HYMNS AND PRAYERS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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Fifty years after their initial discovery, the Dead Sea Scrolls present scholars with more than two hundred hymns and prayers, most of which were previously unknown. These are found in prayer collections or are embedded in works that are as diverse in character as pseudepigraphic writings and sectarian rules. Together with nearly forty manuscripts containing copies or portions of some 125 biblical psalms,[1] these texts are a treasure-trove for the study of religious practice and spirituality as well as for the study of many other disciplines, ranging from biblical criticism and interpretation to mysticism and magic.

The current state of research on this important corpus is assessed below. An initial review of watersheds in previous research is followed by a careful examination of the latest developments in the field, which also points toward directions for future investigation. The final section provides a comprehensive, descriptive catalogue of the various texts. Special attention will be paid throughout to the broader implications of research in this whole field.

1. THE FIRST 35 YEARS (1947–1982)

As early as 1959, Shemaryahu Talmon was able to envision the extent to which the Qumran sect developed a regular practice of prayer at fixed times of the day and year.[2] In that early period, when relatively few texts were available, Talmon based his theory largely on the sociological analogy between the Qumran community's renunciation of the Temple cult and the cessation of that cult which was forced upon all Jews when the Second Temple was destroyed in 70 CE. According to this analogy, like the Rabbis would later do in

[1] For this total, see P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 48.

[2] S. Talmon, "מחזור הסרכות של כת מדבר יהודה" ["The Order of Prayers of the Sect from the Judaean Desert"], *Tarbiz* 29 (1959) 1-20; "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1960) 475-500.

the post-destruction era, the sect instituted fixed prayer ("worship of the heart") as a substitute for sacrificial worship. Indeed, the use of sacrificial language to characterize prayer like "an offering of the lips" (1QS 9:5) and the commitment to daily and festive praise expressed in the sect's writings (e.g. 1QS 10:1-17) lend credence to this part of Talmon's theory with the result that prayer's function at Qumran as a substitute for sacrifice is indeed widely recognized by scholars.[3]

Talmon devoted the bulk of his pioneering study to the reconstruction of a "Manual of Benedictions," portions of which he saw scattered among scrolls that had already been published.[4] Based primarily on what he termed the "Psalm of Appointed Times" and the "Psalm of Benedictions" (1QS 9:26-11:15),[5] Talmon posited that the "Manual of Benedictions" contained a list of daily and yearly prayer times followed by the actual texts of the prayers to be recited at those times. He accordingly viewed the "Psalm of Benedictions" as a paraphrase of the sect's daily prayers, noting their affinities with the later, standard Jewish liturgy (especially the *Qedušat Yoṣer*, the *Shema* and the *Amidah*).[6] In an expanded version of his original article, Talmon concluded that "despite the enormous breadth of common ground, no definite historical interdependence can be established between the emergence of institutionalized prayer at Qumran and the early prayer of the normative Jewish community."[7]

[3] For an early assessment of this function see J. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship Among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," *HTR* 46 (1953) 141-59.

[4] Talmon ("Manual of Benedictions," 499-500) conjectured that the War Scroll gives the sectarian title of the "Manual" as the "[B]ook of the Manual of Appointed Times" (ס[פר סרך עתו]).

[5] The hymn at the end of 1QS does not appear in all of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Community Rule and is now considered a later addition (see section 2 below, "Research in the 1990's").

[6] This tendency to draw parallels with later Jewish liturgy has been vigorously pursued over the years, notably by M. Weinfeld as in his "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in D. Dimant and U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Yad Ben-Zvi, 1992) 241-58.

[7] S. Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of the Qumran Literature," in M. Delcor (ed.), *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (BETL 46; Paris-Gembloux: Duculot, Leuven: Leuven University Press,

Nearly thirty years and scores of publications later, no prayerbook or "Manual of Benedictions" such as that proposed by Talmon has come to light, nor should such a find any longer be anticipated. Rather than a "Manual" which like later prayer-books[8] sets forth the complete order of daily and holiday prayers in a calendric arrangement, the Scrolls collate these kinds of prayers according to different criteria. One important criterion was to incorporate in a single collection prayers similar in form and content that were designated for the same type of occasion. A fine example is 4Q503, known as the Daily Prayers. These very brief evening and morning blessings for the days of the month surely did not constitute the entire daily liturgy but must have been said together with additional prayers that are recorded in other scrolls.[9] Indeed, Talmon's basic theory that the Qumran sect instituted fixed prayer was essentially corroborated and nuanced by the subsequent publication of such liturgical collections.

2. THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS (1982-1989)

The surge in publication of prayer texts that began just fifteen years ago marks the second stage of research in this field. 1982 saw the publication of the seventh volume in the definitive series "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," and was followed three years later with the complete publication of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.[10] The appearance of these new texts changed our picture of

1978) 283. Talmon combined both articles under a similar title in his collected studies, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989) 200-43.

[8] The earliest Jewish prayerbooks date from about the ninth century CE. For a history and summary of the data, see S. C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Persectives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 122-52.

[9] For this observation see also L. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in L. I. Levine (ed.), *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: ASOR, 1987) 39. Other daily prayers which may have been said at the same time include the morning and evening blessings in 4Q408, the prayers for the days of the week in the Words of the Luminaries (4QDibHam), and the daily prayers that are alluded to in 1QS 9:26-10:17. The relationship between 4Q503 and 4Q408 is treated in section 3 below ("Research in the 1990's").

[10] For bibliography, see below.

the corpus of prayers from Qumran in several important ways, since the magnitude of this corpus, the variety of material, and the prominence of liturgical works now became apparent for the first time.

The few texts that were available in the 1950's were distinctively sectarian and, aside from the annual covenant ceremony, were either individual hymns (the Hodayot and the hymn which concludes 1QS) or prayers for the eschatological era (in the War Scroll and 1QSb).[11] This impression did not essentially change during the next two decades which really only saw one major publication in this area, the large Cave 11 Psalms Scroll, whose function as a liturgical collection has not been sufficiently recognized.[12]

The impact of texts that had been partially published in the 1960's, such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[13] and the Words of the Luminaries, was felt only when they were fully published in the 1980's[14] along with another five major liturgical documents that

[11] This impression of the corpus was continued by the later publication of another eschatological blessing (A. S. van der Woude, "Eine neuer Segensspruch aus Qumran [11QBer]," in S. Wagner [ed.], *Bibel und Qumran* [Festschrift H. Bardtke; Berlin: Evangelische Hauptbibelsgesellschaft, 1968] 253-58); and more eschatological texts and parts of another version (4QBerakhot) of the covenant ceremony (J. T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-rešaᶜ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 [1972] 95–144). An exception is the copy of the Festival Prayers (1Q34-34 *bis*) that was published in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 136, 152-55. This small, fragmentary manuscript did not attract much attention until other copies from Cave 4 appeared in DJD 7 in 1982 (see below); Talmon, however, took this text into consideration for reconstructing his proposed Manual of Benedictions.

[12] J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsᵃ)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). Sanders considers the Psalms Scroll (11QPsᵃ) an edition of the canonical Psalter. See now P. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 202-27, for a similar assessment based on the newly-available data and a review of the debate over the canon versus liturgy question. On 11QPsᵃ as a liturgical collection see S. Talmon, "Pisqah Beʾemsaᶜ Pasuq and 11QPsᵃ," *Textus* 5 (1966) 11-21; and M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPsᵃ). A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966) 22-33; P. W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPsᵃ," *CBQ* 34 (1973) 195-205; and idem, "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in M. Delcor (ed.), *Qumrân. Sa piété*, 163-72.

[13] J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran-4Q Serek Širot ᶜOlat Haššabbat," in *Congress Volume* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960) 318-45;

[14] See M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumran, grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires'," *RB* 68 (1961) 195-250; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice:*

appeared in DJD 7.[15] It now became clear that the corpus did not primarily consist of hymns for private devotion and eschatological speculation that had been written by members of the sect, but was rather much more varied. The corpus was now seen to encompass prayers of different types that served different functions, from matrimonial celebration (4Q502)[16] and blessings during ritual purification (4Q512), to protection against demons (4Q510-511)[17] and an experience of the heavenly realm (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice).[18] Moreover, liturgies for fixed prayer-times which display striking parallels with later Jewish liturgical forms were now seen to figure prominently in the corpus. The publication of subsequent texts in the 1990's has enriched, but not essentially altered, this new and complex picture.

While appreciation of such common liturgical material spawned some informative, if limited, comparative studies,[19] of greater potential significance was the concomitant recognition that many of

A Critical Edition (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985). One other major collection published in the 1980's is worth noting, although it is evidently not a liturgical collection: E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

[15] M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 81-286.

[16] J. Baumgarten has suggested that 4Q502 was a "golden age ritual" rather than a marriage ritual ("4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?," *JJS* 34 [1983] 125-35). The text bears directly on the question of the status of women in the community.

[17] This text's appearance in DJD 7 provided a broader framework for understanding the prophylactic apocryphal hymns of 11QPsAp[a] that were first published in 1971 by J. P. M. van der Ploeg ("Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes," in G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, H. Stegemann (eds.), *Tradition und Glaube* (Festscrift K.G. Kuhn, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971), 128-39 + pls. II–VII. See now E. Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 55 (1990) 377–408.

[18] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 17-19, 59-72. For a different opinion see J. Maier, "Shîrê ʿÔlat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Syle," in J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18–21 March 1991* (2 vols., STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 552-53.

[19] Examples are Weinfeld, "Liturgical Practice;" Schiffman, "Early History;" J. Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumran- gemeinde," *RevQ* 14 (1989/90) 543-86.

the prayers (and other texts) which were being published were not distinctively sectarian in character and were probably not Qumranic in origin. The late 1980's thus ushered in several ground-breaking methodological studies devoted to the establishment of criteria for distinguishing between Qumranic and non-Qumranic texts, and to categorizing and classifying works of different provenance.[20] At stake in this endeavor is no less than the recovery of authentic traditions shared by different Jewish groups during the Second Temple period. This is because the Scrolls—to the extent that they preserve imported, non-Qumranic works amassed by the Qumran covenanters—provide direct evidence of Jewish religious practice, belief and literature outside the confines of that sectarian community.

Unfortunately, this new research on the provenance of different documents found at Qumran was not incorporated into the first monograph on Qumran prayer, which was completed by Bilhah Nitzan in 1989 (Hebrew) and published in English in 1994.[21] Closer attention to recent assessments of the non-Qumranic origin of certain texts would have enabled Nitzan to substantiate better her theory that texts found among the Scrolls drew upon a contemporary tradition of prayer alongside the cult, and thus bear witness to the existence of fixed prayer in Second Temple Judaism.[22] Nitzan regards the similarities to rabbinic prayer in these documents as reflecting the transitional stage in a developmental process that proceeded from spontaneous biblical prayer to fixed rabbinic prayer.[23] In this respect

[20] See E. G. Chazon, "Is Divrei ha-meʾorot a Sectarian Prayer," in Dimant and Rappaport (eds.), *Forty Years of Research*, 3-17; C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in W. H. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-87; D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-58.

[21] B. Nitzan, "התפילה והשירה הדתית מקומראן בזיקתן למקרא" ["Biblical Influence in Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry"], (Ph.D diss., Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1989); idem, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[22] For my review, see E. Chazon, on "*Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* by Bilhah Nitzan," *DSD* 2 (1995) 361-65.

[23] For this historical model of gradual development see the seminal work by J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (Studia Judaica 9; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1977). The different approaches to the origins and institutionalization of Jewish liturgy are discussed in section 4 below: "From the Present to the Future."

she differs from S. Talmon, who some years earlier described the institutionalization of prayer at Qumran as an isolated phenomenon in the Second Temple period, and essentially unrelated to the parallel phenomenon in rabbinic Judaism. Nitzan's emphasis on fixed prayer and the inclusion of material on magical and mystical poetry in her study betrays an indebtedness to both DJD 7 and the full text of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as she readily acknowledged in her preface. Her important study, which is so heavily influenced by the scrolls publications of the 1980's but does not yet incorporate the new material or developments of the 1990's, may be viewed as the culmination of the second stage of research in this field.

3. RESEARCH IN THE 1990's

Since the beginning of the present decade, more than a score of new prayer texts have been published and this number will increase as the remaining material is edited, hopefully by the turn of the millennium. Several of the most recent publications introduce new prayer types: apocryphal Barki Nafshi hymns (4Q435-438), magic formulas (4Q560), and a ritual for the expulsion of recalcitrate Community members (4QD^{a}).[24] Newly published political prayers that were directed against the Samaritans (4Q371-2)[25] and for King

[24] For a description of the Barki Nafshi hymns and a sample of their contents see M. Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran," *JBL* 111 (1992) 427-40 and D. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart' in 4Q434 Barki Nafshi," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 527-35. The Aramaic magic text of 4Q560 (D. L. Penny and M. O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran [4Q560]," *JBL* 113 [1994] 627-50) differs in form and content from the prophylactic Hebrew hymns in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511) and in 4Q444 (E. Chazon, "New Liturgical Manuscripts from Qumran," in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division A, The Bible and its World* [Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994] 87-94). The expulsion ritual in the Damascus Document (4Q266 11, lines 5-14) has its counterpart in the annual covenant renewal ceremony (1QS cols. 1–2) but, rather than cursing the sons of darkness and those who insincerely enter the covenant, it has the priest recite a blessing which states that God curses those who transgress.

[25] E. Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 349-76, idem, "The Psalm of 4Q372 Within the Context of Second Temple Prayer," *CBQ* 54 (1992) 67-79; H. Eshel, "תפילת יוסף מקומראן והמקדש השומרוני בהר גריזים" ["The Prayer of Joseph, A Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on Mt.Gerizim"], *Zion* 56 (1991) 125-36.

Jonathan (= Alexander Jannaeus)[26] have far-reaching implications for the sect's history and its relations with other Jewish groups, as well as for the nature of its prayer corpus. Besides such representatives of new genres, additional texts have considerably enriched the categories that were previously known to scholars. For instance, the number of pseudepigraphic prayers has grown considerably with the proliferation of "parabiblical texts,"[27] while a few important additions to the liturgies for fixed prayer times reflect the latest developments in the field that will be considered below (at the end of this section).

One of the most significant advancements in recent Dead Sea Scrolls' scholarship has been that of tracing the literary history of long–known sectarian writings such as the Hodayot, the War Scroll and the Community Rule, all three of which are rich repositories of hymns and prayers. Eileen Schuller's research on the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts reveals that different Hodayot collections circulated at Qumran, some of which apparently had only "Hymns of the Teacher" (4QH^{c}), others only "Hymns of the Community"

[26] E. Eshel, H. Eshel, A. Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 295-324. For the argument that this is a prayer against the king see now E. Main, "For King Jonathan or Against Him: On the Use of the Bible in 4Q448," in M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill [forthcoming]).

[27] In addition to the prayers in previously known works that are also preserved at Qumran such as 1 Enoch, Jubilees and Tobit, "parabiblical texts" contain many new pseudepigraphic prayers. Some examples are: the Prayer of Joseph (see n.24 above); the Song of Miriam in 4QReworked Pentateuch^{c} 6a ii + 6c and a prayer attributed to Enosh (4Q369 1 i 1-7) which were published in J. VanderKam (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 353-62; the prayer of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document (4QLevi^{b} ar, frg. 1) and several prayers in 4QApocryphon of Joshua$^{a, b}$ that appeared in J. VanderKam (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 25-36, 241-63; the prayers of Noah and Abraham in the Genesis Apocryphon 6–12, 20 (see J. C. Greenfield and E. Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (AbrNSup 3; Louvain: Peeters, [1992]) 70-77; M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron and D. Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *AbrN* 33 [1995] 30-53; and N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956] 43, XX).

(4QH^a), while still others included both types of hymns (1QH^a, 4QH^b).[28] These divergent collections, together with the two new hymns that were recovered in the Cave 4 manuscripts—a Teacher Hymn in 4QH^b frg. 7 with parallels to the festival liturgy (4Q507 frg. 1), and a Community Hymn in 4QH^a frg. 7 with pronounced liturgical elements—are rekindling the debate over both the function of the Hodayot and the relationship between the different types of Hodayot material.[29] Moreover, the recognition that the "new" hymn in 4QH^a 7 also occurs in two other texts (4Q471b and 4Q491) which were formerly, but are no longer, associated with the War Scroll[30] suggests that the Hodayot—like the War Scroll and other composite works—reused originally independent sources such as eschatological hymns.[31] Other newly published texts, such as the hymn describing eschatological blessings in the Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2) and the eschatological hymn in 4Q457, also fit this emerging picture.[32]

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[28] E. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," in E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (CJA 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1993) 153-55, 166-69; idem, "The Cave Four Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994) 137-50.

[29] E. Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i+ii," *JBL* 112 (1993) 605-28; idem, "A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b (4Q428 7)," *RevQ* 16 (1995) 527-55.

[30] Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript," 625-27; M. G. Abegg, "4Q471: A Case of Mistaken Identity?," in J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen (eds.), *Pursuing the Text* (Festshrift B. Z. Wacholder; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 136-38, 141; and E. Eshel, "4Q471^b: A Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 175-77.

[31] Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript," 625-28; "Four Hodayot Manuscripts." On the relationship between these three versions of the hymn see also J. J. Collins and D. Dimant, "A Thrice-Told Hymn: A Response to Eileen Schuller," *JQR* 85 (1994) 151-55; D. Dimant, "A Synoptic Comparison of Parallel Sections in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11 and 4Q471B," *JQR* 85 (1994) 157-61; and the two articles by E. Eshel, "4Q471^b" and "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn," in D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues, and Technological Innovations* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill [in press]).

[32] É. Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992) 475-95, 514-15; E. Chazon, "457.4QEschatological Hymn," which will appear in M. Broshi et al. (eds.), *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press [forthcoming]).

The interrelationship between the Scrolls' literary history and the history of Qumran religious practice is well illustrated by the two different covenant liturgies found in the Community Rule (1QS, 4QS^{b,c}) and in 4QBerakhot. The stemma of the Community Rule's redactional history recently drawn by Sarianna Metso shows that the opening sections on covenant renewal and the two spirits in 1QS, as well as its concluding hymn, were not originally part of the Rule.[33] Even a glance at the covenant renewal section in cols. 1–2 of 1QS makes it evident that the ceremonial liturgy has not been reproduced in its entirety and that redactional activity has taken place. One clear example is the summary description of the opening blessing to God found in 1:18-20: "When they enter the covenant, the priests and the levites bless the God of salvation and all his true works, and all those entering the covenant say after them, 'Amen, Amen.'" The reworking in 1QS and its parallels (4QS^{b,c}) means that the actual liturgical source(s) used by the redactor may have originally been closer to the form of the liturgy in 4QBerakhot; therefore, the possibility of a single archetype cannot be ruled out.

On the other hand, judging by the material that has been transmitted, the differences between the texts are too substantial to be explained simply as stemming from two versions of the same liturgy. For example, in the Community Rule the opening blessing on God's salvation mentioned above is followed immediately by the recounting of God's righteousness, mighty deeds and mercies as contrasted with Israel's sins (1QS 1:21-23, cf. Nehemiah 9). The message, mood and religious experience conveyed there differ markedly from those effected by 4QBerakhot's opening blessings with their numinous descriptions of the heavenly Temple, merkabah, angels, divine attributes, mysteries and cosmology.[34] The formulations of the curses against Belial's lot are also quite different.[35] These striking

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[33] S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 143-49.

[34] B. Nitzan, "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Preliminary Report," in G. J. Brooke (ed.), *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 53-71; idem, "4QBerakhot^{a-e} (4Q286–290): A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts," *RevQ* 16 (1995) 487-506.

[35] For the curses in 4QBerakhot (4QBer^a 7 ii//4QBer^b 6) and parallels in 4Q280 and the War Scroll, see Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-rešaʿ," 127-37 and B. Nitzan, "4QBerakhot^{a-e} (4Q286–290)," 489-90, 493-96. 4QBerakhot does not have (or

differences between 4QBerakhot and the Community Rule point to the existence of two separate covenantal liturgies.

One wonders which came first and what prompted the creation of different liturgies for the same ceremony. Nitzan has argued, partly on the basis of the Herodian manuscripts of 4QBerakhot, that its form is the later one.[36] One can certainly understand the impetus for introducing such an inspiring piece at a later stage in the history of the Community. However, the Herodian date of the 4QBerakhot manuscripts does not necessarily mean their form of the liturgy is later than that in 1QS, since relative manuscript dates are not a criterion for priority of composition. Indeed, Metso has shown that older forms of the Rule without the covenant liturgy continued to be copied well into the Herodian period, long after the full form of 1QS was available. The implications are thus clear: just as the Community continued to copy and transmit more than one Rule, so too it seems to have copied and transmitted more than one form of its covenant liturgy. The question of just how these two different texts were used in the life of the Community thus remains open, thereby complicating further the historical reconstruction of religious practice at Qumran.[37]

As new scrolls have been published, scholarly awareness of this phenomenon of different prayers for the same occasion continues to grow. Besides the two covenant liturgies we now have, for example: Ritual Purity[a] (4Q414) which overlaps with, but is not identical to, the Purification Ritual of 4Q512;[38] the hymnic incantation of 4Q444 which is linguistically and functionally similar to the Songs of the

has not preserved) the blessing to God's lot; were it in this text, it would have come at the bottom of 4Q286 7 i, which is now lost.

[36] Nitzan, "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290)," 54, 71 and idem, "The Benediction Texts from Qumran," in Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls-Fifty Years After Their Discovery, An International Congress, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, July 20-25, 1997* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society [forthcoming]).

[37] Metso concludes that "the relation between a written document (the Community Rule) and actual life in an Essene community has so far been conceived in too direct and simplistic a manner" (*Textual Development*, 148-49).

[38] E. Eshel, "4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse Contaminated Person," in M. J. Bernstein and J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

Sage (4Q510-511) but is not the same text;[39] the hymn in 4Q409 calling for praise on the festivals, which contrasts sharply with the Festival Prayers of 1Q34-34*bis* and 4Q507-509;[40] and the morning and evening blessings of 4Q408 which attest the same practice as the Daily Prayers of 4Q503, but constitute a different liturgical text.[41]

The last of these examples well illustrates both the promise and the challenge which the Scrolls hold for the synchronic reconstruction of liturgical practice at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism, as well as for the diachronic study of Jewish liturgy. What is the relationship between these two sets of morning and evening blessings? To what extent were these two liturgies, surviving only in one manuscript each, recited by the Qumran community during the course of its 200-year history? And, if they were of non-Qumranic origin, to what extent do they represent liturgical practice outside of Qumran? Were these short blessings said together with other daily prayers such as those for the days of the week in the "Words of the Luminaries" (דברי המאורות), whose title implies recital at the hour when the luminaries interchange? Was there any correlation between the Sabbath prayers in the daily and weekly liturgies of 4Q503, the Words of the Luminaries, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice? Can we discern a relationship between the festival liturgies in the scrolls mentioned above and the blessings for the festival days which fell in the month-long liturgical cycle described in 4Q503? How did the different modes of prayer with the angels which are reflected in the standard joint praise for the daily renewal of creation, on the one hand,[42] and in the heightened experience of communion with the angels, on the other,[43] function together in the religious life of the

[39] E. Chazon, "New Liturgical Manuscripts from Qumran," 87-94. The full text will be published in M. Broshi et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XX* (DJD 29 [forthcoming]).

[40] E. Qimron, "Times for Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409)," *JQR* 90 (1990) 341-47. On the different festival calendars as a criterion for provenance see Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 177-78.

[41] A. Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer, Preliminary Edition," *RevQ* 16 (1994) 313-34. The texts are compared in E. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," in Schiffman, Tov and VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls-Fifty Years After;* see also later in this section.

[42] In 4Q503 and 4Q408.

[43] In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Qumran Community? And how did they function in that of other Jewish groups in Second Temple Judaism who may have used these liturgies?[44]

Admittedly, not all of the questions posed above will be answered with any degree of certainty now or even in the future. But the availability of virtually all the Dead Sea Scrolls material does facilitate a broader comparative analysis and puts us in a better position to grapple with these questions. For example, real progress can now be made in addressing the first two questions that were posed concerning the relationship between 4Q503 and 4Q408, and the extent to which they represent liturgical practice. A close comparison between these two texts reveals their similarity in form, content, and function: both include communal blessings for the daily renewal of light and darkness, which mention the luminaries' praise and are said in the morning and evening. However, differences in detail, including the blessing formula and order in which the morning and evening are mentioned, indicate that these are two different liturgies for the same liturgical occasion which were probably not recited concurrently.[45]

On the other hand, 4Q503 and 4Q408 do serve as two contemporary, independent witnesses to a similar liturgical practice of blessing God for the daily renewal of the luminaries at the hour when that renewal takes place.[46] Furthermore, continuity with

[44] The Masada manuscript of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice points to their usage outside of Qumran. On their non-Qumranic origin see Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 179-85. For the possible non-Qumranic origin of 4Q408 and 4Q503 see Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer," 333-34; J. Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *RevQ* 12 (1986) 399-406; E. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994) 282 n.68. On human praise with the angels in these texts see Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrific*, 17-21; E. Chazon, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1992-93) 1-21 and "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts."

[45] Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer," 332; and Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts."

[46] For the suggestion that the prayers for the days of the week in the Words of the Luminaries were recited at this hour see above in this section. Sectarian texts such as 1QS 10:1-3 and 4Q502 27 refer to prayer that was said twice a day at these hours (cf. the emphasis on sunrise in the Hymn to the Creator in 11QPs^{a} and in Josephus' description of the Essenes in the Jewish War 2 §128). See Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts."

rabbinic prayer and a shared liturgical tradition are indicated by the striking parallels in content, language, form and function between 4Q503 and the statutory Blessing on the Luminaries, which also blesses God every evening and morning for the daily renewal of the heavenly lights, describing the angelic praise at least in the morning prayer. Thus, although we cannot know to what extent the texts of 4Q503 and 4Q408 were used by the Qumran community or by its contemporaries,[47] we can be reasonably sure that daily prayers of this type were said by different Jewish groups in the late Second Temple period and were considered important enough to be incorporated into the liturgy that was institutionalized by the Rabbis in the aftermath of the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE.

4. FROM THE PRESENT TO THE FUTURE

During the last five years of research on the hymns and prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the corpus has been well delineated and signficant progress has been made in assessing the Qumranic or non-Qumranic provenance of most of the material. A new awareness of the literary history of individual works and of the relationship between various works in the corpus has also emerged. Various recensions of single hymns, diverse collections of the Hodayot hymns, and alternate liturgical texts for the same occasion have been uncovered. The great number of prayer texts that are now available to us, coupled with the assessment that much of this material is non-Qumranic in origin, has enabled scholars to trace more accurately the common threads of a shared liturgical tradition in Second Temple Judaism and its continuity with rabbinic prayer. Moreover, the liturgical texts that have been published in the last fifteen years provide our first solid examples of fixed public prayer in non-sectarian circles during the Second Temple period.[48] These data have important implications for the debate over the character of the institutionalization of Jewish prayer accomplished by the Rabbis at Yavneh following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE.[49]

[47] For the non-Qumranic provenance of these texts see above, n. 44. On the significance of multiple copies of a document versus a single copy see Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," 169-75.

[48] Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," 281-84.

[49] There is considerable debate over whether the Rabbis created and fixed the liturgy at Yavneh (ca. 90 CE) as a response to the destruction of the Second Temple

Tracing the development of Jewish liturgy in its formative stages as well as the historical reconstruction of liturgical practice at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism will remain difficult challenges for the future. The relationship between the prayers within the Qumran corpus will need further investigation, as will the relationship between the Qumran prayers and those preserved in other Second Temple period works, rabbinic literature, early Christian sources, and the first Jewish prayerbooks from medieval times. While the vast growth of the published corpus and the development of advanced methodologies have added layers of complexity to certain issues, they have also begun to produce a richer and more accurate picture of religious practices in Second Temple Judaism—and together with it a better understanding of the background against which rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity emerged.

5. CATALOGUE OF HYMNS AND PRAYERS IN THE SCROLLS[50]

The Dead Sea Scrolls preserve more than 300 psalms, hymns and prayers. Virtually all of these were discovered at Qumran, while only a handful are from other sites in the Judaean Desert.[51] The corpus of this literature may be divided into seven major categories: (1) Liturgies for fixed prayer times; (2) Ceremonial liturgies; (3) Eschatological prayers; (4) Magical incantations; (5) Psalmic collections; (6) Hodayot (or thanksgiving) hymns; and (7) Prayers embedded in narratives. Prayers in the last group were written in Hebrew or Aramaic, depending on the language of the larger work in which they are incorporated. All the texts in the other six categories are in Hebrew. In the catalogue that follows, major works from each category are described is some detail, while other texts are mentioned more briefly.

(thus E. Fleischer, "לקדמוניות תפילות החובה בישראל" ["On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer"], *Tarbiz* 59 [1991] 397-441; or whether the liturgy emerged gradually during the Second Temple period with the destruction giving an impetus to the institutionalizaion that was begun, but not completed, at Yavneh (thus J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*).

50 A similar catalogue appears in my article on "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers" in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press [forthcoming])

51 The Masada finds included two Psalms manuscripts, a copy of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and a prayer mentioning Mt. Gerizim. Another Psalms scroll and two prayers from the Bar Kokhba period were found at Naḥal Ḥever.

5.1 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 that are similar in form, content and liturgical function. These liturgical collections differ from other communal prayers whose time of recitation is not explicitly stated (for example, the communal confessions in 4Q393, 4Q501 [4QLamentation] and 4Q481c [4QPrayer for Mercy]).

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 to the *Qedušat Yoṣer* in the rabbinic *Blessing on the Lights*. References to a festival in the middle of the month indicate that the liturgy is for Nisan or Tishrei. On Sabbaths, special themes (notably rest, delight, holiness, election) are added. 4Q503 is written in a Hasmonean hand (c. 100-75) and may be non-Qumranic in origin. 4Q408 is 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 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 unfortunately lost). Each petition is followed by a concluding blessing and "Amen, Amen" response. The Sabbath prayer consists of doxological hymns. The title דברי המאורות ("Words of the Luminaries") is written on the back of the oldest copy, 4Q504 (ca. 150 BCE) and seems to refer to its liturgical function as a daily prayer (with מאורות as a term for "day," cf. Gen 1:14). The early date of 4Q504 indicates this liturgy was probably composed before the Qumran settlement was founded.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1k).[52] These are songs by a sage (*maskil*) for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. The dating of these Sabbaths presumes a solar calendar of 364 days. This is an earthly liturgy in which human worshippers

52 See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.*

invite the angels to praise God and describe angelic worship in the heavenly Temple. Song 12 portrays the divine chariot-throne (*merkabah*) with its attendant angels, while the angelic high priests are depicted offering sacrifices in the final song. Possible functions of these songs are: as a substitute for the earthly sacrifice; liturgical accompaniment to the angelic offering; communion with the angels; and experiencing the heavenly Temple. Nine copies from Qumran (late Hasmonean to late Herodian periods) indicate that this liturgy was of great importance for that community; however, the discovery of a copy at Masada suggests a non-sectarian origin or use.

Festival Prayers (1Q34-34bis, 4Q507-509). These are prayers for the annual festivals beginning with the New Year in Tishrei (a calendric arrangement that may well indicate non-Qumranic origin). Each prayer opens with the words "Remember, Lord," then formulates reminiscences and petitions that are connected with the special aspects of the festival, and concludes with a blessing and "Amen, Amen" response (for this form see also the Words of the Luminaries). The Prayer for the Day of Atonement[53] 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 includes a confession of sin. This liturgy differs in calendric arrangement, form and content from the hymn in 4Q409 that calls for praise on the festivals.

5.2 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 that were comprised mainly of blessings and/or curses accompanied such ceremonies.

Covenant Renewal Ceremony, Rule of the Community (1QS 1-2). The Community Rule 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 Shebuot (Weeks and Oaths or Covenants).[54] 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, compare the priestly blessing in Num 6:22-27). The ceremony is modeled upon the

[53] The title is preserved.

[54] See Jubilees 6 and below, "Expulsion Ceremony."

covenant made in Moab and the recitation of blessings and curses on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal (cf. Deuteronomy 27-29, Josh 8:30-35). Unlike the biblical model, the sectarian blessings are extended only to the Qumran Covenanters (i.e. God's lot) while the curses automatically attach to their opponents (Belial's lot). It is interesting to note that this covenant renewal ceremony is not found in all versions of the Community Rule. 4QBerakhot contains a different covenant renewal liturgy which opens with praise of the *merkabah*-throne, heavenly abode, angels and divine mysteries—rather than the review of divine salvation and confession of Israel's sins as in 1QS 1:16-2:1.

Expulsion Ceremony, Damascus Document (4Q266 11, lines 5-14). 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 which praises God for chosing "our forefathers" while causing the other nations to "stray in chaos." The blessing states that God curses those who transgress, but no curse occurs in the expulsion ritual per se. The text does mention the curse pronounced in the third month in what appears to be a reference to the annual covenant ceremony held on the Shebuot festival.[55] The expulsion ritual may have been conducted on the same occasion.

Ritual of Marriage (4Q502). This is a ritual for a public ceremony that was held on a joyous occasion. The entire assembly, as well as certain individuals, recite blessings in which they offer 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." It has also been proposed that this is a Golden Age Ritual, based on the blessings for longevity and the prominence of elders.[56] Although the precise function of this text is not certain, it clearly challenges conventional views of the Qumran community as an all-male, celibate order. The work's sectarian origin is confirmed by the fact that it quotes 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

[55] See above on the "Covenant Renewal Ceremony."

[56] Thus J. Baumgarten, "Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?," 125-35.

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 (since impurity is apparently associated with sin). Both confession of sin and thanksgiving for purification are prominent themes. A related text is Ritual Purity[a] (4Q414), which overlaps with 4Q512, but is not identical to it.

5.3 Eschatological Prayers

The Qumran sectarians prepared themselves 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 that are not eschatological in function, but which request or depict messianic redemption (e.g. the Apostrophe to Zion in 11QPs[a], the hymn in 4Q457, and the hymnic description of eschatological blessings in 4Q521, frg. 2).

War Scroll (1QM, 4QM[a, b, e]). 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 10:8–12:18; 18:5–19:8) 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 people 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 13:1–14:1; compare 19:9-12). 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 14:2–15:2; 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).[57] The War Scroll appears to have utilized older and originally independent prayers.

War Rule (4Q285) and 11QBerakhot. 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,

[57] See below, "War Rule (4Q285) and 11QBerakhot."

produce and physical well-being is based on deuteronomic covenant blessings and curses (Deut 11:14; 28:12, 21-22; 31:20), with the biblical priestly blessing (Num 6:24) supplying 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 concluding section of the War Scroll, which unfortunately is now lost.

Rule of the Blessings (1QS[b]). This rule contains blessings to be recited by a sage (*maskil*) for all "upholders of the covenant" as well as for dignitaries. Persons mentioned are Zadokite priests, the Prince of the Congregation, and probably an eschatological high priest. The priestly blessing in Num 6:24-26 serves as a paradigm for all the blessings, except the last which is based on Isa 11:1-5 and so identifies the one being 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 that is prescribed in the Rule of the Community (1QS[b] and 1QS[a]—comprising the Rule of the Congregation for "the end of days"—are appended to 1QS, the Rule of the Community).

5.4 Magical Incantations

The Qumran corpus also 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 are therefore not classed as prayers.

Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511). These are doxological hymns to be pronounced by a sage (*maskil*) in order "to frighten and terrify" evil spirits. The hymns qualify as incantations on the basis of this prophylactic function, as well as their form and content, including the citation of Psalm 91 and naming of demons.[58] These pieces 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; and (3) in their communal dimension as protection for all sons of light and, possibly, as a liturgy for a public ceremony.[59] The terminology

[58] The demons are related to the Fallen Angels of Gen 6:1-5.

[59] Note the calls to praise and the concluding blessing with its "Amen, Amen" response.

and ideas (dualism, determinism, eschatology, "dominion of Wickedness," "sons of light" and the Yaḥad) are all indicators of Qumranic authorship. The short text in 4Q444 opens with a similar hymn, but then contains curse formulae.

11QApocryphal Psalms[a]. This prophylactic ritual consists of three apocrphyal psalms followed by Psalm 91. The first psalm refers to demons, an oath and perhaps adjuration. The second praises God but also refers to 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, Selah" closes each psalm. All of these psalms appear to be attributed to David and may well be the "four songs for making music over the stricken" (שיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה) that are mentioned in the list of David's Compositions in 11QPs[a].[60]

Magic Formula (4Q560). This Aramaic text names male and female demons, lists illnesses that are caused by demon-possession, and adjures the demon(s) by addressing them directly. Although not formally a prayer, it is included in order to highlight the distinctiveness of the other incantations from Qumran, all of which are hymns written in Hebrew, as well as to show the connection between ancient Near Eastern traditions and later Palestinian Jewish magic.

5.5 Psalmic Collections

Thirty-six scrolls containing biblical psalms have been preserved at Qumran.[61] At least seven of these (4QPs[a, b, d, e, k, n, q]) differ from the Masoretic text in the order of the psalms preserved and may represent different recensions of the biblical psalter or secondary arrangements for various purposes. Of four more scrolls which juxtapose both biblical and apocryphal psalms, 11QApPs[a] is a prophylactic ritual,[62] while the great Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a]) appears to be a liturgical arrangement.[63] 11QPs[b] contains the same arrangement as 11QPs[a], while 4QPs[f] has one biblical and one apocryphal psalm[64] in common with it. There are also several psalmic

[60] In col. 27, line 10. See section 1 above, and compare the similar rabbinic term שיר של פגועים for Psalm 91 in *b. Šebuʿot* 15b; *y. ʿErubin* 10, 26c.

[61] For a recent listing, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 31-43.

[62] See above section 5.4, "Magical Incantations."

[63] Cf. the following paragraph.

[64] I.e. Psalm 109 and the Apostrophe to Zion, respectively.

collections without any biblical psalms: for example, the apocryphal Barki Nafshi hymns (4Q435-438), the Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q380-381) and 4Q448,[65] a scroll containing a partial quotation of Psalm 154 and a prayer for King Jonathan, who may be identified with Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE).[66] None of these extra-biblical psalms bears distinctive marks of Qumranic authorship.

The Great Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a]). This is the best preserved and most famous of all the psalmic collections from Qumran. Column 27 (lines 2-11) includes an important prose insert known as "David's Compositions," which serves to attribute the entire collection to David himself:

(2) And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate,
(3) and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the LORD gave
(4) him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote
(5) 3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt
(6) perpetual offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364;
(7) and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New
(8) Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs.
(9) And all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs
(10) for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050.
(11) All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.[67]

There are ample indications in this manuscript that the psalms were arranged for liturgical purposes (note especially the refrain added to Psalm 145). About forty biblical psalms are interspersed with seven others not found in the Hebrew Bible, four of which are attested elsewhere: Sir 51:13-30; Psalm 151 (in the Septuagint); and Psalms 154, 155 (in Syriac). The three previously unknown psalms are: Plea for Deliverance, Apostrophe to Zion and Hymn to the Creator.[68] The

[65] See E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran.*

[66] See E. Eshel, H. Eshel and Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154," 295-324.

[67] Translation by J. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) 87.

[68] While the "Catena" in column 16 may in fact be a new composition, it more likely forms a longer ending to Psalm 136 in this manuscript (cf. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 40, 91).

Plea for Deliverance is an individual thanksgiving for salvation from imminent death which incorporates a tripartate petition for forgiveness, knowledge, and protection from Satan and the evil inclination.[69] The Apostrophe to Zion is an acrostic poem addressed to Zion (cf. Isaiah 54, 60, 62), which assures Zion that she is remembered and that the prayers for her redemption and prophecies of her future glory[70] will be fulfilled.[71] The Hymn to the Creator praises God for his creation of light and darkness and heaven and earth, stressing God's creation with knowledge, and the granting of knowledge to the angels who then sing out their praise. It has been likened to the *Qedušat Yoṣer* in the rabbinic *Blessing on the Lights*.[72]

5.6 Hodayot Hymns

The *Hodayot* are thanksgiving hymns which often open with the characteristic formula "I thank you, Lord" (אודכה אדוני).[73] The speaker offers thanks for his election by God's grace and for his endowment with the divine gifts of speech and knowledge. Characteristic Qumranic terminology and ideas are employed throughout these pieces. 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 (1QH^{a,b} and 4QH^{a-f}) indicates that different types of collections circulated at Qumran. Some of these were longer, and others shorter; some apparently contained only Hymns of the Teacher (e.g. 4QH^{c}), others only Hymns of the Community (e.g. 4QH^{a}), while still others included both types (1QH^{a}, 4QH^{b}). These 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 1QH^{b}, 4QH^{b,c,d,f} and en bloc in the middle of the large Hodayot scroll from Cave 1 (1QH^{a}).[74]

69 Much of the Plea is also in preserved in 11QPs^{b}.

70 Note especially Isa 66:10-11.

71 4QPs^{f} preserves most, and 11QPs^{b} just a few words, of the Apostrophe.

72 See section 3 above, on 4Q503.

73 Cf. E. Schuller, "The Cave Four Hodayot Manuscripts," 137-50.

74 Cols. 10–19 in the reconstructed scroll, or 2–9 in the edition of E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and The Hebrew University, 1955).

The Hymns of the Teacher give expression to the personal encounters, thoughts and feelings that were experienced by a leading member of the Qumran community, who has sometimes been identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. The main themes are his own suffering, persecution, and mockery by his enemies as well as being tested in the crucible, reliance on divine salvation, justice and annihilation of evil. The speaker thanks God repeatedly for protecting him from the "men of Belial," 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" (i.e. the Qumran community).

Hymns of the Community. These are found at the beginning and end of 1QH^{a} as well as in 4QH^{a,b,e}. 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 make use of the opening blessing formula "Blessed are you, Lord" (ברוך אתה אדוני) more often than the highly personal "I thank you, Lord" (אודכה אדוני) 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.

5.7 Prayers Embedded in Narratives

Prayers that have been pseudepigraphically attributed to figures of great antiquity are often incorporated in the narrative framework of a "para-biblical" work (i.e. a nonbiblical work based in some way upon a biblical text). These literary prayers bear a resemblance to prayers that were 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: Levi's prayer in the Aramaic Levi Document; Joseph's prayer in the apocrypon named after him (see below); the prayers of Noah and Abraham in the Genesis Apocryphon (cols. 6–12, 20); a prayer attributed to Enosh (4Q369 1 i, lines 1-7); the Song of Miriam in Reworked Pentateuch^{c} (frgs. 6a ii + 6c); and several prayers in the Psalms of Joshua (4Q378, 379 *passim*).

Aramaic Levi^{b} (frg. 1, lines 5-18). The Aramaic Levi Document (ca. late third century BCE) preserves a prayer attributed to Levi that is also found in one manuscript of the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Greek manuscript juxtaposes the prayer with Levi's report that he grieved over human unrighteousness and

prayed to be saved (TLevi 2:3-4; see also 4:2). However, the context may be different in Aramaic Levi where the prayer is preceded by Levi's purification. Here Levi petitions God for spiritual support: for the wisdom, knowledge and strength (cf. Isa 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 in order to serve him, particularly as teacher and judge (cf. Deut 33:10). This piece displays the features of two related prayer-types: the tripartate petitions for knowledge, repentance and forgiveness;[75] and apotropaic prayers which counterpose pleas for protection from evil and sin with requests for knowledge and purification.[76] Also to be noted are Levi's posture in prayer (lifting his eyes to heaven and stretching forth his hands) and his silent prayer following his verbal one.

Apocryphon of Joseph (4Q372 1,4Q371). This Hebrew text (second century BCE) polemicizes against the Samaritans' claim to be descended from Joseph and against their Temple on Mt. Gerizim.[77] The first part (4Q372 1, lines 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, who is identified here with the Northern Tribes, is still in exile among foreigners. Joseph's prayer is then introduced (lines 15-16). Joseph pleads for deliverance from the hand of the nations, decries the hostile people who are dwelling on the land, and expresses confidence that they will be destroyed (lines 16-22). As is typical of individual laments, Joseph's prayer ends with a promise to worship God as well as to teach his laws to sinners (lines 23-31). Two features of significance to both Jewish and Christian liturgical history are the invocation to God as "my father,"[78] and the expanded list of divine epithets.[79]

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[75] See Psalms 51 and 155; 4Q504 4, lines 6-15; 1-2 ii, lines 7-18; *b. Berakhot* 29a; and *b. Megillah* 17b.

[76] Cf. the Plea for Deliverance in 11QPs^{a} (19:13-16); Matt 6:13; and *b. Berakhot* 16b, 60b.

[77] Cf. Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," 349-76; idem, "The Psalm of 4Q372," 67-79.

[78] Cf. Sir 23:1, 4; 3 Macc 6:3, 8; Matt 6:9; Mark 14:36; and Luke 11:2.

[79] See Ps 99:3; the Hymn to the Creator; the non-canonical psalm in 4Q381 frgs. 76–77, line 14; *b. Berakhot* 33b; and the *Amidah* prayer.

6. EPILOGUE: FUTURE PUBLICATIONS

Two forthcoming volumes in the series "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert" will be devoted to poetical and liturgical texts.[80] A third volume will contain a full publication of all the Psalms manuscripts from Cave 4.[81] Additional DJD volumes containing new para-biblical, sapiential and miscellaneous texts from Caves 4 and 11, as well as from other Judaean Desert sites, will also include some prayers. Complete listings of the Scrolls are available in the *Companion Volume to the Microfiche Collection*[82] and in the *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*.[83]

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PARABIBLICAL PROPHETIC NARRATIVES

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There are a large number of compositions amongst the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves which may loosely be categorized as "Rewritten Bible."[1] This chapter is an attempt to discuss in one place most of the rewritten Bible texts from Qumran which relate to the biblical prophets. In the scrolls from Qumran interest in prophecy and the prophets is widespread.[2] This interest is not confined to the prophets who have left books, the so-called "literary prophets," but also embraces a range of other prophetic figures, including Moses and David.[3]

It is curious that amongst this wide range of manuscripts no composition has yet been identified clearly as a rewritten form of either the Book of Isaiah or of any of the Twelve Minor Prophets. Moreover, nor are there any narrative biographies to be linked with these prophets, even though some scholars have suggested that works such as the *Ascension of Isaiah* have characteristics which are to be found amongst the sectarian compositions that were discovered at

[1] Preliminary and principal editions of most of the texts cited in this chapter are given in the footnotes and concluding bibliography. English translations of many of the fragments, sometimes with valuable suggestions for readings and restorations can be found in F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (2nd ed., Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (5th ed., London: Allen Lane/ Penguin, 1997); M. Wise, M. Abegg, E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996). A German translation, again sometimes with valuable suggestions for the better understanding of some fragments, can be found in J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (UTB 1862-63; München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995).

[2] See the contribution by J. Bowley, "Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Vol. 2 of this Fiftieth Anniversary collection.

[3] Since pesher may only be applied to partially or completely unfulfilled prophecies or promises, other figures might be included in the list such as as Jacob whose blessings receive pesher in 4Q252 4:3-6:4.