

¹² Étant donné les limites de cette note, la présentation de la reconstruction de 4Q427 3-7 fera l'objet d'une note séparée.

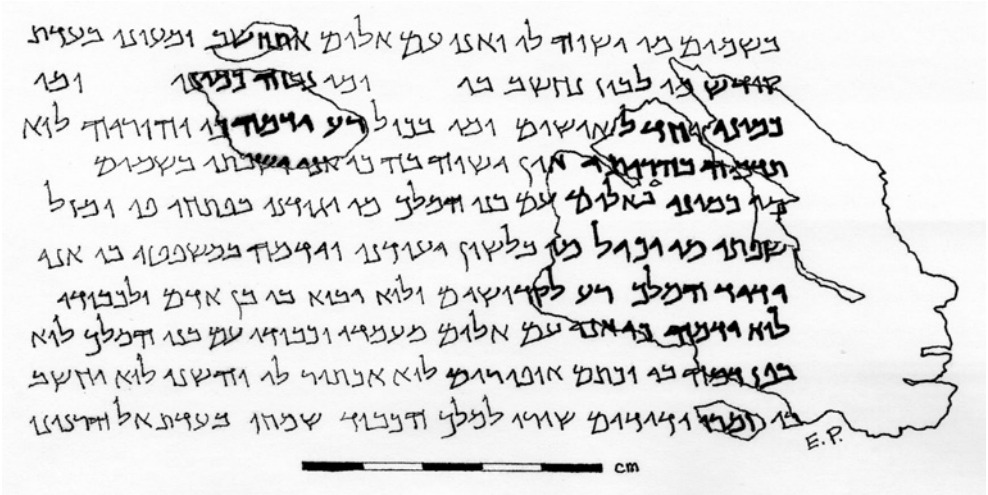


Figure 1. 4Q431 1

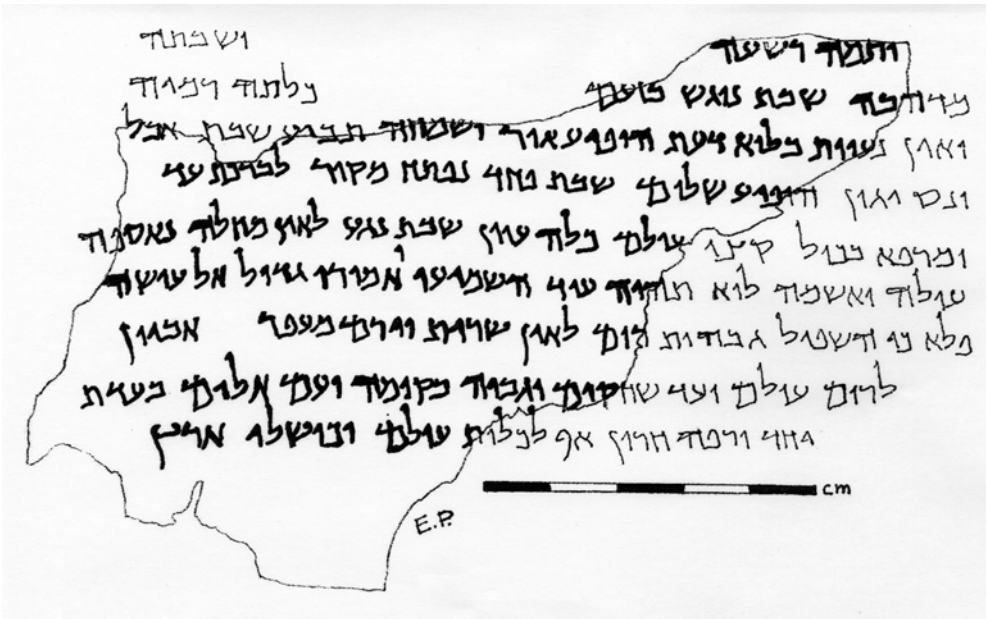


Figure 2. 4Q431 2

4QH^e I-II-[III 18/9] = 4Q431 1a-d-2 ++:

1QH^a XXV 34-XXVII 3 gras ✠, 4Q427 3-7 souligné ✠, 4Q428 21 contour §§.

I

- 1 [לְמִשְׁכִּיל מְזֻמָּר | שִׁיר לְ] (הַלֵּכָה אֶל עֲלוּן וְהַוִּדִיעַ כְּבוֹדָהּ וְלִסְפָּר
2 נִפְלָ) אֹתִיכָה כִּיָּא (תָּה רֹמַמְתָּנִי?) עַל כִּסֵּא עוֹז בְּעֵדַת אֱלֹהִים בִּל יִשְׁבוּ
3 (בֹּו מֶלְכִי קִדָּם א) שֶׁר(?)
4 (בַּה) שִׁכְבַּ מֵתִי עִמּוֹ עַל־לַעֲפָר(?)
5 (ו?) רֹזֻמִּים זֹלְתַכָּה)
6-8
9 (וּלְתַמְי) מִי דֶרֶךְ
10 (וּמִי יִדְמָה לִי בְכַבּוֹדִי)
11 (יִשְׁבִּי) תִּי (בִּשְׁמִים כִּיָּא)
12 (בִּשְׁמִי) יָם מִי (י) שְׁוֹהֵ לִי וְאַ (נִי עִם אֱלֹהִים א) תַּחֲשֵׁב [ב וּמַעֲוִי בְעֵדַת]
13 קוֹדֵשׁ מִי [לְבוֹז] (נַח) שֶׁב בִּי vac וּמִי [נִבְזָה כְּמוֹנִי] י vac וּמִי
14 כְּמוֹנִי יַחְדָּל א [יִשִּׁים וּמִי בְכוֹל] רַע יִדְמָה בִּי [וְהוֹרִיָּה לֹא]
15 תִּדְמָה בְּהַרִּיתִי א [יָן יִשׁוּהָ בַּה(?) כִּי] אֲנִי יִשְׁבִּי [תִּי בִּשְׁמִים vac]
16 מִי כְּמוֹנִי בְּאֱלֹהִים ע [ם] בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִי יִגּוֹדְנִי בְּפַתַּחִי פִי וּמִזְלִי
17 שִׁפְתֵי מִי יִכִּיל מִי [בְּלִשׁוֹן יַעֲיִדְנִי וִידְמָה בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי כִי אֲנִי]
18 יִדִּיד הַמֶּלֶךְ רַע לְקֹדֶן [וְשִׁים וְלֹא יִבּוֹא בִי כוֹל שֶׁטָּן(?) וְלִכְבוֹדִי]
19 לֹא יִדְמָה כִּי א [נִי עִם אֱלֹהִים מַעֲמֵדִי וּכְבוֹדִי עִם] בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לֹא
20 בְּפִז דְּמָה [בִּי וְכַתָּם אֹפִירִים לֹא אַכְתִּיר לִי וְהִשְׁנִי] לֹא יַחֲשַׁב
21 בִּי [זְמַרְוִן] יִדִּידִים שִׁירוּ לְמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד שִׁמְחוּ בְעֵדַת אֵל הַרְנִינוּ

II

- 1 בְּאֵהֱלִי יִשׁוּעָה הַלְלוּ בְּמַעֲוֵן הַקּוֹדֵשׁ רֹמַמְנִי יַחַד בְּצַבָּא עוֹלָם
2 הָבוּ גְדוֹל לְאֵלָנוּ וְכַבּוֹד לְמַלְכָנוּן הַקְּדִישׁוֹ שְׁמוֹ בְּשִׁפְתֵי
3 עוֹז וְלִשׁוֹן נִצַּח הַרִימוּ לְבַד קוֹלְכֶם בְּכוֹל קְצִים הַשְּׁמִיעוּ
4 הַגִּי רְנָה הַבִּיעוּ בְּשִׁמְחוֹת עוֹלָמִים וְאִין הַשְּׁבַת הַשְּׁחַקוּ
5 בִּיחַד קֵהַל בְּרַכּוֹ הַמַּפְלִיא גְּאוֹת וּמוֹדִיעַ עוֹז יִדוּ לְחַתּוֹם
6 רִזִּים וְלַגְלֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת לְהַרִים כּוֹשְׁלִים וְנוֹפְלִיהֶם לְשֶׁב
7 לְכַת קוֹי דְּעוֹת וְלַהֲשִׁפִּיל נְוַעֲדוֹת רוּם גְּאִים עוֹלָם לְחַתּוֹם
8 רִזִּי סוֹד וְלַהֲתֵם כּוֹל מְזֻמּוֹת כְּבוֹד הַשׁוֹפֵט בְּאִף כְּלָה לְהַתֵּם
9 רִשַׁע וְלַהֲצִיל צְדִיק בְּחֶסֶד צְדָקָה וּבְרוּב רַחֲמִים תַּחֲנֶנָּה
10 אֲבִיוִים שׁוֹמַע וְהוּא בְּלוּא רַחֲמִים לְמַפְרִי טוֹב גּוֹדְלוֹ וּמְקוֹר

- 11 ברכה.....
 12 [ותמה רשעה]
 13 [מד] הבה שבת נוגש בזעם] כלתה רמיה
 14 ואין נ]עוות בלוא דעת הופיע אור ושמחה תביע [שבת] אבל
 15 [ונס יגון ה]ופיע שלום שבת פחד נפתח מקור לברכת עד
 16 [ומרפא בכול קצי] עולם כלה עוזן שבת נגע לאין מחלה נאספ]ה
 17 עולו ואשמה לוא ת]היה עוד השמיעו ואמורו גדול אל עושה
 18 [פלא כי השפיל גבהות]רום לאין שרית זירם מעפר vac אביון
 19 [vac לרום עולם ועד ש]חקים יגביה בקומה ועם אלים בעדת
 20 [vac יחד ורפה חרון אף]ל[כ]ל[ו]ת עולם וכושלי ארץ

III

- 1 [יריס לאין מחיר וגבורת עד עם מצעדס ושמחת עולם]
 2 במכוניהם כבוד נצח ואין השבת לעולמי עד יאמרו ברוך
 3 אל המפלי פלאי גאות ומגדיל להופיע גבורה ומעדיק
 4 בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהם בדעתם ברוב חסדיו
 5 והמון רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה אל הצדק והסכלנו
 6 באמתכה מלך הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה בכוח גבורתכה
 7 והכרנו משפטיכה בהמון רחמים והפלא סליחות מה בשר
 8 לאלה ומה יחשב עפר ואפר לספר אלה מקץ לקץ ולהתיצב
 9 במעמד לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם בני שמים ואין מליץ להשיב
 10 דבר כפיכה ול לכה כיא העמדתנו
 11 לרצונכה בעדקתכה
 12 לשמוע נפלאות כאלה
 13 דברנו לכה ולוא לאיש בינים
 14 והטיחה אוון למוצא שפתינו השמיעו ואמורו ברוך אל
 15 עליון הנוטה שמים בכוחו וכול מהשביהם מכין בעוזו
 16 ארץ בגבורתו עושה
 17
 18/19

TRADUCTION

I ¹[Pour l'instructeur, psaume, cantique pour (*Te louer, Dieu Très-Haut, pour faire connaître Ta gloire et raconter*) Tes (mer)veilles,
² car T(oï, Tu m'as élevé/fait séger (?) sur un trône sûr dans la congrégation des dieux)sur lequel

³(n'ont pas siégé) les rois d'autrefois q(ui
⁴... quand Il fait)reposer les morts de(Son peuple
dans la poussière(?)
⁵....)et Il n'a exalté que toi(
⁶⁻⁸...
⁹...)et pour les parfaits de (conduite
¹⁰...et qui est comparab)le à moi dans (ma) gloire()
¹¹je(siége dans les ci)eux parce que(
¹² dans les cieu)x. Qui est mon égal? Moi, avec les dieux je] suis comp[té,
et ma demeure est dans la congrégation]
¹³de sainteté. Qu[i a été compté pour objet de mépris à cause de moi?
Et qui]a été méprisé comme [moi? Et qui]
¹⁴comme moi est rejeté des h[ommes? Et qui, dans chaque]malheur,
est comparable à moi? [Et aucun enseignement n'est]
¹⁵comparable à mon enseignement, r[ien ne l'égale(?), car] moi, [je]
siège[dans les cieux.]
¹⁶Qui est comme moi parmi les dieux a[vec les fils du Roi? Qui me
maîtrise quand j'ouvre la bouche, et le flux de]
¹⁷mes lèvres qui peut le contenir? Qui[m'admoneste par la langue et
m'est comparable dans le jugement? Car moi,]
¹⁸je suis le bien-aimé du Roi, co[mpagnon des saints, et aucun adver-
saire(?) ne peut s'opposer à moi. Et à ma gloire]
¹⁹rien n'est comparable, car m[oi, ma place est avec les dieux et ma
gloire avec les fils du Roi; elle n'est pas]
²⁰comparée par moi à de l'or fin, et l'or d'Ophir je n'ai pas convoité]
entassé pour moi, et le cra(moisi?) ne compte pas
²¹p[our moi.]Chantez,[bien-aimés, célébrez le Roi de gloire, réjouis-
sez-vous dans la congrégation sainte. Éclatez de joie
II ¹[dans les tentes du salut, louez dans la demeure de sainteté. Exultez
ensemble avec la légion éternelle,
²rapportez grandeur à notre Dieu et gloire à notre Roi. Sanctifiez Son
nom avec des lèvres
³énergiques et une langue de victoire. Élevez à l'unisson votre voix en
toutes les occasions, faites entendre
⁴un cri de joie. Jubilez en réjouissances continues, et sans cesse jouez
(de la musique)
⁵dans une commune assemblée. Bénissez Celui qui accomplit de super-
bes merveilles et fait connaître la force de Son bras, en scellant

⁶les mystères et révélant les choses cachées, en relevant les chancelants et ceux d'entre eux qui tombent, en restaurant
⁷la démarche de ceux qui attendent les connaissances, et en abaissant le(s) rassemblement(s) arrogant(s) des orgueilleux (à) jamais, scellant
⁸les secrets du conseil et parachevant tous les plans glorieux, Celui qui juge dans une colère destructrice, *châtiant/supprimant*
⁹*l'impie mais délivrant/rendant juste le juste* par amour de la justice et par d'abondantes miséricordes; la supplication
¹⁰*des pauvres Il écoute, mais Il est sans pitié* pour ceux qui se coupent de Sa grande bonté, et la source de
¹¹*bénédition(?)*...
¹²...]et l'impiété a cessé[... et a disparu
¹³]op]pression, l'oppresseur a cédé par indignation,[...la trahison a disparu,
¹⁴et pas de pe]rversité sans préméditation. La lumière est apparue, la joie se répand, [le deuil] a cessé,
¹⁵[et l'affliction s'est enfuie.] La paix est apparue, l'effroi a cessé, a été ouverte une source pour une bénédiction perpétuelle
¹⁶[et la guérison pour tous les temps]éternels. L'iniquité a fini, la blessure s'est refermée sans maladie, a cessé
¹⁷[l'injustice, et de culpabilité il n'y]en[au]ra plus. Proclamez et déclarez: Grand est Dieu qui fait
¹⁸[*merveille*, car Il a abaissé l'arrogance]altière sans reste, et Il a élevé de la poussière le pauvre
¹⁹[à une hauteur éternelle, et jusqu'aux n]ues Il (le) hausse en stature et (= pour être) avec les dieux dans une congrégation
²⁰[commune, et Il a réfréné *l'ardeur de* la colère pour[la des]tru[c]tion éternelle. Et ceux qui trébuchent à terre
III ¹[Il relève sans frais; aussi un courage durable accompagne leur marche, ainsi qu'une joie éternelle
²dans leurs fondations, une gloire perpétuelle ne cessant pas pour toujours et à jamais. Qu'on proclame: Béni soit
³Dieu qui opère des glorieuses merveilles, (qui) agit magnifiquement en montrant la force et agit justement
⁴parce qu'il connaît toutes Ses œuvres, et (qui) est bon à leur égard, de sorte qu'elles reconnaissent l'abondance de Ses bienfaits
⁵et la richesse de Ses miséricordes pour tous Ses fils fidèles. Nous T'avons connu, Dieu de justice, et nous avons compris
⁶Ta fidélité, Roi de gloire, car nous avons vu Ton zèle dans la puissante force,

⁷et nous avons reconnu Tes jugements dans la richesse des miséricordes et l'acte merveilleux des pardons. Qu'est-ce que la chair
⁸face à ces choses? Et combien sont considérées la poussière et la cendre pour raconter ces choses à chaque instant, et pour se tenir
⁹debout devant Toi, et pour entrer en communion avec les fils des cieux? Et il n'y a pas d'interprète pour répondre
¹⁰à la parole de Ta bouche *et pour...* pour Toi, car Tu nous as établis
¹¹selon Ta volonté par ta justice *dans...*, et nous avons la force
¹²d'entendre les merveilles comme celles-ci...
¹³Nous Te parlons et sans quelque intermédiaire...
¹⁴et Tu as incliné l'oreille à ce qui sort de nos lèvres. Faites entendre et proclamez: Béni soit le Dieu
¹⁵Très-Haut qui a déployé les cieux par Sa puissance et a fixé tous leurs ordres par Sa force, ¹⁶qui a fait la terre par Sa vaillance(*et a...*
^{17-18/19}...]

NOTES DE LECTURE

L'hymne devait commencer en I 1 par le titre conservé en 1QH^a XXV 34 *lmškył mzm[wr šyr l* et en partie par 4Q427 3 4 [*lmškył]{šyr} [mzmwr]š[y]r ll*. Les traces en fin de ligne de 1QH^a XXV 34 se lisent au mieux *].wtykh*, et la ligne pourrait alors se comprendre *e.g. ... lhtnpl lpnykh 'l 'lywn wlhllkh wlspr npl]'wtykh* ³⁵*ky' 'th*,¹³ voir 4Q491 11 1 *b] hpl'/h nwr'wt*, 1QH^a XXIII 24, etc., ou... *šyr lhllkh 'l 'lywn wlhwdy' kbwdkh wlspr npl]'wtykh // ky' ' [th...*, voir 1QH^a IX 32, etc. L'expression *wlspr npl]'wtykh* est des plus fréquentes dans les hymnes. Pour *'l 'lywn* préférable à *'l hd'wt*, voir III 15 et Si 47,5.8, est attendu dans un hymne d'exaltation.

¹³ Lecture...*kh* de DJD XL peut être complétée *].wtykh* comme le plus probable par les traces (Photo 4311). Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 204–213, lit *lmškył mzm[wr brkwhw lrn...hr]ymw // by šyr...*, mais cette proposition est inacceptable par les parallèles et la fin de la ligne 34 (non 35). Le fragment '12' (p. 207–209) est en fait le fragment 6 de 4Q427 qui trouve place en 7 i 7–8 (une fois bien lu) et non aux deux premières lignes de l'hymne. En outre 1QH^a 47 ne joint nullement au fragment 8 malgré la figure p. 206, (aucun alignement possible), pour lire *šyr*; placement accepté par E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings, Volume One* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010), p. 101, mais la lecture du *alef* est certaine, photo 4310 (une lecture *ky' 'l* est possible: pour des tracés de *kaf* comparables, voir XXIII 9.10.13, frag. 4 17, ..., toutefois sans pouvoir exclure *by 'š[r]* mais *byhd* est certainement à rejeter. Le fragment se place à la colonne XXII 24–28.

En 1QH^a XXV 35 s, lire au mieux]*w mlky qdm //* '[qu'on peut comprendre comme «les rois de l'Orient» ou mieux «les rois d'autrefois» avec les LXX en Is 19,11, comme y invite le contexte. Les traces ne s'opposeraient pas à une lecture *yšw]bw mlky qdm* ou à *yšwbw]bw mlky qdm* ³⁶[šr.¹⁴ Une restauration possible serait e.g. : *ky']th rwmmtl/hwšbth/hrymwth X 'l ks' 'wz b'dt 'lym bl yšbw]bw mlky qdm* en partie avec 4Q491 11 5. Ce X pourrait être le sujet, e.g. *rwmmtny/*... À la fin de la ligne 36, lire au mieux]*škb mty*, pour *m]škb mty* «la]couche des morts de», ou mieux le verbe au *hif'il* parfait, infinitif ou participe «Il (a) fait/faisant] reposer les morts de[», qu'on devrait sans doute compléter par '*mw*(?), voir 4Q521 7 6: *yqy]m hmhyh 't mty 'mw*, peut-être encore de *ll'pr*, voir Jb 7,21; 19,25; 21,26, ou *bš'wl*, Jb 14,12–13, ou *bšlwm*, Is 57,1–2, Sg 3,3, etc.¹⁵

En 1QH^a XXV 37, les traces se lisent au mieux]*wrwm zwltkh* préférable à *w]yrwm zwltkh*,¹⁶ le dernier mot est de module légèrement plus réduit et un peu plus haut sur la ligne, addition(?), à rapprocher de 1QH^a XV 35 et XVIII 11 *w'yn zwltk(h)*, 4Q504 1–2 v 9 dans un contexte comparable, ou encore 1QS IX 24 et XI 18, mais sans parallèle direct en 4Q491 11 6 *wlw' yrwm zwlty*. Bien que très lacuneux, ces restes ont leur importance pour comprendre la suite. Le passage semble signifier que Dieu n'a exalté que le 'héros' et lui seul, litt. «]mais Il a exalté toi seul[» parmi les grands personnages qui l'ont précédé et

¹⁴ Les traces n'appuient pas la restauration d'E. Eshel, «The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn», in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, *STDJ* XXX, 1999), 619–635, p. 625: *bl yšbw bw kl] mlky qdm*. En 1QH^a XXV 36, la trace convient mieux à *alef* qu'à '*ain*, ou à *waw*, Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 101, lit *wndybym* à l'aide d'un fragment déplacé. J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiah of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Auckland: Doubleday, 1995), p. 147, ne retient que le sens «rois de l'Orient».

¹⁵ Au lieu de l'impossible]*nhmty* «I shout» de *DJD* XL, p. 290 et 296–297: *šin* partie gauche préservé, *kaf* avec des restes de la base et *bet* avec encore des traces de la base dans la double épaisseur du trait sous l'haste du *mem* (comparer le *bet* de *lhtyšb* à la colonne suivante). García Martínez, «¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesías, Maestro de Justicia?», *cit.*, p. 110, ne prend pas en considération les restes de ces lignes lacuneuses comme début de l'hymne, et Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 204, lit *b]l nhmty*. Eshel, «The Identification of the 'Speaker'», *cit.*, p. 625, lit *wrzy] 'rnty*, impossible par les restes, et Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 101, lit]*wrmtw*.

¹⁶ Au lieu de l'impossible]*trwmh* «I exalt myself» de *DJD* XL, p. 290 et 296–297: le tracé est celui de *waw* (ou *yod*), puis de *mem* final suivi du haut des *zain* et *waw*, puis des traces de *lamed*, *taw* clair et *kaf* – *he* préférables à *mem* final (photo 4311). Eshel, «The Identification of the 'Speaker'», *cit.*, p. 625, lit *wl' y]trwm*, et Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 101, lit]*mrwm*, *mem* est exclu.

auxquels étaient promises les bénédictions; il reçoit plus que le Serviteur qui devait partager avec les puissants (Is 53,12). Le 'héros' ne peut être le sujet de *wrwmm*.

À la ligne 9 devaient se situer les restes de 4Q427 4 1 qu'on lit au mieux]*wltm*[*y*]my[*drk*, voir aussi 4Q491 11 4-5, et Si 44,16 *hnwk nms'* *tmym whthlk 'm yyy wnlqh* dans une phraséologie très proche. Le milieu de la ligne 10 peut être restauré avec des restes de 4Q427 4 2, à lire sans doute *wmy yšw]h ly bkbwd*[*y*],¹⁷ appuyé par 4Q491 11 8: *wmy' bkbwdy ydmh ly'*. Le début de la ligne 11 peut être restauré avec des traces des fragments 4 3 et 5 1 de 4Q427, comparer 4Q491 11 6: *ky' 'ny yšbty b[m'wn gbw]h bšmym*. Le verbe *yšbty* au parfait a un sens duratif: «je siège», et non passé «j'ai siégé» comme le comprennent certains auteurs.¹⁸ On peut comparer Sg 5,15-16: «Mais les justes vivent éternellement; leur récompense est aux mains de Seigneur, c'est le *Très-Haut* qui d'eux prend souci. Aussi recevront-ils de la main du Seigneur la couronne royale de gloire et le diadème de beauté...».

Au troisième tiers de la ligne 12 vers le milieu de la colonne I, est à situer le fragment c,¹⁹ place qu'assure *qwdš* au début de la ligne 13. Cette phrase est précédée par des restes conservés par 4Q427 5a 2 + 4 4 + 5b 2,²⁰ à lire]*ym my*[*y*]š[*wh ly]w'*[*ny 'm 'lym ']*thš[*b wm'wny b'dt*]¹³*qwdš*, comparer 4Q491 11 7 après une variante: *'ny 'm 'lym 'thšb wm'wny b'dt qwdš*.²¹ La restauration de la ligne en 4Q431 demande de lire *bšm*)*ym* en début de ligne.

¹⁷ Pour cette proposition, voir *DJD* XXIX Pl. IV, où la lecture *r'* de l'édition (p. 93-94) semble s'appuyer sur l'ombre portée du fragment, ce que renforce l'isolement du '*ain*' (original non vérifié), le '*reš*' peut être lu *he*.

¹⁸ Par exemple Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, *op. cit.*, p. 146-147.

¹⁹ Ce fragment ne peut être situé à la fin de la ligne 16 du dépliant III (*DJD* XXIX), tout comme le fragment b ensuite, sans aucun joint avec a. Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 198, estimant la colonne à 19 lignes, situe le fragment 1a aux lignes 10-19, et accepte le placement du fragment b de la reconstruction de Stegemann, placement impossible et sans joint. La figure 2, p. 195, montre assez clairement les difficultés des séquences des mots (faussement justifiées, p. 200), et la restauration du texte selon les lignes des copies 4Q427 et 1QH^a exigent un nombre plus important de lignes dans la colonne.

²⁰ Le fragment 5 de 4Q427 est en fait composé de deux morceaux sans joint direct, ce que signale la photographie et le non alignement, à diviser en 5a et 5b.

²¹ Le *qof* est assuré par l'alignement à la marge. 4Q427 5a 3 porte une petite variante: *b'dt]hqwd*[š, «dans la congrégation de]sainteté» avec la hampe du *lamed* de la ligne 4 (*yhdl*) dans le prolongement presque parfait de l'haste du *dalet*, au lieu de]*hqyk*[, lecture inexpiquée de l'édition (Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 94-95). La lecture *ywdš*.[de B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls, Fascicle II* (Biblical Archaeology Society: Washington D.C., 1992),

La lecture de la ligne 13 est assurée par les restes des fragments 1a et b et 4Q427 5b 3: *m[y lbwz]nh[šb by vac wmy]nbzh kmwn[y vac wmy]*,²² appuyée par 4Q491 11 8: *m]y' lbwz nhšb by'*. Comparer Sg 5,5: «Comment donc a-t-il (le juste) été compté parmi les fils de Dieu? Comment partage-t-il le sort des saints?».

Le début de la ligne 14 est à lire ainsi: *kmwny yḥdl '[yšym* avec le lamed de *yḥd]l* en 4Q427 5a 4,²³ la lecture de l'imparfait semble s'imposer dans ces lignes. Pour les lignes 13–14, voir Is 53,3: *nbzh whdl 'yšym...nbzh wl' ḥšbnhw*. Une fois le fragment 1b correctement positionné, la suite ne fait pas de difficulté: *wmy bkwl]r' ydmh b[y*. Alors que 4Q491 11 9 lit *hdmh* au parfait comparé à l'imparfait de 4Q431, la lecture de Baillet *wmy'[kw]l r' hdmh by'* s'impose en 4Q491, l'espace dans ce manuscrit excluant une lecture *my'[ysbw]l r'* ou *my'[lsbw]l r'*.²⁴ Dans ce cas en 4Q431, il est préférable de suivre la phraséologie de 4Q491 11 plutôt que de proposer une autre formulation, mais pour l'espace en 4Q431, 4Q427 7 i 6 et 4Q491 11 9, lire *bkwl]r'*

p. 296, est impossible, tout comme la séquence *ḥdl r'* de Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 200. Strugnell (*Concordance manuelle*) lisait déjà *whdl*. PAM 41.389 et 41.857 portent le bas du *yod* (ou *waw*) (pour la longueur comparer par exemple *'lym*, l. 16), malgré Wise (p. 200s). García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, *op. cit.*, p. 952, ayant mal disposé les fragments, leurs lectures et compléments ne sont pas à retenir.

²² Au lieu de *]nh[* de l'édition de 4Q427, *DJD XXIX*, p. 94, qui n'a pas lu le lamed précédent. Nous ne comprenons pas les lectures de ces lignes par Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

²³ En *DJD XXIX*, p. 203–205, Schuller lit *whdl [h]r'* «and evil ceases» avec un faux joint de 1b et propose de restaurer ainsi 4Q491 11 9, et Eshel, *ibidem* p. 428–431, a lu *ḥdl '[yšym* «has been shunned [by men]» après avoir lu *yḥd l]* et même *lq[dwšym*, (*RevQ 17*, *cit.* p. 177–178), et Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, 108, lit *kmwny ḥdl '[yšym*. Le bas de l'haste et l'espace de la tête demandent de lire *yod* (ou *waw*), fragments à repositionner pour des lignes horizontales.

²⁴ Eshel, *DJD XXIX*, p. 428–431, propose de lire *wmy ysbwl]r' ydmy b[y* «and who] compares to [me in enduring]evil?», à la suite de la proposition de M. Smith, «Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM^a», *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2, 1990) 181–188, p. 183–185: *wmy' [lsbw]l r' hdmh by'* «and who is like me [in bearing] evil?» en 4Q491 11 9, de même García Martínez, «¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesías, Maestro de Justicia?», *cit.*, p. 111–112, comprend «la cesación [del] mal». Baillet, *DJD VII*, p. 27–29, lisait: *wmy' [kw]l r' hdmh by'* «Et y a-t-il quelque compagnon qui se soit rendu semblable à moi?». 4Q427 7 i 6–7 lit: *wmy bkwl]r' // [ydmh by*. La trace avant le *reš* ne peut aucunement être un reste de *he* (Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 203–204, argument repris en *DJD XL*, p. 298–301), elle est certainement celle du pied du lamed. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, 108, lit *wmy l'l] r'*.

en comprenant « en chaque malheur ». Pour le mépris, l'oppression du juste par les impies, voir aussi Sg 5,1-4.

Aux lignes 14-15, la phrase suivante devrait être restaurée ainsi: *whwryh lw'* // *tdmh bhryty* '[.²⁵ La mise en place du fragment 4Q427 6 1 et la restauration du manuscrit demandent de lire ainsi la ligne 7 i 7: [*ydmh by whwryh n*]šnyty lw'[*tdmh bhwr*]yty « ... et l'enseignement (dont) j'ai été instruit n'est pas [comparable à] mon[enseigneme]nt ». ²⁶ Cette lecture a un parallèle en ordre inversé en 4Q491 11 9-10: *w'yn nšnyty whwryh lw' tdmh* // [*bhwryty*... « et personne, j'ai été instruit mais aucun enseignement n'est comparable // [à mon enseignement... ». ²⁷ Cette formulation serait une variante de 4Q431 1 14-15 qu'on peut comprendre '[*yn yšwh bh ky*] « ri[en ne l'égalé, car] », sans parallèle assuré; mais une restauration '[*yn nšnyty ky*] « je]n'[ai pas été instruit car] » serait en contradiction totale à la fois avec 4Q427 7 i 7-8 et 4Q491 11 9-10.

L'explication dans la deuxième partie de la ligne 15 est à compléter avec le fragment 1b 3: *ky]'ny yšb[ty bšmym vac.*,²⁸ que recoupe 4Q427 6 2 en 7 i 8: *ky']'ny yšbt[ly bšmym*²⁹ et 4Q491 11 6: *ky' 'ny yšbty b[m'wn gbw]h bšmym*.³⁰

²⁵ La reproduction PAM 41.389 porte clairement de bons restes d'alef à la casure, qui a échappé aux éditeurs et aux auteurs, mais uniquement des traces sur PAM 41.857, puis plus rien sur 42.916 et 43.551. Voir Eshel, *DJD XXIX*, p. 428: *bhrwty* «], alors qu'elle avait lu '[en RevQ 17, cit., p. 177-178, et Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 203, *bhryty*[. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 108, ne lit rien!

²⁶ Le joint des deux parties du fragment 6 n'est pas parfait pour l'alignement mais la lecture est assurée.

²⁷ Le joint des parties constituant le fragment 11 de 4Q491 est assuré et ne dépend pas du joint des fragments 8 et 9, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Eshel, *DJD XXIX*, p. 429, reprenant RevQ 17, cit., p. 179-180. Par ailleurs, la proposition de corrections de Visotzky en M. Smith, cit., p. 185, *w'yn bšnyty whwryty* est totalement gratuite, et contredite par les manuscrits 4Q491 11 et 427 6, de même la lecture de Wise, « A Study of 4Q491c », cit., p. 201, *ydmh b[y w'yn nšnyty whwryh lw'] tdmh bhwryty*, qu'il estime certaine!

²⁸ Eshel, *DJD XXIX*, p. 428, a maintenant bien aligné cette ligne du fragment 1b, contrairement à Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 202-205, *w]my yšw[h ly* qui a suivi Eshel RevQ 17 cit., p. 178. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 108, lit *ky'* et *bmwšb)y bšmym* en fin de ligne, voir p. 103. On pourrait aussi y joindre le fragment 68 de PAM 43.673 (*DJD XXXIII*) en lisant]'ny yšbty b[šmym.

²⁹ Malgré les arguments soulevés par Schuller, *DJD XL*, p. 298 et 302, reprenant Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 205. Le fragment 6 est certainement localisable, et Wise, « A Study of 4Q491c », cit., p. 201 et 203, qui estime ne pas pouvoir replacer le fragment.

³⁰ Malgré Wise, « A Study of 4Q491c », cit., p. 197 et 201, *b[rwm nš' bšm]yn* beaucoup trop court, et une lecture *yšbty b[ks'* n'est pas attendue.

La ligne 16 a fait quelque difficulté de lecture: *my kmwny b'lym* '[,³¹ que 4Q427 7 i 8 ne permet pas de lever: (w)my kmwny] b'lym //]. Le mot 'lym désigne les êtres divins ou angéliques: les dieux/anges de la cour céleste répartis entre plusieurs cieus. L'expression 'm'lym revient au fragment 4Q431 2 8, = 4Q427 7 i 11 et ii 9, et en 4Q491 11 7 et 11. L'espace autoriserait une restauration en parallèle synonymique, e.g. '[m bny ('l l) hmlk, étant donné que l'hymne met plusieurs fois en parallèle 'l et hmlk, voir I 18, 4Q427 7 i 13–15, ii 12 et 14, et en particulier 4Q491 11 11: k]y' ny 'm 'lym m'md[y' w]kbwdy' 'm bny hmlk. Puis s'impose la restauration: *my ygdwny bpthy py wmwz]* ¹⁷špty *my ykyl*, voir 4Q427 7 i 9 à lire ainsi: *my ygdwny bpthy py wmwz]l[špty my ykyl* avec le fragment 6 3, et 4Q491 11 10: *wmy' yg<w>d{w}ny' bpt[hy py']wmz]l[špty my' ykyl*. Le verbe *ykyl* est l'imparfait de *kwl* « mesurer », au *hif'il* « contenir, supporter », et *ygdwny* est l'imparfait de *gwd* ou le dénominatif de *gdwd* « attaquer, maîtriser », sans avoir à faire appel à l'akkadien *gadadu* « couper » d'emploi rare.³²

De la phrase suivante n'est conservé que *my*[, à compléter à l'aide des autres copies: 4Q427 7 i 9]m[y]blšwn y'ydney //], 4Q491 11 10 *wmy' yw'dny wydmh bmšpty*, et 1QH^a XXVI 6 (frg. 56 ii 1): *yw[]d[ny*, comparer XXIV 7–8: *w]my yw'dkh // bmšpty*].³³ Les deux variantes orthographiques du *hif'il* de *y'd* se retrouvent dans deux passages parallèles de Jr 49,19 *ky my kmwny wmy y'ydney* et 50,44 *ky my kmwny wmy yw'dny*, voir aussi Jb 9,19 *w'm lmšpt my yw'ydney* « et au tribunal, qui m'assignera? ». Certains auteurs veulent assimiler la racine 'wd au parallèle *dmh* comme a fait la Vulgate en Lm 2,13?³⁴

L'explication est donnée ensuite: *ky 'ny]* ¹⁸ydyd *hmlk r' lqd[wšym*, de même en 4Q427 7 i 10 [*ydmh bmšpty ky 'ny ydyd hm]lk r' lqdwšym*.³⁵

³¹ Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 203 et 205, repris en *DJD* XL, 298 et 302, lit *lamed* la trace à la cassure, mais le trait oblique à gauche ne peut pas être la boucle du pied de *lamed*, et difficilement l'haste (verticale) d'un *alef* et certainement pas un *waw* (Wise, « A Study of 4Q491c », *cit.*, p. 201), d'autant que la restauration de la ligne est bien trop courte. Un 'ain est le plus assuré, voir le fragment 2 ligne 5: 'wlm; pour šin on attendrait des traces du trait médian.

³² Eshel, *DJD* XXIX, p. 430.

³³ Wise, « A Study of 4Q491c », *cit.*, p. 195, 197 et 201, restaure la ligne avec des différences inexplicables.

³⁴ Voir *DJD* XL, p. 302, à la suite de Qimron cité en note, non avec Smith, *cit.*, p. 185, qui traduit « will call me into court » comme le voudrait Eshel, *DJD* XXIX, p. 430.

³⁵ Sans traces de *mem* sur le fragment 7b, il est possible que le début du mot ait été copié au-dessus de la ligne, d'autant que l'espace serait surchargé depuis la marge. Mais le 'ain de *r'* en 4Q431 est tout à fait normal avec les deux bras curvilignes concaves, en

Comme dans la *Règle de la Guerre* en particulier, *qdwšym* désigne les anges, autre synonyme de *'lym*. L'expression *ydyd hmlk* est unique à Qumrân, mais peut être comparée à *ydyd yhw* de 4Q522 9 ii 8 appliquée au prêtre et au roi, sans parallèle en 4Q491 11, mais voir *'m bny hmlk* dans ce contexte.

La suite est plus difficile à restaurer. En 4Q427 7 i 10 est conservé *wlw' yb' //* [et en 1QH^a XXVI 6–7 *wlw'* *'ybw'* [. En fin de ligne 18 et début 19, lire *wlkbwdy*] ¹⁹*lw' ydmh*, parallèle à 4Q427 7 i 11 *wlkbw*] *dy lw' ydmh*. Les espaces entre ces formules dans les deux manuscrits sont de dix lettres-espaces; on proposerait pour le sens de la phrase e.g. *'yš* ou *'hd* ou *bn 'dm kmwny* «quelqu'un/un autre/personne comme moi», ou mieux *wlw' ybw' by kwl štn/šwn'* «et aucun adversaire/ennemi ne peut s'opposer à moi» avec 4Q491 11 6 *wlw' ybw' by'*, et 1QH^a XXII 25 et XXIV 23, comme répondant à I 13–14.³⁶

La suite de la ligne 19 est plus assurée avec les parallèles: *ky '[ny 'm 'lym m'mdy wkbwdy 'm bny hmlk*, voir 4Q427 7 i 11 *k[y]' 'ny 'm 'lym m'md[y]* et 1QH^a XXVI 8 *wkbwd[y]*,³⁷ voir aussi 4Q491 11 11 *ky]' 'ny' 'm 'lym m'md[y] wk]bwdy<'> 'm bny hmlk*.³⁸ En 4Q427 7 i 12, lire sans doute aussi *[wkbwdy 'm (bny) hml]k*.³⁹ Il est possible que ce dernier

rien comparable au tracé de *qof* malgré le plissement du cuir (malgré Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 204, et García Martínez, «¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesias, Maestro de Justicia?», *cit.*, p. 111–112, qui y voit une erreur de copiste).

³⁶ Eshel, *RevQ* 17, p. 186–187, propose en 4Q427 7 i 10 *wlw' yb' ¹¹[by... wmy bkbw] dy ly' ydmh* «Who has been attributed to me to be despised? And who can be compared with my honor?». Et en *DJD* XXIX, p. 428–431, *wlw' yb' by wlkbwdy* «and no one can accompany me. And to my glory». Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 201s, propose *wlw' ybw' by lhdry wlkbwdy*] en s'appuyant sur une restauration et une lecture très douteuse *hd]r* de Schuller en 4Q427 7 i 12. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 108, propose *kwl r'*, un peu surprenant pour quelqu'un qui est exalté dans les cieux.

³⁷ En 1QH^a XXVI 8, la lecture *kbwd[y]* est tout à fait possible, car la distance à la cassure n'est pas plus grande que celle entre *waw* et *alef*, ligne 7, malgré *DJD* XL, p. 302.

³⁸ Ce renvoi paraît plus approprié que *kbwdy lw' {ydmh}* signalé en *DJD* XL, p. 302, d'autant que *'hš[b* «Restitution très incertaine» soulignée par Baillet (*DJD* VII, p. 28) est à lire *m'md[y] w]kbwdy<'>* où l'*alef* de cette main comble parfaitement la lacune de «la restitution un peu courte» relevée par Baillet. *DJD* XL, p. 302, signale aussi cette probabilité mais en lisant *m'm[dy]*, or il y a encore une partie de la tête du *dalet* avant la cassure, et n'est pas proposée la restauration du *alef*. Eshel, *RevQ* 17, *cit.*, p. 184, a repris la lecture de Baillet dans cette ligne, et signale (note 35) une proposition de Stegemann de lire *yšr]l* à la fin de la ligne 12, mais proposition peu vraisemblable dans le contexte.

³⁹ Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 96, lit *]r*, qui est qualifié de «quite certain» (en *DJD* XL, p. 302), mais la reproduction favorise de loin la lecture d'une tête de *kaf* sans pouvoir discerner peut-être des traces de *lamed* ou la tranche de la cassure du cuir.

membre de phrase soit à lier, par delà la négation en fin de ligne, aux deux premiers mots de la ligne 20 «et ma gloire avec les fils du Roi n'est pas] //comparée à de l'or, ...», mais on peut aussi bien comprendre «et ma gloire (est) avec les fils du Roi, elle n'est pas] //comparée à de l'or, ...», d'autant que 4Q427 7 12 marque un espace avant l' *bpz*.

Le début de la ligne 20 fait difficulté. Après *bpz*, lire certainement *dmh*[au lieu de *k^{oo}*[de l'édition.⁴⁰ Le tracé est celui de *dalet* (*kaf* est exclu: tête et haste), tout comme ensuite celui de *mem* (*taw* est exclu: tête et épaule), suivi d'un départ d'haste: *he* le plus vraisemblable (*reš* et *mem* exclus). 4Q427 7 i 11 lit l' *bpz* 'ktyr ly wktm 'w byrym lw' [, «pas avec de l'or fin je suis couronné, et de l'or d'Ophir n'a/est pas [...]. La lecture 'ktyr assurée⁴¹ renforce celle de *hml*]k auparavant; le copiste a lu une tête large et profonde de *pe* comme *bet-yod* dans 'w byrym pour 'wpyrym. Le début de 4Q427 7 i 13 devait comprendre un verbe, puis *by wh*.[conservés en 1QH^a XXVI 9, reliant deux propositions coordonnées dont la seconde semble pouvoir être comprise e.g. *whš*[ny (?)⁴²]lw' yḥšb by, «et le *cra*[moisi(?)]ne compte pas pour moi». Auparavant comprendre e.g. *wktm* 'wpyrym lw' ['ktyr ly «et l'or d'Ophir je n'ai pas [entassé/convoité pour moi]». ⁴³ 4Q491 11 11 lit plus simplement apparemment en une seule proposition: *w]kbwdy<'>* 'm

Il est possible que *bny* ait été écrit au-dessus de la ligne, mais l'écriture de cette main est très irrégulière et les modules sont des plus variables dans une même ligne, tout comme l'orthographe. Une proposition *wkbwd* [*wkw*l *yqr* ne serait pas trop longue mais elle n'a pas d'appui paléographique. Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 202, lit avec assurance *ky* '[ny 'm 'lym m'mdy *wkbwd whdr lw*' 'kmws] *bpz* en s'appuyant encore sur 4Q427 7 12 et y lisant l' *bpz* 'kmw[s] ly, mais cette dernière est impossible: *taw* bouclé et étroit au lieu de *mem* plus étalé et *samek* est exclu par les restes de l'haste de *reš*: lire certainement 'ktyr.

⁴⁰ Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 203–205, estimant la seconde lettre *mem* ou *taw* (*eadem*, *DJD* XL, p. 302) (Strugnell lisait <*w*>*kt*[*m* douteux), Eshel, *DJD* XXIX, p. 428–431, propose (')*kt*[*yr* ly d'après 4Q427 7 i 12. Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 202, adopte la lecture <*w*>*kt*[*m*, mais la figure (p. 195) est trompeuse pour cette lettre ajoutée qui ne pourrait être qu'un point d'encre mais au-dessus du *zain*, et ses tracés sont fautifs pour *zain*, *kaf* comme un *dalet* et *taw* est étrange. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 108, ne lit rien.

⁴¹ Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 102, 'k^{tw}b ly!

⁴² Le tracé de la lettre convient au mieux à *šin*, plus difficilement à *'ain*, mais certainement pas à *dalet* ou *waw*, Schuller, *DJD* XL, p. 303. Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 202, lit *wh* '[*wwn* lw' yḥšb] «no iniquity is reckoned]» trouvant des appuis dans le *Rouleau des Hymnes*. On peut douter de cette lecture. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 108, lit ces restes de 1QH^a, *by zhb*[*wksp*, mais *waw* est clair et *bet* exclu, photo 4281.

⁴³ Le sens de *ktr* au *hif'il* est celui d'«entourer, (couronner)», ici «entasser, convoiter».

bny hmlk lw' [bpz]wlw' ktm 'wpyrym // [... «et ma gloire avec les fils du Roi n'est pas dans l'or fin ni l'or d'Ophir // [...», peut-être allusion à Jb 3,15.

La trace au début de la ligne 21 convient au mieux à *bet* de *b[y* qu'à *waw*, dans la séquence de 4Q427 7 i 13.⁴⁴ Devait suivre, avec un court ou même sans *vacat*,⁴⁵ le fragment 1d:] *zmrw [ydydym šyrw lmlk hkbwd šmḥw b'dt 'l hrnynw* comme dernière ligne de la colonne I, voir 4Q427 7 i 13–14 et 1QH^a XXVI 10.

II Aux lignes 1 à 11 devait être copié le texte conservé par 4Q427 7 i 14b à ii 2a⁴⁶ et 1QH^a XXVI 10 à 17, voir aussi 4Q491 11 12–17. Seuls manquent deux débuts de lignes en 4Q427 7 i 22–23⁴⁷ et le haut de ii 1–2 à reporter en 4Q431 II 8–9–10–11. Aux lignes 4–5, lire *hšḥqw // byḥd qhl* avec 4Q427 7 i 18 et 1QH^a XXVI 14, au lieu de *hšḥww byḥd qhl* de l'édition.⁴⁸ D'une part, cette lecture ne va pas dans le sens des impératifs de cette séquence et, d'autre part, le verbe *šḥq* (ici écrit *šhq* avec affaiblissement de la gutturale comme il arrive parfois, ou faute de copiste) convient parfaitement au contexte, voir 1 S 18,7 où le verbe exprime le chant accompagné de musiques et de danses. Il est possible que les autres copies aient orthographié différemment *hšḥyqw*.

⁴⁴ Avec Strugnell (*Concordance manuelle*), retenue par Wise, lecture de loin préférable au *yod* de *y[hšb* de Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 203; Eshel, *ibidem*, p. 428, ne lit rien. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 108, lit *lw' ybw' by zhb // wksp lw' yḥšb by*.

⁴⁵ Voir 4Q427 7 i 13 (et 1QH^a XXVI 9) en suivant, mais avec un espace d'au moins une demi-ligne en 4Q491 11 12 avec des inversions, puisque *zmrw* se retrouve à la ligne 13 sans *vacat* non plus. Si 4Q431 portait un *vacat*, il devait être de petite dimension.

⁴⁶ En 4Q427 7 i 15 restaurer [*hqwdš* avec l'article pour l'espace, comme en 4Q491 11 13, malgré la remarque de Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 104, correspondant exactement à la restauration de la l. 16 [*hqdy]šw* d'une part et, d'autre part, en notant que le bas de 7 i est déchiré et froissé, ce qui fausse quelque peu la grandeur de l'espace: largeur de la colonne de 8,5 cm. Cette lecture est à reporter en 1QH^a XXVI 10 malgré *DJD XL*, p. 303.

⁴⁷ Contrairement à Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 96–99, le *pe* de *p* en 7 i 21 et ii 10 est un *pe* final, dans le ductus de cette main, non un *pe* médian qui pourrait être suivi d'une autre lettre, de même pour *kaf* en ii 12, voir i 13, et une lettre à épaule arrondie (*taw*?) a été exponctuée avant le *gimel* de *g'wt* en ii 13.

⁴⁸ Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, p. 104, explique la lecture *hšḥww* comme une faute de scribe pour *hšḥhw* en supposant que *he* doit être lu *het* suivi de deux seules lettres! L'auteur reprend cette proposition avec plus de conviction encore en *DJD XL*, p. 303 s: «*het* is quite certain, though *he* may be possible... It is difficult to think that the scribe was not intending to write *השתחו*, and so this is what is restored here»! Si la lecture *byḥd* paraît certaine avec *bet* au-dessus du deuxième *lamed* de *wlglwt*, la lettre qui suit *he*, certain, a le ductus de *qof* (tête et haste) suivi de restes de *waw* dans le pli du cuir. Une lecture *hšyrw* (Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 102) ou *hšwrrw* ne se recommande pas.

À la ligne 7, il est difficile de savoir si la copie avait le pluriel *nw'dwt* (4Q427 7 i 20) ou le singulier *nw'dt* de 1QH^a XXVI 16, mais les deux cas d'orthographe *g'ym* demandent de comprendre ensuite (*l*)'*wlm*, non un cas construit. Aux lignes 7–8, lire *lhtwm // rzy s[w]d wlh[tm kwl mz]mwt kbwd* de 4Q427 7 i 21.⁴⁹ Cette lecture convient bien dans le contexte, le participe dépendant sans doute de *brkw* comme *hmply g'wt*. Aux lignes 8–9, restaurer pour le sens et l'espace de la lacune de 4Q427 7 i 22: e.g. *lhtm rš' wlhšyl/wlhšdyq šdyq] bhšd...* puisque le premier *lamed* est assuré par 1QH^a XXVI 17. Aux lignes 9–10, restaurer pour le sens et l'espace la lacune de 4Q427 7 23: e.g. [*'bywnym šwm' whw' blw'*] *rhmym*... Au début de la ligne 11 on pourrait restaurer '*wlm* le plus fréquent dans les Hymnes, ou *d't* ou encore *hyym* (voir 1QH^a XVI 14) ou mieux *brkh*, voir 7 ii 15 et 8 i 18.

Des restes de 4Q431 II 12 reprennent avec le fragment 2 1.⁵⁰ Le début de la ligne 13 recoupe 4Q427 7 ii 3 et il faut reporter en fin de ligne les deux premiers mots de 7 ii 4. Ensuite le texte est assuré par les recouvrements avec 4Q427 7 ii 3–10 et 1QH^a XXVI 26–29a.

A la ligne 14, lire très vraisemblablement *tby'* [*šbt*] '*bl*.⁵¹ En 4Q427 7 ii 7, lire *w]šmh lw' t[hyh]'[wd* et ensuite *gdwl]l['wšh pl'*.⁵²

⁴⁹ Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 96–105, propose *lht]m rzy h[wd]wlhq[ym pl]'wt kbwd* en notant que les lectures ne sont pas assurées, en particulier *h[wd]wlhq[ym pl]'wt*: *qof* peut être *samek*, *pl]'wt* peut être restauré *npl]'wt* ou *lu mz]mwt*, et *rzy hwd* n'est pas encore attesté. Explication reprise en *DJD* XL, p. 304, lecture retenue par Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 102, qui lit à la ligne 20 *lty)b*. De fait, *alef* est exclu par le tracé, et la tête de *mem* est bien préférable pour *mz]mwt kbwd*, voir 4Q402 3 ii 13. Les *qof/samek* ne sont pas assurés (*qof* est exclu) et le tracé convient mieux à *taw*, d'autant que la lecture *wlhq[ym* n'est en rien appuyée par 4Q491 11 15. Le début de la ligne peut aussi bien être restauré *lhtw]m rzy s[w]d*, avec restes de *samek* non *he*) et de la tête de *dalet* (l'esquille n'est pas en place pour la distance entre ces deux lettres), voir 4Q437 6 1: *brz swd p[l'kh*. Dans ces parallèles synonymiques, *swd* correspond parfaitement à *mzmwt*.

⁵⁰ García Martínez, « ¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesías, Maestro de Justicia? », *cit.*, p. 110 et 114–115, arrête l'étude de l'hymne avec 4Q427 7 i 13.

⁵¹ Schuller, *DJD* XXIX, p. 206s, 105, repris en *DJD* XL, p. 305, préfère restaurer [*'bd*], en invoquant d'une part l'espace moindre qu'aux lignes 2, 4 et 5 du fragment 2 pour *šbt*, ce qui n'est pas exact, et, d'autre part, l'absence de trace du pied du *taw* attendu, mais sur PAM 40.609, 41.409 et 43.531, on ne voit pas davantage de restes du *alef* suivant, comparé à *bet* et *lamed*! Une lecture *šbt* paraît bien meilleure et sera préférée. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, op. cit.*, p. 904, lisent *tnwb[b...]'bl*, mais lecture impossible, tout comme le début de la ligne précédente *bh šbt*... Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit.*, p. 104, lit *klh* mais cette lecture laisse un trop grand espace avant le mot suivant.

⁵² En 1QH^a XXVI 26, lire '*wd hšmy['w w'mr[w*, avec la photo 4271.

En II 18, 4Q431 lit *ky hšpyl gbhwt]rwm l'yn šryt* en accord avec 1QH^a XXVI 27, alors que 4Q427 7 ii 8 porte la variante... *gbhwt rwh*... 4Q427 7 i 20 et 1QH^a XXVI 16 s'accordent aussi dans *wlhšpyl nw'd(w)t rwm g'ym 'wlm*, voir aussi Is 2,11 dans le contexte de la parousie au jour de Yahveh.

À la marge droite de II 19 et 20, le cuir du manuscrit devait être défectueux (trou?) comme il arrive parfois, sans qu'on ait à envisager des *vacat* de 3 à 6 lettres respectivement ou des variantes des autres copies; le *vacat* avant le dernier mot de la ligne 18 annonce cette difficulté de copie pour ne pas couper la construction *lrwm 'wlm* qui seule convient dans les deux autres copies. Puis cette fois encore 4Q431 II 19 a la même lecture que 1QH^a XXVI 28 *ygbyh bqwmh* « Il le hausse en stature » au lieu de *ygbyrh{w} bqwmh* « Il le confirme dans (sa) stature » de 4Q427 7 ii 9, tout comme les deux manuscrits s'accordent pour l'absence de *vacat* à la fin de la phrase (II 20 et 1QH^a XXVI 29) contre 4Q427 7 ii 10, soit trois accords en trois lignes successives, leçons probablement originales en conservant l'image spatiale de la hauteur que l'expression a en Ez 31,10.14 et Ps 151,5; il en allait de même avec la variante *rwm – rwh* précédemment.⁵³ En II 20, restaurer (*vac.*) *yhd wrph hrwn 'p]l[k]l[w]t 'wlm* à l'aide de 4Q427 7 ii 9, Si 45,19.⁵⁴ Dans la proposition *w'm 'lym b'dt yhd*, le *waw* a une valeur consécutive = « et (il est)/pour être avec... », alors que dans *wrph*..., il a une valeur explicative « aussi, il a réfréné l'ardeur de la colère en vue de la destruction éternelle ».

III La fin de l'hymne n'est pas conservée par 4Q431, mais devait figurer aux lignes 1 à 17 ce qui en est partiellement préservé par 4Q427 7 ii 10b–23, 4Q428 21 1–5 et 1QH^a XXVI 29–39, à la suite desquelles il faut ajouter la finale irrémédiablement perdue par tous les manuscrits (environ 3 lignes). La disposition dans cette colonne ne peut être que quelque peu arbitraire d'après les restes retrouvés, mais elle doit être

⁵³ Ces trois accords demandent de restaurer *lklwt*] en 1QH^a XXVI 28, non *lkl*] avec *DJD* XL, p. 299 et 305.

⁵⁴ Comme *alef* est exclu à la cassure par la haste droite verticale de *he* en 4Q427 7 ii 9, la lecture *wrph* est assurée, ne permettant pas une restauration *wrp'hw* (García Martínez – Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, *op. cit.*, p. 998s), ni *wrp'(ym y'wrrw)* de Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Sans doute une lecture *wrph* (parfait plutôt que parfait converti) est-elle préférable à *yrph* retenue précédemment pour suivre les imparfaits du passage (E. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?*, II [Études bibliques, NS 22; Gabalda: Paris, 1993], p. 397), mais une restauration est possible: *wrph[hrwn] 'p lkl' wlm* (pe final dans cette main).

prise en compte pour un texte le plus complet possible. C'est dire que cet hymne occupait presque entièrement les trois premières colonnes du manuscrit 4Q431.⁵⁵ Pour ce faire, on doit suivre l'orthographe des suffixes de 1QH^a XXVI aux lignes 2, 4 (2 fois) et 15. Aux lignes 2–3 = 4Q427 7 ii 12, l'expression *brwk 'l* est celle des hymnes de 1QM XIII 2 et XIV 4 et d'autres prières (4Q502, 503, 504, 509) comparé à *brwk 'th*... des rouleaux des *Hymnes* des grottes 1 et 4, et de même le titre *'l hšdq* (ligne 5), voir 1QM XVIII 8. À la ligne 3, suivre 4Q427 7 ii 12 *lhwy' gbwrh*.⁵⁶ Aux lignes 11–12, à l'aide des restes de 4Q427 7 ii 19–20 et de 1QH^a XXVI 38, comprendre sans doute pour les espaces des trois copies *lṣwnkh bšdqtkh* (b...) *wn'šwr kwḥ lšmw'*, voir 1QH^a XV 22.⁵⁷ À la ligne 12, lire *npl'wt k'lh* avec 4Q427 7 ii 20 et 1QH^a XXVI 39: *k]'l[h*. Enfin aux lignes 14–15, on peut hésiter entre *brwk 'l 'lywn* et *'l hd'wt*, mais 4Q491 14–15 7 porte *ky' l'l 'ly]wn hmlwkh wl'mw hyšw'h* qui donnerait une préférence à la séquence *'l 'lywn*, voir aussi Sg 5,15.

Cette présentation-édition de l'hymne en 4Q431 I–III à l'aide des parallèles et des recoupements divers qui ont permis de récupérer une grande partie du texte, donne une idée plus précise de sa composition et devrait permettre une analyse plus serrée de son contenu, au lieu d'en rester aux quelques lignes incomplètes de I 12–21.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Cela pouvait contenir dans les lignes 17 à 18/19 de cette colonne III. La mise en colonne sur 18/19 lignes proposée ici compte entre 44 et 51 lettres-espaces par ligne, avec une moyenne de 46–48 comparable aux colonnes précédentes.

⁵⁶ 1QH^a XXVI 31 a d'abord écrit *lšmw'* (gratté et corrigé en *lhwdy'*: *š > hw* et *m > d*) *gbwrh*, puis le copiste a exponctué le tout continuant avec *wmšdy]q* (*lšmw'* se retrouve en 4Q427 7 ii 20a) par suite d'une faute de lecture de *lhwy' gbwrh*, mais il a dû corriger encore et insérer au-dessus de la ligne *y'wmrw brwk 'l hmply pl'y g'wt wmgdyl* qu'il avait oublié et qui n'est pas du tout trop long pour l'espace, la correction intra-linéaire étant dans un module plus réduit. Noter que *lhwdy'* (*ydw bkwh*) se retrouve en 4Q491 11 16. Les explications en *DJD* XXIX, p. 107, et *DJD* XL, p. 306, sont confuses, et on ne peut pas lire *ywmrw* ni *y'wmrw* avant la correction au début de la l. 31. À la ligne 32, le copiste a d'abord écrit *bryt* corrigé en *brwb* (seul le *taw* a été corrigé). En 4Q427 7 ii 12 le *taw* de *pl'wt* est certainement exponctué, le mot est donc corrigé en *pl'wt*<*y*>.

⁵⁷ *DJD* XL, p. 307, lit *b.*], soit *b'm*[*t*, soit *bgb*[*wr-*, mais *bšdqtkh*[paraît assuré grâce à la photo 4311. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 104, introduit ici le fragment 48, placement exclu par la conservation du rouleau.

⁵⁸ Voir *e.g.* Eshel, « The Identification of the 'Speaker' », *cit.*, p. 620, = *DJD* XXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 428, aux lignes de longueur très variable faisant douter de la phraséologie proposée.

IDENTITÉ DU PERSONNAGE EXALTÉ

Les notes précédentes ont souligné le texte quasi-identique des copies 4Q431 et 1QH^a XXV 34 à XXVII 3 (ainsi que 4Q428 21), et les variantes minimales en 4Q427 3 4 à 7, tout en relevant au passage de nombreux parallèles d'expressions et de structure en 4Q491 11. Ainsi on ne peut plus dire que la mention de la session sur un trône céleste mentionnée en 4Q491 11 est sans parallèle dans le texte de l'hymne dans ses différentes copies.⁵⁹ En outre, la disposition du texte dans les copies exige de le prendre dans son intégralité, même si le locuteur parle à la première personne du singulier au moins en I 10–21 (le début est très lacuneux), et si la suite est à la deuxième personne du pluriel en I 21–III 5 et III 14 ss, et à la première personne du pluriel en III 5–14; on ne peut pas le diviser en deux hymnes distincts.⁶⁰ Même en 4Q491 11 12, le *vacat* ne concerne pas toute la ligne pour en faire la division entre deux hymnes.⁶¹ Cette composition comporte plusieurs parties ou subdivisions, c'est la seule conclusion qu'on peut en tirer.

Si les copies 4Q431 et 1QH^a datent de l'époque hérodienne ancienne, 4Q427 est datée de la fin de l'époque hasmonéenne-début hérodienne et de même 4Q491 11, mais 4Q428, la plus ancienne copie, date du premier quart du 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C., soit quelques décennies à peine après la mort du Maître; or ce dernier manuscrit contient aussi des hymnes traditionnellement attribués au Maître. C'est dire que cet hymne devrait être composé au plus tard aux environs de 100 avant J.-C., et il pourrait être contemporain de l'activité du Maître ou de peu postérieur.⁶² On comprend les hésitations des auteurs de le placer

⁵⁹ Ainsi J. J. Collins, «A Thrice-Told Hymn. A Response to Eileen Schuller», *JQR* 85 (1994) 151–155, p. 153 s, remarque reprise par Eshel, «The Identification of the 'Speaker'», *cit.*, p. 626, sur la base de 4Q491 11, mais en fait il faut s'appuyer sur le fragment 4Q427 6.

⁶⁰ Comme l'estiment par exemple Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 193, et García Martínez, «¿Ángel, Hombre, Mesías, Maestro de Justicia?», *cit.*, p. 107, à la suite de Baillet.

⁶¹ Comme l'écrit García Martínez, «Old Texts and Modern Mirages», *cit.*, p. 111. De fait, dans toutes les copies préservées ou restaurées (les mises en colonne l'exigent), le verbe *zmrw* n'est pas séparé de ce qui précède par un *vacat*, cela devrait avoir un sens. Rappelons que 4Q491 11 i ne joint pas avec 11 ii de l'édition (voir ci-dessus note 6).

⁶² Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», *cit.*, p. 214–216, pense que 4Q491 11 est la source d'un expansion du texte des copies retrouvées des Hymnes, et donc que la collection des hymnes de 4Q491 11–12, 23–24 (au nombre d'au moins trois) précède le mouvement fondé par le Maître de Justice, et serait l'œuvre d'un mouvement précurseur:

dans une quelconque catégorie.⁶³ D'autres estiment que le locuteur est un chef du groupe qumranien qui se considérait comme le Messie, ou était considéré tel par la Communauté.⁶⁴ Cette conclusion découlerait de la composition de l'hymne en deux parties: l'exaltation céleste à la

« a collection of hymns that might antedate the movement founded by the Teacher of Righteousness. This collection, in other words, may have originated with a related but distinct precursor movement ». La logique de cette déduction nous échappe, d'autant qu'ensuite il attribue le 'je' du 'Cantique de Michel' au Maître lui-même repris par ses successeurs et membres de la Communauté qui chantent ces hymnes (p. 218s), mais l'attribution au Maître est une possibilité, *idem*, « Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427 and the Teacher of Righteousness », *cit.* p. 72. On ne peut pas davantage retenir l'argumentation de J. J. Collins, « A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in pre-Cristian Judaism », in *Death, Ecstasy and Otherworldly Journeys* (eds J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany, New York: State University of New York, 1995), 43-58, p. 54-55, se fondant sur la lecture fautive 'dwmv de M. Smith en 4Q491 11 pour désigner Hérode et dater ainsi la composition bien après l'activité du Maître, en concluant: « perhaps the best candidate for identification with the exalted teacher of this hymn is the one who would 'teach righteousness at the end of days' (CD 6:11) or the eschatological 'Interpreter of the Law of the Florilegium' (4Q174) », ou encore désigner la figure visionnaire du grand prêtre-Messie ou du Maître de la fin des temps, plus proche de la figure de Moïse que de celle de David (Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, *op. cit.*, p. 148), de même J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London-New York: Routledge, 1997) p. 147, et A. Yarbro Collins & J. J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God. Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), p. 85: « One of the more plausible suggestions about it is that the figure in question may be the eschatological High Priest ». Eshel, « The Identification of the "Speaker" of the Self-Glorification Hymn », *cit.*, p. 635, en fait le Maître de Justice identifié à la figure eschatologique du grand prêtre. C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam. Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ XLII; Leiden - Boston - Köln: Brill, 2002), p. 204-216, y voit l'apothéose d'un grand prêtre proclamant sa propre « divinity... now become ontologically divine »!) au cours d'une liturgie de la Communauté, sans nulle perspective eschatologique.

⁶³ Voir par exemple E. Schuller, « Some Contributions of the Cave Four Manuscripts (4Q427-432) to the Study of the Hodayot », *DSD* 8 (2001) 278-287, p. 283 et note 19, qui rappelle sa préférence pour les 'Hymnes de la Communauté', et déjà en *DJD* XXIX, p. 102: le 'je' des hymnes de la Communauté, alors que Collins penchait d'abord pour un 'Hymne du Maître', discours du Maître exalté bien en situation avec la place de l'hymne dans le *Rouleau de la Guerre*, avant d'hésiter et de se décider pour aucune de ces catégories, et finalement Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, *op. cit.*, p. 147-148, conclut à un hymne d'origine indépendante. Abegg, « Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness », *cit.*, p. 72s, attribuerait l'hymne au Maître de Justice, le fondateur de la Communauté de Qumrân, suite à un genre d'ascension de la part du Maître. Et A. K. Harkins, « The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation », *DSD* 15 (2008) 121-154, p. 127-131, en fait clairement un hymne de la Communauté.

⁶⁴ Voir par exemple I. Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus. The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London: University of California, 2000), p. 20-24, conclusion renforcée par l'hymne suivant demandant aux membres de la Communauté d'offrir des louanges à Dieu.

première puis à la troisième personne, avec l'appel à la louange divine pour le salut accordé au temps présent de la rédemption, le héros réalisant pour la première fois dans le judaïsme la figure du Serviteur souffrant d'Isaïe 52–53 au statut divinisé.⁶⁵ Toutefois, la description fait certainement du héros un individu, et non la Communauté comme telle.⁶⁶ Aussi a-t-on pu conclure que le personnage de ces copies des rouleaux des hymnes n'est « ni un messie (que ce soit le Messie d'Aaron, le Messie d'Israël ou le Messie céleste) ni aucune autre figure eschatologique. On ne peut y reconnaître que la voix du Maître de Justice qui continue à résonner dans la Communauté à travers cet hymne ».⁶⁷ L'édition plus complète du texte permet-elle une conclusion plus assurée sur la figure du personnage central ?

La première remarque qui s'impose porte sur le titre de l'hymne, comme il en va à plusieurs reprises en 1QH^a pour introduire l'action de grâces à Dieu pour son agir merveilleux. La qualification *lmškył* peut être un ajout, même significatif, en tête d'une série d'hymnes. De prime abord, le premier à prendre la parole pourrait ne pas être le 'je' de I 10–21, mais une tierce personne qui introduit ce discours personnel comme il apparaît en I 2–5 (sans la restauration).⁶⁸ Il rend grâce pour une action unique de Dieu en faveur d'un 'Maître' que Dieu a intronisé sur un trône sur lequel aucun roi d'autrefois n'a jamais siégé ; il est clair qu'on n'a pas affaire à des rois d'Orient, hors de propos dans ce contexte, mais à des rois fameux d'Israël, tels David, Salomon

⁶⁵ Il est difficile de suivre Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus*, *op. cit.*, p. 101, pour en faire « a Messiah with a divine nature sitting on a lofty throne in heaven and associating with the angels ».

⁶⁶ Voir H. Stegemann, « Some Remarks To 1QSa, To 1Qsb, and To Qumran Messianism », *RevQ* 17 (1996) 479–505, p. 502 : « the collective of the people of Israel, being raised to a quasi "heavenly" status, speak here », suivi par A. Steudel, « The Eternal Reign of the People of God – Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM) », *RevQ* 17 (2006) 507–525, p. 525.

⁶⁷ Voir García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », *op. cit.*, p. 125, mais pour García Martínez le protagoniste de la copie du Cantique en 4Q491 11 est un personnage céleste, 'le messie céleste' a plusieurs noms « Melkisédeq, Michel, Prince de lumière, fils de Dieu » (p. 118–124). Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, II, *op. cit.*, p. 494, concluait ainsi un examen rapide de 4Q491 11 i : « Ce texte montre la place unique qu'occupe ce personnage, Maître/ Instructeur/ Sage/ Messie roi-prêtre(?), qu'aucun roi ne pourra ravir, ni aucun noble en provoquer la ruine ».

⁶⁸ Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *op. cit.*, p. 101 et xxvii s, pense trouver une première personne du pluriel en 1QH^a XXV 35, suite au placement impossible du fragment 47 sans joint avec le fragment 8, voir ci-dessus. Aussi identifie-t-il l'auteur (*mškył*) au Maître de Justice ou à ses successeurs jusqu'à l'arrivée des messies de la fin des jours.

ou Josias (voir Si 47,2–23 et 49,1–4). Cette intronisation pourrait avoir eu lieu après la mort du ‘héros’, lors de la Visite divine et du temps des récompenses du juste, tel Hénoch à la conduite parfaite, emporté-élevé par Dieu (*lqh-metethèken* Gn 5,24, *nlqh-metetethè* Si 44,16; *anelèmphthè* 49,14) et Élie (2 R 2,9–11 *lqh-wy’l-anelèmphthè*, Si 48,9 *hnlqh...m’lh*) et non du vivant des personnages, rois et autres (voir I 4–5]*škb mty*[et]*wrwmm zwltk*[), à moins de lire *w]yrwmm zwltk* «et]Il n’exaltera que toi», plus difficile avec la suite. Dieu n’a exalté à ce trône nulle autre grande figure que toi, écrit l’auteur de ces premières lignes, apparemment un des familiers du Maître exalté (X = *hmwrh* ou *mwrh (h)šdq*?), à moins d’une vision-révélation (angélique) au Maître en personne, type d’expérience mystique unique (comparer Paul en 2 Co 12,1–7), les lacunes des premières lignes nous privent de ces précisions. En effet, le plus simple et le plus probable, compte tenu de la longueur de la ligne en 1QH^a, est d’envisager une lecture *ky’ ’th rwmmtny/hwšbtny ’l ks’ ’wz b’dt ’lym bl yšbw]bw mlky qdm* «car T[oi, Tu m’as exalté/fais asseoir sur un trône sûr dans la congrégation des dieux]sur lequel[n’ont pas siégé]les rois d’autrefois» (en partie avec 4Q491 11 5).

I 5–9 laisserait envisager un changement de locuteur, comme après une révélation(?, I 5), ‘le personnage exalté’ présenté précédemment se décrivant lui-même (I 10–21)⁶⁹ dans sa situation présente (?) et privilégiée de gloire que lui a méritée le parcours de sa vie antérieure: telle une intronisation céleste en compagnie des anges après une vie d’homme juste mais aussi d’homme méprisé, cause de mépris et rejeté par les hommes, tel le Serviteur d’Is 53,3. Cet homme à la conduite incomparable dans les malheurs, à l’enseignement inégalable parce que puisé à une source incomparable, et au jugement juste occupe une place unique⁷⁰ parmi les êtres divins. Il est le compagnon des saints (anges), le bien-aimé du Roi, lui dont la gloire n’a rien à voir avec les richesses et parures des grands de ce monde (voir 1 R 10,11–13, Si 47,18 et Sg 7,8–10 pour le roi Salomon, et Si 45,1–22 pour Moïse et Aaron, eux aussi saints et bien-aimés [*ydyd*] de Dieu et des hommes auxquels Dieu donna les commandements, l’enseignement, le jugement, et qu’il revêtit de gloire), mais qui a aimé les commandements

⁶⁹ Du moins l’auteur du passage tel qu’il est conservé le fait se présenter ainsi.

⁷⁰ Pas ‘au-dessus’, mais ‘parmi’ eux, tout en étant à part, puisqu’il occupe un trône céleste, homme glorifié (voir aussi Sg 5,16).

divins plus que l'or (Ps 119,127). Lévi, ancêtre du sacerdoce était déjà appelé *ydyd 'l* dans le *Testament de Lévi* araméen § 83.

Cette présentation semble faire croire qu'on a à faire à l'exaltation posthume dans la gloire céleste d'un homme à la mission importante et unique même, qui a souffert de la part de ses contemporains à cause de sa mission souvent incomprise, mais qui n'a pas dévié dans sa conduite, fidèle dans son enseignement et juste dans le jugement. Mais on pourrait aussi envisager une expérience mystique intérieure de l'auteur expérimentant comme une vision de son rôle dans la Communauté et du sort qui lui est réservé. Il passe pour la figure d'un grand prêtre persécuté, Serviteur fidèle que Dieu a exalté dans la gloire sur un trône céleste près de Lui en compagnie des anges. Il est un aaronide tel que 4Q541 présentait déjà la figure du prêtre eschatologique,⁷¹ au fragment 9 1-7: «il fera l'expiation pour tous les fils de sa génération, sa parole sera comme une parole des cieux et son enseignement conforme à la volonté de Dieu, son soleil éternel brillera et les ténèbres disparaîtront de la terre, nombre de paroles contre lui on proférera, quantité de fables et de mensonges on inventera, et des infamies on dira, sa génération sera pervertie, et rejeté il sera, ... », et pour finir, frg. 24 6 conclut: «Et tu verras et tu te réjouiras dans la lumière éternelle et tu ne seras pas parmi l'Ennemi».⁷² Quelques aspects de cette figure sont repris dans la bénédiction du grand prêtre en 1QSb IV 22-V 19. De son côté l'*Apocalypse messianique*, 4Q521 2 ii 7, promet aux pieux fidèles qui écouteront le Messie, que Dieu les «honorera sur un trône de royauté éternelle»,⁷³ récompense qu'on lit aussi en *1 Hen* 108,10-15, dans la ligne de Dn 12,1-4 et de Sg 3,1-9.

⁷¹ Mais cette figure aaronide ne peut aucunement avoir été modelée sur la carrière du Maître historique plutôt que sur celle du Serviteur d'Isaïe, comme l'écrit Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, op. cit., p. 125; il est certain que la composition de 4Q541 est bien antérieure à la carrière du Maître. Par ailleurs, la défense faite au grand prêtre de crucifier un coupable juif ne permet pas de conclure à la mort violente par crucifixion de la figure messianique, ce que nous n'avons jamais écrit. Mais la défense de deuil faite au grand prêtre et le rejet pour cause de violence supposent dans ce manuscrit une mort violente, comme en *Isaïe* 52-53.

⁷² Voir E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 241-245 et 252-56.

⁷³ Voir E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XVIII* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 10-14. En Mt 19,28, Jésus promet aux Apôtres «à vous qui m'avez suivi, lors de la régénération, quand le Fils de l'Homme siègera sur son trône de gloire, vous siégeriez vous aussi sur douze trônes pour juger les douze tribus d'Israël»; enseignement - intronisation - jugement sont souvent associés, voir encore Sg 6,19-21.

La figure d'un mortel assis sur un trône céleste, ce qui n'est pas dit d'un ange, a des antécédents bibliques au *Psaume* 110 pour le Roi-Prêtre eschatologique,⁷⁴ (Ps 89,4-8), en *Daniel* 7 pour le Fils de l'Homme intronisé près du Vieillard assis sur son trône et à qui furent remis pouvoir, honneur et royauté, laissant entendre qu'il prend place sur un des trônes (Dn 7,9). Il en est de même de l'Élu, le Fils d'homme en *1 Hénoch* 62 assis sur le trône de gloire du Seigneur des Esprits, voir aussi 61,8; 69,26-29; 45,3; 51,3-5; 55,4.⁷⁵ L'image du Fils de l'Homme comme Messie intronisé est avancée dans la scène du jugement en Mc 14,62 // Mt 26,64 // Lc 22,69⁷⁶ associant Dn 7,13 et Ps 110,1, et en He 8,1 affirmant que « nous avons un pareil grand prêtre qui s'est assis à la droite du trône de la Majesté dans les cioux », « où est entré pour nous en précurseur, Jésus, devenu pour l'éternité grand prêtre selon l'ordre de Melkisédeq » (He 6,20, voir aussi 1 P 3,18-22).

Ces exemples d'intronisations célestes relèvent tous de l'eschatologie en lien avec la destinée du juste et les récompenses après le jugement. Si l'état lacunaire de I 2-9 nous prive de la description même de l'exaltation céleste de ce Maître, mais elle doit être supposée, la cosmologie n'en est pas totalement absente, elle figure du moins quelque peu en inclusion à la fin de l'hymne, III 17 ss, tout comme elle est présente en 4Q521 2 ii 1 ss et 7 + 5 ii où figure aussi l'action de grâce pour les actes de justice de Dieu.

Dans la deuxième partie de l'hymne, I 21 - III, le Maître exalté demande à ses bien-aimés disciples de se réjouir, de fêter, de jubiler avec les anges, de célébrer et louer le Roi de Gloire auprès de qui il est intronisé, car Dieu a réalisé son plan mystérieux de salut pour les pauvres fidèles, Lui le juge juste et miséricordieux, riche en pardons mais sans pitié pour les rebelles. L'oppression et l'oppressé, l'impunité, etc., ont disparu, c'est une vision de la victoire eschatologique de

⁷⁴ Act 2,34-36 cite Ps 110,1 comme témoignage de l'intronisation céleste du messie davidique: « car David n'est pas monté aux cioux, or il dit lui-même: (citation de Ps 110,1) ».

⁷⁵ Mais à la fin des *Paraboles* en *1 Hen* 71,14, l'ange lui déclare: « Tu es le Fils d'homme, toi qui es né pour la justice, la justice est demeurée en toi ».

⁷⁶ En Lc 22,70 la réaction des anciens « Tu es donc le Fils de Dieu » rejoint le passage de 4Q246, voir E. Puech, « Le fils de Dieu, le fils du Très-Haut, messie-roi en 4Q246 », in *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre Testament. I-Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann* (textes réunis par E. Bons, *Lectio Divina* 197; Paris: Le Cerf, 2004) 271-286, comme figure messianique.

Dieu qui se manifeste dans l'élévation du Maître,⁷⁷ telle une eschatologie individuelle, prémisse de celle des membres de la Communauté, entrevue d'une eschatologie collective non encore réalisée, mais Dieu est fidèle. C'est un appel à marcher avec assurance et à persévérer dans leur choix de vie car Dieu écoute la voix de celui qui l'invoque, et ils n'ont désormais plus besoin d'un intermédiaire, d'un interprète, le Maître (III 9-14, voir 1QH^a X 15 un hymne du Maître), puisque Dieu a exaucé sa conduite et son enseignement en l'élevant sur un trône de gloire.⁷⁸ Le Maître est une figure unique, personne ne peut lui être comparé, il reste donc à suivre ses enseignements qui venaient de la bouche de Dieu, tel un authentique prêtre-prophète. Telles sont les merveilles des secrets desseins du Dieu créateur pour la faible créature, magnifiquement exprimées dans cette composition destinée à animer le cœur de la liturgie et de la vie de la Communauté. La joie, la paix, la guérison, ..., appartiennent au lot des promesses eschatologiques dans les textes qumraniens (1QS IV, 1QM I et XVII, 1QH^a XIX, etc.), mais cela ne signifie nullement que la Communauté vit présentement dans une eschatologie réalisée, comme certains l'ont prétendu. Elle vit dans l'espérance eschatologique de sa réalisation, seul le Maître dit, ou est dit, avoir reçu sa récompense de gloire dans la demeure de sainteté.⁷⁹ Mais il ne saurait être question dans cet hymne d'une eschatologie réalisée dans la vie présente de la Communauté.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ On ne peut suivre Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, op. cit., p. 212-216, attribuant l'élévation en gloire au responsable de la liturgie de la Communauté (le *maškil*, un grand prêtre?) proclamant sa «divinity», «now become ontologically divine», le propre des états extatiques, ni Wise, «A Study of 4Q491c», cit., p. 216-218, qui voit dans le 'je' chaque membre du groupe récitant l'hymne, mais dans une eschatologie non réalisée (p. 219), ni P.A. de Souza Nogueira, «Ecstatic Worship in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471B, 4Q427, 4Q491C). Implications for the Understanding of an Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Phenomenon», in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL CLXVIII, ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven - Paris - Dudley: University Press, 2003) 385-393, en faveur d'une expérience extatique - ascension collective, et opposé à l'attribution de l'hymne au Maître.

⁷⁸ Comme nous l'avons montré ailleurs, le passage de *L'Instruction* 4Q418 69 ii + 60 remplit un même rôle d'invitation à la persévérance dans l'attente des récompenses éternelles lors du jugement et de la résurrection du juste dans l'assemblée de gloire céleste et de la condamnation de l'impie, mais alors sans l'exemple du Maître introïnisé, la composition étant antérieure à sa mission.

⁷⁹ En lisant *ywrwmm zwltkh*. Dans le cas d'une vision-révélation de sa part, il serait bénéficiaire de la promesse de recevoir ces récompenses.

⁸⁰ Voir encore I. Knohl, «The Suffering Servant: from Isaiah to the Dead Sea Scrolls», in *Scriptural Exegesis. The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination. Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (eds. D.A. Green and L.S. Lieber; Oxford: University

En conclusion, tout converge, à première vue, pour faire de la figure intronisée dans les cieux en compagnie des anges le Maître de Justice dans la ferme espérance de la récompense après sa mort, le Maître étant identifié à la figure eschatologique du prêtre-prophète, inter-prête authentique de la Loi. Il partage, ou promesse lui est faite de partager, la gloire céleste et éternelle, comme le Serviteur méprisé et rejeté auquel il était promis « de voir la lumière et d'être comblé » (Is 53,3 et 11), ou tel le sage qui a enseigné la justice à un grand nombre (Dn 12,4), tel le Nouveau Moïse. Une telle exaltation-intronisation ne peut être comprise que comme la promesse des récompenses eschatologiques qui suppose la croyance à la résurrection dans le milieu essénien,⁸¹ croyance clairement affichée en 4Q521, une composition plus ou moins contemporaine de cet hymne, aux parties aussi en prose rythmée,⁸² qui remplit une fonction exhortative pour le fidèle comparable à celle de cet hymne pris dans sa totalité. Et cette croyance est présente aussi en 1QH^a frg. 53, à lire ainsi :

Press, 2009) 89–104, p. 99. L'espérance semble comparable à celle des chrétiens en Ep 2,6, que Dieu « a ressuscités et fait asseoir aux cieux dans le Christ Jésus », la tête du corps, de même en Col 3,1–4, mais il s'agit d'une vie de foi cachée en Dieu dans l'attente de sa manifestation à la parousie.

⁸¹ Comme nous avons essayé de le montrer ailleurs, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, *op. cit.*, voir aussi E. Puech, « Apports des manuscrits de Qumrân à la croyance à la résurrection dans le judaïsme ancien », in *Qoumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère. Actes de la Table Ronde, Collège de France, 16 novembre 2004* (sous la direction d'A. Lemaire et S. Mimouni; Paris – Louvain – Dudley: Peeters, 2006), 81–110. Noter les parallèles du vocabulaire et de sens en 4Q181 1 ii 3–6 où il est question de 'la récompense des justes dans la vie éternelle dans la compagnie des anges' (je corrige, *La croyance*, note 31, p. 530, la lecture *b'[st en b'[dt]*), conception qui s'explique par la seule croyance à la résurrection, position juive bien résumée en Act 23,8: « Les Sadducéens disent en effet qu'il n'y a pas de résurrection: ni ange ni esprit, tandis que les Pharisiens professent les deux », et Mc 12,24–25 et parallèles « Car lorsqu'on ressuscite d'entre les morts, on ne prend ni femme ni mari, mais on est comme des anges dans les cieux ». Par là est souligné le caractère de 'corps spirituel' et glorieux du ressuscité, qui, pareil aux anges, n'est pas pour autant devenu un ange. Mais on ne peut pas parler sans autre preuve, dans cet hymne, d'une 'déification' au terme d'une ascension.

⁸² Nous maintenons l'identification essénienne de cette composition, malgré bien des objections qui n'emportent pas l'adhésion, compte tenu du caractère si fragmentaire du rouleau retrouvé, voir dernièrement encore A.L.A. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End. A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament (STDJ) 83*; Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 277–278. Ces deux compositions ont bien des points en commun sans terminologie dualiste ni vocabulaire typé que voudraient systématiquement retrouver certains critiques pour en faire une composition essénienne; et cependant personne ne mettra en cause l'origine essénienne de l'hymne!

(ת\י)חדש להמ[ה(?)	1
יז]הירו כשמש] וכוכבים לעולם ועד	2
ב]מעון הקודש]	3
] vacat [4

- 1 Tu/Il]renouvelle[ra(s)] *pour eux*⁸³
- 2](ils) [b]rilleront comme le soleil[*et comme les étoiles pour toujours*⁸⁴
- 3 dans]la demeure de sainteté⁸⁵
- 4] *marge inférieure* [

Ce fragment est écrit aussi par la deuxième main qui a copié la finale du rouleau. Il fait allusion, plus explicitement encore que nous l'avions suspecté, à Dn 12,4 que l'auteur semble suivre à la ligne 2: *whmškylym yzhrw kzhr hrqy' wmsdyqy hrby m kkwkbym l'wlm w'd*. Or ce verset de *Daniel* fait directement suite à Dn 12,1–3 où sont décrits les temps eschatologiques: guerre, jugement, résurrection comme récompense des justes pour la vie éternelle et les châtements éternels des impies, et en 12,13 est signifiée à Daniel sa propre part: la résurrection à la fin des jours. Même s'il est difficile de situer ce fragment dans le cadre de cet hymne (une place au bas de XXV 38/39–40/41(–42) est possible et vraisemblable mais non assurée sans joint direct ou recoupement, ou ailleurs dans la finale du rouleau), il est clair toutefois que l'auteur de ce passage attendait lui aussi la résurrection comme récompense des justes à la fin des jours, à la suite de *Daniel* 12, et en conséquence, que cette croyance était bien reçue des Esséniens.⁸⁶ L'expression *bm'wn hqwdš* pour désigner la demeure céleste des saints en présence de Dieu est déjà à lire en 1QH^a XXVI 10 = 4Q427 7 i 14–15 = 4Q431 II 1. Elle fait suite à l'éclat brillant de gloire du ressuscité *yzhyrw kšmš* et rejoint la place du juste dans les cieus, *yšbty bšmym* en I 11 et 15, et *m'mdy*

⁸³ Lecture assurée avec la photo 4281, au lieu de]wšlw[m proposée dans *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future, II, op. cit.*, p. 415, et de]šl[de *DJD XL, op. cit.*, p. 318. La lecture *lhm* paraît bien préférable à *lnw*: restes après le *lamed* de trois hastes désaxées en l'état du manuscrit.

⁸⁴ Lecture *yz]hyrw kšmš*[au lieu de *y]yrw* dans *La croyance...*, *op. cit.*, p. 415, suivie par *DJD XL*, p. 318, grâce à la photo 4260a: reste de la tête de *he* qui ne peut pas être lu *alef*. Le verbe est celui de *Daniel* 12,4, et voir Sg 3,7 « Au temps de leur visite, ils resplendiront », et 5,6, en négatif, pour l'impie.

⁸⁵ Lecture assurée grâce à la photo 4276, bons restes de *mem* sous le 'ain et à la cassure départ d'un trait de *šin*. L'absence de ligne en dessous donne à penser à la marge inférieure de la colonne.

⁸⁶ Un essai de placement de ce fragment et une restauration de la colonne XIV en particulier étaient à l'origine de notre essai de reconstruction du rouleau.

en I 19, *bm'md* et *h'mdtnw* en III 9 et 10, voir Dn 12,13: *wt'md lgrlk*. Le verbe *ḥdš* annonce que le Dieu créateur fera du nouveau, d'autres prodiges et merveilles encore, pour les justes en ce temps-là (comparer 4Q521 2 ii 6-14 et 7 + 5 ii). Si le fragment 53 s'adresse aux justes pour les temps eschatologiques (voir aussi I 2-9), l'hymne de 4Q431 et parallèles est d'abord centré sur la récompense du Maître intronisé dans les cieux comme préfiguration de la gloire de ses disciples aux temps de la fin. Clairement dit, la Communauté ne vit pas dans une eschatologie réalisée, elle est en attente de la victoire finale lors du Jugement.

En définitive, cet hymne devrait être classé parmi les hymnes de la Communauté où un fidèle disciple du Maître, avec une conscience aiguë de sa mission unique, raconte les bienfaits divins à son égard dans l'exposition de l'issue glorieuse de son existence mortelle d'instructeur et de guide (voir *CD* I 11), et dans la longue exhortation qui suit avec la série d'impératifs. Seul le Maître avait dû oser une telle affirmation de la croyance en la vie future après la méditation des Écritures. La Communauté vivant dans l'attente imminente de l'eschaton, un disciple inspiré a probablement composé cet hymne d'exaltation du Maître identifié comme le prêtre-prophète⁸⁷ eschatologique, précurseur de la venue des Messies d'Aaron et d'Israël (voir 4Q175, 4Q521 2 ii 1 ss), hymne composé dans le style d'une révélation divine continuant à reconforter ses disciples.⁸⁸ Ainsi s'expliqueraient le titre *lmškył* et son insertion en tête d'une série d'hymnes de la Communauté en 4Q431, 1QH^a XXV 34, (4Q428).⁸⁹ Ce personnage ne peut aucunement être une

⁸⁷ Cette identification n'est pas sans intérêt pour la présence de Moïse et Élie dans la scène de la Transfiguration de Jésus dans les évangiles, comme annonce de la résurrection de Jésus et de son intronisation céleste.

⁸⁸ Noter la parenté de vocabulaire et de style avec des hymnes du Maître, voir 1QH^a XIII-XV. L'*Exagogue* d'Ézéchiel le Tragique (Eusèbe, *Praeparatio evangelica* IX 29 4-6) rapporte un songe de Moïse qui a « cru voir un grand trône au sommet du mont Sinäi sur lequel siégeait un noble personnage avec un diadème et un sceptre. Il me fit signe, me remit le sceptre, me donna le diadème et m'invita à m'asseoir sur le grand trône... », composition en forme de prophétie par l'explication du beau-père Jéthro. Il serait assez surprenant d'avoir affaire, dans l'hymne, au récit d'un visionnaire (expérience mystique du Maître?) monté aux cieux à qui la transformation en gloire serait promise ou déjà réalisée, la compréhension des restes du début n'y semble pas favorable.

⁸⁹ Mais en deuxième position en 4Q427. Le texte parallèle en 4Q491 doit être étudié séparément pour une probable appartenance au *Rouleau de la Guerre*, malgré Abegg, « Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness », *cit.* (voir des arguments paléographiques et orthographiques avancés, note 6), générale-

figure angélique, fut-il Michel, le prince des anges, qui n'est jamais intronisé ni élevé aux cieux pour être en compagnie des saints, lui qui se tient et sert continuellement en présence de Dieu. En outre, un ange ne peut souffrir du mépris, être rejeté par les hommes, connaître le malheur, etc.

Enfin cet hymne d'exaltation du Maître et(/avec?) le fragment 1QH^a 53 sont des témoins importants et irréfutables en faveur de la croyance à la résurrection dans la Communauté essénienne, le Maître ayant par son expérience mystique ou spirituelle la certitude de son exaltation lors du jugement et de la résurrection des justes, croyance qu'il faut bien admettre, malgré les réticences de ceux qui préfèrent en rester à la présentation hellénisante de Flavius Josèphe, plutôt que de se fonder sur les données textuelles de la source de la notice d'Hippolyte de Rome.⁹⁰

ment suivi, et où García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », *op. cit.*, p. 121–124, identifie le 'je' au 'Messie céleste', « qui apparaît comme le sauveur eschatologique Melkisédeq en 11Q13, et comme le « fils de Dieu » en 4Q246 restaurant la paix après la bataille finale ». Pour l'appartenance du fragment 11 au *Rouleau de la Guerre*, voir maintenant l'annonce d'A. Steudel, « Dating exegetical Texts from Qumran », in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (eds. D. Dimant and R. Kratz; Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 35, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 39–53, p. 44, qui confirme notre position faite indépendamment et sur d'autres critères.

⁹⁰ L'étude de cet hymne dont l'intérêt n'est plus à démontrer, souligne l'importance du travail d'édition que notre collègue, Eileen Schuller, a consacré à ces fragments et à leurs recoupements. Cette première étape nous place en débiteurs reconnaissants.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE STICHOMETRIC
ARRANGEMENTS OF POETRY IN THE
JUDEAN DESERT SCROLLS¹

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While most of the poetry texts in MT are written as running texts, the medieval manuscripts present the $\Pi^{\prime}\text{מ}^{\prime}\text{ס}$ books (Job, Proverbs, and Psalms), some songs of the Torah, the song of Deborah, and the acrostic in Lamentations broken into poetic lines.²

These traditions, along with other systems of laying out poetical segments were reflected already in some texts from the Judean Desert, but other ancient texts containing poetical segments were written as running texts. The practice of a stichographic³ representation was developed for the books written in a system of strict *parallelismus membrorum*, which therefore could easily be represented stichographically. This practice was also used for most songs in the Torah. Other poetical books, such as the Major Prophets, likewise reflect such *parallelismus*, but not in all chapters, and possibly for this reason no stichographic writing tradition was developed for them. As a result, most poetical books are not represented in stichographic writing.

The stichographic arrangements of poetical texts reflect their scribes' understanding of the poetical structure, although it is unclear to what extent these layouts reflect the original intention of the poets behind the texts.

¹ This paper is dedicated to Eileen Schuller, a much appreciated colleague and a dear friend, with whom it has been a pleasure to work over the course of the last three decades.

² The layouts of the poems in the medieval manuscripts and printed editions, as well as their relationship to statements in rabbinic literature, were analyzed in detail by M. Breuer, *The Aleppo Codex and the Accepted Text of the Bible* (Hebrew with English summary; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1976), 149–189.

³ The term is used in the discussion by J. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 119–127.

The external facts regarding the layouts of the Judean Desert texts have been described in the past, especially in my own writing.⁴ It is the purpose of the present short study to clarify their background and to link the differences between these arrangements with the contents of the scrolls. In other words, we wish to clarify why certain poetical texts were written in a special layout while others were not. For this purpose, we must first describe the basic facts.

In the Judean Desert texts, a special arrangement of poetical units is known almost exclusively for biblical texts⁵ (including Ben Sira [2QSir and MasSir]).⁶ So far, the only known exception is the nonbiblical 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521) 2 ii written in the most simple stichographic layout (system *1b* below).⁷

Within Hebrew Scripture, this stichographic layout is evidenced for the Judean Desert texts of two poems in the Torah (Exodus 15; Deuteronomy 32), and of Psalms (especially Psalm 119), Proverbs, Lamentations, and Job. All biblical units for which special stichographic arrangements are preserved among the Qumran texts have also been preserved in Qumran copies that do not display any special arrangement.

Although two scrolls of Exodus, one of Deuteronomy, many Psalms scrolls, and copies of Lamentations and Job are written *without* any special arrangement (Table 2), thirty Judean Desert texts containing poetical units are written completely or partially in one of the forms of stichographic writing. In three units (Deuteronomy 32, Psalms, and Proverbs) they have different layouts (Table 1). These layouts are based on aesthetic or exegetical traditions that sometimes differ from those of the Masoretes and the early versions.

⁴ *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 166–178.

⁵ This layout is not employed for any of the nonbiblical poetical compositions from the Judean Desert, such as 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A, B (4Q380, 4Q381), the *Hodayot* from caves 1 (1QH^{a,b}) and 4 (4QH^{a-1}), 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a-e}, and 4QShirShabb^{a-f}.

⁶ This arrangement probably implies that Ben Sira was considered to be biblical, not necessarily by the Qumran community, but by the scribes of 2QSir and MasSir. The fact that the song in Exodus 15 in 4QRP^c (4Q365) 6a ii and 6c is written in a special layout may imply that its scribe considered this composition a biblical text.

⁷ Likewise, the poetical segments in the following early *Greek* biblical texts were written stichographically: P. Fouad 266b (848) of Deuteronomy 32 (middle of 1st century BCE); P. Antinoopolis 8 of Proverbs 5–20 (3rd century CE); P. Chester Beatty XI of Sirach (3rd century CE). E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “Lady Folly and her House in Three Qumran Manuscripts: On the Relation between 4Q525 15, 5Q16, and 4Q184 1,” *RevQ* 23 (2008): 271–281 (273) recognizes such a system also in the fragmentary text of 5Q16 1–2, 5.

Tables 1 and 2 include the dates assigned to the scrolls as a possible clue for understanding the differentiation between scrolls written in a special layout and those not written in such a layout (see the discussion below).⁸ We suggest that the clue for understanding the two types of layout is the textual character of the texts, and therefore references to textual characterizations,⁹ subjective as they may be, have been added to the list, and also the specific stichographic system employed, as specified below.¹⁰

Table 1. *Manuscripts of Poetical Units Displaying a Stichographic Layout*

Manuscript	Content	Date	Alignment	System
4QRP ^c (4Q365) 6b 1–4	Exodus 15, including the verse after the Song, Exod 15:19, and also a poetical unit not contained in the biblical text, probably representing the Song of Miriam	40–10 BCE	ind.	3
1QDeut ^b	Deuteronomy 32; the other chapters are in prose	no date	MT/SP	2b
4QDeut ^b	Deuteronomy 32; the other chapters were in prose	150–100 BCE	ind.	1b
4QDeut ^c	reconstructed layout; only in Deuteronomy 32	150–100 BCE	ind.	1a
4QDeut ^q	Deuteronomy 32; this scroll probably contained only that poem	50 BCE–10 CE	LXX	1a
4QpaleoDeut ^f	Deuteronomy 32; the other chapters are in prose	100–25 BCE	MT/SP	2a
1QPs ^a	only Psalm 119, the other Psalms are in prose	not dated	unclear	2a
4QPs ^b	Psalms 91–118	30–68 CE	ind.	1a and 1b
4QPs ^c	Psalms 16–53	50–68 CE	MT	2a

⁸ The data are culled from the summary list by B. Webster, “Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 351–446.

⁹ MT, SP, LXX, ind(ependent), QSP = Qumran Scribal Practice (as summarized in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 261–273). The nature of the independent (non-aligned) texts is explained in my *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 109–110.

¹⁰ These characterizations are culled from Appendix 8 in Tov, *Scribal Practices*.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Manuscript	Content	Date	Alignment	System
4QPs ^d from 3:13 onwards	Psalms 104; the earlier columns are in prose	100–30 BCE	ind.	1a
4QPs ^g	Psalms 119; no other Psalms preserved	c. 50 CE	MT	1b
4QPs ^h	Psalms 119; no other Psalms preserved	30 BCE–70 CE	unclear	1b
4QPs ^l	only Psalm 104; no other Psalms preserved	50–1 BCE	ind.?	1a
4QPs ^w	Psalms 112; no other Psalms preserved	125–75 BCE	unclear	2b
5QPs	Psalms 119; no other Psalms preserved	1–100 CE	unclear	2a
8QPs	Psalms 17–18; no other Psalms preserved	1–100 CE	unclear	2a
11QPs ^a	Psalms 119; the other Psalms are in prose	1–50 CE	ind. and QSP	1b
11QPs ^b	Psalms 119; the other Psalms are in prose	30–1 BCE	ind. and QSP	2a
5/6HevPs	Psalms 7–16, 18, 22–25, 29–31	50–68 CE	MT	2a
MasPs ^a	Psalms 81–85	30–1 BCE	MT	2a
MasPs ^b	Psalm 147	50–25 BCE	MT	3
4QJob ^a	chapters 31–37	100–50 BCE	MT?	1b
4QpaleoJob ^c	probably; chapters 13, 14	225–150 BCE	MT?	1b
4QProv ^a	chapters 1–2	50 BCE–30 CE	MT	2a
4QProv ^b	chapters 9, 13–15	30 BCE–50 CE	MT	3
3QLam	ch. 3	30 BCE–68 CE	unclear	2a
5QLam ^b	ch. 4	50 CE	unclear	1b or 2a
2QSir	ch. 6	50–1 BCE		1b
MasSir	chapters 39–44	10 BCE–50 CE		2a
4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521) 2 ii		125–75 BCE		1b

Not all the Qumran biblical scrolls were written in stichographic writing in units that were arranged in a special (poetical) layout in other Qumran scrolls. An almost equal amount of scrolls does not display any such arrangement. Table 2 lists twenty-six such texts (nineteen Psalms scrolls and seven other texts) written without any stichographic layout as running texts, while four other texts (1QPs^a, 4QPs^d, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b) contain both prose and stichographic sections. Eleven Psalms scrolls listed in Table 1 present a full stichographic arrangement.

As in Table 1, the following table includes references to the textual character of the scrolls.

Table 2. *Manuscripts of Poetical Units Not Displaying a Stichographic Layout*

Manuscript	Notes	Date	Alignment
4QExod ^c	Exodus 15	50–25 BCE	MT
4QExod ^d	Exodus 15	225–175 BCE	ind.
4QDeut ⁱ col. 12	Deuteronomy 32; see J. A. Duncan, DJD 14, 90	50 CE	ind. and QSP
1QPs ^a	all Psalms excluding Psalm 119 which is written in a special layout	no date	unclear
1QPs ^b		no date	unclear
1QPs ^c		no date	unclear
3QPs	only Psalm 2 is preserved	1–100 CE	unclear
4QPs ^a		150 BCE	ind.
4QPs ^d	until 3:5; the remainder is written in a special layout	100–30 BCE	ind.
4QPs ^e		30–68 CE	ind.
4QPs ^f		50–68 CE	ind.
4QPs ^j		50 CE	unclear
4QPs ^k		100–30 BCE	ind.
4QPs ^m		30–1 BCE	MT?
4QPs ⁿ		30–1 BCE	ind.
4QPs ^o		30–1 BCE	QSP?

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Manuscript	Notes	Date	Alignment
4QPs ^p	probably	30 BCE–68 CE	unclear
4QPs ^q		30 BCE–30 CE	ind.
4QPs ^r		30 BCE–68 CE	ind.
4QPs ^s		50–68 CE	unclear
4QPs ^u	probably	50 CE	unclear
6QpapPs?	probably	50 CE	unclear
11QPs ^a	all Psalms excluding Psalm 119 which is written in a special layout	1–50 CE	ind. and QSP
11QPs ^b	all Psalms excluding Psalm 119 which is written in a special layout	30–1 BCE	ind. and QSP
11QPs ^c		1–50 CE	ind. and QSP?
11QPs ^d		30–68 CE	ind. and QSP?
2QJob		30 BCE–68 CE	unclear
4QJob ^b		50–1 BCE	unclear
4QLam		30–1 BCE	ind. and QSP
5QLam ^a		50 CE	unclear

In the texts that are arranged in a special layout, *three main systems* are recognizable in the same biblical texts.¹¹

¹¹ For example, Deuteronomy 32 was written once in running form (4QDeutⁱ) as well as in four or five different stichographic systems: one hemistich per line (most of 4QDeut^q and probably also 4QDeut^c), two hemistichs per line without spaces in the middle (4QDeut^b), two stichs per line separated by spaces between the stichs and hemistichs (1QDeut^b), and two hemistichs per line separated by spaces (4Qpaleo-Deutⁱ). 4QDeut^q actually presents a fifth system combining lines of single and two hemistichs.

(1) ONE OR TWO HEMISTICHS (WITHOUT SPACES BETWEEN THEM)
PER LINE

This pattern is used especially in Deuteronomy 32 and Psalm 119. The spaces at the ends of the lines indicate the ends of the poetical units.

(1a) *One hemistich per line*

- 4QDeut^c (containing several segments of Deuteronomy), probably, in Deuteronomy 32 (reconstructed layout).
- 4QDeut^d (Deuteronomy 32 only). This text contains an unusual combination of lines with single hemistichs (1:1–4, 9–10 and all of col. 2) and of two hemistichs per line (1:5–8, 11); in the latter case, it is unclear whether these hemistichs are separated by spaces. The writing of this text should be considered a variation of system *1a*.
- 4QPs^b (cols. 1–33); in cols. 34–35, system *1b* is used.
- 4QPs^d (from 3:5 onwards: other sections are in prose; parts of Psalm 104; other parts of that Psalm and of Psalms).
- 106 [?] and 147 are in prose).
- 4QPs^l (Psalm 104; no other Psalms preserved).

(1b) *Two hemistichs per line not separated by spaces*

- 4QDeut^b (Deuteronomy 32; the remainder is in prose).
- 4QPs^b cols. 34–35 (in the preceding cols. system *1a* is used).
- 4QPs^g (Psalm 119; no other Psalms preserved).
- 4QPs^h (Psalm 119; no other Psalms preserved).
- 11QPs^a (Psalm 119; in a few instances a space separates the two hemistichs [7:4; 8:6; 11:7; 12:12]; the other Psalms are in prose).
- 4QJob^a (chapters 31–37).
- 4QpaleoJob^c (probably; chapters 13, 14).
- 5QLam^b (or system *1b*; ch. 4; only the beginnings of the lines have been preserved).

This group contains three copies of the acrostic Psalm 119 in which each line starts with the determining letter of the alphabet.

(2) TWO HEMISTICHS OR STICHS PER LINE SEPARATED BY SPACING

The separation of stichs or hemistichs by spacing creates a layout which resembles the Masoretic system named a “half-brick (אָרִיחַ) on top of a half-brick (אָרִיחַ),” and may well have been the basis for that layout. The graphic arrangement more or less reflects the arrangement of parallel hemistichs and stichs; even when the poetical unit consists of three segments, the same graphic arrangement is presented.

(2a) *Two hemistichs per line separated by a space*

The width of the space ranges usually from 0.5 to 1.0 cm, but with very long cola the space is minute; in MasPs^a it varies from 0.5 to 2.2 cm.

-
- 4QpaleoDeut^r (Deuteronomy 32; the other chapters are in prose).
 - 1QPs^a (Psalm 119; the other Psalms are in prose).
 - 4QPs^c (Psalms 16–53; however, when the lines in the column are too short for the two hemistichs, the second hemistich continues on the next line [col. I 26–29; III 24–25, 26–27]).
 - 5QPs (Psalm 119; no other Psalms preserved).
 - 8QPs (Psalms 17–18; no other Psalms preserved).
 - 11QPs^b (Psalm 119; the other Psalms are in prose).
 - 5/6HevPs (Psalms 7–16, 18, 22–25, 29–31).
 - MasPs^a (Psalms 81–85).
 - 4QProv^a (chapters 1–2).
 - 3QLam (ch. 3; three poetical units per line?).
 - 5QLam^b (only the beginnings of the lines have been preserved; or system *1b*).
 - 2QSir (ch. 6; thus the reconstruction in *DJD*. However, possibly this text was written in system *1b*).
 - MasSir (chapters 39–44).

In this system of presentation, the first hemistichs started from a straight right margin, usually indicated with a vertical dry line, while the second stichs began at a slightly different point on each line, since the first hemistichs were of a different length.¹²

¹² This bi-columnar arrangement is also represented in the Masoretic manuscripts of Deuteronomy 32 (see below) and SP in Exodus 15, the Balaam oracles in Numbers 23 and 24, and Deuteronomy 32.

If the preserved evidence of the scrolls from the Judean Desert does not mislead us, this system of presentation was the most frequently used when these scrolls were written. It is based on the principle of the *parallelismus membrorum*, with the two parallel stichs written next to each other, separated by a space.¹³

This group contains three copies of the acrostic Psalm 119 in which each line starts with the determining letter of the alphabet.

(2b) *Two stichs per line with spaces between the stichs and hemistichs*

-
- 1QDeut^b (Deuteronomy 32; the other chapters are in prose)

In the following manuscript, no information regarding the spacing is available:

- 4QPs^w (Psalm 112; no other Psalms preserved)

(3) HEMISTICHS OR CLUSTERS OF 2–3 WORDS SEPARATED BY SPACES

Unlike in the first two systems, the spaces occur at different places in the line, in two different patterns.

- 4QRP^c (4Q365) 6b 1–4 (Exodus 15)
- MasPs^b 2:16–23
- 4QProv^b (chapters 9, 13–15; hemistichs)
- MasPs^b (Psalms 147, 150; hemistichs)
- 4QRP^c (4Q365) 6b 1–4 (Exodus 15, including the verse after the Song, Exod 15:19 and also a poetical unit not contained in the biblical text, probably the Song of Miriam)

¹³ However, also when three-stich units do not reflect a parallel structure, the three stichs are nevertheless presented in a two-stich system in one-and-a-half lines (thus Ps 81:6, 8, 11 in MasPsa). One notes that the stichographic arrangement of MasPsa 2:22–24 (Ps 83:9–11) goes against the meaning of the stichs themselves. See S. Talmon in, idem and Y. Yadin, *Masada VI, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports, Hebrew Fragments from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 85.

Explanations

Previously, we stated that it is difficult to ascertain whether there is any pattern behind the different ways of presenting the text of poetical units,¹⁴ either with or without a stichographic arrangement.¹⁵ We now suggest the following types of explanation for the different layout systems:

Possibility 1: Chronological distinction between the different types of arrangement (see the dates provided in Tables 1 and 2).¹⁶

Possibility 2: The texts that do not reflect a special layout, especially the Psalms scrolls, were not considered Scripture. Rather, they served another purpose, such as that of a liturgical collection.¹⁷

Possibility 3: Conversely, since Psalm 119 is always arranged stichographically and is part of the later Jewish liturgy, it is possible that stichographic writing was reserved for liturgical use.¹⁸

Possibility 4: The choice of the presentation system was determined by the personal preference of scribes.¹⁹

¹⁴ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 170.

¹⁵ The problem is most acute in the Psalms scrolls since they are the largest component in the lists in Tables 1 and 2. The following solutions have been contemplated.

¹⁶ The oldest scrolls in Table 1 are older than those in Table 2 (see, however, 4QExod). This observation could lead to the view that at the outset a stichographic arrangement was the rule, and that subsequently this layout was often abandoned.

¹⁷ This suggestion was raised hesitantly by J. M. Oesch, "Textgliederung im Alten Testament und in den Qumranhandschriften," *Henoch* 5 (1983): 289–321 (p. 317), who suggested that the parameters of the graphic presentation of the Qumran texts were determined by the purpose for which the compositions were written. However, this claim cannot be made for all the Psalm scrolls mentioned above. If the prose arrangement of the biblical Psalms in Psalms scrolls together with liturgical additions in some collections (especially 11QPs^a) is an indication of their use in religious gatherings, several such collections are indeed fully or partly arranged stichographically (Table 1), but others are not (Table 2).

¹⁸ Psalms 119 and 104, either when presented separately (4QPs^g, 4QPs^h, 4QPsⁱ [Psalm 104], 5QPs) or together with other Psalms (1QPs^a, 4QPs^d, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b) are always written stichographically. The same argument may apply to the two poems in the Torah (Exodus 15; Deuteronomy 32) and Lamentations, but not to Proverbs, Job, and Sirach, which are also presented stichographically.

¹⁹ Since these texts derived from different circles, possibly the various ways of presenting poetical units do not reflect differences between individual scribes, but rather between the scribal traditions within which scribes operated. In any event, at least for Psalm 119 a special layout was used consistently. That acrostic Psalm was written as poetry with two hemistichs per line separated by spaces (1QPs^a, 5QPs, 11QPs^b) or without such spaces (4QPs^g, 4QPs^h, 11QPs^a), and all the lines of a stanza started with the same letter. This pertains also to the acrostics in 3QLam (ch. 3) and 5QLamb (ch. 4). At the same time, the acrostic Psalm 25 in 5/6XHvPs col. 12 has two letters of the alphabet per line.

None of these solutions was found to be satisfactory, and we therefore suggest linking the use of a system of stichography with the textual character of the texts. *In particular, scribes writing in the proto-Masoretic tradition employed the stichometric system.* More in detail:

1. Texts not displaying a stichographic layout, as presented in Table 2, clearly do not belong to the tradition of MT. Only two among the thirty biblical texts in this group do belong to the MT family: 4QExod^c (MT) and 4QPs^m (MT?). The texts included in this group are either “independent,” that is, they are not exclusively close to a specific textual witness (MT, LXX, other sources), or reflect the QSP (Qumran Scribal Practice).

2. Table 1 (poetical texts displaying a stichographic layout) includes a group of texts that are closely linked to MT (twelve texts, two of which are MT/SP), as well as eight independent texts (two of which are both independent and QSP), and one that is close to the LXX. This group thus has a varied textual character, but since this is by far the main system used for MT texts, we suggest that they were transmitted only or mainly stichographically. Among the preserved texts, this system was used especially for texts other than the Psalms for the simple reason that very few MT psalters were found at Qumran. Therefore, we do not know whether the early MT psalters were also written stichographically.²⁰

The MT scribes did not invent these stichographic arrangements, but employed a system that may have existed at an earlier time. A strong argument in favor of the assumption of the connection between the MT scribes and the stichographic arrangements is the fact that the medieval texts of MT further developed them. In light of this, it is important to note that the system that is most frequently used among the MT group of texts from the Judean Desert is system 2a, which is closest to the layout prescribed in rabbinic texts and is found in most medieval Masoretic poetic texts.²¹

²⁰ We cannot make the opposite observation that MT psalters were written without stichographical arrangement since such a statement is not borne out by the facts.

²¹ This stichographic arrangement is based on the fixed layout of inscribed and uninscribed elements. Rabbinic literature prescribed the recording in this way for the lists of the kings of Canaan (Josh 12:9–24), the sons of Haman (Esth 9:6–9) as well as three Songs in the prose books of the Bible (Exod 15:1–18, Deuteronomy 32, and Judg 5:2–30), but not the Psalms. For further details and references to rabbinic literature, see my *Scribal Practices*, 174–175.

The connection between the stichographic practices of the ancient scrolls of the Masoretic family and the medieval manuscripts is further strengthened by negative evidence. This evidence pertains to the poetical units that are *not* written stichographically in both the ancient scrolls and the medieval manuscripts. In the following list of the poetical units from the Judean Desert that are not written stichographically, our attention is focused especially on the texts of the Masoretic family listed first:

- Genesis 49 as preserved in the fragmentary 4QGen-Exod^a (MT) and 4QGen^e (MT/SP).
- Deuteronomy 33 in 1QDeut^b (MT/SP), 4QDeut^c (ind.), 4QDeut^h (ind.), 4QDeut^l (textual character unclear), 4QpaleoDeut^r (MT/SP) and MasDeut (MT). Deuteronomy 32 is arranged stichographically in 1QDeut^b, 4QDeut^c and 4QpaleoDeut^r, but the poem in chapter 33 is not arranged stichographically in either MT or SP.
- The poetical portions of Numbers 23–24 in 4QNum^b (SP/LXX). These sections are not arranged stichographically in MT, but they are in SP.
- The Song of Hannah in 1 Samuel 2 in 4QSam^a (LXX/ind.).
- 2 Samuel 22 in 4QSam^a (LXX/ind.) (22:11, 13, 17–20, 24–28, 30–51 are preserved); MT does have a special arrangement (cf. *Sof.* 12.10).

The agreement between these proto-Masoretic texts and the medieval tradition in the absence of a stichographic arrangement is rather striking, especially when the special arrangement of Deuteronomy 32 is contrasted with the lack of such an arrangement in chapter 33.

The fact that this system, among other layouts, also features in SP,²² shows that the bi-columnar arrangement of system *2a* must have been a major system used in antiquity.

It is unclear whether the details of this description suffice in order to prove the assumption that the scribes of MT formed a *scribal school*. The scribal methods of the proto-Masoretic manuscripts can be characterized by their precision, minimal scribal intervention, and occasional *de luxe* format,²³ and the proto-Masoretic scribes also developed the stichographic system known from the later MT.

²² Lev 26:3–13, Num 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–10, 15–24, and Deuteronomy 32. See also Exodus 15 in a different layout. For details, see my *Scribal Practices*, 175–176.

²³ See my *Scribal Practices*, 125–129.

REBEKAH'S PATRIARCHAL PRAYERS¹

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The Book of Jubilees is at heart a retelling of much of the material from Genesis 1–Exodus 24. It retains large amounts of the earlier text but also introduces changes of varied kinds into it. One necessary but not sufficient condition for isolating contributions of the author is their presence in *Jubilees* but not in Genesis 1–Exodus 24. One such case has to do with prayers placed in the mouths of leading characters.

The word *prayer* has received several definitions in recent study of the Hebrew Bible and works of second temple Judaism. Helpful for this study is the “working definition” formulated by Judith Newman: “Prayer is address to God that is initiated by humans; it is not conversational in nature; and it includes address to God in the second person, although it can include third person description of God.”² So understood, there may be only three instances of prayer in Genesis 1–Exodus 24. There is, of course, a series of characters that converse with God. One thinks, for example, of several episodes in Abra(ha)m’s life (Genesis 15, 17, 18) and of the standard situation in Moses’ career (e.g., Exodus 3–4, and regularly thereafter; though see 5:22–23). But, following Newman’s definition, these examples of speech to the deity should not be classified as prayers; they are parts of conversations, parts of back-and-forth exchanges between the two.³ There are also cases of individuals who are said to call on the name of the Lord—a phrase that sounds as if prayer is meant (e.g., Enosh’s generation

¹ It is a pleasure to present this essay to Eileen Schuller who has done so much to add to our understanding of texts such as the one studied here and has always done so in the clearest and most insightful ways.

² J. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLEJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 6–7. She recognizes that speech directed to God and beginning with expressions such as “Blessed are you, O Lord” would meet her definition of prayer, but she excludes them because they have a different form-critical structure (p. 7). She surveys several other definitions and understandings of *prayer* on pp. 5–11.

³ See also M. McDowell, *Prayers of Jewish Women* (WUNT 211; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 29–30.

in Gen 4:26), but these actions are not further clarified nor are any words cited.

The three examples of prayer in Genesis are these. Abraham's chief servant prays at the well in Haran that the right woman would step forward and by her actions identify herself as a fitting wife for Isaac (Gen 24:12–14 [v. 12: "O LORD God, . . . please grant . . ."]; see also his retelling of it in vv. 42–45).⁴ The second passage in which a prayer is mentioned is Gen 25:21 where Isaac entreats God that his wife Rebekah would be able to bear children ("Isaac prayed to the LORD for his wife . . ."). In this case, his words are not quoted though the writer calls them a prayer (see also 25:22 where Rebekah goes to inquire of the Lord). The final example of a prayer is the one offered by Jacob when he asks for protection for his family and possessions upon hearing that Esau was approaching with 400 men (Gen 32:9–11 [v. 9: "O God of my father . . ."]). In 28:20–22 Jacob made a vow that has some traits of prayer, but it is neither called one nor formulated in a way appropriate for a prayer.

In no way would one term the three (only two are cited) prayers theologically rich or noble. In each case, the person praying has a specific and immediate request in mind: meeting the right young lady, the ability for Rebekah to conceive, and protection from imminent harm.

In *Jubilees* the landscape takes on a rather different look. More characters offer prayers in *Jubilees* than in Genesis-Exodus, a phenomenon that fits with a general trend in the second temple era.⁵ The book has as one of its traits that it enhances scriptural characters—it at times gives them a noticeable makeover so that they can serve as more appropriate models for readers. Jacob is the primary example of a person who had need of character remodeling and who indeed received it.⁶ Thus, that scriptural heroes should more regularly resort to prayer in *Jubilees* would be expected, as their levels of piety are elevated, and the reader is not disappointed. In his survey, McDowell found twenty-four

⁴ Citations from the Bible are from the NRSV. Quotations from *Jubilees* are from my *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–11, *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), vol. 2.

⁵ See, for example, J. Newman, "Prayer," in *NIDB* 4:585.

⁶ J. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 109–114.

prayers or references to prayers in *Jubilees*, with the text of the prayer quoted in nineteen of them.⁷

Perhaps it is surprising that *Jubilees* reproduces none of the three prayers identified in Genesis 1–Exodus 24 noted above. In the case of Abraham's chief servant, the writer of *Jubilees* passes over the prayer just as he elides practically the whole story, leaving only a remnant of it. Isaac's request that Rebekah be able to bear children is absent as is the brief account in Genesis about her barren state. And the same is the case for Jacob's prayer when he feared his brother: the story, which pictures Jacob as weak, is no part of *Jubilees*' vast enhancement of the patriarch's character. Thus there is no reason to think the author deliberately omitted the scriptural prayers; they fell away along with the stories in which they are embedded.

The following are the clearly marked examples of prayers in *Jubilees* (not including references to prayer).

1:19–21 Moses

10:3–6 Noah

11:17 Abram

12:19–20 Abram (see 13:8, 16 for his calling on the name of the Lord, quoted in each case)

22:7–9 Abraham (not called a prayer)

22:28–30 Abraham blessed Jacob in the form of a prayer (24:23 Isaac called on the name of the Lord; it is not quoted).

25:11–23 Rebekah: there are two units (vv. 12–13, 15–22); they are not called prayers but blessings, though she addresses God in the second person in places (vv. 13, 15; see Jacob's conditional vow in 27:27).⁸

31:13–20 Jacob refers in 31:31 to Isaac's blessings of Levi and Judah as a prayer, though he was said to bless in 31:13 (see Judah's lament and plea in 41:23–24).⁹

Moses' prayer in the first chapter is an attempt to mediate between God and the people. It could be classified as part of a conversation, but it is termed a prayer in 1:19. Noah offers a prayer under particularly

⁷ *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 59, where he lists all of them.

⁸ As McDowell notes, vv. 15–23 constitute the only prayer by a woman in the book (*Prayers of Jewish Women*, 59).

⁹ This list does not entirely agree with that of McDowell, *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 59, as I have included only those "clearly marked."

trying circumstances after the flood. When he saw that his descendants were being misled by the demons, he turned directly to God for help and prayed (so in 10:3) that the demons would be restrained from causing them harm. The deity complied with his request, although the agreement soon after suffered some modification when the prince of Mastema was able to gain better terms for his agents (10:8–14).¹⁰ The patriarchs Abra(ha)m and Isaac are also credited with prayers. Abram as a teenager “began to pray to the creator of all” to spare him from human wickedness (11:17); later in Haran he prayed to the God who made all things to save him from evil spirits and to establish his offspring (12:19–20). Near the end of his life Abraham blessed the creator for his goodness to him throughout his life and asked for his grace for himself and his posterity, the chosen people (22:7–9; in v. 6 he blesses). He also offers a blessing to the creator (in the second person) when he is speaking to Jacob, asks for divine mercy on him and his descendants forever, and requests that he renew the covenant with them (22:28–30). Isaac’s prayer (see 31:31) is the set of blessings he pronounces on Jacob’s sons Levi and Judah (31:13–20). He does not address God directly in it but refers to him in the third person (though see 31:15: “They will tell my ways to Jacob/ and my paths to Israel”). The future leadership of Israel by the descendants of the two young men is at the center of the patriarch’s words.

The other individual who prays is Rebekah—a truly remarkable woman in *Jubilees*.¹¹ It is not surprising that she is of great interest to our author because she was the mother of Jacob from whom all Israel was descended and received its name. She takes on some roles normally reserved for males, and when she prays the writer fully describes her actions. The remainder of the paper is a study of her prayers/blessings in *Jubilees* 25.¹²

¹⁰ For Noah’s prayer, see J. Endres, “Prayers in Jubilees,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35–37.

¹¹ For Rebekah in *Jubilees*, see B. Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 80–90; and J. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), esp. 73–84.

¹² For earlier studies of the passage, see Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 73–84; idem, “Rebekah’s Prayer,” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. K. D. Dobos and M. Kőszeghy; Hebrew Bible Monographs 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 253–262.

THE CONTEXT OF REBEKAH'S PRAYERS

Jubilees 25 is a pivotal chapter in the book because it, like ch. 2 (sabbath), ch. 6 (covenant), ch. 15 (circumcision), and ch. 30 (mixed marriages), voices one of the author's deepest concerns: purity in the chosen line. The purity of that line in *Jubilees* naturally involves the mother, and in each generation in the line the mother's name is given and her lineage explained lest there be any question in this regard.¹³ Rebekah, the protagonist in the chapter, is the most intriguing of these matriarchs as she, in effect, becomes a patriarch by carrying out functions normally reserved for male ancestors. She assumes the role because of the ineptitude of her husband Isaac; thus she takes on patriarchal duties almost by default and takes the lead in transmitting the covenantal promises to the next generation—to Jacob.¹⁴

In *Jubilees* 25 there are two principal sections: vv. 1–10 present a conversation between Rebekah and Jacob; and vv. 11–23 offer narrative notes and her two blessings that are quoted in full.

Vv. 1–10: In the first verses of the section Rebekah takes the lead by setting the scene. She, in good patriarchal fashion, summons her son (see Gen 27:1; 49:1) to her presence. The reason for her summons was to give Jacob orders; she does not merely advise her son. Her concern on this occasion was to command Jacob not to imitate his brother Esau's marriage practices. Though the particular scene is not found in Genesis, her words draw upon the contents of two scriptural passages. From them the reader learns that Esau at age forty married Judith and Basemath, two Hittite women, "and they made life bitter for Isaac and Rebekah" (Gen 26:35). Later, after the botched blessing of Esau, "Rebekah said to Isaac, 'I am weary of my life because of the Hittite women. If Jacob marries one of the Hittite women such as these, one of the women of the land, what good will my life be to me?'" (Gen 27:46). In *Jubilees*, Rebekah lends specificity to the scriptural charge that Esau's Hittite ('Canaanite' in *Jubilees*) wives embittered

¹³ See Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 9–31, 37–40.

¹⁴ See the comments of R. Chesnutt, "Revelatory Experiences Attributed to Biblical Women in Early Jewish Literature," in *Women Like This?: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (ed. A.-J. Levine; SBLEJL 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 108–111. He notes that she assumes an even more prominent role, once Abraham dies: she is the "bridge" between the generation of Abraham and that of Jacob.

the lives of his parents: their unending impurity and lewdness—their sexual misconduct—were the causes (see 27:8; 35:14).¹⁵

Rebekah also draws upon the teachings of Exod 34:11–16 and Deut 7:1–6 to demand that her slightly younger son marry within the clan.¹⁶ The Exodus passage cites the Lord as saying that he would drive five nations, including Canaanites and Hittites, from the land; with them the Israelites were to make no covenant but were to demolish their cultic paraphernalia, and eat nothing sacrificed to their gods. “And you will take wives from among their daughters for your sons, and their daughters who prostitute themselves to their gods will make your sons also prostitute themselves to their gods” (Exod 34:16). Deut 7:1–6 echoes these imperatives, adding two more peoples to the list but retaining the Hittites and Canaanites. “Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods” (7:3–4a). Deuteronomy adds a motivation: “For you are a people holy to the LORD your God; the LORD your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on earth to be his people, his treasured possession” (v. 6).

In stark contrast to the disgust Rebekah feels for Esau’s marital failings, she lauds her son Jacob whom she loves and blesses day and night (v. 2)—something she will demonstrate in vv. 15–23. Rebekah borrows the holiness language of Deut 7:6 when she predicts that his descendants, should he marry someone from his own kin, will be holy. It is not Isaac who orders Jacob to marry within the family as in Gen 28:1–5; rather it is Rebekah who first issues the command. The writer of *Jubilees* may have thought Isaac was not to be trusted in matters so important or at least that he had a poor track record in recognizing which of his two sons was the superior one, the one through whom the blessings of Abraham would pass. And, of course, Isaac in Gen 28:1–5 was merely responding to what Rebekah had said

¹⁵ Endres thinks that *Jubilees*’ failure to reproduce the names of Esau’s wives is the author’s way of expressing contempt for them (*Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 75). See also his comments about the two passages in connection with the narrative context in *Jubilees* (74–75); and Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 84–85. As for *Jubilees*’ use of Canaanites rather than Hittites as the gentile, see Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 76; he points to *Jub.* 27:8 where Rebekah calls them Hittites and also to Josephus, *Ant.* 1.265 where he dubs them Canaanites. As Endres says, the author of *Jubilees* seems to have considered Hittites a Canaanite people.

¹⁶ See E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/162; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982), 32–34.

so forcefully about marriage in Gen 27:46.¹⁷ The blessings of the ancestors are to be transmitted through a pure line, not one contaminated by Canaanites.

The next seven verses (*Jub.* 25:4–10) contain Jacob's response of overwhelming filial piety. Rebekah's favored son, who in the book is almost too good to be true, asserts his innocence of any tilt in the direction of Canaanite women: he has neither had contact with them nor desired to do so throughout his lifetime (he is 63 years of age at this point, v. 4). Jacob bases his absolute avoidance of Canaanite women, not in the first instance on his mother's guidance, but on the words of his grandfather Abraham. The scriptural chronology allowed for fifteen years when the lives of Abraham and Jacob would overlap,¹⁸ and *Jubilees* exploits this fact to give the older man opportunities to instruct his children and grandchildren, especially Jacob. There are two passages in which Abraham instructs Jacob on the topic of marriage:

In 20:4–6 he mentions the subject as he speaks to his sons and grandsons, with the two sons of Isaac noted explicitly as present (20:1).

In 22:16–22 he commands that he separate from the nations, and in v. 20 he deals with the more specific prohibition on intermarriage with the Canaanites.

Jacob twice mentions Abraham's commands to him (vv. 5, 7); these sandwich his report that he had heard daughters had been born into his mother's family—a notice that seems to be modeled on Gen 22:20–24 (set in the time of Abraham when it was time to find a wife for Isaac). Jacob declares his intent to marry one of the daughters and thus to obey Rebekah's instructions about endogamy (25:3).¹⁹ Through Jacob the author adds to the ever-growing dossier of evil that Esau was assembling by charging him with pestering Jacob for twenty-two years²⁰ to marry sisters of his wives (v. 8). Jacob swears to Rebekah that

¹⁷ Isaac does eventually bless Jacob in *Jub.* 26:21–24, though he thought he was blessing Esau. *Jubilees'* version of his blessing in Gen 28:1–5 is in 27:9–11—a passage having parallels with Rebekah's words in *Jubilees* 25. That is, he merely seconds what his wife has already said.

¹⁸ Sarah bore Isaac when Abraham was 100 years of age (Gen 21:5), and Rebekah gave birth to the twins when Isaac was sixty years (Gen 25:26). So Jacob was fifteen when Abraham died at age 175 (Gen 25:7).

¹⁹ Jacob's terms "lewdness and sexual impurity" repeat in reverse order the two his mother uses in v. 1.

²⁰ Gen 26:34 says that Esau was forty years of age when he married Judith and Basemath; if he and Jacob are 63 years at this point, then Esau had been trying to persuade him to marry outside the family ever since his wedding days.

he will obey her and do what is right (vv. 9–10).²¹ In Genesis Esau's marriages annoy his parents; in *Jubilees* they both rile his parents and constitute overt disobedience to Abraham himself.²²

The Prayers (25:11–23)

The conversation forms the immediate prelude to what the text characterizes as *blessings* uttered by Rebekah—two blessings that are closely intertwined and have the features of prayers as defined by Newman.

25:11–13, Blessing God

11 *Then she lifted her face to heaven, extended her fingers and opened her mouth. She blessed the most high God who had created the heavens and the earth and gave him thanks and praise.* **12** *She said: "May God be blessed, and may his name be blessed forever and ever—he who gave me Jacob, a pure son and a holy offspring, for he belongs to you. May his descendants be yours throughout all time, throughout the history of eternity.* **13** *Bless him, Lord, and place a righteous blessing in my mouth so that I may bless him.*"²³

Appropriately, Rebekah first turns to God, thanking him for her son Jacob, who has always been wonderful but has just now confirmed his sterling character once again, and for the descendants who will enrich his future marriage(s). Both of these points were the essence of her instruction to Jacob in 25:1–3, so that her blessing of the deity fits the occasion precisely.

The passage has not only the words of her blessing but also a description of her posture in prayer. As she addressed God, she

²¹ Forms of "right, righteous" occur throughout the chapter: in vv. 3, 10, 13, 14, 15 (twice), 21. Beginning at 25:9 some of the Hebrew text of *Jubilees* is preserved in 4Q222 (4QJub⁶) 1; the fragment continues to offer text into 25:12. For Jacob's words to his mother in 25:9–10, the Hebrew and Ethiopic agree word-for-word where they can be checked. The only certain difference is that the Hebrew reads "my brother Esau" at the end of v. 9 where the Ethiopic has only "my brother." Where Ethiopic reads "be assured" (*ta'ammani*) in v. 10, the Hebrew has a niphal imperative הַחֲלֵמִי (= be assured). See J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "222. 4QJubilees⁶," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 89–92 with pl. 5.

²² See the comments of W. Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 212–213.

²³ The italicized words and letters represent the places where the Hebrew text survives on 4Q222. There are no differences from the Ethiopic text.

lifted her face to heaven, extended her fingers, and “blessed the most high God who had created the heavens and the earth” (v. 11).²⁴ The actions of Rebekah resemble the motions made by the priest Levi in his prayer as described in the Aramaic Levi Document: “Then I lifted up my eyes and my countenance [literally: face] to heaven, and I opened my mouth and spoke. And I stretched out the fingers of my hands and my hands for truth over against (or: towards) the holy ones, And I prayed and said, . . .”²⁵ The name for the deity—most high God—followed by a reference to him as the creator is reminiscent of Melchizedek who was priest of God Most High and who offered a blessing to Abram: “Blessed be Abram by God Most High,/ maker of heaven and earth . . .” (Gen 14:19).²⁶ *Jubilees* probably included the Melchizedek section in its retelling of Genesis, though the passage is largely lost due to problems in transmission;²⁷ but the Genesis Apocryphon which often parallels *Jubilees* does preserve the section. As a result, in her words Rebekah may recall a blessing that antedates the ones that Abraham later transmitted to his descendants. To this God Rebekah now gives “thanks and praise” (v. 11).

The text also quotes the words of blessing that she utters, although in them she alternates between the third and second person (the textual tradition is secure on this):²⁸ “May *God* be blessed, and may *his* name be blessed forever and ever—*he* who gave me Jacob, a pure son and a holy offspring, for he belongs to *you*. May his descendants be *yours* throughout all time, throughout the history of eternity” (v. 12).

²⁴ Endres (“Rebekah’s Prayer,” 256) says: “The abundance of narrative details in this verse exceeds that of all other blessing prayers in this book. . . .” See also his *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 78.

²⁵ The translation is from J. Greenfield, M. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 61. The entire section exists in the Athos Greek MS 3–19, and parts of it are present in 4QLevi^b 1 i–ii. See also their commentary on pp. 123–124 where they note some scriptural parallels for raising the hands/palms in prayer (e.g., Ps 28:2). H. Drawnel (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* [JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 211) gives additional references and notes the parallel with *Jub.* 25:11.

²⁶ In his broader essay “Prayers in Jubilees,” Endres shows that the theme of God as creator is standard in the prayers he studies (e.g., 34, 46–47). The prayers in *Jubilees* listed above amply bear out the conclusion. Oddly, in that essay Endres does not include Rebekah’s prayer (see p. 32 where he explicitly excludes her blessing from consideration), though in his other publications he refers to “Rebekah’s prayer.”

²⁷ See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2:81 (n. on 13:25).

²⁸ See the apparatus of variants to 25:12 in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1:140–141.

It seems that Rebekah's actions and her words of blessing have the ingredients of prayer as defined by Newman (see above) or by McDowell: "... speech (interior or spoken aloud) that is addressed to God, usually in the second person, but sometimes in the third person."²⁹ It is helpful to analyze the prayer according to the categories McDowell distinguishes in order to bring out its nature (the page numbers in the text are to his *Prayers of Jewish Women*):

Location: it is a semi-private prayer, that is, one "offered by a person in the company of one other person or only with members of one's family" (19; see pp. 60, 62).

Content: the words of Rebekah express a personal matter—though they have communal or national implications. They also include praise (20–21).

Form: Her words include praise and thanksgiving, but petition and blessing as well (three of McDowell's categories, 21–23).

Occasion: McDowell includes Rebekah's prayer (by which he means the next section, vv. 15–23, though vv. 11–13 have the same setting) among the prayers of everyday life (24, the section is 23–24).

Perspective: Her words express the experience of a mother (see 24–26)—perhaps falling into McDowell's category of prayers furnishing a "gynocentric perspective" (27).

All of this makes it highly puzzling why McDowell does not include *Jub.* 25:11–13 (or vv. 12–13 in particular) in his survey of prayers by Jewish women in the Second Temple period. He excludes these verses, considering only 25:15–23 as a prayer. The unit 25:11–13 has all the earmarks of a prayer and should be so classified. True, it is not called a prayer in the text, but blessings and prayers overlap extensively or even completely as in the present instance.

Rebekah concludes her speech to God by asking him to bless her son and to inspire her with "a righteous blessing" for Jacob (v. 13). It is that blessing which she next utters, as her prayer is answered.

25:14–23, Blessing God and Jacob

14 At that time the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth. She put her two hands on Jacob's head and said:

15 Blessed are you, righteous Lord, God of the ages;
and may he bless you more than all the human race.

²⁹ *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 29. As he indicates in n. 122, psalmists often address God in the second and third person in a single prayer—as Rebekah does here.

My son, may he provide the right path for you
and reveal what is right to your descendants.

16 May he multiply your sons during your lifetime;
may they rise in number to the months of the year.

May their children be more numerous and great than the stars of
the sky;

may their number be larger than the sands of the sea.

17 May he give them this pleasant land
as he said he would give it for all time
to Abraham and his descendants after him;
may they own it as an eternal possession.

18 Son, may I see your blessed children during my lifetime;
may all your descendants become blessed and holy descendants.

19 As you have given rest to your mother's spirit during her lifetime,
so may the womb of the one who gave birth to you bless you.

My affection and my breasts bless you;
my mouth and my tongue praise you greatly.

20 Increase and spread out in the land;
may your descendants be perfect throughout all eternity
in the joy of heaven and earth.

May your descendants be delighted,
and, on the great day of peace, may they have peace.

21 May your name and your descendants continue until all ages.

May the most high God be their God;
may the righteous God live with them;
and may his sanctuary be built among them into all ages.

22 May the one who blesses you be blessed
and anyone who curses you falsely be cursed.

23 She then kissed him and said to him: 'May the eternal Lord love
you as your mother's heart and her affection are delighted with you
and bless you'. She then stopped blessing (him).

The astonishing portrayal of Rebekah continues with the notice that
"the spirit of righteousness"³⁰ descended into her mouth"—in response

³⁰ As several experts have indicated, there is a textual variant at this point: a number of later Ethiopic MSS replace "righteousness" with the adjective "holy" to yield the more familiar "holy spirit." Though the reading is unlikely to be original in *Jubilees*, it reminds one of the tradition regarding the matriarchs as prophetesses noted below (see *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 27:5, 42; and *Gen. Rab.* 67.9, which relate that Rebekah knew

to her request to utter a righteous blessing on Jacob. Her posture of blessing is noted: she placed both hands on Jacob's head and said the words of benediction.

The expression "the spirit of righteousness" does not occur in the HB but is attested in 4Q444 (*Incantation*). The first preserved line of the text says: "And as for me, because of my fearing God, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and from his holy spirit [...]" Then, two lines later one finds "... And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness, God put in [my] he[art....]"³¹ The context there is similar to the one in *Jubilees* 25, although in the text from Cave 4 the divine gift serves to qualify the author to fight against the spirits of wickedness.³² The meaning in *Jubilees* seems to be that Rebekah receives the spirit that allows her to speak what is right, what is true (cf. 1QM 13:3).³³ That spirit endows her words with even greater authority than her extraordinary character alone bestows on them.

Not only is Rebekah inspired so that she can utter the proper words of blessing on her son, but she also "put her two hands on Jacob's head" preparatory to blessing him. Jacob placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim and his left on the head of Manasseh when he blessed Joseph's sons (Gen 48:14, 17);³⁴ the situation there differs because the two hands of the patriarch bless two recipients. The more common posture of blessing seems to be to raise the hands, as Aaron does in Lev 9:22 when he pronounces a benediction on the people. Perhaps the nearest parallel to what Rebekah does is in Mark 10:16 where

what Isaac had said to Esau because the holy spirit revealed it to her since she was a prophetess).

³¹ The translation is by E. Chazon, "4Q444 (4QIncantation)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 6:169.

³² The plural "spirits of righteousness" occurs in 4Q403 (4QShirShabb^d) 1 i 38 ("all the spirits of righteousness confess His truth" [translated by C. Newsom, "4Q403 (4QShirShabb^d)," in Parry and Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 5:379]).

³³ For the idea expressed in later texts that the matriarchs were prophetesses, see Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 86 n. 24; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 78–79. As he adds, Isaac receives a "spirit of prophecy" in 31:12 before he blesses Levi and Judah.

³⁴ C. Westermann isolates five elements in a blessing, with one of them being "touch"; the laying on of hands serves as that element in 48:14 (*Genesis 37–50: A Commentary* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986], 187, 188). *Jubilees* does not reproduce the scene in its swift retelling of the stories at the end of Genesis. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 79–80.

Jesus took children “in his arms, laid his hands on them, and blessed them.”³⁵

In the first part of v. 15 Rebekah addresses God in the second person (“Blessed are you...”), and, true to the context, refers to him as “righteous Lord, God of the ages.” So, for this line, she continues the form of blessing employed in vv. 12–13. The epithet “righteous Lord” closely resembles “God of righteousness” found in 1QH^a 27:8; 4Q427 7 ii 14; 4Q511 1 5; “God of the ages” is especially appropriate here as her blessing of Jacob is for the long duration—the land is to belong to his descendants forever and they and the sanctuary are to be perfect forever (vv. 20–21).

It seems a bit jarring, but after her direct address to God Rebekah abruptly begins to bless her son in the second person in v. 15b (“and may he bless you more than all the human race”) and continues to do so without a break through the end of her words in v. 22.³⁶ Her prayer progresses swiftly and naturally from topic to topic, with one suggesting another as she conveys the covenant blessings to her son. She moves from blessing him (v. 15b–c) to his innumerable descendants (vv. 15d–16) to the land promised to them as an eternal possession (v. 17) to her maternal affection for Jacob and his sons and her hopes for their descendants (vv. 18–19) back to his many descendants increasing in the land forever and enjoying peace on the “great day of peace” (v. 20) and finally to the covenantal language of God being their god and living with them in his sanctuary forever (v. 21). Her concluding words are the familiar “May the one who blesses you... who curses you...”

Her first request for Jacob is that God will favor him more than all other humans—an idea at home in *Jubilees* but not verbally taken from Genesis. Yet it could be seen as an inference from scriptural

³⁵ It is difficult to accept Endres’s proposal that Rebekah, by imposing her hands on him, ordains Jacob as a rabbi. After noting the tradition that Jacob lived in the houses of study (an interpretation of his dwelling in tents according to Gen 25:27), he writes: “This gesture, then, and the exegetical tradition about Jacob as a rabbi could combine to suggest that Jacob indeed received ordination at the hands of his mother. While such a conclusion lacks the evidence to propose it assertively...” (*Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 80).

³⁶ In Gen 14:19–20 Melchizedek begins his blessing of Abram with a third-person reference to him—“Blessed be Abram by God Most High,/ maker of heaven and earth”—and continues with a second-person line—“and blessed be God Most High,/ who has delivered your enemies into your hand!”

passages such as Isaac's blessing of Jacob ("Let the peoples serve you,/ and nations bow down to you./ Be lord over your brothers,/ and may your mother's sons bow down to you" [Gen 27:29//*Jub.* 26:23–24 (see *Jub.* 22:11–12); cf. v. 37]). Her wish that God would give him the right path (see also 22:10) echoes the language of Ps 23:3 ("he leads me in right paths [literally: paths of righteousness]"; see 1QS 4:2; 4Q420 1a ii–b 5); parallel with that petition, she asks that God reveal "what is right [literally: righteousness]" to his descendants. One meets similar language in Gen 18:19: "I have chosen him [Abraham], that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice;" and in Isa 45:19: "'I, the Lord, speak the truth,/I declare what is right' [מישרים מגיד צדק דבר]" (see also CD 20:20; 1QH^a 6:16).

In the remainder of her blessing/prayer, Rebekah repeats the themes that recur in *patriarchal* blessings in Genesis (and *Jubilees*), but she does so with a Jubilean twist and a mother's touch.³⁷

Descendants (see *Jub.* 25:16, 18, 20) as many as/ more than the stars (Gen 15:4–5; 22:17; 26:4) and the sands of the sea (Gen 22:17). For their spreading abroad in the land in *Jub.* 25:20, see Gen 28:13.³⁸ Abraham had already blessed Jacob with a promise of descendants several times (*Jub.* 19:21–22, 24, 27, 29; 22:10–13, 24, 27–30).

Land (see *Jub.* 25:17), as an eternal possession (Gen 13:15; 17:8; 48:4).

The name (*Jub.* 25:21), as Abram's name will be great (Gen 12:2) and the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob will be perpetuated through Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 48:16). Abraham had used similar language (*Jub.* 19:24; 22:24).

God will be his God (*Jub.* 25:21), as in Gen 17:8 (see also *Jub.* 22:15).

Those who bless/curse you I will bless/curse (*Jub.* 25:22), as in Gen 12:3; 27:29 (cf. *Jub.* 12:23).³⁹

³⁷ Cf. McDowell, *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 61. "He says: "Even in a document that most would describe as religiously conservative and tradition-bound, we find the prayer of a woman that, except for the gynocentric language, is similar to the prayers of men in structure, content, and social location." See also p. 62.

³⁸ See McDowell, *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 61 n. 116; Endres, "Rebekah's Prayer," 259 for various parallel texts from Genesis dealing with the blessing of progeny.

³⁹ Halpern-Amaru (*The Empowerment of Women*, 86–87) adduces a number of the parallel passages.

So Rebekah asks for the patriarchal blessings on her son, but she is true to themes in *Jubilees* when she omits the promise that in the patriarchs the nations of the earth will be blessed. One meets that noble goal in Gen 12:3; 22:19 (both for Abra[ha]m); 26:4 (Isaac); and 28:14 (Jacob), but Rebekah says nothing about it in *Jubilees* 25. *Jubilees* tends not to reproduce this sentiment from Genesis (but see 12:23 where the parallel to Gen 12:2 appears) because it is inconsistent with the writer's conviction that Israel must be utterly separate from the nations, all of whom are doomed to destruction. We should also note that Rebekah manages to work in a calendrical point: even before Jacob has married, she prays that his sons "rise in number to the months of the year" (25:16).

Though she is carrying out what is otherwise a patriarchal role, Rebekah also speaks as a mother. She not only wants her son to have many descendants but she also wishes to see her son's children while she is still alive. Genesis makes no mention of such a meeting with her grandchildren; it notes only that Jacob, on returning from his long absence, visited his father Isaac (35:27). She asks that his sons be multiplied in his lifetime (*Jub.* 25:16) and that she could "see your blessed children during my lifetime" (v. 18a). She has this very experience in *Jubilees* 31. Moreover she wants them to be blessed, holy (see 22:11–12 where Abraham says this), and perfect as Jacob is (vv. 18, 20), and she prays they will have peace on the great day of peace (25:20—a rare eschatological utterance in the narrative of *Jubilees*).⁴⁰ As she says to Jacob at the end of the scene, "May the eternal Lord love you as your mother's heart and her affection are delighted with you and bless you" (v. 23). As in this sentence, so elsewhere in the prayer she resorts to anatomical language. "As you have given rest to your mother's spirit during her lifetime,/ so may the womb of the one who gave birth to you bless you./ My affection and breasts bless you;/ my mouth and my tongue praise you greatly" (25:19).⁴¹

⁴⁰ See Endres, "Rebekah's Prayer," 261.

⁴¹ McDowell, *Prayers of Jewish Women*, 61–62; Endres, "Rebekah's Prayer," 259. Endres discusses the term that I translated as *my affection* (*mehrateya*), noting the range of its meaning (it could be related through metathesis to a word for womb in Hebrew—**מרת**). He writes: "A term that conveyed the maternal nuance, like 'compassion' (suggesting the bond with the fruit of her womb), might be preferable here, where the relationship between parent and child colors the scene" (260). See his *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 82, where he translated it "my womb." The lexica do not support his translation.

The scene ends with Rebekah kissing her sixty-three-year-old son, the one-sentence blessing in v. 23, and the notice that she ceased blessing him.

CONCLUSIONS

Jubilees contains two blessings/prayers that the writer places in the mouth of Rebekah; the prayers are not attested in other sources of the period. Especially in the second prayer she anticipates the covenantal blessings that Isaac will eventually give but that he would first severely endanger by planning to bless the despicable Esau whom Abraham and Rebekah herself had already recognized as unacceptable to be the bearer of the covenant. Since her extraordinary prayer in which she reiterates the blessings Abraham had already given to Jacob comes just before Isaac's misguided attempt to bless Esau, it is as if the author wants to assure the reader that, despite the patriarch's incompetence, the blessing had already been given to Jacob and that Isaac would therefore not be able to upset the divine plan and the better judgment of Abraham and Rebekah. The ruse that Rebekah and Jacob spring on the unsuspecting Isaac and Esau (Genesis 27//*Jubilees* 26) is not presented in a negative light in *Jubilees*: indeed one learns that Isaac "did not recognize him because there was a turn of affairs from heaven to distract his mind" (*Jub.* 26:18). Isaac is forced to bless Jacob against his intentions (26:23–24), and later, again at Rebekah's insistence, he willingly blesses him with the covenantal promises (27:9–11). As her blessing followed instructions about marrying within the clan, so his blessing followed Rebekah's insistence on this point. Rebekah's prayers never mention endogamy, but her admirable concern for the covenantal line and her extraordinary act of conferring the blessings on the correct son ensure that the line of Abraham would remain pure so that the promises could someday be realized.

MULTI-COLOURED LIKE WOVEN WORKS: GENDER, RITUAL
CLOTHING AND PRAYING WITH THE ANGELS IN THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE *TESTAMENT OF JOB*¹

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This paper is interested in looking at several features related to shared human/angelic worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Second Temple Judaism more broadly. At the beginning of this paper I briefly review the current state of the question of shared human/angelic prayer in the Scrolls, making my own tentative suggestions about how this might have happened. I then move on to a discussion of how the question of the angelic presence related to the possibility of women with the communiti(es) who wrote the Scrolls.² Then with this question of gender and angels still in mind I will move to a discussion of the role of ritual clothing in the *T. Job* and Song 13 of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in effecting angel/human communion. It is my contention that examining how angelic/human prayer takes place in the narrative of the *T. Job* can illuminate how this might have been ritually realized in the communiti(es) of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

PRAYING WITH THE ANGELS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Contained within the sectarian manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls are several references to the presence of angels within the human community. The sectarians are said to share a “eternal destiny” with the

¹ An earlier draft of this paper was presented in Toronto on November 18, 2009 at the conference *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmissions of Traditions and Productions of Texts*. The paper benefitted from the feedback I received there. Of course, the paper would not have come to fruition at all if it were not for the tireless efforts of my supervisor Eileen Schuller who has guided my research since the beginning of my doctoral studies and who continues to inspire me with her erudition and generosity. I am truly honored to be her student.

² Following, among others, J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), I maintain that the Qumran community was part of a broader movement that was not limited solely to the Qumran site.

“spirits of knowledge” (גורל עולם עם רוחות דעת); cf. 1QH^a 11:23–24) and “common destiny” with the “angels of the presence” (גורל יחד) עם מלאכי פנים; cf. 1QH^a 14:16). This common destiny seems to have manifested itself in the community’s worship. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*³ in particular, we encounter what Carol Newsom calls “the cultivation of a mystical communion with the angels.”⁴

The exact nature of this communion is debated, and the particulars of this debate can only be briefly surveyed here. On one side of the debate are scholars who tend to minimize the ontological similarity of the human and angelic worshippers. Esther Chazon expresses this position most clearly when she states that

³ The provenance of this document has been debated. C. Newsom (*The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]) initially maintained that that the work was of sectarian origin. She subsequently revised this opinion and now maintains that the composition is likely of pre-sectarian origin (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 167–187). As well as its discovery at Masada, Newsom points to the abnormal use of the divine name אלוהים, as the sectarian documents usually use the term אל. C. R. A. Morray-Jones (“The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources,” in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1998* [2 vols.; SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 1:401–431) has questioned these arguments. He notes that the same logic that would exclude *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* from the corpus of sectarian literature would necessarily be forced to exclude the *Damascus Document*, widely agreed to be of sectarian provenance, because of its discovery in a Cairo Geniza (p. 410). Moreover, the term אלוהים is used in the text *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510–11), which Newsom herself recognizes as sectarian (“Sectually Explicit,” 184). Newsom maintains that the use of the term אלוהים in 4Q510–11 makes sense because “the Songs of the Maskil are conceived of as words of power. In such a context the use of a normally restricted name is readily explicable” (“Sectually Explicit,” 185). Morray-Jones maintains that this argument can be applied equally to *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Regardless of whether it composed by the sectarians, the number of manuscripts found indicates the document’s importance to the community. See also the similar arguments of D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 126–130. For a discussion about methodology and identifying the *Songs* as sectarian see H. Morisada Rietz, “Identifying Compositions and Traditions of The Qumran Community: The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as a Test Case,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 29–52, and the related essay in the same volume: B. Strawn and H. Morisada Rietz, “(More) Sectarian Terminology in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: The Case of תמימי דרך,” 53–64. We agree with the assessment made by P. Alexander (*The Mystical Texts* [Sheffield: University Press, 2006], 98) when he notes that “when all is said and done the question of whether a given text is or is not sectarian may not be all that crucial to our analysis, provided it fits with the Qumran religious ethos and seems to have been influential there.”

⁴ Newsom, *Songs*, 71.

the human worshippers merely describe and paraphrase the angels' words, without quoting them precisely. Perhaps by praying with, and to a certain extent *like* the angels, echoing *some* but not all of their words, human worshippers approximate the angels' praise while maintaining *the proper distinction between themselves and the angels*.⁵

This assertion resonates with Devorah Dimant's claim that the communion between humans and angels is "a communion by analogy rather than an actual one"⁶ and Ra'anana (Abusch) Boustan's that while "the human community... participat[ed] in the heavenly liturgical drama" they maintained "a fundamental boundary between human beings and the angelic host."⁷

The most vocal challenge to these conservative readings has been put forth by Crispin Fletcher-Louis. Fletcher-Louis suggests that the angelic priests in the *Songs* are not angels at all but rather a "suprahuman community,"⁸ human beings who, via an angelomorphic transformation, have become like angels on earth. This interpretation has

⁵ E. Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical texts from Qumran: Proceedings 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. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 101. Former italics are the authors', the latter are mine. In "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 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* (ed. E. G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47, E. Chazon allows for the fact that there is some evidence of true liturgical communion with the angels where "[t]he distinction between human and angelic praise is dropped, the veil between the realms is removed, and the human worshippers conceive of themselves as actually present with the angels." Chazon remains extremely conservative with regards to which texts actually attest this (1QH^a 19:10–14 and the Self Glorification Hymn), and she excludes the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

⁶ D. Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Adele Berlin; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 101.

⁷ R. (Abusch) Boustan, "Sevenfold Hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Post Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. R. Davila; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 246. See also J. Klawans (*Purity, Sacrifice and the Temple: Symbolism and Secessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* [Oxford: University Press, 2006], 136), who suggests that "the *Songs*' reticence to quote the angels may be a reflection on the inherent inequality of human and divine praise."

⁸ C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 101. The extensive discussion of the *Songs* is contained in chapters 8–13. See also C. Fletcher-Louis' earlier articles on the *Songs*: "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1998* (2 vols.; SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press,

proven to be untenable to most scholars,⁹ not least because Fletcher-Louis' work is far too sweeping in scope to present a truly convincing reading of any one text. However, Fletcher-Louis' contribution is nonetheless not wholly lacking in merit. Newsom has suggested that Fletcher-Louis' focus on the high priestly breastplates is of value¹⁰ and James Davila has noted that "the human community is sometimes alluded to in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, perhaps more than has been recognized in the past."¹¹

It is likely that the nature of angelic/human communion likely lies between the conservatism of Chazon, Abusch and Dimant and the radical interpretation of Fletcher-Louis. Though this cannot be elaborated in this article, my sense is that the human beings, who lament their unworthiness in Song 2, progressively become like the angels so that as the cycle progresses the human worshippers are temporarily representative of the angels during the time of worship.¹² Thus communion with the angels is realized by human beings temporarily acting as and embodying angels during the performance of the liturgy. This is what is indicated when the sectarian texts say that the human worshippers were יחד "united" with Sons of Heaven; the term indicates not just shared space but an essential oneness between the human worshippers and the angelic ones. The human worshippers "came into oneness with the sons of heaven" (לְבוֹא בִיחַד עִם עֲדַת בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם); cf. 1QH^a 11:22–24).¹³ This may be related to sacred time and the importance of the fact that the performance of the liturgy was on the Sabbath, a time when a human being can, in the words of the popular 20th century Jewish theologian Abraham Heschel, "sense the grandeur of what is eternal in time,"¹⁴ and has a unique opportunity to experience

1998), 2:367–399; idem, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 7 (2000): 292–312.

⁹ See for instance Alexander, *Mystical*, 45–47.

¹⁰ See, for instance, Fletcher-Louis, *Adam*, 386. In her review of *All the Glory of Adam* in *DSD* 10 (2003): 431–435, C. Newsom notes that Fletcher-Louis "makes a strong case for the fascination that the priestly breastplate...exercised on the Qumranic imagination" (433).

¹¹ J. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (ECDSS 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 200), 102.

¹² This is somewhat similar to the argument of J. Newman, "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions About Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. J. Brooke, H. Najman, and L. T. Stuckenbruck; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37–39.

¹³ See also 4QM^a (4Q491 24 4): וּבִתְהַלְלָהּ [ה] יַחַד בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים.

¹⁴ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for the Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1951), 6.

liturgical immortality. This is possibly related to the later rabbinic idea that Jews have a second soul for the duration of the Sabbath.¹⁵

WOMEN AND ANGELS

Taking for granted that “liturgical communion with the angels” is represented in the Scrolls, how was this communion effected? And who was eligible for this communion? For the purpose of this article I am interested in the intersection of gender, liturgy and angels. When reading the scholarship about angelic/human interaction in the Scrolls, we often encounter the assumption that angels and women are incompatible. We see evidence of this incompatibility in *later* Jewish mystical literature, notably the passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* in which Rabbi Nehunya’s heavenly ascent is interrupted when he comes into contact with slight hint of menstrual impurity,¹⁶ but it is not overtly

¹⁵ See *b. Betzah* 15b–16a; *b. Ta’an.* 27b. Heschel (*Sabbath*, 88) writes, “Something happens to a man on the Sabbath day. On the eve of the Sabbath the Lord gives man *neshamah yeterah*. And at the end of the Sabbath he takes it away from him... Some thinkers took the term *neshamah yeterah* as a figurative expression for increased spirituality or ease and comfort. Others believed that an actual spiritual entity, a second soul, becomes embodied in man on the seventh day. ‘Man is given on this day an additional, a supernal soul, a soul which in all perfection, according to the pattern of the world to come.’ It is ‘the holy spirit that rests upon man and adorns him with a crown like the crown of the angels,’ and is given to every individual according to his attainments.” There is no way to be certain that this idea was present in the Second Temple Period but the idea that for the Sabbath a human being has “a crown like the angels” is very suggestive when read in our texts about angel and human interaction, especially in light of Fletcher-Louis’ work.

¹⁶ “Immediately I took a piece of very fine woolen cloth and gave it to R. Akiva and R. Akiva gave it to a servant of ours saying: ‘Go and lay this cloth beside a woman who immersed herself and yet had not become pure, and let her immerse herself a second time. For if that woman will come and will declare the circumstances of her menstrual flow before the company, there will be one who forbids [to her husband] and the majority will permit. Say to that woman: Touch this cloth with the end of the middle finger of your hand, and do not press the end of your finger upon it, but rather as a man who takes a hair which had fallen therein from his eyeball, pushing it very gently.’ They went and did so, and laid the cloth before R. Ishmael. He inserted it into a bough of myrtle, full of oil, that had been soaked in pure balsam and they placed it upon the knees of R. Nehunya ben Hakkannah. Immediately they dismissed him from before the Throne of Glory, where he had been sitting and beholding (*Hekhalot Rabbati* 20:2–3). Translation by L. Grodner in D. R. Blumenthal, “The Merkavah Tradition,” in *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader* (New York: Ktav, 1978), 70. Blumenthal comments: “[To] become grossly impure would cause a sudden and violent termination, thus endangering R. Nehunya’s life. The rabbi-mystic must, then, design a way to render him impure, but only in the very slightest degree.... The

expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nevertheless, the consensus seems to be that priestly/purity concerns would have made contact between women and angels impossible. Björn Frennesson, whose 1999 dissertation is the most comprehensive treatment of liturgical communion with the angels in the Scrolls to date, sums up this position when he writes that the Scrolls reflect “the literary heritage of an exclusive and excluding, male, priestly dominated...community.”¹⁷ John Collins remarks that beliefs about angel/human interaction are “immediately relevant to the much disputed issue of celibacy at Qumran. While no text states explicitly that the sectarians were celibate, sexual activity would be difficult to reconcile with angelic life.”¹⁸ Dimant relates the question explicitly to women when she states that

[s]trict purity is required to match the angelic one. As for celibacy, even if temporary or partial, it may be accounted for by the fact that the angels...are male; women have no counterparts in the celestial priesthood, as they did not have offspring among the officiating priests in the

woman [in this scenario] has stopped menstruating. She has bathed once but, for technical reasons, must do it again. She bathes ritually a second time and is thus ritually pure...one very, very strict rabbi might still claim she is impure because of possible irregularities in her menstrual cycle” (p. 69). See also L. H. Schiffman, “The Recall of Rabbi Nehuniah Ben Ha-Qanah from Ecstasy in the *Hekhalot Rabbati*,” *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 269–281; M. Swartz, “Like the Ministering Angels: Ritual and Purity in Early Jewish Mysticism and Magic,” *AJS Review* 19 (1994): 135–167.

¹⁷ B. Frennesson, “In a Common Rejoicing:” *Liturgical Communion with the Angels in Qumran* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14; Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1999), 25.

¹⁸ J. Collins, “Power in Heavens: God, Gods, and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. J. Collins and R. A. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 24. See also more recent comments in idem, “The Angelic Life,” in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity* (ed. T. Karlsen Seim and J. Økland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 298: “The logic of celibacy in an angelic context is most explicitly set forth in the Book of the Watchers in 1 En. 15. Enoch is told to chide the Watchers for having lain with women, and defiled themselves with the daughters of men and taken for themselves wives, and done as the sons of earth. God had given women to human beings so that they might beget children and not vanish from the earth. But God did not give women to those who existed as spirits, living forever and not dying for all the generations of eternity. Sex has no place in the angelic or heavenly life.” This is no doubt true but the question remained whether celibacy necessarily meant that no women would be present. Collins alludes to Mark 12:25 where Jesus notes that in the world to come human beings are neither married nor given in marriage. However, this very passage, framed as it is by the question who a woman married seven times through Levirate marriage would be married to, indicates that women also had the capacity to be angelic.

earthly temple. Perhaps women were excluded from certain ceremonies of the community, or restricted in some way.¹⁹

Kevin Sullivan has suggested that beliefs about angels and purity are not limited to the Scrolls but reflect the Second Temple world more broadly: “Women were ritually impure . . . and thus excluded from holy places such as the inner parts of the Jerusalem Temple; such a belief may have been extended by analogy to the heavens.”²⁰

But the textual evidence does not necessarily support such a conclusion. The *Rule of the Congregation*, 1QSa 2:3–9, contains a list of persons forbidden from entering the assembly “because holy angels are in their congregation” (כי מלאכי קדוש בעדתם).²¹ The list includes those with physical disabilities and impurities but does not mention women. A similar list contained in the *Damascus Document*, 4Q266 8 i 6b–9,²² adds youth to the list of excluded persons but, again, does not mention women.

A similar list from the *War Scroll* (1QM 7: 3–6)²³ includes women in the list of prohibited people. However, this passage concerns the war

¹⁹ Dimant, “Angels,” 102.

²⁰ K. Sullivan, *Wrestling With Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 130. While not relating the issue to angels explicitly, R. Arnold (*The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Religion of the Qumran Community* [STD] 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 38) reiterates a common argument against the full membership of women in the *yahad* with his appeal to purity regulations: “overwhelming purity concerns during the communion of Belial would have made it pragmatically difficult for [the sectarians] to accept women to be ranking among the members of the *Yahad*.”

²¹ “No man, defiled of any of the impurities of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and no one who is defiled by these should be established in his office amongst the congregation: everyone who is defiled in his flesh, paralyzed in his feet or in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who cannot keep upright in the midst of the assembly; these shall not en[ter] to take their place [a]mong the congregation of the men of renown for the angels of holiness are among their congregation” (trans. by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume One 1Q1–4Q273* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:103).

²² “And no-one simple stupid [or de]ranged should enter; and anyone feeble-minded and insane, those with eyes weak to see, [and] the lame or one who stumbles, or a deaf person, or an underage boy, none [of] these [shall enter] the congregation, for the ho[ly] angels [are in their midst]” (trans. by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:593).

²³ “And no young boy or any woman at all shall enter the camps when they leave Jerusalem to go to war, until they return. And no lame, blind, paralyzed person nor any man who has an indelible blemish on his flesh, nor any many suffering from uncleanness in his flesh, none of these will go out to war with them. All these shall be volunteers for war, perfect in spirit and in body, and ready for the day of vengeance.

camp, not the congregation and thus the prohibition has more to do with the appropriate conditions for war than it does with the angelic presence. As Cecilia Wassen notes,

the situation of the war camp is entirely different from that of communal assembly, and different kinds of impurity are considered threatening. In a war camp . . . the presence of women, especially if they stayed overnight, would constitute a sexual temptation for the men. In a congregational meeting, sexual intercourse is not a possibility, and hence the presence of women is not a threat.²⁴

This reasoning seems sound and we are left with two lists which carefully delineate who is not allowed into the congregation because of the angelic presence and which say nothing about women being prohibited.²⁵ This suggests that the question of whether women could pray with the angels deserves further consideration.

RITUAL CLOTHING, WOMEN AND ANGELS IN THE TESTAMENT OF JOB AND SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

In examining points of contact between the Scrolls and other Second Temple literature that contains representations of prayer with angels one of the common tropes is the importance of clothing in effecting angelic/human communion. In *2 En. 22*: 8–10, for instance, Enoch is given “clothes of glory” which allow him to become angelic; in *Joseph and Aseneth* the title heroine receives angelic instruction after donning special clothing and in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the prophet, in order to praise with the angels in their own language, first has to “put on an angelic garment” (8:4). Of particular interest for the question of women praying with the angels is a passage from the *T. Job*.²⁶ The role

And every man who has not cleansed himself of his “spring’ on the day of battle will not go down with them, for the holy angels are together with their armies” (trans. by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:125).

²⁴ C. Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 153.

²⁵ See also the discussion of T. Ilan, “Women in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *A Question of Sex? Gender and Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond* (ed. D. W. Rooke; HBM 14; Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2007), 140, 140 n. 16.

²⁶ Though the provenance of this work has been debated, I side with the majority of interpreters and see this work as being a product of Hellenistic Judaism. See J. Collins, “Structure and Meaning in the Testament of Job,” in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1978* (2 vols.; SBLSP 15; Cambridge, MA: SBL, 1974), 1:50; C. Haas, “Job’s Perseverance in the Testament of Job,” in *Studies on the Testament of Job* (ed. P. van der Horst and

of clothing in this work and in Sabbath Song 13, will be the focus of the rest of this paper.²⁷

In a fragmentary passage from 11Q17 21–22 which comes from Sabbath Song 13 we read:

ותבנית חשני 7
 [פ תילי תפארת] [רוקמה כמ] [עשי ארג] [ממולח טוהר צבעי] 8

7 "... And the form of the breastplates of
 8 th]reads of beauty [...] *multicoloured* like w[oven work] purely blended,
 dyed..."

The text is fragmentary but it seems as though we have a description of breastplates of several chief priests.²⁸ Based partially on this passage, Fletcher-Louis has suggested that "at Qumran the mystical

M. A. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 151; R. A. Kugler and R. L. Rohrbaugh, "On Women and Honor in the Testament of Job," *JSP* 14 (2004): 46; H. Omerzu, "Women, Magic and Angels: On the Emancipation of Job's Daughters in the Apocryphal Testament of Job," in *Bodies in Question: Gender, Religion, Text* (ed. D. Bird and Y. Sherwood; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 85; M. C. Lagaspi, "Job's Wives in the Testament of Job: A Note on the Synthesis of Two Traditions," *JBL* 127 (2008): 75–79; N. Klancher, "The Male Soul in Drag: Women-as-Job in the Testament of Job," *JSP* 19 (2010): 225–245. Two challenges to the Jewish character of the text have been posited by R. Spittler, "The Testament of Job: Introduction, Translation and Notes" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1971); idem, "Testament of Job," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 1:829–868, and J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish Christian or Other?* (JSJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 74. Spittler maintains that while the core of the work is Jewish, the chapters under discussion in this article may be 2nd century CE Montanist redaction. This has been refuted by P. van der Horst, "Images of Women in the Testament of Job," in van der Horst and Knibb, *Studies on the Testament of Job*, 108. Davila suggests that the late dating of *T. Job* manuscripts, coupled with a lack of "Jewish signature features" indicates that the text is more likely to be a Christian work. While not addressing Davila explicitly, Legaspi ("Job's Wives," 78–79) discusses how Job's marriage to Dinah in *T. Job* is an authorial strategy to include Job in Jewish covenant. This deep concern with exogamy and Jewish covenantal inclusion seems to me to represent a Jewish signature feature, which would not be of interest to a later Christian author.

²⁷ Looking to documents external to the Scrolls in order to make tentative reconstructions about the religious life of the community behind the Scrolls is not unprecedented. A. Lieber ("Voice and Vision: Song as a Vehicle for Ecstatic Experience in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture* [ed. C. A. Evans; 2 vols.; London: T&T Clark, 2004], 2:51) looks to images of "open mouths, active tongues and voices engaged in praise" to suggest that "the songs were meant to be sung in communal ritual" and that they demonstrate "a perceptible sense of volume." She looks to the Philonic work *De Vita Contemplative* in order to "provide a context for understanding how the *Songs* might have been performed" (57).

²⁸ Newsom, *Songs*, 45; Fletcher-Louis, *Adam*, 356; Davila, *Liturgical*, 159.

tradition might best be described not so much as *merkabah* mysticism, although there is a clear interest in God's throne chariot, but as *breastpiece* mysticism.²⁹

I am interested, for the purposes of this paper in the term רוקמה. It is from the root רקם which has cognates in Arabic and Ethiopic and means "variegated or multicoloured."³⁰ The nominal form used here רוקמה is a rendering of the biblical noun רִקְמָה an example of the general preference for qutl forms in Qumran Hebrew.³¹ The word usually refers to "embroidery" or "multi-coloured fabric" and is used several times in the Songs. It is also used to describe the garments of the messiah in 4QpIsa^{a,b,32} military paraphernalia in 1QM,³³ and the clothing of angels in 4QBer^b.³⁴ In the biblical text, the participle רִקְמִים is used in the description of the high priest's sash in Exod 28:29 in the construction מְעֻשָׂה רִקְמִים, "woven/multicoloured work".³⁵ The root רקם is not used to describe the breastplate of the high priest in the biblical account, thus its use in the description here is noteworthy, and seems to be more than just mere biblical copying.

The relevant section of the *Testament of Job* comes towards the end of the text in chapters 46–50. In these chapters a dying Job wills his daughters garments which allow them to "sp[ea]k ecstatically in the angelic dialect" (*T. Job* 48:3). While still on earth they are able to participate in the heavenly praise. Once donned, the garments effect a transformation as each daughter has "her heart changed" (*T. Job* 49:1) and is "no longer minded toward earthly things" (*T. Job* 48:3). This seems to be some type of "angelomorphic transformation" similar perhaps to the sort Fletcher-Louis envisions for the Qumran sectarians.³⁶

²⁹ Fletcher-Louis, *Adam*, 386.

³⁰ *BDB*, 955.

³¹ Newsom, *Songs*, 232; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 36.

³² 4Q161 3 (frg. 8–10): 20: Describing the clothing of the messiah, "[thr]one of glory, h[oly] crown and multi-colour[ed] vestments" ([וּבְגָדֵי רִוְקָמָה]).

³³ 1QM 5:6: In a description of the battle shields: "precious stones, multicoloured decorations (רוקמה); 5:7 of the rings engraved in spears; אַבְדָּנֵי רִוְקָמָה; 7:10–11: of the priest's sash: "They shall gird on a belt of intertwined byssus, violet, purple and crimson, with multicoloured patterns (וּצוֹרֵת רִוְקָמָה) (trans. by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:125).

³⁴ 4Q287 2:5 "[of spl]endour, embroidery of the spirits of the holy of hol[ies]."

³⁵ See also Exod 26:36; 27:16; 26:36; 36:37.

³⁶ Fletcher-Louis, *Adam*, 281.

Pieter van der Horst has argued that this transformation represents “a radical and *lasting* change...[that is, the daughters] become virtually heavenly beings.”³⁷ This claim perhaps goes too far as there is nothing in the narrative to suggest that the transformative ability to praise with angels is anything but an effect of wearing the garments, and thus nothing to suggest that, were the daughters to remove the garments, they would stay in their transformed state.

The role of the rest of Job’s family is also of interest here: the other relatives do not themselves participate in the angelic prayer, rather they merely hear it and witness the daughters’ transformation. In chapter 51, the story switches to the first person narration of Job’s brother, who, the reader is told, “hear[s] the magnificent things” and, in the presence of “the holy angel” (51:2), “wr[ites] out a complete book of...the...hymns that issue[...] from the three daughters” (51:3).

What sort of garments bring about this transformation? This has been the subject of some scholarly debate and there is some variance in the manuscripts in the initial description of the garments.³⁸ The text notes that they “are not from the earth but from heaven, flashing with bright sparks like the rays of the sun” (46:8). As well as their power to induce angelic prayer, the garments have curative and protective properties.³⁹ Both the P and S manuscripts describe them as ποικίλας, multicoloured, with the S MSS designating them simply as “the multicoloured objects” (τὰς ποικίλας).⁴⁰ Ποικίλος is a lexical

³⁷ van der Horst, “Images,” 104.

³⁸ See the discussion of P. Nicholls in *The Structure and Purpose of the Testament of Job* (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1982), 72–74.

³⁹ The text notes that the wearing of the objects will create protection so that the daughters will not “have the enemy opposing [them] at all, neither will [they] have anxieties about him in [their] minds” (*T. Job* 47:10–11). Of course, since illness, in this text and in others, was thought to be the result of demonic spirits, the protective aspect of the objects is related to the curative aspects. See the discussion of R. Lesses (“Amulets and Angels: Visionary Experience in the Testament of Job and the Hekhalot Literature,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* [ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 58), who compares the use of protective amulets in *T. Job* with that in the Greek Magical Papyri and in the Hekhalot literature. In the narrative of *T. Job*, Job’s illness is a direct result of his battle with Satan. See also the discussion of G. Guttenberger, “The Possession of Women in Antiquity: Stories of Conflict,” in Bird and Sherwood, *Bodies in Question*, 72.

⁴⁰ The *T. Job* survives in three medieval manuscripts. The P manuscript dates from the 11th century and reads “the three multicoloured chords” (τρεις χορδὰς τὰς ποικίλας); the V manuscript (13th century) has “three cordlike aprons;” and the S MS (14th century) has simply the “the three multicoloured objects” (τὰς ποικίλας).

equivalent of רִקְמָה⁴¹ and indeed is the Septuagint's preferred translation of the term.⁴²

Thus in both the *Testament of Job* and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* "multicoloured" garments, the Hebrew רִקְמָה and the Greek ποικίλος are associated with the angelic praise. The *Testament of Job* shows that women have the potential to praise with the angels if they wear these garments. Based on this, I would suggest that donning a specific multicoloured garment was considered a viable ritual medium for summoning angels. Omerzu with regard to *Testament of Job* notes that the "striking and varied vocabulary used for the girdles suggests that real objects built the background of the story."⁴³ The verb that is used to describe how the garments are donned is περιζώνσθαι (47:11; 48:1; 49:1; 50:11 52:1, 12), which means to gird and which calls to mind the biblical Job's girding of his loins. It is thus clear that "they were meant to be worn about the torso or waist."⁴⁴ Omerzu suggests the "girdles of the daughters were like angelic dresses, most likely tied horizontally about the breast."⁴⁵ She connects this high girding with Josephus' description of the high priest's girding⁴⁶ and with descriptions of angelic girding in *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Curiously, Omerzu seems to think that these two scenarios, the priestly and the angelic, are exclusive, noting that "there exists no direct connection between the girdles of Job's daughters and the girding of the Jewish priests because the latter is mainly a sign of dignity and separation from the profane world to which no special qualities or powers are ascribed."⁴⁷ This seems belied by the aforementioned passage in Josephus where God himself causes the priestly garments to be light-giving and thus able to bring about success in battle. Further, in the *Testament of Levi*, seven angels give the prototypical priest "the vestments of the priesthood, the crown of righteousness, the oracle of understanding, the

⁴¹ *LSJ*, 1430. The essential meaning is "multicoloured" but it also refers to woven variegated material.

⁴² *HRCs*, 1168. See Judg 5:30; Ezek 16:10.

⁴³ Omerzu, "Women," 95.

⁴⁴ Nicholls, "Structure," 247.

⁴⁵ Omerzu, "Women," 95.

⁴⁶ Omerzu, "Women," 92, says that other Second Temple material (e.g. *Aristeas*, Ben Sira) does not bear witness to the high girding of the priests' but only to the colorful and ornamental fashion of their girdles this fits well with the importance of רִקְמָה / ποικίλας.

⁴⁷ Omerzu, "Women," 92.

robe of truth, the breastplate of faith, the miter for the head and the apron for prophetic power” (8:2).

Thus, contra Omerzu’s reading, priestly garments can and do have mystical/magical powers and this is likely what is going on in the Qumran material. As noted above, the importance of multicoloured garments must be exegetically related to the use of the root רָקַם in Exodus to denote the high priest’s sash (28:29) and “woven/multicoloured work of the temple” used in the description of the high priest’s sash in Exod 28:29 in the construction (מַעֲשֵׂה רָקַם). Priestly concerns are, of course, much more apparent in the Qumran material and the lack of overt references to the priesthood in *Testament of Job* could either be a reflection of the Hellenistic provenance of the work or of the fact that *Testament of Job* is set in time before the establishment of the priesthood.

With this in mind we must now discuss an anomalous use of רוקמה. In a cave four copy of the *Damascus Document*, 4Q270 7 i 13–14, we find the injunction:

“[And whoever mur]murs against the Fathers [shall be expelled] from the congregation [העדה] and not return. [And if] (anyone murmurs) against the Mothers he shall be penalized for te[n] days for the mothers do not have רוקמה in the midst of the congregation” (ביא אין לאמות) (רוקמה בתוך העדה).⁴⁸

The use of רוקמה here has generally baffled translators. Martinez in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* tentatively renders the term as “mingling.”⁴⁹ This seems to have been extrapolated from the meaning of רָקַם and applied to the intermingling of people, rather than colours. There do not seem to be any parallels to such a usage. Victor Hurowitz has suggested that the word here is not based on the root רָקַם but rather on the Akkadian *rugummu*, meaning “legal claim,” which came into Qumran Hebrew as רוקמה through an inter-dialectal interchange of *qof* and *gimel*.⁵⁰ However, this assertion is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, if the mothers have no legal claim, why mete out any punishment to those who slander them? Secondly, are we

⁴⁸ Trans. by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, Vol. 1: *Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill: 2004), 1:78.

⁴⁹ Trans. by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:617.

⁵⁰ V. Hurowitz, “רוקמה in Damascus Document 4QD^e (4Q270) 7 I 14,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 34–37.

really to assume that this usage of רוקמה is unrelated to the various other uses of the word found throughout the Scrolls?

A more plausible, but still somewhat strained, suggestion has been put forth by John Elwolde,⁵¹ and adopted by Sidnie White Crawford.⁵² Elwolde argues for a secondary meaning based on “the metonymy of expensive clothing...and the power represented by it.” Thus he renders רוקמה here as “authority” or “status.” Some of the same problems with Hurowitz’s argument are in the evidence here. Namely, if the Mothers have no “status” or “authority” in the congregation, why is slandering them a punishable offense?

I think we are getting closer with the suggestions of George Brooke and Cecilia Wassen. Brooke suggests that “the limitation of the status of the mothers in the congregation comes about because they are not permitted to wear a mark of authority in the congregation. Perhaps that sign is particularly something cultic, a piece of embroidered cloth associated with priestly status.”⁵³ Wassen independently arrives at the same conclusion and links her argument specifically to angels: “Given the frequent use of *rwqmh* in texts of mystical character, it is likely that the Fathers had a special function within spiritual practices in the community that aimed at creating a sense of communion with the heavenly sphere.”⁵⁴ I think that this is likely correct. In the *Damascus Document* passage we are being told that the Fathers, who presumably wear the multicoloured garments while the Mothers do not, are the ones who are responsible for ritually realizing, perhaps through some form of adjuration, the presence of angels in the community.

A possibly corollary of the assertion that women do not wear the multicoloured garments is that they are not present for the angelic adjuration at all. However, I think we should look to the setting of both 4Q270 and 1QSa 2:8. Both are passages about the congregation (העדה), and, as Charlotte Hempel has argued, the communal rules

⁵¹ J. F. Elwolde, “*rwqmh* in the *Damascus Document* and Ps 139:15,” in *Diggers at the Well Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 34–37.

⁵² S. White Crawford, “Mothers, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews* (ed. J. Davila; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 180.

⁵³ G. Brooke, “Between Corinth and Qumran: Embroidered Allusions to Women’s Authority,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. Davila; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 175–176.

⁵⁴ Wassen, *Women*, 193.

of the *Damascus Document* and 1QSa 1:6–2:11 likely emerged from a similar, if not identical, social situation.⁵⁵ Whatever the administrative function of הַעֲדָה, I think that it was during its assembly that angels were summoned into the midst of the congregation. It is the responsibility of the Fathers to bring the angelic presence into הַעֲדָה. Women are clearly present in the הַעֲדָה, as is evidenced by 4Q270 and, by arguments from silence from 1QSa and 4Q266, but they do not wear the ritual clothing that summons angels into it. It is possible that the “Fathers” are identical with the chief priests, since it is the chief priests who wear the רֹקֶמֶה in Song 13. Because these figures worship with, perhaps embodying, the angelic presence as in the *Testament of Job*, slandering them is an egregious offense since it is tantamount to slandering the angels themselves.

CONCLUSION

The *Testament of Job* outlines a clear ritual praxis which allows human beings to praise with angels. This praxis involves the donning of multicoloured or embroidered garments which has adjurative and curative properties. In this text only those who wear the multicoloured garment can actually participate in the heavenly praise. Those who do not are merely “hear the magnificent...hymns” and are witness to the angelic presence as is stated in *T. Job* 51:2. I think that further careful study of these documents will yield the suggestion that while women could be present for liturgical communion with the angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls communi(ties), they likely were not responsible for ritually realizing this communion and would have been confined to a spectator role. This seems to be implied by 4Q270. Actual praying with the angels would have been reserved for those at the top of the hierarchy: the Fathers/Chief Priests. On analogy with the *Testament of Job*, those not wearing the multicoloured garments, i.e. the laity including the “Mothers” and other members of the congregation, would not have participated in the angelic praise but would have been witness to it.

⁵⁵ C. Hempel (“The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSA” *DSD* 3 [1996]: 254–256) argues that 1QSa 1:6–2:11 constitutes a separate rule that has been incorporated into the present 1QSa. This rule is *not* future oriented but likely pertains to “the organization of an existing community” (254). The language in this rule corresponds closely to that in the *Damascus Document* suggesting that “both the communal rules of the *Damascus Document* and 1QSa 1:6–2:11a emerged from a similar—if not identical—social situation.”

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