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PSALMS, HYMNS, AND PRAYERS. Hundreds of psalms, hymns, and prayers are found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. More than one hundred biblical psalms have been preserved in nearly forty manuscripts from Qumran, two from Masada and one from Nahal Hever/Wadi Seiyal. [See Hebrews, Letters to the; Psalms, Book of; and Scriptures.] In addition, well over two hundred extrabiblical prayers, most of them previously unknown, may be counted among the scrolls discovered at Qumran (Caves 1-11). Besides the single manuscript of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Masada (attested at Qumran in nine copies), only three more nonbiblical prayers have been found at the other Judean Desert sites: a fragmentary papyrus manuscript from Masada which mentions Mount Gerizim and two prayers from the Bar Kokhba cache at Nahal Hever, one of which is a communal thanksgiving which speaks of seeking refuge in God.

The corpus of prayers, hymns, and psalms from Qumran may be classified according to seven major categories:

- Liturgies for fixed prayer times
- Ceremonial liturgies
- Eschatological prayers
- Magical incantations
- Psalmic collections
- Hodayot* (thanksgiving) hymns
- Prayers embedded in narratives.

Prayers in the last category are in Hebrew or Aramaic, depending on the language of the work in which they are embedded. The other prayer texts are in Hebrew. Major works from each category are surveyed below (the survey is not a complete listing).

Liturgies for Fixed Prayer Times. The Qumran corpus preserves several collections of communal prayers for recitation at fixed times of the day, week, and year. Each collection contains prayers of similar form, content, and liturgical function. The corpus includes other communal prayers whose time of recitation is not explicitly stated (for example, the communal confession in liturgical work 4Q393 and the lamentation in Apocryphal Lamentations B, 4Q501).

Daily prayers (4Q503). These are evening and morning blessings for each day of the month. They praise God for the renewal of the heavenly lights at sunset and sunrise, and with each daily change in the moon's phases. Praise in unison with heavenly beings is also mentioned. This liturgy is similar to the rabbinic Blessing on the Lights and *Qedushat Yotser*. References to a festival in the middle of the month indicate the liturgy is for *Nisan* or *Tishrei*. On Sabbaths, special themes (rest, delight, holiness, election) are added. Daily Prayers is written in a Hasmonean hand (c.100-75) and plausibly is non-Qumranic in origin. See sapiential work 4Q408, another liturgy of morning and evening blessings, which praises God's creation and daily renewal of light and darkness.

Words of the Luminaries (4Q504-506). These are communal prayers for the days of the week, ending with the Sabbath. All six weekday prayers open with a historical review and then petition for physical deliverance (Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday) or spiritual fortitude: knowledge of the Law, turning from sin and forgiveness (Sunday, Thursday; the Monday petition is lost). Each petition is followed by a concluding blessing and Amen, Amen response. The Sabbath prayer is different: it consists of doxological hymns. The title *Divrei Ha-me'orot* (Words of the Luminaries) is written on the back of the oldest copy, 4Q504 (c.150 BCE) and seems to refer to its liturgical function in daily prayer. The early date of Words of the Luminaries⁴ (4Q504) indicates this liturgy was probably composed before the Qumran settlement was founded (for the historical issues and parallels with the later synagogue liturgy see the separate entry on this document). [See Words of the Luminaries.]

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407, 11Q17, *Maskil*). These are songs by a sage (*maskil*) for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. The dated titles presume a solar calendar of 364 days. This is an earthly liturgy in which human worshipers invite the angels to praise God and describe angelic worship in the heavenly Temple. Song 12 portrays the divine chariot-throne (*merkavah*)

with its attendant angels while the angelic high priests are depicted offering sacrifices in the final song. Possible functions are: substitute for the earthly sacrifice, liturgical accompaniment to the angelic offering, communion with the angels and experiencing the heavenly Temple. Nine copies from Qumran, dating from the late Hasmonean to late Herodian periods indicate this liturgy's importance for that community, however, the Masada manuscript suggests a nonsectarian origin or use. [See Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.]

Festival prayers (1Q34-34^{bis}, 4Q507-509). These are prayers for the annual festivals beginning with the New Year in *Tishrei* (this calendric arrangement may indicate non-Qumranic origin). Each prayer opens with the words "Remember, Lord" and then formulates reminiscences and petitions connected with the special aspects of the festival before concluding with a blessing and Amen, Amen response. The Prayer for the Day of Atonement (the title is preserved) thus opens with a petition asking God to remember the time of his compassion, refers to the divine law establishing this day as "an appointed time of fasting," and has a confession of sin. See liturgy 4Q409, a hymn calling for praise on the festivals.

Ceremonial Liturgies. The Qumran sect held numerous communal ceremonies on fixed occasions as well as on an *ad hoc* basis, as circumstances required (for example, ritual purification). Liturgies comprised mainly of blessings and/or curses accompanied such ceremonies.

Covenant renewal ceremony, Rule of the Community (1QS i.16-ii.25). The Rule of the Community enjoins all members to participate in an annual ceremony in which they reaffirm their commitment to the divine commandments. This ceremony apparently was held on the Festival of Shavu'ot (Weeks and Oaths/Covenants; see *Jubilees* 6 and below, Expulsion Ceremony). The heart of the ceremony is the blessing of God's lot by the priests and the curse of Belial's lot by the Levites (for the content of both, compare the priestly blessing in *Numbers* 6.22-27). The ceremony is modeled upon the covenant in Moab and the recitation of blessings and curses on Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (*Deut.* 27-29, *Jos.* 8.30-35). Unlike the biblical model, the sectarian blessings are extended only to the Qumran Covenanters (God's Lot) while the curses automatically attach to their opponents (Belial's lot). See the different form of the covenant renewal ceremony in 4QBerakhot which prefaces the blessing and curse with praise of the *merkavah*-throne, heavenly abode, and divine mysteries, rather than with the review of divine salvation and confession of Israel's sins found in 1QS Rule of the Community, i.16-ii.1.

Expulsion Ceremony, Damascus Document (4Q266). A ritual for the expulsion of those who reject the community's laws follows the penal code in the last section of the

Damascus Document. The priest recites a blessing that praises God for choosing "our forefathers" while causing the other nations to "stray in chaos." The blessing states that God curses those who transgress. No curse occurs in the expulsion ritual *per se*. The text does mention the curse pronounced by the Levites in the third month in what appears to be a reference to the annual covenant ceremony held on the Shavu'ot festival (see above). The expulsion ritual may have been conducted on the same occasion.

Ritual of Marriage (4Q502). This is a ritual for a public ceremony held on a joyous occasion. The entire assembly as well as certain individuals recite blessings offering praise and thanks, particularly for human fertility. The text mentions men and women of different ages (young, mature, old). References to human seed, fruit of the womb, men and women in their prime, and a married couple (perhaps Adam and Eve) prompted the designation *Ritual of Marriage*. The alternate theory of a Golden Age Ritual is based on the blessings for longevity and the prominence of elders in the text. Although the precise function is not certain, this ritual clearly challenges conventional views of the Qumran community as an all-male, celibate order (its sectarian origin is confirmed by a quote from the Rule of the Community).

Ritual of Purification (4Q512). This sectarian text is written on the back of the Daily Prayers (4Q503). It gives instructions and blessings for ritual purification from different types of impurities (sexual impurity, leprosy, corpse contamination) and on holy days. The blessings connect the cleansing of the body during ritual immersion with spiritual cleansing through repentance and atonement (impurity is associated with sin). Confession of sin and thanksgiving for purification are prominent themes. Compare the Baptismal Liturgy (4Q414) that overlaps but is not identical with Ritual of Purification (4Q512).

Eschatological Prayers. The Qumran sectarians prepared for the *eschaton* ("end of days"), which they believed was imminent. Their preparations included setting forth prayers to be recited during the final war and ensuing messianic era. The Qumran corpus also contains prayers which are not eschatological in function but which request or depict messianic redemption (e.g. the Apostrophe to Zion in 11QPsalms^a and the hymns in prayer 4Q457 and Messianic Apocalypse, 4Q521 2).

War Scroll (1QM, 4QM^{a-d,g?}). This operative plan for the eschatological War between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness prescribes prayers for several stages of the campaign. The prayer before battle (1QM x.8-xii.18, xviii.5-xix.8) appeals to prophecies of salvation and divine deliverance of Israel in the past while petitioning God to crush the nations and redeem His elect, holy peo-

ple in the upcoming battle. Immediately after the battle, the priests, Levites, and elders are to bless God and his angels, curse Belial and all evil spirits, and offer praise for the victory of the Sons of Light over the forces of darkness (1QM xiii.1–xiv.1; compare xiv.9–12). Upon their return to the camp, the troops are to recite a hymn and, after cleansing themselves the next morning, they are supposed to return to the place of arrayal for a thanksgiving ceremony (1QM xiv.2–xv.2; the parallel passage in the second part of the War Scroll has not survived but it probably included a thanksgiving ceremony for the final victory over the *Kittim*; see War Rule). The War Scroll appears to have utilized older, originally independent prayers.

War Rule (4Q285) and Berakhot (11Q14). The overlapping portion of these scrolls is a blessing for Israel and the angels which reflects the sect's belief in its communion with angels. This blessing for rain, produce, and physical well-being is based on deuteronomic covenant blessings and curses (*Dt.* 11.14; 28.12, 21–22; 31.20). The biblical priestly blessing (*Nm.* 6.24) supplies the opening framework. Parallels between the War Rule and the War Scroll suggest this blessing was to be said by the high priest during the final stages of the eschatological war and may come from the War Scroll's lost, concluding section.

Rule of the Blessings (1QSb). This rule contains blessings recited by a sage (*maskil*) for all "up-holders of the covenant" as well as for dignitaries: Zadokite priests, the Prince of the Congregation, and, probably, an eschatological high priest are mentioned. The priestly blessing in *Numbers* 6.24–26 serves as a paradigm for all the blessings except the last which is based on *Isaiah* 11.1–5 and so identifies the one blessed (the Prince of the Congregation) with the Davidic Messiah. This eschatological blessing ceremony, which lacks curses since evil would already have been expunged, was apparently designed to supplant the covenant renewal ceremony prescribed in the Rule of the Community (1QSb and 1QSa, the Rule of the Congregation for "the end of days," are appended to 1QS, the Rule of the Community).

Magical Incantations. The Qumran corpus contains hymns to God which were used to dispel demons and thus functioned as incantations. These may be contrasted with magical formulae which address the demons exclusively and, therefore, are not prayers.

Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511). These are doxological hymns pronounced by a sage (*maskil*) "to frighten and terrify" evil spirits. This prophylactic function as well as the hymns' form and content, including the citation of *Psalms* 91 and naming of demons (related to the Fallen Angels of *Gen.* 6.1–4) qualify them as incantations. They are distinctive, however, (1) in their address to God rather than to the demons, (2) in their use of hymnic

praise as words of power, (3) in their communal dimension as protection for all sons of light and, possibly, as a liturgy for a public ceremony (note the calls to praise and the concluding blessing with its Amen, Amen, response). The terminology and ideas (*dualism, determinism, eschatology, "dominion of Wickedness," "Sons of Light,"* and *yahad*) point to Qumranic authorship. See the similar hymn of prayer 4Q444.

Apocryphal Psalms^a (11Q11). This prophylactic ritual consists of three apocryphal psalms followed by Psalm 91. The second psalm praises God but also speaks about demons, their judgment, and banishment to the underworld. The third psalm purports to be an incantation addressed to Belial, which also announces his imprisonment in Sheol. The formula *Amen Amen Sela* closes each psalm. All four psalms are attributed to David and may be the "four songs for making music over the stricken" in the Psalms Scroll's list of Davidic Compositions (see 11Q11 and compare the equivalent rabbinic term for Ps. 91 in B.T. *Shebu.* 15b, J.T. *'Eruh.* 10, 26c).

Magic formula (4Q560). This text names male and female demons, lists illnesses caused by demon possession, and adjures the demon(s) addressed. The fragment may be from a book of magic recipes (there are no signs it was an amulet). This Aramaic magic formula bridges the gap between ancient Near Eastern traditions and later Palestinian Jewish magic while underscoring the distinctiveness of the other incantations from Qumran, all of which are hymns written in Hebrew.

Psalms Collections. More than thirty scrolls of biblical psalms have been preserved at Qumran. Seven of these (Psalms^{a,b,d,e,k,m}) differ from the Masoretic Text in the order of the psalms and may represent different recensions of the biblical psalter or secondary arrangements for various purposes. Of the four scrolls which juxtapose biblical and apocryphal psalms, Apocryphal Psalm^a is a prophylactic ritual while the large Psalms' Scroll (11Q5) appears to be a liturgical arrangement (11Q6 and 4Q88 are similar to 11Q5). There are also several psalmic collections without any biblical psalms, for example, the apocryphal Barkhi Nafshi hymns (4Q435–438), the noncanonical psalms (4Q380–381) and 4Q448, a scroll containing part of Psalm 154 and a prayer for King Jonathan, who is to be identified with Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE). The extrabiblical psalms do not bear the marks of Qumranic authorship.

The Psalms Scroll (11Q5). This is the best preserved psalmic collection from Qumran. Despite the Davidic attribution given in the prose insert known as David's Compositions, this scroll does not appear to be a scriptural book of psalms but rather an arrangement for liturgical purposes (note especially the refrain added to Psalm 145). About forty biblical psalms are interspersed with seven

psalms not found in the Hebrew scriptures, four of which are attested in other sources: *Ben Sira* 51.13–30, Septuagint *Psalms 151*, Syriac Psalms 154 and 155. The three previously unknown psalms are: Plea for Deliverance, Apostrophe to Zion, and Hymn to the Creator. The Plea for Deliverance is an individual thanksgiving for salvation from near death which incorporates a tripartite petition for forgiveness, knowledge, and protection from Satan and the evil inclination (also in 11Q6). The Apostrophe to Zion is an alphabetic acrostic poem addressed to Zion (compare *Is.* 54, 60, 62) which assures Zion that she is remembered and that the prayers for her redemption and prophecies of her future glory (especially *Is.* 66.10–11) will be fulfilled (also in 4Q88). The “Hymn to the Creator” praises God for His creation of light and darkness and heaven and earth. It stresses God’s creation with knowledge and granting of knowledge to the angels who then ring praise. This hymn has been likened to the *Qedushat Yotzer* in the rabbinic Blessing on the Lights (see 4Q503).

Hodayot Hymns. These are thanksgiving hymns which often open with the characteristic formula “I thank you, Lord” (*odekhalh, Adonai*). The speaker offers thanks for his election by God’s grace and for his endowment with the divine gifts of speech and knowledge. Qumranic terminology and ideas are employed throughout. Two types of hymns have been recognized in the *Hodayot* collections: Hymns of the Teacher and Hymns of the Community (see below). Comparison between the eight *Hodayot* manuscripts indicates that different types of collections circulated at Qumran: some were longer, others shorter; some apparently had only Hymns of the Teacher (4QH^c), others only Hymns of the Community (4QH^a), while still others included both types (1QH^b, 4QH^b). The divergent collections shed new light on the ongoing debate over the function of these hymns in private devotion or public liturgy.

Hymns of the Teacher. These occur in Hodayot^b, 4QH^{b,c,d1} and *en bloc* in the middle of the large Hodayot manuscript from Cave 1 (1QH^a x–xix = [ii–ix]). The Hymns of the Teacher give expression to the personal encounters, thoughts, and feelings experienced by a leading member of the Qumran community, sometimes identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. His main themes are his own sultering, persecution, and mockery by his enemies, as well as testing in the crucible, reliance on divine salvation, justice, and annihilation of evil. The speaker thanks God repeatedly for protecting him from the “men of Behai,” for saving his soul from the “snares of the pit,” and for granting him the gift of knowledge and the task of “enlightening the many” (that is, the Qumran community).

Hymns of the Community. These are found at the beginning and end of 1QHodayot^a as well as in 4QH^{a,b,c}. The Hymns of the Community introduce “we” language and

stress less personal themes: the human condition, communal affiliation, congregational praise, and communion with angels. They use the opening blessing formula “Blessed are you, Lord” more often than the highly personal “I thank you, Lord,” which typifies the Hymns of the Teacher. They also express thanks for personal salvation, election, and spiritual gifts (especially knowledge) which constitute an essential component of the Hodayot hymns.

Prayers Embedded in Narratives. Prayers pseudographically attributed to hoary figures are often incorporated in the narrative framework of a “parabiblical” work (i.e., a nonbiblical work based in some way upon a biblical text). These literary prayers bear a resemblance to prayers in actual use and reflect current religious practice. Besides the prayers in previously known works such as *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *Tobit*, the Qumran corpus brings to light much new material of this type, including Noah’s and Abraham’s prayers in the Genesis Apocryphon, the Prayer of Enosh in a work by that name (4Q369), Levi’s prayer in the Aramaic Levi Document, Joseph’s prayer in the apocryphon named after him, the Song of Miriam in Reworked Pentateuch⁴, and songs of praise in the Psalms of Joshua (4Q378, 379).

Aramaic Levi^b. The Aramaic Levi Document (approximately late third century BCE) preserves a prayer attributed to Levi also found in one manuscript of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This Greek manuscript juxtaposes the prayer with Levi’s report that he grieved over human unrighteousness and prayed to be saved (*Testament of Levi* 2.3–4, see also 4.2). The context may be different in Aramaic Levi where the prayer is preceded by Levi’s purification. Levi petitions God for spiritual support: for the wisdom, knowledge, and strength (see *Is.* 11.2) to do God’s bidding, for protection from every Satan and evil, for purification of his heart from every impurity. Levi also asks that he be drawn near to God to serve Him, particularly as teacher and judge (see *Dr.* 33.10). This prayer displays features of two related prayer types: the tripartite petitions for knowledge, repentance, forgiveness (see *Ps.* 51, *Ps.* 155, 4Q504 4.6–15, 1–2, ii.7–18, *B.T. Ber.* 29a, *b. Meg.* 17b) and apotropaic prayers which counterpose pleas for protection from evil and sin with requests for knowledge and purification (see 11QPs^a, 11Q5 13–16, *Mt.* 6.13, *B.T. Ber.* 16b, 60b). Also noteworthy are Levi’s posture in prayer (he lifts his eyes to heaven and stretches forth his hands) and his silent prayer following the verbal prayer.

Apocryphon of Joseph (4Q372 1, 4Q371). This Hebrew text contains polemics against the Samaritans’ claim to descend from Joseph and their Temple on Mount Gerizim (second century BCE). The first part (4Q372 1.1–15) is a historical review in the Sin-Exile-Return pattern which

culminates with a critique of those who make "a high place upon a high mountain" and "revile against the tent of Zion." It stresses that Joseph, identified here with the Northern Tribes, is still in exile among foreigners. Joseph's prayer is then introduced (11.15-16). Joseph pleads for deliverance from the nations' hands, laments the hostile people dwelling on the land, and expresses confidence that they will be destroyed (11.16-22). As is typical of individual laments, Joseph's prayer ends with a promise to worship God as well as to teach God's laws to sinners (11.23-31). Two features important for Jewish and Christian liturgical history are: the invocation to God as "my father" (see *Sir.* 23.1, 4; *3 Mc.* 6.3, 8; *Mt.* 6.9; *Lk.* 11.2; *Mk.* 14.36) and the expanded list of divine epithets (see Psalm 99.3, the "Hymn to the Creator," the non-canonical psalm in 4Q381 76-77.14, B.T. Ber. 33b, and the 'Amidah prayer).

The Role of Prayer at Qumran. Prayer played a major role in the life of the Qumran community. In the wake of the sect's succession from the Jerusalem Temple, prayer served as a substitute for sacrifice. [See Sacrifice.] It was considered the preferred means of worship and instrument for atonement as long as the Temple service continued to be conducted in impurity. Sectarian works thus regularly refer to prayer in sacrificial terms, as in, "An offering of the lips for judgment is like the sweet fragrance (offered by) the righteous" (1QS ix.5).

Prayer's function at Qumran as a substitute for sacrifice fostered its development there as a communal, religious institution. The Rule of the Community refers to congregational prayer (1QS vi.8, x.14), as well as to praise at regular intervals of the day and of the year ("times ordained by God", 1QS v.1-8). The Qumran sect, like the rabbis in the aftermath of the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE), apparently instituted communal prayer at fixed times corresponding to the hours of Temple sacrifice (twice daily, early morning, and late afternoon, toward sunset, and on Sabbaths and festivals). The daily, weekly, Sabbath, and festival liturgies discovered at Qumran were evidently adopted and used by the Qumran community in its own worship although they may have originated elsewhere.

As the primary mode of service to and contact with God, prayer flourished at Qumran as a multifaceted religious phenomenon. Besides providing steady worship, offering constant praise, and furnishing petitions for physical and spiritual needs, prayer became a medium for a quasi-mystical experience of the heavenly realm (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice), a part of preparations for the "end of days" (War Scroll), and a means of affirming commitment to the divine Law as revealed to the Qumran covenanters (covenant renewal ceremony). Some of the prayers in the Qumran corpus were probably not com-

posed for liturgical use but for other purposes, such as private devotion or religious expression (the *Hodayot* and certain psalms).

Origins of Prayers Found at Qumran and Jewish Liturgy. The presence of many biblical texts, including biblical psalms, among the Qumran finds proves that much of the corpus was not authored by the Qumran covenanters but merely adopted by them. Non-Qumranic provenance has been demonstrated quite conclusively for most non-canonical psalms and prayers embedded in narratives; a strong case has also been made for the liturgies for fixed prayer times.

The prayers of non-Qumranic origin open a window onto religious practice among different Jewish groups during the Second Temple period. Significantly, they provide the first direct evidence of fixed public prayer outside of Qumran in this early period. This finding is extremely important for the issue of the origins of Jewish liturgy. Rabbinic sources speak of the establishment of fixed, obligatory liturgy by the Sages of Yavneh soon after, and in response to, the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. The virtual absence of sources for regular public prayer during the Second Temple period has generally supported the view that Jewish liturgy was created *de novo* at Yavneh. The prayers from Qumran, particularly the liturgies for fixed prayer times, may lend credence to the opposing view that Yavneh marked the institutionalization of a liturgy which emerged gradually during the Second Temple period. In any case, despite the difficulties posed by the late date of the comparable Jewish sources (rabbinic prayer texts and medieval prayerbooks) and the question of how representative the prayers of non-Qumranic origin are, it would seem that the numerous, striking parallels with the later Jewish liturgy bear witness to a shared liturgical tradition and probably also to some fixed public worship during the two centuries prior to the destruction of the Second Temple.

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