

STUDIES ON THE TEXTS OF THE DESERT OF JUDAH

EDITED BY

E. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

P.W. FLINT

VOLUME XLII



ALL THE GLORY OF ADAM

Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls

BY

CRISPIN H.T. FLETCHER-LOUIS



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2002

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H.T. :

All the Glory of Adam / by Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis. -- Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2002

(Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah ; Vol. 42)

ISBN 90-04-12326-1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is also available

ISSN 0169-9962

ISBN 90 04 12326 1

© Copyright 2002 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written
permission from the publisher.

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal
use is granted by Brill provided that
the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright
Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910
Danvers MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

For Christopher Rowland

CONTENTS

Preface	xi
I. Angelomorphism in Late Second Temple	
Judaism	1
Jewish angelomorphism: An overview of texts, themes and setting	5
Conclusion	32
II. The Divine and Priestly Noah	33
Is Noah an angel?	37
Noah as angelomorphic priest: The life setting of his wondrous birth	39
The birth of the priestly Noah in its wider history-of-religions context	49
III. The Angelomorphic Priesthood in Conceptual	
Perspective	56
The angelomorphic priesthood in the cosmic temple	61
The chief priesthood as the embodiment of God's Glory	68
Sirach 50 and the praise of the high priest as the One Jewish God	72
Conclusion	84
IV. A Divine and Angelic Humanity in the DSS	88
Humanity as the Glory of God in Qumran texts	91
Transformation in the <i>Hodayot</i>	104
IQ/4QInstruction	113
Josephus on Essene Theological Anthropology	123
Qumran angelomorphism and sectarian ascetism	131
Conclusion	135
V. The Divine and Angelic Moses at Qumran	136
4Q374 Frag. 2 col. ii: The Deification of Moses at Sinai	136

4Q377 Frag. 1 recto col. ii	
Moses and priesthood	
VI. Priestly Angelomorphism in the DSS	
The blessing of the high priest (1QSb 4:24-28)	
The founding of an angelic priesthood among the Holy (4Q511 35)	
Israel are the Holy Ones and Aaron are the Holiest of the Holy Ones	
4Q418 (4QInstruction) Frag. 81	
4QVisions of Amram ^(a+c) ar: Aaron as God and the Angel of God	
4QAaron A Frag. 9: A heavenly and cosmogonic high priest	
4Q468b: The solar high priest and the light of his garments	
4Q513 (4QOrdinances ^b): Angelic food for the priesthood	
4Q369 1 ii (Prayer of Enosh(?))	
A throne in the heavens for the divine human mediator	
Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek	
VII. The High Priest, the Breastpiece and the Urim and Thummim at Qumran	
The Light-giving stones and the <i>Tongues of Fire</i> (1Q29 + 4Q376)	
Levi's possession of the Urim and Thummim (Deut 33:8-10 and 4Q175)	
Twelve chief priests' illuminating judgement of the UT (4QpIsa ^d)	
The UT and the perfect light of God's presence	
The perfect light of the UT in the <i>Hodayot</i>	
The theophanic presence of the light giving headdress (4Q408)	
The UT, the high priest' breastpiece and the name "Essenes"	
VIII. The <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>	
Introduction	

Newson's interpretation paradigm and its problems	253
Qumran theological anthropology and the <i>Sabbath</i> <i>Songs</i>	277
IX. The First Song (4Q400 1 I): The Founding	
of a Divine Community	280
Problems of the angel reading	281
4Q400 1 i and the founding of an angelic priesthood in 4Q511 35	293
4Q400 1 i and the formation of the cultic community in the IQS	296
The sectarian <i>elohim</i> , the <i>qerubim</i> and the angelic <i>cherubim</i> (line 6)	299
Conclusion and prospects for a new reading of the <i>Songs</i>	301
X. The Second to the Twelfth of the <i>Sabbath</i>	
<i>Songs</i>	306
The second song	306
The sixth song	309
The seventh song	325
The eighth song	335
The ninth song	338
The tenth song	341
The eleventh song	342
The twelfth song	345
XI. Song 13	
Angelic humans wonderfully dressed for service	358
The identification of the "spirits" in 4Q405 23ii	365
The lightgiving stones of the breastplate	368
The Chief Priests' embodying the Glory of God	373
Embodiment of the Glory in wider Jewish perspective	378
The chief priesthood as the recipients of worship	381
Cosmology and the climax of the cycle's ritualized ascent	382
The vision of the breastpieces, the Essenes and the Qumran community	388
Conclusion to the <i>Sabbath Songs</i>	391

XII. The <i>War Scroll</i>	
Humanity and the angels in battle together	
Divine and human agency	
Columns 10–19: The ideological heart of the holy war	
Conclusion	
Bibliography	
Indices	
Index of Authors	
Index of Sources	
Index of Subjects	

PREFACE

This book is the development of a footnote in my published doctoral dissertation (*Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*) and an attempt to answer a question which, doctorates being limited in length as they are these days, I did not have space to address in that work. The second part of that work was a survey of the late Second Temple evidence for the belief in an ideal humanity which is angelic (or "angelomorphic") or divine in nature or status. In a footnote to a brief discussion of the evidence of the DSS I suggested that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* had been misinterpreted and that insufficient scope had hitherto been given to the possibility that this angelic liturgy assumed a transformed, angelic humanity as the worshipping community. As I began to work in detail on that liturgical text it became clear to me that indeed a very different interpretative paradigm was needed if it was to be placed in its appropriate tradition-historical and history-of-religions contexts. The rest of this study then grew up around what eventually became the four chapters (8-11) devoted to a revisionist reading of the *Sabbath Songs*.

Since others (most notably Charles Gieschen and William Horbury) have, independently, undertaken similar surveys of the material in the literature of late Second Temple period a divine or angelic humanity is now, I hope, reckoned to be widespread. Whilst I attempted as thorough a survey as possible in my work on Luke-Acts, I did not adequately address the social and religious life-setting of an essentially literary pattern of belief. What was the experiential context which lead (some) Jews to believe that they—or their heroes—were divine? What were the wider, cosmological, co-ordinates of a world-view which fostered an angelomorphic anthropology? Already, in the latter stages of my doctoral work it became clear to me that in large measure it is the experience of worship in Israel's temple and a sophisticated, if decidedly un-modern, mythological understanding of temple time and space which answers these questions. And so, the other impetus for writing this book has been an attempt to demonstrate not only that Jews in antiquity had a much higher, positive, anthropology than is normally assumed, but that they held such an anthropology within the context of an understanding of the

cult to which, until recently, modern scholarship has tended to pay too little attention.

What follows, then, is a case study—an examination of relevant literature from the library of the community at Khirbet Qumran—which seeks to verify two, interlocking, hypotheses: (1) *the theology of ancient Judaism took for granted the belief that in its original, true, redeemed state humanity is divine (and/or angelic), and that* (2) *this belief pattern was conceptually and experientially inextricable from temple worship in which ordinary space and time, and therefore human ontology, are transcended because the true temple is a model of the universe which offers its entrants a transfer from earth to heaven, from humanity to divinity and from mortality to immortality.* Since it is only a case study—of one particular group of Jews—it will by no means serve as a *sufficient* verification of the universal validity of these two hypotheses. But it is a start.

I have many to thank for their encouragement and assistance during the journey that this book has taken. In the first instance I should thank Daniel K. Falk and Geza Vermes for kindly giving me the opportunity to share my early ruminations on the *Sabbath Songs* at the Oxford Seminar for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. And, were it not for a tea-time discussion with Daniel Falk in the Oriental Faculty my reading of Sirach 24 and 50, which plays a pivotal part in the argument, may never have been conceived. To the participants in the Jewish Mysticism Group at the American meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature*, especially Chris Morray-Jones and Jim Davila, I am much indebted for the vigorous discussion of the *Sabbath Songs*, and of my thesis. Latterly, I must thank Michael Knibb, Loren Stuckenbruck, Robert Hayward and Archie Wright whose collegiality, encouragement and critical eye have provided the perfect environment in which to finish the job. Throughout, I have been indebted to the inspiration of my Doktorvater, Chris Rowland, and to Margaret Barker.

Many thanks go to those who have provided technical and other resources: to the librarians at the Bodleian, Tyndale House and King's College, London, and to Florentino García Martínez for both kindly accepting publication in *STDJ* and for sage advice regarding certain details of the argument. Thanks also to Pim Rietbroek and Mattie Kuiper at Brill, and to Webb Mealy and Nick Drake for their help in the final production of the book.

CHAPTER ONE

ANGELOMORPHISM IN LATE SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

It has usually been thought that Judaism at the turn of the eras neither believed in the inherent divinity of humanity nor did it countenance the possibility of an apotheosis for the righteous. There was, it was assumed, an absolute qualitative difference between God and man which would not permit such an anthropology. It has normally been assumed that Jewish monotheism, which played a fundamental role in the definition of Jewish faith, piety and practice, excluded any notion of human beings having a divine identity or a status that transcended their mortality; their position as creature across the creator—creature divide. Also, a *divine* human being, however righteous and exceptional (s)he be, would threaten the singularity of the one Jewish God and his absolute transcendence.

To be sure, there is plenty of historical data which lends itself to this construction of the Jewish worldview. Jews were notoriously scrupulous in avoiding reverence towards any god other than their own and even their own God lacked any statue or permanent physical image in his temple. There are many instances in late Second Temple Jewish history where claims by human individuals (for example, Antiochus IV, Epiphaneas and Gaius Galigula) to be divine are regarded with contempt by Jews even when those individuals are Israel's own appointed leadership (Herod Agrippa I according to Acts 12 and Josephus *Ant.* 19:343–52). Within Israel's scriptures there are texts which are naturally read as an outright condemnation of any transgression of the creature-creator divide (Gen 3:22; Ezek 28:1–19; Num 23:19). Where a later Jew, such as Philo, might appear to disregard this boundary their work can be explained away as the result of a deviation from Jewish orthodoxy and the indulging in a Greco-Roman belief in a divine man, a *theios aner*.¹

¹ This phenomenon occupied a good deal of scholarship in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century. See the studies of Tiede 1972; Holladay 1977; Blackburn 1991 and note the older work of Bieler 1935–6.

However, recent scholarship questions many of these assumptions in the light of closer attention to Jewish texts from the period. Numerous studies have now challenged a rigid view of the creator—creature relationship which would exclude any possibility of a developed sense of a theological anthropology in which humanity's bearing of God's image might actually entail its participation in his own identity, his divinity. Much of this work has been driven by the straightforwardly historical problem that within a very short space of time after his death Jesus' Jewish followers started to accord him an identity far beyond his ordinary humanity to the point where he became a recipient of their devotion.² This is an historical fact which is difficult to explain if first century Jews were utterly opposed to any kind of abrogation of a rigid divine-human boundary.

At the same time, work on Jewish texts with little direct concern to explain early Christian theology has drawn attention to belief patterns which are much less *dualistic* than previously supposed.³ In particular, one thinks here of those studies which have challenged the consensus opinion that Jewish apocalyptic is thoroughly dualistic and therefore maintains a sharp distinction between heaven and earth, divine and human. In his magisterial survey of Jewish apocalyptic Christopher Rowland took to task the prevalent definition of apocalyptic which emphasized the orientation to an otherworldly eschatology and explored a model which privileged apocalyptic's interest in the revelation of heavenly secrets.⁴ This alternative model, which has regrettably still not received the attention it deserves, necessarily undermines the dualistic reading of apocalyptic texts because it insists on the mutually interpenetrating relationship between heaven and earth as a fundamental assumption of texts which are interested in revelation.⁵

Rowland's work has been taken up by Martha Himmelfarb who has highlighted in greater detail the centrality of the heavenly ascent

² See in particular the work of Hurtado 1988 and the responses to his work exemplified by the essays in Newman, et al. 1999.

³ Of the many different (and often imprecise) senses of the word "dualism" I have in mind here, and throughout this study, both the *spatial* dualism (heaven and earth as two rigidly separated realms) and the *theological* dualism (between God and humanity, creator and creature) identified by Jörg Frey (1997, 283–4).

⁴ Rowland 1982.

⁵ Rowland's thesis has not yet received sufficient attention and many still work with the older eschatologically oriented model. However, for his approach compare, e.g., Stone 1976; Gruenwald 1980; Barton 1986; Barker 1991a; Bryan 1995.

within apocalyptic texts. Such ascents frequently entail the transformation of the seer from an earthly identity to a new heavenly, divine or angelic existence which befits an access to the heavenly world. Quite rightly Himmelfarb concludes from her examination of such texts that they do “not really reflect a gulf between man and God . . . [and] clearly we need to rethink the pessimism so often attributed to the apocalypses”.⁶

Whilst such a revisionist assessment of Jewish apocalyptic has been underway there has, concurrently, been a re-evaluation of the nature of Jewish mysticism, the successor to apocalyptic after the fall of the temple. Gershom Scholem recognized in Jewish mysticism a “gnostic” pattern which allowed considerable openness to human participation in the realm of heaven and the divine identity. However, Scholem himself denied that Jewish mysticism during the first millennium (*Merkabah* and *Hekhalot Mysticism*) held any belief in a *unio mystica*; a union of the mystic with God himself.⁷ Scholem’s judgement on this matter has now been rightly rejected by those who have taken up his challenge that scholarship take Jewish mysticism seriously. So, for example, Moshe Idel has shown the extent to which, already within *Merkabah* Mysticism, the adept expects some kind of assimilation to the Godhead.⁸ Similarly, C.R.A. Morray-Jones has shown just how central to late apocalyptic and early Jewish mysticism is the belief in a pattern of “transformational mysticism” in which the mystic seeks transformation from an ordinary mortal and human existence to an angelic or divine one, through the techniques of ecstasy; ascent, theurgic use of the divine Name and asceticism.⁹

It has long been known that Samaritan theology and the somewhat heterodox movements surrounding the likes of Simon Magus in the first century adopted an openness to a divine humanity. In the past this phenomenon had tended to be bracketed out of the discussion of “orthodox” Jewish practice and belief because the Samaritan texts were perceived to be too late (200 A.D. onwards) to be of trustworthy testimony to the Second Jerusalem Temple period and, in any case, from a form of Judaism that was to all intents and purposes hermetically sealed off from its Judaeian rival. There is a

⁶ Himmelfarb 1993, 90.

⁷ Scholem 1941, 122–3.

⁸ Idel 1988a, 59–73; Idel 1988b, 1–31.

⁹ Morray-Jones 1992.

growing body of opinion that such a sharp divide between "Judaism" and Samaritanism is unwarranted and Jarl Fossum has done much to rehabilitate the relevance of Samaritan traditions for an understanding of the broader phenomenon of Jewish theological anthropology. He has shown that there is a rich tradition within Samaritan thought according to which the righteous, particularly Moses and those like him, possess a divine identity in as much as they are assimilated to God's Glory and his principal Angel by virtue of their bearing his Name. Far from being a phenomenon isolated to Samaritan thought, or even various heterodox subgroups within Samaritanism, Fossum has shown how closely related, literarily and conceptually, such ideas are to contemporary Jewish, Christian and developing gnostic thought.¹⁰

This is the broader context of recent research within which this present study is situated. More narrowly, the following discussion of Qumran texts is oriented towards the recent scholarly emphasis on *angelomorphism* as a defining feature of late Second Temple anthropology. A number of recent studies have highlighted the way in which *Jews believed the righteous lived an angelic life and possessed an angelic identity or status, such that although their identity need not be reduced to that of an angel they are nevertheless, more loosely speaking, angelomorphic.* In a pioneering essay in the early nineteen eighties James H. Charlesworth collected a number of texts where the righteous are portrayed as angels.¹¹ In the last ten years there have been a flurry of studies examining this phenomenon and its relevance for various aspects of early Christianity. For example, Charles Gieschen has undertaken a broad survey of all the evidence which would explain the development of an angelomorphic Christology across a wide spread of early Christian texts in the first couple of centuries of the Christian era.¹² In an earlier study I have undertaken a preliminary examination of similar texts, exploring the typologies of Jewish angelomorphism, showing their relevance both for Christology and soteriology in Luke's two volume work *Luke-Acts*.¹³ Since these two publications, though in independence of their approach and conclusions, William Hor-

¹⁰ Fossum 1985 and Fossum 1995.

¹¹ Charlesworth 1980.

¹² Gieschen 1998. See also Carrell 1997 examining the Christology of Revelation; Knight 1995 and Knight 1996 concentrating on the *Ascension of Isaiah*.

¹³ Fletcher-Louis 1997b, esp. pp. 110-215.

bury has challenged the prevalent opinion amongst New Testament scholars that first century Jewish messianic expectation lacked any discernible belief in a transcendent or divine messiah. Horbury has shown, in particular, that there is a wealth of textual evidence from within the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, pseudepigrapha, the targums and Dead Sea Scrolls for the expectation of a messianic figure with strongly angelic characteristics.¹⁴

It is hoped that the reader of this Dead Sea Scroll monograph will be familiar with this secondary literature and the primary sources upon which it relies. However, in this and the following two chapters I offer a brief overview of some of the relevant texts, their conceptual features, and the questions they raise are a necessary introduction to our study of texts from Qumran which belong to this conceptual world. A pressing issue to arise from the work in this field thus far is the relationship between literary form and social and religious setting. In what follows, I will attempt to show that *the principal socio-religious life setting for a Jewish divine anthropology, particularly in its earlier formative stages of development, was the Jewish Temple, its sacred space and priesthood*, and this also will set the scene for our examination of priestly and liturgical material among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jewish Angelomorphism: An Overview of Texts, Themes and Setting

The ways in which an angelomorphic or divine identity is expressed in the Jewish texts are diverse. Propositional statements to the effect that someone is "an angel", "a god", "a holy one", and so forth, abound. In each instance contextual considerations are, of course, necessary to establish the precise force of the language. Often the suprahuman identity is expressed through visual symbolism, such as the wearing of glorious, luxurious clothing or the shining of the face with a heavenly light. Again it is important that the iconographic code be sensitively interpreted with a sympathetic attention to a text's own particular religious grammar. In general, however, it is possible to discern a language which is shared by a wide spread of Jewish texts from otherwise distinct socio-religious settings within the broader parameters of late Second Temple Judaism.

¹⁴ Horbury 1998, 64–108, cf. the earlier work of his Cambridge colleague Chester 1991 and Chester 1992.

The individuals and communities which have attracted an angelomorphic and divine anthropology are equally diverse. The existence of texts in which such characters as Moses and Enoch are divine is unsurprising because already in the Biblical text their humanity had transcended its "normal" limitations. But the range of individuals involved in such speculation is much broader. It is possible to reconstruct an angelomorphic succession which stretches back as far as the pre-lapsarian Adam, through the likes of Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Jacob/Israel, Joseph, Levi, Moses, embracing the offices of king, priest and prophet, all of which, in turn, prepare for the angelomorphic messiah of the future.¹⁵ As an illustration of the kind of material we have in view here we may take two case studies—Moses and the king—focusing on texts which are particularly relevant for our study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Moses

One character who receives considerable attention from those exploring a divine anthropology is Moses. In the biblical text God makes him "as God/a god to Pharaoh" (Exod 7:1) and upon his descent from Sinai Moses' face has received the horns that mark him out as a divine being in the iconography of the ancient Near East (Exod 34:29–39).¹⁶ The Septuagint took this to signify Moses' glorification (vv. 29–30, 35: δεδοξασται and δεδοξασμένη). From at least the third century B.C. onwards Exodus 7:1 and 34:29–39 were widely interpreted to mean that Moses had a heavenly and divine identity.¹⁷

One text, which illustrates the development of this Moses tradition, is particularly important for our study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, since we know that it was part of the Qumran library. Fragments of the book of Sirach have turned up in Cave 2 (2Q18) and extensive sections of the Hebrew text have been recovered from Masada along with portions of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Though the

¹⁵ This "angelomorphic succession" is nowhere spelt out explicitly, but is a legitimate reconstruction from the continuity in diachronic characterization of individuals, the comparison with such succession narratives as Sirach 44–50 (which concentrates on the Glory of God in his chosen humanity) and the Jewish value that is attached to racial election and purity.

¹⁶ Here Wyatt 1999, 871–73 states what should have been obvious long ago.

¹⁷ For a full survey of the texts see Fletcher-Louis 1996 and Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 173–184. The earliest extra biblical witness to this tradition is the third century B.C. text Artapanus (3.27.22–26).

relevant section has not been preserved in the DSS we can be sure that the sectarians knew very well Sirach's account of the life of Moses in his praise of the fathers (chs. 44-50).¹⁸

After a brief mention of Isaac and Jacob, Sirach praises Moses (44:23-45:5):

^{43:23f.} From [Jacob's] descendants he brought forth a man of mercy, who found favour in the sight of all the living (πᾶσιν τοῖς ζῶντι, πάσης σαρκός)¹⁸ and was beloved by God and people, Moses, whose memory is blessed.

² He made him like the angels in glory (δόξη ἁγίων, מַלְאָכִים), and made him great, to the terror (ἐν φόβοις, cf. B margin: מַבְרָא) of his enemies.

³ By his words he performed swift miracles; the Lord glorified (ἐδόξασεν, Heb: יִתְקַדְּשֵׁנוּ) him in the presence of kings. He gave him commandments for his people, and revealed to him his Glory (τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ).¹⁹

⁴ For his faithfulness and meekness he consecrated him,²⁰ he choose (ἔβριση, ἐξελέξατο) him from all flesh (ἐκ πάσης σαρκός, (לְכָל) בְּשָׂרִים²¹).

⁵ He allowed him to hear his voice, and led him into the dark cloud, and gave him the commandments face to face, the law of life and knowledge, so that he might teach Jacob the covenant, and Israel his decrees.

At the close of 43:23 Moses finds favour in the sight of "all the living", or "all flesh". This statement has some precedent in the biblical text. Moses won the favour of Pharaoh's daughter (Exodus 2:5-10), of the priest of Midian and his family (Exodus 2:16-22) and of the Egyptians according to Exodus 11:3. However, Sirach's summary statement goes beyond these intimations in a more strongly universalistic direction. The language should be compared with the well-known passage in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* where Moses receives all rule and authority over the cosmos and the prostration of the angels (lines 68-89).²² That text dates from roughly the same period as Sirach's wisdom collection.

¹⁸ The Hebrew is extant in ms B from the Cairo Geniza. For an accessible Hebrew text see Beentjes 1997.

¹⁹ The Hebrew for the last words of verse 3 is not extant.

²⁰ Hebrew lacks "he consecrated him".

²¹ Hebrew restored on basis of Greek and on analogy with the language of 50:17.

²² Cf. Also Philo *De Vita Mosi* 1:155-8 and the identification of Moses with Musaeus, the teacher of Orpheus, in Artapanus (9.27.3-4).

In 45:2 Moses is angelomorphic. For the angelic "holy ones" of the Greek translation, the Geniza text had a plural "gods". Here, then, the glory is a specifically angelic glory, though how far that is to be distinguished from God's own Glory is not clear. The Geniza manuscript seems to assume the reference is to Sinai, because it has Moses strengthened "in the heights (בְּרָמִים)" in the second half of verse 2.²³ And obviously the second half of verse 3 summarizes the giving of the Torah at Sinai and the revelation to Moses of God's Glory in Exodus 33:17-23. The Septuagint also interpreted Moses' transfigured visage on his descent from Mount Sinai as a glorification (Exod 34:29: "the countenance of the complexion of his face had been glorified (δεδόξασται).") The Sinaitic revelation is again prominent in verse 5.

However, our author may also have had his eye on Exodus 7:1 where God makes Moses "as God to Pharaoh".²⁴ Reference to this verse is supported by verse 3a-b where the glorification (Hebrew: "strengthening") of Moses is set "in the presence" of kings, of whom Pharaoh is the prime example and the reference to Moses' performing swift miracles will include the signs and wonders set in Egypt. In this case Sirach is an important, and perhaps the earliest, witness to the combination of the deification at Sinai and in Exodus 7:1. The combination of Moses' "heavenly" ascent at Sinai, his transformation and his being made אֱלֹהִים to Pharaoh in Exodus 7:1 is known from Philo, rabbinic texts, Samaritan tradition and is also attested in one fragmentary Qumran text (4Q374 frag. 9: see below).²⁵

In 45:4b Moses is chosen for his faithfulness and meekness "out of all flesh". Hitherto it has been assumed that this phrase should not be taken literally; it means, rather, "from all Israel".²⁶ But neither in the Greek nor the Hebrew is there any real precedent for this translation. The phrase is a common one in Sirach and means the whole of creaturely reality.²⁷ For the meaning "Israel" in 45:4b

²³ For Moses' ascent up Sinai an ascent to the heavenly realm, cf. Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 12:1.

²⁴ So Smend 1906, 426; Skehan and DiLella 1987, 509.

²⁵ See esp. Philo's *De Vita Mosis* 1:155-8 and Tanhuma Buber *Behu'atokha* 15 (26a-b) and Meeks 1968, 353-59.

²⁶ Smend 1906, 427; Skehan & DiLella 1987, 511.

²⁷ For בְּכָל־בָּשָׂר (ה) see Sirach 8:19a; 13:15a, 16a; 14:17a; 39:19a; 41:4a; 44:18; 48:12f. and for πᾶσα σάρξ see Sirach 1:10; 13:16; 14:17; 17:4; 18:13; 39:19; 40:8; 41:4; 44:18; 45:1; 46:19.

commentators appeal to 50:17a where the phrase obviously refers, at least in part, to Israel and is translated by $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{o} \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the Greek. However, in that context the Hebrew has not lost sight of the normal sense of the phrase, but sets up Israel as the representative of all created flesh in the liturgy of the Temple.²⁸ So, too, in 45:4 it is preferable to read the second half of the verse in the light of the preceding description of Moses' ontological transformation and the revelation he receives in the next verse. The choice of Moses *from all flesh* suggests both spatial transfer in as much as he is taken into God's presence from the realm of creation, and ontological transformation in as much as he is transformed from the limited identity of the creature and taken up into the life of the creator, God. As we shall see the language was to become stereotypical in second century transformational texts.²⁹

Kingship

There is a long tradition, with its origins in the melting pot of ancient Near Eastern religious experience from which Israel was to emerge, that gives to kingship a divine identity.³⁰ Texts such as Psalm 45:7 and Isaiah 9:6 are well known: they speak of the king as מלך־אל and מלך־נבון, respectively. Less well known are texts where the king is likened to an angel (1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; 19:17; LXX Isaiah 9:5, Zechariah 12:8, cf. Esther LXX 15:4–19 (Add. D)).³¹

One of these, Zechariah 12:8, is important for our study because it is perhaps picked up in the *War Scroll* from Qumran (11:10, see below). In this text the house of David is both divine and angelic:

and the house of David shall be like God/gods, like the angel of the LORD before them (כאלהים במלאך יחיה לפניהם).

²⁸ See Fletcher-Louis 2001b, *ad loc.*

²⁹ Compare the similar expression used of Aaron in Sirach 45:16: "He chose him out of all the living (מכל חי, ἀπὸ παντὸς ζῶντος)".

³⁰ The place of "divine" kinship within Israel and the ancient Near East has been much debated. Hermeneutical constraints have not allowed a full appreciation of this aspect of Israelite religion. Though see Wyatt 1996 and Wyatt 1999 for an important recent contribution. For a balanced assessment of the data as it pertains to the post-biblical period see Collins 1995b, 20–48 and Horbury 1998, 5–35.

³¹ On these see, esp., Mettinger 1976, 254–93.

There seems here to be a deliberate reappropriation of the tradition according to which God's principal angel prepares the way for the people in the wilderness (Exod 23:20-21).³²

Also worthy of some note, again because of the text's significance at Qumran, is Numbers 24:17 which speaks of a star which shall come out of Jacob, and a sceptre which shall rise out of Israel. In the post-biblical period to speak in such astral terms is, unavoidably, to speak of an angelomorphic, heavenly figure.

In its original context this prophecy obviously looks forward to king David, but it was widely interpreted later as a prediction of a future redeemer. It appears at least three times in the Dead Sea Scrolls though in each case without obvious comment on the ontology in view (CD 7:19-21; 4Q175; IQM 11:6-7, cf. IQSb 5:24, 27). It is interpreted messianically in the Septuagint and the Targums.³³ Its most significant influence was exerted on the Bar Kochba revolt where it has left its mark on the eponymous hero of the Jewish uprising. Both the rabbinic sources (R. Akiba according to *j. Ta'anit* 68d) and the church fathers (Justin *Apol.* 1.31.6 = Eusebius *Ecl. Hist.* 4.8.4) agree on the significance of the star prophecy for the pseudonym of the revolt's leader. That such astral symbolism was dear to the revolutionaries themselves is consistent with the existence of the rosette-star on some of the coins they minted.³⁴

Neither, it seems, were the ontological implications of this astral imagery lost on those who knew of its use of Bar Kosiba. According to Eusebius he was a

murderous bandit, but relied on his name, as if dealing with slaves, and claimed to be a luminary who had come down to them from

³² For the influence of Exodus 23:20-21 here see Smith 1984, 275; Meyers and Meyers 1993, 333. This application of Exodus 23:20-21 is of considerable importance for the understanding of later mystical tradition which identifies the transformed Enoch, Metatron, with the Name bearing angel (on which see esp. Fossum 1985).

³³ See Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Neofiti, Fragment Targum (Paris Ms 110 and Vatica Ms Ebr 440), Neofiti Targum and Vermes 1961, 165-66. Its citation in 4Q175 within a collection of eschatologically significant passages lacking any explicit interpretation will also have been messianic. *T. Judah* 24:1-6 and *T. Levi* 18:3 evince the influence of Numbers 24:17 on Jewish tradition which is now extant principally in Christian form. The reference in Josephus *B.J.* 6:289 to the star resembling a sword standing over the city of Jerusalem as a visionary sign in the death throws of the first Jewish revolt also reveals the influence of Numbers 24:17. For Christian reflexes of this text see Rev 22:16; Justin *Apology* 1:32:12-13.

³⁴ For these coins see Mildenberg 1984, who, is unnecessarily dismissive (pp. 43-45) of their messianic symbolism.

heaven (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φωστήρ) to illuminate with marvels (ἐπιλάμψαι τερατευόμενος) those who were in misery (*Ecd. Hist.* 4.6.1-4).

This picture of a messianic luminary from heaven who illuminates others reminds us of several Qumran texts (e.g. 1QSb 4:27; 4QTLevi^d frag. 9; 4Q374 frag. 2 and see esp. 4Q405 23 ii below).³⁵

For corroboratory evidence for the influence of Numbers 24:17 on the angelomorphic expectation of Jews around the end of the first century A.D. we have the fifth book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (lines 414-5). There the seer describes, proleptically, how

A blessed man came from the expanses of heaven
with a sceptre (σκήπτρον) in his hands which God gave him.³⁶

Here the redeemer is heavenly, though still *human* (ἄνθρωπος κακάρτης).³⁷ It will, perhaps, have been this kind of expectation that Bar Kosiba was thought to fulfil and, as we shall see, it was the same kind of messianic vision which motivated the author of the *Qumran War Scroll*.

Jerome records a variant on the tradition in Eusebius. According to Jerome (*Contra Rufinum* 3:31) "the great Bar Kochba, instigator of an uprising of Jews, held a straw in his mouth and fanned the flames with his breath so that people believed that he spat out flames". This is noteworthy because it ties up suggestively with 4 Ezra 13:4, 10-11 where the Son of Man breathes destructive fire from his mouth.

These two traditions, reflecting a belief in an angelomorphic or divine Moses and king, are illustrative of many of the themes that a fuller examination of the primary sources would reveal. However, their focus on *individuals* must be balanced by the fact that there is, equally, in many of the texts a stress upon whole communities living the divine life. Here, of course, the nation of Israel is the most important angelomorphic community. By virtue of her reception of the Torah at Sinai, her keeping of laws which give her true humanity, her access to the heavenly world through her temple and liturgy, Israel is set apart from the rest of humanity. Pagans inhabit the

³⁵ The messianic status of Bar Kosiba has, in fact, been contested (Aleksandrov 1973; Mildenberg 1984).

³⁶ For the influence of Numbers 24:17 here see Hengel 1983, 675; Chester 1992, 243-4.

³⁷ Compare *Sib. Or.* 5:108-10; 155-61; 256-7.

realm of dumb idols, living a life no better than the beasts, whilst Israel has the power of the living God and an angelic identity appropriate for members of his household. (For some Jews towards the end of the Second Temple period, racial Israel had ceased to be co-extensive with the true, spiritual Israel and so only their own (sectarian) community—a subset of racial Israel—is truly angelomorphic.)

Studies driven by New Testament concerns have tended to focus attention on the *singular* angelomorphic hero of old or the future messiah whose identity prefigures early Christian beliefs about Jesus.³⁸ However, the fact that so often the angelomorphic identity is grounded in that of Adam before his exit from Eden, the existence of a continuity of angelomorphic identity through the generations of God's elect and the focus on Israel as an angelomorphic people of God speaks for a theological perspective which should not be missed: there seems to be a claim which is usually implicit, but, as we shall see, is at other times explicit, that true *humanity*, as it is restored among the elect, is both angelomorphic and divine. In the rush to explain the origins of early Christian beliefs about Jesus sight can be lost of the fact that the peculiarly divine, angelic or exalted status of a *particular* righteous individual is fundamentally an expression of a more *universal* theological anthropology. In the rest of this study we will explore how that theological anthropology is understood in one particular community, that of Khirbet Qumran.

The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Qumran community are particularly important for our inquiry because they are a strongly priestly community. Again, scholars with New Testament interests have tended to concentrate on the royal and Davidic categories in their examination of mediatorial speculation in the Jewish "background" to early Christianity.³⁹ There is a general consensus that priestly messianism, whether or not of a "divine" form, is of no real historical significance in the late Second Temple period. The failure to attend properly to Israel's priestly and cultic traditions is, thankfully, now being addressed from a number of quarters.⁴⁰ This is not the place for a thoroughgoing assessment of the role of the priesthood and temple

³⁸ See most recently Horbury 1998, 64–108.

³⁹ This, and the failure to attend to the communal perspective of the underlying theological anthropology, is a weakness of Horbury's, otherwise welcome, monograph dealing with the evidence for an angelic messiah (Horbury 1998).

⁴⁰ Notable contributions include Himmelfarb 1993; Collins 1995b. For the more general temple-centred picture of Judaism in our period see especially Sanders 1992.

in the wider formation of Jewish messianic expectation and the rise of early Christianity. However, in trying to understand the theological context and socio-religious life setting of the theological anthropology which we are exploring the overwhelming significance of the Temple, its priesthood and liturgical drama cannot be underestimated. This has, largely, been ignored in previous discussion and in the rest of this chapter the role of the cult in the formation and expression of a divine and angelomorphic humanity will be explored.

Priesthood

Although, there are some important biblical texts in which the king or royal messiah has angelic characteristics, these are outweighed in significance and number in the later post-biblical period by those in which it is the priesthood that is angelomorphic and/or divine.

One of the most important biblical texts which gave canonical authority to the belief in an angelomorphic priesthood is Malachi 2:5-7 which says of Levi:

⁵ My covenant with him was a covenant of life and peace, which I gave him; this called for reverence, and he revered me and stood in awe of my name. ⁶ True instruction was in his mouth (וְהוֹרָה אֱמֶת הִתְהַב בְּפִיָּהוּ), and no wrong was found on his lips (בְּשִׁפְתָיו). He walked with me in integrity and uprightness (בְּשִׁלּוֹם וּבְמִישׁוֹר הֵלֵךְ אִתִּי), and he turned many (רַבִּים) from iniquity. ⁷ For the lips of a priest (כִּי שִׁפְתֵי כֹהֵן) should guard knowledge (יִשְׁמְרוּ דַעַת), and people should seek instruction from his mouth (וְתוֹרָה יִבְקֹשׁוּ מִפִּיָּהוּ), for he is the angel of the LORD of hosts (מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הוּא).

Although English translations usually give to the last expression of verse 7 a purely functional translation (the *messenger* of the LORD) the Hebrew can be taken to mean that the priest is *an angel* of the LORD of hosts.⁴¹ This reading is consistent with the emphasis in the preceding verses on the true priest's own character, personal integrity and physical proximity to God which implies more than simply his functional role as God's messenger. This text was widely interpreted in priestly circles to mean that the priest has an ontological identity akin to that of a (suprahuman) angel.⁴² The designation of the priest as המלאך is attested in the near contemporary Ecclesiastes 5:5 (LXX

⁴¹ That Levi walked with God picks up the language of Genesis 5:22, 24; 6:9 where Enoch and Noah do the same.

⁴² Besides *Jubilees* 31 and the Qumran texts discussed below see *Lev. Rab.* 21:12.

5:6), where the different versions attest the fluidity of interpretation such language allows: the LXX translates לַפְנֵי הַמַּלְאָךְ as πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ whereas Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion all have ἄγγελος.⁴³

The importance of Malachi 2 for the development of a belief in an angelomorphic priesthood can be clearly seen in *Jubilees* 31:⁴⁴

¹³ And he [Isaac] turned to Levi first and began to bless him first, and he said to him: "May the Lord of all, i.e. the Lord of all ages, bless you and your sons in all ages.

¹⁴ May the Lord give you and your seed very great g/Glory. May he make you and your seed near to him from all flesh⁴⁵ to serve in his sanctuary as the angels of the presence and the holy ones. May your sons' seed be like them with respect to g/Glory and greatness and sanctification.⁴⁶ May he make them great in every age.

¹⁵ And they will become judges and rulers and leaders of all of the seed of the sons of Jacob.

The word of the Lord they will speak righteously,
and all his judgments they will execute righteously.
And they will tell my ways to Jacob,
and my paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord shall be in their mouth,
so that they might bless all of the seed of the beloved.

¹⁶ (As for) you, your mother has named you "Levi",
and truly she has named you.

You will be joined to the Lord
and be the companion of all the sons of Jacob.
his table will belong to you,

The Jewish priesthood's angelic identity is already present in the late fourth century B.C. Greek author Hecataeus of Abdera's account of the Jewish constitution. He says that the Jews believe the high priest acts as an ἄγγελος to them of God's commandments (Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* XL, 3.5). The fact that, as such, the high priest is also the recipient of the people's prostration (XI, 3.6) suggests that Hecataeus understood more than simply a *functional* representation of Israel's god. (For a fuller discussion of this text see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 120–22).

⁴³ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 119 for secondary literature.

⁴⁴ Translation follows O.S. Wintermute in *OTP* 2. For Wintermute's "honor" I have used "glory" because this better retains the ambivalence of the underlying כבוד, cf. Charles 1902, 186. For a less literal but fully annotated translation with texts see VanderKam 1989.

⁴⁵ VanderKam's "all humanity" misses the ontological significance of the literal text. As his proposed Hebrew original rightly shows the text will have had "מכול בשר" (VanderKam 1999b, 501).

⁴⁶ VanderKam's suggested Hebrew original (VanderKam 1999b, 501) reads: "לשרה במקדשו כמלאכי הפנים וכקדושים כמותם יהיה זרע בניכה לכבוד ולגדולה ולקדושה" ו"אוחזה ואח זרעכה יקדים אליו מכול בשר".

and you and your sons will eat (from) it,
 and in all generations your table will be full,
 and your food will not be lacking in any age.
¹⁷ And all who hate you will fall before you,
 and all your enemies will be uprooted and perish,
 and whoever blesses you will be blessed,
 and any nation which curses you will be cursed.

This is the first half of a two part blessing upon Levi and Judah (31:11–17 and 18–20) in which the former is obviously superior to the latter.⁴⁷ Isaac's blessing of his two grandsons is deliberately modelled on the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Genesis 48 as James VanderKam has shown.⁴⁸ Just as Ephraim was made pre-eminent over Manasseh so here, in *Jubilees* 31, Levi is superior to Judah.

The patriarchal blessing is also one of four episodes collected in chapters 30–32 of *Jubilees* which explain and justify how Levi was appointed to the priesthood.⁴⁹ This particular passage is therefore reflective of the author's attempt to give greater authority to the Levitical priesthood than scripture, which focuses on Aaron, allows. Biblically, the closest parallel to this elevation of Levi is Malachi 2, which claims a "covenant" with Levi. It is not, therefore, surprising that Malachi 2:5–7 should have exerted some influence on the *Jubilees* text.

VanderKam has detailed several points of correspondence between *Jubilees* 31 and Malachi 2.⁵⁰ Besides the obvious correspondence between the two passages in the description of the priest as *angel* there is the way *Jubilees* 31:15 focuses on the priest's *mouth* as the source of blessing picking up the דבר of Malachi 2:7 and the emphasis on the priest as the source of instruction (Mal 2:6 and *Jub.* 31:15).⁵¹

⁴⁷ For a detailed commentary see Davenport 1971, 57–62 and VanderKam 1999b.

⁴⁸ VanderKam 1996 370–1; VanderKam 1999b, 499–501, 503.

⁴⁹ The others being his zealous slaying of the Shechemites (30:1–20), a dream vision (32:1) and his being the tithe of Jacob's sons at the feast of Tabernacles (32:2–15).

⁵⁰ VanderKam 1988, 362, cf. VanderKam 1989, vol. 2, 205.

⁵¹ For another noteworthy instance of the influence of Mal 2:7 see Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 28:3 where Kenaz and the prophets say "Speak, Phinehas. Should anyone speak before the priest who guards the commandments of the LORD our God, especially since the truth goes forth from his mouth and a *shining light from his heart*?" In the *Lives of the Prophets* (16:1–2) the prophet Malachi is himself regarded as angelomorphic: "he led a beautiful life. And since the whole people honoured him as holy and gentle, it called him Malachi, which means "angel"; for he was indeed beautiful to behold".

To be sure, *Jubilees* 31:13-17 is a patchwork of biblical allusions and echoes.⁵² The priest's instruction looks also to Deuteronomy 33:8-11, a text which has inspired much of *Jubilees* 31:15-17.⁵³ The "blessing of the LORD" will have in mind, in particular, Numbers 6:22-27.⁵⁴

There are those who have been unwilling to see here anything more than a parallelism of *action* between the human priesthood and the angels.⁵⁵ In the previous chapter, one of the angels of the presence says "the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood and Levitical (orders) to minister before the Lord just as we do" (31:18).⁵⁶ So clearly the priests' *action* in their ministry is central to their comparison with the angels. However, other considerations suggest the author of *Jubilees* was not really aware of any distinction between being and action.⁵⁷ Levi and his seed are separated "from all flesh" to serve God in his sanctuary. This should probably not be taken as purely idiomatic.⁵⁸ Judging by the use of this phrase in Sirach 45:4 and several other Dead Sea Scrolls (see below) it means a real ontological transfer from one realm of being to another. The new realm of being is characterized, in particular, by "glory" ("and greatness and sanctification") as it was for Moses (Sirach 45:2a, 3bd). The nature of this glory, whether narrowly anthropological (honour, fame) or overtly theological (Glory), is not stated. Near contemporary texts, such as Sirach 50, which we shall discuss later, suggest that since God is the giver of this glory it is his own and that this is one example of the belief that the priesthood somehow embodies God's own Glory.

Within the Jewish temple graded space marks out qualitatively different spheres of reality. The inner sanctuary utterly transcends the reality of the outer courts. That Levi is brought near to God

⁵² See esp. VanderKam 1999b.

⁵³ See VanderKam 1988, 363-4.

⁵⁴ VanderKam 1999b, 509. Levi as one "joined to the LORD" shares the etymology of his name in Gen 29:34 (cf. *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:13).

⁵⁵ Charles 1902, 186; Davenport 1971, 60.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 37: "The angel Michael descended and took Levi and carried him up to God. . . . And he extended his right hand and blessed him, that the sons of Levi might serve him on earth as the ministering angels in heaven".

⁵⁷ Richard Bauckham has rightly seen that any clear separation of being and action is alien to the Jewish worldview at this time (Bauckham 1998, viii).

⁵⁸ In the Greek version of the *Aramaic Levi* document the parallel to *Jub.* 21:16 regarding the proper washing before and after entering the sanctuary has the injunction, which is not in *Jubilees*, "wash your hands and feet thoroughly from all flesh (ἀπὸ πάσης σαρκός)" (*54).

thus means a spatial relocation which, in turn, implies an ontological one.⁵⁹

The extent of the influence of such ideas upon the theology of priesthood was widespread. Philo and the rabbis share a tradition in which Leviticus 16:17 ("no man shall be *לֹא יִהְיֶה*) in the tent of meeting from the time he (the high priest) enters . . ." is taken to mean that the high priest is not a man, but is angelic.⁶⁰ Margaret Barker has provocatively argued that much of Philo's peculiar logos speculation is derived from the Jerusalem temple and its priestly theology.⁶¹ Although, as we shall see, the belief in an angelic priesthood is particularly dear to mystical and apocalyptic circles exemplified by the Qumran community, the theology was shared far beyond such communities. So, for example, it is clearly presumed in the *Letter of Aristaeus*, a propagandist work which shows little interest in matters apocalyptic, but for whom the high priest is a thoroughly otherworldly figure. In the letter's account of the Jewish temple and its service the sight of the high priest "makes one awestruck and dumbfounded" and gives the impression that "one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world (99)."⁶²

Besides texts such as these, where it is explicitly the priest who is angelomorphic a detailed study of other angelomorphic individuals shows how much, time and again, ordinary humanity has been transcended by virtue of a priestly privilege.

The Primeval State of the Angelomorphic Humanity

In some manuscripts of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (the misnamed *Apocalypse of Moses*) Adam is said to have lost "great glory" with which he was clothed before he fell. Cain, the child of the first couple, is borne lustrous in the partially parallel Latin *Vitae Adae et Evae* 21:3 and his name, *Adiaphotos* ("one devoid of light"), in the Greek (1:3) seems to reflect this luminescent birth, though in this

⁵⁹ For being brought near see Deut 10:8; 18:5; 2 Chr 29:11; *T. Levi* 2:10, 20 and the language used to describe the heavenly priesthood in the *Sabbath Songs*.

⁶⁰ *Lev. Rab.* 21:12; Philo: *Rev. Div. Her.* 84; *Sonn.* 2:188-189; 2:231. See Schäfer 1975, 201-3.

⁶¹ Barker 1991b.

⁶² The Greek (*ἐμπροσὶ φόβου καὶ ταραχῆν ὥστε νομίζειν εἰς ἕτερον ἐληλυθέναι ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου*) is ambivalent and could also be translated "a man would think he had come out of this world into another one", but this amounts to much the same sense.

case the point is made that he has lost his light.⁶³ According to the Latin text Adam and Eve ate angelic food before their ejection from paradise (4:1–2) and Adam was worshipped by the angels at his creation as the bearer of God's image (chs. 12–16). Corrine Patton has suggested that this worship of Adam is modelled on the worship of a cult statue in a temple; a suggestion which is consistent with the OT image of God theology which sets up humanity as the only appropriate equivalent to a pagan idol.⁶⁴

We can be sure that, at least from the Greek recension of this text, a Hebrew layer of its development regarded the transcendent identity of the primeval humanity as specifically *priestly*. In the first chapter of the Greek text Abel is given the name Amilabes (1:3). S.T. Lachs has suggested that this is a corruption of the Hebrew *מַעֲלֵי לְבָשׁ*, "he who dons the garment", or *מַעֲלֵי לְבָשׁ מִי*, "he who dons my garment".⁶⁵ This would then reflect both the tradition that Adam wore not garments of skin (עֹר: Gen 3:21), but garments of light (אֵשׁ) and the technical terminology for the priestly robe (מַעֲלֵי) in Exodus 28:4, 31. In a way which anticipates the anthropological dualism of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Abel is then set over against Cain, just as light is set over darkness.

The existence of a garment which is both priestly and Adamic is already attested in the book of Ezekiel. In Ezekiel 28:12–19 there is painted a picture of the king of Tyre as the *Urmensch* in the garden of Eden. Unfortunately, the Hebrew of this text is notoriously difficult and the versions disagree at various critical points. However, it is clear that the text represents a significant stage in the development of the theology of priesthood and kingship. The king is "full of wisdom and perfect in beauty (מִלֵּא חִכְמָה וְכָלִיל יָפִי)" (v. 12). Not only is he set in Eden, as was Adam, he wears the same precious stones (v. 13) as those worn by the high priest according to the Priestly tradition in Exodus 28. He is blameless and set on God's holy mountain, walking among the stones of fire, until he is cast from his paradisaal abode for his iniquity.

⁶³ For ἀδιόφωτος rather than the variant διάφωτος as the original reading of the Greek text here see Tromp 2000, 279. (Though Tromp's argument that ἀδιόφωτος is a corruption is hard to follow.)

⁶⁴ Patton 1994, 296–300. For humanity as God's "idol" see Fletcher-Louis 1999.

⁶⁵ Lachs 1982, 173–4. Strangely, Tromp (2000, 280) does not appear to know Lachs' contribution which perhaps explains his inability to explain the Greek ἀμιλαβές.

In v. 14a the Massoretic and Septuagint traditions diverge. The Hebrew of the MT says of this king that "You are a [or, the] cherub אַתָּה כְּרוּב . . .", whilst the LXX evidently misunderstood the obscure feminine pronoun *att* for the preposition *et* and has the king placed by God *with* the cherub (μετὰ τοῦ χερουβ εἴθηκά). In the Hebrew, which is taken over by the Vulgate (*tu cherub*), the *Urmensch* is angelic, whilst in the LXX he only experiences community with the angelic world, an *Engelgemeinschaft*. A similar divergence in sense recurs in verse 16 where the MT appears to have the king addressed as a cherub: "and I will (or, I have) destroy(ed) you, O covering cherub (וְאַכְרֵךְ כְּרוּב הַסֶּכֶךְ)", and the LXX has, instead, "the (guardian) cherub drove you out (ἵγαγέν σε τὸ χερουβ) from among the stones of fire". Although the LXX does not have the king directly addressed as a cherub it has been suggested that this still gives the king an angelic identity because it sets him as one of a pair of *cherubim*, for this is normally how they appear (e.g. Exod 25:18–22; 37:7–9; Num 7:89; 1 Kgs 6:23–28).⁶⁶ In any case if, as James Barr has recently demonstrated,⁶⁷ the MT retains the original reading in verses 14 and 16, then this is how the Qumran community will have read this passage.

This picture of a high priestly leader in the garden of Eden is tantalizingly obscure in many of its details, but full of themes that we will find re-emerge in the Dead Sea Scroll texts. Indeed, we will later find evidence which *may* confirm that the community found in this picture of the cherubic *Urmensch* a reflection of their own self-image. The close association of temple and paradise is widespread in post-biblical texts including those cherished at Qumran (e.g. *Jub.* 3:8–14, 27; 8:19; 1QH^a 16:4–37; 4Q500 frag. 1; 4Q265 7 ii 11–17).⁶⁸ It is already enshrined in the narrative of Genesis 2–3 which draws heavily on the symbolism and traditions of the Temple, including something like Ezekiel 28:12–19. As we shall see the idealized image of the wisdom-filled sacral king and primal man in Ezekiel 28 will be taken up and developed in a more narrowly priestly direction in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

⁶⁶ Miller 1993, 498–99.

⁶⁷ Barr 1992, 214–222. Cf. Greenberg 1997, 579, 583.

⁶⁸ See generally Brooke 1999, and also Baumgarten 1994 and Martínez 1999a for halakhah based on the legal equivalence of Eden and Temple in *Jubilees* 3:8–14 and 4Q265.

Enoch, the Heavenly High Priest

One character who figures prominently in all discussions of Jewish mediatorial speculation is Enoch, the seventh from Adam. There is extant a wealth of pseudepigraphic material ascribed to this primeval figure about whom the bible itself has very little to say. He is evidently a Jewish equivalent to the Mesopotamian flood hero who has particularly intimate relations with the gods, is taken to live in the divine community and is regarded as the founder of a guild of mantic wisdom.⁶⁹ The Enochic corpus consists primarily of the long works *1, 2 and 3 Enoch* and he is more briefly mentioned in *Jubilees* 4:16-26; *Sirach* 44:16; 49:14, the targums and rabbis.⁷⁰

A consistent feature of Enoch's characterization is his divine or angelic identity. In *2 Enoch* 22:8-10 he gains access to God's presence after an ascent through the seven heavens. There Michael is told (22:8-10):

"Go, and extract Enoch from his earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of [my]⁷¹ Glory". And so Michael did, just as the LORD had said to him. . . . And the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light, and its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance like myrrh; and it is like the rays of the glittering sun. And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.⁷²

The "glorious ones" are the angels of heaven who do obeisance to the LORD (22:7) and so Enoch now has an angelomorphic appearance. In what follows Enoch no longer needs food or sleep (56:2; 23:3, 6), his face is incandescent (37:2) and he becomes omniscient (40:1-2, 4-13). Because for *2 Enoch*, Adam also had an angelomorphic identity (30:11 [J]), Enoch recovers the pre-lapsarian state.⁷³

Although the *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37-71) are much more difficult to interpret than *2 Enoch* they also seem to preserve a tradition in which Enoch is identified as the singularly righteous human being

⁶⁹ See generally VanderKam 1984. Note that in the Sumerian story the hero, Ziusudra, is both king and high priest.

⁷⁰ For a thorough survey see, e.g. G.W.E. Nickelsburg "Enoch, first book of" in ABD 2:508-16 and see the monographs of VanderKam 1984; Kvanvig 1988.

⁷¹ The A recension lacks this divine personal pronoun.

⁷² This is the J recension. The A recension has only minor variations in language.

⁷³ For a fuller discussion see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 153-55.

who has "a countenance full of grace like that of one among the holy angels" (46:1) and who is revealed seated on the throne of God's Glory (62:2, 5; 61:9; 69:29).⁷⁴ In the Hekhalot literature, also, Enoch's divine and angelic identity figures prominently. In the Hebrew *3 Enoch* Enoch undergoes heavenly ascent transformation, gigantic enlargement (ch. 9), fiery transformation and investiture (ch. 12); he is renamed Metatron the prince of the divine presence and the lesser Yahweh (ch. 10; 12:5) and identified with the Angel of the LORD who bears God's Name in Exodus 23:20-21).

The antiquity of this angelomorphic Enoch tradition is uncertain. In the *Book of Watchers*, the oldest of the Enoch texts (3rd-4th century B.C.), Enoch has peculiar rights of access to the divine presence (chs. 14-15), however he is not explicitly said to be divine or angelic. Yet there are good reasons to think that this was the accepted view already in the third century B.C. In the first place, the Mesopotamian figure, upon whom the Israelite Enoch is modelled is given a divine life.⁷⁵ Secondly, in Sirach 49:14-15 Enoch's pre-existence and avoidance of ordinary birth seems to be in view when the Hebrew says

Few have been formed on earth like Enoch.
And also he was bodily taken away.
If, like Joseph, he had been born a man,
then his corpse also would have been cared for.⁷⁶

The Hebrew Sirach, writing at the beginning of the second century B.C. seems to take for granted the belief that Enoch, unlike a man such as Joseph, was not born but simply created. That he neither was born nor dies makes him more angel than ordinary mortal.

This long tradition of speculation on Enoch's divine and angelic identity is not now contested. Though details of interpretation remain disputed, its general shape is widely known. However, its life setting has been more difficult to ascertain. Most commentators have tended to assume that, like all apocalyptic, the Enoch tradition must be sectarian in nature. However, the sectarian nature of apocalyptic has

⁷⁴ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 149-153 for a justification of the view that the identification of Enoch with the Son of Man figure is no mere unexpected twist in chapter 71 but central to the whole thrust of the *Similitudes*.

⁷⁵ See *Atrahasis* col. vi ll. 254-56, 259-60 (Lambert and Millard 1969, p. 145) for king Ziusudra given "life, like a god" and his elevation "to eternal life, like a god", and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (Tab. XI, ll. 193-95: *ANET* p. 38) where Utnapishtim is "like unto the gods".

⁷⁶ Translation follows Lee 1986, 232. See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 147-9.

been considerably overstated and is now challenged from a number of fronts.⁷⁷ There is a considerable body of evidence to support the thesis that the angelomorphic Enoch tradition grew out of, and was nurtured by, the Jerusalemite priesthood. It is only because the community at Qumran were a break-away group from the Jerusalemite priesthood that they took with them and cherished their version of *I Enoch*. But the earliest Enoch material and the basic shape of its theology grows out of Israel's cultic and priestly theology.

The first, obvious, piece of the picture to support this view is the fact that it is the *Priestly* Enoch material in Genesis (Gen 5:18-24) which is the source or inspiration of the later Enoch material. The claim that Enoch "walked with God/the gods" is evidently the inspiration for diverse traditions in which Enoch is set in heaven in the company of God and the angels. And a good case could be made for the fact that the later Enoch tradition is not simply imaginatively embellishing the brief portrayal in scripture but is faithfully recording the kind of traditions assumed by the biblical author. The careful structuring of the Priestly genealogy, its close parallels in Mesopotamian materials, Enoch's association with the solar calendar, all suggest that the author of Genesis 5 knows much more than he is willing to let on. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the kind of Enoch material that emerges after the third century B.C. represents the kind of traditions that the author of Genesis 5 knew of—even if those traditions have been reformed and reapplied to a later situation. It is then also a reasonable hypothesis that continuity of tradition means continuity of *Sitz im Leben*: the author of the earliest extra-canonical Enoch material is a direct descendent of the Priestly author responsible for the laconic Genesis 5:18-24.

Since the work of David Suter and George Nickelsburg the *Fall of the Watchers* cycle has been widely interpreted as a typological reference to the exogamy of priests who, like watchers in heaven, have left their domain of cultic and racial purity by marrying non-Israelite women of the land.⁷⁸ On that basis, and drawing attention to the close parallels between Enoch's actions and those of Ezra, Helge Kvanvig has concluded that Enoch is the archetypal scribe and

⁷⁷ See the important challenges to the consensus in the work of Cook 1995; Himmelfarb 1993; Bryan 1995.

⁷⁸ Nickelsburg 1981; Suter 1979.

priest.⁷⁹ This view has been developed most fully by Martha Himmelfarb. She points to numerous temple and priestly details of *1 Enoch* 14: taking up the implications of the Suter/Nickelsburg interpretation, the watchers are priests; the tripartite heaven which Enoch enters is modelled on the tripartite division of the second Temple sanctuary; the language of Enoch's approach ("to draw near") is cultic; the Great Glory is himself dressed in priestly attire; the background to scribal and teaching activity is predominantly priestly, and Enoch's role as intercessor and his right of access to God's presence is otherwise reserved for the high priest.

As Himmelfarb and others have noted, in later literature Enoch's priestly credentials were well-known and are developed.⁸⁰ Enoch's transformation in *2 Enoch* is greatly indebted to priestly practice and its understanding of investiture. The myrrh fragrance of the oil of Enoch's anointing recalls the sacred oil of anointing prescribed by Moses for the tabernacle in Exodus 30:22-23. The comparison of the oil with sweet dew is perhaps a reflection of Psalm 133:2-3 where there is a parallelism between the oil running down the head of Aaron and the dew of Mount Hermon.⁸¹ The reference to the glittering rays of the sun is yet one more witness to the theme of priestly luminescence.⁸² The specific comparison of the *oil of anointing* with the sun's rays is ultimately dependent on the priestly tradition within the Pentateuch since there the oil of anointing is placed in God's fourth speech to Moses in Exodus 25-31 as a parallel within the Tabernacle instructions to the creation of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day of creation (Genesis 1:14-19).⁸³ In general terms Enoch's investiture is indebted to the scene in Zechariah 3 where the high priest's old clothes are removed and replaced with new ones. In that scene too the priest is attended by angels, just as

⁷⁹ Kvanvig 1988, 99-103. Kvanvig's view that the Enoch tradition was developed by Levites who returned from Babylon in the fourth century (pp. 135-43, 157-8, 330-333) is possible but difficult to prove. If this means a group which is otherwise disconnected from the Jerusalemite "orthodoxy" responsible for the Hebrew Bible it is an unlikely explanation of the data.

⁸⁰ For what follows compare Himmelfarb 1993, 25-46.

⁸¹ Cf. also 2 Sam 1:21 for the connection between the oil of anointing and dew.

⁸² Pace Anderson (*OTP* 1:139) the motif is no indication that this is derived from Moses' shining face.

⁸³ For this intratextuality see Weinfeld 1981, 507, cf. Kearney 1977. For Sirach as a witness to this priestly theology of oil and heavenly bodies see Fletcher-Louis 2000b, 62-63 and Fletcher-Louis 2001b.

Michael acts as Enoch's attendant in 2 *Enoch* (cf. *T. Levi* 8). In 2 *Enoch* 22:6 Enoch is granted permanent access to God's throne room, just as Joshua is given rights of access to the heavenly realm in Zechariah 3:7. The concluding chapters of 2 *Enoch* (chs. 69-73) are devoted to the priestly succession after Enoch's ascension.

In *Jubilees* Enoch's scribal skills and wisdom are put in the service of the observation of the heavens and their order "so that the sons of man might know the (appointed) times of the years according to their order, with respect to each of their months" (4:17). This is knowledge of a thoroughly priestly and cultic nature. Just what form it took is illustrated by the calendrical details of the *Astronomical Book* (1 *Enoch* 72-82). *Jubilees* also has Enoch act as priest in offering the evening incense offering (4:25), as would Aaron according to Exodus 30:8. Later on Abraham instructs his son Isaac in the proper matters⁸⁴ of the sacrificial cult (21:1-20) and claims that the regulations he gives he has "found written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch . . ." (21:10). One of these regulations, regarding the proper form of wood to be used for the fire of the altar (21:12) apparently lies behind the revelation to Enoch of the fourteen evergreen trees in 1 *Enoch* 3.

In 3 *Enoch* the priestly tradition is somewhat more muted than these earlier texts, which is unsurprising given that its "rabbinic" life setting is far removed from the strongly priestly world which nurtured the Enoch tradition towards the close of the Second Temple period. However, Enoch's priestly credentials are not forgotten.⁸⁴ In 3 *Enoch* 7 Enoch is stationed before Shekinah "to serve (as would the high priest) the throne of glory day by day". He is given a crown which perhaps bears God's Name as did that of the high priest (12:4-5) and a כִּיָּוֶן like that of the high priest (Exod 38:4, 31, 34 etc).⁸⁵

Most commentators have judged 1 *Enoch* 12-16 a repudiation of the allegedly corrupt Jerusalemite priesthood, which naturally implies a *sectarian* setting for this very early apocalyptic work.⁸⁶ However, whilst the exogamy typology is a convincing explanation of the myth, the conclusion that its authorship is *estranged* from the Jerusalemite

⁸⁴ See Himmelfarb 1993, 44-45.

⁸⁵ Cf. 1 *Enoch* 48 and see Himmelfarb 1993, 45. The priestly credentials of the Enoch-Metatron character are further reflected in *Num. Rab.* 12:12 where he acts as a priest in the heavenly sanctuary.

⁸⁶ E.g. Nickelsburg 1981, 586; Suter 1979, 131, 134-5.

priesthood is unnecessary. Although in the *Damascus Document* (2:16–19) and the *Testament of Levi* (chs. 14–16) it would be fair to conclude that the fall of the watchers is used for a sectarian argument, the socio-religious make-up of Israelite society was very different after the Antiochene crisis (whence these two texts) by comparison with the pre-Maccabean period, whence the *Book of Watchers*. There is no direct and indisputable evidence for an anti-Jerusalemite sectarian group in the pre-Maccabean period.

Unless, that is, one include in the definition of sectarian the Samaritans, who we know *did* set themselves over against the Jerusalem hierarchy. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar has now made the attractive suggestion that *1 Enoch* 12–16 is originally directed at Samaritans, on the basis of a passage in Josephus' *Antiquities* (11:306–12), which describes how Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddua, married Nikaso, the daughter of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.⁸⁷ The marriage led to Manasseh's expulsion from the Jerusalem hierarchy and the founding of a temple on Mount Gerizim, which was supplied with priests and laity amongst Manasseh's supporters. Tigchelaar finds support for his proposal, not only in the closing chapters of *Ezra*, but also the combination of anti-Samaritan and anti-exogamy material in *Testament of Levi* chs. 2–7 and *Jubilees* 30. If he is right this means that in its present form the watchers cycle was composed from the perspective of the Jerusalem Temple Jewish community as a satire and moralistic aetiology of the behaviour of "heterodox" Samaritan Jews. In all probability it was written by a priest in the *Ezra* tradition whose hero, Enoch, is created in his own scribal image.

Tigchelaar's hypothesis can be supported by two other texts. The first of these is the reference to Enoch in *Sirach* 49:14–15. Those verses, which we have seen testify to early Enoch speculation, have a penultimate position in a long hymn which sings the praises of Israel's righteous heroes (44:1–50:21). They are in a *penultimate* position because they are placed immediately prior to the climactic moment in that hymn, the praise of the high priest Simon in 50:1–21. Yet the reference to Enoch and Joseph is somewhat out of place given that the hymn has worked chronologically from Israel's oldest patriarchs through its youngest in the rest of chapters 44–49. Having reached Nehemiah in 49:13 the chronology uncoils itself back

⁸⁷ Tigchelaar 1996, 198–203.

to Enoch who has already been mentioned in his proper sequence in 44:16. Why is Enoch introduced at this point? Close examination of the literary context suggests the compiler of this wisdom material is engaging in subtle priestly propaganda.

Chapter 49, verse 16, the final verse before the introduction of Simon the high priest, takes up the reference to Enoch and takes the glory of the fathers back to Shem, Seth, Enosh and Adam, whose beauty (הפארה) is above every living thing. The next verse appears to identify the pre-lapsarian Adam with Simon who is the "greatest of his brothers and the beauty (הפארה) of his people" (50:1).⁸⁸ Since, as we have seen in contemporary texts (*Book of Watchers*, *Jubilees*) Enoch is a priest, it is reasonable to suppose that the reference to Enoch is also meant as a mythological claim for Simon's high priest: Simon recapitulates both the true Adamic identity and also that of the seventh from Adam, Enoch. The references to Shem, Seth, and Enosh are then a recognition of the continuity in a (priestly) succession from Adam to Enoch (cf. *Jub.* 19:24-25, 27; 1 Chr 1:1-4).⁸⁹

But then what of the reference to Joseph? Reference to Joseph is, intriguingly, not made where it would be expected in the preceding praise of the fathers.⁹⁰ For a text from the beginning of the second century B.C., a subtle, but nevertheless deliberate one-up-manship between Enoch and Joseph brings to mind the conflict between Jerusalem based Jews and Samaritans who claimed descent from Joseph (e.g. Josephus *Ant.* 9.291; 11:341) and looked to the burial of Joseph at Shechem to legitimate their sanctuary at Mt. Gerizim (cf. *Jos 24:32*).⁹¹ In fact, this Enoch-versus-Joseph interlude is best read as an inclusio with the curse on the Samaritans, the "foolish people that live in Shechem" immediately after the hymn in praise of Simon in 50:26. Sirach has framed his picture of the ideal high priest with two sharp attacks on those who adhere to a rival high priest and temple cult. Enoch thus functions for Sirach in precisely the same

⁸⁸ For this Adamic theology of high priesthood in Sirach 49:15-50:1 see Hayward 1996, 45-46. The Greek translator of the Hebrew (which is the base, for example, for the NRSV) lost the force of this catchword bonding.

⁸⁹ For a genealogy of priestly succession in *Jubilees* and rabbinic literature see Kugel 1993, 17-18; Ginzberg 1909-38, 1:332; 5:199 n. 79, 283 n. 89.

⁹⁰ Chronologically it should come between Jacob (44:23) and Moses (44:23-45:5).

⁹¹ On Joseph and the Samaritans, and polemic between the latter and Jerusalem based Jews see Purvis 1975 and Schuller 1990 (esp. pp. 371-376) for the appearance of these themes in the (probably) pre-Essene text 4Q371-372.

way as he has done in the *Book of Watchers*—as the truly righteous representative of the priesthood over against Samaritan “heretics”.

The second piece of corroboratory evidence for this understanding of the early Enoch literature is provided by the *Testament of Naphtali*. David Bryan has now demonstrated that in a pre-Maccabean “Original Testament of Naphtali” underlying both the *Testament of Naphtali* and the *Hebrew Testament of Naphtali* visionary material is used as a Jerusalem based polemic against Samaritans who are represented by Joseph.⁹² In that case it is highly significant that in the *Testament of Naphtali* this polemic (chs. 5–6) immediately follows a reference to the admonition “in the writing of the holy Enoch” (4:1) and the lesson to be learnt from “the watchers [who] departed from nature’s order” (3:5). It would appear that this juxtaposition of Enoch’s polemic against the fallen watchers with a polemic against Samaritans again bears witness to the fact that Enoch is called upon as a witness against, what from the Jerusalem perspective, is regarded as a heterodox religious practice by the Shechem based priesthood.

Israel/Jacob

One text which is now well known and frequently cited in the discussion of the Jewish belief in an angelic humanity is the *Prayer of Joseph*. It contains a statement of the patriarch Jacob’s angelic identity which is unequivocal:

I, Jacob, who is speaking to you, am also Israel, an angel of God and a ruling spirit. Abraham and Isaac were created before any work. But, I, Jacob, whom men call Jacob but whose name is Israel am he whom God called Israel which means, a man seeing God, because I am the firstborn of every living thing to whom God gives life.

And when I was coming up from Syrian Mesopotamia, Uriel, the angel of God came forth and said that “I [Jacob-Israel] had descended to earth and I had tabernacled among men and that I had been called by the name of Jacob.” He envied me and fought with me and wrestled with me saying that his name and the name that is before every angel was to be above mine. I told him his name and what rank he held among the sons of God. “Are you not Uriel, the eighth after me? And I, Israel, the archangel of the power of the Lord and the chief captain among the sons of God? Am I not Israel, the first minister before the face of God? And I called upon my God by the inextinguishable Name.

⁹² Bryan 1995, 188–212.

This text is preserved by the church father Origen, in his *Commentary on John's Gospel* (2:31) and is therefore not certainly datable to the earlier period of the writing of the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁹³ It has been discussed in detail by J.Z. Smith who has argued that the text's formative life setting is the Jewish mysticism of the second, possibly first, centuries A.D.⁹⁴

Although of a relatively late text it is included in our survey here because one of the text's many interesting features, which has not received sufficient attention in the secondary literature, is the use of priestly and temple imagery. The angel Jacob-Israel is said to have descended to earth and "tabernacled (*κατεσκήνωσα*)" among men. The language recalls the tabernacling of the *logos* in John 1:14. But ultimately it derives from the mythology of Israel's sanctuaries—both the wilderness Tabernacle and the Temple—in which Wisdom was believed to have taken up residence (Sirach 24:7–11). In that much older tradition Wisdom's residence in the sanctuary is by way of her avatar, the high priest, in whom Wisdom ministered before God (Sir 24:10: *ἐν σκηνῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐλειτούργησα*). Similarly, in Origen's pseudepigraphon the angel Jacob-Israel says that he is "the first minister before the face of God (*ὁ ἐν προσώπῳ θεοῦ λειτουργὸς πρῶτος*)". That he means to claim a status equivalent to Israel's high priest is then confirmed by the fact that he is privileged to be able to pronounce "the inextinguishable Name (*ἐν ὀνόματι ἀσβέστῳ*)".

Whilst the parallels between this text and emerging Jewish mystical and mediatorial speculation in the late Second Temple period have been well demonstrated by Smith the text and its theological anthropology should not, thereby, be assigned an esoteric (let alone sectarian) setting. I would suggest that, in accord with the texts examined in the rest of this study, its principal formative context is the Jewish Temple and its understanding of priests and divine or angelic persons. As we shall see in later chapters the language used, particularly the title "first minister before the face of God" is equivalent to much older traditions of priestly mediation, well-known to the Qumran community.

⁹³ *OTP* 2:699–714 and see esp. Smith 1968.

⁹⁴ 1968 and *OTP* 2:699–714 *passim*.

Joseph and Aseneth

Another example of the way in which the priesthood and temple provide the life setting for the angelomorphic life is provided by the pseudepigraphical Romance *Joseph and Aseneth*. The angelomorphic life of the righteous in this text is vividly portrayed and has long been recognized. In the first part of the book (chs. 1–22) there is a community of identity between Joseph, the archangel of the LORD and Joseph's newly converted and transformed wife to be, Aseneth. Their shared angelic identity is expressed through the glorious appearance of their face and clothing, Aseneth's eating of the paradisaical honeycomb—the angelic *haute cuisine* shared by the righteous Israelite—and Joseph's description as a solar son of God. In the second part of the work (chs. 22–29) Jacob, Joseph's father, appears as a man of extraordinary beauty, with hair “white as snow, . . . eyes flashing and darting (flashes of) lightning”, and his “sinews and his shoulders and his arms as (those) of an angel and his feet as (those) of a giant (22:7).” Even before meeting him Aseneth had exclaimed that Joseph's father was “as a father and (a) god to me (ὡς πατήρ μοί ἐστι καὶ θεός)”.⁹⁵

The angelomorphism of the righteous in this text is plain to see.⁹⁵ What has been less plain to discern is the text's precise genre and, more importantly, its *Sitz im Leben*. It has been generally reckoned to emerge from Egyptian Judaism because of the setting and concerns of the narrative but dates as widely separated as the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. have been advocated. Older scholarship regarded its idiosyncratic features the product of a syncretistic Judaism that had strayed a long way from the Jerusalem temple at the heart of Israel's faith.⁹⁶ An apparent lack of clear historical reference has left most scholars grappling in the dark for a specific occasion and date of composition.

However, these questions have been greatly illuminated by the recent work of Gideon Bohak.⁹⁷ Bohak has argued that the text can be very precisely located towards the end of the second century B.C. as the product of the Oniad priestly community that had been exiled from Jerusalem earlier in the century and had taken up residence

⁹⁵ For a discussion with relevant secondary literature see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 161–2, 165–168.

⁹⁶ E.g. Philonenko 1968.

⁹⁷ Bohak 1993; Bohak 1996.

at Leontopolis under the guardianship of the Ptolemies for whom they served as a mercenary army. Bohak argues that the imagery of the narrative in chapters 1–21 is a thinly veiled allegory for the life of this community and legitimation of their use of the previously pagan temple structure at Leontopolis which became an alternative sanctuary to that used in Jerusalem.

The bees which make a strange angelic honeycomb for Aseneth's heavenly sustenance are portrayed in priestly garb (16:18) because they represent the Oniad priesthood which had previously officiated in Jerusalem. Aseneth's house is portrayed as a sanctuary because it stands for the Leontopolis temple, with sacred spring, stream, the trees and abundant fruit befitting the Edenic conditions of the source of all life (cf. Sirach 24:13–29; 50:8–12), containing a veil reminiscent of that guarding the inner sanctuary in the Jerusalem temple, and the purity and sanctity appropriate for a temple (see ch. 2).⁹⁸ Aseneth's cleansing of her house of all its idols on her conversion (10:8–13) represents the cleansing of the temple at Leontopolis in preparation for its new purpose as a sanctuary for Israel's God and the Oniad community.

Although Levi himself is not portrayed in angelic terms this is probably because the main focus of attention is directed to Joseph (and Aseneth) as exemplars of the angelic life. Joseph wears a crown bedecked with twelve precious stones and golden rays (5:4) which some have seen as evidence of the influence of high priestly symbolism.⁹⁹ In some ways the author of *Joseph and Aseneth* is even more admiring of Levi than he is of the main protagonists and Bohak quite rightly sees in the characterization of Levi as "a prophet and a visionary, well aware of God's unspeakable mysteries and secret plans" an oblique reference to the author's own self perception.¹⁰⁰

Thus, on this reading, *Joseph and Aseneth* bears witness not only to the prevalence of an angelomorphic anthropology in our period but also to the very specific priestly and cultic context of that anthropology. It is the temple's heavenly food, symbolized by the paradisaical honeycomb, which gives the righteous their angelic identity. It is the theology and experience of the cult which has inspired the familiar

⁹⁸ Bohak 1996, 67–74.

⁹⁹ Aptowitz 1924, 297–8; Betz 1958, 76–7.

¹⁰⁰ Bohak 1996, 48–52 and see *Joseph and Aseneth* chapters 22–29, esp. 22:11–13.

themes of physiognomic beauty and splendid clothing as an expression of a highly exalted theological anthropology. What is more, if, following Bohak, we locate *Joseph and Aseneth* in the Oniad community at Leontopolis, then we have a remarkably close life setting to that of the Dead Sea Scrolls which are also the product of a strongly priestly, partly Zadokite, movement disenchanting with the current Jerusalem establishment. There is no reason to identify the Essenes with the Jews at Leontopolis but they were two closely related branches of the same priestly family tree.¹⁰¹

Testament of Moses

The *Testament of Moses* (alias *Assumption of Moses*) is yet another text which exhibits an interest in an angelomorphic humanity and has a strongly priestly orientation. In this text Moses is pre-existent (1:14) and is described as the "Great Angel (Lat. *nuntius*)",¹⁰² who incarnates God's Spirit for the people bringing them protection against their enemies (11:16-17). The author looks forward to the coming of God's kingdom when the devil will have an end (10:1-10), "the hands of the *nuntius* (angel/messenger) will be filled, who is in the highest place appointed" (10:2), and Israel as a nation will be raised to the heights, fixed firmly in the heaven of the stars (10:8-9). The identity of this eschatological angel figure is unclear though it is obvious that he is priestly since the filling of the hands is technical terminology for the ordination of priests. The place of his appointment would therefore be the heavenly sanctuary of some sort.

Is this heavenly priest a human priest who is heavenly, or a suprahuman angel who is priestly? Several considerations favour the former. First, nowhere else in contemporary texts do we hear of (suprahuman) angels experiencing an ordination to a new office. Unlike angels who are created to be angels, the language of ordination suits human beings for whom transferral of authority and

¹⁰¹ The bee symbolism might tempt an identification of the authors of *Joseph and Aseneth* with the Essenes, given that ὁ ἐσσην can mean "king (queen) bee" (see Jones 1985). (The same word is also used for the priest of Artemis). But 4Q266 frag. 5 ii unequivocally disqualifies priests who had emigrated among the Gentiles, which sounds like a ban meant to embrace the likes of these priests in Leontopolis, confirming the general impression that the Qumran community is not directly related to the Leontopolis cult.

¹⁰² The Latin text has *nuntius* where the underlying Greek would have had ἄγγελος. See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 180-182.

status is necessary. Secondly, given the use the word *nuntius* in the Latin text for Moses there can be no doubt that, at least for the Latin translator, the language of 10:2 is best used of an exalted mortal. Thirdly, it is possible that the *nuntius* of 10:2 should be identified with the mysterious character Taxo of the previous chapter, "a man from the tribe of Levi" (9:1) who prepares for a martyrdom that will be avenged by the LORD. In any case, the expectation of an eschatological angelomorphic priest is consistent with the priestly and cultic orientation of the rest of the *Testament of Moses* (see 1:7, 9; 4:5-8).

Conclusion

There are many texts from the Second Temple period which describe the righteous in angelic or divine terms. Three figures stand out in the heroes gallery of angelic fame: the king, Moses and, above all, the priest. The characterization of humans in such angelic terms has its roots in the biblical text, but it is clearly being developed in material from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. Many of the texts we have examined (e.g. *Sirach*, *1 Enoch*) were read if not cherished at Qumran and these exhibit a particular interest in both Moses and the priesthood, which is entirely in accord with what is known of Essene interests.

THE DIVINE AND PRIESTLY NOAH

By way of a detailed case study, this chapter is devoted to pre- or proto-Essene traditions about the flood hero Noah. Like his great grandfather Enoch, the Noah that was known to the Dead Sea Scroll community was a priest who atoned for the cosmically disastrous sins of his generation and who passed on the halakhic lore of his righteous forbears.

In the *Animal Apocalypse* Noah is "born a bovid but becomes a person" when he builds the ark (*Eth. Enoch* 89:1). Given the zoomorphic symbolism of this Enochic text this means he becomes angelomorphic.¹ Noah's angelomorphic identity is far more impressively expressed in a text which is best preserved in the *Epistle of Enoch* (*I Enoch* 106). The Greek text of this passage reads as follows:²

2 . . . and his body was whiter than snow and redder than a rose; the hair as white wool and curly and glorious; and when he opened his eyes the whole house glowed like the sun—so that the whole house was exceptionally bright. ³ And he arose from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth and he blessed the Lord. ⁴ And Lamech was afraid of him and fled and came to Methuselah his father and said to him, ⁵ "a strange child has been born to me, not like unto men but (like) unto the children of the angels of heaven, and (his) image (is) different, not like ours. His eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his face glorious. ⁶ And I think that this is not from me but from an angel, and I fear him lest there will be something during his days on earth." ⁷ And I beseech you father and beg (of you), go to Enoch our father and hear from him the truth, for his dwelling place is among the angels".

¹ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b:157–59.

² My translation of the Greek text (for which see Denis 1970, 43–44). The Ethiopic is slightly longer at points (see Black 1985, 319–323). For recent discussions of this material see Nickelsburg 1998, 137–158.

³ Ethiopic: "fear that a wonder may take place upon the earth in his days".

Methuselah, Lamech's father then travels to the ends of the earth to talk to his father Enoch, to whom he tells Lamech's story. Enoch himself then takes up the story:⁴

¹³ Then I answered him saying, "The Lord will make new the order on the earth and this same manner of child I have seen and I have announced to you. For in the generation of Jared my father they transgressed the word of the Lord, the covenant of heaven ¹⁴ and behold they sinned and transgressed the commandment,⁵ and had intercourse with women and sinned with them and married some of them and bore [those who are giants,] (children) not of spiritual rank but of the flesh (οὐκ ὁμοίους πνεύμασιν ἀλλὰ σαρκίνους). ¹⁵ There shall be great wrath on the earth and a deluge, and there will be a great destruction for one year, ¹⁶ and then this child that is born shall be left, and his three children will be saved whilst those on the earth are dying ¹⁷ and he will soothe the earth from the corruption that is in her. ¹⁸ And now tell Lamech that he is his son in truth and holiness and call him Noah . . .

The *Genesis Apocryphon* at Qumran evidently knew this story and preserved a longer version of it. Of the poorly preserved early parts of the text columns 2 and 5 clearly tell a fuller version of the story,⁶ whilst columns 6-17 are devoted to the rest of Noah's life and extra-biblical stories about him. At least part of column 1 and all of columns 3-4 of the *Genesis Apocryphon* will probably also, therefore, have comprised a quite lengthy form of this birth narrative. Unfortunately, this Qumran cave 1 material does not provide further detail regarding the original version of Noah's birth itself, though it substantially confirms the basic form of the story as abridged in *1 Enoch* 106.⁷ Another Qumran text (1Q19) also knows the story,⁸ but again

⁴ A highly fragmentary text of the Aramaic version of *1 Enoch* 106:13-107:2 is preserved among the DSS (4Q204 (4QEn^a) 5 ii).

⁵ Ethiopic. Greek reads "custom (ἔθος)".

⁶ Column 2 is a fuller version of *1 Enoch* 106:4-8c whilst col. 5 provides a speech of Enoch different from that in *1 Enoch* 106:13-19, but which is perhaps a fuller form of *1 Enoch* 106:13.

⁷ Clearly from 1QapGen 2 the story's plot is driven by the fear that Noah's heavenly appearance is due to illegitimate intercourse with heavenly beings. In 1QapGen 5:11 Enoch claims already to have seen the wondrous form of the child (cf. *1 Enoch* 106:13): his face has been lifted up to Enoch and "his eyes shine like [the] sun" (line 12, cf. *1 Enoch* 106:5) and something about him is "a flame" (line 13).

⁸ Fragment 3 speaks of the birth of a first born (line 3) and Lamech, his father, seeing the child (line 4) followed by the important statement "the chambers of the house like the beams of the sun (חַדְרֵי הַבַּיִת כְּחַדְרֵי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ)" in line 5, (see *DJD* 1:85).

the text is highly fragmentary and adds precious little to our understanding. Clearly, though, this birth story was important to the Qumran community.⁹

Chapters 106–7 of *I Enoch* clearly stand out from their surrounding context as a distinct literary unit. Since the work of François Martin (1906) chapters 106–7 of *I Enoch* have been assigned to an otherwise lost “Apocalypse de Noé” or a “Book of Noah” (Charles) to which reference is apparently made in *Jubilees* (10:13 “and Noah wrote everything in a book . . .”; 21:10 “I have found written in the books of my forefathers . . . in the words of Noah”).¹⁰ Extensive sections of the first collection of Enoch material (*I Enoch*) are generally reckoned to derive from this no longer extant source.¹¹ Chapter 106 is also thought to represent the opening birth narrative of that Noahic work. Florentino García Martínez has most recently presented a thorough reconstruction of this lost work. Whilst some have argued that *Jubilees* is dependent for its references to the Book of Noah and Noahic material on the *Genesis Apocryphon* García Martínez has argued that both *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are independently dependent on the lost work.¹²

However, since the work of García Martínez, the precise relationship between the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *I Enoch* (and *Jubilees*) has been a subject of renewed discussion, which has partly been fuelled by the deciphering of the words “כְּסֵפֶת מִלֵּי נוֹחַ” (the Book of the Words of Noah)” through multi-spectral imaging techniques on a blackened fragment at the end of column 5 (line 29) of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.¹³ Two objections to the view that the birth of Noah was part of a lost “Book of Noah” have been raised. The expression “the book of the words of Noah” in 1QapGen 5:29 is best taken as a reference to the material which follows, not that which precedes, since the birth of Noah is about Noah, but not in his own “words”.¹⁴

⁹ *Jubilees* probably knew the birth of Noah story since it gives the name of his mother (Bitenosh, i.e. one who is a “daughter of man”) which appears also in the 1QapGen version of the story (2:3, 8, 12) and betrays the story’s relation to Genesis 6:1–4 where the sons of God descend to have intercourse with the “daughters of men”.

¹⁰ Martin 1906, lxxxviii, cf. Charles 1912, xvi–xvii; Black 1985, 8–9, 23.

¹¹ Martínez 1992b, 27 provides a table of those passages regularly reckoned to derive from the Book of Noah.

¹² Martínez 1992b, esp. 40–41.

¹³ See VanderKam 1994, 83.

¹⁴ See Steiner 1995, who is followed by Bernstein 1998, 228.

Secondly, it has been argued that the alleged material belonging to the Book of Noah is too varied in subject matter to warrant the hypothesis of a single Book of Noah at all.¹⁵

Although outright skepticism is unwarranted, there is probably some truth to the criticism that has been levelled against the Book of Noah hypothesis.¹⁶ At least it must be conceded that the Noah material present in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* may not have come from one utterly unified work.¹⁷ However, this is not to say that there was not a collection, or "Book", of smaller units of Noahic tradition some of which might have been regarded as "books" in their own right. There may have been something analogous to, though considerably smaller than, the extant Enochic Pentateuch which we know as *1 Enoch*. If such a collection were bound together by various forms of revelation and instruction then it would be entirely fitting that it began with an account of Noah's wondrous birth, including his precocious loquacity, after which there followed a distinct literary unit known as the "Book of the Words of Noah".

What is the relevance of this debate for our discussion? Obviously, it has some bearing on the tradition's antiquity. If both *1 Enoch* 106-7 and the 1QapGen 1-5 drew on another earlier work with a well-defined literary content then that would imply the relative antiquity of the story of Noah's birth by comparison with a view that the story originated with the (idiosyncratic?) author of 1QapGen whence it was later adopted by the *Epistle of Enoch*. But, more importantly, the debate sharpens the issue of semantic coherence within the extant Noah material. It is obvious that in its extant form the birth of Noah is related closely to the fall of the watchers and this ties up well with Noah material in parts of *1 Enoch* (ch. 10:1-3; 54:7-55:2) and *Jubilees* (7:21-24), however it has not been clear how Noah's wondrous birth has anything to do with the interest in sacrificial and halakhic matters which figure so prominently elsewhere in material associated with him (*Jub.* 6:2-4, 10-14; 7:23-37; 21:10; 1QapGen 10-15; *T. Levi* Athos 57).¹⁸ This is a question which is

¹⁵ See C. Werman in Chazon and Stone 1998.

¹⁶ The very fragmentary state of the *Genesis Apocryphon* means certainty regarding the absence of the birth narrative from the "Book of the Words of Noah" is impossible. Nickelsburg 1998, 158 remains convinced that 1QapGen 2-5 contains material from a Book of Noah.

¹⁷ Compare Bernstein 1998, 229-30.

¹⁸ The Noahic reading of 4QMess ar (4Q534) is too uncertain to include the work in the present discussion, for which, in any case, it has little relevance.

substantially resolved when we examine closely the meaning of the birth of Noah story.

Is Noah an Angel?

How are we to interpret the story as we have it in *1 Enoch 106*? Noah's beauty, his luminescent eyes and generally glorious appearance is typical of Jewish texts which describe the angelomorphic identity of the righteous.¹⁹ However, the consequences of his appearance troubles his father Lamech who fears the working of a more malevolent power and the possibility that the child is the product of intercourse his wife has had with a heavenly being, a watcher. This would explain the baby's suprahuman appearance, but might also mean that the child represents a terrible rupture in the order of the cosmos (cf. *1 Enoch 7:2-5; 9:9*). In the story that follows this explanation of Noah's appearance is dismissed and Noah's righteousness is affirmed.

But, somewhat frustratingly, the story does not then spell out just how Lamech and the implied reader is to understand Noah's glorious appearance. In the first instance the affirmation of Noah's purity and his pivotal role in coming salvation-history should probably be taken to imply that his angelic appearance is what it is and that this is how it should be. In *106:17* Enoch says that the watchers who are to come upon the earth will sire giants who are "not of the spirit, but of the flesh". This would seem to imply that, by contrast, Noah is of the spirit, and not of the flesh.²⁰ The statement is unavoidably paradoxical in its narrative context because the legitimacy of Noah's identity depends on Lamech being his true parent—in the flesh. Precisely how Noah is "of the flesh", yet ultimately "of the spirit" is not clear though it echoes the sense that the angelomorphic righteous are transferred beyond the confines of the realm of flesh in *Sirach 45* and *Jubilees 31*. The idea is perhaps that Noah is one of a "spiritual lineage", a concept that we will find echoed in the DSS where the righteous are an angelic "people of spirit".

One feature of the birth story helps clarify in what way Noah is heavenly but not angelic by virtue of any inappropriate angelic miscegenation. *1 Enoch 106:2* focuses attention on his glorious white

¹⁹ Compare, e.g., the near contemporary *Joseph and Aseneth 22:7-10*.

²⁰ Betz 1958, 75; Fitzmyer 1971b, 79.

head of hair. This is not so much an angelic characteristic but one which brings Noah into the likeness of God himself. Both the Ethiopic and the Greek compare Noah's hair with white wool and we think immediately of Daniel 7:9 where it is the Ancient of Days whose "clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool". Coupled with the fact that Noah's body (he could not, of course, be wearing clothes at this point) is also said to be white as snow there seems here to be a deliberate attempt to identify Noah more with God himself than his angelic attendants. I would suggest that here the visual iconography follows a firmly established grammar and that our text wants to say that Noah is the fully human bearer of God's image.²¹ In the second century B.C. text *Joseph and Aseneth* of the divine and angelic Jacob it is also said that "his head was white as snow, and the hairs of his head were all exceedingly close like those of an Ethiopian" (22:7).²² In two late first century A.D. texts, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Christian book of Revelation this same language is used of God's visible angelic manifestation (Isaiah: *Apoc. Abr.* 11:3) and the risen and divine Jesus (Rev 1:14).

John C. Reeves has argued that the Birth of Noah sets up the possibility that Noah is a giant in order to refute that understanding of his identity.²³ Reeves thinks the birth of Noah story is a polemic against traditions according to which the flood hero was a giant, for which he finds evidence in Pseudo-Eupolemus' view that Abraham traced his lineage to the giants. He also finds evidence for his view from the presence of Gilgamesh, the Babylonian Noah, in the *Book of Giants* where the Jewish author identifies the flood "hero" with one of the bastard giants. For Reeves Noah is in no way a giant, and neither is he "divine".

²¹ Philo also expostulates at length on the way in which Noah is identified with the first man, the bearer of God's image (*Quaestiones in Genesis* 2:56). In 4Q534 i 1-2 the protagonist has red hair. I am not at all sure that this person is Noah as some think (e.g. Martínez 1992b, 1-44) and, even if he is, this would mean the understanding of Noah in that text is slightly different from that of *1 Enoch* 106. In *Jub.* 23:25 the heads of children are white with grey hairs as a sign of the decline of humanity and the loss of longevity in the sinful generation. Pace A. Caquot 1974 this negative use of the image of white hair on children is not related to that in *1 Enoch* 106.

²² For this early dating of *Joseph and Aseneth* I follow Bohak 1996.

²³ Reeves 1993.

There can be no doubt that the Birth of Noah story rejects the identification of Noah with the giants who are responsible for impure miscegenation and cosmic chaos. But the conclusion that, therefore, Noah's own identity is not mythological, transcendent, divine or even, perhaps, gigantic, is unwarranted.²⁴ There is too much here to deny that Noah is thought of as divine and angelomorphic. Neither should we quickly dismiss the possibility that Jews of this period were evidently happy to give the righteous a "gigantic" identity so long as the means to that end had not involved the symbols of chaos that they associated with pagan impurity. Again, of Jacob in *Joseph and Aseneth* it is said that "his thighs and his calves and his feet were like (those) of a giant" (22:7). In other texts Adam (c.g. *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5, 10, 14; 2 *Enoch* 30:13; *Vita Adae et Evae* 27:1, 3; *b. Sanh.* 38b; *b. Hag.* 12a); Moses (*Jewish Orphica* 32-34?); Enoch (3 *Enoch* 9) and Jesus (e.g. *Gospel of Peter* 40) are given a gigantic or macrocosmic size. This aspect of an idealised Jewish anthropology is perhaps related to the tradition according to which the high priest's garments represent the whole cosmos which is attested in the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, Josephus and in Sirach 50.²⁵ No explicit mention is made of Noah's size one way or the other, that is not the point of the birth story which is simply to reject any notion of Noah's inappropriate conception and affirm, therefore, his utter (racial) purity which is, in turn, coterminous with his "divinity". However, the fact that in 1 *Enoch* 106:17 the evil giants are described as being "not of spirit, but of flesh" might imply Noah and his children, like Adam, Abraham according to Pseudo-Eupolemus, Moses, Jesus and others, is a giant "not of the flesh but of the spirit" and therefore the genuine article over against the counterfeit demons.²⁶

Noah as Angelomorphic Priest: The Life Setting of His Wondrous Birth

Whilst it is now generally agreed that Noah's birth is that of an angelomorphic hero who plays a prominent role in Qumran self-

²⁴ Reeves' view that the birth of Noah is a polemic against the identification of the flood hero with one of the giants is questioned by Huggins 1995.

²⁵ Wis 18:24; Philo *Mos.* 2:117-126, 133-135, 143; Josephus *Ant.* 3:180, 183-7. In Sirach 50:6-11 the high priest Simon represents the heavenly bodies and the fecundity of nature; the heaven above and the earth below. See Fletcher-Louis 2000b.

²⁶ Cf. Betz 1958, 75.

definition, more precision regarding the story's life setting needs to be sought.²⁷ When and where did the story of Noah's wondrous birth arise and in what ways, therefore, is it related to contemporary Second Temple Jewish theology and practice? Is Noah simply an idealised hero from a bygone age, or does his angelomorphic identity somehow reflect, in however an accentuated form, the self-perception of the Jews who read and used the story of his birth?

The narrative is quite clearly proto-Essene, if not pre-Essene, as its presence in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and an Ethiopic Enoch tradition known outside Qumran suggests. If, as is generally thought, this birth story belongs to the Noahic literary collection, which (a) is cited in *Jubilees* (10:13; 21:10), (b) is cited in an early version of the *Testament of Levi* tradition (Greek Mount Athos manuscript 57), (c) is used extensively in both *1 Enoch* and (d) the early columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, then this speaks for a dating some quite considerable time before the beginning of the Qumran community. The authority with which it is used suggests a version of the Noah collection was already in existence in the third century B.C. This is a point which must be pressed if only because it impinges on both the issues of life setting and, therefore, the meaning of the text.

In its extant form the story of Noah's theophanic birth is inextricably bound to the anxiety provoked by the fall of the watchers mythology and this, as we have seen, has a life setting in third and fourth century struggles for priestly identity and self-definition. In the *Book of Watchers* the answer to the cosmic and social breakdown caused by the descent of the watchers is Enoch's intercession as one who is able to ascend to heaven to receive God's judgement. Enoch's intercession and transmission of the judgement against Asael is thoroughly priestly and related closely to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement whose ministry involves the sending of a scape-goat into the wilderness to Azazel (Lev 16).²⁸

²⁷ Further corroboratory evidence that the Qumran community thought Noah was born angelomorphic is provided by the fact that their copy of the Aramaic version of *Eth. Enoch* 89:36 omits the tradition extant in the Ethiopic according to which Noah is transformed from sheep to man, i.e. from the human to the angelic. This omission is best explained on the assumption that once a story according to which Noah is born angelic (*1 Enoch* 106) gains authority, then the view that he became angelic during his life must be discarded.

²⁸ See Grabbe 1987 who overlooks the fact that the connection is made as early as *Jubilees* (5:18) where the Day of Atonement is related to God's dealing with the fall of the Watchers through Noah and his ark (see VanderKam 1999a, 163-9).

It should not surprise us, therefore, to find that in the Noahic material Noah is also a priestly character and that it is as such that his angelic or divine characterisation is to be interpreted. In the older Mesopotamian context from which the Israelite Noah character was to emerge the flood hero was related to idealised traditions of kingship. However, already in the Priestly material in Genesis, which bears an unmistakable likeness to the Sumerian Kinglist, the specifically royal character of the genealogy has disappeared. Recent discussion has highlighted the way in which the ark was designed as a temple.²⁹ In the biblical material, as Joseph Blenkinsopp has shown, Noah's ark has become a key element in the priestly compiler's creation-tabernacle theological structure: the ark stands in a similar position as a bulwark against the forces of chaos to that designed for the Tabernacle (and Temple).³⁰ The Birth of Noah clearly follows the priestly tradition in its Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah genealogy (cf. Gen 5:21-32).³¹

The priestly nature of the Noah traditions in *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls has tended to be overlooked by commentators. However, Michael Stone has recently brought our attention to the way in which the Qumran texts are keen to trace a line of priestly patriarchy back from Aaron, through Levi and Qahat to Noah.³² Stone has highlighted the way in which the Noah material at Qumran is concerned to portray the flood hero in this priestly context: the teaching ascribed to the Book of Noah "relates above all to the sacrificial cult, the special prerogative of the priests and is rooted in Noah as the initiator of the cult."³³ Indeed, it is not just the teaching of the Book of the Words of Noah that is priestly and Stone's comments can be taken further. There are a number of considerations, some internal to the birth story, others derived from what is known of the "Book of Noah" material, which point to *the fundamentally priestly form of Noah's glorious and angelomorphic identity.*

²⁹ See the discussion between Holloway 1991 and Hendel 1996 and Holloway 1998.

³⁰ Blenkinsopp 1976.

³¹ For the flood hero (Deucalion = Sisithus, i.e. Xisuthrus) the founder of a temple see also Lucian of Samosata *De dea Syria* 12-13. For Noah identified with Deucalion—son of Prometheus (Appollodorus *Library* 1.46) see Philo *De Proemio et Poenit* 23).

³² Stone 1999.

³³ Stone 1999, 141.

The priestly nature of the Noahic material is evident from a quick perusal of the extant material. The clearest reference to a textual tradition devoted to Noah and his teaching is provided by *Jubilees* 21:10 in which Abraham appeals to the "Words of Noah" (alongside the "Words of Enoch") in the context of a long list of cultic and priestly instructions given to his son Isaac (21:1-20). At the literary level of the text of *Jubilees* this is a reference back to chapter 7 where Noah bears witness to his sons regarding the tradition passed down through his fathers from Enoch (7:34-39). However, the reference to the Words of Noah seems to imply a written text containing extra-biblical priestly instruction dealing with such things as the type of wood to be used for the altar, washing before cultic administration, the use of all salt in sacrifices, the eating of the meat before sundown a day after sacrifice, instructions concerning contamination of holy things with blood (21:17-20, cf. Gen 9:4-6) and so on (21:10-20). The *Genesis Apocryphon* (10:17) also has Noah include salt in his offering of the soothing odour (Genesis 9:20-21) suggesting common Noahic tradition.³⁴ A close parallel to the list of cultic regulations in *Jubilees* 21 is extant in the Greek version of the *Aramaic Levi Document*. There, also, a reference to the words of Noah is the authoritative source of the extra-biblical instruction regarding the slaughter of animals and the handling of blood (*Athos Manuscript e*, 57).³⁵

In *Jubilees* 7:38 the testament of Noah (7:20-39) concludes by describing how a priestly tradition regarding the offerings of the first fruits and the seventh year rest was handed down from Enoch, through Methuselah to Lamech and then Noah, long before it was revealed to Moses at Sinai. Although this stress on the patriarchal conformity to Mosaic regulations is a characteristic of *Jubilees*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was derived from the Book of Noah (or Noah collection) and is consistent with the priestly portrayal of the flood hero throughout a diverse spread of texts. The

³⁴ We know that the availability of salt for the temple sacrifices was a sensitive issue at the end of the third century B.C. since Antiochus III allows a remission of the salt tax in Josephus *Ant.* 12:142. See also 11QTS 20:13a-14b. Compare generally Lev 2:13; LXX Lev 24:7; Num 18:19; Ezek 43:24.

³⁵ In both *Jubilees* and the Greek Levi text the extent to which specific instructions were believed to come from Noah is not clear. For the Greek manuscript of the *Aramaic Levi Document* see Jonge 1978, 46-48 and see Hollander and Jonge 1985, 457-69 for a translation.

similarity of halakhic concerns of chapter 7 to the material in chapter 21, which is explicitly related to the Words of Noah, suggests a common literary source.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (12:13-17) confirms the importance attached to Noah's keeping of the law of the first fruits. Like *Jubilees* 7:1-6 it adds to the biblical account (Genesis 9:20) the belief that Noah did not pick the fruit of the vine until the fourth year of its growth when it would be prepared for a festival to the LORD on the first day of the fifth year in accordance with Leviticus 19:23-25. Common dependence of both the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* upon an earlier Noahic text with a strongly priestly orientation seems the best explanation of this literary relationship. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* 10:13-17 Noah atones for the whole earth on his exit from the ark. The scroll somewhat expands upon the reference to Noah's sacrificial offering in Genesis 8:20-21, where nothing is said of atonement for all the earth. Specific mention is also now made of the inclusion of salt in the sacrifice which coincides with the concern in the Temple Scroll (20:13-14) that salt be included in every sacrifice and the commandment in *Jubilees* 21:11 (immediately after the reference to "the words of Noah") that "you shall put salt in all of your offerings".³⁶

Earlier in *Jubilees* the author expands on the biblical flood narrative. Not surprisingly the fall of the watchers is introduced (cf. Gen 6:1-4) where Noah alone finds favour in God's sight as one worthy of rescue. After the flood there is given to Noah's sons, the children of Israel, the provision of yearly release from sins at the Day of Atonement, lest they too incur the judgement of Noah's generation (5:17-18). Although it is not explicitly stated that Noah offers the Yom Kippur sacrifice the association of the punishment of the watchers and the Day of Atonement ritual, on the one hand, and Noah's rescue and the future salvation of Israel, on the other, is suggestive of Noah's own sacral responsibility. Indeed, this is picked up and developed in what follows where Noah's sacrifice on leaving the ark (Genesis 8:20-21) is developed in line with the tradition in the tenth column of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Where, in Genesis 8:20-21 Noah makes burnt offerings of every clean animal and every clean bird,

³⁶ Reeves 1986, 418-19 has further related the order of sacrifices in 1QapGen 10:13-17 with peculiar and proto-sectarian sacrificial issues.

in *Jubilees* 6:1-3 (and the *Genesis Apocryphon* 10:13-15) he atones for the land through the kid of a goat "because everything which is upon it had been blotted out" (Lev 18:26-28), he offers up burnt offerings of a calf, a goat, a lamb, a turtledove and a young dove, in addition to the grain offering and frankincense (cf. Lev 2:2-5). The burnt offerings are salted in accordance with the priestly halakhah prescribed in *Jubilees* 21:11.

In 1QapGen 6:4 there is a laconic reference to Noah girding his loins "in the vision of truth and wisdom. In a robe (מעיל) [..]. In the context Noah is describing his childhood and life story. It is not unlikely that at this point he makes reference to his donning the priestly robe of Exodus 28:4, 31. That this is the case and that at this point there is another outcrop from the so-called "Book of Noah" might be confirmed by a fragmentary Hebrew text from Qumran. As its editor, J.T. Milik, recognised, 1Q19 is a text which has something to do with the Noah tradition since in one fragment the few words that remain evidently speak of the glorious birth of Lamech's son.³⁷ In another fragment of this text, where perhaps Noah is the subject, we read how "he will] be lifted up in the splendour of glory and of beauty (והפארה) כבוד בהדר" [" (frag. 13, line 2). (The previous and following lines speak repeatedly of "glory", "for the Glory of God" and how the subject will "[]be glorified in the midst of (יכבד בתוך)"]. The text is only very partially preserved, but interestingly there are only two instances in the Hebrew Bible where כבוד והפארה appear so close together. These are the two summary descriptions of the high priest's vestments and ordination at the beginning and end of Exodus 28 (vv. 2, 40) where we are told that Aaron's garments and those for his sons are made "for Glory and beauty" (לכבוד ולהפארה).³⁸ The expression becomes stereotypical for the priestly garments and is picked up in Sirach's description of how God "clothed Aaron with perfect beauty (הפארה) and beautified him with Glory (כבוד) and strength" (Sirach 45:8 (ms B)).³⁹ So, although we cannot

³⁷ 1Q19 3:2-5 (*DJD* 1:85) see Milik 1979, 94-5; Milik 1976, 55, cf. Martinez 1992b, 42.

³⁸ For the threefold combination of כבוד, והפארה and הדר see Ps 96:6-7 where we read "Honour and majesty (הדר) are before him; strength and beauty (הפארה) are in his sanctuary. . . ascribe to the LORD glory (כבוד) and strength".

³⁹ The "beauty" and "Glory" of Exodus 28:2, 40 then runs throughout the lengthier account of the life and ministry of the high priest Simon in the Hebrew of Sirach 50 (הפארה, vv. 1, 6, cf. 20 and כבוד vv. 7 and 11).

be certain, 1QapGen 6:4 and 1Q19 13 2 may both preserve traces of the language of the priestly clothing which Noah wore as a child.

Clearly there is plenty of evidence in *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* that the Noah tradition was particularly concerned with priestly halakhah and the authentic priestly lineage, with Noah acting as a source and model for the correct cultic behaviour. It should not be thought that this is merely a reflection of the Qumran community's own priestly orientation, as though that has contaminated the characterisation of a previously non-priestly hero. It should be recalled that Noah figures prominently in the underlying strata of the *Book of Watchers* precisely where the association of the fall of the watchers myth with the Day of Atonement is at its clearest (1 *Enoch* 10:1-5).

The cultic orientation of the Noah material in 1 *Enoch* is also evident in the third of the *Similitudes* (*Eth. Enoch* 58-69). 1 *Enoch* 60 is a mixture of older Noahic material redacted to suit its present context in the visionary life of Enoch. In 60:8 the original form of the text that has been incorporated is preserved and has Noah, not Enoch, as the speaker. The dating of his section to the five hundredth year in 60:1 is also reckoned to be derived from the life of Noah (see Gen 5:32) and does not suit Enoch who only lived 365 years on earth. A confident assignment of the whole chapter to a putative "Book of Noah" is impossible, though some relation to an earlier Noahic collection cannot be doubted.⁴⁰ It is therefore significant that the chapter is also closely related to the feast of Tabernacles. The vision is not only dated to the 500th year but to the 14th day of the seventh month, which is, obviously, the eve of Tabernacles. This is not a coincidental dating but is integral to the content of the vision to follow. 1 *Enoch* 60:11-25 is a lengthy revelation of the cosmological water systems which climaxes with a description of the mechanism for the production of rain (vv. 21-22). The feast of Tabernacles was, amongst other things, a festival which sought God's guarantee for the supply of rain for the coming year and the list of cosmological secrets described here is close to those in other texts devoted to Tabernacles.⁴¹ Although in the pre-exilic period the king played a prominent role in the celebration of Succoth, in the post-exilic period it is the high priest who acts as the master of

⁴⁰ Charles 1912, xlvi-xlvii.

⁴¹ See esp. Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 13:7 which closes with a reference to the flood and "the year of the lifetime of Noah" (v. 8).

ceremonies.⁴² This portion of *1 Enoch* would therefore seem to rely on an older text in which Noah is privy to cosmological secrets pertaining to the New Year festival of Tabernacles and as such he is portrayed in strongly priestly terms.⁴³

Stone's judgement that the Qumran material is strongly priestly is dependent on the material in *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Stone sees two other interests in the "Book of Noah" collection—Noah's birth, and medicine and demonology (*Jub.* 10)—and he has not extended his discussion to show how either of these is also to be regarded as priestly in orientation. Neither has he appreciated the priestly orientation of Noah material in *1 Enoch* 10 and 60. When we turn to a closer examination of the Birth of Noah itself we find that here also temple and priesthood concerns are to the fore.

In the first place the staging for the birth and the behaviour of the child have strongly priestly resonances. Noah's luminescent form must be compared with numerous DSS and non-DSS texts where the (angelomorphic) priesthood emanates a transcendent and divine light (cf. IQSb 4:27; 4QTL^{vi}d frag. 9; Sirach 50:5-7; *Aristeas* 97; Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 28:3, cf. 26:13-15 and so on).⁴⁴ The solar imagery might ultimately derive from the Mesopotamian primeval history where the antediluvian flood hero is closely identified with the sun (cf. the 365 days of Genesis 5:23). However, in the Second Temple period such solar imagery has taken on a very specifically priestly association. There are many texts in which the priesthood is somehow identified with the sun.⁴⁵

Because of its conceptual and literary proximity to our Qumran material Sirach 50 is worth recalling at this point. In its description of the ideal high priest Sirach 50:5, 7b, 11d exclaims

how *glorious* (רָדָה, ἐδοξάσθη) he was, surrounded by the people,
as he came out of the house of the curtain . . .
like the sun shining on the temple of the Most High
(הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַגָּדוֹל אֵל הַיְהוָה מְרִירָה, ἥλιος ἐκλάμπων ἐπὶ ναὸν ὑψίστου), . . .
he made the court of the sanctuary glorious (רָדָה, ἐδόξασεν).

⁴² For full surveys of the relevant material see Rubenstein 1995; Ulfsgard 1998.

⁴³ Martínez 1992b, 31-32 fails to see the significance of the Tabernacles material for the evaluation of the material's relationship to Noah.

⁴⁴ There are texts where this luminescence is not obviously associated with priesthood, but they are in the minority (see, e.g., *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7, cf. 6:6).

⁴⁵ E.g. Gk *T. Levi* 14:1-3; *T. Naph.* 5; 4QTL^{vi}d 8 iii 4-6; 4QTL^{vi}d frag. 9; Josephus *Ant.* 3.185, cf. *2 Enoch* 22:9; 69:10—cf. the reflections of Weinfeld 1981, 507.

This description of Simon the high priest comes at the climax of a lengthy hymn in praise of Israel's heroes which had begun some six chapters earlier with (Enoch and) Noah (44:16-17), characters whose identity and purpose in salvation-history the high priest gathers up in his cultic office. Obviously, at the literal level Noah's birth in *1 Enoch* 106:2 takes place in the *private* house of his parents. However, I suggest the reader is meant to hear a deeper symbolic reference in that house to *the* house (cf. Sirach 50:1), the Temple, which Simon the high priest illuminates and glorifies. Just as Simon appears from behind the veil which marks the transition from heaven to earth and brings a numinous radiance to the realm of creation at worship, so Noah breaks forth from his mother's waters to illuminate the house of his birth.⁴⁶

In Sirach 50 the liturgical procession through Simon's various ministrations climaxes with the Aaron's blessing of the people (50:20, cf. Numbers 6) and a call for all the readers of Sirach's work "to bless the God of all who everywhere works greater wonders, who fosters our growth from birth and deals with us according to his mercy (50:22)". So, too, in *1 Enoch* 106:3 the infant Noah rises from the hands of the midwife and, already able to speak as an adult, "he opened his mouth and blessed the Lord".⁴⁷ This posture puts him in a position of temple worshipper, if not a priest.

These literary features conspire to give the impression that Noah's birth is meant to portend his future life. His posture of praise anticipates his priestly duties after the flood (cf. Gen 8:20-21). His glorious birth prefigures also the way his life will bring glory to creation just as the high priest glorifies the sanctuary. This is an expected aspect of wondrous birth stories in antiquity: the distinctive features of the new born or attendant wonders are signs and portents of their achievements in later life.

Nowhere in the extant texts of the period is Noah said to officiate within an enclosed cultic space that could be called God's house, however there is an important homology between the sanctuary and

⁴⁶ In *1 Enoch* 106:2 the rose image recalls Sirach 50:8 where Simon looks like "roses in the days of first fruits".

⁴⁷ This is the Greek text (ἀνέφραξε τὸ στόμα καὶ εὐλόγησεν τὸν κυρίον). The Ethiopic has either "spoke to the Lord with righteousness" or "spoke to the Lord of righteousness". The Latin fragment of *1 Enoch* 106 has adoravit, laudavit and oravit in the parallel in verse 11. But all the versions agree in the report in 106:11 that Noah *blessed* God (see Charles 1912, 264, 266; Black 1985, 320).

creation which binds together our two texts, Noah's birth and Simon's glorification of God's house. In Sirach 50 the high priestly service has overtly cosmic ramifications. Simon's officiation achieves cosmic harmony and fecundity (see below).⁴⁸ It is probable that the birth of the divine child Noah is also meant to portend the restoration of cosmic harmony which would be fractured by the descent of the watchers. As we have seen, in the Noah material in *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* Noah not only rescues humanity from the flood, he also cleanses the earth of the pollution suffered at the hands of the watchers.

Indeed, within the Birth of Noah story there was perhaps an explicit interpretation of the birth in precisely these terms. In *1 Enoch* 106:6 Lamech expresses his fear for Noah's generation and in *1 Enoch* 106:13–18 Enoch describes how Noah will rescue humanity from the cosmic catastrophe caused by the watchers. Enoch begins by speaking of the renewal of creation (106:13) and goes on to describe the coming cosmic catastrophe as a punishment for those who have broken God's commandment. In verse 17 the Greek text says that Noah "shall soothe (πραϋεῖ) the earth from the corruption in her", where in Genesis 8:21 Noah's sacrifice is a pleasing odour to God. The Aramaic probably had the earth shall "be cleansed from great corruption".⁴⁹ This is undoubtedly a reference to Noah's priestly offering of a soothing odor (רִיחַ הַיְחָח) in Genesis 8:20–21, which is now interpreted in terms of a salvific atonement for cosmic rupture as we have found in *Jubilees* 6:2 and *1QapGen* 10:13.

If this is so, several important conclusions follow. First, if Noah's soothing of the earth refers to his restoration of cosmic harmony through the sacrifice of Genesis 8:20–21, then Enoch gives an interpretation of the birth's wondrous appearance which is a key to the heart of the story's *cultic* framework: Noah is the one who will be God's agent and means of restoration after the coming judgement and this will entail his sacrificial cleansing of the earth from its sin, and this is prefigured in the priestly aspects of his birth. Secondly, it is probable that given Noah's vocation as one who restores the

⁴⁸ See Hayward 1996, 51–52 for intimations of the Noahic covenant in Sirach 50.

⁴⁹ 4Q204 (En^c ar) 5 ii 22—"be cl[ansed] [from] [gr]eat corruption (יְחָחָר כֹּסֵא) (Milik 1976, 209). The Ethiopic, "the earth shall be washed clean" perhaps interprets the cleansing in terms of the flood itself, whereas the Greek probably preserves the correct interpretation in terms of Noah's sacrifice.

order of the cosmos, his priestly and angelic, or divine, vocation are inextricable. Where Genesis 8:21 has Noah, the representative of righteous *humanity*, offer a soothing odour to God, the Birth of Noah story looks forward to Noah acting not so much as creature before the creator, but as (*re*-)creator acting upon the *creation*. This subtle, but significant, modification of the biblical text is then consistent with Noah's portrayal as bearer of the divine image in the same context.

Thirdly, the Birth of Noah story in *1 Enoch* presumes, and anticipates narratologically, material which otherwise is reasonably assigned to the Book of Noah. Against the view that the putative "Book of Noah" attested by *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *the Genesis Apocryphon* actually lacks literary integrity, and that this Book is a construct of the scholarly imagination, it is now clear that Noah's priestly identity, his vocation and teaching, binds together his birth and his "words" within the Noah collection.

The Birth of the Priestly Noah in Its Wider History-of-Religions Context

This interpretation of the Birth of Noah is further corroborated when parallel wondrous birth stories are compared; both those which are also priestly and those which, by way of contrast, are not. We have already noted how in Sirach Enoch's lack of an ordinary birth is combined with his role as head of the lineage of Israel's true, Zadokite priesthood. The claim that Enoch was *created* not born is brief and elliptical, lacking the vivid description of the newborn that we find in the Birth of Noah. However, like the latter tradition, Sirach 49:14-15 probably reflects a concern to explore priestly purity, separation from the normal means of human reproduction and the fallen state of humanity that underlies the wondrous birth of Noah. These themes come to the fore with the wondrous birth of Melchizedek in *2 Enoch*.

We have already seen how Enoch is given the rights and privileges of a priest at the climax of his ascent to heaven (ch. 22). When he returns to earth one of the subjects upon which he instructs his community is cultic ethics (chs. 45-46) and the correct procedure for the binding of the sacrificial victim (ch. 59).⁵⁰ Chapters 69-73

⁵⁰ All four legs of the victim must be bound. S. Pines argued that this is a

are concerned with the continuous and properly maintained succession of patriarchal priests. After the removal of Enoch the people ask Methusalam to take up the responsibility for the priesthood which Enoch's son duly does once he has experienced a dream, received whilst sleeping by the altar, in which God tells him to take up the office with the promise that "I shall glorify you in front of the face of all the people, and you will be glorified all the days of your life" (69:5).⁵¹ On waking from his sleep Methusalam is invested with the priestly garments and "a blazing crown" is set upon his head (69:8). Standing at the altar to make sacrifice Methusalam's face "was radiant, like the sun at midday rising up (J-recension)/like the morning star when it rises (A-recension)" (69:10). The language echoes that in Sirach 50:5-11 and *1 Enoch* 106:2.

From Methusalam the priesthood passes to Nir, the second son of Lamech (70:4-22).⁵² Towards the end of his life Nir's generation turned from the LORD and chaos began to afflict humanity (70:23-26). In chapter 71 we read of the wondrous birth of Melchizedek the next bearer of the priesthood.⁵³ Nir had no child to be his successor and his wife, Soplanim, was sterile in her time of old age. She conceives a child without intercourse with her husband, who has lived a celibate life since the day he had been appointed as priest. Not surprisingly, like Lamech, the father of Noah is greatly distressed when he sees his wife's pregnancy. In the heat of the argument concerning the child's legitimacy Soplanim falls down at Nir's feet and dies. But after a short time the child emerges from Soplanim's dead body:

practice regarded as heretical by the rabbis (see *m. Tamid* 4:1 & the Babylonian baraita: Pines 1970, 74-5). However, Martha Himmelfarb has questioned the persuasiveness of Pines' argument (Himmelfarb 1993, 42).

⁵¹ This statement and the references to God "raising up" a priest for himself (69:2, 4) is intriguingly reminiscent of 1QJ9 13 lines 2-3.

⁵² The name Nir will be a reflection of the Hebrew נִר "lamp" (Vaillant 1976 [1952], xii; Milik 1976, 115, see BDB 632-3 and see esp. Exod 25:33; 27:20; 30:7-8 etc.), which in turn represents another example of the association of the priesthood with the giving of light. In *2 Enoch* 70:17 (J) Nir adorns Methusalam's sepulcher with lamps. For a similar interest in lamps see 45:2.

Why Noah, Nir's brother, does not inherit the priesthood in *2 Enoch* is puzzling given the genealogy in Genesis 5 and the priestly behaviour of Noah in Genesis 8:20-21 and probably has something to do with the text's peculiarly heterodox life setting. By avoiding Noah the genealogy of the true priesthood bypasses Shem and Ham and Japheth, thus distancing itself from the Semites altogether.

⁵³ See the discussion in Delcor 1971, 127-130.

And he sat on the bed at her side. And Noe and Nir came in to bury Sopanim, and they saw the child sitting beside the dead Sopanim, and wiping his clothing. And Noe and Nir were very terrified with a great fear, because the child was fully developed physically, like a three-year-old. *And he spoke with his lips and he blessed the LORD* (71:17-18).

As we might expect from the Birth of Noah story the child's blessing signifies his priestly status which is spelt out in the next verse:

And Noe and Nir looked at him, and behold, *the badge of priesthood was on his chest, and it was glorious in appearance.* And Noe and Nir said, "Behold, God is *renewing the priesthood* from blood related to us, just as he pleases" (71:19-20).⁵⁴

The similarities to the birth of Noah are obvious both in the circumstances of a seemingly illegitimate birth and the child's wondrous character.⁵⁵ Just what relationship this story has to the older Birth of Noah is hard to say because the life setting of 2 *Enoch* is so obscure.⁵⁶ Andrei Orlov has now made a convincing case that the similarities between the two birth accounts are due to a systematic polemic against the priestly Noah tradition as attested in the traditions already examined.⁵⁷ Certainly the material in this text attests to the thoroughly priestly shape of the wondrous birth form in Jewish antiquity.

Another wondrous birth tradition which is instructive for our discussion is that of Cain in the *Life of Adam and Eve*. In the Latin *Vitae Adae et Evae* 21:3 we read of Eve that:

she bore a son, and he was lustrous (*lucidus*). And at once the infant rose, ran, and brought in his hands a reed (Heb: קנ) and gave it to his mother. And his name was called Cain (Heb: קין).

The birth of the wondrous child, is once again, the opportunity to signal his identity or purpose in life: the child's bringing his mother a reed was evidently an aetiology for the child's name in the original, but no longer extant, Hebrew. Conspicuously absent from Cain's

⁵⁴ J--recension. The A recension differs little.

⁵⁵ Vaillant 1976 [1952], xi-xii; Orlov 2000, 268-270.

⁵⁶ Dependence upon the virgin birth of Jesus and the characterization of Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 has been alleged by, e.g. Vaillant 1976 [1952], xi, but is rightly rejected by Delcor 1971, 129-30. In rabbinic tradition Melchizedek is normally identified with Shem, the son of Noah (e.g. *b. Ned.* 32b; *Gen. Rab.* 26:4; *Tg. Ps.-J. and Tg. Neof.* ad Gen 14:18. See further Ginzberg 1909-38, V, 225-226 n. 102).

⁵⁷ Orlov 2000.

birth are all the features which in the birth of Noah signal the child's priestly identity—solar imagery, birth in a “house” and child's blessing of God. This would suggest that for this text Cain *did not* legitimately bear the priesthood, which is not, of course surprising given his murder of his brother. Indeed, it is noteworthy that, as we saw in the last chapter, in the Hebrew original of the related Greek version of this Adam pseudepigraphon, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, it is *Abel* and not Cain who is the wearer of the priestly robe and bearer of that office.⁵⁸

Also relevant for our discussion are traditions relating the wondrous birth of Moses. In the Septuagint of Exodus 2:2 Moses parent's take note of the fact that their baby is “beautiful (ἀστέιος)”. This is picked up by a number of late second Temple authors (Pompeius Trogus (in Pseudo-Justin's *Historiae Philippicae* 36:2:11); Philo *De Vita Mosis* 1:9, 15, 18; Acts 7:20; Heb 11:23).⁵⁹ From this beauty Josephus has Pharaoh's daughter draw the conclusion that the baby Moses has “a divine form (μορφῆ θεῖον)” (*Ant.* 2:232, cf. 224, 231). There is no evidence that Moses' natal beauty was ever developed into anything like that of Noah in Second Temple tradition. However, such a development does take place in rabbinic tradition. There, Moses is born circumcised, is already able to speak, and the house of his birth becomes flooded with light.⁶⁰ There is an obvious overlap here with the birth of Noah, however, again, with the *differences* the specifically priestly form of that older tradition can be clearly seen. Whilst Moses is able to speak as soon as he is born he does *not* bless God as do Noah and Melchizedek. He is thus the pre-eminent teacher of the word (cf. *T. Mos.* 11:17 where Moses is “master of the word, . . . the divine prophet for the whole earth, the perfect teacher in the world”), whereas Noah is the model worshipper. Whilst the whole house becomes flooded with light the Mosaic birth texts do not specifically say that Moses himself is the source of light. The illumination of the house through Noah's eyes and the comparison of the light to that of the sun are specifically priestly

⁵⁸ There are no grounds for concluding that there is attached an “unfavourable significance” to the luminous birth of Noah from this text (*pace* Reeves 1993, 112 n. 5).

⁵⁹ For the Pompeius Trogus text see Stern 1974, 335, 337.

⁶⁰ *B. Sol.* 12a; *Exod. Rab.* 1:20; *Deut. Rab.* 11:10. In *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 48 this Moses is specifically compared to the angels at this point. See Ginzberg 1909–38, 2:264; 5:41.

features of Noah's birth.⁶¹ By the same token the fact that in the Mosaic stories the child is circumcised at birth indicates his role as an idealised representative of every Israelite: where Noah bears the marks of the priesthood, Moses carries the principle identity marker of every member of Israel, irrespective of any distinction between laity and priesthood.⁶²

There is, then, an overwhelming body of evidence that the *angelo-* or *theomorphic* birth of Noah in *1 Enoch* 106 and 1QapGen 2-5 is to be interpreted very specifically as the birth of a priestly child. We have reached this conclusion by way of an examination of the language of the story itself, an analysis of related Noahic materials and a comparison with other wondrous birth stories, some of which show a similar priestly orientation.⁶³ Precision regarding the original life-setting of the Birth of Noah is difficult to ascertain, though our discussion further endorses Michael Stone's sense that the Noahic material in *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* derives from priestly tradition in the form of a more or less coherent Noahic collection, which may still be cautiously labelled the "Book of Noah".⁶⁴

This tradition was evidently widely known, though the fact that it was cherished at Qumran is not surprising given the Dead Sea community's priestly identity. How was the glorious form of Noah treated in relation to the community's self-perception and expectations? It has sometimes been claimed Noah is presented as a *purely eschatological*, remnant, figure in *1 Enoch* 106, which might imply that his divinity is reflective of expectations for the future rather than

⁶¹ Also lacking is the comparison between the child and the appearance of the Ancient of Days. Given that the one like a son of man in Daniel 7:13 is a priestly figure who bears God's image (OG and Rev 1:13-16) then this also is a priestly aspect of the Noahic birth which is missing from the Moses birth form.

⁶² Noah's own circumcised state at birth is a feature which appears in some rabbinic texts (*Abot Rab. Nat.* A ch. 2; Tanhuma, *Noah* §6), presumably reflecting the muted concern for priestly matters in the later rabbinic context.

⁶³ Other references to the birth of the wondrous child—Josephus *Ant.* 2:232; *Orphica* 31; Acts 7:20—are too brief for useful comparison with the Birth of Noah. Though it is noteworthy that at the birth of Jesus, of course, there is signaled the child's priestly identity in the gift of gold, frankincense and myrrh (cf. Exod 30:23; 28:5, 6, 8 etc.) from the magi (Matt 2:11).

⁶⁴ The priesthood of Noah was evidently well known during the rabbinic period. It appears in connection with the identification of Melchizedek with Shem, Noah's son. In this regard Jerome says that "the Hebrews... say that all the first-born sons of Noah were priests before Aaron performed the priestly office" (*Questions on Genesis* ad 14:18-19 (see Hayward 1995b, 47)). For a discussion of this tradition and the possibility that it was known in the first century see McNamara 2000, 10-17.

present realities.⁶⁵ But, on the other hand, whilst its present setting in the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 97–107) means Noah's birth undoubtedly has eschatological implications (cf. esp. 1 *Enoch* 104:1–2), the story can be included in a context with no such orientation, as the *Genesis Apocryphon* shows, and we have seen that its basic plot relates the birth of the true theomorphic priest whose ministry rescues society from an *intra-historical*, rather than a purely eschatological, catastrophe. The close literary and ideological similarity to the description of Simon the high priest in Sirach 50 suggests that for a community such as Qumran Noah's wondrous, theophanic form would have as much to say for the theology of contemporary priesthood as for any eschatological hope. Indeed, in 1QapGen 11:15–16 we read how God talks with Noah after his exit from the ark and says to him:

Do not be afraid, Noah, I am with you and with your sons, *who will be like you*, forever¹⁶ . . . of the earth, and rule over all of them, over its . . . and its deserts and its mountains, and over all that is in them.

The statement in line 15 that Noah's children will be like him could be interpreted in various ways and, indeed, it is probably polyvalent. As a reference to the true priestly lineage, which, as we have seen, pre-occupies the related material in *Jubilees* (and 2 *Enoch*), this would be a promise that his descendants, particularly the Israelite priesthood, would function as bearers of God's presence just as Noah has done from his birth.

But there is also perhaps an eye to the righteous as a whole, not just the priesthood. Line 16 develops the literary echoes of Genesis 1:26–30 that were already present in Genesis 9:1–3:⁶⁶ Noah is set up as a second Adam who is to have the *rule* and authority over creation originally intended for Adam. This might imply that for the *Genesis Apocryphon* the similarity to Noah of his children means the righteous as a whole are to truly embody God's image in creation.⁶⁷ At Qumran the exemplary character of Noah and the way he recovers the rule over creation intended for Adam was related to his

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Nickelsburg 1998, 142–3.

⁶⁶ A version of Genesis 9:2–4 follows in 1QapGen 11:17.

⁶⁷ The Qumran community's following of Noah's example will partly be reflected in their frequent self-designation as the "perfect of way" (e.g. 1QS 2:2; 3:9–10; 4:22; 8:10, 18, 21; QM 14:7; CD 2:15–16). This expression is indebted, amongst other passages, to Gen 6:9 where Noah is one who walks with God and is יָרַח (LXX $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$).

transmission of guidance for the handling of demons (*Jub.* 10:10–14). P.S. Alexander has drawn attention to the way in which in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511) the *Maskil*, who recites songs in the war against the forces of darkness, “is seen in a Noahic role, interceding for his Community and defending them against spiritual evil”.⁶⁸ In *Sirach* 45 and *Testament of Moses* 11 the righteous Moses who wards off the enemies of God’s people is a divine Moscs. We will not be surprised, therefore, to find when we come to examine *The Songs of the Sage* in detail, that there too the righteous, like the divine Noah born to survive the flood, are an angelic and divine remnant in the midst of the generation of wickedness.

⁶⁸ Alexander 1997, 322.

THE ANGELOMORPHIC PRIESTHOOD
IN CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Clearly, then, the priesthood is a primary conceptual category for the formation of an angelomorphic identity, even where priestly credentials are not spelt out explicitly. This phenomenon may partly be a reflection of the way in which in the Second Temple period prophecy became absorbed within the offices of the temple. Already, in the earlier period of Israelite period, prophets were often priests (Ezekiel: 1:3; Jeremiah: 1:1; Zechariah: 1:1 and Ezra 5:1; 6:14). In the later period the priest's prophetic ability becomes an institutional dimension of his office. So, for example, in *Joseph and Aseneth* Levi's role in the drama is characterized by his prophetic abilities (22:13; 23:8; 26:6). For Josephus, John Hyrcanus represents the pinnacle of Hasmonean priestly (and royal) power in as much as Hyrcanus is both king, priest and prophet.¹ As Josephus makes clear this prophetic charism is a function of the fact that the high priest has a peculiar right of access to God's presence, a fact which, of course, in the Second Temple period, separates the priesthood from the kingship and the laity.² As we shall see, the high priest's prophetic abilities are particularly associated with his wearing of the breastplate of judgement—what Josephus calls "the oracle" and his use of the Urim and Thummim.³ This strongly priestly orientation to prophecy should probably be judged the background to Josephus' description of the Essenes as prophets (*Ant.* 15:373-379).

This absorption of prophecy within priesthood is important for our purposes because of another trend in the late Second Temple period: increasingly the prophetic experience, at least as it is ideal-

¹ See *B.J.* 1:68-9; *Ant.* 13:282-83, 299-300, 322 where a number of examples of Hyrcanus' prophetic abilities are recorded.

² See in particular *Ant.* 13:300 "for the Deity was with him..." (= *B.J.* 1:69); *Ant.* 13:282 Hyrcanus "was alone in the temple, burning incense as high priest, [and] heard a voice...".

³ See esp. *Ant.* 3:216-7.

ized in the literary sources, becomes locked into an experience of heavenly ascent. In its apocalyptic mode, access to heavenly secrets is achieved through vertical ascent to the heavenly realm which then becomes a sphere in which transformation to a new heavenly, angelic, identity is regarded appropriate, if not essential.⁴ Older scholarship discussing, for example, the prototypical heavenly ascent in *I Enoch* 14 tended to emphasize the formal similarity to the call visions of older prophecy (esp. Ezekiel 1 and Isaiah 6).⁵ However, the distinctive aspects of this and other ascent texts are probably due to the model of sacred space prescribed by the new Jerusalem temple with its division into three or seven (*m. Kelim* 1:8; Josephus *B.J.* 1:26) zones of increasing holiness.⁶

Not only does the priesthood embrace prophecy it also takes on a dominant *socio-political* role in the Second Temple period which explains the relative insignificance of kingship in angelomorphic traditions.⁷ Throughout this period it is the priesthood rather than kingship which held the position of social, political, as well as religious primacy within Israel's polity. This is not to deny the role of the governor during the Persian period, the influence of the theology of kingship on the Hasmoneans or, even, the Herodians. There certainly remained alive an expectation for the restoration of the kingship in an eschatological and messianic form.⁸ However, the institution which remains the most stable and constant throughout the vicissitudes of the Second Temple period is the priesthood. Reflection on the ideal king is confined to the scriptural text and is otherwise hampered by the negative experience of attempts to restore kingship by the likes of Herod the Great. By contrast, the priesthood has a living practicing liturgy and institution as a context for self-reflection and the nurturing of scriptural interpretation. The priesthood has large numbers of relatively highly skilled and literate practitioners

⁴ See the discussion in Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 129–137.

⁵ See the review in Himmelfarb 1993, 9–20.

⁶ For the three zones (*hekhal*, *devir*, and *'ulam*) see Himmelfarb 1993, 14. A traditional separation of the temple into seven spheres of holiness is a more likely explanation of the dominance of the seven heaven model in late Second Temple apocalypses than the possibility (noted by Himmelfarb 1993, 32–33) of any *direct* connection with the significance of the number seven in Sumerian and Babylonian magic.

⁷ For a recognition of the *hierocratic* shape of the Second Temple theocracy see e.g. Sanders 1992; Grabbe 1992, 537–541, 607–616.

⁸ See esp. Horbury 1998.

who, by law, are to be creamed off from the labour of the land (Numbers 18), where, by contrast, kingship has no such socio-economic constitution. The Dead Sea Scrolls are, themselves, testimony to the existence of a caste which is at once thoroughly priestly, literate and equipped with the scribal skills necessary for the copying and further production of religious texts. Also, the *golden age* of the Second Temple was one in which Israel was ruled by priests, the Hasmoneans. Although the Hasmoneans were to co-opt both prophecy and kingship they were, essentially, royal and prophetic priests, not sacral kings, as had been the nation's leaders in the pre-exilic period.

To be sure, the Pharisees represent a movement which has a stronger base amongst the laity, but pharisaism only becomes a prominent force in the first century B.C. and thereafter. In the second and third centuries B.C. the picture is more narrowly priestly. Also, it is during this period that the political strength of the nation—marred only by the Antiochene crisis—is reflected in the anthropological optimism of such works as *Sirach*, *Daniel*, the *Book of Watchers*, *Artapanus*, *Jubilees*, *Aristobolus*, *Ezekiel the Tragedian* and *Joseph and Aseneth*.⁹ By contrast those texts with an overtly negative anthropology reflect a much later date when Israel's political situation had worsened considerably (e.g. *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*) and when the priests no longer held the prominent position of their forebears.¹⁰

Reflecting more broadly upon the angelomorphic texts at our disposal one can readily see just how formative a power the priesthood will have exerted upon the creation of this distinctive theological anthropology. The priesthood binds in one office virtually all of the facets of angelomorphic identity and transformation that we otherwise find with little or no obvious reference to the priesthood. As we have seen, the priesthood claims a prerogative over prophecy, civil and therefore earthly rule and dominion, and is the "canonical" model of mediation between God and his people. With the book of *Sirach* we find that the Temple has now become the true locus of Wisdom, who is a figure of almost hypostatic and certainly cosmic proportions (esp. *Sirach* 24 and 50 and cf. *Wisdom of Solomon's*

⁹ Of these *Sirach*, *the Book of Watchers*, *Daniel* 7-12, *Jubilees*, *Aristobolus* and *Joseph and Aseneth* are all of either priestly authorship or orientation.

¹⁰ Neither *4 Ezra* or *2 Baruch* is priestly in orientation.

cultic orientation). In many texts the angelomorphic figure is so by virtue of their possession of wisdom and universal knowledge.¹¹

The priesthood also inspires the iconography of the divine anthropology. The priesthood wears special clothing; plain pure white robes for ordinary priests (or the high priest on Yom Kippur (Lev 16:4)) and a luxurious, golden, jewel studded garment for the high priesthood. There is an obvious similarity between the simple attire of the priests and that which is attributed to the angels throughout Jewish and Christian texts. We have seen how significant investiture is for the outward expression of a transformed identity (2 *Enoch* 22:8-10) and the otherworldly impression that the high priest's garments can provoke (*Aristeas* 99).¹² Again in other texts where glorious appearance figures prominently we have found grounds for thinking that priestly attire stands in the background (e.g. 1 *Enoch* 106).¹³

Pausing to reflect on this dimension of the Jerusalem cult it is hard to escape the fact that for Second Temple Jews the temple offered the nearest equivalent to the modern fashion industry. At the risk of being judged irreverent, we should compare the inner precincts of the temple to the catwalks of Paris and Milan. The awe and otherworldly regard in which our own "supermodels" are held has a socio-religious parallel in ancient Judaism. The high priest's garments were reserved for use within the temple precincts,¹⁴ and the laity, women and gentiles are carefully cordoned off from the priesthood, the "fashion elite", in much the same way that our fashion industry separates its stars physically and economically from the rest of us.¹⁵ Of course, the ideological superstructure of the two

¹¹ For example, the (angelomorphic) King of Tyre in Ezek 28:12 is "full of wisdom" and in 2 *Enoch* 30:11 Adam is a "second angel" who has God's wisdom. Compare the portrayal of the righteous in Wis 5:5.

¹² Compare, generally, Himmelfarb 1993, 29-47.

¹³ In early Christology, passages which show any interest in Jesus' glorious attire also reflect a priestly background. See Fletcher-Louis 2001a on Mark 9:1-12 and Rev 1:13-16.

¹⁴ In *b. Yoma* 69a this is regarded as a strict ruling, though the account of the high priest's encounter with Alexander the Great (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 11:329-339) suggests this was not always rigorously applied.

¹⁵ In Acts 12 and Josephus *Ant.* 19:343-52 Herod's reception of divinity is dependent on his appearance in glorious garments. The fact that he suffers divine condemnation for his reception of the people's acclamation is normally explained as the consequence of the simple fact that being a mortal he claims divinity. It may, however, have had as much to do with the fact that his divine garments challenged the divinely constituted sacred space within which such garments were legitimate.

worlds—the ancient Jewish priesthood and the modern fashion industry—is different, but there are unmistakable commonalities between their respective social structures. And, what is more, the modern idealization of beauty has a direct correlate in both the Israelite priesthood and the Jewish angelomorphic tradition. Physical deformity disqualified a member of the priestly caste from service and angelomorphic texts frequently regard physical beauty and strength as a physiognomic indication of a transcendent divine identity.¹⁶

Protestant puritanism and a strand of modernity which is unable to cope with such symbolism have undoubtedly contributed to the twentieth century failure to grapple with the rich and polyscemeous power of Israel's cultic drama. Whatever value judgement we may wish to place on this aspect of Israelite religiosity it is an undeniable historical fact of the nation's life which (with the *possible* exception of early Christian attitudes to temple purity codes) is nowhere challenged in the surviving texts.

Not only does the temple occupy a controlling position in defining transcendent fashion and beauty, it also held something of a monopoly over the nation's music industry. That is to say that instrumental and vocal worship is largely confined to the temple. The synagogue increasingly plays an important role in Israel's spirituality towards the end of the Second Temple period. However, the synagogue is principally a place of Torah study, prayer and community organization: communal worship throughout the week and at major festivals is reserved for the Jerusalem Temple. There are, of course, *theological* reasons for this pattern of piety: God lives in the Temple and therefore needs to be worshipped there. (Our assumption that "God" is universally present and therefore can be worshipped anywhere is a Christian, and indeed, particularly a post-Reformation, view.) Secondly, because, for Israel worship is inescapably a matter of sacrifice and liturgical drama, for which only the Jerusalem temple has been sanctioned, it is difficult to conceive of a "worship" in the *fully* biblical sense outside of that sacred space. This centralization of worship in the Jerusalem temple will no doubt have been reinforced by

Had he been the high priest wearing the right glorious garments within the temple precinct the people's acclamation might have been more acceptable. The presence of such concerns may be signalled in Josephus' version by the presence of an *unclean owl* in Herod's proximity (Lev 11:16-17; 14:16-17) heralding his demise.

¹⁶ See e.g. *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7-8.

economic constraints: worship is led by priests and Levites whose socio-economic power base is deliberately tied to the temple by Torah.

All this has numerous ramifications for our exploration of Judaism's theological anthropology. For example, one frequently finds that transformation takes place in the context of the worship of heaven and the joining of an angelic liturgy.¹⁷ This is of the utmost importance to the Qumran community for whom the belief that sectarian members have been removed from the mundane realm to the heavenly world wherein they receive a new "divine" identity is inextricable from their practicing of a temple liturgy. Even though their worship is physically removed from the Jerusalem temple it is clearly defined by, and over against, its hermeneutical framework.

In all this it should go without saying that the purity boundaries of the Jerusalem temple are also definitive for Jewish angelomorphism. The temple prescribes concentric spheres of increasing holiness at the apex and centre of which is the very presence of God himself in the Holy of Holies. The language of holiness, purity and impurity plays a similar game, albeit with different grammatical rules, to the language of divine, angelic and human. The (impure) pagan lives at the level of the (unclean) beasts.¹⁸ The true Israelite can be taken up from the level of humanity to the angelic and the divine and, as we have seen, this movement is frequently expressed in terms of a vertical movement through a cosmology modelled on the temple. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that angelomorphic humans can be called "holy ones" and that, by contrast, we frequently find (especially in the New Testament) demons called "unclean spirits" (Mark 1:23, 26; 30:30; 5:8 etc. . . .). Again, the language used to express a very specific theological anthropology is provided by Israel's temple centred Torah.

The Angelomorphic Priesthood in the Cosmic Temple

Behind all these aspects of temple life and their relevance for the belief in a divine humanity there lies the fundamental presupposition

¹⁷ E.g. *Hist. Rech.* 13:5; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8:1-4; *T. Job* 47; 52; 1 Cor 13:1.

¹⁸ See especially Bryan 1995 for this in Second Temple apocalyptic literature and Stern 1994, 39-42, 247-259 on the rabbinic material.

that the Temple is the "epitome of the world, a concentrated form of its essence, a miniature of the cosmos."¹⁹ The Temple was far more than the point at which heaven and earth met. Rather it was thought to correspond to, represent, or, in some sense, to *be*, "heaven and earth" in its totality. Because, as we shall see, this wider temple mythology was so prevalent and evidently informed the divine anthropology of temple theology, it requires a summary overview at this point in our setting of the scene for an examination of the Dead Sea Scroll texts.

The belief that the temple is a microcosm of the universe is readily grasped if its three-fold structure, the sanctuary (supremely the Holy of Holies), the inner and outer courts, are allowed to correspond to heaven, earth and sea respectively. In the words of the late rabbinic midrash *Numbers Rabbah* 13:19;

The Court surrounds the Temple just as the sea surrounds the world. For Josephus the original pre-Temple tabernacle was similarly divided into three parts two of which were "approachable and open to all". Moses thereby

signifies the earth and the sea, since these two are accessible to all; but the third portion he reserved for God alone, because heaven is inaccessible to men (*Ant.* 3.181, cf. 3.123).

Josephus' *Antiquities* and the *Midrash Rabbah* to Numbers are post-Second Temple texts and where any notice has been taken of their temple cosmology it has sometimes been assumed to be a post-biblical development, and therefore of minor importance.²⁰ Though this symbolism might not be out of place in the wider Greco-Roman world, there is no reason to think that here Josephus or, over half a millennium later, the rabbis are accommodating to a pagan ideology.²¹ That the cosmic temple mythology should have made an impact on Israelite religion is to be expected since this was always part of the mythological *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East.²²

¹⁹ Levenson 1985, 138, cf. Levenson 1988, 73-99; Patai 1947, 105-138; Ego 1989, 20-23; Meyer 1992, 231.

²⁰ See e.g. Koester 1989, 61.

²¹ This is rightly perceived by Holladay 1977, 86-9; Levenson 1988, 96. In Acts 7:48-50 it is the *hellenist* Stephen who attacks this cosmic temple mythology and in *b. Sukk.* 51b and *b. B. Bat.* 4a the cosmopolitan Herod has to be dissuaded from destroying its architectural representation in his temple rebuilding project.

²² For examples of ancient Near Eastern parallels to the temple-as-microcosm

With respect to the post-exilic Priestly material (P) Joseph Blenkinsopp argued in a 1976 article that P has structured his material in order to set up a set of literary and linguistic correspondences between creation (Genesis 1) and the tabernacle (Exod 25–40).²³ In a similar vein P.J. Kearney, Moshe Weinfeld and others have seen that the seven days of creation in Genesis 1 are paired with God's seven speeches to Moses in Exodus 25–31.²⁴ Each speech begins "The LORD spoke to Moses" (Exod 25:1; 30:11, 16, 22, 34; 31:11, 12) and introduces material which corresponds to the relevant day of creation. Most transparently, in the third speech 30:16–21 there is commanded the construction of the bronze laver. In the Solomonic temple this is called simply the "sea" and in P it matches the creation of the sea on the third day of creation in Genesis 1:9–11. Similarly, the seventh speech (Exod 31:12–17) stresses the importance of the Sabbath for Israel, just as Genesis 2:2–3 tells us how God rested on the seventh day. In the first speech to Moses Aaron's garments and his ordination are described and stress is placed upon his duty to tend the menorah at the evening and morning sacrifice (Tamid) (27:20–21; 30:7–8). As we shall see, the golden and jewel-studded garments which Aaron wears are, generically, best understood as the Israelite version of the golden garments worn by the gods of the ancient Near East and their statues. This means that Aaron is dressed to play the part within the temple-as-microcosm theatre that God plays within creation. Indeed, the fact that in this *first* speech Aaron is twice told to tend the temple lampstand and offer the Tamid sacrifice means that he is to police the first boundary—between day and night, light and darkness—which God creates on the first day of creation (Gen 1:3–5). Obviously, these correspondences mean that creation has its home in the liturgy of the cult and the Tabernacle is a mini cosmos.²⁵

Jon D. Levenson, who further supplies clear proof for the roots of this mythology in the architecture of the Solomonic temple, has

motif see Hurowitz 1992, 335–7. For an overview of ancient Near Eastern Temple mythology see Lundquist 1983.

²³ Blenkinsopp 1976, esp. 275–283.

²⁴ Kearney 1977; Weinfeld 1981.

²⁵ For the reception of Kearney's argument, which can be developed much further, see, e.g., Levenson 1988, 82–3. Tigchellaar 1996, 18–19, 38, 45 has suggested that like Exodus 25–31 the visions of Zech 1–8 are structured to conform to the sequence in Genesis 1. For the presence of such a cosmology in Ezekiel's temple vision see Niditch 1986.

gathered up much of the wider biblical material in a thoroughgoing demonstration of its importance for biblical theology.²⁶ From our fragmentary knowledge of Israel's various calendars it is clear that the two principal *New Year* festivals, in Tishri and Nisan, were associated with the dedication of the sanctuary (1 Kgs 8:2, cf. 2 Chron 7:9; 1 Kgs 12:32-33; Ezra 3:1-6) and the erection of the Tabernacle (Exod 40:2, 17), respectively.²⁷ In its earliest history this temple mythology has to be understood in the context of ancient Near Eastern mythology related to kingship, the divine conflict with the forces of chaos and the foundation of city and temple. Perhaps its simplest biblical example is Ps 78:69:

He built his sanctuary like the high heavens (כְּמִצְרַיִם),
like the earth, which he has founded forever.

Despite scholarly neglect we do find that this mythology is everywhere present in the post-biblical literature.²⁸ The close literary and conceptual correspondence between Genesis 1 and Exodus 25-31 was known and reused by the priestly Wisdom author, Ben Sira, who has employed its structure to explore the complex relationship between creation, Temple, priest and Wisdom in Sirach 24 and 50.²⁹ C.T.R. Hayward has persuasively argued that, from the same period, the establishment of a Temple at Leontopolis in the first half of the second century B.C. was bound-up with the renewal of the cosmos.³⁰ Ben Zion Wacholder has suggested that the peculiarly cubic architecture of the Temple Scroll found at Qumran, which he correlates closely with the cosmology of the early Enoch literature, reflects a similar conceptual world. The "future sanctuary prescribed in the scroll seems to have been designed to correspond to the renewal of the heaven and the earth at the end of days."³¹ Certainly at one

²⁶ Levenson 1985, 111-176; Levenson 1988, 78-99. In both volumes Levenson explores the wider ideological and theological issues at stake in the history of the modern suppression of this OT mythology.

²⁷ For Tabernacles/Day of Atonement and New Creation see *Jub.* 5:10-19, esp. 5:18 referring to Lev 16:34 and 11QTS 29:9 at the end of a description of the sacrifices for Tabernacles.

²⁸ Cf. Grabbe 1992, 539-40.

²⁹ Fletcher-Louis 2000b; Fletcher-Louis 2001b. cf. Hayward 1996, 38-84, esp. 79-80.

³⁰ Hayward 1982, 436-7.

³¹ Wacholder 1983, 40, cf. 33-40. Cf. Barker 1989.

point in the Temple scroll there is an unequivocal identification of the creation of the sanctuary as the day of creation.³²

Both Josephus and Philo explore at some length the cosmic symbolism of the Tabernacle/Temple and its paraphernalia (Philo *Mos.* 2:71–145; Josephus *Ant.* 3:123, 179–187).³³ Both agree that the woven work of the tabernacle and the temple veil are made from four materials symbolizing the four elements—earth, water, air and fire (*War* 5:212–3; *Ant.* 3:138–4; *Quaestiones in Exodum* 2:85, cf. *Mos.* 2:88). Both regard the seven lamps as symbolic of the planets (*Mos.* 2:103; *B.J.* 5:146, 217). Both consider the High Priest's garments to be yet another extended cosmic metaphor (*Mos.* 2:117–126, 133–135, 143; *Ant.* 3:180, 183–7). In addition to the points of agreement, each has their own peculiar points of symbolic interpretation. So, for example, for Philo the pomegranates and flowers on the bottom of the High Priest's garments symbolize earth and water; the bells the harmonious alliance of the two (*Mos.* 2:119–121). For Josephus the pomegranates and bells represent lightning and thunder (*B.J.* 5:231; *Ant.* 3:184). It is clear that in the main Philo's cosmological interpretation of the sanctuary is that of mainstream Judaism since at various points he adds his own more allegorical and rarefied geometric and numerical interpretations (*Mos.* 2:80, 84, 98f., 101–5, 127f.).³⁴

Besides the passage in *Numbers Rabbah* this understanding of the Temple is recurrent in rabbinic literature even though so much energy after A.D. 135 had been directed towards creating a worldview—a cosmology—which could give Judaism meaning in the absence of the Temple.³⁵ According to talmudic tradition the inner walls of

³² 11QT 29:9: "עד יום הכרית אשר אבדתי אני את מקדשי", "... until the day of creation, when I will create my Temple". In his *editio princeps* Y. Yadin first adopted the reading יום הכרית though he later conceded the possibility of reading הכרית which is now universally accepted. See Yadin 1983, 2, 129, 354–5.

³³ At *B.J.* 4:324 Josephus refers to the priests who lead "the cosmic worship" (τῆς κοσμοποιτικῆς θρησκείας). For the later suppression of this cosmic Temple mythology, as evinced by the magical text *Sefer Yesira*, see Hayman 1986.

³⁴ For the place of these texts in the wider context of Philo's thought see Hayward, 1996, 108–141.

³⁵ See Smith 1978a; Schäfer 1978. See esp. *Pesiq. R.* 5:3 (on Num 7:1); *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1:4–5, 21:5; *Tanhuma Peqûdê* 2 (Levenson, 1988, 170 n. 77). Cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 3 (end: Friedlander pp. 17–18) as the climax of narrative of creation. At *Pesiqta Rabbati* 7:4 (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 3:9; *Tanhuma Buber naso* 24) the first day of the Temple's service (Num 7:12) is regarded as the first day of creation. For the tradition assigned to the tanna Rabbi Pinhas ben Ya'ir see Patai 1947, 108 and see texts cited by Ego 1989, 21 n. 15. Note also *b. Ber.* 55a ("Rav said: "Bezalel knew the

the Herodian Temple had been constructed so as to look like the waves of the sea (*b. Sukk.* 51b, *b. B. Bat.* 4a).³⁵

A good illustration of the importance of the temple-as-microcosm theology for a divine anthropology is provided by the fifth book of the *Sibylline Oracles*. In lines 249–51 the oracle proclaims that

the divine and heavenly race of the blessed Jews
(Ἰουδαίων μακάρων θεῖον γένος οὐράνιόν τε),
who live around the city of God in the middle of the earth,
are raised up even to the dark clouds.

Here we clearly see the influence of the *omphalos* mythology according to which Zion is the navel (ὀμφαλός) and centre of the universe (cf. Ezekiel 5:5; 38:12; *Jub.* 8:19; *1 Enoch* 26:1). That the people are raised to the dark clouds would seem to explain the heavenly identity of Israel. How is this achieved? Further on in Book 5 the oracle says

420 And the city which God desired, this he made
more brilliant than the stars and the sun and moon,
he provided *cosmos* (κόσμον) and made a holy house,
exceedingly beautiful in its fair shrine and he fashioned
a great and immense tower over many stadia
425 touching even the clouds and visible to all,
so that all the faithful and righteous could see the Glory of
the eternal God, a form desired (πεποθημένον εἶδος),
East and West sang out the Glory of God.

This is clearly a further elaboration of the Zion mythology and temple cosmology.³⁷ The temple, in particular, has cosmological proportions stretching, in part, into the realm of heaven. The Greek in line 422 implies that the construction of the entire cosmos and the temple are somehow synonymous.³⁸ The construction of the temple

letters by which heaven and earth were created"); *b. Shabb.* 87b; *Sifra schemini* 43 (Schäfer 1978, 131–2); *Midrash Tadshe* ch. 2 (in Jellinek 1967, part 2, pp. 164–7).

³⁶ The ocean symbolism of the Temple walls appears to have influenced the famous early mystical tradition concerning four who entered *pardes* (*b. Hag.* 14b). Cf. David Halperin 1988, 194–210, who supplies parallel Hekhalot texts.

³⁷ 5:281–2 speaks of a “honey-sweet stream from rock and spring, and heavenly milk” which feeds Israel. This perhaps has in mind the living waters of Zion tradition (Zech 14; Joel 3:18; Ezek 47 etc. . . .), but it also recalls the angelic ambrosia of *Joseph and Aseneth*.

³⁸ The use of *cosmos* language in this way for Greek speaking Jews was traditional. As C.T.R. Hayward has shown (Hayward 1996, 79–80, cf. Fletcher-Louis 2001b, ad loc) the Greek translator of Sirach had made the same connection between

has repercussions for the whole of creation which sings out the Glory of God (line 428). Through the building of the temple God's presence somehow becomes manifest to the whole of creation (425-427).³⁹ Given the temple-as-microcosm theology this might perhaps be because the whole of creation is brought into God's presence through the temple's liturgy and physical structure.

At any rate the text's view that Israel is a "divine and heavenly race" is obviously grounded in the belief that their life is centred on a temple which gives them rights of access to the whole of the cosmos, including the heaven above, the sphere of the clouds. This may also explain the author's otherwise opaque claim that in the temple the Glory of God, his much desired form, is visible. This sounds, on the one hand like a response to the pagan slur on the atheism of the Jewish faith for not having a statue or idol in its temple. On the other hand it suggests the Glory of God is itself present, at least in part, in God's chosen people whose divinity reflects his own. In particular, the "form desired" may have in mind the high priest in his garments of Glory, since in Sirach 45:12 we are also told that Aaron's divine garments were "the desires of eyes (ἐπιθυμήματα ὀφθαλμῶν)".

Another important aspect of Israel's temple mythology—the identification of the temple with the garden of Eden and its paradisaical conditions is also important for our study. If the pre-lapsarian identity is divine or angelic and it is the temple that provides the recovery of the pre-lapsarian existence then it is not the least surprising that we find the presence of temple paradise motifs in transformational contexts.

A good example of this phenomenon is provided by *Joseph and Aseneth*, a text which we have already seen derives its divine anthropology from its temple and priesthood ideologies. At the centre of this text's angelomorphic portrayal of the righteous is the scene in which the converted and transformed Aseneth is given to eat from a heavenly honeycomb (ch. 16). That honey is the ambrosial food of the gods is a widespread view of antiquity. In this Jewish text this food-of-the-gods tradition is anchored in a heavenly protology:

the completion of the temple liturgy and the completion of the cosmos (ἕως συντελεσθῆι κόσμος κυρίου) in Sirach 50:19.

³⁹ Given the cosmological context, a purely anthropological interpretation of the language in lines 425-6 ("all righteous *people*" etc. . . .) is injudicious.

For this comb is (full of the) spirit of life. And the bees of the paradise of delight (cf. LXX Gen 3:23) have made this from the dew of the roses of life that are in the paradise of God. And all the angels of God eat of it and all the chosen of God and all the sons of the Most High, because this is a comb of life, and everyone who eats of it will not die for ever (and) ever. . . .¹⁶ Behold, from today your flesh (will) flourish like flowers of life from the ground of the Most High, and your bones will grow strong like the cedars of the paradise of delight of God, and untiring powers will embrace you, and your youth will not see old age, and your beauty will not fail ever.

As Sirach 24:13–29 and 50:8–12 show, the paradisaical imagery here (roses, honey, cedars) is traditional.⁴⁰ The honeycomb in *Joseph and Aseneth* has traditionally been identified with the pure, kosher food consumed in the Jewish diaspora.⁴¹ However, in the light of Bohak's Leontopolis temple interpretation of *Joseph and Aseneth* and his specific elucidation⁴² of the bees of paradise as priests the honeycomb probably stands more narrowly for the sustenance provided by the Leontopolis temple, which is therefore, also, regarded as a recapitulation of Eden.

The Chief Priesthood as the Embodiment of God's Glory

Thus far we have been fairly loose in our use of terms such as "divine", "angelomorphic" and "theological anthropology". Ultimately a clear definition of our terms is only possible if we are able to distinguish between degrees or kinds of "divinity" and "angelomorphism" which are reflected in a given text. It is one thing to be like an angel and in that sense "divine", it is quite another to somehow fully or uniquely embody the divine presence, in a way which would be closer to the function of the "angel of the LORD" in OT texts. A key criterion in distinguishing between degrees of human divinity is whether or not the reception of worship is regarded as legitimate. Worship of an angel is frequently judged inappropriate in Jewish texts.⁴² This clearly distinguishes between the angelic order of divine being and that of the one true God who is to be worshipped.

⁴⁰ The overlap in language with these passages from Sirach belies a specifically priestly and Zadokite tradition.

⁴¹ Burchard 1965, 128–9; Collins 1983, 213–4; Chesnut 1995, 128–135.

⁴² See Bauckham 1983 and the full survey of texts in Stuckenbruck 1995.

And yet there are texts where some kind of veneration is offered to a transformed, angelic humanity with, it seems, the endorsement of an apparently "orthodox" Jewish authorship. So, for example, in *Jubilees* 40:7 Genesis 41:42-43 is retold so that Joseph rides Pharaoh's chariot and the people acclaim him *el, el wa abiver* (Ethiopic) which is a corruption of an original Hebrew אֱלֹהִים וְאַבִּיר אֱלֹהִים, "god, god, Mighty One of God".⁴³ In a similar fashion in *Joseph and Aseneth*, Joseph, the Mighty One of God (3:4; 4:7; 18:1f.; 21:21), is introduced to the drama riding his glorious chariot receiving the people's prostration (5:1-7, cf. Gen 41:43). Further on, in the longer recension of *Joseph and Aseneth* Joseph's brothers prostrate themselves before Joseph and his new wife (22:5), who promptly prostrates herself before Jacob who she now regards as "a god" (22:3, 8). Finally, in both the long and the short recension, it is Levi who receives such veneration when "Pharaoh rose from his throne and prostrated himself before Levi on the ground and blessed him" (29:6). In part, such prostration must reflect the recognition that as representatives of the divine and heavenly race Jacob, Joseph and Levi, and now Aseneth, are all bearers of the divine presence and must be treated as such.⁴⁴

In these texts the transformed humanity is angelomorphic and the fact that veneration or worship of some kind is offered raises the possibility that the true humanity somehow participates in the unique transcendence of the one Jewish God.⁴⁵ How can this be for good Jewish monotheistic authors? Again, in order to get a conceptual grasp on such material we should turn to other texts where such a move has been made. Several of these we have discussed elsewhere, but they are important and will be touched upon here because they illustrate the centrality of the priesthood and are a necessary history-of-religions background to several of the texts discussed below.⁴⁶

In a widely known haggadah best represented by chapters 12-16 of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* Adam is worshipped by the angels

⁴³ The Latin text has *Elel et Habirel*.

⁴⁴ Compare also *Hist. Rech.* 6:3 where Zosimus falls to the ground and worships the Blessed Ones, who are "earthly angels".

⁴⁵ Obviously it is appropriate to speak of the *divinity* of Joseph and Levi in these texts given the language at *Jub.* 40:7 and the fact that in *Joseph and Aseneth* Jacob's angelomorphism means, like the archangel in 17:9, he is as a *god* (θεός) to Aseneth (22:3).

⁴⁶ For the texts that follow see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 120-125, 141-43, 149-153, 178-80 and Fletcher-Louis 1999.

when he is first created by God. In this text Adam is not only angelomorphic (cf. e.g. 4:1-2) he is, therefore, above the angels, the unique bearer of God's image and the very form of God's body (27:3).⁴⁷ Similarly, in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* the divine Moses receives angelic prostration whilst seated on God's throne (68-89). In several important texts it is the high priest who receives such worship. In Hecataeus of Abdera's late fourth century B.C. account of the Jewish constitution the high priest is an ἄγγελος of God's commands to his people during the liturgy and as such the people worship him.⁴⁸ Similarly, in the rabbinic and Josephus version of a story, which is otherwise attested in the Jewish recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes's *Alexander Romance*, Alexander the Great prostrates himself in worship before the high priest Jaddua who heads a delegation to meet the conquering Macedonian outside of Jerusalem.⁴⁹

Prostration in these texts is different in degree and kind to that offered, for example, to Jacob, Joseph and Levi in *Jubilees* and *Joseph and Aseneth*. The individuals concerned receive worship from the angels over whom they are set, the context is frequently overtly cultic and there is a clear impression that a unique and particular representation or embodiment of the one Jewish God is present.

The recurrence of worship offered to the high priest is particularly noteworthy. It should probably be explained, in part, by the fact that the high priest was thought to wear God's garments. In the ancient Near East there is an important belief that the gods wear glorious garments and this is reflected in the cultic practice of adorning the cult statue, idol or cultic representative in gold and jewel studded clothing.⁵⁰ There are good reasons for thinking that Aaron's garments in Exodus 28 are intended to evoke, and subvert, this tradition: in the priestly tabernacle it is Aaron who bears God's image. This is further reflected in the fact that within the tabernacle-as-microcosm schema it is Aaron who plays God's part in the drama

⁴⁷ For this textual variant at *Vita* 27:3 see *OTP* 2:268 ad loc.

⁴⁸ See Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* XL.3.5-6: "he acts as an ἄγγελος to them of God's commandments . . . and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway falling to the ground they worship the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them (πίπτοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσκυνεῖν τοῖς ἐρημνεύουσιν ἀρχιερέσιν)".

⁴⁹ Josephus *Ant.* 11:331-335; Scholion to *Meqillath Ta'anith* 21 Tisley; *b. Yoma* 69a, *Lev. Rab.* 13:5; *Pesiq. Rab.* 14:15 and Pseudo-Callisthenes 2:24 (γ—recension).

⁵⁰ See Oppenheim 1949.

of creation. As P.J. Kearney has seen, it is Aaron who tends the temple menorah in the evening and morning (Exod 27:20-21; 30:7-8) just as God creates light to mark the evening and morning as the first act of creation in Genesis 1:3-5.⁵¹ Even the rabbis remembered the tradition that the high priest's garments are those of God himself (*Exod. Rab.* 38:8).

If the high priest somehow embodies or represents the creator God within the cosmological drama of the cult, how does that explain the worship he receives? Is this not an infringement of monotheism? A thorough answer to this question would take us far beyond the confines of the present study. However, the most likely explanation for such a phenomenon is to be found in the Israelite criticism of idolatry and the biblical image-of-God-in-man theology. A number of scholars have recently suggested that the logic at the heart of the Israelite criticism of idolatry is the belief that only (true) humanity bears God's physical image within creation: other aspects of creation, or objects which humanity itself makes, do not.⁵² When, in Genesis 1:26 man is made in God's *image* and likeness, terminology otherwise reserved for statues and idols is provocatively used in a highly liturgical context which has otherwise been overtly anti-polytheistic. The priestly author of Genesis seems to be saying that only humanity is truly God's idol. Just how significant a theology this was for biblical monotheism, its place in Israel's liturgical life and its influence on the post-biblical period remains to be seen, though early indications suggest that such a strong image of God theology was widespread.⁵³

There are a couple of passages which are particularly significant examples of the worship of a divine humanity which deserve our close attention, because they set the scene for our examination of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* which climaxes with the praise of the divine priesthood embodying God's Glory.

⁵¹ Kearney 1977, 375. This instruction is part of the first of God's seven speeches to Moses (Exod 25:1-30:10) corresponding to the first of the seven days of creation.

⁵² Zenger 1983, 87-88; Smith 1988; Niehr 1997, 93-94; Watson 1997a, 289; Kutsko 2000.

⁵³ John Kutsko (Kutsko 2000) has shown the centrality of this ideology within the priestly tradition as represented both by P and Ezekiel. For a preliminary exploration of its significance for post-biblical material and the worship of Jesus see Fletcher-Louis 1999.

Sirach 50 and the Praise of the High Priest as the One Jewish God

Perhaps the most remarkable and sophisticated statement of a developed theological anthropology is provided by the hymn to Simon the high priest in Sirach 50. Until very recently Sirach scholarship tended to focus its attention on the great hymn to Wisdom in chapter 24. However, more recently, the strongly priestly character of the collection and the climactic position of chapter 50 has come into focus.⁵⁴

(a) The High Priest as the Embodiment of God's Glory

The hymn in praise of Simon is the climax of a hymn, begun in 44:1, praising Israel's patriarchs for their glory. The portrayal of Moses as a glorious, angelomorphic figure in 45:1-5, which we have already discussed, is part of that hymn. Throughout, the glory theme figures prominently and there is little doubt that Israel's righteous embody something of God's own Glory (44:1-2, 19; 45:2; 45:7; 45:23; 46:2; 47:6; 48:4).⁵⁵ This theme comes to a climax with the praise of Simon, the high priest who, of course, sums up the identity of his people: he wears the garment(s) of glory (στολήν δόξης, כְּבוֹד בְּנֵי 50:11). The glory is specifically that which would become a "hypostatic" anthropomorphic manifestation of God himself in the apocalyptic and mystical tradition (for example, already *1 Enoch* 14:20 where God is "the Great Glory"); in v. 7b the author of this hymn boldly identifies Simon with the Glory of Ezekiel's vision in Ezekiel 1:26-28.⁵⁶ Simon is

like the rainbow which appears in the cloud (50:7b)

(Geniza mss B) כְּקַדְמוֹת עָנָן וְכַדְמוֹת עָנָן

(cf. LXX ὡς τόζον φωτίζον ἐν νεφέλαις δόξης).

⁵⁴ For Sirach's priestly orientation see Perdue 1977, 188-211; Stadelmann 1980. For the centrality of chapter 50, its cosmology and divine anthropology see Hayward 1991; Hayward 1992; Hayward 1996, 38-84.

⁵⁵ Marböck 1971, 148 and Mack 1985, 5. Lee's attempt to deny the theological nature of the Glory theme in the whole of 42:15-50:24 (Lee 1986, 5) is unconvincing. See further Aitken 1999, 12-20 for a careful analysis of the anthropological and the theological poles of the "glory" dialectic in Sirach.

⁵⁶ Smend 1906, 482 who notes also the similar language at the end of the later Musaph prayer for the Day of Atonement liturgy; Charles *APOT* 508 n. *ad loc.*

This is an explicit reference to the "likeness of the Glory of the LORD" in Ezekiel 1:28, who is also

Like the bow in a cloud on a rainy day

MT כְּמִרְאָה הַקֶּשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בְּעָנָן בְּיָמֵי הַגֶּשֶׁם

LXX ὡς ὄρασις τόξου ὅταν ᾖ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὑετοῦ⁵⁷

So, in his official capacity, and as high priest during the liturgy, Simon embodies the Glory of God. Throughout our discussion thus far we have seen the rhetoric of divine Glory attached to the (high) priestly office. In the investiture scene in 2 *Enoch* 22 Enoch not only becomes angelomorphic, "like one of his glorious ones", he is also given to wear "the clothes of my [God's] Glory" (22:8).⁵⁸ The language is identical to that of Sirach 50:11 and in the context betrays narrowly priestly interests, as we have seen.

Ultimately, the language goes back to Exodus 28:2 where Aaron's garments are designed for "glory and for beauty".⁵⁹ The Hebrew author of Ben Sira 50 reveals a conscious interpretation of that verse.⁶⁰ 50:1-11 can be subdivided into two stanzas: the first (vv. 1-4) details Simon's civil responsibilities—restoration of the temple structures, provision for the city's water supplies and fortification, whilst verses 5-11 portray him as the glory and fecundity of nature at his service in the temple liturgy. The first stanza is headed by the statement that Simon is the "beauty (or "pride") of his people (תְּפִאֲרַת עַמּוֹ)" (v. 1), which to an extent is explicated in terms of his action on their behalf in vv. 2-4. The second stanza, on the other hand, begins and ends with the theme of glory (vv. 5, 11) and this time it is God in the power of the heavenly bodies and the luxuriant splendour of the natural world which Simon represents.

(b) *The High Priest as Wisdom Incarnate: Sirach 24 and 50*

The way in which the high priest embodies God's Glory is related to two other features of Sirach 50: the high priest's embodiment of divine Wisdom and his recapitulation of creation as it is described

⁵⁷ This intertextuality is anticipated in the previous chapter by specific reference to Ezekiel's vision of the Glory (ὄρασις δόξης) in 49:8.

⁵⁸ This is the reading of the J recension. The A recension lacks "my".

⁵⁹ Cf. Aitken 1999, 6.

⁶⁰ See also Sirach 45:8 in the Hebrew "He clothed him [Aaron] with the perfect beauty (תְּפִאֲרַת) and beautified him (וַיְפָאֲרֵהוּ) with Glory (בְּכְבוֹד) and strength . . .".

in Genesis 1 and Sirach 50. C.T.R. Hayward has carefully demonstrated the way in which the comparison of Simon with the beauty of the natural world in fertility and full bloom in 50:8-12 is composed with a deliberate parallelism to the description of Wisdom in chapter 24:⁶¹

Sirach 24: Wisdom

Tabernacle image v. 8-11
 v. 10 "In the holy tent I ministered before him"
 v. 12 "I took root in an honoured people"
 v. 13a "I grew tall as a cedar in Lebanon"
 v. 13b "as a cypress on the heights of Hermon"
 v. 14 "as rosebushes in Jericho"
 v. 14 "as a fair olive tree in the field"
 v. 14 "as a plane tree beside water"
 v. 15 "as galbanum, onycha, and stacte, and as the odour of incense in the tent"

Sirach 50: Simon

Simon comes out of the sanctuary v. 5
 v. 8c "as a green shoot"
 v. 12c "as a young cedar on Lebanon"
 v. 10b "as a cypress"
 v. 8a "as roses is the days of first fruits"
 v. 10a "as an olive tree laden with fruit"
 v. 8b "as lilies beside a spring of water"
 v. 9 "as fire and incense in the censer"

The high priest at service actualises the presence of Wisdom and so the praise he receives is that bestowed upon her.⁶²

(c) *Sirach 24 and 50 and the Priestly Theology of Creation and Temple*

Whilst the identification of Simon with Wisdom reinforces our appreciation of his identification with God's Glory, both these aspects of Sirach 50 are more fundamentally grounded in the temple-as-microcosm theology and the belief that within the liturgy of the cult the high priest plays the role of creator within the universe.

Again, Hayward has pointed to the way in which chapter 50 seems to recapitulate and bring creation to completion. This is implicit in the Edenic imagery of chapter 24: if Wisdom is a fountain of Edenic life in Jerusalem and her sanctuary (24:13-31) then, by the same token, the human actors within the Israelite cult, who possess and

⁶¹ Hayward 1991, 23-24, cf. *idem*, Hayward 1992, 127.

⁶² For the identification between Wisdom and high priestly garb see also 6:29-31 and the discussion in Stadelmann 1980, 50-51.

live according to wisdom, are recreating Eden's fecundity.⁶³ The priesthood's role as cosmogonic agent is most openly expressed in the grandson's Greek translation of Sirach's original work. In 50:19 the sacrificial offering is brought to its close with the people praying for mercy

Until the order of the LORD was completed (ἕως συντελεσῆ κόσμος κυρίου), and they had perfectly completed His service.

In the Greek, the word used for the liturgical order of the sacrifice (κόσμος) is that which also refers to the universe as whole. This implies that the offering is related to "the stability and order of the universe, the sacrifice in the Temple serving to establish to perfection God's order for the world."⁶⁴ As Hayward points out, the Greek translator and his early readers would have heard here a clear allusion to the Greek version of the Priestly creation account which ends in Genesis 2:2 with the words:

And the heavens and the earth were completed (συντετέλεσθησαν), and all their order/cosmos (κόσμος).⁶⁵

Given that the high priest embodies Wisdom who is Herself determinative of the *ordering* of the works of God's creation (24:3-6, cf. 42:21 "The great works of His Wisdom he set in order (ἐκόμησε)", cf. 16:27), Hayward concludes that

It is highly likely therefore that the high priest's completion of the order, *kosmos*, of the daily sacrifice, referred to in 50:19, belongs to the same sort of continuum as God's ordering of the works of creation.

That is to say, that here the high priest not only embodies Wisdom, he also acts as co-creator in as much as the temple service is itself symmetrical with God's (original) creative action. Closer examination of Sirach 24 and 50 reveals that what Hayward has begun to see is in fact a complex literary intratextuality between Sirach 24 and 50, on the one hand and Genesis 1 and Exodus 25-31, on the other, which expresses a sustained reflection on creation and cult in

⁶³ Edenic themes are reflected in the following features of Sirach 24:13-31: (1) fecundity of nature suggestive of the trees of life (vv. 13-17), (2) freedom from shame and the curse upon labour (v. 22), (3) the rivers of Eden (vv. 25-27), (4) comparison to the "first man" (v. 28) who (5) was supposed to be Eden's gardener (vv. 30-31, cf. Gen 2:15).

⁶⁴ Hayward 1996, 79.

⁶⁵ Hayward 1996, 79.

which the high priest incarnates Wisdom and her cosmogonic action.⁶⁶

A pre-requisite for a full appreciation of the complex literary and theological intention of these chapters is a knowledge of the Priestly author's intratextuality in his account of creation in Genesis 1 and God's instructions to Moses for the building of the tabernacle in Exodus 25-31, 35-40 which we have already touched upon. The correspondences between the seven days of creation and the seven speeches to Moses concerning the building of the Tabernacle which Sirach would have known can be laid out, in brief, as follows:

<i>Creation (Genesis 1:1-2:2)</i>	<i>Tabernacle (Exodus 25-31)</i>
<i>Day 1</i> heavens and the earth creation of light: evening and morning	<i>Speech 1</i> (Exod 25:1-30:10) tabernacle structure (= heavens and earth) tending of menorah, tamiid sacrifice and incense offering (evening and morning) (27:20-21; 30:1-9)
<i>Day 2</i> separation of upper and lower waters	<i>Speech 2</i> (Exod 30:11-16) (census and half shekel)
<i>Day 3</i> separation of dry land and sea (1:9-10) vegetation (1:11-12)	<i>Speech 3</i> (Exod 30:17-21) bronze laver (the "sea")
<i>Day 4</i> sun, moon and stars	<i>Speech 4</i> (Exod 30:22-33) sacred anointing oil: myrrh, calamus, cinnamon, cassia anointing of cultic appurtenances and priests
<i>Day 5</i> living creatures in the upper and lower realms	<i>Speech 5</i> (Exod 30:34-38) sacred incense: stacte, onycha, galbanum, frankincense.
<i>Day 6</i> land creatures and humankind (God's Image)	<i>Speech 6</i> (Exod 31:1-11) Bezalel filled with God's spirit.
<i>Day 7</i> Sabbath	<i>Speech 7</i> (Exod 31:12-17) Sabbath.

Hartmut Gese has briefly suggested that Sirach 24:3-6 follows the order of the first three days of creation as described in Genesis 1: the pre-creation chaos over which hovers God's primeval spirit (Genesis 1:2, cf. Sirach 24:3); the creation of the "intellectual light" (Gen-

⁶⁶ What follows is a summary of the fuller discussion in Fletcher-Louis 2001b.

esis 1:3-5, cf. Sirach 24:4); the "delimiting of the cosmos by the firmament and the abyss" (Genesis 1:6-8, cf. Sirach 24:5) and the ordering of land and sea (Genesis 1:9-10, cf. Sirach 24:6).⁶⁷ Though his comments have largely gone ignored they can be developed considerably and, indeed, Sirach 24:3-22 as a whole emerges as a complex reflection upon Genesis 1 and Exodus 25-31.

Commentators universally recognize that in Sirach 24:3 there is an allusion to the creation by the word of God in Gen 1:3 (cf. 1:6, 11, 14, etc.) and the spirit moving over the primeval waters in Gen 1:2.⁶⁸ In 24:4b Wisdom dwells in a pillar of cloud, which means she is identified with the cloud of fire which lights up the people's way in the wilderness (Exod 13:21-22, etc.). Not only does this cloud provide light, its changing appearance demarcates the boundary between day and night (Exod 13:21-22; 40:38; Num 14:14; Deut 1:33; Neh 9:12, 16, 19; Isa 4:5) in a way parallel to the appearance of light on the first day of creation according to Genesis. As Gese noted, in the next verse Wisdom is located in the "vault of heaven" and the "depths of the abyss", the two upper and lower extremities created on day 2 according to Genesis 1:6-8. In Sirach 24:6a Wisdom rules "over the waves of the *sea*, over all the *earth*". In the biblical mindset such ruling connotes demarcation of spheres of existence, which is precisely God's purpose in gathering together the waters to create the sea and dry land on the fourth day of creation (Gen 1:9-10).⁶⁹

The second act of creation on the third day—the creation of "vegetation: plants yielding seed of every kind and trees of every kind bearing fruit with seed in it"—is the inspiration for the vegetative symbolism in Sirach 24:12-17. However, before the author of the hymn comes to that fourth act of creation he signals that he is reading Genesis with an eye to Israel's cult, that is, to Exodus 25-40. In 24:7-11 Wisdom searches for a place of rest. She searches for what God achieved on the seventh day of creation and she finds it

⁶⁷ Gese 1981a, 196. Cf. Gese 1981b, 23-57 (32-3).

⁶⁸ See, in particular, Sheppard 1980, 22-27.

⁶⁹ The creation of earth and sea is glossed with Wisdom's rule over "every people and nation". This is entirely appropriate given that the *Chaoskampf*, which lies behind Genesis 1:9-10 (cf. Psalm 104:7-9; Jer 5:22; Job 38:8 and Day 1985, 49-61), is regularly bound up with God's rule not just over creation but history and human communities (see, e.g., Isa 17:12-14; 30:7; 51:9-11; Hab 3:8-10, 15; Jer 51:34; Ps 87:4; Ezek 29:3-5; 32:2-8; Dan 7:2-14 and Day 1985, 88-139, 151-178).

in Israel and the nation's two sanctuaries—one in the wilderness and one in Zion. Half way through the sequence of creation the author flags up that he is about to switch to the Israelite cult as the sphere of God's creation which will ultimately give it completion and Wisdom her rest.

And so, in what follows, we are not told directly of the creation of sun, moon, stars and the living creatures of the fourth through sixth days. Instead, because our author knows very well the intra-textuality between Genesis 1 and Exodus 25–31, he gives us in verse 15 those elements in the tabernacle order which correspond to the fourth and fifth days of creation: first he compares Wisdom's growth to the cinnamon, choice myrrh and fragrance of Israel's sacred incense (Sirach 24:15a–b *par.* Exod 30:23: the fourth speech to Moses), and then to galbanum, onycha, stacte and frankincense of the sacred oil (Sirach 24:15c–d *par.* Exod 30:34: the fifth speech to Moses). Finally, the hymn climaxes with an invitation to Wisdom's banquet (24:19–22), which is reminiscent of God's abundant provision of food for humanity in Genesis 1:28–30. The final verse looks forward to the Edenic existence of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2–3 (which is developed in the rest of chapter 24). In 24:22 Wisdom proclaims:

Whoever obeys me will not be put to shame,
and those who work in me will not sin.

In a chapter so redolent with themes from Genesis 1–3 this must be an allusion to the curse on Adam and Eve's labour on their exit from the garden (Gen 3:19) and the first couple's freedom from shame before their temptation and fall (Gen 2:25).⁷⁰ The hymn clearly has at its zenith the pre-lapsarian Adam and Eve, though it is not until Sirach 50 that the image of God of Genesis 1 is given full expression.

Clearly, then, Sirach has a detailed knowledge of the priestly account of creation and Tabernacle building and their cosmological interpenetration. On that basis Wisdom is co-creator with God: her *Curriculum Vitae* is that of the creator God Himself as prescribed by Genesis 1 and the recapitulation of creation in Exodus 25–31. In Sirach 50 Wisdom has entered human history in high priestly guise and her creative activity in accordance with Genesis 1 and Exodus

⁷⁰ So rightly Barker 1992, 58.

25-31 is recapitulated in the euergetism and cultic ministration of Simon son of Onias. In 50:1 Simon is responsible for repairing and fortifying God's house: a general statement which signals his care for the cosmos as a whole as it is ritually actualised in the temple-as-microcosm. In verse 2 (Gk) he lays "foundations for the high double walls, the high retaining walls for the temple enclosure". The attention to foundations and high walls readily corresponds to the "vault of heaven and . . . depths of the abyss" of 24:3 on the one hand and, on the other, the dome which separates the upper from the lower waters in Genesis 1:6-8. Next we are told that Simon digs "a water cistern . . . a reservoir *like the sea* in circumference" (50:3), which obviously recalls the three passages Sirach 24:6a, Genesis 1:9-10 and Exodus 30:17-21. (Sirach could not have Simon making the bronze laver because there was already one of those. But, in any case, it is the symbolism of Simon's actions that concerns our author.)

Next Simon "considered how to save his people from ruin, and fortified the city against siege" (50:4). The verse is an historical reference to Simon's astute political manoeuvres during the Seleucid-Ptolemaic conflict at the turn of the second century and the architectural improvements to the Temple complex after the triumph of Antiochus III, who Simon had supported against the Ptolemics.⁷¹ But it also corresponds to 24:6a where Wisdom "held sway over every people and nation".

These four verses all deal not with Simon the minister within the cult, but Simon the leader on the political and religious stage. Verse 5 signals a change in perspective and what follows concerns his priestly activity within the sanctuary. In his exit from the "house of the curtain" in verses 6-7 Sirach's hero advances creation to its fourth day: he is "like the morning star . . . the full moon . . . (and) the sun". In his discussion of the intratextuality between creation and Tabernacle Moshe Weinfeld has noted how important this verse is for seeing the priesthood, who are the focus of the fourth speech to Moses in Exodus 30:30, as symbols of the heavenly bodies within the temple-as-microcosm mindset.⁷² In verses 8-12, as we have seen, Simon actualises the fecundity of Wisdom already described in 24:11-17. There is no specific mention of the anointing oil, which

⁷¹ See Josephus *Antiquities* 12:129-144.

⁷² "Sabbath", p. 507.

corresponded in chapter 24 to the fourth day of creation, since we have now had explicit reference to the sun, moon and stars. However, the reference to the sacred incense of the fifth speech to Moses (Exod 30:34–38) is retained (50:9), thereby demonstrating that Simon's recapitulation of creation includes the fifth day.

In 50:11–13 Simon dons the garments of Glory: he is now the *image* of God that God had created on the sixth day. According to the Hebrew these are the garments of *beauty* (תְּכֵנִיפִים) befitting one who recapitulates the original *beauty* of Adam (49:16 Heb). On the sixth day of creation God gives to Adam dominion over every living thing, which in Genesis 9:1–5 will include his right to eat of clean animals. In Sirach 50:12–13 Simon stands with the power of life and death over the animal kingdom at the LORD's own table, the altar, his fellow priests symbolizing the crown befitting the divine kingship of the true Adam (v. 12bc).

In Sirach 50:14–21 the picture of Simon at service continues with the claim that here there is the completion of creation and the rest of the seventh day of Genesis 2:1–3. Sirach 50:14 and 19 contain two parallel statements (v. 14 “Until he finished (וְעַד שֶׁכִּלְתָּהּ) ministering at the altar . . . to adorn (κοσμήσαι) the offering of the Most High”, v. 19 “until he finished (וְעַד שֶׁכִּלְתָּהּ) ministering at the altar (Heb)/until the cosmos of the LORD was completed (ἕως συντελεσθῆι κόσμος κυρίου, Gk), which picks up precisely the language of Genesis 2:1–2 where God's completion of the cosmos (ὁ κόσμος) is finished (קָלַד, סυντελέω). In Genesis 2:3 God blesses the seventh day and so too in Sirach 50:20 Simon utters the “blessing of the LORD”.⁷³ All this is the banquet to which Wisdom had invited her readers in chapter 24, “the memorial that is sweeter than honey (τὸ . . . μνημόσυρόν μου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι γλυκύ, 24:20), which is celebrated by singers praising “in a sweetened melody (ἐγλυκάνθη μέλος)” (50:18b). Here there is a true sabbatical rest because those who work in Wisdom do so without the toil and hardship of those outside the garden: the work of the divine service is like that of God himself; “a working with absolute ease, without toil and without suffering” (Philo *On the Cherubim* 87).

Throughout this description of Simon's officiation he has acted as God's image.⁷⁴ He is identified with God's Kavod (v. 7b) and his

⁷³ All this presupposes the well-known parallels between Genesis 2:1–3 and Exodus 39:32, 43, 40:33.

⁷⁴ See Hayward 1996, 44–46; Aitken 1999, 7–10 for Simon as the new Adam.

activity on both the wider political and more narrowly cultic stage is an actualisation of both that of God himself in creation and Wisdom, God's co-creator. The identification of the High Priest with Wisdom and the visible image of God makes sense within the text's understanding of the liturgical drama: the High Priest plays the lead role in the re-enactment of creation which is the cult's defining dramatic performance.

(d) *The High Priest as Divine Warrior Emerging from the Heavenly Sanctuary*
 Now that the significance of the temple-as-microcosm theology for the theological anthropology of Sirach 50 has been established we are in a position to move to consider one last defining feature of Sirach's theology of priesthood. In trying to understand how it is that Sirach can pen a hymn in praise of Simon, Margaret Barker has recently pointed out that the glorious appearance of Simon on his exit from the sanctuary in 50:5-7 would have been understood on analogy with the appearance of the divine warrior from his heavenly habitation.⁷⁵ Thus, Sirach 50:5-7 should be read in the light of texts such as Isaiah 26:21: "the LORD is coming forth out of his place, to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity . . ." and Micah 1:3 "the LORD is coming forth from his place and will come down and tread upon the high places . . .". She notes the same conceptual framework guides the eschatological scenario of *Testament of Moses* 10. There the parousia that brings the final revelation of God's kingdom to Israel begins when, on the one hand the angelic priest who will meet out God's vengeance is ordained in the heavenly sanctuary (10:2), and on the other "the Heavenly One will arise from his kingly throne" and "will go forth from his holy habitation with indignation and wrath on behalf of his sons".

It might be objected that there is no explicit indication in Sirach 50 that the high priest's glory entails his acting as a punitive divine warrior. However, Barker's suggestion is supported by the description of Aaron earlier in the hymn in praise of the fathers. The Hebrew of Sirach 45:6-8 reads as follows:⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Barker 1999, 101-102.

⁷⁶ The Greek of verses 7-8 differs considerably. For a discussion of textual matters see Wright 1989, 171-3 and Hayward 1996, 65-6.

- ^{45,6} He exalted (וַיְרַם) Aaron,
 a holy man like Moses who was his brother, of the tribe of Levi.
⁷ He set him for an everlasting statute and he gave to him majesty
 (הוֹד)
 and he (Aaron) ministered to him in his (God's) Glory (וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּכַבּוֹדוֹ)
 and He girded him with the horns of a wild ox (וַיִּאָזְרֵהוּ בַחֲזֵעֵפוֹת רֵאֵם)
 and clothed him with bells (וַיַּלְבִּישֵׁהוּ פַעֲמֹנִים)
⁸ He clothed him with the perfect beauty (כְּלִיל הַפְּאֻרָה)
 and beautified him (וַיִּפְאֲרֵהוּ) with Glory and strength (וְכַבּוֹד וְעֹז), the
 breeches, tunic and mantle,

Here the glory theme, which dominates chapters 42–50, is applied to Aaron who serves God *in* his Glory (בְּכַבּוֹדוֹ).⁷⁷ Once, again, Sirach is indebted to Exodus 28:2, 40 where the sacred garments are to be made for Aaron “for glory and beauty (לְכַבּוֹד וּלְחִפְאֻרָה)”.

In the next phrase Sirach says that God girded Aaron with the horns of a wild ox (וַיִּאָזְרֵהוּ בַחֲזֵעֵפוֹת רֵאֵם). The expression חֲזֵעֵפוֹת רֵאֵם occurs in Numbers 23:22 and 24:8 where it describes the god who brought Israel out of Egypt:

- ^{20b} The LORD their God is with him (Jacob),
 acclaimed as a king among him.
²² God (or “a god”, אֱלֹהִים), who brings them out of Egypt,
 is like the horns of a wild ox (בַּחֲזֵעֵפוֹת רֵאֵם) for him.
^{24,5} how fair are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel!
⁶ Like palm-groves that stretch far away,
 like gardens beside a river,
 like aloes that the LORD has planted,
 like cedar trees beside the waters.
⁷ Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall have abundant
 water,
 his king shall be exalted (וַיְרַם) higher than Agag, and his kingdom
 shall be exalted.
⁸ God (or “a god”, אֱלֹהִים) who brings him out of Egypt,
 is like the horns of a wild ox (בַּחֲזֵעֵפוֹת רֵאֵם) for him;
 he shall devour the nations that are his foes and break their bones.
 He shall strike with his arrows.

Whatever the Hebrew author of this expression in Sirach understood by the language, the obvious allusion to these verses in Numbers is

⁷⁷ Given the anthropology of divine Glory which follows in chapter 50, Saul M. Olyan's decision to translate כְּכַבּוֹדוֹ as “at (the place of) his glory” (Olyan 1987, 269) is unwarranted.

remarkable because it gives to Aaron the role of the divine warrior leading his people in the wilderness.⁷⁸

Much discussion of this phrase has focused on its textual uncertainty. The margin of ms B reads וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה and because the Greek omits any reference to this wild ox image many have assumed that the reference to Numbers is a later addition to the original text.⁷⁹ However, Benjamin G. Wright and C.T.R. Hayward have now made a case for its authenticity.⁸⁰ Wright argues that it should be allowed to stand since it is the *lectio difficilior*, it is supported by the Syriac and both the margin of B and the Greek can be explained as attempts to make sense of a difficult and striking expression. To this Hayward adds the argument that the description of Aaron as a wild ox is indebted to Psalm 92:10 "But you have exalted my horn like that of the wild ox ($\text{וְהָרַם כְּרִאִים קָרְנֵי}$); you have poured over me fresh oil".⁸¹ The verses of this psalm which follow (vv. 12–13) have probably influenced the use of vegetative symbolism for the priesthood in Sirach 50:8–10, 12, and according to the mishnah (*m. Tamid* 7:4) the psalm was sung by the Levites during the Sabbath Tamid. It is possible, therefore, that the language of anointing and the *exaltation* of the *horns of a wild ox* have encouraged the application of the same language for the founding father of the priesthood, Aaron. Since, as 50:8–10, 12 shows, the priestly Sirach is himself interested in Psalm 92 and he may have known of its liturgical use in his own day the language of the horns of the wild ox in 45:7 is more likely to be his own than that of a later scribe.

At any rate, if original, the Hebrew of Sirach 45:7 supports Barker's assumption that a Jewish reader of Sirach 50:5–7 would imagine not just the high priest in the temple, but also God himself emerging from heaven as the divine warrior to serve his people. The way in which the high priest embodies the divine warrior here should not surprise us. In the pre-exilic period the king probably played this role within the cultic drama (see esp. Psalm 89:10, 26 [Eng. vv. 9, 25]), and the transfer of this theology to the high priest is attested across a wide spread of later Second Temple texts.⁸²

⁷⁸ For God *girded* (וְהָיָה) with might see Ps 65:7 and with strength (וְהָיָה) see Ps 93:1.

⁷⁹ See the review in Wright 1989, 172.

⁸⁰ Wright 1989, 172–3; Hayward 1996, 65–6.

⁸¹ 1996, 66–67.

⁸² See further Fletcher-Louis 2001b for Simon as divine warrior in Sirach 50:2b

(e) *Sirach's Theological Anthropology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*

In many respects Sirach is vital for a proper understanding of the theological anthropology of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the first instance, it is significant because it has both the weaker angelomorphic humanity of Moses (45:1-5) and a much stronger, more developed belief that the community's sacral figurehead is an incarnation of God's Glory, his Wisdom, and that within his cultic office, he plays the role of the creator God.

As we shall see the theological anthropology of Sirach 50 is of considerable importance in appreciating the purpose and meaning of liturgical texts from Qumran. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* we will also find an unmistakable identification of the community's priesthood with God's Glory. The way in which the high priest plays the role of the divine warrior will also be crucial for a proper understanding of passages in the *Hodayot* which we will examine in chapter 7 and for the *War Scroll* to which we will turn in our final chapter.

A continuity of theological, anthropological and liturgical outlook between Sirach and the Dead Sea Scrolls should not surprise us. The texts from the caves above Khirbet Qumran obviously belonged to a very priestly community with Zadokite affinities. To date, the most plausible explanation for the existence of the Qumran community is the breakaway from the Jerusalemite priesthood of a group of ultra-orthodox, solar calendar focused priests who took with them a significant section of the laity. These priests also took with them the (Zadokite) traditions and theology of the pre-Maccabean temple, as represented by Sirach.

Conclusion

Whilst the linguistic and theological freedom in the exploration of divine anthropology has created a plethora of terms, images and motifs, it is worth noting some notable features of the language which tend to be used. Though, no doubt, it will disturb some readers, the

[Heb.] and Fletcher-Louis 1997a for an argument that the Baal-like one like a son of man in Daniel 7:13 is the high priest with supporting evidence there for the high priest as divine warrior. Note also the way the high priest bears the image of the divine warrior in Josephus *Ant.* 11:331-336.

regularity with which human beings are given angelic features or are even identified as "angels" or (angelic) "holy ones" is not as startling as it might be. The biblical development of a distinctively Israelite angelology is, at its heart, a way of affirming the transcendent, spiritual dimensions to creation without giving them independent existence as gods to rival the one God, Yahweh. Whereas pagan polytheism believed in many gods jostling for position in a hierarchy of being, for Israel the absolute transcendence of the one God left the many gods of older Canaanite religion to be re-employed as angels. So, also, by the same token, to say a human being is an angel or angelic, would not for a Jew in anyway threaten their dearly held belief in monotheism. Nor need it abrogate any putative boundary between creature and creator since the angels also are created beings, however much they are bearers of the divine presence.

More startling are those statements to the effect that the transformed humanity are "gods". This is a more persistent and widespread feature of the texts than would permit us to conclude such language is merely an accommodation to Hellenism in which some Jews on the periphery of "orthodoxy" indulged. Already in the biblical texts Moses is "as God (אלהים, θεός) to Pharaoh" (Exod 7:1) and the king is hailed as (a) god in Psalm 45:6 (cf. Zech 12:8). Exodus is probably behind Sirach's ascription of the אלהים status to Moses in Sirach 45:2. In *Jubilees* Joseph is acclaimed "god, god, mighty one of God" and in *Joseph and Aseneth* Jacob is "a god (θεός)" to Aseneth.

The existence of god language for humanity within Jewish texts is more remarkable than angel language because of the way in which in the Second Temple period *angelology* replaced the *polytheism* of the pre-exilic period. However, just as many biblical and post biblical texts continued to speak of many "gods" (*elim, elohim, theoi*) with the understanding that these were "angelic" beings on a distinctly lower level of reality than God himself, so it seems there remained the freedom to speak of human as "divine" in similar terms and in certain circumstances. In texts such as those gathered around Moses and Exodus 7:1 there is stressed the fact that Moses' "divinity" is not independent of that of God himself but is strictly bestowed by the creator of all.⁸³ This may offend traditional Jewish and Christian

⁸³ The accusation levelled against Jesus is that he claims to *make himself G/god*

views of divinity as a strictly independent, uncreated reality, but it should be remembered that in the ancient world the begetting and creating of gods (theogony) was a much more acceptable notion than it is now.

The presence of "god" language for humanity in texts as far apart as Sirach, *Jubilees*, Philo and the rabbis testifies to the degree to which such language was widely spread and accepted in late Second Temple Judaism. Yet it is noteworthy that several of the clearest examples of this phenomenon come from strongly priestly oriented texts of the second century B.C. *Jubilees* is, of course, thoroughly priestly in its orientation, even if idiosyncratic in its allegiance to a solar calendar. Sirach is now reckoned to be a priestly work. Although, it is not clear that its author was himself a priest, its climactic movement through the second half of the book towards the spectacular vision of the Zadokite priest Simon serving in the sanctuary and numerous other details testify to the author's distinctive fusion of Wisdom and Cult. Again, *Joseph and Aseneth* should probably now be situated in a specifically priestly life setting; that of the heterodox, Zadokite temple community in Leontopolis. All three of these texts are, to varying degrees, close to the Qumran community. Sirach and *Jubilees* were known if not cherished at Qumran and the Oniad *Joseph and Aseneth* is the work of close relatives to those Jews who withdraw, not to Nile delta, but to the shores of the Dead Sea.⁸⁴

Whilst there is this freedom to speak of humanity in angelic and divine terms, it is also noteworthy that references to humanity as "spirits" or beings who are utterly removed from corporeal reality are distinctly absent from the extant texts.⁸⁵ The one well-known exception that proves the rule that humans are not, or do not become, "spirits" during their earthly life is the *Prayer of Joseph* where Jacob-

(John 10:33). Presumably, in principle, the same Jews who accused Jesus' followers of arrogating to Jesus divinity, would have been happy to acknowledge that one such as Moses had actually been created, or had been given, by God a glorious and divine identity. (See Acts 6:11 where Stephen is brought to trial under the charge of "blasphemy against Moses and God").

⁸⁴ For later examples of god language used of the righteous see, e.g., the use of Psalm 82:6-7 of the generation at Sinai by the rabbis (*Lev. Rab.* 4:1; *Exod. Rab.* 32:1 etc. . . . see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 170, and cf. John 10:34) and *T. Adam* 3:2, 4.

⁸⁵ The evidence adduced by Horbury (Horbury 1998) for a "spirit-messianism", similar to an angelic messianic expectation, is much later than the formative period of the Qumran community (he relies on the *Prayer of Joseph* and other second century A.D. Church Fathers) and I do not think the significance of this data should be exaggerated.

Israel is, amongst much else, a "ruling spirit".⁸⁶ But this text is temporally some distance from the Qumran community. The absence of other texts which speak in similar terms has several good reasons. First, there is no precedent in scripture for such terminology used of ordinary mortals.⁸⁷ And secondly, unlike the words "angel" and "god", the word "spirit" necessarily connotes a reality distinct from the created, physical and empirical world of human existence.⁸⁸ As we shall discover, the priestly tradition as represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls kept a clear distinction between humans as angels or gods, on the one hand, and "spirits" proper, on the other, although they were keen to express their belief that true humanity was "spiritual" rather than "fleshly".

With this, rather lengthy, discussion of Jewish divine and angelomorphic theology in the wider formative context of Essenism we are now in a position to turn to the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. As we do so we find the literary and conceptual themes extant outside of Qumran are amply attested amongst the community's own writings.

⁸⁶ In *T. Mos*, 11:16 the divine Moses incarnates the Holy Spirit, but he is not himself "a spirit" or "the Spirit".

⁸⁷ The righteous, such as Bezalel, can be filled with God's spirit (Exod 31:3), but this is not quite the same thing as saying Bezalel *is* a spirit.

⁸⁸ The distinction is very well brought into view in the Luke 24:12-42. Jesus appears as the Angel of the LORD who visited Abraham and Sarah in Genesis 18, but he is no mere spirit for he is able to eat.

A DIVINE AND ANGELIC HUMANITY IN THE DSS

There is every reason to suppose that the Dead Sea Scrolls will yield further insights into the divine humanity tradition which we have thus far plotted. A number of the post-biblical texts which we have already discussed turn up at Qumran. *Jubilees*, fragments of which have been found in the Qumran caves, evidently represents the theology of a strongly cultic and priestly oriented group that gave birth to the Essene movement which shared its belief in a solar calendar, the superiority of priest to king and a keen interest in angelology. We should not be surprised that for the highly priestly oriented Essenes *Jubilees'* vision of an angelomorphic priesthood was a vital part of community life.¹ The presence of a fuller version of Noah's wondrous birth in the *Genesis Apocryphon*—an early or proto-Essene text—testifies to the significance that that story will have played in the generation of a particular cultic theology according to which the priest bears the divine image.

Fragments of Ben Sira attest the use of that Wisdom book at Qumran, just as the more extensive remains of the work at Masada suggest its use by a group closely related (by shared use of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) to that on the shores of the Dead Sea.² Ben Sira has two foci for its strongly theological anthropology; Moses and the high priest. The work's climactic vision of the high priest as the embodiment of God's Glory springs from its thoroughly priestly orientation. The Qumran community's interest in Ben Sira is unsurprising since although this Wisdom work eschews a solar calendar (43:2-8) the Essenes emerged from the same priestly (and probably Zadokite) milieu of the pre-Maccabean hierocratic establishment.³ A

¹ For *Jubilees* an authoritative text at Qumran see CD 16:3-4 and compare 4Q228.

² 2Q18, cf. 11Q5 (11QPs^a) xxi-xxii which preserves Ben Sira 51 as an independent psalm. Mas I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII (Yadin 1965).

³ For a discussion of the close linguistic and conceptual connections between Ben Sira and the DSS see Lehmann 1961; Carmignac 1961 and Muraoka and Elwolde 1997.

close examination of the divine anthropology at Qumran shows a shared interest in the two figures—Moses and the High Priest—that can only be explained as the result of a genetic relationship between the two literary traditions.

A Priori we are justified in thinking that Qumran might offer further evidence for a divine anthropology because it is a thoroughly priestly community and it is the priesthood along with the experience and theology of the sanctuary which provided the formative life setting for the development of a distinctively Jewish theological anthropology. Their own experience of estrangement from the Jerusalem Temple evidently led to an intensified anthropological concern. The Essenes at Qumran saw themselves as the replacement for the Jerusalem temple in their human, flesh and blood community offering an alternative to the traditional physical structures of Israel's sacred space: they had become a *miqdash Adam*, a temple of men or of Adam.⁴ Place and physical structure are here replaced by persons within a particular rhythm and social structure as the present locus of divine presence, at least until the true Temple in Jerusalem is rebuilt. They also held to a distinctively realised, or inaugurated, eschatology in which they had rediscovered the life of Eden (see 1QH^a 8:16 [6:16]; 16:4–27 [8:4–27]), thereby regaining the pre-lapsarian state. Both for practical and ideological reasons the Qumran community had good reason, therefore, to be anthropologically occupied and the (priestly) traditions they inherited gave them ample opportunity to further develop the belief in a divine humanity.

Despite these broader considerations and the wealth of evidence for a wider interest in a strong theological anthropology across Second Temple Judaism, there has not yet been any concerted attempt to search the scrolls for such interests; indeed, texts which at first sight present such a view tend to be dismissed or pushed to the sidelines of Qumran scholarship.⁵ It has long been recognized that the community believed it shared its life with the angels, particularly in the liturgical context, and the relevant texts (e.g. 1QSa 2:8–9; 1QM

⁴ See recent discussions by Brooke 1999 and Schiffman 1999.

⁵ Dimant is a relatively lone voice when, in order to explain the community's communitarianism, strict hierarchy, exclusivity and celibacy, she suggests that "the community, or, in fact, its core of full members, functioned analogically to a community of priestly angels, officiating in the innermost sanctuary of the heavenly temple" (Dimant 1996, 98). But even here it is not clear that the word "analogically" adequately expresses Essene self-perception.

7:6; 4Q174 1:4; 1QH^a 11:19–23 [3:19–23]; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) have now been extensively discussed.⁶ The “unity” of life and worship between mortals and angels is perhaps partly responsible for the non-biblical self-designation of the community as a *yahad* (cf. esp. 1QS 11:8; 1QH^a 11:22 [3:22]). Clearly this was a central feature of the community’s worldview.

In other Jewish texts from antiquity, community with the angels necessarily entails transformation: access to the heavenly world requires not just a visa, but also citizenship and, therefore, a heavenly rather than a mortal identity.⁷ When communion with the angels in the DSS means sharing their “lot” or “inheritance” it is hard to know what this means for the sectarians’ “ontology”. However, as we shall see, there are also texts which seem to speak of an experience of transformation, resurrection or elevation of identity to the heavenly realm.

But scholars have been reticent to recognize evidence that the Essenes at Qumran believed they were themselves divine or angelic. The classic illustration of scholarship’s predilection for a dualistic worldview which would prohibit such an anthropology has been the history of interpretation of 4Q491 frag. 11, col. i. This is a text which, when first published in 1982, was judged by its editor, M. Baillet, to be a *Song of Michael* and to be part of the *War Scroll* whose worldview is widely thought to be thoroughly dualistic.⁸ Eight years later Morton Smith famously demonstrated this interpretation to be impossible.⁹ The hymn describes in arcatalogical form the self-praise of the speaker as one who now resides in heaven, shares the lot and privileges of the angels: rather than the song of an archangel—an interpretation which suits modern assumptions about ancient Jewish anthropology—the text must be read as a description of a “deified” mortal who has ascended to heaven. This is now universally acknowledged following the work of Smith and others, but the history of interpretation is a cautionary tale for those of us who pay insuffi-

⁶ See Kuhn 1966, 47–78; Weinfeld 1983; Mach 1992, 209–19; Nitzan 1994a; Frennesson 1999.

⁷ The theme is explored in, for example, *Apoc. Zeph.* 8:1–5; *2 Enoch* 22–56; *Joseph and Aseneth passim*; *History of Rechabites passim* and is also reflected in Pauline soteriology (e.g. Phil 3:20–21; Col 3:1–4; Eph 2:1–6).

⁸ *DJD* 7:26–29.

⁹ 1990, and for a later, corrected, version of Smith’s article see Smith 1992.

cient attention to the ideological assumptions we bring to the primary sources.

In the rest of this study we turn to texts peculiar to the Qumran community which evince their belief in the angelic or divine nature of the true humanity. We start, in this chapter, with an examination of all the evidence for a belief that humanity in general, Adam, Israel or the righteous as the true Adam, are either divine or angelic. Taking our cue from the different forms of the angelomorphic tradition in the pre- and proto-Qumran material the three subsequent chapters are devoted to a discussion of the figure of Moses and the high priest.

Humanity as the Glory of God in Qumran texts

In the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira the high priest not only embodies the Glory of God, he is also the true human being. He manifests the unique and surpassing beauty (תפארת) of Adam (49:16–50:1 Heb). This is not just because he is set in a restored paradise—the Temple—wearing the garments which Adam wore, but because he recapitulates the Glory of God's people, Israel (44:1–49:15). For Ben Sira the exalted position of both Israel and its priesthood within the cosmos is rooted in a particular understanding of the nature of human beings as they are created by God.

Throughout the late Second Temple period, in fact, we encounter the view that (before the fall) Adam (and Eve) possessed a divine or angelic Glory. The point is made in various ways: the primal couple ate the food of angels (*Vita Adae et Evae* 4:1–2); Adam possessed a gigantic form (*Apoc. Abr.* 23:5), his name an anagram for the cardinal points of the compass (*2 Enoch* 30:13; *Sib. Or.* 3:27; *Vita Adae et Evae* 27:1); his form was a physiognomic instance of divine beauty (*Sib. Or.* 1:20); his position on earth was that of an angelic king (*2 Enoch* 30:11), whom the angels worshipped in heaven (*Vita Adae et Evae* 12–16 etc. . .).¹⁰ Just as the high priest Simon in Sirach 50 embodies both God's Glory and the beauty of Adam so in, for example, the Greek version of *3 Baruch* Adam was clothed in the Glory of God before he fell (4:16).¹¹

¹⁰ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 140–145 for a fuller survey.

¹¹ I take it that the statement that Adam was "stripped of the Glory of God (τῆς

Though not all of these themes are attested in the DSS the basic shape of the distinctively divine theological anthropology which they express is clear.

(a) *Adam Created in the Likeness of God's Glory*

The *Words of the Heavenly Lights* (4QDibHam (4Q504, 506) is a liturgy of prayers for each of the seven days of the week which is widely regarded as a very early, or more likely pre-, Qumran text.¹² The existence of two texts—one from the middle of the second century B.C. and another from the first century A.D.—testifies to its enduring liturgical significance for the Qumran community, even if it was inherited from “pre-Essene” Judaism.

This liturgy contains one of the clearest statements of a divine anthropology in the Dead Sea Scroll corpus. 4Q504 fragment 8 (recto) which probably preserves parts of the prayer for the first day of the week, reads as follows:¹³

¹ ... Rememb[er], O Lo[rd] that ... ² ...] and you (are) etern[ally] living[... ³ ...] marvels (נפלאות) from of old and prodigies (תוראות) [... ⁴ ... Adam our fa]ther, in the likeness of [Your] Glory[אדם] [... ⁵ You b]reathed into his nostrils and discernment and knowledge (ובינה ודעה) [... ⁶ in the gar]den of Eden, which you planted, you made [him] to rul[e] (המשלת[וה]) ... ⁷ ...] and to walk in the land of glory (בארץ כבוד) [...

This is, self-evidently, an embellished retelling of the creation of Adam and his life in the Garden of Eden. There are additions to the biblical text which are traditionally associated with Adam in Jewish literature. For example, the reference to Adam's possessing “understanding and knowledge” is parallel to Sirach 17:7's “He [God] filled them up with knowledge of understanding”.¹⁴

δόξης θεοῦ ἐγγυμῶθη) probably implies he had previously *worn* the Glory. For recent discussion of this text see Harlow 1996, 60–2. This kind of Adam theology lies behind Romans 1:23; 3:23. An identification of the Glory of God with Adam's form is probably also intended by the echo of Isaiah 6:1–3 in Genesis 1:26–28.

¹² Palaeographically its earliest copy is dated by the editor c. 150 B.C. (*DJD* 7:137). See further Chazon 1992b; Falk 2000, 109. For the work's dependence upon Daniel 12:1 at frags. 1–2 vi 12–14, see Puech 1993, 565–568.

¹³ Baillet (*DJD* 7:163) pointed to the fact that on the back of this fragment there is the work's title as grounds for thinking it contains the opening prayer of the work.

¹⁴ LXX Ἐπιστήμην συνέσεως. M. Baillet in *DJD* 7:162–3 therefore restores ובינה אדם [מלאכה] אמת in line 4.

Line 4 is obviously a brief snippet of the creation of Adam following Genesis 1:26a "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness (בצלמנו כדמותנו)", with the dominion over creation which is described in the rest of Genesis 1:26 picked up in line 6. The use of the verb יצר for Adam's creation will then have come from Genesis 2:7. A reference to the "image" may have appeared in that portion of the text which is now lost. What is intriguing about the Qumran text is the way "our likeness" has become "the likeness of [Your] Glory (בדמות כבוד[כה])". M. Baillet, the editor, rightly notes that besides Genesis 1:26 this expression recalls Ezekiel 1:28 (מראה מראה כבוד יזוה). Indeed, it would be fair to say that in 4Q504 frag. 8 Adam is identified in some way with the Glory occupying God's throne in Ezekiel 1.

The identification is not absolute since Adam is only made *in* (ב) the likeness of God's Glory and the text is too fragmentary to gauge how the relationship was worked out. However, the text should probably be set in a similar life setting to the sapiential anthropological doxography that we have met in Sirach. Where, in Sirach 50, the high priest is the embodiment of *both* God's Glory and divine Wisdom, so, also in this text Adam is given "discernment and knowledge". And the overlap in language with Sirach 17:6-7 suggests he was filled with these in a way similar to the high priestly *Urmensch* in Ezekiel 28:12 who is "full of wisdom". The image of Adam "walking in the land of glory (line 7)" might also have been formed under the influence of Ezekiel 28:14: "you were on the holy mountain of God; you walked among the stones of fire".¹⁵

The importance of this theological anthropology for the *Words of the Heavenly Lights* is further reflected in 4Q504 frags. 1-2, col. iii 2-4 which reads:

... Behold all the nations are [as not]thing before you; [as] *tohu* and emptiness they are reckoned before you (Isaiah 40:17). Only your Name have we invoked and you have created us for your Glory (ולכבודכה ברחמי) and made us children in the sight of all the nations. For you have named Israel "My Son, my first-born".

¹⁵ In the fragmentary lines that follow there is the statement "[he is flesh, and to dust (בשר וזוהו ולעפר)]". No doubt, this picks up Gen 3:19. If so the addition of the statement of Adam's fleshly nature is perhaps a further witness to the Essene contrast between the pre-lapsarian divine/angelic state and the post-lapsarian sarkic nature.

In the light of the above text, two points are clearly in view here. First, when it says that Israel is created for God's Glory it perhaps means not that the act itself is one which brings Glory to God, but that Israel is to *be* the Glory of God.¹⁶ Secondly, given the use of the verb "to create (בָּרָא)" and language from Isaiah (40:17) that echoes the *tohuwabohu* of Genesis 1:2, the liturgy proclaims that humanity as it was originally intended is only present in Israel and that all other peoples are consigned to a state of pre-creation nothingness.

Hitherto, discussion of the theology of 4QDibHam has focused on the Deuteronomic pattern of sin, exile and restoration which seems to govern the majority of its conceptual structure.¹⁷ Esther Chazon, in particular, has highlighted the way this narrative binds together the whole liturgy. In this text this pattern serves the purpose of Israel's confession of sin, repentance and prayer for restoration and Daniel Falk groups this liturgy with the "post-exilic communal confessions"—prayers based on the Deuteronomic theology of salvation-history and the model of confession found in Lev 26.¹⁸ But, given that the liturgy starts with Adam in the land of Glory, as one made in the likeness of God's Glory, there seems also here to be a priestly theology which grounded the prayer for God's restoration not simply in the Mosaic covenant but also a pre-fall relationship of ontological affinity between God and his own humanity, now summed up in Israel. The liturgy calls for the remembrance of Adam's original state as the basis for future restoration of the true Adam-in-Israel.¹⁹ Regrettably too little of the first prayer remains, but it is possible that there is already a statement of humanity's sin and exile from the garden which foreshadows Israel's own story in what follows.

The name of this text also deserves consideration. On the back of frag. 8 of 4Q504 there is the title רַבְרִי הַמְאֲרִיחַ. This has been variously translated and its interpretation is uncertain. Does it mean

¹⁶ The language draws on Isa 43:7 where God says that every Israelite in Exile is one "whom I created for my glory (לְכַבוֹדִי בְרָאִיתִי)". The translation "for Your honor we were created" in Nitzan 1994b, 96, does not do justice to the *theological* perspective.

¹⁷ See Chazon 1992a and in general Falk 1998, 59–92.

¹⁸ Falk 1998, 72.

¹⁹ Cf. the way 4QInstruction (4Q423 1–2) addresses the student of wisdom as one called, as was Adam, to rule over, serve and guard Eden (see T. Elgvin *DJD* 34:509–10, 512).

that the text provides the words for a liturgy which follows the cycle of the heavenly lights?²⁰ This is possible; it would mean the prayers are designed to be recited at the interchange of the dominion of the luminaries, at dusk or dawn (cf. IQS 10:1-3; 1QH^a 20:4-11 [12:4-11]).²¹ However, this interpretation is not without its problems, since as the title stands we should expect the liturgy to contain the words spoken by the luminaries (or, perhaps their angelic counterparts). The text itself shows no sign that it is intended for any one other than human worshippers.

A solution might lie in the fact that Israel's priesthood is responsible for the giving of light and in many texts is closely related to the heavenly bodies.²² Liturgically speaking it may be that the priesthood are here regarded as the ritual embodiment of the heavenly bodies. In the blessing of the high priest of the Blessings Scroll (IQSb 4:24-28) it is possible that the high priest is set apart to be a luminary (IQSb 4:27 "may he make you holy among his people and a luminary(?) (למאור) [] for the world in knowledge"). That the priesthood at worship could be both the Glory of God, as fragment 8 *recto* might imply, and also the luminaries, as fragment 8 *verso* implies, is again consistent with the vision of the high priesthood in Sirach 50. In Sirach 50 the identification of the high priest with God's Glory is set in the midst of verses where he is also compared to the sun, moon and the stars (50:6-7). The Greek translator of those verses sets Simon in the cosmic procession (ἐν περιστροφῇ) of the heavenly bodies.²³

Whilst there is no other indication in the text that the priesthood have appropriated the identity of the heavenly luminaries, this explanation of the text's title would mean that this ideology was so axiomatic at Qumran that at times it did not need to be made explicit.

(b) "All the Glory of Adam"

In IQS 4:22-3 the perfect of way (תמימי דרך) have been chosen for an eternal covenant and for them there is (or, will be) all the glory

²⁰ D.T. Olson in Charlesworth, et al. 1998-9, 108.

²¹ Cf. Chazon 1997, 24; Falk 1998, 59, 86.

²² Cf. Baillet *DJD* 7:139; D.T. Olson in Charlesworth, et al. 1998-9, 108.

²³ For περιστροφῇ used primarily of the procession of the heavenly bodies, the stars, the sun or the cosmos itself see LSJ 1389.

of Adam (להם כול כבוד אדם) and there is no deceit". In 1QH^a 4:14–15 [17:14–15] God has "raised an [eternal] name, [forgiving] offence, casting away all (the community's) iniquities, giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam (להנחילם בכול כבוד אדם) [and] abundance of days." In the sectarian rewriting of Israel's history in the *Damascus Document* the community, or Essene movement, becomes the true Israel for whom there is built "a sure house (ביה נאמן)" (3:19). These are they who hold fast to the covenant "for eternal life and all the Glory of Adam (להי נצח וכל כבוד אדם)" (3:20). This new Israel are also referred to as the "penitents (שבי) of Israel", or "the returnees of Israel". Similar language for the righteous remnant is used again in 4QpPs^a (4Q171) 3:1–2 where those who have returned from the wilderness (שבי המדבר) will live for a thousand generations in salvation and they "and their descendants for ever" possess "all the inheritance of Adam (כול נחלה אדם)".

Translators and commentators on these passages do not agree what "all the כבוד of אדם" means, though there is now general agreement that this is Adam, not just "man" that is in view. Is this merely human "honour", rather than a "theological" or "divine" Glory?²⁴ And is this a future inheritance or is it a reality which is already experienced by the community? The phrase, self-evidently, summarizes a reality the content of which can only be understood when other relevant texts are considered—which is the purpose of the rest of this study. But, I think, several interpretative considerations can be established already at this stage of our discussion.

On the question of temporal perspective, there is an oscillation in the four passages between "all the glory of Adam" as a future and a present experience, but nowhere is the perspective unequivocally future. The context of 1QH^a 4:15—that is 1QH^a 4:9–15—although badly broken, is throughout an affirmation of what God has *already* done for the righteous. And the fact that "all the glory of Adam is parallel to "abundance of days" suggests that because the latter is a present blessing, so also is the former. The conjunction of Adamic blessing and long life recurs in 4QpPs^a 3:1–2 where, again, because longevity of life is ascribed to the community members themselves the impression is that the inheritance of Adam is also already theirs.²⁵

²⁴ So, for example, Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz in Charlesworth 1995, 17 translate CD 3:20 "all (human) glory (is) theirs".

²⁵ So, rightly, Brooke 1999, 290.

The eschatological context is clearest in IQS 4:23 (cf. generally 4:6-26), but even here, in the *immediate* context (4:22d "for those God *has* chosen for an eternal covenant") the possession of all the glory of Adam could very well be a present reality. And, otherwise, the eschatological conditions of the righteous to which IQS 4 looks forward are in almost every respect already anticipated by the community. Indeed, the idea that the community already has Adam's glory is consistent with the fact that the community have also returned to the pre-lapsarian world of Eden (see below).

It goes without saying that in none of these passages does the glory of Adam belong to a transcendent history, after some eschatological collapse of space and time (a scenario which is otherwise absent from the DSS). Rather than a vision for a future transcendent cosmology, the notion of Adam's glory is best understood as an affirmation of a particular theological anthropology, rooted, not in the *Endzeit*, but the *Urzeit*: because the true Israel are the true Adam and the Qumran community are the true Israel they possess all that Adam possessed before his departure from paradise.

Furthermore, the life-setting for this expression is Israel's Temple theology as it is expressed so profoundly in Sirach 49:16-50:21.²⁶ In that passage it is Jerusalem, the Temple, its worship and, above all, the priesthood, which possesses all the glory of Adam, since in this space and time the original order of creation and the harmony of Eden is recovered. The cultic context is patent in the wider context of CD 3:20 (cf. CD 3:12-4:4) and is probably assumed by the use of the expression in IQH^a 4:15.

Not only should "all the glory of Adam" be related to the cultic theology of Ben Sira, it should also now be read through the lens provided by 4Q504 frag. 8 where, again in a liturgical context, Adam possesses a glory which is then transferred to the true Israel. Here, and in Sirach, it is not simply a human "honour" or "dignity" that is in view, but a Glory which is God's own.²⁷ The Qumran community believed then, that it was their vocation to fulfil the responsibility originally given to Adam to embody God's own Glory.

²⁶ Cf. Wernberg-Møller 1957, 87.

²⁷ As Lichtenberger 1980, 225 points out, apart from another reference to the hymnist's כבוד in IQH^a 7:19 20 [15:16-17] (discussed below) throughout the *Hodayot* כבוד is always God's.

(c) 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B) and the Worship of Adam

Another liturgical text which perhaps attests the Qumran community's belief in a divine humanity is 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B). Fragment 1 of this pseudepigraphical psalms collection is a creation psalm which may bear witness to a widespread belief that when Adam was originally created the angels were made to serve and even worship Adam.²⁸

³ marvels. He, by an oath, made heaven and earth, and by the word of his mouth [. . . ⁴ and watercourses. He shut up its rivers, pools and every eddy, and he [. . . ⁵ night and st[ar]s and constellations, and he made (them) shine [. . . ⁶ trees and every fru[it of the vi]ne and all the produce of the field. And according to his words [. . . ⁷ with [his] w[ife]. And by his breath he made them stand (וּבְרוּחוֹ הָעֲמִידִים), to rule over over all (לְמִשְׁלַל בְּכָל) these on earth and over all [. . . ⁸ [mon]th by [m]onth (לְיוֹם יוֹם) sacred festival by sacred festival (לְמוֹעֵד בְּמוֹעֵד), day by day, to eat its fruit (that) the land makes flourish [. . . ⁹ . . .] and birds and all which is theirs, to eat the choicest of all, and also [. . . ¹⁰ . . .] *msh* in them, and all his hosts (וְכָל צְבָאוֹ) and [his] ange[ls] (וּמַלְאָכָיו) . . . ¹¹ . . .] to serve man/Adam and to minister to him (לְעַבְדָּ לְאָדָם וּלְשָׂרָחוֹ) and [. . .

The text describes in summary fashion God's creation of the heavens and the earth. The extant text echoes the first and second days of creation according to Genesis 1 (line 3), the earth's water courses of the third day (line 4),²⁹ the luminaries of the fourth day (line 5) and the vegetation of the third day (line 6).³⁰ It moves quickly to the supremacy of humanity whom God makes to stand by his breath (cf. Gen 2:7 and Ezekiel 37) and "to rule (לְמִשְׁלַל) over all these on earth and over all [. . .", in line 7. What follows is less clear, though the provision for humanity of food from the creatures of the fifth day seems to be in view in line 9. Finally, the text introduces the angelic realm glossing "their hosts" in Genesis 2:1 with "[his] ange[ls]."³¹

²⁸ Dated paleographically by the editor, E. Schuller, c. 75 B.C. (*DJD* 11:88). For our texts see *DJD* 11:92-96. See also Charlesworth, *et al.* 1998-9, 10-39.

²⁹ For the earth's irrigation arranged on the third day see *Jubilees* 2:7.

³⁰ The editor, E.M. Schuller underplays the degree of conformity to the pattern of creation in Genesis 1 (*DJD* 11:91-2). We are more confident than she that line 7 speaks of the creation of humanity and she seems to miss the way in which the language of line 4 echoes Genesis 1:9-10 and its wider intratextual space. Of the texts cited by Schuller Jer 5:22; Ps 104:9; Prov 8:29; Job 38:8 and *Prayer of Manasseh* 3-4 (p. 95) are all part of the interpretative web through which Gen 1:9-10 would be read.

³¹ A restoration of "angels" here is to be preferred over other alternatives given

In the next line (line 11) the text says that something or other is created "to serve Adam/(humankind)¹⁴ and to minister to him לעבד (לאדם ולשרתו)".

The editor, Eileen Schuller is somewhat puzzled by this statement because although, in context, the angels and host of the previous line are the most logical subject of this action, "it is difficult to see how the angels can be said לעבד לאדם".³² On the contrary this would be an entirely unsurprising restoration of the text since there is a widespread haggadah according to which Adam is to receive worship from the angels when he is first created.³³ This is a version of the creation story which is preserved in its clearest and most accessible form in the Latin text *Vita Adae et Evae* (chs. 12-16) though it is widespread throughout Jewish pseudepigrapha, the rabbinic corpus, early Christian literature and is even attested in the Koran.³⁴ The first century Christian Letter to the Hebrews (1:6) evidently knew this story and so it was probably both pre-Christian and widely known before the fall of the Second Temple.³⁵

Of course, the Hebrew could just reflect the tradition that the world was created for humanity or Israel, a view which is well attested in pseudepigrapha from the late first century B.C. onwards and which now appears in a Qumran Cave 4 text (4Q392 1 4-6).³⁶ But it should be remembered that both the verbs עבד and שרת which are used in 4Q381 have a strongly cultic orientation for the community

the way צבא "his hosts" is found in parallelism with angels in Ps 103:20-21; 148:2 (*qere*). See E.M. Schuller *DJD* 11:94, 96.

³² *DJD* 11:96, cf. Schuller 1986, 84.

³³ The phrase לעבד לאדם is perhaps a deliberate play on the phrase לעבד ארץ in Genesis 2:15; 3:23 (cf. 2:15) which then states a suggestive interdependence between the various parts of creation with Adam serving the ground and the angels serving Adam. In both its original context (see Wenham 1987, 67) and more recent interpretation (e.g. Sirach 24:31) the picture of Adam serving (or, tilling) the ground has overtly cultic connotations.

³⁴ Judaism: *Life of Adam and Eve* (Latin, *par.* Armenian, Georgian); *Gen. Rab.* 8:10; *Ecd. Rab.* 6:9:1; *Bereshith Rabbati* 24f.; *Pirke de R. Eliezer* 11-12; *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 5:1-2; Armenian *Penitence of Adam* 11-17; 2 *Enoch* (Stone 1993); *Slavonic 3 Baruch* (Gaylord 1982:304-5). Christianity: Hebrews 1:6; *Slavonic Book of Adam* 47; *Conflict of Adam and Eve* 7; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4:52-60; *Sibylline Oracles* 8:442-445; *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 5:1-2. Islam: Koran 7:12-14; 15:30-36.

³⁵ There is also an intriguing similarity between this Qumran text and Mark 1:13 where Jesus was "in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered (διακόνουν) to him".

³⁶ Cf. *T. Mos.* 1:12; 4 *Ezra* 6:46; 8:1, 44; 9:13; 2 *Bar.* 14:19; 15:7; 21:24; *Greek Apoc. of Ezra* 5:19.

that used the text.³⁷ Any overtone of *cultic* veneration from the angels towards humanity would not be completely out of place in our text since line 8 apparently connects the order and bounteous provision of creation with Israel's cult which is conducted "[mon]th by [m]onth, appointed time by appointed time (לְמִצְוֵהוּ בְּמִצְוֵהוּ), day by day". To a degree this is already a way in which the created order *seves* humanity and line 11 may simply be developing the point further.

This Qumran text may therefore preserve the earliest datable witness to the belief that before his fall Adam was to be the recipient of worship (from the angels and/or the rest of creation). Although 4Q381 is a first century B.C. manuscript the use of Late Biblical Hebrew, the lack of later theological ideas, the absence of any clearly sectarian terminology and other considerations suggest to its editor that it originated in the Persian or Early Hellenistic period.³⁸ This would push back the dating of the worship of Adam haggadah much further still.

On the other hand, some readers might feel that the worship of Adam haggadah represents an inherently heterodox theology, and that, although it might be possible to date its genesis to the formative period of earliest Christianity, it really could not belong in an "orthodox" Judaism of the Persian or early Hellenistic period: given the reasonable confidence of E. Schuller's dating of the text to that time on other grounds, we would be wiser not to fill in the lacunae of 4Q381 1 11 in this way.

This only begs the question what post-exilic "orthodox" theology and biblical monotheism actually are. This is a question which is too often given a hasty answer which rules out of court the worship of a human being by other human beings or angels, as if that human being were God himself. As we have already seen in our last chapter, from at least the earliest decades of the Hellenistic era we have many texts in which "orthodox" Jewish practice and belief did, it seems, believe it appropriate under certain circumstances to worship

³⁷ For עָבַד see, e.g., 1QpH^b 12:13; 13:2-3; CD 5:4 (for the worship of idols); 1QSa 1:13 and for פָּדָה see, e.g., 1QM 2:1-3; 13:3; 1QSb 4:25; 4Q511 35 4. In 4Q392 frag. 1 the context of the view that God created the world for humanity is also cultic (see the discussion of this text below). Even though 4Q381 is probably not composed by a Qumran sectarian (having a pre-Qumran provenance) the point here is that we know from QL literature how its language would be heard and understood in that socio-religious context.

³⁸ Schuller 1986, 5-60.

a human being. We have already discussed in some detail one such passage—the hymn in praise of the high priest in Ben Sira 50.³⁹ Because of the importance of this issue, which reappears later in our discussion of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* it is worth reiterating our understanding of the worship of the divine humanity tradition.⁴⁰

Jews believed it was not only possible, but right and proper to give worship to a human being, just as the angels were commanded to worship Adam, *because they believed that the true humanity was created by God to be his selem; that is humanity is to the one true God what an idol is to its pagan god.* The second part of this proposition has now been proposed by a number of OT scholars who have wrestled with the biblical restriction against man's own making of images of Yahweh.⁴¹ In particular, John Kutzko has shown that for the priestly tradition represented by P and the book of Ezekiel, the making of images by man is prohibited in biblical religion *because only man himself genuinely gives physical form to God.*⁴² This is the reason why P uses the word *selem*—a word which is otherwise used specifically of “pagan” statutes or idols (e.g. Num 33:52; 1 Sam 6:5, 11; 2 Kgs 11:18 = 2 Chr 23:17; Ezek 7:20; 16:17; 23:24; Amos 5:26; Dan 2:31, 32, 34) for the creation of humanity (Gen 1:26–27). That humanity could, under the right conditions, function as God's idol does not transgress any biblical legislation.⁴³

The first part of my proposition, has not, as far as I am aware been otherwise voiced. It follows logically from the view that humanity is created to be God's idol (analogically speaking) that this opens up the possibility that just as non-Israelite religion entailed the worship of the gods *through the worship* (care for, feeding, clothing, etc . . .) of the gods' statues so also should Israelites themselves worship true humanity where it functions as would the image of a pagan god. This understanding of things at once explains the penning of a hymn

³⁹ Cf. the worship of the high priest according to the early fourth century B.C. author Hecataeus of Abdera (in Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* XI,3.3–8); the worship of the high priest by Alexander the Great (Josephus *Ant.* 11:331–335; Scholion to *Megilath Ta'anith* 21st Tislev and *b. Yoma* 69a); worship of the priest in *T. Reub.* 6:12; worship of Enoch the Son of Man (*Eth. Enoch* 48:5; 62:6–9, cf. 46:5; 52:4); worship of the king (1 Chr 29:20) and of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* line 81.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of chapter 3 and Fletcher-Louis 1999.

⁴¹ See Smith 1988, 424–27; Watson 1997b, 289; Niehr 1997.

⁴² Kutzko 2000.

⁴³ So, rightly, Schmidt 1995.

in praise of the high priest in Sirach 50: Simon is praised *because he is the true Adam, the image and physical embodiment of Israel's one God*. As we shall see later in this study this theology was also put into practice at Qumran in the regular praise offered to its own high priesthood. At this juncture, bearing in mind our primary interest in the community's view of Adam, a clear illustration of the way the biblical image-of-God-in-man theology worked in the Second Temple period can be seen through a comparison of the worship of Adam in the *Vitae Adae et Evae* 12-16 story and the account of Nebuchadnezzar's idolatry in Daniel 3.

In that canonical passage Nebuchadnezzar sets up an idol (כְּסֵלִים, 3:1, 2, 3, 7 etc. . .), which has been made by human hands. He issues a decree that at its dedication all should worship the statue. All the "satraps, prefects, governors, counsellors, treasurers, judges, magistrates and all the officials of the provinces" came to the dedication (vv. 2-3). A herald proclaims the decree, to which is attached the warning that "whoever does not fall down and worship will be thrown into the furnace of fire" (v. 7, cf. v. 11). The Jews Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego refuse to worship and are dealt with accordingly.

The worship of Adam in *Vitae Adae et Evae* 12-16 is a deliberate subversion of that story in which roles are reversed in a way which parallels perfectly the polemic against idolatry in Genesis and Ezekiel: in each text there is the presentation of an image that is to be worshipped; the *true* image (Latin: *imago*) worthy of worship is made by God, not by man; "all the angels" like the "satraps, prefects, governors" and other officials of Daniel 3 are called to the presentation of the image (14:1); Michael plays the role of the herald commanding that the *image of God* (13:3; 14:1-2; 15:2) be worshipped; this time it is Satan who refuses to worship the image and he is appropriately punished. *Adam is worshipped because he is to the one true living God what a statue is to a pagan god.*⁴¹

One immediate upshot of this rabbit trail away from Qumran is that the *theology* of the worship of Adam story must now be rooted firmly in the beginnings of the Second Temple period. Once the priestly tradition represented by P and Ezekiel makes the theological move to prohibit idolatry on the grounds that humanity is God's image, or idol, then the kind of story that one finds in *Vita Adae et*

⁴¹ This reading develops the observations already made by Patton 1994.

Evae is only a small conceptual step away. The close literary similarity between the worship of Adam in that text and in Daniel 3 suggests the former owes its genius to the early Hellenistic period when Daniel 3 was written.⁴⁵ Indeed, it is likely that Daniel itself testifies to the legitimacy of the worship of the true human being on these theological grounds. Immediately prior to his construction of his illegitimate idol, Nebuchadnezzar had fallen on his face, worshipped Daniel and ordered that a grain offering and incense be offered to him. Although commentators normally assume that these are actions which the implied reader knows are a foolish act of idolatry, nothing in the text supports such a reading. Daniel does not reject Nebuchadnezzar's worship, rather he joyfully accepts it along with the reversal in his socio-political fortunes that it accompanies. The end of Daniel 2 and the beginning of Daniel 3 naturally read as a satire in which a fickle convert to the Jewish faith sees something of the true nature of the one God present in his servant and the bearer of his image—Daniel—but all too quickly this potential proselyte returns to the pagan rejection of the image-of-God-in-man in his attempt to usurp God's own position as image maker.

Returning now to 4Q381, the possibility that this text attests what would be a widespread story about the worship of Adam by the angels is entirely consistent with the (late Persian-early Hellenistic) dating and (pre-Essene) provenance that it has been given by its editor, Eileen Schuller. From the Qumran perspective, although 4Q381 does not prescribe distinctively sectarian ideas or language, there is every reason to assume that it was read and used by the community. As far as the worship of Adam is concerned this will be another witness to the community's interest in humanity's divinity as, for Jews in the second Temple period, worship was reserved exclusively for the one Jewish God and, in some instances, the unique physical representative and human embodiment of that God.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ I take it that Daniel 3 is part of an earlier (3rd century) version of Daniel (composed principally of Dan 2-6) which was updated in the early second century B.C. to its extant form.

⁴⁶ Regrettably nothing of the liturgical function of 4Q381 frag. 1 can be gleaned.

Transformation in the Hodayot

The very negative view of human nature in the *Hodayot* is well known: the psalmist meditates *ad nauseam* on his identity as one created from the dust and from clay, who is utterly unworthy of God's presence, born into iniquity and unable, of his own accord, to understand God's ways or meet his righteous demands. The theme is obvious to the casual reader and has been much discussed.⁴⁷

The temptation is to latch on to this, certainly *dominant*, theme and assume that the *Hodayot* have a fixed, inflexible anthropology.⁴⁸ However, there are some equally significant passages in which, as a member of the community of the righteous who have already experienced God's salvation the psalmist speaks of his inclusion in the heavenly angelic realm (11:21-23 [3:21-23]; 14:13 [6:13]; 19:10b-14 [11:10b-14]; 23:10 (frag. 2 i 10); 26:6-7). These, too, have been much discussed and it is likely that they entail transformation to an identity befitting life in the heavenly world.⁴⁹ Because of the allusive, poetic, nature of the *Hodayot* these texts are tantalizingly difficult to interpret and it is not our purpose here to discuss them in any great detail, but rather simply to recall their content and make some general observations about their meaning. We shall return in later chapters to discuss specific passages in the *Hodayot* in more detail.

One of the fullest statements of this theme is 1QH^a 11:19-23 [3:19-23]:

I thank you, Lord, because you saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon²⁰ have lifted me up to an everlasting height (לרום עולם), so that I can walk in uprightness without limit (אחזקבד) (במישור לאין הקר) (מקרה) for someone²¹ you formed from dust (יצרחה מעפר) for an everlasting community (לכבוד עולם). The depraved spirit you have purified (טהרתה) from much transgression so that he can stand in position (להחיצב במעמד) with²² the host of the holy ones (צבא קדשים) and can enter in com-

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Holm-Nielsen 1960, 274-282; Lichtenberger 1980, 73-93.

⁴⁸ There is also the danger—now a legacy of an older period of Qumran scholarship when fewer texts were published—of thinking that the anthropology of the *Hodayot* is definitive for Qumran thought in general. But apart from 1QS 11:9-15 and a brief passage in the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400 2 5b-7) the very negative view of humanity here is not otherwise attested in QL.

⁴⁹ Kuhn 1966, 66-73; Brandenburger 1968, 103-4; Nickelsburg 1972, 152-54; Lichtenberger 1980, 224-227.

munity (ביחד) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. You cast for man an eternal lot with the spirits of ²⁹ knowledge to praise your name in the community of jubilation (ביחד רנה) and to recount your wonders before all your creatures.

Does this text describe a transformation to a new angelic identity? It is not clear. Because the psalmist has been raised from the realm of death (line 19) it would be natural to suppose that he now experiences in this life, by virtue of his entry into the heavenly realm (lines 21–23), the angelomorphic existence for which all Jews waited after death and the general resurrection (cf., e.g., Dan 12:3; Mark 12:25 etc. . .). Indeed, this reading is consistent with other statements in the *Hodayot*.

In 7:19–20 [15:16–17] it is said of the just man who experiences “eternal salvation and endless peace” that God has “exalted his glory above flesh (והרם מבשר כבודו)”. Even if this is only a human “honour” and “dignity” the language evokes the tradition in which divine humanity transcends the realm of flesh which we have traced through Sirach 45 and *Jubilees* 31. In 15:23b–25 [7:23b–25] the psalmist exclaims: “You, my Go]d, have saved my life, and lifted my horn up high (הרים קרני למעלה). I am radiant with sevenfold li[ght] (הופעתו הופעתו שבעה פעמים) (באור) in the li[ght] which³⁰ you prepared for your Glory. (vacat) For you are my [ever]lasting luminary, and have established my foot on the lev[el] ground (בט[ח] יסודי).” What this means, exactly, is not clear, though the psalmist is probably identified with the heavenly bodies, and therefore, by implication, the angels.³¹ If our reconstruction of the lacunae is right, then here the psalmist enters into the light of God’s own Glory.

In 18:27–28 [10:27–28] it is said of members of the community, to whom God has given understanding, that “to the extent of their knowledge they are glorified (יכבודו), the one more than the other”. This reminds us of the organizational hierarchy within the community (1QS 2:23; 1QSa 1:18). Although this may be thought of as merely a relative ranking of human “honour”, we shall see later that it corresponds very well to the liturgical hierarchy of divine Glory in which the community are arranged during the worship of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

²⁹ For this reconstruction, identifying the sevenfold light as the light which the God creates for his own Glory see Holm-Nielsen 1960, 135–36.

³¹ For the “sevenfold light” see Isa 30:26.

The angelic identity of the righteous as a whole is perhaps in view in 14:14 where they are described as princes (שרים). And in 8:11 [16:3] the use of Isaiah 6:3c "the fullness of all the earth is your Glory"—the Qedushah of the seraphim—might suggest a conscious reflection on the privileged position of the human worshipper who is able to sing the praises of the angels. But, on the whole, the new identity of the righteous is more *theological* than *angelological*. In 5:23–24 [13:17–18] those whose sins are forgiven are then

beautified with God's splendour and caused to rule ove[r an abun]dance of pleasures with eternal peace (בהרדך תפארתו וחמשיליהו בהרוב עדנים) (עם שלום עולם) and length of days.

Here use of the verb פאר in association with God's splendour recalls the priestly tradition which traces God's beauty from Adam, through Noah to the high priest (Exod 28; Sirach 45:7–8; 49:16–50:21; 1Q19). Indeed, there can be no doubt that this text is a fuller form of the statement that to the righteous belongs "all the glory of Adam". The verb משל appears in a number of other Qumran texts as an equivalent for the רדה of Adam's divine rule in Genesis 1:26, 28 (perhaps under the influence of the חמשיליהו of Ps 8:7).⁵² In this context the עדנים, of course, alludes to Eden and the juxtaposition of all this with the promise of longevity recalls the coupling of the inheritance of Adam's glory and a long life in both 1Q1P 4:14–15 [17:14–15] and 4QpPs^a 3:1–2.⁵³

The theology of the *Hodayot* is radically theocentric. But this is not an exclusive theocentricity which removes righteous humanity from any participation in the divine life. On the contrary, it means that if God is to act in a peculiar way through some of his creatures (the righteous), they must be taken up into his world, reality and nature. The God of the *Hodayot* is so jealous for his own self that his true humanity becomes the extension of both his being and his action. 1QH^a 19:10–11 [11:10–11] we read "for the sake of your Glory (למען כבודכה), you have purified man from offence, so that he

⁵² 4Q381 1 7; 4Q422 1:9; 4Q423 2 2; 4Q504 frag. 8 recto i 6, cf. 1QS 3:17, 1Q1P 9:17 [1:17] and 4Q418 81 3. The language and interpretative connections between these texts are discussed by Glickler-Chazon 1997. See also T. Elgvin in *DJD* 34:509.

⁵³ The Adamic theme is continued in the next column where the psalmist has the knowledge of good and evil (6:11–12) and the difference, therefore, between the righteous and the wicked (6:8–22), (cf. 4Q303 8, 4Q422 1:10; Sirach 17:7).

can sanctify himself *for you*". Several times we hear of how God has magnified himself *in* the psalmist (הַנְּכִיכָה בִּי, 10:24–25 [2:24–25]; 12:8 [4:8]; 13:15 [5:15]). But, in these instances the exchange of benefits is not one-way. In 10:24–25 [2:24–25] it is when God magnifies himself in the speaker that the speaker is then able to stand firm (עמד) against the onslaught of chaos hurled at him by his enemies (lines 25, 29–30).

All this is possible because the righteous now praise God "in the tents of Glory and salvation (בְּאֹהֶלֵי כְבוֹד וְיִשׁוּעָה)", "in the ho[ly] residence (בְּמַעֲוֵן קִיּוֹן יְדֵשׁ)" (20:2–3),⁵⁴ and because the worshipper now walks in God's presence "along the paths of Glory (שְׁבִילֵי כְבוֹד)" (15:15 [7:15]). Put in other words, the psalmist has returned to the "Eden of Glory (עֵדֶן כְּבוֹד)" (16:4–26 [8:4–26], cf. 14:14–18 [6:14–18]).

In evaluating the theme of human transcendence in the *Hodayot* we should appreciate the significance of two parallel movements, one vertical and one horizontal. The righteous have been *raised up* to the heavenly realm and they have been *taken into* paradise. These two movements belong together because they are each bound together by a third movement into the cultic community.

We have just seen how the possession of the glory of Adam means the possession of the position in creation that God originally gave Adam before his fall (5:23–24). Here the righteous are clothed with God's splendour, ruling as Adam was to rule. In 16:21–26 [8:21–26] the psalmist fulfils Adam's vocation to till and keep the garden, dig its ditches and manage its irrigation system.⁵⁵ This is powerful rhetoric which will have a wide referential range: the psalmist lives in Eden with the restored Adamic identity because he is free from sin and the effects of the curse on Adam's sin, he has Adam's position over the rest of creation, his relationship with the plants of paradise is a metaphor for his relationship with his students, and so on. But perhaps more than all these, we can be sure that the return to Eden theme is possible because the community have access to the true sanctuary which is, in turn, Eden.

Much of the *Hodayot* is a sustained and extended meditation on the anthropology of Genesis 2:7 where Adam is formed from the dust of the ground. It is this Adam who is a mere mortal, unable

⁵⁴ See the parallel Cave 4 text (4Q427 3 2–3). Compare the similar expression ("tents of salvation") 4Q427 7 i 14.

⁵⁵ Cf. Sirach 24:30–31 and Davila 1996, 462–63, 465.

to stand in God's presence. How, then, can the same children of Adam inherit all Adam's glory, ruling over creation if, before their "fall", or departure from Eden, they are merely dust and clay? For the Qumran community this is not a problem because the Adam who is created in Genesis 2:7 *has not yet entered the garden of Eden*. This, according to Essene thought happened forty days *after* Adam's original creation (*Jub.* 3:8-14, cf. 4Q265 7 ii 11-17). And, furthermore, the movement of Adam (and Eve) into Eden becomes a paradigm for entry and full inclusion of the Israelite in the Temple and in the holiness that it gives God's people.⁵⁶ This is, of course, because the sanctuary (particularly the holy of holies) is equated with Eden (esp. *Jub.* 8:19). So, the movement within the *Hodayot* from the status of a creature of dust and clay to the exalted position of the pre-lapsarian Adam in the Eden of Glory *is a movement from outside to inside the cult and the community it circumscribes*.

This way of thinking is probably presumed in the passage cited earlier (1QH^a 11:19-23) where the one "formed from the dust" (Gen 2:7) is taken into the "congregation of the sons of heaven". Throughout the scrolls the experience of a communion with the angels is cultic in conception: just as priests in general, and the high priesthood in particular, have a peculiar access to God and his presence in the temple, so also it is this world which provides access to the angels, God's heavenly entourage.⁵⁷ Certainly, in this passage the same basic movement into the sanctuary and the cosmology it prescribes underlies the *vertical* movement into the heights above.

1QH^a 11:19-23 is replete with cultic terminology.⁵⁸ In the first place, obviously, the purpose of God's salvation is so that the righteous might "enter in communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven" where he praises God's Name "in the community of jubilation" and tells of God's wonders before all God's works.⁵⁹ This is the heart of the cult, plain and simple. From other DSS texts we know that membership of the "congregation of the sons of heaven" required a cultic purity commensurate with communion with the

⁵⁶ See Baumgarten 1994.

⁵⁷ See in particular Mach 1992, 209-16.

⁵⁸ Here I develop the observations of Maier 1964, 133 and Mach 1992, 212-213.

⁵⁹ Praise before all God's works assumes, in part, the cult as microcosm: the cultic community is the place where all creation meets and is bound by the people that voices its praise.

angelic realm (IQM 7:4-7; IQSa 2:3-9). So, as we would expect, although they have been missed or, even, rejected by the commentators, there are other aspects of this *Hodayot* passage which have the cult and its purity in view.

In line 20 the psalmist thanks God because אֲתִהְלֵכָה בְּמִשׁוֹר לְאֵין חֶקֶךְ. The precise nuance of the language is hard to gauge. Does מִשׁוֹר refer to the ethical purity of the psalmist (cf. line 21) or the level ground whereon he walks? Whichever of these is in mind—and deliberate ambiguity is likely—the language probably picks up the only biblical text where מִשׁוֹר and הֶלֶךְ come together; Malachi 2:6 where it is the angelic priest who walks in integrity (בְּמִשׁוֹר הֶלֶךְ) with God. An allusion to that text is fitting because here in the *Hodayot* there is the suggestion that the speaker has precisely the kind of angelic identity which Qumran readers found in Malachi 2, as *Jubilees* 31 testifies.⁶⁰ As we shall see this is one of several significant citations or allusions to Malachi 2 where the transformed, angelic priesthood of the Qumran community is in view.

In line 21 God has *purified* (שָׁהַרְהוּ) the depraved spirit from great offence. In the Qumran context, as in the Hebrew Bible (Lev 11:32; 13:34, 58; 14:8-9 etc. . .), the language of purification (שָׁהַר־) carries with it the full sense of *ritual* and *cultic* purification. There is no justification for thinking that its "root" meaning has "passed over into a more common usage of the cleansing God gives by declaring the sinner pure, without the undertaking by man of any ritual cleansing process".⁶¹ Purification from sin at Qumran (as indeed throughout late Second Temple Judaism) required specific ritual and sacrificial acts of cleansing, particularly through the sprinkling of water or immersion therein. There is no license for thinking that here the case is otherwise.⁶²

To expect the *Hodayot* to spell out those ritual acts is to ignore the limitations of its genre—psalmody. As it is, our passage gives away more of a ritual perspective than it need. In line 20 the psalmist

⁶⁰ The Qumran reader of Mal 2:6 could have found in בְּמִשׁוֹר הֶלֶךְ a reference not just to the integrity of Levi, but also to his access to the cult and its heavenly character. Whether an allusion to Mal 2:6 means the speaker in IQH^a 11:19-23 is a priest is hard to tell. Other considerations (see below) suggest a priestly image has been extended to apply to the life of all community members.

⁶¹ As Holm-Nielsen 1960, 68 claims.

⁶² The point should not really need making. The sceptical reader need only consult the concordances for the root שָׁהַר.

knows that "there is a *miqveh* (מִקְוֶה)" for the one whom God creates from dust. Here the word מִקְוֶה is universally translated "hope". Whilst this fits the context—the fate of those in the pit and the sheol of Abaddon would be hopeless—the word's other meaning—a pool of gathered water (Gen 1:10 (+ Gen 1:9 according to 4QGen^{h1} and 4QGen^{h2}); Exod 7:19; Lev 11:36; Sir 50:3)—must also be present.⁶³ In rabbinic literature a *miqveh* is a deep pool used for ritual immersion. We know that these pools were already in use in the Hasmonean period and were a key part of religious life at Qumran.⁶⁴ There is probably enough in the scrolls to suggest that the word already has something of the technical sense that it would receive by the rabbinic period.

There are such stepped pools for immersion at Khirbet Qumran.⁶⁵ Both the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* assume their use as a necessary part of the movement's life (1QS 3:4–6; CD 10:11–13) as does Josephus in his description of the Essenes (*B.J.* 2:129–32; 138; 149–50; 160–61).⁶⁶ Late Second Temple Judaism found the need for pools of water which would allow full immersion for a variety of rites of purification, not all of which are explicit in scripture. In this the Qumran community, with its own peculiar understanding of particular uses for immersion, was no exception.⁶⁷ In the absence of a full sacrificial system it is understandable that the Qumran community would intensify the use of immersion for purification, atonement and rites of passage.

In the context of a passage where God's *forgiveness* is celebrated and the language of *purification* (טָהַר) is used it is hard to believe that earlier translators and commentators have not seen a reference to a ritual immersion pool in the *miqveh* of 1QH^a 11:20 [3:20].⁶⁸ With

⁶³ The possibility is considered but rejected by Holm-Nielsen 1960, 67. For a play on the two meanings of the word מִקְוֶה see Jer 17:13 and *m. Yoma* 8:9.

⁶⁴ For the literary and archaeological evidence for *miqva'ot* see Sanders 1990, 214–227; Sanders 1992, 222–229.

⁶⁵ For the immersion pools at the Qumran site see Wood 1984; Pfann 1999, 349–50. Older generations of Qumran scholarship resisted the *miqveh* interpretation of these pools.

⁶⁶ See the thorough discussion in Webb 1991, 113–116, 133–162.

⁶⁷ For peculiar sectarian bathing halakhah see Baumgarten 1999b on 4Q414 and 4Q512, and *DJD* 35:135–154.

⁶⁸ Cf. 4Q511 52+ 2 "sp[ri]ng of purity (הַמְטוֹרֵר), *miqveh* (מִקְוֶה) of glory". For מִקְוֶה גְּדוּרָה, "reservoirs of the rivers" see 1QM 10:13. Here the association with *rivers*, recalls the fact that *miqva'ot* were to be filled with living, running water. In every

purification and forgiveness there is a transition in our text from the realm of death (the pit, the Sheol of Abaddon) to new life and concurrent transition from non-membership to membership of the congregation of the sons of heaven. In both respects these movements evoke an act of ritual immersion.

The psalmist has been in the realm of death where he would have contracted corpse impurity. In accordance with Numbers 19 (esp. v. 19) and Leviticus 22:4–6, and the Qumran view that immersion should take place on the first, third and seventh day of the period of cleansing (11QT 49:17–20, 4Q414 + 4Q512, cf. Tob 2:5), removal from the Sheol of Abaddon would require immersion.⁶⁹ Only a *miqveh* of water has the life force to overcome the contagion of death (Lev 11:36).

Access to sacred space, in particular for the priesthood, was marked by ablutions, including bathing (*T. Levi* 9:11; *T. Levi* 2:3 B 1–2, cf. *Jub.* 21:16a; *m. Yom.* 3:3; *Philo Spec. Leg.* 1:269; *P. Oxy.* 840 2). According to Josephus the Essenes required bathing in preparation for the daily communal meal (*War* 2:129–32). For the Qumran community the man who converts to the life of the true Israel has to purify his flesh, be sprinkled (לְהוֹרֹת) “with waters of purification” (בְּמֵי נְדָה) and sanctified with waters of purity (1QS 3:8–9). This statement in the *Community Rule* is significant because it uses language from Numbers 19:21 (“with waters of purification”) which is *only* used in the Hebrew Bible for the removal of corpse impurity. This seems to imply that “conversion” to the life of the Qumran movement requires cleansing from the impurity of death incurred for all those outside of the community. When 1QH^a 11:19–23 and 1QS 3:8–9 are read together

other instance of the word מִקְוֵה in the DSS the sense of something gathered (1QH^a 20:25, 29 [12:25, 29]; 4Q185 1–2 i 12 (contrast the scattering in line 11) 4Q381 28 3) or something appropriate for the process of forgiveness and purification is present. The *miqveh kavod* of 20:29 appears in a similar context to the *miqveh* of 11:20 and the two passages are mutually interpretative. In 1QH^a 14:6; 17:14 [6:6; 9:14]; 4Q185 1–2 i 7, although the translators find only “hope”, reference to forgiveness from sin or God’s wrath on the unworthy suggests that a ritual bathing pool is also, if not primarily, in view. The author of the *Hodayot* uses another word, חֵקֶה, (12:27; 14:32; 17:12 [3:27; 6:32; 9:12], cf. 1QM 11:9) when he wants to speak of hope, and hope alone.

⁶⁹ For 4Q512 and 4Q414 see Eshel 1997 and Baumgarten 1999b. Cf. Tob 2:5, 9; Josephus *C. Ap.* 2:198; *Philo Spec. Leg.* 3:205–207, cf. 1.261. In 1QH^a 11:24 the psalmist says that he is “surrounded with water (סָבֵב בְּמַיִם)”. Does this language and the theme of a watery conflagration threatening the psalmist throughout column 11 evoke, or liturgically presume, the actual position of the speaker in a *miqveh*?

they both, in their own genre-specific ways, claim that entry into the Qumran community entails purification from death and its effects: conversion entails resurrection.⁷⁰

Clearly, then, there are at least three simultaneous movements in the *Hodayot*. The righteous have been taken upwards from the transient world of dust and clay below to the eternal heights. This is related to the archetypal transfer of the first formed Adam to the glorious Eden. Both these movements have a concrete liturgical life-setting in the cult which gives life where there had been death, eternity where there had been mortality, understanding where there had been ignorance, and so on. To the extent that the *Hodayot* assume, or articulate, an immortal, glorious and "divine" humanity they do so in the context of a particular reading of primeval history which is nourished by a particular liturgical context.⁷¹

Precisely what relationship the theology and anthropology of the *Hodayot* has with the cultic life of the community could bear further fruitful critical reflection. The possibility must be considered, for example, that the tension between the exalted and a transformed identity on the one hand and the earthly, fleshly creature of clay on the other, is not so much, or even primarily, a matter of an eschatological tension between a now and a not yet,⁷² as between different modes, times and places within the liturgical and cultic world. We shall return to consider other aspects of the *Hodayot* and its liturgical life setting in later chapters. For now we turn to the community's Wisdom literature for further evidence of its belief in a divine humanity.

⁷⁰ Whether or not the waters of the Red Heifer were actually used for the circumstances envisaged in 1QS 3:8-9 the point, which is missed by Webb 1991, 144-45, is that conversion is regarded as a transition from death to life.

⁷¹ Precisely what relationship the hymnic material we have examined has to the various liturgical contexts that constituted the community's life is hard to tell. I do not wish to press the relationship between transformation and conversion into a reconstructed covenant renewal ceremony, or the relationship between transformation and removal of corpse impurity and a specific use of immersion pools in the removal of corpse impurity. Our point is simply that liturgy and cult are conceptually inseparable from theological anthropology in this particular Qumran hymnic material.

⁷² So, e.g., Nickelsburg 1972, 154.

1Q/4QInstruction

1Q/4QInstruction, prior to the *editio princeps* known as 4QSapiential Work A, provides another witness to the Essene movement's angelomorphic humanity tradition.⁷³ This text is the longest Wisdom text from Qumran extant in at least seven copies, one of these coming from cave 1.⁷⁴ It was evidently of some importance to the Qumran community and its language overlaps to some degree with the language of certainly "sectarian" scrolls (e.g. the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*). The text's precise relationship (including its relative date) to the Qumran community and Essenism is hard to judge given that much of it is evidently written for a laity living normal, non-monastic, married lives. Some would date the work well before the formation of the Qumran community and have distanced its concerns from those of the priestly Essenism.⁷⁵ However, it is equally likely to be a text written in the early stages of the movement's formation primarily for a lay order of Essenes living in the towns and villages of Israel away from Qumran; the order of married Essenes to whom Josephus refers (*B.J.* 2:160-1). As we shall see, in the next chapter, there is at least one portion of the work (4Q418 81) where there is present a theology of priesthood closely akin to that otherwise known to figure prominently in the earliest texts of the Qumran community. At any rate its presence in the QL, in so many copies, certainly attests its authoritative status in matters which concern us here.

Humanity's Creation According to the Pattern of the Angels

Within this sapiential work a passage attested in two manuscripts (4Q417 1 [formerly frag. 2] i 14-18 and 4Q418 43 10-14) provides a tantalizingly discussion of God's revelation to a "people of spirit":

¹⁴ understanding one (יִשְׂרָאֵל), inherit your reward in the remembrance of the time for it comes. Engraved is/the/{your} ordinance, and ordained is all the visitation ¹⁵ for engraved is that which is ordained

⁷³ For the text see Harrington 1994, 139-52, esp. 144-45; Harrington 1996, 40-59; Kampen 1998, 227-229; J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington in *DJD* 34 (1999).

⁷⁴ 1Q26, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q423. All the manuscripts of 1Q/4QInstruction are written in the Herodian formal hand of the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.

⁷⁵ Lange 1995, 47-49, cf. Harrington 1994, 137-52; *DJD* 34.

(תורה מחוקק) by God against all the *in[iquity]* of the sons of Seth, and a book of remembrance is written in his presence¹⁶ for those who keep his word. And this is the vision of Hagi (הגון הגני) on a book of memorial. He gave it as an inheritance to Enosh/man (לֵאנוֹשׁ) together with a people of spirit (עם עם רוח), for¹⁷ according to the pattern of the holy ones (כתבנית קדושים) is his fashioning, but no more has Meditation (Hagu) been given to the spirit of flesh (לרוח בשר) for it knew not the difference between¹⁸ good and evil according to the judgement of his [Sp]irit. (*vavul*) And you, understanding son (וְאַתָּה בֶן מְבִיִן), consider the mystery of existence (ברז נודע) and know.

This passage presents numerous interpretative difficulties and the various translations that have been offered differ widely.⁷⁶ What are the “vision of Hagi” (cf. the “Book of Hagi” in CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:7-8) and the “book of memorial” (cf. Mal 3:16 and CD 20:19)? Are they; identical with each other, references to the Torah (or a part thereof), an esoteric tradition such as the Enoch corpus or, perhaps even, *Sapiential Work A* itself? Is the Hebrew אנוש a reference to the individual Enosh, the son of Seth, who is named in the previous line? Or is Seth a wholly negative character in this text (Num 24:17 “He shall destroy all the children of Seth”, cf. CD 7:20; 4QTest 13; 1QM 11:6) and is, therefore, the word אנוש simply intended as a generic reference to humanity, as it is elsewhere (e.g. 1QS 3:17; 1QH^a 9:25, 32, 34 [1:25, 32, 34])? How should we translate and interpret the difficult, but pivotal expression יצרו כתבנית קדושים in line 17, which we have rendered in as ambiguous a way as possible: “according to the pattern of the holy ones is his fashioning”? Are the “holy ones” human beings or angels? These questions have already received extensive discussion in the secondary literature.⁷⁷

It may not be possible to resolve with certainty these problems: it is in the very nature of the text that the reader is assumed to understand the mysteries and the esoteric revelation which is described and, therefore, the original author might be quite content for the meaning of his words to remain obscure to scholars in the twentieth century who are *not* members of his community!

However, some interpretative observations are not in doubt and the balance of probabilities favours a reference at the beginning of line 17 to the creation of the true humanity according to the pat-

⁷⁶ See Collins 1997b, 608-9.

⁷⁷ See Lange 1995, 45-92; Harrington 1996, 54-56; Elgvin 1998, 139-147; Collins 1997b, 117-127; Collins 1999; Strugnell and Harrington in *DJD* 34 *ad loc.*

tern of the angels, the holy ones. On this reading a revelation, the vision of Hagi, which is perhaps synonymous with the book of memorial, has been given either to Enosh and his successors ("a people of spirit"), or to the true humanity (Adam (= *enosh*) and "a people of spirit") because God has fashioned them according to the pattern of the angelic holy ones.⁷⁸ John J. Collins in particular has provided exegetical and history-of-religions support for this interpretation.⁷⁹ Collins argues that *enosh* should be taken as a reference to Adam, the original human being, on analogy with the way this word is used in the *Instruction on the Two Spirits* in the *Community Rule* (IQS 3:17). The creation of Adam "in the image of the holy ones" is then an example of a more widely attested phenomenon according to which humanity was created angelomorphic. The passage is perhaps even an early example of the interpretation of Genesis 1:26–27 according to which the creation of humanity "in our image and likeness . . . in the image of *elohim*" is taken to mean "in the image of the angels, the gods". The distinction between a "people of spirit" and the "spirit of flesh" suggests a contrast between two kinds of humanity.⁸⁰ For this Collins makes a suggestive comparison with Philo's reading of Genesis 1–3 as an account of a creation of two types of men; the one a heavenly man (Genesis 1) and the other earthly (Genesis 2–3).⁸¹

Not all the details of Collins' argument are entirely convincing, but then they do not need to be for the essential thrust of his interpretation to be right.⁸² Even if *enosh* refers to the individual Enosh

⁷⁸ The alternative view that it is the Book of Hagi which is either "created as a sacred blueprint" (Wacholder and Abegg 1991–6, vol. 2, p. xiii) or fashioned "as a model for the holy ones" (Elgvin 1998, 140) does insufficient justice to the Hebrew and offers no obvious interpretation. Harrington's translation (Harrington 1996, 53, cf. *DJD* 34:155) which we have followed, and which does not seem to depend on the angelomorphic humanity interpretation, is the most natural.

⁷⁹ Collins 1999, cf. Woude 1998, 36–7 who sees in 1Q/4QInstruction two types of humanity: "a spiritual people in the likeness of the holy ones and men of a 'spirit of flesh'."

⁸⁰ Armin Lange's view that the "people of spirit" refers to angels (Lange 1995, 88) is rightly rejected by others (Elgvin 1998, 141, n. 72; Collins 1999, 616). Nowhere else in Jewish literature of the period is אֱלֹהִים used of angels and it is not at all clear why angels should need the kind of revelation described here.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 615–17.

⁸² Collins' argument that 4QInstruction has derived the fashioning of man according to the pattern of the holy ones from a reading of Genesis 1:26–7 in which בְּצֶלְמֵנו is regarded as equivalent to בְּצֶלְמֵאֱלֹהִים is not entirely convincing. That *elohim* has been treated as a genuine plural signifying the angels is certainly possible, but Collins' evidence for the synonymy in QL of בְּצֶלְמֵנו and בְּצֶלְמֵאֱלֹהִים is hardly compelling.

as the recipient of revelation our text might want to legitimise a particular community as the recipients of revelation on the grounds that they belong to an angelomorphic genealogy stretching back to the patriarchs including Enosh and, perhaps, Seth.⁸³ Even if our author is not reading Genesis 1-3 in a way that is similar to that adopted by Philo, this might still mean that he thought true humanity was created according to the pattern of the angelic holy ones. Indeed, there are numerous considerations, besides those offered by Collins, which support his proposal.

(1) In the first place there can be no doubt that our passage is oriented to creation as it is originally intended. In the wider context of this portion of 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i 1-13 = 4Q418 1-10) the sage is exhorted to meditation on the *raz nihyeh* (רז ניהיה, 4Q417 1 i 6), so that he might know the difference between good and evil (line 8, restored with 4Q418 43-45 i 6), that he might “walk [per]fectly (החלהלכוּן [ת]מים) [in all] his [d]eeds” (4Q417 1 i 12),⁸⁴ so that he “will know of the glory (חרע בכבוד) of [His] m[ight w]ith his wonderful mysteries and his mighty deeds” (line 13). In a similar vein the exhortation continues in the rest of the column (4Q417 1 i 18b-27 = 4Q418 43 14b-17). What is meant by the *raz nihyeh* is little clearer than the identity of the “Book of Hagi”, but within the larger context of our text it certainly includes reference to the original order of creation.⁸⁵ The desire to know the difference between good and evil attests to the tradition, otherwise known from Sirach 17:7, that in the original creation God *did* purpose for Adam and Eve to know what the tree of knowledge promised to give them. That this ability to discern between good and evil is the express purpose of Wisdom in its role as a restorer of the primeval order is attested elsewhere in the scrolls (4Qmysteries^b (4Q300) 3 2-3, cf. 1QH^a 6:11-12 [14:11-12]).⁸⁶

The brief and highly elliptical line 4Q403 1 ii 3 to which he appeals for this (following, presumably Newsom in *DJD* 11:284) is only faintly reminiscent of Ezekiel 1:28 and is hardly a warrant for Collins' claim that חבניה “is used for the likeness of God's glory, where Ezekiel 1:28 used דמות” (1999, 613).

⁸³ Compare the Shem, Seth, Enosh chain in Sirach 49:16 which bears the responsibility for divine Glory from Adam through to Israel and her high priest Simon.

⁸⁴ For this walking perfectly see also 4Q417 1 ii 5.

⁸⁵ Compare esp. 4Q416 1 which is probably the introductory column of the work (Harrington 1996, 41; *DJD* 34:8). For *raz nihyeh* as the mysteries of creation see Schiffman 1994, 206-7; Kampen 1998, 229; *DJD* 34:35.

⁸⁶ In another fragmentary portion of our work the garden of Eden comes speci-

As we saw in the previous chapter the belief that humanity was originally created angelomorphic is widely attested in contemporary Jewish texts.⁸⁷ The belief in an originally angelomorphic humanity in the context of a Wisdom text's attempt to rediscover the pre-lapsarian order of creation is an entirely unsurprising expression of an Essene realized *eschatology* as a the reflex of *protology*. As for the view that humanity's ability to discern between good and evil is a reflection of an angelomorphic identity; this is already stated in the Hebrew Bible, for in 2 Samuel 14:17 the woman of Tekoa addresses David "my lord the king is like the angel of God, discerning good and evil."

(2) Secondly, as Collins appreciates, the distinction between a "people of spirit" and a "spirit of flesh" is certainly consistent with the view that humanity is created according to the pattern of the angels. (I hesitate to translate "spiritual people" because in English parlance this expression is weaker than is demanded by the sharp contrast with the "spirit of flesh"). As we have already seen in pre-Essene and in other Qumran texts we find similar language to describe the divine humanity which has somehow been removed from the realm of flesh (Sirach 45:4; *Jubilees* 31:14; 1QH^a 7:19, 20 [15:16-17]).⁸⁸ Although the language in our text is without exact parallel it is indicative of a general concern within the angelomorphic tradition to articulate human identity in terms of the transcendence of the "flesh". Just what this means for our text is hard to say and it should be noted that there is no evidence that the author of *Sapiential Work A* holds to a dualism between flesh and spirit which entails an entirely negative view of flesh *per se*.

Positively, the "spirit" to which the people belong is associated in context with God's own Spirit, whose judgement they appear to know (line 17). In another portion of the work (4Q416 2 iii 20-iv 4 = 4Q418 10 3-9) there is instruction for the married man where flesh and spirit language is used with no relative value judgement made for one over the other. When the couple are joined together the man is to "walk together with the helpmeet of your flesh" and,

...
 fically into view and it appears the righteous have been "given authority over it, to till it and care for it" (4Q423 2 2).

⁸⁷ Collins 1999, 615 only cites late rabbinic tradition: *Gen. Rab.* 14:3; 21:5 and *Exod. Rab.* 30:16.

⁸⁸ For a discussion of the flesh--spirit antithesis in 1Q/4Qinstruction see Frey 2000.

as Genesis 2:24 stipulates, they are to "become one flesh". The husband is told that his wife "is the flesh of [your] nak[edness]", that his spirit has been given authority to revoke vows she makes (cf. Numbers 30) and that "over her spirit] he has been given dominion". There may be here an *implicit* hierarchy between flesh and spirit, but it is not developed and there is a thoroughly positive appreciation of both aspects of reality.

But there are also other passages in which the disparaging position given to flesh is present. In 4Q416 1, which probably represents the opening column of the work, "every spirit of flesh" appears to be a part of a picture of those who are to incur God's coming judgement (line 12) and there is possibly a reference in the same context to "the [inclination of flesh]".

(3) Then, thirdly, there are other several passages in 1Q/4QInstruction which seem also to speak of a heavenly humanity which has overcome the normal limits of earthly existence.⁸⁹

4Q418 69: *The Immortal and Their Freedom from Toil*

4Q418 69 might refer in line 7 to a group of humans, the righteous, who are "all those who will endure forever (נהיה עולם), those who investigate the truth (וירשי אמת)". The editors, Strugnell and Harrington think that "those who investigate truth" are (suprahuman) angels. But there is no warrant for this language used of anyone other than the righteous either in the rest of 1Q/4QInstruction or elsewhere in the language of the QL.⁹⁰ If this is the right translation of the difficult Hebrew expression נהיה עולם and suprahuman angels are not in view, then clearly the righteous possess an immortality of some sort.⁹¹

⁸⁹ So, rightly, Harrington 1996, 57-8; Strugnell and Harrington *DJD* 34:14, 33.

⁹⁰ In 4Q417 1 ii 13 a similar expression (לאמת חרוש) is evidently used of the *maven*. Similar language (for example, אדרוש דעה in 4Q416 2 iii 13 and וירוש משפטי in 4Q418 81 7) is always used of humanity in 1Q/4QInstruction. And, in general, the phrase evokes similar expressions (וירוש החורה and וירוש דהלקוח) of humanity elsewhere in recognisably sectarian texts. Strugnell and Harrington provide no parallel for the use of such terminology for angels.

⁹¹ For the problems here see *DJD* 34:286-7. Strugnell and Harrington wonder whether the statement that these "investigators of truth" will "rouse themselves to judge you" in what follows "does not . . . seem less appropriate for a human group?" (*DJD* 34:286). On the contrary the notion that the righteous shall judge the "children of iniquity" (line 8) is everywhere present in the Judaism of the period.

At any rate an angelomorphic life for the righteous is not in doubt in the lines of 4Q418 69 that follow. Lines 10–15 are addressed to the “elect of truth (בְּחֵירֵי אֱמֶת)” and are an exhortation to the weary to continue to their pursuit of knowledge and understanding, by appeal to God’s untiring labours (lines 11–12) and those of “the s[ons] of heaven”:

And the s[ons] of]¹³ heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, do they really say: “We are weary of doing the works of truth, and [we] have tired[] of them]¹⁴ in all times”? Do [t]he[y] not wal[k] in eternal light? [. . .] Glory and abundant splendour (כְּבוֹד וְרוֹב הַדָּר) (are) with them¹⁵ in the firmaments.⁹²

Harrington and Strugnell consider the possibility that it is the beatified who are here described, but they prefer a reading according to which the life of the angels is a model and inspiration for the righteous: “The heavenly angels, who are usually considered in Judaism . . . as ‘ever-watchful’, ἐγγήγοροι, are thus . . . indefatigable, like God; should not the human elect be also?”⁹³ “The ‘Sons of Heaven’ (angels) appear as models for unwearing involvement in God’s truth and for eternal participation in God’s glory. The assumption seems to be that the righteous can even now participate in some degree in the eternal contemplation and happiness of the angels who dwell in the heavenly court.”⁹⁴

We can probably go further than this and determine the argument’s *Sitz im Leben* more narrowly. The view that in these lines it is the angels who are directly in view and the righteous only indirectly must be doubted. Where else in QL or contemporary Jewish traditions do angels have an “inheritance”? This is the privilege of the human elect, not angels.⁹⁵ Again, where do angels “walk in eternal light”?⁹⁶ This is the lot of the righteous (Ps 56:4: “that I may walk before God in the light of life”, cf. Isa 9:1; 42:16; Ps 89:16; Job 29:3; Neh 9:12, 19; IQS 3:20; John 8:12 etc. . .).⁹⁷ The argument

⁹² Judging by PAM 41.097 the end of line 14 is complete, although the editors suggest a lacuna after “with them”.

⁹³ DJD 34:284.

⁹⁴ DJD 34:14.

⁹⁵ DJD 34:290 the editors see the problem but assert that “הַלְלוּ with a mention of angels, however, is not unattested”. The assertion is unsubstantiated.

⁹⁶ Again the editors claim that such a “statement is frequently made about angels” (DJD 34:291), though they give no examples.

⁹⁷ The light of God in the fiery pillar by which the Israelites walk in their

of lines 13-15 is better taken, therefore, as an appeal to the category of being—"heavenly sonship"—to which the righteous belong (and which will include both humans and angels in the heavenly mode): "you elect of truth are weary, but you are sons of heaven and they do not tire because they walk in eternal light, in the glory and abundance of the firmament".⁹⁸ This understanding of "sons of heaven" as a broad category including both the transformed righteous and angels proper is in accord with the use of the expression elsewhere (e.g. *1 Enoch* 101:1; *1QH^a* 11:22; *2 Macc* 7:34).

That the righteous, the truly elect, inhabit the firmament with "glory (כבוד) and a multitude of splendour (הדר)" (cf. *Ps* 8:6 "You have made them a little lower than God, and crowned them with glory and honour (כבוד והדר)") is entirely in accord with the tradition of cultic anthropology we have been tracing. Indeed, within the Wisdom tradition it is specifically the cult that offers a heavenly world and toil-free labour. In the cult and the world that it opens up the righteous, like God and his angels, are free from toil and no longer weary because Eden is restored, the curse on labour consequent on the fall is undone and even the prohibition against working on the Sabbath is transcended as the worshippers participate in God's own effortless activity. As we have seen the clearest statement of this kind of thinking is provided by Ben Sira, a work close in time and provenance to *1Q/4QInstruction*.

This may seem like reading too much between the lines of a text which is otherwise free of matters cultic. But, in the broader sweep of the liturgical anthropology which we are surveying, it makes, I think, the best sense of the rhetoric of *4Q418* 69, particularly the movement from a second person address in lines 10-11 to a third person in line 13-14 where the addressees are directed to the ontology of worship. We shall come in the next chapter to see how much

wilderness wanderings (*Exod* 13:21; 14:19; *Neh* 9:12, 19 etc. . .) is particularly important because of the identification with the perpetual light of God's supernal presence and the light of the menorah tended at the Tamid offering (cf. Fletcher-Louis 2001b, *ad Sirach* 24:4). It is, of course, true that angels can walk (*Gen* 18-19; *Tobit passim*) and they are regularly associated with light, but "walking in the light" is a specific phrase otherwise reserved for humanity.

⁹⁸ I fail to see the logic of the claim that the view that the sons of heaven include righteous humanity is "ruled out by the fact that the text has moved from being an address in the 2nd plural to being a question in the 3rd plural" (*DJD* 34:290). It is as if my father were to exhort me "Crispin you are a Fletcher, and do they behave that way?"

in fact the liturgy and the theology of a heavenly priesthood *has* informed parts of 1Q/4QInstruction. But even in this passage there are significant indications that a cultic world is in mind. The "glory" and "splendour" recalls the vision of worship in Sirach 50 and anticipates that of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* to which we shall come later. The end of line 12 seems to refer to knowledge serving God.⁹⁹ For this the closest parallel is the statement in Sirach 24:10 that in the wilderness Tabernacle *Wisdom* "ministered" before God; a statement that is fully explained in Sirach 50 where the priesthood incarnates *Wisdom* and the order of the world she inhabits.

4Q416 2 iii (= 4Q418 9): *The Ethical Implications of a Divine Anthropology*
 In 4Q418 69 appeal to the heavenly identity of the righteous is made as the grounds for a particular lifestyle: effortless pursuit of wisdom. Another portion of 1Q/4QInstruction makes a similar ethical use of the work's positive theological anthropology.

¹⁰ . . . And in righteousness you shall walk, for God will cause his [countenan]ce to shine in all your ways. For the one who glorifies you manifest splendour (למַכְבְּרִיכָה הוֹן הָרַר).

Here we encounter the theme which is now familiar from the *Hodayot*: the vocation of the divine humanity is to manifest the god who has given humanity its exalted privilege. On the grounds that the righteous person is the bearer of God's own presence the passage then has a section on the importance of respect for one's parents. In 4Q416 2 iii 15-17 = 4Q418 9 17-18) we read:

Glorify your father (כְּבוֹד אֲבִיכָה) in your poverty,¹⁶ and your mother in your low estate. For as God is to a man, so is his father (כִּי כְּאֵל לְאִישׁ כֵּן אָבִיו),¹⁷ and as the Lord is to a man, so is his mother, for they are "the womb that was pregnant with you"; and just as he has set them in authority over you and *fashioned according to* the Spirit, so serve them. And as¹⁸ they have uncovered your ear to the mystery of being, glorify them (כְּבוֹדָם) for the sake of your own glory (כְּבוֹדְכָה). And *with [reverence] venerate their persons*,¹⁹ for the sake of your life and of the length of your days (*ta'al*).

The theological anthropology of the previous lines is related in two significant ways to the relationship between parent and child. (1)

⁹⁹ The editors read and reconstruct the lacuna: "ידענה [לנצח] [חשרתנו]" (and does not "knowledge [forever] serve Him?") (*DJD* 34:282-83).

First, the claim that the righteous man bears God's presence substantiates the view that the authority of a father over his son is analogous to that between God and man. The observation is psychologically unremarkable, but should not be belittled for that. What is said here is close to what Aseneth says of Jacob, Joseph's father in *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:3:

And Aseneth said to Joseph: "I will go and see your father, because your father Israel is as a father to me and (a) god (ὡς πατέρ μοί ἐστι καὶ θεός)."

Jacob is obviously viewed as Aseneth's adoptive parent and her likening him to a god is explained in what follows by his appearance as a gigantic angelomorphic divine man with a glorious, epiphanic appearance, who has wrestled with God and before whom Aseneth prostrates herself in veneration (22:7-8). There is every reason to imagine a similar view of patriarchy is present in 1Q/4QInstruction.

(2) Secondly, the similarity of relationship between God and a man, and a father and a son extends to the way in which the personality of the superior in each relationship inhabits the life of the inferior. God makes his countenance shine in the life of the righteous. The son's well-being is bound up with that of his father as Exodus 20:12 and Deuteronomy 5:16 have stated. For our Wisdom text this is undoubtedly because the Father lives on in and through his seed, his children (cf. Sirach 30:4-5; 44:10-15). "The glory of one's father is one's own glory" (Sirach 3:11a).¹⁰⁰ *There is a perichoretic relationship between father and son which mirrors that between God and the righteous.*

So, in conclusion, there is much else besides the arguments offered by Collins to support the view that as a whole 1Q/4QInstruction believed the true humanity to be angelomorphic and created "according to the pattern of the (angelic) holy ones". This, of course, is entirely consistent with wider Essene interests although the work may be pre-Essene in origin.

¹⁰⁰ Comparison between 4Q416 2 iii 16-19 and Sirach 3:1-16 has rightly been drawn (Elgvin 1995, 560 n. 5) and Sirach 3:16a is particularly important: "whoever forsakes a father is like a blasphemer". Equally, important is the interpretation of the *Shema'* in Sirach 7:27-31 where love of God is understood in terms of honouring of one's father (and mother and the priesthood).

Josephus on Essene Theological Anthropology

There has been considerable discussion of the relationship between Josephus' account(s) of the Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. This has obviously been driven, in part, by the desire to establish whether or not the Essenes of classical sources were the owners of the Dead Sea Scroll library in the caves behind Khirbet Qumran. Whilst the details of Josephus' description of the Essenes has been scrutinized in considerable detail, there is one portion of Josephus' work which has received surprisingly little attention.

Herod's View of the Suprahuman Essenes (Josephus Ant. 15:371-2)

In his *Jewish Antiquities* 15:371-2 Josephus mentions the exemption of the Essenes from Herod's obligatory oath of allegiance. He promises to say more of this group later, but at this juncture he states that,

It is, however, proper to explain what reason Herod had for holding the Essenes in honour and for having a higher opinion of them than was consistent with their merely human nature (*μειζόν τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν*). For such an explanation is not out of place in a work of history, since it will at the same time show what the (general) opinion of these men was (*τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπόληξιν*).

This is a remarkable statement which at first glance appears to be a round about way of saying that by Herod and others in general the Essenes were regarded as divine, immortal, superhuman, or some such. What exactly does Josephus mean to say and how should we assess the reliability of his statement?

The first point that may be safely established is that at this juncture Josephus is expressing himself freely and is in no way reliant upon a source. This is clear, in the first place from the context and opening address to the reader. There immediately follows the story of the Essene Menahem's prophecy to the infant Herod (15:373-379) that he would become king of the Jews, which is probably derived from a written source, perhaps Nicolas of Damascus, Herod's courtier. That story of one Essene's prophetic ability is told to explain Herod's high estimation of the Essenes. The report concludes with the statement (*Ant.* 15:379):

now we have seen fit to report these things, even if they seem incredible, to our readers and to reveal what has taken place among us,

because many of these men by their nobleness and goodness have even been regarded worthy of the divine skills (τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐμπειρίας ἀξιούνται).¹⁰¹

This closing statement obviously acts as an inclusio with that in *Antiquities* 15:372 and explains further that the high estimation of the Essenes is due to their being "regarded worthy of divine skills (or experiences)".¹⁰²

So, for Josephus, and, so he claims, for other Jews at the time, the Essenes were regarded as more than ordinary mortals because of their access to "supernatural" revelation. Furthermore, the specific terms that Josephus uses means that he thinks of some kind of divine nature as an Essene possession. The language of *Ant.* 15:372 is parallel to that in two other passages which help clarify its force for the historian. In *Antiquities* 19:344-345 Josephus relates Agrippa I's reception of divine honours at the theatre in Caesarea:

On the second day of the spectacles, clad in a garment woven completely of silver so that its texture was indeed wondrous, he entered the theatre at daybreak. There the silver illumined by the touch of the first rays of the sun, was wondrously radiant and by its glitter inspired fear and awe in those who gazed intently upon it. Straightway his flatterers raised their voices from various directions—though hardly for his good—addressing him as a god. "May you be propitious to us," they added, "and if we have hitherto feared you as a man (ὡς ἄνθρωπον), yet henceforth we agree that you are more than mortal in your being (ἀλλὰ τοῦντέθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν)".

The existence of the parallel to this in Acts 12 where the people acclaim Agrippa with the words "the voice of a god, and not of man!" (12:22) suggests a well known popular story for which Josephus would not have needed a written record. He may have consulted his Herodian friends in Rome in order to check details of the event, but there is little reason to doubt he uses his own language at this point. Indeed, this passage and *Antiquities* 15:372 are the only

¹⁰¹ The translations of Marcus in LCL "have indeed been vouchsafed a knowledge of divine things . . ." and Whiston "have . . . been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations" do not do justice to the language and miss the inclusio with 15:372.

¹⁰² The two sections, 15:372 and 379, are closely connected by shared vocabulary: 372: εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, φανεῖται, παραδηλών; 379: δηλώσαι . . . ἤξιώσαμεν, ἐμφήναι, revealing clearly Josephus' own redactional frame around the Menahem story.

two instances in Josephus' work where the two words *θητός* and *φύσις* occur together.¹⁰³ Clearly, then, this passage means that for Josephus Herod Agrippa and the Essenes were treated similarly: for Josephus, however, the estimation of the Essenes was appropriate whilst that of the Herod, was inappropriate. There is no doubt that Herod is regarded as divine, and no reason to think that this is not what Josephus had in mind for the Essenes in the earlier passage.

Neither is it likely that the estimation of Herod is simply a reflection of an assimilation to Greco-Roman mores and an essentially non-Jewish anthropology.¹⁰⁴ There are good grounds for thinking that, as Josephus very well knew, Herod's behaviour and that of the people made sense within a Jewish conceptual framework. In the first place elsewhere, both in Josephus and the rabbis (*m. Sol.* 7:8), Herod Agrippa I, unlike Herod the Great, is described as a Torah observant and faithful Jew.¹⁰⁵ Already, a passage in Philo implies that Agrippa had been acclaimed as *Marin*, "our Lord", by Alexandrian Jews.¹⁰⁶ The way in which Herod is dressed in silver garments and his reflecting the sun recalls many contemporary angelomorphic texts where a mortal's divine status is related both to the heavenly bodies and expressed through glorious clothing. Furthermore, from the two accounts of this episode, in Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles, it is possible to discern the influence of Psalm 110 on Agrippa's behaviour.

Psalm 110 describes the ideal king as one who is sent out from Zion, with God's own authority to rule in the midst of his enemies (vv. 1-2). His people offer themselves willingly to his service (v. 3a) and the Septuagint of verse 3 continues "with you (is) the beginning (or, the dominion, "ἡ ἀρχή") in the day of your power in the brilliance (ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησιν) of the holy ones, from the womb of the morning (star) I begat you". The scene here described could very well be thought to be fulfilled in Agrippa's appearance at Caesarea. According to Josephus, Agrippa entered the theatre "at the beginning of

¹⁰³ Compare also Josephus' Jotapata cave speech on the subject of suicide: "all of us, it is true, have mortal (θητά) bodies, composed of perishable matter, but the soul lives for ever, immortal; it is a portion of the Deity housed in our bodies" (*B.J.* 2:372) and Eleazar's suicide speech at Masada (*B.J.* 7:344-45).

¹⁰⁴ Though Horbury (1988, 135) has rightly pointed to the parallels in the gentile ruler cult.

¹⁰⁵ This is also reflected in Acts 12:1-4.

¹⁰⁶ *Placc.* 39.

the day (ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας)" when the sun rising, so to speak, from the womb of the morning, makes brilliant his garments. Indeed, in reply to the people's divine acclamation Josephus has Herod say, "I have lived in no ordinary fashion, but in the blessed life of brilliance (λαμπρότητος) (*Ant.* 19:347), echoing closely the language of Psalm 110. The context of the psalm as a whole is similar to that of Herod's visit to Caesarea: just as the king of Psalm 110 goes out from Zion to rule among the other nations, so Herod is acclaimed by the leaders of Israel's neighbours, a fact which is accentuated in the Acts version which explicitly states that Agrippa rules over Tyre and Sidon (Acts 12:20).¹⁰⁷ If, as seems possible, the claim that Agrippa fulfilled Psalm 110 lies behind the story of his glorious appearance then obviously the acclamation as a god reflects a Jewish, not simply a Hellenistic, theological anthropology.

With these two passages in Josephus (*Antiquities* 15:372, 379 and 19:344–347) we should also compare another in which Josephus expresses similar sentiments of his own regarding Moses. Most of Josephus' third Book of the *Antiquities* is devoted to the giving of the Torah and the details of the sanctuary. In *Antiquities* 3:318, 20 the third Book is brought to a close with a panegyric to Moses of whom Josephus says:

Many other proofs of that superhuman power of his (τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπος . . . δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ) might be adduced . . . So surely has that legislation (the Torah), being believed to come from God, caused this man (Moses) to be ranked higher than his own (human) nature (τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίσθαι).

Again we can be confident that Josephus' language is his own: this passage must be read in conjunction with *Antiquities* 3:180, earlier in the same book, where Josephus says that, by virtue of his giving of the laws for the construction of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, Moses should be regarded as a "divine man (θεῖος ἀνὴρ)".¹⁰⁸ Clearly, then, Moses being "ranked higher than his own (human) nature" means for Josephus that he should be regarded as divine. Josephus evidently knew and accepted the divine Moses tradition that we have

¹⁰⁷ Josephus is quite likely to have softened this aspect of the story for the sake of his Roman readership.

¹⁰⁸ Thackeray's translation in the Loeb edition (1930) "a man of God" is infelicitous.

already discussed and he could speak in the same anthropological terms of the Essenes as of the lawgiver himself.

So, although, the statement of Essene transcendence is made in passing, it is of some significance within Josephus' wider anthropological perspective. It is certainly reflective of his own sympathies, but does this mean it is an unreliable record of Essene self-perceptions with no real justification in historical reality? Scholarship's silence regarding *Antiquities* 15:372 has perhaps condemned the witness without a trial on the assumption that Josephus could not possibly be representing an authentically Jewish anthropology. But there is no obvious sign that here Josephus is perverting matters for the sake of his Greco-Roman audience. The most logical explanation of Josephus' statement is that it was widely known amongst non-Essene Jews that the Essenes themselves believed that they had a divine ontology. This should then be added to the list of correspondences between Josephus on the Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls which have been taken to support the identification of the latter as texts belonging to the former.¹⁰⁹

The Immortal Essenes and the Isles of the Blessed

This brings us to another passage of Josephus' description of the Essenes. Towards the end of his lengthiest account of Essene practices and beliefs (*B.J.* 2:119–161) Josephus claims they firmly believed in the immortality of the soul (2:154–8):

For it is a fixed belief of theirs that *the body is corruptible and its constituent matter impermanent, but that the soul is immortal and imperishable* (ἀθανάτους αἶψι διαμένειν). *Emanating from the finest ether, these souls become entangled, as it were, in the prison-house of the body, to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural (φυσικῆ) spell;*¹⁵⁵ *but when once they are released from the bonds of the flesh (τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν), then, as though liberated from a long servitude, they rejoice and are borne aloft.* Sharing the belief of the sons of Greece, they maintain that for virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the ocean, a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat, but is refreshed by the ever gentle breath of the west wind coming in from the ocean; while they relegate base souls to a murky and tempestuous dungeon, big with never-ending punishments.¹⁵⁶ The Greeks, I imagine, had the same conceptions when they set apart the *Isles of the Blessed* (τὰς μακάρων νήσους) for their brave men, whom they call heroes and demi-gods (ἡμιθέους), and the religion of

¹⁰⁹ For an otherwise thorough survey of these correspondences see Beall 1988.

the impious for the souls of the wicked down in Hades, where, as their mythologists tell, persons such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion and Tityus are undergoing punishment. Their aim was first to establish the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and secondly to promote virtue and to deter from vice;¹⁵⁷ for the good are made better in their lifetime by the hope of a reward after death, and the passions of the wicked are restrained by the fear that, even though they escape detection while alive, they will undergo never-ending punishment after their decease.¹⁵⁸ Such are the theological views of the Essenes ('Εσσηνοί) concerning the soul, whereby they irresistibly attract all who have once tasted their philosophy.

Obviously, Josephus' claim that the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul is couched in terms that his Greco-Roman readership would understand and, indeed, Josephus twice makes plain his apologetic appeal to the beliefs of the Greeks as comparable to those of the Essenes. But does that mean he has entirely misrepresented the Essenes? It is sometimes assumed that because of a Jewish insistence upon a holistic anthropology the strongly dualistic distinction between the soul and its prison house, the body, is simply a gross misrepresentation of Essene beliefs.¹¹⁰ In a passage in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies*, which is parallel to this Josephan account of the Essenes, it is stated that "the doctrine of the resurrection has also derived support among them, for they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable (9.27)." Some have concluded that Josephus has altered his source and that Hippolytus preserves the more accurate record.¹¹¹

However, in the majority view Josephus' description of Essene beliefs are reckoned to preserve an accurate reflection of the fact that they did not share the Pharisaic belief in the future resurrection but that they held beliefs which could easily be expressed in the language of the immortality of the soul. Pierre Grelot has shown numerous points of correspondence between Josephus' passage and the material in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*.¹¹² In various passages in *1 Enoch* the souls or spirits of the dead remain alive after death (*1 Enoch* 9:3; 22:3; 103:4) and in one of these the blessed fate of the righteous souls is contrasted with the future fate of the underworld for the

¹¹⁰ E.g. Beall 1988, 106.

¹¹¹ E.g. Puech 1993, 703-69.

¹¹² Grelot 1958-9.

wicked (*I Enoch* 103).¹¹³ In *Jubilees* 23:31 there is no hope of a bodily resurrection since the bones of the righteous "will rest in the earth, and their spirits will increase joy". Furthermore, Grelot has shown that the description of the blessed and paradisaical fate of the righteous and the punishment in the underworld of the wicked represents ideas attested in the Enochic literature. In *I Enoch* 106 Enoch lives at the extremities of the earth with the angels and in *Jubilees* 4:23 he is placed in the garden of Eden by the angels. In the *Book of Watchers* chapters 17-18 and 23-27 Enoch's tour of the cosmos includes a vision of Zion the cosmic mountain, whence there flow the waters of life, and the Edenic tree of life and a "blessed land" (27:1).¹¹⁴ Also, Josephus' reference to the fate of the impious souls of the wicked in Hades is parallel to the fate of the watchers in the *Book of Watchers* and the wicked elsewhere in the Enoch tradition (*I Enoch* 90:24-26).¹¹⁵

Grelot's analysis has been subsequently strengthened by material from the Dead Sea Scroll library itself.¹¹⁶ For example, IQS 4:6-8 can be taken to refer to an expectation of immortality when it speaks of a "plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal life" (cf. CD 3:20; 7:6). With the exception of a couple of texts which might not reflect the community's own views (4Q521 frag. 7 and 4Q385 frag. 2), the scrolls show precious little interest in the physical resurrection.¹¹⁷ So, it is now generally agreed that Josephus' account reflects genuine Essene beliefs although they have been clothed in Greek dress. Some aspects of the future hope have been omitted, such as the role of the Messiah and an endtime judgement, which obviously would not suit his non-Jewish readership.

¹¹³ Cf. Wis 2:23-3:4; 9:15; 4 Macc 18:23.

¹¹⁴ Grelot compares passages from the *Similitudes* (1958-9, 126: *Eth. Enoch* 39:3; 52:1; 60:8, 23; 61:12; 65:2; 70:1-4), but these can no longer be judged a certain reflection of Essene thought.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 54:1-5; 56:3. Given the existence of the Book of Giants in the DSS library, which reflects an interest in a more sophisticated and cosmopolitan version of the watchers mythology it is perhaps not insignificant that one of the Greek figures Josephus provides as an example for those undergoing punishment (Tityus) was regarded as a giant in Greek mythology.

¹¹⁶ See, in particular, the discussion in Beall 1988, 105-108.

¹¹⁷ See Collins 1997a, 124-128.

It is also likely that whereas Josephus' account of Essene immortality is oriented to the point of death—the context of this passage is Josephus' description of Essene resilience under Roman torture (*B.J.* 2:152–3)—the Essenes themselves were more interested in attaining to an eternal life *during the present life* which would then continue beyond physical death. Comparison with the passages we have touched upon in the *Hodayot* shows that the community believed a heavenly existence could be attained as a consequence of an experience of resurrection from the realm of mortality and death, *already in this life*.¹¹⁸ This will mean that Josephus' description of the soul as a pre-existent reality which emanates “from the finest ether” is certainly one point where he has misrepresented the Essene position. However, contrary, to the traditional judgement of scholars, when Josephus speaks of the immortal soul being “released from the bonds of the flesh” (τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν) and “the prison house of the body”, he may, once again, be fairly representing a dualistic tendency within Essene anthropology. The language is reminiscent of that used in *Sirach* 45:4 (“ἐκ πάσης σαρκός”), *Jubilees* 31:14 and a string of DSS text where angelomorphic transformation is described as a removal from the realm of flesh. For Josephus σάρξ is a relatively infrequent word used certainly only ten times.¹¹⁹ Its use here may reflect his borrowing of a written source in which the word was already present.¹²⁰ It might also reflect the technical terminology of transformational mysticism within the priestly tradition attested at Qumran. Although, no doubt, Greco-Roman views of the body as a prison house will have differed in their practical and ideological implications, the Essene proclivity to ascetic removal from the world and its material luxuries is certainly consistent with a belief that, as transformed and angelomorphic beings, their sphere of existence properly transcends the realm of the flesh.

Josephus' statement that liberation of the soul from the prison house of the body means “they rejoice and are borne aloft” can now be seen to accurately reflect the Essene belief in a heavenly ascent, although in the Scrolls this is a this-life experience rather than one

¹¹⁸ Compare Collins 1997a, 119–123.

¹¹⁹ Compare, in particular, its use in *B.J.* 6:42 and *Ant.* 19:325 in a technical sense as a reality distinct from the soul.

¹²⁰ It is possible that the whole of *B.J.* 2:119–161 is based on an independent written source which was also available to the later church Father (c. A.D. 170–236), Hippolytus (*Refutation of all Heresies* 9:18–28).

reserved for the point of death and the afterlife.¹²¹ Josephus' claim that the Essenes believed in the Isles of the Blessed of non-Jewish mythology is usually regarded as one point where Josephus' description is self-evidently a molding of Essene beliefs to Greek ideas which are well attested already in Homer and Hesiod.¹²² However, following Grelot, not only should this be taken to reflect the mythology of Enoch and his paradisaical abode, it should perhaps also be read in the light of the Essene belief that the community already participates in a new Eden with all the paradisaical conditions that could be regarded the Jewish equivalent of the non-Jewish Isles of the Blessed. As we shall discover in our examination of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, it is quite possible that the community itself was conscious of the Isles of the Blessed myth and their liturgy consciously appealed to its ideology as support for their own identity.

At any rate it is clear that there are here two passages in Josephus' works which reveal a popular recognition of the Essenes' belief in a transcendent, divine and immortal, identity.

Qumran Angelomorphism and Sectarian Asceticism

All our talk thus far of a divine humanity, true Israelites living like the angels embodying the Glory of God could appear to be a short-sighted history of *ideas*, without due consideration of the social and political context of those ideas. We have tried throughout to situate the ideology in a particular socio-religious life-setting—the cult and its qualitatively *other* space and time. This too might seem overly ethereal. If so this is because the ideology's socio-political implications are, in part, necessarily world denying. This is reflected, most obviously, in the fact that the core of the community have withdrawn from mainstream society to live in isolation by the Dead Sea: ontological transcendence is made concrete in an anchoretic social posture.

More concretely still the community's angelic life should probably be discerned in their celibate abstention from ordinary sexual activity and marriage. According to Pliny and Philo the Essenes were

¹²¹ Grelot 1958–9, 124 suggested a background in the belief in the ascension of Enoch and Elijah.

¹²² See, e.g., Beal 1988, 106. Cf. Hesiod's *Works and Days* 170–2; Homer's *Odyssey* 4:561–8 and the survey of texts in Charlesworth 1986.

celibate.¹²³ Josephus, similarly, states that there are two orders of Essenes, one who are celibate and the other who marry for the sake of procreation. Since the earliest days of Qumran studies, this classical testimony has been correlated with the preponderance of male skeletons in the graves at Khirbet Qumran. Although there has been uncertainty about the absence of female and child skeletons from the graveyards of the community living at Qumran, the issue has now been finally put to rest by the physical anthropologist Joseph Zias who has shown that the few graves containing women and children do *not* belong to the period of the Qumran community, but are the resting place of Islamic Bedouin of the latter half of the second millennium.¹²⁴ Of the estimated 1,100 burials in the main cemetery at Qumran 34 skeletons have been excavated, all of which are male. Although the presence of women (and children) at other Essene sites (e.g.¹²⁵ Aïn el-Ghuweir) might support Josephus' view that there were some Essenes who were married, the conclusion that at Qumran there lived "a monastic community of adult males, preferring the company of palm trees to women" is inevitable.¹²⁶

Within the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves any explicit statement to the effect that the community in general, or its inner (priestly?) group, lead a celibate life has been hard to find, although there are texts where it may be implicit.¹²⁶ Conceptually, a celibate lifestyle would make good sense, at least for some of the community. In the first place (1), the community's priestly leadership thinks of itself as an *Ersatz* Temple (1QS 8-9, 4QFlor 1:6 etc. . .). Jewish cultic practice

¹²³ Philo *Hypothetica* 11.14-17; Pliny *Natural History* 5.17, 4 (73).

¹²⁴ Zias 2000. The one certain exception to the complete absence of any female skeletons from the Qumran period (grave T9) is an isolated burial away from the main cemetery in the north (Zias 2000, 250). Zias also gives solid grounds for rejecting the view that any of those skeletons excavated from the main (genuinely) Essene cemetery were in fact women. Graves in a separate cluster to the south-west of the main cemetery are now dated by Zias to a more recent Islamic period. The (bedouin) women in these graves wear stone beaded bracelets, something which the Qumran community over a millennium earlier would have regarded a sign of the teaching of the fallen watchers (*I Enoch* 7, cf. 4Q184), rather than the proper attire for a righteous Israelite lady. The protestations of Zangenberg 2000 against Zias' work are unconvincing.

¹²⁵ Zias 2000, 253.

¹²⁶ For the likelihood that CD 6:11-7:8 describes two types of Essene, one who are married living in the "camps" and one celibate living in the "camp", Jerusalem, see Qimron 1992. See S.J. Pfann on 4QSerekh ha 'Eduh' (4Q249e line 3a) as evidence for celibacy for both married and unmarried members of the community (DJD 36:558).

takes for granted the priests' abstention from sexuality activity during and immediately prior to service (1 Sam 21:4-5, 11QTemple 45:11-12, cf. Exod 19:15). According to Essene legislation the purity of the temple in this regard should be extended to the holy city also (CD 12:1-2; 11QTemple 45:11-12). If the Essene priesthood believe they are called to live in a continual state of priestly service down by the Dead Sea then it stands to reason that they should also live in the permanent (celibate) state of sexual abstention proper to cultic service and the purity of God's city state.

In the second place (2), a celibate lifestyle accords logically with the belief that the community have already attained an angelic immortality. Jesus of Nazareth summed up succinctly the prevalent view of (non-Sadducean) Judaism when he said that there is no marriage in heaven (after death) because after the resurrection the righteous live "as angels in the heavens" (Mark 12:25). If it is believed that one *already*, before literal death and resurrection, lives the angelic life in the heavenly realm then by the same token marriage and sexual intercourse are neither necessary nor desirable.¹²⁷ They are no longer *necessary* because the principal purpose of marriage in Israelite thought is the raising up of seed to bear the father's name—a kind of immortality through progeny.¹²⁸ If an individual has already attained, by other means, his own immortality then he no longer needs children to do it for him. Marriage for the angelomorphic priesthood is not *desirable* since as the story of the fallen watchers describes so eloquently, angels are to maintain a permanent spiritual intercession in heaven, not defiling themselves through intercourse with women.¹²⁹ For the Qumran community membership of the heavenly realm, communion with the angels, was jeopardized by sexual activity simply because such activity does not befit the angelic life.

¹²⁷ This appears to be the view Jesus takes according to Luke 20:34-36. (See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 78-88, 189-195 for a discussion of this passage and its relation to the theological anthropology of the Dead Sea Scroll community.)

¹²⁸ For this see, e.g., Sirach 30:4-5; 44:10-15. This is the view of the Sadducees who question Jesus: citing Gen 38:8 the brother should take his widowed sister-in-law as his wife "to raise up (ἐξαναστήσει) seed for his brother" (Mark 12:19). In other words, procreation amounts to a form of *resurrection*.

¹²⁹ The relevance of the Fall of the Watchers myth for the formation of a theology of priestly angelomorphic celibacy is particularly likely given that it was read as an allegory condemning priests who engaged in inappropriate (exogamous) conjugal commitments.

In this case one expression that has appeared time and again in our survey of the angelomorphic humanity tradition is surely an indicator that Essene celibacy was, in part, a reflex of the belief that the community had attained an angelomorphic life. Angelic humans have been removed "from flesh" (Sirach 45:4; *Jub.* 31:14; 1QH^a 7:20 [15:17]), their desire (תאווה, cf. Gen 3:6) is no longer according to flesh (4Q491c 1 7) and they are a people of spirit not of flesh (1Q/4QInstruction). In each case what has been transcended is certainly not *limited to*, but probably *includes*, a fully sexual life.¹³⁰ This is likely because there are biblical texts where already תאווה is a euphemism for the genitals (e.g. Lev 6:3; 12:3, 15:2, 19; 16:4).¹³¹

Despite our protestations at the beginning of this study that first century Judaisms were far less *dualistic* than is often assumed, with the Qumran community one form of duality enters the picture which, however inchoate, pushes spirituality in a dualistic direction. The Qumran community (as will become still more clear in what follows) did *not* sharply differentiate between divine and human, creator and creature, in so far as they believed that a goal of the religious life is humanity's attainment of the divine life. But the transcendence of the separation between God and humanity is achieved at the expense of a positive assessment of "ordinary" somatic (sexual) existence in such a way that a duality, nay dualism, between the divine and the material, the spiritual and the fleshly, is encouraged.¹³²

Given that the degree of encratism within the Essene movement evidently varied between an "inner core" living a celibate life in isolation and others living an ordinary(?) married live throughout Israel, a simplistic analysis of the relationship between *ideas* about human transcendence and the socio-political stance of the movement is unwise. But at the very least we must recognize that their particular expressions of the aspiration for inclusion in the divine ontology, the community's withdrawal from society and the desire of the flesh, necessarily call into question the basic biblical affirmation of the goodness of creation and the non-dualistic worldview that this entails. Herein there is, of course, a tension which runs throughout the long tradition of Jewish-Christian spirituality.

¹³⁰ Compare the celibacy of Moses on his ascent up Mount Sinai (and transformation) in Philo *Mos.* 2:68-70; *Abot R. Nathan* B 2.

¹³¹ See Milgrom 1991, 385, 748, 907, 934, 1017, cf. Ezek 16:26; 23:20.

¹³² In this the spirituality of second century gnosticism if not present is certainly anticipated by the liturgical theology of some strands of Second Temple Judaism.

Conclusion

Clearly, the Qumran community accepted as a fundamental axiom of their theology the belief that as originally created and as restored in the community of the righteous, the true Israel, humanity belongs firmly within the divine world. At times this means the righteous have the rights, privileges and status of the angels—they are angelomorphic. But at other times and for particular persons the righteous are more properly included within the grammar of God's own life, embodying *his* Glory and receiving the honour (and worship) otherwise reserved for him.¹³³ In chapter 6 we find that this peculiarly exalted position for some among the righteous is the particular vocation of the (high-)priesthood at Qumran.

¹³³ H. Stegemann has noted the way in which the word ישראל is written with the last two letters written in an unusually broad and tall manner in IQS^a 1:1, 6, 20 and 2:2, 14, 20. He thinks this is "some kind of reverential writing of the name ישראל which became also later on in Christian codices one of the so-called *nomina sacra*" (Stegemann 1996, 486).

THE DIVINE AND ANGELIC MOSES AT QUMRAN

The Qumran sectarians knew and evidently whole-heartedly approved of the tradition that Moses was a divine man and that, in particular, upon his ascent up Mount Sinai, he was transfigured to an angelic and glorious form. Not only did they have one of the earliest "post-biblical" testimonies to this tradition in Sirach 45 they also had in their library two fragmentary texts which describe the divine and angelic Moses in ways exemplary of the wider divine Moses tradition.

4Q374 Frag. 2 col. ii: The Deification of Moses at Sinai

The first of these is a partially preserved text which probably witnesses to the combination of the statement in Exodus 7:1 that God "made Moses as God to Pharaoh" with the description of Moses' glorious appearance on his descent from Mount Sinai in Exodus 34.¹ The broken text and translation of the relevant lines is as follows:

⁶ [And] he made him as God (וְיַחַנֵּנוּ לְאֱלֹהִים) to the mighty ones and a cause of reeli[ng] to Pharaoh (לְפַרְעֹה) [... ⁷ [they] melted and their hearts trembled (וַיִּחַמְמוּ וַיִּחַמְמוּ לִבָּם) and th[ei]r inward parts dissolved. [But] he had compassion upon [... ⁸ And when he caused his face to shine upon them for healing (וַיִּבְרָא אֵינָם לְמַרְפֵּא), they strengthened [their] hearts again (וַיִּבְכִּירוּ לִבָּם) [עוֹר], and knowledge[... ⁹ And though no one had known you, they melted and tre[m]bled (וַיִּחַמְמוּ וַיִּחַמְמוּ) [עוֹר]. They staggered at the s[ound] of [...

A midrashic expansion of Exodus 7:1—one of the principal scriptural texts of the divine Moses tradition—in line 6 is certain. A reference to Sinai in the previous column (4Q374 2 i 7) and the language

¹ For a fuller discussion see Fletcher-Louis 1996 and Davila 1999a, 472-73. The centrality of the deification of Moses theme for this text was missed by the editor Carol Newsom (1992 and *DJD* 19:99-110). The text has an early Herodian semi-formal script (Newsom 1992, 41; *DJD* 19:99).

of smaller scraps of text point to the giving of the Torah as the larger setting.²

In its extant form the text poses a number of problems: who is the subject and object of the actions in lines 7? One naturally thinks of God as the subject of the theophanic action in lines 7-8, but how, then, can it be said of God "and no one had known you" in line 9? Taking the use of Exodus 7:1 in line 6 seriously Moses is the subject of the action in that line. Does he then disappear from the scene in what follows?

The simplest way to interpret the text and retain referential consistency is to recognise that throughout lines 6-10 the actor who stands centre stage is the divine Moses, though God himself is ultimately responsible for the plot as he directs the drama from the wings. Lines 6-7 are bound together by theophanic language drawn from Psalm 107:26-7 where it is said of the victims of the divine warrior's stirring of the seas that "their courage melted away (חחמונ) in their calamity; they reeled and staggered (יירעו ויירעו) like drunkards" (cf. line 9).³ If Moses is the cause of reeling in line 6 then it is natural that he also be the cause of melting and trembling hearts in line 7.⁴

The assimilation of Moses to the role of the divine warrior is parallel to the way the priesthood is described in various texts. It is possible that such a portrayal of Moses himself has a parallel in the Jewish *Orphica*. In this text either Abraham or, more likely Moses, is placed on God's throne and the mountains tremble at his theophanic presence (27-28, 33-38):⁵

... a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot of the Chaldean race ...

He indeed is firmly established hereafter over the vast heaven

² See esp. frag. 7 lines 2-3 "... a mediator (מִשְׁפָּט) for your people ... clouds and above ...".

³ For the difficult [חחמונ] compare also Isaiah 19:17: "and the land of Judah will become a terror (לחמה) for the Egyptians".

⁴ A similar use of the divine warrior motif in Psalm 107 is present in the gospels (Mark 4:35-41; 6:45-52 & parallels). In these Jesus plays the same role as Moses in 4Q374 in as much as he restores courage to his disciples just as Moses restores the hearts of the Israelites.

⁵ I have given the translation of Recension C in Holladay 1996, 195. This text is thoroughly Jewish and our passage is probably of a second century B.C. provenance (for the dating question see Holladay *ibid.*, 59-65).

On a golden throne, and earth stands under his feet.
 And he stretches out his right hand upon the extremities
 Of the ocean; and the mountain base trembles from within with rage
 And it is not possible to endure his mighty force . . .

It is uncertain whether the subject of lines 33–38 is in fact the man of the Chaldean race. It could be God, but a strong case for the enthronement and deification of Moses (or Abraham) has been made.⁶ In which case the enthroned Moses has an effect on creation akin to that of the divine warrior in biblical texts (cf. esp. LXX Ps 17:8) and Moses in 4Q374.⁷

That Moses should have a theophanic effect on other humans in 4Q374 is consistent with his role as a theophanic agent, the effect of his presence being comparable to that of an angel (e.g. Dan 8:15–18; 10:4–11; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:1–5), for which there is a specific parallel in the third century B.C. text Artapanus. There the divine Moses causes Pharaoh to fall down speechless when he utters the divine Name (Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9:27:25). There is perhaps a related reflex of this theme in Sirach 45:2, where the Greek and the marginal reading of the Geniza text have Moses made great and a terror to his enemies.

In Artapanus, as in similar angelophanies, Pharaoh is revived with the aid of the divine Moses. So, also, in 4Q374 frag. 2 Moses restores those who have suffered his theophanic appearance through the shining of his face for healing and the strengthening of their hearts. This must be a reference to the shining of Moses face on his descent from Mount Sinai in Exodus 34:29–35.⁸ In lines 7–8 those who have experienced Moses wondrous, divine appearance, first in judgement then restoration will, therefore, be the Israelites at Mount Sinai, who are perhaps the “mighty ones” of line 6. Their fear and trembling in our text develops the brief statement in Exodus 34:30 that “when

⁶ Lafargue 1978, cf. his edition in *OTP* 2:795–801. This view is not ruled out by Holladay 1996, 187, 211.

⁷ The stretching out of Moses hand to the extremities of the ocean might be based on the role played by Moses outstretched hand at the parting of the Sea in Exod 14:26–27, cf. 6:1; 9:22; 10:21–22; 17:11; 20:11. This post-biblical Jewish pseudepigraphon would then be faithful to the cosmological implications inherent within the crossing of the sea story in its original ancient Near Eastern context.

⁸ For the use of this passage in the divine Moses tradition see, e.g., *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Pisqa 32 on Deut 33:1 and compare Mark 9:15 and parallels (see Fletcher-Louis 1996, 248–9).

Aaron and all the Israelites saw Moses, the skin of his face was shining, and *they were afraid* to come near him".

But how can it be said of Moses "*and though no one had known you, they melted and trembled*" in line 9? This lack of recognition, it turns out, is also an element of the theophanic constellation which has elsewhere been transferred to the Jewish divine man tradition. It is a recurrent feature of the angelophany form that the angel is not, at first, recognised by the mortal to whom they appear.⁹ This non-recognition topos can then be transferred to the angelomorphic human. So, for example, in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 61:8-9 David's appearance is transformed by the angel who gives him the power to slay Goliath and on returning to his people "no one recognised him". Earlier in the same pseudepigraphon Moses' glorious descent from Mount Sinai is related as follows (12:1):¹⁰

And Moses came down. And when he had been bathed with invisible light, he went down to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are; and the light of his face surpassed the splendour of the sun and the moon, and he did not even know this. And when he came down to the sons of Israel, *they saw him but did not recognize him*. But when he spoke, then they recognized him . . . And afterwards Moses realized that his face had become glorious, he made a veil for himself with which to cover his face.

Clearly this text provides a close parallel to 4Q374 frag. 9 and supports our reading of that text as a midrashic combination of Exodus 7:1 and 34:29-35 throughout.

As with any Dead Sea Scroll text the question of provenance must be asked: is 4Q374 sectarian and does it really reflect the beliefs of the community? Carol Newsom, who has been responsible for the preliminary and official publications of the text, comments: "there are no indications of Qumran authorship in the text, i.e., none of the distinctive theological vocabulary or motifs one associates with writings which express a sectarian consciousness. Moreover, the use of the Tetragrammaton, avoided in Qumran sectarian texts, would argue against Qumran authorship."¹¹ With specific regard to the

⁹ See, for example, Judg 6:11-12; 13:15-19; Tob 5:4-12:22; Heb 13:2; Josephus *Ant.* 1:196-199; *T. Abr.* A 3-6.

¹⁰ I am grateful to James Davila for directing me to this text (cf. Davila 1999a, 73).

¹¹ 1992, 40-41. For the Tetragrammaton see frag. 9 line 3. The orthography is also conservative (*ibid.*).

divine Moses portion of 4Q374 Newsom must be right: there is no reason to think that its combination of Exodus 7:1 and the Sinai ascent is uniquely Essene, since it is clearly attested in Philo, the rabbis and is probably already in view in Sirach 45.

However, the fact that the text is present in the community's library is consistent with their own high regard for Moses and their wider interest in the divine humanity tradition. Confidence regarding provenance with such a small volume of extant text is hardly possible. However, there is a noteworthy aspect of the scriptural intertextuality which might suggest a Qumran provenance for this particular version of a wider tradition. When line 8 says "and when he caused his face to shine upon them for healing" there is perhaps here a deliberate allusion to the Aaronic blessing: "the LORD make his face to shine upon you (יֵאֵר יְהוָה פְּנֵי אֲלֵיךָ), and be gracious to you (Num 6:25)." This would mean that in this text Moses' shining face is an embodiment of God's own shining face for the blessing of Israel: God's face is now mirrored in Moses' face. It is possible that in Ecclesiastes 5:5, as we saw in the first chapter, there is already a similar view of the priest as God's facial presence in the cultic setting. The Qumran community were keenly interested in the Aaronic blessing and its influence is everywhere present in the extant liturgical texts. So, for example, in the blessings of the second through fourth columns of the *Blessings Scroll* (1QSb) and the priestly blessings of the annual covenant renewal ceremony in the *Community Rule* (1QS 2:1-4) Numbers 6:22-27 provides a fundamental intertextual substructure for the liturgy.¹²

A particular concern at Qumran for the tradition that Moses is *elohim* might also explain the statements in Josephus that the Essenes regard the slandering of Moses as tantamount to a blasphemy against God himself. In his account of the Essenes in Book 2 of the *Jewish War* Josephus says that "after God they hold most in awe the name of the lawgiver, any blasphemer of whom is punished with death." (*B. J.* 2:145, cf. 2:152 where Essenes are tortured by the Romans "in order to induce them to blaspheme their lawgiver"). Why should this be regarded as blasphemy? In the Damascus Document swearing "by Aleph and Lamed" or "by Aleph and Daleth" is forbidden. The second prohibition has in view use of the *qere* for the Tetragram-

¹² See Nitzan 1994b, 145-171 and Stegemann 1996, 497.

maton, 'adonai (אֲדֹנָי), so the second will refer to the use of either *el* or *elohim* (אֱלֹהִים/אל) in oaths. If Moses is also regarded as *elohim* then he, presumably, should be given the same kind of respect as the name of God itself.¹³

4Q377 Frag. 1 recto col. ii

The second Dead Sea Scroll text to envisage a divine Moses is 4Q377 frag. 1. This is a poorly preserved manuscript written in Herodian script.¹⁴ Sufficient text of the second column of the recto can be made out for an angelomorphic Moses to be clearly read:

² they understand the precepts of Moses ³ And he answered you [. . . and] said: "He[ar,] congregation of YHWH, and pay attention, all the assembly [. . .] ⁴ to a[ll his] wor[ds] and [his] rulin[g]s. (*vocal*) Cursed is the man who does not persevere and keep and carry [out] ⁵ all the la[w]s of Y]HWH by the mouth of Moses his anointed one (מְשִׁיחַ), to follow YHWH, the God of our fathers, who command[ed] ⁶ us from the mountains of Sina[i]. (*vocal*) And he has spoken (וַיְדַבֵּר) with the assembly of Israel face to face, like a man speaks ⁷ to his neighbour, and li[k]e a man sees li[gh]t, he has caused us to see in a burning fire, from above from heaven, ⁸ and on earth he stood (עָמַד עַל-הָאָרֶץ), on the mountain to teach us that there is no God apart from him and no Rock like him [And all] ⁹ the assembly [. . .] answered, and trembling seized them before the Glory of God (וַיִּרְדוּ וַיִּזְעַזְעוּ מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים) and the wonderful thunders ¹⁰ and stayed at a distance. (*vocal*) But Moses, the man of God was with God in the cloud (וַיִּשָּׂא מֹשֶׁה אֶת-פָּנָיו וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל אֱלֹהִים), and there covered ¹¹ him the cloud (וַיִּכֹּס עָלָיו) for [. . .] when he was sanctified (בְּקִדְשׁוֹ), and he spoke as an angel from his mouth (וַיִּדְבַּר מִפִּיָּהּ), for who was a mes-sen[ger] like him (or "who from fle[sh] was like him") (מִי מִבְּשָׂרַי כְּמוֹתָי), ¹² a man of the pious ones (אִישׁ חַסְדִּים)? And he sho[wed] which he never created before or afterwards

At first sight, once the transcription and translation is established, despite the lacunae the text appears straightforward. Like the deification of Moses in 4Q374 the scene is again Mt. Sinai. In a patchwork of biblical language and allusions drawing on material in both

¹³ For the interpretative possibilities presented by CD 15:1-5 see Schiffman 1983, 136-141.

¹⁴ See Maier 1995-6, vol. 3, p. 326. See also Wacholder and Abegg 1991-6, vol. 3, 164-166 and PAM 43.372; 41.892; 41.942.

Exodus and Deuteronomy the text describes the giving of the Torah through Moses' mediation.¹⁵ Particularly noteworthy is the way Moses is not only likened to an angel but is called God's Messiah, "the man of God" (cf. Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6) and "a man of the pious ones (*hasidim*)". Moses' angelomorphism should not be limited to a functional similarity in speaking God's words. It is related specifically to his being covered by the theophanic cloud (Exod 24:18; 33:7-11) which is therefore indicative of Moses' peculiar *identity*. The cloud reminds us of the angelomorphic "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7:13, the Glorious and theophanic high priest Simon in the clouds in Ben Sira 50:6 and, in particular, the transfigured Jesus who is in so many ways a new Moses (Mark 9:2-13).¹⁶ Again the sanctification of Moses by God (בְּהַקְדִּישׁ, line 11) speaks of his peculiar identity and although this is not explicitly stated it probably has in view his becoming a "holy one (קֹדֶשׁ)" (cf. Ben Sira 45:2).

It is also possible that Moses is viewed as a transformed human who is no longer confined to the realm of flesh. The penultimate word of line 11 could either mean "from flesh" or "a messenger". The latter would suit the context where Moses functions as God's mediator. However, the interrogative expression "who from flesh . . .?" would tie up well with Ben Sira 45:4; *Jubilees* 31:14 and other Dead Sea Scroll texts where angelomorphism is expressed in terms of a transcendence of that realm. This reading might also function better as an explanation of the preceding statement that Moses spoke as an angel which is how the אִיִּם implies these two parts of line 11 are to be linked.

Pressing beyond these cursory observations, however, we encounter some striking tensions in the text. (1) First, we are bound to ask whether or not the text has any literary coherence. Is the angelic description of Moses in any way integrated into its literary context? Is the text as a whole no more than a pastiche of biblical language, or does the choice and structure of biblical language serve any clear conceptual purpose?

¹⁵ For a thorough discussion see Zimmermann 1998, 332-342. And see PAM 41.942, 43.151, 43.372.

¹⁶ See also the priestly figure in 4Q369 1 ii 8 and (the priestly) Enoch in *1 Enoch* 14:8. Behind the cloud borne "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7:13 there stands the idealised image of the high priest surrounded by clouds of incense (cf. Ben Sira 50:6 and see Fletcher-Louis 1997a).

(2) Secondly, and as a specific instance of this literary question, it is not clear who the subject of the standing in line 8 is meant to be.¹⁷ The immediately preceding subject of lines 5-7 is "the God of our fathers, who commanded us from the mountains of Sinai", who "has spoken with the assembly of Israel face to face" and who has appeared to Israel in a burning fire (lines 5b-6a). There is no grammatical indication of a change of subject at the beginning of line 8 ("And upon the earth he stood (ועל הארץ עמד), on the mountain . . ."), but rather the last of a string of paratactic clauses sharing the same divine subject. The image of *God* standing on the mountain is unusual, though not entirely without precedent since in Exodus 17:6 God says to Moses:

I will be standing (עמד) there in front of you on the rock (צור) at Horeb. Strike the rock, and water will come out of it, so that the people may drink.

The reference to Horeb could be read as an account not simply of Moses striking the rock at Massah and Meribah (Exod 17:7), but a forward glance to the theophany at Sinai, and it is noteworthy that rock language appears for God a couple of lines later in the Qumran text (line 8).

However, there are good grounds for thinking that it is Moses, not God, who is described standing in line 8. From line 5 it is Moses who could be the subject not only of the phrase "who commanded us from the mountains of the Sinai" (5b-6a), but also the statement that "he stood on the mountain to teach . . .". Because this teacher teaches that there "is no God apart from *him* and no rock like *him*" this might imply that he is, in fact, someone other than God. That it is in fact Moses who is the one described as *standing* is further suggested by the fact that in lines 6-8 the text has in mind Deuteronomy 5:4-6:

The LORD spoke with you face to face (פנים בפנים רכר) at the mountain, out of the fire (במחוך האש).⁵ (At that time I [i.e. Moses] was standing between the LORD and you to declare to you the words of the LORD; for you were afraid because of the fire and did not go up the mountain). And he said: ⁶I am the LORD your God, . . . ⁷you shall have no other gods before me.

¹⁷ As Zimmermann 1998, 338, has noted.

We can be fairly sure that lines 6-9 of 4Q377 1 recto col. ii are based directly upon Deuteronomy 5:4-7:

- A *He has spoken* (ידבר) *with the assembly face to face* (פנים עם אל פנים) (Deut 5:4a), as a man speaks to his neighbour, (cf. Exod 33:11).
- B *And as a man sees light he has caused us to see in a burning fire* (כאש בערה) (Deut 5:4b, cf. Deut 4:11, 5:23),
- C *from above, from heaven, and on the earth he stood on the mountain* (Deut 5:5c)
- D *to teach us that there is no God apart from him.* (cf. Deut 5:7: "you shall have no other gods before me" etc.) and no rock like him.
- E *And all the assembly . . . answered, and trembling seized them* (Deut 5:5d: "for you were afraid") before the Glory of God (i.e. the fire of Deut 5:5d?) and the wonderful thunders
- F *and you stayed at a distance* (Deut 5:5d "and did not go up the mountain", cf. Exod 20:18).

Although the text does not cite Deuteronomy as though it were a peshet or some kind of midrash, that biblical text has provided the structure upon which all its parts are hung. The language of the Exodus version of the Sinai theophany has been introduced at a number of points. There are several biblical passages where God speaks face to face with Moses (Exod 33:11; Num 12:8; Deut 34:10), and the expression speaking face to face *as to a neighbour* (lines 6-7) comes specifically from Exodus 33:11. Lines 9b-10a have come from Exodus 20:18: "When all the people witnessed the thunder (הקולות) and lightning, the sound of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking, they were afraid and trembled and stood at a distance (יעמדו ויעררו) (מרחק)".¹⁸ But otherwise the Exodus account of the Sinai theophany does not have the precise structure of these lines of the Qumran text. So if Deuteronomy 5:4-6 has provided the literary and conceptual structure of the text then that would suggest that it is *Moses'* standing, not *God's*, that is in view since in Deuteronomy 5:5 it specifically Moses who is said to stand.

Furthermore, were our text interested in the standing of a human being rather than God this would cohere with two other instances of the use of the verb עמד in the immediate context. As we have just seen line 10a refers to the assembly of the people standing at Sinai and already line 4 would appear to look forward to this scene when it says "cursed is the man who does not stand (עמד) and keep

¹⁸ The "burning fire" will have been introduced from Deut 4:11 and 5:23.

and do . . .". Although the people trembled, they did not fall but remained standing. Whilst these two instances of the verb to stand do not necessitate a reference to Moses standing in line 8, they at least suggest that the standing theme is important for the text as a whole, which further accentuates the need for the interpreter to make sense of the ambiguity between God and Moses in the main body of the text.

(2) Thirdly, another oddity arises from this latter problem. There is no doubt that line 6b cites the statement in Deuteronomy 5:4 to the effect that God spoke intimately with the whole people of Israel at Sinai. And the introduction of the expression "as a man speaks to his neighbour" from Exodus 33:11 suggests that our author is reading Deuteronomy with one eye to Exodus. But it is precisely at this point that there is generally reckoned to be a tension between the two biblical Sinai accounts. Whilst Deuteronomy has direct contact between God and the people (cf. Deut 4:12, 15, 32-33, 36; 5:19; 10:4), Exodus is quite clear that intimate communication between God and the people is reserved for Moses, whilst the people are kept at bay, unable to ascend the mountain, let alone have communion with God "face to face", as do friends. Does the citation of Exodus 20:18 (cf. Exod 19:16) in lines 9b-10a mean our author is oblivious to the differences between the two accounts? If not, how can he have the people both standing at a distance *and* interacting with God "face to face, as a friend to a neighbour"?¹⁹

In wrestling with these problems I suggest that each supplies the answer to the other and the author is deliberately, though somewhat allusively, combining different parts of the biblical text in order to resolve possible tensions inherent within it and in order to make a specific theological point. The distinction between God's standing and that of Moses is deliberately blurred because 4Q377 wants to say that in Moses' standing there is God's standing. This then facilitates a resolution of any perceived tension between Deuteronomy 5:4 and Exodus 19 because it also means that in Moses' speaking to the people, there is a mediation of God's speaking to the people

¹⁹ There are many ways in which the natural meaning of "face to face" in Deut 5:4 can be avoided so as to pass over any tension with Exodus 19, as rabbinic tradition testifies (see, e.g., *Pesiq. Rab.* 21:6). But with the addition of "as a friend speaks to his neighbour" 4Q377 leaves no doubt that the communication between God and Israel is to be regarded as analogous to that between Moses and God.

face to face. As is perhaps the case in 4Q374, where Moses fulfils Numbers 6:25, God's face is seen in Moses' face. What God has been to Moses, Moses is now to the people.²⁰ On this reading the statement in line 11 that Moses "spoke as an angel through his mouth" sums up the "argument" of the preceding section: because Moses is God's angel, his words are those of his master. Because Moses is shrouded by the cloud, his presence is really God's presence. The people did not come to ascend the mountain but although they remained at a distance it is true to say that they had a face to face encounter with God because in Moses' face they encountered God's face. As in 4Q374 frag. 2, the author perhaps here has in mind the shining of Moses' face in Exodus 34:30.

The description of Moses as an angel in the cloud may also be intended to align the lawgiver with the Angel of the Lord tradition according to which Yahweh has an angelic persona which is a manifestation of his own being. As Jarl Fossum has shown there is ample evidence within Samaritan tradition that Moses (or the Mosaic prophet) could be so identified with the Angel of the Lord.²¹ Already in the biblical text (Zech 12:8) the Davidic king is aligned with the tradition of the Name bearing angel attested in Exodus 23:20-21. In this case the people will be like Gideon who saw "the angel of the Lord face to face" (Judg 6:22).

The suggestion that the ambivalence between God's standing and that of Moses is deliberate might receive specific support from the use of Deuteronomy 5:5 in Philo, Samaritanism and proto-gnostic thought surrounding Simon Magus. Philo regards Moses' Deuteronomistic standing as an indication of his immortality.²² Fossum has pointed to the parallel phenomenon in Samaritan texts where Moses is known as "the (immutable) Standing One" (*Memar Marqah* 4:12), as was Simon Magus in Simonian gnosis (Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* II 22-3-4; 24:6-27).²³ In Samaritan tradition and the rabbis a

²⁰ Indeed, this way of resolving the perspectives of Deuteronomy and Exodus is perhaps anticipated by Deut 5:5 itself which qualifies the direct contact between God and the people in the previous verse with reference to the mediation of Moses (cf. Weinfeld 1991, 240).

²¹ Fossum 1985.

²² *Sac.* 8-10; *Somm.* 1:157-8; 2:222-3, 227-34; *Pos.* 27-29, cf. the immutability of God as one who "stands" in *Conf.* 96; *Somm.* 1:241, 245, 2:222-3; *Mut.* 54, 87, and discussion in, for example, Segal 1977, 170-71.

²³ Fossum, 1985, 56-8 120-1.

standing posture is generally indicative of the angelic life.²⁴ An interest in standing as a posture symbolising immutability is already attested in the second century B.C. author Aristobulus (frag. 2 (Eusebius *Praef. Evang.* 8.9.38–8.10.17) 9–12), so we can be sure it was an idea to which the author of 4Q377 was potentially exposed.²⁵

One of Philo's treatments of this theme, in fact, deserves to be cited in full since it offers a number of intriguing parallels to the Qumran text. In the second volume of his work *On Dreams*, 221–230, Philo writes:

“Here I *stand* there before you (come), on the rock in Choreb” (Exod 17:6), which means, “this I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I *stand* ever the same immutable, before you or anything that exists came into being, established on the topmost and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is . . .”²²² . . . And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangableness of the deity when he says “they saw the place where the God of Israel *stood* (εἰστήκει)” (Exodus 24:10),²⁶ for by the *standing* or establishment he indicates his immutability.²²³ But indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession. For instance, He says of His covenant (διαθήκη) filled with His bounties, the highest law (νόμος) and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this god-like image shall be firmly planted with the righteous soul as its pedestal²²⁷ . . .”²²³ And it is the earnest desire of all the God-beloved to fly from the stormy waters of engrossing business with its perpetual turmoil of surge and billow, and anchor in the calm safe shelter of virtue's roadsteads.²²⁶ See what is said of wise Abraham, how he was “*standing* before God” (Gen 18:22), for when should we expect a mind to *stand* and no longer sway as on the balance save when it is opposite God, seeing and being seen? . . .”²²⁷ To Moses, too, this divine command was given: “*Stand* here with me” (Deut 5:31), and this brings out both the points suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him that IS.²²⁸ For that which draws near to God enters into affinity with what is, and through that immutability becomes self

²⁴ See Fossum, 1985, 121 and, e.g., *Abot de R. Nathan* A 12:2; 37:2; *Gen. Rab.* 8:11; 14:3; *b. Hag.* 16a; *Pirqe R. El.* 46.

²⁵ For standing imagery and angelomorphism/immortality see now Conick 1996, 91 on *Gosp. Thom.* 18.

²⁶ Here Philo is reliant on his Septuagint, since the Hebrew lacks any reference to God's “standing”.

²⁷ This difficult image is then supported and developed through a citation of Genesis 9:11.

standing . . . ²²⁹ Thus he (i.e. Moses) says: "And I *stood* between the Lord and you" (Deut 5:5), where he does not mean that he stood firm upon his feet, but wishes to indicate that the mind of the Sage, released from storms and wars, with calm still weather and profound peace around it, is superior to men, but less than God. ²³⁰ . . . The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by incorruption because of his virtue.

There are enough parallels between Philo's discussion here and our Qumran text for us to wonder whether the former is reliant on something like the latter. Like Philo, 4Q377 is working with Deuteronomy 5:5, the giving of the Torah, and perhaps Exodus 17:6. Both texts think standing is a posture indicative of a transcendent identity in which the righteous can participate and of which Moses is the pre-eminent example. With the stability of standing is contrasted the corruptibility of motion, turmoil and storms, which is perhaps reflected in the tension between Israel's "standing" (lines 4 and 10) and her "trembling" (line 9) before the Glory of God in the Qumran text. Whether this and other similar passages in Philo (cf. esp. *Sac.* 8-10; *Pos.* 27-29) are genetically related to 4Q377 is not certain, but remains an attractive possibility.

There is nothing specifically Essene or sectarian in this text. Indeed the freedom with which the divine Name is used points away from a narrowly sectarian *Sitz im Leben*. However, it is perfectly consistent with the Essene veneration of Moses and belief in his suprahuman identity. It is quite possibly both pre-Qumranic and the original possession of a wider movement, perhaps the *hasidim* of 1 Maccabees 2:42; 7:14 and 2 Maccabees 14:6, from which Essenism *may* have emerged.²⁸ If the reading of 4Q377 suggested here is on the mark then this Qumran text would confirm Fossum's contention that here, as elsewhere, Philo, Samaritan theology and early gnostic thought derives from an older "orthodox" Jewish milieu in which Moses is regarded as an angelic or divine being.²⁹

²⁸ Cf. Zimmermann 1998, 341-2.

²⁹ It is worth noting the way in which the ability to stand before God is related to worthiness and immortality in the *Hodayot* (see 1QH^a 12:21-22 [4:20-21]; 18:11 [10:9]; 20:30 [12:27]).

Moses and the Priesthood

It is worth noting that there is, in fact, no extant evidence that the Qumran community believed that Moses had a particularly wondrous birth. There is no parallel to the birth of Noah for Moses among the Dead Sea Scrolls and indeed there probably was none that the community regarded as authoritative. In the scrolls Moses' divinity or angelomorphic identity is associated with his ascent up Sinai and his giving of the Torah. The Qumran community's Enoch collection described the angelomorphic transformation of Moses from a sheep to man at Sinai (*1 Enoch* 89:36). Sirach 45 seems to claim that Moses becomes divine and glorious at this point during his leadership of Israel and 4Q374 frag. 2 and 4Q377 specifically locate events at Sinai, although it is true that they do not exclude some earlier angelomorphic identity for Moses and, of course, 4Q374 uses the statement that Moses became God to Pharaoh in Egypt (Exod 7:1). In all this a divine or pre-existent Moses is conspicuously absent. Is there a pattern here, or do we simply lack the complete picture of the community's beliefs about Moses?

Some significance to the consistent emphasis on Moses *becoming* divine, or angelomorphic, is reinforced by the contrast with Noah. In the Qumran version of the *Animal Apocalypse* there was no reference to Noah's *becoming* angelomorphic when he built the ark, unlike the Ethiopic text which symbolises his transformation through the change from bull to human at that point in his career (*Eth. Enoch* 89:1).³⁰ It may be then that the relative differences between points at which Moses and Noah are given an angelomorphic identity in the scrolls reflects an important, though slight, ideological difference in their estimation. In the Priestly tradition of the Pentateuch, as also in Sirach,³¹ Moses is not a priest. Although Moses is obviously very highly estimated by the Qumran community, both literarily and in their religious practice, the significance attached to Noah's identity *from birth* probably reflects his superior priestly credentials. As we discover in our next chapter there is a wealth of material in the QL which demonstrates the community's belief that it is the high priest, even more than Moses, who embodies the divine humanity and the Glory of God.

³⁰ This is missing from 4QEn^c 4 i 13-14, cf. 4QEn^c 4 10.

³¹ See Olyan 1987.

PRIESTLY ANGELOMORPHISM IN THE DSS

The leadership of the Qumran community was priestly; both Levites and laity subordinated to the authority of the Priesthood. For the eschatological scenario the royal messiah was expected to come under the same priestly authority. Given the Priesthood's exalted position within the movement's power structure it is not surprising that the Priesthood is often regarded in angelic and divine terms. Whilst it is true to say that the priesthood plays a more prominent role than kingship in late Second Temple angelomorphic speculation, this is especially the case at Qumran. With the gradual release of Cave 4 texts the number of texts which evince this theology has increased significantly.

The Blessing of the High Priest (1QSb 4:24-28)

The best known example of Qumran angelomorphism is the blessing of the priest in 1QSb 4:25 which is part of a passage with many points of interpretative interest:

²³ and to raise up at the head of the holy ones, and your people to ble[ss] your [. . .] in your hand ²⁴ the men of God's council and not by the hand of a prince (ולוא ביד שר) [. . .] by each man for his fellow. And (may) you (ואחזה) (be) ²⁵ as an Angel of the Presence (כמלאך פנים) in the abode of holiness (במעון קודש) for the Glory of the God of Hos[ts] (צבא[ות] הוה) you] will be round about serving in the palace (משדח בהיכל) of the ²⁶ kingdom and may you cast lot (ומפיל נורל) with the Angels of the Presence and a common council [. . . for] eternal time and for all the glorious endtimes. Because ²⁷ [true (are) all] his [ju]dgements (מ[שפטי]ו). May he make you ho[ly] among his people, and to give light (ילמאור) [. . .] for the world in knowledge (לחבל כדעה), and to illuminate the face of the Many (להאיר פני רבים) ²⁸ [. . .] a diadem¹ for the holy of holies (נזר לקודש קודשים), because [you are made]

¹ נזר is a distinct and separate word. It is not possible to restore ה[נזר] because the upper left hand corner of the space where we would expect to see evidence of

holy for Him, and shall make Glorious His Name and His holiness (וְקִדְשׁוֹ הַכְּבוֹדָהּ) from[. . .].²

This text confronts us with two interpretation questions: (a) what precisely is the identity of the person here described? and (b) are they a future figure or did the Qumran community already have in its service such an angelomorphic priest?

(a) *The Identity of the Priest*

For the comparison of the priest to an angel of the presence there are principally two issues which concern us. First, what kind, or order, of priest is in view here? According to the editor of IQSb, J. T. Milik, this blessing belongs to that for the Zadokite priests as a whole, the blessing of the High Priest being present in the earlier columns (1-3) of this scroll.³ However, subsequently, the majority of commentators have reckoned that our passage is a part of the blessing of a (Zadokite) high priest (4:22-28) and that along with the blessing of the royal messianic prince in column 5:20-29 acts as the climax of the whole work.⁴ Although this view still has its detractors,⁵ we will show that it must be correct since our text focuses closely on the high priest's apparel.

the *taw* is visible yet shows no signs of ink (see *DJD* 1:126, pl. XXVIII and PAM 40:456).

² I follow Stegemann (correcting Milik) in taking 5:1 as the first line of the fifth column and therefore the direct continuation of the blessing of the high priest (Stegemann 1996, 498). Though I do not see the need to translate וְקִדְשׁוֹ הַכְּבוֹדָהּ as "and you have separated His holy ones from" since this introduces a past tense action for the high priest's service vis-à-vis the community where 4:22-28 only looks forward in time to such activity.

³ *DJD* 1:120-126.

⁴ Licht 1965, 274-5; Schiffman 1989, 72-76; Charlesworth in Charlesworth 1994, 119-121.

⁵ In particular Milik is still followed by Stegemann 1996, 495-500. Stegemann's objection to the identification of our priest with the high priest is based on his claim that "If the blessings would ascend from the lowest to the highest rank, the High Priest should come *after* the Royal Messiah." (Stegemann 1996, 496). One obvious response to this objection is that *Jubilees* 31:11-20, which has acted as a conceptual model for our text and is also a blessings composition, places the pre-eminent recipient of blessing (Levi) first, before the subordinate recipient (Judah). The order blessing of (high) priest—blessing of royal figure therefore follows a traditional pattern. Secondly, that the prince is blessed last and *after* the climactic blessing of the high priest is consistent with a reading of our scroll according to which all but the blessing of the prince was currently used by the congregation: the blessing of the prince is placed last almost by way of an appendix for future reference.

Secondly, we want to know what exactly the text means when it says that the priest is to be “as (כ) an angel of the presence”.⁶ What is the force of the *kaph*? Does it entail merely similarity or identity? Like the Greek $\omega\varsigma$ which appears frequently in angelomorphic statements in Jewish and early Christian literature (e.g. Mark 12:25; *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7; *Prayer of Jacob* 19, cf. also Sirach 50:7) the כ has a range of possible meanings and we need to gauge its precise import from the surrounding context.

A comparison with the angels of the presence in which there is functional symmetry between the angels *in heaven* and the priesthood *on earth* must be ruled out from the outset because the priest is himself placed in the heavenly world “in the abode of holiness . . . round about serving in the palace of the kingdom . . . (in) a common council . . .”. There is no “on earth (below) as it is in heaven (above)” language here.⁷ On the contrary, close examination of the language in the extant text that follows demands a real angelic identity for the high priest, even if for our text the high priest’s identity is not reduced to that of an angel.

The spatial setting that is described in lines 25–26 is consistent with other texts which describe the vertical movement of a mortal from earth to the heavenly realm where they experience transformation to a new identity appropriate to their new sphere of reality. The expression “and to raise up at the head (לשאה ברוש) of the holy ones” in line 23 may have spoken of the high priest being moved vertically up into the heavenly realm which follows in lines 25–26.⁸ The reference to the *palace* of the king ultimately anticipates the Hekhalot literature of the Amoraic period in which the mystic journeys through God’s heavenly palaces.

What does it mean that the priest should “cast lot with the angels of the presence and (share) a common council”?⁹ Such a decreeing of fate is what we would expect of God. Earlier on in the 1QS–1QSa–1QSB scroll it is probably God himself who casts the lots of humanity according to the two spirits which rule the cosmos (1QS

⁶ For the angels of the presence see 1Q11^a 14:13 [6:13]; *Jub* 1:27, 29; 2:1, 2, 18; 15:27; 31:14; *T. Levi* 3:5, 7; 4:2; 18:5; *T. Jud.* 25:2.

⁷ Pace e.g. Hannab 1999, 61.

⁸ Cf. the prince of the congregation who in 5:23 is raised “to an everlasting height (לרום עולם)”.

⁹ The translation of the Hebrew as “share the lot” by (Gaster 1976, 90; Martínez 1992a, 433) will not do, as Frennesson 1999, 87 points out.

4:26, cf. 4Q181 I ii 5; 1QM 13:9-10).¹⁰ It is possible that in the directions for the Covenant Renewal Ceremony (1:18-2:26) that precedes the Two Spirits discourse (3:13-4:26), the Priests' and Levites' blessing and cursing is understood as a ritualised enactment of God's cosmic casting of the lots for humanity because in 2:17 the cursing of the wicked man is concluded with the words "may he put his lot (יִתֵּן גּוֹרְלוֹ) among those cursed forever" and in 2:23 it is said of the hierarchical organization of the movement at this ceremony that "no one shall . . . rise from the place of his lot". Perhaps we are meant to interpret IQSb 4:26 through this material in the *Community Rule* and see in the high priest's office the job of giving to the people of God their cosmologically oriented order. In this, then, the high priest would be God's own agent within creation and history.¹¹

There is, no doubt, the influence of *Jubilees* 31 throughout this passage. Like the angelomorphic Levites of *Jubilees* the priest in IQSb is to serve in God's sanctuary (esp. lines 25, 28) as "an angel of the face (or, 'presence')". Both passages emphasize the themes of glory and holiness. In *Jubilees* 31:15 Levi is to bless all the seed of the beloved, presumably with the Aaronic blessing of Numbers 6:22-27. IQSb 4:23 may also refer to the high priest's role as blesser of his people, though the context is broken.¹² Numbers 6:22-26 plays a pivotal role in the rest of the *Blessings Scroll* as it does in other DSS texts.¹³ Several commentators have also seen the influence of Numbers 6:25—"The LORD make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious to you"—on line 27 where the priest himself is "to give light [. . .] for the world in knowledge and to illuminate the face of the Many".¹⁴ This would be an important corroboration of the suggestion that in 4Q374 frag. 9 Moses embodies the shining face of

¹⁰ Dupont-Sommer 1961, 112 n. 1.

¹¹ Cf. Frennesson 1999, 87 who wonders whether there is here "something analogous to that of the blessings and curses of IQS II where "ordering of destinies" is apparently coupled with a capacity also to influence the present course of events on earth". This determining of destinies has an ancient religious background in Mesopotamian religion.

¹² For Num 6:22-27 here see Stegemann 1996, 497 who regards our 4:23 as 4:21 because he has estimated the number of lines per column differently (cf. *ibid.* p. 484).

¹³ See Milik *DD* 1:121-129 notes ad loc; Nitzan 1994b, 155-67; Stegemann 1996, 497. For Num 6:22-27 in DSS see also IQS 2:2-4; 4Q5421 i 1; 11Q14 I ii 7 = 4Q285 frag. 1, lines 3-4.

¹⁴ Zimmermann 1998, 282; Stegemann 1996, 497. For "the Many" see Dan 12:3, but also Mal 2:6.

the LORD of Numbers 6:25 when he restores the Israelites from their trembling, though, as we shall see, Numbers 6 is not the only text responsible for the language in IQSb 4:27.

Both statements of the priesthood's angelomorphism are also made in blessings upon the priesthood: in *Jubilees* 31 Isaac blesses Levi, whilst in IQSb the *maskil* blesses the high priest (see למשכיל in 1:1; 3:22; 5:20). In line 28 the priest is to glorify God's Name". There are only a few biblical texts where humans are so to do and, perhaps significantly, Malachi 2:2 is the only instance where a priest has such a responsibility (לְהַתְּחִיל כְּבוֹד לַשֵּׁם).¹⁵ As we saw, Malachi 2 provided the biblical basis for the angelomorphic priesthood in *Jubilees* 31:14 and its presence may still linger beneath the surface of IQSb 4.

There is here, then, another text which belongs to a trajectory of biblical and post-biblical interpretation. Our arguments for a real, ontological angelomorphic identity in *Jubilees* 31 are equally relevant for IQSb given the continuity of theological perspective and the high authority with which *Jubilees* was treated at Qumran. Certainly, the high priest's shedding of light is indicative not merely of his role as functional representative but his embodiment of God's real presence.

This embodiment comes more prominently to the fore in line 28 where the high priest is to glorify God's Name and his holiness. What does this mean exactly? This language is easily given an entirely transitive sense: the high priest glorifies God by praising him verbally or otherwise directing the people's attention to him. However, numerous considerations must mean that in this text the verb to glorify carries a certain reflexive sense: *the high priest is to glorify God's Name by virtue of the fact that he embodies it and gives it substantial real presence within the community.* The context makes no mention of the high priest verbally praising God and so it is unlikely to be the case that his giving Glory to God's Name is meant in that sense. We have already seen how in Sirach 50 the high priest embodies the Glory of God and how in *Jubilees* 31 this rhetoric of Glory is again echoed. When in Sirach 50:11 it says that Simon "glorified (הִדָּרָה, ἐδόξασεν) the court of the sanctuary" it means that, by his presence (and his action) he filled the sanctuary with God's own Glory. The force is probably similar in our text.

¹⁵ Cf. the psalmist in Ps 86:12, the nations in Ps 86:9 and God giving glory to his own name in Ps 115:1. The glorious nature of God's name is common (e.g. Ps 66:2; 72:19; 96:18; Neh 9:5).

At the beginning of the broken 28th line of column 4 we have read *נזר לקודש קודשים* [and translated “[and translated “] a diadem for the holy of holies”. The *נזר* must refer to the holy diadem (*נזר הקדוש*) worn by the high priest according to Exodus 29:6; 39:30 and Leviticus 8:9. A reference to this diadem is highly fitting in the context given that the high priest is to glorify God’s *Name* and it is upon this diadem that the Name is inscribed.¹⁶ When our text refers to “a diadem for the holy of holies” it must then be talking about the high priest who alone can enter the holy of holies (Lev 16, cf. *m. Yoma* 5:1–4; 7:4).¹⁷

Whilst some translators have recognised the reference in line 28 to this diadem they nevertheless take the meaning metaphorically and restore “may he make you] a diadem of holy of holies”.¹⁸ I see no reason for this non-literal reading. Indeed, I would suggest that lines 26–28 as a whole are concerned first and foremost with the high priest’s garments and their theological and cosmological functions. Whilst line 28 is devoted to the diadem bearing the divine Name, lines 26–27 are interested in the breastpiece of judgement and the Urim and Thummim. This is most clearly seen in the priest’s role as the giver of light in line 27, since the Urim and Thummim (UT) carried or worn by the high priest are almost universally interpreted in the late and post-biblical period as a light-giving oracle, by virtue of the (perceived) etymology of the word Urim (*אורים*) from the root *אור*, “light”. It is not clear exactly how this light giving oracle was believed to work, but certainly at Qumran, for Josephus and for other Jews, the Urim and Thummim were somehow identified with the stones of the high priest’s breastpiece (see Exodus 28:9–30).¹⁹ That breastpiece is specifically referred to as “a breastpiece of judgement (*בשפט*)” (Exod 28:15, 28–29) and so the reference in line 27 to

¹⁶ For this interest in the high priest’s diadem see 4QTL^a (4Q541) 24 ii 5–6 which could be translated “and a diadem (*בצנע*) of God bring near to him, and you will establish for your Father a Name of joy and for all your brothers a proven foundation you will make rise. You will see and rejoice in eternal light” (cf. Brooke 1993, 90–92). The best preserved fragment of this text (frag. 9) describes the eschatological heavenly high priest. For the priest speaking to God as to a father see *T. Levi* 17:2.

¹⁷ So rightly Zimmermann 1998, 282.

¹⁸ *DSSSE*, 1997–98, 107, cf. “[und er mache dich] zu einem Diadem” Maier 1995–6, 247.

¹⁹ See 4QTongues of Fire; 4QpIsa^a and Josephus *Ant* 3:216–17 and the texts discussed below. See now the thorough discussion of the primary sources and history of interpretation in van Dam 1993.

“his [ju]dgements (יְשֻׁפְטֵי)” also fits this context since it is through this oracular device that the high priest declares God’s judgements.²⁰

The reference to the high priest casting lot in line 26 may also anticipate the UT language in line 27. In 1 Samuel 14:40–42 Saul inquires of the LORD by means of lots to discover the source of sin within the Israelite camp.²¹ The Septuagint, which perhaps preserves the original and fuller form of the text, understands this lot taking as an inquiring of Urim and Thummim.²² Indeed, OT scholarship has frequently ventured a psephomantic interpretation of the mysterious UT. Whether a light-giving understanding of the UT and the lot drawing interpretation can be combined is not clear, though in 1 Samuel 14:42 the *hipl’l* of the verb נפל is used for the casting of lots in a way which was understood to refer to the Urim and Thummim (so LXX) and even if this was taken metaphorically at Qumran the high priest’s casting of lots in IQSb 4:26 is consistent with the wider linguistic field of the UT.

All this is important because it strengthens our conviction that in line 28 the glorification of God’s Name is by virtue of the high priest acting as the real presence for the Glory of the Name: this real presence is expressed in terms of sacred clothing and its various theophanic functions. The high priest brings Glory to God’s Name by virtue of his capacity as bearer of that Name and its visible manifestation.

It is worth contrasting this with what is said about the prince in column 5. In 5:28 God “will strengthen you (i.e. the prince) with his Holy Name (בשם קודשו יברכה)”. Whereas the high priest *acts for* the Name of God as the one who gives it Glory, the prince is *passive* in as much as he is a *recipient* of the Name’s power. Presumably, also, this difference reflects the liturgical and theocratic relationship between the two, with the high priest acting as the divine mediator and guide for the king; to say that God will strengthen the royal leader with his Holy Name, is to make him a subordinate to the

²⁰ If we follow Stuckenbruck in Charlesworth 1994, 128–9 and restore “true (are) all [his judgements . . .]” at the beginning of line 27 then this might offer another reference to the Urim and Thummim given that the Thummim was widely understood by association with the root טם in terms of “completion, perfection, or truth” (LXX Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8; Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1:88–89).

²¹ See the discussion of this passage in van Dam 1993, 194–214.

²² For a recent discussion see van Dam 1993, 34–37, 197–203, who is overly critical of the lot interpretation of the UT.

high priest's power as one who manifests that Name liturgically and, in particular, through the judicial or salvific power of the Urim and Thummim.²³

Further confirmation for this reading of IQSb 4:24–28 is provided by the details of an angelomorphic priesthood text from outside of Qumran. We have already seen how in the *Letter of Aristeas* 99 the high priest is an otherworldly being. On close inspection the details of *Aristeas* 97–99 match closely those in our Qumran text:

On his breast he wears what is called the "oracle," to which are attached "twelve stones" of different kinds, set in gold, giving the names of the patriarchs in what was the original order, each stone flashing its own natural distinctive colour—quite indescribable. Upon his head he has what is called the "tiara," and upon this the inimitable "mitre," the hallowed *diadem* (τὸ καθηγιασμένον βασιλείον)²⁴ having in relief, in the middle of the forehead, in holy letters on a golden leaf the Name of God (ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ), the fulfilment of Glory (δοξῆς (some mss: δόξῃ) πεπληρωμένον) . . . Their appearance makes one awestruck and dumfounded: a man would think he (either the high priest or the viewer) had come out of this world into another one.

The terminology is not identical, which is not surprising given the difference in genre and audience (*Aristeas* is written for a Hellenised readership), but the basic theology is the same. As in IQSb 4 it is the oracular, resplendent breastpiece, and the Name bearing diadem which is distinctive of the high priest. With the statement, in difficult Greek, that the high priest's garments, in particular the diadem bearing the Name, are the "fulfilment of Glory" we should compare the equally pregnant language of IQSb 4:28 where the high priest is to "make Glorious (God's) Name". Where *Aristeas* speaks of the wearer of these garments in terms of the otherworldly, there can be little doubt that he has translated the angelomorphism of the Qumran text into terms suitable for his Hellenistic readership.

Although the blessing of the high priest in IQSb belongs within a particular literary trajectory of priestly theology which is anticipated in one proto-Essene text (*Jubilees* 31), its view of the angelomorphic priesthood in IQSb is reflective of a wider late Second

²³ Compare, in particular, the relationship between king and priest in 4Q285 = 11Q14.

²⁴ For "diadem" here see the LXX of 2 Sam 1:10 where the Hebrew has כִּיָּאֵל and Meecham 1935, 232 *ad loc.*

Temple practice and belief. It seems to have been a widely held belief that, by virtue of his glorious garments and the light-giving stones, Israel's chief priest was an otherworldly being.

All this, of course, also confirms the majority view that IQSb 4:22-28 is a blessing of a high priest, not a lesser priest than those blessed in the previous columns as Milik thought. Nowhere else in the scroll do we find language that is so densely packed with the terminology and symbolism of Exodus 28.²⁵

(b) *Realized or Future Eschatology?*

The second issue with which the interpreter of IQSb 4:22-28 has to wrestle is whether or not the angelomorphic high priest is a future figure or if, in fact, there were historical priests who during the community's life span actually received this blessing and served as angels of the presence in the abode of holiness. On this question opinion has been divided.

Instinctively, some may feel that the transcendent identity of the high priest must mean he is purely a figure of future hope. The juxtaposition of the blessing of the high priest to the blessing of the Prince of the Congregation, who everyone agrees was a figure of future hope at Qumran, and the combination of the *Rule of Blessings* with the *Rule of the Messianic Congregation* (IQSa) in the one composite scroll (IQS-IQSa IQSb) leads some to the conclusion that these blessings are designed for the future eschatological era.²⁶ It is assumed that the community would not make use of a liturgy part of which was inapplicable to the present era. Secondly, it is noted that where the annual Covenant Renewal Ceremony has both blessings and curses on God's enemies, the lack of the latter in IQSb suggests its use for the eschaton when such enemies have been vanquished. Thirdly, as Bilhah Nitzan points out "because the blessings for various groups among the community of Israel and its leaders, as given in the *Blessings*, are arranged in ascending order, from the simple God fearers who will form the rank and file of the future congregation up to the Prince of the Congregation, we may assume that the

²⁵ At the beginning of the fourth column there is reference to a עֲטָרָה for someone's head (4:3) and this is probably priestly (cf. Zech 6:11-14) and 4:2 may refer to a crown (כִּלְיָהוּ), but these are not derived from Exodus 28.

²⁶ Alexander 1996, 442: the whole of IQSb "is not the current liturgy of the sect, but part of a special order of service to be enacted at the inauguration of the eschaton", cf. Eshel 1999, 634.

solemn occasion described therein is similar to that described in the *Rule of the Congregation*.²⁷

The issues that this question raises are many and complex. What was the community's understanding of its position vis-à-vis the eschaton? And whilst they separated themselves from the Jerusalem temple cult, did they have their own *Ersatz* high priesthood? Some commentators whilst recognising the future, eschatological orientation of our text nevertheless reckon that the *Rule of Blessings* reflects existing Qumran practice even if this text was written for the future.²⁸ In other quarters the notion that IQSa-IQSB as a whole is written for the future has been challenged. Annette Steudel has argued that the phrase "in the latter days (בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים)" which prescribes the setting for IQSa (1:1) embraces the present life of the community who believe they are already living in the eschatological time period,²⁹ and Hartmut Stegemann has argued that the blessings of the high priest (which he takes to be IQSB 1:19-3:19) was originally written for the Teacher of Righteousness whom the Essenes regarded as the true high priest of Israel, (though after his death these blessings fell out of use).³⁰

One thing is certain: even if the blessing of the angelomorphic high priest in IQSB was reserved for the future, there is no evidence that its use would entail a thoroughly *otherworldly* eschatology. Throughout IQS-IQSa-IQSB there is an absence of the transcendentalising eschatology that one finds in other late Second Temple Jewish texts and the focus is entirely on the culmination of salvation history as it has been known hitherto.³¹

In fact, a number of considerations also tend to support the view that the blessing of the angelomorphic high priest was already in use at Qumran during the community's lifetime. In the first place the belief in an angelomorphic human high priesthood need in no way demand a future expectation: the literary trajectory of which IQSB 4:22-28 is a part believed that Israel's serving high priest was

²⁷ 1994b, 141.

²⁸ Nitzan 1994b, 141, cf. Charlesworth 1994, 2 n. 9: IQSB "though prepared for the Endtime may have been recited proleptically in the community, which certainly lived out the belief that they were living in the eschatological age".

²⁹ 1993.

³⁰ 1996, esp. 500-501.

³¹ Note that IQSa envisages the fighting of wars and the presence of the physically infirm within Israel.

an angelomorphic embodiment of God's Glory (Sirach 50, *Jubilees* 31, *I Enoch* 106, *Aristeas* 97-99 etc. . . .). Secondly, even though the angelomorphic high priest is placed in the heavenly realm, this was already the sphere of life for the Qumran community members.

(Of course it is possible that with IQSb priestly angelomorphism has been thrown into the future, but it is clear nevertheless that, if so, a *present reality has been sublimated to a future hope*. The priority of the *Jubilees* passage does not allow the view that at Qumran the idealised anthropology of an over enthusiastic eschatology has begun to press in upon the present).

Thirdly, the point about the absence of curses in IQSb is somewhat mute given that (a) the blessing of the prince certainly attests the judgement of God's enemies and (b) another Qumran text, the *War Scroll*, which is undoubtedly written for the "eschaton", does not lack curses along side blessings, but specifically includes them (IQM 13:4-6).

Fourthly, the priestly blessings of the first four columns of IQSb "have no elements of eschatology or any connotation of the future".³² Formally, all these blessings are governed by the לְמַשְׁכִּיל heading (1:1; 3:22; 5:20) and they use Numbers 6:22-27 as a conceptual and literary frame, whereas the Aaronic blessing is missing from the blessing of the Prince of the Congregation. This suggests the latter could quite conceivably have had a separate liturgical usage from what precedes. The assumption that columns 4 and 5 relate the blessings on the king and priest as two figures of equal significance who could not function one without the other needs to be questioned. As a sectarian, breakaway, temple movement the Qumran community were able to exercise power over their own private religious world, but, obviously, not over the larger civil society. Of this they must have been fully conscious and it is perfectly possible that they used the priestly blessing, but held back the blessing for the prince as a future hope. The blessing of the high priest sets him "in the palace of the kingdom (בְּהֵיכַל מַלְכוּת)" (lines 25-26). This language gives to the high priest overtly royal rights and, whilst the high priest's adoption of royal features has a long history in the post-exilic period, this may have served to compensate in the community's present for the absence of a fully independent royal figure.

³² Stegemann 1996, 500.

The existence within the one scroll of parts that are meant for the future and parts that are already used in practice is, in any case, a fact that cannot be denied. IQSb is not really an entirely separate scroll, but is part of the larger work containing IQS, IQSa and IQSb and the degree to which these three can be identified as rigidly distinct works is unclear. That they were joined in one large scroll speaks for their practical and thematic unity which is consistent with the fact that they are all designated "for the *maskil*". Within this one composite work there is a piece which is probably set aside for the future (IQSa) and one that was certainly in frequent use already within the movement (IQS). So we should not be surprised also to find that within IQSb parts, indeed the majority, were already in use and one part (the blessing of the prince) was included with a view to a future state of affairs.

From his study of this passage, Johannes Zimmerman has concluded that a present usage is probable and he notes that this is supported by the analogy between the setting in the heavenly world and that of the liturgy of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* which everyone agrees describes the community's current worship experience.³³ Indeed, the closest parallel in Qumran literature for the setting of the high priest's service "in the palace of the kingdom (בְּהֵיכַל מַלְכוּת)" is the reference to the "palaces of the king (בְּהֵיכַל מֶלֶךְ)" in the first of the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400 1 i 13).³⁴

In conclusion, then, the blessing of the high priest in IQSb 4:22-28 is an important witness to the Qumran community's priestly theology. In this text a holder of the highest priestly office is given an angelomorphic identity and function, bringing visible and concrete manifestation (glorifying) God's Name. This is possible because of the priest's peculiar attire which gives him judicial prerogatives, the power of illumination and the responsibility of bearing God's Name. In all probability this blessing reflects the community's existing liturgical practice and is not simply a future hope. As we should expect from a sectarian community which has broken away from the Jerusalem temple, there is here evidence of liturgical activity which was designed to replace that in Jerusalem: the community had their own (Zadokite) high priest whom they regarded as an angelomorphic bearer of God's Name and his Glory.

³³ 1998, 284.

³⁴ Noted by Frennecsson 1999, 87 n. 14.

The Founding of an Angelic Priesthood among the Holy (4Q511 35)

The second explicit statement of priestly angelomorphism in the Dead Sea Scrolls is provided by a fragment of the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510-511) another text, which like 1QSb is written for the *maskil*.³⁵ These *Songs* are theurgic and prophylactic in nature empowering the singer in a spiritual battle against "all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls (4Q510 1 5)" and other sources of wickedness. The *Songs* are themselves instruments of war against the demonic. They are written with a self-conscious recognition that the righteous live in the "time of the dominion of wickedness" (4Q510 1 6-7 = 4Q511 10 3). In one fragment there is the kind of lamentation over human frailty that is now familiar from the *Hodayot* (4Q511 28 +29 2-4). However, in another fragment the³⁶ singer is completely without sin and only purity proceeds from his lips, he hates all deeds of impurity because God has made "the knowledge of understanding shine in his heart (האיר אלוהים) (רעה ביה בלבבי)" (4Q511 18 ii 6 7-8).

Fragment 35 of one of the two texts that preserves these *Songs* is particularly important since it describes the establishment of an inner community of angelic priests within the Qumran Essene movement. Fragment 35 of 4Q511 reads as follows:

1. [יִיב לְאֵל] בְּכֹל בָּשָׂר וּמִשְׁפָּט נִקְמָה לְכָל רָעָה וְלֹעַ [יִי]
2. אִפִּי אֱלֹהִים בְּמוֹקְקֵי שִׁבְעִים וּבְקֹדְשֵׁי יְקִי [ש]
3. אֱלֹהִים לֹא לְמִקְדָּשׁ עֹלָמִים וְשֹׁהֲרָה בְּנִבְרִים וְהוּ
4. כֹּהֲנִים עִם צִדְקָה צָבָאוּ וּמִשְׁרָחִים מְלֹאכֵי כְבוֹדוֹ
5. יִהְיֶה לָהֶם בְּהַפְלֵא גִדְרָאֹתָ (vacat)
6. וְאֵנִי מִיָּדָא [] אֵל בְּקִצֵּי דְרוּחֵי לְרוּמָם שֵׁם דְּבַר [חֵי לְפַחַד]
7. בְּנִבְרָתוֹ כִּי [ל] רֹחֵי מְמֹזְרִים לְהַכְנִיעַם מִיָּדָא

1. [A indictment for God] against all flesh, and an avenging judgment to destroy wickedness, for the rag[ing]
2. anger of God. Among those seven times refined³⁷ and among the holy ones God will sanctify

³⁵ See 4Q510 1 4 "And I, a *maskil*"; "למשכיל שיר" (4Q511 2 i 1). For the *editio princeps* see M. Baillet in *DJD* 7:215-62. See the discussions of 4Q511 frag. 35 in Davidson 1992, 282-5; Nitzan 1994b, 236-272.

³⁶ Following Nitzan 1994, 242. Baillet had אלוהים [י].

³⁷ For "those seven times refined" see 1QH^a 13:15-16 [5:15-16] (= 4QHodayot^a (4Q429) 1 ii 1-3) and 4Q177 ii (frags. 11 + 10 + 26 + 9 + 20 + 7) (= 4QCatenae^a) lines 1-2 where the seven fold refining is related to the stone with seven eyes in Zechariah 3:9. See also Ps 12:7 and 1QH^a 6:3-4 [14:3-4] "those refined (מוקק) (מוקק)

3. for Himself for an eternal sanctuary, (and for) purity amongst the cleansed. And they will be
4. priests, His righteous people, His host and servants, the angels of His Glory.
5. They shall praise Him with marvellous prodigies (*vocat*)
6. And I, a god, causing fear[]³⁸ in the ages of my generation, to exult the Name is my wo[rld to terrify]³⁹
7. by His might al[] the spirits of the bastards, subduing them, causing fear[]⁴⁰

Lines 1–5 describe an angelic priesthood and the first line of the following paragraph, line 6, may also witness to the *maskil's* belief that he himself is divine. Because the translation of the main body of this fragment has been disputed we shall deal with that first.

As I have translated the Hebrew here there is a straightforward description of God's choosing from the larger body of the true Israel (the holy ones) an inner priestly group who function as "an eternal sanctuary (and) purity amongst the cleansed", these are not only to be his priests, his servants and his righteous people but also "*the angels of His Glory*". However, though this is the most straightforward translation of our text,⁴¹ it is not without its detractors.

In the first place this translation and interpretation means that "some of the holy ones" in line 2 are human beings. James Davila thinks the קדושים are angels and this allows the creation of a mixed community of angels (holy ones) and men (those seven times refined). In this case the expression "angels of His Glory" two lines later need only apply to the suprahuman holy ones.⁴² This reading is unsatisfactory principally because the idea of God *sanctifying* angels in order

in poverty". Against Baillet *DJD* 7:237, Vermes 1997, 422 and *DSSSE*, 511 there is no reason to have here the raging anger of God directed *against* those seven times refined.

³⁸ The small lacuna here is not included in the transcription of the editor, M. Baillet (*DJD* 7:237), but is clear on the photographic plate (pl. LXII) as is pointed out by E. Chazon (*DJD* 29:374 n. 12).

³⁹ Restoration on the basis of 4Q511 B 4 (לפחד מידאיה).

⁴⁰ At this point I differ from the translation of the *editio princeps* which restores [] מירא[] ורוא לכול and translates "par [Sa] crain[te. *Non pour toutes*]. The restoration of the lacuna seems overconfident and the word מירא is best taken on analogy with all the other instances of the *Piel* form in the *Songs of the Sage*, 8Q5 and 4Q444.

⁴¹ See e.g. Nitzan 1994b, 242; Vermes 1997, 422; *DSSSE*, 1033; Frennesson 1999, 74, who all agree, with minor variations, on a translation which entails one human and angelic subject.

⁴² 1999a, 479.

that they might serve as "an eternal sanctuary", albeit alongside exalted humans, is odd and otherwise unattested in contemporary literature. On the other hand the idea that humanity shall serve as God's sanctuary is elsewhere well attested at Qumran (esp. the מקדש אדם of 4Q174 1:6). And in 4Q377 it is precisely when God sanctifies Moses that he functions as an angel.

In another portion of the *Songs of the Sage* the expression "for the holy ones of his people (לקדושי עמו)" is certainly used of humanity (4Q511 2 i 6) and so there is no grounds for thinking "holy ones" must refer to (suprahuman) angels.⁴³ As we shall see the distinction between the larger community of holy ones and those who are set aside as the holiest of the holy ones is typical of a number of DSS texts which describe the formation of the Essene movement.

Secondly, there are those who have tried to avoid the natural reading of line 4 which calls the human priesthood both the "His righteous people" and "the angels of His Glory". André Caquot is not happy with the designation of the righteous as angels because he thinks that in QL "there remains a distance between the heavenly beings who serve God in his palaces and the creatures of flesh and blood that God has chosen for the service on earth."⁴⁴ He therefore follows M. Baillet's translation of the Hebrew משרתים מלאכי כבודו as a reference to ministers who serve the angels of God's Glory (Baillet: "ministres des anges de Sa glorie";⁴⁵ Caquot "ceux qui servent Ses anges glorieux").⁴⁶ This he tries to explain on analogy with the relationship between priests and Levites in the OT (Num 3:6; 8:26).

But this solution to the "problem" is beset with difficulties of its own. First, it strains the sense of the Hebrew: משרתים is clearly in the absolute, not the construct, state. Read as an absolute the line makes for an appropriate pleonastic list of appositional epithets. In the context of the *Songs of the Sage*, 4Q511 2 i 10 provides a neat parallel for the human community acting in the service of God (לשרתו) and indeed this is the way the verb and its cognates is used throughout the scrolls.

⁴³ The twelve camps of Israel may be described as "[His] holy ones" in 4Q511 2 i 7 (see Nitzan 1994b, 261), though, unsurprisingly, Baillet (*DJD* 7:221) avoids this reading. For human "holy ones" or "saints" see Ps 34:10; Wis 13:9; 1 Macc 1:46; 1 Enoch 99:16; 100:5; T. Levi 13:11, 14.

⁴⁴ 1988, 424.

⁴⁵ *DJD* 7:237.

⁴⁶ 1988, 425.

Secondly, if the text refers to the human priests as "servants of the angels of His Glory" there is a real danger that this would mean a *vereneration of angels*. Whilst Caquot's suggestion that the human priests serve the angels as the Levites serve the priests is, of course, possible, the text nevertheless runs the risk of being read as a description of the worship by humans of angels. This is nowhere else attested in QL and is, in fact, a thing which is otherwise carefully avoided in contemporary Jewish texts.¹⁷

Thirdly, even if the expression "angels of His Glory" is not taken to refer to the human priests of the previous lines, that does not altogether remove the angelomorphic language. That the righteous as a whole are called "holy ones" and that the priesthood are set aside as "His host" already implies that the text has in mind an angelomorphic humanity, since these two terms have a primary orientation towards the heavenly in post-biblical literature. Caquot's translation has not, therefore, removed altogether the sense that the earthly cult has become heavenly.

Ultimately this French translation is really a witness to the impropriety of imposing upon the DSS a cosmology which is so little in evidence in the texts themselves: there is relatively little indication that the Qumran community thought of heaven and earth as two separate but synchronized spheres in which the righteous on earth mirrored, but were subordinate to the angels in heaven. Rather the overwhelming evidence is for their belief in heaven as a shared community between angels and men in which status and identity has become fluid between the two types of being.

Yet another attempt to avoid the natural reading of fragment 35 is offered by Maxwell Davidson.¹⁸ Davidson perceives the implausibility of Caquot's solution and, instead, translates line 4-5 with a break at וּמְשֵׁרָתָם , thus: "his righteous people, his host. And ministers, angels of his glory shall praise him".¹⁹ One of our criticisms of Caquot's interpretation applies also here: the human priesthood already has angelomorphic associations by virtue of its designation

¹⁷ See Bauckham 1983; Stuckenbruck 1995. 4Q381 frag. 1 perhaps records the quite different view that the angels worship true humanity (see above).

¹⁸ 1992, 284.

¹⁹ Davila 1999a, 479 also adopts this translation, though strictly speaking his interpretation need only depend on the identification of the holy ones in line 2 as angels.

as "holy ones" and "His host". In the train of thought from line 2 we really expect a reference to the human priesthood, not some entirely other group as those who praise God. Elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sage* it is the human priesthood, not the angels above who act as God's ministers (4Q511 2 i 10). Davidson's interpretation is founded on the surprising claim that "nowhere else in the corpus is there found an expectation that the sectarians will live in heaven, let alone become angels".⁵⁰

Whilst there are these difficulties to any translation which would seek to avoid a description of a community of human priests as God's angels, there are many other reasons why that straightforward reading should be retained. In general terms this text reflects the angelomorphic priesthood tradition which is well established in other texts. Once more the language is *doxological*: the human priesthood are "angels of His *Glory*" because they bear, or embody, his Glory. To call the human priesthood God's "host", that body of heavenly beings that accompanies the divine warrior, is to generalize from the characterisation of Aaron as *the* divine warrior (Sirach 45:7-8) to the priesthood as a whole. The use of the all-important word "servants" of the angelomorphic priesthood is what we would expect from *Jubilees* 31:14 where Levi is "to *serve* in his sanctuary as the angels of the presence". Whereas in *Jubilees* Levi is to serve "in his sanctuary", now in 4Q511 35 the priesthood are themselves *to be* that sanctuary; a difference which reflects the fact that *Jubilees* is proto-Essene, lacking the sense—which appears in the community's own later literature—that the righteous themselves can act as *Ersatz* Temple. Again, the designation of the *priesthood* as super-sanctified holy ones reflects an intensification of the older tradition according to which the angelomorphic Levites serve as "holy ones" (*Jubilees* 31:14).⁵¹

Israel Are the Holy Ones and Aaron Are the Holiest of the Holy Ones

This text describes the formation of an inner community (the eternal sanctuary) within the sectarian movement (those seven times

⁵⁰ 1992, 284.

⁵¹ It is possible that in 4Q511 frag. 8 the *maskil* believes that he dwells in the shelter of the Most High (see *DJD* 4:224 and Nitzan 1994b, 242 for a reconstruction, cf. Eshel 1999, 630). In view of the imagery in *Eth. Enoch* 39:7-8 of the transformed and glorious righteous dwelling "underneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits" this text may have had in view the *maskil's* own heavenly identity.

refined and the holy ones). This enables us to locate the text within a wider literary and conceptual topos in the DSS corpus. We at once think of the well known statement in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 1:6 that there shall be a *מקדש אדם* replacing the Jerusalem Temple, which will act as a spiritual temple offering "works of thanksgiving" as sacrifices (1:7).⁵²

In 4Q511 35 2 the text says that God "will sanctify (יקדש)" some from among "the holy ones (קדושים)". This should now be compared with the recurrent statement in QL that the community is composed of the laity of Israel who are "holy" and the priesthood (Aaron) who are "holy of holies". In the eighth column of the Cave I version of the Community Rule there is described the establishment of "a holy house for Israel (בית קודש לישראל) and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron (ומסד קודש קדושים לאהרון)" (1QS 8:5-6, cf. 8:8-9).⁵³ As we would expect from a spiritual sanctuary of men these are to atone for the land and to offer up a sweet sacrificial odour, fulfilling the function of the cult. Again in 1QS 9:5-6 the men of the sacrificial community "shall separate themselves (into) a house of holiness for Aaron, for the Community, a holy of holies and a house of the community for Israel (בית קודש לאהרון ליהוד קודש קדושים) ובית יחד לישראל".⁵⁴

In 4QMMT B 75-82 the community's *Halakhic Letter* disputes with outsiders on the inappropriate mixing of separate kinds. Endogamous marriages between priests and people is forbidden on the grounds that "Israel is holy (קודש ישראל)" (76) and composed of "holy ones (קדושים)", whilst the "sons of Aaron are the holiest of the holy (ק[דושי קדושים]" (79).⁵⁵

Both 1QS 8-9 and 4QMMT testify to a fundamental distinction between the priesthood and laity which is a hallmark of Qumran law.⁵⁶ Both these texts also represent an early and foundational stage

⁵² 4Q174-1 i 21 2 line 7: "works of thanksgiving (תודה)". George J. Brooke has rightly pointed out (Brooke 1999, 288) that there is probably here a deliberate pun on "works of Torah (עבודה)", in line with the *double entendre* of the phrase *miqdash Adam* in which the community's worship is conceived of as a metaphorical sanctuary.

⁵³ Compare the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Community Rule* which show no substantial variant at this point (4Q258 col. vi (frags. 3a-d), see *DJD* 26:105-109) and 4Q259 (4QS^c) cols. ii-iii (frags. 2a i, 2b-d), see *DJD* 26:139-148).

⁵⁴ Cf. 4Q258 vii 6-7 (*DJD* 26:109-114). This passage is missing from 4QS^c.

⁵⁵ Compare generally Exod 19:6; Lev 11:44; 1 Chr 23:13 and see *DJD* 10:172-4.

⁵⁶ So Harrington 1998, 175-6. Harrington compares also 4Q381 76:7 which

in the development of the Community's self-consciousness: the eighth column of the IQS is generally reckoned to be the oldest stratum of the *Community Rule* and 4QMMT gives us a glimpse of the halakhic and political disputes that lead to the breaking away of the Qumran Community from the larger body politic in the second century B.C. 4Q511 frag. 35 would also seem to presuppose this distinction. In neither the *Community Rule* or the *Halakhic Letter* is there any sense that the cultic community is ultimately subordinate in its praise to that of the angels in heaven above: the emphasis is entirely upon the human community's effecting of atonement. As we shall see this "holy" and "holy of holies" distinction also appears in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* where, as we find in the *Songs of the Sage*, the human community is itself a heavenly, angelic one.

As with IQSb, 4Q511 frag. 35 does not have a straightforward reference to the present life of the sectarian community. Throughout lines 2-5 the verbs are in the future tense. However, the conceptual overlap with material in the *Community Rule* and other Qumran texts means that what is described here as a future event was in fact already realised in the life of the Essene movement.

The maskil as "a God Causing fear"

After the *vacat* at the end of line 5 our fragment picks up a new section with the *maskil* speaking in the first person. The first three words of line 7 are difficult.⁵⁷ There are, broadly speaking, two ways of translating this phrase. Most translate with some reference to "the fear of God" (cf. ירא יהוה Isa 50:10; Pss 25:12; 128:1, Prov 14:2 and ירא אלהים Gen 22:12; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Eccles 7:18).⁵⁸ In this case the preposition -ב has been added to give the sense "And as for me, because of the fear of God". In this case it is the speaker's own fear of God which qualifies him as one who is able to subdue "all the spirits of bastards". The second alternative is to see in מירא a *piel* causative participle; "to make afraid, terrify" (Neh 6:9, 14, cf. 2 Chr

refers, in a highly broken context, to the "congregation of the Holy of the Holy Ones, lot of the King of Kings (עַרְוֹת קְדוֹשִׁים נִרְבָּל מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי מַלְכִּים)". See E. Schuller in *DJD* 11:155-158. The text seems to speak further on of Israel's ruling of the whole world (line 15).

⁵⁷ See the discussions of Nitzan 1994b, 242 n. 65 and E. Chazon *DJD* 29:374.

⁵⁸ Baillet *DJD* 7:238 "Et moi, qui répands la crainte de Dieu..."; *DSSSE*, 1031: "And as for me, I spread the fear of God in the ages of...". Nitzan 1994b, 242 has "And I, who terrify in the name of God".

32:18). The expression *אל מירא* could then mean "a terrifier of God", though it would be more natural to take *אל* as the subject, as I have done, and translate "I, a god causing fear, . . .". Obviously this would then be a quite remarkable statement of the *maskil's* own divinity. Presumably because this is assumed to give such an unprecedented sense it has not before been given serious consideration. Although certainty is not possible, linguistic, contextual and tradition-historical considerations all suggest that this translation is the right one.

In making sense of this phrase in 4Q511 frag. 35 it is necessary to compare language elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sage* and in texts of a similar genre. To my knowledge there is no comparable Hebrew expression meaning "fear of God" in related Qumran literature. But, on the other hand, the *pi'el* participle appears in a similar form elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511 8 4: "second [s]ong to frighten those who terrify (*שיר שני לפחד מירא*)",⁵⁹ cf. 4Q511 11 5; 111 6; 121 3). In 8Q5 frag. 1, line 1, one of two fragments of a related hymnic and prophylactic text contains the words "[In your Name, {O M}ighty One, I cause fear and . . . [בשמכון] [בור אני מירא ומען]".⁶⁰ The language here is parallel to 4Q511 35 6-7 where the *maskil* fights the demonic "by His might (*בגבורה*)" and "exults the Name (*לרומם שם*)".⁶¹ In the other fragment of 8Q5 there appears the Tetragrammaton itself, though unfortunately the context is not extant.⁶²

The language is also very close to that of 4Q444 (4QIncantation), a text with a close literary relationship with the *Songs of the Sage* (particularly with 4Q511 35 6-8 and 4Q511 48-9 + 51 1-8).⁶³ The reconstructed first four lines of the first column of this text read:

⁵⁹ Baillet *DJD* 7:2225 "ceux qui inspirent la crainte"; *DSSSE*, 1031; Vernes 1997, 421. Or, perhaps, on analogy with 4Q444 1 4 + 5 1, "second [s]ong for terror, (a song) causing fear". The reading is complicated by the possibility of an additional *l* suffix on *מירא* (see *DJD* 7:224, where the reading is possible, but not certain, and pl. LIX).

⁶⁰ *DJD* 3:161-162 (pl. XXXV).

⁶¹ In Cave 8 there were found a few fragments of Genesis 17 and 18 and Psalms 17 and 18 and a collection of Phylacteries and Mezuzoth (see *DJD* 3:149-161, pls. XXXII-XXXIV). The combination of these ritual objects and small fragments of a text obviously used for theurgic conflict with the demonic is perhaps not a coincidence.

⁶² The writing of the Tetragrammaton in a text which has otherwise clearly sectarian language (viz. frag. 1, line 1) undermines the standard scholarly opinion that the writing of the Name was strictly avoided by genuinely sectarian texts. That it appears here suggests, rather, that at least in written form it could be used in the appropriate ritual context, perhaps by some (priests?) rather than others (the laity?).

⁶³ For the similarities see Glickler-Chazon 1994 and *DJD* 29:370-71. In the light

¹ And I (am?), a god causing fear (?) (וַאֲנִי מִירָאֵי אֵל) in the knowledge of his truth (כִּדְעָה אֱמֶתָה); he opened my mouth (פִּי) and from his holy spirit (וּמְרוֹחַ קִדְשׁוֹ)...² truth to a[ו]ן[] the]se. They became spirits of controversy in my (bodily) structure; law[s of God...³... in]blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of knowledge and understanding (רוּחַ דַּעַת), truth and righteousness, the Name of God in [my] he[ar]t (שֵׁם אֵל) (כָּל כְּבִי) and strengthen yourself by the laws of God (וּרְחַמְתֶּךָ) (בְּחֻקֵי אֵל), in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness, and not [...]

This is a liturgical, or "magical", text used to fight demonic oppression.⁶⁵ Again we encounter the peculiar phrase וַאֲנִי מִירָאֵי אֵל and the same translation possibilities are available.⁶⁶

Clearly the language in these three texts (4Q511 35, 8Q5 and 4Q444) represents the technical terminology of theurgic spiritual warfare. Between them, they also present the kind of anthropology which might lead to the claim that the sage who uses the liturgy is, in doing so, a "god". The speaker possesses and makes powerful use of God's Name.⁶⁷ In Jewish transformational mysticism, it is pre-eminently God's Name which can give its user a divine identity. The sage in 4Q511 35 acts in God's power (בְּגִבּוֹרָתוֹ) a theme which we shall find appearing frequently in Qumran texts where the righteous participate in the divine life. In 4Q444 1-4 + 5 line 1 God opens the speaker's mouth and it is from God's holy spirit that his authority,

of the considerable overlap in language, ideas and purpose, and the fragmentary state of 4Q444, Chazon's conclusion that the latter is not actually part of the *Songs of the Sage* is overly dogmatic. Given the liturgical, "magical", purpose of these texts the precise location of their literary deposit is, in any case, a mute issue. For a discussion of the small size of this text, implying its use as a phylactery, see Tov 1998, 409-410.

⁶⁴ The editor translates "God put in [my] he[ar]t". Although, certainly, possible a reference to the Name of God fits the interest in the theurgic power of God's Name in 4Q511 35 6 and 8Q5 1 1 and 2 3. A translation "... truth and righteousness, the name "god" in my he[ar]t" is another possibility which would fit my interpretation of 4Q511 35 6 and 4Q444 1-4 + 5 line 1.

⁶⁵ There are multiple echoes in this passage of Isaiah 11:1-5 which suggest a messianic consciousness has been adopted by the Jewish exorcist.

⁶⁶ There is an extra *yod* on מִירָאֵי in this text. This may also have been present in 4Q511 35 6 since there is a lacuna immediately after מִירָאֵי in that text. The presence of the additional *yod* makes no difference to the translation possibilities since it can function as a final *seve* (cf. Chazon in *DJI* 29:374).

⁶⁷ The use of the divine Name in the fight against the demonic is well attested both in the DSS (e.g. 11Q11 5:4) and more generally the magical texts which evince Jewish influence. (See e.g. *Prayer of Jacob* 8. See the recent survey in McDonough 1999, 93-98.)

power and speech then flows. This is the language of divine possession. In line 4 of the 4Q444 text the spiritual warrior is to strengthen himself "by the laws of God". These laws are certainly those of Torah and the notion is entirely consistent with the theme of a cosmologically attuned order that runs throughout the transformational tradition at Qumran. It also anticipates the theme of later mystical theology in the rabbinic period when conformity to Torah is the framework within which a mystical union with God is most clearly articulated.

Whilst contextual considerations favour the "god causing fear" interpretation there is not the same support for the "fear of God" reading. And, of course, the divine identity of the speaker is entirely consistent with 4Q511 35 1-5 where the Essene priesthood is described as a community of angels. There is little difference between a ךאלמ and an לא at Qumran and so, however foreign to "orthodox" Jewish or Christian theology this may seem, the *maskil's* claim to be "a god" should not surprise us.

The wider divine humanity tradition, both in and outside the Qumran library, also supports the view that here the *maskil* is a divine terror monger. In Sirach 45:2a Moses is made like the divine beings (angels/gods) and in 45:2b the Greek, and perhaps the original form of the Hebrew, has him made great "to the terror ($\epsilon\nu$ φόβοις, cf. B margin במורא) of his enemies".⁶⁸ Again, in 4Q374 the transfigured Moses is both "as God to Pharaoh" and a cause of reeling, fear and trembling to other mortals.⁶⁹ In the Septuagint version of Esther, Esther comes to the king, her husband, who is "scated on his royal throne, clothed in the full array of his epiphany ($\tau\eta\varsigma$ ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ), all covered with gold and precious stones ($\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\nu$ καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν). He was most terrifying ($\phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ σφόδρα)" (15:6). Esther collapses before him and when she recovers she tells him "I saw you, my lord, as an angel of God ($\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ἄγγελον θεοῦ), and my heart was shaken with fear at your glory ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ φόβου τῆς δόξης σου). For you are wonderful ($\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$), my lord, and your countenance is full of grace" (15:13-14). In the *Testament of Moses* 11:16-17 Moses is described as the Great Angel, the divine prophet for the whole

⁶⁸ For the view that the marginal text of the Geniza text of Sirach usually contains the more original reading, the *lectio difficilior*, which has been replaced in the main text by a reading more suited to the sensibilities and language of medieval synagogue culture, see Martone 1997, 91.

⁶⁹ Cf. Jewish *Orphica* 37.

world, the perfect teacher, and so on. His presence as a mediator in Israel's midst has kept the nation's enemies at bay. Before his final departure Joshua is, therefore, anxious that when Moses is gone the kings of the Amorites will no longer fear the presence of the "sacred spirit" in Israel's midst and they will go up against her. Moses is here a divine human who causes fear to the nations around Israel.

In these texts, obviously, the divine human is a cause of fear to other *mortals*. As we shall see this is a theme taken up more extensively in the *War Scroll*. But the theme can be attenuated to a more narrowly individualistic and spiritual conflict. So, for example, in the *Testament of Job* 47:10 the magical cords that Job gives to his daughters which give them an angelic, heavenly identity, are for their physical and spiritual protection against "the enemy". These are the cords which God had himself given to Job (cf. Job 38:3; 40:2: "arise, gird your loins like a man") that he might be freed from Satanic affliction (*T. Job* 47:5-9). In the magical *Prayer of Jacob*, use of the divine Name in its form Iaw (8) is appropriate for one who has become "as an earthly angel" (19) and who seeks "power over the chasm" (11).⁷⁰ Here the prerogative of the priesthood as the bearer of God's image—the possession of the divine Name and the power of the divine warrior over the forces of chaos—is seized for personal magical use.⁷¹ These texts are, I would suggest, the appropriate history-of-religions background for the interpretation of the language of 4Q511 35 6 and 4Q444 i 1.

The characterisation of the Jewish charismatic as a divine and fearsome master of the magical arts was perhaps well known in antiquity. The following passage from the Latin author Pompeius Trogus, at the turn of the eras, perhaps reflects the material in our Dead Sea Scroll texts:

The youngest of the brothers was Joseph, whom the others, *fearing his extraordinary abilities*, secretly made prisoner and sold to some foreign merchants. Being carried by them into Egypt, and having there, by his shrewd nature, made himself *master of the arts of magic*, he found in

⁷⁰ Goodenough 1953-68, vol. 2 pp. 203-204; *OTP* 2:715-723.

⁷¹ For the influence of priestly and temple theology on Jewish magic note the activity of the seven sons of the Jewish high priest named Sceva in Acts 19:13-16. For the place of apotheosis in Jewish magic see the material cited by Goodenough 1953-68, vol. 2, p. 172 and for the magician causing fear see vol. 2, p. 176.

a short time great favour with the king; for he was eminently skilled in prodigies, and was the first to establish the science of interpreting dreams; and nothing indeed of *divine or human law* seemed to have been unknown to him . . . such being the proofs of his knowledge that his admonitions seemed to proceed, *not from a mortal, but a god (non ab homine, sed a deo)*.⁷²

This portrayal of Joseph as a divine magician probably reflects also the native Jewish tradition ascribing to Joseph an angelomorphic or divine identity (*Joseph and Aseneth*, *Jubilees* 40:7) and the indications in the biblical text itself of Joseph's magical abilities (Gen 44:15).⁷³

A common denominator between 4Q511 frag. 35 and 4Q444 is the pairing of unclean spirits with "bastards" (4Q444 i 8 + 4Q511 35 7, cf. 4Q511 48+49+51 ii 2-3; 4Q511 2 ii 3). These will be the offspring of the fallen watchers of the Enoch Tradition. Philip Alexander has drawn attention to the way in which, in this respect, the *maskil* in the *Songs* is "seen in a Noahic role, interceding for his Community and defending them against spiritual evil."⁷⁴ In material from the Book of Noah which is preserved in *Jubilees* 10 the binding of the spirits is the responsibility of the angels of the presence (10:7, 11) and they tell Noah how to restrain them and heal their diseases. Noah records these angelic arts in a book which he passes on to Shem, his oldest son (10:13-14). If the incantations in the *Songs of the Sage* and 4Q444 are indebted to this tradition then it is surely not insignificant that Noah himself is both archetypal priest and angelomorphic bearer of God's image.

The language of 4Q511 35 6 is formulaic: this is the technical terminology of a particular liturgical form. This technicality hampers our ability to understand exactly what the phrase מרוא (אל) means since it will be defined by a specific ritual *Sitz im Leben* whose cultural and linguistic grammar is now lost to us. Absolute certainty of interpretation is therefore unattainable. Obviously, however, the implications for Qumran theology and the interpretative possibilities of other texts mentioning מרוא are significant if here the *maskil* himself speaks—in the liturgical or "magical" moment—as "a god". Whereas

⁷² Justin *Historiae Philippicae* 36:1:6-10, see Stern 1974, 335, 337.

⁷³ For Joseph's relationship with the Babylonian Asipu ("exorcist") see McLaurin 1975. Jewish magic and the idealisation of Joseph perhaps also stand behind the historical figure of Simon Magus, who is also regarded as divine, in Acts 8:9-24.

⁷⁴ 1997, 322.

heroes of old like Moses or Jacob, or an eschatological figure of the stature of Melchizedek, are similarly so-called in contemporary texts, here the idealization of the righteous hero leads to an unashamedly divine self-consciousness for the leader of the Qumran community.

A Concern in the Songs of the Sage for God's Ordering of His People

The conceptual parameters of 4Q511 35 emerge with greater clarity from another fragmentary portion of the text. 4Q511 2 i describes God's choosing of the people of Israel as a whole, his placing them in twelve camps and his instituting the feasts of the year for the service of worship with language that is generally similar to fragment 35:

¹ For the *maskil* a song (למשכיל שיר) [. . . ² His holiness and exult Him all those who know [. . . ³ and the chief of dominio[ns He has re]moved without [. . . ⁴ et]ernal and everlasting life to make the light shine (ודי' נצח לאיר אור) [. . . ⁵ His [l]ot is Jacob's best (רשיח בעקרב), and the inheritance (נחלה) of G[od] [. . .] Israel [. . . ⁶ those who [keep] the way of God and His [h]oly pat[h] for the holy ones of His people (לקרושי עמי) in the knowl[edge of . . . ⁷ Go]d the understanding(?) He has placed [I]srael in [t]welve camps of [His] holy ones (קדוש) * . . .] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] His glorious luminaries (מאורות כבוד) in his Name the pr[ai]se of ⁹ their [. . .] for the feasts of the year and the communal [do]minion (יח' משלה יחד) (לכועדי שנה) to walk in the lot of ¹⁰ [God] according to [His] Glory, [and] to serve Him in the lot of the people of His throne (ו[ן] לשרו נבורל עם כסאו). For, the God of [. . .

Deuteronomy 32:9—"the LORD's own portion was his people, Jacob his allotted share"—provides the language in line 5. Lines 7-10 seem to describe Israel as a cosmologically attuned people. Lines 8-9 obviously draw on Genesis 1:14 where the heavenly bodies are created "ולמערים . . . ושנים".⁷⁵ In the context of the references to the luminaries in line 8 the language of dominion in line 9 probably draws on Genesis 1:16. The interesting point here is that Israel is set in a cosmic order.⁷⁶ The communal dominion clearly envisages the sun and the moon (and stars) along with the people of God sharing their

⁷⁵ So Baillet *DJD* 7:222.

⁷⁶ Given the other ways in which this passage relies on Genesis 1 the opening words of line 5 *והיה רשית בעקרב* are suggestive of the first word of the Hebrew Bible (בראשית). And given that speculation on the potential meanings of this first word for the role of a divine mediator in creation were well established in the first century A.D. (see Colossians 1:15-20 and discussion in Wright 1991, 99-118), the possibility that here Jacob/Israel is given a cosmogonic responsibility is intriguing. Because the text is broken there is nothing more here than a tantalizing possibility.

dominion over the order of creation (particularly the regions of day and night—Genesis 1:16). The specific reference to Israel being placed in *twelve* camps must, in this context, have in mind the twelve months of the year to which the very structure of God's elect people is attuned. It is as a cosmic people that the elect walk in God's lot "according to His Glory" and that they are "the people of His throne".⁷⁷

Now it might be thought that this text provides good grounds for reading in fragment 35 not an angelomorphic priesthood but the more clearly defined roles of human and angel in separate but synchronized worship, the angels in heaven and the elect on earth below. However, we do not have here the straightforward two-story universe that modern commentators so often have in their minds. We should not be misled by the reference to "the angels of his glorious luminaries". Throughout the text the focus is upon creation and Israel's special lot within it. The "angels of the luminaries" is best understood as a hypostatisation of the spiritual personality within the sun, the moon and the stars and it is with these that Israel shares its worship.

The Time of the Creation of the Angelic Priesthood

Before leaving 4Q511 35 there is one last interpretative issue which must be tackled. When does the text envisage the creation of the everlasting sanctuary of angelic human priests? Throughout lines 2–5 the verbs are in the future tense. A cumulative case can be made, however, for the view that what the text looks forward to as a future event is now a present reality for the implied readership.

Bilhah Nitzan has noted the conceptual framework for the *Songs* is the means by which the demonic is kept at bay in the period before the final banishment of all wickedness.⁷⁸ This is the period in which the Qumran community believed they had been placed as a bridgehead before God's kingdom finally arrived. As we have seen the division within the text between the holy and the super holy corresponds to the already established division with the Essene movement between the laity and priesthood. And our discussions of lines 6–7 and 4Q511 2 i both indicate that the anthropology of this

⁷⁷ *Pace* Baillet *DJD* 7:222 the "עַם כְּסֹאֵר" are not "Les anges qui entourent le trône de Dieu".

⁷⁸ 1994b, 237, 251–2.

text corresponds to the contemporary liturgical realities of the life of the community.

The one factor which might, nevertheless, point to a future situation for 4Q511 lines 1-5 is the description in the first two lines of God's "avenging judgement" and "raging anger" "to destroy wickedness". This looks forward to the eschatological scenario envisaged in the *War Scroll* and it may be that the main body of our fragment looks forward to the (thoroughly historical) conditions of that period. As we shall see in chapter 11 the description of the community and its sanctuary here corresponds very well to the organization of God's people for the Holy War of 1QM. But in our discussion of the first of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in chapter 9 we shall also discover that the angelomorphic priesthood who are set apart in 4Q511 35 are the very same liturgical community who sang the *Sabbath Songs* at Qumrañ and at Masada. What is described in the future tense in 4Q511 is certainly a present reality in the *Sabbath Songs*. Whatever the precise intention of 4Q511 35's temporal perspective in these three texts (*Songs of the Sage*, 1QM and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) there is assumed an essential continuity between current liturgical arrangements and those of the eschaton.

4Q418 (4QInstruction) Frag. 81

We have already seen how the long and much used sapiential text 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q415ff. + 1Q26) thinks of the righteous as a whole in angelic terms. One passage from this text best preserved in 4Q418 81 (overlapping with 4Q423 8) shows a similar bifurcation within the people of God to that we have now studied in 4Q511 35:

¹ Your lips are the opening of a spring to bless the holy ones (לכרך יקדשם). And you (ואתה), as an eternal spring praise [. . .] he has separated you from every ² spirit of flesh (הברדילכה מכיל רוח כשר). As for you (ואתה), separate (הכרל) from all that he hates, and abstain (הנך) *from all the abominations of the soul. [Fo]r he has made all, ³ and caused each man to inherit his inheritance. And He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam (והוא חלקכה ונחלחכה) (בחרך בני אדם [and over] his (Adams? Gods?) inheritance he has made you²⁹ ruler (ובני אלהו המשילמה). And you (ואתה) ⁴ glorify him in this

²⁹ The corrected text (מה-) has "them", which is certainly possible, but "you" (כה-) makes better sense (see *DJD* 34:302, 305).

(בזה כבודו), in sanctifying yourself for him (בהקדשכה לו) in accordance with his placing you for the Holy of Holies (שמחה לקדוש קדשים) [for all⁹⁰] the earth (חבל) [לכול]. And among the [g]o[ds] (ובכול) [א]ל[ים].⁹ he has cast your lot (הפיל נרלכה) and multiplied your Glory exceedingly (וכבדכה חרבה מוארה) and he has placed you for Himself as a first born (וישמכה לו בכור) among[. . . (saying:)]⁶ “. . . and my goodness I will give to you”. And as for you (ואתה), does not his goodness belong to you? And in faithfulness to Him walk continuously [. . .⁷ your works. And you (ואתה), seek His judgments from all your adversaries, in all⁸ love him; and with {eternal} kindness and mercy towards all who keep His word and show zeal for Him[. . .⁹ And as for you (ואתה), [He has op]ened insight for you, and He has given you authority over his treasure (כאוצר), and an *ephah* of truth He has appointed[. . .¹⁰ they are with you. And it is in your hand to turn away anger from the men of pleasure [להשיב אף מאנשי רצון] and to visit upon[. . .¹¹ your people/with you (עמכה) before you receive your inheritance from His hand. Glorify His holy ones and be[fore . . .¹² *begin* [with a so]ng (for?) all the holy ones (שיר כול קדשים) and all called by His name (will be) holy [. . .¹³ during all the times of his splendour (וזדרה), his beauty (פארתה) for the eter[nal] plantation[. . .¹⁴ . . .] world in it will walk all who inherit the earth, for in [. . .

Clearly the one who is addressed here has a transcendent ontology: like the true humanity, the people of spirit, created after the pattern of the holy ones in another part of the same work (4Q417 1 i 16-17/4Q418 43 13) the addressee has been separated from the “spirit of flesh” (line 2, cf. 4Q417 1 i 17/4Q418 43 13). God is his portion, he is regarded as God’s “first born” and his glory has been multiplied.

In examining more closely what is said of this exalted individual we have to bear in mind several interpretative issues posed by earlier commentators. First, who are the holy ones of lines 1, 11 and 12? Thus far it has been assumed that they are (suprahuman) angels, which, of course, means that the addressee is to bless the angels, glorify them and, perhaps, sing a song to them.⁹¹ Does this text then supply concrete evidence for a veneration or worship of angels, something many have felt must have been a widespread aspect of Jewish spirituality but for which unequivocal and extensive support

⁹⁰ The text here is reasonably certain given the overlap with 4Q423 8 3 (see DJD 34:301, 305).

⁹¹ Harrington 1994, 143; Elgvin 1993, 120.

in the primary texts has been hard to find?⁸² Secondly, who, precisely, is the addressee? Line 3 applies Numbers 18:20—"Then the LORD said to Aaron: 'You shall have no allotment in their land, nor shall you have any share among them; I am your portion and your inheritance among the Israelites (הלקך ותלחך בחוך בני ישראל)'—to the addressee. Torleif Elgvin has argued that here a privilege of the priesthood is "reinterpreted as a promise to the elect individual",⁸³ an interpretation consonant with the notable lack of any interest in the priesthood and cult in the rest of 1Q/4QInstruction.

In what follows we hope to demonstrate that *the individual here described is a priest who is set apart from the laity, who are the "holy ones", whom he is called to bless and glorify.* This interpretation is forced upon us by the details of the immediate text, consideration of the rest of 1Q/4QInstruction and broader reflections upon its place in the Qumran corpus.⁸⁴

The Vocation of the Priest in 4Q418 81

As Armin Lange has seen, it is not just the patent use of Numbers 18:20 which reveals the person's priesthood.⁸⁴ Lange points out that line 1 evokes the Temple well from which the waters of life flow in Jewish Temple mythology.⁸⁵ The use of the verb נָר in line 2 has strongly priestly connotations in post-exilic literature, and interpretation of Torah in line 7 is a priestly function in the Qumran context. But this is only to scratch the surface of the priestly portrait.

The way in which he is separated from a spirit of flesh of course attests a, by now, familiar topos within the divine anthropology tradition. The demarcation of the people of spirit from the spirit of flesh is ascribed to *the righteous in general* in another passage in 1Q/4QInstruction. But here the *separation* from (a spirit of) flesh, accom-

⁸² The question has been much discussed in the last century, though primarily amongst New Testament scholars anxious to explain the worship offered by early Christians to Jesus. Of the most recent treatments see, for example, Bauckham 1983, Hurtado 1988, Stuckenbruck 1995, Horbury 1998, 121-22.

⁸³ Elgvin 1998, 121. Elgvin's position has influenced the official editors, J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington (*DJD* 34:20-21, 305), though they are more cautious conceding the possibility that a real priest is in view.

⁸⁴ For the *Hiph'il* of נָשַׁל in the second half of line 3 ("he has made you ruler") compare the Hebrew of Sirach 45:17 where Aaron is similarly made to rule (נִשְׁלַחְתָּ) in statute and judgement.

⁸⁵ Lange 2000, 40. He compares Ezek 47; Ps 36:10; 46:5; 65:10 and Sir 24:25-31.

panied by *sanctification*, recalls very specifically the blessing of Levi in *Jubilees* 31:14.

In the context of a text preserved in the Qumran Library the fact that an individual is placed “for the holy of holies” (line 4) must evoke the way in which the priesthood within the Qumran community are set up as the holy of holies over against the laity who are the holy ones.⁶⁶ Not only does line 3 *cite* the privileges of the *Aaronic* priesthood the whole of lines 3–4a seem to have in mind a distinction between the position (“inheritance”) of the righteous in general and the position of this particular individual: “each man has his inheritance, and God is yours”. In general the theology is that shared by 1QS 8–9; 4QMMT and 4Q511 35, with at least one linguistic overlap with the former (4Q511 35 2–3 “יקדי [ש] אלהים לר” + 4Q418 81 4: “בהחקשכה לר”). In this case the addressee is a priest who, like the high priest in 1QSb 4:28, is set apart “for the holy of holies” and given the divine privilege assigned to Aaron by the biblical text. The repeated reference to the “holy ones” in 4Q418 81 is best taken, in this context, as a reference to the laity of Israel who are “holy” whilst Aaron is “holy of holies”.⁶⁷

In the midst of the densely packed first few lines of this passage the priest is told that in fulfilling his duties (self-sanctification, separating himself from everything that God hates etc . . .) *he glorifies God* (כבודו, line 4). This is now intelligible as yet another statement of the high priest’s role as bearer of divine Glory. The verbal form כבדו is unlikely to be purely transitive, but will also carry a certain reflexivity, not just because of the rhetoric of divine Glory in the priestly theology of other texts (Sirach 50, 1QSb 4; *Aristeas* 99), but because here too a reciprocal relationship between divine and human actors is clearly in view: whilst the priest glorifies God so also God has “exceedingly magnified his [i.e. the priest’s] glory”. Indeed, that this glory is the divine Glory, which the priestly tradition,

⁶⁶ Compare Lange 2000, 41 n. 7.

⁶⁷ Here I disagree with Elgvin’s view that there is “a lack of connections between 4QInstruction on the one hand, and MMT and priestly sectarian traditions on the other” (1998, 150). Elgvin’s view in this regard is related to his judgement that the Qumran community was the product of the merging of two groups, one composed of laity who cherished apocalyptic literature (*1 Enoch* and 1Q/4QInstruction), and another Zadokite lead priestly group who sought to give the movement a hierarchy. Here Weberian social theory is driving historiography.

so fully represented by Sirach, gives to the high priesthood is confirmed by the language of line 13 where the priest's vocation and privileges are set "during all the times of his splendour (הדרו), his beauty (פארהו)". Here, then, there are all the technical terms (כבוד, הדר, פאר, פאר) which define the space, time and ontology of priesthood in the tradition we have been tracing throughout this study (cf. esp. Sirach 45:7-8; 50:1, 5, 11). As in other DSS texts "all the times (קציו)" are probably liturgical, rather than eschatological or historical, in character (cf. 1QH^a 20:4 [12:4]; 1QS 10:1, 5).

With the citation of Numbers 20:18 a deliberate change to the biblical text is made. Where Numbers has "I am your portion and your inheritance among the Israelites," 4Q418 81 has, instead, "your share: your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam". Now this might be thought to support Elgvin's view that a prerogative of the priesthood has been "democratised" or given a universalist perspective. However, here and in the expression "for the holy of holies for all the earth", there is the cultic cosmology that we would expect from priestly tradition. The priest is set apart for the holy of holies which functions as sacred centre of the whole cosmos instantiated in the cult where he and the rest of the people of God embody the true Adam. As Elgvin himself has seen, the view that the righteous recapitulate the true Adamic identity, ruling (משל) over creation is clearly present in another passage in 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q423 1-2). The scene envisaged in 4Q418 81 3-4 is, once more, like that in Sirach 50 where the high priest embodying God's Glory is surrounded by the cultic community who fulfill the vision for the true Adam in a restored Eden.

In line 10 it is in the priest's "hand to turn away anger from the men of pleasure [להשיב אף מאנשי רצון]". This is certainly "odd as a description for the activity, especially the teaching activity, of a sage".⁸⁸ It is also true that various biblical characters perform this function: Moses (Psalm 106:23), Phinehas (Num 25:11, cf. Ps 106:29-30), Jeremiah (Jer 18:20).⁸⁹ But all these are priests (Ps 99:6, Num 25:7, Jer 1:1), a fact which would not go unnoticed to later readers, given that during the period when 1Q/4QInstruction was written it is pre-eminently the priest Phinehas (son of Elcazar, son of Aaron) who

⁸⁸ DJD 34:307.

⁸⁹ Cited by Strugnell and Harrington in DJD 34:307. Cf. Daniel in Dan 9:16.

turns back God's wrath from the righteous.⁹⁰ In particular, the Has-moneans in their bid to be the true holders of Israel's priesthood claim their acts of zeal are a worthy emulation of Phinehas (see 1 Macc 2:26, 54; 3:8, cf. 2 Macc 8:5).⁹¹ Two passages are worth quoting at this juncture. Two verses of the encomium to Judas Maccabeus in 1 Maccabees 3:3-9 read:

³ He extended the glory (ἐπλάτυνεν δόξαν) of his people. As a giant (ὡς γίγας) he put on his breastplate; he bound on his armour of war and waged battles, protecting the camp by his sword (σκεπάζων παρεμβολὴν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ)

... ⁸ He went through the cities of Judah; he destroyed the ungodly out of the land; *thus he turned away wrath from Israel* (ἀπέστρεψεν ὀργὴν ἀπὸ Ἰσραηλ).

In 1 Maccabees 3:8 Judas' turning away of wrath from Israel picks up the model of Phinehas with whom his father has been compared in the previous chapter (2:25, cf. 2:54). That this is regarded as an essentially *priestly* service is suggested by the striking parallel between what is here said of Judas and the account of Aaron's intercession in Wisdom of Solomon 18.

In Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-16 the destroying angel appears as an angel filling heaven and earth to kill the first born among the Egyptians. He then threatens the righteous, but "wrath did not long continue" because Aaron stands in the breach; with prayer and propitiation by incense he withstands God's anger:

²³ ... he intervened and *drove back the wrath* (ἀνέκοψε τὴν ὀργήν) ...

²⁴ For on his long robe the whole world was depicted, and the glories of the ancestors were engraved on the four rows of stones and your majesty was on the diadem upon his head.

This story is modelled, of course, on the episode after the judgement of Korah in Numbers 16 where, by offering incense Aaron atones for rebellious Israel and averts the wrath that is upon them

⁹⁰ In 2 Chr 29 it is Hezekiah, but more specifically the priests and Levites, who turn away God's wrath (v. 10, cf. 30:8) through sacrifices and an extended period of worship in the Temple.

⁹¹ See Goldstein 1976, 6-8 on 1 Maccabees. Cf. *Jub* 31:18 for echoes of Numbers 25 in the account of Levi's qualification for the priesthood through his zealous slaying of the Shechemites. There is an intriguing reference to zeal (ἡθυσία) at the end of 4Q418 81 8, which reinforces the likely significance of Phinehas for 4Q418 81 10, though it is not at all clear what role it plays in the train of thought.

(vv. 41-50). In Wisdom of Solomon Aaron, as the antidote to the angelic death is, himself, of cosmic, gigantic, proportion, bearing something of God's own majesty (and the glory of God's people). The priest Judas is also a giant protecting the righteous (implicitly) by divine power. Both Aaron and Judas are true giants like the angelomorphic Jacob in *Joseph and Aseneth* 22 and the divine Noah in the Book of Noah. There are also here a web of intertextual threads joining these apocryphal passages to our Qumran passage.⁹²

As far as I know, and despite the Mosaic model in scripture, *all the evidence from contemporary Jewish tradition points to the turning back of God's wrath as a specifically priestly vocation.*⁹³ So 4Q418 81 line 10 must be regarded as another indication that we have here to do with a priest, whose assuaging of God's wrath is closely related (as in 1 Maccabees and Wisdom of Solomon) to a distinctly angelic or divine identity. ✽

With these narrowly priestly features there are others which are more broadly consonant with instruction to a priest. Praise and worship (lines 1, 12?) in Israel are led by priests and Levites. It is thus not insignificant that nowhere else in 1Q/4QInstruction does worship appear as the responsibility for a recipient of instruction. In line 9 there is the statement that the priest has been given authority over its, or God's, treasure. Grammatically, it is possible that here the priest is simply given authority over the treasure of "insight" mentioned in the previous phrase. However, in the flow of thought of the preceding lines where God is the priest's portion, and where the priest is placed spatially and authoritatively in the cosmic centre, with all God's good things given to him, it makes best sense to find in line 9 another statement of the specifically divine privileges given to our priest. What, then, does it mean to be set in authority over

⁹² 4Q481 81 does not say *how* the priest is to turn back God's wrath. The lack of any reference to violence places the Qumran text closer to the Wisdom of Solomon where propitiation is simply achieved by prayer, incense and the power of the accoutrements of priestly office. Indeed, the absence of violence and bloodshed, defining features of 1 Macc 3:3-9, suggests a very different life setting for 1Q/4QInstruction than that of Hasmonean propaganda literature. Any priestly "pacifism" in the theology of priesthood in 1Q/4QInstruction would cohere with the lack of direct involvement of the priesthood in the end-time conflict envisaged in 1QM.

⁹³ Beside these texts see the role of the high priest in *3 Macc* 1-2 and note the possible significance of the portrayal of the priestly man clothed in linen in Ezek 9 (cited in CD 19:11-12).

God's treasures? Since these are *God's* treasures, they are probably broad in scope, including, therefore, his wisdom and understanding, elemental forces (winds, waters, and so on; e.g. Deut 28:12; Job 38:22; Ps 135; Sir 43:14) and precious stones and metals (Josh 6:19, 24; 1 Kgs 7:51, 14:26). Nowhere in the Wisdom tradition is a *sage* given such authority. But authority over God's treasures is appropriately given to a priest. The temple is a microcosm of the universe, its rituals and drama effect the power of the creator within the cosmos. It stands to reason, therefore, that those who govern its workings, the priesthood, are those who have authority over God's treasures, in all the senses of that expression. In the pre-exilic period the king was responsible for collecting gold, silver and precious vessels in the treasuries of the house of the LORD. But in the post-exilic period it is specifically the priesthood that is given such responsibility (Neh 10:38; 13:13; 1 Chr 9:26; 26:20; 26:22). The responsibilities of the priesthood for caring for God's treasures in the Temple are memorably portrayed in 2 Maccabees 3 where by prayer and petition the high priest leads the people in an attempt to protect the people from the Seleucid attempt to plunder the temple. All this is the most likely background to 4Q418 81 9.

It is conceivable that, if the text is written for a community estranged from the Jerusalem Temple, a *literal* supervision and control of the treasuries of the house of the LORD are given a *metaphorical* interpretation in 4Q418 81. But nothing in 4Q418 81 1-14 suggests a metaphorical *extension*, or *reappropriation*, of the rights and responsibilities of the priesthood to the elect without caste distinction. The Judaism of the third to first centuries B.C. is everywhere scrupulous in its regard for the proper lineage of the priestly office.⁹⁴ For the reading of the text advocated by Elgvin there is no obvious parallel in contemporary literature. Priests are priests (whether Levites, Aaronids, Zadokites, or whoever) and non-priests are non-priests, and without clear scriptural warrant the latter have no right to the specific responsibilities or privileges of the former.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Disagreements about which priests are entitled to hold high office (Zadokites (Oniads), non-Zadokites (Hasmoneans)) are only testimony to the shared assumption that priesthood is an office reserved for those of the right lineage.

⁹⁵ The disproportionate interest in Psalm 110—a text which legitimates the fusion of royal and priestly offices after the order of Melchizedek—in New Testament Christology is testimony to the otherwise insurmountable barrier between the rights of priesthood and laity. Christians believed Jesus was both messianic king (partly

Other details of 1Q/4QInstruction confirm the impression that 4Q418 81 1-14 must be written for a real, not a metaphorical, priest. Throughout 1Q/4QInstruction teaching is addressed to a *maven*, a student, or in one case a "son of a *maven*" (4Q417 1 i 18, cf. 4Q418 69 15), and this person certainly lacks obviously priestly credentials. In its familiar vocative form—*ואתה מבין*—just this address is found in 4Q418 81 line 15 immediately after the passage we have been discussing.⁹⁶ But any such address in 4Q418 81 1-14 is conspicuous by its absence. Six times (lines 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9) the simpler expression . . . *ואתה* ("and as for you . . .") appears where the fuller address to a *maven* might do equally well. Although this briefer expression is found elsewhere in 1Q/4QInstruction,⁹⁷ nowhere else is its use as dense as here in 4Q418 81 1-14 nor is its vocative function quite so clear. The conclusion is obvious: 4Q418 81 1-13 is formally distinct from other parts of 4QInstruction because it is *not* addressed to a *maven*, a member of the laity, but to a priest. The address "as for you, *maven* . . ." at the *beginning* of line 15 of 4Q418 81 opens a *new* section for the wise artisan, those who are given authority "בחכמה ידיים".

Elgin's view that priestly language is extended to the laity in 4Q418 81 1-13 is at odds with the one other portion of 1Q/4QInstruction which mentions the priesthood. The first four lines of 4Q423 5 read:

^{1a} . . .]and take care lest you give back to Levi the prie[st] ¹ . . .] the judgement of Korah. And as he opened your ear ² [to the mystery of existence . . .] your [. . . every he]ad of [your] fathers [. . .]and leader of your people ³ { H[e] divided the [p]ortion of all rulers (כל הנהלה) and fashioned every [dec]d by His hand, and the wages

Although the text is fragmentary the "judgement of Korah" of Numbers 16 is clearly cited as the paradigmatic divine judgement against

his by royal lineage) and priest (his by fulfilment of Psalm 110 and his atoning work). Elgin appeals to the spiritualization of the prerogative of the Levites in the post-biblical Psalms 16 (v. 5) and 73 (v. 26) (*DJD* 34:517 n. 25), but the details of the priestly office are nothing like as clear in these psalms as they are in 4Q418 81 1-14.

⁹⁶ Cf. 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 1; 4Q417 1 i 13-14; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 123 ii 5; 4Q418 126 ii 12(?); 4Q418 168 4; 4Q176 3. Note also the singular variant incipit in 4Q418 69 10 *ואתה בחכמה*.

⁹⁷ 4Q416 2 ii 4; 4Q416 2 ii 14; 4Q416 2 ii 19; 4Q416 2 ii 20; 4Q416 2 iv 5; 4Q417 2 i 17; 4Q417 2 ii +23 6; 4Q418 206 5.

those who would rebel against the God-ordained distinction between those who are to hold high priestly office and those who are not. The Korah episode is a "reminder to the Israelites that no outsider, who is not of the descendants of Aaron, shall approach to offer incense before the LORD" (Num 16:40), a point well taken in post-biblical tradition (Sir 45:18: "outsiders conspired against him (Aaron)", cf. Josephus *Ant* 4:14-66). There can be no doubt that this is why the episode is cited here. Lines 2-3 evidently have in mind the *different portions* that God has given to various groups within Israel's leadership (including the fathers, heads of the fathers and leaders of line 2), language which directly evokes that in 4Q418 81.⁹⁸ Line 1a is also naturally taken as a reference to the need to honour the Levites' divinely sanctioned position within Israel's constitution.⁹⁹ Is it really likely that a text which is so attentive to the biblical warning against blurring the boundaries between priests and non-priests would intend 4Q418 81 1-14 to be read in any other way than an address to a "real" priest and none other?¹⁰⁰

The Blessing of the Holy Ones, the Laity in 4Q418 81

Whilst there is clearly an overwhelming case for treating 4Q418 81 1-14 as another witness to the theology of divine priesthood akin to that attested in *Jubilees* 31:14, 1QSb and 4Q511, and to the rhetoric of priesthood-laity relations in these and other texts (4QMMT, 1QS 8-9), can this reading make sense of the blessing and the glorification of the holy ones in lines 1, 11-12? Yes it can.

⁹⁸ Elgvin tries to avoid the obvious here (*DJD* 34:519-20). He suggests the "judgement of Korah" is simply cited as "a warning for ungodly leaders" and he claims there is warrant for its use "as a paradigm for the eschatological judgement of the enemies of Israel" (*DJD* 34:519). But most of the texts he cites do not mention Korah (4Q458 2 ii 4; *I Enoch* 90:13; 99:2) and may only use the image of the earth's swallowing the wicked with reference to the end time judgement. In any case it is clear from lines 2-3 that the issue, as in Numbers 16, is the disregard for God-given distinctions between family vocations.

⁹⁹ Line 1a is written by two later hands than that of the rest of the text and the text is not reconstructed with absolute certainty. If the reading is correct, but not "original" to the "intention" of the text it is nevertheless obviously in accord with what follows.

¹⁰⁰ Strugnell and Harrington (*DJD* 34:305) ponder the possibility that 4Q418 81 4-5 "could refer to the special lot of the Aaronids", and ask "but is this likely in a sapiential text?" Given the priestly orientation of Sirach (and Wisdom of Solomon 18) it is strange that this question should occur to anyone. It is true that in the Hebrew Bible Wisdom literature is less clearly related to cultic matters. But does

The notion that the righteous should bless and glorify angels is hard to find in the Judaisms of our period, and there are weighty theological considerations which would have dissuaded Jews from such a potentially polytheistic activity. But these "big-picture" considerations should not rule out of court any possible meaning of individual texts. One Qumran text, 11QBer (11Q14 = 4Q285 1) 1 ii 5-6 does clearly have a priest declare "blessed be all his holy angels (ברוכים כול מלאכי קודש)".¹⁰¹ But for 4Q481 81 the literary tradition-historical context (viz. the conceptual and linguistic proximity to the texts just mentioned) firmly favours another interpretation to that which would find here the praise of angels.¹⁰²

In *Jubilees* 31:15 the angelomorphic priesthood separated from all flesh is to "bless all the seed of the beloved". Presumably the Aaronic blessing of Numbers 6 is in view, as it is at the ordination of the high priest in IQSb 4. In its context this is the most sensible understanding of the blessing of the holy ones in 4Q418 81 1.

In 4Q418 81 line 11 the priest is to "glorify (God's) holy ones". For a worshipper *glorifying* angels there is no parallel in extant Second Temple Jewish literature. For a priest glorifying his people there is plenty of corroborative evidence. We have just seen how in 1 Maccabees 3:3 Judas Maccabee "enlarged the glory" of his people. In the immediate context of that passage the military and political power of Israel is in view. But the notion that it is proper for Israel's priest to bring glory to his people has behind it the sacerdotal theology extant in Sirach where Simon is the head and sum of the people whose glorious lineage he makes manifest in Israel's regular liturgy. This, rather than any putative praise of the angels, is the immediate background to 4Q418 81 11. The encomiastic "praise of

the editor's question not perhaps arise because of the *modern* separation of (empirical) wisdom (i.e. science) and cult (religion)—a separation utterly foreign to the late first Second Temple period?

¹⁰¹ See discussion of Stuckenbruck 1995, 161-63. The blessing of the angels here has a parallel in the blessing of the "holy angels" in Tobit 11:14 (see Stuckenbruck 1995, 165-67).

¹⁰² Whilst there is a *blessing* of angels in 11QBer this is not necessarily the same as a "praise" or full "worship" of the angels. To bless is to wish the good of, something different from a fuller (sacrificial?) worship in which the worshipper recognizes the supreme existential power and worth of that which is worshipped. When the priest blesses Israel (11QBer 1 ii 3) he is not (necessarily) "worshipping" her. If there is any justification for a carefully nuanced differentiation of "worship" and "veneration" it might lie here. Certainly Stuckenbruck goes too far in saying here "God's angels are praiseworthy" (1995, 163).

the fathers"—in particular for their (God-given) glory (44:1-2, 19; 45:2; 45:7; 45:23; 46:2; 47:6; 48:4)—in Sirach 44-50 and the celebration of Judas in 1 Maccabees 3 might also offer the kind of material which a Wisdom text such as ours would have in mind when it speaks of a "song for all the holy ones" (line 11), if by that is meant a song in celebration of, or to, the righteous.

In conclusion, then, 4Q481 81 1-14 preserves another important witness to the belief at Qumran that the peculiar vocation of the priesthood entailed an embodying, or making manifest, of divine Glory. In this, like the laity, the priesthood have transcended the reality ("the spirit") of the flesh.

4QVisions of Anram^(a) ar: Aaron as God and the Angel of God

Two copies of the Aramaic text 4QVisions of Anram ar attest to the tradition that Aaron, the founder of the priesthood, was regarded as an "angel of God" and even, simply, "a god". That this text has Aaron called "מלאך אל" was announced as long ago as 1972 by J.T. Milik, though unfortunately further details of the text have been slow to emerge.¹⁰³ The relevant lines of the text reconstructed from 4Q545 frag. 1 i and 4Q543 1 + 2 + 3 reads as follows:¹⁰⁴

¹⁶ and he will give wisdom to you (ותתן לך חכמה) [. . .] it will be added
¹⁷ [to you] . . . you will be God and an angel of God (אל תהיה
 אל [ומלך אל] ¹⁶ [you will be called (ותחקרה)] . . . you will do in] this Land
 [and a judge . . . and when] your name

This language of 4Q545 1 i 17-18 (4Q543 frag. 3 1) speaks for itself. The fact that Aaron can be regarded as both "God/a god" and "an angel of God" is of inestimable significance for our analysis of other Dead Sea Scrolls. Whilst this might seem startlingly exalted language for Aaron, it is not at all unusual, for as we have

¹⁰³ Milik 1972, 94. Milik regarded the text a fragment of 4QAmram^a, though he probably had in mind what is now labelled 4Q543 frag. 3 line 1, which is parallel to 4Q545 frag. 1 i 17-18. For 4Q545 see PAM 43.566; ROC 192 and for 4Q543 see PAM 43.577; 43.578. ROC 343, 347. Milik dated at least one of the manuscripts of the text (4QAmram^b) to the second century B.C., possibly even its first half, on palaeographical grounds. Official publication is assigned to E. Puech in *D7D* 31.

¹⁰⁴ The line numbers are those of 4Q545 frag. 1 (4QVisions of Anram^a ar). For the text and translation see Beyers 1994, 85-87 and *DSSSE*, 1084-5, 1088-1091 and see Mach 1992, 238.

seen such terms are frequently used in Jewish texts of the divine humanity.

In what precedes the text is called a "copy of the writing of the words of the visions of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi" (4Q545 1 1 = 4Q543 1 1): the text is probably an example of the genre Testament, given by Amram to his children on his death-bed.¹⁰⁵ We are here in the world of correct priestly succession, an issue of considerable interest to the keepers of the Dead Sea Scroll library.¹⁰⁶ In our text Aaron is called to his father Amram and his naming seems to be received in the context of a last blessing from the patriarch as part of "all that he revealed to his sons and what he advised them on the day of his death" (4Q543 1 1-2 = 4Q545 1 i 1-2). The presence of such strongly theological language for Aaron in the context of a Testament is reminiscent of the *Prayer of Joseph* where Jacob's revelation that he is an angel and ruling spirit, the archangel of the power of the Lord and the chief captain among the sons of God, is probably also set in an extended retelling of Jacob's blessing of his sons in Genesis 48.¹⁰⁷

Lines 6-7 of our text also describe how Amram throws a seven-day feast before he calls Aaron. Since what follows is some kind of installation of Aaron to a divine office the feast was probably sacrificial in nature and, given the focus on priestly succession, this installation may perhaps have involved a priestly ordination. Indeed, an ordination theme seems to be present in another copy of 4QVisions of Amram (4Q547 frags. 1-4 where someone has a vision--presumably Amram himself--in which there are all the paraphernalia of a sacrificial scene and the promise that "the priest will be exalted among all my sons for ever" (4Q547 4 6, cf. 4Q545 3 6). With this dream-vision and Amram's calling and naming of Levi there is, then, a general similarity to the traditions of priestly ordination in the *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *Testament of Levi* (esp. ch. 3) and *Jubilees* 30-32.

¹⁰⁵ 4Q543 1 1-4 = 4Q545 1 i 1-4 = 4Q546 1 1-3.

¹⁰⁶ This fact tells against the possibility that the crucial lines of this text are concerned not with Aaron but with Moses, Amram's other son. Although it is true that there is scriptural warrant for Moses as "god" in the Hebrew Bible which might allow us to "explain away" the language of this text, Moses is never mentioned in the extant form of the text and, although certainty is impossible given the fragmentary nature of the text, it seems safest to include this as a witness to the Qumran movements' belief in the divinity of the priesthood.

¹⁰⁷ See J.Z. Smith in *OTP* 2:699.

As for Aaron's reception of new names, this is reminiscent of the new angelic name Israel given to Jacob in the *Prayer of Joseph* and the revelation to Enoch that he is the Son of Man in *Ethiopic Enoch* 71. We should also, perhaps, compare the declaration to the disciples, Peter, James and John, that the transformed Jesus is God's son in the gospel Transfiguration story (Mark 9:2-9).

4QAaron A Frag. 9: A Heavenly and Cosmogonic High Priest

Another striking picture of the priest as a heavenly figure is provided by 4QAaron A (4Q541), otherwise known as 4QTestament of Levi⁴(?) or 4QApocryphon of Levi⁵(? ar).¹⁰⁸ This Aramaic apocryphon was first published by Émile Puech and the first column of fragment 9 reads as follows (4Q541 9 i):¹⁰⁹

² . . . [his [wi]sdom (רַבְּכֵסֶת). And he will make expiation (וְיִכַפֵּר) for all the sons of his generation; and he will be sent to all the sons of ³ his [peop]le(?). His word is like a word of the heavens (כְּמִשְׁכַּב שָׁמַיִם), and his teaching conforms to the will of God. His eternal sun will shine; ⁴ and its fire will burn in all the corners of the earth. And on the darkness it will shine; then the darkness will disappear ⁵ [fr]om the earth and the cloud from the dry land. They will speak many words against him, and a number of ⁶ [fiction]s(?). And they will invent fables against him, and they will speak all manner of insanies against him. His generation evil will destroy, ⁷ [. . .] will be. And because falsehood and violence will be its setting, [and] the people will stray in his days; and they will be confounded.

Discussion of this text has focused on two issues: (1) the likelihood that it represents the original Jewish text that lies behind the Christian reworked *Testament of Levi* chapter 18 where there is also a prophecy of an eschatological priest whose arrival has cosmic implications: there also the future priest "will shine forth like the sun in the earth; he shall take away all darkness from under heaven" (*T. Levi* 18:4). (2) Secondly, it is widely reckoned that lines 5-7 of this text and other fragments of 4Q541 show the influence of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, the famous "suffering servant" song. Does, therefore, this text offer a precursor to the use of Isaiah 53 in early

¹⁰⁸ Dated palaeographically c. 100 B.C. by Puech (1992, 452).

¹⁰⁹ Our translation follows Brooke 1993. See Puech 1992, 466-470.

Christology to interpret Jesus' death?¹¹⁰ These are, indeed, important questions, though they do not directly concern us in this present study.

For our purposes this text offers another picture of a priest with a heavenly and cosmic identity. That he is a priest is certain because he makes expiation in line 2.¹¹¹ There is no doubt that this is a *human* priest because the phrase "for all the sons of his generation" and the language of suffering is hardly appropriate for a priestly angel. It is not said that he is angelic, so much as a figure of cosmic and specifically solar significance. This association between the priesthood and the sun is common in contemporary texts. The fact that he speaks heavenly words reflects his transcendent, otherworldly identity and should be compared with other texts where the messiah or whole communities speak a heavenly and angelic tongue.¹¹² The language in 9 i 2 "ויכפר על כול בני דרה" is almost identical to that in 11QMelchizedek 2:8 "לכפר על כול בני [אל]" and there is every reason to suppose that a sectarian reader of the two texts would believe the characters to be one and the same.¹¹³

This priestly figure's "divinity" comes most clearly to the fore in the language of creation used for the priest's coming in lines 3-5. Obviously, the comparison of the priest to the sun picks up the principle act of creation of the fourth day in Genesis 1.¹¹⁴ As we have already seen in Sirach 50:7 the comparison of the priest to the sun serves the theology of priestly cosmogony in which the high priest recapitulates the various stages of creation as they are prescribed in Genesis 1. The coming of light and the disappearance of darkness

¹¹⁰ See the discussion in Puech 1992, 467-70; Brooke 1993; Knibb 1995, 181-4; Collins 1995a; Collins 1995b, 123-126 and Zimmermann 1998, 247-277. See esp. Isaiah 50:6-8 and 53:2-10 and for the light theme see Isaiah 42:6-7. See also perhaps 4Q541 frag. 24 ii.

¹¹¹ For other priestly aspects to the text see Puech 1992, 493-94; Zimmermann 1998, 269. It is also possible that another fragment (24 col. ii) describes him wearing the high priest's rosette (סצ, line 5, cf. Exod 28:36 and Beyer 1994, 80: "das Stirndiadem (des Hohenpriesters)") and that like the high priest in IQSb 4:28 he is responsible for the bearing of God's Name (line 5).

¹¹² *Sib. Or.* 5:259; *Ps. Sol.* 17:43; 1 Cor 13:2.

¹¹³ *Pace*, e.g., Zimmermann 1998, 274 who thinks that 4Q541 describes an eschatological Levi whose activity on earth corresponds to Melchizedek's activity in heaven. Also relevant here is the fragmentary text CD 19:18 (4Q266 10 i 12-13) in which a priestly messiah *may* be responsible for an eschatological act of expiation. See recent discussion by Baumgarten 1999a.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Zimmermann 1998, 260-261.

from the earth evokes the first day of creation. The disappearance of the cloud (ערפלא) from the dry land (יבשה) recalls not only the dry land (היבשה) which is created on the third day in Genesis 1:9, but also the *Urnebel* which in contemporary creation theology was believed to exist at the dawn of creation. This primeval fog or gloomy cloud is attested in Sirach 24:3 where, in a sapiential retelling of Genesis 1, Wisdom is identified with a mist (μίχλη) covering the earth.¹¹⁵ There is no Hebrew extant for this portion of Sirach. The Syriac has ערפלא which normally means "dark cloud", "darkness" or "gloom". G.T. Sheppard has persuasively argued that the original Hebrew read ערפל and that both Genesis 1:1-3 and the cloud (אנ) of Genesis 2:6 are in view.¹¹⁶ In this context the focus in 4Q541 on the priest's word as a word of the heavens should also recall God's creation by word alone in Genesis 1.¹¹⁷

There is no systematic presentation of the priest as a co-creator with God, but that (in part) he recapitulates God's creative work is unsurprising given that, as we have seen in Sirach 50, the high priest's ministry was thoroughly cosmogonic. Contact with the kind of priestly theology that is represented by Sirach is further suggested by the way in which the priest is associated with wisdom. This sapiential interest appears at the beginning of line 2 of our fragment and is a recurrent theme in other portions of the text.¹¹⁸

Commentators have assumed that this text must describe a *future* eschatological figure. However, nothing in the text itself demands this reading. It could equally well represent an *ex eventu*(?) prophecy of the coming of a figure who, from the Qumran community's perspective, has already come. John J. Collins has highlighted the similarity in the description of the priest's suffering to that of the Teacher of Righteousness and the very fact that the priest's ministry is marked

¹¹⁵ For this primeval cloud in the cosmogonics of the Levant see Damascius *De Princ.* 125c: "The Sidonians propose . . . before all things Chronos, Desire (Πόθος) and Mist (Μίχλη), and after the union of Desire and Mist, as the two principles, there becomes Air and Wind . . .".

¹¹⁶ 1980, 22-27.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Zimmermann 1998, 261. 4Q541 frag. 7 line 3 says "and he will make the great sea be silent". If this is a reference to the work of the priest, rather than God, then it also fits within the larger constellation of creation themes: the priest is depicted as the divine warrior whose power brings creative order from the chaos personified in the sea, a theme reflected also in Sirach 50:3 (Heb) and Daniel 7:13 (see Fletcher-Louis 2001b and 1997a respectively).

¹¹⁸ 4Q541 2 i 6-9; 2 ii 6; frag. 7 line 4. See Puech 1992, 492-3; Zimmermann 1998, 268-9.

by the failure of his generation could very well mean we have here not the future, eschatological messianic figure, but one who was sent from God but rejected.¹¹⁹ The cosmic and cosmogonic scope of his ministry need mean no more than that the author claims for him what Sirach claimed for Simon son of Onias.¹²⁰ It is noteworthy that our text does *not* explicitly state that the suffering *precedes* glory, as we would expect from a truly eschatological figure. In fact, if we are to take the narrative flow as a deliberate reflection of an historical sequence then our priest *first* has a glorious and wise ministry which is *then* shattered by a misunderstanding and rebellious generation. This could very well be taken as a description of the Teacher of Righteousness' own ministry, not some future figure who would be *like* the Teacher.¹²¹

Commentators have perhaps jumped to the eschatological reading because of the points of contact with *T. Levi* 18. But the relationship between the two texts as a whole is far from clear and in any case the testamentary pseudepigraphical perspective of the *Testament of Levi* very well suits a prophecy for the coming of one who is now viewed as past by the Qumran community. In a similar way, of course, Christian readers of *T. Levi* thought their messiah (Jesus of Nazareth) had fulfilled the vision of the eschatological priest-king in chapter 18.

Certainty is not possible, it must be conceded. But the possibility of an entirely intra-historical and past-history perspective for this text must be pressed, if only because of the improper temptation to *assume* that such a glorious figure must belong to a future time when the conditions of ordinary history have been overtaken by a transcendent eschatology. Texts such as Sirach 50, *Aristeas* 99 and *Jubilees* 31:14 all testify to the widespread opinion that Israel's serving priest — not some eschatological future redeemer — is glorious, heavenly and the bearer of God's creative power and presence within history. There are sound reasons for thinking that this is the way this text was read at Qumran.

¹¹⁹ 1995b, 125; 1995a, 586-7.

¹²⁰ Collins is therefore too quick to conclude that although the priest's suffering is indebted to the experience of the Teacher of Righteousness, nevertheless, this is the "future priest . . . imagined by analogy with the historical career of the Teacher . . . (and) he has a more glorious finale" (1995a, 587).

¹²¹ Zimmerman's objections to Collins' observation of the similarity between the priest of 4Q541 and the Teacher of Righteousness are not entirely persuasive (1998,

4Q468b: The Solar High Priest and the Light of His Garments

In the interests of completeness, at this point our survey should briefly note a small, but tantalizing fragment of a text which seems to envisage a similar solar epiphany for the high priest. 4Q468b is a small fragment and has only very recently been published:¹²²

¹ . . .] I [have appr]oached his radiance (לְנֹרָה) [. . . ² . . . in the light] of his radiance (נֹרָה) will walk all [. . . ³ . . .] He ruled over me and the light of his radiance (נֹרָה) [. . . ⁴ . . . Su]n coming forth from the divine abode [(שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּצִאָתוֹ מִזְבוֹר) . . . ⁵ . . . sons] of wickedness and sons of just[ice . . . ⁶ . . . ho]ly of ho[li]es . . .

Given the broken nature of this text, which has no other pieces with it, interpretation is precarious. Its editor, Magen Broshi, rightly notes that it could "be interpreted in two ways: it deals either with a heavenly figure or with the splendour of the earthly high priest". These two are not necessarily alternatives but, in any case, Broshi rightly favours the fact that a human high priest is in view. He rightly compares the appearance of Simon from the sanctuary in Sirach 50:5-7 and the high priest of 4Q541. A human, and heavenly, high priest is suggested by the first person singular voice (אֲנִי) in line 1 since it is more likely a human than an angel who would claim to have approached God's radiance.

The passage is significant in that, where in 4Q541 the priest is set in a strictly cosmological setting here cosmology and Temple combine. Line 2 refers to the settings of filigree of the high priest's vestments (מִשְׁכַּבְרוֹת, Exod 28:11, 13-14, 25) in which the precious stones of the breastpiece are set. If, as Broshi suggests, we are right to compare line 4 with Sirach 50:5-7 then the heavenly abode (זְבוֹר) from which he comes forth will be, in accordance with normal OT usage, the sanctuary of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:13, 2 Chr 6:2). The same place is perhaps called the "holy of holies (קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ) in

272). It is true that our text does not contain the highly technical terminology of the sectarian texts, but its theology of priesthood is at the very least consistent with if, not reflective of, Qumran's peculiar concerns. There is no need to choose between the literary influence of Isaiah 53 and that of the historical experience of the Teacher of Righteousness and, of course, it is possible that if originally composed outside of the community it was adopted by Essenes because they believed it was fulfilled in the life of their own leader.

¹²² 4Q468a-f are not included in *DSSSE* but are now available in *DJD* 36:401-405.

line 6. Although the expression "holy of holies" might also refer to the status of the priest as in IQS 8-9, 4QMMT, 4Q511 35, 4Q418 81 and IQSb 4.

There are glimpses here of themes which we will explore in detail in our discussion of the Urim and Thummim and the breastpiece in the next chapter and of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in chapter 11. In the latter the high priesthood in their jewel-bedecked garments embody the Glory of God of Ezekiel's throne vision (Ezek 1:26-28). That theophany has splendour (גִּדְלוֹ) all around (Ezek 1:27-28, cf. 1:4, 13) and Broshi is probably right to perceive the influence of the chariot vision here in the splendour of 4Q468b.¹²³

4Q513 (4QOrdinances^b): Angelic Food for the Priesthood?

Another possible witness to the angelomorphism of the priesthood is present in a text relating halakhic disputes and polemic against non-community members. In fragments 1-2 column 2 of 4Q513 we read as follows:¹²⁴

to let them touch the pure [h]oly food, for [they are] unclean [. . .]² women of sons of foreigners (בעלוח לבני הזכר) and all fornication which [. . .]³ he cho[se] for himself, to feed them from all the elevation offering of (מכיל הדומת) [. . .]⁴ and for [an]gelic foo[od] and to atone (in them)/with them/ for acceptance on I[srael]'s behalf (ולבנן [מ]לאכי) כִּסּ לרצון על יִרְשָׁאֵל (ולכפר {במה} כִּסּ לרצון על יִרְשָׁאֵל)

The text is both in a poor state of preservation and beset by uncertain restorations. The context is evidently a polemic against improper priestly practices issuing from illegal exogamy, which we know was a matter of considerable contention at this time and for the Qumran community.¹²⁵ The language at the beginning of line 2 echoes that of Malachi 2:11 where Judah is chastised for marrying the daughter of a foreign god (בעל בה אל נכר).¹²⁶ Lines 3 and 4 describe

¹²³ DJD 36:404. He compares 4Q405 20 ii:--21-22 which preserves the beginning of the twelfth of the *Sabbath Songs* which is greatly indebted to Ezekiel 1:26-28 (see below).

¹²⁴ See Baillet DJD 7:287-290 who dates the text palaeographically to c. 50 B.C. See also Charlesworth 1994, 145-175.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the text's polemical context see Baumgarten 1993.

¹²⁶ Baumgarten 1993, 393, cf. Lev 22:12.

the originally intended role of the priesthood as those who atone for the rest of Israel and who have privileged access to the *terumah* (Exod 29:28; Lev 22:12; Num 15:19). The language is similar to that in the eighth and ninth columns of 1QS which, as we have seen describes the theology of the cultic community which lies behind the description of the angelomorphic priesthood in 4Q511 35.¹²⁷

Here, also, the words of line 4 offer the intriguing possibility that this text knows the priestly office of propitiation to be an angelic one. The text is broken, though מלאכי is a fairly certain reading for the second word. The first word is not entirely visible with the fourth letter uncertain. The editor, M. Baillet, has suggested reading a *gimel* and that we restore the uncommon word כב meaning "food" (cf. Dan 1:5, 8, 13, 15-16; 11:26; Ezek 25:7).¹²⁸ This gives the sense "for the angelic food" (cf. Ps 78:25) and raises the possibility that the *terumah* is viewed as the food of angels.¹²⁹ The angelomorphism of the priesthood is possibly in view, though we cannot be sure.¹³⁰ Several circumstantial considerations support this interpretation.

First, a reference to the priesthood as מלאכים might perhaps be derived, once again, from Malachi 2:7, given the use of language from Malachi 2:11 in the preceding lines. Secondly, if an angelomorphic priesthood is intended the text would perhaps be arguing, on the grounds that that priesthood has an angelic existence that, unlike the watchers in *1 Enoch* 6-15, they should remain set apart from foreign intercourse in order to intercede on behalf of the people (cf. esp. *1 Enoch* 15:2-7). Thirdly, significance is perhaps being attached to the root of the word *terumah* in the verb רומ, "to be exalted, rise": the sense being that *terumah* is food for one who has been raised above the ordinary, mortal realm of humanity. This would obviously fit the sense throughout the sources that the priesthood, in being set apart to God's service, have been raised up from ordinary (fleshly) humanity.

¹²⁷ For לכהר ברם לרון cf. 1QS 8:10; 9:4 (Baillet *DJD* 7:289).

¹²⁸ *DJD* 7:288-289.

¹²⁹ Baillet *DJD* 7:289: "au sens d' 'angélique' est connu en syriaque".

¹³⁰ For an angelomorphic humanity eating angelic food see, e.g., Adam and Eve before the fall in *Vita Adae et Evae* 4:1-2 and Aseneth and all Jews in *Joseph and Aseneth* 16:15-16.

4Q369 I ii (Prayer of Enoch(?))

An other Qumran text which deserves discussion as a possible witness to the community's interest in the high priest as a heavenly figure is 4Q369 I ii.¹³¹ The second column of this fragmentary text describes God's first born son as one set in close proximity to the glory of the clouds and the heavens:

¹ Your Name (שִׁמְכָה), you have distributed his inheritance so that he may establish your Name there (לְשֹׁכֵן שִׁמְכָה שָׁמָּה) [... ² she (Jerusalem?) is the beauty of your inhabited earth (הַיָּאֵה צְבִי חֶבֶל אֶרֶצְכֶה) and upon her [... ³ your eye on her and your Glory (יְכַבֹּדְכֶה) will appear there for]... ⁴ for his seed for their generations an eternal possession and all]... ⁵ and your good judgements you purified him for [... ⁶ in eternal light and you made him a first-born (בְּאֹרֶךְ עוֹלָמִים וְחַשְׁמִימֶהוּ) (לְכֶה כֵן בְּכוֹנֶךְ) ... ⁷ like him for a prince and ruler in all your inhabited earth (לְשֹׁךְ וּמוֹשֶׁל בְּכֹל חֶבֶל אֶרֶצְכֶה) [... ⁸ [the crow]n(?) of the heavens and the glory of the clouds you have supported¹³² (עֲפָרַתְ[ת] שָׁמַיִם) [... ⁹ ...] and the angel of your peace in his congregation and [... ¹⁰ ...] him righteous laws, as a father does a son [... ¹¹ ...] his love your soul cleaves to [... ¹² ...] for by them [you established your] Glory]...

Interpretations of this text have differed widely. The editors are reluctant to be specific regarding the lead figure's identity. They note the possibility of a "biblical figure such as Abraham or David, or, more likely, an eschatological messianic figure" and compare the language in line 8 with Daniel 7:13.¹³³ On the basis of the figure's sonship Craig Evans has seen here witness to a Davidic messianic figure.¹³⁴ James Kugel has vehemently rejected any individual messianic or eschatological focus and has instead argued that the figure is a corporate Jacob/Israel since "there is not a single statement about the recurrent, unidentified "him" in column 2 which does not relate to something about *Israel* in the Bible."¹³⁵ On the other hand Johannes Zimmerman has accepted the Davidic characterisation and, in an attempt to take seriously the presence of Enoch in the previous

¹³¹ DJD 13:353-362 pl. XXXVII. The text is written in Herodian formal script.

¹³² As Kugel (1998, 138) has pointed out the verb סָכַךְ cannot have the sense of setting the crown upon the head as the editors presume ("you have set [on him]").

¹³³ DJD 13:358-9.

¹³⁴ 1995, cf. Zimmermann 1998, 216-222.

¹³⁵ 1998, 142. Zimmermann 1998, 216-7 also entertains a people of God reading.

column has suggested the merging of royal and Enochic categories in the one figure on analogy with the messianism of the *Similitudes of Enoch*.¹³⁶

The Israel reading has the support of lines 1-3 where the language echoes that in the OT for the land of Israel and Jerusalem,¹³⁷ and there are both biblical and Qumran texts where Israel is called God's firstborn.¹³⁸ However, whilst Kugel marshals a wealth of potentially relevant "background" information for our text none of it is persuasive enough to dislodge the individualistic interpretation as the best candidate for the figure in column 2. Kugel does insufficient justice to the individually focused language of the second half of the text, especially line 7.¹³⁹ In view of the likelihood that the end of the previous column provided a genealogy akin to that in Genesis 5:3-32 (cf. *Jubilees* 19:24-25), focus on an individual in column 1 seems entirely consistent with the language used and a temporal leap from Mahalalel and Enoch to Jacob from columns 1 to 2 seems without obvious textual support.¹⁴⁰

The Davidic interpretation cannot be *excluded* by any of the extant details of the text. The first-born language along with the phrase "as a father to his son" is strongly reminiscent of biblical royal terminology (cf. Psalm 89:27-28; 2 Sam 7:14) and the language of world dominion in line 7 is consistent with this background. However, Zimmermann is right to insist that we give due attention to the Enochic genealogy in the first column and I would suggest that there are as equally important priestly contours to our text as there are Davidic ones.

Enoch is, of course, not just the inspiration for a transcendent messianism in some late biblical quarters (*viz.* the *Similitudes of Enoch*) he is also, first and foremost, a priest and the genealogy of which the names Mahalalel and Enoch are preserved in 4Q369 I column 1 lines 9-10 is a priestly genealogy (cf. Gen 5:3-32) and in *Jubilees*

¹³⁶ 1998, 219-20, 222.

¹³⁷ For "the beauty of your inhabited earth" cf. Ezek 20:6, 15; 25:9; 26:20. For God's eyes on Jerusalem/Temple see 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Chr 6:20. For "your Glory will appear there" cf. Isaiah 60:2.

¹³⁸ Exod 4:22; *Jub* 2:20; 4Q504 1-2 iii 6.

¹³⁹ Cf. Zimmermann 1998, 220.

¹⁴⁰ The 9th and 10th lines of the previous column (which would have been followed by at least two other lines now lost) reads "his [son] and Mahalalel was the fifth generation [. . .] his son Enoch, the seven[th] generation".

19:24–25 that genealogy has a specifically cosmological orientation: it lists the patriarchs (Shem, Noah, Enoch and Mahalalel, Enosh, Seth and Adam) who “serve to establish heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all the lights which are above the firmament”. This heaven and earth perspective is not far from 4Q369 I ii 7–9. That it is the *priest* Enoch and his lineage that is in view in our text is confirmed by the orientation of the opening lines of the first column towards “all their festivals in their periods (כול מו[עדי]הם) בקציהם, line 4)”, “all the eternal fixed times (כול הערות ער,¹⁴¹ line 7)” and the acknowledgement of guilt (“אשר ישמר”, line 2, cf. Hos 5:15).¹⁴²

In this light, the opening lines of the second column do not just echo biblical language for the people of God, but they direct attention to the centre of that people’s life, the temple, where God’s Name is manifest, God’s Glory appears and upon whom Israel’s God has his eye (cf. 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Chr 6:20).

In Qumran literature it is not just Israel that is known as God’s first-born. In 4Q418 81 5 it is a priestly figure whom God has made a firstborn for himself (וישימכה לו בכור ב; see above). There is one detail of 4Q369 which might also suggest a priestly figure is in view. In line 8 of our fragment the editors conjectured the word עמרה, “crown” at the beginning of the line. Only the upper portion of the first letter and the uppermost tip of another letter, possibly, the *taw* is in view and so this is very far from a certain.¹⁴³ If this is the right restoration then this crown could be another piece of royal imagery (cf. 2 Sam 12:30; 1 Chr 20:2; Esth 8:15). However, it could also be a high priestly crown (cf. Zech 6:11, 14) and that it is specifically the “crown of the heavens” brings to mind what Josephus has to say about the high priest’s headgear. In *Antiquities* 3:186–87 he says this is meant “to symbolize heaven, being blue; else it would not

¹⁴¹ This is a better translation than “all the eternal commands” offered by Strugnell and Attridge (*DJD* 13:355) given the use of עשרות in an overtly liturgical sense elsewhere in QL (e.g. IQS 1:9; 3:10, 16; IQM 2:8; 3:4; 14:13 etc. . .), cf. Qimron 1986a, 115.

¹⁴² For the apparently close connection between man’s rule over creation and the keeping of the festival calendar see 4Q381 I 7–8; IQM 10 (below, chapter 12).

¹⁴³ See PAM 41.518 and pl. XXXVII in *DJD* 13. For greater confidence and the reading of the *taw* see Tigchelaar 1997 whose judgement is reflected in *DSSSF*, 730. Kugel’s objection to the restoration of the word “crown” on the grounds that the verb סמך, at the end of the line, cannot be used for the donning of a crown, is beside the point, since that verb need only govern the second half of the line.

have borne upon it the Name of God, blazoned upon the crown—a crown, moreover, of gold by reason of that sheen in which the Deity most delights”.

The relationship between the glory of the clouds and the first-born is unclear though the comparison with Daniel 7:13 has rightly been made,¹⁴¹ and that text, along with *I Enoch* 14:8 draws on priestly imagery for the association of the true man with clouds.¹⁴⁵ A heavenly priestly prince reminds us of the prince of light(s). As we shall see in our final chapter the characterisation of the prince of light in the *War Scroll* is also priestly.

A Throne in the Heavens for the Divine Human Mediator

Besides these texts where the heavenly individual concerned can be clearly identified as a priest there are a couple of other Qumran texts where identification is less straightforward, though again priestly categories are to the fore. The last two case studies in this chapter are 11QMelchizedek and the *Glorification Hymn* tradition.

There are at least two versions of a *Glorification Hymn* (A and B) (4QSelf-Glorification^a + ^b) in which the hymnist declares himself exalted and enthroned in the heavenly realm with an incomparable Glory.¹⁴⁶ There are now four manuscripts which attest this hymnic form (4Q491c, 4Q427 (frag. 7), 1QH^a (25:35–26:10) and 4Q471b + 4Q431 i). Their relationship is complicated and will not be the focus of our discussion.¹⁴⁷ For the sake of simplicity we will concentrate on the two best preserved witnesses.

The relevant portions of 4Q491 11 i (now renumbered 4Q491c), containing *Glorification Hymn B*, read as follows:¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ *DJD* 13:359.

¹⁴⁵ For the “one like a son of man” in Daniel 7:13 a high priest see Fletcher-Louis 1997a.

¹⁴⁶ I have avoided the label *Self-Glorification Hymn* because this risks a prejudicial negative value judgement. I have also avoided speaking of Recension A and Recension B (so *DJD* 29:422) since I am not sure that the differences in the various witness to this hymnic form are best explained in purely literary terms. Similar, but also slightly different liturgical functions may equally well account for what appear to us to be different “recensions”.

¹⁴⁷ For the most recent discussion, though, it seems, written before the *DJD* 29 publication, see Wise 2000.

¹⁴⁸ I have followed Michael O. Wise’s reconstruction of the Hebrew text (2000, 180–38), which differs notably from that of Baillet in lines 6–8.

⁵ [et]ernal; a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods (כסא עת) upon which none of the kings of the East shall sit, and their nobles [shall] not [... there are no]ne comparable ⁶ to me in [my] glory¹⁴⁹ and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I sit in[... hea]ven and there is no ⁷... I am counted among the gods (אני עם אלים ארוחשב) and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; [my] des[ire] is not according to flesh, [rather] my [por]tion¹⁵⁰ lies in the Glory of ⁸... the holy [dwell]ing. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is comparable to me in glory (מיא כבבודי ידמה)? Who... ⁹ like me? Who bea[rs] all sorrows like me? And who [suffe]rs evil like me? There is no-one. I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable ¹⁰... And who will attack me when [I] op[en my mouth]? And who can contain the flow of my lips (מזל שפתי)? And *who will summon me* and (who is) like me in judgement ¹¹ bec[ause] I am recko[ned] with the gods (אניא עם אלים) [... my] glory is with the sons of the king (בני המלך). Not *pure gold* and for me *gold of Ophir* (כתם אופירים).

4Q427 7 i—ii which contains *Glorification Hymn A* overlaps thematically and linguistically (marked by text in italics):¹⁵¹

i
⁷ [it will be like me... will be like] my [tea]ching ⁸ [and who will compare to me and who (is) like me] among the gods (באלים) ⁹... [*Who will summon me with the tongue?* ¹⁰ [beloved (ידד) of the king,¹⁵² a friend to the holy ones, and it will not come ¹¹ [and to] my [glo]ry it will not compare, *because* [my] station ([...] מעמד[...]) is with the gods ¹²... not by *pure gold* will I [... for myself and gold of Ophir not [... ¹³...] will not be reckoned with me. Sing praise (זמרה), O beloved ones, sing (שירו) to the king of [... ¹⁴ [in the congreg]ation of God, ring out joy (הרנינו) in the tents of salvation, give praise in the habitation[... ¹⁵ [ex]halt together (יחד) among the eternal host, give (הבה) greatness to our God and Glory to our king ¹⁶ [sanct]ify his Name with strong lips and an enduring tongue, raise up together your voice ¹⁷ [in all] times, sound aloud (השמיעו) joyful music, rejoice (הביעו) in eternal joy and there is no ¹⁸ [est (שבת), worship (השודרו) in the

¹⁴⁹ I here follow the reading (ל) ווא דומי [ל] כ[כבודי] and reconstruction of Abegg 1997, 63 who points out that the reading דומי for דומה is best explained by the tendency for a phonetic spelling in Qumran orthography (see Qimron 1986a, 20). This is preferable to Baillet's translation of דומי as "silence" which makes no obvious sense in the context and M. Smith's running together of the נ on the previous word and the דומי to produce "Edomite" (1990, 183-84) which doesn't explain the scribe's gap between the two words.

¹⁵⁰ Here I follow the suggested restoration of Wise (2000, 182-83, 87-88).

¹⁵¹ Reconstruction based on overlaps with 1QH^a 26, 4QH^a 1-2 and 4QH^b following E. Schuller (*DJD* 29:96-100).

¹⁵² Reconstructed with 4QH^a 1 6.

common assembly. Bless (ברכ) the one who wonderfully does majestic deeds, and makes known his strong hand, ¹⁹ [sc]aling mysteries and revealing hidden things, raising up those who stumble and those among them who fall ²⁰ [by rest]oring the step of those who wait for knowledge, but casting down the lofty assemblies of the eternally proud (three more broken lines follow)

ii¹⁵³

¹ deccit [end]s, and there are no witless perversities; light appears, and j[oy shines forth]. . . ⁵ grief, and groaning flees; peace appears, terror ceases; a fountain is opened for [eternal] bles[sing] ⁶ and (for) healing for all times of eternity; iniquity ends, affliction ceases so that there is no more sick[ness; injustice is removed,] ⁷ [and guilt] is no m[ore]. Pr[o]claim and say: Great is God who ac[ts wonderfully,] ⁸ for he casts down the haughty spirit so that there is no remnant and lifts up the poor from the dust to [the eternal height,] ⁹ and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature, and (he is) with the gods in the assembly of the community and [. . .] ¹⁰ wrath for eternal destruction. And those who stumble on earth he lifts up with out charge, and [everlasting] mi[ght is with] ¹¹ their step, and eternal joy in their habitations, everlasting glory and there is no rest (אין השכח). ¹² Let them say: "Blessed is God who [wor]ks mighty [m]arvels, acting mightily to make his power shine forth (להרפיע נבחרה), [and doing righteously] ¹³ in knowledge to all his creatures and goodness upon their faces as they know the abundance of his loving [kindness, and the multitude] ¹⁴ of his mercies to all the children of his truth. We have known you, O God of righteousness, and we have understood[your truth, O King ¹⁵ of Glory; for we have seen your zeal with your powerful strength, and we have recognized [your] ju[dgements in the abundance] ¹⁶ of {your} mercies and marvellous forgiveness. What is flesh in relation to these things (מה כשר לאלה)? How is [dust and clay] to be recko[ned] ¹⁷ that it should recount these things continually and take a stand in the place (להחיצב כמעמד) [before you, in community with(?)] ¹⁸ the sons of heaven? There is no intermediary to ans[wer at your command (six more badly broken lines follow)

4Q427 7 i 6-13a and 7 ii 7b-12 are thematically similar to 4Q491 11 i 12-18, with a particularly striking similarity of first person speech in 4Q427 7 i 6-13a. For anyone familiar with biblical and post-biblical literature these passages speak for themselves. Though there are an irritating number of lacunae and some obscure phrases, the autobiography of one who is both human and yet divine is clear.

¹⁵³ Reconstruction assisted by overlaps with 4QH^c 2 1-9.

Whilst it is now generally accepted that *Glorification Hymns A* and *B* describe an apotheosis of some kind, questions remain. Who, more precisely, is the speaker? Smith seized upon this Qumran text because he found here "the influence of speculation on deification by ascent towards or into the heavens, speculation which may have gone along with some practices that produced extraordinary experiences understood as encounters with gods or angels".¹⁶⁰ So, does the *Glorification Hymn* attest a developed speculation and practice, what Smith would prefer to call "magic"?¹⁶¹ And, if so, is the speaker a Jewish mystic who really did believe that he had ascended to heaven like Paul the Apostle (2 Cor 12:1-12) or, perhaps, Jesus of Nazareth (cf. Mark 9:2-9) and that in doing so he had become one of the gods?¹⁶²

This latter aspect of Smith's thesis has not been received so well. In particular, whilst accepting the apotheosis reading of the text, John J. Collins has argued that rather than a record of visionary ascent the text describes the exalted position of a future, eschatological high priest, with some inspiration from the figure of the community's own Teacher of Righteousness.¹⁶³ This approach to the text has been taken up by Esther Eshel, the editor of 4Q471b and, as far as I am aware has not been challenged.¹⁶⁴ There are here three issues which need to be addressed. Whilst Collins is right that the speaker is a priest I see no reason to think the psalm is eschatological and, therefore, not already in use by certain members of the Qumran community for whom it represents something of their own "visionary" experience.

The Speaker as High Priest

The reasons to think the hymnist is a priest are straightforward, if not absolutely conclusive. Other possibilities can be quickly eliminated. In particular nothing (by comparison with, for example, 1QSb 5) suggests a royal or Davidic figure.¹⁶⁵ Comparison is rightly made

same modernist prejudice? Would they also think that the theology of priesthood represented by Ben Sira is an unpleasant form of egomania?

¹⁶⁰ 1990, 187-88 (*italics deleted*).

¹⁶¹ See his earlier work Smith 1978b.

¹⁶² For the use of Smith's reading to this effect see Segal 1992; Barker 2000, 88, 141.

¹⁶³ Collins and Dimant 1994; Collins 1995c; Collins 1995b, 136-153.

¹⁶⁴ Eshel 1999 and *DJD* 29:423-427. This Teacher of Righteousness reading is also adopted, in a modified form, by Wise 2000.

¹⁶⁵ I. Knohl has now argued that, on the contrary, the speaker is the royal

with other DSS texts where the high priest is a glorious figure who is set in the heavenly realm (1QSb 4:24–28 and 4Q541 frag. 9). In both *Glorification Hymn A* (4Q427 7 i 7, 9; 4Q471b 1a–d 3–4) and *Glorification Hymn B* (4Q491 11 i 16–17) the exalted figure is a teacher, a fact which accords with the pre-eminent position of the priesthood within the Qumran authority structure and the vision for the heavenly priest in both 1QSb 4:24–28 and 4Q541 frag. 9. The identity of the speaker is bound up with a judgement about the same question for the whole of the *Hodayot*. If, as many have thought, the first person speech of the *Hodayot* belongs to the Teacher of Righteousness, the community's founding priest, then perhaps his memory has also influenced the description of the suffering and glorified individual here.

Eschatological High Priest?

Collins' view that the high priest is an *eschatological* figure, rather than a visionary whose ascent to heaven and transformation has already happened, is reached by the accumulation of pieces of circumstantial evidence.¹⁶⁶

messiah because in the Biblical text it is Solomon who is called Yedidiya ("God's friend") (2 Sam 12:25, cf. ידִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ in 4Q431 1 6 (= 4Q427 7 i 10) and 4Q471b 1a–d 7) and sitting on a throne is a posture we would expect for a king not a high priest (2000, 83–84). But neither of these points carries the weight Knobl assumes. In the first place the title ידִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ in the *Glorification Hymn* is unlikely to be a peculiarly royal one because the congregation as a whole are also called the ידִידִים (4Q427 7 i 13). And, secondly, in Essene tradition it is Levi who is the peculiar "beloved of God" (לֵוִי אֵלֵי, *CTLevi ar e 9* = 4Q213 1 i 5). A parallel for the idea of the (high) priest sitting in heaven is also not hard to find. In the *Similitudes of Enoch* and *3 Enoch* it is the archetypal priest Enoch-(Metatron) who does this. In earliest (Jewish-)Christianity it is as much the priestly as the royal Jesus Messiah who sits in heaven (see esp. Hebrews and the widespread use of Psalm 110:1 of Jesus).

¹⁶⁶ Wise (2000) takes a related but different view: the hymn is sung by the whole community, lead by a *maskil*, at least in its *Hodayot* form. Here the community identify themselves with both the Teacher of Righteous and their post-mortem fate. Wise's insistence on the present liturgical use of the hymn must be right. However, in other respects his interpretation is either suggestive but not entirely persuasive or simply confused. He adduces some good evidence that the hymn was to be sung by every member of the liturgical community, though this is all either circumstantial or dependent on uncertain readings and restorations. His claim, on the basis of 4Q427 7 ii 8–9, where God "exalts the poor from the dust to [the eternal height] and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature", that the righteous who sing this song have arrived in heaven "after death" (p. 217) is in now way implied by the text. His interpretation (or rather *explanation*, see esp. pp. 218–219) of the remarkable belief of the worshippers that they are angels is indebted to the conceptual

Collins' discussion of the *Hymn* takes its departure from 4Q541 frag. 9 which, as we have seen, he thinks refers to a future figure.¹⁶⁷ Eshel also takes the view that 1QSb 4:24-28 refers to an eschatological figure.¹⁶⁸ Historically, the discussion of the *Glorification Hymn* has been conditioned by Baillet's edition and his editorial opinion that 4Q491 11 i belonged in the *War Scroll*. At least before Abegg's work had been published, although Collins had accepted that the hymn was not necessarily composed for the *War Scroll*, he remained convinced by its suitability for the context in which Baillet placed it. If it is part of the *War Scroll*, obviously it is intended for a time and conditions which have not yet dawned on the community.¹⁶⁹

Collins and Eshel both think the theme of enthronement points to the eschaton. Collins argues that, with the exception of Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* 68-89, all contemporary texts describing the enthronement of a mortal in heaven are eschatological in orientation. He discusses the use of Psalm 110 in the New Testament, Daniel 7 in rabbinic tradition, the *Similitudes of Enoch*, 4Q521, 1 *Enoch* 108:12, Revelation 3:21 and the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9:24-26 all of which do, it is true, look to the eschaton for the enthronement of a messianic figure in particular or the righteous in general.

Then Collins notes that though similar in many ways to the *Hodayot*, 4Q491 11 i is more confident anthropologically: "while the author of this hymn boasts of his ability to bear troubles, he does not complain about persecution, as does the author of the *Hodayot*. Neither does this hymn show the sense of human sinfulness typical of 1QH, the sense of being snatched from the pit and of being a creature of clay. The tone of his hymn is more confident, and the exaltation of the speaker surpasses anything found in the *Hodayot*."¹⁷⁰

Collins' arguments apply only to *Glorification Hymn B*. The full publication of our witnesses to *Glorification Hymn A* shows up their weaknesses and they are ultimately unpersuasive. The eschatological, future, interpretation of 1QSb 4:24-28 and 4Q541 frag. 9 is, as we have seen in both cases, far from certain, if not improbable. In the wake

parameters of *modern* theories of "group dynamics" and the views of Max Weber, and is thus another good example of scholarship's failure to situate the conceptuality of such material in its proper, ancient Jewish, *historical* context.

¹⁶⁷ 1995b, 136, 148.

¹⁶⁸ 1999, 632-635; *DJD* 29:424-425.

¹⁶⁹ Collins 1995b, 137, 148-9.

¹⁷⁰ 1995b, 148.

of Abegg's analysis of 4Q491 11 i any association of the text with the eschatological context of the *War Scroll* must be abandoned. And Collins' attempt to contrast the anthropology of 4Q491 11 i with that of the *Hodayot* fails to reckon adequately with the dialectical anthropology of the latter.

An expectation in some Jewish circles that in the *eschaton* the righteous and their messianic leader would be enthroned cannot be denied. But Collins' treatment of the Jewish and New Testament evidence is unbalanced. In the New Testament the believers' enthronement is not just a future hope but one already attained: in Ephesians 2:6 the Christian community are *already* "seated in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus". Similarly, in Colossians 3:1-4 the believers are hidden with Christ who is seated at the right hand of the Father.

Collins notes, but dismisses, the possibility that there was a tradition of heavenly enthronement for Israel's king.¹⁷¹ David is enthroned in biblical texts and his throne is that of Yahweh himself (1 Chr 29:23, cf. 28:5, cf. Pss 45:7; 110:1). Whilst this enthronement takes place in Zion and her Temple this necessarily entails heavenly enthronement *because Zion itself is a cosmic Mountain with the holiest parts of the sanctuary actualising the heavenly world*. When, therefore, David's throne is "as the sun before me, as the moon established forever, an enduring witness in the sky" (Psalm 89:37-38) it is not just the endurance of the throne that is in mind, but its cosmic position.¹⁷²

Several other pseudepigraphical texts attest the belief that the truly righteous already in this life have a heavenly throne. We saw in chapter 4 how in the Jewish *Orphica* there is the possibility that either Moses or Abraham is enthroned "over the vast heaven on a golden throne" (Recension G, lines 33-34). In the *Testament of Job* Job boasts, in language strongly reminiscent of QL, (33:2-9, cf. 41:4):

I will show you my throne with the splendour of its majesty, which is among the holy ones:

My throne is in the upper world, and its splendour and majesty come from the right hand of the Father (cf. Ps 110:1) . . . my throne is in the holy land, and its splendour is in the world of the changeless one . . . my kingdom is forever and ever, and its splendour and majesty are in the chariots of the Father.

¹⁷¹ 1995b, 142.

¹⁷² Here I concur with Mosca 1986, 33-36 who has given due significance to the role of Temple cosmology in the royal enthronement tradition.

It is possible that here Job speaks proleptically of a throne which he does not yet occupy. But, given the way he bequeaths to his daughters various fashion accessories which enable them to live a heavenly, *cherubic* life (chs. 46–50), it is just as likely that he speaks of a throne in heaven and the chariots (i.e. the *merkabot*) of the father because he is a mystic who experiences now what will be revealed to all in the eschatological future.

There is then a long and well-established tradition in which a real, *non-eschatological*, experience of ascent and heavenly enthronement would make sense. And, in any case, even if most Jews believed enthronement would happen in the future the strongly realized eschatology of the Qumran community might naturally lead them to the view that they, or their leaders, had attained that for which other Jews waited.

Collins' argument that the exceptional confidence of *Glorification Hymn A* indicates a future transcendence of mundane conditions must be questioned on a number of counts. In the first place 4Q491 I i is so relatively brief a portion of text a confident assessment of total anthropological perspective is precarious. Secondly, Collins' judgement appears to assume that a radically negative assessment of human nature is fundamentally incompatible with an equal and opposite optimism that a human can, under the conditions of this age, be seated with the gods in the heavens above: only a disjuncture between this age and that to come could resolve such a tension. Though *we* may find this a tension too hard to bear we should countenance the possibility that the authors of the scrolls did not.¹⁷³ Indeed, 4Q427 7 is evidently quite happy to have one with incomparable Glory—one whose station (מַעְמָד) is with the gods—lead his people in the familiar cry of the *Hodayot*: "What is flesh in relation to these things? How is [dust and clay] to be reckoned] that it should recount these things continually and take a stand in the place (מַעְמָד) [before you . . .] with the sons of heaven?" (4Q427 7 ii 16–18). Human depravity in independence from the creator is nevertheless open to divine power and has the capacity to enter the divine life. And, also, clearly here

¹⁷³ It is perhaps an essential feature of the mystical tradition that the rationally incompatible are held together as a glorious paradox. In the Hekhalot tradition human beings are, in their naked independence from God utterly unworthy of the heavenly world and yet, the goal of the mystic is ultimately a form of mystic union with the Godhead which sets them over the angelic realm.

the anthropological perspective is more *existential* than *eschatological*: the dialectic is between two present modes of existence, not two periods of history.

Besides these counter arguments to those put forward for the eschatological reading, there are others which tell decisively against the view of Collins and Eshel.¹⁷⁴ There is nothing in *Glorification Hymn B* which itself suggests an eschatological perspective. There is no mention of the defeat of God's enemies, as per the *War Scroll*. The kings of the East (or "of old") are a foil for the incomparability of the speaker; it is notable that they do not appear as end-time enemies of the elect. There is no salvation-historical substructure which would accord with an eschatological perspective. The narrative axis is vertical (ontological) not horizontal (temporal). The context (4Q491 11 i 1-4) refers to God's establishing of Israel from of old and his choosing of the "council of the poor for an eternal congregation". This might suit an eschatological declaration of war against the pagan nations, but it is more likely simply a rehearsal of Israel's *election* and God's founding of the Qumran community.

The "I" form of *Glorification Hymn B* must be closely related to the "I" form of the *Hodayot* as *Glorification Hymn A* now shows. No one seriously thinks the first person singular voice of the *hodayot* is reserved for the eschatological future. What role the *Hodayot* played in the liturgical and pedagogical life of the community is not certain, but that it was used to articulate the present realities of the community is certain.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the "I" form of the *Glorification Hymn* itself tells against any eschatological reading. Where else in Jewish texts from antiquity does this generic marker appear in *eschatological* texts? Collins and Eshel supply no parallel and I know of none. A future eschatological figure of Glory is always otherwise described in the third person (cf. e.g. 11QMelchizedek; *Similitudes of Enoch* 48-71; *Sib. Or.* 5:414-27; 4 Ezra 13:2-13 etc. . .).

¹⁷⁴ At the end of her 1999 article (p. 634) Eshel concludes: "Therefore one may assume that it was a scribe who had difficulties coping with the death of the Teacher of Righteousness who composed the Self-Glorification Hymn, thinking of the Teacher of Righteousness while describing the Eschatological High Priest". What are we to make of this? Does Eshel wish to explain the exaltation of the eschatological High Priest as the product of unresolved grief or some other kind of dissonance theory? Is this an explanation of the text the interpretation of which she has reached on other grounds? Or is this psychologising actually one of the *reasons* why she thinks the text must refer to a future figure?

¹⁷⁵ For a recent, balanced, assessment of the role of the *Hodayot* for both teaching

The issue of the *Hymns'* temporal perspective is now complicated by the full publication of witnesses to *Glorification Hymn A*. It might be thought that 4Q427 7 provides further arguments in support of an eschatological interpretation of the *Glorification Hymn* tradition. 4Q427 7 contains a number of clearly delineated sections which are formally distinct. The *Glorification Hymn* appears in column i, lines 5-13a. This is followed by a long liturgical piece which is dominated by a repeated summons to worship ("sing praise" ... "ring out joy" ... "give praise" ... "give greatness" ... "sanctify his Name" ... etc. ...). The second column then develops the theme of God's salvific power with which the first column evidently ended (7 i 18bff.). Column ii, lines 2-7a is a section which E. Schuller has called an "eschatological description" because it is marked by "a tightly structured series of contrasts describing the disappearance of everything evil and the appearance of everything good".¹⁷⁶ Throughout her commentary on this section she notes conceptual and linguistic parallels to other eschatological descriptions both inside the scrolls (1QH^a 19:22-27 [11:22-27]) and throughout late Second Temple Jewish literature.¹⁷⁷

The place of *Glorification Hymn A* in 4Q427 7 might now provide the eschatological context which was lacking in 4Q491 11 i but which Collins has intuited is assumed for *Glorification Hymn B*. However, I remain convinced of an *existential* and *liturgical*, rather than narrowly *eschatological* interpretation of both *Glorification Hymns A* and *B*.

Whilst it is true that 4Q427 7 ii 2-7a has features which elsewhere characterize the eschatological age, equally important are the parallels to other parts of the *Hodayot* where the blessing of which it speaks is already attained. Schuller compares the shining forth of light in 4Q427 7 ii 4 with the motif of the eschatological appearance of light and joy in Zechariah 14:7; 1 Enoch 8:8; 38:2, 4; 45:4; 58:3-6; 96:3; 2 Enoch 65:9; 2 Bar 73:1-3; Jub 23:30, et al.¹⁷⁸ These are all illuminating cross references but more important is the use of the very similar language of present or past (liturgical) realities in

and regular, but varied, liturgical purposes see Falk 1998, 100-103. A liturgical use for at least some of the *Hodayot* is guaranteed by 1QH^a 20:4-11 [12:4-11] and 5:12-14 [frags. 15 1-3 + 3].

¹⁷⁶ 1993, 624, cf. *DJD* 29:101.

¹⁷⁷ 1993, 618, 624-5, esp. n. 36 and *DJD* 29:105-106.

¹⁷⁸ 1993, 618, *DJD* 29:105.

1QH^a 12:23 [4:23]; 20:4–5, 15 [12:4–5, 15]; 21:14 [18:28] and 1QS 10:2–3. The theme is one which we shall discuss in the next chapter in relation to the theophanic light-giving appearance of the high priest. On 7 ii 5 Schuller comments that “שְׁלוֹם, often combined with בְּרִכָּה as here, is standard in eschatological promises”.¹⁷⁹ This is true, but the language is hardly confined to the eschatological context. It appears frequently, for example in the Aaronic blessing, in the liturgical context. In the wider context there are several references to “everlasting joy (שְׂמֵחָה(וֹ)חַ עוֹלָמְנִים(ים))” (4Q427 7 i 17; 7 ii 11), which, from 1QS 4:7 one might think this is a purely future prospect for the sectarians. But, again in 1QH^a 26:30 (frag. 7 ii 5) and 1QH^a 23:15 [18:15] this is be a present reality.¹⁸⁰

The liturgical context for the whole of 4Q427 7 is patent and is clearer than anywhere else in the *Hodayot*.¹⁸¹ And it is the *reality* of the community’s worship life, rather than some future eschatological fantasy which, I would suggest, best explains the idealized world in 7 i 2–7a.¹⁸² If the language is at all “eschatological” it is because the reality of the end times is already realized in the worship of the community. At the beginning of the summons to praise in 7 i 14 the glorified community leader calls upon the congregation to “ring out joy in the tents of *salvation* (בְּאֹהֲלֵי יִשְׁעָה)”. This surely anticipates the experience of salvation which is then described in 7 i 19b–ii 7b. The language is used elsewhere in the *Hodayot* without any connotation of a (futurist) eschatology (e.g. 1QH^a 20:3 [12:3]: “בְּאֹהֲלֵי כְבוֹד” (183) וְיִשְׁעָה).

As for 4Q427 7 ii 4–11 itself, I would suggest that the proclamation of the forgiveness of sins (אִשְׁמָה, עוֹן, 7 ii 6–7, cf. 7 ii 16) is

¹⁷⁹ 1993, 618, *DJD* 29:105. She compares 1QS 4:7; 1QM 1:9; 17:7; 1QH^a 19:30 [11:27]; *Jub* 1:29; 23:29; *1 Enoch* 5:6; 10:16–17.

¹⁸⁰ Comparison is made with other passages in the *Hodayot* where, it is assumed, a future, eschatological scenario is envisaged (e.g. 1QH^a 19:22–27 [11:22–27] (so Schuller 1993, 624; *DJD* 29:101). But here, too, the plain sense of the text is that anguish, sighing and injustice are already removed from the experience of the worshipper. It is true that interpreters have assumed that the present tense must refer, in fact, to the future (e.g. Holm-Nielsen 1960, 193, n. 21) but this is hardly a *necessary* reading of the text.

¹⁸¹ Schuller 1993, 625; Schuller 1994, 149.

¹⁸² Wise’s discussion (2000) of the diverse textual witness to the *Glorification Hymn* provides important evidence for the current liturgical use of the hymn. Unfortunately, in interpreting the texts’ anthropology Wise then takes leave of the liturgical setting and resorts to modern social theory.

¹⁸³ The context is highly liturgical (20:1–11 [12:1–11]).

best explained as a liturgical response to a concrete situation of repentant petition and atonement which is not confined to the future, eschatological period, but which has a regular use in the worshipping life of the community (hence its presence in the *Hodayot*). It would be churlish to attempt to pinpoint the liturgical context, though some observations should be made. The declaration of the forgiveness of sins at the end of the *Hodayot* collection is a fitting response to the pleading for forgiveness and mercy earlier in the collection (1QH^a 20:4 [12:4]¹⁸⁴). Amongst other available possibilities, the notion of God's merciful *absolute* forgiveness of sins and the healing that results would suit very well the Day of Atonement when all Israel's sins are forgiven and cosmic order is restored.¹⁸⁵

In sum, the *plain* sense of the text for *Glorification Hymn A*, at least in its form in 4QH^a should be allowed to stand. The *Hymn* is used as part of the regular liturgical life of the community and is *not* reserved for some future eschatological reality. In particular, the claim by the leader of the liturgy (the *maskil*?,¹⁸⁶ a high priest?) that he is now stationed among the gods with an incomparable Glory befits a liturgical context in which God has forgiven the people their sins and atonement—*at-one-ment* with God—has been achieved. Though not so obvious, a liturgical context for *Glorification Hymn B* is also highly likely. Just as the *Glorification Hymn* in 4Q427 is followed by a summons for the congregation to praise God (7 i 13b-18), so also 4Q491 11 i 5-18 is followed by the so-called "song of the just" where the righteous are called to worship in language which overlaps that in 4Q427.¹⁸⁷

Liturgical and Visionary Ascent

If the context for *Glorification Hymns A* and *B* is liturgical then does that mean the mystical and visionary context which Morton Smith proposed is vindicated? Some might think not. But although Smith did not envisage a liturgical or cultic context for the apotheosis this

¹⁸⁴ Compare the reconstruction of 1QH^a 5:12 proposed by Puech 1988 for which see Falk 1998, 102.

¹⁸⁵ For the repeated reference to "mercy" in 4Q427 7 i 22; ii 14, 16 compare the centrality of the revelation of God's mercy at Yom Kippur (*Jub* 5:18; 4Q508 2 2; Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 13:6).

¹⁸⁶ For the *maskil* as the leader of the congregation in singing this hymn see the reconstruction of 1QH^a 25:35-26:10 offered by Wise (2000, 204).

¹⁸⁷ In the four broken lines of 4Q491 11 i 13-16 there is a similar density of

could, in theory, be entirely compatible with his insistence that a real mystical or visionary experience is recorded in this Qumran text. He, like many, appears to assume that the mystical, visionary or magical is the product of the non-institutional and the heterodoxy of popular piety. But it is equally likely, given the cosmological significance attached to the cult, that the regular, even *routinized*, worship of a Jewish community which *considers itself* not heterodox but orthodox, would foster the belief in personal experiences of mystical transcendence and apotheosis.

A clear social and liturgically defined structure appears in the context of *Glorification Hymn A*. In 4Q427 the glorified speaker is a liturgical leader. He proclaims his own "divinity" and then leads those present, perhaps the laity, in praise. His exalted position is then related to theirs: in 4Q427 7 ii 7-11 the exalted position of the leader has a reflex for all "those who stumble on the earth" who are exalted to the place of everlasting Glory.

But this is not to say that the apotheosis and experience of the heavenly world is no less a visionary or ecstatic one. The heavenly ascent does not merely take place in the interior world of the mystic's psyche, but nonetheless there are some important signs of the effect of corporate worship on a genuinely altered state of conscious.

The very fact that the hymnist believes that a human being, who in himself is merely "flesh", has now become ontologically divine represents a form of altered consciousness, however difficult that might be to measure or define.¹⁰⁸ In 4Q491 11 i the speaker celebrates the fact that his desire (תאוה) is not according to flesh. Although this exemplifies a wider transcendence-of-flesh theme in the divine humanity tradition, the negation of *desire* suggests a deliberate asceticism commensurate with a mystical experience. Has he denied himself the sexual desire of the flesh (cf. תאוה in Gen 3:6)? Or is this

imperative verbs (זכורה, ושמיש) and the expression ה[שמיש בהניא רנה (line 14) is reckoned to lie parallel to the expression ה[שמיש הידה (4Q427 7 i 17) (Schuller 1993, 615, *DJD* 29:104, who restores רנה רנה).

¹⁰⁸ In the semiotic cacophony of our multi-media post-modern world it is hard to appreciate how much movement into a cultic context from outside, from the normal every day world, would entail a mind transforming experience for those in a pre-industrial age. There can be little doubt that an English peasant entering Durham Cathedral with its utterly overwhelming and transcendent size, sounds, visual impact and construction of space and time in the middle ages would have experienced a kind of "altered stated of consciousness". Israel's Jerusalem cult, and those attempts to replace it, probably had a similar effect.

simply the desire for food from one who has fasted (cf. Num 11:4)? We are not told. But, again such familiar "techniques of ecstasy" are entirely compatible with a formal, liturgically and communally defined context for the experience of transformation. We should recall that priests in the Temple are to abstain from sexual activity, that such "sanctification" in preparation for ascent was taken for granted (Exodus 19:10-11) and that on the Day of Atonement not only were the whole people to fast but the high priest was also deprived of sleep (at least according to rabbinic tradition; *b. Yoma* 19b).

In *Glorification Hymn A* it is said of the poor person that God "magnifies him to the clouds in stature (ועד שחקים ינבחה/עניברדו בקומה)". There is a slight divergence between 4Q427 (1QH^b) 7 ii 9 and 1QH^a 27:28 (frag. 7 ii 2) at this point since the former uses the root נכר whilst the latter has נבחה. There is little difference in meaning since "strengthened" or "heightened" both amount to our "magnified".¹⁸⁹

This is an important line: it may be an early witness to the belief in later Jewish mysticism that those transformed to an angelic or divine identity are physically enlarged in the process. The most infamous example of this is the transformed Enoch who, according to 3 *Enoch* 9:2 tells R. Ishmael that when he became Metatron "The Holy One, blessed be he, put his hand on me and blessed me with 5360 blessings. And I was raised and enlarged (רוגמתי והגבהתי) to the size of the length and width of the world".¹⁹⁰ This late transformational text has its roots in Second Temple tradition according to which the true humanity has an enormous, cosmic body. According to (Pseudo-)Eupolemus (9:17:2-3; 9:18:2) Abraham was of the line of giants. The Birth of Noah perhaps assumes this tradition, although it makes nothing of it. In *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7 the angelic Jacob has thighs, calves and feet like those of a giant. The gigantic body of the exalted and enthroned mortal (either Moses or Abraham) is perhaps in view in the Jewish *Orphica* 32-34.¹⁹¹ A widely attested tradition, rooted in the Second Temple period gives to Adam a gigantic form (*Sib. Or.* 3:26; Philo *Op.* 146; *Vita Adae et Evae* 27:1;

¹⁸⁹ Schuller *DJD* 29:207 suggests that "the text in 4QH^a would reflect the laryngeal pronunciation of *ref*" (cf. *DJD* 29:106).

¹⁹⁰ Greenfield and Odeberg 1973, 25.

¹⁹¹ This text relies on Isaiah 66:1: "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool" to describe the cosmic proportions of the divine man. This biblical text figures prominently in later *Shi'ur Qomah* speculation.

2 *Enoch* 30:13; *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5, 10, 14; *b. Sanh* 38b; *b. Hag* 12a; *Gen Rab* 8:1; 21:3; 24:2).¹⁹²

Our Qumran text looks like a clear, though more restrained, example of the mystical phenomenon described in 3 *Enoch* 9. We can be reasonably confident that *Glorification Hymn A* has in mind the physical enlargement of the righteous, not simply their relocation to the clouds. Had that been in view then we would have expected the more usual root נָבַח, which is widely used for the exaltation, and in that sense *relocation*, of the righteous to the heavenly realm. Instead the passage seems to picture (metaphorically, spiritually, or in whatever way) a gigantic human form who stands on earth but stretches to the clouds (cf. 1 Chr 21:16; Wis 18:15-26, 24). This is particularly clear with the use of the verb נָבַח. With בִּקְוָמָה the verb נָבַח appears only twice in the Hebrew Bible—in Ezekiel 31:10 and 14. There it describes the cosmic cedar of Lebanon whose roots are in the deep below and whose uppermost branches (in the LXX) are in the clouds (31:3-10). The tree symbolizes Assyria but the phrase "to be high in stature" as it applies to the cosmic tree is nonetheless a literal one. Similarly, when the Hebrew of Psalm 151:5 says that David's brothers were "tall of stature (הַנְּבִיחִים בִּקְוָמָה)" (11Q5 28:9) it refers to their real physical height. Accordingly, when *Glorification Hymn A* says of the poor man that God has "magnified him in stature to the clouds" it probably refers to a physical, if metaphorical, transformation commensurate with the new angelomorphic life.

There are then, here, a number of indications that Smith was right that the *Glorification Hymn* does record a genuine mystical experience, although the context for that experience is the community's worship. Although, again, there are signs that a sharp division between the formally liturgical and genuinely experiential should not be imposed on the text: here liturgy and transformational mysticism are inseparable.

A decision regarding the identity of the speaker eludes absolute certainty. Yet the most plausible identity for the speaker of both *Glorification Hymn A* and *Glorification Hymn B* is a priest who describes his experience of apotheosis during the liturgy of the community's worship. There may be some connection with the Teacher of Right-

¹⁹² The tradition is reflected in late first and early second century traditions surrounding Jesus (*Gospel of Peter* 40, 4 *Ezra* 2:43).

cousness, but this is a less straightforward inference than that the hymn is simply used on a regular basis by those priests who do actually enter the realm of heaven in the cultic setting.

Devorah Dimant has drawn attention to the way in which several phrases (כַּחַם אֲפִיר and בְּנֵי הַמַּלְאָךְ) in both *Glorification Hymn A* and *B* are used elsewhere only in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.¹⁹³ The observation is significant and we shall see in chapters 8-10 how much the liturgical anthropology of this *Hodayot* material has in common with that of the *Angelic Liturgy*.

Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek

Having examined texts where Moses and others are described as "gods" or "like gods" we come to a more well known text, 11QMelchizedek (11Q13).¹⁹⁴ In column 2 of 11Q13 Melchizedek is described as a heavenly redeemer who will restore God's people on the Day of Atonement, carrying out God's vengeance on the enemies of God's people (2:13). In a citation of Isaiah 61:2 (line 9) "the year of the LORD's favour" —Melchizedek replaces the Tetragrammaton as the agent of the eschatological deliverance. In line 10 Psalm 82:1's opening sentence—"*elohim* shall stand in the assembly of God, in the midst of the gods he shall judge" —is apparently applied to Melchizedek who is, therefore, spoken of as אֱלֹהִים. Almost universally this has been taken to mean that Melchizedek is an entirely suprahuman figure, far removed from the otherwise apparently human figure of Genesis 14 and perhaps even a divine hypostasis or God himself in his theophanic mode. This interpretative approach has been reinforced by the claim that in 4Q544 (*Visions of Amram*^b a) Melchizedek is identified with the archangel Michael.¹⁹⁵

There is no doubt that in this cave 11 text Melchizedek is divine, but the opinion that, necessarily therefore, he is entirely suprahuman is misguided.¹⁹⁶ This is a view which very well represents the

¹⁹³ Collins and Dimant 1994, 154.

¹⁹⁴ This has now received definitive publication in the *DJD* series under the editorial oversight of Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.G. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude (*DJD* 23:221-233). See earlier van der Woude 1965; 1964-6; Kobelski 1981, 3-23, 49-74; Puech 1987.

¹⁹⁵ See Milik 1972, esp. pp. 85-6.

¹⁹⁶ The only opposition to the consensus has come from Carmignac 1969-71,

dualistic worldview of modern interpreters and their assumption that to speak of a human being with the word *אלוהים* would not be possible for an "orthodox" Jewish text. Several considerations suggest, however, that at the heart of our text there is precisely this claim; that the eschatological redeemer, whilst "human" is also divine.

In the first place the choice of the name Melchizedek is odd, to say the least, unless the author wants an identification with the historical figure of Genesis 14 and Psalm 110:4. Whilst it is possible that in the latter passage Melchizedek is a somewhat mythological figure, the founder of an order of priest-kings, it is hard to see how a Jew in the first century B.C. (when 11QMelch was copied) could read the scriptures and find a Melchizedek who is an *entirely* other-worldly figure, non other than the archangel Michael.¹⁹⁷

Neither is there any evidence within Jewish (and early Christian) tradition for the belief in a Melchizedek figure who is a *suprahuman* angel. We have seen how, in 2 *Enoch* 71 Melchizedek is a divine child without human father and, it seems, only a weak maternal parentage. But this Melchizedek is, nevertheless, *human* and the one who rightfully occupies the priestly office. The Melchizedek of 2 *Enoch* is merely one clear example of a wider angelomorphic-humanity pattern: he is not "an angel" (in the modern sense of the word) but a divine man. Like the Melchizedek of Genesis 14, Psalm 110 (and 11QMelchizedek) he is a priest, a fact which reflects the importance of the priesthood for Israel's divine man tradition in our period. Similarly, in the letter to the Hebrews the mysterious appearance of Melchizedek in chapter 7 in no way permits the conclusion that there was an angel-Melchizedek tradition in the first century A.D. Although Melchizedek is "without father, mother or genealogy" 2 *Enoch* takes a similar line and, as we have seen, in Sirach Enoch is created not born. This is simply the theology of priestly transcendence.¹⁹⁸ For Hebrews Melchizedek is eternal but he is made like

who thinks Melchizedek is "un personnage terrestre . . . qui reproduira la figure du Melchisédec biblique" (369). Carmignac, however, wrongly rejects the application of Ps 82:1 and Ps 7:8 to Melchizedek in lines 10-11 and simply represents another manifestation of a modern dualism which cannot cope with a first century fusion of divine and human horizons.

¹⁹⁷ Fletcher-Louis 1997, 155, 196-7, cf. Horbury 1998, 84.

¹⁹⁸ Within the rhetorical structure of Hebrews 7 Melchizedek's lack of parental lineage helps to legitimise the new, non-Levitical, priesthood of the very *human* (see 2:5-18) Jesus.

the Son of God and since the author of this Christian text is at pains to deny the Son of God is an angel (1:5-2:18), this must mean Melchizedek is a person of a fuller—more human and perhaps more divine—ontology than an angel (as narrowly understood).

Thirdly, the priestly contours of the Melchizedek figure in 11QMelchizedek speak for a divine human as opposed to an angel. It is true to say that in the broken text of the first ten lines of the column Melchizedek is nowhere explicitly stated to be the subject of a priestly action.¹⁹⁹ However, the phrase "it is the time for the year of the favour (רצון) of Melchizedek" has strongly cultic overtones within the context of the DSS corpus.²⁰⁰ The very choice of Melchizedek—one who everywhere else is a priestly figure—as leader at the eschatological dénouement which is centred on the Day of Atonement really must mean that this Melchizedek is to perform the priestly rites of atonement.²⁰¹ When, therefore, line 6 speaks of those living in exile being free "from [the debt of] all their iniquities" and the Day of atonement as the tenth Jubilee "in which atonement shall be made for all the sons of [light]" the text must have regarded Melchizedek as the priest whose arrival would somehow bring forgiveness.²⁰² The fact that a priestly Melchizedek also acts as divine warrior is not surprising since, like the king before him, the high priest was widely believed to perform this function, as we saw in chapter 3.²⁰³

There is no reason to think that the eschatological Day of Atonement forgiveness is achieved by a purely heavenly sacrifice. For such a belief there is precious little evidence from our period (see chs. 8 and 9, below). There is a considerable body of evidence, however, that Israel's human, Jerusalem based cult was regarded itself as heavenly, as we have seen. The history of religions data means it is much

¹⁹⁹ De Jonge and van der Woude 1965, 306. Carnignac 1969-71, 368 thinks the figure is more royal than priestly. Certainly, the two offices are combined if, in lines 24-25 the text interpreted Isa 52:7's "your God is king" with reference to Melchizedek, as seems likely.

²⁰⁰ Pace de Jonge and van der Woude 1965, 305. Kobelski 1981, rightly compares 1QS 8:6; 10; 9:4; 1QM 2:5. See also 4Q400 1 i 16; 4Q513 2 ii 4—two texts where angelic humans perform propitiation.

²⁰¹ Kobelski 1981, 57-9, 64-71; Puech 1987, 312, cf. Woude 1965, 370-372.

²⁰² Kobelski (1981, 58-9) is also right to stress the priestly connotations of the phrase "inheritance of Melchizedek" (line 5, cf. Josh 18:7; Deut 10:9; 18:2).

²⁰³ Pace Jonge and Woude 1965, 306 who say "He is so much 'God's warrior' that his priestly activities remain in the shadow".

more likely that Melchizedek is a divine priest than that he is a priestly angel.²⁰⁴

If 11QMelchizedek envisages a purely heavenly, supra-terrestrial sacrifice led by Melchizedek, then this would entail a *downward* salvific movement, from heaven to earth. This is nowhere stated or implied in the text. On the contrary, the citation of Psalm 7:8-9 prescribes a movement in the other direction. Psalm 7:8b-9a "and above it, to the heights, return: God shall judge the nations" is cited in lines 10-11 and seems to describe Melchizedek's movement from earth to heaven. This is precisely what we should expect from a human high priest who on the Day of Atonement enters the Holy of Holies and thereby moves from earth to heaven. Nowhere in contemporary Jewish texts does an angel undergo an upward movement with the kind of salvific effect ascribed to Melchizedek in our text. Yet, this is the language of human transformation, enthronement and apotheosis.²⁰⁵

The citation of Psalm 7:8a-9b is particularly important for a correct interpretation of the whole and has been somewhat overlooked by commentators. It seems to function as a unifying canonical citation which binds together the heaven and earthly aspects of Melchizedek's identity. It has two functions.

In the first place the way the Psalm is introduced applies the movement to the heights to Melchizedek. The ועליו at the end of line 10 is most naturally taken as an equivalent to the עליו at the beginning of the line and both prepositional compounds should be translated "concerning him" and taken as a reference to Melchizedek.²⁰⁶ Melchizedek's upward movement is not only consistent with that of

²⁰⁴ The appeal to a suprahuman priestly angel tradition (van der Woude 1965, 370-72) is unsatisfactory. This relies on late tradition (*b. Hag.* 12b) and an identification of Melchizedek with Michael which is nowhere made in the DSS.

²⁰⁵ A return to the heights might imply that Melchizedek has already come from heaven which would be consistent with traditions of his wondrous birth or, perhaps, the typology according to which a transformed hero ascends to heaven, returns to earth for a period and specific mission, before, once more, returning to the upperworld (cf. e.g. 2 *Enoch* and the synoptic gospels: ascension & transfiguration (Mk 9:1-13) followed by further ministry, death, resurrection (and ascension)). But there is no further indication in the extant text to suggest that Melchizedek's return to earth entailed pre-existence or a previous transformation.

²⁰⁶ *Pace* Kobelski 1981, 17 who collapses the language of return into the return from exile of the human captives, thus failing to appreciate the citation's deliberately ambivalent reference. If the author had wanted to speak now about the captives' return he would have written "and concerning them".

the high priest at Yom Kippur it is also reminiscent of the enthronement in Psalm 110:1. The return to the heights picks up the immediately preceding statement derived from Psalm 82:1 that "elohim (i.e. Melchizedek) shall stand in the assembly of God, in the midst of the gods he shall judge" (11Q13 ii 10). Obviously, the divine council wherein Melchizedek's judgement takes place is set in the upper realm, the heights and so the citation of Psalm 7:8-9 describes how Melchizedek gets to his position of eschatological authority.

But, on the other hand, to speak of Melchizedek's *return* to the heights picks up also the theme of Jubilee return for the human captives in exile which lies at the heart of our Peshet. Leviticus 25 repeatedly refers to the Jubilee as a time of *return* and Leviticus 25:13—"in this year of Jubilee each of you shall return to his property" is cited in line 2 (cf. Lev 25:10, 41) of our text and in line 6 Melchizedek makes the people *return*.²⁰⁷ This has led Kobelski to conclude that in lines 10-11 it is not the return of Melchizedek but the captives that is view.²⁰⁸ However, it would be wrong to play off against one another the two possibilities. Rather, Psalm 7:8-9 has, it seems, been carefully chosen to describe Melchizedek's heavenward movement as representative of and determinative for the return of the people as a whole. This again tells against Melchizedek being "an angel", but is consistent with Melchizedek's divine (and representative) humanity.

The central, key, lines of 11QMelch col. ii attest themes which are well represented in other angelomorphic Dead Sea Scroll texts. For example the belief that the eschatological redemption is achieved by a priest with cosmic and divine credentials should now be compared with 4QTLevi^d 9 and more generally with the portrayal of the priest in texts such as 1QSb 4:24-28, Sirach 50 and *Jubilees* 31. This text may even envisage a heavenly ascent akin to that which is presumed in 4Q491 11 i, and which lies behind other priestly angelomorphic texts (e.g. 2 *Enoch* 22:8-10; *T. Mos.* 10:2).

As for the identification of Melchizedek with Michael, which has been so widely popularised, it should be recalled that this is nowhere

²⁰⁷ The failure to appreciate the central importance of the Psalm 7:8-9 citation is illustrated by Fitzmyer 1971a, 262: "... it makes little sense in the context, and possibly we should rather read *šyh* and understand it as a form of *yāh*, 'sit'. This certainly yields a far better sense".

²⁰⁸ 1981, 17.

actually stated in the extant material from the *Visions of Amram*.²⁰⁹ Any one-to-one identification of Melchizedek with an entirely suprahuman Michael is more a reflection of the modern dualistic interpretative paradigm than the data of the scrolls themselves.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Carmignac 1969-71, 365-66.

THE HIGH PRIEST, THE BREASTPIECE AND THE URIM
AND THUMMIM AT QUMRAN

Besides 1QSb 4:24-28 there are a significant number of other texts in the Dead Sea Scroll library which reveal a particular interest in the Urim and Thummim (UT). Several have already received much discussion (1Q29 + 4Q376, 4Q175), two have only recently been published (4Q392 frag. 1 and 4Q408) and as a whole their significance for Qumran theology has been underestimated. Because the UT, and the breastpiece of judgement to which they are related in Exodus 28, will figure prominently in our study of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in chapter 11 they are examined at this juncture in their own right.

The three best known references to the UT are all, for one reason or another, allusive. 4QpIsa^d and Tongues of Fire (4Q376 + 1Q29) are fragmentary and therefore difficult to interpret. In 4Q175 the biblical reference to the UT in Deuteronomy 33:8 is cited without obvious comment in a *Testimonia* of biblical texts. Interpretation of these texts is compounded by the fact that there is still much scholarly uncertainty about the precise nature of the UT. In particular, it has been hard to determine what relationship they have to the breastpiece and the precious stones prescribed for Aaron in Exodus 28:15-30 and the precious stones placed on the high priest's shoulders in Exodus 28:6-14. Are the stones the UT and if so how were they consulted for God's judgements (Num 27:21; 1 Sam 28:6, 14:41)?¹ Or, did the breastpiece of judgement simply contain the UT as one would carry pebbles in a bag for divination by psephomancy?²

Whatever the biblical understanding(s) of the UT one aspect of this mysterious channel of divine revelation which appears consist-

¹ Post-exilic Israel was itself evidently uncertain how to use the UT (Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65).

² The possibilities have been thoroughly reviewed by Dam 1993, whose own conclusions should be balanced by the studies of Horowitz and Horowitz 1992 and Kitz 1997.

ently in the later, extra-biblical material is the giving of light. Whatever the etymology, later interpreters derived the word אֲרִיִּם from the root אָר "light" (and the תִּמְמִים was similarly related to the root תָּמ "be complete, finished, whole or perfect"). Thus, for example, the Septuagint of Ezra 2:63 translates the Urim and Thummim of the Hebrew with the expression $\text{τοῖς φωτίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς τελείοις}$ ("lights and perfections"). Elsewhere the LXX uses the phrase $\text{τὴν δῆλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν}$ ("manifestation and truth"; Exod 28:20; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8, cf. Num 27:21; 1 Sam 14:41; 28:6). That the UT were somehow a means of revelation through light is then related to the equally mysterious tradition according to which the stones of the breastpiece and/or shoulders of the high priest's garb gave out light at certain times and places.

The Light-Giving Stones and the Tongues of Fire (IQ29 + 4Q376)

We saw in our discussion of IQSb 4 how in *Aristeas* 97 there is described the breastpiece, "called the 'oracle,' to which are attached 'twelve stones' of different kinds, set in gold, giving the names of the patriarchs in what was the original order, *each stone flashing its own natural distinctive colour.*"³ A fuller explanation of the operation of this "oracle" is given by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* 3:215-17:

Well, of those stones which . . . the high priest wore upon his shoulders—they were sardonyxes, and I deem it superfluous to indicate the nature of jewels familiar to all—it came about, whenever God assisted at the sacred ceremonies, that the one that was buckled on the right shoulder began to shine, a light glaucing from it, visible to the most distant, of which the stone had before betrayed no trance. That alone should marvel enough for such as have not cultivated a superior wisdom to disparage all religious things; but I have yet a greater marvel to record. By means of the twelve stones, which the high priest wore upon his breast stitched into the *essén* (ἔσσην), God foreshowed victory to those on the eve of battle. For so brilliant a light flashed out from them before the army was yet in motion, that it was evident to the whole host that God had come to their aid. Hence it is that those

³ This tradition is also attested in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* where each of the stones is engraved with eyes out through which light can stream (26:9, cf. 26:13, 15). Compare, perhaps, Zech 3:9 where the high priest is given a stone with fourteen eyes. For an identification of this stone with the breastpiece see VanderKam 1991.

Greeks who revere our practices, because they can in no way gainsay them, call the *εσσην λόγιον* ("oracle").⁴

Although he does not speak explicitly of the UT, Josephus appears to have it in mind when he speaks of the oracle. His account of the stones' shining to confirm God's presence in battle may be based on Numbers 27:21:

But he [Joshua] shall stand before Elcazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the decision of the Urin before the LORD; at his word they shall go out, and at his word (על פי) they shall come in, both he and all the Israelites with him, the whole congregation.

Whereas the biblical text has the oracle through the UT and *the verbal decision* of the priest, in Josephus' account the high priest does nothing more than bear the light flashing stones of the breastpiece. If this is a conscious interpretation of the biblical text then Josephus identifies the UT with the stones of the breastpiece as a light-giving oracle. In any case, for Josephus, the operation of the high priest's stones now signifies divine *presence*, not just revelation (as if the later were possible without the former).⁵

A text preserved in tantalizingly fragmentary form in both Cave 1 and Cave 4 manuscripts appears to correspond to Josephus' description of the high priest's oracle. 4Q376 1 column 1 is highly broken but speaks of an "anointed priest (בֹּהֵן הַמִּשְׁחָה)" (line 1) and has the word "for Urim (לְאֹרִים)" in line 3. 4Q376 1 column 2 overlaps with 1Q29 and the relevant lines read as follows:

¹ They will provide you with light (אִירֹכָה) and it/he (i.e. "the priest" or "the cloud") will go out with it with tongues of fire (בְּלִשְׁמֹחַ אֵשׁ). The left hand stone which is on his left hand² side will shine forth to the eyes of all the assembly until the priest finishes speaking. And after it [the cloud?] has been removed

Here, as in the beginning of the Josephus passage cited above, we have to do with the shining for the purposes of revelation of one of

⁴ Josephus proceeds to say that the "oracle" ceased to work 200 years before the time of his writing, because of God's displeasure with the people's transgression of his laws. This has nothing to do with the founding of the Qumran sect (*pace* Vermes 1975b, 12; J. Strugnell in *DJD* 14:127-31). The date is best explained as an approximate figure dating the cessation of the proper use of the UT to the death of Josephus' hero, John Hyrcanus († 104 B.C.).

⁵ Another possible instance of the oracular function the high priest's breastpiece is *Prot. Jas.* 5:1.

the stones (here the left hand stone, in Josephus the right hand stone) on the high priest's shoulders. Although the context is difficult to judge, because the third column of 4Q376 refers to the "Prince of the Congregation" and a situation where he and the nation "march to a city to besiege it" (4Q376 frag 1 iii (lines 2-3) some kind of parallel to Josephus' account of the oracle's role *in re militari* seems to have been in view.⁶

There is no certain reference to the UT here, but the oracular, light-giving properties of the high priest's precious stones and garb is clearly in view.⁷ The place of this text in relation to the community's theology is also difficult to judge. Given the overlap with the material in Josephus and the lack of any clearly sectarian terminology the editor of 4Q376, John Strugnell, concluded that text was not the product of the community.⁸ But the presence of several copies of the work (1Q29, 4Q376 and probably 4Q375), including one in Cave 1, speaks for the esteem in which it was held by the community. With the official publication of another fragmentary Cave 4 manuscript, 4Q408, there is now, in all probability, extant yet another copy of the text, (to which our discussion will return below).⁹

Levi's Possession of the Urim and Thummim (Deut 33:8-10 and 4Q175)

That the community understood the UT as a channel of illumination is clearly in view in our second DSS text, 4Q175. 4Q175 is a collection of biblical texts (Deut 5:28-29; 18:18-19; Num 24:15-17 and Deut 33:8-11) along with a citation of another authoritative extra-biblical text, the *Psalms of Joshua* (4Q379). The collection of

⁶ For a fuller discussion of the relationship between 1Q29, 4Q376 and also 4Q375 and 1Q22, and the Josephus passage see Strugnell in *DJD* 14:121-136 and cf. Strugnell 1990. The shining of the stones on the shoulder is perhaps related primarily to the process of discerning between a true and false prophet (1Q29 I ii 5-6).

⁷ In the citation of 4Q376 I ii line 1 I have followed the *editio princeps* (*DJD* 14:124-125) in reading אֲדַרְכֶּכֶם as the first word ("they shall give light to you"). However, the reading אֲדַרְכֶּכֶם is equally possible as the editor notes (*DJD* 14:125)---and judging by the plate (pl. XV) it looks preferable. This would then perhaps be the "your Urim (אֲדַרְכֶּכֶם)" of Deut 33:8.

⁸ *DJD* 14:130-31.

⁹ *DJD* 36:298-315. For the editor, A. Steudel and Strugnell's view that this is another witness to 1Q29, 4Q376 see esp. p. 298. Fragment 11 probably corresponds to the portion of the text describing the flashing of the stones, though the fragment is too small be certain.

texts without interpretative comment suggests an *aide memoire* for passages of significance to members of the community; perhaps for use in proselytising or apologetic circumstances.

Deuteronomy 33:8-11 is cited, accordingly (lines 14-20):

And of Levi he said: Give to Levi your Thummim, and your Urim to your loyal one, whom I tested at Massah, with whom I contended at the waters of Meribah; ⁹ who said of his father and mother, "I have not known them"; he ignored his brothers, and did not know his children. For he observed your word, and kept your covenant. ¹⁰ *They have made shine* (וַיִּאֲרֶיךָ) *your judgements* (דְּבַר־שִׁפְטֶיךָ) for Jacob, and Israel your law; they place incense before you, and whole burnt offerings on your altar. ¹¹ Bless, ****, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again.

Discussion of this collection of "Testimonia" has been preoccupied with its possible messianic significance. There is no doubt that the citation of Numbers 24:17 which precedes will have been included because of its messianic import (cf. CD 7:19-21; 1QM 11:6-7, 1QSb 5:24, 27) and Deuteronomy 18:18-19 justifies the expectation of a coming messiah like Moses. It is then assumed that Deuteronomy 33:8-10 is also cited to give a scriptural basis for a priestly messianic expectation.¹⁰ Just what significance these texts had for their compiler will always be hard to judge: given the nature of the genre the interpretation of this *Testimonia* is in the hands of its implied user, not the twenty-first century scholar. However, upon reflection, there are reasons to doubt the inclusion of Deuteronomy 33:8-10 for strictly messianic reasons.

In the first place, given that we know from CD 7:19-21 that Numbers 24:17 was interpreted by members of the Qumran movement as a reference to both a priestly and a royal messiah the peculiarly dual messianism of the community can be satisfactorily addressed by the citation of that text alone in 4Q175. There is no need to assume, as some do, that Numbers 24:17 is cited as a prediction of a coming royal messiah and that Deuteronomy 33:8-11 follows as a basis for a priestly messianic expectation.¹¹ The latter text might move on to entirely different matters. In fact, secondly, it is not entirely clear that Deuteronomy 33:8-11 is particularly messianic in focus.

¹⁰ E.g. Allegro, 1956, 187; Fitzmyer 1974, 82-84; Vermes 1997, 495.

¹¹ For those who take this view and its difficulties see Fitzmyer 1974, 84.

It contains much that need have nothing directly to do with messianism; Levi's social withdrawal, his sacrificial duties and his keeping of the covenant. The text could equally well be included here because it justifies the cenobitic lifestyle of the Essene priesthood, who have left the normal ties of kith and kin for the life of the wilderness.¹² Since Deuteronomy 33:8-11 is a charter for Levitical (and therefore priestly) power and authority it could be included simply because it supports the Essene movement's opposition to the emerging power of Pharisaism which was happy to promote the teaching authority of appropriately trained laity.¹³ And, given the other texts in the Qumran Library which evince a particular interest in the high priest's oracle it is worth pondering the possible significance of the UT in the first verse of the citation.

There are some minor variations on the MT, but these mostly have to do with a shift from God as second to first person and third person singulars where the MT has the plural. The really significant difference between the Qumran version and the MT is the verb at the beginning of line 10: where the MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch both read "they teach (לְרַבּוּ)" this Qumran text has the *Hiph'il* of לָאָס, "to cause to shine".¹⁴ The origin of this textual divergence is uncertain.¹⁵ The Qumran reading will not be sectarian since it is anticipated by Sirach 45:17 which alludes to Deuteronomy 33:10 when it says God gave Aaron "authority and statutes and judgments, to teach (διδάξαι) Jacob the testimonies, and to enlighten (φωτίσαι) Israel in his law". The 4Q175 version will also be reflected in the LXX ("δηλώσουσιν") and in Aquila ("φωτίσουσιν").

¹² Deuteronomy 33:9 is used to justify the radical, encenobitic, sociality of the Jesus movement in Luke 14:25-35 (see Fletcher-Louis 2000a). Does Deuteronomy 33:9 lie behind Josephus' statement (*B.J.* 2:120) that the Essenes "adopt other men's children"? For such children, presumably, Deuteronomy 33:9 would be a useful justification for the abnegation of family responsibilities and privileges. See also 1QH^a 17:35 [9:35] "my father did not know me and my mother abandoned me to you".

¹³ If we follow the persuasive argument of H. Eshel (Eshel 1991-92) then 4Q175 is directed against the claims of John Hyrcanus I to perfectly embody priesthood, kingship and prophecy in the one person. In this case Deuteronomy 33:8-11 is perhaps included as a benchmark by which Hyrcanus' fulfilment of the priestly office is measured: did Hyrcanus properly administer UT as the biblical text prescribes?

¹⁴ 4QDeut^b (frags. 11-15 line 3) agrees with the MT and Sam. Pent. in using the verb לְרַבּוּ.

¹⁵ It is, I think, the light-giving authority of the Levites and the significance of the UT in Deuteronomy 33:8-11 which interests the compiler of 4Q175, not the teaching authority of the priesthood, (*pace* Collins 1995b, 114, who fails to see that the Qumran version differs from that of the MT which he cites).

The Qumran version and the LXX are concerned to relate verse 10 to the Urim (אורים) and Thummim of verse 8.¹⁶ This is clear from the fact that it is God's judgements (משפטים) which Levi causes to shine, just as the UT are placed in the breastpiece of judgement (משפט השן, Exod 28:15, 29–30). The verbal form in verse 10 picks up the nominal form of אור in verse 8. The connection is reflected in the Septuagint which says in Deuteronomy 33:10 that the Levites "make clear (δηλώσουσιν)" God's judgements, using language which picks up the giving to Levi of δῆλούς αὐτοῦ ("his Urim") in verse 8.¹⁷

Clearly, then, the Qumran community found warrant for their belief that the UT was a light giving oracle of God's judgements in their version of Deuteronomy 33:8–10.¹⁸ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, given the difference between their text and others', this passage is included in this Testimonia because of the importance they attached to their particular understanding of the UT.

Twelve Chief Priests' Illuminating Judgement of the UT (4QpIsa^d)

This light giving understanding of the UT is probably attested in a third Qumran text. 4Q164 (4QpIsa^d) is a fragmentary Pesber on Isaiah 54:11–12, the extant portions of which read:

1 . . . all Israel like antimony around the eye. *And I will lay your foundations with sapphi[re].* (Isa 54:11c) Its Interpretation:]² they will found the council of the community (עצת היחד), [the] priests and the people . . .]³ the assembly of his elect, like a sapphire stone in the midst of stones. [I will make] ⁴ all your pinnacles (כול שמשחיד) of rubies (Isa 54:12a). Its interpretation concerns the twelve [chief priests/stones(?) who] ⁵ illuminate in the judgement of the Urim and Thummim (מאירים במשפט האורים והתומים) . . . [without] ⁶ any from them missing, as the sun (כשמש) in all its light and *all your gates of jewels* (Isa 54:12b)
² Its interpretation concerns the chiefs of the tribes of Israel |

¹⁶ So, rightly, Gaster 1958, 217.

¹⁷ The language is typical of the LXX translation of instances of the Hebrew UT: Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Num 27:21; 1 Sam 28:6, cf. 1 Sam 14:41; Hos 3:4; 1 Esdr 5:40; Sir 33:3; 45:10. For the Qumran version of Deut 33:10 close to that of the LXX see Duncan 1995.

¹⁸ This explanation of the Qumran form of Deut 33:10 is eminently preferable to the view that the Qumran form reflects a wider light symbolism of the law, reflected in the Targums (so Vermes 1958).

A satisfactory interpretation of this text is hindered by the lacuna at the end of line 4. What twelve things are responsible for the illumination of line 5? Some have been inclined to supply a reference to twelve stones here.¹⁹ Though at first sight an attractive restoration this view suffers serious problems.²⁰ The rest of the Peshier, both before and after the interpretation of Isaiah 54:12a, is concerned to identify parts of Isaiah's prophecy for Jerusalem with eschatological persons; the true Israel (line 1) and various parts of the community's leadership (lines 2-3, 7). In the midst of this train of thought an interpretation of the biblical lemma which focuses on an *object*—the priest's breastpiece—would be a little out of place. More seriously, if we restore אבני אקרה, or some such, then we would expect a feminine numeral and verb. In the light of these considerations and a comparison of other Qumran texts describing the structure of the leadership of the movement Joseph M. Baumgarten has persuasively argued for a reference to "twelve chief priests who (ראשי הכהנים אשר) give light by the judgement of Urim and Thummim".²¹

Although this means the text does not provide an explicit identification of the UT with the high priest's stones that is probably assumed. And, in any case, the oracular authority of the UT as a source of (either literal or metaphorical) *illumination* is clearly in view.²²

In several other respects this text is noteworthy. In the case of the other two texts we have discussed (1Q29 + 4Q376 and 4Q175) it is clear that, whilst the community has a certain invested interest in the UT, they shared with Jews a particular interpretation of the oracle, its operation and significance. In the case of the Qumran Peshier on Isaiah 54:11-12, C.T.R. Hayward has rightly drawn attention to the way in which the application of Isaiah 54:11-12 to the UT is anticipated by Sirach 45:11 (cf. 50:9) which uses the phrase

¹⁹ Lehmann 1961-2, cf. Allegro 1958, 221 n. 68.

²⁰ For what follows see Baumgarten 1976, 61.

²¹ Baumgarten 1976, 61-62.

²² As the editor, J.M. Allegro (1958, 221 n. 68), and Baumgarten (1976, 62) rightly perceive. For the reference to the light of the sun in line 6 comparison should not just be made to passages where the priesthood are likened to the sun (e.g. *T. Levi* 4:3 (Baumgarten 1976, 61)) but, more specifically to the tradition which gives the stones of the breastpiece this property. In Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 26:15 it is said of these stones that "it was as if the light of the sun was poured over them and the earth glowed with their light" and that (26:13) "the just will not lack the brilliance of the sun or the moon, for the light of those most precious stones will be their light". Josephus says that sun and moon are symbolised by the two sardonyxes on the shoulder (*Ant.* 3:185).

“precious stones (אבני הפז)” from Isaiah 54:12 to describe the stones of Aaron’s garb.²³

But in other respects the Qumran Isaiah Peshier provides evidence of the community’s own reflection on the light giving U’I. Although fragmentary, the genre of this text (a Peshier), its language (“council of the community”) and ideas (the organizational structure and the metaphorical reading of a literal restored Jerusalem in terms of a spiritual people) all indicate the product of the community’s own exegetical activity.

And in this text there is also a notably idiosyncratic view of the U’I. Reading Josephus, earlier sources (Sirach 45:7–22; 50:1–21; *Aristeas* 96–99), the rabbis or, for that matter, the biblical text, one assumes that the U’I is only used by *one* chief priest, since only one chief priest (in Exodus 28; Aaron) is fully attired in the requisite garments to which the U’I belong.²⁴ If our reconstruction is correct then here there are *twelve* chief priests responsible for the operation of the U’I. This also suggests that the text envisages twelve chief priests wearing the full garb of Exodus 28.

Yet this should not altogether surprise us. In other Qumran scrolls there are a plurality of chief priests. So, for example, in 1QM 2, although there is clearly one chief priest (and his deputy) at the head of cultic proceedings there are a further thirty eight chief priests (ראשי הכהנים) under him (12:1–2, cf. Neh 12:7). In the *War Scroll* we are not actually told that there would be more than one priest wearing the full regalia of Exodus 28, including ephod, breastplate and U’I. But in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* we hear of a multitude of ephodim and breastplates (השש) which, it will be argued (below), are worn by a group of chief priests.

It is not hard to see how a group of late Second Temple Jews zealous for the correct interpretation of scripture might come to the conclusion that more than just one chief priest should have access to the garments given to Aaron in Exodus 28. In one biblical passage, 1 Samuel 22:18, there are eighty-five priests wearing an ephod. All of these, but one, are killed by Doeg the Edomite. The one survivor of this massacre, Abiathar, flees to David who then uses the priest’s ephod to seek the LORD for oracular guidance. Did Abiathar

²³ Hayward 1995a, 50.

²⁴ This is clearly Josephus’ view (*Ant.* 3:159–178, 184–87, 214–218). For the rabbis see e.g. *b. Sanh* 16a; *b. Yoma* 71b.

have with him a breastpiece and UT? And if so, did the other group of 84 priests also have a breastpiece and UT with their *ephodim*? A Jew reading the biblical text in the second century B.C. or thereafter might conclude that, since 1 Samuel follows Exodus in the account of Israel's history and constitution the *ephodim* of 1 Samuel 22:18 must be those of Exodus 28 and, therefore, there were at that time at least eighty five full sets of priestly garments, each including breast-piece and UT.

Exodus 28:4 (cf. v. 1) says the sacred vestments are to be made for "Aaron and his sons". In Exodus 29:29 "The sacred vestments of Aaron shall be passed on to his sons after him; they shall be anointed in them and ordained in them". Statements such as these are normally taken to mean that a line of successive Aaronic priests, one after the other, will wear all the items of clothing which are his. However, the Qumran community might have found in such texts a description of a *group* of priests, the sons of Aaron, all of whom wore his garments serving simultaneously as chief priests.²⁵ The citation of Deuteronomy 33:8-11 in 4Q175 might also intend a claim that a plurality of priests should have access to the UT, since the text describes the prerogatives and responsibilities of Levi as a family and it is "They (who) have made shine (God's) judgements for Jacob", just as it "they (who) place incense" before God. (Though, of course, the third person plurals of Deuteronomy 33:11 could also be taken to refer to a successive line of Levitical priests which at Sinai was confined to the Aaronid line and then under David to the Zadokite line.)

We can be sure that others felt free to find in the biblical canon a plurality of *ephodim* because in his *Antiquities* 8:93 Josephus writes:

Of the priestly vestments for the high priests (τοῖς ἀρχιερεῶσι), including long robes, upper garments, oracle and precious stones, he [Solomon] made a thousand; but the crown on which Moses had inscribed God's name was unique and has remained to this day; of the (simple) priest's vestments he made ten thousand of linen and purple girdles for each.

In his lengthy account of the Tabernacle and priestly attire Josephus is clear that only one chief priest wore in his own day what Aaron was given to wear in his. For Josephus the plurality of vestments,

²⁵ For the possibility of this interpretation of Deut 33:8-10 see Dam 1993, 173, esp. n. 28.

oracles and precious stones, was a thing of the past.²⁶ For the Qumran community it was still, perhaps, a thing of the present.

The UT and the Perfect Light of God's Presence

Another indication of the way the UT was cherished at Qumran is the case of the strange word אורר(ו)ם which appears twice, possibly three times, in the *Hodayot*, three times in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and once in one other Cave 4 text (4Q392). Since the earliest commentators this DSS neologism has been judged a collocation of אור and הוים and therefore understood as a wordplay on the אוררים and תמים of the high priest's oracle.²⁷ Although not all are convinced, there is, now, every reason to take this word seriously as a conscious reflection on the UT.²⁸

In all three occurrences in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the word is closely associated with both the supernal light of the heavenly sanctuary and the holy of holies of the heavenly sanctuary (4Q403 I i 45 = 4Q404 5 4; 4Q403 I ii 1), though whether it is actually placed in the innermost sanctuary is not clear.²⁹ The instance of this word in the recently published 4Q392 frag. 1 also attests its association with the heavenly sanctuary and adds another cosmological dimension to the notion of "perfect light":³⁰

[...] a man to be united with God (להחדד איש לאלהים),³¹ to not turn aside from a[ll . . .]³ but their soul shall cling to his covenant, to [study] the words of h[is] mouth [. . .] Go[d in] the heavens⁴ above and to search out the ways of the sons of man (בני האדם). [There is no place to hide from before him. He created darkness] and li[ght] for

²⁶ Josephus's statement is perhaps made under the influence of 1 Chr 29:2 8. A plurality of *ephodim* might be in view in 2 Baruch 6:7 where, although there is reference to only one ephod it is said that in the Holy of Holies there are "forty-eight precious stones with which the priests (plu.) were clothed".

²⁷ Dupont-Sommer 1952, 74; Licht 1957, 91 and see the discussions of Holm-Nielsen 1960, 80 and Newsom 1985, 231-32 (= *DJD* 11:283).

²⁸ Those unsure include Newsom 1985, 231-32; *DJD* 11:283 and Falk *DJD* 29:31.

²⁹ Newsom rightly notes (*DJD* 11:283) that the form אוררם in 4Q403 I i 45 is an orthographic variant and that the parallel אוררם in 4Q404 5 4 is best explained as a result of metathesis.

³⁰ *DJD* 29:25-44. The editor, D. Falk, provides reasons to suppose the work is composed by the Qumran community and notes the similarity in themes and language to the *Hodayot* (*DJD* 29:27, 29).

³¹ For this restoration of the poorly preserved first word see *DJD* 29:28.

himself (ואור לו) ⁵ (ברא השך) and in his dwelling the light of the perfect light (במעונו אור אורחה).³² And all darkness (אפלה) rests before him; and there (was) no one with him³³ to divide between light ⁶ and darkness because for the sons of [ma]n he separated them—the sun for [light] by day and by night the moon and the stars. ⁷ And with him there is an unsearchable light and no one can know (עמו אור לאין חקר ואין לדעת) [...] for all the works of God are wonder[ful] (פלאים). We ⁸ are flesh (בשר). Do we not understand? How are we to d[is]wonder[s] (נפלאות) and p[re]sents without number (לאין מספר) ⁹ [...] high [...] winds (רוחות) and lightning [...] the ser[vants] of the most holy (משרתי הכיור) going out before him (מלפני יצאים) the lu[m]inaries]

Here the אורחה is the first light of creation which exists above and beyond the light of the sun, the moon and stars. The text is a conscious interpretation of Genesis 1, especially Genesis 1:3-5. In line 7 it is probably the light of the perfect light which is further described as “unsearchable and unknowable”. This is one of the unsearchable, innumerable, marvellous things that God has made according to Job 5:9 and 9:10. The text perhaps has in mind also the supernal light within which God is wrapped as though in a garment in Psalm 104:2, since 9 probably echoes Psalm 104:4: “you make the winds (רוחות) your messengers, fire and flame your ministers (משרתי).”³¹

Does the אורחה here have anything to do with the priesthood and its oracle of judgement? And, furthermore, does it have anything to do with the theme of liturgical anthropological transcendence? Given that the “light of the perfect light” is the transcendent light of God’s own dwelling one might assume that it has nothing to do with the garments of the very human high priesthood. Line 8—“we are flesh . . .”—states the familiar Qumran theme of frailty and the comparative ignorance of the sarkic humanity. However,

³² DSSSE translates “in his dwelling the perfect light shines” taking אור as a verb. This is, of course, possible. My translation, following Falk (*DJD* 29:29), accords with the sense of the phrase in 1QH^a 21:14 [18:29] “in the eternal residence, for the light of perfect light (במבן עולם לאור אורחים) for ever” and the language of 4Q403 I i 45 = 4Q404 5 4: “in the light of the perfect light of knowledge (באור אורחה) (רע)”. A verbal form of אור in these instances is highly unlikely, especially for the *Hodayot* passage (though cf. Job 33:30).

³³ DSSSE translates “he does not need to . . .”. It seems preferable to take this as a familiar biblical statement that God had no helper (cf. esp. Deut 32:12, 39).

³¹ Falk, following Strugnell, uses Psalm 104:4 to reconstruct the lacunae in this passage (*DJD* 29:31-32). In addition to Falk’s discussion of Psalm 104’s influence on 1QH^a 9:9-14 and *Jub.* 2, note the inspiration of Psalm 104:19 on 1QS 10:3 (Wernberg-Møller 1957, 141).

upon reflection and closer examination there are a number of important indications that an allusion to the UT is very much in mind in line 5 and that ultimately the text looks to the high priesthood's own possession of the primal perfect light.

In the first place, when we bear in mind the biblical theology of creation and Tabernacle, a juxtaposition of the creation of light and darkness and the UT is what we would expect. Separation of light and darkness is the work of the first day of creation in Genesis 1:3-5. To this first act of creation there corresponds the first speech to Moses regarding the instructions for the building of the Tabernacle in Exodus 25:25-30:1. At the climax of those instructions there is the description of the garments for Aaron, his breastpiece, precious stones and the UT. Anyone, like the author of Sirach, who was aware of the intratextuality between the two passages in Genesis 1 and Exodus 25-31 would naturally make the connection between God's creation of *light* on the first day and the "אורים and Thummim" of the first block of Tabernacle instructions (Exod 28:30).

That the UT and the stones with which they are associated in Exodus 28 should be somehow identified with the primal light of the very dawn of creation is also consistent with other indications in contemporary Jewish texts of the period. In the rest of Exodus 25-31 Moses is told to *make* this or that cultic object or aspect of Aaron's attire. He is *not* told to make the UT, but simply to *place* the UT in (or on, "על", LXX, Sam) the breastpiece. The report in Exodus 39:1-31 that the instructions for the making of the high priestly vestments were carried out in all their particulars explicitly omits any reference to the making of the UT. Perhaps the UT do not need to be made because they already exist. Where do they come from? In the Hebrew Ben Sira each of the precious stones of the high priest's oracle contains "engraved writing (כתב חרות)". C.T.R. Hayward has rightly pointed out that this is an early witness to a tradition according to which the stones are of a divine origin.³⁵ The word חרות appears only once in the Hebrew Bible; in Exodus 32:16

³⁵ Hayward 1995a, 50; Hayward 1996, 69. Hayward compares the rabbinic tradition according to which the precious stones were written by the miraculous creature, the *Shamir*, who is created by God on the eve of the first Sabbath (*b. Gil.* 68a; *b. Pesah.* 54b; *Sifra Deut* 35:5; *Mek. R. Ishmael Vayassa'* 6:43-60 etc. . . .) and Philo's comment (*Rer. Div. Her.* 176) that the patriarchal names on the two emeralds of the high priest's robe were "inscribed as divine letters, memorials of divine natures".

where it used of the engraved writing—the “work of God”—on the tablets of the Ten Commandments. And, as Hayward has shown, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities* explores this theme at some length. For Pseudo-Philo the stones of the ephod are the imperishable kind which come from the place “where eye has not seen nor has ear heard (Isa 64:4)” (26:13), which Adam had before he fell (26:6), which must be delivered to God’s people by an angel (26:8), which are supernaturally engraved and which rightfully belong in the Solomonic Temple before God upon the two *cherubim* of his throne room (26:12).³⁶ Josephus perhaps hints at these assumptions about the UT when he says that “on the *essen* also there are stones, twelve in number, of extraordinary size and beauty—an ornament *not procurable by man by reason of its surpassing value*” (*Ant.* 3:166). And certainly the sense in *Antiquities* 3:215–218 that the oracle of the *essen* is as much a matter of divine *presence* as a medium of divine revelation is consistent with the way in which in these other Jewish sources the UT and/or the breastpiece of judgement has about it the *character* of God, his original creation and heavenly world.

Returning to 4Q392, in line 2 of this text the editor reconstructs the words ללהויד איש לאלהים which might be translated “a man to be united with God”. Both context and reconstruction are uncertain, but the original may here have introduced the theme of man’s participation in the heavenly realm and God’s own life; the *unio mystica*. Then there is an intriguing parallelism between the statement in 4 that God created light and darkness “for himself (לו)” and the statement in line 6 that it was “for the sons of man (לכני אדם)” that he separated them. Essentially the same creative act (described in Genesis 1:3–5, with the addition of the creation of sun, moon and stars of Genesis 1:14–19 in line 6) is in view in both statements. What does this parallelism mean? Does it suggest that by his purposes for humanity God fulfils his purposes for *himself* because his

³⁶ Hayward 1995a makes much of the fact that in chapters 26–27 the light-giving stones are nowhere identified with the UT. This, he suggests, is because Pseudo-Philo wishes to polemicise against the view of the UT and the high priest’s breastpiece represented by Sirach 45:11. However, Hayward, I think, overstates Pseudo-Philo’s silence about the Aaronic breastpiece stones and he fails to note that in 28:3 a light-giving interpretation of the UT is clearly assumed, suggesting that throughout chapters 26–27 the account of the light giving stones assumes some kind of identity with the UT. But certainly the inner logic of much of Pseudo-Philo *Bib. Ant.* 26 is hard to fathom.

people are an extension of his own personality in some way?³⁷ Since, as we have seen in chapter 4 humanity is created to embody God's own Glory and presence, this is a possibility.³⁸

The architectural imagery in line 5 ("in his dwelling") and line 9 ("servants of the most holy place going out before him") is, first and foremost, cosmological metaphor: the servants going out from before God in his holy place will be the meteorological phenomena of the immediate context and, perhaps, the sun, moon and stars of a couple of lines earlier. But the language also evokes the Temple-as-microcosm. God's light filled dwelling would, in normal Temple mythology, be his inner sanctuary. Indeed, the place whence the ministers set out from before God is called his *דביר* a word which in biblical Hebrew is reserved for the innermost room of the Solomonic Temple (1 Kings 6:5, 16, 19-32, 31; 2 Chr 4:20 etc. . .).³⁹ Equally, though⁴⁰ there is precedent for meteorological *ministers* (Psalm 104:4, cf. 103:21), the language is normally used of the priesthood and we have seen how in the *Tongues of Fire* liturgy it is when the high priest goes out (*אצ"ו*, 4Q376 I ii 1) from the sanctuary that he bears the flashing lights of the judgement of UT. The language of 4Q392 is at least suggestive: just as the sun, moon and stars bear something of God's perfect light, does not also the chief priesthood going out from before him bearing his perfect light in the UT?⁴⁰

The choice of the word *debir* is perhaps significant. We know that in the late Second Temple period this word was related to the root *דבר*, "to speak". Aquila and Symmachus both translate the word *κατακλιματιστικον*, "place of judgement, divine response" (cf. Vulg *oraculum*) on the understanding that the inner chamber of the sanctuary is the place from which God speaks. There is some evidence that this sense of the word *דביר* was assumed at Qumran since in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* there is the notion that one *debir* to another ("דביר להדביר" 4Q403 I ii 14) offers antiphonal praise. With this

³⁷ Compare the creation of the world for Israel in *T. Aboz.* 1:13, for the righteous in *2 Baruch* 14:19; 15:7; 21:24; 4 Ezra 9:13 or for all mankind in 4 Ezra 8:1, 44. This text must also have something to do with the interpretation of Genesis 1 which underlies the treatise on the Two Spirits in 1QS.

³⁸ Given these indications of humanity's exalted status I am more inclined than Falk (*DJD* 29:31) to consider the possibility that humanity, not God, is the subject of the (hypothetical) making of signs and wonders in line 8.

³⁹ It is possible that word *דביר* is to be restored rather than *דביר*. For a defence of the latter see Falk *DJD* 29:28.

⁴⁰ Compare also Sirach 50:5-7 and 4Q468b.

semiotic world in mind the image of ministers who are closely associated with the primal light, the sun, moon, stars and lightning going out from the oracle chamber of God's sanctuary would surely evoke the role of the high priesthood and its UT.

A firm identification of the word אורחם with the light of the UT in this text is by no means absolutely certain. For a firmer connection between the two we turn to the use of the word in the *Hodayot*.

The Perfect Light of the UT in the Hodayot

There are two passages in the *Hodayot* where the word אורחם appears. The second instance (1Q11^a 21:14 [18:29] = 4Q427 10 4) comes at the climax of a hymn in which the theme of man's worthless frailty before God, which was touched upon in 4Q392, is developed: the psalmist has been gathered from dust (20:24), is a creature of clay (20:26, cf. 21:10-11) who must return to the dust whence he came (20:26). Before God and his judgement he is nothing (20:27-31; 21:10b-11) and yet unless God works in and through him he will never be the man he should be (20:32-21:7); he will never "in (God's) plan, strengthen and establish everything for (God's) Glory (להגביר ולהכין כול לכבודכה)" (21:7).⁴¹ But this is now possible because God has brought him into a covenant and has transformed his ear and heart of dust, and "has inscribed the reality of eternity (נחיצה עולם) (חקוחה)" in his heart (21:12) so that he can stand in God's presence (21:13-14), "in the judgements (בב[נ] שפטי) of the witnesses⁴² in the fixed place of eternity for the light of *perfect light* for ever (במכון עולם לאור אורחום ער נצח)".

Through the poetic discourse there shines the experience of mystical transcendence, what some might call a realized eschatology. Earlier, in what is probably the same psalm the speaker,⁴³ who is identified as a "maskil" (20:11), proclaims "you have [op]ened with

⁴¹ This divine Glory should be allowed to include the ways in which the true humanity, represented by the priesthood is the embodiment of God's Glory. In the *War Scroll* it is specifically the job of the priesthood to strengthen the elect (see chapter 12 below).

⁴² The expression בב[נ] שפטי עדים is restored from the parallel in 4Q427 10 4.

⁴³ Columns 20 and 21 (formerly 12 and 18:16-33) have traditionally been assigned to two separate hymns (formerly hymns 19 and 25). But in their newly reconstructed order there is thematic continuity between the end of one and the beginning of the other which suggests one long hymn stretches across the two columns.

me knowledge of the mystery of your wisdom, and the source of [your] power" (20:13).⁴⁴ Given the location of the "perfect light" in 4Q392 and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in God's abode, his most holy place, the "fixed place of eternity" to which the psalmist has now come to stand is best interpreted as *both*, simultaneously, heaven above and the community's sanctuary. A concrete liturgical setting is given at the very beginning of the psalm where, in language which is closely parallel to 4Q392 1 6-7, the psalmist celebrates his keeping of a liturgy in time with "the course of the day", at the evening and morning, with the arrival and departure of light and darkness (20:4-8).⁴⁵ These are the times of the Tamid offering, when, each day, the high priesthood enters the sanctuary wearing its breastpiece and U^T.⁴⁶ From a passage in the *Community Rule* which describes the liturgical life of the community (1QS 10) we know that these times were of fundamental importance for the daily liturgy:

... He shall bless him ¹ with the times he has decreed: at the beginning of the dominion of light (ממשלה אור), with (עם) its turning point when it withdraws itself to its assigned dwelling, at the beginning of ² the watches of darkness when he (God) opens its treasure and spreads it over (the earth), and at its turning point with (עם) its withdrawing itself before the light, when ³ luminaries shine forth from the abode of holiness (כאופיע מאורות מוביל קודש), with their withdrawing themselves to the dwelling of Glory.

This is not only the time when the Tamid offering would normally be made it is also the time for the reciting of the *Shema* at one's rising and retiring (1QS 10:10-14b).

Whether or not in 1QH^a 20:21 the hymnist, the *maskil*, is a priest is not certain, though highly likely. It is the priesthood, of course, who has the closest access to God's inner sanctuary wherein the "perfect light" resides and therefore it is they who are most qualified to claim to be able to stand in its presence. As we might expect

⁴⁴ There follows a reference to the majesty of God's Glory for eternal light (20:15) which anticipates the language of the U^T in 21:14.

⁴⁵ This list of the cosmologically attuned times of praising is summarized in 20:9-10 with a reference to "the witness of what is and this will be (הוזהר והיא) and nothing more". Presumably it is this phrase, and the eternal order of the cosmos described in 20:4-8, to which the "reality of eternity (נהיה עולם)" in 21:12 harks back.

⁴⁶ The "eternal light" of 20:15 will have in view, in part, the permanently lit sanctuary menorah which is tended at Tamid.

from a reference to the UT of the breastpiece of *judgement* the speaker stands "in the *judgements* (משפטי) of witnesses".⁴⁷ Also consistent with the role of the UT of Exodus 28:29-30 is the theme of the speaker's *heart* in the preceding lines. The speaker has a heart of stone (לב האבן, 21:11, cf. line 12-13). Yet God has transformed him, made him worthy to stand in his presence and has "inscribed the reality of eternity (נהיח עלם הקיחה) in the heart [of stone]".⁴⁸ The language is patently paradoxical. It may also function as a poetic reflection upon Exodus 28:29-30 where Aaron bears upon his *heart* the breastpiece of *judgement* through which God reveals his (eternal) purposes and upon which there are the twelve stones on which are *inscribed* the names of the twelve tribes of Israel.⁴⁹ A reference to the perfect light of the UT here confirms such an allusive intertextuality.

When in 21:14 there is used the preposition ל before אור אורחות this *might* mean the priest stands *in* the perfect light.⁵⁰ However, the broken text is best taken as a statement that the speaker has access to God's presence *so that* he can *be*, or that he can manifest, the light of the perfect light.⁵¹ This is what we would expect if there is some reference in אורחות to the UT: the speaker is a priest whose job it is to manifest or communicate (ethically? pedagogically? mystically? or in some other way) God's perfect light, the light of the UT, with which he is contaminated through his access to God's presence.⁵²

⁴⁷ The word עדים here is puzzling (see *DJD* 29:117-118). But compare Sirach 45:17 where Aaron, on the basis of Deut 33:10, is to "teach Jacob the witnesses (τὰ μαρτύρια), and to enlighten (φωτίζου) Israel in his law".

⁴⁸ For the root חקח and עלם in connection with the priest's garb see Exodus 28:43.

⁴⁹ For the importance of the heart over which the UT are set see Pseudo-Philo *Bib. Ant.* 28:3 where it is said of the priest (in this case Phinehas) that no one should speak before "the priest who guards the commandments (משפטי) of the LORD our God, especially since *truth* goes forth from his mouth and a shining *light* from his *heart*". Here there is combined the language of Malachi 2:7 and Exodus 28:29-30 with the UT understood as a reference to "light" and "truth".

⁵⁰ So Holm-Nielsen 1960, 253; *DSSSE* I:195. Cf., for example, Pseudo-Philo *Bib. Ant.* 12:1 where Moses, atop Mt. Sinai, is "bathed with invisible light" which he then takes with him in a transformed face to the Israelites below.

⁵¹ Delcor 1962, 290: "dans le lieu éternel, pour une lumière d'aurore perpétuelle".

⁵² Further reflection on this material needs to wrestle with a puzzling fact of the liturgy: according to biblical prescriptions the priesthood *never* carries the UT into the inner sanctuary, the holy of holies (cf. Lev 16:4). If the UT is related to the perfect light of God's abode this might mean that the abode wherein the perfect light is situated (in 4Q392 and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) is *not* the innermost sanctuary, but its vestibule, where shewbread, menorah and incense altar are situated.

This is how the perfect light functions in the second *Hodayot* passage where the אורחות appears: column 12 [formerly col. 4]. This column is taken up with a highly polemical contrast between the righteous life of the community and its leadership over against the idolatrous life of its persecutors (lines 7–21a). The speaker speaks as a leader of the community as follows (1QH^a 12:5–6b, 21b–25b, 27–33a):

I give you thanks, O Lord, because you have illuminated my face for your covenant (האירוחה פני לבריתכה) and ⁶ [...] I seek you. And as sure as the dawn for perfect light you shine forth for me (לאור[חתי] לי הופעה)...

... Those (who live) according to your soul (כנפשכה) will stand before you for ever and those who walk in the way of your heart (לדרך לבכה) ²² will be established for evermore. And I, when I cling to you, I remain resolute and rise against those who scorn me, and my hand (is) turned against those who deride me ²³ for they do not esteem me [...]. you manifest your power in me (הנבירכה בי) and shine forth for me in your strength for a perfect light (וחופע לי בכוחכה לאורחות). You have not covered in disgrace the face of ²⁴ all those sought by me, those who unite together for your covenant and those who walk on the path of your heart have listened to me, they have arrayed themselves for you ²⁵ in the council of the holy ones. You will cause their judgement (משפטים) to endure forever and truth (אמת) to go forward unhindered...

²⁷... And through me you have illuminated the face of the Many (כי האירוחה פני רבים), and have shown strength times without number, for you have given me knowledge in/through your wondrous mysteries. ²⁸ And in your wondrous counsel you have strengthened my position (הגברחה עמדי) and worked wonders before the Many for the sake of your Glory (כבודכה), and to show ²⁹ to all the living your powerful acts. What is flesh compared to this? What is a creature of clay to magnify wonders? He is in iniquity ³⁰ from the womb and in the guilt of faithlessness until old age. But I know that justice does not belong to man and a perfect path (חוס דרך) does not belong to a son of man. ³¹ To God Most High belong all the works of righteousness and the way of man is not established except by the spirit which God creates for him ³² to perfect the way (להחם דרך) for the sons of men so that they may understand all his deeds by his mighty power and the multitude of his mercies over all the sons of his good will.

This, in fact, fits the fact that in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the word אורחות occurs, not in the climax of the liturgy, when the throne room has been entered, but in the earlier song which are set in the outer spheres of the heavenly sanctuary.

In its own right this passage is an important witness to the theme we are tracing throughout this study: the transcendence of an ordinary human identity for the righteous. The anthropology is thoroughly *theocentric* and this creates something of a duality (I hesitate to use the word "dualism") between God, his power, and humanity and its powerlessness in independence of God. But this is not an absolute duality (a "dualism" in that sense), since God places in the righteous his spirit (line 31) by which they might know and live in his power. When this happens the righteous transcends his mortality, he is no more simply a "creature of clay" or confined to the realm of "flesh" (29), but he now lives "according to God's soul" and walks in the way of God's heart (line 21). Those who have this new life have an inviolability and stability of existence which approaches eternal life (lines 22-23). Lines 27-29 should perhaps be taken to mean that the psalmist claims that in his new spirit-filled life he now mediates God's wondrous powerful works. If there is a dualism between creator and creature here it is a weak one, which is to be overcome as the righteous creature is taken up into the life of the creator.

There are, further, several features of this text which merit comment. In the first place, we should note that the language in line 27—"through me you have illuminated the face of the Many (כִּי הֵאִירֶנּוּהָ פְנֵי רַבִּים)"—means the speaker is, in all probability, a priest. The language here (cf. 11:3 and 4:5 [3:3; 12:5]) is almost identical to that used of the high priest in IQSb 4:7: he also was "to illuminate the face of the Many (לְהַאִיר פְּנֵי רַבִּים)". There we have seen both the influence of the Aaronic blessing (Num 6:25) and the role of the light-giving UT. The significance of the UT is in any case evident throughout this *Hodayot* passage. Sukenik reconstructed a reference to the perfect light (אֵשׁ תְּהִי) of the UT at the beginning of the psalm, where illumination of the psalmist's own face is also in view.⁵³ His reconstruction has been universally accepted. The word also appears in line 23, shortly before the statement of the psalmist's role in illuminating the face of the Many. In the rest of the hymn the celebration of psalmist's exalted position evokes language and ideas related to the UT: in line 25 there is mention of *judgement* (כּוֹשֵׁפֶט) and *truth* (אֱמוּנָה) and in lines 30-31 there are two instances of the

⁵³ Sukenik 1955, pl. XXXVIII.

root הרה. In line 24-25 the psalmist speaks of his teaching responsibility, as we might expect given the significance given to those who bear the UT as teachers within Israel.

Clearly, then, the psalmist here is a priest whose office is thoroughly bound up with the UT. His transcendence of ordinary mortality is also related, as we might expect from IQSb 4, to his contact with the UT. In 12:5 the psalmist's *own* face is illuminated by the perfect light of the dawn of God's appearance. But in 12:27 the psalmist has become so suffused with this perfect light that he now illuminates the face of the Many. His mediatorial responsibility is much the same as Moses' in 4Q374 and 4Q377: his shining face is God's shining face and his use of the UT displays God's own perfect light.

The language of lines 22b-23b is also suggestive of another way in which the priest embodies God's presence. In 23b the psalmist uses the verb פיע of God's appearance. This is usually given a metaphorical sense (Vermes "Thou hast *revealed* Thyself"; DSSSE "you . . . *reveal* yourself"), however the mention of "perfect light" in what follows suggests we should take seriously its literal sense "to shine forth".⁵⁴ We should also pay careful attention to the use of this word in the Hebrew Bible. Apart from several peculiar instances in Job (3:4; 10:3, 22, cf. 37:15) the verb is consistently used for the shining forth of the divine warrior from his mountain dwelling, from his enthroned position in his sanctuary. In Deuteronomy 33:2 God "shone forth (הופיע) from Mount Paran, with his myriads of holy ones", in the psalms God is praised as the one who "shines forth (הופיע), out of Zion" (50:2) whence he is entreated to shine forth (הופיע) as the "the God of vengeance" (94:1) who is "enthroned upon the *cherubim*" (80:1). In IQS 10:1-3, similarly, it is for the *dominion of light* (ממשלה אור) that the luminaries *shine forth* (באופיע) from the *holy habitation* (מזבול קודש). We can be confident that it is this very precise sense of divine manifestation which is in view in 1QH^a 12:23. First, the psalmist says "you shine forth in your strength"; that is the *strength* of the divine warrior. Secondly, as we have seen, elsewhere in the scrolls God's perfect light, for which here God shines forth, is the supernal pre-creation light of God which is

⁵⁴ Cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960, 80-81. The context in 17:26 [9:26]; IQS 10:2; 4Q427 7 ii 4 also suggests a literal meaning of the shining forth of light, though some instances could be more metaphorical (e.g. 1QH^b 19:26).

manifest in the heavenly sanctuary, in close proximity to the Holy of Holies of God's inner dwelling. The use of the expression perfect light with reference to God's shining forth thus confirms that the author of the psalm knows full well that this is no ordinary revelation of divine power, but, quite specifically, the glorious revelation of God *from his sanctuary*.

All this is relevant to our discussion because of the possibility that God's shining forth as the enthroned warrior reflects the action of the psalmist himself. We saw in chapters 1, 3 and 6 that the appearance of the high priest from the sanctuary could be viewed as a cultic instantiation of the appearance of the divine warrior from heaven. This is, for example, reflected in Sirach 50:5-7 where the high priest Simon "gazes forth" from the house of the curtain with all the glory of the sun, moon, stars and rainbow; an epiphany which could very well be described as one of *complete, or perfect light*. In IQH^a 12 the shining forth of the divine warrior is first and foremost that of God himself: God shines forth *for* (7) the psalmist. But the benefit of God's own theophany is then effective in the life of the psalmist. The psalmist "rises against" those who scorn him, his hand is against those who deride him (line 22), God's power is manifest in him (line 23) and with God's perfect light he now illuminates the Many. The poetic language is allusive and unsystematic but the conceptual world we sketched in chapter 3 is clearly assumed.⁵⁵ And, indeed, if IQH^a 21:14 is to be read with IQH^a 12:23 then the former follows logically from the latter: God shines forth for the priest in perfect strength (12:23) "*for perfect light*", so that the priest himself can embody the power and light of God himself and his dominion—the "dominion of light".

The Theophanic Presence of the Light Giving Headdress (4Q408)

At this point the recently published fragmentary Cave 4 text 4Q408 — which has been judged a further copy of the text containing the liturgy of the *Tongues of Fire* (1Q29 + 4Q376) accompanying the high

⁵⁵ Some precedent for the use of the root נשׂ for the high priest himself might be found in the use of the cognate noun נשׂוּת used of the brightness of the prince of Tyre in Ezekiel 28:7, 17. Is it a coincidence that it is as the wearer of the high priest's stones that this mortal is ascribed such brightness?

priest's operation of the UT¹—has a bearing on our discussion. The largest fragment of this text (frag. 3 + 3a) reads as follows:

3.] Israel He created for the community (ליזח?)
4.] h to all Israel, when they see[
5. when] the turbans of his Glory shine forth from the hol[y] abode (ש) [will] answer all (ב) הפיע פארי כבוד מזכור קד
6. Bles[sed are you, O LORD, who are righteous in all Your ways, [st]rong with force (כה) (ה) [נ]כר [כה], k[ind in] Your jud[gements (במש) פטיך], trustworthy
7. in a[l]] wise with a[l] in]sight, the youth in all strength (ב) [נ]ער (הנערה),⁵⁶ who guides to cause to bring out the [
8. that is You have created the morning as a sign causing the dominion of light to shine forth (אח הבקר אזה להופיע ממשלח אור) for the boundary (לנכול) of the day b[]
9. for their work/service (לעבודה) in order to bless Your holy name when they see that the light is good and when w[] because in all[
10.] as you crea[ted] the evening as a sign of the causing the dominion] of darkness(?) to shine forth (אח הערב אזה להופיע ממשלח חושך)
11.] from work to bless [your holy name when] they see [

The text is badly preserved and so some of the readings are uncertain. But, for our purposes, the sense of the relevant lines is clear. Lines 8–11 refer to the changes between day and night, which are marked by the evening and morning. As we have seen in the *Community Rule* these boundaries have a quite specific liturgical significance (1QS 10:1–3).⁵⁷ The daytime is given cosmological significance as the “dominion of light” and line 10 may have spoken of the night as the “dominion of darkness”.⁵⁸ The worship of the community at these times is, obviously, that of Tamid, although whether the text envisages simply the prayers that accompany Tamid in the land, the

⁵⁶ This is the editor's reading of the Hebrew of a badly damaged line, which she translates “who (are) shaking off with all(?) strength”. I have translated her הנער as “youth” as an alternative possibility. If it is not just God but also the high priest who is in view here and God is manifest in the high priest as a “youth” then this might anticipate the identification of the Urpriest Enoch-Metatron as “the youth” in *merkabah mysticism* (e.g. *3 Enoch* 3:2). There is perhaps also the influence here of Psalm 19:6 in the expression הנער בכל נכרה נכורה.

⁵⁷ Daniel K. Falk (2000, 119–120) has suggested that 4Q408 contains Blessings which are liturgically related to those used for the reciting of the *Shema*. He finds evidence in 1QS 10:10–14b for the use of Benedictions along with the *Shema* (pp. 115–123).

⁵⁸ Although it is not obvious how the “dominion of darkness” could be said to “shine forth”.

liturgy in the Temple accompanying genuine sacrifices or a metaphorical reinterpretation of the second of these two, is not clear.

For us it is line 5 which is all important. Annette Steudel, the text's editor, has translated this line "when the adornments of His glory shine out from the hol[y] abode".⁵⁹ Following a note by Joseph M. Baumgarten,⁶⁰ she reckons that IQS 10:2-3, which describes the sectarian's commitment to worship in synch with the daily movements of the heavenly bodies, through day and night, evening and morning, "is the key parallel to this line".⁶¹ Certainly, given the lines that follow in 4Q408 frag. 3, this is the text's liturgical context and there is an important parallel between the "shining forth" of the "dominion of light" in line 8 and the "shining forth of the פאר" כבוד in line 5. Accordingly, she concludes that "פאר" equals מאורה of IQS X 3, i.e. they are the luminaries".⁶²

But this interpretation suffers one serious flaw. Steudel thinks that "the meaning of פאר (קבדו) is difficult."⁶³ Not being able to make sense of the phrase on the biblical meaning of the word פאר, "headdress, turban" (e.g. Isa 3:20; 61:10; Ezek 24:17, 23), she appeals to a later, rabbinic meaning: "ornament, magnificence, adornment".⁶⁴ But, a proper consideration of the biblical use of the language here should have caused no trouble. In biblical texts the word פאר means "headdress" and in Exodus 39:28 it appears in the plural construct form as an important part of the high priest's headgear: "the turban (המענפה) of fine linen, and the turbaned headdresses of fine linen (פאר המנבעה שש)" (cf. Ezek 44:18). It is only as a part of this priestly attire that the word appears elsewhere in QL. In IQM 7:11 the priestly "garments for battle" include "turbaned headdresses (פרי מנבעה)". Given that here, in 4Q408, they are פאר כבוד we can be sure that both the Exodus 39:28 text and the attire of the high priesthood is in mind. Elsewhere in the description of the high priest's vestments in Exodus, the מנבעה are to be made for *Glory* (לכבוד) and

⁵⁹ DJD 36:306. Cf. Steudel 1994, 321: "[to] cause to appear His magnificent glory from . . ." DSSSE "when] the adornments of his glory appear from . . .".

⁶⁰ Baumgarten 1997, 143.

⁶¹ DJD 36:307.

⁶² DJD 36:307. Steudel 1994, 323 n. 40 wonders whether פאר is not a scribal error for מאור which would then be parallel to the מאורה of IQS 10:3.

⁶³ Steudel 1994, 323.

⁶⁴ Steudel 1994, 323. For the meaning "ornaments" in rabbinic Hebrew see Jastrow 1903, 1131.

for beauty (לְחַפְּאֵרָה) (Exod 28:40). Etymologically, the word פָּאָר "turban" is an Egyptian loan word,⁶⁵ though for the Qumran community it will have been associated with the root פָּאָר, "to beautify, glorify" and the word חַפְּאֵרָה, which, as we have seen, was such an important part of the rhetoric of priestly transcendence. That the turbaned headresses of the high priest should be so associated with *God's Glory* is entirely consistent with the stream of priestly theology which we have already charted.⁶⁶

For Steudel's translation and interpretation there is little warrant. Instead, line 5 of 4Q408 3 is best taken as a brief description of the exit of the high priest from the sanctuary. His shining forth is both like that of the biblical divine warrior and the light of the morning sun which brings with it the "dominion of light". In 4Q408 the high priest's own iridescent shining forth fits with the *Tongues of Fire* passage of the same text (see frag. 11 and *DJD* 36:312-313) where the focus is on his shining *stones*. That this liturgical collection should also be interested in the iridescence of the high priest's headgear is consistent with another passage in Josephus' *Antiquities*. In his explanation of the symbolic power of the various parts of the priestly clothing he says (*Ant.* 3:186-187):

And the headdress seems to me to demonstrate heaven, being made blue (otherwise it would not have borne upon it the Name of God), with a shining (ἠγλαϊσμένον) crown—a crown, moreover, of Gold, because of the splendour (τὴν αὐγήν), in which the Deity most rejoices.

This interpretation also fits the fact that the turbans of *God's Glory* shine forth from *God's holy abode*, his זְבוּל קֹדֶשׁ. In the parallel to this text in the *Community Rule* (10:3), where "the luminaries shine forth from the holy habitation (זְבוּל קֹדֶשׁ)", the meaning is obviously strictly cosmological. But Israel's Temple is also *God's זְבוּל* (1 Kings 8:13, 2 Chr 6:2), and it is safe to assume that the specifically biblical picture is in view since it is from there that there comes a picture of the priesthood emerging from *God's habitation* surrounded by the clouds of *Glory*:

And when the priests came out of the holy place, a cloud filled the house of the LORD, . . . Then Solomon said, "The LORD has said that he would

⁶⁵ HAL 3:908.

⁶⁶ For the multilayered nature of, and therefore *plurality* within, the high priest's turban see Josephus *Ant.* 3:172-78.

dwelt in thick darkness. I have built you an exalted house (זבל בית), a place for you to dwell in forever (1 Kings 8:10, 12-13, cf. 2 Chr 5:11; 6:1-2).

Already in the biblical text the identification of Israel's sanctuary as God's זבל is a cosmological statement grounded in the Temple-as-microcosm theology. In 4Q408 frag. 3 the overtly cosmological context of lines 8-10 is entirely compatible with a Temple reading of line 5: (unless a change of subject is intended in the damaged lines 6-7) the appearance of the priesthood from the sanctuary at the Tamid, morning (and evening) sacrifice, is here set in liturgical parallelism with the appearance (and disappearance?) of the sun—God's "dominion of light"—on the horizon. Within the drama of the cult, the logic is patent: the high priest represents, or embodies, the sun and so his appearance from the sanctuary (heaven) is perfectly timed to coincide with the appearance of the sun at the break of day.⁶⁷

The liturgical realities of the scene are not hard to envisage and these various texts demand our sympathetic imagination: the high priest enters the sanctuary for the offering of the Tamid sacrifice dressed in his full regalia. His sacrifice, and the tending of the temple lampstand which is associated with it, somehow guarantees the stability of the primal boundary between day and night, light and darkness. Having performed his duties, the high priest appears from the sanctuary wearing brightly coloured stones on his breastpiece and shoulders, with engraved eyes whence light is meant to pour forth. On his head there is, according to Josephus, a blue turban which symbolises heaven itself, and there is also a golden crown. The sanctuary, of course, faces east and so as the high priest emerges the sunlight catches the golden crown and the jewels (which reflect all the colours of the rainbow). *The high priest is at once the glory of the heavenly bodies and the Glory of the divine warrior himself.* The symbolic logic is patent to anyone remotely acquainted with Israel's temple cosmology.

In a text such as 1QH^a 12 the imagery is unsystematic and, as befits its poetic form, allusive. But there can be no doubt that the theophanic shining forth of God in strength for perfect light in 1QH^a 12:23 is language which deliberate evokes the movement of the priest

⁶⁷ Cf. esp. Sirach 50:5-7 and the discussion of the Greek text of 50:5, where Simon's appearance from the sanctuary is part of a cosmological procession (περιστροφή), in Fletcher-Louis 2001b.

himself as one who has been drawn up into the liturgical grammar of the language of creation.

The UT, the High Priest's Breastpiece and the Name "Essenes"

Our discussion of the UT in this chapter has partly been by way of an excursus. We have seen how in a couple of passages the language and ideas surrounding the UT may be associated with an exalted liturgical theological anthropology. However, our main aim has been to demonstrate just how far the community are interested in the UT and its breastpiece, *per se*. This is because we will come to consider in the next few chapters another liturgical text, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, where an appreciation of the significance of these priestly accoutrements will be essential for a right interpretation of a text which celebrates, in no uncertain terms, the embodiment of God's Glory in the community's high priesthood.

The number of texts dedicated to the UT in the Qumran library, both of the community's own composition and by way of traditions shared with other Jews of the period, attests the significance of the priestly oracle for the community. The peculiar Qumran word סודות is particularly significant because it shows a mystical, second order, reflection on the oracle which is both allusive in its extant literary form and without direct parallel in Jewish texts from outside of the Qumran community. Although some have commented briefly on the way in which the UT are retained as a valid form of "divination" within Essene practice and belief,⁶⁸ it is surprising that, hitherto no thoroughgoing investigation of the community's interest in the UT has been offered.

This is surprising because of the likelihood that the community's interest in the priestly oracle offers the key to their name, Essenes, in the classical sources. In the classical sources (Philo, Josephus, Pliny *et al.*) the community at the Dead Sea to which the Qumran scrolls witness are called both Ἐσσηνοί (Josephus *B.J.* 2:119, 160; 5:145, *Ant.* 13:171-2, 298, 311 (some mss); 15:372-3, 378; 18:11; 18:18; *Vita* 10, cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.17.4 (73) "Esseni")⁶⁹ and Ἐσσηαῖοι (Jose-

⁶⁸ Lange 1997; Martínez 1999b, 307-309.

⁶⁹ See also Dio of Prusa in Synesius of Cyrene, *Dio* 3, 2 and Hippolytus of Rome *Refutation of all Heresies* 9.18 and Epiphanius *Panarion* Haer. 10:1-5 (Ἐσσηνοί) 19:5

plus *B.J.* 1:78; 2:567; 3:11; *Ant* 13:311 (some mss); 15:371; 17; 346; Philo *Quod omnis probus* 8.12.75, 91; *Hypothetica* 8.6.1).⁷⁰ Over the years numerous explanations of the name(s) of the community in the classical sources have been offered, though none has won universal assent.⁷¹

Josephus' preference for the word Ἐσσηνοί (over the word Ἐσσαιῶν preferred by Philo) presents an attractive possibility: Josephus also uses the word Ἐσσην as a transliteration of the Hebrew שֵׁטֶן, the breastpiece of Exodus 28:22–30, which carries the UT (*Ant.* 3:171, 185, 216–7). Josephus nowhere explicitly says the Essenes were so called because they had a particular interest in the שֵׁטֶן, but this is perhaps implicit in his use of the same word for both. This connection between the Essenes and the breastpiece has long been noted, but several objections to its relevance have been lodged.⁷²

How would this explain the name Ἐσσαιῶν which is known by both Josephus and Philo? Geza Vermes has objected to this etymology on the grounds that Josephus "expressly states that the *essen* ceased to shine two hundred years before his book was composed 'because of God's displeasure at the transgression of the laws'" and that Josephus nowhere explicitly makes the connection between the two words.⁷³ We might also wonder how the vowels of Josephus' Ἐσσηνοί are derived from the vocalization *hāšēn* of the Hebrew שֵׁטֶן, if the pointing of the Massoretes is to be trusted.

Ideally, an explanation of the title of the movement in the classical sources should certainly explain all its forms. However, the overwhelming evidence for Essene interest in the high priest's oracle demands that we take seriously the linguistic connection implicit in Josephus, even if the distinct form Ἐσσαιῶν has to be explained separately. Although it is true that the connection is only implicit in Josephus it is noteworthy that in his writings their members are renowned for their prophetic powers (*Ant.* 13:311; 15:373–379; 17:346–48) and are said to have made investigations of "the properties of stones"

(Ἐσσηνοί). For accessible collections of the classical sources see Adam and Burchard 1972 and Vermes and Goodman 1989.

⁷⁰ Cf. Hegesippus *Hypomnemata* in Eusebius *Ecl. Hist.* 4.22.7 and the form Ἐσσαιῶν in Epiphanius *Panarion* Haer. 19 and 20.

⁷¹ For reviews of the question see Vermes 1975b; J.J. Collins in *ABD* 2:620; Beall 1988, 36–37; Grabbe 1992, 496–7.

⁷² For what follows see esp. Vermes 1975b.

⁷³ Vermes 1975b, 12.

(*B.J.* 2:136).⁷⁴ The relevance of the fact that Josephus says that the *essen* had ceased to shine two hundred years earlier is far from obvious. On the one hand the point may be no more than an historicist irrelevance: Josephus is talking, presumably, about mainstream, Second (Jerusalem) Temple (based) Judaism, not the beliefs and practices of a marginal group of Jews based by the Dead Sea. Josephus' dating of the loss of the UT two hundred years prior to his writing is best explained as an example of his view that it was with John Hyrcanus' death (104 B.C.) that the end of the Hasmonean golden age began. In fact, indirectly, his statement would corroborate the view that the Essenes separated from mainstream Judaism (c. 250–200 years before Josephus' *Antiquities*) because they believed the Jerusalem Temple to be defiled, and the defining element of divine presence therein, the UT, to be missing.

Although the full publication of 1Q29 + 4Q376 has latterly reawakened an interest in the connection between the name Essenes and the breastpiece,⁷⁵ it is strange that no one, to my knowledge, has made anything of the fact that the word שָׁרָף appears in a prominent liturgical position in the climactic XIIIth Song of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. In 11QShirShabb (11Q17) ix, 6, which belongs to the thirteenth and final song, there is a reference, in a broken context, to "the structure of the breastpieces (שָׁרָף) of . . .". We shall return to this passage in chapter 11 and show the central position of the breastpiece in this liturgy.

For now, two observations add further weight to the connection between the occurrence of שָׁרָף here and Josephus' *Ἐσσηνοί*. The first point is that as it occurs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the word is a plural. It is just possible that this is a plural of majesty, but much more likely (as we shall see) that this mystical liturgy really envisages more than one breastpiece worn by more than one high priest. This is the peculiar Qumran practice which we would expect from 4QpIsa^d (and 4Q175). Secondly, we should note that, whilst there is a predilection for the *plene* spelling within Qumran orthography, including both Cave 4 and Cave 11 copies of the *Songs of the Sab-*

⁷⁴ See Zeitlin 1962, vol. 1, 188–89; Baumgarten 1976, 62 n. 13.

⁷⁵ See e.g. Collins in *ABD* 2:620 who comments in the light of 1Q29 and 4Q376: "An association of the name Essene with the priestly *essen* is an intriguing possibility, but no more".

bath Sacrifice, we would have expected בְּשֵׁנִים , not בְּשֵׁנִי were the word vocalized *hōšēn* at Qumran. The Qumran community, like Josephus, evidently spoke of the *hēšēn* as their eponymous Greek name would suggest.⁷⁶

Whether the community's interest in the breastpiece can explain the alternative form of their name in the classical sources— Ἐσσηαῖοι will have to wait for our discussion of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. For now it is enough to be sure that the name Ἐσσηνοί was given to the movement based at Khirbet Qumran because of their peculiar fascination with the priestly oracle of judgement, its role in liturgy, communal decision making, the teaching and judicial authority of the priesthood and mystical reflection upon the intimate bond between priesthood and God's own presence. All this was well known to non-Qumran Jews who, at least when speaking Greek, justly dubbed the movement's members "Essenes".⁷⁷ All this would have been lost on Josephus' Greek speaking readership for whom the connection between the priestly breastpiece and Essenes was never explained.

⁷⁶ Cf. Newsom 1985, 347; *DJD* 11:374 and the editors comments in *DJD* 23:266.

⁷⁷ It is also possible that the use of the word in Ἐσσην for a priest of Artemis added a certain polemical note to the name given the movement by non-members. For this connection see Jones 1985 and Kampen 1986.

THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

Introduction

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, or Angelic Liturgy, is one of the most significant previously unknown Jewish works to be discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is a liturgy written "for the *maskil*" to be used on thirteen consecutive Sabbaths of one quarter of the solar year and is devoted, as far as we can tell, entirely to the worship of an angelic priestly community in a cultic setting whose animate architecture and furniture is described in intimate detail. The XIth and XIIth Songs are devoted to chariots (*merkabot*) of the heavenly realm in reliance on biblical accounts of the vision of God's chariot throne (esp. Ezekiel 1). It is obviously, in some sense of the word, a "mystical" liturgy and since the first announcement of its discovery by J. Strugnell in 1957 it has been seized upon by students of the history of Jewish mysticism as a potentially early witness to the kind of religious experience later attested in the Hekhalot Literature.¹

Whatever its precise place in the history of Jewish mysticism, angelology and liturgy the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was a text of considerable importance to the Qumran community whose solar calendar it presumes. Eight copies have emerged from Cave 4 (4Q400-407) and one from Cave 11 (11Q17) providing sufficient material for a reconstruction of extensive sections of the liturgy. These manuscripts range in date from the late Hasmonean period (4Q400: 75-40 B.C.) to the Herodian script of the turn of the eras (11Q17), though it is quite conceivable that the liturgy was composed earlier in the second century B.C. An assessment of the liturgy's

¹ For its role in the discussion of Jewish mysticism see especially the 2nd edition of G. Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism* (1965, 128); Gruenwald 1980, 41; Rowland 1982, 86, 221; Schiffman 1982; Newsom 1985, 16, 19, 50-51, 56; Baumgarten 1988; Hamacher 1996 and note the several recent discussions (Murray-Jones 1998; Fletcher-Louis 1998; Davila 1999b; Lieber 2000) of the *Sabbath Songs* in the Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism Group at American meetings of the *Society of Biblical Literature*.

socio-religious life setting is complicated by the fact that a copy, dated on palaeographical grounds c. 50 A.D., has turned up in the ruins of Masada (Mas1k). This must mean that the use of the *Sabbath Songs* was not confined to Qumran. Either the liturgy is of pre-Qumran provenance or, alternatively, the Qumran community and its movement represented a significant proportion of those revolutionaries who lost their lives at Masada in A.D. 73. Either way the *Sabbath Songs* is a liturgy of considerable importance in understanding both the priestly theology of the late Second Temple period and the Qumran community.

A discussion of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* belongs in this study if for no other reason than that it can serve as a control in the testing of the hypothesis which the rest of this study aims to confirm: *if at Qumran there was a theological anthropology which gave to the righteous an angelic or divine identity, and if that anthropology was anchored in the theology and experience of the cult then the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is the one place we should to expect such an anthropology to manifest itself.*

Newsom's Interpretative Paradigm and its Problems

The Qumran Cave 4 *Sabbath Songs* material was originally allotted to John Strugnell, and he made a very preliminary publication with comments in 1960. Full publication (with translations, commentary and interpretation) has been the responsibility of Strugnell's student Carol Newsom. Whilst the Cave 11 material has been handled by Adam S. van der Woude (1982) along with his student Eibert C. Tigchelaar (*DJD* 23 (1998)), Newsom also collaborated with Y. Yadin for the publication of the Masada copy of the *Songs* (1984). Newsom's doctoral work was published in 1985 as the first full critical edition of all the extant texts, and this served as the basis for her *editio princeps* in the *DJD* series.²

Although since the eventual publication of Newsom's 1985 critical editions, numerous studies of the *Sabbath Songs* have been made,³ by and large Newsom's thorough editorial work and commentary along with her extensive introduction and interpretation have been

² She is also responsible for the edition published in the series edited by James H. Charlesworth (1991).

³ See the bibliographies in Hamacher 1996, 152-53; Davila 2000, 93-94.

unchallenged. She has bequeathed to all those who have tried to make sense or use of this rather difficult text generally accepted conceptual parameters and interpretative conclusions. Newsom herself has changed her mind about the text's sectarian provenance since her 1985 edition,⁴ and many have added valuable details to her commentary, but the conceptual parameters of her interpretation of the text have, broadly speaking, remained unchanged.

In the next three chapters I intend to challenge the exegetical basis for her conceptual parameters at several key points and to offer a rather different reading of the *Songs* based on some detailed exegesis of key passages. The first step towards that task is an overview of some of the key interpretative decisions Newsom has made, their problems and the opportunities opened up by their re-evaluation.

(a) *A Dualistic Cosmology*

The *Sabbath Songs* describe in intimate and fascinating detail the worship of heavenly priests in a temple whose structures are themselves animate participants in the adoration of their divine creator. Sometimes the heavenly beings are explicitly called to worship (esp. the VIth-VIIIth Songs) and at other times there is simply a description of a particular part of the heavenly temple and its activity. What is the modern reader to make of all this? Who are the heavenly priests? Where are the structures of the heavenly temple? Are they simply in the imaginations of the human worshippers? Or are they manifest in concrete physical structures, buildings or tents erected by the Qumran community and those who took their last stand at Masada?

Apart from the obvious presence of the *mashil* who recites each song the only universally accepted reference to the human community as participants in the liturgy is a brief passage which probably belongs to the IInd Song where, in familiar Qumran fashion, the human worshippers lament their unworthiness before the divine beings: "how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? . . . [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods]?" (4Q400 2 5-7). Otherwise, Newsom—and all have followed her in this—thinks that every other worshipper and active participant in the liturgy referred to by the *maskil* is an otherworldly

⁴ See Newsom 1990.

being. At no other point are the human community mentioned. Besides the *angels, elim, elohim, cherubim, ophannim*, spirits and *living elohim*, all the chiefs, priests, princes, ministers, holy ones and dignitaries are suprahuman beings. Although the belief that the Qumran community is itself an *Ersatz* Temple offering prayers, praise and obedience as a substitute for the sacrifices of the Temple is well attested, Newsom thinks that the structures, the physical space which the heavenly community occupies is above and beyond that of the human community. There is no genuinely egalitarian *Engelsgemeinschaft* here, despite the popularity of that theme in Qumran spirituality: the human community members are an "audience", mystical voyeurs, of a cult which only *corresponds* to the earthly institutions.⁵

So Newsom's interpretative framework is essentially *dualistic*. She assumes that the heavenly cult inhabited by heavenly beings is qualitatively and spatially above (in a quasi-platonic sense) the real world of the Qumran community and its worshippers. "It is virtually certain that the seven chief princes [of the VIth song] are to be identified with the seven archangels".⁶ Newsom's confidence in this respect is not deterred by the fact that the *seven* archangels of later Jewish angelology are not a feature of Qumran theology.⁷ And, despite the lavish piling up of angelic epithets throughout the songs the names of the archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Sarial, Raphael *et al.*) never appear.⁸ The expression of mortal frailty and inadequacy in 4Q400 2 sums up the anthropology assumed for the whole liturgy: human beings have "tongues of dust" which are not worthy of actual participation in the praise of the heavenly realm. She does not consider, even to reject, the possibility that some of the heavenly beings

⁵ See esp. 1985, 64. At times, it is true, that Newsom speaks of the *Songs* effecting a sense of community with the angels, but it is not the fully participatory fellowship described in IQSb and, most importantly, the language of the songs *refers* to suprahuman angels, not to human beings.

⁶ 1985, 34.

⁷ The *War Scroll* knows only four archangels (1QM 9:14-16). Outside of the more clearly sectarian corpus of texts (there are seven archangels in 1 *Enoch* 20 (Ethiopic), though without an extant Aramaic version at this point we can't be sure these seven were known to the Qumran community).

⁸ Newsom's restoration of the name Melchizedek at 4Q401 11 3 and 22 3 (1985, 37; *DJD* 205, 213) is possible, but by no means certain. Given our discussion of 11QMelchizedek in chapter 6, the presence of the personal name Melchizedek (rather than a Michael, Gabriel, Uriel or Raphael) would be entirely consistent with the presence of transformed, angelic human participants in the liturgy one or more of whom might fill the office he established according to Psalm 110.

to whom the *maskil* refers are actually the laity or the priesthood of the Qumran community in their transformed, heavenly, mode.

Not only is this dualism out of keeping with the Qumran community's integration of human and divine spheres in the liturgical context which we have examined in previous chapters, it also creates a number of interpretative difficulties for the *Songs*.

(1) First, there are words and expressions for which an angelic referent is unprecedented. The songs attest unsurprising references to angels as מלאכים, *cherubim*, *ophannim*. References to heavenly beings as אלים and אלהים are not entirely without precedent but are striking nonetheless.⁹ Besides these angelic titles the songs contain a bewildering array of terms which are either rarely or nowhere else in ancient Jewish angelological texts used of angels. They are terms drawn from Biblical cultic, political or military terminology and are otherwise always used of human beings.¹⁰

So, for example, the songs are preoccupied with heavenly *priests* (כוהנים). Although Jewish angelology sometimes describes angels in priestly and cultic terms "the term כוהן, or its equivalents in Greek, Ethiopic, etc., is not explicitly used of angels in other Qumran texts in apocryphal compositions, or in rabbinic literature" as Newsom admits.¹¹ We encounter numerous references to heavenly beings as "נשיאים", for which Newsom has been unable to find a parallel use for angels before the late magical text *Sefer Ha-Razim*.¹² The word is widely used in biblical texts and later rabbinic parlance as a political title. In the plural it is used of the leaders of the twelve tribes of the cultic community (Numbers 2, 7, 34); which has then inspired its use in the *War Scroll* (e.g. IQM 3:3, 15, 16; 4:1; 5:1). Then, again, we encounter references to אנשים of which Newsom comments "[this] is a common term for human rank—political, military, and priestly—both in the OT and in QL, especially in IQM. I do not know, however, of its being applied elsewhere to angels".¹³ Several times

⁹ Cf. the expression אלהי האלהים in, for example, Deut 10:17; Josh 22:22; Ps 84:7 and for angelic אלים at Qumran see e.g. IQM 1:10-11; 14:16; 17:7; IQH^a 18:8 [10:8]; 4Q511 10 11. Reference to divine humans in some of these passages cannot now be ruled out.

¹⁰ See the survey in Newsom 1985, 23-38.

¹¹ 1985, 26. Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1:66 is a possible parallel.

¹² 1985, 27. As Davila (2000, 102) notes the title is never used of angels in the Hekhalot Literature.

¹³ 1985, 27. She considers a possible parallel at *T. Mas.* 10:2, but this is a Latin

participants in the angelic liturgy are called "elect ones" (קְרוֹאִים) a term once more drawn from the portrayal of Israel in the wilderness (Num 1:16; 16:2; 26:9).

In addition to these instances of language nowhere else used of angels, there is terminology which is ambivalent in the canonical and Qumran literary contexts. Holy ones, ministers (of "angels" in Psalm 104:4), princes (אֲשֵׁרִים, of angels in Josh 5:14-15; Dan 8:11) could either be humans or angels. Equally, there is language used for the organization of the heavenly community that is strictly speaking capable of either a human or an angelic referent. A "camp" (מַחֲנֶה) or "council" (סֵדֶר) could be either human or angelic,¹⁴ although in QL these are, somewhat distinctively, used of human institutions.¹⁵

In other cases the language chosen to describe the corporate structures of the heavenly community is, again, nowhere else used of angels in the literature of the period. Although a *degal* "division, battalion" is somehow a reference to the signs or divisions of the seasons in the Aramaic Enoch material (4QEn^a 1 ii 2, 3, 6), *degalim* is not used of angels until the angelology of the Amoraic period.¹⁶ In Qumran literature *degalim* are otherwise always units of human organization either in a liturgical (11QTS 21:5) or a military context (11QI 57:3; 1QM 1:14; 3:6; 4:10 etc.).¹⁷ Here, again, the Qumran community model the heavenly community on the organization of Israel in the wilderness (see esp. Num 2 and 10). Similarly, a reference to the heavenly beings as "gathered troops" or "appointed ones (פְּקֻדֵיהֶם)" is derived from the biblical portrayal of Israel's political organization (Num 2:4; 31:14, 48; 2 Kgs 11:15; 2 Chr 23:14). It is not until the Hekhalot Literature that angels are clearly described in these terms.¹⁸ The one reference to "divisions" (מַפְלְגוֹת) is also

text and the Hebrew underlying the "nuntius" ("messenger") would probably have been מַלְאָךְ. For the leaders of the Qumran movement referred to as רְשֵׁים וְשָׂרִים see 4Q171 (4Qp's 37) iii 5.

¹⁴ For an angelic מַחֲנֶה see Gen 32:3; סֵדֶר see Psalm 89:8 (cf. Jer 23:18, 22).

¹⁵ None of the references to סֵדֶר in Kuhn 1960 refer to a purely angelic heavenly council, although there are some notable instances where human beings are placed in a transcendent סֵדֶר (1QS 2:25; 1QH^a 11:21 [3:21]; 12:25 [4:25]; 19:12 [11:12]). For the מַחֲנֶה in QL see 1QM *passim* and CD 12-14.

¹⁶ *Num. Rab.* 2:2; 3 *Enoch* 19:6. On this innovative use of דֶּגַל for angels see Olyan 1993, 55-58.

¹⁷ See Swanson 1995, 78-80, 170. There is of course considerable overlap between the military and liturgical contexts given the sacramental understanding of the Holy War.

¹⁸ Davila (2000, 153) compares the "mustered armies of princes" in *Massakhet Hekhalot* §15.4.

without parallel in angelological texts and is normally used of human persons (1QS 4:15-16; 1QH^a 20:23 [12:23]; 2 Chr 35:12) or of territorial divisions (1QM 10:12).

Despite these linguistic difficulties Newsom is confident that all these terms refer to angels *not* humans. In the VIth Song there is a series of blessings by chief princes on others who are variously described as "those who have knowledge of eternal things", "all who exalt the king", "all who walk in uprightness", "those who are eternally pure", "all who are eager for His good favour", "those who confess His majesty", "those with powerful insight", "all whose way is perfect", "all who wait for Him", "all the holy ones who establish knowledge", "all who exalt His statutes" and "those appointed for righteousness" (4Q403 1 i 16-27). Newsom considers the possibility that here those blessed include human worshippers.¹⁹ But "in view of the overwhelming angelological focus of the Sabbath Shirot" she prefers to see here one group of angels blessing another.²⁰

In isolation the descriptions of those blessed in the VIth Song, especially in view of their moral qualities, are most naturally taken to refer to humans not angels. Only with great difficulty can the epithet "all those whose way is perfect" be taken as a description of angels. The language is biblical and it is true that, on occasion, God's way can be blameless (2 Sam 22:31 = Ps 18:31). But normally it is the righteous whose way is blameless, both in broadly sapiential (Prov 11:20) and also in narrowly covenantal (Psalm 119:1) senses. At Qumran "the perfect of way (תמימי דרך)" (4Q403 1 i 22) is technical terminology for the members of the community (1QS 2:2; 3:9-10; 4:22; 8:10, 18; 9:5, 9; 1QM 14:7; 1QH^a 9:36 [1:36]; CD 2:15-16) which relates their piety to that of David (11Q5 (11QPsalms^a) 27:2-3, cf. Noah in Gen 6:9), the true Israel (4Q510 1 9 = 4Q511 10 8; 4Q511 63-64 iii 3) and, implicitly, to the prelapsarian humanity (Ezek 28:15).²¹ Given their keen interest in the Urim and Thummim (אורים) their "perfection" will have been closely bound to their beliefs about their priesthood and the transformative power of the cult. The use of this language for the *Urmensch* in Ezekiel

¹⁹ 1985, 28, 196; *DJD* 11:262.

²⁰ 1985, 196; *DJD* 11:262.

²¹ Cf. 4Q525 5 11; 4Q528 line 4; Sirach 39:24.

28:15 suggests that it would fittingly describe humanity in its heavenly mode.²² But there is no warrant for its use of angels.

The difficulty which all these linguistic terms pose for a purely angelological reading of the *Songs* has recently been recognized by James R. Davila.²³ And, in the light of an earlier version of this and the next three chapters,²⁴ Davila concedes "the human community is sometimes alluded to in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, perhaps more often than has been recognized in the past."²⁵ Yet, Davila has remained cautious about this possibility for several reasons. On the problem of language otherwise not commonly used for angels he remains sympathetic to the Newsom paradigm because he attaches some significance to the fact that although not attested in QL, or texts from the late Second Temple period much of this peculiar language is used unambiguously of angels in the Hekhalot Literature. Although the two are widely separated in time and provenance Davila thinks that there is an essential continuity of literary tradition and mystical experience.

However, whilst we should expect there to be literary and conceptual connections between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature, assumed similarities cannot be allowed to prejudice our exegesis of the Qumran text which should, rather, be interpreted in its immediate linguistic and historical context.²⁶ In that context it is hard to see how *all* the terms we have just discussed can possibly refer to (suprahuman) angels. This is the first weakness of Newsom's dualistic paradigm.

(2) The second weakness of Newsom's paradigm is the fact that it creates a generic oddity that is hard to place in the life setting that she imagines. Patently the *Songs* are both liturgical and mystical. Alas we know far too little about the nature of both these aspects of Jewish spirituality in the late Second Temple period. And the relationship between their literary deposit—whether in the biblical Psalms or the ascent texts of the apocalypses—and their putative cultic and experiential *Sitze im Leben* is notoriously difficult to judge.

²² Note the use of the language in poorly preserved contexts in 4QInstruction (4Q415 1 ii + 2 i 3; 4Q417 2 ii 5; 4Q418 172 4).

²³ 2001, 102.

²⁴ Fletcher-Louis 1998.

²⁵ 2001, 102.

²⁶ For Davila's attempts to make strong connections between Qumran texts and later Jewish mysticism see Davila 1996; Davila 1999a; Davila 2000, 92.

Whilst Newsom is, therefore, suitably cautious in her reconstruction of the *Songs*' life setting several points are a necessary corollary of her dualistic paradigm.

The *Songs* describe the praise of the heavenly beings, but their words are never cited. If it is the human community who are in fact the heavenly beings called upon to praise, they could then recite from memory relevant psalms or use other written texts which would supply what is now missing. But if Newsom is right that the praise is actually offered by (suprahuman) angels then this presents a problem.²⁷ As Dale C. Allison has commented "[i]n other ancient Jewish and Christian documents the angelic songs of praise are at the center of depictions of heaven and its activities . . . The well-attested tendency, continued in the Jewish *Hekhalot* hymns, of recording angelic songs or words of praise, makes the lack of such in 4Q*Shirot 'Olat Ha-Shabbat* a real puzzle".²⁸

Newsom's interpretation requires that the actual praise of the angels be simply *imagined*.²⁹ The use of such "imagination" in experiencing the praise of the angels is not, of course, without precedent; this is a fundamental feature of the mystical experiences described by the seers of the apocalyptic tradition and one that is claimed for the *yorede merkabah* in the *Hekhalot* texts. Such an experience is as old as Isaiah's vision of the praise of the Seraphim (Isaiah 6) and we are reminded of the apostle Paul's claim to have heard "unspeakable words" when raptured to paradise (1 Cor 12:4). But Newsom's *Sabbath Songs* are unique in that they envisage (a) the corporate

²⁷ The quite plausible suggestion that the angelic song is unrecorded lest it fall into the hands of outsiders (Maier 1989/90, 573-4, cf. Falk 1998, 140-44) does not solve the deeper problem: how would such angelic praise—that is not uttered by the Qumran community—work in liturgical practice?

²⁸ 1988, 189-90. Allison cites Isa 6:1-4; Rev 4:8, 11; *Apor. Abr.* 17:8-21; 1 *Enoch* 17:8-21; 39:9-14; 2 *Enoch* 21 J; 3 *Enoch* 22B:7; 39:2; 40:1-4 and *T. Adam* 1:4; 4:8. Allison's suggestion that the belief that angelic prayer is a barbarous language which need not then be recorded is suggestive (*ibid.* 190), but does not fully resolve the puzzle. The *Hekhalot* texts show that a barbarous angelic tongue *can* be recorded. And a barbarous praise does not entirely accord with the highly formulaic and ordered nature of the angelic praise described in the VIIth-VIIIth *Songs*.

²⁹ One wonders whether Newsom's interpretation would ever have been considered plausible were it not for the lingering Freudian suspicion, which dominates twentieth century discussion, that mysticism is essentially a matter of fantasy without a self-consciously concrete setting. Cf. Maier 1992, 433: Newsom's "proposal that the *songs* served for something like 'mystical' meditation and a kind of collective 'religious experience' seems to correspond rather to later, medieval or modern concepts".

imagination of a whole community of worshippers—not just an individual—who are (b) passively standing by, without their own active participation in the experience,³⁰ and (c) in some cases the worship of the angels is not merely *described* but *enjoined* by the human leader of the liturgy. Whereas an Isaiah or a Paul describes the angels' worship, the *maskil* who conducts the *Sabbath Songs* commands the imagined heavenly beings to worship. Where is there a parallel in the history of Jewish mysticism or liturgy for this?

It is true that in the Psalms "all the earth", God's "angels . . . mighty ones", "all his works", "the sun and moon (and) shining stars", "the highest heavens" and "everything that breathes" are called upon or "commanded" – to praise the LORD (Ps 66:1-3; 96:1-2, 7-9; 103:19-22; 148; 150:6). This form reaches its zenith in the Septuagint's addition to Daniel, the Prayer of Azariah, where over thirty verses (vv. 35-68) are devoted to a call for the whole of creation in all its parts to bless the Lord. But there are a number of important differences between these psalms and the *Sabbath Songs* and to assert that they provide a precedent for a liturgy in which heavenly beings are imagined responding to a summons to praise with actual songs simply begs the interpretative question.

In the *Sabbath Songs* the *maskil* describes the blessing and praise of the heavenly beings quite specifically: they are to praise "with seven wondrous exaltations", "seven wondrous thanksgivings", "seven psalms of exaltation" etc. . . . (Songs VI and VIII). This is quite different from the rhetoric of the biblical form, where nothing suggests that real psalms and blessings (of the human variety) are imagined coming from the sun, moon, stars, angels and the other parts of creation. Just what the biblical Psalms and those who used them thought their call for creation's praise entailed is not clear. In every instance of the biblical form the call for the cosmos and its parts to praise is *coupled with*, and *set in the larger context of*, the explicit praise of the psalmist or the human community.³¹ This contrasts sharply with

³⁰ Contrast the active participation in, and inducement of, the experience of heaven in Hekhalot Mysticism. Whereas there is a modern (and Protestant) tendency to assume *genuinely* revelatory experiences are passively received, Jewish mysticism in antiquity assumes that *active* techniques of ecstasy are necessary. The passivity of the human worshippers of Newsom's *Songs* is anomalous in this respect.

³¹ Note the way in which in the midst of the call for the cosmos to bless in the Prayer of Azariah "human beings" (v. 60), "Israel" (v. 61), the "Priests" and "Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael" are also invited to praise.

Newsom's view that the direct praise of human worshippers in the *Sabbath Songs* is absent. Given the cosmological role of the Israelite Temple it is probable that, at least in part, the praise of creation and its heavenly personnel, was represented and voiced by the structures, the drama of the liturgy and the human cultic community. That this is how such psalms would have been understood at Qumran is further suggested by the way in which, as we have seen in earlier chapters, in the priestly tradition the movement of the priesthood is in synch with, and represents that of the heavenly bodies (esp. Sirach 50, 4Q392; Q408, 4Q468b, 4Q541, cf. 2 Sam 23:4). Although we might envisage a *development* from this biblical material to the *Sabbath Songs* as construed by Newsom, the former cannot be used to explain the puzzling form of the latter without further ado.

The question of the *Songs*' genre and *Sitz im Leben* is also problematic when one considers the text's own generic indicators. These are, principally, three in number. First, the *Songs* are assigned "למשכיל" which could mean they are "by the *maskil*" or "for the *maskil*". Whilst a number of biblical Psalms are entitled a *maskil* (Pss 32; 42; 44, 45, 52-55 etc. . .), the phrase למשכיל refers the Psalm to a particular individual (cf. Dan 1:4; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10). Following the use of the word of Levitical singers in 2 Chronicles 30:22, the Qumran community envisages a specific office and designates a number of its texts "for the *maskil*" for use in a public setting. The whole and parts of the 1QS-1QSa-1QSB scroll are "for the *maskil*" (1QS 3:13; 9:12; 1QSB 1:1; 3:22; 5:20; 4Q256 (4QSB) 4 1 = 4Q258 (4QSD) 1 i 1) as are parts of the Damascus Document (CD 12:21; 13:22; 4Q266 9 iii 5), the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 1 4; 4Q511 2 i 1), the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 20:11 [12:11]),³² a text in which a community member instructs the novitiate (*Sons of Dawn* 4Q298 1-2 i) and, probably, the *War Scroll* (1QM 1:1). In several of these texts the *maskil* clearly has a teaching role vis-à-vis the rest of the community (1QS-1QSa-1QSB, CD, 4Q298, 1QM). In others he has a liturgical responsibility: in the *Songs of the Sage* either he himself proclaims (4Q510 1 4, cf. 1QH^a 20:11) or he summons the community to praise (4Q511 2 i 1). In none of these texts does the *maskil* teach or lead the angels, though in several the community who are his audience are now a transcendent, divine, humanity (1QSB, the *Hodayot*, *Songs of the Sage*,

³² Though the reading is uncertain (see Holm-Nielsen 1960, 204).

War Scroll (see below)). The generic expectations of this aspect of the title of the *Sabbath Songs* do not, therefore, point in the dualistic direction assumed by Newsom and, if anything, they point in a rather different direction.

Secondly, the allocation of each individual song "for the Sabbath Sacrifice" of successive weeks of a quarter of the year would most naturally suggest that the liturgy is to be used by the human community itself. According to 2 Chronicles 29:27-28 songs were sung for the duration of the offering of the Sabbath sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple. According to 11QPs³³ 27:5-9 David composed fifty-two songs for the Sabbath offerings and we know that at least two biblical Psalms were at one time specifically set apart for the Sabbath (Psalm 92 and LXX Psalm 37). A fragmentary portion of the *Words of the Heavenly Lights* is entitled a Song for the Sabbath Day (4Q504 1-2 col. vii recto 4-verso).³⁴ So J. Maier quite reasonably suggests that the unrecorded praise is that of the traditional Sabbath liturgy.³⁴ Certainly, the title of the *Songs* inclines the reader to expect to hear the contents of, or instruction for, the songs to be sung by the human community during the offering of the Sabbath sacrifice (or during the time when that would otherwise take place).

Thirdly, Qumran texts which describe the angelic world from a human perspective usually envisage and overtly describe a shared angelic-human community. Newsom thinks that in the *Sabbath Songs* the community's aspirations for communion with the angelic world are fulfilled by merely being allowed to *descriptively* approach the splendours of the angelic realm. The human community *do* appear at one point in the *Songs* where their mortality and earthly identity is contrasted with that of the heavenly beings. This too is a regular feature of texts describing the heavenly world at Qumran (as we have seen in previous chapters). Some might assume that such an *Elenksbetrachtung* explains why there is no real *Engelgemeinschaft* in the Shirot. However, wherever else this form appears there is always a concomitant affirmation of the fact that, by the grace and power of God, the human community *have* been given access to the heavenly world and the same status, if not identity, as that of the angels.

So, on several counts, generic conventions arouse the expectation

³³ It speaks of "all the angels of the holy firmament (recto 6)".

³⁴ 1992, 553.

that the human community should appear alongside the angels in the *Sabbath Songs* and that, where sufficient portions of the text are preserved, we might hope to discern a clear delineation between the angelic human and the suprahuman angelic members of the heavenly world. If Newsom is right that there is just one reference to the human community, in the second *Sabbath Song*, then this creates an imbalance in the larger thematic structure of the liturgy and hardly satisfies the expectation that the human community would appear elsewhere in communion with the angelic one. Newsom does actually see the songs as a *vehicle* for the experience of communion with the angels.³⁵ If it is such a "vehicle" it is all the more strange that after one brief passage which *denies* such a possibility there is never any explicit indication in the *Songs* that that is what is happening.

Clearly, then, there are a number of interpretative decisions which are part and parcel of Newsom's dualistic reading of the liturgy which create oddities and interpretative difficulties. None of these in isolation presents an insuperable barrier to accepting Newsom's paradigm. But cumulatively, and before actually examining the texts, they raise doubts.

(b) *A Liturgical Chiasm and Heavenly Tour, Not a Heavenly Ascent.*

The second feature of Newsom's interpretation of the *Songs* cycle which causes trouble is her assessment of their liturgical structure and thematic development. Newsom thinks that the thirteen songs form a chiasmic structure with the central focus on the VIIth Song, with correspondences between the VIth and VIIIth pointing to the centrality of the VIIth, which appropriately enough expresses the mystical significance of the perfect number.³⁶ She has also noticed the sense of movement to a climax from beginning to the end of the songs, with a more numinous, transcendent mood and content marking the later songs over against the first two.³⁷ Yet whilst she has acknowledged in the last four songs a movement from the outer features of the heavenly temple to the holy of holies and the *merkabah*,³⁸ she does not think that the *Songs* offer a genuine experience of heavenly ascent as do some of the apocalypses. There are a

³⁵ 1985, 17-18.

³⁶ 1985, 13-17.

³⁷ 1985, 14-15.

³⁸ *DJD* 11:340.

number of reasons why she rejects this interpretation which students of ancient Jewish mysticism might, quite reasonably, expect of such an angelic liturgy.

First, for Newsom the centrality of the seventh song is clear and paramount. Secondly, what progression there is in the IXth through XIIIth songs is not as clear by comparison with the emphasis on VIIth. Thirdly, the heavenly ascent form as it is described in the texts of *Merkabah Mysticism* would normally climax with a vision of the chariot and, in some cases, its occupant; God himself. In the *Sabbath Songs* the vision of God's chariot which is based, as we would expect, on Ezekiel 1 comes not in the XIIIth Song, where the focus is on the angelic high priesthood, their garments and sacrifices, but in the XIIth. This, Newsom thinks is at odds with the ascent form, detracting from any genuine progression into the sanctuary and/or upwards towards the highest heaven. Fourthly, of course, although she doesn't say as much, since Newsom holds apart heavenly and earthly realms and because she allows the human community only an attenuated participation in the angelic world and its liturgy, a genuine experience of ascent hardly suits her larger interpretative framework. Ascent to heaven entails the kind of penetration of heaven by earth and a community of angels and men which Newsom denies the songs. And seers who ascend to the highest heaven invariably experience transformation to an angelic or divine identity; a possibility which Newsom does not consider and which her interpretative grid would not allow.

Instead of a heavenly ascent Newsom thinks that the IXth to XIIIth songs are instead modelled on the temple tour of Ezekiel 40-48:³⁹ whilst the latter section of the *Songs'* cycle is preoccupied with the details of the true, heavenly, temple there is no progressive ascent experience and so the less systematic model of Ezekiel's temple tour better explains the *Songs'* inspiration. In particular she points to the influence of Ezekiel 43:1-5, the description of the entry of the king into the future sanctuary for the weekly Sabbath offering, on the phrase the "vestibule(s) where the King enters" in the IXth Song. Here she also discerns the influence of the descriptions of the vestibules and gates in Ezekiel 40-41.⁴⁰

To be sure, although there are some intriguing connections between

³⁹ 1985, 16, 52-57.

⁴⁰ See generally 1985, 53-55.

the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot corpus, unlike some of the latter, the former are not obviously written as a vehicle for the incubation of visions or of mystical ascent by individuals. The mysticism of the *Songs* is best described—to use Newsom's phrase—as a “communal mysticism” in which all the community share the experience. Although the repetitious language and the wonder with which the heavenly world is described assume a numinous power of the liturgy and would, in all likelihood, have created some kind of “altered state of consciousness”, the liturgical structure of a thirteen week period hardly makes possible the kind of out of body heavenly rapture that a good Jewish mystic such as Paul the Apostle could claim for himself (2 Cor 12:2–4). But then Newsom's reluctance to see *any* form of ascent, even over a prolonged period of the many weeks of the liturgy must be questioned.

The tour of the heavenly temple was well-known at Qumran as the New Jerusalem text attests (1Q32, 4Q232, 4Q554, 4Q555 etc. . .). But how suitable are Ezekiel's chs. 40–48 as a model for a *liturgy*? In their own context they are a revelation to the prophet of a future, eschatological, temple and this is the way the genre is taken up in the New Jerusalem and other apocalyptic texts (e.g. 2 Baruch 59:4; Rev 21:1–2, 10–22:5). Are not form and content of the *liturgy* of the regular Sabbath offerings and an *eschatological vision* of the future temple rather different? Newsom offers no explanation why the former might have adopted the genre of the latter. As for her insistence that the VIIth Song stands at the apex of the liturgy her confidence must be tempered by the fact that so much of the liturgy is lost.⁴¹ Barely anything of the second through fifth songs is known and so a chiasmic structure in which the first six songs match those of the last six, with the attention directed to the seventh, cannot be securely established.

And, in any case, Newsom has been criticised by some for failing to give due weight to the genuine progression towards a climax in the IXth to XIIIth Songs.⁴² In chapters 10 and 11 we shall discover

⁴¹ Hamacher 1996, 121.

⁴² See esp. Baumgarten 1988, 206–7, and compare Morray-Jones 1998. Baumgarten argues that in the XIth Song the focus is on the brick pedestal of Exod 24:10, not as Newsom thought, the paneling of 1 Kgs 6; 2 Chr 3 and Ezek 40. Getting this detail right, he notes, allows a clear logic in the progression from the outer to the inner sanctuary and the chariot (p. 207).

that, in fact, the latter half of the cycle *does* present a clear movement *into* the inner reaches of the heavenly sanctuary in a way which presumes a heavenly ascent not entirely dissimilar to that found in the apocalypses and *Merkabah Mysticism*.

(c) *The Songs' Temple Cosmology*

The *Songs* are full of the language and imagery derived from the biblical descriptions of Israel's Tabernacle and Temple(s) (Exodus, 1 Kings and 1–2 Chronicles): the angelic liturgy takes place in a sanctuary—or sanctuaries—whose structures are suffused with the glory and numinous power of the heavenly world.⁴³

Newsom calls this a “heavenly temple” by which she means a temple that is in heaven above; a temple that *corresponds* to the cult on earth below, but is clearly separate from it.⁴⁴ This analogical relationship between temple in heaven above and the cultic life of the worshipping community below is a clear instance of the dualistic paradigm which informs her reading of the *Songs*.⁴⁵ It allows her to maintain both a spatial and an ontological distinction between humans and angels. But on numerous counts this cannot be the way that the relationship between sacred space and cosmology is envisaged in the *Songs*.

(i) *The Absence of an “As in Heaven So on Earth” Liturgical Cosmology at Qumran*

Newsom recognizes that in the pre-Hellenistic period there is little or no evidence for the belief that there is a temple above with worship which corresponds to that below. Although this is the way in which some (e.g. Heb 8:5) *may* have taken the “pattern, structure (תְּכֵנִית)” of the Tabernacle revealed to Moses at Sinai (Exodus 25:9, 40, cf. 1 Chr 28:19), the biblical text at that point merely envisages the architects’ *plans* for the actual Tabernacle to be erected by Moses.⁴⁶

⁴³ This cultic terminology is surveyed in Newsom 1985, 39–58.

⁴⁴ See esp. 1985, 59–72.

⁴⁵ Again, in this she is followed by others. See e.g. Davila 2000, 83.

⁴⁶ The misleading claim that Exodus 25:9, 40 itself envisages a heavenly sanctuary above that on earth is sometimes made (e.g. Charles 1908a, 33 n. 5; Jonge 1953, 48; Collins 1996, 33; Davila 2000, 82). If there is any cosmological significance in the language of Exod 25:9, 40 it will be the belief that the “pattern” revealed to Moses as the structure of the Tabernacle is that of the whole cosmos itself.

But Newsom thinks that in the Hellenistic period there emerges a widespread belief in a temple and liturgy above corresponding to that below and that it is this belief that provides the conceptual context of the *Sabbath Songs*.⁴⁷ She appeals specifically to *I Enoch* 14, *Jubilees*, the *Apocryphon of Levi* and *Testament of Levi*, Psalm 150:1 and the Song of the Three Young Men in the Greek Additions to Daniel.⁴⁸ Whilst several of these texts were certainly known to the Qumran community, none, in fact, clearly witness to the kind of heavenly temple which Newsom thinks is present in the *Sabbath Songs*.

I Enoch 14 does depict God's dwelling as a sanctuary and the angels of the *Book of Watchers* probably reflect the author's view of some priests in the 4th or 3rd centuries B.C. But the setting and role of the angels is quite different from that Newsom imagines for the *Sabbath Songs*. In the first place Enoch's entry into God's throne room happens long before there is any earthly cult established in Jerusalem.

⁴⁷ In assuming that there is such a belief in the late Second Temple period Newsom is in good company (see, e.g., Attridge 1989, 222-224 (with older literature) and cf. Mach 1992, 217; Harlow 1996, 71-75). The unquestioning enthusiasm for this idea is exemplified by Darrell Hannah's claim that "in the Second Temple period there was a great deal of speculation about a heavenly temple and cult which served as a pattern for the temple and cult in Jerusalem" (Hannah 1999, 32). Hannah then supports this assertion with the citation of only two texts, *2 Bar.* 4:1-6 and *Jub.* 31:14, neither of which, on close inspection, say what Hannah claims they say.

⁴⁸ 1985, 60-71. She further claims (1985, 61) "[i]n literature from the Roman period the notion is attested in very diverse sources, both Jewish and Christian, e.g., in Philo and Josephus, in *3 Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in Hebrews and Revelation, etc." As we have seen in chapter 3 both Philo and Josephus are primarily interested in a rather different cultic cosmology. Whilst there are places where Philo views the cosmos as a whole as a temple (*Spec. Leg.* 1:66-67; *Somm.* 1:215), I know of no texts in which he or Josephus reflect the kind of cosmology Newsom has in mind. Neither is it at all clear that in Hebrews or Revelation there is a cult in heaven which corresponds to the one on earth in the way Newsom imagines. In both these texts the primary idea is that the true Temple and priesthood is now manifest in the historical Jesus and, in particular, his sacrificial death, the reality of which is lived out in the life of the church, his followers. If there was, in the past a heavenly temple which was a model for the earthly one of the old covenant the relationship between the two is primarily salvation-historical and the true temple in heaven which was reserved for the end of history has now been made manifest in history. In *3 Baruch* there is no temple in heaven or a "heavenly temple" as such. Chapters 11-15 appear to view the whole of the seven-tiered cosmos as a temple with Michael playing the role of the priest *not in one of these heavens*, but in his communication up and down the heavenly hierarchy as though he were a priest mediating between God in his inner shrine and the people outside. The *Apocalypse of Paul* is a Christian 4th or 5th century A.D. work and hardly counts as direct evidence for the 2nd century B.C. whence the *Sabbath Songs*.

Whilst in the *primeval* time Enoch encounters God enthroned in his sanctuary above, *1 Enoch* 25-26 looks forward to a time when God will be enthroned in Jerusalem and the true cultic community will be established. The author of the *Book of Watchers* might well have believed that there is a worship above simultaneous to that below (in Jerusalem, at Mount Hermon, or wherever) but this is never described nor assumed in his book. And, in any case, for the time scale which the *Book of Watchers* envisages there is rather an *eschatological* correspondence between the location of God's throne in Jerusalem and the primeval sanctuary Enoch enters. Secondly, the sanctuary which Enoch enters does not belong to a heavenly world which is without a concrete, earthly reference-point as later Christian and rabbinic oranologies imagine for the sanctuary above. Enoch is taken up into God's sanctuary at *Mount Hermon, perhaps the most important cosmic mountain of that part of the Levant*.⁴⁹ Enoch is the archetypal high priest whose journey from the foot of the mountain, where he is praying beside the waters which emerge from the abyss below, to God's sanctuary on the top of the mountain *is not the movement of a heavenly priest from one part of a heavenly sanctuary to another* mirroring the movement of the human priest from the outer to the inner regions of the earthly sanctuary. Enoch's movement from nadir to zenith at the cosmic mountain is cosmologically parallel to the movement of Aaron and his sons from the outer to the inner reaches of the Tabernacle and Temple which are each, in turn, a model of the cosmic mountain and of sea, earth and heaven.⁵⁰

In this context the three-tiered house which Enoch enters is quite specifically equivalent to the *shrine* with its *ulam*, outer house (the *hekhal*) and its inner room (the *debir*). And, of course, this shrine corresponds to *only a part of the whole temple which is in Jerusalem*. The Jerusalem Temple has several other zones and partitions which correspond in turn to the lower reaches of the cosmic mountain from which Enoch comes. In all this, although the watchers who fall are meant to remind us of the priests who leave their privileged posi-

⁴⁹ See the discussion of this feature of the *Book of Watchers* in Fletcher-Louis 2001a.

⁵⁰ Besides the material laid out in chapter 3 note in particular the *identification* of Jerusalem and its Temple with Lebanon in Sirach 50:8-12 and the echoes in Sirach 50:3 of Mesopotamian cultic theology according to which the urban cult is a model of the cosmic mountain (see Fletcher-Louis 2001b *ad loc*). See more generally especially Stager 1999.

tion in the Jerusalem cult, there is no suggestion that their worship was ever a pattern above *for that below*; on the contrary the worship of the angels above is a model for human priests *when they also are above*.

The distinction which we must make in reading *1 Enoch* 14 between the three-tiered *sanctuary* and the more complex structure of a *Temple*, which as a whole, maps the entire cosmos (or cosmic mountain) is of immediate relevance also for the passage from the Song of Three Young Men to which Newsom appeals. This reads as follows:

Blessed are you in the sanctuary (ἐν τῷ ναῷ) of your holy Glory,
and to be extolled and highly glorified for ever.

Blessed are you who look into the depths from your throne on the
cherubim.

And to be praised and highly exalted forever.

Blessed are you on the throne of your kingdom,
and to be extolled and highly exalted forever.

Here God is praised as he sits in his sanctuary. Since the song purports to voice the praise of a Jewish community in exile when the Jerusalem Temple is destroyed (esp. 3:5, 15) this praise directed to God in his sanctuary might appear to be warrant for the view that there is a heavenly temple above which can be accessed when the earthly temple is destroyed. But again we should pay careful attention to the language. God is set in his *sanctuary* (ναός); not his *Temple* (ἱερόν) but only the equivalent of its inner part.⁵¹ And in any case, there is hardly here warrant for the claim that there is an angelic worship (let alone "liturgy") in God's sanctuary that is a mirror image or pattern for that on earth. The rest of the Song is telling: seventeen verses are devoted to the blessings to be offered by *creation* in all its parts (vv. 35-51) and this is followed by seven verses in which righteous humanity is called upon to bless the Lord (vv. 52-66). If

⁵¹ The need to distinguish clearly between a ναός, the inner shrine of the god, and the ἱερόν, the temple enclosure has been noted by May 1950-51. The former is normally the house of the god's image whilst outside that there is an area, sometimes built up, sometimes a rudimentary enclosure, which comprises the Temple as a whole. The distinction is assumed throughout the Greek of antiquity. Josephus says, for example, that outside the shrine (ναός) Solomon built a temple (ἱερόν) (*Ant* 8:95-96). The view of O. Michel in *TDNT* 4:882-890 that the distinction between ναός and ἱερόν is eroded in the NT period is unconvincing. The cases where he thinks ναός refers to the precincts of the Temple (Josephus *C.Ap.* 2:119; *B.J.* 6:293; *Matt* 27:5) are very well, if not better, explained as a reference to the inner shrine itself.

there is any symmetry here it is between humanity and creation, not between a cultic community on earth below and a cultic community in heaven above.

Those familiar with *Jubilees* might assume that here matters are more straightforward since the notion that the human priesthood are to serve in God's sanctuary as angels of the presence is so clear in *Jubilees* 31:14. But, again, what Newsom needs to support her reading of the *Sabbath Songs* is nowhere explicitly stated in *Jubilees*.⁵² Whilst the priesthood are called to an angelomorphic service in chapter 31, it is not said that the sanctuary in which they serve corresponds to another one in heaven.⁵³ There is a correspondence between the *lifestyle* of the angels in heaven and the righteous on earth but this correspondence is manifest *in the life of the righteous outside of the Temple*. The angels in heaven are circumcised as are the children of Abraham on earth (16:25-27) and both keep the Sabbath (2:17-19, 21). Neither of these require or involve the Temple and in fact it is in the Temple that the Israelites *do not* rest from work on the Sabbath (50:11).⁵⁴ In the absence of a Temple above as model for Temple below, *Jubilees* is more likely to have in mind the idea that we discover in IQSb where the human priesthood are taken up into the heavenly realm by virtue of their participation in the true (cosmic) cult.

It is true that in 6:18 it is said that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated "in heaven from the day of creation until the days of Noah". Since the Feast of Weeks requires various sacrifices (Lev 23:15-22) something similar must have taken place "in heaven". But *Jubilees* is frustratingly silent about what precisely this means. This is perhaps the closest we ever come in the sources from the Second Temple period to the notion of a heavenly cult. But then it might be no more than a pious affirmation borne of the author's conviction that the Torah and its festivals are woven into the very fabric of the cosmos. It is not clear whether the author himself had a clear vision as to what that entails or whether it requires a "temple in heaven".

Following Newsom's discussion, the next item of evidence is the

⁵² Despite her discussion 1985, 67-69.

⁵³ Neither is that idea present in 30:18: "And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood and Levitical (orders) to minister before the LORD always just as we do."

⁵⁴ The point is admitted by Newsom 1985, 69 when she comments on the features we have noted: "they do not tell one whether such conceptions were also embodied in liturgy or in special devotional practices".

Aramaic and Testamentary Levi material.⁵⁵ In fact only the Greek *Testament of Levi* is relevant here because whilst the *Aramaic Levi Document* attests earlier, pre-Christian material behind the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* the verses in question are not extant in the former. In *Testament of Levi* 2:5-5:3 Levi is taken up in a dream to the third heaven where he is promised the priesthood. He describes his vision of the highest heaven as follows:

⁴ In the uppermost heaven of all dwells the Great Glory in the Holy of Holies superior to all holiness. ⁵ There with him are the archangels, who serve [and offer propitiatory sacrifices to the Lord on behalf of all sins of ignorance of the righteous ones (οἱ λειτουργοῦντες καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενοι πρὸς κύριον ἐπὶ πάσαις ἀγνοίαις τῶν δικαίων). ⁶ They present to the Lord a pleasing odour, a rational and bloodless oblation (προσφέρουσι δὲ κυρίῳ ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας λογικὴν καὶ ἀνάιμακτον προσφορὰν).]

This would⁵⁶ be a perfect parallel to support Newsom's view that the *Sabbath Songs* describe the liturgy of the angels in a heavenly temple above the earth, particularly given that in the XIIIth Sabbath Song real sacrifices appear to be offered, were it not for the fact that it is highly likely that the text is Christian not Jewish at this point. There is no direct parallel to this account of the service of the angels in the extant portions of the Aramaic version of the *Testament of Levi*.⁵⁶ De Jonge has pointed out that because the expression "bloodless oblation" is a Christian *terminus technicus* at least verse 6, if not also the whole of verse 5-6, is a Christian composition.⁵⁷ This source critical judgement is confirmed by the fact that all of verses 5-6 are missing from the shorter recension of the Greek text.⁵⁸

Whilst this part of the *Testament of Levi*, like so much else in the Greek text, is Christian in origin, Levi's ascent to heaven in the context of his ordination to the priesthood (cf. ch. 8) was probably part of the Jewish Levi material taken over by the Christian redactor.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ 1985, 69-71.

⁵⁶ The Aramaic, Jewish, version of the *Testament of Levi* shows no signs of an interest in a spiritual or metaphorical sacrifice, but plenty of enthusiasm for the earthly priesthood's responsibility for sacrificial matters (CTLevi ar Bodleian cols. a, b, c, d; 4Q213b; 4Q214 2; 4Q214b 2-6 i).

⁵⁷ 1953, 48-49. He compares the use of similar language in Athenagoras *Supplicatio* 13:1; *Acta s. Apollonii* §8; Origen *Contra Celsum* 8:21 besides a collection of later Patristic sources where the language refers specifically to the Eucharist.

⁵⁸ See Charles 1908b, 34.

⁵⁹ Cf. the attestation of a similar tradition in *Jubilees* 32:1 and CTLevi ar Bodleian col. a lines 9-10.

And the fact that in the context of his priestly vocation, like Enoch in *I Enoch* 14, Levi is given access to the heavenly world is of far more relevance to the *Sabbath Songs*: the priest's entry into the heavenly world as a result of his freedom of movement in the cult-as-microcosm is what we would expect for all these texts (cf. Zechariah 3).⁶⁰

Lastly, we should briefly tackle Psalm 150:1:

Praise the LORD! Praise God in his sanctuary (שְׁרָדָה);
praise him in his mighty firmament (עַל רִקְיעַ עֲדָה)

Newsom thinks that the parallelism between God's sanctuary and his mighty firmament means that this psalm envisages a supernal heavenly sanctuary besides the one on earth in Jerusalem.⁶¹ As we have seen for this there is no other evidence contemporary with Psalm 150. But there is evidence, for example in Sirach 50, that the courts of praise in the Jerusalem Temple were viewed as the firmament; as one part of the temple-as-microcosm.⁶²

In conclusion then, the texts to which Newsom appeals do not actually corroborate her understanding of the cosmology of the *Sabbath Songs*. Even if one were able to find evidence for the 'Temple-above and Temple-below' idea in pre-Qumran tradition (such as *Jubilees* or the *Aramaic Levi* tradition), or from the other streams of late Second Temple Judaism, the presence of such an idea at Qumran is conspicuous by its absence. Newsom cites no specifically sectarian texts which represent this notion and I know of none.⁶³ The overriding concern in the DSS is to put humanity in the same space as the angels, to give the community members the "freedom of the cosmos" which they have, in particular, by virtue of their worship. There is no discernable interest in a *purely* analogical, or functional, relationship between angels and men. The one context in which there is a heaven-earth polarity akin to that in later Christian and Jewish liturgical practice is the *Blendsbetrachtung* form where humanity's

⁶⁰ Newsom's assertion (1985, 70) that "[t]here is no suggestion that Levi's presence in the heavens is repeated or re-experienced through his cultic service or that of his descendents" is a clear example of her failure to set the *Sabbath Songs* in the context of its proper—biblical—cultic cosmology.

⁶¹ 1985, 61.

⁶² See Fletcher-Louis 2001b on Sirach 50:1-2.

⁶³ Davila 2000, 102 thinks that in 4Q511 35 3 there is a "celestial temple". But clearly, in context, this is an instance of the *miqdash Adam*, the human cultic community invested with heavenly significance.

inadequacy is set *over against* the identities of the heavenly community: whilst humanity is confined to the world below it remains in a state of decay, impurity and unforgiveness (esp. the *Hodayot*). For there to be a *positive* (functional) equivalence between the angelic and the human realms, the latter must be transformed and *transferred* from the world below to the world above where they *share* the same liturgical space as the angels. Everything suggests that the liturgical cosmology which Newsom envisages for the *Sabbath Songs* would be utterly at odds with the way in which the community at Qumran understood temple worship, the relationship between heaven and earth and the anthropology associated with these.

It is of course *possible* that the *Sabbath Songs* are *sui generis* and that as such they articulate a cosmology not clearly represented elsewhere in QJ, and in contemporary Jewish tradition. It may be that that conclusion²⁹ will be forced upon us by a close examination of the texts. But at this stage there is the suspicion that Newsom's notion of a heavenly temple has forced the liturgy to lie across a dualistic procrustean bed.

(ii) *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Temple Cosmology*

If there is so little evidence for the availability of Newsom's dualistic cosmology to what kind of cosmology should we expect the heavenly temple of the *Songs* to belong? If the sanctuaries (the *debirim*, the *hekhalot*, the gates, portals and vestibules *et al.*), populated as they are by angels, spirits, and heavenly priests, are not in some heavenly region above and beyond the earthly community, where are they?

There are straightforward and ready to hand answers to these questions: the cosmology which can describe the cultic space in terms of the heavenly world is one which believes that the true temple is a microcosm of the universe. And the place where all this liturgy and a communion between angels and men takes place will then be the human community's own, concrete, earthly cultic space.

We have already in earlier chapters laid out some of the voluminous evidence from the biblical period through to the rabbis that Israel believed its temple was a microcosm of the universe. And at various points in our discussion of the texts adduced by Newsom for a dualistic cosmology (*I Enoch* 14, Psalm 150:1) we have seen that that evidence is more likely to reflect the view that Israel's temple is a map of the cosmos (and/or the cosmic mountain, itself a cosmos in miniature). Newsom never considers the possibility that the temple-

as-microcosm might explain the *Songs*.⁶⁴ She assumes that it is *the heavenly world's portrayal in cultic terms* which must be explained. She does not consider the possibility that it is *the cultic world viewed in heavenly terms* which is the heart of the *Songs'* cosmology.⁶⁵

It is true that we do not find in the scrolls from the Qumran caves anything like as explicit a statement of the temple-as-microcosm ideal as that provided by the likes of Sirach, Josephus, Philo and some of the rabbis. But clearly the Qumran community were well acquainted with Sirach which probably also meant a familiarity with the cosmology of P. Where there is ever any sense of a synchronization between the cult and the cosmos in QL the cultic microcosm appears to be assumed. So, for example, we saw in our discussion of the *Songs of the Sage* in chapter 6 how the angelomorphic priesthood belongs to an Israel whose tribal configuration and liturgical cycle mirrors that of the heavenly bodies (4Q511 2 i). In the Temple Scroll the building of the new Temple marks the day of creation (11Q15 29:9). In chapter 7 we have seen how various texts connect the movement of the priesthood around the sanctuary with the movement of the heavenly bodies in the cosmos. Without evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to assume that the Qumran community read the Bible's cultic material carefully, knew very well the priestly tradition and simply took the matter for granted.

The synchronization of cult and cosmos is particularly relevant to the interpretation of the *Sabbath Songs* because it is supremely on the Sabbath that the coming together of heaven and earth entails the inclusion of the cultic community in the divine life. In ancient

⁶⁴ She does say (1985, 61) "In a thorough investigation of the context of the Sabbath Shirot one would also need to consider the tradition of the idealized description of the temple and cult" noting in this regard the cultic material in the Deuteronomist, P and the Chronicler. She even entertains the possibility that "there is perhaps a relationship between the religiosity which produces Ben Sira's exalted description of Simon the Just and that which produces the account of the heavenly high priests in the thirteenth Sabbath Song." In what follows this "thorough investigation" for which Newsom foresaw the need, will demonstrate that the tradition present in Sirach 50 is more than a "possible" influence on the *Sabbath Songs*; it is its *certain* source.

⁶⁵ She discusses J. Maier's thesis (1964, 133) that the *Sabbath Shirot* are indebted to the older view that the temple is the meeting place of heaven and earth and therefore the natural setting for a communion between angels and men (1985, 65-71). But Maier's own work does not itself work with the cultic microcosm idea in a thoroughgoing form.

Mesopotamia the gods create humanity to be their slaves so that they themselves might have rest. According to P (Genesis 1 and Exodus 25–40) God calls Israel, his true humanity, which as his *image* shares in his own sabbatical rest. The later priestly tradition, fully cognizant of the theological anthropology which the Sabbath law entails, reflects on its significance in various ways. Whilst in P's Mesopotamian context Israel's Sabbath rest means she shares the life of the gods, this is transposed in *Jubilees* to Israel's sharing the life of the angels on the Sabbath (2:17–19, 21); at least, that is, for lay Israelites and non-serving priests outside the Temple. Matters in the Temple are different: in the Temple the priests *do* work on the Sabbath, for without this the sacrificial service would cease (*Jub.* 50:10–11; Matt 12:5). In Sirach 24:19–22 and 50:14–21 work in the sanctuary is deemed legitimate because it is the labour of those who are free from the curse on Adam and Eve (Gen 3:17–19), of those who work in *Wisdom*, those who have received her offer of immortality and, supremely, those who are caught up into the life of the creator God himself. God's work on the Sabbath is "a working with absolute ease, without toil and without suffering" (Philo *On the Cherubim* 87) and so is that of his priests.

Whether the authors of *Jubilees* and Sirach would entirely have agreed with each other in the details of these matters is unclear. What is clear is that there is a general agreement in biblical and post-biblical tradition that (as biblical law itself implies) on the Sabbath Israel and her priesthood are taken up into the divine life. This understanding of creation and liturgy leads us to expect, not that heaven and earth be kept apart in a liturgy for the Sabbath sacrifices, but that they meet—God, his angels and humanity joined; the latter taken up into the life of the former.⁶⁶

In her discussion of the conceptual and history-of-religions context of the *Sabbath Songs* Newsom noted the theory of J. Maier that there was a well established tradition according to which the Temple was viewed as the point of intersection of heaven and earth leading to the possibility of a mythic communion with the angels in the cultic context.⁶⁷ Maier goes so far as to suggest that the *Sabbath Songs* are a sectarian reworking of an earlier "orthodox" Jerusalem Sabbath

⁶⁶ Cf. Chilton and Neusner 1995, 140; Hayward 1996, 10–11.

⁶⁷ 1985, 65–66 referring to Maier 1964.

liturgy.⁶⁸ But Newsom rejects Maier's hypothetical reconstruction of a tradition of priestly mysticism in post-exilic Judaism.⁶⁹ This is not the place for a detailed response to Newsom and her discussion of the primary sources on this point. In part, the whole of this study thus far serves as a response to her view. The Qumran community belongs to an ancient strand of Jewish piety that in Newsom's terms is thoroughly mystical. If there are not many biblical sources which envisage a communion of angels with men in the cult this is partly because *angelology* is a relatively late transposition of older henotheistic or polytheistic categories into a distinctively Jewish monotheistic idiom. Even so, texts such as Isaiah 6, Zechariah 3 and the characterization of Enoch in Genesis 5:22, 24 should all be taken as witnesses to the assumption that the worshipper, especially the true priest, is brought into a heavenly world populated by the angels. Why else is the chariot throne of the Tabernacle and Solomonic Temple, *to which the priests (and king) have peculiar access*, a construction of angelic or divine beings? That the human community should encounter the heavenly world and its population in the Temple is a logical corollary of the fact that the Temple is a microcosm of the universe which makes available in an accessible space and time realities otherwise out of human reach.

Qumran Theological Anthropology and the Sabbath Songs

With the problems posed by Newsom's interpretation in mind and fresh from a survey of everything else that can be learnt about liturgical anthropology at Qumran, we are bound to consider the possibility that in fact much of the language which Newsom thinks refers to angels actually refers to exalted humans. Obviously, this text shares other features with texts in the Qumran library where the true humanity and its priesthood are angelomorphic: the liturgy is pre-occupied with the experience of the heavenly world and its occupants, and as a liturgy it sets the experience of the heavenly world in the cultic context. If a Qumran priest is ordained to serve as an angel of the presence in the abode of holiness (1QSb) then a liturgy

⁶⁸ 1964, 133--and cf. Maier 1987; Maier 1992, 559.

⁶⁹ 1985, 66-71. She relies on the brief discussion by Klinzing 1971, 127-29.

which prescribes the order of priestly service will quite likely take for granted that understanding of priesthood.

Obviously, references to the celebrants as "priests", "ministers", "chiefs", "princes", "holy ones", "gathered troops" and so forth could easily be taken in the Qumran context as exalted language for the community at worship. And in the light of the texts we have examined thus far, there is plenty reason to suppose that "a god" (whether *elohim* or *el*), an angel (a *malak*), or even a *cherub* (viz. Ezek 28:14, 16) could, especially in the cultic context, be a reference to an exalted human.

The *Sabbath Songs* were not only used at Qumran; they have also turned up at Masada, a fact which poses tricky questions for the identity of the "sicarii" who died there in their last stand against the Romans.⁷⁰ For our immediate purposes it is of some significance that beside some biblical material the other identifiable "post-biblical" text found at Masada is a portion of the Wisdom of Ben Sira. Presumably those under Roman siege were using both texts on their mountain top refuge. According to the Hebrew text of Sirach 45:2 Moses' divinity is located "in the heights (במרומים)".⁷¹ This is the language that is used again and again of the heavenly realm in the *Shirot*. If Moses can be כאלהים in the heights we should not be surprised if human worshippers are in mind—especially those atop Masada—when the *Sabbath Songs* refer to אלהים worshipping in the heights. Secondly, the identification of the high priest Simon with God's Glory in Sirach 50:7 has a remarkable parallel, as we shall see, in the close association between the high priesthood of the *Sabbath Songs* with the anthropomorphic Glory of Ezekiel's throne vision.

Newsom saw that the literary style of the VIth through VIIIth songs, characterized as it is by a highly structured repetition of themes organized around the number seven, is probably designed to produce an ecstatic experience.⁷² Given the way in which ecstasy in Jewish

⁷⁰ The presence of the *Sabbath Songs* at Masada caused Newsom to change her earlier view that the *Songs* are sectarian in nature (Newsom 1990). As will be clear in what follows I think her original judgement (reached on the basis of certain obvious sectarian features such as the use of the solar calendar and the למשכיל form) is the right one and that in this liturgy we come to the spiritual heart of Essenism, a movement which was evidently actively involved in resistance to Rome in the 66-74 war.

⁷¹ According to the Geniza text (ms B). This portion of the text is not preserved in the Masada copy.

⁷² 1985, 15.

antiquity might entail transformation (e.g. *Eth. Enoch* 71:11-16; *3 Enoch* 1-16; *T. Job* 48-49) there is every reason to suppose that here the ecstasy (albeit a communal and ritualised one) which the *Sabbath Songs* effects was part and parcel of an experience of transformation.

Now, of course, if some of the characters to whom the *maskil* refers in each of the songs are in fact the sectarians, whom we know from other QL arranged themselves in the military and cultic formations of the OT, then many of the problems we have laid out disappear. The peculiar absence from this liturgy of the actual words spoken by the angels is readily explicable if those words were well known to the Qumran sectarians. We know from a passage in Josephus (*Ant.* 20:216-18) that Levitical temple singers could recite by heart the Psalms for the daily liturgy and would rather do so than hand hold heavy scrolls.⁷³ We should not exclude the possibility that the songs were either all, or in part, in an angelic tongue.⁷⁴ But the main point here is that the difficulty of imagining how the *maskil* can call the angels to praise and direct the order of their liturgy is now overcome. The *Songs* are a conductor's score. The score is no more the actual reality of the liturgy than the script of a play is that play. On this, alternative interpretative paradigm, we now have the hope of discovering features hitherto obscure, which we would expect from this genre. We can hope to find clear lines of social demarcation which will allow us to hear with clarity the different voices—human and suprahuman—of the angelic liturgy.

A convincing demonstration of an interpretation of the *Songs* along these lines requires a detailed examination of the texts themselves and it is to that task that the next three chapters are devoted.

⁷³ See Sanders 1992, 81.

⁷⁴ As suggested by Allison 1988, cf. 1 Cor 13:2; 2 Cor 13:4; *T. Job* 48:2-50:2; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8:1-5.

THE FIRST SONG (4Q400 1 I): THE FOUNDING OF A
DIVINE COMMUNITY

For the first song there is extant one large fragment (4Q400 1), the first column of which provides a relatively complete text of the first twenty lines of the first song:

¹ [For the Maskil, a song of the] first [Sabba]th sacrifice on the fourth (day) of the first month, give praise ² . . .] O *elohim* of all the holiest of the holy ones (קדושים קדושים); and in {His} divinity (וּבְאֱלוֹהֵי) ³ . . .] among the eternally holy (בְּקִדְוֵי עֶד), the holiest of the holy ones (קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים), and they have become for Him priests (וַיְהִי לוֹ לְכוֹהֲנֵי) ⁴ . . .] ministers of the Presence (מְשַׁרְתֵי פָנִים) in His *debir* of Glory, in the assembly of all the *elim* of ⁵ . . .] of the *elohim*. He engraved His statutes (חַרְתָּ חֻקֵּי) for all spiritual works (מַעֲשֵׂי רוּחַ) and the judgement ⁶ . . .] knowledge, the people of His Glorious discernment, *elohim!* (*vacat*) For those who draw near to knowledge (עַם בִּינָה כְבוֹדוֹ אֱלוֹהִים לְקִרְבֵי) *vacat* (דַּעַת) ⁷ . . .] of eternity and from the holy fountain (וּמִמְקוֹר הַקִּדְוֶה) for (/to/of) the [most?] holy sanctuaries ⁸ . . .] pries[ts] of the inner sanctum (כֹּהֲנֵי קִדְוֶה), ministers of the Presence of the King (מְשַׁרְתֵי פְנֵי מֶלֶךְ), holy ⁹ . . .] His glory and they shall grow in strength decree by decree for seven (וַחֻק בְּחֻק יִגְדְּלוּ לַשְּׁבִיעָה) ¹⁰ . . . He es[ta]blished them [for] Himself as the hol[ie]st of the holy ones in the hol[y] of holies ¹¹ . . .] among them according to the council[. . .] from knowledge ¹² . . .] holiest holiness, pr[ie]sts. They are princes of ¹³ . . .] in the temples of the King [. . .] in their territory and in their inheritance ¹⁴ . . .] They do not tolerate (לֹא יִכַלְכְּלוּ) any [. . .] the way, and there is n[o] unclean thing in their holy places ¹⁵ [And statutes of hol]iness He engraved (חַרְתָּ) for them. By these all the eternally holy ones sanctify themselves (יִקְדְּשׁוּ) (כֹּל קְדוֹשׁ עַד). And He purifies the pure ones (וַיְפַדֵּר טְהוֹרִי) ¹⁶ . . .] all who pervert the way. And they propitiate His good will (וַיִּכְפְּרוּ רַצוֹנֵי) for all who repent of sin (כֹּל שָׂבִי פֶשַׁע) (*vacat*) ¹⁷ . . .] knowledge among the priests of the inner sanctum (בְּכוֹהֲנֵי קִדְוֶה). And from their mouths teachings (וּמִפִּיהֶם הַדְרָת) of all matters of holiness with judgements ¹⁸ . . .] His [to]ving kindness for an eternal compassionate forgiveness; but in the vengeance of His jealousy ¹⁹ . . .] He established for Himself priests of the inner sanctum (יִסַּד לוֹ כֹּהֲנֵי קִדְוֶה), the holiest of the holy ones (קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים) ²⁰ . . .] God [of] gods, priests of the lofty heights (כֹּהֲנֵי גְבוּרֵי רוּם) who [*dwav*] near

Filling in some lacunae from other songs this text introduces the angelic community whose members have been set apart as "Priests . . . ministers of the Presence in His *debir* of Glory" (lines 3-4). The first portion of the address (lines 3-8) is a retrospective of God's previous action in establishing this angelic temple community, which is then picked up again towards the end of the column (line 19). The bulk of the second section (lines 9-20) describes the character and purpose of this community in the present; their purity and their vocation to atone for sins. The community that is summoned to praise (line 1: הללו), is clearly described as "the holiest of the holy ones" (lines 3, 19, cf. line 10) and perhaps also "the *elohim*, those who draw near to knowledge" (line 6); language which could certainly refer to angels.¹ However, the rest of this programmatic introit to the first song is with great difficulty read as a description of a suprahuman angelic community.

Problems of the Angel Reading

Nowhere else in Jewish literature do we have such an extensive aetiology for an angelic community. The normal assumption within Jewish angelology is that the angels are created either in the first week of creation (c.g. *Jub.* 2:2; 4 *Ezra* 6:41; 2 *Enoch* 29:3) or as God has need of them. I do not know of any text that describes the appointment of angels to a specific office as we find in the first *Sabbath Song*, as though previously they had none or another office. Within the sweep of the Biblical narrative the language here is that of (covenantal) election; without the references to *elohim* and *elim* we would immediately assume that the author was referring to the election of Israel or a (specifically priestly) group within Israel. And, indeed, there are at least seven specific points where the language of the first song is only with great difficulty construed as a reference to suprahuman angels. In several of these, rather, the language sets the *Sabbath Songs* within the context of the broader tradition of an *angelomorphic* humanity that we have traced thus far.

¹ Line 19 picks up the language of line 3 creating an *inclusio* around the whole. The first song is set for the fourth day of the first month. The fourth day of the first week of creation was the day on which God created the lights and set them in the sky. This might have some influence on the first *Sabbath Song*, though in its extant portions there is no explicit reference to the contents of Genesis 1:14-19.

(a) "A People of Discernment"

In line 6 the community are described as "a people of discernment" (ענו בינה). In two respects it is highly unlikely that this refers to an angelic community *as opposed to* a human one. In the first place Newsom rightly recognizes that this expression bears comparison with the use of Isaiah 27:11—"for this is a people without discernment (לא עם בינה הוא)"—in CD 5:16 and 1QH^a 10:19 [2:19].² In those two texts "the people of no discernment" are Jews outside the Qumran community who have perverted the truth. An allusion to Isaiah 27:11 in the first of the *Sabbath Songs* is fitting because in that biblical text the people of no discernment are those whose cultic places God has destroyed (Isa 27 verse 9), whilst the righteous—those who *do* have discernment—are promised a restored centre of worship (v. 13). The *Sabbath Songs* themselves are a liturgy that sets the Qumran community apart from the rest of (Jerusalem based) Judaism whose cult is deemed to stand under divine judgement: the Isaianic allusion and its intertextual echoes fit the *Sabbath Songs* perfectly.

Throughout the sectarian scrolls the righteous, the community members, are said to possess "discernment" or "understanding".³ Indeed in 4QInstruction the passage which says the true humanity is made "according to the pattern of the holy ones" (4Q417 2 i 17 = 4Q418 43-45 13) is specifically addressed to the "understanding one (מבין)" (4Q417 2 i 14 = 4Q418 43-45 10), the *maven* who is the recipient of most of the teaching in that sapiential work.⁴ In 4Q504 5 where Adam is created in the very likeness of God's Kavod he is also filled with "discernment (בינה) and knowledge" (4Q504 8 5). In 4Q444 the sage who has God's Name in his heart, who fights against the spirits of wickedness, and who is probably "a god causing fear", is filled with "a spirit of knowledge and understanding (ובינה)" (frag. 1, line 3). We will see later in our discussion of the *War Scroll* that there too the eschatological Israel is a people of "discernment" who uniquely embody within creation the identity of the one creator God

² So Newsom 1985, 99; *DJD* 11:180.

³ Some notable instances: in other fragments of 4Q511 (*Songs of the Sage*), 4Q511 48-49-51 ii 1 "because he has placed the wisdom of his understanding (בינה) in my heart"; 4Q511 18 ii 8 "God made the knowledge of understanding (בינה) shine in my heart"; the *maskil* calls the "sons of dawn" in 4Q298 (col. iii, lines 4-5) as "men of understanding" (אנשי בינה).

⁴ Cf. 4Q417 2 i 1, 18 and for other references see our discussion in chapter 6.

(1QM 10:10, 16). So when the first *Sabbath Song* speaks of a "people of discernment/understanding" it most naturally means the Qumran community (and the wider Essene movement).

Secondly, it is extremely unlikely that a group of angels would ever be called a people, "עם". This question has been discussed at great length with respect to Daniel 7:27 where there is the important expression עַם קְרִישׁ עֲלִיּוֹנִין.⁵ There is no agreed translation and interpretation of this phrase, though there is a general consensus that the "עם" must refer to an earthly people, however much they may be identified with "holy ones" or even "haughty holy ones".⁶ There is only one possible precedent for an angelic "עם"; at 1QM 12:8, to which Newsom appeals.⁷ However, there עַם קְרוּשִׁים could either be "with the holy ones" or refer to the sectarians as "the people of the holy ones".⁸ In combination with an allusion to Isaiah 27:11 it is stretching linguistic credulity to imagine that the language of 4Q400 1 i 6 does not refer to the human community.

(b) *Angelic Teachers (line 17)?*

In line 17 we are told that this divine community has a teaching function.⁹ As Maxwell Davidson has pointed out in his study of Qumran angelology, this is problematic: "In apocalypses such as those in the Enochic books, the role of the angels as communicators to the seers is quite explicit. Yet this kind of idea is not found in the Qumran literature, with the possible exception of the *Description of the New Jerusalem* [5Q15]. . . . In the Qumran literature in general, the revealed truths of God come through the sect's teachings."¹⁰ Within the Qumran community it is specifically the inner group of priest's who *teach* the community as a whole (1QS 6:3-8; CD 13:2-8; 1QM 10-12, cf. 4Q175 14-20). The view of priests as *the* teachers

⁵ The problem also arises in Sirach 24:1-2 where Wisdom's "people" are set in a heavenly context. Sirach has little interest in angels and commentators agree that it is the Israelites who are in view here (e.g. Marböck 1971, 58). In the context of Sirach 24 + 50 Israel are a cosmological and heavenly people.

⁶ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 208-9.

⁷ 1985, 99; *DJD* 11:180.

⁸ See Breckelmans 1965, 322-23; Collins 1993, 315 for this text and our discussion in chapter 12 (below).

⁹ Cf. 4Q403 1 ii 35 where, in a broken context, we meet "those who cause knowledge to shine among the *elim* of light".

¹⁰ 1992, 205, cf. 241-42.

within true Israel is a deeply Biblical one, with ample post-Biblical attestation exemplified by Josephus' hierocratic portrayal of Judaism.¹¹ Though Davidson rightly notes a possible background in wider angelological functions it is doubtful whether it is ever appropriate to speak of angels "teaching" rather than "revealing". In the apocalypses it is usual for an angel to *reveal* various heavenly mysteries, which sometimes include a deeper appreciation of halakhah and its role in pre-Mosaic salvation history (e.g. *Jubilees*). At other times an angel may convey God's judgement(s) (e.g. Daniel 4). However, there is no other example of a pedagogic *community* of angels in the highly structured setting which is implied by the context at 4Q400 1 i 17.

The problem is more acute when we appreciate, as has Newsom,¹² a likely intertextuality to Malachi 2:6-7 at this point. There the biblical text is programmatic for the belief that:

... the lips of the priest should guard knowledge (שפתי כהן ישמרו דעת), and from his mouth (מפייהו) they should seek instruction (תורה) because he is the מלאך of the LORD of Hosts.

In the incomplete 4Q400 1 i 17-18 there are linguistic points of contact with this text from Malachi in the three words, "דעת", "בכהני", and "מפייהם", which all presume the singular priest of the OT has become a plurality of "priests".¹³ An allusion to Malachi 2:7 is reasonably certain. (Though we might have expected the *Songs* to refer to תורה rather than תורת. Perhaps the latter was chosen to emphasise the role of the priest, not only in teaching "Torah", but also its interpretation; hence the wider "instructions".)

Regarding the interpretation of this line and its allusion to Malachi 2:7 Newsom suggests that "the ambiguous מלאך may have provided grounds for speculation about the angelic priesthood", by which she means speculation about angels who are priests.¹⁴ For this there is no other evidence. However, there is, as we have seen, considerable evidence that Malachi 2:6-7 represented and provided support for a post-exilic exploration of the angelomorphic identity of the earthly priesthood.

¹¹ See Lev 10:10-11; Deut 33:8-11; Jer 18:18; Mal 2:6-7 etc. . . .

¹² 1985, 105. This and many exegetical details of 4Q400 1 i are not included in Davila's commentary (2000).

¹³ For the interaction with Malachi in the first column of first song note also the "similarity of vocabulary between lines 13-15 and Mal 3:1-3" Newsom *DJD* 11:182.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The classic instance of an angelomorphic priesthood under the influence of Malachi 2 is *Jubilees* 31. We have already seen how *Jubilees* 31 has influenced the blessing of the high priest in 1QSb 4. And on close inspection we find that the first of the *Sabbath Songs* is also reading Malachi 2 through the lens provided by *Jubilees* 31:14-16.¹⁵ In that proto-Essene text the Levites are to be "angels of the presence", they are given "great glory", they are "drawn near to God" where "they serve in His sanctuary" as "holy ones"; they are given a variety of authoritative titles "judges", "rulers" and "leaders" and execute God's "judgements", "blessing all the seed of the beloved [i.e. Israel]." At every point in this description we hear the language of the *Sabbath Songs*. There the angelic community is everywhere associated with God's Glory, they are drawn near (4Q400 1 i 6, cf. the use of קודש for the inner sanctum in, e.g., 4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19) and are called "holy ones", the "holiest of the holy ones" and "ministers of the presence(/face) (of the king)" (4Q400 1 i 4 and 8: (משרתי פני מלך)). They too serve in "His sanctuary" (e.g. 4Q400 1 i 7) and are variously called "princes" and "chiefs" executing God's judgements (e.g. 4Q400 1 i 17). In the VIth Song we have a liturgy for their blessing of other members of the heavenly realm, who as we shall see are other members of the sectarian community, in all likelihood the non-priestly Israelites.

These close parallels with *Jubilees* 31 not only help fill out the allusion to Malachi 2:7 in 4Q400 1 i 17 through a wider tradition of interpretation of that OT verse, they are also of the utmost importance in interpreting the place of the *Songs* within a wider history-of-religions context. Like the author of *Jubilees* the community which recited the *Songs* was prepared to see the human priesthood as angelomorphic, and both did so within the context of an ongoing tradition of biblical interpretation.

To seal our claim that the teaching function in 4Q400 1 i 17 is only intelligible as a responsibility of the human *yet angelomorphic* priesthood we should recall that the same constellation of ideas seems to be present in three other Qumran texts. In 1QSb 4 the priest who is to be כמלאך פנים is to have both a judicial role in company with the angels of the presence and is "to give light [] for the world

¹⁵ The points of contact between 4Q400 1 i and *Jub.* 31 are noted by VanderKam 1999b, 505-6.

in knowledge, and to illuminate the face of the Many", a clear parallel to the teaching vocation of the priesthood in 4Q400 1 i. Similarly in 4Q491 11 i (4Q491c), Morton Smith's famous *Glorification Hymn (B)*, the transformed hero is described as both teaching and judging (lines 8-10 [formerly 16-18]).¹⁶ As we have seen that character is also a highly exalted priest. Thirdly, in 4QTestLevi^d 9 i the cosmogonic high priest is described in overtly heavenly terms (cf. *T. Levi* 18), and it is said that "His word is like a word of the heavens, and his teaching conforms to the will of God (line 3)". *Clearly, whilst the Qumran sectarians were little concerned with the teaching role of the angels, they were very much interested in the teaching of an exalted and angelomorphic priest(hood).*

(c) *Angels who need to be strengthened (line 9)?*

In what is left of line 9 we have a reference to some kind of strengthening "ויהיך ברוך נכרו לשבעה". Translation and interpretation are hampered by the broken context: The verb could be either a *Qal* ("grow strong") or a *Piel* ("strengthen"). Although the statutes could be the subject of the verb this is more likely to be the role of the angelic priesthood: "and statute by statute (or 'with every statute') they will grow in strength (or 'they will strengthen') (for) seven . . .". For reasons which are not made clear Newsom does not think it likely that the priesthood themselves are the ones who grow in strength. She prefers a translation in which either the angelic community strengthen seven eternal councils, the latter being supplied, or in which they *confirm* "every statute".¹⁷ But for her "confirm" we would expect a *Hiph'il* (cf. Dan 9:27; Ps 12:5).

Perhaps she is consciously or unconsciously aware of the difficulty of having angels grow in strength. I am not aware of any example of such an angelic growth. Within Jewish angelology it is taken for granted that the angels are what they are, (apart from those who fall); they do not change their status or order of being, let alone "grow in strength". On the other hand it is normally angels that strengthen weak mortals, only they do not do so with "statutes" but merely by their presence or a reassuring touch (e.g. Dan 10:18; 4 Ezra 10:30; *T. Dan* 6:5; Luke 22:43-44; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:3).

¹⁶ Note in particular the similarity of, otherwise peculiar, language (4Q491c 1 9 "הוריה" ("teaching") and 4Q400 1 i 17 "הוריה" ("teachings").

¹⁷ 1985, 101; *DJD* 11:181.

On the other hand, mortals who undergo a transformation to the angelomorphic or divine sphere of existence are frequently strengthened or physically enlarged in the process. The best known example of this is the extraordinary transformation of Enoch to the gigantic Metatron in the Amoraic *3 Enoch* 9 (Enoch "was raised and enlarged (רוממתי והגברתי) to the size of the length and width of the world"). The roots of this mystical idea are much older and, as we have seen in chapter 6, the earliest example may be provided by *Glorification Hymn A*, in which there is described the lot of the righteous with the heavenly community. The language in the 4Q427 (1QH^b) 7 ii version of *Glorification Hymn A*—"God strengthens (יגביריה) him to the clouds in stature" (line 9)—echoes clearly the language of 4Q400 1 i 9 confirming, again, the possibility that here the first of the *Sabbath Songs* describes the transformative effect on the Qumran community of the formation of an angelomorphic cultic community.¹⁸

Another significant parallel to 4Q400 1 i 9 is provided by 4Q444 (4QIncantation) (above). There the transformed spiritual warrior is probably exhorted; "strengthen yourself in the statutes of God (תחזק בחוקי אל)" (line 4).¹⁹ *This and the language of Glorification Hymn A suggests that it is most natural to take 4Q400 1 i 9 as a reference to the transformative strengthening or enlargement of the righteous by virtue of, or in preparation for, the angelic liturgy.*

(d) *Angels with Territory and an Inheritance (line 13)?*

In line 13 the angelic priesthood has a "territory" and an "inheritance". Newsom comments; "both the idea and the language itself recall Ezekiel's temple vision in which the temple district (chap. 45) and the land itself (chaps. 47-48) are divided among the priests and the people."²⁰ She does not cite any parallels for this language being used of angels, as opposed to humans. We have already noted the

¹⁸ The parallel might suggest that we should supply a reference to the "(seventh) heaven" at the beginning of the next line. Although there is no other explicit reference to a seven-tiered cosmology in the *Sabbath Songs*, as we shall see one is probably assumed in the second half of the cycle (Songs VI-XIII).

¹⁹ See *DJD* 29:376 for discussion and other translation possibilities. The editor, E. Chazon, compares the idea of internalized laws of God in 4Q444 with the "concept of the laws of thanksgiving engraved upon the heart" in 4Q511 63-4 ii 3; 1QS 10:6, 8, texts which are otherwise closely related to 4Q400 1 i (*DJD* 29:376).

²⁰ 1985, 103. See esp. Ezek 44:28; 45:1; 46:18.

problem this language presents for the angelic interpretation of 4Q418 69 (above, chapter 4) where it is said of certain sons of heaven that they have eternal life as their inheritance. It is true, of course, that the location of specific divine beings in particular areas of the cosmos or their attachment to specific peoples and their territories is an old and, indeed, axiomatic view in antiquity. And this, indeed, is reflected in Israel's scriptures (e.g. Deut 32:8-9). But an unequivocal statement that *angels* have territories and an inheritance is without parallel in contemporary Jewish texts. *In the context of the opening section of the first of the Sabbath Songs this is perhaps better taken as a statement of the privileges that are given to the righteous when God sets up his true cult and temple state.*

(c) *God Engraving Statutes for the Angels (line 15)?*

In the Hebrew Bible the root חָרַט is used only once; of the tablets on which God engraves the Torah at Sinai in Exodus 32:16. In QL the verb is common and outside of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* it is always used of the act of engraving for humanity's benefit, never for the angels (cf. 1QS 10:6, 8, 11; 1QH^a 9:24 [1:24]; 4Q180 1 3; 4Q284 3 4). In the first *Sabbath Song* it is used twice: in line 5 to refer to God's engraving "of statutes for all his spiritual works" and in line 15 again (probably) to refer to "[*statutes of holiness*" which God has engraved for the angelic priesthood. Elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs* the verb appears twice in broken passages, one of which may refer to the inscribing of God's Name on the crown worn by the high priesthood (4Q405 23 ii 3, see below).

In Qumran theology the angels have kept God's statutes since the beginning of creation (*Jubilees* 2:17-18; 15:27); they do not need, as did Israel at Sinai, God's engraving of his commandments. And so it is not surprising that the idea that God concretely engraves, or even writes, commandments for his angels is not elsewhere attested in the literature of the period. On the other hand the language of engraving does appear in another Qumran text which deals specifically with the life of the spiritual humanity. In that portion of 4QInstruction which describes the "people of spirit" and the formation of the true humanity "according to the pattern of the holy ones" (4Q417 1 i 14-18 and 4Q418 43 10-14, see above) an ordinance or statute for the righteous and a statute for the punitive visitation of God against the wicked are said to be "engraved (חָרַט)". For the Qumran

community, then, God's engraved decrees, including in all likelihood the Sinaitic covenant, ultimately directed God's people to their originally intended heavenly identity.²¹

Whilst the language of engraving in 4Q400 1 ill accords with the view that here there is described the founding of a (suprahuman) angelic community, it suits well a description of the founding of the human community truly obedient to God's revealed law. Those who fulfill God's engraved statutes have taken upon themselves "spiritual works" (line 5) because, like the righteous of 4QInstruction, they are a "spiritual people".

(f) *Angels Sanctifying Themselves (line 15)?*

Again, line 15 speaks of the heavenly community members sanctifying themselves and being purified by God. I do not know of any instance of angels being sanctified, much less of angels sanctifying themselves.²² The idea assumes a degree of volition and independent action which is inappropriate for angels, though fitting for the members of the Qumran community.²³

Furthermore, here 4Q400 echoes several other Qumran texts where the context specifically relates sanctification and purification to human transformation. In *Jubilees* 31:14 the *sanctification* of Levi is a necessary fact of his becoming an angelomorphic minister. It is God's *sanctifying* of a pure leaven amongst the righteous lump in 4Q511 35 that produces an angelic priesthood (above), and this is just one of several important parallels between 4Q400 1 i and 4Q511 35 to which we shall turn shortly. Equally, important are the parallels between 4Q400 1 i and the description of the true priest in 4Q418 frag. 81 (above, chapter 6). There also the glorious priest has both a peculiarly privileged inheritance (line 3, 11) and is specifically called upon to *sanctify* himself (line 4) as God has separated him from a spirit of flesh and magnified his glory. Then, again, we should recall 4Q377 where (in frag. 1 recto col. ii) it is when Moses is covered

²¹ The theme is a familiar one in the first century A.D. and thereafter, (see Fletcher-Louis 1997b), 98-105, 169-71 for the belief that obedience to Torah produces an angelic humanity in Acts 7:53 and later rabbinic tradition).

²² Although it is possible that the *Hithpa'el* of שׁוּׁף might function as a passive (Qimron 1986a, §310.16; D. Falk in *DJD* 29:57) there is no reason to see a departure from the normally reflexive sense of its biblical usage here.

²³ For humans/priests sanctifying themselves see 1QS 3:4, 9; 1QH^a 19:10 [11:10]; 4Q284 1 7.

by the theophanic cloud and *sanctified* that he also speaks "as an angel from his mouth" (line 10).

Lastly, 4Q393—a recently published Communal Confession—clearly combines *sanctification*, purification, and the exaltation of the righteous. In this prayer God is addressed:

On whom will you make your face shine (cf. Num 6:25) without their being purified and sanctified and exalted above everything (ולא יטהרו ולא יטהרו ויחזקו ויחזקו ויחזקו ויחזקו)?²⁴

Being exalted above everything is the position Jerusalem is to have in the *Apostrophe to Zion* in 11QPs^a 22:12 (מעלה לכל חבל). Used of human beings it obviously speaks in unequal terms of an exaltation to a position of power and privilege which accurately describes the position of the righteous in many of the other texts we have examined in this study. The language is also generally similar to that of the *Sabbath Songs* (esp. רומץ and מעלה).²⁵

So, once again language which can only with great difficulty be applied to angels is with very good reason taken to refer to the (self-)sanctification of a righteous humanity which has already been transformed, or is in the process of transformation, to a new heavenly identity.

(g) *Angels Providing Atonement for "All Who Repent of Sin" (line 16)?*

In line 16 the heavenly priesthood are set apart because "they propitiate His good will for all who repent of sin (כול שבי פשע)". Elsewhere, the expression "שבי פשע" is virtually a title of the Qumran community (cf. 1QS 10:20; CD 2:5; 12:17; 1QH^a 10:9; 14:6 [2:9; 6:6]). Does this mean that "there are priestly angels in heaven who make atonement for the repentant" mortals on earth?²⁶

Here we are forced to reckon with the question discussed in the last chapter: was there a current Jewish view that there was a cult in heaven with angels effecting atonement on the model of (or as a model for) priests in the earthly temple? We have seen that there is

²⁴ 4Q393 frag. 3 lines 5-6 following D. Falk's translation in *DJD* 29:55. Although, as in 4Q400 1 i 15, the verbs are in *Hithpa'el*, Falk is probably right to take these as passive forms (*DJD* 29:57) in 4Q393.

²⁵ רומץ and מעלה appear 67 and 3 times respectively in the *Sabbath Songs*. The language is similar, though the sense different, in 4Q403 1 i 28 (end of the VIII) where God is "above all blessing (מעלה לכול ברכה)".

²⁶ So Newsom 1985, 105.

little evidence for this and that it is unlikely that as a Qumran liturgy the *Sabbath Songs* invented such a notion. At this point Newsom simply compares *Testament of Levi* 3:5 as though the matter need no further debate. To this text James R. Davila adds a cross reference to *Joseph and Aseneth* 15:7-8.²⁷ But neither of these passages warrants the interpretation Newsom gives to 4Q400 1 i 16. As we have seen, *Testament of Levi* 3:5 is likely to be Christian and so cannot be confidently used to explain a Jewish text which is at least two hundred years older. In *Joseph and Aseneth* 15:7-8 it is said that "Repentance is in the heavens, an exceedingly beautiful and good daughter of the Most High. And she herself *entreats* (ἐκλιπαρεῖ) the Most High God for you at all times and for *all who repent* in the name of the Most High God". Whilst there are superficial similarities between our text and *Joseph and Aseneth*, "entreating" and "atoning" are really quite different. For the angelic mediation of prayers of the righteous the evidence is as old as the *Book of Watchers* (1 *Enoch* 9; 15:2, cf. 3 *Baruch* 11 15), but neither *Joseph and Aseneth* nor any other Jewish text from the period provides depicts angels *atoning* for the righteous.

The absence of angels atoning for the righteous in a spiritual upper world is unsurprising given the thoroughly *material* nature of sacrifice. The language of verse 16—the noun יָצַו and the root כָּפַר—is everywhere else used of human cultic activity.²⁸ And the description of one class of person atoning for (the sins of) another normally implies not a division between angels and men, but between priests and laity, or priests and the whole people (1QM 2:5, cf. 1QS 8:10; 9:4). It is, of course, possible that in other contexts *angelomorphic* human priests are specifically held responsible for atonement (cf. the language of 4Q513 1:2 ii 4 (above), 11QMelech 2:8).²⁹

(h) *Conclusions: Towards a New Interpretation of the First Sabbath Song*

None of these seven exegetical problems in isolation necessarily warrants the rejection of Newsom's interpretation of the first *Sabbath*

²⁷ Davila 2000, 103.

²⁸ The idea that God's "good will" has to be atoned is odd, since we would expect rather God's favour to *result from* atonement. I having nothing to add to Newsom's thoughts (*ad loc*) on this oddity.

²⁹ Whilst Newsom (1985, 105; *DJD* 11:104) compares this phrase with the angelological language of CD 2:5-6, more apposite would be 1QH^a 10:9 [2:9] where the psalmist proclaims "I have been a snare to those who rebel, but healing to those of them who repent of sin (מִרְפָּא לְכֹל שְׂבִי פִשְׁע)".

Song. But cumulatively the evidence is overwhelming: the first column of the first *Song* is dense with phraseology and ideas which can only with great difficulty be taken to refer to a purely angelic rather than a human community. What does this conclusion mean for the whole of 4Q400 1 i and the rest of the *Songs*?

Might it not be possible to have 4Q400 1 i refer to a human community and the rest of the *Songs* refer to an angelic one? To answer this question we will have to examine the other *Songs* in detail, but it is already worth noting that it is precisely the continuity of language for the (heavenly) priesthood throughout the *Songs* which has lead commentators since Newsom to assume that throughout the *Songs* the same worshipping community is described.

Might it be possible to have some of 4Q400 1 i—those parts just discussed—refer to the human community but overtly angelological language refer to suprahuman worshippers? It is only in the opening lines that we hear of “the assembly of the *elim*” (line 4) and the *maskil* calls his hearers *elohim* (line 2). Might this not allow us to see two different groups described in this text; one angelic and one human? Initial considerations suggest this is unlikely. Although there are large lacunae in our text there is a thematic unity throughout; the whole first column appears to be devoted to God’s founding of his cultic community and phraseology in the opening lines of the column is picked up at the end, creating an interpretative inclusio around the whole.³⁰ At several points language that is best taken to refer to human beings is also suggestive of a transformed humanity. Since it is the “eternally holy ones” who “sanctify” themselves in line 15 this must describe humans who now possess a certain immortality there and in line 3 where the “eternally holy” are also called the “holiest of the holy ones”. This latter expression itself is suggestive of an exalted angelic humanity, given the fluidity between human and angelic “holy ones” in contemporary Jewish literature. According to line 20 the priests just described belong to the “lofty heights” which again implies that though human our cultic community have been raised to a new level of reality.

These considerations suggest that throughout the first column of the first *Song* there is in view not a cultic angelology but a transformed,

³⁰ Note the repetition of “the holiest of the holy ones” in lines 2, 3 and 19; “eternally holy” in lines 3 and 15; “ministers of the Presence” in lines 4 and 8; “priests of the inner sanctum” in lines 8 and 19.

heavenly human cult.³¹ Further confirmation of this reading and a sharper focus on the social and historical *Sitz im Leben* of the account of community formation in the first *Song* is provided by a comparison of this portion of the *Songs* with two other Qumran texts. The language and ideas of the first song bear a striking resemblance both to *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511) fragment 35 and some important sections of the *Community Rule* (1QS).

4Q400 1 i and the Founding of an Angelic Priesthood in 4Q511 35

4Q511 fragment 35 from the *Songs of the Sage* contains an explicit statement of God's formation of an angelomorphic priesthood within the true Israel. Though passed over in her earlier work, in a later article Newsom noted some important correspondences between the *Songs of the Sage* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, two texts that are designated לַמַּשְׁכִּיל.³² She noted, for example, that in the *Songs of the Sage* "one fragment . . . uses terms for heavens and the cherubim that are almost identical to those of the Sabbath songs" and that both texts have a peculiar preference for the divine epithet אֱלֹהִים.³³ "One of the most interesting points of comparison occurs in 4Q511 35, where the speaker describes God's act of setting apart priests for himself. . . . the passage is quite similar to the description of the consecration of the angelic priesthood in the first Sabbath Song (4Q400 1 i), a topic of utmost importance in the Sabbath Songs."³⁴ The parallel is indeed remarkable and merits closer attention.

There are clear points of correspondence between the two texts, both in detail and overall content. Both describe the foundation of a priesthood who are to live as a Temple community, thereby taking on an angelic life. Both describe that community in terms of purity: besides the repeated language of holiness, in 4Q511 35 the angelomorphic priesthood are to be "purity amongst the cleansed" (שְׁהָרָה בְּנִבְרִים) and in 4Q400 1 i 14-15 "there is no unclean thing

³¹ It is of course possible that the "assembly of the *elim*" in line 4 includes non-human "gods".

³² 1990, 183. For the connections see also Falk 1998, 127-28.

³³ 1990, 183. She names the fragment as 4Q511 44, but she must mean 4Q511 41 for which Baillet (*NJD* 7:239) reads the expressions "בְּמַרְוֵי רוּחַ מַעֲוֵן" (line 1) and "לְכַרְוֵי קֹדֶשׁ" (line 2).

³⁴ Newsom 1990, 183.

in their holy places" (ואת[ן]ן שׂמא בקרשיהם) and God is said to "purify the pure ones" (יטהר פהורין). The priests in both are called "ministers" משרחים (4Q511 35 4; 4Q400 1 i 4, 3). The expression "His righteous people" (4Q511 35 4) echoes the עם בינות of 4Q400 1 i 6. In 4Q511 35 the sage describes how God

will sanctify for himself (לו) (a group from) among the holy ones (בקרשים) and they shall be priests (יהיו כהנים).

With this we should compare the opening and closing lines of the first column of the first *Song*:

among the eternally holy, the holiest of holy ones and they have become for him priests (בקרשיהו קדושים יהיו לו לכהנים) (line 3)
he established for himself priests (לו כהנים) of the inner sanctum (line 19)

The linguistic overlap is transparent.³⁵ Though fragment 35 of 4Q511 nowhere describes a group of the "holiest of the holy ones" we have seen how that language, and the social division within the sectarian movement between the monastic core and the laity is presumed in 4Q511 35.

In 4Q511 35 4 the human priests are called "angels of His Glory" or "His glorious angels" (מלאכי כבוד). Although this expression is not extant in the first of the *Sabbath Songs* it is attested in the broken context of a fragment which probably belongs to the 10th *Song* (4Q405 17 5). There, interestingly, it occurs in parallelism with the phrase מלאכי תפארה. Once again, the collocation of language peculiar to the theology of divine priesthood (תפארה and כבוד) is combined. We have seen that it is likely that the transcendent humanity of 4Q511 35, typified by the *maskil* himself, are now "gods" (אלים) and given the cumulative case for a revisionist reading of the *Sabbath Songs* it is possible that also in 4Q400 1 i 4 the cultic "assembly of *elim*" includes the angelomorphic priesthood of the community. Finally, it said in fragment 35 line 5 that the heavenly priesthood shall praise Him in marvellous prodigies (יהללוהו בהפלא נראות), line 5). The word נרא is not particularly common in the scrolls though it is well represented in the *Sabbath Songs*.³⁶ The word פלא appears abundantly in

³⁵ Similar language appears in 4Q401 17 (a fragment which it has not been possible to assign to a particular song) line 3 "He established them for Himself to draw near".

³⁶ See 4Q403 1 i 42; 4Q405 23 i 13; 4Q405 58 i 2, cf. 1QM 12:7; 4Q381 50

the *Songs* and this liturgy claims over 80% of its occurrences in the scrolls.³⁷

Given the brevity of the 4Q511 fragment all these thematic and linguistic similarities are certainly significant. It should also be noted that fragment 35 sets the establishment of this angelic priesthood in the context of God's eschatological action; his "avenging judgment (משפט נקמה) to destroy wickedness" (line 1). A similar divine threat is present in 4Q400 1 i 18 ("in the vengeance of His jealousy (נקמת ביקורת)") and later on in the liturgy the faithfulness of the divine beings is said to preserve them from the coming wrath (4Q405 23 i 10-12).

Socially, fragment 35 distinguishes between two groups; "the holy ones" (line 2) from amongst whom God sanctifies an inner group who act as priests; who possess a (particular) "purity" amongst (all those) who are "cleansed". As we have seen this division is probably parallel to that in the community rule, 4QMMT and 4QSapiential Work A (4Q418 frag. 81 line 4); between Israel who are "holy" and Aaron, who are "holy of holies". On close inspection the same division is present in the first of the *Sabbath Songs*. In lines 3 & 10 the reconstructed text should probably read "He established [amongst the eternally holy the holiest of the holy ones and they have become for him priests . . .], "He es]tablished them [for] Himself as the ho]liest of the holy ones in the ho]ly of holies" (cf. line 19). This division between priesthood and laity is also, obviously, present in lines 16-17 where the holiest of the holy ones, the priesthood, are set apart to atone for the whole community ("those who repent of sin") and to teach the laity.

The parallels between 4Q511 35 and 4Q400 1 i are mutually interpretative: on the one hand they confirm our preliminary conclusion that the cultic community that is established in 4Q400 1 i is a human, and yet heavenly one like that in the *Songs of the Sage*. On the other hand, the fact that the angelomorphic cult in the *Sabbath Songs* is one which has already been established in the past and now operates in the community's liturgical present means that any nagging doubts about the temporal orientation of the cultic community

i 3; 11QigJob 36:4. For the "marvelous prodigies" here note especially the הפלה נראת of the first line of *Glorification Hymn B* (4Q491 11 1).

³⁷ Nowhere in the extant *Songs* is the word צבא used, which is surprising on any reading.

in 4Q511 35 are removed. The angelomorphic liturgical community of 4Q511 35 is described in the future tense and in our earlier discussion we were uncertain as to whether it described existing cultic realities. There is no doubt that the heavenly cult of 4Q400 was up and running at Qumran (and at Masada). And the reference to God's *wrath* in 4Q400 1 i 18 is set over against God's "compassionate forgiveness" which suggests God's anger is as much a liturgical as an eschatological reality (God's wrath being that which the liturgy serves to propitiate). So too we can now be confident that some Qumran community members *already* belong to the angelomorphic priesthood described in 4Q511 35 and the reference to God's "raging anger" in 4Q511 35 1-2 need not mean the text is solely concerned with the conditions of a future age. If the language in either text is eschatological a "realized eschatology" is in view.³⁸

The clarity of conceptual overlap between this *Songs of the Sage* passage and the opening of the first *Sabbath Song* comes into still sharper focus when we turn to the second text in QL which evinces close parallels with the latter.

4Q400 1 i and the Formation of the Cultic Community in the 1QS

In her 1985 commentary on the largest fragment of the first song, Newsom noted linguistic parallels to the *Community Rule*, in particular to 1QS 10. Unfortunately she never picks up these parallels and explores their possible implications. They are further evidence that this song is a description of the foundation of the human cultic community at Qumran.

She notes, for example that the expression חוק חרות "engraved statute" is used three times in column 10 of 1QS (lines 6, 8, 11) and is thus very close to the engraving of statutes in 4Q400 1 i 5 ("חרת חוקי").³⁹ To the expression "holy fountain" in line 7 of the first song she compares the description of God as a "fountain of knowledge" and "spring of holiness" (מקור דעה ומעין קודש) in 1QS 10:12 (cf. 1QS 11:13). The combination of these two parallels leads

³⁸ Davila (2000, 101) thinks that 4Q511 35 refers to "deified humans in the eschatological temple", but he neglects to mention the important parallels between 4Q511 35 and 4Q400 1 i in his commentary.

³⁹ 1985, 98; *DJD* 11:180.

her to comment on lines 5-7 that "[i]here are . . . similarities of vocabulary with 1QS x 10-13 where the author recites God's statutes (חוקיו) and judgments (ומשפטים), while his sin is present like an engraved rule (הרזה כחוק)."⁴⁰ She also includes 1QS 10:20 in a list of cross-references for the expression שכי פשע in line 16. However, the points of correspondence are more extensive and the overlap in conceptual context more significant than she appreciates.

The literary formation of the *Community Rule* is the subject of some uncertainty, now made more problematic by some wide divergences between the Cave 1 and Cave 4 texts. However, there is general agreement that the material in columns 8-10 of 1QS belongs to the earliest stages of the rule's literary development. Column 10, where Newsom notes the closest parallels to the *Songs*, describes in summary form the pattern of worship which is prescribed for community members and in particular for the *maskil* (see the "למשכיל" formula in 1QS 9:13, 9:26ff., cf. 3:13). This section of the *Rule* therefore belongs to that distinctive genre which we have seen is shared by 1QSB, *The Songs of the Sage* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. In the *Community Rule*, as we would expect for the *Sabbath Songs*, the references to "engraved statutes" intend the community's own, very particular, cultic festivals and liturgical calendar (1QS 10:6, 8, 11). It is to these that the community members adhere and in doing so they clearly mark themselves out from other Israelites.⁴¹

Column 10 of 1QS follows columns 8-9 which describe the foundation of the community. 1QS 8:1-10a, 9:3ff., in particular, are thought to represent a very early stage in the formation of the community at Qumran, (c. 150-100 B.C.).⁴² Here there is described the establishment of a temple community which will serve as a means of atonement for the rest of the community, substituting the sacrifice of suffering obedience (1QS 8:3-4) and praise for that of "burnt-offerings and . . . the fat of sacrifices" (1QS 9:4). The language here is close to that of 4Q400 1 i 16: "And they propitiate his good will for . . ." (ויכפרו רצונו בער): at 1QS 8:6 and 9:4 we have almost

⁴⁰ 1985, 100 and *DJD* 11:181.

⁴¹ For the importance of 1QS 10 for understanding the *Songs* as a seasonal liturgy to be repeated four times a year see Maier 1992, 549-50.

⁴² E.g. Knibb 1987, 127, 129; Alexander 1996, 441.

identical expressions (1QS 8:6 "רצון לכפר בעד"; 1QS 9:4 "לכפר . . . ולרצון ל . . ."). And of course 1QS 8 and 9 offer one of the clearest statements of a division between "a house of holiness for Israel (i.e. the laity)" and a foundation of the holiest of the holies for Aaron (i.e. the priesthood) (1QS 8:5-6, cf. 9:5-6 and 8:8). As we have seen it is this division that is in mind throughout 4Q400 1 i.

From this brief overview it is clear that there are some close points of contact between this early section of the *Community Rule* and the first of the *Sabbath Songs*. These confirm our argument thus far that the latter describes not the establishment of a community of "angels", in any dualistic sense of the word, but the Qumran community and, in particular, its inner core of priests. Taken together with 4Q511 35 (besides also 1QH^a & 1QS^b) these similarities suggest also that here we have a group of texts, all associated with the *משכיל*, which derive from an early period in the sect's formation, and which include a rehearsal of the founding myth of the community. 1QS alone would give us no impression that the sectarians were anything other than entirely human. However, in the other examples of this *למשכיל* form we discover an inner self-understanding in which mortality has been thoroughly transcended.

The Sectarian elohim, the Qerubim and the Angelic Cherubim (line 6)

There is now overwhelming evidence that on the basic point of referential identity Newsom was wrong in her interpretation of the first *Sabbath Song*. It describes a transformed, angelic community of human priests, who like the psalmist in the *Glorification Hymn* are now reckoned as full members of the "assembly of the *elim*", because they like Aaron before them (4QVisions of Amram) can themselves be called "gods". The portion of the extant text of 4Q400 1 i which was meant to drive the point home was perhaps line 6:

עם ביתח כבודו אלהים vacat לקרובי דעת

This line has two points of interpretative significance:

(a) "*The people of His Glorious discernment, elohim*".

In her original transcription and translation Newsom read ביתח כבודו אלהים before the *vacat* of line 6, translating the whole line "the

people (who possess) His glorious insight, the godlike beings who draw near to knowledge".⁴³ But, as she notes, the grammatical "construction of the whole line remains problematic".⁴⁴ What is the relationship between the אלהים and what precedes and what follows, and how is the קרובי + ל to be construed in relation to the rest? In his review article of Newsom's critical edition, Elisha Qimron suggested reading the third word of the Hebrew as כבודי, a *Qal* passive participle of כבד, rather than כבודו:⁴⁵ This allows the reading "people of discernment, *honoured of God* (*vacat*) For those who draw near to knowledge", which Newsom has now taken up in her more recent official critical edition.⁴⁶

But this is not without its difficulties either. A *Qal* passive participle of כבד is otherwise unattested in Biblical or Qumran Hebrew and everywhere else the *niph'al* of כבד is used (e.g. 4Q400 2 2; 4Q401 14 i 5, 8). Secondly, the down stroke of the last letter of the word just doesn't look like a *yod*.⁴⁷ While the difference between the *yod* and the *waw* is minimal, Newsom's original judgement that here there is the former is the sounder on purely palaeographic grounds. There is also the difficulty of explaining the *vacat*. It does not appear that this can be explained by damage to the leather.⁴⁸ But if it is a deliberate gap what role does it play?

I suggest the following translation of Newsom's original transcription: "the people of his glorious discernment, "gods", (*vacat*) (for) those drawn near with knowledge".⁴⁹ This accords with the parallels between the surrounding lines and the language of 4Q511 35 where a similar appositional style is used. This also provides an obvious explanation for the *vacat*: the statement that the Qumran sectarians, particularly its priesthood, are "a people of discernment (and also) gods" is a climactic one, which deserves an emphatic pause in reading.

⁴³ 1985, 89, 93.

⁴⁴ 1985, 100.

⁴⁵ Qimron 1986b, 358-59.

⁴⁶ *DJD* 11:178-80.

⁴⁷ There is an overlap at this point with 4Q401 15 1. Although this fragment is badly damaged the bottom of a *waw* seems clear where Newsom now wants a *yod* (*DJD* 11, pl. XVIII).

⁴⁸ See *DJD* 11, pl. XVI.

⁴⁹ Cf. Vermes: "the people (endowed with) his glorious understanding, the 'gods' who are close to knowledge."

(b) *The Qerubim of knowledge*

After the *vacat*, the last phrase of line 6 refers to the participants in the heavenly liturgy as "קרובי דעה". Newsom reads here the common adjective "*karob*" "near". It is unusual for an adjective to stand as the *nomen regens*, but not without precedent.⁵⁰

An alternative possibility is to read here a passive participle קרובי; "the knowledgeable ones drawn near" or "those drawn near with knowledge". There are good interpretative reasons to consider this possibility. This is the only instance of this form of the root קרב, which is otherwise common in the *Shirot* (esp. the frequent כוהני כרוב).⁵¹ A passive form would suit the theme of the first column of the first song; a retrospective of God's action in establishing the Qumran heavenly cult. It is also possible that a deliberate play on the word *cherub* is intended signalling the movement towards God's chariot throne as the liturgy progresses: the Qumran community (or priesthood) are *Qerubim*, those drawn near to the God's throne which is itself supported by *Cherubim*.⁵²

There are good grounds for thinking that the transformed heavenly humanity at Qumran would want to compare itself to the *cherubim*. As we saw in our first chapter the Qumran community will have had in their Bibles the vignette of the ideal *Urmensch* and sacral king in Ezekiel 28 who lives in the mountain-top Eden and is called a *cherub* (Ezek 28:14, 16 MT). Since they now inhabit the same utopian world, their priesthood are clothed with the same jewel studded garments as those worn by the sacral king of Tyre (28:13) and he like them was "perfect in his ways (28:15: אחה בדרךך)", it is natural that they would see in the cherub "full of wisdom and perfect in beauty" their own mirror image.⁵³ Given their keen interest in the ephod and its stones it is highly likely that they had meditated long and hard on Ezekiel 28.

In rabbinic literature there is a well-known tradition which identifies the four components of God's throne with the patriarchs.⁵⁴ This tra-

⁵⁰ See GKC §§132c; 133g.

⁵¹ Though a similar phrase should perhaps be restored in 4Q403 I i 18.

⁵² For the angelomorphic priesthood as those who draw near to God see *Jubilees* 31:14.

⁵³ If this is the case then 4Q400 I i 6 may also be an early witness to the MT over against the LXX at Ezekiel 28:14, 16.

⁵⁴ See *Gen. Rab.* 47:6; 68:12; 69:3; 82:6; *Hekh. Rab.* 9:4 (*Synopse* §164).

dition goes back to the third century rabbi Simeon b. Laqish, but the fact that Irenaeus in the second century identifies the four beasts with the four gospel authors suggests that a form of the tradition was older than both the rabbi and the church father.⁵⁵ A not dissimilar identification of the mystic with the *cherubim* is assumed in the first century A.D. or B.C. *Testament of Job* where angelomorphic transformation for Job's daughters includes their ability to speak "in the dialect of the *cherubim* (ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν Χερουβιμ)" (50:2).⁵⁶

This is all no more than a possibility. But if such a *double entendre* is intended in the *Songs* then it has most rhetorical force if the point is being made that it is *human* worshippers who are in fact, both by name and new identity, *cherubic*.

Conclusion and Prospects for a New Reading of the Songs

Having undertaken a detailed exegesis of the largest fragment of the first song we are now in a radically new interpretative paradigm for the *Songs* as a whole. From the onset the *Songs* presume the corporate transformation of the human participants in the liturgy such that language which has hitherto been thought to describe suprahuman angels must now be taken to refer to angelized and deified sectarians.

Read in this way the problem of the text's lack of explicit liturgical content partly disappears. The written instructions of the *maskil* are what he recites, or takes as a cue for more elaborate liturgical direction. He does not describe what can be seen solely with the mind's eye. Rather he calls his fellow sectarians to take up the burden of praise, because they are heavenly persons.

However, questions remain. For example, does our reading of the opening of the first song mean that all subsequent references to divine or angelic beings should be taken to refer to the sectarians? It is possible that when the songs go on to describe the chariot, *cherubim*,

⁵⁵ *Adv. Haer.* 3:1:1; 3:11:3.

⁵⁶ The context is instructive: one of Job's daughters, Amaltheias-keras, "girded herself and her mouth chanted verses in the dialect of those on high (ἐν ὕψει), since her heart also was changed by withdrawing from worldly things (τῶν κοσμικῶν). And she spoke in the dialect of the *cherubim*, glorifying the master of virtues by exhibiting their splendour. And the one who further wishes to grasp the poetic rhythm of "the paternal splendour" will find it recorded in the "Prayers of Amaltheias-keras" (50:1-3, cf. chs. 48-49). Here glorifying God entails *exhibiting* the splendour of his virtue.

ophannim and their movements that there too there are community members who somehow acted the part of these angelic beings. In IQS 11:8 the Qumran community themselves form “the foundation of the building of holiness (סִדָּר מְבִנִּיה קִירֵשׁ)” so it is possible that here too in the *Sabbath Songs* references to physical structures actually intend, metaphorically, the community members.

Given the many gaps in the text and the absence of further external evidence for the liturgy's life setting it may never be possible to sort out which parts of the liturgy refer to whom and in what capacity. In the next two chapters we will examine the rest of the liturgy and attempt to delineate the boundary between human and suprahuman actors where possible. Before diving once again into the details of the texts we can make some general observations which will guide our interpretation.

(a) *Suprahuman “Spirits” and Suprahuman “Living elohim”*

Generally speaking, whilst the angelomorphic humanity tradition uses the language of “gods”, “angels”, “holy ones” for humans who have transcended their mortality, such people are not referred to as “spirits”.⁵⁷ Within Qumran literature we find the sectarians described as “angels (of His Glory/of the presence)”, “His (God's) host”, *elohim*, “princes”,⁵⁸ and even *elim*. But nowhere are they described as “spirits”. So, there are no grounds for taking the references in the *Songs* to spirits in such a way. Elsewhere in the scrolls רוח is used in a variety of ways. In some texts רוחות are the conscious, animate, aspects of creation (e.g. 4Q287 2 4 (רוחי ענין), cf. 1QM 10:12). Famously, in the discourse on the two spirits (IQS 3:13–4:26) the language is used to refer to the psychological make up of human nature (cf. 4Q186). In the Qumran literature as a whole, then, the language of “spirit(s)” is used, not for *independent* angelic beings (e.g. Michael, Gabriel *et al.*) but as a way of articulating a spiritual aspect of an empirical reality within creation.

We find basically the same usage in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

⁵⁷ There are several notable exceptions: (1) in Lam 4:20 the king is spoken of as “the breath (רוח) of our nostrils” (Heb)—“the spirit of countenance” (LXX); (2) in *T. Mos.* 11:15 Moses is the “sacred spirit”; (3) in the *Prayer of Joseph* Jacob/Israel is called a “ruling spirit” (cf. Horbury 1998, 91–92). Otherwise humans are normally “filled with” God's Spirit (e.g. Exod 31:3) or it comes upon them (e.g. Num 24:2).

⁵⁸ CD 6:6; 4QpPs^a 3:5, cf. 1QH^a 14:14 [6:14].

For example, in the expression "spirit of the holy of holies (רוח קודש קודשים)" (4Q403 1 i 44; 1 ii 1; 4Q405 5 1; 4Q405 14-15 i 2; 23 ii 8) there is evidently in mind a fundamental *spiritual* substance, quality or essence which belongs to the innermost part of the sanctuary, or in the case of 4Q405 23 ii 8 to the Chief Priests as the embodiment of the Glory, dressed as they are in their glorious garments.⁵⁹ In as much as the holy of holies is God's residence this "spirit" is the very spirit of God. The singularity of this spirit (elsewhere in the songs it is normally spirits) is appropriate for the singularity of God.⁶⁰

In other instances the spirits are those entities that belong to the various parts of the cult and its appurtenances.⁶¹ In the ninth song there are spirits associated with the vestibules and their engravings. The spirits here are said to be engraved upon the vestibule walls (4Q405 14-15 i). In the eleventh song the spirits belong to the floor and brickwork beneath the *merkabot*, in the thirteenth song, as we shall see, they are the spiritual presence within the various parts of the high priestly clothing.

We never find this kind of an identification between parts of the temple structure or clothing and the *elohim*. However, in the context of passages describing the architecture of the cosmic temple we frequently find the identification of the "spirits" with "living *elohim*" (חיים אלהים), an expression which is, again, quite deliberately confined to passages dealing with temple structures.⁶² Nowhere are *elohim*, who on other grounds could be judged human worshippers, identified with "living *elohim*". The addition of the word "living" in these instances is fitting: it makes a distinction between human beings who are obviously, and needless to say, "alive" and temple structures

⁵⁹ In this case Newsom is forced to admit the meaning can only be "spiritual substance" (*DJD* 11:364). Compare 4Q403 1 i 39-40 where the phrase "זמרו לאלהים" must mean "Sing praises to the mighty God with the choicest *spiritual* portion", with רוח having the sense of spiritual, rather than a material, sacrifice, (Newsom, 1985, 220; *DJD* 11:275).

⁶⁰ Those instances where we encounter "spirits of the Holy of Holies" (4Q403 1 ii 7; 4Q405 6 5; 4Q405 19 2; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10) are best taken, then to refer to the animate structures of the innermost sanctuary. In 4Q405 19 2 they are associated with the "floor" and in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 10 with the *hashmal* coming from the Glory upon the throne.

⁶¹ Noteworthy also is the expression "with a spirit of quietness" (ברוח רממות) in 4Q405 18 3.

⁶² See 4Q403 1 i 44; 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 11; 4Q405 14-15 i 5-6.

which are, *apparently* inanimate and "dead": for the sectarians the architecture of the earthly temple, because it is actually *heavenly*, is composed of "spirits, *living* gods". This, of course, is a reflection upon and development of OT temple theology and the tradition which placed angelic figures upon the walls of the sanctuary (Exod 26:1, 31; 1 Kgs 6:29, 32, 35).⁶³

We never find "spirits" in apposition to "*elohim*", "*elim*", or any of the other expressions for the human worshippers. There *are* instances where a casual reading and Newsom's translation might lead one to blur this important distinction. For example, in 4Q405 19 3 we hear of "רוח אלהים". This means, however, "spirits of eternal gods" not "spirits, eternal gods".⁶⁴ In several instances Newsom translates the expression רוח אלהים as either "god-like spirits" (4Q403 1 i 46 = 4Q404 5 5)—"god-like beings" being her normal translation of אלהים where it does not obviously refer to God himself— or as "divine spirits" (4Q403 1 ii 8, 9).⁶⁵ Though not so tendentious an interpretation as the translation "spirits, (i.e.) *elohim*", this translation allows a merging of the two, very different categories of being and should probably, therefore, be resisted.

Of utmost importance in disentangling the *Songs'* actual liturgical function is the fact that *the "spirits" and the features of the heavenly world with which they are associated are nowhere called upon to praise God.* Descriptions of the temple structures are always in the indicative not the imperative mood. There is one passage (4Q403 1 i 41 46), in the seventh song, where Newsom thinks the spirits of God are called upon to praise, however, as we shall see below, this is an improbable reading of the text.

Whilst the "spirits" are always defined by that part of the heavenly world which they animate the *elohim* and *elim* have a relatively independent existence and are defined purely by the fact that they belong to God and possess his character ("His Glory", and so on). It is also noteworthy that overtly anthropomorphic language that is

⁶³ For the conscious, animate, identity of the walls of the Jerusalem sanctuary see, e.g., *Proto. Jac.* 24:3.

⁶⁴ The "spirits of eternal gods" of line 3 of this fragment need not be identical to the "spirits of knowledge of truth and righteousness in the holy of holies, the images of living god-like beings, images of luminous spirits" in lines 4–5. In her introduction to this fragment Newsom notes that the "construction of the sentences and the interpretation of them [which she offers] is quite tentative" (*DJD* 11:340).

⁶⁵ *DJD* 11:272, 298, 282.

used of the "priests", "ministers", "elohim", "angels of Glory" and their like ("camps", "service", "lips of praise", etc. . .) is never used of the "spirits". In 4Q403 I i 34 we are told that "at the utterance of His [i.e. God's] lips all the eternal spirits (come into being)". This is an unremarkable statement of the way in which spiritual beings are created by God. But it is noteworthy that nowhere else is such a creation described for the *elohim*, the *elim*, the priests and those who, on other grounds, appear as much human as heavenly.

We shall see in our discussion in the next few chapters just how clear the differentiation of spirits from other actors is in specific songs. Of course, in theory this difference of character and roles could be explained on the assumption that different classes of angels are assumed; "spirits" and "living *elohim*" versus "*elim*", "*elohim*", "angels of Glory" *et al.* But it is equally likely that the differentiation reflects the boundary line between human and suprahuman beings.

(b) *Suprahuman "Holy Angels (שְׂדֵדִים מְלֵאכִי)"*

The second category of heavenly being which we can, at the outset, identify as angelic in the entirely suprahuman sense are the "holy angels (שְׂדֵדִים מְלֵאכִי)". This Hebrew expression, and its Greek equivalent (οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἅγιοι), is always used to refer angels who are clearly not human.⁶⁶ And so we can be reasonably confident that that is the way it will be used in the *Shirot*. Indeed, this is exactly what we find when we closely examine the text.

⁶⁶ See, for example, CD 15:17; IQH^a 9:11 [1:11]; IQM 7:7; 10:11; 11Q14 I ii 6, 15 = 4Q285 I ii 3, 9; Tobit 11:14; Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* 35:2; *I Enoch* 100:5.

THE SECOND TO THE TWELFTH OF THE
SABBATH SONGS

We are now in a position to re-examine the main body of the Angelic Liturgy. This chapter is devoted to the second through twelfth *Songs*. Because of its climactic position and the complex set of issues it raises the XIIIth Song is left to the following chapter.

The Second Song

Besides several highly broken fragments the only sizeable portion of text which can be assigned to the second *Sabbath Song* within any probability is 4Q400 2 (which has a partial overlap with 4Q401 14).¹ This, it is normally thought, is the only portion of the *Songs* where the human worshippers are directly in view:

¹ To praise Your Glory wondrously among the *elim* of knowledge (בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת) and the praiseworthiness of Your kingship among the holiest of the h[oly ones . . .] (בְּקִדְוֵי קַדְוִישִׁים) ² they are glorious ones (or "honoured") amongst all the camps of *elohim* and feared by the foundations of men, ³ a wo[nder . . .] from/above the *elohim* and men. And they declare His royal splendour according to their knowledge and exalt (חֲרוֹמָה) [. . . ⁴ the heavens of His realm and in all the highest heights wondrous psalms according to all [. . . ⁵ the glory of the King of *elohim* they declare in the dwellings of their station. (*vacat*) [. . . ⁶ How shall we be reckoned [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be reckoned) in their dwellings? And [our] ho[liness . . . ⁷ their holiness? What is the raised offering of our tongue of dust (חֲרוֹמָה לְשׁוֹן עֲפָרָה) (compared) with the knowledge of the *el[im]*? . . . ⁹ . . .] our [jub]ilation, let us exalt (חֲרוֹמָה) the God of knowledge [. . .

¹ For the sake of simplicity the overlap is not indicated here, though it provides a confident restoration of the end of lines 1-2 of 4Q400. The other fragments which probably belong to the second *Song* are 4Q400 3 ii 8-10; 4Q400 4; 4Q400 5.

² Given the sense of מִסָּד elsewhere in QI, (e.g. 4Q184 I 4; 4Q370 I 4; 4Q511 10 12; 16 3) and in the *Shirot* (11Q17 col. VIII line 5) I do not think Newsom's "human councils" is warranted. The sense is also more likely to be one of fear (not reverence) before the divine judge.

This fragment is of considerable importance for the interpretation of the whole of the *Sabbath Songs*. For several reasons it is generally thought that this passage provides clear evidence for the strong dualistic understanding of the divine—human relationship which is assumed throughout the liturgy: (a) the declaration of unworthiness by the human worshippers in lines 6–7 is an unequivocal statement of an anthropology which contrasts human and divine (and therefore also angelic) ontologies. This must, therefore be, it is alleged, the anthropology assumed throughout the liturgy. (b) The “*elim* of knowledge”, the “holiest of the holy ones”, the “camps of the *elohim*” and the heavenly worshippers “in the dwellings of their stations” in lines 1–5 must be a (suprahuman) angelic priesthood “in the highest heights” with whom the human worshippers down below, with their “tongues of dust”, are contrasted.³

However, on both counts this is to misinterpret the text: nothing in this text suggests an absolute spatial dualism between the human and the angelic worshipping communities, and the human worshippers’ “prayer of humble *access*” is precisely *that*; a prayer for those who are seeking access to a realm and privileges which are not automatically theirs by right.

We have already seen in our discussion of the Qumran *Hodayot* in general, and *Glorification Hymn A* in particular, how at Qumran a radically pessimistic anthropology can coexist with a remarkably confident—and, to our minds, perhaps *arrogant*—belief in righteous humanity’s privileged position as a sharer in the divine nature.⁴ These two perspectives co-exist, not because the perspective of the latter is eschatological and the former historical, but because what a man is by nature is one thing and what he may become by the gracious power of God is quite another. In the liturgical context an affirmation of both is necessary: of the former as a matter of humility, of the latter in the context of praise and thanksgiving.

In 4Q400 2 itself there are already indications that though unworthy the human community are nevertheless embraced in the worship of heaven. Between the two paragraphs, lines 1–5a and 5b–8

³ Davila (2000, 102) appeals to this text in his rejection of any thoroughgoing form of the thesis offered here.

⁴ In the *Songs of the Sage* the angelomorphic anthropology of 4Q511 35 coexists with a self-deprecating perspective in 4Q511 30 4–6. See also this dialectic in 4Q392 frag.

(which are separated by a *vacat* in line 5), there is an antiphonal response of the human to the angelic praise. In line 3 the angelic beings "exalt (יְרַמְּמִין)". In line 8 the *maskil* invites the human community; "Let us exalt (נְרַמְּמֵה)". Although the context is broken the first line of the fragment may be a similar invitation for the human community "to praise [God's] Glory among the *elim* of knowledge . . . among the holiest of the *h/holy ones*". So, there is no worship in heaven above as a model for that on earth below here.

Rather, the existence of a genuine *Engelsgemeinschaft* here is confirmed by a couple of other circumstantial details. The worship of the human choir is an "exaltation offering (תְּרִיבָה)" (line 7).⁵ In the first place, this expression is significant because it clearly shows that the *Sabbath Songs* reflect the wider concern in QL to make a metaphorical use of human praise as though it were a physical sacrifice (IQS 9:4; 10:6, 14). Secondly, if we take seriously the upward movement of the root רָם then we have a human praise that entails exaltation, perhaps not just of God but, also, for the human worshippers themselves. The question could then be paraphrased: "how will our tongues of dust make an offering worthy of exaltation to the "highest heights" (cf. line 4)? The question is a rhetorical one because the lead chorister and his hearers know that by his power God has "raised up (תָּרַם) from (the realm of) flesh" (1QH^a 7:19-20 [15:16-17]) the glory of the righteous."⁶

We should also note the significance of the likely source of the phrase "camps of *elohim*" in line 2. This is probably derived from Genesis 32:2-3 where Jacob is met by the "angels of God" at a place he calls "the camp of *elohim*".⁷ Because both his own camp and that of the angels converge at this spot Jacob further names the place "Mahanaim", "Camps". These biblical verses provide a brief glimpse of an *Engelsgemeinschaft*; a theme which is then developed later in the chapter when Jacob wrestles with an angel during the night. In post-biblical tradition this wrestling is both a matter of his *worthiness* in the angelic hierarchy (*Prayer of Joseph*) and also the occasion for the realization of his own angelomorphic identity (*Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7; *Prayer of Joseph*).

⁵ Newsom's simpler translation "offering of our tongues" does not do justice to the relevance of the root רָם.

⁶ It is possible that the trope "exaltation offering of our tongue of dust" turns on the fact that dust hardly satisfies the OT requirements for a legitimate *terumah*.

⁷ Newsom *DJD* 11:189.

We should also reflect on the place of 4Q400 2 in the *Songs*' liturgical cycle. If Newsom's assignment of this fragment to the second *Song* is right then this is surely significant. We have a great deal of the later half of the liturgy and never again do we encounter a similar *Elendsbetrachtung*. Since the liturgy progresses ever more closely towards God's throne (in the XIIth *Song*) the absence of any other expression of human fear and trembling before the reality of the heavenly world is surely surprising. Unless, that is, the expression of the worshipper's inadequacy in the IIrd *Song* is entirely fitting for the beginning of the cycle. The absence of the human worshippers in this mood may simply then reflect the fact that they are henceforth absorbed into the ontology of the heavenly cult: they have not disappeared from any active role in the liturgy, but they no longer express the sense of inadequacy that their initial encounters with the angelic realm provoke.

So, in conclusion, appeal to 4Q400 2 cannot be made to support the view that there is no real *Engelsgemeinschaft* in the *Sabbath Songs* or that the liturgy presumes the impossibility of a divine/angelic identity for the human worshippers. It is true that lines 1-5 describe suprahuman angels, but nothing is particularly surprising about the way they do so.⁸ But we should notice that the worship of these angels is only described, it is not commanded. None of the language most naturally intends human worshippers and it is the praise of the human community that is described in sacrificial terms (a *terumah*), not that of the angels.

The Sixth Song

The extant contents of the IIIrd, IVth and Vth *Songs* is either non-existent (for the IIIrd), meagre or uncertain and need not, therefore, concern us.⁹ For the VIth *Song*, however, there is a considerable amount of text preserved.

⁸ For angels as "glorious ones" see (probably) 1QH^a 18:8; 2 *Enoch* 22:10.

⁹ For recent discussion of the one well preserved portion of the fifth *Song* (4Q402 4 + Mas 1k i 1-7) see Lange 1995, 171-86 and Davila 2000, 113-115.

The Introduction to the VIth Song

For the beginning of the VIth Song the Masada manuscript (Mask i 8--13) preserves the following:

⁹ For the *Maskil*] a song of the sixth Sabbath Sacrifice on the ninth of the [second] month ⁹ Praise, praise the G[od] of gods,¹⁰ O dwellers of the highest heights (יֹשְׁבֵי מְרוֹמֵי הַיָּמִים) ¹⁰ . . . most holy. And exalt His Glory (וְרִמְמוּ כְבוֹדוֹ) ¹¹ . . . kno[w]ledge of the eternal gods ¹² . . . [the elect ones of the height of heights (קְרוֹאֵי רוֹם הַיָּמִים) ¹³ . . .]with all holiness

The main body of the VIth Song is taken up with a highly formulaic collection of psalms and blessings by seven chief princes. For this there are four textual witnesses (Mask ii 1-26; 4Q403 I i 1-29; 4Q404 I-2; 4Q405 3 ii) and, given the consistency of structure along with the similarity to the liturgy of the VIIIth Song, a great deal of the two parts of this song can be reconstructed:¹¹

The Sixth Song, Part I: Psalms

Psalm of *exaltation* (רִמְמָה) by the tongue] (1) of the THIR[D] of the chief princes (הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לַנְּשִׂאֵי הַדָּשׁ);

an *exaltation* (רִמְמָה) <of His faithfulness to the King of angels with its seven wondrous *exaltations* (רִמְמָה);
he will exalt¹² the God of the *exalted* (רִמְמָה) angels seven times with seven words of wondrous *loftiness* (רִמְמָה פְּלֵאָה).

(2) Psalm of *praise* (שִׁבְחָה) by the tongue of the FOU[RTH]

to the *Warrior* (גִּבּוֹרָה) who is above all [*elohim*]
with its seven wondrous *powers* (גִּבּוֹרוֹת);
and he will *praise* (שִׁבְחָה) the God of (3) *power* (גִּבּוֹרוֹת) seven times with seven words of [wondrous] *prais[e]* (פְּלֵאָה).

[Psa]lm of [*th*]anksgiving (הַדְּוָרָה) by the tongue of the FIFTH
to the [k]in[g] of *Glory* (הַכְּבוֹד)

(4) with its seven wondrous *thanks[gi]vings* (הַדְּוָרָה);

¹⁰ Reconstruction based on the standard introductions to each Sabbath Song (cf. 4Q400 I i 1; 4Q403 I i 30; DJD 11:243).

¹¹ Line numbers in what follows are those of the most complete text, 4Q403 I i 1-29.

¹² "<...>" this is Newsom's schematic reconstruction of the third psalm, given that at this point 4Q403 I i 1 is haplographic (see DJD 11:251).

he will *give thanks* (יודה) to the *Glorified God* (לאֵל הַגִּבּוֹר) s[even times

with se[ven wo]rds of wondrous *thanksgivings* (הַדּוּחַ פְּלֵא).

[Psalm of] *rejoicing* (רִנָּן) (5) by the tongue of the SIXTH to [the] God of *goodness* (טוֹב)

with [its] seven [wondrous] songs of *joy* (רִנּוֹת);

[and] he will cry *joyously* (רִנָּן) to [the] Ki[ng of] *goodness* (טוֹב) seven times

with se[ven words of] wondrous *rejoicing* (רִנּוֹת פְּלֵא).

(6) Psalm of [*praisesong* (זמֶר) by the to]ngue of the SEVENTH of the [chief] prin[ces,] (הַשְּׁבִיעִי רוּשׁ לְנֹשֵׁאֵי אֵי)

a mighty *praisesong* (זמֶר) to [the Go]ld of *hol[iness]* (קִיְדִישׁ)

with [its] se[ven] (7) w[on]drous [*praisesongs* (זמֶר)].

And] he will sing praise [to] the Kin[g of *holi*]ness (קִיְדִישׁ)

seven times with [seven wo]rds of [wondrous] *praise[songs]* (זמֶר).

[Sev]en psa[alms of His *blessings*;

Seven (8) psalm[s of the *magnification* (גְּדֻלָּה)] of His righteousness;

Seven psalms of the] *exaltation* (רוֹם) of [His] kingdom;

[Seven] psalms of the *praise* (הַשְּׁבַח) of [His] Glory;

Se[ven] ps[alms of *thanksgiving* (הַדּוּחַ) for (9) His wonders];

Seven psalms of *re]joi*[cing] (רִנָּן) in His strength;

Seven[psalms of] *praise* (זמֶר) for His holiness.

The generations (דּוֹרוֹת)

The Sixth Song, Part II: Blessings

(10) The FIRST¹³ of the chi[ef] princes

[will bless] in the Name of the G[lo]ry of God [all the . . .

with seven] (11) [wondrous words;

he will bless all their councils] in [His holy] sanctuary

[with sev]en won[drous] w[or]ds;

and he will bless those who have know]ledge of eternal things.

[The SECOND (12) of the chief princes

will bless in the Name of His faithfulness all [their] sta[tions

with] se[ven wondrous wor]ds;

and he will bless

with] seven [wondrous] words;

(13) [and he will bless all who exalt] the King

¹³ This word is restored by Newsom *DJD* 11:258 on the assumption that it has been omitted from 4Q403 by haplography.

with seven wo[rds of His ma]rvellous g[lor]y, all those who are eternally pure.

The THIRTD (14) among the chief princes
will bless in the Name of] His regal loftiness [all the lof]ty ones of
[know]ledge
with se[ven wo]rds of lof[t]iness;
and all [*the elim* of (?)] (15) *Vacat* (16) [His faithful kn]wo[ledge] he
will bless
with sev[er]en wondrous words;
and he will bless all those [appointed f]or righteousness
[with seven] wondrous [words].

[The FOURTH] (17) among the [chie]f pri[nces]
will bless in the Na[me] of the maje[sty of the Ki]ng a[ll] who wa[lk
in up]rightness with
se[ven wo]rds of majesty,
and he will bless those who establish [majesty]
with sev[er]en (18) wondrous] word[s];
and he will bless all the *elim* who draw near to His fa[ithful] knowledge
[with seve]n words of righteousness, to be for [His gl]or[ious]
compassion.

The FIFTH (19) among the [chie]f pri[nces]
will bless in the Name of His marvellous [majesty] a[ll] [who know
the mysteries of the pure . . .]
with seven w[ords] of [His] lofty (20) faithfulness;
[and he will bless] all who are eager for His good favour
with seven [wondrous words];
and he will b[le]ss] all who confess His majesty
with seven [wo]rds of majesty, (21) [to be for wondrous thanksgiving].

The SIXTH among the [chie]f pri[nces]
will bless in the Name of [mighty acts of] the *elim* all those with
powerful discernment (נְבוּרֵי שֵׁכֶל)
with seven (22) [wo]rds of His marvellous powers (נְבוּרוֹת פְּלֵאוֹ);
and he will bless all those whose way is perfect (כּוֹל חַמְטֵי דֶרֶךְ)
with [se]ven wondrous words, to be for a [con]tinual sacrifice for
all (23) [ages] to come;¹⁴
and he will bless all who wait for Him (כּוֹל חוֹכֵי לוֹ)
with seven wondrous word[s], for a [re]turn of His gracious
com[passion].

¹⁴ Alternatively, this could be translated "to be present continually with all who exist eternally" (*DJD* 11:265).

The sev[en]th among the chief princes (24)
 will bless in the Name of His holiness all the holy ones who establish
 know[ledge]
 with sev[en] words of [His] wondrous holiness;
 [and he will bless]all who exalt (25) His statutes
 with sev[en] wondrous [wor]ds, to be as strong shields;
 and he will bless all who are app[ointed] for]righteous[ness, who
 pr[aise] His glorious kingship []forever, (26)
 with seven [wondrous] wo[rds, for] eternal peace.

And all the [chief] princes [will bless togethe]r the G[od] of gods
 in [His holy Name with] all (27) [their] sevenfold a[pp]ointments.
 And] they will bless those appointed for righteousness and all His
 bles[sed] bles[sed] for e[ve]r[] (28) to them.
 Blessed be the Lord, the King of] all, above all blessing and
 pr[aise].

And He will bless all the holy] ones who bless [Him and declare
 Him right]eous (29) in the Name of His Glory.
 [And He will bl]ess all the everlasting blessed ones. (*vacat*)

What are we to make of all this? Who are the seven chief princes?
 And who do they bless in the second half of the Vth Song?¹⁵

The Psalms and Blessings of Seven Archangels and Their Minions?

There is no doubt in Newsom's mind that the seven chief princes
 are angels and she suggests the tradition of seven named archangels
 (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, *et al.*) is directly in view at this
 point.¹⁶

Newsom is less confident of an angelic identification of those blessed
 in the second half of the liturgy, though she prefers to think that
 these too are angels and not humans:

One might ask whether the blessings of the seven chief princes are
 addressed to angelic or human recipients. . . . Most of the phrases are
 ambiguous, but in view of the overwhelmingly angelological focus of
 the Shabbath Shirot, I am inclined to see them as referring to the
 angels who worship in the heavenly temple. Unfortunately, the one
 explicit reference to angels (. . . לַשָּׁמַיִם אֱלֹהִים) is a damaged reading. . . .
 The phrases which allude to the moral qualities of those blessed (c.g.,

¹⁵ The formulaic pattern of the seven-fold praise and blessings has been carefully
 studied by Newsom (1985, 197-208; *DJD* 11:261-263) and Nitzan (1994, 297-307).

¹⁶ 1985, 34; *DJD* 11:251, cf. Davila 2000, 120.

(לכול הזלבי יושר, לכול חמימי דרך) certainly need not be taken as referring to human worshippers. The Sabbath Shirot refers to statutes promulgated for the angels through which they attain to purity and holiness (4Q400 1 i 5, 15) and describes the angels as obedient (4Q405 23 i 10-11). It is possible, however, that just as the human community joins with the angels in the praise of God (4Q400 2 6-8) they are also considered to be recipients of the blessings of the chief princes along with the angelic worshippers.¹⁷

Of course the two questions are related: it is easier to imagine one group of angels blessing another group of angels (just as it is to have one group of humans (priests?) blessing another group of humans (people?)) than it is to imagine such a stylised litany of blessings uttered by angels for the well-being of mortals. (Though, in fact, it is hard to find precedent for the former (angels blessing angels) anywhere in the Jewish literature of the period). Newsom's view that here *only* angels are in view is fully in accord with her view that the *Sabbath Songs* throughout assume a dualism which separates angels and mortals. But is her judgement in respect of either the chief princes or those blessed warranted?

The Psalms and Blessings of the Human Worshippers

There are, by now, good reasons to doubt Newsom's interpretation because of its conceptual assumptions. And a detailed examination of the VIth Song leads to the conclusion that both the chief princes and those blessed are human beings.

(a) *Human Not Angelic Language*

Our first indication that human beings are *actively* involved in the VIth Song is provided by the introit. There it is "elect ones (קרויא)" who are set in the heavenly heights (Mask i 12). There is no parallel for the use of this epithet of angels. The word is used in a quite specific sense in the book of Numbers for leaders chosen by their people as their representatives (Num 1:16; 16:2; 26:9). The fact that these "elect ones" are told to *exalt* (רוּמַר, cf. Ps 99:5, 9) God's Glory fits best the *maskil's* summons to his fellow community members to praise.¹⁸ We have seen how already in 4Q400 2 8 the

¹⁷ Newsom 1985, 196; *DJD* 11:262.

¹⁸ Because the text is fragmentary it is conceivable that it is not the "elect ones"

maskil has exhorted his brothers to "exalt" the God of knowledge (נרוממה לאלוהי דעת). And in that earlier passage the human community join with the angels "in the highest heights" (4Q400 2 4); this is the same location for the worship of the VIth according to line 9 of *Maslk i* (cf. line 12).

Throughout the second part of the VIth song the language that is used is, as Newsom recognised (in the above quotation), most naturally taken to refer to human beings. This is clear not just from the emphasis on the moral qualities of those blessed; at several points the language is with difficulty read as descriptive of angels.

In the blessing of the sixth of the chief princes (4Q403 1 i 21-23) the language is overwhelmingly human in orientation. The chief prince is to bless "all those with powerful discernment . . . all those whose way is perfect (כול חמימי דרך)". We have already seen in chapter 8 that a reference to those whose way is perfect must refer to the Qumran community members.¹⁹ The second column of IQS provides a particularly helpful comparison to the blessing by the sixth chief prince:

... and the priests will bless all the men of God's lot, all those who walk perfect in all his ways (כול דרכיו) and they shall say: "May he bless you with everything good and may he protect you from everything bad. May he illuminate your heart with discernment of life (בשכל חיים) and grace you in the knowledge of eternity (בדעת עולמים) . . ." (1QS 2:1-3)²⁰

The sixth chief prince is also to bless "all who wait for Him (כול חוכי לו) . . . for a [re]turn of his gracious comp[assion] ([ר]חמי)" (line 23). This is at least an allusion to, if not a citation of, Isaiah 30:18:

Therefore the LORD waits to be gracious to you; therefore he will rise up to show *compassion* to you (לדחמכם). For the LORD is a God of justice; *blessed* ("אשר") are all those who wait for him (כול חוכי לו).

More generally, those who "wait (for God)" in the scriptures are those who wait for his salvation and eschatological appearance (Isa

(humans) but others (angels--the "dwellers of the highest height") who are called to worship, but the imperatival mood best suits those who whose title is a human one.

¹⁹ The point is conceded by Davila 2000, 121-22 though he does not carry through the implications of this concession for the interpretation of the rest of the passage.

²⁰ Those blessed in the Angelic Liturgy are also those who have "knowledge of eternal things (ידועי עולמים)" (line 11).

8:17; 64:3; Zeph 3:8; Ps 33:20; Dan 12:12, cf. Hab 2:3). It is hard to see how such a specific allusion to Isaiah 30:8 and these other texts can possibly have in view angels. Do the angels, who inhabit the eternal reality of the heavenly realm, need to wait for God's eschatological manifestation?

Similarly, those blessed in 4Q403 1 i 20 are "all who are eager for His good favour". For this there is no exact parallel but we can fruitfully compare 1QH^a 13:21-2 [5:21-2] where "those eager for righteousness" is clearly used of the righteous community members. In lines 17 and 24 of 4Q403 1 i we hear of "those who establish majesty (יִסְדוּ יְהוָה)" and "those who establish knowledge (יִסְדוּ דַעַת)". Where is such language ever used of the angels? It is most clearly reminiscent of the vocation of the Qumran community member who is "to establish a foundation of truth (לְיִסּוֹד מוֹסַד אֱמֻנָה) for Israel" (1QS 5:5, cf.²¹9:3).

All these considerations confirm the impression that those blessed are the Qumran community members themselves. What about the chief princes who do the blessing? Nothing in any part of the VIII Song demands that these be angels, rather than highly exalted mortals. In general the chief princes' blessing of the community fits with the considerable interest at Qumran in the priesthood's responsibility for the utterance of the Aaronic Blessing and its interpretation. Indeed, T. Gaster has suggested that the three part structure of each of the blessings is modelled on the three parts of Numbers 6:24-27.²¹ The fact that Numbers 6:27 says that by this blessing God puts his Name upon the children of Israel may then have inspired the formula "the Xth among the chief princes will bless *in the Name* . . .". A deliberate reflection upon the Aaronic blessing throughout the blessings cycle is then finally signalled in the closing words of the seventh prince ("for eternal peace (לְשִׁלוֹם עוֹלָמִים)") which echoes the last words of Numbers 6:26 ("and give you peace (וַיִּשֶׂם לָךְ שְׁלוֹם)").

Newsom is sceptical of this suggestion.²² But to our mind it is highly likely. The use of the Aaronic Blessing in the context of a liturgy for a transformed Qumran community is entirely in accord with the Blessing's use elsewhere in Qumran literature (see e.g. 4Q374

²¹ 1976, 285-6. For the Aaronic blessing reckoned to contain three blessing see m. *Tamid* 7:2.

²² *DJD* 11:263.

above). The phrase with which the blessings of the seven chief princes ends—"for eternal peace"—is the same phrase with which the expanded Aaronic Blessing of IQS 2:1-4 also ends. Now, if the second part of the Vth Song is inspired by the Aaronic Blessing, which was in any case a part of the transformed humanity tradition, then this suits best an identification of the seven chief princes with community leaders, not (suprahuman) angels. In Sirach 50:20 it is Aaron as liturgical co-creatrix, Wisdom's avatar and incarnate Glory who pronounces a blessing over the cultic congregation. He does so, as had Moses in Exodus 39:43, in his capacity as God's representative in the cultic microcosm. *Jubilees* too is interested in the priesthood's responsibility for blessing precisely at the point where the caste's angelomorphic identity is clearest (31:15: "the blessing of the LORD shall be in their mouth"). Although there is little in the way of explicit statement of the cult-as-microcosm idea in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (though see chapter 10, below), there is every reason to assume that its cycle of blessings are indebted to the older priestly tradition (exemplified by P and Ben Sira) where a self-consciously sacramental liturgical anthropology was assumed.

In 4Q403 1 i 21-22 the sixth chief prince is to bless "with seven words of His marvellous powers (בְּסִבְרוֹתָא פְּלִאוֹ)". Whilst the formulation is not found in the Hebrew Bible it was evidently well known at Qumran. According to CD 13:8 the *maskil* is to instruct the Many in God's "marvellous powers (בְּסִבְרוֹתָא פְּלִאוֹ)" and similar language is used elsewhere in QL of God's action in and through the redeemed (IQM 11:9; IQH^a 17:27 [9:27]). Where are the angels ever blessed with, or where do they ever act in the power of, such "marvellous powers"? The use of such language in IQM 11:9 and IQH^a 17:27 turns on the fact that God *paradoxically* works in and through weak human beings: *this* is "marvellous".

The reconstruction of the end of 4Q403 1 i line 9 and the beginning of line 10 is difficult. Newsom reads the *tauw* of the word חוֹלְדוֹת and plausibly makes this the subject of a final statement of blessing "the generations of the exalted chiefs will bless" (*DJD* 11:26). Davila has objected to this reading because "the word is out of place in the context Newsom proposes since angels are immortal and are not begotten in successive generations".²³ The reading is certainly

²³ 2000, 120.

problematic for Newsom's reconstruction and interpretation. But the word חלדורח cannot be so easily removed since it is clear in the overlapping portion of Maslk 1 ii (line 22). Rather than reject her reading we do better if we rethink Newsom's strictly angelological interpretation and, instead, add the very anthropomorphic "generations" to the list of items which indicates the chiefs are human beings.

Finally, we should reflect on the fact that there are *seven* chief princes. Although Newsom thinks this reflects a contemporary belief in seven archangels, such an angelology does not entirely accord with Qumran theology. Nowhere else in peculiarly sectarian literature is there a group of seven archangels. In IQM 9:14-16 there are only four archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Sarial and Raphael, cf. *1 Enoch* 9-10). It is true that the Qumran community's copy of the *Book of Watchers* may well have recorded a list of seven principal angels (*1 Enoch* 20, Eth. and Gk.),²⁴ and the Qumran community might have found warrant for this already in Ezekiel 9:1-2, but given the considerable interest in angels at Qumran their writings are *conspicuously* silent about seven archangels.²⁵

In conclusion, then, the *language* of the VIth Song points to human worship leaders praising God and blessing their fellow community members. But, of course, both leaders and their congregation are far more than mere mortal worshippers. Those blessed are "eternally pure" (4Q403 1 i 13). The leaders are highly exalted "chief princes", whose utterances—"seven words of wondrous loftiness" (4Q403 1 i 1, 14), "seven words of marvellous glory (4Q403 1 i 13)—befit their possession of a heavenly ontology.

There is only one point in the VIth Song were overtly angelic language is used of the participants. In 4Q403 1 i 18 it is possible that the fourth chief prince is to bless "all the *elīm* who draw near to His faithful knowledge". But the restoration of the אלהים (or אלהים) is not certain.²⁶ This, of course, throws open the possibility that *both*

²⁴ No Aramaic fragments of this chapter have survived.

²⁵ Even where, in the early Enoch tradition, seven archangels were accepted four were still given a distinct position in the hierarchy: in *1 Enoch* 37:2 we read: "and behold, there came from heaven beings who were like white men; and four came from that place, and three (others) with them."

²⁶ In line 26 all the chief princes are perhaps said to together bless those who are described as *elīm*. This reading is, however, less likely than that they are to bless "the God of gods". Newsom's restoration of "all [the *elīm* of] the knowledge" in lines 14-16 (line 15 *vacat*) is conjectural.

angels and men are blessed by the chief princes.²⁷ But we have also seen there are ample grounds for thinking the sectarians themselves could be addressed as *elim*. A confident judgement on the meaning of this damaged portion of the text is impossible.

(b) *The Genre of the VIth Song*

Whilst linguistic details favour a liturgy for human worshippers a similar conclusion is reached when we reflect on the *form* of the VIth Song. I know of no parallel for either an extended and highly formulaic blessing of angels by angels, or of humans by angels. (A blessing of angels by humans is briefly mentioned in Tobit 11:4, but this is not relevant for our text.) For a litany of inacrismis uttered by humans on humans there is already a precedent in Deuteronomy 27:12; 28:1-14; 31:9-13. The form is picked up in the beatitudes of the gospels (Matt 5:1-12; Luke 6:20-23) and, as the second column of IQS attests, it played an important part in the ceremonies for the renewal of the covenant at Qumran (cf. IQM 13:2-3).

What about the invitation to the seven chief princes to praise in the first part of the VIth Song? For this, J.D. Davila has now found a parallel in *Glorification Hymn A* where "[t]he speaker . . . (4Q427 7i:13b-23) exhorts the angels to praise God using terminology similar to that of the angels in Songs VI and VIII."²⁸ The overlap in language is, indeed, striking, but any appeal to the *Glorification Hymn* for a precedent to an extended summoning of the angels to praise at Qumran is unwarranted. Those Davila thinks are angels called to praise in 4Q427 are called the יְיָדִידִים ("the beloved ones") in 4Q427 7 i 13. But nothing requires that these be angels in the narrow sense. Given that the psalmist himself has earlier (4Q427 7 i 10 = 4Q431 1 6) been called a "beloved of the king (יְיָדִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ)" and that in the O'1 and in QL this term is always used of human beings (2 Sam 12:25; Deut 33:12; Jer 11:15; Pss 60:7; 108:7; 127:2; 4Q379 1 2 and Aramaic Levi 83 (of Levi); 4Q451 1 2; 4Q522 9 ii 8 (of one who dwells in the Temple)) the confidence with which Davila asserts an angelic reading of 4Q427 7 i 13-23 is puzzling.²⁹

²⁷ For the blessing by men of the angels see Tob 11:14.

²⁸ 2001, 117.

²⁹ Although the editor, E. Schuller, considers the angelic interpretation she prefers the view that in the *Glorification Hymn* "all the members of the *yahad* . . . are

The parallels with *Glorification Hymn A* are best taken as further evidence that we have in the *Sabbath Songs* praise offered by a transformed humanity.

Reflection on the experiential function of the VIth Song further supports this view. As a liturgy of human praise and blessing the VIth Song can be understood as a theurgic adjuration of divine presence: it contributes towards and sustains a transformation of human identity. Of course the blessings are intended to direct those blessed towards "eternal peace" (4Q403 1 i 26). But this peace is simply one manifestation of a reality which those worshipping inhabit. The Psalm of the fourth chief prince has "seven wondrous powers (נְבוֹרוֹת)" and as such is itself effective because it reflects the power of the one God, the warrior (נָבַר), whom the psalmist serves.³⁰ The psalms are said to be "psalms of magnification (גִּבּוֹר) of His righteousness" (4Q403 1 i 8) perhaps not just because they transitively magnify God's righteousness, but because they do so in and through the worshippers' own (self-)magnification. The sixth among the chief princes will bless "all who have powerful insight with seven [wo]rds of His wondrous power". The similarity of the language used here to phrascology in other Qumran texts already noted (1QM 11:9 and 1QH^a 17:27) suggests that the blessing intends the recipients of the blessing to receive the wondrous power of which it speaks. These blessings are truly performative speech-acts. And, of course, if the Aaronic Blessing is a subtext then the fact that by these blessings the community have put upon them God's own Name (and character) may be assumed.

In all this the seven-fold form of the praise and blessings is vital. Hereby there is not just symbolised the completeness which is the Jewish understanding of "peace", there is also a manifestation of God's own character and wholeness. We should perhaps also recall the statement in the opening *Sabbath Song* to the effect that the liturgical community will "grow in strength decree by decree for seven" (4Q400 1 i 9). The decrees in mind in that text are probably the regulations for a cosmologically faithful liturgy (IQS 10:6, 8); they are the laws of praise of God's Glory engraved on the heart (4Q511

summoned to praise" (DJJ 29:103). She rightly compares the frequent use of ἀγαπητός in the New Testament (Mark 1:11; 9:7; 12:6 of Jesus and frequently of his followers: Rom 1:7; 11:28; 12:19 etc. . .).

³⁰ I take it that תְּבוֹרוֹת is the antecedent of the fem. sing. suffix on פְּלִאָה. It is possible that it is the "tongue (לְשׁוֹן)" which has the seven wondrous powers. This would only reinforce my point.

63-4 ii 3). In which case they perhaps look forward, in part at least, to the VIth Song (and the Songs that follow) where carefully regulated praise and blessing strengthens the cultic community in its new heavenly identity.³¹

If there is any truth to this theurgic interpretation of the VIth Song then its experiential rationale obviously suits the transformed human rather than the angelic paradigm. The VIth is not so concerned to *effect* transformation for the first time and so the theurgic theme is by no means dominant. But this is because the human worshippers are already "eternally pure"; that identity and its epistemological ramifications simply needs to be *sustained* by an angelic liturgy.

(c) *The Sixth Song and the Essenes Living the Life of the Isles of the Blessed*

We saw in our fourth chapter that Josephus compares the Essene beliefs about the life of the righteous to the Greek myth of the Isles of the Blessed. And we argued that he does so in the context of an account of Essene anthropology which is, to all intents and purposes, an accurate record of the Essenes' weak dualism between the realm of the flesh and the realm of the angels which the righteous inhabit. The VIth of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* suggests that the comparison with the Isles of the Blessed myth was not merely the view of a Hellenized outsider.

The concluding benediction of the blessings of the VIth Song read:

²⁷ . . . they [i.e. the seven chief princes] will bless all those appointed for righteousness and all His blessed (יְכוֹל בְּרוּכִי)²⁸ . . . ²⁹ . . . And He [i.e. God] will bless all the holy ones who bless Him and declare Him righteous ²⁹ in the Name of his Glory. And He will bless all the everlasting blessed ones (לְכוֹל בְּרוּכִי עַד) (*vacat*). (4Q403 I i 27-29)

These are the very last words of the VIth Song. They describe those blessed as "everlasting blessed ones". The opening lines of the VIth Song placed these blessed ones in the heavenly heights and the larger liturgical context of the Angelic Liturgy puts them in an angelic

³¹ Compare also the angelomorphic priesthood of 4Q511 35 who are "seven times refined".

³² The *uaw* of בְּרוּכִי is uncertain, see DJD 11:260. Newsom (DJD 11:257) also reconstructs עוֹלָמִים בְּרוּכִי עוֹלָמִים ("bles[sed] for e[ve]r") as the last two words of line 27.

cultic world devoid of impurity populated by beings otherwise associated with Eden (*cherubim*). The second half of the VIth Song now sounds very much like a benediction which bestows upon the human community the Isles of the Blessed mythology.

There is no real biblical precedent for an identification of the righteous, the true Israel, with the blessed of the Isles of the Blessed topos. But a deliberate adoption of that myth by the Qumran community in their angelic liturgy would not be unique in the post-Biblical period. It is well known that the *History of the Rechabites* in which the Rechabites of Jeremiah 35 are made the Blessed Ones of the Isles of the Blessed contains a (probably) Jewish core.³³ In that text not only do the Rechabites inhabit the paradisaical island of Greco-Roman mythology far removed from civilisation, they are also "earthly angels" (7:10-11: ἄγγελοι ἐπίγειοι) whose encratite existence bears out their transformed state.³⁴ Post-biblical use of this topos by Jews was probably, in fact, widespread. Already in *I Enoch* 26:1 and 27:1 there are perhaps echoes of the myth in the description of Jerusalem at the Edenic centre of the earth as a "blessed, well-watered placed . . . completely full of trees". Then, again, it is probably called to mind in Book 3 of the *Sibylline Oracles*, from the second century B.C., where in lines 770-771 the eschatological kingdom of the Jews will be possible because God will open "the gates of the blessed and all the joys and immortal intellect and eternal cheer." Whether here the righteous are themselves Blessed Ones is not clear. That is clear in Book 1 of the *Sibylline Oracles* (late C1st B.C.-early C2nd A.D.)³⁵ where the children of Noah are called a "race of blessed ones (μακάρων γένος), happy men, to whom Sabaoth gave a noble mind" living a life free from toil and disease in a world bounteous with natural provision (296-306). The point is reiterated in the late first century Fifth Book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, in a passage which we have already discussed in chapter 3, where Israel is a "divine and heavenly race of blessed Jews (Ἰουδαίων μακάρων θεῖον γένος οὐράνιον), who live around the city of God in the middle of the earth" and who are "raised up even to the dark clouds" (249-251).³⁶

³³ See *OTP* 2:443-461 and Charlesworth 1986.

³⁴ See Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 199-204.

³⁵ See J.J. Collins *OTP* 1:331-332.

³⁶ Compare *Sib. Or.* 5:414 where Israel's eschatological redeemer is a "blessed man" from heaven. See also *T. Mos.* 10:8-9 "Then you will be blessed (tunc felix

These texts suggest that in the Hellenized world of late Second Temple Judaism Josephus' recourse to the Isles of the Blessed myth in explaining the beliefs of the Essenes was no new rhetorical device. Philo makes a similar, though briefer, comparison in his description of the Therapeutae: "such is their longing for the deathless and *blessed life* (τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ μακαρίας ζωῆς) that thinking their mortal life already ended they abandon their property . . ." (*De Vita Contemplativa* 13). We should no longer assume that Josephus and Philo make this comparison without direct warrant in the language which the Essenes (and the Therapeutae) themselves adopted. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* evince a liturgy of which the VIth Song is a self-conscious appropriation of the Isles of the Blessed mythology. In his account of the Therapeutae Philo is more historically accurate than Josephus when he says that the blessed life is sought and already attained by these Jews during their earthly life.³⁷

(d) *The Isles of the Blessed and the Use of the Sabbath Songs at Masada*

If Josephus' comparison of Essene anthropology with the Isles of the Blessed myth now appears with clearer historical focus so does his record of the famous speech delivered by Eleazar to those who took their last stand at Masada. Having once tried, to no avail, to convince his people to commit suicide Eleazar (the leader of the Sicarii), Josephus says, launched upon a second speech; "a higher flight of oratory *on the immortality of the soul* (περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας B.J. 7:340)". In substance Eleazar's speech opens with an anthropology identical to that he had earlier ascribed to the Essenes (B.J. 7:344-346):

(344) For it is death which gives liberty to the soul and permits it to depart to its own pure abode, there to be free from all calamity; but

cris), O Israel . . . and God will raise you to the heights, Yea, he will fix you firmly in the heaven of the stars, in the place of their habitations." Does Celsus' tirade against Judaism in Origen's *Contra Celsum* 5:2:41 (Stern 1980, 286) presume Jewish claims to fulfil the Isles of the Blessed myth: "Nor is at all likely that they are in favour with God and are loved any more than other folk, and that angels are sent to them alone, as though indeed they had been assigned some land of the blessed (μακάριον χώραν). For we see of what fate both they and their land were thought worthy"?

³⁷ The question of the relationship of the Essenes to the Therapeutae is, of course, a vexed one. I assume some close relationship and the likelihood that the liturgical anthropology reflected in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was shared among the Therapeutae, even if that text was not itself used (or known). As will be clear from the next chapter I assume that the Qumran community is Essene, and supremely so in its use of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body and tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead, *for association with what is mortal ill befits that which is divine.* (345) True, a soul (ψυχή), possesses great capacity, even while incarcerated in a body; for it makes the latter its organ of perception, invisibly swaying it and directing it onward in its actions beyond the range of mortal nature (θνητῆς φύσεως). (346) But it is not until, freed from the weight that drags it down to earth and clings about it, the soul is restored to its proper sphere, that it enjoys a *blessed strength* (μακαρίας ισχύος) and a power unhindered on every side, remaining, like God Himself, invisible to human eyes . . .

Despite the fact that Josephus claims a reliable witness in seven lone survivors (*B.J.* 7:399), the speech, or at least its argument, has often been judged a literary invention.³⁸ There is no doubt that this part of the speech is formulated in philosophical terms familiar to a Greek readership. But whatever we make of the speech's accuracy, either in whole³⁹ or in its parts, the essential substance of the anthropology Josephus puts on Eleazar's lips may accurately reflect the views of the historical Eleazar.

It would appear that those who committed suicide at Masada had been using the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The copy of the *Songs* found in one of the rooms of the casemate wall (Maslk) is one of several items discovered by archaeologists which points to the occupation of Masada by people associated closely with the Qumran community.³⁹ If this liturgy articulates the life of the righteous removed from the world of the flesh in heavenly communion with the angels then it is only a short step to the rationale for suicide that Eleazar takes. And there are now good grounds for thinking that it is precisely the kind of liturgical anthropology enshrined in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* which motivated suicide as the only last resort for those faced with torture, slavery and death at the hands of the Romans: if you are an angel only loosely attached to the realm of flesh then why hang around to suffer at the hands of your enemies?⁴⁰

³⁸ See Cohen 1982 for reasons to doubt the veracity of Josephus' account. For a basic acceptance of the historical likelihood of the suicide see Cotton and Geiger 1989, 7.

³⁹ See now Newsom 1999 for possible pieces of a Genesis Apocryphon (Maslm 1045-1350 7 1375), a Qumran-like Joshua Apocryphon (MasH 1039-211) and a tiny fragment on which the phrase מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאֱלֹהִים , otherwise distinctive of the book of *Jubilees*, is found (Maslj 1276-1786).

⁴⁰ The anthropology here is, of course, well on the way to that of second century gnosticism.

The Sixth Song: Conclusion

We can now, with considerable confidence, revise the established paradigm for the interpretation of the Vth Song. This song contains elaborate and highly formulaic praise offered by seven human priests followed by the blessing of the congregation by the same priests. These priests are called "chief princes" because they are highly exalted intermediaries whose representation of human praise to God and divine blessing to their fellow man takes place in the heavenly heights. The extant text simply records the *maskil's* directions as the choreographer of the liturgy.

The change in the chief princes' posture between the two halves of the Song is not insignificant for the development of the liturgical cycle as a whole. We should probably imagine a gathering of laity (or, at least, their representatives—the "elect ones (אֱלִיָּוִת)") and priesthood with the one separated from the other. Having praised God the priesthood turn to bless the congregation. In the latter series of the *Sabbath Songs'* weekly liturgy the focus moves gradually through the inner reaches of the sanctuary climaxing with a vision of God's throne and the high priesthood embodying the divine presence (see below). During this ritualised ascent the attention is focused upon the community's priesthood and the structures of the sanctuary conceived of as the heavenly realm. It is in the Vth Song, midway through the cycle that we find the wider membership of the community, the laity, given any prominence. They are, however, at this point only passive recipients of the active blessing spoken by others. But that that blessing is *directed* to them means they are, so to speak, centre stage. This song is one dedicated to the affirmation of the life of the whole community, "all the everlasting blessed ones". With the VIIth Song the attention turns away from the laity and the gaze is fixed more firmly upon the inner world of the heavenly temple.

The Seventh Song

In the VIth Song a clear social demarcation between priests and people is presumed. In the VIIth Song there is another clear demarcation and this time it is most likely a demarcation between human and suprahuman occupants of the heavenly realm; between the Qumran

community and the divine beings associated with the animate structures of the temple building (4Q403 I i 30-46).

(30) For the *maskil*. Song of the seventh Sabbath Sacrifice on the sixteenth of the month.

(הלל/רום) (i) Praise (הללו), O *elohim* of the exalted heights (אלוהי מרומים), O exalted ones (זרמים) among all the (31) *elim* of knowledge.

(קדש) (ii) Let the holiest of the *elohim* (קדושי אלוהים); or "the holy ones of God") magnify (or "sanctify") the King of Glory (יקדילו יקדישו) (or קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד) who sanctifies by His holiness all His holy ones (המקדיש בקודשו לכול קדושו).

(שבח) (iii) O chiefs of the praises (חשבחות) of (32) all the *elohim* praise (שבחו) the majestically [praiseworthy] God (לאלוהי חשבחות)

For (כ) in the splendour of praises (כהדרר חשבחות) is the Glory of His Kingship. In it is the praise (חשבחות) of all (33) the *elohim* together with the splendour of all [His] king[dom]

(רום) (iv) And] exalt (ו) (רומו) His exaltedness to exalted heaven (אלוהים נאלי) (רומו למרום), O *elohim* of the exalted *elim* (רום) and (exalt) His glorious divinity above (34) all the exalted heights (מעל לכול מרומי רום).

For (כ"א) H[e is God of gods] of all the chiefs of the exalted heights (ראשי מרומים) and King of king[s] of all the eternal councils. {In the favour of (35) His knowledge.} At the words of His mouth come into being a[ll]; at the utterance of His lips all eternal spirits, [in the fa]vour of His knowledge all His works (בעשיו) (36) in their undertakings.

(רנו) (v) Sing with joy (רנו), you who rejoice [with] rejoicing (מרנני) (ב) (רנו) among the wondrous *elohim*. And chant (והנו) His Glory with the tongue of all who chant (והנו) with knowledge; and (chant) His wonderful songs (דגות) of joy (37) with the mouth of all who chant (והנו) [of Him].

For (כ"א) He is] God of all who rejoice (מרנני) {with knowledge} forever and Judge in His power of all the spirits of understanding.

(ידה/הוד) (vi) (38) Make majestic (הודו), all majestic *elim* (אלי הוד), the K[in]g of majesty (למלך ההוד).

For (כ"א) His Glory do all the gods of knowledge confess (יודו), and all the spirits of righteousness confess (יודו) in His truth, (39) and they make their

knowledge acceptable by the judgements of His mouth and their confessions (רודיזים) (do they make acceptable) at the return of His powerful hand for judgements of recompense.

- (זמר/√) (vii) Sing praise (זמר) to the mighty God (40) with choicest spiritual portion (במנת ריח ריש), that there may be [a son]g (ל[מזמור]ר) (sung) with divine joy, and a celebration among all the holy ones, that there may be wondrous songs (לזמרות) (sung) in eter[nal] joy.

(41) With these (באלה) all the *f*oundations (?) of the hol[y] of holies praise (ידלל), the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abode, and all the corners of its structure. Sin[g praise] (זמר[ו]ר), (42) O *elo*him of de[scend]ing power, to the *God* of knowledge and light [in order to [exa]lt together the firmament of supreme purity for [His] holy sanctuary. (43) The spirits of *Go*d praise Hi[m] (ושבחהו) for confessio[ns⁴¹ for ever and e]ver of the chief exa[lt]ed firmament, all [its] b[eams] and its walls, a[ll] (44) its [for]m, the works of [its] struc]ture. The spir[it]s of holie[st] holiness, living *elohim* (אלוהימחיים), spir[it]s of [eter]nal holi[ness] above (45) all the hol[y] ones wonder, marvellous in majesty. And the *God* of *Gl*ory [is wondrous] with the most perfect light (אורחם) of kn[owledge] (46) [in all the wondrous sanctuaries; the spirits of *God* (are) round about the abode of the King of truth and righteousness. A]ll [its walls

There are probably three or four lines missing from the bottom of the first column of 4Q403 1, but there is a clear thematic continuity when the top of column ii picks up the VIIIth Song and takes it to its end (4Q403 1 ii 1-16):

1. perfect light (אורחם), the mingled colours of a spirit of holiest holiness[s] . . . 2. high places of knowledge. And at His footstool g[od] . . . 3. the appearance of the glorious structure for the chiefs of the dominions of spirit[s] . . . 4. His *Gl*ory. And in all their turnings the gates of [. . . 5. the moving of [spr]inklers of [glo]w[ing] coals of fire] to the chief of the *elohim* of [. . . 6. from between them run *elo*him like the appearance of coals of fire . . . 7. walking around, spirits of holiest

⁴¹ Newsom translates "in order to praise for ever and e]ver the firmament . . ." (*DJD* 11:272). I follow Davila (2000, 123-24) in preferring a translation which avoids the worship of something other than God here.

holiness [. . . 8. of holiest h[ol]iness, spirits of God, an et[ernal] vision [. . . 9. and spirits of God, shapes of flaming fire around [. . . 10. wondrous spirits and the chief exalted tabernacle, the glory of His kingdom, the inner shrine [. . . 11. and He sanctifies the seven exalted holy (places) and the voice of blessing is from the chiefs of His inner shrine [. . . 12. And the voice of blessing {is heard} is glorious in the hearing of the *elohim* (or "of God") and the councils of [. . . 13. blessing. And all the decorations of the inner shrine make haste with wondrous psalms in the inner s[hrine] . . . 14. of wonder, shrine to shrine (רביד לרביד) with the sound of holy multitudes. And all their decorations [. . . 15. And the chariots of His inner shrine give praise together (והללו יחד), and their *cherubim* and thei[r] *ophannim* bless wondrously [. . . 16. the chiefs of the divine structure. And they praise Him in the holy inner shrine. *Vacat.*

The VIIth Song begins (4Q403 1 i 30-40) with a seven-fold summons to praise, the structure of which we have tried to lay out in our translation. Although each of the seven parts of the *maskil's* summoning are not as formulaic and carefully structured as the call to praise and blessing of the VIth Song, a clear linguistic pattern is obvious, with each of the seven parts built around a verbal root (שכח, רם, רנן, etc. . .) and, in most cases, a subordinate clause (introduced by (כִּי) stating the grounds on which God is worthy of worship. Those called to praise in this section are evidently divine and heavenly beings: *elohim*, exalted ones, *elim*. All commentators hitherto have assumed they are suprahuman heavenly beings. Is this consensus secure?

In the wake of our analysis of the *Sabbath Songs* thus far the assumption that those called to praise here are not human beings is hardly secure. Although dogmatism on either side is unwarranted, there are, on balance, good reasons for thinking that here too it is the transformed, deified community members who are called to worship:

1. The verbal mood is significant. Throughout this first section of the VIIth Song the verbs are in the imperative. Although, unlike the first part of the VIth Song there is no specific reference to a formula of praise to be uttered by those summonsed, the imperatival voice might suggest that human beings, who can actually respond to the call, are in view: a point which will be supported by no. 3 (below).

2. It is noteworthy that those called upon to praise are never said to be either "spirits", "living *elohim*", "*cherubim*", "*ophannim*", or even "holy angels" (an expression we know was at Qumran used of "angels"

in the usual sense of the word). Reference is made in this section to the *creation of "eternal spirits"* (line 35) and "spirits of righteousness" (line 38) and although the later are said, in the indicative, to confess God's truth, this order of being is not itself called upon to praise.

3. The full significance of both this latter and the first point is apparent when attention is paid to the movement from the first to the second part of the VIIth Song. After the seventh stanza of the seven-fold call to worship, line 41 clearly begins a new section; "With these . . ." In what follows a new class of heavenly being comes into view. Now it is the spirits and the living *elohim*, which are associated with the structures of the heavenly sanctuary and parts of the sanctuary itself ("the foundations", the "uplifting pillars"), which praise. Indeed, it is the *structures* of the sanctuary which are in view until the very end of the song by which time God's "footstool", the "gates", "coals of fire", "inner shrines" with their "decorations", the *cherubim* and the *ophannim* have all been painted into the picture of the worship offered by the animate structures of the sanctuary. And throughout this latter part of the VIIth Song (4Q403 I i 41 2 ii 16) it is the *spirits* and the *living elohim* who dominate. Attention has shifted away from the "exalted ones", the "chiefs of praise" (line 31), the "*elohim*" (as opposed to the "*living elohim*") and "*elin*" of the opening section of the song.

That two different classes of heavenly being are in view in the different parts of the song is clearly stated, then, by the words with which the second class are introduced: "with these . . ." (line 41). The worship of heaven is here the responsibility of two clearly different groups who *do* join *together* (תתן, line 42) in praise, but who do not lose their separate identities in doing so.¹²

That the two groups are quite different will then also explain the fact that in the first part the imperative dominates whilst in the second it is the indicative: the worship of the spirits, the living *elohim*, and the rest, is only described, it is not commanded. This distinction between two moods appropriate to two different orders of heavenly

¹² The first call to praise in 4Q403 I i 30-31 perhaps already anticipates the *Engelsgemeinschaft* which is to follow: "Praise . . . O exalted ones among all the *elin* of knowledge", the latter category embracing both classes of worshipper (transformed human and angelic spirits).

membership has not been clearly seen before.⁴³ Indeed, Newsom's reconstruction of the damaged text and translation blurs the boundary between the different participants in the liturgy at the crucial part of the text. Newsom reconstructs and translates 4Q403 1 i 41–43 as follows:⁴⁴

41. באלה יהללו כול יסודי קודש קודשים עמודי משא לזכור רום רומים
 וכול פנוח מכניחו זמ[רן]
 42. אלון[הים] נורא כותן כול רוחי דעה ואור [ל]מש[א] יחד רקיע [זו] פזור
 פזורים למקדש קודש[ן]
 43. [ושבחה]ו רוחי אלוה[ים] [להוד]וח עולמי [ע]ולמים רקיע ריש מרו[ם]ים
 כול ק[ו]רוחו וקירותיו כ[ו]ל

41. With these let all the [foundations of the holy] of holies praise, the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abide, and all the corners of its structure. Sin[g] praise]

42. to*Go[d who is dr]eadful in power[, all you spirits of knowledge and light]in order to [exa]lt together the splendidly shining firmament of [His] holy sanctuary.

43. [Give praise to H]im, O god-[like] spirits, in order to pr[aise] for ever and e[ver] the firmament of the upper[m]ost heaven, all [its] b[eams]and its walls, a[ll]

Newsom here makes several interpretative decisions: first she decides that the יהללו of line 41 is a jussive. This is, of course, entirely possible given the way the jussive has been used in the first part of the VIth Song. Secondly, on the basis of this jussive reading in line 41 and the clearly imperative form at the end of line 41 (“זמ[רן]”), Newsom reconstructs in the lacuna at the beginning of line 43 another imperative (“ושבחה[ו]”) where, all things being equal, a straightforward indicative is just as likely. Thirdly, Newsom fills the large lacuna in line 42 with the words כול רוחי which means it is “*spirits* of knowledge” who are commanded to praise.

On several grounds this reconstruction, translation and the attendant interpretative judgements are unlikely.⁴⁵ In the first place this would be the only place in the whole of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* where *spirits* are the recipients of a command to worship.

⁴³ Though Newsom does see that the latter part (4Q403 1 ii 1–16) has a clearly indicative rather than an imperatival mood (*DJD* 11:270) the distinction is blurred for her reconstruction of the end of the first column of 4Q403 1.

⁴⁴ *DJD* 11:269, 272.

⁴⁵ Newsom's editorial judgements are followed by Nitzan 1994, 312; Vermes; *DSSSE* 2:818–819 and Davila 2000, 123–24.

Throughout the rest of the VIIth Song the worship of the spirits is simply described not commanded. Nothing requires a restoration of *spirits* of knowledge in line 42 and the verb in line 43 could be an indicative. In the context of the later part of the VIIth Song the *יהללו* is best taken as a straightforward indicative since that is how the verb is used in the closing lines of the Song (4Q403 1 ii line 15: *ויהללו*, line 16: *ויהללוהו*). These closing lines hereby echo the opening *command* to praise in 4Q403 1 i 30. But as *indicatives* they form an *inclusio* with the opening description of the praise offered by the structures of the heavenly sanctuary in line 41.

The one point in these lines where an imperative is likely should be carefully noted. At the end of line 42 Newsom, with good reason, restores *זמן*. If we have here a genuine imperative then it is significant that those commanded to praise, are not, in what can be reconstructed of the text's contents, the spirits or the physical structures. All that we know for certain (using 4Q403 1 i 42 with 4Q405 6 3 as the underlined overlap) is that the text reads:

זמן [אלון] גורא כוחן דעת ואור [למש] יהר רקיע (זו) סוחר סוחרים
למקדש קודשן]

If before *דעת* the lacuna did contain the designation of those called to praise then more likely than a reference to "*spirits* of knowledge" would be the *דעת אלי* of line 31. At any rate, the presence of an imperative at this point is fitting because, having moved in line 41 to the physical structures as the source of praise and before moving on in what follows to a detailed description of that praise, line 42 puts the worship of lines 30–40 *in unison* with that of the heavenly structures: the imperative is used in line 42, where lines 41 and 43 have an indicative, because the praise just commanded is not entirely left behind as the focus turns to the buildings and their spirits.

Whilst the reconstruction of the lacuna after the first three words of line 42 will remain conjectural, the lacuna might not anyway have contained a reference to those who are commanded to praise. Although Newsom takes *אלון* *הים* *גורא* *כוח* to be the direct object of the praise, for this we might have expected a *lamed* object maker (*לאלוהים*).⁴⁶ It

⁴⁶ Cf., e.g., *Masik* ii 17: "זמר עו לאלוה קודש" and 4Q403 1 i 39 (in our present context) where we have *זמר לאלוה עו* (cf. also 4Q403 1 i 32). The only possible expression of the direct object of praise without *ל* is 4Q400 1 i 30, but that, too, can be read otherwise (see Newsom *DJD* 11:179, 272).

is just as likely that the *elohim* are the subject of the verb: "O *elohim* of dreadful power, sing praise . . .".⁴⁷ In this case the lacuna may actually have contained a reference, not to those summonsed to praise, but the direct object of that praise: "Sin[g praise], O *elo[him]* of dr[e]adful power[, to the God of knowledge and light . . .".⁴⁸

In summary, a reading of what remains of the VIIth Song which is attentive both to the specificity of the language and its place in the linguistic patterns of the whole of the *Sabbath Songs* reveals a clear distinction between two orders of heavenly worshipper. One order is *called* to worship whilst the worship of the other is simply *described*. It might be that the VIIth Song has in view two different orders of angel (in the usual sense of the word); one order associated with the animate structures of the heavenly temple and one who are not. But if this is the case then why is the worship of one described and the other commanded? Though certainty is impossible, a marginally more plausible view would be that the "exalted ones", the "*elūm*" and the "*elohim*" of lines 30-40 are deified/angelomorphic humans for whom a carefully structured call to praise appropriately expects an active response, whilst the "spirits", the "living *elohim*" of the rest of the song are the spiritual aspect of the heavenly temple, for whom a call to praise is inappropriate.⁴⁹

4. Lastly, we should note that the sacrificial language of line 40 confirms the impression that human worship is in view. There the audience are exhorted to sing "with choicest spiritual portion (במנת רוח ריש)". We will return to the issue of angelic sacrifices in the next chapter's discussion of the XIIth Song. For now it should be noted that there are grave difficulties in imagining angels in heaven offering sacrificial portions. The language is essentially concrete and earthly and, as we saw in chapter 8, there is no real historical precedent for a heavenly sacrificial cult which is above and beyond that of the Temple on earth. We do know that the Qumran community were happy to speak metaphorically of their verbal praise in sacrificial terms (e.g. IQS 10:8: "on my tongue as a fruit of praise, the portion

⁴⁷ For the Qumran sectarian as a fearful god cf. 4Q511 35 6 and parallels.

⁴⁸ For the expression "God of knowledge" see 4Q400 2 8; 4Q402 4 12 and compare in particular 4Q405 23 ii 12 "[ו]ברכו לאלהי דעה". See also 4Q510 1 2; IQS 3:15; 1QH^a 9:26; 20:10 [1:26; 12:10].

⁴⁹ Nothing in lines 30-40 suggests the worshippers are priests, if they are humans then they are probably the laity (or the laity with the priesthood) who, having been blessed in the previous song, are now themselves released to praise.

(מנחה) of my lips", cf. CD 11:20-21; IQS 9:3-5) and we have already seen how this is applied to the human worshippers in the IInd Song. There is no warrant for the use of such language by suprahuman angels.

Whilst this reading of the VIIth Song is by no means necessary for the veracity of some of our other more confident interpretative judgements the possibility that it is correct leads to two other exegetical observations which may be of relevance to other parts of our study.

Human Praise as a Theurgic Adjuration of Divine Presence

The grounds given for worship in the third of the seven summons of the first part of the song (4Q403 I i 32b-33a) has proved difficult. It reads:

כִּי בַהֲדָר תִּשְׁבַּחֲתָם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ כִּה תִּשְׁבַּחֲתָם כֹּל אֱלֹהִים עִם הַדָּר כֹּל מַלְכֵי[וֹ]

Which we have translated:

For in the splendour of praises is the Glory of His Kingship. In it is the praise of all the *elohim* together with the splendour of all [His] king[dom]

Of this motivating כִּי clause Newsom writes:

In the Psalms such clauses generally recite the mighty acts of God in creation and/or in the salvation of Israel. Here, however, the language has become abstract almost to the point of incomprehensibility. To motivate the hearer to praise the author relies on the texture of the repeated words and sounds themselves.⁵⁰

It is true that the sense of the Hebrew is not altogether clear and the text may contain uncorrected scribal errors. However, rather than empty, but numinous, rhetoric I suggest that an important conceptual point is being made here. The theology is perhaps this: when the community worships the substantial presence, the Glory of God (viz. his "kingship") is made manifest. The first clause—"in the splendour of praises is the Glory of His Kingship"—is a claim that the worship life of the community makes manifest God's reality, since the "splendour of praises" is of the same character as the "splendour

⁵⁰ *DJD* 11:273. She then compares the "strangely vacuous sublimity and august repetitiousness" of the Hekhalot hymns.

of all His Kingship". The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is a *divine* liturgy not just because God is its mystical *object* or the *recipient* of its praises, but because when the worshipping community praise they themselves share in the nature of that which they praise.⁵¹

If this is what is meant then we have here a conceptual key to the whole of the *Sabbath Songs*: it is in worship that the boundary between heaven and earth is dissolved, the righteous are taken up into God's presence and God is brought down into the presence of the righteous. The fact that this means the righteous are now themselves heavenly beings who participate in his being is inevitable. This theurgic understanding of the *Sabbath Songs* would also, of course, then pick up what had been an implicit, but unspoken purpose of the VIth Song.

The second part of this כִּי clause—"in it is the praise of all the *elohim* together with the splendour of all [His] king[dom]"—can now be understood as another anticipation of the theme of the whole of the VIIth Song, which is the joining together of human persons and spiritual beings in the heavenly worship. If the antecedent of כִּי is God's "Kingship", then this second sentence says that in God's kingdom there is the praise of all the *elohim*, which is exemplified by the praise which is invited in 4Q403 I i 30-40, *along with* (עִם) the splendour of God's kingdom, which is present in the spiritual vitality and praise of the animate structures of the heavenly temple (4Q403 I i 41-4Q403 I ii 16).

The VIIth Song and the Qedushah

By way of an extended footnote to our discussion of the VIIth Song we should note an important feature of its opening lines which will be relevant for our discussion of the *War Scroll* in chapter 11.

Anna Maria Schwemer has pointed out that in 4Q403 I i 31 the second of the seven summons to praise contains a thinly veiled allusion to the song of the angels in Isaiah 6.⁵² There Isaiah sees the

⁵¹ This is the inverse of the psalmist's observation that those who worship idols become like them (Pss 115:8; 135:18). Newsom perhaps rightly compares the language of 1 Chr 29:25 (*DJD* 11:273). There, in a scene full of dramatic claims for Israel's king, God gives to Solomon the הוֹד מַלְאֲכֵיָהוּ. A closer linguistic and theological background is, of course, the priestly theology of cult exemplified by the work of Sirach.

⁵² 1991, 97-98.

LORD enthroned surrounded by *seraphim* singing "Holy, holy, holy (קדוש, קדוש, קדוש) is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his Glory." Their words would become a central part of the later synagogue service and the Christian eucharist. The second call to praise in the VIIIth Song is based on the root קדש, and it contains the word קדוש three times. It appears that, either out of reverence for the sanctity of the canonical form of angelic praise or to keep a reference to the Qedushah secret, the text has deliberately obscured the use of Isaiah 6:3 by writing not יקדשו "let them sanctify" but יקרילו and instead of בקדשו "who sanctifies" the meaningless בקדשו. What exactly such an allusion to the Qedushah means for the interpretation of the text is not obvious: it does not effect either way the question of the identity of those called upon to praise, since the proclaiming of the angelic song by the human community is well attested. But that there is a thinly veiled allusion her to Isaiah 6:3 is highly likely.⁵³

The Eighth Song

Besides several scraps which probably attest the VIIIth Song there are two sizeable portions of extant text (4Q403 1 ii 18-48 & 4Q405 13).⁵⁴ The second of these need not concern us: it is a doublet of the blessings of the angelic princes in the VIth Song (4Q403 1 i 17-23 = 4Q405 3 ii), the only significant difference between the two blessings being that the VIIIth Song is written for the deputy princes rather than the chief princes. Our arguments for a transformed human reading of the VIth Song obviously apply equally to the parallel portions of the VIIIth Song.

Besides this overlapping text the following portion of 4Q403 (1 ii 18-37) shows how the VIIIth Song, whilst similar in form, contained markedly independent content to that bequeathed by the VIth Song's praise of the chief princes.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. Falk 1998, 138-146 for a fuller examination and acceptance of Schwemer's suggestion.

⁵⁴ Other likely remains are 4Q405 10; 12; 64 + 67; 11Q17 col. iii (frags. 4a-c, 5 [previously frags. h, i, k, r]).

⁵⁵ The reconstruction of 4Q403 1 ii 18-37 is aided by significant overlaps with 4Q405 B-9, 11; 4Q404 6 and 11QShirShabb ii (frag. 3 [formerly frag. o]). Words in italics, in lines 27-29, are reconstructed on the basis of the formulaic pattern of the liturgy.

¹⁰ For the *maskil*, Song of the Sacrifice of the eighth Sabbath on the tw[enty]-third [of the second month. Praise (הלל) the God of all . . . all you] ¹⁹ eternally [holy ones] (כול קדושי עולמים), second among the priests of the inner sanctum (בכורתי קורב), the second council in the wonderful dwelling (סוד שני במעון פלא) among the seven[. . . among all who have knowledge of] ²⁰ eternal things. And exalt Him (ורוממה), O chiefs of princes (ראשי נשיאים) with His wondrous portion (במנה פלאי). Praise [the God of *elohim*, O seven priesthoods of his inner sanctum (כהונה קורב) . . . ²¹ exalted, seven wondrous borders (נבולי פלא) according to the statutes (כחוקות) of His sanctuaries {the chiefs of the princes of the [wondrous] pries[thoods} for the king[*dom*?]}²⁶ . . . ²² seven priest[hoods] in the wondrous sanctuary for the seven holy councils [. . . ²³ the prince, the angels of the King in the wonderful dwellings (מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא). And the knowledge of their understanding of seven[. . . ²⁴ chief from the priest of the inner sanctum (רש מכונה) (קורב). And the chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly (וראשי עדה המלך בקהל) [. . . ²⁵ and praises of exaltation for the King of Glory and magnification of the [G]od of . . . ²⁶ to the God of gods, King of purity. And the raised offering of their tongues (וחרומה לשניהם) [. . . ²⁷ seven mysteries of knowledge in the wondrous mystery of the seven [most] hol[y] precincts | *and the tongue of the first will grow strong sevenfold by means of the tongue of the one who is second to him. And the tongue of the one who is second with respect to him will grow strong* ²⁸ sevenfold from the one who is third with respect to [him. And the ton]gue of the thi[r]d will] grow strong sevenfo[ld from the one who is fourth with respect to him. And the tongue of the fourth will grow strong sevenfold by means of the tongue of the one who is fifth with respect to him. And the tongue of the fifth will grow strong sevenfold by means of the tongue of] ²⁹ the one who is sixth with respect to him. And the tongu[e of the sixth will grow strong sevenfold by means of the] to]ngue of the one who is seventh with respect to him. And with the tongue of the seventh it will grow strong . . . holy . . . sanctuary . . . ³⁰ and according to the sevenfold w[ords] . . . ³¹ in wondrous psalms with [won]drous wor[ds] . . . ³² wonder *vacat* [Psalm of] blessing by [the tongue of the first . . . ³³ wonder, and praise to the Lord of all the god[s] . . . ³⁴ chief of his wonders for great praise [. . . ³⁵ for those who cause knowledge to shine among all the gods of light (למאורי רעה ככול אלי אור) [. . . ³⁶ Psalm of] praise [by] the tongue of the four[th] . . . ³⁷ wonder. Ps[alm of thanksgiving by the] to]ngue of the fifth . . . ³⁸ thank[s]givings

Are those addressed by the *maskil* in the VIIIth Song angels or highly exalted humans? Unlike the last song, I think that here the answer

³⁶ Although a reference to Melchizedek may have been present at the end of this line, I think it unlikely, especially if by such a reference there is assumed a specific manifestation of a dualistic understanding of the heavenly cult.

is more straightforward: they are high exalted sectarians, in particular their priestly leadership. The reasons to be confident of this judgement are several:

1. Several expressions pick up the language used to describe participants in the liturgy in the 1st and the VIth Songs. Those addressed are "chiefs of princes (רֹאשֵׁי נְשִׂאִים)" (line 20): though not identical, the title recalls that of the נְשִׂאֵי רוּשׁ of the VIth Song. A couple of times we are told that the worshippers are "priests of the inner sanctum (כֹּהֲנֵי קֹדֶשׁ)" (lines 19, 24) which picks up the terminology of the 1st Song (4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19). Now since we have already decided in our discussion of those earlier songs that such language refers to exalted mortals we are inclined to do so here also. Indeed, our judgement in respect of those earlier passages is confirmed by the present context. In general the language of 4Q403 1 ii 18-37 suits best a human community of worshippers.⁵⁷

2. Where the last song had closed in the indicative mood with a lengthy description of the praise offered by the spirits and the living *etanim* of the heavenly sanctuary, now the mood is, once more, imperatival. The direct summons (esp. lines 18, 20) to worship would suggest human worshippers are addressed. What lines 27-29 envisage is not entirely clear. We are obviously back in the highly formulaic sphere of the liturgy of the VIth Song and the opening section of the VIIth Song. Lines 27-29 appear to envisage "a sequential joining of voices, each voice increasing the sound sevenfold".⁵⁸ This could be the harmonic chorus of the angels, but it is easier to imagine, I think, that here we encounter the technical terminology of a human worship.

3. In lines 20 and 26 we once again encounter sacrificial language: the chiefs of princes are to exalt God with "His wondrous portion (בְּמִנְהַ פְּלִיאָיו)" (cf. 4Q403 1 i 39-40) and give him "a raised offering (חֲדִימָה) of their tongues" (cf. 4Q400 2 7). This is best taken as a metaphorical interpretation of human praise, rather than as an utterly noumenal worship of the angels above.

4. In line 35 the praise is "for those who cause knowledge to shine (בְּאֹרֵי דַעַת) among all the *etanim* of light". In the light of our analysis of divine priesthood texts and the significance of the UT at Qumran

⁵⁷ With the "chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly" (line 24) compare the "chiefs of the fathers of the congregation" in IQM 2:7; 3:4; IQSa 1:16, 23, 25.

⁵⁸ Newsom *DJD* 11:289.

in our sixth and seven chapters this is surely another witness to a ubiquitous theme: the divine priesthood are called to illuminate, literally and/or metaphorically, creation and/or the rest of society. The angelomorphic priest of the Blessings Scroll is "to give light (למאור) [] for the world in knowledge (בדעה) and to illuminate (לחאר) the face of the many". He serves as an Angel of the Presence "in the abode of holiness (בבוען קודש)" and it is, similarly, "in the wonderful abode(s) (פלוא) (בבוען)" (lines 19, 23) that the worship of the VIIIth Song takes place.

5. Whilst there is, then, much which points to the human identity of the worshippers of the VIIIth Song there is nothing which seriously challenges such a reading. The most overtly transcendent language used of the worshippers is relatively reserved and, by now, does not seriously challenge anthropological acceptabilities. In lines 18-19 the *maskil* speaks to "all you eternally holy ones" (cf. lines 19-20 "all who have knowledge of eternal things"). As a reference to the human priesthood's immortality there is nothing extraordinary here. The reference to the "angels of the King" in line 23 need not mean the chief priests who are in view in the rest of the text. This could simply be a descriptive reference to those who accompany the human community of princes in their worship. But even if the priestly princes are themselves called "angels of the King" that would be entirely fitting given the purpose of the liturgy and its tradition-historical context.

So we can be fairly confident that in all that remains of the VIIIth Song it is the human worshippers, their praise and blessing that is described. The way in which this song introduces a second order of leadership and priesthood: "the second among the priests of the inner sanctum, the second council" (line 19)—is very well explained with cross reference to the division between twelve chief priests and twelve chief Levites in the opening columns of the *War Scroll* (1QM 2:1-3).

The Ninth Song

Relatively little remains of Song IX. Joining together two fragments of 4Q405 (14-15 i) with two fragments from the fourth column of 11QShirShabb produces the following probable portion of the ninth Song:⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The reconstruction of 11QShirShabb iv is now different to that offered for 11QShirShabb f-c-k in Newsom 1985, 378-379.

(11Q17 iv (frags. 6-8))

³ ... G]od of gods[...]construction of bri[cks ...]vestibules of the ent[rances ...]⁵ [to] their glorious [br]ickwork [...] brickwork of [... firm]ament ... ⁶ a wonderful [appear]ance as [...] of pur[ity ... mis]sions ... ⁷ with the splendour of prai[sces ...] in the likene[ss of ... prai]ses ⁸ of the *elohim* [...]praises

(4Q405 14-15 i (+ 11Q17 iv))

² ...]wondrous likeness, mos[t] holy spirit [... to]ngue of blessing and from the likeness of ³ ... a so]und of blessing for the King of those who exalt and their wondrous praise is for the God of gods [...] their many-coloured (רוקמות) [...] and they sing joyfully (רננו) ⁴ ...] the vestibules of their entrances, spirits of the most holy inner sanctum [...] eternal ⁵ [And the liken]ess of living *elohim* (אלוהים חיים) engraved in the vestibules (באלמ) of the entrances of the King, figures of a spirit of lights (אורים) ... K]ing, figures of glorious li[ght], spirits of ⁶ ... in] the midst of spirits of splendour (נדר) is a wondrous many-coloured work (מעשי רוקמת פלא), figures of living *elohim* (אלוהים חיים) [in the] glorious shrines, the structure of ⁷ mo]st holy [...] in the shrines of the King, figu[re]s of the *e[lo]him*, and from] the likeness of [...] of holiest holiness ⁸ ... liv]ing [*elohim*

Here we are back in the realm of the animate structures of the cultic buildings which dominated the latter portion of the VIIth Song. And here, not surprisingly, the same rules we discerned in Song VII apply. The principal characters are “spirits” and “living *elohim*” whose praise and activity is not summonsed, but simply described. Nowhere here is there specific mention of “priests” and we should note carefully the difference between the expression “*spirits* of the inner sanctum (רוח קרב)” in this text (line 4) and the frequent expression “*priests* of the inner sanctum (כוהני קרב)” in the very different contexts of Songs I and VIII. Nowhere here is there any mention of the offering of sacrifices and neither is the activity of the spirits and the living *elohim* described with the formulaic structure which characterises the praise of the heavenly priesthood in Songs VI, VII and VIII. So this portion of the IXth Song supports the view that the earlier Songs have throughout distinguished carefully between heavenly *persons*—human worshippers (priests and laity)—and heavenly *beings*—especially the spiritual divine aspects of the cultic structures.

We cannot rule out the possibility that other parts of the IXth Song *did* place the human worshippers in the foreground. 4Q405 17 is a small fragment which may belong to the end of Song IX:⁶⁰

⁶⁰ See here Davila 2000, 139 who notes that *DJD* 11:337 is misleading at this point since it suggests that 4Q405 17 belongs to the tenth song.

²...] wonders [... ³...]their [...]spirits of knowledge and understanding, truth ⁴...]purity, angels of glory (מלאכי כבוד) in the power of ⁵... won]ders, angels of beauty (מלאכי חפארות) and spirits of ⁶...]in the holy shrines, seats of

The text is too fragmentary to make any confident assessment of its meaning and liturgical function. We should simply note the possibility that here the "angels of Glory" and the "angels of beauty" are the human priesthood, given the possible derivation of such language from the tradition of angelomorphic priesthood which we have already traced through the Birth of Noah (1Q19 13 2), Sirach (45:8; 50); 4Q418 (frag. 81) back to Exodus 28:2, 40 where the garments of Aaron are made "for Glory and for beauty". If human priests are here described then, of course, these would be those who in the *Songs of the Sage* are called "angels of His Glory" (4Q511 35 4).

It remains for us to comment on the IXth Song's location within the hierarchy of sacred space which is assumed by the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The ninth song is focused on the "vestibule where the king enters". Newsom thinks that this is inspired by Ezekiel 44:3; 46:8 where there is a gate with a vestibule through which the prince, Israel's royal head, comes and goes from the sanctuary forecourts.⁶¹ However, for several reasons it is more likely that this is the vestibule of the inner sanctuary that is in mind. There is no mention in the extant portions of the IXth Song of any *gates* and the *Sabbath Songs* appear not to have any place for a peculiarly royal figure (whether a human king or an angel) who, as in Ezekiel's vision is set apart liturgically from the priesthood. The king in view in 4Q405 14-15 i is undoubtedly God himself, *the King*. That we have to do here with the *Ulam* of the inner sanctuary proper (1 Kgs 6:3; 7:6, 21; Ezek 8:16; 40:48; 41:25-26; 1 Chr 28:11; 2 Chr 3:4; 8:12; Joel 2:17) is supported by the fact that it is specifically *this* vestibule in biblical texts which is engraved with animate figures (Ezek 41:25-26), not any other. It is also possible that the "wondrous many-coloured work (מעשי רוקמה פלא)" (line 7 of 4Q405 14-15 i) is a phonetic adaptation of the Biblical מעשה רקם which is used to describe the weaving of the curtains of the door of the tent of meeting (Exod 26:36; 36:37). This may anticipate the description of the *paroket* veil which is the subject of the next song.⁶²

⁶¹ *DJD* 11:332-333.

⁶² See Newsom *DJD* 11:334.

As we shall see, if the IXth Song focuses on the sanctuary's inner vestibule then this has important implications for the movement of the liturgy through the latter half of its cycle.

The Tenth Song

Again, for the Xth Song very little survives. There is some overlap between 4Q405 15 ii-16 and 11Q17 v (frags. 9-12 [formerly b, k, m, j]), though the join is not clear:⁶³

(4Q405 15 ii-16 (+ 11Q17 v 2-6))

¹ fringed edge[... ² and rivers of fire (or "light") (וְנְהַרֵי אֵשׁ) [... ³ the appearance of flames of fire (שֶׁלֵּהֵבֵי אֵשׁ)]... b]cauty upon the veil (בַּפְּרוּכָה) of the shrine of the King [... ⁴ in the shrine of His presence, the many-colours (רַב־קַמָּוֹת) [] everything which is engraved (מִחֻקָּה) upon the [...] figures of [firing?] *elo[him]*... ⁵ glory from both of their sides[...] the veils of the wondrous shrines. And they bless [... ⁶ their sides; they declare [...] of wonder, inside the scorching heat,⁶⁴ the shrine[... ⁷...] wonder[...] to the King of glor[y] with a ringing cry (בְּקִלְקִל) [...] gods [...] and figures [...]

11QShirShabb v 7-10

⁷ the ap[pea]rance of[...] they will hear ⁸...] eternal thrones [...] ⁹ [...] their [f]igures are *cherubim* of ¹⁰...] foundations [...]

For our purposes, only two points of significance can be gleaned from what remains of this song. First, it provides further confirmation for our interpretation of the formal differences between different parts of the *Sabbath Songs*. Here nominal expressions are accompanied by indicative verbs (lines 6, 7 and 7) and it is the engraved figures of the inner sanctuary structure which are in view not the heavenly priesthood of earlier songs.

Secondly, the location of the *maskil's* attention is noteworthy. This song is taken up with the *paroket*, the veil (or, *one of* the veils) which hangs before the inner sanctuary of Israel's Temple. Anyone entering the sanctuary comes to the veil after the vestibule which has

⁶³ 4Q405 17, which we have treated under our discussion of the ninth song might belong here in the tenth.

⁶⁴ I follow Davila (2000, 139-40) here and read לִיקָרָה not לִיקָרָה as does Newsom (*DJD* 11:335). Of more immediate relevance than the references to יָקָרָה אֵשׁ in the Hekhalot Literature given by Davila (*3 Enoch* 15:1; 22:4; 26:12; 42:1, 6; 47:4) is Daniel 7:11.

been the subject of the previous song. That the focus here is very specifically upon the entrance to the inner sanctuary of the Temple is confirmed by the use of the *Pu'al* participle of *הקה* for the engravings in line 4. The clearest biblical precedent for the Hebrew here is 1 Kings 6:35 which describes the *cherubim*, palm trees and flowers carved on the door of the Temple.⁶⁵

The Eleventh Song

For the XIth Song we have one sizeable portion from its middle (4Q405 19 (a, b, c, d) + 11QShirShabb vi (frags. 12-15 [formerly frags. j, d, g, p]) and, in a damaged state, the last five lines of the 4Q405 copy (4Q405 20 ii-21-22 lines 1-5) assisted by some overlap from 11QShirShabb vii (frags. 16-18 [formerly frags. 3, 4, a]).⁶⁶ These two sections can be laid out as follows:

(4Q405 19 (+ 11Q17 vi))

² And the figures of the *elohim* praise Him, the m[ost holy] spirits [. . . figures of] glory, the floor (מדרס) ³ of the wondrous shrines; spirits of eternal *elim*, all [. . . of the *de*]bir of the King. The workmanship of the sp[irit]s of the wondrous firmament ⁴ purely salted (מנאלה מורר), [sp]irit[s] of the knowledge of truth [and] righteousness in the holy of [hol]ies, [the im]ages of living *elohim* (אלוהים חיים), images of spirits of ⁵ luminaries (רוחה מאירים). A[ll] their [workmanship] (is of) h[oly] wondrous mosaic, [spirits] of many colours (רוחי רוקמה), [fi]gures of the shapes of *elohim*, engraved ⁶ round about their [gl]orious brickwork, glorious images of the b[ri]ckwork of splendour and majes[ty]. [Living *elohim* (אלוהים חיים) (are) all (their construction ⁷ and the images of their figures (are) holy angels (מלאכי קודש). From underneath the wondrous s[hrines] a sound of quiet stillness (קול רממת שקט), *elohim* blessing ⁸ . . .] the King [praising continually (מהללים חמדי) all] (11Q17 vi 9-10 (+ 4Q405 19 9)) ⁹ *vacat* [*elohim* . . .] him in the second [. . . ¹⁰ . . .] wonders of splendour and ma[jesty]

11Q17 vii

² . . .] His presence[. . .] above the height of the throne[. . .]

(4Q405 20 ii-21-22 (+ 11Q17 vii))

¹ [They do not delay when they stand . . .] of all the priests of the inner sanctum (כוהני קודש) [. . . ² By sta[tute they] are steadfast (בן[ן]ב)

⁶⁵ *DJD* 11:336.

⁶⁶ 4Q405 18 perhaps also belongs in the eleventh song.

יִתְכַלְכְּלוּ in the ser[vice of . . .] a seat like His royal throne in [His glorious shrines. They do not sit . . .] ³ the *merkabot* of his Glory [. . .] holy *cherubim*, *ophannim* of light in the sh[rine .. spirits of *elohim* purity] ⁴ of holiness, the construction [its] corner[s . . .] dominions of seats of glory of *merkabot* wings of knowledge wondrous powers] ⁵ truth and etern[al] righteousness [. . .] the *merkabot* of His Glory when they go to [they do not turn to any they go straight] ⁶ *vacat* (the beginning of the XIth Song starts here)

In all but a couple of lines the focus here remains directed towards the spiritual aspect of the cultic structures: it is the “spirits”, the “living *elohim*”, the *cherubim* and *ophannim* associated with God’s chariot-thrones who stand centre stage. The liturgical drama has now, it seems moved, inside the veil and the numinous power of the brickwork of the floor (cf. Exod 24:10), the “treading place (מִדְרָס)” of God’s feet in the holy of holies (line 4 of 4Q405 19) absorbs the worshippers’ attention.⁶⁷ If one takes the מְאֹרִים of רְחוֹם מְאֹרִים as reference to heavenly bodies (“spirits of the luminaries”)—the sun, moon and stars—then there is perhaps here the idea, which was a well-established feature of the architectural language of ancient temples, that the ceiling of the heavenly temple is decorated with the heavenly bodies. In *1 Enoch* 14:11 and 17 the ceiling of the heavenly temple is “like the path of the stars and the lightnings”.

In the first portion of the XIth Song there are no priests and nothing suggests the presence of transformed humans. In line 7 there is the expression “holy angels (מְלַאכֵי קֹדֶשׁ)” which everywhere else in QL is reserved for specifically suprahuman angels. In line 2 we hear of *elohim* who are not specifically “living *elohim*”. But, clearly, these cannot be identified with human *elohim* since in the appositive phrase which follows they are identified as “most holy spirits” and the fact that they are “figures (בְּדִנִי)” associates them with the physical temple ornamentation. Although, grammatically, the verb of line 2 could be either imperative or indicative, nothing supports the former and everything points to the latter. The paradoxical blessing of a “sound of quiet stillness” (line 7, cf. *1 Kgs* 19:12) would suit very well the “imagined” reality of the animated throne room, rather than the *real* presence of human worshippers.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ For the role of the ice paved floor of the heavenly palace in the mystical tradition and its likely relevance for this part of the *Sabbath Songs* see Davila 2000, 144.

⁶⁸ Comparison with *Aristeas* 92, 95 (Davila 2000, 145) is not strictly relevant, since

In the closing lines of this song those whom we have otherwise identified as human priests, the "priests of the inner sanctum" (4Q405 20 ii-21-22 lines 1-2), *do* appear and the language in the immediate context otherwise echoes that of the 1st Song, where the charter for the human priesthood was laid out.⁶⁹ But nothing suggests the distinction between these priests, their service and that of the spirits and living *elohim* is blurred at this point. The latter have, as we would expect, a perpetual service (11Q17 vi 8 = 4Q405 19 8), whilst it is perhaps the former who enter the eternal sphere of that perpetual worship "when they take their stand" (4Q405 20 ii-21-22 line 1).⁷⁰ The end of the song probably envisages the same community of heavenly persons and spiritual beings which guided the VIIth Song.

The language of seats and sitting in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 line 2 may have in mind a clear distinction between human and non-human heavenly worshippers. Unfortunately, the context is broken, but first line 2 appears to speak positively of "a seat like His royal throne" but it then denies certain actors the right to sit—"they do not sit". Do we have here simply an empty throne? Davila has noted that there are conflicting views in the Jewish mystical tradition regarding the right to sit in heaven, and has suggested that here the motif is used to give higher rank to angels who sit over those who do not.⁷¹ If such an idea is present it is likely that the ranking of worshippers reflects the distinction between humans and non-humans, since in general it is the former who are ever allowed to sit in heaven (e.g. Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* 68-89; *Eth. Enoch* 55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:29; *I Enoch* 108:12; Mark 14:62; Eph 2:6; Col 3:1-4; Rev 3:21; *Asc. Isa.* 9:24-26) and the latter who are not (*Gen. Rab.* 65:21). As we have seen, there are other texts in the Qumran Library where the righteous who ascend to the heavenly heights are privileged to sit in heaven.

although there the temple service in Jerusalem is conducted in silence, we are not told that the priests *blessed* with a *sound* of silence.

⁶⁹ For the phrase כחון יתכלכלו compare the several references to חקים in 4Q400 1 i 5, 9 and the use of the verb כלכל in 4Q400 1 i 14.

⁷⁰ Though it is possible that it is the spirits, the suprahuman angels, who are referred to in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 line 1a as "standing" (cf. *Ezck* 1:21).

⁷¹ 2000, 145-146.

The Twelfth Song

For the twelfth song the ravages of time have left us two sizeable pieces of the 4Q405 manuscript: the opening nine lines are in good condition (4Q405 20 ii-21-22 lines 6-14, with minor overlaps with 11QShirShabb vii 9-14) and there are fourteen lines of less well preserved text which probably came near the end of the song (4Q405 23 i). Ten partially preserved lines of the eighth column of 11QShirShabb probably belong before 4Q405 23 i, though no overlap is present. Because the opening passage and the latter two pose separate interpretation questions we shall examine them separately.

The opening nine lines of the XIIIth Song in 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 read:

⁶ (*vacat*) For the *ma[skil]*. Song of the Sacrifice of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath, [on the twenty-first of the third month. Praise (הללו) the God of ⁷ wo]ndrous [years] and exalt (ודגמוהו) Him according (כפ?) to the Glory (הכבוד). In the tabern[acle of the God of] knowledge the [*cheru*]bim(?) fall before Him; and they bl[es]s [וכ[ר]ו] as they lift themselves up. A sound of divine stillness (קיל דממח אלוהים) [. . .] and there is a tumult of jubilation (המון רנה) at the rising of their wings, a sound of divine stillness (קיל דממח אלוהים); blessing the structure of the throne of the *merkabah* (חבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים),⁷² from above the firmament of the *cherubim* ⁸ and the splendo[r] of the luminous firmament, they sing beneath the seat of His Glory (מושב כבודו) and when the *ophannim* move, the holy angels (נולאכי קודש) return. They go out from between ⁹ its glorious [h]ubs. Like the appearance of fire the spirits of the holy of holies round about, the appearance of streams of fire like *hashmal*, and there is a workmanship of ¹¹ [ra]diance in multi-coloured glory, wondrously dyed, purely salted. Spirits of living [e]lohim go about continually with the glory of the *merkabot* of ¹² wonder and a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement, and they praise (with) holiness as they return on their paths. When they rise, they rise wondrously; and when they settle (ובשכי) ¹³ they [stand] still. The sound of glad rejoicing falls silent, and there is a stillne[ss] of divine blessing in all the camps of the *elohim* (מהי אלוהים) and the sound of prais[es] ¹⁴ [. . .] from between all [th]eir divisions ([רנליה[ם])

⁷² Newson's translation of line 8: "... the image of the chariot throne", should not be allowed to mislead: the expression חבנית כסא מרכבה is more safely translated "the pattern/construction of the chariot throne" since to speak of the "image of the throne" in the context of a reworking of Ezekiel 1 might suggest its occupant, the *Kavod*, which is certainly *not* what is intended by this phrase. The חבנית here is best understood with reference to Exod 25:40 and 1 Chr 28:18.

on [their] side[s and] all their mustered troops rejoice (פקודיהם)
each o[n]e in [his] station

After the opening call to praise with which all the *Sabbath Songs* begin (lines 6b-7a), these opening lines are taken up in a description of the activity and praise of the *merkabah*. Nothing suggests that this description refers directly, or even indirectly, to human beings: this is the chariot throne of God, whether physically represented or conjured up in the worshippers' imaginations. Once again it is the "spirits", "living *elohim*" and the "holy angels" whose activity is described. It is possible that the last couple of lines (13-14) introduce human worshippers ("camps of *elohim*", "their divisions", "all their mustered troops"), but, given the fragmentary nature of the text, we simply have no way of knowing whether these are angels or divine humans.

The Hebrew is difficult with the syntax of many phrases hard to construe. The attentive reader is at once alerted to the central theme by the striking use of the expression "the Glory (הכבוד)" in line 7 (cf. "seat of His Glory (מושב כבוד)" in line 9). The absolute use of Glory here reminds us of God's title in Enoch's ascent dream in the *Book of Watchers* ("Great Glory" *1 Enoch* 14:20, cf. 102:3; *T. Levi* 3:4). And on close inspection the passage emerges as a careful rewriting of Ezekiel's throne vision in Ezekiel 1.

The Twelfth Song's Vision of the Chariot and Kavod

From a quick perusal of Newsom's commentaries it is obvious that the opening section of the XIIth Song is heavily indebted to Ezekiel 1, particularly its latter verses.⁷³ The repeated expression "a sound of divine stillness (קול דממת אלהים)" (lines 7, 8, 13 cf. 12) has been introduced from the theophany of 1 Kings 19:12 and the interest in the movement of the chariot, the wings of the *cherubim* and *ophanim* is, no doubt, derived from a close reading of Ezekiel 1:1-28 with cross reference to Ezekiel 3:12-13; 10 and 43. Not all the exegetical intricacies of our passage need detain us. But the way in which the XIIth Song has interpreted Ezekiel 1:26-28 is of the utmost importance in understanding the *Songs'* theological anthropology.

⁷³ See commentary ad 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 lines 6-14, the useful table of biblical parallels in Newsom's 1985, 55-6 and her discussion of the exegetical use of Ezekiel in Newsom 1987, 19-29.

Lines 8-9

the structure of the throne (כסא) of the *merkabah* blessing from above the firmament (ממעל לרקיע) of the *cherubim* [and the splendo]ur of the luminous firmament (רקיע)...

are a reworking of Ezekiel 1:26a:

and above the firmament (ממעל לרקיע) over their heads what looked like a throne (כסא) of lapis lazuli.

There are slight modifications in language: the "expanse over *their* heads" has become the "expanse of the *cherubim*" with the author of the *Shirot* identifying the living creatures of Ezekiel 1 with the class of divine being who elsewhere form God's throne and the blue lapis lazuli has been replaced by a more general "splendour of the luminous expanse...".

Lines 10-11 read

... Like the appearance of fire (כמראה אש) the spirits of the holy of holies round about (סביב), the appearance of streams of fire like *hashmal* (כדמות השמל), and there is a workmanship of [ra]diance (מעשי [נ]ונה) in multi-coloured glory, wondrously dyed, purely salted, the spirits of living [e]lohim...

Here the "cluster of phrases כמראה אש, סביב, בדמות השמל suggests that these lines are an application of Ezekiel 1:27, the first part of the description of the visible Glory":²⁴

Upward from what appeared like the loins I saw something like *hashmal* (כעין השמל), something that looked like fire (כמראה אש) enclosed all around (סביב)...

Several important interpretative moves are made through the use of the biblical intertextuality. The reference to "streams of fire" has been introduced from a tradition to which Daniel 7:10, *I Enoch* 14:19 and the previous week's song (4Q405 15 ii-16 2-3) all bear witness. More importantly, the XIIth Song has identified the *hashmal* and fire with "*spirits* (of the holy of holies)" (or, perhaps "most holy spirits"). For Newsom this means that to some extent "the appearance of the Glory of God is *not directly* described but is experienced as a multitude of angelic spirits who appear to surround and move

²⁴ Newsom *DJD* 11:352.

with the chariot throne."⁷⁵ On the other hand, Newsom compares what she thinks is a similar process at *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 where the *Sanctus* of Isaiah 6:3

Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his Glory.

has been interpreted so that the Glory is equated with "spirits":

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He fills the earth with *spirits*.⁷⁶

This comparison and its interpretive implications require further reflection. However, before we come to that we should briefly comment on what lines 10b–11 of 4Q405 20 ii–21–22 have done with the vision of the chariot and the Glory in Ezekiel 1. In Ezekiel 1:27b–28a we read:

and downward from what looked like the loins I saw something that looked like fire, and there was a radiance (קננ) all around.⁷⁷ Like the bow in the cloud on a rainy day, such was the appearance of the radiance (קננ) all around.

Lines 10b–11 of our DSS text are a description of the קננ which is the principle focus of the later part of Ezekiel 1:27b and 28a. As Christopher Rowland has pointed out the reference to the rainbow in the biblical text has been replaced and filled out with the words "glorious mingled colours, wondrously dyed", a quite natural mystical development of the more concrete "rainbow in the cloud on a rainy day".⁷⁷ And again this rainbow image, which is used of the Glory in Ezekiel, is apparently further identified with "the spirits of living *elohim*" in the continuation of line 11.

Broadly speaking I think Newsom's exegesis of this part of the twelfth song is right: the vision of the Glory is *not*, at least at this point, directly described. However, more must be said about the text's interaction with Ezekiel 1 and Newsom's comparison with *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 requires further reflection for us to define precisely the song's intention.

With the exception of Rowland commentators have not appreciated the conspicuous *absence* of any reuse of the anthropomorphic

⁷⁵ *DJD* 11:352, italics added.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ 1979, 143 n. 14, taken up by Newsom, 1985, 316–7 and *DJD* 11:352.

language in Ezekiel 1:26-8.⁷⁸ This song has deliberately excised any reference to the human image on the chariot: whilst working through the climactic verses of Ezekiel, Ezekiel 1:26b, which specifically refers to "something that seemed like a human form seated above the likeness of the throne", is neither included nor, apparently, reinterpreted. Again the reference to the "loins" or "waist" of the figure on the throne in Ezekiel 1:27 are deliberately passed over. Significant also, in this case, is the fact that the summary of Ezekiel 1:28b—"this was the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the LORD"—is also not included at this point in the XIIth Song despite the fact that the reference to "the Glory" in line 7 generates the expectation that what follows will include specifically that aspect of Ezekiel's vision.

In 4Q405 20 ii 21-22 the fire and the amber have both been recontextualised angelologically and, in so doing, have been given a more or less independent existence. Why is this? Newsom assumes that the exegesis of Ezekiel 1:26-8 is confined to this passage, the Glory is nowhere else in the *Shirot* given such direct attention, and so, we must conclude, this is the closest the visionary comes to God himself; at the last minute a reverential veil has been drawn across the anthropomorphism of the biblical text.

However, even before we move on to see how the thirteenth song puts another, more radical, spin on the matter, a couple of words of caution to Newsom's interpretation must be voiced. Her comparison with *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 is important, though it actually points in another direction. In *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 the Glory is certainly given an angelological interpretation, but not for the reason that Newsom's comparison suggests. In *Ethiopic Enoch* 46:1 the *Similitudes* record an unwashedly anthropomorphic image of God: "I saw One to whom belongs the time before time. And his head was white like wool" (cf. Daniel 7:9). The *Similitudes* are not afraid to use anthropomorphic language. Drawing on the description of God as the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7 they paint a vivid picture of God alongside his principal plenipotentiary, the Son of Man figure.

The identification of the Glory of Isaiah 6:3 with spirits in *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 is motivated far more by a *via positiva* than a *via negativa*. In the larger context of the cosmological passages within the

⁷⁸ Rowland 1979, 143-44.

Similitudes, where the elements of nature are given animate, conscious personality and obedience to God's laws and "festivals" (41:6, cf. generally chs. 41, 43, 59–60), the reworking of the *Qedushah* in chapter 39 is best described as a kind of *panentheistic* affirmation of God's universal presence: the Glory of God is present throughout creation in his "spirits". The Glory is identified with the spirits to *extend* its presence, not to *veil* any enthroned and anthropomorphic Godhead. (A similar interpretation of Isaiah 6:3 is present in 1QM 12, as we shall see later). So Newson's comparison with *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 cannot support the supposition that a desire to avoid an anthropomorphic theology or visionary experience lies behind the angelological diffusion of the Glory in the XIIth Song.

Indeed, comparison with the *Similitudes* actually points in another very different direction. Whilst *Ethiopic Enoch* 39:12 deals with Isaiah 6:3, for a parallel to the *Sabbath Songs*' interpretation of Ezekiel 1:26–8 we are better informed by *Ethiopic Enoch* 46:1 where, after the description of the Ancient of Days, the text reads "and there was with him another individual, whose face was like the appearance of a human being". As the commentators note, the Ethiopic recalls Ezekiel 1:26 and seems to identify this figure (who is elsewhere in the parables described as Son of Man, Messiah and Elect One) with the anthropomorphic Glory of Ezekiel's vision.⁷⁹

In the *Similitudes* the Son of Man is identified with the (high) priest Enoch (esp. 71:14), which is entirely natural given the priestly contours to the "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7.⁸⁰ There is no such priestly figure in the twelfth of the *Sabbath Songs*. Yet, when we turn to the thirteenth song in the next chapter we will discover a similar bifurcation in the "Godhead" to that in the *Similitudes* (human figure the Son of Man—embodying the Glory) is adopted by the *Shivot*.

Material from the End of the Twelfth Song

The other extant portions of the XIIth Song are rather different. The first, (11QShirShabb viii (frags. 19–20 [formerly frags. 5, 6]) is only very partially preserved and need not concern us. The second, 4Q405 23 i, reads:

⁷⁹ E.g. Quispel 1980, 2; Black 1985, 206. This is consistent with his being given a throne of Glory in 51:3; 62:2, 5; 69:29.

⁸⁰ See Lacocque 1979, 124–25; Fletcher-Louis 1997a and Fletcher-Louis 2001a.

¹ . . .] th[eir] tasks [. . . ² . . .] when they stand (בַּעֲבוּרָם) [. . . ³ . . .] royal throne of Glory and all the assembly of the ministers (מִשְׁרָתָם) ⁴ . . .] wondrous. The *elohim* will not be shaken forever. ⁵ . . . in order that] they be steadfast (לִבָּם לִכְלֹם) in the tasks of all things; for the *elohim* of His crown (כְּלִילֹהוּ) ⁶ . . .] His crown (כְּלִילֹהוּ). The *elohim* praise Him (הִלְלוּהוּ) [. . .] their station, and all the s[pirits] of the firmame[n]t]s of ⁷ purity rejoice in His Glory (וַיִּגִּילוּ בְּכִבוֹדוֹ); and there is a sound of blessing from all its divisions (מִפְּלִיגוֹ) which tells of his glorious firmaments; and its gates praise (שִׁעֲרָיו) ⁸ with the sound of rejoicing. Whenever the *elim* of knowledge enter by the portals of glory and whenever the holy angels (מַלְאָכֵי קֹדֶשׁ) go out to their dominion (לְמַמְשֻׁלָּתָם) ⁹ the portals of entrance and the gates of exit make known the Glory of the King, all the spirits of God blessing and praising ¹⁰ at (their) going out and at (their) coming in by the gates of holiness. There is none among them who omits a law (חֻקִּים); and never against the words ¹¹ of the King do they set themselves. They do not run from the way or tarry away from His border (מִגְּבוּלוֹ). They do not exalt themselves above their (allotted) missions ¹² nor are [they] too lowly because he does n[ot] show mercy (לֵן אֵין רַחֲמִים) in the dominion (מִמְשֻׁלָּתָהּ) of the fury of His annihilat[ing] wrath; He does not judge those made repentant (מוֹשָׁבִים) by His glorious anger ¹³ The fearfulness of the King (מִרְאָה מֵלֶךְ) of *elohim* is fearsome (מִרְאָה) on all the *elohim* [. . .] to all His missions in his t[ru]e measure and they go

At a glance this too appears to describe the activity of suprahuman angels—the “spirits” and “holy angels” of previous songs. And, of course, this is the way the text has been universally taken. However, on close inspection there are good grounds for considering the possibility that here again the human community are brought alongside the suprahuman.

1. In the first instance, the language recalls that of the first song. The reference to “ministers (מִשְׁרָתָם)” in line 3 of the 4Q405 text picks up the language of 4Q400 1 i 4, 8 and 4Q511 frag. 35 4 and the verb כִּלְכַּל two lines later recalls 4Q400 1 i 14 (לֹא יִכְלְלוּ כֹּל),⁸¹ Elsewhere in the *Songs* these *ministers* have always been human priests.

2. In line 12 there is a description of God’s anger and his judgement. God is merciful to “those turned back by his glorious anger (מוֹשָׁבִים אַף בְּבוֹדוֹ)”. As Newsom has seen, the language here recalls that of other DSS where the *Qal* participle of שׁוּב is used to describe the penitent community members (e.g. 1QS 10:20–21).⁸² Here also

⁸¹ For the verb כִּלְכַּל see also 4Q402 4 6; 4Q405 18 2 and 20 ii 1.

⁸² See esp. 1QS 10:20–21 where there are several close linguistic and conceptual points of overlap with our passage (לֹא אִרְחָם, 1QS 10:20, cf. לֹא יִרְחָם 4Q405 23

in the *Sabbath Songs* these penitent must be the human righteous, not angels.⁸³

Now these two references to “ministers” and the “penitent” may mean that there is only a fleeting mention of the human participants in “*all the assembly* of those who serve” (line 3) whilst the rest of our passage is concerned with non-human divine beings. But on the other hand, there are good reasons to suspect that the *elohim* of 4Q405 23 i 4–6, 13 are also community members.

3. Line 4 says that the “*elohim* will not be shaken forever (בל ימושו לעולמים)”. The language of not being shaken (בל + מוט) is regularly used in the Hebrew Bible of the righteous, over against the unrighteous (see e.g. Pss 15:5; 16:8; 21:8; 30:7; Prov 10:30; 12:3, cf. Pss 62:3, 7; 112:6) and, indeed, this is the way the phrase is used elsewhere in QL (1QH^a 15:7 [7:7]). Newsom is not able to provide any example of the use of the expression, or one like it, to refer to suprahuman angels. It is just possible that it is here used of angels as an interpretation of those biblical passages where it describes the stability of creation (Ps 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; 1 Chr 16:30). However, this is unlikely since it is really an ill-suited expression for angels who, *it is assumed*, are not susceptible to any mortality or instability. However, it does suit very well a description of humans who have now become “divine” and therefore are guaranteed immutability.

Furthermore, this may then be another good example of the immutability-of-the-righteous-who-stand motif which we have suggested is present in the angelomorphic Moses text, 4Q377. The expression (in a broken context) “when they stand (בעומדת)” is used a couple of lines earlier (line 2) than the statement of unshakability in 4Q405 23 i 4 and, line 6, refers to the “standing position” or “station” of the *elohim*.

Newsom comments on lines 4–5 that the combination of בל ימושו לעולמים and the use of the verb כלכל in line 5 points to an intriguing intertextuality with to Ps 112:5b–6a:⁸⁴

׃

i 12; 1QS 10:21 מושרי דוד, cf. מושרי דוד 4Q405 23 i 11 and God's מושרי in close proximity to the reference to repentance in 1QS 10:20, cf. 4Q405 23 i 12). These parallels are particularly important given the possible similarity between 1QS 10:1–4 and 4Q405 23 i 7–10.

⁸³ Pace Davila 2000, 157.

⁸⁴ 1985, 326; *DJD* 11:357.

... he who conducts his affairs (יכלכל דבריו) in justice,
for he will never be shaken (לעולם לא יזיח)...

The verbal overlap is indeed close and would further support a deliberate reference to the human righteous given that the biblical psalm is a description of the life of the wise and righteous man. Verse 4 of this biblical Psalm further supports the suspicion that it is indeed specifically in mind in this passage from the *Sabbath Songs*.

Psalm 112:4a reads "גִּידָה בַחֲשֵׁךְ אֹרֶחַ לְיֹשְׁרִים" which means either that "he (the righteous man) rises in the darkness, a light for the upright" or that "light rises in the darkness for the upright". Not only does this light-darkness dualism suit very well the language of the Qumran community, it may also fit very specifically into the immediate context of the XIIth *Sabbath Song*. What follows (lines 7-11) describes the coming and the going out of the gates of the heavenly sanctuary of "the gods of knowledge" and the "holy angels", and their keeping of God's commandments, staying within his boundary as they run their courses. We are, therefore, in the world of temple cosmology which we discussed in chapter 7. The coming and going from the gates of the heavenly sanctuary should probably be related to the movement of the sun, moon, stars and other meteorological phenomena which is celebrated and sympathetically enacted by the Qumran community in the evening and the morning. The ambiguity of Ps 112:4a could very well have been taken by the community as a deliberate ambivalence; between the movement of the human priesthood in and out of the sanctuary and the synchronised movement of the heavenly bodies through their courses (cf. esp. Sirach 50:7).

4. In several of the passages which we examined in our discussion of the cosmological setting of the UT (chapter 7) we saw a particular significance attached to the high priesthood's headgear. In 4Q408 the turbans פִּאָרִי of God's Glory shine forth from God's sanctuary as the high priest comes out of the sanctuary at the morning (and evening) sacrifices which mark the boundary between the dominion of light and the dominion of darkness. This we compared to the view of Josephus (*Ant.* 3:186-7) that the high priest's headdress manifests "heaven" being made of blue, with its golden shining crown reflecting the splendour of God's own (solar) Glory. These themes are perhaps also present in 4Q405 23 i.

In lines 6 and 7 the expression כְּלִילֵהוּ appears twice. This could

be a reference to whole burnt offerings (Lev 6:15, 16; 1 Sam 7:9; Ps 51:21),⁸⁵ which would also suggest that we have here the activity of human priests not angels. However, it is more likely that there is a reference to a "crown", since this is the way the word is used in a several other Qumran texts. In 1QS 4:7 the eschatological reward for the sons of light is "a crown of glory (כליל כבוד) with a garment of majesty in eternal light" and in 1QH^a 17:25 the psalmist prays that God will turn "the scoffing of my rival in to a crown of glory (לכליל כבוד) for me and my weakness into everlasting strength". The sons of Zadok who are blessed by the *maskil* in 1QSB are to have (or "to be") such a crown (4:2-3). Lastly, in the New Jerusalem text (11Q18 14 ii) there is described a ceremony for the crowning of a high priest with seven crowns (כלילא). Although the cultic legislation in the Pentateuch does not use כליל of a priestly crown this was probably a well established linguistic convention by the second century B.C. In Sirach 45:8 Aaron is clothed with כליל הפארה which may mean "a crown of beauty" rather than "perfection of beauty". Certainly, the Septuagint of Ezekiel 28:12 has understood the statement that the primal priest-king was כליל פי to mean he was a "στέφανος κάλλους".

If the ministers and/or the *elohim* here wear a crown what implications would that have for their identity?⁸⁶ Newsom says that "crowns become a common part of angelic dress in apocalyptic and *merkabah* literature".⁸⁷ But she does not cite any specific texts. Davila adduces several instances of angelic crowns (Rev 4:4; *Apoc. Zeph A*; *T. Abr.* 13:13 short recension; *Zost.* NHC VIII, 1 58:13-24 and Hekhalot texts (e.g. *3 Enoch* 12:3; 18:3).⁸⁸ But on close examination this list should only really be reduced to the one clear example in *Apocalypse of Zephaniah A*. The others are either all much later in date (in the Nag Hammadi Codex and the Hekhalot corpus) or not clear parallels for the idea of *angels* wearing crowns. In Revelation 4:4 crowns are worn by the *elders* and it is far from clear that these elders are suprahuman angels rather than humans in their heavenly (post-mortem?) mode. In the *Testament of Abraham* passage it is *death* who

⁸⁵ So Newsom *DJD* 356, 358; Davila 2000, 154, 156.

⁸⁶ The expression "*elohim* of His crown" in line 6 might mean that crowns are not actually worn by the heavenly beings themselves.

⁸⁷ 1985, 326; *DJD* 11:358.

⁸⁸ 2000, 156.

takes from sinners and makes a crown of their sin. There is, to my knowledge, only one other Jewish text that is relevant here. That is the vision of the be-crowned heavenly man in *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:9.⁸⁹ Otherwise, in the immediate environment of the *Sabbath Songs* there is little evidence for a common view that angels wore crowns and Michael Mach has argued that the later development of the depiction of angels with crowns came about under Hellenistic, non-Jewish influence.⁹⁰

Whilst there is, then, very little support at the time when the *Sabbath Songs* were composed for the idea that angels would wear a crown there is much to suggest that this is the proper attire of the righteous, especially when they are in their heavenly mode. Besides the texts discussed in chapter 7 and the other uses of כָּלִיל in the DSS which we have just discussed, we should note the tradition in *Jubilees* 16:30 (cf. Tacitus *Histories* V.5) according to which Israelites wear crowns at the feast of Tabernacles. In Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* Moses is given God's crown during his heavenly enthronement (line 75). Then there is also the dramatic portrayal of the crowned Joseph in *Joseph and Aseneth* 5:5. Behind these examples there stands the figure of the turbaned high priest and the wider ancient Near Eastern sartorial conventions of kingship. On balance, then, a reference to crowns in 4Q405 23 i accords best the presence of heavenly humans not angels.

So, in conclusion, it is possible that 4Q405 23 i describes not just the activity of suprahuman angels coming and going from God's sanctuary, but also the human worshippers who are placed in this context. We have sketched in earlier chapters a temple cosmology in which a functional synchronicity and a spatial overlap between priests and heavenly temple personnel was worked out. Unfortunately our passage is too broken to be confident of its meaning but it must remain an open question whether and in what way human "ministers" were involved in this part of the XIIIth Song.

⁸⁹ The principal angel Iael wears a kidaris in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:3. The text is to be dated some time later (c. 100 A.D?) than the formative context of the *Sabbath Songs* and, in any case, this is a peculiar angel whose attire should probably not be taken as indicative of that regularly worn by angels. He is both the principal angelic manifestation of God himself and his kidaris is probably that of the Jewish high priest (cf. LXX Exod 28:4; Zech 3:5 etc. . .).

⁹⁰ 1992, 121 and see generally pp. 191-208.

SONG 13

The XIIIth Song is extant in one sizeable fragment from cave four (4Q405 23 ii) and two pieces of combined fragments from cave 11 (11QShirShabb ix (frags. 21a-b, 22 [formerly 8, unpublished fragment and 7]) and 11QShirShabb x (frags. 23-25 [formerly 1-2-9])). The first two fragments share a similar subject matter and probably belong close together (11Q17 ix):

³ . . . acceptable [offering]s (מנחות: ח רצון) [. . .] all th[eir] works ⁴ . . . for the sacrifices (לזבח) of the holy ones [. . .] the aroma of their offerings (ריח מנחותם) [. . .] ⁵ . . . their [. . .] and the aroma of their libations (ריח) (נסכיהם) for [. . .] of purity (הטהרה) in a spirit of holi[ness] ⁶ . . . eternity, with [splendour and] majesty (בהדר וְהדר) for [. . .] wonderful, and the structure of the breastpieces of (וּתְבִינָה חֲשֵׁנִי) ⁷ . . . beautiful [th]reads (פְּחִילֵי חֲפֹאֲרֹת) [. . .] multi-coloured like [woven] wo[r]k (רוֹקְמָה) (כַּמְנֵשׂ אֲוֵרָי) . . . purely blended (בְּמִזְלַח שִׁדְרָה), the colours of "splen[dour] [and] majesty (וְהדר) (הַדָּר) [. . .] shapes [. . .] ephod (אֶפֶד) ⁸ . . . angels [. . .] his [holi]ness

The subject matter here is two-fold: the sacrifices of the heavenly priesthood, variously described in lines 3-5, and the clothing of the high priesthood in lines 6-8. For the latter the language is drawn from Exodus 28 which describes the design of Aaron's breastpiece (חֶשֶׁן, Exod 28:15-30) and the use of blue cord, פַּחַל חֲבֵלָה (Exod 28:28), for tying the breastpiece to the ephod.² By now, we are not surprised to find all these are viewed as a manifestation of "splendour" and "majesty".

There is no explicit overlap between this fragment and those which belong to the XIIIth Song in 4Q405. However, it is highly likely that this material from 11Q17 col. ix came near the beginning of the XIIIth Song and immediately preceded the material preserved

¹ This lacuna is reconstructed with a high degree of probability given the parallel expressions in 4Q405 23 ii 7, 10.

² The פְּחִילֵי in line 7 (and the וְהדר in line 8) of a previously unpublished fragment (PAM 44.006) were only located at this point with the *DJD* critical edition (see Tigchelaar 1998, 177-78).

in 4Q405 23 ii which also focuses on the clothing of the high priesthood:

1 . . .] the beauty for the incisions of (חפארה לפחוח) [. . . 2 . . .] the King when they minister (בשרהם) be[fore . . . 3 King and He inscribed His Glory (נחרת כבוד) [. . . 4 holy, the sanctuary of all [. . . 5 their *ephodim* (אפודים); [they] will spread out (יפרושן) [. . . 6 holy ones, good favour (קרשים רצון) [. . .] spirits of the ho[ly ones . . . 7 Their holy places. (*vacat*) In their wonderful station (כמעמד פלאים) are spirits, many-coloured as work of a weaver (רוחה רוקמה כמעשי אורג), incisions of shapes (/stones) of splendour (פחוחי צורה הדר) 8 in the midst of Glory (בחוך כבוד) an appearance of scarlet, colours of the light of the spirit of the Holy of Holies (צבעי אור רוח קודש קדשים), those establishing their holy position (מדזקת מעמד קדשם) before 9 [the K]ing. The spirits of the colours of [purity] in the midst of the appearance of majesty (בחוך מראי הדר) and the likeness of the Spirit of Glory (ודמות רוח כבוד) as a work of precious gold shedding 10 [light (אור) (כמעשי אופידים מאירי)] (אור). And all their crafted things are purely salted (במולח טהור); the woven band as woven work. These are the Chiefs of those wonderfully dressed to minister (אלה ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת) [. . . 11 chiefs (ראשי) of the highest kingdom, holy ones (קרשים) for the King of holiness in all the heights of (מרומי) the sanctuaries of His kingdom of 12 Glory (כבוד) (*vacat*) In the chiefs of raised offerings (בראשי הרומות) (are) tongues of knowledge (לשוני דעת) [and] they bless the God of knowledge in all the works of His Glory (ברכו לאלוהי דעת בכל מעשי כבוד) 13 . . .] of their divisions in all the holy[. . .] His understanding knowledge and His [gl]orious wisdom [. . .

Again, here there is an obvious interest in the priestly attire. We hear of "their *ephodim*" in line 5. In line 3 the words "he inscribed his Glory" is perhaps as reference to the inscribing on the gold plate of the turban the words "Holy to the LORD" (קדש ליהוה) (Exod 28:36).³ (In this case, interestingly, the divine Name is probably not itself used but identified, nevertheless with "His Glory"). Alternatively, the inscribing of Glory looks forward to the theme of lines 7-10 where the attention continues to rest on the garments of Exodus 28.

The expression כמעשי אורג in line 7, which the editors also restored in 11Q17 ix 7, is drawn from Exodus 28:32 (מעשה ארג), cf. Exod 39:22, 27) following a phonetic and *plene* orthography typical of the scrolls. Line 10 refers specifically to the *hāšēh* of Exodus 28:8, 27-28; (cf. Exod 29:5; 39:5, 20-21; Lev 8:7)—the woven girdle or band of the ephod to which the breastpiece is to be attached. There can be

³ Newsom, 1985 335; *DJD* 11:335.

no doubt therefore that the repeated reference to colour, to scarlet and to spirits being "many-coloured" has in mind the design of the ephod and its accoutrements. Fittingly, then, line 10b says that what precedes is a description of "the chiefs of those wonderfully *dressed* to minister". There appears throughout this section to be more than one priest wearing Aaron's garments. This should not surprise us since, as we in chapter 7, there is other evidence that the Qumran community believed the garments of Exodus 28 should be worn simultaneously by more than one priest.

After this lengthy treatment of high priestly clothing the end of 4Q405 23 ii returns to the theme at the beginning of 11Q17 ix; the sacrifices offered by the heavenly priesthood. Whilst this much is clear, much else in this portion of the XIIIth remains obscure, the full extent of its theological construction has not been appreciated and in a flumber of respects this climax of the whole cycle has probably been misinterpreted. First, a couple of misinterpretations:

Angelic Humans Wonderfully Dressed for Service

The first, and by now obvious, thing to say is that *unless the text demands a different interpretation*, given our reinterpretation of the earlier songs, we are predisposed to find here a description of the *human* priesthood dressed in the garb of Exodus 28. In this song they are called the "chiefs of those wonderfully dressed to minister . . . chiefs of the highest kingdom" (lines 10-11) and "chiefs of raised offerings" in whom there are "tongues of knowledge" (line 12). The language is the same as that used in earlier songs for the angelomorphic priesthood (4Q403 1 i 31, 34 (Song VII) and 4Q403 1 ii 20, 21, 24 (Song VIII)).

Once again there are details which militate against the view, hitherto maintained without question, that the priesthood described here are a wholly other, angelic, priesthood, separate from the human worshippers. Neither the description of (a) the priestly sacrifice in this song, nor (b) the chief priests dressed in *ephodim* and breastpieces accommodate a purely angelic identification of the principal actors. And, thirdly (c), the language of incense which is used of the garments of the high priest sets the XIIIth Song in the tradition of cultic theological anthropology mapped out in Sirach 24 + 50, not a putative pseudo-platonic angelic temple.

(a) *The Sacrifices of Angels?*

We have already, in earlier songs, encountered sacrificial language for the worship of the heavenly sanctuary and have noted the difficulties this presents for a dualistic paradigm of interpretation. In chapter 8 we saw that there is no historical justification for imagining a temple above in which angels who are priests provide a platonian ideal for the activities of the priests in the temple below. Evidence that is regularly adduced for the sacrificial, atoning, activity of angels as a background to the material in the XIIIth Song is, on closer examination, meagre.

In fact in her discussion of the XIIIth Song Newsom says that "[e]xplicit references to a heavenly sacrificial cult are less common than one might think".⁴ She nevertheless appeals to *Testament of Levi* 3:5-6, the reference to the heavenly celebration of the Feast of Weeks in *Jubilees* 6:18, the reference to the heavenly altar of incense in Revelation 8:3-5, what, she assumes is, an "altar of burnt offering" in Revelation 6:9 and the later reference to Michael offering sacrifice in heaven as the Great Prince ((הַשֵּׁר הַבְּרוּלִי) in *b. Hagigah* 12b.⁵ More recently B. Nitzan and Björn Frennesson have added to these texts a passage from the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (33:4-5).⁶

We have already found appeal to *Testament of Levi* 3:5-6 in this regard to be injudicious. In the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* 33:4-5 incense is offered by angels *on earth* (next to Adam's body) in the context of the offerings of a funerary procession of the deceased Adam. No regular incense offering in a heavenly temple is in view. And, in any case neither in Song XIII, nor anywhere else in the *Shirot*, is incense one of the sacrificial offerings. As for the priestly service of Michael in the fourth heaven, Zebul, in *b. Hagigah* this relatively late rabbinic text can hardly be brought forward as evidence of the meaning of an early Qumran text without clear evidence that it reflects an earlier view. The assumption of the existence of such evidence simply begs the question.⁷

⁴ 1985, 372.

⁵ 1985, 31, 372.

⁶ Nitzan 1994b, 289; Frennesson 1999, 97 n. 27.

⁷ A later rabbinic tradition explains the heavenly priesthood of Michael as only an interim dispensation which Michael adopted after the fall of Jerusalem until the restoration of Israel and her sanctuary (see Bietenhard 1951, 125).

In general one must interpret references to cultic matters in Revelation, as in any early Christian text, within the framework of the complete relativisation of the earthly Jerusalem cult by the Christological and ecclesiastical reorientation of sacred space which stands at the core of early Christian practice and belief. For NT texts including Revelation the physical temple building and furniture has been replaced by Jesus the Messiah and his followers. Jesus is himself both high priest (1:13) and sacrificial victim (the Lamb of chapter 5). In Revelation 6:9 there is an altar. But, the placing of the souls of the righteous beneath the altar is a subversion of the established sacrificial system in which it is not the lifeblood of animals which runs beneath the altar but the life force—the souls—of the righteous whose bodies have been martyred sacrificially upon the true, heavenly altar. If the Christian cult is a heavenly one it is, simultaneously, a thoroughly earthly, intra-historical one. The high priestly Jesus is not an angel, he is the historical Jesus of Nazareth “who was dead and is alive” (1:18). The Christian cult, built out of the lives of his followers here on earth is, paradoxically, a new Jerusalem coming down from heaven (ch. 21, cf. 3:12): there is no Christian cult on earth which is parallel to one in heaven since the life of the church, pre-eminently its patient suffering and martyrdom, is the true worship of heaven.⁸

The celebration of the Feast of Weeks in heaven is not described in any detail in *Jubilees* 6:18. This is the one text which *might* envisage angels offering sacrifices, but any explicit reference to such activity is conspicuously absent in *Jubilees*, despite the fact that this work offers a long and full account of its understanding of the cult and cosmology.

So there is very little evidence to support the view that the sacrificial language in Song XIII could refer to the angels' worship. In 4Q400 2 line 7 the human worshippers had proclaimed their inadequacy, lamenting the “raised offering of our tongue of dust (חַרְוֹמַת לְשׁוֹן) (עִפְרָוִן)”. So, when again, in the XIIIth Song we hear how there are chiefs of “raised offerings (בְּרֵאשֵׁי חַרְוֹמוֹת)” with “tongues of knowledge (לְשׁוֹנֵי דַעַת)” we have a clear unequivocal precedent in the *Sabbath*

⁸ Even if in Rev 8:3-5 there is an altar of incense which is entirely “imaginary”, without empirical manifestation in space and time, its relevance for the *Sabbath Songs* is unclear since this is *not* one of the sacrificial items mentioned in the extant portion of Song XIII.

Songs for the use of sacrificial imagery for the worship of the *human* community. Why bother to explain the obscure (the sacrificial language in Song XIII) with the obscure (a tradition of angels offering sacrifices in heaven) when it can be explained by the well-known?

In fact the situation in the XIIIth Song is complicated because, as Daniel Falk has pointed out the language in 11Q17 ix 3-5 is nowhere else used metaphorically of praise and prayer.⁹ Elsewhere in the scrolls זבח, נסך and מנחה always refer to concrete animal sacrifices, real drink and meal offerings.¹⁰ This means either that the degree to which sacrificial language has been given a metaphorical interpretation in the *Sabbath Songs* is unprecedented, or that XIIIth Song is written for the actual, physical, sacrifices of the Sabbath service.¹¹ This second alternative is the more likely but it raises the thorny question as to whether or not real sacrifices were conducted at Qumran (and Masada). The difficulties this question raises are well known and cannot be entered here in any detail. Suffice it to say that I think that, given (a) Josephus' statement that the Essenes sacrificed separately from the Jerusalem Temple (*Ant.* 18:19), and (b) the burial of animal bones with meticulous care at Khirbet Qumran,¹² the view of F.M. Cross that the community at Qumran did have their own version of the sacrificial service in Jerusalem is probably correct.¹³

In conclusion, then, although *the interpretation of the sacrificial language in Song XIII is far from certain*, on balance it is better explained with reference to the (real and/or metaphorical) cultic activity of human worshippers. It is with great difficulty taken as a description of some sacrificial cult conducted by the angels in a supernal heaven.

⁹ Falk 1998, 135-36, cf. Davila 2000, 158. The modern habit of speaking of the "spiritualization" of sacrificial language, or of the Temple, should be abandoned, unless there is intended a non-material cult in the strict sense. At Qumran (as in the early church) cultic language is treated "metaphorically" (or simply *extended*) for the very *material* (and in that sense not merely "spiritual") activity of prayer, praise and, in the case of Christianity, of eating, drinking and martyrdom.

¹⁰ See Falk 1998, 136 n. 48 for details.

¹¹ Falk's view that the Sabbath Sacrifices to which the *Shirot* are attached is in fact "the heavenly altar service" does not follow his insistence upon the real, non-metaphorical, nature of the language in 11Q17 ix.

¹² See Vaux 1973, 12-14 for details.

¹³ Cross 1995 [1958], 85-86, cf. Humbert 1994.

(b) *Angels Wearing Aaronic Clothing?*

As Martha Himmelfarb has recently shown there is a very old tradition of portraying angels as priests.¹⁴ It is also true that angels are frequently described wearing celestial garments (Ezek 9:2; Dan 9:5; *1 Enoch* 62:15 etc. . .). Yet in the XIIIth Song the focus is, very specifically, upon the high priestly garments which the Pentateuch prescribes for Aaron in Exodus 28. Nowhere, to my knowledge, in contemporary Jewish angelology are angels—rather than divine humans—dressed in the garments of Exodus 28.¹⁵

There is some evidence that an ephod was once a garment worn by a god. In Judges 3 and 17-18 an ephod was once a garment designed to cover an idol, the statue of a god. In the Ugaritic Baal cycle there is one passage which is probably best taken as referring to an ephod (*'ipd*) worn by the principle god Ba'al.¹⁶ There is no evidence, however, that in this respect, or for that matter any other, that which belonged to the god Ba'al was transferred in Jewish tradition to a principal angel. From at least the sixth century B.C. onwards the evidence is unequivocal: the ephod, and associated attire, is to be worn by Israel's *human* high priest. In biblical theology the idea here appears to be that only the true *humanity* can wear this kind of a garment (and, of course, only in Israel and her cultic life is the true humanity truly present), because only the true humanity is the genuine image of God; for the one true creator God only the *Urmensch* can function as a *selem*, clothed in a gold, jewel-studded garment fit for a god (Genesis 1 + Exodus 25-40).

That the ephod and its associated accoutrements, the breastpiece and headgear, are fitting for the true Israel's human priest and expressive of their divinity is everywhere assumed in the sources many of which we have already discussed in earlier chapters. In our opening chapters we discovered that the language of Exodus 28, particularly the belief that Aaron's garments are made "for Glory and for

¹⁴ Himmelfarb 1993.

¹⁵ The one exception is the angel Isael in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:3 who wears a high priestly *kidaris*. The text comes from a later time (c. 100 A.D.) and socio-religious setting (after the fall of the Jerusalem) and, in any case, in other respects Isael's appearance is not particularly priestly: "body like sapphire . . . face like chrysolite . . . hair like snow . . . clothing of his garments purple and a golden staff in his right hand".

¹⁶ *CTA* 5.I.1-5, and see briefly on the older history-of-religions background Fletcher-Louis 1997a, 188-189.

beauty" (Exod 28:2), was taken to mean that the true priesthood, from Noah (IQ19) to Simon son of Onias (Sirach 50) were those of God's very own image. We have seen how cosmological and anthropological transcendence is expressed through the high priest's garments in *Aristeas* 97-99 and its parallels in IQSb 4. On several occasions we have noted the influence of the portrayal of the sacral king and primal man in Ezekiel 28. In chapter 7 we have examined several texts from Qumran where there is both an intense interest in Aaron's clothing and, also, an assumption that it has a theophanic significance. In Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 25:10-26:15 the jewels of the ephod are the kind which decorate pagan idols, but which rightfully belonged to the pre-lapsarian Adam. They are recovered by Israel and find their rightful place in her cult. In Josephus' account of Alexander the Great's meeting with the Jewish leadership it is the high priest's golden-jewel studded garments which make Alexander think he is meeting a god who should be worshipped.¹⁷ The rabbis record the tradition that Aaron's garments are those of God himself (*Gen. Rab.* 38:8, cf. *y. Yoma* 7:3, 44b; *Lev. Rab.* 21:11).¹⁸ In later Jewish mysticism it is the transformed *human being* Enoch, the mysterious Metatron, alias "the youth", who is both the "lesser YHWH" and the figure whose clothing is most like that of Israel's high priest (*3 Enoch* 12).¹⁹

Newsom and others who have commented on the XIIIth Song have not taken sufficient notice of the wider history-of-religions material relating to the clothing of Exodus 28. That "background" provides no justification for thinking that Song XIII dresses angels in Aaron's garb. It points, rather, to the fact that Song XIII dresses the human priesthood in divine clothing.

(c) *The Language of Incense Used for the Angelic Clothing?*

As we shall see in our discussion of the language of Glory in the XIIIth Song there is clear evidence that the theology of priesthood in this Song is indebted to a well defined priestly tradition which can be traced back through Sirach perhaps as far as P itself. At this point it is worth noting a minor interpretative detail which suggests

¹⁷ On this text see Fletcher-Louis 1997b, 124-125 and Fletcher-Louis 2001c.

¹⁸ For the view that the garments worn by king and high priest reflect God's own garments and glory see Riesenfeld 1947, 117, 120.

¹⁹ *Synopse* §§384-99 and parallels (discussed by Davila 2000, 149).

the XIIIth Song was familiar with the literary world and cosmology represented by Sirach 24 + 50.

In 4Q405 23 ii line 10 it is said that "all their crafted things are purely salted (ממולח מוחה)". The equivalent expression ממולח מוחה is a biblical *hapax legomenon*, occurring only at Exodus 30:35 where it is used to describe the special incense to be manufactured for the Tabernacle. The expression has been used once already in the *Songs* to describe the workmanship of the holy of holies in Song XI (4Q405 19 4). The association of the inner shrine of the sanctuary with this incense has no explicit biblical warrant, but is natural: a building which is constantly filled with clouds of incense does become, over time, infused with its odour. The same goes for garments whose use is reserved for ceremonies where the wearer is surrounded by incense.²⁰

In fact, the association of the high priest's garments with the sacred incense was probably a well-established element of Israel's cultic tradition. Sirach 50:9 says that Simon appeared from the sanctuary:

And as fire of incense (לבונה, λίβανος) upon the offering (Gk "on the censer"),

as a golden vessel, wholly mixed/beaten (όλοσφύρητον),
which is overlaid on delightful stones.

Here Sirach has in mind not just the garments of the high priest in general, but the golden breastpiece bearing the stones in particular. This comparison between Simon and the incense is the fifth element in the heptadic structure of Sirach 50 corresponding to the instructions for the making of the sacred incense in Exodus 30:34-36 which have already been used in the praise of Wisdom in Sirach 24:15. The guiding power of the incense image here is also present in the peculiar Greek word όλοσφύρητον to describe Simon as a golden vessel.²¹ This word refers to a metallurgical process of beating rather than casting. It probably, therefore, echoes the way in which in Exodus 30:35 the incense is to be beaten into a powder (v. 36). The Septuagint (μειμιγμένον) and *Targum Onqelos* (בזבז) both bring the notion of "mixing" to their translation of מלח. This sense is also inherent in the verbal stem φουράω of the noun όλοσφύρητον.²² The

²⁰ Newsom's translation, "purely blended" (*DJD* 11:341, 342) and "brightly blended" (*DJD* 11:347, 362) does not do justice to these cultic realities of incense.

²¹ The Hebrew is illegible at this point.

²² See further Fletcher-Louis 2001b, ad loc.

idea is much the same as the language of 4Q405 23 ii 10: the high-priestly garments are incense-like not just because they carry its odour, but because they share with incense a similar manufacturing process.

The persistence of a traditional identification of the high priest with the incense is further reflected in the opening vision of the book of Revelation. There the seer sees the risen Jesus dressed in the garments of the high priest (v. 13) and his feet are "like χαλκολιβάνω refined as in a furnace".²³ The word χαλκολίβανος is another *hapax* which literally means "incense-bronze".²⁴ The image is not identical to that in Sirach 50:9 or 4Q405 23 ii 10, but it clearly attests the enduring association of the high priesthood with the incense not just by virtue of transmitted odour but in constitutive substance.

All this reinforces the impression that our text is concerned not with priestly angels, but a heavenly human priesthood. Nowhere else, to my knowledge, is an angel given the qualities of the sacred incense. By virtue of their association with the sacred incense Israel's priests are taken up into the Glory of God (Exodus 40). Similarly, in the *Sabbath Songs* it is not just the garments of the high priest (Song XIII) or the structure of the Holy of Holies (Song XI) that is "purely salted" as the incense, it is also the very presence of God himself (4Q405 22 11, Song XII).

The Identification of the "Spirits" in 4Q405 23 ii

The second interpretative issue to come to our attention—the identity of the "spirits" in 4Q405 23 ii 7, 9—bears directly on the first (the human or angelic identity of the priests dressed for service). Obviously, given our analysis of the previous songs, if it is spirits who are dressed as priests then these must be suprahuman angels. But the interpretation of 4Q405 23 ii has been clouded by an over-hasty interpretation of the "spirits" of lines 7 and 9, and the spirit (sing.) of lines 8–9.

Newsom identifies both with the chiefs of lines 10b–12 and assumes

²³ For the high priestly garments in v. 13 see Holz 1962, 118–121; Barker 2000, 84–85.

²⁴ Given the cultic context (lampstand and garments of the high priest in v. 13) a reference to "Lebanon-bronze" is out of place.

that it is the spirits themselves who are clothed in priestly garb. So, for example, Newsom translates line 7: "In their wondrous stations are spirits (clothed with garments of) mingled colours, like woven work, engraved . . ." ²⁵

There are probably several reasons why she has taken this course. The spirits (on her reading) are said to be "in their wonderful *stations*" which might suggest that we should think here of angels acting as priests. Secondly, it seems Newsom has taken the resumption in line 10b—"These (רָאֵשׁ) are the chiefs of those wonderfully dressed for service . . ."—as a reference to the spirits who are described in line 7. Thirdly, of course, in her examination of the previous twelve songs Newsom has not distinguished, as we have, between priests who are "chiefs", "princes", "ministers" (etc. . .) and spirits who are never said to be priests or to offer sacrifices.

Newsom's identification of the spirits with the chiefs and her view that the spirits wear the high priestly garb is not a necessary reading of the text. Although the Hebrew is certainly difficult and no construal can be held with absolute certainty, her reading is unwarranted on several counts. First, nowhere else in the *Shirot* are "spirits" identified with "chiefs" or their like. Spirits are invariably identified with the elemental components of the structures of the heavenly sanctuary; they are the conscious, spiritual, reality within what us moderns would perceive as mere materiality. As such they are not likely to be identified with the "chiefs" dressed as priests in line 10.

On the other hand we might suppose that they are identified with different aspects of the high priestly garb. Indeed, this is the plain sense of the text. If we do not supply, as Newsom does, the phrase "clothed with garments" then line 7 says there are "spirits, many-coloured as work of a weaver, incisions of shapes(/stones) of splendour". Clearly, the spirits are identified, by the phrases which follow, with features of the high priestly vestments. This is not a full explanation of the identity of the spirits, but it is a necessary observation with which to start: throughout the *Songs* the spirits have been the elemental substance within the structures and furniture of the cult. Now that the garments of the high priesthood are in view, by anal-

²⁵ *DJD* 11:362, cf. 1985, 333. Newsom's interpretative translation has influenced others (e.g. Martínez 1992a, 430) though Davila (2000, 159–60) appears to acknowledge its difficulties.

ogy, we might suppose that the spirits are the spiritual substance of, or power within, different aspects of that clothing.

We know from, for example, Josephus (*Ant.* 3:180, 183-87), Philo (*Mos.* 2:117-126, 133-135, 143), and the Wisdom of Solomon (18:24) that the various parts of the high priestly garments were identified with different aspects of the cosmos; the thunder, lightning, sun, moon, stars, earth, sea, fire and air, etc. . . . Of this list only the luminaries could possibly be in mind in 4Q405 23 ii: nothing here explicitly suggests the sea, fire, air, thunder, lightning or the earth, but the light of the sun (moon and stars) might have some bearing on the shedding of light in lines 9-10 and the general emphasis on numinous colours. This might also suggest that it is primarily the effulgent stones of the breastpiece which are in view in 4Q405 23 ii 7-10. This is an hypothesis which we shall examine shortly. For now we should make some general observations necessary for an adequate understanding of the identity of the spirits in our passage:

1. There is a conspicuous difference between the sing. and plu. forms of רוח in lines 7-9? Newsom thinks the difference is "problematic".²⁶ She considers the possibility that the sing. form is a scribal error for the plu., but recognizes the likelihood that the sing. has in mind a specific "spiritual substance". As we shall see good sense can, in fact, be made of the difference between the sing. and plu. forms.

2. Secondly, we should not assume that the "these" of line 10b refers back simply and solely to the previous lines, let alone to the "spirits" in those lines. In the Hebrew of the *Shirot*, as in other Qumran texts, an אלה can have a retrospective view far back in the preceding material. So, for example in 4Q403 1 i 41 "באלה" looks back to the whole of the section 4Q403 1 i 30-40.²⁷ Because the lines before line 7 are badly broken we cannot be sure that the "these" of line 10b does not have in mind a longer account of "chiefs wonderfully dressed for service". In fact the sartorial theme is clear in the broken lines 1-4 of 4Q405 23 ii. So it is quite likely that a longer section, stretching back perhaps as far as 11Q17 ix 6, gave a comprehensive account of the chief priests' clothing and that the "spirits" of lines 7 to 9 are simply one very small component part of that description. Traditionally the high priest wore eight garments

²⁶ *DJD* 11:364.

²⁷ Compare, for example, 1QH^a 9:21 [1:21] where אלה refers back to 9:1-20 and 1QM 10:16 where אלה refers back to the section begun in line 8.

and, given the intensity of interest in these at Qumran, the brief lines 7-10a are hardly likely to be sufficient to warrant the subscript "these are the chiefs wonderfully dressed for service".²⁸

3. We need not assume that the 3rd pers. plu. suffix of *במעמד* in line 7 refers to the spirits.²⁹ The antecedent could be in the damaged lines that preceded. Indeed, given our analysis below it is perhaps best to take "their wonderful stations" as a reference to the priests described in what precedes; the same "priests" who are wonderfully dressed according to line 10b. On the other hand the "stations" which the "spirits" take could be their "positions" in the intricate design of the breastpiece (and ephod).

The Lightning Stones of the Breastpiece

Sense can be made of lines 7-10 when it is realized that they are a unified section dealing with the high priests' breastpieces and their associated design. In order to get to grips with the specific focus upon the high priest's torso and stone-studded breastpiece we need to examine the language in detail.

(a) The Colourful Spirits of the Breastpiece Pouring Finest Light

Solid grounds for thinking this section of the XIIIth Song describes the breastplate as a focal point of the vision of the high priestly vestments is the language at the end of line 9 and beginning of line 10. There the most plausible reconstruction of the slightly damaged text speaks of something "shedding light".³⁰ Newsom quite rightly says of this expression that "[i]magery of light and luminaries figures prominently in the description of both high-priestly and angelic garments,

²⁸ It should also be noted that a close examination of the manuscript suggests that the *אור* which precedes the *אלה* in line 10 is the last word of a longer section of some importance. On the photograph (pl. XXVI, PAM 42.967) there is what looks like either a damaged *lamed* after the *gimel* of *אור* (top and bottom of the letter visible) or a small supraliner downstroke (with the left leg of the *gimel* below). Newsom makes no comment on this, but one wonders whether a scribal note signaling the conclusion of a section is intended.

²⁹ The same point applies to *מחשביהם* in line 10.

³⁰ For the reconstruction see Newsom, 1985, 333; *DJD* 11:362. The other possibility, that the text reads "באוריהן [הן]", of course would present another interesting possibility; that the stones of the breastplate are being identified with the heavenly bodies.

from Ben Sira's description of Simon the Great (Sir 50:5-7) to the account of Metatron's robe in *3 Enoch* 12.³¹ However, such a sweeping comparison does not do justice to the detail of that imagery and nor does it stop to inquire into its specific context within the Qumran corpus.

Newsom is also puzzled by the plural *מאירי* at the end of line 9. She takes the subject of this verb to be the "fine gold work" which immediately precedes. But there the *כמעשי* is a phonetic spelling of a singular *מעשה*.³² Because Newsom breaks up line 10 into two parts: "spirits [brightly] dyed in the midst of the appearance of whiteness. And the likeness of this glorious spirit is like fine gold work, shedding . . .", the only alternative subject is the "likeness of this glorious spirit" which is also singular. The problem is solved if the "spirits" at the beginning of line 9 are the subject of one long nominal sentence: "The spirits of the colours of [purity] in the midst of the appearance of majesty, and the likeness of the Spirit of Glory as a work of precious gold, shedding light . . .". This would then suggest that the "spirits" shedding light are the spirits who earlier (line 7) were identified with the engraved figures of the breastplate.

In the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls—both the texts peculiar to the Qumran community and those traditions it had inherited—there is only one aspect of the high priest's clothing which could be thought to have "spirits . . . shedding light" in the context of a multi-coloured vision of God's Glory: the stones of the breastpiece. The language in lines 9-10, especially the *מאירי אור*, recalls that of those texts we examined in chapter 7 and 1QSb where light shines from the breastpiece, its stones and the UT (4Q175 (Deut 33:10) *ויאירו*, 4QpIsa^d *מאירים*, 1QSb 4:27 *למאור . . . להאיר*). More generally we are bound to think of the parallels to these in Greek texts (Josephus, *Aristeas*) and the peculiar interest at Qumran in the "perfect light" of God's presence and the mysterious Urim and Thummim. And since we have already found good grounds for thinking that the name *Ἐσσηνοί* is related to the *השן*, "the breastpiece", of Exodus 28 what would be a more fitting climax to a peculiarly Essene liturgy than the appearance of the community's high priests dressed in their *חשני*.

This would be the first time in any of these other texts that "spirits" are thought responsible for the shining light of the breastpiece.

³¹ *DJD* 11:364.

³² 1985, 337-8; *DJD* 11:364.

But the introduction of "spirits" in this context is perfectly intelligible. On the one hand it accords with the *Songs'* penchant for speculation on the spiritual reality within the physical realities of the cult. On the other hand a passage in Philo suggests it was in fact common to think that animate spiritual powers indwelt the high priest's clothing. In *De Migratione Abrahami* Philo 102 says that if one examines the "High Priest the Logos" you will discover

his holy vesture to have a variegated (πεποικιλμένην) beauty derived from powers belonging some to the realm of pure intellect, some to that of sense perception (νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων).

For Philo the high priest's garments are not merely *symbolic* of the cosmos, in some non-essentialist sense, as a microcosm of the macrocosm they are imbued with the very substance or energy—the "powers"—of the "realm of pure intellect". Even though we should strip away from this text language and ideas that are his own idiosyncratic philosophical hermeneutic, there remains a tradition which is not Philo's but his Jewish temple tradition: what Philo (like Paul in Eph 6:12 and Col 1:16) calls "powers" the *Sabbath Songs* have called "spirits".

(b) "*The Incisions of Shapes of Splendour*"

The line climaxes with a reference to "פְּחוֹת צִוְרוֹת הָרָר". The phrase "engravings of shapes" (cf. line 1 "the beauty for the engravings of" (תְּפָאֵרֶת לַפְּחוֹת)) is derived from Exodus 28. The verb פָּחַח in the *Piel* to mean "engrave" and the noun פְּחוֹת "engraving" are used variously for the art work of the Temple and Tabernacle. The root is used, for example, of the engraved basins in 1 Kings 7:36 or the *cherubim* carved in the temple walls (1 Kgs 6:29; 2 Chr 3:7, cf. 2 Chr 2:6, 13). Yet over half the instances of the nominal form in the Hebrew Bible are used specifically of the "engravings, like signets" on the twelve stones of the breastpiece (Exod 28:11, 21; 39:6, 14) and upon the gold plate worn upon the turban (Exod 28:36; 39:30).³³ In the context of 4Q405 23 ii 7 the פְּחוֹת must be those on the stones of the breastpiece.

³³ The use of the noun at Zech 3:9 is inseparable from the instances in Exodus 28 since there also it has to do with the engraved stone(s) worn by the high priest.

In the *Songs* various words are used for the act of engraving, but in only one other instance does the root פָּחַח occur (4Q405 14–15 i 5) and in other cases other roots are used (חָרַח, חָקַח, חָקַק). If one allows some sense of “to open” for this verb then perhaps a specific kind of engraving—an “incision”—is intended. And if this is the case then perhaps we are supposed to have in mind the fact that upon the stones of the breastpiece there are engraved eyes; apertures through which light is emitted (cf. Pseudo-Philo *Biblical Antiquities* 26:9, cf. 26:13, 15 and the high priest’s stone with fourteen eyes in Zech 3:9).³⁴

The use of the word צורה which is normally translated in this passage “(engraved with) figures . . .” has no precedent in those biblical passages which deal with the Temple/Tabernacle.³⁵ However, there are probably several reasons why the word צורה is used here. First by “shapes, figures” it will have in mind the names of the Israelite tribes and, perhaps, the eyes engraved upon the stones of each of the different coloured stones. Second, it is possible that there is a deliberate *double entendre* on the noun צור meaning “rock, stone”. This masc. noun is far more common than the fem. “form, figure”. Job 28, a passage which is concerned primarily with precious stones and metals, provides a precedent for the fem. plu. form צורות meaning “stones, rocks” (v. 10). With this *double entendre* the XIIIth Song would then highlight its primary focus of interest: the breastpiece and its stones.

(c) The “Multi-Coloured” Work

The word רוקמה is evidently the Qumran form of the Biblical Hebrew רִקְמָה, *riqmâ* “multi-coloured, embroidered”. (The Qumran vocalisation would appear, then, to have been *rôqmâ*). In P’s description of the Tabernacle and its vestments the noun רִקְמָה is not used. But the verbal root רִקַּם is used of the weaving technique in the curtains of the door of the tent of meeting (Exod 26:36; 36:37), the curtain

³⁴ For the identification of this stone with that the high priest’s breastplate see VanderKam 1991. The stone of Zechariah 3:9 is also said to have an “engraving” or an “incision” (פָּחַח). The tradition that the stones of the breastpiece of Exodus 28 have eyes in Pseudo-Philo may be a conscious interpretation of the פָּחַח of Exod 28:11, 21, reinforced with cross reference to Zech 3:9.

³⁵ The XIIIth Song at least in its extant portions chooses not to use the language of the “scal”.

of the gate of the tabernacle court (Exod 27:16; 38:18) and the sashes worn by the priests (Exod 28:39; 39:29).³⁶ Very similar language to that in lines 7-8 of our fragment is found in 4Q405 14-15 i 3-6, however there the context is a description of tabernacle structures, not the priests or their garments.

Although the root קפ is not used in the description of the breast-piece and its stones in Exodus 28-29, its introduction into that context in the *Shirot* makes good sense where the noun קפא is a favourite. In 4Q405 19 5 it is used of the glorious brickwork and in the XIIIth Song it is part of a circumlocution for the rainbow of the Glory of Ezekiel 1:28. Similarly, in other DSS texts it is used for various cultic paraphernalia without direct warrant in the biblical text (1QM 5:6; 4QpIsa^a 7-10 iii 24). *Gereza sheva* would encourage its introduction into descriptions of the breastpiece. Where the root קפ is used "of blue, purple, and crimson yarns, and of fine twisted linen" (Exod 26:36 and 36:37; 27:16 and 38:18; 39:29) it is justifiably used of the breastpiece of judgement which is also to be made "of gold, of blue and purple and crimson yarns, and of fine twisted linen" (28:15 and 39:8).³⁷ So, it is not surprising that already in 1 Chronicles 29:2 the noun is used of the variety of precious stones used in the Temple.

In the context of our fragment of the XIIIth Song the language of a variegated colour cannot refer to any of the temple structures or the chariot since the focus is on the priestly garments. Neither is it likely that the ephod as a whole is in view at this point because of the close association with "incisions of shapes of splendour" which most probably refers to the engraved gemstones.³⁸

So, in conclusion, we can be confident that 4Q405 23 ii 7-10a is a mystically minded vignette of the high priesthood's multi-coloured, light-giving breastplates. The stones, the קפ and the קפ are not directly mentioned at this point because the genre does not require

³⁶ In Greek texts the root is variously translated by forms of ποικιλ- "many coloured" and ποικιλτ- "embroiderer" (LXX Exod 26:36; 27:16; 28:39; 36:36; 37:16; Sirach 45:10; Josephus *B.J.* 5:232; *Aristeas* 96). Note the use of the former for the stars and the heavens in LSJ 1429-30.

³⁷ Similar phrasology is found, without specific use of קפ at Exod 26:1, 31- of the tabernacle curtains, in 28:6 and 39:2-3 of the ephod, in 28:8 and 39:5 of the "decorated band".

³⁸ In 4Q403 1 ii 1 the word is probably used in connection with the breastpiece and its stones since it follows the peculiar word קפא of the קפ .

such details to be spelt out. For a community that is fixated on these parts of the cult compact numinous summary speaks for itself. And in any case these lines are probably written to make their own more substantial theological point, to which we now turn.

The Chief Priests' Embodying the Glory of God

There are four ways in which the description of the chief priests in their heavenly garb means they are deliberately identified, not with the any particular class of angel—however high up the angelic hierarchy—but with the Glory of God himself. This identification means, as we shall see, that the Qumran Chief Priests embody the very Presence of the Glory and in so doing bring the cycle of the *Sabbath Songs* to its ultimate climax.

(a) *The Intratextuality between the XIIth and XIIIth Songs*

In her official (*DJD*) edition Newsom has drawn attention to the way in which the collocation of terms רִקְמָה צִבְעָה, and מְמוֹלָח פְּזִיזָה is used in the XIIth Song of the divine presence on the throne (4Q405 20 ii: 21–22 lines 10–11) and, again, in the XIIIth Song of the angelic high priests' garments (11QShirShabb IX 7 and 4Q405 23 ii 7 (רִקְמָה), 8, 9 (צִבְעָה) 10 (מְמוֹלָח פְּזִיזָה)). The use of such terms as צִבְעָה and רִקְמָה for colour in connection with the high priestly garments (in the XIIIth Song) is, as we have seen, natural as is their introduction (in the XIIth song) into an elaboration of Ezekiel 1:26–28 where they reflect the image of the rainbow in verse 28. However, neither צִבְעָה and רִקְמָה, nor these two with מְמוֹלָח פְּזִיזָה, occur in combination anywhere else in the *Shirot*. Even though much of the songs are no longer extant, the juxtaposition of these three terms seems to be confined to the description of that which occupies the chariot-throne in the XIIth Song and the high priestly vestments in the XIIIth Song. This liturgical intratextuality surely implies some kind of identification between the two.

Newsom realises that the overlap between XIIth and XIIIth Songs means there is a similarity between the veiled description of the Glory on the throne and the garments of the angelic high priests. "Implicitly, the analogy would extend also to the garments of Israel's high priest, who thus reflects in a more distant fashion the Glory of

the God".³⁹ Because we do not think the XIIIth Song describes *supra*human angels dressed as high priests, but the sectarians' own high priests Newsom's "in a more distant fashion" is unnecessary: for those who used this liturgy the colour and purity of the high priest's garments *are* those of the Kavod, which the community's priesthood now embodies.

(b) *The Priests Identified with the Holy of Holies*

Entirely consistent with this close *visual* identification between the non-anthropomorphic Glory and the Chief Priests is the fact that the clothing of the latter is said to possess the "spirit of the holy of holies" (4Q405 23 ii 8). Some kind of connection between the holy of holies and the high priest's garments arises out of the Priestly author's account of the Tabernacle itself, since the materials used for the one are shared by the other.⁴⁰ The association is assumed in those texts which say that the high priest's garments were stored in the holy of holies.⁴¹

On its own, and given the ubiquity of the phrase "holy of holies" in the *Songs*, not too much significance should be attached to this phrase. The fact that it is a singular "spirit" and not the frequent "spirits of the holy of holies" probably expresses the close association between these garments and the substance of the presence of God himself. The language here will also be related to the wider tradition we have plotted through IQS 8-9, 4QMMT B 75-82, 4Q511 35, 4Q418 81 according to which Aaron, the community's priesthood, are themselves the holiest of the holies.

(c) *Embodying the Glory of Ezekiel 1:26-28*

The most impressive detail of the exploration of the symbolism of the priestly clothing is the identification with the Glory of Ezekiel 1:25-28 in line 9 of 4Q405 23 ii. Newsom in both her commentaries notes, but does not explore further, the fact that the words "וְרוּחַ רִמָּה כְּבוֹד" should be compared with the רִמָּה כְּבוֹד of Ezekiel

³⁹ DJD 11:353.

⁴⁰ Cf. Haran 1978, 210-212.

⁴¹ 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 6:7; Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 26:12-13.

1:28.⁴² Given her discussion of the importance of Ezekiel 1:25–28 for the XIIIth Song this is surprising. In fact, since she translates these words as “and the likeness of this glorious spirit” she seems to deny any relevance to the comparison with that OT passage, which, if in mind here would call for the translation “and the likeness of the Spirit of (the) Glory”. Yet, Ezekiel’s vision was so important for the sectarian’s sabbatical liturgy—as it was for all emerging apocalyptic and mystical speculation—that this translation cannot do justice to the text. Perhaps because, as we have seen, Newsom splits line 9 into two separate sentences she fails to see here the full extent of a deliberate intertextuality.

Reading line 9 from “. . . כְּבוֹד מְרִאִי” we find that at three points an overt reference to the summary statement at the end of Ezekiel’s vision of the occupant of God’s throne has been made:

^{1:26} Like the bow in a cloud on a rainy day, such was the appearance of the splendour all around. This was the appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the LORD.

(וְהָיָה מְרִאִי רִמּוֹת כְּבוֹד יְהוָה).

4Q405 23 ii 9 . . . in the midst of the appearance of majesty and the likeness of the Spirit of (the) Glory . . .

כְּבוֹד מְרִאִי חִדַּד יִדְמֶנָּה הָיָה כְּבוֹד

If there is here a deliberate reuse of Ezekiel 1:28 it will obviously be of enormous importance for our understanding of the *Song’s* theology. *Since in the XIIIth Song the Glory is described in such a way as to eliminate the anthropomorphic elements within Ezekiel 1:25–28, a conscious description of the human Chief Priest(s) in terms of the anthropomorphic Glory of that canonical text means that it is here, in the XIIIth, that the liturgy truly reaches its climax with a vision of the community’s priesthood taking the place of the occupant of the throne-chariot.*

The intertextual reference back to Ezekiel 1:28 comes into sharper focus when we consider the context of line 9 and the points at which the OT phrase has been modified. The focus on the Kavod is already anticipated in the previous line’s “in the midst of *Glory* an appearance (מְרִאִי) of scarlet . . .”. Indeed, already in the broken third line of 4Q405 23 ii we find the words “מֶלֶךְ וְחֵרֶם כְּבוֹדוֹ”, “King and He

⁴² 1985, 337; DJD 11:364, cf. Davila 2000, 161.

inscribed His Glory". This is perhaps an earlier anticipation of the theme which is to follow.⁴³

There are three points at which changes have been made by the sectarian liturgy: (1) Most obviously, the Tetragrammaton has fallen out. This is an unsurprising omission given the well attested desire to avoid writing (or speaking) the Name. In any case the Glory is itself inextricable from the Name.⁴⁴ (2) Secondly, rather than "an appearance of the likeness of the Spirit of the Glory" the Qumran text has "an appearance of splendour and the likeness...". In a mystical text such as ours where the rhythm of numinous praise easily clouds any desire for logical consistency we should not expect the details of biblical intertextuality to be rigid. And the reference to the "appearance of splendour" is a fitting summary statement of all else that Ezekiel 1:26-28 and cognate throne visions describe in much greater detail.

(3) The third modification to the phrase מראה דמות כבוד יהוה of Ezekiel 1:26 in the intertextual reference of 4Q405 23 ii 9 is the addition of רוח—"the likeness of the Spirit of (the) Glory...". The addition of "רוח" is parallel to the phrase in line 8 "colours of the light of the spirit of the holy of holies...". It is the substance, the nature, the spirit of the holy of holies which the ephod and breast-piece possess: the ephod and breast-piece are not to be equated with the holy of holies without remainder. Similarly, the ephod and breast-piece have the substance, the nature, the Spirit of the Glory.⁴⁵ There is here, then, a careful distinction between the plural "spirits" of line 7 and the singular "spirit" of lines 8-9.

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the addition of רוח. There can be no doubt that the XIIth Song omitted the anthropomorphic elements from its reworking of Ezekiel 1:25-28, in part at least, because, to the extent that God's Glory has any anthropomorphic visibility it is seen in the community's high priesthood in the climactic XIIIth Song. Yet because the XIIIth Song describes not "the likeness of the Glory...", but the "likeness of the Spirit of

⁴³ Compare also the references to "His kingdom of Glory" (lines 11-12) and "all the works of His Glory" line 12.

⁴⁴ See already Ps 72:19; Neh 9:5 and see Aitken 1999, 15-16 for the Name and the Glory and see the expression "shall make Glorious His Name and His Holiness" in 1QSb 4:28.

⁴⁵ It is also perhaps significant that כבוד has no definite article in 4Q405 23 ii 9, though neither is there one at Ezekiel 1:28.

the Glory, its authors have probably retained an apophatic rejection of any reading of Ezekiel 1 which would permit the conclusion that God is essentially, and fundamentally, before all else, a human being. The priesthood gives physical and substantial tangibility to a reality which is fundamentally invisible and beyond human knowing.

We should also consider the possibility that the "spirit" language at this point is related to the wider duality in QL between the spirit and the flesh. A vision of the community's high priesthood clothed in its majestic garments which possess the "spirit of (God's own) Glory" must, for the members of the Qumran community, have been related to the belief that they as a whole are the "people of spirit" who stand at the anthropological heart of 1Q/4QInstruction.

(d) *The Chief Priests "Bless the God of Knowledge in All the Works of His Glory"*

Line 12 of 4Q405, after the description of the high priest's clothing, says the chief priests "bless the God of knowledge ככול מעשׁ ככבודו". The *beth* here is puzzling since when God is the direct object of the verb to bless this preposition is only ever used in a temporal (Pss 63:5; 145:2) or a locative sense (Pss 26:12; 68:27).¹⁶ Newsom and Davila translate the *beth* as a reference to participation in a group: "they bless the God of knowledge *together with* all His glorious works" (Newsom), "they, among all the works of His glory, bless the God of knowledge" (Davila). But there is no precedent for this translation.

With our interpretation of the preceding lines the language here makes perfect sense. One, or both, of two possible meanings are intended. Either the chief priests are blessing God whilst *clothed in* the works, i.e. the garments, of God's Glory. Or, they are blessing God *in their doing* all the works of his Glory. The first of these has been clearly stated in what precedes.¹⁷ Though the second has not been explicit in the extant text the larger tradition-historical context (esp. Sirach 50) and, perhaps, lost portions of the text explain what in means to bless in the doing of the works of God's Glory. So, for example, in Sirach 50 it is as Simon comes out from the sanctuary

¹⁶ As Davila 2000, 160 points out. Newsom strangely fails to comment on this phrase, despite its difficulty.

¹⁷ Note the three instances of מעשׁ in lines 7, 9 and 10: the garments are "works".

that his liturgical movements manifest God's Glory: the high priest's cultic responsibilities could themselves be understood as the works of God's Glory.

In fact for this phrase in 4Q405 23 ii 12 there is an explicit linguistic precedent in Sirach 45:7. There it is said that Aaron "ministered to Him in His Glory (וישרחו בכבוד)". This, too, has puzzled commentators.⁴⁸ It should now be joined to our Qumran text as a witness to the technical terminology of the liturgical anthropology of Israel's mainstream priestly tradition. As such the phrase in 4Q405 23 ii confirms our argument thus far: the conceptual parameters—cosmology and theological anthropology—of the *Sabbath Songs* is that of Israel's existing cultic mythology.⁴⁹

Of course, it goes without saying that since this is a song of the *Sabbath* sacrifice that work done here had better be done in God's power since otherwise it risks being prohibited work. Here we probably have the same theology of labour which Sirach had explored so carefully: working in the sanctuary is possible for the priests on the Sabbath because they work *in (divine) Wisdom* (24:22b) who has taken up residence in Israel's cult where the fall's curse on labour is undone. This cultic theology of the Sabbath is perhaps already signalled in the 1st Song. In 4Q400 1 i 5 it is said that "He engraved His statutes for all spiritual works". Perhaps "*spiritual works*" are works done in the power of God's spirit which, because they are carried out in the true temple, are legitimate works of the Sabbath.⁵⁰

What then of the כול in "in *all* the works of His Glory", which does not appear in the parallel expression in Sirach 45:7? This is best explained as an explicit reference to the cosmological setting of the praise of the priesthood. The high priest's garments represent the whole cosmos, the cult is a microcosm and the drama of Israel's liturgy enacts the drama of creation. Self-evidently then it can be said the chief priests bless God "in *all* the works of His Glory".

Embodiment of the Glory in Wider Jewish Perspective

If this theology of priesthood seems shocking it should not. The XIIIth of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is merely one among many

⁴⁸ See, for example, Aitken 1999, 19.

⁴⁹ In other words, Newsom was wrong to reject J. Maier's thesis.

⁵⁰ Cf. the frequent use of עֲשָׂה and cognates in the *Songs*.

texts where Israel's priesthood is identified with God's Kavod (Sirach 50; *Eth. Enoch* 46:1, cf. 2 *Enoch* 22:8; 1QSb 4:28; 4Q511 35 4; the כהן מראה of the *musaph* prayer for Yom Kippur).⁵¹ Behind this theology of priesthood there stands the belief that Adam himself, the original humanity, was created as God's Glory. This, we have seen, was an important part of the Qumran liturgy (4Q504 8). Anthropology and the theology of priesthood are inextricable because Israel and her priesthood are the true Adam.

There is no reason to suppose that in their Angelic Liturgy the Qumran community had transposed an eschatological hope into the present as a reflex of their strongly realized eschatology. Where the *Similitudes of Enoch* identifies the heavenly man with God's Glory and places his revelation in an eschatological future it probably does so because, for its author, the Glory of Adam in Israel's high priest is not currently present as it should be.⁵² This means that when comparing the *Similitudes* with our text, or Sirach 50, the present, intra-historical, reality of the Kavod's presence in the high priesthood is logically, and historically, prior to the hope for such a future presence. Neither should the identification of the high priesthood with the Glory be simply regarded as *the product* of a strategy to legitimise a heterodox cult over against the one in Jerusalem. It is quite possible that the *Sabbath Songs* in their present form legitimate a sectarian cult without a fully working temple, but there is every reason to believe that the *theology* of 4Q405 23 ii has simply been lifted from its original context in Israel's Temple life and placed in this new one.

It is easy to understand how a reading of Ezekiel as a whole might come to the conclusion that Israel's high priest is to be identified with the anthropomorphic Glory of Ezekiel 1:26-28. First, there are similarities between the vision of the Glory in Ezekiel 1 and the characterization of the priestly *Urmensch* in Ezekiel 28. In the former there is described a human figure, the "likeness of the Glory of the LORD", seated on a heavenly throne, enclosed all around by something that looked like fire and the colours of the rainbow. The

⁵¹ In addition to these references we should note M. Himmelfarb's suggestion that the garments of the Great Glory in 1 *Enoch* 14 correspond to those of Israel's high priest (1993, 18-19).

⁵² This difference between future hope and realised eschatology may, of course, partly explain the absence of the *Similitudes* from the Enochic corpus at Qumran. The Essenes had no need of such a future Son of Man because their high priesthood already fulfilled that expectation.

rainbow is perhaps the sign of the divine warrior's victory (cf. Gen 9:13-16), as is the language of tumult and the thunder of the Almighty in verse 24. The blue lapis lazuli over which God sits probably signifies his enthronement over the waters of chaos (v. 26, cf. Ps 29:3, 10). Similarly, the priestly Adam figure in Ezekiel 28 is also enthroned over the waters of chaos (v. 2).⁵³ He is associated with a *cherub*, the kind of "living creature" that makes up God's own throne (ch. 10). He walks among the "stones of fire" (28:14) which is reminiscent of both the fire in 1:27 and the "coals of fire" of 1:13. As for the rainbow of Ezekiel 1:28, one could very well imagine a garment encrusted with the twelve multi-coloured precious stones of Ezekiel 28:13 might, especially for the visionary mind, evoke the full spectrum of the rainbow.

Secondly, there is reason to believe that a later reader of Ezekiel might see in the behaviour of the prophet himself the identification of the priesthood with the Glory. Ezekiel, of course, is a priest (Ezek 1:3) and in the absence of any reference in the work to a high priest, a later reader might conclude that, given his intimate acquaintance with God, the prophet himself is the best qualified to fulfil that office. After his opening vision the account of Ezekiel's experience could be taken to mean that he is taken over by—possessed by—the reality of God's Glory. In chapter 3 he is given a scroll that tastes of honey to eat. He eats, therefore, the food of the gods. Thereafter God controls his speaking; he only speaks when God moves him to do so, so closely is he now identified with the living God. In 3:12-13 he is lifted up by the spirit and he hears behind him the sound of the movement of the creatures of the throne. One could be forgiven for thinking that Ezekiel is now transported by God's own throne on which he now sits. Indeed, Chris Murray-Jones has argued that this is exactly how these chapters were read in at least one Hekhalot text.⁵⁴

Having said that, the XIIIth Song of the *Sabbath Songs*, at least in its extant portion, probably does not actually describe the high priest seated on God's throne-chariot. The context (4Q405 23 ii 10-12 and 11Q17 ix 3-5) seems to place the clergy in their sacrificial posture as they "approach the King" (4Q405 23 ii 11). Though it is

⁵³ For the phrase "I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas" (Ezek 28:2) compare the Mesopotamian image of the Bel-Marduk seated over, or in the middle of, Tiamat (see Livingstone 1986, 156).

⁵⁴ Murray-Jones 2001.

possible, in view of the interest in the theophanic appearance of the priesthood from the sanctuary elsewhere in the scrolls, that the liturgical cycle has reached the innermost reaches of heaven in Song XII and now in Song XIII the congregation are brought face to face with their priests as they return from the sanctuary.

Whether, in the lost portions of the XIIIth Song the priesthood were actually seated on a throne in heaven—either the chariot of Song XII or another—we shall never know. Given the prominence of heavenly enthronement in the *Glorification Hymn* it may also have been a part of the *Sabbath Songs*.

The Chief Priesthood as the Recipients of Worship

The XIIIth Song is a praise directed to God through a celebration of the human priesthood as the embodiment of God's Glory. In a sense the chief priests are themselves recipients of a worship that is offered by the *maskil*. This is so because what the *maskil* utters is not simply a set of mechanical stage directions. In itself—through its rhythmic and numinous style—it is a *song* of praise. Just as God, however invisibly present, was the ultimate recipient of worship in the XIIth Song, so here the same adoration is given to the beauty and splendour of the high priests in their office.

As an act of worship directed to the human priesthood this text should be added to a longer list of texts from Jewish antiquity where a pre-eminently righteous man is legitimately worshipped. In particular, it should be compared with the *hymn in praise of Simon* as the embodiment of God's Glory in Sirach 50. But the centrality of priesthood in this scenario gives Song XIII a close relationship to a string of other texts.⁵⁵ The devotional posture will also, no doubt, be related to the *self-praise* in the *Qumran Glorification Hymn*.

Finally, we should consider the theoretical correspondence between the worship offered here by the *maskil* and the worship of Adam in

⁵⁵ Pseudo-Hecataeus' account of the Jewish state (late fourth century B.C., recorded in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica* XL.3.4-6); Alexander the Great's meeting with the Jewish High Priest (Josephus' *Antiquities* 11:331-335; *b. Yoma* 69a; *Megillath Ta'anith* for the 21st of Tislev, cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* (γ—recension) 2:24; *T. Reub.* 6:12; the *בראשית ברוך* of the *miseph* prayer for Yom Kippur; the Enoch priestly Son of Man in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 48; 62); the ascending priestly Christ in Luke 24:50-53.

the haggadah best preserved in the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* (chs. 12–16), for which there is probably a reflex in the Qumran text 4Q381 frag. 1. For the identification of the high priesthood with the Glory of God there is, at Qumran, an analogous identification of the pre-lapsarian Adam with the Glory of God of Ezekiel 1. A connection between the two scenes is likely to be made because of the belief that the high priest recapitulates the Adamic identity and the notion that the cult is a restored Eden or pre-lapsarian world. In the *Shirot*, as we have seen, the human community are taken up into the heavenly world, where they offer an “angelic” worship. We could very well imagine a Qumran member familiar with the worship of Adam story believing that in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the worship which Michael had commanded the angels bring, is now brought by community members to the true Adam, the community’s priests, who have “the spirit of the Glory”: High Priesthood and community members act out the drama of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 12–16. This, of course, is speculative. But it is also the kind of sympathetic and imaginative exercise that is the necessary stuff of an historiography which takes seriously the very foreign world of ancient Jewish cultic drama.

Cosmology and the Climax of the Cycle’s Ritualized Ascent

Our detailed examination of the contents of the 1st through XIIIth Songs is now almost complete. It only remains for us to reflect on the structure of the material. As we saw in chapter 9 Newsom denied the existence of any heavenly ascent in the *Songs*. This is because she saw Song VII as the liturgical centre and because the vision of the throne chariot comes in the penultimate chapter she assumed it unlikely to be the climax of an ascent experience.⁵⁶ We are now in a position to reassess this question. In doing so we find that in fact there is a very clear progression in the VIth through XIIIth songs which is phenomenologically akin to the ascent of a seer through a seven-tiered cosmos with a vision of the chariot and God’s Glory as its climax.

⁵⁶ 1985, 16. Though she does not have a general discussion of such matters in the *DJD* volume, her latest commentary to the text suggests Newsom has conceded to Baumgarten’s ascent form (*DJD* 11:340).

The second part of the VIth Song describes the blessing upon the sectarian laity by the community's priesthood. Unless the community boldly discarded the traditional and biblically sanctioned spatial division within the temple between areas confined to clergy and those available to all, then that blessing must have taken place in the outer courts of the sectarian cultic space. These blessings will have been pronounced in a space *equivalent* to the court of ordinary male Israelites within which the court of the priests was separated off only by a low-lying parapet.

From the extant portions of the VIIth Song we also find the liturgical action takes place *outside* the inner sanctuary, though now attention has turned away from its outward stance towards the laity, inwards towards the sanctuary proper, which will be the direction of movement throughout the liturgy of the coming weeks. In 4Q403 1 i 41 (= 4Q405 6 2) the worship of the priesthood in Song VII is set in unison with

all the *f*oundations (?) of the ho[ly] of holies, the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abode, and all the corners of its structure . . .

In what follows the staging for the liturgy is

4Q403 1 i 43-44 . . . the chief exa[l]ted firmament, all [its] b[eam]s and its walls, a[l]l its [for]m, the works of [its] struc]ture.

There is also reference to

4Q403 1 ii 2 . . . His footstool . . . ¹¹ . . . the gates of . . . ¹² and He sanctifies the seven exalted holy (places) . . . the voice of blessing from the chiefs of His inner shrine . . . ¹³ . . . all the decorations of the inner shrine

The precise topographical details of all this language are uncertain, but in general it is clear that they are concerned with the *whole* of the sacred space demarcated by the heavenly temple: they have a global perspective.⁵⁷ The worship of the VIIth Song is set in the context of *all* the beams, walls and works of the chief exalted firmament. Reference to the "corners" of the "supremely exalted abode" must obviously have in mind the outer extremities of the structure; whether a space equivalent to the whole Jerusalem Temple

⁵⁷ Given the likely use of Isaiah 6:3's "holy, holy, holy, . . ." in the opening lines of the VIIth Song the second half of the Qedushah, "heaven and earth are full of your Glory", perhaps governs the latter part of the song.

The XIIth Song is heavily indebted to the climax of Ezekiel's throne chariot vision in Ezekiel 1:24–28 and, as we saw, is the first of a two part "exegesis" of that OT vision of the Glory. The progressive movement into the holy regions of the sanctuary does seem deliberate, though its details are obscured by the lack of a complete text and the frequent oscillation between temple structures and angelomorphic human attendants.

Chris Morray-Jones has argued that the XIIth Song provides the climax of the cycle with a description of the manifestation of the Glory upon the *merkabah*.⁶² He and James Davila think that the use of Ezekiel 1 in the XIIth Song (and the XIth) is liturgically appropriate for a calendar which read Ezekiel 1 (in combination with Psalm 68:17–20) at the Festival of Weeks in the week before the recitation of the XIIth Song (in the first thirteen week quarter of the year). Whilst the XIIth Song's association with Weeks and the Qumran community's covenant renewal ceremony would make for its climactic position in the cycle, the thirteenth song is more "a coda or denouement".⁶³

A climactic vision of the throne chariot is certainly what we would expect from the heavenly ascent form, as it is defined by biblical texts (Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1) and the subsequent apocalyptic and mystical tradition which has as its goal not just the vision of God's chariot, but the vision of God himself (e.g. *1 Enoch* 14:20; *2 Enoch* 22). However, the association of the cycle with Weeks is not certain since it depends in part on the conviction that the *Sabbath Songs* was only to be recited in the first quarter of the year and not to be repeated in subsequent quarters. Even if an association with Weeks was made, the two part exegesis of Ezekiel 1:26–28 is only completed in the XIIIth Song. And it should now be obvious that the XIIIth Song is as much, if not more so, the climax of the liturgy. It is in the XIIIth Song that the human form seated on God's throne in Ezekiel 1 first comes into view. The human high priesthood here make manifest the anthropomorphic appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the Lord.⁶⁴ Obviously, the liturgy is now of

progression within the ascent pattern. We should perhaps imagine a collection of lesser chariots surrounding the Chariot and even consider the possibility that the high priesthood themselves actually sit on these lesser chariots (cf. Rev 4–5).

⁶² Morray-Jones 1998.

⁶³ Davila 2000, 90.

⁶⁴ There is a loose analogy to this literary structure in *2 Enoch* (esp. A recension) where ascent through the heavens reaches a preliminary climax with the vision of

inestimable significance for the understanding of the earliest history of Jewish mysticism. There is not here the ascent of an individual through the heavens, but a corporate, ritualised, ascent whose experiential structure must have some genetic relationship to the heavenly ascents of the apocalypses and early *Merkabah Mysticism*. And at Qumran the mystical tradition might best be described not so much as *merkabah* mysticism, although there is a clear interest in God's throne chariot, but as *breastpiece* mysticism.

Confirmation that the XIIIth Song has a climactic position is provided by the third preserved portion of the song (11Q17 x frags. 23-25 [formerly 2-1-9]). Lines 6-8 of this column are perhaps significant:

⁶ Of glory towards all the works of [his] truth [...] for the angels of knowledge, in all [...] holy upliftings ⁷ for the thrones of His Glory and for the footstool of [His] [feet] chariots of His majesty, and for [His] ho[ly] *debirim* [...] His [...] and for the entry portals ⁸ [...] with all its exits of [corn]ers of its structure, and for all d[wellings] of and] for the *hekhlot* of His Glory, and for the firmaments of

Although the text is frustratingly incomplete Newsom is probably right to notice the significance of the sequence of the terms:

The items which can be identified form a sequence which begins with what is nearest to God and then moves outward. . . . It begins first with the throne and footstool; then the chariots; the *debirim*, their passages for entering and exiting; the (outer?) structures of the sanctuaries; the temples as a whole; and finally, the firmaments that contain the heavenly temples. . . . Thus, the conclusion of the thirteenth Sabbath song appears to contain a final invocation to praise God followed by a systematically organized list of all the manifestations of God's holiness in the objects and structures of the heavenly temple which have been described in preceding songs.⁶⁵

It is not possible to tally each of the items in the sequence with one of the preceding songs. But if Newsom's interpretation of this portion of the later part of the XIIIth Song is correct it is consistent with the view that it is the final song which is the climax of the whole liturgical cycle. This portion then is a summarizing retrospective

God from afar at the edge of the seventh heaven (chs. 3-20). The real climax comes when Enoch is brought to stand before the face of the LORD where he does obeisance and is himself then clothed in the garments of the Glory (chs. 21-22).

⁶⁵ 1985, 376-77.

of the preceding songs not unlike the summarizing section at the end of the series of praises of the chief princes in the VIth Song (4Q403 I i 6-9).

The Vision of the Breastpieces, the Essenes and the Qumran Community

We came at the end of chapter 7 to the conclusion that the widespread interest in the high priests' breastpiece in DSS texts must have something to do with their being called "Essenes" in the classical sources. Now at the end of our discussion of the *Sabbath Songs* we can be more confident still that the scrolls both belonged to a group of Essenes at Khirbet Qumran and that the form of their name Ἐσσηνοὶ betrays their keen interest in the high priest's Ἐσσην. Of course, the connection also has implications for our understanding of the *Sabbath Songs*. Newsom's later view that the *Shirot* are not sectarian (because of their presence at Masada) must now be counterbalanced by the fact that a defining feature of their mystical experience is their climactic focus on the Essenes' eponymous breastpieces.

But does the Qumran community's interest in the *hēšēn* explain the other forms of the name for the movement (Ἐσσηαῖοι and Ὠσσηαῖοι)? Is only half of the puzzle solved? I suggest that whilst the derivation of Ἐσσηνοὶ from *hēšēn* explains half the puzzle directly, it relates indirectly also to the other half.

To date one of the most popular explanations for the name Essene is a derivation from the Aramaic root ܫܦ, "to be pious".⁶⁶ This has the advantage that it can explain both the forms of the Greek, since Ἐσσηνοὶ can translate the absolute ܫܦܐ "holy one" and Ἐσσηαῖοι the emphatic plural ܫܦܝܢ "holy ones". It is supported by the fact that Philo connects the name of the community with ἁγιότης,⁶⁷ and the community members are frequently called "holy ones" (ܫܦܝܩܝܢ).⁶⁸ Until recently a weakness of this view had been the fact that whilst the verb is attested in Syriac there were no instances in West Semitic Aramaic. However, with the publication of 4Q213a (4QTL^v Levi^b ar frags. 3-4 line 6) we now know the noun was used in the Dead Sea Scroll's linguistic environment.

⁶⁶ Schürer, *et al.* 1973-87, vol. 2, p. 559.

⁶⁷ *Quod omnis probus* 75, cf. 91; *Hypothetica* B:11.

⁶⁸ Cross, 1995, 54 n. 1, 183.

Given the inherent strengths of this linguistic explanation I *tentatively* suggest that, in slightly modified form, it does belong with a derivation from the *hēsen* as the other half of the puzzle. Traditionally, the Aramaic ܫܢ has been seen as equivalent to the Hebrew ָסַח. But the view that the Essene community emerged from among the Hasidim of the early years of the Maccabean crisis is now much less likely than once thought and in any case the linguistic root from *hasidim* to Ἐσσηῖται is far from straightforward.⁶⁹

I suggest that whilst the Aramaic ܫܢ does lie behind the Greek forms of the name Essene it is related to the Hebrew word ָסַח "seek refuge, seek shelter, trust".⁷⁰ This verbal root is used sparingly in the scrolls, but its use is significant nonetheless. First, it should be noted that the word almost never appears outside biblical citations. The root is cited in 4Q163 21 12 (in a peshier on Isaiah 30:2) and in 4Q171 iv 20 in a peshier on Psalm 37:39 "The LORD helps them and rescues them; he rescues them from the wicked, and saves them, because they take refuge in him (ָסַח בּוֹ)". For a strongly liturgical community the reluctance to use the word in their own writings is curious given the frequency of the biblical psalmist's declaration of trust in Israel's god as the place of refuge (Pss 2:12; 5:11; 7:2; 11:1; 16:1; 17:7; 18:3, 31; 25:20; 31:2, 20; 34:9, 23; 36:8; 37:40; 57:2; 61:5, 11; 71:1; 94:4; 118:8-9; 141:8). As far as I can tell there are only a couple of other clear uses of the verbal root outside of biblical quotations. One is the very last verse of the Damascus Document (20:34) which says:

these shall exult and rejoice and their heart will be strong and they will prevail over all the sons of the world. And God will atone for them, and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in his holy Name (ָסַח בְּשֵׁם קֹדֶשׁ).

The language here is an adaptation of Zephaniah 3:12 "For I will leave in the midst of you a people humble and lowly. They shall seek refuge in the name of the LORD (ָסַח בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה)". The same phrase is cited in a badly damaged portion of 4QBarkhi Nafshif (4Q438) 6 2 and in 1QH^a 17:28 [9:28] the psalmist proclaims "[For you, O God, are] my refuge (ָסַח); my protection, the rock of my strength, my fortress . . .".

⁶⁹ See the criticisms of Vermes 1975b, 14-15; Grabbe 1992, 496-7.

⁷⁰ Cf. for the proximity of the Hebrew and Aramaic see *TDOT* 5:65. For the derivation of Ἐσσηῖται and Ὠσσηῖται from ָסַח see Kosmala 1959, 319-325.

The reserve with which the word is used in the scrolls might, paradoxically, point to its significance for the community for whom it had, perhaps, a "canonical" status. And consideration of the biblical usage is instructive. It is almost always used with a strongly theological orientation for the seeking of refuge in God. In many instances God provides shelter as the winged *Shekinah* of his chariot-throne (see Pss 5:12; 36:8; 57:2; 91:4; Ruth 2:12). The righteous are "those who find their shelter ((הִסִּיחַ) in him". If the word automatically carries with it associations with the winged *Shekinah* of God's chariot then the Qumran community whose liturgy brings them as near as is possible to that throne might very well have seen themselves as true "refugees" under God's presence.⁷¹ And, of course, in their "refugee" status as those who have been driven out of Jerusalem they would be comforted by the belief that they truly fulfilled the biblical vision for the righteous sheltering in God's presence.⁷²

The one instance of the Aramaic root in 4Q213a also merits close examination. There frags. 3-4 lines 5-6 read:

who profaned her name and the name of her ancestors and shamed (אבהתה) all her brothers⁶ [. . .] her father; and the name of the righteous/holy (שם חסיה) will not be wiped out (לא מחמחא) from all her people for ever (לעלם)

Whilst the basic meaning of חסיה is "holy one", the context supports some overlap with the Hebrew חסה since the righteous man who is not wiped out has obviously found divine protection. And an echo of such biblical passages as Psalm 31:2: "in you, O LORD, I seek refuge (חסיה); do not let me ever (לעולם) be put to shame (אל אבושה) . . ." and Psalm 71:1 "In you, O LORD, I take refuge (חסיה); let me never be put to shame (אל אבושה לעולם)" suggests that for Qumran Aramaic the verb חסי carried the connotations of the Hebrew חסה.

For this there is perhaps also support in the pseudepigraphon *Joseph and Aseneth*, whose authorship perhaps shared the same family tree as the Zadokite leadership at Qumran. In *Joseph and Aseneth* 15:7 Joseph's wife-to-be is told that her name is no longer to be Aseneth, but is to be changed to "city of refuge" since "under your wings

⁷¹ Note the expression "the lot of the people of his throne" in 4Q511 2 i 10.

⁷² Cf. 4Q504 6 where the prayer for the first day of the week celebrates the fact that God has cared for his people like the eagle watching over its nest (cf. Deut 32:11).

many peoples trusting in the Lord God will be sheltered, and behind your walls will be guarded those who attach themselves to the Most High God . . .". Clearly Aseneth here takes over the role of the winged *Shekinah* (cf. esp. LXX Zech 2:15) and Gideon Bohak has plausibly explained this as a part of the text's allegorical reference to the new Jewish temple at Leontopolis.⁷³ But for an Aramaic speaking authorship justification for the identification of Aseneth with the city of "refuge" might have already been found in the similarity of her name, Ἀσενέθ, to the absolute *hasên*.

If there is any truth to any of this then the different Greek forms of the name for the Essenes can all be explained as a faithful representation of the polyvalence of an original semitic field of meaning. The movement based at Qunran had a number of different similar names which were related to each other both linguistically and conceptually. They are people of the *hēsên* which their priesthood so proudly wears. As such they are themselves holy ones and their priesthood the holiest of the holy ones (in Hebrew קְדוּשִׁים, in Aramaic ܩܕܫܐ) who take shelter in the Name of God (CD 20:34) and whose liturgical life is lived under the shadow of God's outstretched wings.⁷⁴

Conclusion to the Sabbath Songs

Our examination of the *Sabbath Songs* in the last three chapters has been full and detailed. A brief summary of its main conclusions is all that is needed here:

1. Carol Newsom's dualistic conceptual paradigm for the interpretation of the Songs must be replaced by a new one. Both internal and external considerations point to an understanding of the cult as a microcosm of the universe within which the demarcation of sacred space "on earth" creates an arena within which the human worshippers can participate in the life of heaven.

2. Within this cultic cosmology the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are

⁷³ Bohak 1996, 76-80.

⁷⁴ There is an intriguing use of the verb פָּרַשׁ in 4Q405 23 ii 5 (פִּרְשֵׁן) which should perhaps be related to the biblical description of the outstretched *cherubim* in Exod 25:20; 37:9 (cf. 1 Kgs 6:27; 8:7; 1 Chr 28:8; 2 Chr 3:13; 5:8) and the eagles' outstretched wings in Deut 32:11. The latter biblical verse has clearly influenced the use of פָּרַשׁ in 4Q504 6 8.

the fullest, most sustained expression of an anthropology which takes the righteous up into the divine life and that of the angels. Where previous interpreters of the *Songs* have seen a blurred vision of a myriad angels our conceptual lens has allowed discrete lines between different characters in the liturgy to come into focus. With some confidence we can say that a transformed humanity, laity and priests, stand centre stage in the Ist, VIth, VIIIth, XIIIth and, probably, the VIIth *Songs*. In general we have been able to distinguish these heavenly humans from the angels and spiritual beings who are particularly associated with the physical features of the cultic structures. A confident claim to know just how much "divine" language is given to the human worshippers is not possible. But it does seem likely that in the Ist and the VIth *Songs* they are called not just "exalted ones", but also *elohim* and *elim*. In the XIIIth *Song* it is certain that the community's own chief priesthood is identified with the Glory of God of Ezekiel's throne vision (Ezekiel 1:26-28).

3. There is some clear relationship between the *Sabbath Songs* and the practices of later *Merkabah Mysticism* and the idealised portrayals of Israel's heroes ascending to heaven in the apocalypses. There are both similarities and dissimilarities. Like the apocalypses and the Hekhalot texts the *Sabbath Songs* do envisage the possibility of a human ascent from earth to heaven, and it is within this context that a human transformation and a sharing of the life of the angels and of that of God himself takes place. However, unlike the stories of ascent in the apocalypses and techniques of ecstasy in the Hekhalot literature, in the *Sabbath Songs* ascent is a ritualised and communal experience, not one for lone patriarchs or the shamanic altered states of consciousness of the adept.

4. Much remains unclear and so a full comparison with apocalyptic literature or *Merkabah Mysticism* is not possible. In particular, it is not clear how the sacred space which is so clearly demarcated in the words of the *Songs* was actually worked out in practical liturgical reality. Are the *cherubim*, *ophannim*, *merkabot*, the vestibules, pillars and other physical features of the liturgy entirely in the minds of the human worshippers? Is it the job of the *maskil* and his songs simply to provoke the listeners' minds, to open their spiritual eyes to see beyond their empirical reality to the true temple around them (cf. 2 Kings 6:17)? Possibly, how could we know? On the other hand just as they had real priests, so they probably also really did dress those priests in their appropriate Torah-prescribed attire. And if they

did that they could very well have set up a form of tabernacle or temple with real vestibules, doors, gates, pillars and their works. If they set up an imitation wilderness tabernacle on the marl terrace outside Khirbet Qumran, given its sanctity we should not be surprised that they were careful not to leave any trace to twentieth century posterity.

One further possibility does spring to mind when we consider how long and drawn out the process of ascent to God's presence is in this liturgy. As a genuine mystical experience we would expect a heavenly ascent to be a relatively brief affair: however much time (in prayer, fasting, or meditation) might be needed in preparation it is not the kind of experience which can be sustained over a thirteen week period. I wonder whether having a liturgy of this kind set for thirteen successive Sabbaths is not designed to avoid the need for a fixed temple building or tabernacle set up with all the necessary boundaries of sacred space. If each song is set for a different sector of the cosmos or heavenly world then the theatre can remain the same and each week the *staging* can be rearranged. One week the staging is set for a liturgy of the vestibule, the next week for the *paroket*, and so on. This would mean that a structuring of liturgical *time* is a dramatic device which replaces the structure of sacred *space* of Israel's Tabernacle and Temple. This would allow the liturgy to be celebrated in a meeting room of the Qumran complex which now shows no obvious signs of being a temple space (with all the *Sougs'* sanctuaries, pillars, gates and other temple features).

Other texts which are assigned to the *maskil* give the impression that the *maskil's* office entailed instruction to members of the Essene movement away from Qumran in the members' home towns and villages.⁷⁵ The Sabbath Songs could be used in a similar way, as the existence of a copy at Masada might confirm. In this case the liturgy is a kind of touring mystery play which the *maskil*, and other (lay and priestly?) leaders (?), take around the communities of Essenes. They stay in each community for only one quarter of the year and "perform" (with the participation of local members?) the liturgy in a building (a place of gathering or "synagogue") which can accommodate a change of liturgical staging and props each Sabbath.

⁷⁵ See esp. 4Q298 "Sons of Dawn" which is small enough to be carried in a traveler's pocket.

Again, this is speculation.

5. Are the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* sectarian? Yes. This is now clear not just from the use of a solar calendar and the presence of the *maskil*. The *Songs*, particularly the Ist Song, are full of the language and ideas peculiar to the Qumran community. There are, in particular, numerous points of theological and linguistic contacts with the later columns of the cave 1 version of the *Community Rule* (IQS 8-10) which suggests the liturgy belongs to the foundational stages of the life of the community. The liturgy is also distinctively *Essene* in that it reaches its climactic moment with a vision of the community's high priests each wearing their *hēšēn*, the multi-coloured, jewel-encrusted breastpieces of their divine Glory.

THE WAR SCROLL

Another text which provides us with some important evidence in our search for the community's theological anthropology is the *War Scroll*.¹ It has generally been thought that the *War Scroll* is strongly dualistic in its angelology; distinguishing clearly both between good angels and the demonic Belial, and between the suprahuman angels and the human combatants in the eschatological war.² There are, certainly, portions of the text which speak of a distinction between the human and the angelic. But there are other aspects which, as we shall see, point to the synchronisation of heavenly and earthly worlds in such a way that the righteous are both the effective agents of God's action and his presence, thereby becoming theomorphic or angelic.

Humanity and the Angels in Battle Together

The normal scholarly view is that the distinctive theological contribution of the *War Scroll* to Israel's Holy War tradition is the way in which the human fighters are accompanied by angels who fight beside them or on their behalf. There are several passages which demonstrate that the Qumran community's general experience of a shared life with the angels had a reflex in its vision for the eschatological battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

In the first column we are told that

... on this (day) they shall clash in a great carnage; the congregation of divine beings (אֱלֹהִים) and the assembly of men, the Sons of Light

¹ Though it is possible that the scroll, or parts thereof, had a pre-Qumranite and extra-Essene history, there is no doubt that in its present form it represents the ideology of the movement centred at Qumran. For a summary of the overlap with other Qumran texts in distinctive language and theology see Wacholder 1983, 78-83.

² For the *War Scroll* the "apogee" of apocalyptic spatial dualism see Gammie 1974, 371—cf. Duhaime 1987, 34. See Collins 1997a, 99-106 who looks to Persian ideas for an explanation of the scroll's dualism.

and the lot of darkness, shall fight each other for (the disclosure of) the might of God, with the uproar of a large multitude and the war cry of divine beings (אֱלֹהִים) and men, on the day of calamity. . . (1:10-11).

In 12:9 the host of God's spirits (צבא רבוּדִין) is with Israel's foot soldiers (cf. 19:1-2). In 7:3-7 a principal criterion for membership of the camp arranged for battle is a purity compatible with the presence of "holy angels" in the people's midst. The presence of specifically named angels amongst Israel's ranks is proclaimed through inscriptions on shields of the towers used in combat. According to 9:15 "On all the shields of the towers they shall write: on the first 'Mich[ae]l,' [. . . on the third] 'Sariel', on the fourth 'Raphael'."³ And in 10:10-11 Israel are specifically described as those who can see the angels: they are "seers of angels".

In 13:10 we read of the "prince of light (שַׂר מְאֹרֹת)" whom long ago God entrusted to Israel's help and under whose dominion are all the spirits of truth. The identity of this character is never defined precisely. He appears elsewhere in QL as the "prince of lights (שַׂר אֱוֵרִים)" (1QS 3:20-25). Since Yadin's commentary he has traditionally been identified with Michael.⁴ There are both internal and external arguments adduced in favour of this identification. In a later passage in the *War Scroll* (17:6-8) an angel who is sent to Israel's help and who is, it is claimed, identified with Michael, is described in terms similar to those of the "prince of light" in 13:10. Outside of the *War Scroll* Michael is identified as the prince of Israel (Daniel 10:21; 12:1; *1 Enoch* 20:5; *b. Yoma* 77a etc. . .) and he is given high ranking authority over the cosmos and humanity (e.g. *1 Enoch* 20:5; *b. Hag.* 12b).

The theme of angelic assistance in the *War Scroll* is not entirely unique. It has its historical background in the biblical (and ancient Near Eastern) tradition of the divine warrior accompanied by his heavenly hosts.⁵ As for the specific role of angels on the battlefield this too is already present in the OT (see Exod 23:20; 33:2; 2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr 32:21 cf. 1 Kgs 22:19; 2 Kgs 6:17; Ps 31:6). The theme is well attested in Hasmonean propaganda literature (1 Macc 7:14;

³ From the broken text which follows (9:16) it seems the second name was Gabriel. This team of four is, of course, traditional (cf. e.g. *1 Enoch* 9:1; 10:1-11 etc. . .).

⁴ See Yadin 1962, 235-36, cf., e.g., Davidson 1992, 225-227.

⁵ See the discussion of Miller 1973, 143-4 in the context of pp. 8-144 generally.

2 Macc 10:29-30; 11:6; 15:23, cf. 2 Macc 3),⁶ and has analogues in later Jewish (and Christian) literature.⁷

Whilst both scholarly introductions and detailed discussions of the *War Scroll* have focused on its application of the *Engelgemeinschaft* motif to the Holy War, there has been a one-sided preoccupation with this dimension of the text. The assumption is frequently made that the participation of the angels in the conflict is a reflection of the text's dualistic theological framework. The text certainly adopts a limited dualism between God and his lot, the Sons of Light on the one hand and Belial, and his lot, the Sons of Darkness, on the other. There is also, clearly, some kind of distinction between the action in heaven and that on the battlefield on earth. However, in our view there is much less evidence for a strongly spatial dualism, between heaven above and earth below, as a defining feature of the text's worldview.⁸

Caution is necessary on a number of counts. For example, nowhere is there described any actual conflict between Israel's angels and the demons (as we find, for example, in Daniel 10:13, 20-21; Rev 12:7-9). The text concentrates almost entirely on the details of the human conflict.⁹ The *War Scroll* envisages no eschatological collapse of history and the space-time universe, but rather sees the victory of the elect as the affirmation of creation (see, esp., 10:11-15 and 12:7-16 discussed below), the perfection of history and the extension of Israel's own social, political and religious institutions throughout the world (1:8, 2:1-14). There is no obvious expectation of physical post-mortem resurrection, but rather the older belief in a long life for the righteous,

⁶ In 1QH^a 11:35-6 [3:35-6] there is a passing reference to "war of the heavenly warriors (מַלְאָכִים שְׂמִיָּים)" which "will scourge the earth". In the light of our discussion of the *War Scroll* it might be wisest to take this as a reference to the sectarians in their heavenly mode.

⁷ Cf. *1 Enoch* 56:5; *b. Hag.* 14b; Rev 12.

⁸ The nature of the text's dualism is related to the possibility of its adoption or genetic relationship to the Persian dualism of contemporary Zoroastrianism. J.J. Collins, in particular, has argued for the influence of this history-of-religions background to the *War Scroll's* mythology, and a concomitant movement away from the Canaanite mythology which is determinative for earlier apocalyptic represented by Daniel 7-12 (Collins 1975). However, the Persian influence is rejected by others, e.g. Davidson 1992, 232-34, cf. Osten-Sacken 1969, who sees a derivation entirely from the OT.

⁹ The point is noted by Davidson, 1992, 232, though his claim that the "war between the angels is presupposed" at various points is unwarranted—at least for the dualistic understanding of angelology which he assumes.

the Sons of Light (1QM 1:9). This is all consistent with an understanding of apocalyptic language as that which gives theological depth and meaning to the ordinary empirical realities of history.¹⁰ It is not obviously indicative of the worldview, which most modern commentators assume, according to which there are two separate, albeit interdependent, but nevertheless quite distinct worlds, the heavenly and the earthly.

There are numerous passages in the scroll where it is unclear whether, on close inspection, the text refers to angels, to men or to both (e.g. 1QM 1:1-11; 12:1-8; 15:14; 17:6-8; 18:2). Although the majority of commentators currently take all instances of "אלים", "מלאכים", "קדושים", and so forth, as references to suprahuman angels, caution is now necessary in the light of our examination of other Dead Sea Scroll texts and the wider phenomenon of angelomorphic anthropology in the Judaism of this period. The danger of assuming, without further ado, that such language can *only* refer to suprahuman angels has now been well illustrated by M. Smith's critique of Baillet's interpretation of 4Q491 frag. 11.

Another duality which has emerged from our discussion thus far presents itself as an alternative explanation of the angelological portions of the *War Scroll*: it is possible that descriptions of two distinct communities of human and angelic individuals is in some cases a reflection of the distinction between the battlefield proper and the cultic centre from which Israel's fighters set forth. Although the war is highly ritualised in character, with the priesthood playing a prominent role both liturgically and strategically, the priests are to be kept apart from the actual fighting itself (9:7-9; 16:8-9). There may, therefore, be a distinction between the angelic priesthood and the human laity akin to that which we have found in 4Q511 35 and the first of the *Sabbath Songs*.

There are instances where, for example, references to "holy ones (קדושים)" must refer to humans (6:6 and 16:1: "the holy ones of his people (קדושי עמו)"), others where it is ambiguous: 18:2 the "shout of the holy ones (תדועה קדושים)" as they pursue Asshur; the "multitude of holy ones (רוב קדושים)" in 12:1; the "עם קדושים" in 12:8 which could intend a "people of holy ones",¹¹ just as "קדושיכה" in

¹⁰ Compare Wright, 1992, 280-299.

¹¹ For this translation of 12:4 see, e.g., Yadin 1962, 316. Others translate "together

12:4 could refer to God's elect. The opening lines of the twelfth column provide a tantalizingly difficult text in which there are certainly human characters ("the elect ones of the holy people" 12:1, "the elect ones of heaven" 12:5) alongside others who are described in strongly angelic terminology ("צבאות מלאכים" 12:1). The majority of commentators assume that although there is here certainly a community of angels and men, the former are not described in terms of the later. Carmignac is a notable exception to this consensus, however. He thinks that the "multitude of holy ones" who are now in the heavens are the souls of the deceased righteous who fight alongside those still alive in a kind of "communion of saints".¹² Such a view is without parallel in the Qumran texts and lacks any conceptual support in the *War Scroll*. However, it reminds us that the text is not as straightforward as a first reading might suggest.

The common assumption that *conceptually* angels and humanity are separate ontologically (though interdependent functionally) within the *War Scroll* must be questioned in the light of two portions of the early columns of the scroll. (1) The first is one of the clearest statements of an *Engelgemeinschaft*, which merits some careful consideration. In the seventh column there are instructions for the exclusion of various categories of persons from the military force. There are to be no young boys or women (lines 3-4). Neither shall there be any lame, blind, crippled, any in whose flesh there is a permanent blemish or one who suffers from some uncleanness (lines 4-5). This exclusion is not due to the common sense practicalities of war, nor out of compassion for those who would be unable to defend themselves, but because

They shall all be volunteers for war, perfect ones of spirit and flesh (תמימי רוח ובשר), and ready for the Day of Vengeance. Any ⁶ man who is not purified from a bodily discharge on the day of battle shall not go down with them, for the holy angels (מלאכי קודש) are together with their hosts (עם צבאותם יחד).

There is no suggestion in this passage that the "holy angels" are any other than suprahuman transcendent beings who are in community with the mortal troops. This ruling is an angelological modification

with the holy ones", which stills allows a reference to humans though it lends itself rather better to an expression of an *Engelgemeinschaft* of two distinct orders of being, men and angels. Cf. the "עם קודש" in 12:1.

¹² Carmignac 1958, 171, cf. Yadin 1962, 242.

of Deuteronomy 23:14 where, "because the *LORD your God* travels along with your camp, . . . your camp must be holy, so that he may not see anything indecent among you and turn away from you".¹³ Clearly, for the sectarians the LORD's presence is now manifest in the "holy angels".

However, whilst there are angels here who are clearly distinct from mortals, it is noteworthy how far the language and ideology puts humanity in an angelomorphic mode. The boundary markers of the community are prescribed by the angelic identity: those who are perfect physically and spiritually meet the entrance requirements, whilst those who are physically damaged or spiritually impure are excluded. Here we find a clear example of the widespread correspondence between physical perfection and the divine or angelic identity. This angelomorphic physiognomy is recurrent in the Jewish texts from the period and corresponds to a similar ideology in Greco-Roman divine man traditions.¹⁴ As we have seen, language of "perfection" is prominent in QL and the angelomorphic community in the *Sabbath Songs* are designated the "perfect of way", whilst the poetic praise of their priesthood highlights their possession of the *beauty* of the heavenly realm. In the *War Scroll* it is "through the perfect of way (כַּחֲמַיִם רַרְךְ)" that God will destroy all the wicked nations according to 1QM 14:7.

(2) The second passage which suggests the *War Scroll* has in mind an angelic, heavenly, identity for the true Israel as it fights the eschatological war is the first column. This is a collage of biblical allusions which sets the scene for the military instructions to follow. Particularly prominent, though by no means systematically worked out, are a number of allusions to the last chapters of Daniel.¹⁵ Accordingly, the war envisaged in what follows is the eschatological war that will mean the decisive destruction of God's enemies and

¹³ The rest of 1QM 7:6 and 7:7 picks up the instruction of Deut 23:12-13 that there be a designated spot to meet nature's needs at a distance from the camp.

¹⁴ See Bieler 1935-36, 49-56; Betz 1958; Horbury 1998, 97-98, 102. Of the notable Jewish examples of divine physiognomy we have already discussed the Birth of Noah and the "beauty" of the high priest in Sirach 45:7-8 and 50:1-21. See also the Prince of Tyre in Ezekiel 28:12-16, the prominence of this theme in *Joseph and Aseneth*, 2 *Baruch* 51:10-12 and Artapanus in Eusebius' *Præp. Evan.* 9.27.37 where we are told that "Moses was tall, ruddy, gray with long hair, most venerable", (for the angelomorphic Moses in Artapanus see Fletcher-Louis, 1997, 176-78).

¹⁵ For the use of language from Daniel 11:11, 32, 40-45; 12:1-3 in 1QM col. 1 see recent survey in Wenthe 1998 and cf. Osten-Sacken 1969, 31-34.

the vindication and exaltation of Israel. In this context 1QM 1:8 says "But [the Sons of Righteousness shall shine unto all the uttermost ends of the world, going on to shine until the completion of all the appointed times of darkness". Though the language is not exactly parallel this is obviously equivalent to the vision of the time in Daniel 12:3 when "those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever". For the *War Scroll*, then, the period of Israel's eschatological conflict is the period when Israel has already been transformed into its heavenly, light-giving mode. The Sons of Righteousness as a whole now bring light to the farthest reaches of the cosmos as had the heavenly high priest of 4Q11Levi^d.

These considerations give grounds for another examination of the *War Scroll's* angelology and a questioning of the consensus that angelic language never refers to the human actors in any way. The rush to identify the prince of lights with Michael is symptomatic of modern scholarship's predilection for dualism: an angelic figure of such singular importance, it is assumed, must be identified in a one-to-one relationship with a distinct personal angelic being who is an entirely suprahuman divine agent. But matters are not so simple and we will work our way in the rest of this study to a more sophisticated understanding of the prince of lights; one which we hope more adequately satisfies *all* the relevant data. Matters are not so simple because (a) the fact that the scrolls never actually identify the prince of light(s) with Michael is striking and requires explanation in itself; (b) the supposed three-way "identification" of the angel of help with Michael on the one hand and the prince of light on the other in 1QM 17:6-8 is by no means as straightforward as has been assumed, and (c) the name Michael itself has not, we think, been properly understood, at least as it functions in the *War Scroll*.

Divine and Human Agency

Whilst it has been widely assumed that at the heart of the *War Scroll* there is the view that the eschatological battle is fought with the indispensable assistance and power of the angelic realm, this dimension of the text should not be overstated. It is muted by comparison with the greater emphasis on the Israelites themselves as agents of God's power.

P.R. Davies has pointed to the error of previous scholars in reading into one passage the idea of an angelic battle when it is not present. In 7:6-7, as we have seen the "holy angels" are with the forces in the camp, just as God is with the Israelites in their camp according to Deut 23:14. However, there is no mention here of the angels actually acting as the combatants. The angels are present here because of the issue of Israel's purity: The influence of Leviticus 21:17-21 in determining the criteria for exclusion of the physically disabled points to the priesthood and cult as the context for the *Engelgemeinschaft*, not the holy war.

Similarly, in column 10 Israel's access to the angelic realm is part of her privileged status as a recipient of cosmological insight, again, by particular virtue of her cult. No specific relevance for Israel's holy war is drawn from her ability to see and understand the angelic realm, beyond the fact that she is chosen by God and is, presumably, to take courage from the fact that she is the object of his care, special attention and revelation: her knowledge of the whole cosmos is coterminous with her right to a privileged position therein despite threats from her enemies.

Maxwell Davidson has noted that "while the enemies of the sect are in the lot of an angel (Belial), God's people are associated with God himself".¹⁶ This distinction is rooted in Deuteronomy 32:8 according to which God assigns every nation to an angel (LXX and 4QDeut), but to Israel the LORD himself. Davidson's observation means the author of this material is unlikely to have seen angels as the principal administrators of God's purposes. The point is very well made by 1QM 14:7, where it is not through (suprahuman) angels, but rather

through the *perfect of way* [that] all the wicked nations be destroyed

These "perfect of way" are those who in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* have a transformed life, worshipping God as heavenly beings in the heights above.

¹⁶ 1992, 225. The righteous are members of God's lot in 1QM 1:5; 13:5; 15:1; 17:7 and the human (and demonic) lot of Belial appear in 1QM 1:1, 5, 11; 4:2; 13:2, 4, 5, 11-12.

Columns 10-19: The Ideological Heart of the Holy War

Columns 2-9 provide detailed instructions for the practicalities of the battlefield. There is much theology in the midst of the logistics though it is, by and large, implicit. Columns 10-14 form the heart of the scroll's theological vision. Whereas columns 2-9 have, primarily, to do with the theatre of war, columns 10-14 are focused on the liturgy of the cult and the theology which motivates the fighters. This section of the scroll has, as a whole, been inadequately discussed, even though it holds the interpretative key to so much else. In the rest of this chapter we offer a detailed discussion of columns 10-14 and 17 in the belief that they show that a strong theological anthropology plays a central role in the ideology of the *War Scroll* and that its life-setting is Israel's cult which has given the vision for the Holy War only a limited dualistic character.¹⁷

Column 10: Israel, the One like God in All Creation

The end of column 9 is broken and so column 10 begins in the middle of a section of instruction. Lines 2-5a cite the command of Deuteronomy 20:2-4 that the priest take his stand and address the people before battle, encouraging them not to fear their enemies but to trust God who is in their midst. Lines 5-6 pick up and expand the address of the officials in Deuteronomy 20:5-8, signalling a theme of much of what follows: the officials are "to strengthen the willing hearted in the might of God, to restore all the melted hearts, to strengthen together all the mighty men of worth". Justifiable grounds for war is extracted from Numbers 10:9 which says that "when a war occurs in your land against the foe oppressing you, you shall blow on the trumpets and you shall be remembered before your God and saved from your enemies."

What follows deserves detailed discussion. In 10:8-16 Israel is set in a privileged position within the cosmos as uniquely like God and privy to the secrets and order of creation.

¹⁷ My approach to the *War Scroll* is somewhat anticipated by Robert Murray who has claimed (Murray 1992, 91) that it "has aspects which make it clearly a descendant of old war ritual texts, not only against human enemies but against evil in the cosmic and angelic sphere. Though it contains material of military character, it is much easier to interpret the text as a whole in terms of ritual with prophetic and magical aspects".

"and saved from your enemies" (Num 10:9). Who is like you, O God of Israel, in the hea[ve]ns or on earth, to do according to your great works (יעשה כמעשיכה הנרולים) ⁹ and your mighty strength (כנבורחכה ותחזקה)? Who ----- is like your people Israel whom you have chosen for yourself among all the peoples of the lands? ¹⁰ the holy people of the covenant, learned in the statute, taught in discernment] (משכילי) (ביניה), hearers of the glorious voice, seers of ¹¹ the holy angels (רואי), open of ear, hearers of deep things [...] the expanse of the skies, the hosts of the luminaries (צבא מאורות), ¹² the task of the spirits (משא רוחות), the dominion of the holy ones (ממשלה קדושים), treasuries of [...] clouds (עבים); the one who creates the earth and the boundaries of its divisions ¹³ for the wilderness and dry land, all it produces with [their] fru[it]s the circle of the seas, the reservoirs of the rivers and the cleaving of the depths ¹⁴ the deeds of beasts and birds, the form of Adam/humanity (תבנית אדם) and [...] the confusion of tongue and the separation of peoples, the settling of clans ¹⁵ and the distribution of lands [...] the appointed times of holiness, the circuits of years and the times of ¹⁶ eternity [...] These (אלה) we have known from your discernment (מביחכה), which [...]

Clearly, here (line 11), again, the "holy angels" are suprahuman. The context of the revelation of cosmological secrets, which continues through to line 15, suggests that these holy angels are closely bound up with the physical universe—they are its spiritual aspect, those beings responsible for its order and proper functioning. At the beginning of line 12 the *משא רוחות* could just as well be "the rising of the winds" as "the task of the spirits". In the context the "dominion of the holy ones" (line 12) is most likely a purely angelological dominion, though a thoroughly *ecological* one at that. If so this is a noteworthy use of *קדושים* in this sense.¹⁸

The opening lines of the officials' speech are striking. They bring together two questions which usually appear separately in the Hebrew Bible. Both the questions "Who is like you, God of Israel?" and "Who is like you, Israel?" are asked rhetorically, expecting the answer "no one" in the scriptures (Exod 15:11; Deut 3:24; Pss 35:10; 71:19; 113:5 and Deut 33:29; 2 Sam 7:23; 1 Chr 17:21, respectively). In one instance, 2 Sam 7:22-23 (= 1 Chr 17:20-21), a rhetorical seeking after any who are like Israel is linked to a statement of the incomparability of Israel's God:

¹⁸ For קדוש as an angel see Job 5:1; 15:15; Ps 89:6, 8 (Eng. 89:5, 7); Dan 8:13; Zech 14:5.

Therefore you are great, O LORD God; for there is no one like you, and there is no God besides you (כִּי אֵין כַּמוֹךָ וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זולתך), according to all that we have heard with our ears.²³ Who is like your people, like Israel? (מִי כַעֲמֹךָ בְּשָׂרָא)? Is there another nation on earth whose God went to redeem it as a people, and to make a name for himself, doing great and awesome things for them, by driving out before his people nations and their gods?

Here, as in IQM 10:8-9, the incomparability of God is set alongside the incomparability of Israel. But in this biblical text this is simply an affirmation of the special privilege of Israel's salvation and election; there is no fuller, ontological, sense that Israel's singularity somehow participates in, or reflects, God's peculiar majesty.

In the *War Scroll* a statement far more radical than the biblical language originally intended is created by a careful and deliberate juxtaposition of two questions—"Who is like you, O God of Israel?" and "who is like your people, Israel?"—which do not themselves appear together in the biblical text. The result is a parallelism with both a pleasing assonance—between the כַּמוֹכָה "like you" of line 8 and the כַּעֲמֹכָה "like your people" of line 9—and a profound theological statement.

The exclamation of the incomparability of God is formed, in particular, under the influence of Deuteronomy 3:24 ("what god is there in heaven or on earth who does deeds and mighty acts like yours (אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה) (כַּמַּעֲשֶׂיךָ וְכַנְבוֹרֶיךָ)?" This Deuteronomic verse gives the grounds for God's uniqueness in his unsurpassed power in creation and history (Y). For the *War Scroll* the grounds for the incomparability of Israel is her election (Y), her possession and education in the Torah and her privileged access to the secrets of creation (10:9-16). In the OT antecedents Israel's incomparability is always grounded in salvation-history, never, as here, in the Torah and creation.

This later peculiarity and the combination of the two forms—the incomparability of God and of Israel—in the one context reflects a new and dramatic theological statement. Where in the Old Testament this form of question is purely rhetorical, here the author expects his readers or hearers to supply new answers to the biblical questions.

The question

- (X) *Who is like you, God of Israel, in the heavens or on earth,*
 (Y) *to do according to your great works and your mighty strength?*

implies the answer "Israel", because what follows states *her* incomparability. The juxtaposition of the two questions in lines 8-9 is suggestive of the homology between Israel and God. To the question

(X') *Who is like your people Israel*

(Y') whom you have chosen for yourself among the peoples of the lands, the holy people of the covenant, learned in statute (etc . . . lines 10-16)?

the answer has just been supplied, with a statement of the incomparability of her God. These two lines (8-9) play on the fact that their statements can be either rhetorical and therefore, in effect simply declaratory of what is the case, or genuinely interrogative expecting the answer supplied by the other question.

Besides the suggestive juxtaposition of the two (rhetorical) statements there are a couple of other indications that we have here a theological anthropology of a quite remarkable kind. (1) First, this homology between Israel and her God makes sense in the text's flow of thought as an explication of the citation from Numbers 10:9 in lines 6b-8a, which prescribes the blowing of trumpets *so that Israel may be remembered before her God*. Lines 8b onwards then supply the content of that remembrance: Israel is like God and therefore the ground of her hope and the fighters' strength of heart is the knowledge that he will act on behalf of his own--she who is uniquely like unto him (Israel).

(2) Secondly, if the two declarations are intertwined in this way, then we should expect there to be some correspondence between the second half (Y) of the first question and the second half (Y') of the second question. How, then, is Israel like God *to do according to his great works and his mighty strength* (Y)? There are two parts to this statement and both fit perfectly Israel's vocation in the immediate context.

According to 10:5-6 the priest shall "address all those who are ready for battle, *to strengthen* (לְהַחֲזִיק) the willing hearted *in the might of God* (בְּנִבְרַת אֵל), to restore all the melted hearts, *to strengthen together all the mighty men of worth* (לְהַחֲזִיק יַחַד כּוֹל גְּבוּרֵי חַיִל)". Clearly, it is Israel at war who are to "do according to God's mighty strength (בְּנִבְרַת חַזְקַת)" as line 8-9 describes. So part of the first question looks back to the immediate context of military conflict and binds Israel closely to God's action and presence within eschatological history. Indeed, that Israel is to act according to God's strength is a leitmotif which recurs throughout the columns that follow. In col-

umn 11 David slays Goliath because he trusts in God's Name, not his own strength. The battle belongs to God "*and the strength is from [hinn]*"—it is not Israel's strength (lines 4–5). As we shall see, this is a principal element in the argument of column 11 as a whole. In column 14 God "miraculously" opens the mouth of the mute "to sing for joy in the might [of . . .] (לרנן בנבור [ח])" God.¹⁹ He gives to the staggering knees strength (חזוק) to stand and steadiness of loins to the smitten back (lines 6–7). Throughout the rest of the *War Scroll* there is the presupposition that the true Israel in her Holy War acts according to God's mighty strength and so 10:8–9 quite naturally expects the answer that only Israel is like her God.

10:10–16 (Y') looks backwards temporally to creation and interprets further what it means to "do according to God's great acts . . ." (Y). Israel knows and properly understands creation and its order. It is also true to say that she *acts* in accordance with God's great works of creation because she knows "the appointed times of holiness, the circuits of the years and the times of eternity (line 15, cf. IQS 10:1–10 etc. . .)". That is, she has a festival calendar which orders her life in accordance with the drama of creation—God's great works.²⁰ Every part of her cultic life is ingrained with the rhythm of creation and, if she knows and follows the theology of Sirach 24 and 50, her own priesthood plays the role of the creator God within the cult-as-microcosm.

Again this is a theme which recurs in the columns that follow. Israel's cosmologically synchronized worship is the burden of 14:12c–14a:

we, your holy people, *in your truthful works* shall praise (במעשי אמתכה) (נהללה) your Name and *in your mighty deeds* shall exalt (ובנבורוחיכה) (נרוממה) [. . .] the times and holy days of the fixed times of eternity (ומועדי העדות עולמים), with the arrival of the day and night, and the departure of the evening and the morning.

The translators have failed to perceive the propriety of the natural force of the כ prefix on מעשי and נבורוחיכה.²¹ This has a similar

¹⁹ On analogy with the כ רנן of Pss 20:6 and 33:1 there is no reason not to translate "to sing for joy in . . .".

²⁰ For the sect's calendar here see e.g. Dupont-Sommer 1955, 158; Ploeg 1959, 139; Yadin 1962, 308. For the חקופות ("circuits", or "turning points") cf., e.g., IQS 10:1, 2, 3, 6; IQHP 9:24; 20:5, 6, 8 [1:24; 12:5, 6, 8].

²¹ The second *beth* is even omitted from Yadin's transcription and translation (1962, 328–9).

meaning to the *beth* in Sirach 45:7 where Aaron ministers to God "in his Glory" and 4Q405 23 ii 10 where the chief priests bless the God of knowledge "in all the works of His Glory". There is no need to see the *beth* in 1QM 14:12-14 as a causative "because of" or "through", since, in context, the thought is quite deliberately one in which Israel's worship, in temple and upon the battlefield, is *in accordance with, in synch with and in the rhythm of God's truthful works*.²² The belief that Israel's worship in the sanctuary is symmetrical with God's work on the seven days of creation of Genesis 1, which is well established in the Priestly material of the Pentateuch, is assumed here: Israel imitates, acts out and participates in God's truthful works and mighty deeds as an expression of worship to her creator God.²³ The *War Scroll* refers here specifically to the Tamid offering—the morning and evening sacrifice and so the conceptual background will include the liturgical imitation of God's separation of light and darkness in the priestly tending of the menorah at the boundary between day and night. Our author assumes the older Priestly theology according to which God's humanity worships him through a dramatic *imitatio Dei creatoris*.

The reference to God's works (בַּעֲשׂוֹ) and mighty acts (בְּכִבוֹדוֹ וְחִזְקוֹ) in column 14 picks up the language of 10:8-9, where again the context brings together creation and cult.²⁴ Clearly, then, Israel is like God because she acts according to God's actions in creation and she fights God's enemies according to his mighty strength.

10:14b-15a are probably a further significant part of the logic of the tenth column, binding together creation and eschatological victory. They speak of the "confusion of language and the separation of peoples, the settling of clans and the distribution of lands". There are multiple intertextual allusions here.²⁵ In particular, there is ref-

²² Psalm 150:2 need not provide a precedent for a praising of God for his mighty deeds. This psalm is set in the sanctuary which is in symmetry with the cosmos (v. 1 קָדְשׁוֹ is parallel to רִקְיעַ עֲוֹן), and so the praise of God "in his mighty deeds (וְהַלְלוּהוּ בְּכִבוֹדוֹ)" is, as in 1QM 14:12, a praise offered through a worship that is patterned after the order of creation.

²³ In the broken text that remains at the end of column 10 there is a reference to "his house (בֵּיתוֹ, line 18)". Did this refer to God's temple—the meeting point of humanity, God and creation—as the place from which the eschatological conflict is waged?

²⁴ Cf. also 13:7-9.

²⁵ For the relevant biblical texts and the points of linguistic overlap see Yadin 1962, 308; Jongeling 1962, 255.

erence to the tower of Babel, the settling of the promised land under Joshua and the description of God's allotting the portions to the nations in Deuteronomy 32:8-9. These references are double edged. The Deuteronomic picture of Israel as the LORD's own portion supports the theme at the heart of column 10; Israel has a peculiarly intimate relationship with the one creator God. This intimacy is also reflected in the sense that she has been given by God her own sacred territory, the promised land. However, possession of that territory was achieved at the cost of a prolonged military conquest; a military contest in past salvation-history which provides the model for the future war against the sons of darkness "when the exiles, the Sons of Light, return from the wilderness of the peoples to encamp in the wilderness of Jerusalem" (1QM 1:3).

On the other hand, the confusion of tongues at Babel in Genesis 11 speaks of the dysfunctional relationship between humanity and creation. It is precisely this dysfunction which is the cause of the eschatological battle between Israel and her enemies. Implicitly, and perhaps this was spelt out in the lacunae, the war to which Israel is summoned is the means by which God restores the order of creation as originally intended: in the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness the *Endzeit* will restore the *Urzeit* as it was before Genesis 11 (a view which will be developed in chapter 12).

This column, therefore, seeks to bind together creation and coming salvation-history. At the centre of the web of creation and history there stands a quite remarkable homology between God and Israel, the people that lives in accordance with God's action in history and creation. Both literarily and conceptually the movement of the passage turns on the similitude between God and Israel.²⁶

²⁶ It is also possible that behind this God-Israel relationship there stands a God-Adam and Israel-Adam relationship. According to the priestly tradition as represented by Sirach's recounting of creation in Sirach 16:24-17:21 the similarity between the creator and humanity, of which Genesis 1:26-27 speaks, is constituted precisely by the fact that "He endowed them with strength (ισχύον) like his own (καθ' ἑαυτόν) (following the emendation from ἑαυτοῦς proposed by Ziegler, Smend 1906, 155 and others) and made them in his own image (κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ)" (17:3). That Adam's similitude to God is, at least in part, in mind here is indicated by the account of creation that follows. Israel knows the answer to the question of line 8 because to her has been revealed the "form of Adam (line 14)".

1QM 10:9: Who is Like God? Michael and Israel's Secret Name

That this reading is the right one is further confirmed by an intriguing detail in the scribe's writing of his text. In line 9 the scribe left a gap between the words "who" and "like your people Israel". There is no damage to the leather which otherwise causes scribes to leave such gaps and the presence of a horizontal line indicates a deliberate scribal marker.²⁷ The scribal layout of 1QM, as throughout the scrolls, is attentive to the use of gaps in order to mark structural divisions and clear paragraphs in the text. Why is there this gap here? It is, obviously, not a gap to mark a paragraph or section division in the text and yet it has a peculiar line which indicates a matter of significance. Suggested explanations tend to involve the assumption that something is missing and the gap is the scribe's recognition that the lacuna has to be filled.²⁸ There is little warrant, however, for the view that the gap is unintentional on the grounds that, for example, the scribe's model was illegible at this point.²⁹

I would suggest that the gap has several purposes. First and foremost it flags up the presence of a conceptual high point of the text: the similarity between Israel and God, and the call to the former to act in imitation and in the power of God, are central and fundamental to the rest of the scroll. Secondly, therefore, the scribe indicates the weight to be attached to these sentences in any public presentation of the text.

Thirdly, and a little more tentatively, I would suggest that there is a lacuna which the reader and/or hearer is meant to fill and that this has something to do with the name Michael. Etymologically the name Michael means "who is like God?" (מי כאל) and it is this question which brings us to the heart of column 10. Although line 8 does not speak explicitly of the name מיכאל, both line 8 and line 9 contain its constituent parts:

line 8: מי(א) כ(מזכה) אל(ישראל)

line 9: מי(א) כ(עמדה) (ישראל) אל

²⁷ For gaps in the text of 1QM due to a fault in the leather see 14:5 (Yadin 1962, 326-7); 14:12 and 13 (Yadin 1962, 328-9) and compare 1:10; 11:7. On such scribal markers in DSS texts see Tov 1996.

²⁸ See Jongeling 1962, 248 for suggestions.

²⁹ Ploeg 1959, 137 thinks the gap has been left because the scribe had to refill his pen and was distracted as a result. This hardly explains the omission of such a large gap, let alone the deliberate line.

For any Jew attentive to the hidden structures of a text this parallelism, and the provocatively left gap in the second line might well evoke the name of Israel's principal guardian angel. This would set up a three way correspondence between Israel, God and Michael, suggesting that *Michael is not simply Israel's principal guardian angel, but is her secret name, carrying in himself her vocation and privileged God-like-ness.* The presence of a coded reference to Michael here is also likely given that at the end of the previous column the archangel has appeared twice (9:15, 16), albeit in the company of three other archangels (Gabriel, Sariel and Raphael). We will return to this possibility in our discussion of 17:6-8.

The Theology of IQM 10: Comparative Traditions

From outside of the *War Scroll* and Qumran literature there are two other considerations which confirm this reading of IQM column 10. The meaning of the name Israel was widely reflected upon in Jewish antiquity, partly because Genesis 32 provides biblical warrant for the importance of the Patriarch's receipt of this name when struggling with a divine being (God? an angel?). In Genesis 32:29 the divine being tells Jacob, "You shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel, because שרית with God and with men, and have prevailed". The meaning of the word שרית was variously assessed in antiquity.³⁰ The Septuagint translates using the verb "to be strong, strengthen or gain strength" (ἐνίσχυσαι): "because ἐνίσχυσας with God and with men". The precise sense is not entirely clear though some notion that Israel's identity is, at its patriarchal beginning and at its core, one of strength gained through intimate contact with God seems to be shared with IQM 10.

The second item of comparative evidence is a Tannaitic midrash to Deuteronomy 33:26, to which Michael Fishbane has drawn attention.³¹ *Sifre Deuteronomy* Pisqa 355 is a comment on the opening words of Deuteronomy 33:26 which reads as follows:

There is none like God, O Jeshurun (אין כאל ישורון) (Deut 33:26a):
 Israel says, *there is none like God,* and the Holy Spirit responds, (*except the*) *god Jeshurun (אל ישורון).*³² Israel says, *Who is like you, O Lord, among*

³⁰ See the discussion in Vermes 1975a, 164-5.

³¹ Fishbane 1992, 54-56. The midrash is perhaps assumed in the discussion of Gen 32:24 in *Gen. Rab.* 77:1.

³² Fishbane seems to think that the midrash takes אל ישורון as אלה ישורון ("except

the mighty (Exod 15:11) and the Holy Spirit responds, *Happy are you, O Israel, who is like you?* (Deut 33:29). Israel says, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one* (יהוה אחד) (Deut 6:4), and the Holy Spirit responds, *And who is like Thy people Israel, a nation one* (יהוה אחד) in the earth (1 Chron 17:21). Israel says, *As an apple-tree among the trees of the wood, (so is my Beloved)* (Songs 2:3), and the Holy Spirit responds, *As a lily among thorns, (so is my love)* (Songs 2:2). Israel says, *This is my God, and I will praise Him* (Exod 15:2), and the Holy Spirit responds, *The people which I formed for Myself (shall recount My praise)* (Isa 43:21). Israel says, *For you are the glory of their strength* (Ps 89:18), and the Holy Spirit responds, *Israel, in whom I will be glorified* (Isa 49:3).

This speaks for itself and needs no further comment. Fishbane thinks that since there is no obvious scriptural justification for such close affinity between Israel and her God the midrash must have had an older history for it to be included without further ado in the *Sifre*. Even though the Qumran and rabbinic texts do not share exactly the same scriptural texts we can now trace the tradition history of this portion of *Sifre* at least as far back as the *War Scroll*.

Returning to the Qumran text we now turn to the columns that follow this opening declaration of theological purpose in column 10. On close examination we find that there is a coherent conceptual development through the whole of columns 10–14 and that the text only makes sense in the light of the theological anthropology which is established in column 10. In what follows the author develops his belief that in Israel's military victory God is the source and *primum mobile*, whilst the people of God are agents of his purposes and that this entails an anthropology in which Israel is itself taken up into the divine life centred in her cult.

Column 11: God's Mighty Strength through His People and Their King

Column 11 contains two sections. Lines 1–12 are an argument for Israel's military might in the power of her God based on a series of scriptural texts and traditions. Lines 13 to the end are largely broken, though they appear to continue on a similar theme in preparation for a fuller picture of the cult, which has been touched upon already at the end of column 10, at the beginning of column 12.

.....
 Jeshurun" 1992, 55 n. 8). I am not sure that he has not seen the full force of the Holy Spirit's retort יהוה אחד and so I suggest it should be read as translated here.

¹ For the battle is yours indeed (כִּי־אִם לְכָה הַמִּלְחָמָה). With the power of your hand their corpses have been dashed into pieces with no one to bury (them). Goliath of Gath, a mighty man of worth, ² you did deliver into the hand of your servant David, for he trusted in your great Name (בְּשֵׁמֶכָה הַגָּדוֹל) and not in a sword or a spear. For the battle is yours (לְכָה הַמִּלְחָמָה)! The ³ Philistines, he humil[ia]ted many times by your holy Name (בְּשֵׁם קֹדְשִׁיכָה). You also have saved us many times by the hand of our kings ⁴ on account of your compassion and not according to our works in which we have done evil, and our sinful deeds. The battle is yours (לְכָה הַמִּלְחָמָה), and the strength is from you, ⁵ (it is) not ours! Neither our power nor the force of our hands have done worthily except by your power and in the vigour of your great worth (בְּכֹחֲכָה וּבְעֹז חֵילְכָה הַגָּדוֹל). So you have told us ⁶ long ago, saying, "A star shall rise from Jacob, a scepter (shall arise) from Israel. It shall smite the forehead of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Seth. ⁷ It shall go down from Jacob and destroy the survivor of the city. The enemy shall become a possession and Israel shall do worthily." Through your anointed ones, ⁸ seers of fixed times, you have told to us the tim[es] of the wars of your hands, to cover yourself with glory against our enemies, to bring down the troops of Belial, the seven ⁹ nations of vanity, by the hand of the poor ones whom you have redeemed [. . .] and in peace for a wonderful night, and the melted heart (turned) to a doorway of hope. You shall act against them as against the Pharaoh ¹⁰ and the officers of his chariots in the Re[d] Sea. The stricken you will kindle like a flaming torch in a sheaf, devouring wickedness (כְּלַפִּיד אֵשׁ בְּעַמִּיר אוֹכֵלָה רָשָׁעָה). It does not turn away until ¹¹ the extermination of guiltiness. A long time ago [. . .] your mighty hand against the Kittim, saying, "Asshur shall fall down by a sword of no man, a sword of no human being shall devour him" (*vacat*)

This section cites the slaying of David by Goliath (1 Kgs 17), general military victories over the Philistines, the prophecy of a future deliverer in Numbers 24:17, God's vanquishing Pharaoh and his army at the Red Sea, the prophecy of a future power for the people of God in Zechariah 12:6 and the prediction of the destruction of Asshur in Isaiah 31:8-9.

Hitherto, scholarly discussion of this passage has focused on the Numbers 24:17 reference and its implications for Qumran messianism. Here there are two related questions: does the *War Scroll* envisage a royal messianic warrior and is the victory here a purely supernatural one which entails no human agency? The reference to God's destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea might mean the role of humanity is to be eclipsed, with the consequence that no real *human* royal messiah is envisaged. So, for example, E.P. Sanders has

cited this passage as part of his argument that earthly royal messianic expectation was much less widespread in Jewish practice and belief than is normally assumed:

What is most striking about the sect's 'messianic expectation' is that there is no Davidic messiah in the *War Rule*, where one would expect him to take the leading role. In the war against the forces of darkness, the chosen priest does his part by urging the troops on, but the Branch of David does not put in an appearance. Angels, especially the archangel Michael, the 'Prince of Light', play a major role, but God himself steps in to bring the final victory of 'the Sons of Light'. 'Truly the battle is "Thine!"', proclaims the author (IQM 11.1). God will raise up 'the kingdom of Michael' (17.7), not of David, and God will strike the last blow.³³

These comments exemplify the dualistic framework through which the *War Scroll* is regularly read. But these interpretative conclusions can only be reached when the text is stretched across a dualistic procrustean bed utterly foreign to its own worldview.

In the first place Sanders' claim that the royal messiah does not appear in the *War Scroll* is misleading since the Prince of the Congregation appears on the shield of 5:1 and this must mean that a royal messiah is included somehow in the eschatological conflict. Secondly, whilst it is true that column 11 stresses divine rather than human responsibility for the defeat of the enemy it does so in a way which gives to human action a theological interpretation. This, we have seen, is the burden of column 10. The statement "the battle is yours indeed" is interpreted by what follows with reference to David's physical slaying of Goliath: David did this, but not by his own power or that of his weapons, but by God's power.³⁴ The same point is made in the recollection of other military victories in what follows. The citation of Numbers 24:17 is entirely in accord with this *non-dualistic* understanding of divine and human action.³⁵ The

³³ Sanders 1992, 296-97.

³⁴ Though "the victory is the Lord's" motif could mean that Israel itself does not actually slay any one, as in the dramatic instance of the Holy War in 2 Chr 20, there is no indication that this is the understanding of divine agency that is assumed in the *War Scroll*. Unlike 2 Chr 20:15 where the prophet tells the people "for the battle is *not yours* but God's (לֹא לָכֶם הַמִּלְחָמָה כִּי לַאֱלֹהִים)", in IQM 11:1, 2, 4 ("(For) the battle is yours") there is no negation of human violence, only an affirmation that all is ultimately God's. The rest of the *War Scroll* clearly assumes that Israel's warriors will shed the blood of her enemies.

³⁵ The human action which is disparaged in line 4 is *sinful* human action. So there is no negative view of human activity *per se*.

astral language implies power from above and yet the Qumran community understood sceptre language to apply specifically to the royal Prince of the Congregation (1QSb 5:24, 27).³⁶

The Royal Messianism of the War Scroll in Conceptual Perspective

In interpreting 1QM 11 we need to get our bearings from a consideration of the conceptual parameters within which the text would be read. As William Horbury has recently demonstrated, the synergistic relationship between divine and human power in 1QM 11 exemplifies the wider late Second Temple interest in the overlap between divine or angelic and human messianism.³⁷ This has generally been overlooked by commentators whose discussion of the *War Scroll* tends to be dualistically fixated upon the *Engelgemeinschaft* motif. In the OT the king can be the embodiment of the divine warrior in his military conquests (e.g. Psalm 89:10, 26 [Eng. vv. 9, 25]). In later texts this can be expressed in an overtly angelological fashion: the king and his warriors "incarnate" the angels and their war against God's enemies.

This is expressed in a most vivid fashion in the retelling of David's slaying of Saul in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* chapter 61. In the Hebrew text of 1 Samuel 17:40-51 David slays Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, with the mere throw of a stone. The narrative notes David's lack of a sword, but only to accentuate the skill of the humble warrior who relies entirely on the name of the LORD. On returning from the battlefield Saul, strangely, does not recognize David. This brief biblical scene is transformed by Pseudo-Philo into a fascinating reflection on the angelological agency of the holy warrior:

⁴ And David set out, and he took seven stones and wrote on them the names of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and Aaron, and his own name and that of the LORD. God sent Zervihel, the angel in charge power. . . .

⁷ And David put a stone in the sling and struck the Philistine on his forehead. And he ran toward him and unsheathed his sword (1 Sam 17:49, 51). Goliath, while he still had life in him, said to him, "Hurry and kill me, and rejoice". ⁸ David said to him, "Before you die, open your

³⁶ Note that in the context of 1QSb 5:27 the language of power in the strength of God's Name parallels that of the 1QM 11: "and he shall strengthen you with his holy Name" (5:28).

³⁷ Horbury 1998, 66, 83, 85.

eyes and see your slayer who has killed you." The Philistine looked and saw the angel and said, "Not you alone killed me, but also he who was present with you, whose appearance is not like the appearance of a man." Then David *cut off his head* (1 Sam 17:51).

³⁷The angel of the LORD raised (or "changed") David's appearance, and no one recognised him. When *Saul saw David* he asked him who he was, and there was no one who recognised him (1 Sam 17:55).³⁸

Here the angelomorphic transformation of David is a clear statement of divine and human synergy in the Holy War. In part the transformation of David and Saul's failure to recognise him is an attempt by Pseudo-Philo to deal with the oddity of Saul not recognising him at 1 Samuel 17:55. However, that difficulty in the biblical text has also been exploited as an opportunity to creatively express the author's conviction that human and divine agency work together in the victory of God's anointed such that the human individual is himself transformed and no longer appears as a mere man.

It is not immediately obvious how to define precisely David's relationship to the angel. In some respects David and the angel are clearly distinct from one another. However, the angel-human divide has also been crossed to some degree. Rather than an aerial angelic conflict which parallels that of the earthly combatants, the angel is somehow present *in the action of the human*. And the shared identity is not merely functional, but also means a personal visual transformation of the mortal: David's appearance is changed such that he is no longer recognisable. The same motif is used by Pseudo-Philo of Moses. In *Biblical Antiquities* 12:1 Moses ascends Mount Sinai where he is "bathed with light that could not be gazed upon", surpassing in splendour the light of the sun, moon and stars. Because of his glory the Israelites could not recognise him on his descent. The failure of others to recognise the transformed mortal also appears in some Latin texts for the parallel episode in *Biblical Antiquities* 27:10 where Kenaz is assisted by an angel.³⁹ The visual transformation of the mortal and, sometimes, their consequent unrecognisability, is a

³⁸ For the Latin text with translation and commentary see Jacobson 1996, vol. 1:83, 189; vol. 2:1183-86.

³⁹ Rather than the angel holding up the arms of Kenaz "so they should not sink down (*ne considerent*)" some texts have "lest they should perceive him (*ne considerarent eum*)" (see Jacobson 1996, vol. 2:792). Given the parallels at 12:1 and 61:9 and others outside of Pseudo-Philo, there is every reason to take seriously this reading.

frequent motif in angelomorphic transformation texts with a close parallel in the deification of Moses in 4Q374.

Just what kind of an anthropology Pseudo-Philo envisages is difficult to say. One small point which bears on the matter is the original reading and interpretation of the text in 61:9. Ginzberg and subsequent commentators have assumed that where the Latin manuscripts all have "erexit faciem", which literally means "raised the face", that this reflects a misreading of $\aleph\omega$, "change", for $\aleph\aleph$, "lift, lift up".⁴⁰ This is possible, but there are reasons to regard the sense of vertical elevation as original. In the first place the use of the verb $\aleph\omega$ would create a fitting allusion to David's role as a prince, $\aleph\omega$ (literally "one who is raised up"), which is a royal title in the Hebrew Bible (esp. Ezek 34:24; 37:25; 44:3; 45:7, 16-17 etc. . .) and subsequent Jewish literature. Secondly, another motif within transformational texts is the vertical transfer of the righteous from the below to the above. We have seen this in those Qumran texts where the righteous are raised up to the heavenly heights. The *History of the Rechabites* has an interesting parallel to the transformation of David in our text. In this text the seer meets a group of "earthly angels", the Rechabites of Jeremiah 35 who, though human, live the paradisaical life of the blessed. On his first encounter with one of these people the seer, Zosimus is startled by their nudity (5:2-4):

² "Have you come here from the world of vanity?" ³ And I said to him, "Why are you naked?" And he said, "How did you know that I am naked?" For you are wearing the skins of the sheep of the earth, and these perish with your body; but look up to the height of heaven and you will see what my garment is (like). ¹ And looking to heaven, I saw his face (was) like the face of an angel ($\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$), and his garment (was) like lightning that proceeds from East to West. And I became afraid because he was a son of God. . . .⁴¹

Here the seer finds himself in a similar position to David before Goliath and the perception of the angel-behind-the-mortal means a recognition of the upper, heavenly rather than the purely earthly level of existence.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ginzberg 1909-38, 6:252, cf. e.g. D.J. Harrington in *OTP* 2:374; Jacobson 1996, 1186.

⁴¹ The translation of the Greek text is that of Charlesworth 1982, 33.

⁴² Jacobson 1996, 2:1186 cites as a parallel to *Bib. Ant.* 61:8-9 Homer's *Iliad* 16.844-50 where the dying Patroclus tells his conqueror, Hector, that he has won

Also important for an understanding of the anthropology in view in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 61 is the significance given to God's Name. In the Hebrew Bible David trusts in no military weapon but only the "name of the LORD of hosts" (1 Sam 17:45). The motif is a familiar one in biblical theology. For Pseudo-Philo there is a movement towards a more developed speculation surrounding God's Name. Whereas David picks up five stones from which to choose in 1 Samuel 17:40, in Pseudo-Philo he picks up seven on which there are engraved five names of his patriarchs, his own name and that of the LORD.⁴³ Rather than a more general notion of reliance upon Yahweh that we find in the biblical text, in this later rewriting of scripture God's Name has taken on theurgic power in its own right. Again, we should compare the widespread association between God's Name and the transformation of the mortal to a divine status and identity in texts from the period.⁴⁴ David's ability to use the Name of God in this way is further consistent with his own transformation and possession by God's angel.

Pseudo-Philo's retelling of David's slaying of Goliath is not merely one other example of how Jews might understand the role of angels in their Holy War. There are several considerations which point to the specific relevance of this text for the Qumran *War Scroll*. In formal terms the *Biblical Antiquities* is an example of the genre rewritten bible which has parallels among the Qumran texts (e.g. the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20); the Temple Scroll (11Q19) and *Jubilees*). Though there is considerable overlap with ideas and traditions found in rabbinic texts, the *Biblical Antiquities* is not obviously rabbinic in form, being quite distinct from the midrash. A precise date and *Sitz im Leben* for the text has been difficult to determine. However, Doran Mendels has seen how far the work is written to tackle competing visions of the future eschatological redemption amongst the broad spread of zelotic, messianic or revolutionary options open to Judaism

his victory with the help of the gods. However, if there is any parallel here it is striking how the Homeric scene lacks any reference to Hector's own transformation. Indeed the point of Patroclus' claim is the mortality of his conqueror.

⁴³ For later parallels to this engraving of names on the stones see Jacobson 1996, vol. 2, p. 1183.

⁴⁴ See, for example, the use of the Name by the high priest (Sirach 50:20), Moses in Artapanus 3:27:24-26; Enoch-Metatron (3 *Enoch* 12:5). David's writing of the Name on a stone is also reminiscent of the way it is used in magical texts and amulets (see the recent survey in McDonough 1999, 93-98).

in the first century A.D.⁴⁵ In 10:3–5 Pseudo-Philo embellishes the crossing of the Red Sea story to emphasize the fact that God fights on Israel's behalf and so other solutions to their plight are not always necessary. But the slaying of Goliath account would inspire any Jew who was both revolutionary minded *and* of a mystical inclination: the text effectively says "believe in angels, look for their assistance on the battlefield because they can transform your ordinary mortal self and give you invincible might against the enemy".⁴⁶ And, of course, there is the simple fact that both the *War Scroll* and the *Biblical Antiquities* look to the David and Goliath episode for inspiration.

IQM 11:5 7: Numbers 24:17 and the Astral Messiah

That the *War Scroll* thinks of an angelic messiah in terms similar to those explored by Pseudo-Philo is indicated by the collocation of the Goliath story with the prophecy of Numbers 24:17.

There has been considerable scholarly discussion of the use of Numbers 24:17 in this passage because of its significance for Qumran messianism. Two questions bother interpreters: is Numbers 24:17 used here to predict a Davidic messiah? And, is Numbers 24:17 also taken to refer to two messiahs, one Davidic and one Priestly, as is the case at CD 7? Unfortunately, unlike the pesharim and the citation of Numbers 24:17 in the *Damascus Document* there is no *explicit* interpretation of the biblical text at this point. This has led some to conclude that either no Davidic redeemer is envisaged or that only a single figure is in view.⁴⁷

Some of the mist of confusion has been blown from this text with the release of 4Q285 a text with a close literary and conceptual affinity with the *War Scroll* in which there is described a royal messiah who figures prominently in the eschatological battle with the Kittim.⁴⁸ 4Q285 has swung the argument in favour of those who would see an active role of a messianic figure in column 11 of the *War Scroll*. However, in general commentators have failed to grasp

⁴⁵ Mendels 1992, cf. Olyan 1991.

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 61 (along with the killing by Kenaz of 45,000 men in 27:10) is strangely passed over by Mendels who overstates the pacifist inclinations of the work.

⁴⁷ For no Davidic messiah in the *War Scroll* see Sanders 1992, 296; Davies 1992, 875; Steudel 1996, 523–4. For the single figure see Jongeling 1962, 261.

⁴⁸ See esp. the discussion in Collins 1995b, 58–60, 65.

the function of the Numbers text in this passage because (a) they have not properly examined the thrust of the passage, as a successor to column 10, as a whole and (b) they have assumed an incompatibility between the human messiah and the divine, angelic figure described in Numbers 24:17. So, for example, in the light of the emphasis on the opening lines of this column on God as the source of military victory P.R. Davies concludes that the citation of Numbers "must be taken as applying to God, and not to any human warrior".⁴⁹ Like E.P. Sanders, Davies is falling into the trap of misreading the author's intentions through a dualistic lens. History-of-religions considerations demand that our author has an angelic-human messiah in mind here. We shall return to the first point (a) and a proper study of the flow of thought in columns 11 in due course. At this juncture we must note the good reasons for thinking that Numbers 24 is introduced after the Goliath episode because the author has a thoroughly angelomorphic messianic expectation.

1. First, the description of the "star" and the "sceptre" in Numbers 24:17 is unavoidably angelomorphic in implication.⁵⁰ To speak of a star arising from Jacob is to speak of a heavenly figure, and so also the sceptre will have those associations in this context. We have already reviewed in our first chapter the wide spread of evidence that Numbers 24:17 not only played a prominent role in Jewish messianic expectations but that it was also consistently taken as grounds for an astral or heavenly messiah.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that Numbers 24:17 is here joined to an allusion to Zechariah 12:6 ("On that day I will make the clans of Judah like a blazing pot on a pile of wood, like a flaming torch among sheaves (כַּלְפִּיר אֵשׁ בַּעֲמִיר); and they shall devour (וְאָכְלוּ) to the right and to the left all the surrounding peoples") in line 10. This pair of texts may also have been used in the second century A.D. to give the military leader Bar Kochba a heavenly, divine identity. We have already noted (in chapter 1) the inspiration of Numbers 24:17 for Bar Kochba's astral aspirations. And we saw how, in a tradition going back to Jerome (*Contra Rufinum* 3:31), "the great Bar Kochba, instigator of an uprising of Jews, held a straw in his mouth and fanned the flames with his breath so that people believed that

⁴⁹ 1997, 97. Compare Fitzmyer 1974, 43.

⁵⁰ So rightly Horbury 1998, 92 who notes the overlap with the astral signs in the contemporary ruler cults.

he spat out flames". No explanation for this flaming straw trick is given. Before being garbled through transmission and Christian propaganda did the story originally rely on a claim that Bar Kohba fulfilled the vision of the "flaming torch among sheaves" described in Zechariah 12:6?

2. Secondly, the citation of Zechariah 12:6 in IQM 11:10 needs to be considered in its own right. There are probably three reasons why our author has chosen to cite this passage. The citation is from a thoroughly Davidic oracle of restoration (Zechariah 12:1-10) and so fits a discussion of the role of the Davidic redeemer past and future. Secondly, Zechariah 12:5, the verse previous to that cited predicts that "then the clans of Judah shall say to themselves, 'The inhabitants of Jerusalem have strength through the LORD of hosts, their God.' This is the theme of the whole column: the readers exclaim that "the battle is yours and the strength is from you" (line 4) and that like David before them they can achieve nothing without his active power at work through them. Thirdly, the prophetic oracle goes on to describe the outworking of that divine strength in thoroughly angelomorphic terms:

and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the LORD,
at their head (כִּי־הוּא כְּמַלְאֲךָ יְהוָה לְפָנֵיהֶם)

The language assimilates David to the angel of the Exodus narrative who goes before the people in the wilderness (Exodus 23:20) and, like Numbers 24:17, gives the future redeemer both human and divine qualities.

God's Victory by the Hand of His Anointed: The Thrust of IQM 11

The third reason for thinking that Numbers 24:17 is used in column 11 as a prophecy of a future human but heavenly messiah is that this fits the conceptual thrust of the whole column. The rest of the column claims that Israel's military conquests are God's own because he is working in and through them. The battle is theirs, but sacramentally his.³¹

This can be seen in the "hand (יָד)" leitmotif which runs through the whole passage. There are, in all, six references to the "hand" by which the enemy is destroyed in IQM 11. In lines 1 and 11 it

³¹ Cf. Horbury 1998, 82.

is God's hand that brings vengeance, but in line 3 God saves Israel *by the hand of her kings*, and in lines 9 and 13 he redeems *by the hand of the poor ones*. The point is obvious: Israel's hands are God's hands. When the *War Scroll* elsewhere says that "the great hand of God shall subdue" his enemies (1:14, cf. 18:3) an understanding of divine agency by which God's hand works through Israel's hand, is meant.⁵²

Nowhere, it should be noted, does this passage necessarily refer to an *Engelgemeinschaft* by which the responsibility for the victory is handed over to angelic mediators of God's power. Rather, another mediatorial perspective is at work in our text, one in which the righteous are themselves divine mediators of God's action in the world. In column 11 of IQM the priest calls to the mind of the troops the fact that as in times of old they have a military leader, like David of old, who acts in the power of God. Whether this royal messiah be of little or great human might is no matter, because the battle belongs to their God and he will energise and direct their actions just as the puny David was directed to slay the mighty Goliath.

In tackling this subject the *War Scroll* develops the larger theological framework for the Holy War laid out in column 10. The angelomorphic agency of the royal messiah is one particular instance of the fact that "no one is like God but Israel, and no one is like Israel but God". Where the troops as a whole were strengthened "in the might of God", which is theirs by virtue of their participation in God's "great works and mighty strength" in general, in column 11 the priests set up David as an example of precisely this theological anthropology.

Column 11 not only develops what precedes, it also prepares for what follows.⁵³ When the commentators puzzle over the use of Numbers 24:17 without specific reference in the immediate context to the dual messianism of other DSS texts they are acting as good implied readers: on the basis of other Qumran texts (esp. CD 7:19) we would expect the sceptre of Numbers 24:17 to be the royal figure and the star to be identified as the eschatological priest. But, where is there any mention of matters priestly in column 11? Modern com-

⁵² Pace Yadin 1962, 262; Duhaime in Charlesworth 1995, 97.

⁵³ The common view that this section of the *War Scroll* "contains various liturgical pieces juxtaposed without any explicit rationale" and that "the various items are originally quite independent and indeed quite varied in theme and ideology" (Davies 1992, 875) is unwarranted.

mentators have atomized the text and judged the *War Scroll* to be a peculiar departure from the normal shape of Qumran's dual messianism. But the original reader (or listener) waited attentively for the next column.

Column 12: the Angelomorphic Priesthood in the Sanctuary and the People on the Battlefield

Column 12 contains two clearly separated paragraphs of text. The first five lines continue from the previous column and are separated from a paragraph of nine and half lines (lines 7-16) by an empty line.⁵⁴ Though, as we shall see, the two paragraphs belong together, they are best first tackled as separate blocks.

1QM 12:1-5: The Heavenly Human Priesthood and the Mustering of the Army

Column 12:1-5 is a particularly important passage for our pursuit of a proper understanding of Qumran anthropology. The majority view finds here only a community of angels and humanity, with no sense that the Israelites themselves have experienced any transformation. However, the commentators have not set the passage in its literary context and we come to it fresh from a new reading of the previous columns. In column 10 the Israelites are made in God's image, doing in history and their worship what God does in creation and history. In the eleventh column there has been a fuller exploration of the second of these two aspects of Israel's God-likeness; how she has acted in the past and will act in the future as a means by which the divine warrior's conquests in history are achieved. In column 12, especially lines 1-5, and also column 13, there is explored the second sphere in which Israel acts in cooperation with her creator; in the heavenly worship of her priesthood.

¹ Because the[sc] (א[נ]ל[ו]ה) are a multitude of holy ones (רוח קדושים) in heaven and hosts of angels (הצבאות של אלים) in your holy habitation (בזבול קדשכה) to pr[aise] your [name],⁵⁵ and the elect ones of your holy

⁵⁴ A few words of a third paragraph (1QM 12:17-18) remain but the sense is not apparent.

⁵⁵ Following Yadin's restoration on the basis of Ps 135:1; Joel 2:26. Duhaime (in Charlesworth 1994, 120-121) restores לה[דרת] אמת[כה] which amounts to the same sense. Yadin's reading is preferable as the language then reflects the conceptual proximity to the *Sabbath Songs*.

people (ובחירי עם קודש) ² you have set for yourself in [. . . the boo]k(?) of the names (ספר שמות) of all their hosts with you in your holy dwelling (כמעון קודשכה) and [. . .] in your glorious habitation (בזכור כבודכה) ³ and the mercies of [your] blessing[s] and the covenant of your peace (וברית שלומכה) you have engraved for them (חרחה למח) with a stylus of life (בחרט חיים), to reign (למלוך) ⁵⁶ [. . .] in all the appointed times of eternity (בכול מערי עולמים), ⁴ and to muster (ולפקד) *h[osts of] thine elect ones* (בחן־דיכהן) according to their thousands and their myriads, together with your holy ones (יחד עם קדושיכה) [. . .] your angels, for strength of hand (לרשות יד) ⁵ in the battle [. . .] the rebels of the earth in the strife of your judgements, and the people of the elect ones of the heavens (ועם בחירי שמים) shall be victo[r]ious] ⁶ (*vacat*)

We have already noted the possibility that this material describes an angelomorphic righteous as the holy ones who dwell in heaven. We are now in a position to consider this possibility in some detail. There are several reasons why a few have been tempted to adopt this kind of a reading, and other reasons why the majority have felt it necessary to reject it.⁵⁷

Elsewhere in the *War Scroll* the expression "holy ones" refers to a righteous humanity (IQM 6:6; 16:1). The reference to the "בחירים" at the end of line 1 and in line 5 picks up that used elsewhere in the scrolls for the human elect (1QpHab 5:4; 9:12; 10:13; 4QpPs 37 ii 5; iii 5; iv 14; 4Q174 i 19; CD 4:3; 4Q418 69 ii 10). Throughout the DSS, as we have seen, there is the sense that the community of the righteous with the angels entails some degree of transformation and angelic-like identity.

The principal objection against such an interpretation here is the parallelism in the first line between "a multitude of holy ones . . . in the heavens" and "hosts of angels in your holy habitation". Because the "heavens" and God's "holy habitation" are, presumably, synonymous, it may be presumed that so too are the "holy ones" synonymous with the "angels" and, since commentators assume that "צבאות מלאכים" could not refer to human beings, so neither should the holy ones be taken in this way.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Yadin translates "so as to be king", presuming God to be the subject, (cf. also Jongeling 1962, 278; Vermes). But it is also possible that it is those who have received the covenant of peace that are to reign (cf. 19:8 "and Israel for eternal sovereignty").

⁵⁷ For what follows compare the discussions of Jongeling 1962, 274-5; Davies 1977, 100-101.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Jongeling 1962, 274; Davies 1977, 100-101.

The case must, now, be reopened because, as we have seen, it is quite conceivable that in a Qumran text a "host of angels" might refer to the Israelites in their angelomorphic mode. In any case the opening line of this column might envisage two groups who share the same space; the multitude of (human, but now heavenly) holy ones, on the hand, and the suprahuman angelic hosts on the other. The linguistic parallelism could just as well be taken in this way.

Indeed, there are numerous considerations which force the conclusion that the bulk of these five lines are principally concerned with humanity in the heavenly sanctuary. Previous commentators have failed to recognise how much of the language of these lines is specific to the human priesthood. In general this must be because assessing the significance of a description of activities in "heaven" and "God's holy habitation" they have failed to consider the possibility that these refer both to the supernal world *and* Israel's cult at one and the same time.

Linguistic details demand such a homology between cult and heaven. At the end of line 3 we hear of "all the appointed times of eternity (בְּכֹל מִעְדֵי עוֹלָמִים)". Given the use of such language in 10:15; 13:8 and 14:13 in obviously cultic contexts here it also should be taken at face value as a reference to Israel's liturgical calendar. We should think, in general, of IQS 10's summary of the Qumran community's liturgical calendar (for the מועדים see IQS 10:3, 5). In the midst of a summary of the community's cultic life IQS 10:8 also uses the language of "engraving" ("as long as I live an engraved statute (חֹק חֲרוּת) (shall be) on my tongue as a fruit of praise") which also appears in IQM 12:3 with reference to God's making of the liturgically fulfilled covenant of peace.

Line 3 specifically refers to a "covenant of peace . . . engraved with a stylus of life". Yadin compares Isaiah 54:10, Ezekiel 34:25 and 37:26.⁵⁹ But the language is far closer to the priestly covenant given to Levi in Malachi 2:5: "My covenant with him was a covenant of life and peace (חַיִּים וְשָׁלוֹם), which I gave him" since only in that OT text are there present all three of the terms "ברית", "שלום" and "חיים" which appear in IQM 12:3.⁶⁰ IQM 12 is yet another witness

⁵⁹ 1962, 315.

⁶⁰ Cf. also Num 25:11 and the covenant with the priesthood which is the focus of IQM 17:3.

to Malachi 2's *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a text describing the ordination of an angelic human priesthood. Once again there is a striking overlap with the opening section of the first of the *Sabbath Songs* where we encounter both the language of engraving (4Q400 1 i 5) and the vision for the priesthood in Malachi's second chapter.

In the *War Scroll* the worship of the cult is not only synchronized with creation, we also find, in three separate instances, a phrase which is best taken to mean that the liturgy is that of eternity. Here, in 12:3 we hear of "all the appointed times of eternity (בכול מועדי עולמים)". In 13:8 the covenant is established "for the appointed times of eternity (למועדי עולמים)" and in 14:13 the people worship at the "appointed times of the cycles of eternity (מועדי חזורת עולמים)".⁶¹ These phrases witness to the belief that Israel's cultic life transcends the linearity of historical existence and is an entry into the realm of the eternal.⁶²

If this, indeed, is how these expressions are to be taken then they might further help us understand why it is that in 12:1-5, to some degree, humanity itself has become angelic and heavenly. If Israel's liturgy takes place in an eternal space and time then to enter that liturgy is to enter a heavenly ontology. This will be the force of the claim in the next column that Israel is "an eternal people (עם עולמים)" (13:9),⁶³ although this need not carry the sense of individual post-mortem survival.

So, in dealing with the covenant for the priesthood (cf. esp. 10:10) and the festival calendar, the opening lines of column 12 are probably intended to pick up the closing sentences of column 10. There we also had a summary statement of the sanctuary's worship. Just how that worship was to be related to divine and human action in the eschatological conflict was not treated at that point, but the role

⁶¹ Though frequent in the DSS (1QS 1:9; 3:10, 16; 1QSa 1:25, 26; 1QM 2:8; 3:4; 4:5; 11:8; 13:8; 14:4, 13; 15:1 etc. . .) the meaning of חזורת is difficult to pin down (see Yadin 1962, 269 and the full discussion of Dombrowsky 1971 who takes the word from the root ער with a range of meanings: "determine", "appoint", "designate", "meet"). At 1QM 2:8, which refers to the military service of conscripts "from year to year", a cyclical sense seems to be in view. This might indicate conscious derivation from the root ער, "to return, go about, repeat, do again", which would give a fitting sense of sacramental repetition in 1QM 14:13. See HAL 4:1767-68.

⁶² Van der Ploeg's interpretation of the expression in 14:13 as liturgical times "fixed by the God of eternity" (1959, 160), misses the force of the language.

⁶³ Restored by Yadin also in 13:7; cf. Isa 44:7 and 2 Sam 7:24.

of the sanctuary in the conflict is now, in column 12, brought to the foreground.

Whilst discussion of this passage has wrestled with the boundary line between the two kinds of person—angels and humans—it in fact contains another class distinction—between the priesthood and the laity—which we have already seen in other Qumran angelomorphic texts. Line 3 picks up the language of the covenant with the priesthood and echoes similar terminology in the first of the *Sabbath Songs* where there is described a division between the priesthood and the laity in the heavenly worship. And whilst line 3 describes the priesthood, line 4 intimates that one of their functions is to organize, spiritually and logistically, the rest of the people: they are “to muster (לפקד) [the hosts] of your el[ect (?)] (i.e. Israel as a whole) according to their thousands, and their myriads . . . so that they have a mighty hand in battle”.

The use of the verb פקד here is noteworthy. In the scrolls it is only either God (e.g. 1QS 3:18; 4:18; CD 1:7; 7:9; 19:6; 1QPisa^b 2:2) or the priesthood (1QS 6:13; 1QSb 3:24; CD 14:6-7; 4Q266 11:8) who is either the subject of this verb or of its cognate noun form (“visitation”). As far as I can gather in no text do (entirely suprahuman) angels “muster” or “visit” human troops.⁶⁴ It is possible that God is the subject of the verb and that he, therefore, is the one mustering his army (whether human or angelic, cf. Isa 13:4). However, other Qumran texts suggest that here the priesthood, which has the covenant of peace, has been delegated the responsibility for mustering.

Both 1QS and the Damascus Document speak of a distinct, priestly, office for a *Paqid*, who is given disciplinary power to expel errant members of the community (4Q266 (4QDamascus Document^a) 11:8 = 4Q269 16 6-7), who examines prospective members of the Council of the Community (1QS 6:13) and who is responsible for enlisting by names (“they shall be enlisted by name”: בשמותיהם יפקדו, 14:3) and interviewing all members of the camps (according to the “Rule of the assembly of the camps” (CD 14:3)), according to their rank, whether priests, Levites, laity or proselytes (CD 14:6-7, cf. CD 14:3-8b = 4Q267 9 v 6b-13a = 4Q269 10 ii 9-12).⁶⁵ In this later

⁶⁴ In 4Q405 20 ii-21-22 line 14 it is probably an angelic group who are themselves “mustered”, but they do not do the mustering.

⁶⁵ For a brief discussion of the *Paqid* see Martínez 1999b, 310.

text, in particular, there is a similar situation to that envisaged in IQM 12:1-5: the Israelites are mustered at the central, cultic, assembly (cf. IQM 2:4) with their names recorded (12:2) and they are organized into "thousands and myriads".

According to the *War Scroll* the priesthood *itself* does not fully enter the battle but equips the rest of the people to do so (cf. 15:8-9; 17:14-15). This, again, is another indication that 12:1-5 is describing the human priesthood as a heavenly community in the temple: in the immediate context of the *War Scroll* (10:2-6) it is the human priesthood who are themselves addressing the earthly troops. This is, to a large degree, what the *War Scroll* is; a text describing how the priesthood should muster the troops—how they should be organized (column 2-7) and how they should be motivated spiritually (columns 10ff.).⁶⁶ So *whilst there is considerable evidence to think that it would be laymen priests who would be responsible for the mustering of IQM 12:4 nowhere in the wider literary context are suprahuman angels called upon to muster Israel.*

Davies thinks that the phrase *בְּחֵרֵי עַם קֹדֶשׁ* at the end of line 1 is "unnecessarily cumbersome".⁶⁷ This, he thinks, points to a later gloss on the simpler expression *עַם קֹדֶשׁ*. Within the broader sweep of the *War Scroll's* military procedures and in conformity with the division we have discovered in other scrolls between the super-holy priesthood and the laity, a better explanation of the phrase is that it quite appropriately describes, once again, a subset (the *בְּחֵרִים*) of all Israel (*עַם קֹדֶשׁ*). This would accord well with the fact that elsewhere it is the laity and the whole people that is designated an *עַם קֹדֶשׁ*. Thus after returning from the battlefield it is all those who have survived who proclaim "We, your holy people, shall praise your Name . . . (14:12)".⁶⁸ Similarly, in column 10, to which 12:1-5 harks back, Israel's election means she is "the holy people of the covenant" (10:10). If the "holy people" is Israel as a whole, then, presumably, "the elect ones of the holy people" would be the priesthood. This

⁶⁶ Many of the basic themes and ideas are parallel in the more general instructions for the priestly organizing of the "host of the congregation" in IQSa 1-2: regulations for age of rank, hierarchies of office and categories of excluded persons are all discussed in both IQSa and IQM 2-7. The additional material in IQM 2-7 can therefore be seen as specific details of the rule when applied to the case of the "convocation of war" envisaged in IQSa 1:21, 26.

⁶⁷ 1977, 101.

⁶⁸ The language is, of course, biblical: Deut 14:2; 28:9; Isa 62:12; 63:18; Dan 12:7.

interpretation of the phrase would be consistent with a literal reading of the *Damascus Document* 4:3-4 where "the 'sons of Zadok' (of Ezck 44:15) are the elect of Israel (בְּחִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל)" set over against the whole of the true Israel, "the penitents of Israel" (lines 2-3).⁶⁹

This means that the slightly different, but related expression in the second half of line 5 is also carefully chosen. There it is not the "elect ones of the holy people" who are the subject as in line 1, but the *people of the elect ones of heaven* (עַם בְּחִירֵי שָׁמַיִם). In context, this is an appropriate designation of the *laity* who enter the fray and who are to defeat the "rebels of the earth". This "people" belongs to—is supported and equipped by—the priesthood who, properly speaking are the "elect ones of heaven".

If the details of these points of interpretation are anywhere near the mark, then these lines of column 12 are primarily to do not so much with suprahuman angels in heaven, but the priesthood in the heavenly sanctuary who are to praise God and prepare the people for battle. The text is now explaining further the briefer statement in column 10 of Israel's cultically anchored proximity to God.

We are now in a better position to consider the meaning of line 1 and the reference to the "multitude of holy ones . . . in the heavens". The exact force of this expression is difficult to judge because of the uncertain restoration of the fourth word of the sentence. Most now favour the reading אֵלֶּה "these".⁷⁰ The word אֵלֶּה is used frequently in the *War Scroll* as a resumptive pronoun which looks back and summarizes the subject of previous discussion. So 1QM 12:1 begins "because these are a multitude of holy ones in heaven . . .". Unfortunately, the last few lines of the previous column are badly broken and so the immediate antecedent is not clear. However, in the broader sweep of column 10 and 11, "these" most likely looks

⁶⁹ The expression בְּחִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in CD 4:3 4 would thus be closer and more specifically relevant for an understanding of 1QM 12:1 than the less specific reference in other Qumran texts to "the elect". One other instance of the expression בְּחִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (4Q174 1 19) is relevant. There, too, the "elect of Israel" might be identified with the Sons of Zadok (4Q174 1 17), although the text is damaged and in this text both "Sons of Zadok" and "chosen ones of Israel" could refer to the community as a whole (so Brooke 1985, 158).

⁷⁰ See Jongeling 1962, 74; Dihaimé in Chadesworth 1995, 121. Early translators read לכה, but since Jongeling (1962, 74) this has rightly been rejected since there is no space available between the *he* and the *lamed*. Carmignac's suggested אֵלֶּה "has gone up" (Carmignac 1958, 169) is not impossible, though the *beth* which follows counts against it and, in any case, this reading reflects Carmignac's unlikely interpretation of the line as a description of the post-mortem souls of the righteous.

back to the righteous who are like God (col. 10) and who will carry out God's eschatological victory over the forces of evil. We have already seen how in column 11 the righteous and its messianic leadership is described in angelomorphic terms. It would be fitting if column 12 went on to locate the likes of the star and the scepter of Numbers 24 in Israel's (heavenly) sanctuary.⁷¹ This reading of 10:1, would of course be further consistent with 4Q511 frag. 35 and the first of the *Sabbath Songs* in describing the whole of the people of God as holy ones with a heavenly vocation and citizenship.

We can be more confident that the "multitude of holy ones" in line 1 are the righteous, because it is now reasonable to suppose that the "hosts of angels", with whom they are set in literary parallelism, also includes the righteous. This is because the use of מלאך of Israel's priesthood is natural given the citation of Malachi 2:5 in line 3. The intertextuality of that text means that the author will have had in mind also the statement in Malachi 2:7 that the priest "is the מלאך of the LORD of hosts (צבאות)." As we have seen Malachi 2:7 is a text of considerable importance in the tradition of an angelomorphic priesthood present also in *Jubilees* 31:14-15, a text dear to the Qumran community, and the first of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The Malachi intertextuality may also be seen in the expression "a multitude (רוב) of holy ones". In Malachi 2:6 the priesthood is praised for the fact that it "turned many (רבים) away from iniquity".⁷² In this case there is no redundancy in the expression "a multitude of holy ones . . . and hosts of angels", but a specific reference to the whole righteous community and their subset, the priesthood, respectively.⁷³

This need not mean that there is no reference at all to suprahuman angels in any of this column. There is no doubt that the "hosts of his spirits" in 12:9 should be so construed. It is also probable that the plural hosts in the phrase "hosts of angels" of line 1 has in mind both the human priesthood and the suprahuman angelic host.⁷⁴ But

⁷¹ The star resembling a sword stands over the city of Jerusalem in Josephus *B.J.* 6:289 and the heavenly, sceptre-bearing man of *Sib. Or.* 5:414-433 is specifically related to a glorified, heavenly, Jerusalem.

⁷² Mal 2:6 will then be one of a number of texts which has supplied the technical term הרבים in the scrolls (1QS 6:1, 8, 11, 12 etc. . .) and cf. Isaiah 53:11.

⁷³ The same division may be in view in the laconic מלאכיכה [. . .] קדושיכה in line 4, with the unity (יחד) one of priesthood and laity in liturgical harmony.

⁷⁴ For the earthly sanctuary the angelic abode see, e.g., Isaiah 6; Zechariah 3; Josephus *B.J.* 6:293-4; Daniel 7 (Fletcher-Louis 1997a).

it should at least now be clear that the opening paragraph of column 12 has moved from the royal messianism of column 11 to the priestly community, their setting in a heavenly sanctuary and their vocation in relation to the rest of Israel. The author has moved from the battlefield where the likes of David slay Israel's enemies, to the sanctuary and Israel's worship.

Lastly, one small detail adds another hue to the cultic picture. Though not certain, sensible reconstructions of the first lacuna in line 2 would give the expressions "book of the names (ספר שמחה . . .) of all their hosts"⁷⁵ or "enumeration of the names (מספר שמחה . . .) of all their hosts".⁷⁶ Although the commentators note possible biblical and extra-biblical parallels for the idea that God numbers and names the (suprahuman) heavenly bodies (Ps 147:4; Isa 40:26), or that God has a book in heaven in which the names of the righteous are recorded (e.g. Dan 12:1; *I Enoch* 47:3; Rev 3:5), biblically, the closest linguistic precedent for either of these two reconstructions is the enrolling of the names of the Israelites before their conquest of the land in Numbers 3:40.⁷⁷

If 1QM 12:1-5 is focused on the "earthly" Israelite sanctuary—viewed as a heavenly world—then this makes perfect sense in the context of the rest of the *War Scroll*. The first long section of the scroll (columns 1-9) set out in detail the order in which Israel's troops are to be arranged when they prepare to attack their enemy. The focus is essentially *cultic* throughout. Socially, the train of thought moves *downwards* from the priesthood (e.g. 2:1-8; 3:13-4:5), whilst *spatially*, the movement progresses *out from* the cultic centre. Details of battle equipment start with the trumpets (3:1-11), which are blown by the priests (7:12-15) and then move on to the banners (3:13-5:2), the shield, spear and javelin of the ordinary infantry (5:3-6:6) before, last of all, describing the cavalry (6:8-17). This is a Holy War. Although it is a war organized and led by priests their own hands are not defiled with the shedding of blood. Rather they remain in a state of holiness that otherwise defines the angelic life (7:4-7). Nothing in the *War Scroll* that precedes column 12:1-5 demands a dualistic jump from the (cultic) world of human affairs to a wholly *other* heavenly realm of angels. On the other hand, everything that

⁷⁵ Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997-98, 133; Frennesson 1999, 91 n. 19.

⁷⁶ Yadin 1962, 314-5.

⁷⁷ Frennesson 1999, 91 n. 19.

has preceded suggests that, with practical matters dealt with (cols. 2–9) and a return to matters more narrowly concerned with worship and theology (cols. 10ff.), that the focus will be on the cultic community *in its heavenly mode*.

1QM 12:7–16: The Victory of the Lord's Holy Ones

We now turn to the second portion of text in column 12; lines 7–16. Here the angelological language of lines 1–5 continues but with a decisive shift of focus:

⁷ You, O God, [...] in the Glory (בכבוד) of your kingship and the congregation of your holy ones (וערה קדשיכה) are in our midst for an everlasting help (לעזר עלמינן) [...] contempt for kings, mocking ⁸ and derision for the mighty ones. Because holy is the Lord (קדוש אדוני), and the King of Glory (ומלך הכבוד) (is) with us (אחננו), a people of holy ones (עם קדושים),²⁸ might[*y ones and*] the host of angels (צבא מלאכים) (are) among are mustered troops (בפקודיננו) ⁹ and the mighty one of wa[*r*] (יגבור המלחמה) (is) in our congregation and the host of his spirits (וצבא רוחיו) (is) with our foot-soldiers and our horsemen, [as] rain clouds (כעננים) and as mist clouds covering the earth (וכעבי של לכסוה ארץ),¹⁰ as a rainstorm watering (with) judgement all its products.

Arise (קומה), mighty one! lead away your captives (שכה שכיכה), man of Glory (איש כבוד)! Seize ¹¹ your plunder, (you) who do worthily! Put your hand upon the neck of your enemies and your foot upon the piles of the slain! Smite the nations, your foes, and let your sword ¹² devour the guilty flesh. Your earth is full of Glory (מלא ארצכה) and your inheritance with blessing; a multitude of cattle in your fields, silver, gold, and precious ¹³ stones in your palac[e]s. Zion, rejoice greatly! Shine forth in jubilation, Jerusalem! Be glad all you cities of Judah! Open ¹⁴ [your] gate[s] continually, that through them may be brought the wealth of the nations! Their kings shall serve you (ישרתוך); all your oppressors shall bow down before you (חשתחו לך) and ¹⁵ [lick] the dust [from your feet. Daughter]s of my people, shout with a voice of jubilation! Deck yourselves with ornaments of Glory (עדינה ערי כבוד)! And have dominion over [the ki]n[g]doms [...] (ורדינה במלכות) ¹⁶ [...] [Israel shall rule forever (ישראל למליך עולמים). (*vocat*)

The *vocat* at line 6 marks a definite division between this section and the one that precedes. However, there remains a logical progression

²⁸ Following Yadin's translation of ׀׀, against, e.g. Charlesworth 1995, 121 "together with the holy ones" (so also Vermes).

²⁹ The lacunae are reliably restored on the basis of 1QM 19:7.

of thought. Whereas lines 1-5 deal with the priesthood, sanctuary worship and the mustering of the whole army by the priesthood, lines 7-15 deal with the people themselves. This shift in perspective is marked by the change from the third person to the second person plural, but is in any case obvious from the content of lines 7-16 which describe the divine presence within Israel's battle formations, and the consequences of their victories over the nations. Lines 1-5 speak repeatedly of "the heavens", "your holy habitation", "your holy dwelling". The shift in the perspective of the hymn of 12:6-16 is signalled with a reference to *the earth*, the locus of the strife of God's judgements in line 5. The earth is mentioned three times in the hymn that follows, along with *the dust* which is licked from Israel's feet (line 15) and it is abundantly clear that the mundane perspective predominates. Between the two sections there is, then, a movement downwards from heaven to earth, and outwards from the sanctuary to the land which is the theatre of conflict.

With that down and outward movement the warriors proclaim that they are joined by the divine presence. That is, just as they are sent out by the priests, ("the elect ones of heaven"?), so the presence of God is guaranteed to accompany them on their way by the ministry of the priests in the heavenly sanctuary.

IQM 12 and the Pattern of Israel's Sacramentally Guided Holy War

Both the spatial movement between the two stanzas in column 12 and the relationship between the cult and the theatre of conflict are elucidated by comparison with earlier, Biblical, instances of the Holy War scenario. There is a long, well-established tradition of Holy War in Israel. The closest parallel to IQM 12, both in date and conceptual structure, is provided by 2 Chronicles 20.

In 2 Chronicles 20 the nation, under King Jehoshaphat, prepares to go to war in the house of the LORD. After impassioned prayer and petition the spirit of the LORD comes upon a Levite, Jahaziel of the sons of Asaph who gives a prophetic word. The LORD promises victory on the morrow, when the people go down to battle against the great multitude that has come against them. The people respond in worship. The next day the people set off for the wilderness and prepare for battle: Jehoshaphat addresses the troops with words of encouragement (2 Chr 20:20), just as the priests and the officers do in IQM 10:2, 5. He then appoints singers "to praise the LORD in holy splendour" at the head of the army. It is exactly at the moment

that they begin to sing and praise that the LORD sets an ambush for the nation's enemies who promptly attack one another and are defeated without the Israelites ever having to enter the fray. The Israelites gather up the booty and return to Jerusalem, to the house of the LORD with harps, lyres and trumpets.

There are only two significant differences between 2 Chronicles 20 and 1QM 12. In the former Israel is on the defensive, whilst in the later they are on the offensive and in the *War Scroll* the combatants are not spared actual engagement with the enemy. Otherwise, the cultic perspective and the movement from the sanctuary, as the place where Israel is empowered in its encounter with God, to the battlefield and the return to the house of the LORD is identical in both texts. In the Chronicles passage, as in 1QM 12, the life of the cult is not simply a locus of revelation: *the praise of those appointed to lead the people is sacramentally efficacious for the power of God to defeat the enemy.*¹⁰⁰

If 2 Chronicles 20 is a reliable guide then, since 1QM 12:1-5 will correspond to the cultic assembly in 2 Chronicles 20:4-19, the war party who are in view in 12:7-16 will include also the representatives of the cult described in the first stanza. This is, in fact, the scenario envisaged in the rest of the *War Scroll*: all begins with everyone present at the sanctuary where a perpetual atoning sacrifice is offered at the table of Glory (2:1-7, cf. 12:3). From there the armies venture forth, with priests in their midst who shall strengthen the hands of the laity for battle (7:12), blowing on their trumpets both in the midst of the lines of soldiers (e.g. 7:12-17; 16:12) and from the wings of the theatre of actual combat (e.g. 8:1-9:9; 16:4-9). We would expect, therefore, those on the battlefield in 12:7-16 to include two, clearly distinct, groups: priests and laity.

1QM 12:7-16: The Actors in the Theatre of Combat

What does the language of 12:7-16 itself say about those present on the battlefield? The key lines are 7-9, but their precise meaning is contested. Before a detailed engagement with the text only preliminary observations, justifying our translation, are possible.

¹⁰⁰ See, in particular, the comments of Johnstone 1997 vol. 2, pp. 101, 103: this "is pure sacramentalism: Israel's role is totally participatory—it goes fully armed into the battle . . . Israel, as the LORD's host under the LORD's anointed, is caught up unreservedly . . . into the action of God against the invading hordes of the nations. . . Verse 22 proclaims the realized sacramentalism: precisely at the moment of acclamation of the LORD's arrival on the field of battle, the LORD himself intervenes."

There is no doubt that in line 7 God himself is with the troops and that in line 9 "the host of his spirits" is with the infantry and cavalry. The meaning of "the congregation of your holy ones" in line 7 and the identification of the parties in line 8 is more problematic. In accord with our interpretation of 12:1-5 we are inclined to see here *the people* as the holy ones and, indeed, that is how we have translated "עַם קְדוֹשִׁים" in line 8, although others translate "with the holy ones" which would militate against an identification of the holy ones with the righteous themselves.⁶¹ It is also possible, though not absolutely certain, that the "host of angels (צְבָא מַלְאָכִים)", who are with those mustered for battle are the priesthood who stand in amongst the infantry, strengthening their hands and blowing the trumpets.

Whilst there is here, then, a clear witness to the *Engelgemeinschaft* of the battlefield there is little in the way of a rigid dualism.⁶² It must be emphasized that 12:8-10 does *not* describe angles in heaven above moving in synch with the human troops on the ground below. The angels—the spirits—are *among* the troops in the earthly conflict and both are therefore set apart spatially from the heavenly setting of 12:1-5. This section is more interested in Israel's intimate relation to the created order as a whole, than a wooden parallelism between a conflict in heaven and a conflict on earth.

The whole of this section is shot through with the biblical imagery from the Holy War tradition. However, there are, in particular, two texts which inspire the language and ideology of IQM 12:7-12: (1) Genesis 1-2 and (2) Isaiah 6:1-3. Once it is appreciated how these two texts are woven into the fabric of the passage the interpenetration of heavenly and earthly spheres can be understood.

(1) IQM 12:7-16: The Divine Warrior's Restoration of Creation's Paradise

The divine warrior is called upon to fill God's earth (אֶרֶץ־כֹּהֵן) with "a multitude of cattle", and his palaces with "silver, gold and precious stones" (line 12-13). The picture of the host of spirits and the troops as rain clouds and mist clouds covering the earth, like a rainstorm

⁶¹ For our translation see Yadin 1962, 316; Carnignac and Guilbert 1961, vol. 1, 112, cf. Dupont-Sommer 1961, 187: "congregation of Thy saints", "accompanied by the saints" and cf. Dan 7:27; 8:24. For the alternative see Vermes, Davies 1977, 102 who has to supply a missing *waw* before the עַם.

⁶² Cf. Davies 1997, 103.

watering the vegetation (lines 9-10), is creation imagery. In the first place it recalls the language of creation in 10:12. Secondly, in association with the "multitude of cattle" which follows it suggests a restoration of fertility to land deprived of its irrigation whilst under enemy control. It is possible, in fact, that there is here a specific allusion to the "spirit of God" which swept over the primeval waters in Genesis 1:2. We know from Sirach 24:3b that the *ruach elohim* of Genesis 1:2 could be interpreted in terms of a mist (ὁμίχλη) covering the earth, in close association with God's theophanic cloud. Sirach is here testimony to an old exegetical tradition which combined Genesis 1:2 with the description in Genesis 2:6 of a source of water watering the whole earth.⁸⁵ The creation imagery is probably sustained until the very climax of the hymn where Israel and her cities are summonsed to "have dominion (רדה) over the kingdoms" and for Israel there is an eternal reign (lines 15-16). The use of the imperative of the verb רדה in 12:15 (par. 19:7) echoes Genesis 1:28 where humanity is commanded to fill the earth (מלא את הארץ), subdue it and have dominion (רדה) over the whole of creation.⁸⁶ Israel are therefore placed in the position of the true Adam in consequence of the divine warrior's eschatological victory and recapitulation of creation.

This is the well-known biblical and ancient Near Eastern pattern of the divine warrior defeating his enemies, returning creation to an ordered paradise. Indeed, it seems likely that an allusion to "Eden" is intended in line 15. The penultimate Hebrew phrase of this line says "ערינה עדי כבוד". The root verb is normally judged to be ערה, "to ornament, deck oneself" -- thus: "deck yourself in ornaments of Glory" -- but, however its form here was vocalized, a play on the "garden of Eden (עדן)" is unmistakable.⁸⁷

This orientation to creation should not surprise us, since we have already seen how much what precedes is a development of Column 10's interests. There Israel was set in intimate communion with cre-

⁸⁵ See discussion of 4Q541 9 (above).

⁸⁶ For human dominion over the whole created realm see also Ps 8:6-8; Sir 17:2-4; IQS 3:17; 4Q381 1 7; 4Q422 1 1 9; 4Q423 2 2; 4Q405 8 6; 2 Bar. 14:18; Jub. 2:14.

⁸⁷ Judging by the photograph (Suknik 1955, plates XXVII, XXXIV) עדי כבוד could equally well be עדי כבוד "skins of Glory" which would then allude both to the garments of skin given to Adam and Eve in Genesis 1:21 and to the tradition that these garments were glorious (light-giving) garments (Ginzberg 1909-38, 5:103-4, 276-7).

ation through her cosmologically attuned liturgy. Here, in column 12, the movement towards the battlefield has begun in the sanctuary where the priesthood keeps time with the rhythms of eternity. Now it has moved outwards to the land and Israel has, accompanying her forces, both the creator God and the spiritual forces of creation. So she can confidently ask of him to renew creation and slay his enemies.

(2) 1QM 12:7-16: The Fulfillment of the Qedushah "Holy, Holy, Holy . . ."

We saw in our discussion of the VIIth Song of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* how a Dead Sea Scroll text can contain a thinly veiled allusion to the Qedushah of Isaiah 6. The whole of the hymn in 1QM 12:7-16 is also modelled in part on Isaiah 6:3 "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his Glory:

<p>1QM 12:7-10a You, O God . . . In the <i>Glory</i> of your <i>kingship</i> and the congregation of your (i) <i>Holy Ones</i>, are in our midst for an everlasting help . . . contempt for kings, . . . Because (iii) <i>Holy is the LORD</i> and the <i>King of Glory</i> is with us, a people of (ii) <i>Holy Ones</i>, mighty ones and the <i>host</i> (x) of <i>angels</i> among our mustered ones. 'The mighty one of war is in our congregation and the <i>host</i> (y) of <i>his spirits</i> is with our foot soldiers and our horsemen, . . . as rain clouds . . .</p> <p>10b-15 Arise, mighty one! Take your captives, man of <i>Glory</i>! Seize your plunder, you who do worthily! Put your hand upon the neck of your enemies and your foot upon the piles of the slain! Smite</p>	<p>Isa 6:1 . . . I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe filled the palace (מלאים את הרובעל) . . . 3 And one called to another and said: (i) "<i>Holy</i>, (ii) <i>Holy</i>, (iii) <i>Holy is the Lord of hosts</i></p> <p>the whole <i>earth is full of his Glory</i>"</p>
--	---

the nations, your foes, and let your sword devour guilty flesh. *Your earth is full of Glory* and your inheritance with blessing; a multitude of cattle in your fields, silver, gold, and precious stones in *your palaces* (היכלותיכם).

... Daughters of my people, shout with a voice of jubilation! Deck yourselves with ornaments of *Glory*! Have dominion over the kingdoms ...

Isa 6:5 ... yet my eyes have seen the *King*, the *Lord of hosts!*"

The hymn opens with a reference to the "Glory" of God's kingship. In lines 7-9 the scroll reads "holy is the Lord (קדוש אדוני)"⁸⁶ and a "king of Glory (מלך הכבוד) is with us". He is then characterized as a Lord of *hosts*; a "host of angels" and a "host of spirits" who accompany the human troops. Indeed, the root קדוש appears *three* times in two lines (line 7: קדושיכם; line 8: קדוש אדוני, and קדושים) echoing the trisagion of Isaiah 6:3. Again in line 10 the second part of the hymn is addressed to a man of Glory (איש כבוד). Isaiah 6:3 is then cited in the body of the second stanza of the hymn: "Your earth is full of Glory (מלא ארצכם כבוד)".⁸⁷ Since the hymn climaxes with the daughters of God's people decked in "ornaments of glory (עדי כבוד)" it seems that the whole of lines 12-15 is meant to be a picture of God's Glory filling the earth, both the natural and the social order held in one inexorable whole.⁸⁸

I would suggest that the whole of the hymn in lines 7-16 is based on the two parts of the praise in Isaiah 6:3.⁸⁹ The first strophe

⁸⁶ This, and the parallel at 19:1, is the only occurrence of such a statement of God's holiness in the *War Scroll*. (Indeed, it is the only occurrence of the simple form קדוש). Given the controlling influence of Isaiah 6 on these lines I think it unlikely that we should translate קדוש אדוני "holy one of the LORD" and take this as a reference to the priestly messiah (cf. Ps 106:16) alongside the royal messiah—"the king of Glory".

⁸⁷ So, rightly, Carmignac 1958, 182; Carmignac 1961, 112, n. 72. Strangely, most of the commentators have not seen the language of Isa 6:3 here. Yadin compares only Num 14:21; Ps 72:9. A translation of ארצכם as "land" rather than "earth" (so, e.g. Yadin 1962, 318; Duhaime 1995, 121) misses the all-important reference to Isa 6:3 and the heaven-to-earth movement through the whole of this column.

⁸⁸ For the "ornaments of Glory" compare Isa 49:18; Ezek 16:7 and 11; Bar 5:1-2; *Pss. of Sol.* 11:8.

⁸⁹ Is the splitting up of Isaiah 6:3 into two strophes an interpretation of the first part of that verse "And one called to another and said" in terms of an antiphonal response of one strophe from one group to another?

(7-10a) is a reworking of "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts". All the essential elements of that praise are present and given specific interpretation. The hosts are defined as angels and spirits.⁹⁰ The Lord is also a "king of Glory". The basic statement of the Lord's own holiness is retained. But then there are two additional comments on that which is holy: the Lord's own holiness is reflected in his "congregation of holy ones" and, it seems, "a people of holy ones". The second strophe (10b-16) is then an interpretation of what it means that "the whole earth is full of his Glory". This is interpreted in terms of a defeat of God's enemies, the bounties of creation, the prostration of God's enemies before Israel and the beautiful prosperity of Israel's cities and their inhabitants.

In Isaiah 6 itself there is a deliberate parallelism between God's robe (LXX has "Glory") filling *the palace* (ההיכל, i.e. the sanctuary) in 6:1 and his Glory filling the earth in 6:3. The parallelism is present also in 1QM 12 in several ways. First of all, obviously, the whole of column 12 can be seen to correspond to the spatial structure of Isaiah 6:1-3 in its movement from (heavenly) sanctuary to the earth. The end of the second stanza (12:7-16) finishes with a movement back to the sanctuary with the words: "your earth is full of Glory . . . silver, gold and precious stones *in your palaces* (בהיכלותיה, lines 12-13)". Again the parallelism between God's Glory filling both the earth and the sanctuary is hereby reiterated.

This biblical intertextuality is unmistakable and its implications no less significant.⁹¹ First of all, an important corollary of the Isaiah 6 intertextuality undergirding the whole of this column is that the "palaces" of line 13 are hereby implicitly identified with the "heavens" and "holy habitation" of line 1. And, since no one doubts that the palaces of line 13 are the civil and sacred buildings of the restored and glorified Israel, our contention (above) that lines 12:1-5 describe the cultic community viewed from a heavenly perspective now finds yet more support.⁹²

⁹⁰ For the identification of God's Glory filling the earth in Isa 6:3 with his "spirits" see *Eth. Enoch* 39:12.

⁹¹ The importance of the Qedushah and the theological weight it gives to this hymn may partly explain the reduplication of the hymn at the end of the scroll (col. 19), thereby diminishing the sense that 1QM lacks literary integrity.

⁹² Isa 6:3b, מלא כל הארץ כבודו, can be read "the fullness of the earth is his Glory". This is perhaps the way 1QM 12:12 understands מלא ארצכה כבוד, given that the cattle, silver, gold and precious stones of lines 12-13 could very well be

Secondly, not only does the use of Isaiah 6 give another important intertextual subtext for the whole of the twelfth column, it also reinforces the way in which at this juncture the Israelites themselves function as God's angelic host. In Isaiah 6 it is the *seraphim* who proclaim the Qedushah. Here the (priestly) leader of the eschatological war proclaims the Qedushah, albeit as a new and particular instantiation of the praise of heaven. In doing so he calls Zion, Jerusalem, to rejoice. Now it is the human community not the suprahuman *seraphim* who actualise the worship of the angels about God's throne.⁹³

Thirdly, the way Isaiah 6:3 has been reworked further supports our conviction that the holy ones and the angels of lines 7-8 refer, primarily, to the Israelite army and priesthood. The expression "Lord of hosts" has been taken as an indication that there are (at least) two hosts in God's army (cf. line 1: "hosts of angels"). Lines 8 and 9 say there are two צבאות. There is a "host of angels among our mustered troops . . ." and a "host of spirits with our foot-soldiers and our horsemen . . .". This is now best taken as a careful demarcation of two clearly distinct armies; the human, but heavenly, holy army of Israel among whom there are angelic priests and the suprahuman army of spirits which fights with Israel.

But the human community have not just been raised to the realm of the worshipping *seraphim*: they are also themselves taken up into the life of the Glory of God himself. In line 15 the daughters of Israel are to deck themselves in "ornaments of Glory". This is the same divine Glory which "fills the earth". Perhaps, like the high priesthood of 4Q405 23 ii, they are to be decked with ornaments made of the "gold, silver and precious stones" with which God's land is filled in lines 12-13.⁹⁴ Certainly, given the way other Qumran texts variously identified Adam, Israel and her high priest with God's Glory it is not at all surprising that such an Israelology should be present here. In fact M. Baillet has already noted the way the setting of the Glorious Adam of 4Q504 frag. 8 line 7 in the "land of Glory (ארץ כבוד)" is parallel to the prayer of 1QM 12:12 (par. 19:4)

understood as that glorious fullness of the earth which is harvested into the Lord's palaces by Israel's divine warriors.

⁹³ Compare the allusion to Isa 6:3 in Sirach 42:16b which is determinative for the Glory theme which predominates throughout 42:15-50:21. For the early liturgical use of the Qedushah see Hayward 1997.

⁹⁴ Cf. esp. Ezek 16:7, 11.

that God would fill up his land with Glory.⁹⁵ (This, of course, has considerable implications for the identity of the "man of Glory" to which we shall turn shortly.) Baillet's comparison is entirely justified because of the Edenic imagery throughout the second stanza of column 12.

In our discussion of 4Q504 we saw how Genesis 1:26 and *Ezekiel* 1:26-28 were combined to create an anthropology of divine Glory in the *Urzeit*. In 1QM 12 Genesis 1 is combined with another key throne theophany text to which the apocalyptic-mystical tradition frequently turned for inspiration—*Isaiah* 6:1-3—to create an equivalent anthropology of the divine Glory in the *Endzeit*. And the subtle splicing of the two texts—Genesis 1 and *Ezekiel* 1—in 4Q504 is repeated with an equally deft interpretative hand in 1QM 12. In 1QM Genesis is now combined with *Isaiah* 6 and at the climax of the passage the two biblical passages overlap to make an explicit identification of the *Endzeit* with the *Urzeit*. Lines 12-15 describe the earth and Israel's palaces full of God's Glory. The Glory is literally *room* by the Israelites themselves (line 15). But the glorious Israelites filling creation not only satisfies *Isaiah* 6:3 it also satisfies God's commandment to humanity to "be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it . . ." (Gen 1:28). The last two phrases of line 15 neatly combine allusions to *Isaiah* 6:3 ("deck yourselves in ornaments of Glory (כבוד) . . ." and Genesis 1:28 ("Have dominion over (ורדו) the kingdoms").

At its heart this is a restatement of ideas that we have already encountered in the *War Scroll* (esp. col. 10) and elsewhere in the DSS. Just as the high priest embodying God's Glory receives the praise of the *maskil* in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, so here, not surprisingly, Israel are also the recipients of the service, veneration, or *worship*, of those who had previously been their oppressors (lines 14-15). The nations bringing all their wealth to Jerusalem in service, prostrating themselves before God's people (lines 14-15), is a widespread motif in biblical and post-biblical Jewish literature.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, its significance should not be diminished for that reason. That the nations shall "serve" Israel and "bow down" before

⁹⁵ *DJD* 7:163.

⁹⁶ Compare *Isa* 60:5, 7, 10, 14; *Ezra* 7:15-20; *Pss. Sol.* 17:31, 34; 4 *Ezra* 13:12; 4Q504 1-2 iv 9b-12a. This has a reflex in early Christian literature where the nations come in worship to the messiah, Jesus Christ (e.g. *Phil* 2:9-11; *Rev* 3:9).

her means they do to Israel what Israel is forbidden to do to an idol.⁹⁷ But, then, the nation's veneration of Israel is fitting in the larger literary context because Israel is uniquely *like God* within the order of creation (10:8-9 etc. . .) and the bearer of the true Image of God, the form of Adam.

Who is the "Man of Glory" of 12:10-13?

It is not absolutely clear to whom the hymn in lines 10-16 is addressed.⁹⁸ The majority of commentators opt for God, to the exclusion of other alternatives.⁹⁹ Carmignac suggested a personification of the people of God.¹⁰⁰ Milik at first suggested the view that the hymn is addressed to the *nasi* of the congregation, the messiah of Israel,¹⁰¹ though he later changed his mind.¹⁰² He was not alone in his original view.¹⁰³ The principal objection to one of these alternatives is the fact that in line 12 the language of the earth being filled with Glory, echoes such passages as Isaiah 6:3 and Numbers 14:21, and must, therefore, describe Glory that belongs to God.¹⁰⁴

In the light of our discussion of the *War Scroll* and other DSS traditions thus far, however, this objection has no force. That the hymn is addressed directly to God is, in fact, an option which can be safely excluded, given the considerable evidence for one or other of two alternatives, between which a choice is more difficult.

In the first place there are details which support Milik's original view that the "mighty one", the "man of glory" is a (royal) messiah figure.¹⁰⁵ The hymn is a tapestry of biblical allusions and some of the OT texts upon which it draws were originally for Israel's human (royal) leader.¹⁰⁶ The language of Judges 5:12 ("Arise (אִרְסָה), Barak,

⁹⁷ In context "the cities of Judah", "Zion" and "Jerusalem" are metonymic for their inhabitants.

⁹⁸ For IQM 12:8-16 see the near identical parallel in 19:1-8.

⁹⁹ Yadin 1962, 317: "There can be no reasonable doubt that the whole hymn is addressed to God, not to the messiah".

¹⁰⁰ Carmignac 1958, 181.

¹⁰¹ See *DJD* 1:121-122.

¹⁰² Milik 1955, 599.

¹⁰³ See Black 1961, 155-56 for some sympathy for the messianic reading. It is represented more recently by Newman 1992, 116.

¹⁰⁴ Ploeg 1959, 147.

¹⁰⁵ Nothing in the hymn suggests a priestly messiah, despite the tradition (chs. 1, 3 and 7), according to which the priest acts as the divine warrior.

¹⁰⁶ The phrase "seize your plunder (שֵׁל שְׁלִיכָה) lines 10-11" recalls biblical passages where a human army is always in view (Ezek 29:19; 38:12-13; Isa 10:6).

lead away your captives (שָׁבָה עֲבִיד), O son of Abinoam") is picked up in IQM 10:10 ("Arise (קוּמָה), mighty one, lead away your captives (שָׁבָה עֲבִידָה)) and the prophecy for Judah in Genesis 49:8 ("Judah, your brothers shall praise you, your hand shall be upon the neck of your enemies (יָדְךָ בְּעַרְףְּ אֵיבֶיךָ)" is echoed in IQM 10:11 ("put your hand upon the neck of your enemies (יָדְכָה בְּעַרְףְּ אֵיבֵיכָה)").¹⁰⁷ Within the DSS corpus comparison should be made with 4Q504 1-2 col. iv where a Davidic king sits in governance over Israel, the nations of the world see God's Glory, and bring in all their wealth to Israel, to Jerusalem and the Temple (lines 6-12).¹⁰⁸

The title אִישׁ כְּבוֹד "man of glory" is strikingly anthropomorphic,¹⁰⁹ and comparison has rightly been made with such heavenly messiah traditions as that found in *Sibylline Oracles* 5:414-433.¹¹⁰ Although a much later text (end of first century A.D.) the fifth book of *Sibylline Oracles* is, as we saw in our first chapter, representative of an older tradition of heavenly messianism in general, based, in particular, on Numbers 24:17. In this later text, as in IQM 12, the heavenly redeemer destroys Israel's enemies (5:416-9) and then restores to glorious splendour Israel's sacred city and temple (5:420-428).

As we have seen, throughout, our hymn evokes the Qedushah of Isaiah 6:3 and the "man of Glory" will probably have in mind, therefore, the Glory of the LORD of that passage. Isaiah's vision begins with a report that he "saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe (LXX "his Glory") filled the temple" (v. 1). The language is not as directly anthropomorphic as that

¹⁰⁷ This argument in favour of a human referent is noted by Ploeg 1959, 147. Note that, just as Gen 49:8 predicts that Judah's brothers will praise him so, on the messianic reading of IQM 12:10-17, this praise of the royal figure by his fellow Israelites is fulfilled in the passage itself.

¹⁰⁸ Compare also 4QpIsa^a 8-10 iii 18-22 where the royal messiah of Isa 11:1-5 is associated with (or given?) "a throne of Glory, a holy diadem and multi-coloured garments". For the royal messiah and Glory see also *Pss. Sol.* 17:30-32.

¹⁰⁹ The title אִישׁ כְּבוֹד has been explained with reference to Exod 15:3 where at the Red Sea Yahweh is called a "man of war" (אִישׁ מַלְחָמָה) (Dupont-Sommer 1961, 187 n. 2). But, even if this is deliberately evoked it does not allow us to exclude any human reference in the title. In the midst of the treatment of the divine royal messiah in column 11, lines 9-10 have already cited God's destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea. There the context suggests a strongly anthropomorphic, possibly even messianic, reading of Exod 15:3 was adopted by the author of the *War Scroll*. In this regard the significance of Exod 15:3 for later Two Powers debates (Segal 1977, 33-44; 52-55 etc. . .) cannot be underestimated.

¹¹⁰ Black 1961, 156.

of other throne visions (e.g. Ezekiel 1:26-28; 2 *Enoch* 22:1-3; 39), but clearly Isaiah describes God seated in human form.¹¹¹ In the late Second Temple period the anthropomorphic occupant of God's throne is called simply the "Great Glory" (1 *Enoch* 14:20) or more simply the Glory, *ha-Kavod*. With Isaiah 6 clearly in view throughout our passage, the "man of Glory" perhaps consciously evokes the human form on God's throne. Does this fundamentally undermine a messianic reading of IQM 12:10-17? By no means.

We know that this human form of God's Glory could be given a messianic interpretation by late Second Temple Jews. So, for example, in John 12:41 the gospel identifies Jesus Christ with the anthropomorphic Glory of Isaiah 6,¹¹² and a hermeneutic of this kind seems to be assumed in much of the Pauline Christological material.¹¹³ We have already seen how the Essene high priests were identified with the Glory of Ezekiel's throne vision. There are, then, solid grounds for thinking that the *War Scroll* offers a parallel anthropology, though this time it is the royal messiah of the final battle who embodies God's Glory on the battlefield.

This fits perfectly our reading of the second stanza of column 12 thus far. The "man of Glory" is also called "mighty one" at the opening of the hymn in line 10. As such the messiah figure has already been introduced in line 9. There he accompanies those in the human-angelic host—"the host of angels among those mustered with us and the mighty one of war in our congregation"—who are set over against the "host of his spirits".

The royal messiah is, I think, the primary referent of the titles "mighty one" and "man of Glory". This obviously fits the literary context of the *War Scroll*: after a royal messianic expectation has been laid out in column 11, followed by a vignette of the life of the cult and priesthood (12:1-5) and a brief sketch of all the participants on the field of combat (12:7-10a), the scroll praises the royal messiah, the Prince of the Congregation of 5:1, who leads the forces into battle.

Whilst this messianic reading is the most likely, Carmignac's cor-

¹¹¹ The anthropomorphic nature of the vision is assumed in v. 5 "my eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts".

¹¹² For parallels to this strategy in pseudepigraphical, patristic and Jewish traditions of the Tannaitic period see the recent discussion by Hannah 1999.

¹¹³ See Newman 1992.

porate interpretation needs to be given its due. The messiah is often a corporate, representative, figure. If the author of the *War Scroll* puts any store by the theology of 4Q504 then the vision of the man of Glory restoring the earth to its Edenic abundance will have in mind the original creation, with Adam as the embodiment of God's Glory taking up the mantle of the divine king. The messiah is the second Adam and therefore, also, the representative of the true Israel. This is not to say that the "man of Glory" *is* Israel, as Carmignac would have it. 1QM 12:13-15 makes a decisive shift from the individual warrior, to the corporate Zion, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Judah and the daughters of the people. Given the corporate, Adamic, overtones of the messianism that precedes, the shift is natural, but it is a shift nonetheless.

The Symmetry between Heaven and Earth, Sanctuary and Theatre of War

We have already commented on the movement between 12:1-5 and 7-16 as a movement from heaven to earth and from sanctuary to theatre of eschatological conflict. This, and the relationship between these two spaces, is of the utmost importance in understanding the *War Scroll*. Column 12 presumes a dynamic interplay between the two spheres, one which is never stated in so many words, but which underlies its structure, content and much else in these later sections of the scroll. The presence of a "multitude of holy ones" and Israel's priesthood in a space which is both liturgically faithful to the covenant and an actualisation of the heavenly realm means that God's presence is guaranteed on the battlefield.

This is the picture that Numbers paints: Israel's sacred space, the Tabernacle, stands at the centre of the nation as it enters the promised land. On the one hand, those who minister in the Tabernacle officiate at the festivals, offering atoning sacrifices, and on the other, they orchestrate, with trumpets, the engagement with the enemy (Num 10:1-10). The author of the *War Scroll* is faithfully reading the historical account of Israel's cultic war camp (Numbers) in conjunction with the cosmology established in Exodus 25-40, according to which the sanctuary is a miniature world, including, therefore, heaven on earth.

This relationship between sanctuary and battlefield, heaven and earth, comes to the fore at a number of points in the language of column 12. The beginning of the second stanza addresses God: "You, O God, . . . in the Glory of your kingship and (in) the congregation

of your holy ones, are in our midst for an everlasti[ng] help (לְעוֹר [עוֹלָמִים]). . .". If the "congregation of the holy ones" is the cultic community just described (12:1-5) then this line encapsulates the picture in Exodus and Numbers: God dwells with Israel, in his theophanic cloud (cf. IQM 12:9: "host of his spirits . . . as rain clouds and mist clouds"), in the portable Tabernacle at the centre of the community that returns to the land (Exod 25:8; 29:45-46; 40:35; Num 5:3 etc. . .).

God is present *in and through* this cultic war party "for an everlasting help". That is, these—God and cult—are present in order to empower the larger community on the battlefield. The point is not simply that the cult is the *place* where God dwells, but that the place and its human population actualise the realm of heaven and the action of God, since the cultic community acts "in" and "according to" God's works as column 10 has stated. The language of eternity (עוֹלָמִים) picks up that used of Israel's liturgy in line 3: the realm of eternity ("everlasting help") is present through the keeping of all its "appointed times" in Israel's worship and so its reality is available to the people. The point is spelt out in 13:8 which specifically says that Israel's sanctuary and worship has been "in our midst for the help (לְעוֹר) of the remnant". That is, the correct performance of cult lead by the priesthood at the centre of Israel's life ("in our midst") provides *help* for the rest of Israel (here, "the remnant") in their conflict with their enemies. Particularly important in the expression of this divine help is the prince of light who is entrusted by God for Israel's rescue (13:10) and the majestic angel who is sent "for eternal help" (17:6).¹¹⁴ As we shall see these are also probably priestly angelic characters.

The same relationship between cult and field of conflict, between the community at worship and community at war, is in view in line 4 and at the beginning of line 5. Unfortunately, the lacunae in the text mean it is hard to be sure of the logic in these lines. But it is clear that there are two purposive phrases in "to muster" and "for strength of hand in battle" and that somehow the establishment of the priesthood and the heavenly community in lines 1-3 exists for these reasons. The heavenly priesthood's purpose, therefore, is to establish and spiritually strengthen the combatants in the field of bat-

¹¹⁴ Other uses of עוֹר are not relevant here (1:2, 6; 4:13).

tle, a point already made at 7:12. This, of course, is, in part, simply commentary on what has been happening since the clergy began to address the troops in column 10.

The symmetry between cult (heaven) and battlefield (earth) is present in one other small, but significant, aspect of the two parts of column 12. The hymnic piece in lines 10–16 ends with the phrase “Israel to reign forever (יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִלְוֹךְ עוֹלָמִים)”, a statement which is a fitting climax to the account of the defeat of her enemies, taking of spoil and attaining of complete dominion of the kingdoms in the preceding lines. Already the expression לְמִלְוֹךְ has appeared in line 3 of the first stanza of the column. 12:3 describes how God has given the priesthood a “covenant of peace . . . to reign (לְמִלְוֹךְ) [. . .] in all the appointed times of eternity.” Unfortunately the text is damaged and the subject of the verb, its relationship to both the priesthood and the liturgical catch-phrase “all the appointed times of eternity” is unclear. The majority of commentators think that God is the subject,¹¹⁵ but this assumption betrays the theological parameters that modern commentators themselves bring to the text. Ultimately, of course, any rule that is that of God’s humanity, is God’s own rule. But there are good reasons to think the text speaks principally of the rule of the priesthood.¹¹⁶ The subject of “to reign” will also, probably, be the subject of “to muster” at the beginning of the next line. The mustering of the troops according to their thousands and myriads is, again, ultimately God’s responsibility, but has been delegated to the priesthood throughout columns 2–9. The reigning of the priesthood, the people’s representatives, would also seem to be consistent with the clear impression that in 12:15–16 it is *Israel* who shall reign forever.¹¹⁷ The Hebrew (לְמִלְוֹךְ) is the same in both lines.¹¹⁸ We have seen how, by the end of the column, Israel as a people have received the position within creation otherwise intended for Adam and that it is in such a capacity that she is to rule. This

¹¹⁵ Yadin 1962 “so as to be King over them”; Vermes “that Thou mayest reign [over them]”; Jongeling 1962, 278, cf. Ploeg 1959, 144.

¹¹⁶ For God’s reign through the priesthood see *T. Reub.* 6:11–12. Dupont-Sommer’s filling of the lacuna and translation “that [(the sons of light(?)) may reign” 1961, 187) is right to appreciate the human focus, but wrong to miss the priestly context.

¹¹⁷ See the discussion of Steudel 1996, 523–4, who nevertheless fails to see that this is entirely compatible with the role of the Messiah in what precedes.

¹¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the parallel in 19:8 has a slightly different form: “יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִלְכּוּחַ עוֹלָמִים”.

Adamic cosmocratic power is perfectly consistent with the position of the priests within the temple, since they too were believed to represent the true Adam within creation.¹¹⁹ They reign within the cultic microcosm just as Israel will reign in the whole world.¹²⁰ (These themes were already present and waiting to be unpacked in column 10 where Israel is given privileged access to (a) the order of creation (b) the "form of Adam" and (c) the correct liturgical pattern and construction of sacred space). Here, too, then there is a symmetry between that which is achieved in the liturgy of the sanctuary and the reality of the world at large: the former have a direct (sacramental) impact on the later.

Finally, one other detail of the *War Scroll's* vision for the correct conduct of the troops confirms the importance of the connection between combatants and priests, between cult and battlefield. In column 5 the shield, the sword and the spear of the ordinary soldiers are described. In each case the manufacture is described in terms borrowed from the Priestly description of Aaron's garments in Exodus 28. The border of the shield is "skilful work (מעשה דושב), in gold and silver . . . and precious stones (אבני הפיץ), many coloured ornaments, the work of an engraver, skilfully wrought (מעשה חרש מחשבה)" (lines 5-6). The same language is then used again of the spear (5:8-9) and the sword (5:11, 14). In the systematic, highly reflective and symbolic world of the *War Scroll* these aspects of the design and manufacture of the weapons of combat state the intimate connection between the grammar of worship and the defeat of God's enemies.¹²¹

The phrase אבני הפיץ, though not used in the Priestly material in Exodus 25-40, has already been used of the high priest's garb in Sirach 50:9. It derives, originally, from the prophetic vision of the restored and glorious Jerusalem in Isaiah 54:12 and in the phrase "silver, gold, and precious stones" it reappears in 1QM 12:12-13. And so the point could not be clearer: the soldiers' weapons have

¹¹⁹ See especially Sirach 49:15-50:1 (Heb) and the discussion in Hayward 1996, 44-47. See already the high priestly garments of the *Urmensch* in the garden in Ezekiel 28 and the priestly characterisation of Adam in Genesis 2 3 (Wenham 1986).

¹²⁰ For the priesthood inheriting the position of divine king in creation given to Adam in Genesis 1:26, 28 see Fletcher-Louis 2001b on Sirach 50:11-13. For "dominion (מְשֻׁלָּה)" achieved through Israel's festivals and cult compare 4Q511 2 i 9.

¹²¹ See also Yadin 1962, 281 for the correspondence between the size of the shields and the dimensions of cultic paraphernalia.

the design and appearance of the garments of the priests in the sanctuary. They therefore carry the power, the order and beauty, of that world and from the outside world (the earth) they will restore the order and beauty ("the fullness of God's Glory") with which God's palaces will at last, as Isaiah had prophesied, be adorned. The ordered relationships within cosmos and cult are restored by both priest and warrior through the eschatological Holy War.

Column 13: Israel's Life in Eternity

The thirteenth column continues the cultic focus of the preceding column with the high priest, "his brothers the priests, the Levites, and all the elders of the rule with him" 13:1). The commentators agree that the end of 12:18 will have had a reference to the chief priest as the logical first member of the sequence in 13:1. Thus we are back in the scene described in 12:1-5, though in column 13 there is not now the emphasis on the worshipping community as a heavenly one. Rather the picture of the true Israel at worship is developed through a summary of the ritual of blessing and cursing which, from the *Community Rule*, we know was a defining feature of the Essene movement's spirituality. This is laid out in 13:1-6: the priesthood, Levites and elders bless God and all his truthful works and they curse Belial and all the spirits of his lot.¹²²

The blessing of God is then spelt out in greater detail (lines 7-16). He is blessed for his choice of Israel, with whom he has made a covenant "for the appointed times of eternity and all the fixed times of (God's) Glory" (line 8). In these lines we see clearly once more the way in which the sanctuary and its liturgy are inextricably related to the true Israel's eschatological struggle. Quite explicitly in line 8 the cult is in Israel's midst for "the help of the remnant", a memorial and for a preservation of the covenant. In the cult there are recounted God's judgements which obviously have a direct bearing on the coming punishment of the wicked and the vindication of the righteous. It is not as if those judgements are simply recorded and recited in the sanctuary so that they are a source of intellectual encouragement to Israel in her struggle. Through a ritual of blessing and curse their reality is actualised in the action of the community

¹²² For the parallels between 1QM 13:1-6 and 1QS 1:1-20 see Yadin 1962, 224-25.

at worship. The curse on Belial and his lot is an *effective* power by which God's judgement is brought to an eschatological climax. Thus the reader now learns how it is precisely that the cultic community, that is "the congregation of the holy ones", is in the midst of the troops "for an everlasting help [...] contempt for kings, mocking and derision for the mighty ones", as 12:7 described. In part at least this "mocking and derision" is now spelt out in terms of the ritualised denunciation in 13:1-2, 4-5.

There is nothing particularly problematic up to this point. 13:10b-14, however, provides some difficulties. Lines 10b-c reads:

and a prince of light (וְיֹשֵׁר מְאֹד), long ago, you appointed for our help (פְּקֻדָּתָהּ לְעֻזָּנוּ) [...] and all the spirits of truth are in his dominion.

Who is this prince of light? He will appear later in column 17 in close association with the archangel Michael, with whom he is usually identified. He is also known from the *Community Rule* (1QS 3:20), where he appears as the prince of lights (plu.).¹²³ Does the appearance of this principal angel figure undermine the emphasis throughout the previous columns on the very human Israel as the locus of divine presence and action? Most commentators think that with this character we have the heart and soul of the *War Scroll*. Israel's eschatological conflict is all in the hands of its principal angel, beneath whom the human army stand relatively passively.

The need to be sure of the identity of this prince of light is the more pressing given that a few lines later the *War Scroll* itself eschews the role of an angel or prince in the eschatological battle:

As for us, in your truthful lot, let us rejoice in ¹³ your mighty hand (וְנִשְׂמַחָה בְיַד נְבוֹרָחֻכָה), exult in your deliverance (בְּיִשׁוּעָתְכֶם), and be glad in [your] hel[p] and in your peace (בְּעֻזְרֵי [חַכְמָה וְ] שְׁלוֹמְכֶם). Who is like you in power, O God of Israel (מִיָּא כְמוֹכָה כְּכֹחַ אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל)? With ¹⁴ the poor ones is your mighty hand (עִם אֲבִיּוֹנִים יָד נְבוֹרָחֻכָה). Who, an angel or a commander, as the help of (וְיֹשֵׁר מְלֹאךְ וְיֹשֵׁר כְּעֻזָּתָהּ) [...] long ago you appointed for yourself a day of battle [...]

My translation of the crucial phrase in 14b is deliberately literal. Most commentators regard the second question beginning "who . . .?", in line 14 as rhetoric which expects the answer "no-one". This means

¹²³ There is evidently some literary connection between 1QS 1:18-4:1 and 1QM 13 given the similar sequence: blessing and cursing ceremony followed by description of the cosmic dualism between Belial and the prince of light(s).

that for P.R. Davies lines 13–14 are a “flat contradiction” of the statement of angelological help in line 10.¹²⁴ Certainly, because lines 13–14 appear to play down the value of the help from an “angel or a prince” it is hard to see how the text does not undermine the significance of the God appointed help in line 10.

The commentators, of course, note the similarity between the language in lines 13–14 and that already encountered at 10:8–9, though they have not explored it further. Carmignac thinks the second question is a rhetorical glorification of Michael: what angel or prince, other than Michael, can come to the aid of God’s people.¹²⁵ We have already suggested that the “who . . . ?” questions of this type have something to do with Michael and it would certainly be possible to find in the question מִיָּא כְּמוֹכָה בְּכוּרָה אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל a hidden reference to the angel מִיכָאֵל. However, Carmignac’s interpretation relies on the assumption that Michael is the prince of light spoken of in 13:10, which in turn relies on the view that in 17:6–7 the prince of light is so identified. As we shall see such a one-to-one identification of the prince of light with Michael is far from straightforward and probably not, in fact, intended anywhere in the *War Scroll*.

Rather than interpreting this difficult material in the light of what follows we are better off approaching the text equipped with the insights we have already gleaned from earlier columns. Both internal and external considerations suggest that lines 13–14 point the reader to humanity, Israel and her cultic representative as the uniquely privileged bearer of God-likeness. This we have already seen is the force of the “who . . . ?” questions in column 10 and, indeed, is the golden thread running through the text from that point forward.

In lines 12d–13c, the text which precedes the first question “who is like you in power, O God of Israel?”, there is the theme which we have already seen was key to a right interpretation of the rhetoric of divine incomparability in column 10: those in the lot of truth “rejoice in God’s mighty hand, exult in his deliverance . . . in his help and in his peace”. They thus dwell in the divine life and action and they do so in the specifically liturgical context prescribed by the

¹²⁴ Davies 1977, 110, cf. Collins 1997a, 104. Duhaime (1977 and 1987, 46) argues that the ambivalence is due to a secondary interpolation in lines 9b–12. Note the linguistic overlap between lines 10 and 13 which brings the statements more strongly into relation with one another.

¹²⁵ 1961, 115, cf. van der Ploeg 1959, 153.

covenant which has been recalled in the preceding lines (lines 7-9). After the question "Who is like you *according to power*, God of Israel?" the answer quite naturally is "(the true) Israel, and in particular her cultic representative, the priesthood," who inhabits your lot, shares your identity and action. Indeed the text answers the question in precisely this way: "with the poor ones (is) *your mighty hand*". In other words it is the poor ones of the true Israel who are like their God in power.

When the passage is read in this way a new possibility for the interpretation of the second rhetorical question presents itself. The question perhaps presumes that only one from among Israel can qualify as an angel or prince to offer the help spoken of. Unfortunately, the text is broken and, no doubt, the fuller text of lines 14-15 was essential for a precise understanding of the question and its expected answer. But several considerations suggest that the question *did* think that an angel or prince could offer help of the kind offered by God himself and that this angel or prince is a priestly character.

The question is concerned with supernatural *help*. It therefore picks up the help given to the remnant by the cult in 13:8, which is in turn a briefer summary of a good deal of column 12 (see esp. 12:7). In column 12 Israel's own priesthood serve as "a host of angels (מלאכים)" whose performance of the liturgy provides *help* (esp. 12:7) for the rest of Israel at war. So the question in 13:14 must assume some reference to these "angels" even if it has one particular מלאך in mind. By the same token the "prince" (שר) who provides help must have some positive reference back to the "prince of light" in 13:10.¹²⁶

Column 14: Returnees from the Battlefield Raised to the Heavenly Heights

Thus far this second half of the *War Scroll* has moved back and forth between the cult and the battlefield, always exploring new ways in which the two are related. Column 10 opened with a summary statement of Israel's Godlikeness, her intimate knowledge of creation and the symmetry of her cultic action with that of the creator. Column 11 explored the significance of this ontological intimacy for God's

¹²⁶ There is perhaps some relationship between the material in 1QM 13 and 1QSb 4:24-25 where there is a both the statement "not by the hand of a prince" and the statement that the high priest is "as an Angel of the Presence".

defeat of Israel's enemies, past and future, through the hand of her royal redeemer. Here the focus is a political one, and therefore somewhat removed from the cult. But in column 12 the attention returns to the sanctuary as the nation's powerhouse—the space and time which guarantees God's presence with the troops. If we are right that the royal messiah himself is the divine warrior who defeats the wicked and floods creation with God's Glory, then he is, quite deliberately, given a role subordinate to the sanctuary and priesthood which provides the spiritual muscle behind the war machine.¹²⁷ After the outward movement in 12:7–16 column 13 returns to the sanctuary as the place where blessing and curses are pronounced and eschatological fates are decided. In part, it is this ritual of blessing and cursing which provides the spiritual "help" for those on the battlefield.

Now, in column 14, we move outward once again to the battlefield. Though this time we do so only to meet the victorious troops returning from the front line. Column 14 acts as something of a mirror image to 12:7–16. In 12:7–16 there had been an outward movement from the community at worship (12:1–5) to the battlefield. But this movement had been anticipatory and was described from a stance of worshipful petition. The hymn in 12:7–16 both praised God that he was with the troops and prayed that the divine warrior would arise to defeat his enemies and fill his creation with his presence. The hymn looked forward, in particular, to the restoration and glorification of Zion. Within the text's life-setting that focus on the return to Zion is a future reality for which the readers of the scroll looked forward from their position in the wilderness, returning to the land. By contrast column 14 is a hymn of return which describes the victory over Israel's enemies as a *past* event.

Just as the description of the troops in 12:7–16 was thoroughly liturgical in *form* so too the account of the returnees is an extension of the blessing that had begun in 13:1 (13:1: "they shall bless"; 13:2: "blessed be . . ."; 13:7: "we bless"; 14:3: "they shall bless"; 14:4: "blessed be . . ."; 14:8: "blessed be . . ."). Where the cultic community blesses God before the battle in column 13, in column 14 they bless God after the victory. There is no need for a curse on return from the field because the curse already recited has now been effective

¹²⁷ Cf. IQSb 4:28, 5:28 where the priest is to make Glorious God's Name and the royal prince of the congregation is "made strong by His holy Name".

and God's enemies have been defeated. The ideology which we have seen throughout the preceding chapters recurs. God is the one who acts through Israel to raise them up in their fallen state and through them to destroy all the wicked nations: "through the humble spirit (בעניי רוח), [] the stubborn heart, and through the perfect of way (בחומי דרך) shall all the wicked nations be destroyed" (14:7, = 4QM1 8-10 i 5).

The passage which dominates the fourteenth column has in its last four lines yet another reflection on the significance of the cult for the nation's success on the battlefield:

... we your holy people, in your truthful works, shall praise your name,¹²⁸ and in your mighty deeds, shall exalt [. . .] the times and holy days of the fixed times of eternity, with the arrival of the day and night,¹⁴ and the departure of the evening and morning. For great is your [gloriou]s p[lan] and the mysteries of your wonderful acts (are) in [your] heights (במרומי כה) to r[aise] up to you those from the dust (לה[ר]י[ם] לכה מעפר) ¹⁵ and to bring low from among the gods (ולהשפיל מאלים). (*vacat*)¹²⁸

We have already noted the importance of lines 12b-14a as a witness to the liturgical context for the similitude between God and Israel which is set out in column 10. This passage is also yet one more witness to the way in which the cult is *effective* for the progress of salvation-history.

What are the "mysteries of your wonderful acts in your heights"? In the literary context these are clearly the secrets of creation (and history) which have been accessible to the righteous by virtue of their heavenly liturgy. They are "the times and holy days of the fixed times of eternity". In particular, the celebration of the Tamid sacrifice at evening and morning is a daily affirmation of the duality in *creation* between light and darkness which is now reflected in the *historical* victory of the sons of light over the sons of darkness: as the *Urzeit* becomes the *Endzeit* so the liturgical order of creation is realized in history. The word "heights" has in its background the ideology of the temple and Mount Zion as a place with a heavenly dimension. We should compare, in particular, Psalm 78:69 where God has "built his sanctuary as the high heavens (כמו רמים)".¹²⁹

¹²⁸ The lacunae are partly filled by the parallel in 4QM1 frags. 8-10 i 12.

¹²⁹ For a discussion of this verse in its history-of-religions context and the wider parallels in Israelite literature see Levenson 1988, 87-88 and *passim*. In Sirach 50:6-7

According to one textual tradition of Sirach 45:2 Moses' ascent up Mount Sinai where he was given the model for the Tabernacle was an entry into "the heights" (בְּמִרְוֹתַיִם).¹³⁰ And we have seen how in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the Qumran community's worship takes place in these heavenly heights. Once again the author of IQM directs his attention to the worship of the community in a heavenly space and time.

So, when the Hebrew of IQM 14:14 says the "mysteries of your wonderful acts are in your heights *in order to* raise up (לְהַרְוִים) to you those from the dust . . .", those who utter these words—those returning from the battlefield—are commenting on their own experience: their victorious return from the battlefield to the cultic community is a raising up to God from the dust. Here there is yet another expression of the belief that Israel's liturgy is *efficacious* for God's action in the Holy War, since it is the wonderful mysteries of the liturgy in the heights which is celebrated "*in order to* raise up" the troops from the dust. Just how this causal relationship works is now easy to see. In column 13 the cultic community celebrates the fact that they are destined to the light of eternity whilst the lot of Belial are a lot of darkness (13:5-6). By celebrating and dramatically re-enacting the separation of darkness and night in creation at the Tamid offering, the community energizes history with the power of the creator who overcomes the darkness with light (Gen 1:3).

This also means that we should take seriously the ontological implications of the upward movement described in line 14. Some commentators think that the raising up from the dust is no more than a *poetic* description of God's vindication of the elect and his saving them from physical death.¹³¹ This is certainly a part of their being raised upward, since the context of the hymn of return has described in detail the fighter's proximity to death, their weak and vulnerable state and the way they have been sustained and rescued. They have faced death, the point at which they would return to the dust whence they came (Gen 3:19), and have been spared. But there is more than simply physical support.

Simon is compared to the sun, moon, stars and rainbow as he comes out of the sanctuary. His action and the symbolism of his attire associates him with those heavenly bodies which otherwise fill the heavenly heights (26:16; 43:1, 9).

¹³⁰ Compare Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 12:1.

¹³¹ E.g. see Ploeg 1959, 161. See Ps 113:6-7 and 1 Sam 2:8.

If the expression "to raise up to you those from the dust" is an interpretation of the experience of the returnees from the battlefield and their ultimate destination is the cultic community whence they set out, then clearly they are moving not just from the battlefield to the sanctuary, but from earth ("dust") to heaven ("the heights"), wherein the mysteries of eternity are celebrated. Yadin thinks that "the reference is apparently to the demotion of the 'prince of the dominion of wickedness' and the raising of Michael".¹³² There is no suggestion in this context that it is the angel Michael who is raised to the heavenly heights, just as there is no indication that he has been in the dust. But Yadin's interpretation at least recognizes that the upward movement extends to the heavenly realm and that it is from that heavenly realm that the forces of darkness have been thrown down (line 15, cf. Isa 14; Ezek 28; *Life of Adam and Eve* 16; Rev 12 etc. . .). This must refer, then, to the exaltation of the victorious righteous to the heavenly heights. This should not, of course, surprise us given all that has been said of Israel thus far. Neither, in the context of the DSS corpus is such a statement unusual. We could compare, for example, 4Q427 ii 8-9 which says "and he raises the poor from the dust to [] and up to the clouds he extols him in stature and together with the gods in the congregation of the community." And, again, we are remind of the ontological significance of the "tongue of dust" of mortal worshippers in 4Q400 2 7 before they are raised to join the angels with tongues of glorious strength.

There is no mention of a *transformation* at this point because the righteous victors simply return to the place and state from which they had set out for the battlefield. Their need for a return from the dust to the heights is borne of the fact that they have become immersed in the world of death to which they do not ultimately belong. They have become impure through corpse impurity and therefore "in the morning they shall clean their garments and wash themselves of the blood of the guilty corpses" (14:2-3). Their physical transfer from the dust to the heights is an apocalyptic analogue to this language of impurity and cleansing.

¹³² 1962, 329.

Columns 15-19

With columns 15-19 we come to a thematically distinct block of text. These columns are more focused on specific strategic instruction for the procedures of conflict. They pick up the charge given by the chief priest to the troops prescribed by Deuteronomy 20 which we have already encountered in column 10. There are details of the chief priest's speech of encouragement (15:6-14) before battle; his encouragement to the frontline when some of the righteous begin to fall (16:11-17:9); the role of the priesthood as trumpet blowers supporting the combatants from the wings of the stage of conflict (16:3-9; 17:10-16) and their rallying of the troops at the pursuit of the fleeing enemy (18:1-19:8(?)). In all this the priesthood are given instructions for their role in the battle, there is relatively little detail in the prescribed conduct for the laity who actually engage the enemy. The attention is towards the role of the priesthood in the different phases of the war and, by comparison with the preceding columns (10-14), there is relatively little by way of theological content in the instruction given to the priests.

It is widely held that these columns have a separate tradition history from those that precede and that they are inadequately joined to columns 10-14.¹³³ However, the case for literary confusion has been much overstated.¹³⁴ Column 15 is not simply a doublet of the speech to the troops in column 10, but rather introduces a new section of the scroll with a distinct thematic development.¹³⁵ Column 19 reproduces a version of the hymn in 12:7-16. This should not surprise us given the theological and liturgical significance of that hymn in its reworking of the Qedushah. The hymn of 12:7-16 is aptly placed at the end of the scroll because it encapsulates the theological vision for the war's end-game—the reigning of Israel in creation and history. It also very well articulates the author's aspiration to move from a mobile, wilderness wandering military formation to

¹³³ See esp. Davies 1977.

¹³⁴ This is probably due to the view, since Yadin, that the work must make sense more as a practical manual for the conduct of war, than a highly liturgical text specifically written for the priesthood.

¹³⁵ It is not at all clear that the same priest delivers the speeches in cols. 10 and 15 and we are not actually told the content of the speech in column 10. What follows the citation of Deuteronomy 20 in 10:2-5 is not said to be the *content* of the priest's speech, though that may be implicit. It is far from clear what role the text of the rest of cols. 10-14 is to have in the procedures for war.

an established city-state with its own cultic and military city full of the booty of war.

As we shall see column 17, also provides the contents of a sermon of encouragement which is a structural and thematic doublet to a combination of columns 12 and 13.

Column 17: The "Service of Michael" and the Dominion of Israel

1QM 16:11-17:9 is a distinct unit in which the chief priest (כֹּהֵן הַדָּרָאשׁ) addresses the troops from the front line to encourage them when some of their skirmishers have begun to fall in the heat of the battle (16:11-14). The priest's homily begins and ends on the subject of God's testing of his people in a crucible, 16:15-17:1 and 17:8c-9. Its main body deals first with the story in Leviticus 10:1-5 of the punishment of Nadab and Abihu for the unholy incense they offer. Their fate is contrasted with that of the true priesthood who receive an eternal covenant (line 3). There then follows a distinct block of teaching on the cosmic scope of the conflict and God's sending of an emissary to assist his people. This subsection is demarcated by a *vacat* at the end of lines 3 and 9, and reads:

⁴ As for you, strengthen yourselves. Do not be terrified by them! [. . .] Their own desire (רְשׁוּקָתָם) is for nothingness and voidness (לְחַוָּה וּלְבַדּוּה) and their support (is) not in [. . .] and not [. . .] ⁵ Israel all that is and will be (הַיְיָ עוֹלָמִים) [. . .] in all everlasting happenings (נְהַיִּי עוֹלָמִים). This is the day that he has set to humiliate and to bring low the prince of the dominion of ⁶ wickedness and he has sent an everlasting help (עֵזֶר) for the lot whom he has [re]deemed in the might of a majestic angel for the service of (*vacat*) Michael ((*vacat*) לְמִשְׁרַח מִיכָאֵל) (מִיכָאֵל) in eternal light (בְּאוֹר עוֹלָמִים) ⁷ to illuminate in joy (לְהַאֲדִיר בְּשִׂמְחָה) the covenant¹³⁶ of Israel. Peace and blessing for the lot of God, to exalt among the *elim* the service of Michael (לְהַרְיִם בְּאֵלִים מִשְׁרַח מִיכָאֵל) and the dominion of ⁸ Israel in all flesh (וּמִמְשַׁלַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכֹל בָּשָׂר). Righteousness shall rejoice in the heights and all his Sons of Truth shall be glad in everlasting knowledge. As for you, sons of the covenant, ⁹ strengthen yourselves (וְחַזְקוּ) in the midst of God's crucible until he waves his hand and fills up his crucibles (according to) his mysteries so that you may stand. (*vacat*)

¹³⁶ Restoration of the text using frag. 4 on pl. XLVII of Sukenik 1955. See Dupont-Sommer 1955, 175 n. 5.

This passage has been significant for two reasons: (1) the possible identification of the prince of light(s) with Michael and (2) the cosmic perspective of the eschatological war.

(1) Though the exact phrase "prince of light(s)" is not used here, this passage is usually grouped with those DSS texts which speak of this figure because it describes a principal angel, who is responsible for the shining of *light* (line 7) and who provides "help" for Israel in a way parallel to what is said of the prince of light in 13:10. The majority of commentators have accepted Yadin's argument that the prince of light(s) is identified with Michael in the *War Scroll* and, for this, 1QM 17:6-7 is frequently cited without further ado.¹³⁷

(2) This text is also seen as a *locus classicus* for what Jean Duhaime calls "analogical spatial dualism".¹³⁸ By this he means there is here a close parallelism between two otherwise sharply separated realms: in heaven Michael is exalted, whilst on earth Israel, for whom Michael acts as guardian and protector, is raised over all flesh.¹³⁹

However, on these two points matters are not so simple and I find it unlikely that there is either a straightforward identification between Michael and the prince of light or that there is precisely the kind of Michael-Israel parallelism usually envisaged. Yadin's translation, which is more or less accepted by the majority of commentators read:

⁵ . . . Today is the appointed time to subdue and to humble the prince of the dominion ⁶ of wickedness. He will send eternal assistance to the lot to be redeemed by Him through the might of an angel: He hath magnified the authority of Michael through eternal light ⁷ to light up in joy [the house of I]srael, peace and blessing for the lot of God, so as to raise amongst the angels the authority of Michael and the dominion ⁸ of Israel amongst all flesh.

The standard translation and interpretation suffers the following difficulties:

1. In the first place it relies on several dubious translation decisions. (a) In the first place the word מְשֻׁרָה in lines 6 and 7 has to be translated "authority" or "kingdom" which is not the natural meaning for this word. This may be the meaning of מְשֻׁרָה in Isaiah

¹³⁷ Yadin 1962, 235-236.

¹³⁸ 1987, 48.

¹³⁹ See, e.g., Rohland 1977, 15-16; Collins 1997a, 104-5.

9:5-6, but that word appears nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁴⁰ We would expect the word משרה to be a substantive participle from the verbal root שרת "to minister", which is used frequently in the scrolls.¹⁴¹ Thus it should mean either "servant" or "service". The verbal root is used in this way three times in IQM 2-3, in IQM 12:14 and 19:6.¹⁴²

Besides the two instances in IQM 17:6-7 the only other instances of the form משרה in the *War Scroll* is found at 13:4, in which a curse denounces Belial "במשרה אשמה". Since Yadin this phrase has also been translated "for his guilty authority". But, again, this is hardly a natural meaning of the word in the context of column 13 as Caquot has pointed out.¹⁴³ The phrase in 13:4 is parallel with that used in 13:5 where all the spirits of Belial's lot are denounced "for all their *service* (עבודה) of impure uncleanness (נדה טמאה)". The language is that of pentateuchal purity laws regarding a woman's menstrual impurity (cf. Lev 15:25-26; 18:19),¹⁴⁴ and the word עבודה must refer to religious service and worship.¹⁴⁵ The parallelism between lines 3 and 4, therefore, supports the expected meaning of משרה in line 3. Similarly, line 2 of column 13 ends a blessing on all those who "serve him (משרהו) righteously and know him in truth".¹⁴⁶ To these arguments, Caquot has noted how in near contemporary Phoenician inscriptions the word MŠRT means "service" and is equivalent to the Greek word λειτουργία.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ A noun from the root same root (שרת) as that of שר "prince" is also unattested.

¹⁴¹ See Kuhn 1960, 229 and see the discussion in Caquot 1988, 421-3. A translation from this root is adopted by Dupont-Sommer 1961, 188, 194; Caquot 1988.

¹⁴² For משרה meaning "servant, minister" see 4Q378 22 i 2; 4Q511 35 4 and frequently in the *Sabbath Songs* (e.g. 4Q100 1 i 4, 8).

¹⁴³ Caquot 1988, 426.

¹⁴⁴ The author perhaps has in mind Ezra 9:11 where the prophets have said that the returnees are entering "a land unclean with the pollutions (נדה בורה) of the peoples of the lands, with their abominations. They have filled it from end to end with their uncleanness (טמאים)." In Ezek 36:17, similarly, Israel is told her conduct before God is "like the uncleanness of a woman in her menstrual period (נדה טמאה)".

¹⁴⁵ For the language in line 4 compare especially IQpHab 8:12 13 where the *wicked priest* is guilty of "heaping sinful iniquity (עון אשמה) upon himself" and living "in the ways of abominations amidst every unclean defilement (נדה טמאה)". For menstrual impurity and pollution of the sanctuary see CD 5:7.

¹⁴⁶ The reading of the first three letters of משרהו is uncertain. For a parallel curse against Belial and "his guilty service (במשרה אשמה)" see 4Q286 7 ii 3 (= 4Q287 6 3).

¹⁴⁷ 1988, 426.

There is, therefore, little warrant for a translation of משרה in columns 13 and 17 as anything other than "service" or "servant".¹⁴⁸ The author of the *War Scroll* could perfectly well have spoken of the "dominion (ממשלה)" of Belial in 13:4 (cf. IQM 14:9; IQS 1:18) or the "dominion (ממשלה)" of Michael in 17:6-7 if he had so wanted.¹⁴⁹ In neither of these two passages (13:3-4 and 17:6-7) is there any obvious use of Isaiah 9 which would indicate the use of the word with the meaning of משרה as it is in that passage. So we would do well to explore what function the normal meaning of the word would have in this context.

(b) Secondly, the translators do not do adequate justice to the prepositional prefix *lamed* on משרה in line 6. The language hardly warrants the translation "He will send eternal succour . . . by the might of the princely Angel of the kingdom of Michael (so Vermes)". Neither does the Hebrew justify a new sentence beginning with למשרה: ". . . through the might of a majestic angel. (He will set) the authority of Michael . . ." (Duhaine). Such a new sentence requires supplying an otherwise absent verb, a strategy to be avoided if at all possible.¹⁵⁰ In line 6 the word האדיר could be treated as a *hiphtil* of the verb הדר and read with למשרה מיכאל as its object (so, e.g., Yadin: "He hath magnified the authority of Michael").¹⁵¹ However, with most commentators, it is better take האדיר as the noun "majestic one".

2. Besides these translation difficulties the common view that the angel of line 6 is Michael himself is problematic. As Ringgren has seen the angel "gives the impression of being more a figure in his own right".¹⁵² Despite Yadin's reading, and others like it, it is far from clear that the Hebrew intends the straightforward, one-to-one identification between the one whom God sends and Michael. The *lamed* on the phrase למשרה מיכאל is a problem for this reading and once we insist on the semantic range service-servant for משרה then

¹⁴⁸ For the cultic "service of Belial" compare the idolatrous cult in Jerusalem under Manassch which is called the "service of Satan" in *Ascension of Isaiah* 2:7.

¹⁴⁹ For the frequent use of ממשלה in IQM see e.g. 1:6, 15; 10:12; 13:10; 14:9-10; 17:5, 7 and 18:1.

¹⁵⁰ Ploeg 1959, 178 avoids the problem by seeing למשרה as a later addition to the primitive text.

¹⁵¹ For this reading compare Ploeg 1955, 391 "als herrlich erweist er den Diener Michael". See the discussion in Caquot 1988, 427-8.

¹⁵² Ringgren 1963, 82-3. Rohland 1977, 16, is also insistent that Michael and the mighty angel are "scarcely identical with one another" (cf. p. 19).

identification disappears altogether. The plain sense of the text has an eternal help sent *for the service*, or *servant* of Michael. This does not allow a straightforward identification of that help with Michael.

But what would the sending of an "eternal help in the might of a majestic angel" *for the service* or *servant* of Michael mean? This is the difficulty which, for most commentators, has justified the normal translation and interpretation. In slightly different ways Dupont-Sommer and André Caquot take Michael to be the object of the service which is rendered. Dupont-Sommer thinks "eternal succour" is sent both "to the lot whom he has redeemed (. . . לְנֶהְרֵל)" and "to the servant of Michael". This "servant of Michael" he identifies with Israel.¹⁵³ Whilst faithful to the semantic possibilities of the Hebrew, the idea that Israel is Michael's servant has no support from the rest of the *War Scroll*, from other Qumran writings or wider angelological and Michael traditions. Caquot thinks also that the text speaks of one who is Michael's servant, but he identifies this with an otherwise unidentified angel.¹⁵⁴ Again this solution has neither immediate parallel nor history-of-religions support.

Towards an Adequate Interpretation of IQM 17:6-7

In the light of the difficulties in IQM 17:6-7 and the inadequacies of previous interpretations I tentatively offer a new one. There are three issues of interpretation which a satisfactory reading of this text must address: (1) What is the מִשְׂרָח מִיכָאֵל? (2) Who exactly does God send and how is he related to Israel and the מִשְׂרָח מִיכָאֵל? (3) How are we to interpret the exaltation "of the service of Michael among the gods and the dominion of Israel in all flesh" in lines 7-8?

(1) The Meaning of מִשְׂרָח מִיכָאֵל

It is hard to see how the מִשְׂרָח מִיכָאֵל could possibly mean either the service rendered to Michael or a servant who serves Michael. Those who have adopted this translation and interpretation are unable to supply any history-of-religions warrant or justification in its support from within the *War Scroll*. It is extremely unlikely that the personal angelic being "Michael" would be the recipient of such religious

¹⁵³ Dupont-Sommer 1961, 194.

¹⁵⁴ 1988, 429.

service because of the Jewish scruple against the veneration of angels.¹⁵⁵

We should, therefore, explore the other possibility, that Michael's "service" is not the service directed towards Michael but the service which is somehow prescribed by him, proper to him or in his possession. This opens up a number of new avenues of interpretation. In *1 Enoch* 10 Michael plays a leading role in the binding of the watchers led by Azazel. This, it is now widely recognised, was regarded by some Jews as an aetiological allegory for the scapegoat ritual in which the people's sins are sent of to the wilderness in Leviticus 16. *1 Enoch* 10 acted as the myth to accompany the ritual of the Day of Atonement. So it might be possible to speak of "the service, the ministry, of Michael" as something undertaken by the priesthood at Yom Kippur.¹⁵⁶

1QM Columns 10 and 17

There is no immediate support for this interpretation in the *War Scroll* itself. However, our close reading of the text thus far does present us within another possibility. In many respects column 17's reference to the "service of Michael" is evocative of the conceptual heart of the scroll in column 10. In the first instance, when we allow the etymology of the name Michael to evoke the question "who is like God?" then we are thrown back to 10:8-9 where that question provided the pivot on which the text's incarnational holy war ideology has turned. There, there is also the claim that Israel is like God and that she is so because in her liturgical *service* she follows the pattern of God's action within creation and history. *Therefore to speak of "the service of Michael (who-is-like-God?)" is to speak of Israel, particularly her priesthood, in its cultic space and liturgical mode.*

That the final compiler of the *War Scroll* intended that 17:6-7 be read in the light of column 10 is perhaps confirmed by the fact that

¹⁵⁵ Once we recognise that "Michael" is an apocalyptic code for Israel then another possibility does present itself. It is possible, in view of 12:14 where "their kings shall serve you (ישרדוֹךְ)", that the משרת מִיכָאֵל is the service rendered to Michael, who-is-like-God, i.e. to Israel. However, this possibility is to be discounted because of the close parallelism between cols. 13 and 17 which makes clear that the issue at stake with the sending of God's angel is the establishment of the correct cultic service offered to God within Israel versus the idolatrous cult (see below).

¹⁵⁶ This does not necessarily involve a heaven-earth parallelism. Michael's binding of the watchers is set in primeval history and is evidently a one-off event. It is not an ongoing heavenly ministry, so much as the mythological prototype for the recapitulation of the myth's structure in the Jerusalem Temple.

the scribe of IQM has signalled a connection between the two passages. In 10:9 he left an inexplicable space between the כַּעֲמֹכָהּ and the מִיֵּא of "who is like Israel".¹⁵⁷ Here, in 17:7 he has also left a gap between the two words מִיכָאֵל and מִשְׁרָה. We have suggested that in the first instance the gap serves to signal the deeper meaning of the text that needs to be supplied and the possibility that the name "Michael" is to be extracted from the text. The gap in 17:7 could also function as a signal for further interpretative reflection. Both gaps might also serve as pointers to the interpretative interconnection between the two passages.

It is also likely that the *creation* focus of Israel's divine service and action in column 10 is in view in our text in a way which provides a key to the interpretation of the whole of lines 6-8. Lines 4-5a begins a new paragraph, with the end of the previous line marked by a *vocal.* Line 4 sets up a contrast between Israel and her enemies. Of the later the chief priest exclaims "their own desire (תְּשׁוּקָתָם) (is) לְתַדּוֹ וּלְכַדּוֹ." The later phrase is obviously derived from Genesis 1:2.¹⁵⁸ The word תְּשׁוּקָה is used at Genesis 3:16; 4:7 and in only one other instance in the Hebrew Bible,¹⁵⁹ so it carries with it the very specific sense of primeval craving towards sin. It cannot be a coincidence that for the righteous in their struggle with those who seek the pre-creation chaos, God sends help in order to "illuminate the covenant of Israel in joy".¹⁶⁰ Light is God's first act of creation and the sequence *tohu wabohu* to illumination in IQM 17:4, 7 surely makes the eschatological victory a recapitulation of the first creation.

In the first place, the use of this creation imagery at this point ties the passage yet more closely to IQM 10:8-16. The connection is not simply literary, it is also conceptual. In the tenth column Israel's godlikeness is constituted in her action in accordance with the ways of the creator in creation. So, too, here God's help is for a godlike (כְּאֵל) service (לְמִשְׁרָה מִיכָאֵל), which re-enacts God's original creation of light where there was only chaos. Not only does

¹⁵⁷ The gap would fit about 8-9 letters in col. 10 and 4-5 in col. 17. Judging by Sukenik's plate (1955, pl. XXXII) there is no fault in the leather that would warrant the omission in 17:7.

¹⁵⁸ For the expression in the DSS see 4Q303 5.

¹⁵⁹ Song of Songs 7:11.

¹⁶⁰ For the joy at the dawn of creation see Ps 89:15-16; Job 38:7.

17:6-8 hereby recall column 10 it also picks up the creation imagery in 12:7-16. There the eschatological warriors are accompanied by the divine warrior whose action and presence evokes that of the creator in Genesis 1. In particular, we had reason to see specific use of the spirit of God imagery in Genesis 1:2 in 12:9-10. Just as the new creation in 17:6-7 means "joy", "peace and blessing" so in 12:12-13 the divine warrior filling the earth anew with the glory of his creation calls for "Zion (to) rejoice greatly! (and) Jerusalem (to) shine forth (הִרְפִּיעַ) in jubilation" as Israel is blessed by international peace and the wealth of the nations (12:14-15).

(2) The Identity of God's Mighty Angel

The creation of light as the purpose of God's sending of the eternal help is further significant in that it helps us pin down the identity of the person sent. By now we should be hearing strong echoes of other Qumran texts where it is the chief priesthood's job to cause the shedding of light. We have seen this is a central and widely attested feature of Essene ideology (4Q175; 1QSb 4:27; 4QTLevi^d 9 i; 4Q405 23 ii etc...) which is closely associated with the movement's interest in the high priest's garments. In several other texts the priesthood's role as the means of illumination within the world also entails an angelomorphic identity. 4QTLevi^d 9 i is particularly important because, like 1QM 17:6-7, the heavenly high priest's illumination of the four corners of the earth recalls the original creation of Genesis 1.

These parallels open up a new possibility for the identification of the one sent in 1QM 17:6-7. The Hebrew does not actually say that the one sent is "the prince of light(s)". Although the mighty angel's role as bringer of light reminds us of the prince of light(s), his characterisation here is also close to that of the idealised high priest of other Qumran texts. That there is some reference here to the anointed priest of the end of days has much to speak in its favour. If our understanding of the phrase "for the (cultic) service of 'Michael'" as an apocalyptic code for Israel's own secret identity is anywhere near the mark, then a less rigidly suprahuman identity for the "mighty angel" would be in keeping with the context and the essentially human centred thrust of the *War Scroll* as a whole. The "mighty angel" is a *human, yet heavenly* high priest sent to fulfil the ritual requirements of Israel's cosmological cult, which is at the

same time a fulfilment of Israel's own identity as the people "who are like God".¹⁶¹

Secondly, it is said in an emphatic and elliptical manner that the coming of the mighty angel will mean "peace and blessing for the lot of God". This should remind us of the Aaronic blessing of Numbers 6:22-27 in which the priesthood puts God's blessing and peace upon the people. As we have seen the blessing was of considerable importance to the life of Qumran community and its language could be applied to the transformed human mediator for God's people. So the deified Moses himself embodies God's shining face for the healing of the people at Sinai according to 4Q374 2 ii 8. In the Pentateuch the blessing is prescribed for the whole of Israel. Similarly, in the VIth Song of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* it is the heavenly high priesthood which gives to the Qumran community the peace and blessing of Numbers 6. At Qumran Israel has been redefined in sectarian terms as "the lot of God" and it is this group that receives the Aaronic blessing in IQS 2:2 as also, here, in IQM 17:7. This allusive summary of the Aaronic blessing is an important indicator that we have here another description, like that in 4Q374, of an angelomorphic mediator and a specifically priestly one at that.

IQM 13 and 17

There is an important structural parallelism between columns 13 and 17 which helps us identify the mysterious angel of 17:6-7.¹⁶² In column 13 there is a cursing of Belial and his spirits for their impure and idolatrous worship practice, what the *War Scroll* calls Belial's "guilty service (בַּשָּׂרָה)" and "service (עֲבוֹדָה) of impure uncleanness" (13:4-5). With this idolatrous worship is contrasted the pure worship life of the true Israel, the "lot of light" (13:8-9; 12d-13c), who are faithful to the covenant between God and the fathers (13:7, 8). At the heart of this community's life of truth there stands the prince of light whom God has sent for their aid (13:10). The presence of this prince assures the community that they shall not be overcome by

¹⁶¹ We can fruitfully compare *T. Mos.* 10 (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1955, 175 n. 7) where the ordination and theophanic appearance of the angelic high priest in the heavenly sanctuary leads to the exaltation of Israel over her enemies.

¹⁶² For the literary parallelisms between columns 13 and 17 see Becker 1964, 48; Duhaime 1977, 211.

Belial whose counsel is for *wickedness* (להרשיע) and for whom the only *desire* (חשוקתמה) of his spirits is darkness (13:11-12).¹⁶³ The priests, Levites and elders then exclaim "who is like you according to power, O God of Israel!" and "who, be he an angel or a prince, is like the help of [. . .]" (13:13-14), language that we have suggested is meant to be associated with the name Michael.

In close parallel to this material and its structure, column 17 begins in line 2 with a reference to the guilty service practiced by Nadab and Abihu. And with that inappropriate worship there is contrasted the *covenant* given to the faithful priesthood of Ithamar (17:3, cf. line 8 "sons of his covenant"). For the lot of God there is the peace and blessing of a majestic angel and who is destined for the true "*service*" of *Michael*, "who-is-like-God(?)". Just as the prince of *light's* presence in chapter 13 portends the end of darkness so in chapter 17 the majestic angel has come "for the service of Michael in *everlasting light*". With this angelic figure and the righteous there is contrasted the prince of the dominion of *wickedness* (רשעה) and those in his lot whose desire (חשוקתם) is for nothingness (17:4, 6). The basic structure—the true cult contrasted with the false, demonic, cult—is the same in both passages:

IQM 13

"Guilty, impure, unclean *service*
(עבודה/משרה) . . . of Belial"
(13:1-2, 5)

Worship of the lot of light in
God's *covenant* (13:1-9)

"Appointed times of *eternity* . . . for
help of the remnant" (13:8)

"Prince of light . . . *for help*"
(13:10-11)

"Belial, a hostile angel . . . (whose)
counsel is for *wickedness* (להרשיע)"
(13:11)

Belial's lot is one of *desire*
(חשוקתמה) towards darkness (13:12,
cf. Gen 1:2)

IQM 17

(Guilty service) "of Nadab and
Abihu" (17:1-2)

Priestly *covenant* with Ithamar
(17:3-4)

. . . in all *everlasting* happenings . . .
an *everlasting help* . . . (17:5-6)

"A majestic angel . . . *for everlasting help*"
(17:6)

"The prince of the dominion of
wickedness (רשעה)" (17:5-6)

Israel's enemies' "*desire* (חשוקתם) is
towards *tohuwabohu*" (17:4, cf.
Gen 1:2)

¹⁶³ The word חשוקתמה is to be noted for its peculiarity here and in 17:4. Cf. perhaps 15:10.

This linguistic and conceptual parallelism is significant for several reasons. Our argument above that the word מַלְאָכִים must have something to do with cultic service in *both* 13:4 and 17:6-7 is confirmed. It is highly unlikely that the meaning would be different from one passage to the next and in both the cultic context is definitive for the word's meaning. In the first text it is used of the idolatrous cult and in the second of the true cult. When the text is read in that way it hangs together in a way hitherto not appreciated.

But what does the parallelism between the majestic angel and the prince of light(s) mean for the identity of the former? Is the "majestic angel" to be identified with the "prince of light"? Some might think so. Given the way he appears in other DSS texts (1QS 3:21; CD 5:17-18) it is highly unlikely that the "prince of light" in column 13 is at all human. This would mean that in both columns 13 and 17 this principal angel (prince of light/majestic angel) is thoroughly suprahuman and not, therefore, an angelomorphic high priest. But there are several reasons to think that there is a more nuanced relationship between the "prince of light" in column 13 and the "majestic angel" in column 17 according to which both are angelic, but the latter is also human and only the former is suprahuman.

In the first place it must be noted that one of the reasons why commentators have assumed a one-to-one "purely" angelological identification between the two characters is the fact that the "majestic" angel of column 17 has also been identified *tout court* with the angel Michael. This later identification, we have seen, can no longer be accepted and so the former identification is also open to question.

Secondly, whilst the ethical parallels between columns 13 and 17 are symmetrical the ontological ones are not: to the guilty service of the archdemon Belial in column 13 there corresponds the guilty service of the human priests Nadab and Abihu in column 17. The thirteenth column speaks repeatedly of spirits; both the spirits of Belial (lines 2, 4, 11) and the spirits of truth in the dominion of the prince of light (line 10). By contrast column 17 makes no reference to spirits; though it is prepared to speak of Israel's dominion over "all *flesh*". The 13th column begins by describing a *ritual* of blessing and cursing, whilst the passage in the 17th column is framed by an account of the very real crucible of God's wrath on the battlefield (16:15-17:1; 17:9). So, clearly, column 17 is oriented more towards concrete, flesh and blood participants in the eschatological conflict, whereas column 13 is oriented towards the spiritual realities *behind* that conflict. It

would be in keeping with this asymmetry if the prince of light in column 13 were a spiritual counterpart, of some kind, to the majestic (high priestly human) angel of column 13.

The relationship between the prince of light(s) and human agents of divine action in CD 5:17-18 is illuminating at this point. There it says that "formerly, Moses and Aaron stood *by the hand* of the prince of lights (כִּיד שֶׁר דִּלְוֹרִים) and Belial raised up Jannes and his brother in his cunning, when Israel was first saved . . .". Since Aaron himself can be called an "angel" the relationship between the prince of light and the majestic angel of IQM 13 and 17 may be similar to that between the prince of lights and Aaron in CD: the angelic human high priest in column 17 acts by the hand of the prince of light of column 13.

Once again, we cannot be sure of these matters. It may be that the prince of light and the majestic angel are one and the same. But in the broader sweep of our analysis of the *War Scroll* and related texts in the Qumran Library two points must be pressed. First, the identity of the majestic angel (as also of the prince of light) is a thoroughly cultic one. Secondly, in the absence of the kind of dualism so often read into the *War Scroll* the relationship between human and angelic realities in column 17 is much less clear-cut than is normally supposed. The cultic service of Michael does not refer, in a wooden way, to activities associated with the isolated personal angel Michael, but in a more profound, if allusive, way to Israel herself in her cultic mode. It is entirely possible, in this context, that the "majestic angel" who effects the defeat of chaos and the revelation of the light of (a new) creation is a thoroughly human, if also, divine agent. Thus far, the *War Scroll* has set Israel—God's true humanity—centre stage in the conflict with the forces of spiritual darkness. A dualistic surrendering of the responsibility for the defeat of Israel's enemies into the hands of one or more suprahuman angels would be a conceptual *volte-face*.¹⁶⁴

Michael and the Essenes' Angelic Secrets

An interpretation of 17:6-7, in conjunction with a new interpretation of 10:8-9, along these lines means that the name Michael is

¹⁶⁴ Explaining putative differences between 17:4-8b and the rest of the *War Scroll* with the conclusion that there is here an interpolation (e.g. Becker 1964, 47-48) is a possibility, but not an attractive one.

being treated as an apocalyptic codeword for the secret identity of the people of God in general and their righteous priestly representative in particular. Such an interest in the secrets within the written text is, of course, recognisably Jewish. As Saul Olyan has shown in a recent study of Jewish angelological speculation in the post-biblical period, we know that Jews could be extremely creative in their play upon angelic names in their search for the divine presence in a holy text.¹⁶⁵

If Michael's name functions as a cryptogram pointing to the identity of Israel and her priesthood, then this would help explain an otherwise puzzling problem in Josephus' description of the Essenes. Josephus claims that each Essene is bound by another: "He swears . . . to transmitt their rules exactly as he himself received them; to abstain from brigandage (ἀρστέας); and in like manner carefully to preserve the books of the sect and the names of the angels" (*B.J.* 2:142). The secrecy in this passage is generally consistent with the known sectarian nature of Essenism. The record that the names of the angels are to be kept secret is, however, strange, because the angel names that appear in those scrolls that are obviously peculiar to the community were surely well known to other Jews. So, for example, the angelic names Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael and others would hardly have needed to be kept secret from other Jews given their presence in the book of Daniel, *1 Enoch* and throughout those pseudepigraphal books which were widely known and used by Jews of the period.

The problem is solved if the secrecy here described actually refers more to secret *meanings* to angel names than the names themselves. Though this is not explicitly stated in Josephus' text it is consistent with the context of his comment. He has just reported that the members of the movement are "to conceal nothing from the members of the sect (yet) to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death" (*B.J.* 2:141). The first half of this statement probably refers to exegetical revelations derived from the study of scripture which the sectarian is to share with his fellows (cf. *IQS* 8:11-12). These could very well have been of the type we have suggested is at work in the use of scripture in the *War Scroll*. Coupled with the statement that the members are "carefully to preserve the books of

¹⁶⁵ Olyan 1993.

the sect" this puts the comment about angel names firmly in the context of secret *doctrine* and hermeneutical ideology. One of these doctrines could very well have been the belief that the angel name Michael is a code word for Israel, her priest, their unique similarity to the one God and the implications of these facts for the eschatological war against pagans and all reprobate Jews.¹⁶⁶

Dual Messianism in the *War Scroll*?

The testimony the *War Scroll* might have to offer in the search for a full appreciation of Qumran messianism has been discussed many times before. We have seen that there are good reasons for thinking that the scroll does, in fact, expect a royal redeemer, though he is a heavenly king as much as an earthly one (col. 11). If our reading of columns 13 and 17 is anywhere near the mark, then, the *War Scroll* exhibits a kind of dual messianism otherwise amply attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Alongside the heavenly royal figure there is to be a heavenly high priest in the eschatological battle. This would not only bring the text into line with other DSS it would be an added argument in favour of our interpretation of the angel passages in 13:10 and 17:6-7.

(3) Michael Among the Gods and Israel in All Flesh

Now that we have established a strong case for (a) the identification of the angel God sends with an (angelomorphic) human priest and (b) a less dualistic relationship between Michael, the people of God and their cult, we are in a position to consider afresh how best to interpret the exaltation of Michael and Israel in lines 7c-8a.

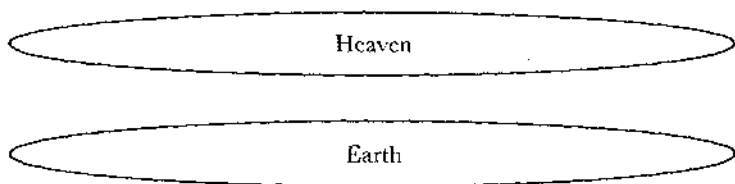
Now it might be thought that the parallelism between the gods and "all flesh" on the one hand, and "Michael" and "Israel" on the other counts against the kind of fusion of horizons for which we have argued. The sending of the majestic angel means that the service of Michael is exalted among the gods and that this somehow means also the exaltation of the dominion of Israel amongst all flesh.

to exalt	the service of Michael	among the gods
and (to exalt)	the dominion of Israel	in all flesh

¹⁶⁶ The reference to the abstention from "brigandage" is odd in the context of Josephus' discussion. Is it perhaps a clue that it was precisely in the context of Essene beliefs about the final violent revolution that their angelic secrets were most treasured?

Is this not an unavoidably straightforward example of the parallelism between heaven and earth that is otherwise typical of Jewish apocalyptic? And does this two-story-universe parallelism not mean that the "service" of Michael puts this principal angel in the position of heavenly high priest whose vindication in the heavenly realm means Israel's vindication in the earthly realm? On this showing Israel has a heavenly, angelic counterpart, but she herself is not directly angelic or heavenly.

This model envisages two spheres of existence heaven and earth each of which is qualitatively homogenous within itself. That is to say there is not point on earth which is any different from another point on earth and because the same can be said of heaven, every point on earth is equidistant from heaven. It is as if heaven and earth are two flat disks:



There are several reasons why this cannot be the worldview that is envisaged in our text. In the first place like any good Jew the authors and readers would know that the earth below is not qualitatively homogeneous: it is not the case for a Jew that any and every point on the earth below is of equal qualitative value to any other. This geographical consciousness is symptomatic of the modern desacralisation of space (and time), but it is foreign to first century Judaism which believed that there are concentric spheres of holiness around the cosmic centre—Jerusalem and its Temple. And in that cosmic centre the heavenly and earthly parallelism is much more complicated than is normally assumed.

Secondly, this cosmological map does not do justice to the way in which Israel herself, along with her military and sacral leadership, are functionally and ontologically bound-up with heaven and God himself. The two-story universe, as usually conceived, gives to Michael and the other angels an important role in the divine agency which brings about the eschatological dénouement. However, on this model Israel and her actions are entirely within her own sphere of

responsibility. This, of course, has caused commentators difficulty because they have been unable to deal with those passages where Israel's actions are understood as God's actions, undertaken in his strength.¹⁶⁷ The fact that Israel is the means by which God above gets the job done in the world below also means that, as we have seen, she is taken up into his life. She is no mere agent, an objective tool in his hand, she is an expression of his personhood, his being and action.

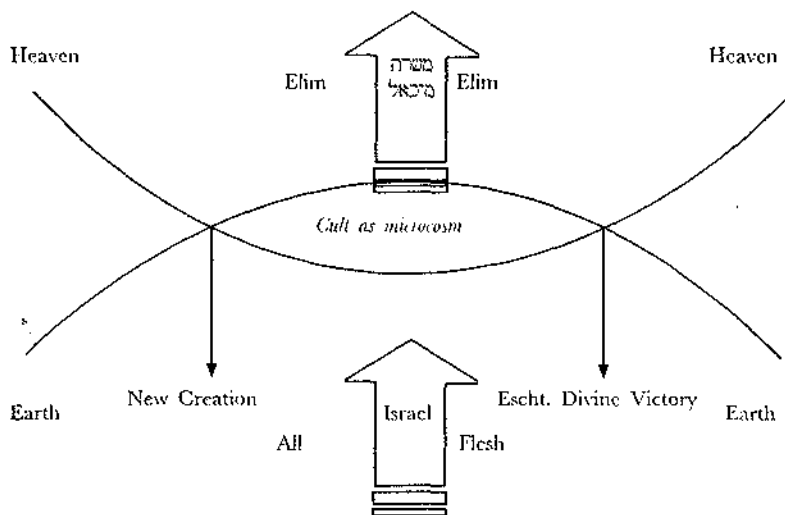
Thirdly, and this illustrates our second point the relationship between the eschatological angel, Michael and Israel that we have teased out is incompatible with the map as traditional drawn. The two-story, flat surface, cosmology that is normally adopted for the world of the *War Scroll* depends to a great extent on the translation of 17:6-7 which, as we have seen, can no longer be maintained. It is not the "authority" of Michael that is exalted in the heavenly realm, in parallel to the dominion of Israel in the earthly realm, but the *service* of Michael. Furthermore, the service of *Michael* speaks not simply of a suprahuman angel but Israel's own "supranatural" liturgy. The force of the language and the intratextuality between columns 10, 13 and 17 does not allow us to maintain a mere parallelism between Michael and Israel, but means much more of an inextricable identity that rends the veil between the upper and lower stories of the traditional cosmological model.

Lest we labour the objections to the traditional cosmology, let us offer one which does greater justice to the data as we have interpreted it. The solution lies in the cultic orientation of our material and the distinctive cosmology which Israel's sanctuary and liturgy prescribes. 1QM 17:7c-8a is best read in a way similar to the relationship between 12:1-5 and 12:6-16. The service of "Michael" is exalted among the gods through the officiation of the eschatological high priest because within the sphere of the sanctuary the true high priest's liturgical actions conform to those of the creator and he is, therefore, raised up to have communion with the *elim*. From a slightly different perspective this is described as a past event in 4Q491 11 i.

¹⁶⁷ Historiographical difficulties in making sense of first century Jewish apocalyptic texts is here related to theological problems which arise when a rigid creator-creature/free will-determinism framework is coupled with a worldview in which there is no qualitatively "other" space and time in which earth and heaven/divine and human are allowed to intertwine.

For the *War Scroll* the ritual in the sanctuary is efficacious for Israel's fortunes on the battlefield. The consequence of the arrival of the eschatological high priest, his correct performance of Israel's liturgical drama on Israel's behalf means that Israel in her liturgical mode is herself raised up within the heavenly realm. This, in turn, means that on the battlefield she will be vindicated in victory over her enemies and given a place in a position of lordship over the whole of creation.

On this reading there is, indeed, parallelism at work, but there is more than just one such parallelism. In addition the plurality of parallelisms operate in a more sophisticated way than the two-story model allows. There is a parallelism between Israel's actions in the cult and God's actions in creation as a whole. And this means there are two more specific analogies at work. One looks upwards from the sanctuary: Israel, her priesthood, and liturgy acts in imitation of the life of heaven and God's wonders therein. One looks outwards and downwards from the sanctuary. Israel, her priesthood and liturgy are somehow parallel to the events within the earthly realm and history, and, in particular, in this text, the eschatological battle with God's enemies. The parallelism, analogy and causal interconnections between heaven proper and earth proper are only achieved through the mediation of the cult:



We see something of the relationship between the "service of Michael among the *elim*" and the "dominion of Israel in all flesh" already in column 12. There the priesthood, representing the holy people, are officiating in the sanctuary conceived as heaven (12:1-5). God's presence (presumed, not stated) in the sanctuary with the priesthood guarantees that he is also present with the troops on the battlefield because the cult is a spiritual map of the whole cosmos, including the battlefield. The presence of the divine warrior with the people is seen in his "devouring of guilty *flesh*", on the one hand, and his filling the earth with his Glory and blessed *flesh*—a multitude of cattle—on the other. This partly helps us understand what it means that Israel's dominion is over all flesh. The two statements—"to exalt among the *elim* the service of Michael" and "(to exalt) the dominion of Israel in all flesh"—correspond to the first and second paragraphs of column 12, respectively.

Clearly, then, column 17 is carefully placed where it is because it gathers up themes and language in many of the preceding columns (esp. cols. 10, 12 and 13).

CONCLUSION

At the end of a long and arduous trek through the fragmented landscape of the Dead Sea Scrolls a retrospective summary of our journey is in order. The hypotheses which our study has sought to test have, we think, been demonstrated for the Qumran community. This community believed that (1) *in its original, true and redeemed state humanity is divine (and/or angelic)*. They also believed that (2) *the attainment now, for the redeemed, of this true humanity was conceptually and experientially grounded in their "temple" worship in which ordinary space and time, and therefore human ontology, are transcended. They take for granted a cultic mythology which means that those who enter the worship of the community experience a transfer from earth to heaven, from humanity to divinity and from mortality to immortality.*

As we saw in our earlier chapters this theological anthropology at Qumran was inherited from older, priestly, tradition which the sectarians carried with them into the wilderness. There is little evidence in the texts that this anthropology is a peculiar product of Qumran sectarianism. Time and again we have found cause to question the common interpretative assumption that a high anthropology is a purely future, eschatological, expectation or that, when it is a present experience, it represents a form of "realized" or "inaugurated" eschatology, in which what had been purely a future hope is enthusiastically claimed for current circumstances. Instead, under virtually every stone we have turned we have found an anthropology grounded in a particular theological understanding of the place of humanity in creation—a particular *cosmology*—nurtured by a confident conceptual rationale for and experience of the community's worship life. Before his fall Adam was ontologically coterminous with God's own Glory. His originally divine humanity is recovered when (the true) Israel worships her god in a pure cult—a restored cosmos in miniature. And, so, by the same token she, especially her priesthood, recovers the previously lost Glory of God in the same context. In worship the boundary between heaven and earth is dissolved and the Qumran community are taken up into the life of that which they worship.

That it is fundamentally the *liturgical* context which produces the belief in a divine anthropology at Qumran is evident when one

considers the genres of those texts which do *not* evince such thought. None of the movement's "rules" and associated texts (1QS, CD, 11QT 4Q298; 4QMMT etc. . . .) show overt interest in a divine anthropology. The one exception here proves the rule: the *War Scroll* might be classified generically along with 1QS, CD and other texts which stipulate the order of community life. But, far more so than any of these, the *War Scroll* is a liturgical text. It is, from start to finish, an account of the end time conflict in cultic and liturgical terms. (It is not, as some have imagined, a military manual.) 1QS-1QSa-1QSB contains liturgical material but is also broader in scope and it is in the liturgical portions of that scroll that the angelomorphic anthropology is articulated (1QSB 4). Texts which offer biblical interpretation or which are biblically based apocryphal works do not describe the righteous in the present as divine or angelic.¹ And, with the possible exception of the two texts devoted to the divine and angelic Moses (4Q374 and 4Q377), biblically related texts only ever describe priests or priestly heroes (1QapGen, 1 *Enoch* 106, 11QMelch, *Jubilees*, 4QTAmram, 4QTLevi) in terms of an exalted theological anthropology.² Of those texts with a divine anthropology which might be labelled wisdom literature the *Songs of the Sage* also has a kind of liturgical form. The one clear exception to all this is 1Q/4QInstruction which describes the righteous as immortal and angelomorphic with little direct reference to their participation in the cult. Though here, it must be stressed, there is no warrant for thinking that 1Q/4QInstruction is an essentially non-priestly wisdom text. As our analysis of 4Q418 81 has shown the work's author was very much at home in the world of peculiarly Essene priestly thought. And there are indications (re 4Q418 69) that even the anthropological material directed at the laity has in view the larger cultic context of the people of God. Otherwise it is overtly liturgical texts which express the anthropology we have traced (the *Hodayot*, 4Q380-81, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *Words of the Heavenly Lights*, 1QSB, the *Songs of the Sage*, the *War Scroll*, 4Q392, 4Q393, 4Q408). And,

¹ 1QpPs³ 3:1-2 is perhaps the one exception here.

² The Moses texts at Qumran are perhaps not an exception to the priestly/liturgical pattern either. It is noteworthy that it is at Sinai that both texts locate Moses' transcendent humanity. The Qumran texts do not make haggadic use of Exodus 7:1 and its narrative context outside of the strongly corporate and implicitly cultic context at Sinai. Here we should contrast 4Q374 and 4Q377 with, for example, the portrayal of Moses in Artapanus.

significantly, there are very few liturgical texts which do *not* express the kind of theological anthropology we have explored. Those which do not are mostly fragmentary (1Q34 and 34^{bis}, 4Q179, 4Q501, 4Q280, 286-90, 4Q448, 4Q503, 4Q507-9, 4Q512, 11QapPs^a, cf. 11QPs^a) and so it is likely that some of them, in parts now lost, also expressed a divine anthropology. From this brief survey there can be little doubt that a liturgical genre, a divine anthropology and a cultic life setting all go hand in hand.

A query to our construction of matters at Qumran might be posed: why, if, as I have argued, the Qumran community took for granted a temple-as-microcosm mythology does this receive so little direct expression. Why is there no statement akin to that in Josephus' *Antiquities* for whom "the Tabernacle is intended to recall and represent the universe"? Why is there no systematic exploration of the biblical temple-as-microcosm theology akin to that found in P and Sirach? These are important questions which would merit further reflection. They would best be tackled in a wider study of temple mythology in the late Second Temple period. Though a couple of points are worth considering now.

First, due significance should be given to the fact that the Essene movement are without a temple. They take for granted the necessity of a physical temple in Jerusalem, but they are currently estranged from it. They look forward to the day when a new pure temple will be built in which they can participate. The time of the construction of that future temple will be a time for the renewal of creation (11QTS 29:9). But in the meantime they live without a recognisably biblical physical temple. I would suggest that this means the following: on the one hand, they do not invest their hermeneutical and literary energies in the temple-as-microcosm. On the other hand, they take for granted (as biblically faithful Jews nurtured by the inner mysteries of the priestly tradition) the anthropological implications of the cult-as-microcosm. Time again, as we have seen, from beneath their portrayal of the righteous in divine or angelic terms there pokes through this conceptually fundamental cultic cosmology.

Secondly, without access to an acceptable temple in Jerusalem they invest their liturgical creativity in a worship life which is both faithful to the anthropology and cosmology of the inherited tradition but is also, in its own ways, peculiarly Essene. Here two examples illustrate the point. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* has, as we have seen, a theological anthropology little different from the older

priestly tradition of the Jerusalem temple establishment. However, it is obviously sectarian in ideology and in various ways recreates the Jerusalem Temple cosmology for a worship outside of that cultic building. It is hard to tell what relationship the detailed and highly numinous account of the heavenly world(s) in the *Sabbath Songs* has to the real time and space of the community's cult. On the one hand the temple-as-microcosm appears to be assumed. On the other it is evidently given a peculiarly Essene spin. Secondly, the peculiarly Essene transmutation of Israel's temple mythology is perhaps seen in its keen interest in the high priestly garments, especially the *hēšen*. For the author of Sirach with intimate knowledge of and access to the Jerusalem temple a profound and intratextually intricate reflection on the priestly account of the building of the Tabernacle *as a whole* makes perfect sense. For the Qumran community who are denied access to Temple a disproportionate attention is directed to the garments of the priesthood, that part of the material in Exodus 25-31, 35-40 to which they still(?) had access. Again their interest in the high priestly garb and its theophanic symbolism *assumes* the temple cosmology even though that itself is not the subject of literary exploration.

In all this there can be no doubt that the kind of theological anthropology we have examined lies at the very heart of the movement's belief and practice. Liturgical practice was central to the life of the community, defining the movement over against other Jews with a different calendar. What the community did and believed in this context was no light matter. It is hard to believe that the view that Adam and then the community's high priest bears the Glory of God is merely one theological option within a pluralistic and intellectually open minded community. That documents holding such views are preserved must mean that such views are central to the theological world of the Essenes. The likely correlation between Essene asceticism, particularly celibacy, and the angelomorphic identity suggests that in some ways a transcendent ontology was *idiosyncratically* Essene.

This, then, sharply focuses our attention on wider questions: how representative of the Judaism of the period is this pattern of religion at Qumran? To what extent is Essene practice and belief rooted in the biblical text itself? Given the strong theological anthropology at Qumran and the openness to the worship of a particular (priestly) individual as the manifestation of God's Glory, how, now, should

we understand and describe the so-called Jewish "monotheism" of this period? And those interested in early Christianity will no doubt ask how the veneration of Jesus of Nazareth and his inclusion in the one Jewish Godhead is to be understood historically and theologically in relation to Essene liturgical anthropology. These are all pressing questions for which adequate answers will have to await further study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, Davis K., 1997, "Shedding Light on God's Body in Rabbinic literature: Reflections on the Theme of a Luminous Adam," *HTR* 90:299-314.
- Abegg, Martin G., 1997, "Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness," *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans) 61-73.
- Adam, Alfred and Christoph Burchard, 1972, *Antike Berichte Über Die Essener* (Berlin: de Gruyter).
- Aitken, James Keltie, 1999, "The Semantics of 'Glory' in Ben Sira—Traces of a Development in Post-Biblical Hebrew," *Sinach, Scrolls, and Sages. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1977* (eds. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill) 1-24.
- Aleksandrov, G.S., 1973, "The Role of Aqiva in the Bar Kokhba Rebellion," *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus: The tradition and the man* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 3-4; Leiden: Brill) 428-42.
- Alexander, Philip S., 1996, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RQ* 65-68:437-56.
- , 1997, "Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 318-37.
- Allegro, J.M., 1956, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75:174-187.
- , 1958, "More Isaiah Commentaries from Qumran's Fourth Cave," *JBL* 77:215-221.
- Allison, Dale C., 1988, "The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *RQ* 13:189-197.
- Aptowitz, V., 1924, "Asenath, the Wife of Joseph: A Haggadic Literary-Historical Study," *HUCA* 1:239-306.
- Attridge, Harold W., 1989, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress).
- Barker, Margaret, 1989, "The Temple Measurements and the Solar Calendar," *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPS 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 62-66.
- , 1991a, *The Gate of Heaven. The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK).
- , 1991b, "Temple imagery in Philo: an indication of the origin of the logos?," *Templum Amicitiae. Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. William Horbury; JSNTS 48; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 70-102.
- , 1992, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (London: SPCK).
- , 1999, "The High Priest and the Worship of Jesus," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis; JSJSup 63; Leiden: Brill) 93-111.
- , 2000, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Barr, James, 1992, "'Thou art the Cherub': Ezekiel 28.14 and the Post-Exilic

- Understanding of Genesis 2-3," *Priests, Prophets and Scribes. Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (eds. Eugene Ulrich, John W. Wright, Robert P. Carroll and Philip R. Davies; JSOT 149; Sheffield: JSOT Press) 213-223.
- Barton, John, 1986, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd).
- Bauckham, Richard, 1983, "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27:322-41.
- , 1998, *God Crucified. Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Carlisle: Paternoster).
- Baumgarten, Joseph M., 1976, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95:59-78.
- , 1988, "The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and Rabbinic Merkabah Traditions," *RQ* 13:199-213.
- , 1993, "Halakic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society) 390-399.
- , 1994, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," *New Qumran Texts and Studies. Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. George J. Brooke; Leiden: Brill) 3-10.
- , 1997, "Some Notes on 4Q408," *RQ* 18:143-44.
- , 1999a, "Messianic Forgiveness of Sin in CD 14:19 (4Q266 10 I 12-13)," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ; Leiden: Brill) 537-44.
- , 1999b, "The Purification Liturgies," *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill) 200-12.
- Beall, Todd S., 1988, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Becker, J., 1964, *Das Heil Gottes* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Beentjes, Pancratius C., 1997, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (VTSupps 68; Leiden: Brill).
- Bernstein, M.J., 1998, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues and Technological Innovations* (eds. E. Ulrich and D. Parry; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill) 199-231.
- Betz, Otto, 1958, "Geistliche Schönheit. Von Qumran zu Michael Hahn," *Die Leibhaftigkeit des Wortes. Theologische und seelsorgerliche Studien und Beiträge als Festgabe für Adolf Köberle zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (eds. Otto Michel and Ulrich Mann; Hamburg: Furche-Verlag) 71-86.
- Beyer, Klaus, 1994, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Bieler, Ludwig, 1935-6, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (2 vols.; Vienna: Buchhandlung Oskar Höfels).
- , 1967 [1935-36], *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (2 vols.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
- Bietenhard, Hans, 1951, *Die himmlische Welt in Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Black, Matthew, 1961, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Scribners).
- , 1985, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill).
- Blackburn, Barry, 1991, *Theios Aner and the Markan Miracle Traditions: A Critique of the Theios Aner Concept as an Interpretative Background of the Miracle Traditions used by Mark* (WUNT 2.40; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).

- Blenkinsopp, Joseph, 1976, "The Structure of P," *CBQ* 38:275-92.
- Bohak, Gideon, 1993, "Asenath's Honeycomb and Onias' Temple: The Key to *Joseph and Asenath*," *PWCJS* 11 Division A:163-170.
- , 1996, *Joseph and Asenath and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis* (Early Judaism and Its Literature; Atlanta: Scholars).
- Brandenburger, E., 1968, *Fleisch und Geist. Paulus und die dualistische Weisheit* (WMANT 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Brekelmans, C.H.W., 1965, "The Saints of the Most High and Their Kingdom," *OTS* 14:305-29.
- Brooke, George J., 1985, *Exegesis at Qumran* (JSOTS 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- , 1993, "4QTestament of Levi(?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest," *From Jesus to John. Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. Martinus C. De Boer; JSNTS 84; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 83-100.
- , 1999, "Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community," *Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 285-301.
- Bryan, David, 1995, *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kasher Mentality* (JSPS 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Burchard, Christoph, 1965, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth* (WUNT 1.8; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Caquot, André, 1974, "Les enfants aux cheveux blancs. Réflexions sur un motif," *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (ed. H.-Ch. Puech; Paris: Presse universitaires de France) 161-172.
- , 1988, "Le service des anges," *RQ* 13:421-29.
- Carmignac, Jean, 1958, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres: Texte restauré, traduit et commenté* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané).
- , 1961, "Les rapports entre l'Écclesiastique et Qumran," *RQ* 3:209-18.
- , 1969-71, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédèq," *RQ* 7:343-78.
- Carmignac, J. and P. Guilbert, 1961, *Les Textes de Qumran. Traduit et Annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané).
- Carrell, Peter R., 1997, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (SNTSMS 95; Cambridge: CUP).
- Charles, R.H., 1902, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London).
- , 1908a, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: OUP).
- , 1908b, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Translated from the Editor's Greek Text* (London: A. & C. Black).
- , 1912, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon).
- Charlesworth, James H., 1980, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (eds. G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.J. Collins; Chico, C.A.: Scholars Press) 135-151.
- , 1982, *The History of the Rechabites Vol. 1: The Greek Recension* (Texts and Translations 17; Chico: California).
- , 1986, "Greek, Persian, Roman, Syrian and Egyptian influences in early Jewish theology: A Study of the History of the Rechabites," *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (eds. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud; Leuven-Paris: Peeters) 219-243.
- , 1994, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 1 Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen/Louisville: Mohr-Siebeck/Westminster John Knox).
- , 1995, *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts with English Translations Volume 2 Danascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).

- Charlesworth, James H., H.W. Rietz, P.W. Flint, C. Newsom, D.T. Olson, J.A. Sanders, E.M. Schuller, B.A. Strawn and R. Whitaker eds., 1998-9, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 4A: Angelic Liturgy, Prayers, and Psalms* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Chazon, Esther G., 1997, "Dibre Hamme'orot: Prayer for the Sixth Day (4Q504 1-2 v-vi)," *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine. A Critical Anthology* (ed. M. Kiley; London: Routledge) 23-27.
- , 1992a, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?," *RQ* 15:447-55.
- , 1992b, "Is *Dibrei Ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?," *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: Brill) 1-17.
- Chazon, Esther G. and Michael E. Stone eds., 1998, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the Orion Centre for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature 12-14 January 1997* (Leiden: Brill).
- Chesnutt, Randall D., 1995, *From Death to Life. Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* (JSPS 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Chester, Andrew, 1991, "Jewish Messianic Expectation and Messianic Figures and Pauline Christology," *Paulus und das antike Judentum* (eds. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel; WUNT 58; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 17-89.
- , 1992, "The Partings of the Ways: Eschatology and Messianic Hope," *Jews and Christians: The Partings of the Ways A.D. 70-135. The Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism. Durham Sept. 1989* (ed. J.D.G. Dunn; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 202-212.
- Chilton, Bruce and Jacob Neusner, 1995, *Judaism in the New Testament: Practices and Beliefs* (London: Routledge).
- Cohen, S.J.D., 1982, "Masada: Literary Tradition, Archaeological Remains, and the Credibility of Josephus," *JJS* 33:385-405.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro, 1996, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (JJSup 50; Leiden: Brill).
- Collins, John J., 1975, "The Mythology of the Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 25:596-612.
- , 1983, *Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad).
- , 1993, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermenia; Minneapolis: Fortress).
- , 1995a, "Asking for the Meaning of a Fragmentary Qumran Text. The Referential Background of 4Q Aaron A," *Texts and Contexts. Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* (eds. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press) 579-590.
- , 1995b, *The Sceptre and the Star: the Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday).
- , 1995c, "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism," *A Throne in the Heavens. Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism* (eds. J.J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York Press) 43-58.
- , 1997a, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge).
- , 1997b, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- , 1999, "In the likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill) 43-58.
- Collins, J.J. and D. Dimant, 1994, "A Thrice-Told Hymn: A Response to Eileen Schuller," *JQR* 85:151-55.
- Conick, April De, 1996, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* (VCSup 33; Leiden: Brill).

- Cook, Stephen L., 1995, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism. The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress).
- Cotton, Hannah M. and Joseph Geiger eds., 1989, *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).
- Cross, F.M., 1995 [1958], *The Amient Library of Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Dam, C. van, 1993, *The Urin and Thummin. An Old Testament Means of Revelation* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).
- Davenport, G.L., 1971, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB 20; Leiden: Brill).
- Davidson, Maxwell J., 1992, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36: 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSJS 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Davies, P.R., 1992, "War Rule," *ABD* 6:875-6.
- Davila, James R., 1996, "The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise," *RQ* 17:457-78.
- , 1999a, "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. PAV. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill) 461-485.
- , 1999b, "The Scene of the Chariot in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Hekhalot Literature," *Paper Presented at the 1999 Society of Biblical Literature Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts*.
- , 2000, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).
- Day, John, 1985, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Delcor, Mathias, 1962, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot): texte hébreu, introduction, traduction, commentaire* (Autour de la Bible; Paris: Letouzey et Ané).
- , 1971, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSJ* 2:115-35.
- Denis, A.-M., 1970, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca* (PVTG; Leiden: Brill).
- Dimant, D., 1996, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland) 93-103.
- Dombrowsky, B.M., 1971, "The Meaning of the Qumran Terms 'I'WDH' and 'MDH,'" *RQ* 7:567-74.
- Duhaime, Jean, 1977, "La rédaction de IQM XIII et l'évolution du dualisme à Qumrân," *RB* 84:210-38.
- , 1987, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49:32-56.
- Duncan, Julie, 1995, "New Readings for the 'Blessings of Moses' from Qumran," *JBL* 104:273-290.
- Dupont-Sommer, A., 1952, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (New York: Macmillan).
- , 1955, "Règlement de la guerre des fils de lumière: traduction et notes," *RHR* 148:25-43, 141-80.
- , 1961, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Ego, Beate, 1989, *Im Himmel wie auf Erden* (WUNT 2.34; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Elgvin, Torleif, 1995, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RQ* 16:559-580.
- , 1998, "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation," *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTS 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 112-150.
- Eshel, E., 1997, "4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse-Contaminated Person,"

- Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (eds. M.J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill) 3–10.
- , 1999, "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill) 619–634.
- , 1991–92, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RQ* 15:409–420.
- Evans, Craig A., 1995, "A Note on the 'First Born Son of 4Q369,'" *DSD* 2:185–201.
- Falk, Daniel K., 1998, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill).
- , 2000, "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," *Supiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (eds. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill) 106–126.
- Fishbane, M., 1992, "The 'Measures' of God's Glory in Ancient Midrash," *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity: Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (eds. Itamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa; TSAJ 32; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 53–74.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A., 1971a, "Further Light on Mechlizedek from Qumran Cave 11," *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (ed. J.A. Fitzmyer; London: Geoffrey Chapman) 245–70.
- , 1971b, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1. A Commentary* (BO 18A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press).
- , 1974, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press).
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H.T., 1996, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3:236–252.
- , 1997a, "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case," *SBLSP* 161–193.
- , 1997b, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT 2.94; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- , 1998, "Ascent to Heaven and the Embodiment of Heaven: a Revisionist Reading of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," *SBLSP* 367–399.
- , 1999, "The Worship of Divine Humanity and the Worship of Jesus," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys Lewis; JSJSup 63; Leiden: Brill) 112–128.
- , 2000a, "Jesus Inspects His Priestly War Party (Luke 14:25–35)," *The Old Testament in the New Testament. Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (ed. S. Moyise; JSNTS 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 126–143.
- , 2000b, "Wisdom Christology and the Partings of the Ways Between Judaism and Christianity," *Jewish-Christian Relations Through the Centuries* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Brook W.R. Pearson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 52–68.
- , 2001a, "The Revelation of the Sacred Son of Man: The Genre, History of Religions Context and the Meaning of the Transfiguration," *Auferstehung—Resurrection. The Fourth Durham-Tübingen-Symposium: Resurrection, Exaltation, and Transformation in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds. Friedrich Avemarie and Hermann Lichtenberger; WUNT 135; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 247–298.
- , 2001b, "The Temple Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira," (ed. C.A. Evans; SSEJC 8; Sheffield: SAP) forthcoming.
- , 2001c, "The Worship of the Jewish High Priest by Alexander the Great," *Papers from the Durham Seminar on Jewish Monotheism and early Christianity* (eds. L.T. Stuckenbruck and W. Sproston North; Edinburgh: T. & F. Clark).

- Fossum, Jarl E., 1985, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- , 1995, *The Image of the Invisible God. Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (NTOA 30; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Fremmesson, Björn, 1999, "In a Common Rejoicing". *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (SSU 14; Uppsala: University of Uppsala Press).
- Frey, Jörg, 1997, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. Garcia Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill) 274-335.
- , 2000, "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of the Pauline Usage," *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (eds. Daniel K. Falk, Florentine Garcia Martínez and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill) 197-226.
- Gammie, J.G., 1974, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 93:356-59.
- Gaster, Theodor H., 1958, "A Qumran Reading of Deuteronomy XXXIII 10," *VT* 8:217-219.
- , 1976, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (3rd & enlarged ed.; Garden City: Doubleday).
- Gaylord, Harry E., 1982, "How Satan lost his 'el'," *JJS* 33:303-9.
- Gese, H., 1981a, *Essays in Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg).
- , 1981b, "Wisdom, Son of Man, and the Origins of Christology: The Consistent Development of Biblical Theology," *HBT* 3:23-57.
- Gieschen, Charles A., 1998, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGAJU 42; Leiden: Brill).
- Ginzberg, Louis, 1909-38, *The Legends of the Jews* (Translated by H. Szold; 7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America).
- Glickler-Chazon, E., 1994, "New Liturgical Manuscripts from Qumran," *Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A: The Bible and its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies) 207-214.
- , 1997, "The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (eds. J. Frishman and L. van Rompay; Leuven: Peeters) 13-24.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A., 1976, *1 Maccabees: a new translation, with introduction and commentary* (ABC 41; New York: Doubleday).
- Goodenough, Erwin R., 1953-68, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (13 vols.; Bollingen 37; New York: Pantheon).
- Grabbe, Lester L., 1987, "The Scapegoat Ritual: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation," *JST* 18:152-67.
- , 1992, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (London: SCM).
- Greenberg, Moshe, 1997, *Ezekiel 21-37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (ABC 22A; New York: Doubleday).
- Greenfield Jonas, C. and Hugo Odeberg, 1973, *3 Enoch or, The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (The library of biblical studies; New York: Ktav Publishing House).
- Grelot, P., 1958-9, "L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le Livre d'Hénoch," *RQ* 1:113-31.
- Gruenwald, Ithamar, 1980, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism* (AGAJU 14; Leiden: Brill).
- Halperin David, J., 1988, *The faces of the chariot: early Jewish responses to Ezekiel's vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Hamacher, Elisabeth, 1996, "Die Sabbatopferlieder im Streit um Ursprung und Anfänge der Jüdischen Mystik," *JST* 27:119-54.
- Hannah, Darrell D., 1999, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (WUNT 2.109; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Haran, M., 1978, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon).
- Harlow, Daniel C., 1996, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (SVTP 12; Leiden: Brill).

- Harrington, Daniel J., 1994, "Wisdom at Qumran," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Eugene C. Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press) 137-151.
- , 1996, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge).
- Harrington, Hannah K., 1998, "Biblical Law at Qumran," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill) 160-185.
- Hayman, P., 1986, "Some Observations on Sefer Yesira: (2) The Temple at the Centre of the Universe," *JJS* 37:176-82.
- Hayward, C.T.R., 1982, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," *JJS* 33:429-33.
- , 1991, "Sacrifice and World Order: Some observations on ben Sira's Attitude to the Temple Service," *Sacrifice and Redemption. Durham Essays in Theology* (ed. S.W. Sykes; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 22-34.
- , 1992, "The New Jerusalem in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 6:123-138.
- , 1995a, "Pseudo-Philo and the Priestly Oracle," *JJS* 46:43-54.
- , 1995b, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew questions on Genesis* (Oxford early Christian studies; Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- , 1996, *The Jewish Temple: A non-biblical sourcebook* (London: Routledge).
- , 1997, "The Chant of the Seraphim and the Worship of the Second Temple," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 20:62-80.
- Hendel, Ronald S., 1996, "The Shape of Utnapishtim's Ark," *ZAW* 107:128-9.
- Hengel, M., 1983, "Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora". Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115-117 n. Chr.," *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 655-686.
- Himmelfarb, Martha, 1993, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: OUP).
- Holladay, Carl R., 1977, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology* (SBLDS 40; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars).
- , 1996, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish authors Volume IV. Orphica* (Texts and Translations 40; Pseudepigrapha Series 14; Chico, CA: Scholars Press).
- Hollander, H.W. and M. de Jonge, 1985, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill).
- Holloway, Steven W., 1991, "What Ship Goes there: The Flood Narratives in the Gilgamesh Epic and Genesis Considered in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Temple Ideology," *ZAW* 103:328-355.
- , 1998, "The Shape of Utnapishtim's Ark: A Rejoinder," *ZAW* 110:617-26.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend, 1960, *Hodayot Psalms from Qumran* (ATD 2; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press).
- Holtz, Traugott, 1962, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes* (TU 85; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag).
- Horbury, William, 1998, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM).
- Horowitz, Wayne and Victor (Avigdor) Hurowitz, 1992, "Urim and Thummim in Light of a Psephomancy Ritual from Assur (LKA 137)," *JANES* 21:95-115.
- Huggins, Ronald V., 1995, "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114:103-110.
- Humbert, J.-B., 1994, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân," *RB* 101-2:161-214.
- Hurowitz, Victor (Avigdor), 1992, *I Have Built You an Exalted House. Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTS 115. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

- Hurtado, Larry W., 1988, *One God, One Lord. Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress).
- Idel, Moshe, 1988a, *Kabbalah. New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- , 1988b, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah* (New York: State University of New York Press).
- Jacobson, Howard, 1996, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. With Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; AGAJU 31; Leiden: Brill).
- Jastrow, Marcus, 1903, *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature* (London: Luzac).
- Jellinek, Adolph, 1967, *Bei ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der alten jüdischen Literatur* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books).
- Johnstone, William, 1997, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (2 vols.; Sheffield: SAP).
- Jones, Allen H., 1985, *Essenes. The Elect of Israel and the Priests of Artemis* (New York: University Press of America).
- Jonge, M. de, 1953, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Jonge, Marinus de, 1978, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG 1/2; Leiden: Brill).
- Jonge, M. de and A.S. van der Woude, 1965, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12:301-326.
- Jongeling, B., 1962, *La Rouleau de la Guerre* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 4; Assen: Van Gorcum).
- Kampen, J., 1986, "A Reconsideration of the Name 'Essene,'" *HUCA* 67:61-81.
- , 1998, "The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill) 211-243.
- Kearney, P.J., 1977, "Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Exodus 25-40," *ZAV* 89:375-87.
- Kitz, Anne Marie, 1997, "The Plural Form of 'URIM and TUMMIM,'" *JBI* 116:401-410.
- Klinzing, G., 1971, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Knibb, Michael A., 1987, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- , 1995, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2:165-184.
- Knight, Jonathan, 1995, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- , 1996, *Disciples and the Beloved One: The Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah* (JSPSS 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Knohl, Israel, 2000, *The Messiah before Jesus: the suffering servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (S. Mark Taper Foundation imprint in Jewish studies; Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Kobelski, P.J., 1981, *Melchizedek and Melchireva'* (CBQMS 10; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America).
- Koester, Craig R., 1989, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament* (CBQMS 22; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America).
- Kosmala, H., 1959, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung* (SPB 1; Leiden: Brill).
- Kugel, James, 1993, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86:1-64.
- , 1998, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 5:119-148.
- Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang, 1966, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

- Kuhn, K.G. ed., 1960, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Kutsch, John, 2000, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in Ezekiel* (Biblical and Judaic Studies UCSD 7; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).
- Kvanvig, Helge S., 1988, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (WMLANT 61; Neukirchener: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Lachs, S.T., 1982, "Some Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Moses and the Vita Adae et Evae," *JSJ* 13:172-6.
- Lacocque, André, 1979, *The Book of Daniel* (Translated by David Pellauer; London: SPCK).
- Lafargue, M., 1978, "The Jewish Orpheus," *SBLSP* 137-44.
- Lambert, W.G. and A.R. Millard, 1969, *Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Lange, Armin, 1995, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Uvordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill).
- , 1997, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino Garcia Martinez and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Brill: Leiden) 377-435.
- , 2000, "The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature," *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (eds. Daniel Falk, Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill) 39-48.
- Lee, Thomas R., 1986, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Lehmann, Manfred R., 1961, "Ben Sira and the Qumran Literature," *RQ* 3:103-16.
- , 1961 2, "Midrashic Parallels to Selected Qumran Texts," *RQ* 3:103-116.
- Levenson, Jon D., 1985, *Sinai and Zion* (Minneapolis: Winston).
- , 1988, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil. The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row).
- Licht, J., 1957, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute (Hebrew)).
- , 1965, *The Rule Scroll. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. 1QS-1QSa-1QSB. Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute).
- Lichtenberger, Hermann, 1980, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht).
- Lieber, Andrea, 2000, "Voice and Vision: Vocalization of the Psalms in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *Paper Presented at the 2000 Society of Biblical Literature Meeting, Nashville, Tennessee*.
- Livingstone, Alasdair, 1986, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Lundquist, John M., 1983, "What Is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall* (eds. H.B. Huffmon, F.A. Spina and A.R.W. Green; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns) 205-19.
- Maçh, Michael, 1992, *Entwicklungsstudien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Mack, B.L., 1985, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Maier, J., 1964, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "jüdischen Gnosis"* (Salzburg: O. Müller).
- , 1987, "Review of Newsom 1985," *Or* 56:229-230.
- , 1989/90, "Zu Kult und liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RQ* 14:543-586.
- , 1992, "Shire 'Olat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style," *The Madrid Congress* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill) 543-560.

- , 1995-6, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (3 vols.; München: Ernst Reinhardt).
- Marböck, Johann, 1971, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BBB 37; Bonn: Peter Hanstein).
- Martin, François, 1906, *Le Livre d'Hénoch* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané).
- Martinez, Florentino García, 1992a, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill).
- , 1992b, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill).
- , 1999a, "Man and Woman: Halakhah Based upon Eden in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Paradise Interpreted. Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*. (ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen; Leiden: Brill) 95-115.
- , 1999b, "Priestly Functions in a Community without Temple," *Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 303-319.
- Martinez, Florentino García and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar eds., 1997-98, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols. Leiden: Brill).
- Martone, Corrado, 1997, "Ben Sira Manuscripts from Qumran and Masada," *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research* (ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes; Berlin: de Gruyter) 81-94.
- May, G. Lacey, 1950-51, "Temple or Shrine?," *ExpT* 346-347.
- McDonough, Sean M., 1999, *YHWH at Patmos: Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting* (WUNT 2.107; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- McLaurin, E.C.B., 1975, "Joseph and Asaph," *VT* 25:27-45.
- McNamara, M., 2000, "Melchizedek: Gen 14, 17-20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Biblica* 81:1-31.
- Meecham, Henry G., 1935, *The Letter of Aristea: A Linguistic Study with Special Reference to the Greek Bible* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Meeks, Wayne A., 1968, "Moses as God and King," *Religions in Antiquity. Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; NumenSup; Leiden: Brill) 354-371.
- Mendels, Doran, 1992, "Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, the 'Fourth Philosophy', and the Political Messianism of the First Century CE," *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress Press) 261-75.
- Mettinger, Tryggve N.D., 1976, *King and Messiah. The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* (ConB. OT Series 8; Lund: Gleerup).
- Meyer, Ben F., 1992, "The Temple at the Navel of the Earth," *Christus Faber: The Master-Builders and the House of God* (ed. Ben F. Meyer; Allison Park, Penn.: Pickwick Publications) 217-279.
- Meyers, Carol L. and Eric M. Meyers, 1993, *Zechariah 9-14. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (ABC 25C; New York: Doubleday).
- Mildenberg, L., 1984, *The Coinage of the Bar Kochba War* (Aarau: Verlag Sauerländer).
- Milgrom, Jacob, 1991, *Leviticus 1-16* (ABC 3; New York: Doubleday).
- Milik, J.T., 1955, "Review of Sukenik 1955," *RB* 62:597-601.
- , 1972, "4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79:77-99.
- , 1976, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: OUP).
- , 1979, "Ecrits préesseniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris-Gembloux/Leuven: Duculot/Leuven University Press) 91-106.
- Miller, James E., 1993, "The Mactack of Tyre (Ezekiel 28,11-19)," *ZAH* 105:497-500.
- Miller, P.D., 1973, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

- Murray-Jones, Christopher R.A., 1992, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43:1-31.
- , 1998, "The Temple Within. The Embodied Divine Image and its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources," *SBLSP* 400-431.
- , 2001, *A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism. A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry* (JSJSup 59; Leiden: Brill).
- Mosca, P., 1986, "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link," *Bib* 67:496-517.
- Muraoka, T. and J.F. Elwolde, 1997, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11-14 December 1995* (STDJ 33; Brill: Leiden).
- Murray, Robert, 1992, *The Cosmic Covenant* (London: Sheed & Ward).
- Newman, Carey C., 1992, *Paul's Glory-Christology. Tradition and Rhetoric* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill).
- Newman, Carey C., James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis, 1999, *The Jewish roots of christological monotheism: papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (JSJSup 63; Leiden: Brill).
- Newsom, Carol A., 1985, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press).
- , 1987, "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," *JJS* 38:11-30.
- , 1990, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (eds. W.H. Propp, B. Halpern and D.N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns) 167-187.
- , 1992, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition," *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill) 40-52.
- Newsom, Carol A. and Yigael Yadin, 1984, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34:77-88.
- Newsom, Carol A., Yigael Yadin, Shemaryahu Talmon and Elisava Qimron, 1999, *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin excavations, 1963-1965: final reports: Hebrew fragments from Masada* (Masada reports; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Hebrew University of Jerusalem).
- Nielsburg, George W.E., 1972, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University).
- , 1981, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100:575-600.
- , 1998, "Patriarchs Who worry about their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill) 137-158.
- Niditch, Susan, 1986, "Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context," *CBQ* 48:208-24.
- Niehr, Herbert, 1997, "In Search of YHWH's Cult Statue in the First Temple," *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Karel van der Toorn; Leuven: Peeters) 73-96.
- Nitzan, Bilhah, 1994a, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran," *JQR* 85:163-183.
- , 1994b, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Translated by J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill).
- Olyan, Saul M., 1987, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80:261-86.
- , 1991, "The Israelites Debate Their Options at the Sea of Reeds: LAB 10:3. Its Parallels, and Pseudo-Philo's Ideology and Background," *JBL* 110:75-91.
- , 1993, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him. Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ 36; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Oppenheim, A. Leo, 1949, "The Golden Garments of the Gods," *ANES* 8:172-193.

- Orlov, Andrei A., 2000, "Noah's Younger Brother": The Anti-Noachic Polemics in 2 Enoch," *Henoch* 22:259-73.
- Osten-Sacken, Peter von der, 1969, *Gott und Belial. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Patai, Raphael, 1947, *Man and Temple: In Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons).
- Patton, Corrine L., 1994, "Adam as the Image of God: An Exploration of the Fall of Satan in the *Life of Adam and Eve*," *SBLSP* 294-300.
- Perdue, L.G., 1977, *Wisdom and Cult* (Missoula: Scholars Press).
- Pfann, Stephen J., 1999, "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance," *The Pisco International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Tests, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill) 337-352.
- Philoneiko, M., 1968, *Joseph et Asineth: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SPB 13; Leiden: Brill).
- Pines, Shlomo, 1970, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *Types of Redemption* (eds. R.J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. Jouco Bleeker; Leiden: Brill) 72-87.
- Plog, J. van der, 1955, "La règle de la guerre. Traduction et notes," *VT* 5:373-420.
- , 1959, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre traduit et annoté avec une introduction* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill).
- Puech, Émile, 1987, "Notes sur le manuscrit de XIQMeikisédéq," *RQ* 12:483-513.
- , 1988, "Un Hymne Essénien en Partie Retrouvé et les Béatitudes, IQH V 12-VI 18 (= Col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4QBéat." *RQ* 13:59-88.
- , 1992, "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTest(Lévi) (?) et 4QAJa." *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill) 449-501.
- , 1993, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle* (Paris: J. Gabalda).
- Purvis, James, 1975, "Joseph in the Samaritan Traditions," *Studies on the Testament of Joseph* (ed. George W.E. Nickelsburg; SCS 5; Missoula: Scholars) 147-153.
- Qimron, Elisha, 1986a, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, GA: Scholars).
- , 1986b, "A Review Article of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition* by Carol Newsom," *HTR* 79:349-372.
- , 1992, "Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians," *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill) 287-294.
- Quispel, G., 1980, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34:1-13.
- Reeves, John C., 1986, "What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X,15?," *RQ* 12:415-19.
- , 1993, "Utiapishum in the Book of Giants," *JBL* 112:110-115.
- Riesenfeld, H., 1947, *Jésus transfiguré: L'Arrière-plan du récit évangélique de la transfiguration de Notre-Seigneur* (ASNU 16; Copenhagen: Munksgaard).
- Ringgren, H., 1963, *The Faith of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Fortress).
- Rohland, J.P., 1977, *Der Erzengel Michael* (BZRG 19; Leiden: Brill).
- Rowland, Christopher C., 1979, "The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature," *JSJ* 10:137-154.
- , 1982, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad).
- Rubenstein, Jeffrey L., 1995, *The History of Sukkot in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods* (Brown Judaic Studies 302; Atlanta: Scholars).

- Sanders, E.P., 1990, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM).
- , 1992, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 B.C.E.–66 C.E.* (London: SCM).
- Schäfer, Peter, 1975, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen* (SJ 8; Berlin: de Gruyter).
- , 1978, "Tempel und Schöpfung. Zur Interpretation einiger Heiligtumstraditionen in der rabbinischen Literatur," *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (ed. Peter Schäfer; AGJU 15; Leiden: Brill) 122–133.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H., 1982, "Merkavah Speculations at Qumrân: The 4QSherek Shirot Olat ha-Shabbat," *Mystics, Philosophers and Politicians. Festschrift for A. Altman* (eds. J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski; Durham N.C.: Duke University Press) 15–47.
- , 1983, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brown Judaic Studies; Chico, CA: Scholars).
- , 1989, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars).
- , 1994, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls. The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society).
- , 1999, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," *Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck) 267–284.
- Schmidt, Brian B., 1995, "The Aniconic Tradition: On Reading Images and Viewing Texts," *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaism* (ed. Diana Vikander Edelman; Kampen: Kok) 75–106.
- Scholem, Gershom, 1941, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books).
- , 1965, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed.; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America).
- Schuller, E.M., 1990, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," *RQ* 14:349–76.
- , 1993, "A Hymn from Cave Four *Hodayot* Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii," *JBI* 112:605–28.
- , 1994, "The Cave 4 *Hodayot* Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85:137–50.
- , 1986, *Non Canonical Psalms From Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Schürer, E., G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black, 1973–87, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Schwemer Anna, Maria and Martin Hengel, 1991, *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Segal, Alan F., 1977, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill).
- , 1992, "The Risen Christ and the Angelic Mediator Figures in Light of Qumran," *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday) 302–328.
- Sheppard, G.T., 1980, *Wisdom as a hermeneutical construct: A study in the sapientializing of the Old Testament* (BZAW 151; Berlin: de Gruyter).
- Smend, R., 1906, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer).
- Smith, J.Z., 1968, "The Prayer of Joseph," *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Ervin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. J. Neusner; NumenSup 14; Leiden: Brill) 253–94.
- , 1978a, "Earth and Gods," *Map is not Territory* (SJLA 23; Leiden: Brill) 104–28.
- Smith, Morton, 1978b, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row).

- , 1990, "Ascent to Heavens and Deification in 4QM," *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSPS 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press) 181-88.
- , 1992, "Two Ascended to Heaven—Jesus and the Author of 4Q491," *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday) 290-301.
- Smith, Mark S., 1988, "Divine Form and Size in Ugaritic and Pre-exilic Israelite Religion," *ZAW* 100:424-7.
- Smith, Ralph I., 1984, *Micah Mulachi* (WBC 32; Waco, Texas: Word Books).
- Stadelmann, Helge, 1980, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. Eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor-makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehrtum* (WUNT 2.6; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Stager, Lawrence E., 1999, "Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden," *Eretz-Israel* 26:183-194.
- Stegemann, H., 1996, "Some Remarks to IQSa, to IQSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RQ* 17:479-505.
- Steiner, R.C., 1995, "The Heading of the *Book of the Words of Noah* on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2:66-71.
- Stern, Menahem, 1974, *Greek and Latin authors on Jews and Judaism* (2 vols.; Vol. 1; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities).
- , 1980, *Greek and Latin authors on Jews and Judaism* (2 vols.; Vol. 2; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities).
- Stern, Sacha, 1994, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings* (AGJU 23; Leiden: Brill).
- Stuedel, Annette, 1993, "אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּמִים in the Texts from Qumran," *RQ* 16:225-46.
- , 1994, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer—Preliminary Edition," *RQ* 16:313-34.
- , 1996, "The Eternal Reign of the People of God—Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM)," *RQ* 17:517-535.
- Stone, Michael E., 1976, "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature," *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. Frank M. Cross, Werner Lemke and Patrick D. Miller; New York: Doubleday) 414-52.
- , 1999, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; Leiden: Brill) 133-149.
- Strugnell, John, 1960, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran. 4Q Serek Sirot 'Olat Hassabbat,'" *VTSup* 7 318-345.
- , 1990, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT) 221-256.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T., 1995, *Angel Veneration and Christology. A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (WUNT 2.70; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Sukenik, E.L., 1955, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University).
- Suter, David, 1979, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch," *HUCA* 50:115-135.
- Swanson, D.D., 1995, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible. The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: Brill).
- Tiede, David Lenz, 1972, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press).
- Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C., 1997, "4Q499 48 + 47 (par 4Q369 1 ii): A Forgotten Identification," *RQ* 18:303-306.

- , 1998, "Reconstructing 11Q17 Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues, and Technological Innovations* (eds. D.W. Parry and E.C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill) 171-85.
- , 1996, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End. Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OS 35; Leiden: Brill).
- Tov, Emanuel, 1996, "Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert," *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. (eds. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill) 41-77.
- , 1998, "Scribal Practices Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill) 403-429.
- Tromp, Johannes, 2000, "Cain and Abel in the Greek and Armenian/Georgian Recensions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*," *Literature on Adam and Eve* (eds. Gary Anderson, Michael Stone and Johannes Tromp; Leiden: Brill) 277-96.
- Ulfsgard, Hakan, 1998, *The Story of Sukkot: The Setting, Shaping, and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).
- Vaillant, A., 1976 [1952], *Le livre des secrets d'Hinnuh: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves).
- VanderKam, James C., 1984, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America).
- , 1988, "Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran," *RQ* 13:353-65.
- , 1989, *The Book of Jubilees: Text and Translation* (2 vols.; CSCO 510-11; Scriptores Aethiopicici 87-88; Leuven: Peeters).
- , 1991, "Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3," *CBQ* 53:553-70.
- , 1994, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).
- , 1996, "Jubilees' Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest," *RQ* 17:359-373.
- , 1999a, "The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill) 151-70.
- , 1999b, "Isaac's Blessing of Levi and his Descendants in Jubilees 31," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill) 497-519.
- Vaux, R. de, 1973, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: OUP).
- Vermes, Geza, 1958, "The Torah is a Light," *VT* 8:436-38.
- , 1961, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill).
- , 1975a, "The Archangel Sariel. A Targumic Parallel to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill) 159-66.
- , 1975b, "The Etymology of Essenes," *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (ed. Geza Vermes; Leiden: Brill) 8-29.
- , 1997, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (5th ed.; London: Penguin).
- Vermes, Geza and Martin D. Goodman, 1989, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Wacholder, Ben Zion, 1983, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press).
- Wacholder, B.Z. and M.G. Abegg, 1991-6, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four, Reconstructed and Edited by Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg* (4 vols.; Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society).
- Watson, Francis, 1997a, "In the Image of God," *Text and Truth: Redefining Biblical Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark) 277-304.
- , 1997b, *Text and Truth. Redefining Biblical Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Webb, R.L., 1991, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* (JSNTS 62; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

- Weinfeld, Moshe, 1981, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord, The Problem of the *Sitz-im-Leben* of Gen. 1:1-2:3," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (eds. A. Caquot and M. Delcor; AOAT 212; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag) 501-11.
- , 1983, "The Heavenly Praise in Unison," *Meqor Hajjim. Festschrift Georg Molin* (ed. Georg Molin; Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt) 427-37.
- , 1991, *Deuteronomy J-11. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (ABC 5; New York: Doubleday).
- Wenham, Gordon J., 1986, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," *PWCS* 9:19-25.
- , 1987, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC 1a; Waco, Texas: Word Books).
- Wenthe, Deon O., 1998, "The Use of Hebrew Scriptures in IQM," *DSD* 5:290-319.
- Wernberg-Møller, P., 1957, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden: Brill).
- Wise, Michael O., 2000, "כִּסְוֵי כְּאֵלִים. A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and IQH^a 25:35-26:10," *DSD* 7:173-219.
- Wood, B.G., 1984, "To Dip or Sprinkle? The Qumran Cisterns in Perspective," *BSOR* 256:45-60.
- Wouda, Adam S. van der, 1964-6, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12:301-26.
- , 1965, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14:354-73.
- , 1982, "Fragmente einer Rolle der Lieder für das Sabbatopfer aus Höhle XI von Qumran (11QSirSabb)," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala Festschrift für J.P.M. van der Ploeg* (ed. W.C. Delsman et al.; AOAT 211; Neukirchen: Neukirchen-Vluyn) 311-337.
- , 1998, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill) 1-45.
- Wright, Benjamin G., 1989, *No Small Difference. Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (SCS 26; Atlanta, GA: Scholars).
- Wright, N.T., 1991, *The Climax of the Covenant. Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Wyatt, N., 1996, *Myths of Power. A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition* (UBL 13; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).
- , 1999, "Degrees of Divinity: some mythical and ritual aspects of West Semitic kingship," *UF* 31:853-887.
- Yadin, Yigael, 1965, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- , 1983, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Zangenberg, Jürgen, 2000, "Bones of Contention. 'New Bones' from Qumran Help Settle Old Questions," *The Qumran Chronicle* 9:51-76.
- Zeitlin, Solomon, 1962, 1967, 1978, *The Rise and Fall of the Judean State* (3 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America).
- Zenger, E., 1983, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie der priesterschriftlichen Urgeschichte* (SB 112; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk).
- Zias, Joseph E., 2000, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?," *DSD* 7:220-253.
- Ziegler, Joseph, 1965, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta 12/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Zimmermann, Johannes, 1998, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran* (WUNT 2.104; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck).

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Abegg, M. 115, 141, 203
 Aitken, J.K. 72, 73, 80, 376, 378
 Aleksandrov 11
 Alexander, P.S. 55, 158, 297
 Allegro, J. 226
 Allegro, J.M. 229
 Allison, D.C. 260, 279
 Anderson, F.I. 23
 Aptowitz, V. 30
 Attridge, H.W. 198, 268

 Baillet, M. 92, 95, 162, 163, 169, 174, 175, 194, 195, 199, 200, 202, 293, 441
 Barker, M. 2, 64, 78, 81, 204, 365
 Barr, J. 19
 Barton, J. 2
 Bauckham, R.J. 16, 68, 165, 178
 Baumgarten, J.M. 96, 107, 110, 112, 190, 194, 229, 245, 252, 266, 382, 385
 Beall, T.S. 127, 29, 131, 136, 249
 Becker, J. 466, 469
 Beentjes, P.C. 7
 Bernstein, M. 35, 36
 Betz, O. 30, 37, 39, 400
 Beyer, K. 187, 190
 Bieler, L. 1, 400
 Bietenhard, H. 359
 Black, M. 33, 35, 47, 350, 442
 Blackburn, B. 1
 Blenkinsopp, J. 41, 63
 Bohak, G. 29, 30, 38, 391
 Brandenburger, E. 104
 Brekelmans, C.H.W. 283
 Brooke, G.J. 19, 89, 96, 155, 167, 168, 189, 190, 428
 Broshi, M. 194
 Bryan, D. 2, 22, 27, 61, 62
 Burchard, C. 68

 Caquot, A. 38, 460-62
 Carmignac, J. 88, 216-218, 221, 399, 428, 435, 438, 442, 444
 Carrell, P.R. 4
 Charles, R.H. 14, 16, 35, 45, 47, 72, 267, 272
 Charlesworth, J.H. 4, 98, 131, 151, 159, 194, 253, 323, 417, 432
 Chazon, E.G. 92, 94, 95, 163, 168, 170, 287
 Chesnut, R.D. 68
 Chester, A. 5, 11
 Chilton, B. 276
 Cohen, S.J.D. 324
 Collins, A.Y. 267
 Collins, J.J. 9, 12, 68, 114, 115, 117, 123, 129, 130, 190-92, 204, 206, 207, 209, 216, 227, 229, 249, 250, 283, 323, 395, 419, 451, 459
 Conick, A. de 147
 Cook, S.L. 22
 Cotton, H.M. 324
 Cross, F.M. 361, 388

 Dam, C. van 155, 156, 158, 222, 231, 232
 Davenport, G.L. 15, 16
 Davidson, M.J. 162, 166, 283, 396, 397
 Davies, P.R. 402, 419, 421, 422, 424, 427, 435, 451, 457
 Davila, J.D. 107, 136, 139, 165, 252, 253, 256, 257, 259, 266, 267, 273, 284, 289, 291, 296, 307, 309, 313, 315, 319, 323, 327, 330, 338, 341, 343, 344, 352, 354, 361, 363, 366, 375, 377, 386, 388
 Day, J. 77
 Delcor, M. 50-51, 239
 Denis, A. 33
 DiLella, A. 8
 Dimant, D. 89, 204, 216
 Dombrowsky, B.M. 426
 Duhaime, J. 395, 421, 23, 428, 438, 451, 459, 466
 Duncan, J. 228
 Dupont-Sommer, A. 153, 232, 407, 435, 443, 447, 458, 460, 462, 466

 Ego, B. 62, 65
 Elgvin, T. 94, 106, 114, 123, 128, 177-79, 184, 185

- Elvolde, J.F. 88
 Eshel, E. 112, 158, 166, 203-4, 206, 209
 Eshel, H. 227
 Falk, D.K. 92, 94, 95, 212, 232, 233, 236, 238, 244, 260, 289, 290, 293, 335, 361
 Fishbane, M. 411
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 37, 220, 226, 420
 Fletcher-Louis, C.H.T. 4, 6, 9, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 29, 31, 33, 39, 57, 59, 62, 64, 66, 69, 71, 76, 83, 84, 86, 91, 101, 120, 133, 138, 142, 191, 199, 217, 227, 247, 252, 259, 269, 273, 283, 323, 350, 362-64, 400, 430, 448
 Fossum, J. 4, 10, 146, 147
 Fremmesson, B. 90, 152, 153, 161, 163, 359, 431
 Frey, J. 2, 117
 Gammie, J.G. 395
 Gaster, M. 152, 228
 Gaylord, H. 99
 Geiger, J. 324
 Gese, H. 77
 Gieschen 4
 Gluzberg, L. 26, 51, 52, 417, 436
 Glicker-Chazon, E. 106, 169
 Goldstein, J.A. 180
 Goodenough, E.R. 172
 Goodman, M. 249
 Grabbe, L.L. 40, 57, 64, 249, 389
 Greenfield, J.C. 19, 214
 Grelot, P. 128, 131
 Gruenwald, I. 2, 252
 Guilbert, P. 435
 Halperin, D. 66
 Hamacher, E. 252, 253, 266
 Hannah, D.D. 152, 268, 444
 Haran, M. 374
 Harlow, D.C. 92, 268
 Harrington, D.J. 113, 114, 116, 118, 167, 177, 178, 180, 185, 417
 Hayman, P. 65
 Hayward, C.T.R. 26, 48, 53, 64-66, 72, 74-75, 80-81, 83, 230, 234, 235, 276, 440, 448
 Hendel, R.S. 41
 Hengel M. 11
 Himmelfarb, M. 2-3, 12, 22, 24, 50, 57, 59, 362, 379
 Holladay, C.R. 62, 137
 Hollander, H.W. 42
 Holloway, S. 41
 Holm-Nielsen, S. 104, 105, 109, 110, 211, 232, 239, 242, 262
 Holtz, T. 365
 Horbury, W. 4, 5, 9, 12, 57, 86, 125, 178, 217, 302, 400, 415, 420, 421
 Horowitz, W. 222
 Huggins, R.V. 39
 Humbert, J.-B. 361
 Hurowitz, V.A. 63, 222
 Hurtado, L.W. 2, 178
 Idel, M. 3
 Jacobson, H. 416-18
 Johnstone, W. 434
 Jones, A.H. 31, 251
 Jonge, M. de 42, 218, 267, 272
 Jongeling, B. 408, 410, 419, 424, 428, 447
 Kampen, J. 113, 116, 251
 Kearney, P.J. 23, 63, 71
 Kitz, A.M. 222
 Klinzing, G. 277
 Knibb, M.A. 190, 297
 Knight, J. 4
 Knohl, I. 204, 205
 Kobelski, P.J. 216, 218-20
 Koester, C.R. 62
 Kosmala, H. 389
 Kugel, J. 26, 196, 198
 Kuhn, H.-W. 90, 104, 257, 460
 Kutzko, J. 71, 101
 Kvanvig 20, 23
 Lachs, S.T. 18
 Lacroque, A. 350
 Lafargue, M. 138
 Lambert 21
 Lange, A. 113-15, 178, 179, 248, 309
 Lee, T.R. 21, 72
 Lehmann, M.R. 88, 229
 Levenson, J.D. 62-64, 454
 Licht, J. 151, 232
 Lichtenberger, H. 97, 104
 Lieber, A. 252
 Livingstone, A. 380
 Lundquist, J.M. 63

- Mach, M. 90, 108, 187, 268,
 355
 Mack, B. 72
 Maier, J. 108, 141, 155, 260,
 275-77, 297, 378
 Marböck, J. 72, 283
 Marcus, R. 124
 Martin, F. 35
 Martínez, F. García 19, 35, 38,
 44, 46, 152, 216, 248, 366, 427,
 431
 Martone, C. 171
 May, G.L. 270
 McDonough, S.M. 170, 418
 McLaurin, E.C.B. 173
 McNamara, M. 53
 Meecham, H.G. 157
 Meeks, W.A. 8
 Mendels, D. 419
 Mettinger, T.D.N. 9
 Meyer, B.F. 62
 Meyers, C.L. 10
 Meyers, E.M. 10
 Michael, O. 270
 Mildenberg 10, 11
 Milgrom, J. 134
 Milik, J.T. 44, 50, 151, 153, 187,
 442
 Millard 21
 Miller, J.E. 19
 Miller, P.D. 396
 Morray-Jones, C.R.A. 3, 252, 266,
 380, 386
 Mosca, P. 207
 Muraoka, T. 88
 Murray, R. 403

 Neusner, J. 276
 Newman, C.C. 442, 444
 Newsom, C.A. 116, 136, 251-77,
 282-284, 286, 287, 291, 293,
 296, 297, 299, 303, 304, 308,
 310, 311, 313, 314, 316-18, 322,
 324, 327, 330, 331, 333, 337,
 340, 341, 345-48, 352, 354, 357,
 359, 364, 366-369, 373-375, 377,
 378, 382, 385, 387
 Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 20, 22, 24, 33,
 36, 54, 104, 112
 Niditch, S. 63
 Niehr, H. 71, 101
 Nitzan, B. 90, 94, 140, 153, 158,
 159, 162-164, 168, 175, 313, 330,
 359

 Odeberg, H. 214
 Olson, D.T. 95
 Olyan, S.M. 82, 149, 257, 419,
 470
 Oppenheim, A.L. 70
 Orlov, A.A. 51
 Osten-Sacken, P. van der 397,
 400

 Patai, R. 62, 65
 Patton, C.L. 18, 102
 Perdue, L. 72
 Pfann, S.J. 110, 132
 Philonenko, M. 29
 Pines, S. 49, 50, 72
 Ploeg, J. van der 407, 410, 411, 426,
 442, 443, 447, 451, 455, 461
 Puech, E. 92, 128, 187, 189-91, 212,
 218
 Purvis, J. 26

 Qimron, E. 198, 200, 289, 299,
 307
 Quispel, G. 350

 Reeves, J.C. 38, 39, 43, 52
 Riesenfeld, H. 363
 Ringgren, H. 461
 Rohland, J.P. 459, 461
 Rowland, C.C. 2, 252, 349
 Rubenstein, J.L. 46

 Strugnell, J. 178
 Sanders, E.P. 12, 57, 110, 279, 413,
 414, 419
 Schäfer, P. 65, 66
 Schiffman, L.H. 89, 116, 141, 151,
 252
 Schmidt, B.B. 101
 Scholern, G. 3, 252
 Schuller, E.M. 26, 98-100, 168, 200,
 209-11, 213, 319
 Schürer, E. 388
 Schwartz, D.R. 96
 Schwemer, A.M. 334
 Segal, A.F. 146, 204, 443
 Sheppard, G.T. 77
 Skehan, P. 8
 Smend, R. 8, 72, 409
 Smith, J.Z. 28, 65, 188
 Smith, M. 90, 200, 202-204, 212,
 398
 Smith, M.S. 71, 101
 Smith, R.L. 10

- Stadelmann, H. 72, 74
 Stager, L.E. 269
 Stegemann, H. 135, 140, 141, 151,
 153, 159, 160
 Steiner, R.C. 35
 Stern, M. 52, 61, 323
 Stern, S. 62
 Steudel, A. 159, 225, 245, 419,
 447
 Stone, M.E. 2, 41, 99
 Strugnell, J. 113, 114, 118, 180,
 185, 198, 203, 225, 226, 233,
 253
 Stuckenbruck, L.T. 68, 156, 165,
 178, 186
 Sukenik, E.L. 241, 436, 458,
 464
 Suter 22, 24
 Swanson, D.D. 257

 Thackeray, H.St.J. 126
 Tiede, D.L. 1
 Tigchelaar, E.J.C. 1, 25, 63, 198,
 216, 253, 356
 Tov, E. 170, 410
 Tromp, J. 18

 Ullgard, H. 46

 Vaillant, A. 50, 51
 VanderKam, J.C. 14-16, 20, 35, 40,
 223, 285, 371
 Vaux, R. de 361

 Vernes, G. 10, 163, 169, 226, 228,
 249, 299, 330, 389, 411, 424,
 435, 447

 Wacholder, B.Z. 64, 115, 141, 395
 Watson, F. 71, 101
 Webb, R.L. 110, 112
 Weinfeld, M. 23, 46, 63, 79, 90, 146
 Wenham, G.J. 99, 448
 Wenthe, D.O. 400
 Wernberg-Møller, P. 97, 233
 Werman, C. 36
 Wintermute, O.S. 14
 Wise, M.O. 199, 200, 202, 204, 205,
 211, 212
 Wood, B.G. 110
 Woude, A.S. van der 115, 216, 218,
 253
 Wright, B.G. 81, 83
 Wright, N.T. 174, 398
 Wyatt 6, 9

 Yadin, Y. 65, 253, 396, 398, 399,
 407, 408, 410, 421, 423-26, 431,
 432, 435, 438, 442, 447-49, 457,
 459

 Zeitlin, S. 250
 Zenger, D. 71
 Zias, J. 132
 Ziegler, J. 409
 Zimmermann, J. 142, 143, 148, 153,
 155, 161, 190-92, 196, 197

INDEX OF SOURCES

Bible

<p>Genesis</p> <p>1 63, 64, 74-78, 98, 190, 233, 236, 276, 362, 408, 465</p> <p>1:1-3 191</p> <p>1:1-2:2 76</p> <p>1:2 77, 94, 435, 436, 464, 465, 467</p> <p>1:3 77, 455, 115, 116</p> <p>1:3-5 63, 71, 77, 233-35</p> <p>1:6-8 77, 79</p> <p>1:6 77</p> <p>1:9-11 63</p> <p>1:9-10 77, 79, 98</p> <p>1:9 110, 191</p> <p>1:10 110</p> <p>1:11 77</p> <p>1:14-19 23, 235, 281</p> <p>1:14 77, 174</p> <p>1:16 175</p> <p>1:21 436</p> <p>1:26 71, 93, 106, 441, 448</p> <p>1:26-30 54</p> <p>1:26-28 92</p> <p>1:26-27 101, 115, 409</p> <p>1:28-30 78</p> <p>1:28 106, 436, 441, 448</p> <p>2:1-3 80</p> <p>2:1 98</p> <p>2:2-3 63</p> <p>2:2 75</p> <p>2:3 19, 78, 448</p> <p>2:6 191, 436</p> <p>2:7 93, 98, 107, 108</p> <p>2:15 99</p> <p>2:24 118</p> <p>2:25 78</p> <p>3:6 134, 213</p> <p>3:16 464</p> <p>3:17-19 276</p> <p>3:19 78, 93, 455</p> <p>3:21 18</p> <p>3:22 1</p> <p>3:23 99</p> <p>3:23 LXX 68</p>	<p>4:7 22, 45-46, 50</p> <p>5:3-2 45</p> <p>5:3-32 197</p> <p>5:18-24 22</p> <p>5:21-32 41</p> <p>5:22 13, 277</p> <p>5:23 46</p> <p>5:24 13, 277</p> <p>6:1-4 35, 43</p> <p>6:9 13, 54, 258</p> <p>8:20-21 43, 47</p> <p>8:20 48</p> <p>8:21 48, 49</p> <p>9:1-5 80</p> <p>9:1-3 54</p> <p>9:2-4 54</p> <p>9:4-6 42</p> <p>9:11 147</p> <p>9:13-16 380</p> <p>9:20-21 42</p> <p>14 216, 217</p> <p>14:18 17, 51, 169</p> <p>18 87, 169</p> <p>18:19 120</p> <p>18:22 147</p> <p>22:12 168</p> <p>29:3-4 16</p> <p>32:2-3 308</p> <p>32:3 257</p> <p>32:24 411</p> <p>32:29 411</p> <p>38:8 133</p> <p>41:42-43 69</p> <p>41:43 69</p> <p>44:15 173</p> <p>48 15</p> <p>49:8 443</p> <p>Exodus</p> <p>2:2 LXX 52</p> <p>2:5-10 7</p> <p>2:16-22 7</p> <p>4:22 197</p> <p>6:1 138</p> <p>7:1 6, 8, 85, 136, 137, 139, 140, 149</p>
--	--

7:19	110	28:3-6	190, 357, 370
9:22	138	28:3-2	357
10:21-22	138	28:3-1	18, 44
11:3	7	28:3 LXX	156, 228
13:21-22	77	28:3	234
13:21	120	28:4	18, 44, 231
14:19	120	28:4 LXX	355
14:26-27	138	28:40	44, 82, 246, 340
15:2	412	28:5	53
15:3	443	28:6-14	222
15:11	202, 404, 412	28:6	53, 372
17:6	143, 147, 148	28:8	53, 357, 372
17:7	143	28:9-30	155
17:11	138	28:11	193, 370, 371
19	145	28:13-14	193
19:6	167	28:15-30	222, 356
19:10-11	214	28:15	155, 228, 372
19:15	133	28:2	340
19:16	145	28:20 LXX	223
20:11	138	28:21	370, 371
20:12	122	28:22-30	249
20:18	144, 145	28:25	193
23:20-21	10, 21, 146	28:27-28	357
23:20	396, 421	28:28-29	155
24:10	147, 266, 343	28:29	372
24:18	142	28:29-30	228, 239
25:40	63, 77, 276, 362, 445, 448	29:5	357
25:31	23, 63, 64, 75-79, 479	29:6	155
25:1-30:10	71	29:28	195
25:1	63	29:29	231
25:33	50	29:45-46	446
25:40	267, 345	30:3-5	364
25:8	446	30:30	79
25:9	267	30:34-38	80
25:18-22	19	30:34-36	364
25:20	391	30:34	63, 78
25:25-30:1	234	30:7-8	50, 63, 71
26:1	304, 372	30:8	24
26:3-6 LXX	372	30:11	63
26:3-6	340, 371, 372	30:16-21	63
26:3-2	384	30:16	63
26:3-1	304, 372	30:17-21	79
27:10-11	384	30:22-23	23
27:16	372	30:22	63
27:16 LXX	372	30:23	53, 78
27:20-21	63, 71	31:3	87, 302
27:20	50	31:11	63
28	18, 70, 106, 158, 222, 230, 231, 356-58, 362, 363, 369, 370, 448	31:12-17	63
28:2	44, 73, 82, 363	31:12	63
28:3-9 LXX	372	32:16	234, 288
28:3-9	372	33:2	396
		33:7-11	142
		33:11	144, 145
		33:17-23	136, 834

34:3-5	6	14:8-9	109
34:30	138, 146	14:16-17	60
34:29 LXX	8	15:2	134
34:29-39	6	15:19	134
34:29-35	138, 139	15:25-26	460
35:40	76, 479	16	40, 155, 463
36:3-7	340, 371, 372	16:3-4	64
36:3-6 LXX	372	16:4	59, 134, 239
37:7-9	19	16:17	17
37:9	391	18:19	460
37:16 LXX	372	18:26-28	44
38:3-4	24	19:23-25	43
38:3 1	24	21:17-21	402
38:4	24	22:4-6	111
38:18	372	22:12	194, 195
39:1-31	234	23:15 22	271
39:2 3	372	24:7 LXX	42
39:3 2	80	25	220
39:3	155, 370	25:41	220
39:43	80, 317	25:10	220
39:5	357, 372	25:13	220
39:6	370	26	94
39:8	372		
39:14	370	Numbers	
39:20-21	357	1:16	257, 314
39:22	357	2	256, 257
39:27	357	2:4	257
39:28	245	3:3-7	384
39:29	372	3:40	431
40	365	3:6	164
40:2	64	5:3	446
40:3-8	77	6	47, 186, 466
40:3-5	446	6:22-27	16, 140, 153, 160, 466
40:3 3	80	6:24-27	316
40:17	64	6:25	140, 146, 153, 154, 241, 290
Leviticus		7	256
2:2-5	44	7:1	65
2:13	42	7:89	19
6:3	134	7:12	65
6:15	354	8:26	164
6:16	354	10	257
8:7	357	10:1-10	445
8:8	156	10:9	403, 404, 406
8:8 LXX	223, 228	11:4	214
8:9	155	12:8	144
10:1-5	458	14:14	77
10:10-11	284	14:21	438, 442
11:3-6	110, 111	15:19	195
11:3-2	109	16	181, 185
11:44	167	16:2	314
11:16-17	60	16:40	185
12:3	134	16:41-50	182
13:3-4	109	16:2	257
13:58	109	18	58

18:19	42	27:12	319
18:20	178	28:1-14	319
19	111	28:9	428
19:19	111	28:12	183
19:21	111	31:9-13	319
20:18	180	32:3-9	233
23:19	1	32:8 LXX	402
23:22	82	32:8-9	288, 409
24	430	32:9	174
24:2	302	32:11	390, 391
24:8	82	32:12	233
24:15-17	225	33:1	138, 142
24:17	10, 11, 114, 226, 413, 414, 419-22, 443	33:2	242
25	181	33:8	156, 222
25:7	180	33:8 LXX	223
25:11	180, 425	33:8-11	16, 225-27, 231, 284
26:9	257, 314	33:8-10	225, 226, 228
27:21	222, 224	33:9	227
27:21 LXX	223, 228	33:10	227, 228, 239, 369
30	118	33:11	231
31:48	257	33:12	319
31:14	257	33:26	411
33:52	101	33:29	404, 412
34	256	34:10	144
Deuteronomy		Joshua	
1:3-3	77	5:14-15	257
3:24	404, 405	6:19	183
4:3-6	145	6:24	183
4:32-33	145	14:6	142
4:11	144	18:7	218
4:12	145	24:3-2	26
4:15	145	Judges	
5:3-1	147	5:12	442
5:4-7	144	6:11-12	139
5:4-6	143, 144	6:22	146
5:4	145	8	362
5:5	146, 148	13:15-19	139
5:16	122	17:18	362
5:19	145	Ruth	
5:23	144	2:12	390
5:28-29	225	1 Samuel	
6:4	412	2:8	455
10:4	145	6:5	101
10:8	17	6:11	101
10:9	218	7:9	354
14:2	428	14:40-42	156
18:2	218	14:41	222
18:5	17	14:41 LXX	223, 228
18:18-19	225, 226	17:40-51	415
20	457	17:40	418
20:2-4	403	17:45	418
20:5-8	403		
23:14	400, 402		

17:49	415	11:18	101
17:51	415, 416	19:3-5	396
17:55	416		
21:4-5	133	1 Chronicles	
22:18	230, 231	1:1-4	26
28:6	222	9:26	183
28:6 LXX	223, 228	16:30	352
29:9	9	17:20-21	404
		17:21	412
2 Samuel		20:2	198
1:10 LXX	157	21:16	215
1:21	23	23:13	167
7:14	197	26:20	183
7:22-23	405	26:22	183
7:23	404	28:5	207
7:24	426	28:8	391
12:25	205, 319	28:11	340
12:30	198	28:18	345
14:17	117	28:19	267
14:17	209	29:2-8	232
19:17	9	29:2	372
22:3-1	258	29:20	101
23:4	262	29:23	207
		29:25	334
1 Kings		2 Chronicles	
6	266, 385	2:6	370
6:3-5	304, 342	2:13	370
6:3-2	304	3	266, 385
6:3-1	236	3:4	340
6:3	340	3:7	370
6:5	236	3:13	391
6:16	236	3:15-17	384
6:19-32	236	4:20	236
6:23-28	19	5:8	391
6:27	391	5:11	247
6:29	304, 370	6:1-2	247
7:3-6	370	6:2	193, 246
7:51	183	6:20	197, 198
7:6	340	7:9	64
7:15-22	384	8:12	340
7:21	340	20	433, 434
8:2	64	20:4-19	434
8:7	39	20:15	414
8:10	247	20:20	433
8:12-13	247	23:14	257
8:13	193, 246	23:17	101
8:29	197, 198	29	181
12:32-33	64	29:11	17
14:26	183	29:27-28	263
17	413	30:8	181
19:12	343, 346	30:22	262
22:19	396	32:18	169
2 Kings		32:21	396
6:17	392, 396	35:12	258
11:15	257		

Ezra		7:8	217
2:63 LXX	222, 223	8:6-8	436
3:1-6	64	8:6	120
5:1	56	8:7	106
6:14	56	11:1	389
7:15-20	441	12:5	286
9:11	460	12:7	162
Nehemiah		15:5	352
6:9	168	16:1	389
6:14	168	16:5	184
7:65	222	16:8	352
9:5	154, 376	17	169
9:12	77, 119, 120	17:7	389
9:16	77	17:8 LXX	138
9:19	77, 119, 120	18	169
10:3-8	183	18:3-1	258, 389
12:7	230	18:3	389
13:13	183	19:6	244
Esther		20:6	407
8:15	198	21:8	352
15:4-19 LXX	9	25:12	168
15:6 LXX	171	25:20	389
15:13-14 LXX	171	26:12	377
Job		29:3	380
1:1	168	29:10	380
1:8	168	30:7	352
2:3	168	31:2	389, 390
3:4	242	31:6	396
5:1	404	31:20	389
5:9	233	32	262
9:5	384	33:1	407
9:10	233	33:20	316
10:3	242	34:9	389
10:22	242	34:10	164
15:15	404	34:23	389
26:11	384	35:10	404
28	371	36:8	389, 390
29:3	119	36:10	178
33:30	233	37 LXX	263
37:15	242	37:3-9	389
38:3	172	37:40	389
38:7	464	42	262
38:8	77, 98	44	262
38:22	183	45	262
40:2	172	45:6	85
Psalms		45:7	9, 207
2:12	389	46:5	178
5:11	389	50:2	242
5:12	390	51:21	354
7:2	389	52:55	262
7:8-9	219, 220	56:4	119
		57:2	389, 390
		60:7	319

61:5	389	99:9	314
61:11	389	103:19-22	261
62:3	352	103:20-21	99
62:7	352	103:21	236
63:5	377	104:2	233
65:7	83	104:4	233, 236, 257
65:10	178	104:5	352
66:1-3	261	104:7-9	77
66:2	154	104:9	98
68:17-20	386	104:19	233
68:27	377	106:16	438
71:1	389, 390	106:23	180
71:19	404	106:29-30	180
72:9	438	107	137
72:19	154, 376	107:26-7	137
73:26	184	108:7	319
75:1	381	110	125, 126, 183, 184, 206, 255
78:69	64, 454	110:1	205, 207, 220
78:25	195	110:4	217
80:1	242	110:1	207
82:1	216, 217, 220	112:4a	353
82:6-7	86	112:5b-6a	352
86:9	154	113:5	404
86:12	154	113:6-7	455
87:4	77	115:8	334
89:5	404	115:1	154
89:6	404	118:8-9	389
89:7-8	202	119:1	258
89:7	404	127:2	319
89:8	257, 404	128:1	168
89:9	415	133:2-3	23
89:10	83, 415	135	183
89:15-16	464	135:1	423
89:16	119	135:18	334
89:18	412	141:8	389
89:25	415	145:2	377
89:26	83, 415	147:4	431
89:27-28	197	148	261
89:37-38	207	148:2	99
91:4	390	150	273
92	83, 263	150:1	268, 273, 274
92:10	83	150:2	408
92:12-13	83	150:6	261
93:1	83, 352	151:5	215
94:1	242		
94:4	389	Proverbs	
96:1-2	261	8:29	98
96:6-7	44	10:30	352
96:7-9	261	11:20	2581
96:10	352	12:6	352
96:18	154	12:3	352
99:5	314	14:2	168
99:6	180		

Ecclesiastes		53:2-10	190
5:5	13	53:11	430
5:6 LXX	13	54:10	425
7:18	168	54:11-12	228, 229
Song of Songs		54:12	230, 448
2:2	412	54:12a	229
2:3	412	60:2	197
7:11	464	60:5	441
Isaiah		60:7	441
3:20	245	60:10	441
4:5	57, 260, 277, 334, 386, 430, 440, 444, 776	60:14	441
6:1-4	260	61:10	245
6:1-3	92, 435, 439, 441	62:12	428
6:1	437, 439	63:18	428
6:3	106, 335, 348-50, 383, 437-40, 442, 443	64:3	316
6:5	438, 444	64:4	235
8:17	316	66:1	214
9	461	Jeremiah	
9:1	119	1:1	56, 180
9:5 LXX	9	5:22	77, 98
9:5-6	460	11:15	319
9:6	9	17:13	110
10:6	442	18:18	284
11:1-5	170, 443	18:20	180
13:4	427	23:18	257
14	456	23:22	257
17:12-14	77	35	322
19:17	137	51:3-4	77
26:21	81	Lam	
27:9	282	4:20	302
27:11	282, 283	Ezekiel	
27:13	282	1	57, 93, 252, 265, 346, 377, 382, 386, 441
30:2	389	1:1-28	346
30:7	77	1:3	56, 380
30:8	316	1:4-28	386
30:18	315	1:4	194
31:8-9	413	1:13	194, 380
40:17	93, 94	1:21	344
40:26	431	1:24	380
42:6-7	190	1:25-28	374-76
42:16	119	1:26-28	72, 194, 349, 350, 373, 376, 379, 386, 392, 441, 444
43:7	94	1:26	376, 380
43:21	412	1:26a	347
44:7	426	1:26b	349
49:3	412	1:27-28	194
49:18	438	1:27	347, 349, 380
50:6-8	190	1:27b-28a	348
50:10	168	1:28	73, 93, 116, 372, 375, 380
51:9-11	77		
52:7	218		
53	189, 193		

1:28b	349	40	266, 385
3:12-13	346, 380	40:48	340
5:5	66	40:49	384
7:20	101	41:25-26	340
8:16	340	42:6	384
9	182	43	346
9:1-2	318	43:1-5	265
9:2	362	43:24	42
10	346, 380	44:3	340, 417
16:7	438, 440	44:15	429
16:11	438, 440	44:18	245
16:17	101	44:28	287
16:26	134	45	287
20:6	197	45:1	287
20:15	197	45:7	417
23:20	134	45:16-17	417
23:24	101	46:8	340
24:17	245	46:18	287
24:23	245	47:48	287
25:7	195	47	66, 178
25:9	197		
26:20	197	Daniel	
28	19, 300, 363, 379, 380, 448, 456	1:4	262
28:1-19	1	1:5	195
28:2	380	1:8	195
28:7	243	1:13	195
28:12-19	18, 19	1:15-16	195
28:12-16	400	2:6	103
28:12	59, 93, 354	2	103
28:13	300, 380	2:3-4	101
28:14	93, 278, 300, 380	2:3-2	101
28:14 LXX	300	2:3-1	101
28:14a	19	3	102, 103
28:15	258, 259, 300	3:35-51 LXX	270
28:16	19, 300	3:5 LXX	270
28:16 LXX	300	3:52 66 LXX	270
28:17	243	3:15 LXX	270
29:3-5	77	4	284
29:19	442	4:11	144
31:3-10 LXX	215	5:23	144
31:10	215	7:12	58, 397
31:14	215	7	206, 430
32:2-8	77	7:2-14	77
34:24	417	7:9	38, 349
34:25	425	7:10	347
36:17	460	7:11	341
37	98	7:13	53, 84, 142, 191, 196, 199
37:25	417	7:27	283, 435
37:26	425	8:11	257
38:12-13	442	8:13	404
38:12	66	8:15-18	138
40:48	265, 266	8:24	435
40:41	265	9:5	362

9:16	180	12:6	413, 420, 421
9:27	286	12:8	9, 85, 146
10:4-11	138	14	66
10:13	397	14:5	404
10:18	286	14:7	210
10:20-21	397		
10:21	396	Malachi	
11:3-5	262	2	14, 15, 109, 285, 426
11:3-3	262	2:2	154
11:3-2	400	2:5-7	13
11:40-45	400	2:5	425, 430
11:11	400	2:6-7	284
11:26	195	2:6	109, 153, 430
12:1-3	400	2:7	195, 239, 284, 285,
12:1	92, 396, 431		430
12:3	105, 153, 262, 401	2:11	194, 195
12:7	428	3:1 3	284
12:10	262	3:16	114
12:12	316		
Hosea		Tobit	
3:4 LXX	228	2:5	11
5:15	198	12:9	111
Joel		5:4-12:22	139
2:17	340	11:4	319
2:26	423	11:14	186, 305, 319
3:18	66		
Amos		Wisdom of Solomon	
5:26	101	2:23-3:4	129
Micah		5:5	59
1:3	81	9:15	129
Habakkuk		18	181, 185
2:3	316	18:9	164
3:8-10	77	18:15-26	215
3:15	77	18:15-16	181
Zephaniah		18:24	39, 367
3:8	316	24	215
3:12	389	24:22b	378
Zechariah			
1:8	63	Ben Sira	
1:1	56	1:10	8
2:15 LXX	391	3:1 16	122
3	23, 273, 277, 430	3:11a	122
3:5 LXX	355	3:16a	122
3:7	24	5:5	140
3:9	162, 223, 370, 371	6:29-31	74
6:11-14	158	7:27-31	122
6:11	198	8:19a	8
6:14	198	13:15a	8
12:1-10	421	13:16	8
12:5	421	14:17	8
		16:24-17:21	409
		16:27	75
		17:2-4	436
		17:3	409
		17:4	8
		17:6-7	931

7:7	92, 106, 116	44:16-17	47
18:13	8	44:16	20, 26
24	58, 64, 72-74, 80, 283, 358, 364, 407	44:18	8
24:1-2	283	44:19	72, 187
24:3-1	99	44:23-45:5	7, 26
24:3-6	75, 76	44:23	26
24:3-31	107	45	37, 55, 105, 136, 140, 149
24:3-22	77	45:1-5	72, 84
24:3	77, 79, 191, 436	45:1	8
24:4	77, 120	45:2	8, 72, 85, 138, 142, 187, 278, 455
24:4b	77	45:2a	171
24:5	77	45:2a, 3bd	16
24:6	77	45:2b	171
24:6a	77, 79	45:4	9, 16, 117, 130, 134, 142
24:7-11	28, 77	45:4b	8
24:10	28, 121	45:6 8	81
24:11-17	79	45:7-8	106, 166, 180, 400
24:12-17	77	45:7-22	230
24:13-31	74, 75	45:7	72, 83, 187, 378, 408
24:13-29	30, 68	45:8	73, 340, 354
24:15	364	45:8 (ms B)	44
24:15a-b	78	45:10	228, 372
24:15c-d	78	45:11	235
24:19-22	78, 276	45:12	67
24:20	80	45:16	9
24:22	78	45:17	178, 227, 239
24:25-31	178	45:18	185
26:16	455	45:23	72, 187
30:4-5	122, 133	46:2	72
33:3	228	46:19	8
39:19	8	46:2	187
39:19a	8	47:6	72, 187
39:24	258	48:4	72, 187
40:8	8	48:12f	8
44:1-49:15	91	49:8	73
41:4	8	49:13	25
41:4a	8	49:14-15	21, 25, 49
42:50	82	49:14	20
42:15-50:24	72	49:15-50:1	26, 448
42:15-50:21	440	49:16-50:21	97, 106
42:16b	440	49:16	26, 80, 116
42:21	75	49:16-50:1	91
43:1	455	50	16, 39, 46, 47, 48, 54, 58, 64, 72, 74, 78, 81, 84, 93, 95, 101, 102, 121, 154, 160, 179, 180, 191, 192, 220, 262, 273, 275, 283, 340
43:2-8	88	50:1-21	25, 230, 400
43:9	455	50:1-2	273
43:14	183		
43:23	7		
44:50	6, 7, 187		
44:49	25		
44:1-50:21	25		
44:1-2	72, 187		
44:1	72		
44:10-15	122, 133		

50:1-11	73	14:6	148
50:1	26, 44, 47, 79, 180	15:23	397
50:2	79	i Esdras	
50:2b	83	5:40	228
50:3	79, 110, 191, 269	4 Ezra	
50:4	79	2:43	215
50:5-7	46, 81, 83, 193, 236, 243, 247, 369	6:41	281
50:5-11	50	6:46	99
50:5	46, 79, 180	8:1	99, 236
50:6-7	95, 454	8:44	99, 236
50:6-11	39	9:13	99, 236
50:6	44, 79, 142	10:3	286
50:7	44, 79, 152, 190, 278, 353	13:2-13	209
50:7b	46, 72, 80	13:4	10-11
50:8-12	30, 68, 74, 79, 269	13:12	441
50:8-10	83	<i>passim</i>	58
50:8	47	Matthew	
50:9	80, 229, 364, 365, 448	2:11	53
50:11-13	80, 448	5:1-12	319
50:11	44, 72, 73, 154, 180	12:5	276
50:11d	46	27:5	270
50:12-13	80	Mark	
50:12	83	1:11	320
50:14-21	80, 276	1:13	99
50:14	80	1:23	61
50:17a	9	1:26	61
50:19	67, 75, 80	4:35-41	137
50:20	44, 47, 80, 317, 418	5:8	61
50:22	47	6:45-52	137
50:26	26	9:1-13	219
51	88	9:1-12	59
Baruch		9:2-9	189, 204
5:1-2	438	9:2-13	142
1 Maccabees		9:7	320
1:46	164	9:15	138
2:42	148	12:6	320
2:54	181	12:19	133
2:25	181	12:25	105, 133, 152
2:26	181	14:62	344
3	187	30:3	61
3:3-9	181, 182	Luke	
3:3-3	186	6:20-23	319
3:8	181	14:25-35	227
7:14	148, 396	20:34-36	133
2 Maccabees		22:43-44	286
3	183, 397	24:50-53	381
7:3-4	120	24:12-42	87
8:5	181	John	
10:29-30	397	1:14	28
11:6	397	8:12	119

10:3-4	86	Colossians	
10:3-3	86	1:15-20	174
12:41	444	1:16	370
Acts		3:1-4	90, 207, 344
6:11	86	Hebrews	
7:48-50	62	1:5-2:18	218
7:53	289	1:6	99
7:20	52, 53	2:5-18	217
8:9-24	173	7	51, 217
12	1, 59, 124	8:5	267
12:1-4	125	11:23	52
12:20	126	13:2	139
12:22	124	Revelation	
19:13-16	172	1:13 16	53, 59
Romans		1:13	360
1:7	320	1:14	38
1:23	92	1:18	360
3:23	921	3:5	431
1:28	320	3:9	441
12:19	320	3:12	360
1 Corinthians		3:21	206, 344
12:4	260	4:5	386
13:1	61	4:4	354
13:2	190, 279	4:8	260
2 Corinthians		4:11	260, 360
12:1-12	204	6:9	359, 360
12:2-4	266	8:3-5	359, 360
13:4	279	12	397, 456
Ephesians		12:7-9	397
2:1-6	90	21	360
2:6	207, 344	21:1-2	266
6:12	370	21:10-22:5	266
Philippians		22:16	10
2:9-11	44		
13:20-21	90		

Pseudepigrapha

<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		<i>Apocalypse of Ezra (Greek)</i>	
10:1-5	138	5:19	99
10:3	286	<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>	
11:3	355, 362	5:1-2	99
11:13	38	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>	
17:8-21	260	8:1-5	90, 279
23:5	39, 91, 215	8:1-4	61
23:10	39, 215	A	354
23:14	39, 215		

<i>Aristeas</i>		10	46, 463
92	343	10:1-5	45
95	343	10:1-3	36
96	372	10:1-11	396
96-99	230	10:16-17	211
97-99	157, 160, 363	12:16	24, 25
97	46, 223	14:15	21
99	59, 179, 192	14	23, 57, 268, 270, 273, 274, 379
<i>passim</i>	17	14:8	142, 199
<i>Aristobulus</i>		14:10	385
frag. 2 9-12	147	14:11	343
<i>Artapanus</i>		14:17	343, 385
3:27:24-26	418	14:19	347
3:27:22-26	6	14:20	72, 346, 386, 444
9:27:3-4	7	15:2-7	195
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>		15:2	201
2:7	461	17:18	129
9:24-26	206, 344	17:8-21	260
<i>2 Baruch</i>		20	255, 318
4:1-6	268	20:5	396
6:7	232, 374	22:3	128
14:18	436	23:27	129
14:19	99, 236	25:26	269
15:7	99, 236	26:1	66, 322
21:24	99, 236	27:1	129, 322
51:10-12	400	37:71	20
59:4	266	38:4	210
73:1-3	210	38:2	210
<i>passim</i>	58	39:9-14	260
<i>3 Baruch</i>		41	350
4:16	91	41:6	350
11:15	268, 291	43	350
<i>passim</i>	99	45:4	210
<i>Book of Adam (Slavonic)</i>		46:1	21
47	99	47:3	431
<i>Conflict of Adam and Eve</i>		48:71	209
7	99	48	24, 381
<i>1 Enoch</i>		54:1-5	129
3	24	54:7-55:2	36
5:6	211	56:3	129
6:15	195	56:5	397
7	132	58:3-6	210
7:2-5	37	59:60	350
7:10-11	322	60	45, 46
8:8	210	60:1	45
9:10	318	60:8	45
9	291	60:11-25	45
9:1	396	61:9	21
9:3	128	62	381
9:9	37	62:2	21
		62:5	21
		62:15	362
		69:29	21

71	21	71:11-16	279
71:14	350	89:1	33, 149
72:82	24	89:3-6	40
87:2	318		
89:3-6	149	2 Enoch	
90:18	185	3:20	387
90:24-26	129	21	260
96:3	210	21:22	387
97-107	54	22:56	90
99:2	185	22	49, 73, 386
99:16	164	22:1-3	444
100:5	164, 305	22:6	24
101:1	120	22:7	20
102:3	346	22:8-10	20, 59, 220
103	129	22:8	73, 379
103:4	128	22:9	46
101:1 2	54	22:10	309
106 7	35, 36	23:3	20
106	33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 53, 59, 129, 160, 477	23:6	20
106:2	37, 47, 50	29:3	281
106:3	47	30:11	20, 59, 91
106:4-8c	34	30:13	39, 91, 215
106:6	48	37:2	20
106:11	47	39	444
106:13 19	34	40:1-2	20
106:13 18	48	40:4-13	20
106:13-107:2	34	45:46	49
106:17	37, 39	45:2	50
108:12	206, 344	56:2	20
<i>passim</i>	20, 22, 32	59	49
		65:9	210
<i>Eth. Enoch</i>		69:73	24, 49
39:12	439	69:2	50
39:3	129	69:4	50
39:7-8	166	69:5	50
39:12	348-50	69:8	50
46:1	349, 350, 379	69:10	46, 50
46:5	101	70:4-22	50
48:5	101	70:17	50
51:3	350	70:23-26	50
52:1	129	71	50, 217
52:4	101	71:17-18	51
55:4	344	71:19 20	51
58-69	45	<i>passim</i>	20, 23, 24, 49, 99, 219
60:8	129		
60:23	129	3 Enoch	
61:8	344	1:16	279
61:12	129	3:2	244
62:2	350	7	24
62:5	129, 344, 350	9	21, 39, 215, 287
62:6-9	101	9:2	214
69:29	344, 350	10	21
70:1-4	129	12	21, 363, 369
71	189	12:3	354
		12:4-5	24

- 12:5 21, 418
 15:1 341
 18:3 354
 19:6 257
 22 B:7 260
 22:4 341
 26:12 341
 39:2 260
 40:1-4 260
 42:1 341
 42:6 341
 47:4 341
passim 20, 21, 24
- Eupolemus*
 9:17:2-3 214
 9:18:2 214
- Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge*
 68-89 7, 70, 206,
 344
 75 355
 81 101
- History of the Rechabites*
 5:2-4 417
 6:3 69
 7:10-11 322
 13:5 61
passim 90
- Joseph and Aseneth*
 1:22 29
 1:21 30
 3:4 69
 4:7 69
 5:1-7 69
 5:4 30
 5:5 355
 6:6 46
 10:8-13 30
 14:9 355
 15:7-8 291
 15:7 390
 16 67
 16:15-16 195
 16:18 30
 17:9 69
 18:1f 69
 21:21 69
 22:29 29, 30
 22 182
 22:3 69, 122
 22:5 69
 22:7-8 60, 122
 22:7-10 37
- 22:7 29, 38, 39, 46, 152, 214,
 308
 22:8 69
 22:11-13 30
 22:13 16, 56
 23:8 56
 26:6 56
 29:6 69
passim 66, 67, 70, 86, 90, 173,
 400
- Jubilees*
 1:27 152
 1:29 152, 211
 2 233
 2:1 152
 2:2 152, 281
 2:14 436
 2:17-19 271, 276
 2:17-18 288
 2:18 152
 2:20 197
 2:21 271, 276
 3:8-14 19, 108
 3:27 19
 4:16-26 20
 4:17 24
 4:23 129
 4:25 24
 5:10-19 64
 5:17-18 43
 5:18 40, 212
 6:1-3 44
 6:2-4 36
 6:2 48
 6:10-14 36
 6:18 271, 359, 360
 7:1-6 43
 7:3-8 42
 7:3-4-39 42
 7:7 43
 7:20-39 42
 7:21-24 36
 7:21 43
 7:23-37 36
 8:19 19, 66, 108
 10 46, 173
 10:7 173
 10:10-14 55
 10:11 173
 10:13-14 173
 10:13 35, 40
 15:27 152, 288
 16:3 355
 16:25-27 271

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 19:24-25 | 26, 197, 198 | <i>Lives of the Prophets</i> |
| 19:27 | 26 | 16:1-2 15 |
| 21 | 42 | |
| 21:1-20 | 24, 42 | <i>3 Maccabees</i> |
| 21:10-20 | 42 | 1:2 182 |
| 21:10 | 24, 35, 36, 40, 42 | |
| 21:11 | 43, 44 | <i>4 Maccabees</i> |
| 21:12 | 24 | 18:23 129 |
| 21:16 | 16 | |
| 21:16a | 111 | <i>Orphica</i> |
| 21:17-20 | 42 | 27-28 137 |
| 23:3-1 | 129 | 31 53 |
| 23:3 | 210 | 32-34 39, 214 |
| 23:25 | 38 | 33-38 137, 138 |
| 23:29 | 211 | 33-34 207 |
| 30:32 | 15, 188 | 37 171 |
| 30 | 25 | <i>Penitence of Adam</i> |
| 30:1-20 | 15 | 11-17 99 |
| 30:18 | 271 | |
| 31 | 13, 14, 37, 105, 109,
153, 154, 157, 160, 220,
285 | <i>Prayer of Jacob</i> |
| 31:11-20 | 151 | 8 170 |
| 31:11-17 | 15 | |
| 31:13-17 | 16 | <i>Prayer of Joseph</i> |
| 31:14-16 | 285 | <i>passim</i> 27, 86, 152,
302 |
| 31:14-15 | 430 | |
| 31:14 | 117, 130, 134, 142,
152, 154, 166, 179,
185, 192, 268, 271,
289, 300 | <i>Prayer of Manassch</i> |
| 31:15-17 | 16 | 3:4 98 |
| 31:15 | 15, 153, 186, 317 | |
| 31:18-20 | 15 | <i>Pseudo-Eupolemus</i> |
| 31:18 | 16, 181 | <i>passim</i> 39 |
| 32:1 | 15, 272 | |
| 32:2-15 | 15 | <i>Psalms of Solomon</i> |
| 40:7 | 69, 173 | 11:8 438 |
| 50:10-11 | 276 | 17:3-4 441 |
| 50:11 | 271 | 17:3-1 441 |
| <i>passim</i> | 70, 86, 88, 418, 477 | 17:3-32 443 |
| | | 17:43 190 |
| <i>Life of Adam and Eve (Latin)</i> | | <i>Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities</i> |
| 4:1-2 | 18, 70, 91, 195 | 10:3-5 419 |
| 12-16 | 18, 69, 91, 99, 102,
382 | 12:1 8, 139, 239, 416,
455 |
| 21:3 | 17, 51 | 13:6 212 |
| 27:1 | 39, 91, 214 | 13:7 45 |
| 27:3 | 39, 70 | 13:8 45 |
| | | 25:10-26:15 363 |
| <i>Life of Adam and Eve (Greek)</i> | | 26:27 235 |
| 1:3 | 18 | 26:6 235 |
| 16 | 456 | 26:8 235 |
| 35:2 | 305 | 26:9 223, 371 |
| <i>passim</i> | 17, 52, 99 | 26:12-13 374 |
| | | 26:12 235 |
| | | 26:13-15 46 |
| | | 26:13 223, 229, 235,
371 |
| | | 26:15 223, 229, 371 |

27:10	416, 419	<i>Testament of Judah</i>	
28:3	15, 46, 235, 239	24:1-6	10
61	415, 418, 419	25:2	152
61:8-9	139, 417	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
61:9	416, 417	2:7	25
<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>		2:3-B 1-2	111
1:20	91	2:5-5:3	272
1:296-306	322	2:10, 20	17
3:770-771	322	3	188
3:26	214	3:4	346
3:27	91	3:5-6	359
5:414-5	11	3:5	152, 291
5:414-433	430, 443	3:7	152
5:414 27	209	4:2	152
5:414	322	4:3	229
5:416 9	413	8	24
5:420-428	66, 443	9:11	111
5:425-6	67	14:16	25
5:425-427	67	14:1-3	46
5:428	67	17:2	155
5:108-10	11	18	189, 192, 286
5:155 61	11	18:3	10
5:249-51	66	18:4	189
5:249-251	322	18:5	152
5:256-7	11	18:11	164
5:259	190	18:14	164
5:281-2	66	<i>Greek Testament of Levi</i>	
8:442 445	99	Mt. Athos Ms c 57	36, 40, 42
<i>Testament of Abraham</i>		Mt. Athos Ms c 83	319
13:13	354	<i>Testament of Moses</i>	
A 3-6	139	1:7	32
<i>Testament of Adam</i>		1:9	32
1:4	260	1:12	99
3:2	86	1:13	236
3:4	86	1:14	31
4:8	260	4:5-8	32
<i>Testament of Dan</i>		9:1	32
6:5	286	10	81, 466
<i>Testament of Job</i>		10:1-10	31
33:2-9	207	10:2	31, 32, 81, 220, 256
41:4	207	10:8-9	31, 322
46:50	208	11	55
47	61	11:15	302
47:5-9	172	11:16-17	31, 171
47:10	172	11:16	87
48:2-50:2	279	11:17	52
48-49	301	33:4-5	359
50.1-3	301	<i>passim</i>	31
50:2	301	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>	
52	61	3:5	27
		4:1	27

5:6	27	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
5	46	6:11-12 447
<i>passim</i>	27	6:12 101, 381

Qumran

CD		20:19	114
1:7	427	<i>passim</i>	389, 477
2:5-6	291	1QH ^a	
2:5	290	4:5	241
2:15-16	54, 258	4:9-15	96
2:16-19	25	4:14-15	96, 106
3:12-4:4	97	4:15	96, 97
3:19	96	5:12-14	210
3:20	96, 97, 129	5:12	212
4:3-4	129	5:23-24	106, 107
4:3	424	6:3-4	162
5:4	100	6:8-22	106
5:7	460	6:11-12	106, 116
5:16	282	6:16	89
5:17-18	468, 469	7:19-20	97, 105, 117, 308
6:6	302	7:20	134
6:11-7:8	132	8:4-27	89
7	419	8:11	106
7:6	129	8:16	89
7:9	427	9:1-20	367
7:19-21	10, 226	9:3-6	258
7:19	422	9:3-4	114
7:20	114	9:3-2	114
10:6	114	9:9-14	233
10:11-13	110	9:11	305
11:20-21	333	9:17	106
12:14	257	9:21	367
12:1-2	133	9:24	288, 407
12:17	290	9:25	114
12:21	262	9:26	332
13:2-8	283	10:9	290, 291
13:2	114	10:19	282
13:8	317	10:24-25	107
13:22	262	11:35-6	397
14:3-8b	427	11:3	241
14:3	427	11:19-23	90, 104, 105, 108, 109, 111
14:6-7	427	11:20	109-11
14:7-8	114	11:21-23	104
15:1-5	141	11:21	109, 257
15:17	305	11:22	90, 120
16:3-4	88	11:24	111
19:6	427	12	240, 243, 247
19:11-12	182	12:3-1	241
19:18	190	12:3-31	241
20:3-4	389, 391		

12:5-6b	240	20:3	148
12:5	242	20:3	211
12:7-21a	240	20:4-8	238
12:8	107	20:4-5	211
12:21-22	148	20:4-11	95, 210
12:21	241	20:4	180, 212
12:21b-25b	240	20:5	407
12:22-23	241	20:6	407
12:22	243	20:8	407
12:22b-23b	242	20:9-10	238
12:23	211, 241-43, 247	20:10	332
12:24-25	242	20:11	237, 262
12:25	241, 257	20:13	238
12:27-33a	240	20:15	211, 238
12:27-29	241	20:23	258
12:27	111, 241, 242	20:24	237
12:29	241	20:25	111
13:15-16	162	20:26	237
13:15	107	20:27-31	237
13:21-2	316	20:29	111
14:3-2	111	21:7	237
14:6	111, 290	21:10-11	237
14:13	104, 152	21:11	239
14:14-18	107	21:12-13	239
14:14	106, 302	21:12	237, 238
15:7	352	21:13-14	237
15:15	107	21:14	211, 233, 237-39, 243
15:23b-25	105	23:10	104
16:4-37	19	23:15	211
16:4-26	107	25:3-5-26:10	199, 212
16:4-27	89	26	200
16:21-26	107	26:3	211
17:3-5	227	26:6-7	104
17:12	111	27:28	214
17:14	111	<i>passim</i>	298
17:25	354		
17:26	242	IQM	
17:27	317, 320	1:9	431
17:28	389	1:1-11	398
18:8	256, 309	1:1	262, 402
18:11	148	1:3	409
18:27-28	105	1:5	402
19:3	211	1:6	446, 461
19:5	202	1:8	397, 401
19:10-11	106	1:9	211, 398
19:10	289	1:10-11	256, 396
19:10b-14	104	1:10	410
19:12	257	1:11	402
19:22-27	210, 211	1:14	257, 422
19:26	242	1:15	461
20:21	238	2:9	403, 432, 447
20:1-11	211	2:7	428
20:2-3	107	2:3	460
20:3-2-21:7	237	2	230
		2:1-8	431

- 434
 100, 338
 397
 428
 218, 291
 337
 198, 426
 431
 256
 198, 337, 426
 257
 459
 451
 431
 431
 256
 256
 256
 402
 426
 453
 257
 446
 448
 256, 414, 444
 431
 372
 448
 448
 448
 398, 424
 431
 396
 399
 109, 431
 399
 402
 90, 400
 305, 400
 245
 434
 431
 447
 434
 398
 255, 318
 202
 396, 411
 396, 411
 403
 412, 457
 283
 429
 198, 414, 420, 422, 423,
- 10:1
 10:2-6
 10:2-5a
 10:2-5
 10:2
 10:5-6
 10:5
 10:6b-8a
 10:8-9

 10:8-16
 10:8
 10:8b
 10:9-16
 10:9
 10:10-16
 10:10
 10:11-15
 10:11
 10:12
 10:13
 10:14-15
 10:15
 10:16
 10:18
 11

 11:1
 11:2
 11:3
 11:4-5
 11:4
 11:5-7
 11:6-7
 11:6
 11:7
 11:8
 11:9-10
 11:9
 11:10
 11:11
 11:13
 12

 12:1-8
 12:1-5

 12:1-3
 12:1-2
- 430, 436, 441, 446-48,
 452, 454, 457, 463, 465,
 473, 475
 430
 428
 403
 457
 433
 403, 406
 433
 406
 405-408, 442, 451, 463,
 469
 403, 404, 464
 367, 410
 406
 405
 410, 464
 407
 283, 426, 428, 443
 397
 305, 404, 443
 258, 302, 404, 436, 461
 110
 408
 404, 407, 425
 283, 367
 408
 412, 413, 415, 430, 431,
 444, 452, 471
 414, 421
 414
 422
 407
 414, 421
 419
 10, 226
 114
 410
 426
 443
 111, 317, 320, 422
 9, 421
 421
 422
 350, 423, 427, 430, 431,
 434, 441, 443, 452, 453,
 458
 398
 423, 426, 428, 429,
 431-35, 439, 444-46,
 449, 453, 473, 475
 446
 230

12:1	398, 399, 429, 430	13:7	426, 453, 466
12:2	428	13:8-9	466
12:3	425-27, 430, 434, 446, 447	13:8	425, 426, 446, 449, 452
12:4	398, 399, 427, 428, 446	13:9-12	451
12:5	399, 446	13:9-10	153
12:6-16	433, 473	13:9	426
12:7-9	438	13:10-14	450
12:7-8	440	13:10-11	467
12:7-16	397, 432, 434, 437, 445, 453, 457, 465	13:10	396, 446, 451, 452, 461, 466, 471
12:7-12	435	13:11-12	402, 467
12:7-10	439, 444	13:11	468
12:7	294, 435, 450, 452	13:12-13	466
12:8-16	442	13:12	467
12:8 10	435	13:13-14	451, 467
12:8	283, 398, 435	13:14-15	452
12:9-10	436, 465	13:14	452
12:9	396, 430, 435, 440, 444, 446	14	453, 461
12:10 17	443, 444	14:2-3	456
12:10-16	439, 447	14:3	453
12:10-13	442	14:4	426, 453
12:10-11	442	14:5	410
12:10	438, 444	14:6-7	407
12:12-15	438, 441	14:7	54, 258, 400, 402, 454
12:12-13	435, 448, 465	14:9-10	461
12:12	439	14:9	461
12:13-15	445	14:12-14	408, 454
12:13	423, 439, 440	14:12	408, 410, 428
12:14-15	441, 465	14:12c-14a	407
12:14	460, 463	14:13	198, 410, 425, 426
12:15-16	436, 447	14:14	455
12:15	440	14:15	456
12:17-18	423	14:16	256
12:18	449	15:19	457
13	449, 453, 458, 461, 463, 466, 469, 473, 475	15:1	402, 426
13:1-9	467	15:6-14	457
13:1-6	449	15:8-9	428
13:1 2	450, 467	15:10	467
13:1	449, 453	15:14	398
13:2-3	319	16:1	398, 424
13:2	402, 453, 460, 468	16:3-9	457
13:3-4	461	16:4-9	434
13:3	100, 460	16:8-9	398
13:4-6	160	16:11-17:9	457, 458
13:4-5	450, 466	16:11-14	458
13:4	402, 460, 461, 468	16:12	434
13:5-6	455	16:15-17:1	468
13:5	402, 467	16:15-17:1	458
13:7-9	408, 452	17	450, 458, 463, 466, 469, 475
13:7-16	449	17:2	467
		17:3	425, 458, 467
		17:4-9	458

469	3:18	427
464	3:20-25	396
464, 467	3:20	119, 450
461	3:21	468
396, 398, 401, 411, 464,	4	97
465	4:6-8	129
202, 451, 459-63, 466,	4:6-26	97
468, 469, 471, 473	4:7	211, 354
446, 461, 467	4:15-16	258
462, 471, 473	4:18	427
211, 256, 402, 414, 459,	4:22-3	95
461, 464, 466	4:22	54, 258
458	4:22d	97
467	4:23	97
468	4:26	153
457	5:5	316
428	6:1	430
457	6:3-8	283
461	6:8	430
398	6:11	430
422	6:12	430
439	6:13	427
442	8:10	297, 394
396	8:9	132, 167, 179, 185, 194,
438		374
440	8	298
460	8:1-10a	297
432, 436	8:3-4	297
424, 447	8:5-6	167, 298
257	8:6	218, 297, 298
	8:8-9	167
	8:8	298
449	8:10	54, 258, 291
198, 426	8:11-12	470
450	8:18	54, 258
153	8:21	54
461	9	298
140, 317	9:3-5	333
315	9:3	297, 316
153	9:4	218, 291, 297, 298,
54, 258, 466		308
153	9:5-6	167, 298
105, 153	9:5	258
257	9:9	258
110	9:12	262
289	9:13	297
111, 112	9:26	297
54, 258	10	218, 238, 296
289	10:1-4	352
198, 426	10:1-3	95, 242, 244
153, 302	10:1-10	407
262, 297	10:1	180, 407
332	10:2-3	211, 245
198, 426	10:2	242, 407
106, 114, 115, 436		

- | | | | |
|---------------|--|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 10:3 | 233, 245, 407, 425 | 4:24-28 | 95, 150, 157, 205, 206, 220, 222 |
| 10:5 | 180, 425 | 4:24-25 | 452 |
| 10:6 | 287, 288, 296, 297, 308, 320, 407 | 4:25-26 | 160 |
| 10:8 | 287, 288, 296, 297, 320, 332, 425 | 4:25 | 100 |
| 10:10-13 | 297 | 4:26-28 | 155 |
| 10:10-14b | 238, 244 | 4:26-27 | 156 |
| 10:11 | 288, 297 | 4:26 | 153, 156 |
| 10:12 | 296 | 4:27 | 11, 46, 95, 154, 369, 465 |
| 10:14 | 308 | 4:28 | 154, 155, 179, 190, 376, 379, 453 |
| 10:20-21 | 351 | 5 | 204 |
| 10:20 | 290, 297, 352 | 5:1 | 151 |
| 10:21 | 352 | 5:20-29 | 151 |
| 11:8 | 90, 302 | 5:20 | 154, 160, 262 |
| 11:9-15 | 104 | 5:23 | 152 |
| 11:13 | 296 | 5:24 | 226, 415 |
| 14:3 | 427 | 5:24, 27 | 10 |
| II | 153 | 5:25-26 | 152 |
| <i>passim</i> | 236, 293, 477 | 5:27 | 226, 415 |
| 1QSa | | 5:28 | 156, 415, 453 |
| 1:2 | 428 | <i>passim</i> | 140, 185, 277, 298, 369, 477 |
| 1:1 | 135, 159 | 1QapGen | |
| 1:6 | 135 | 1:5 | 36 |
| 1:13 | 100 | 1 | 34 |
| 1:16 | 337 | 2, 5 | 34 |
| 1:18 | 105 | 2:5 | 36, 53 |
| 1:20 | 135 | 3:4 | 34 |
| 1:21 | 428 | 5:11 | 34 |
| 1:23 | 337 | 5:12 | 34 |
| 1:25 | 337, 426 | 5:29 | 35 |
| 1:26 | 426, 428 | 6:17 | 34 |
| 2:2 | 135 | 6:4 | 44, 45 |
| 2:3-9 | 109 | 10:15 | 36 |
| 2:8-9 | 89 | 10 | 43 |
| 2:14 | 135 | 10:13-17 | 43 |
| 2:20 | 135 | 10:13-15 | 44 |
| <i>passim</i> | 477 | 10:13 | 48 |
| 1QSa | | 10:17 | 42 |
| 1:1 | 154, 160, 262 | 11:15-16 | 54 |
| 1:19-3:19 | 159 | 11:17 | 54 |
| 3:22 | 154, 160, 262 | 12:13-17 | 43 |
| 3:24 | 427 | <i>passim</i> | 54, 88, 418, 477 |
| 3:27 | 202 | 1QpHab | |
| 4 | 179, 186, 194, 223, 242, 285, 363, 477 | 5:4 | 424 |
| 4:2-3 | 354 | 8:12-13 | 460 |
| 4:2 | 158 | 9:12 | 424 |
| 4:3 | 158 | 10:13 | 424 |
| 4:7 | 241 | 12:13 | 100 |
| 4:22-28 | 151, 158, 159, 161 | 13:2-3 | 100 |
| 4:23 | 153 | | |

1QpIsa ^b		5 ii	34
2:2	427	5 ii 22	48
1QpPs ^a		4QEnoch ^c (4Q206)	
3:1-2	477	4 i 13-14	149
1Q19 (1QBook of Noah)		4QGen ^{h1} (4Q8a)	
3:2-5	44	<i>passim</i>	110
13:2	340	4QGen ^k (4Q10)	
13:2-3	50	<i>passim</i>	110
13:2	44, 45	4QH ^b (4Q428)	
<i>passim</i>	34, 44, 106, 363	<i>passim</i>	200
1Q22		4QM ^a (4Q491)	
<i>passim</i>	225	8-10 i 12	454
1Q26 (1QInstruction)		8-10 i 5	454
<i>passim</i>	113, 176	4QTAmram (4Q543-543)	
1Q29 (1QTongues of Fire)		<i>passim</i>	477
1 ii 5-6	225	4QTLevi (4Q540-541)	
<i>passim</i>	155, 222-225, 229, 243, 250	<i>passim</i>	477
1Q32 (1QNew Jerusalem)		4QT ^{est} monia (4Q175)	
<i>passim</i>	266	8	228
1Q34 (1QFestival Prayers)		10	227, 228
<i>passim</i>	478	13	114
2Q18 (2QBen Sira)		14:20	226, 283
<i>passim</i>	62, 88	<i>passim</i>	10, 222, 225, 229, 231, 250, 369, 465
4QFlor (4Q174)		4QTongues of Fire (4Q376)	
1:4	90	<i>passim</i>	155
1:6	132, 164, 167	4QpIsa ^a (4Q161)	
1:7	167	8-10 iii 18-22	443
1:17	429	4QpIsa ^c (4Q163)	
1:19	424, 429	21 12	389
4QMMT (4Q394-399)		4QpIsa ^d (4Q164)	
B 75-82	167, 374	1	229
<i>passim</i>	167, 179, 185, 194, 295, 477	2:3	229
4QDeut ^h (4Q35)		4	229
11-15 line 3	227	5	229
4QDeut ⁱ (4Q37)		7	229
<i>passim</i>	402	7-10 iii 24	372
4QDibHam (4Q504-506)		<i>passim</i>	155, 228, 250, 369
<i>passim</i>	92, 94	4QpPs 37 (4Q171)	
4QEnoch ^a (4Q201)		ii 5	424
1 ii 2	257	iii 5	257, 424
1 ii 3	257	iii 1-2	96
1 ii 6	257	iv 14	424
4QEnoch ^c (4Q204)		iv 20	389
4 10	149	4QpPs ^a (4Q171)	
		3:1-2	106
		3:5	302

- 4Q176 (4QTanhumim)
3 184
- 4Q177 (4QCatenaA)
ii 162
- 4Q179 (4QApocrLam A)
passim 478
- 4Q180 (4QAges of CreationA)
1 3 288
- 4Q181 (4QAges of CreationB)
1 ii 5 153
- 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked
Woman)
1 4 306
passim 132
- 4Q185 (4QSapiential Work)
1 2 i 7 111
1-2 i 11 111
1-2 i 12 111
- 4Q186 (4QHoroscope)
passim 302
- 4Q213 (4QAramaic Levi^a)
1 i 5 205
- 4Q213a (4QAramaic Levi^b)
3-4 5-6 390
passim 388
- 4Q213b (4QAramaic Levi^c)
passim 272
- 4Q214 (4QAramaic Levi^d)
2 272
- 4Q214b (4QAramaic Levi^f)
2 6 i 272
- 4Q222 (4QJubilees^e)
1:9 106
- 4Q228
passim 88
- 4Q232 (4QNew Jerusalem(?))
passim 266
- 4Q249e (4QCrypticA Texts)
line 8a 132
- 4Q256 (4QCommunity Rule^b)
4 1 262
- 4Q258 (4QCommunity Rule^d)
1 i 1 262
6 167
vii 6-7 167
- 4Q259 (4QCommunityRule^e)
ii-iii 167
- 4Q265 (4QMiscellaneous Rules)
5 ii 31
7 ii 11-17 19, 108
9 iii 5 262
10 i 12-13 190
passim 19
- 4Q266 (4QDamascus Document^a)
11:8 427
- 4Q267 (4QDamascus Document^b)
9 v 6b-13a 427
- 4Q269 (4QDamascus Document^d)
10 ii 9-12 427
16 6-7 427
- 4Q280 (4QCurses)
passim 478
- 4Q284 (4QHarvesting)
1 7 289
3 4 288
- 4Q285 (4QSefer ha-Milhamah)
1 186
1 ii 3 305
1 ii 9 305
1 3-4 153
passim 157, 419
- 4Q286-90 (4QBlessings)
passim 478
- 4Q286 (4QBlessings^a)
7 ii 3 460
- 4Q287 (4QBlessings^b)
2 4 302
6 3 460
- 4Q298 (4QCryptA Sons of Dawn)
1-2 i 262
iii 4 5 282
passim 393, 477
- 4Q300 (4QMysteries^b)
3 2-3 116
- 4Q303 (4QMeditation on Creation A)
5 464
8 106
- 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enoch)
1 i 1-12 198
1 i 7-9 198
1 i 8 198
1 i 9-10 197

- I ü 196
 I ü 1-12 197
 I ü 8 142
passim 198, 199
 4Q370 (4QExhortation Based on the Flood)
 I 4 306
 4Q371-372 (4QapocrJoseph)
passim 26
 frag. 2 146
passim 146
 4Q374 (4QDeification of Moses)
 2 11, 138, 146, 149
 9 8, 139
 2 i 7 136
 2 ii 136, 137, 139
 2 ii 8 466
 9 3 139, 153
passim 136-41, 171, 242, 316, 417, 466, 477
 4Q375 (4QapocrMoses^a)
passim 225
 4Q376 (4QapocrMoses^b)
 I i 1 224
 I i 3 224
 I ii 1-2 224
 I ii 1 225, 236
 I iii 2-3 225
passim 222, 223, 225, 229, 243, 250
 4Q377
 frag. 1 141, 143
 I ii 144, 289
passim 145, 147-49, 164, 242, 352, 477
 4Q378 (4QapocrJoshua^a)
 22 i 2 460
 4Q379 (4QapocrJoshua^b)
 I 2 319
passim 225
 4Q380 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms A)
passim 477
 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B)
 I 98-100, 382
 I 11 100
 I 7-8 198
 I 7 106, 436
 28 3 111
 50 i 3 294
 76 7 167
 frag. 1 165
passim 98-100, 103, 477
 4Q385 (4QPseudo-Ezekiel^a)
 frag. 2 129
 4Q392 (4QWorks of God)
 I 100, 222, 232
 I 4-6 99
 I 2 235
 I 4 235
 I 5 236
 I 6 235
 I 9 233, 236
 I 6-7 238
passim 232, 236-39, 262, 307, 477
 4Q393 (4QCommunal Confession)
 3 5-6 290
passim 290, 477
 4Q400 (4QShirShabb^a)
 I 280, 289
 2 255, 306, 309
 4 306
 5 306
 I 1 20 280
 I 19 281
 I 3-8 281
 I 3-4 281
 I 6 281, 282
 I 9-20 281
 I i 284, 286, 287, 289, 292, 293, 295, 298
 I i 1 310
 I i 10 290, 295
 I i 11 289
 I i 13-15 284
 I i 13 161, 287
 I i 14-15 293
 I i 14 344, 351
 I i 15 288-90, 292, 314
 I i 16-17 295
 I i 16 218, 290, 291, 297
 I i 17-18 284
 I i 17 283-86, 337
 I i 18 295, 296
 I i 19 285, 292, 295, 337
 I i 2 292
 I i 20 292
 I i 3 289, 292, 295
 I i 30-40 332
 I i 30 331
 I i 4 289, 292-94, 351, 460

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 i 5-7 | 297 | 1 i 22 | 258 |
| 1 i 5 | 288, 289, 296, 314,
344, 378, 426 | 1 i 24 | 316 |
| 1 i 6 | 283, 285, 294,
298-300 | 1 i 26 | 318, 320 |
| 1 i 7 | 296 | 1 i 27-29 | 321 |
| 1 i 8 | 285, 292, 294, 337,
351, 460 | 1 i 28 | 290 |
| 1 i 9 | 286, 287, 320, 344 | 1 i 30-40 | 328, 331, 334, 367 |
| 2 1-9 | 307 | 1 i 30-31 | 329 |
| 2 1-5 | 309 | 1 i 30 | 310, 331 |
| 2 2 | 299, 308 | 1 i 31 | 331, 334, 358 |
| 2 3 | 308 | 1 i 32 | 331 |
| 2 4 | 308, 315 | 1 i 32b-33a | 333 |
| 2 5-7 | 254 | 1 i 34 | 305, 358 |
| 2 5 | 308 | 1 i 35 | 329 |
| 2 5b-7 | 104 | 1 i 38 | 329 |
| 2 6-8 | 314 | 1 i 39-40 | 303, 337 |
| 2 7 | 308, 337, 360, 436 | 1 i 39 | 331 |
| 2 8 | 308, 314, 332 | 1 i 41-46 | 304 |
| 3 ii 8-10 | 306 | 1 i 41-43 | 330 |
| <i>passim</i> | 252, 296 | 1 i 41-2 ii 16 | 329 |
| 4Q401 (4QShirShabb ^b) | | 1 i 41 | 329-31, 334, 367,
383 |
| 11 3 | 255 | 1 i 42 | 294, 329-31 |
| 14 | 306 | 1 i 43-44 | 383 |
| 14 i 5 | 299 | 1 i 43 | 330, 331 |
| 14 i 8 | 299 | 1 i 44 | 303 |
| 15 1 | 299 | 1 i 45 | 232, 233 |
| 17 3 | 294 | 1 i 46 | 304 |
| 22 3 | 255 | 1 i 6-9 | 388 |
| <i>passim</i> | 252 | 1 i 8 | 320 |
| 4Q402 (4QShirShabb ^c) | | 1 i 9 | 317 |
| 4 | 309 | 1 ii 1-6 | 330 |
| 4 12 | 332 | 1 ii 1-16 | 327 |
| 4 6 | 351 | 1 ii 1 | 232, 303, 372 |
| <i>passim</i> | 252 | 1 ii 14 | 236 |
| 4Q403 (4QShirShabb ^d) | | 1 ii 15 | 331 |
| 1 | 327, 330 | 1 ii 16 | 331, 334 |
| 1 i 1-29 | 310 | 1 ii 18-48 | 335 |
| 1 i 1 | 318 | 1 ii 18-37 | 335-37 |
| 1 i 10-29 | 385 | 1 ii 18-19 | 338 |
| 1 i 10 | 317 | 1 ii 19-20 | 338 |
| 1 i 13 | 318 | 1 ii 19 | 337, 338 |
| 1 i 14-16 | 318 | 1 ii 2 | 383 |
| 1 i 14 | 318 | 1 ii 20 | 337, 358 |
| 1 i 16-27 | 258 | 1 ii 21 | 358, 384 |
| 1 i 17-23 | 335 | 1 ii 22 | 384 |
| 1 i 17 | 316 | 1 ii 23 | 338 |
| 1 i 18 | 300, 318 | 1 ii 24 | 337, 358 |
| 1 i 20 | 316 | 1 ii 3 | 116 |
| 1 i 21-23 | 315 | 1 ii 35 | 283 |
| 1 i 21-22 | 317 | 1 ii 7 | 303 |
| | | 1 ii 8 | 304 |
| | | 1 ii 9 | 304 |
| | | <i>passim</i> | 252, 311 |

4Q404 (4QShirShabb ^a)		23 i 11	352
1:2	310	23 i 12	351, 352
5 4	232, 233	23 i 13	294, 352
5 5	304	23 i 3	351
6	335	23 i 4-6	352
<i>passim</i>	252	23 i 4-5	352
4Q405 (4QShirShabb ^b)		23 i 4	352, 353
8-9	335	23 i 6	352
10	335	23 i 7-11	353
11	335	23 i 7-10	352
12	335	23 ii 11	356-58, 365,
13	335, 385		367, 379,
14-15 i 2	303		440, 465
14-15 i 3-6	372	23 ii 1-4	367
14-15 i 5-6	303	23 ii 1	370
14-15 i 5	371, 385	23 ii 10-12	358, 380
14-15 i	303,	23 ii 10	356, 364,
	338-40,		365, 369,
	385		373, 377,
			408
15 ii-16	341		358, 366,
15 ii-16 2-3	347	23 ii 10b	368
17	339, 341		365
17 5	294	23 ii 10b-12	376
18	342	23 ii 11-12	380
18 2	351	23 ii 11	332, 377,
18 3	303	23 ii 12	378
19	342		288, 375
19 2	303, 343	23 ii 3	391
19 3	304	23 ii 5	372
19 4-5	304	23 ii 7-8	372
19 4	343, 364	23 ii 7-10a	367
19 5	372, 385	23 ii 7-10	356, 365,
19 6	385	23 ii 7	366,
19 7	343		368-70,
19 8	344		373, 376,
20 ii 1	351		377
20 ii 21-22 lines 8 9	347		365
20 ii-21-22 lines 6-14	345, 346	23 ii 8-9	303, 373,
20 ii-21-22 lines 10b-11	348	23 ii 8	374, 376
20 ii-21-22 lines 10-11	347		367, 368
20 ii-21-22 lines 1-5	342	23 ii 9-10	365, 369,
20 ii-21-22 lines 1-2	344	23 ii 9	373-77
20 ii-21-22 line 14	427		310, 335
20 ii-21-22 10	303	3 ii	303
20 ii-21-22	349	5 1	294
20 ii-21-21	194	5 8 i 2	383
20 ii-21-22 lines 10-11	373	6 2	331
22 11	365	6 3	303
23 1 3	352	6 5	335
23 i	345, 350,	6 4	335
	353, 355	6 7	384
		7 7	436
23 i 1-13	351	8 6	<i>passim</i>
23 i 10-12	295		252, 441
23 i 10-11	314		

- 4Q406 (4QShirShabb^f)
passim 252
- 4Q407 (4QShirShabb^g)
passim 252
- 4Q408 (4QMorning and Evening Prayer)
 3 244-46
 3 5 246, 247
 3 6-7 247
 3 8-10 247
 3a 244
passim 222, 225, 243, 262, 477
- 4Q414 (4QRitual of Purification A)
passim 110, 111
- 4Q415 (4QInstruction^g)
 1 ii 259
 2 i 3 259
passim 113
- 4Q416 (4QInstruction^h)
 1 116, 118
 2 ii 121
 2 ii 14 184
 2 ii 19 184
 2 ii 20 184
 2 ii 4 184
 2 iii 13 118
 2 iii 16-19 122
 2 iii 20-iv 4 117
 4 3 184
 2 iv 5 184
passim 113
- 4Q417 (4QInstruction^g)
 1 i 1-13 116
 1 i 1 184
 1 i 13-14 184
 1 i 14-18 113, 288
 1 i 16-17 177
 1 i 17 114
 1 i 18 184
 1 i 18b-27 116
 1 ii 13 118
 1 ii 5 116
 2 i 1, 18 282
 2 i 14 282
 2 i 17 184, 282
 2 ii + 23 6 184
 2 ii 5 259
passim 113
- 4Q418 (4QInstruction^g)
 1 10 116
- 9 121
 10 3-9 117
 12 3 ii 5 184
 12 6 ii 12 184
 16 8 4 184
 17 2 4 259
 20 6 5 184
 43 10-14 113, 288
 43 13 177
 43 14b-17 116
 43-45 i 6 116
 43-45 13 282
 43-45 10 282
 69 118-21, 288, 477
 69 10 184
 69 15 184
 69 ii 10 421
 81 113, 176 80, 182, 183, 185, 186, 194, 289, 340, 374, 477
 81 1-14 183-85, 187
 81 1 186
 81 10 181, 182
 81 11 186
 81 13 180
 81 15 184
 81 3-4 180
 81 3 106, 178
 81 4 179, 295
 81 5 198
 81 7 118
 81 8 181
 81 9 183
passim 113
- 4Q418a (4QInstruction^g)
passim 113
- 4Q422 (4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus)
 1:10 106
 1 i 9 436
- 4Q423 (4QInstruction^g)
 1:2 94, 180
 5 184
 8 176
 2 2 106, 117, 436
 8 3 177
passim 113
- 4Q427 (4QH^m)
 7 199, 208, 210, 211
 10 4 237
 1 2 202
 3 2-3 107

7 i 10	205, 319	4Q458	
7 i 11	203	2 ii 4	185
7 i 13-23	319		
7 i 13	205, 319	4Q468a-f	
7 i 13b-18	212	<i>passim</i>	1934
7 i 14	107, 211	Q468b	
7 i 17	211, 213	<i>passim</i>	193, 194, 236, 262
7 i 19b-ii 7b	211		
7 i 2-7a	211	4Q471b (4QSelf-Glorification Hymn A)	
7 i 22	212	1a-d 3-4	205
7 i 6-13a	201	1a-d 7	205
7 i 7	205	<i>passim</i>	199, 203, 204
7 i 9	205		
7 i 13b-23	319	4Q491c (4QSelf-Glorification Hymn B)	
7 i-ii	200, 201	1 7	131
7 ii 11	211	1 8 10	286
7 ii 11	212	1 9	286
7 ii 16 18	208	<i>passim</i>	199, 200, 286
7 ii 16	211, 212		
7 ii 2-7a	210	4Q491 (4QWar Scroll)	
7 ii 4-11	211	1 i	208
7 ii 4	210, 242	11	398
7 ii 5	211	11 1	295
7 ii 7-11	213	11 i	202, 203, 206, 207, 210, 213, 220, 473
7 ii 7b-12	201		
7 ii 8-9	205, 456	11 i 1-4	209
7 ii 9	203, 214, 287	11 i 10	202
<i>passim</i>	203, 212, 213	11 i 11	203
4Q429 (4QH ^a)		11 i 12-18	201
1 ii 1-3	162	11 i 13-16	212
4Q431		11 i 16-17	205
i	199	11 i 5-6	202
1 6	200, 205, 319	11 i 5-18	212
1-2	200	11 i 7	203
i 13	202	11 i 9	202
2 1 9	201	11 ii	203
<i>passim</i>	203	11:1	90
4Q438 (4QBarki Napsh ^a)		<i>passim</i>	202
6 2	389		
4Q444 (4QIncantation)		4Q500 (4Qbenediction)	
1 3	282	frag 1	19
1 4	287		
5 1	169, 170	4Q501 (4QApocryphal Lamentations B)	
i 1-4	169-71	<i>passim</i>	478
i 1	172		
i 8	173	4Q503 (4QDaily Prayers ^a)	
<i>passim</i>	163, 169, 173	<i>passim</i>	478
4Q448		4Q504 (4QDimHam ^a)	
<i>passim</i>	478	1-2 vii recto 4-verso	263
4Q451		1-2 iv 9b-12a	441
1 2	319	1-2 iv 6-12	443
		1-2 iii 2-4	93

- 1-2 iii 6 197
 5 282
 6 390
 6 8 391
 8 92-95, 97,
 379
 8 recto i 6 106
 8 4 93
 8 5 282
 8 6 93
 8 7 93, 440
passim 92, 445
- 4Q506 (4QpapDim Ham^a)
passim 92
- 4Q507-9 (4QFestival Prayers)
passim 478
- 4Q508 (4QFestival Prayers^b)
 2 2 212
- 4Q510 (4QSongs of the Sage^a)
 1 2 332
 1 4 162, 262
 1 5 162
 1 6-7 162
 1 9 258
passim 55, 162
- 4Q511 (4QSongs of the Sage^b)
 1 5 176
 2 i 174, 175, 275
 2 i 1 162, 262
 2 i 10 164, 166, 390
 2 i 4 164
 2 i 6 164
 2 i 7 164
 2 i 9 448
 2 ii 3 173
 8 166
 8 4 163, 169
 10 11 256
 10 12 306
 10 3 162
 10 8 258
 11 5 169
 16 3 306
 18 ii 6 7-8 162
 18 ii 8 282
 28 162
 29 2-4 162
 30 4-6 307
 35 162, 163, 165,
 166, 168-70,
 173-76, 179,
- 194, 195, 289,
 293, 295, 296,
 298, 299, 307,
 321, 374, 398,
 430
- 35 1-5 171
 35 1-2 296
 35 19 294
 35 2 167
 35 3 273, 294
 35 4 100, 294, 340,
 351, 379, 460
 35 5 294
 35 6-8 169
 35 6 170, 172, 173,
 332
 35 6-7 169
 35 7 173
 41 293
 44 293
 48 + 49 + 51 ii 2-3 173
 48-9 169
 48-49-51 ii 1 282
 51 1-8 169
 52 + 2 110
 63-64 iii 3 258
 63-64 ii 4 202
 63-4 ii 3 287, 320
 111 6 169
 121 3 169
passim 55, 162, 185,
 282
- 4Q512 (4QRitual of Purification B)
passim 110, 111,
 478
- 4Q513 (4QOrdinances^b)
 1-2 ii 4 195, 291
 1-2 ii 194
 2 ii 4 218
passim 194
- 4Q521 (4QMessianic Apocalypse)
 7 129
passim 206
- 4Q522
 9 ü 8 319
- 4Q525 (4QBeatitudes)
 5 11 258
- 4Q528 (4QSapiential Work B)
 4 258

4Q534		<i>Aramaic Levi Document</i>	
i 1-2	38	83	319
<i>passim</i>	36	<i>passim</i>	16
4Q541 (4QTL ^{vi})		11QMelch	
9	11, 205, 220, 286,	2:5	218
	206, 436, 464, 465	2:6	218
2 i 6-9	191	2:8	190, 291
2 ii 6	191	2:9	216
24 ii 190		2:10-11	219
24 ii 5-6	155	2:10	216
7 3	191	2:13	216
7 4	191	2:24-25	218
9 i 189		ii 10-11	220
9 i 2	190, 191	ii 10	220
9 i 3-5	190	<i>passim</i>	209, 216, 218, 477
<i>passim</i>	189, 191-93, 262,	11QShirShabb (11Q17)	
	401	ii 3	335
4Q542 (4QTQ ^{ahat} ar)		iii 4a-e	335
1 i 1	153	iii 5	335
4Q543 (4QTAmram ^a ar)		iv	338
1 + 2 + 3	187	iv 6-8	339
1 1-4	188	v frags. 9-12	341
1 1-2	188	vi frag. 12-15	342
1 1	188	vi frag. 8	344
1 6-7	188	vii frag. 9-14	345
3 1	187	vii frag. 16-18	342
4Q544 (4QVisions of Amram ^b ar)		viii 19-20	350
<i>passim</i>	216, 266	viii 5	306
4Q545 (4QVisions of Amram ^c ar)		ix	358
1 1	188	ix 21a-b	356
1 i	187	ix 22	356
1 i 1-4	188	ix 3-5	361, 380
1 i 1-2	188	ix 6	250, 367
1 i 17-18	187	ix 7	357, 373
3 6	188	x 23-25	356, 387
4Q546 (4QVisions of Amram ^d ar)		<i>passim</i>	252
1 1-3	188	11QTemple	
4Q547 (4QVisions of Amram ^e ar)		20:13a-14b 42	
1 4	188	21:5	257
4 6	188	29:9	64, 65, 275, 478
4Q555 4QNew Jerusalem		45:11-12	133
<i>passim</i>	266	49:17-20	111
5Q15		57:3	257
<i>passim</i>	283	<i>passim</i>	418, 477
8Q5		11QBer	
1 1	169, 170	1 ii 3	186
2 3	170	1 ii 5-6	186
<i>passim</i>	163, 170	<i>passim</i>	186
		11Qps ^a	
		22:12	290
		27:5-9	263
		<i>passim</i>	478

11QapPs*		I ii 7	153
<i>passim</i>	478	<i>passim</i>	157, 186
11QrgJob		11Q18	
36:4	295	14 ii	354
11Q11		11Q5	
5:4	170	21-22	88
		27:2-3	258
11Q14		28:9	215
I ii 15	305		
I ii 6	305		

Masada

MaslK		ii 17	331
i 1-7	309	ii 22	318
i 12	314, 315	Maslj 1276-1786	324
i 8-13	310	Masll 1039-211	324
i 9	315	Mashm 1045-1350 7 1375	324
ii 1-26	310		

Philo

<i>Cher.</i>		<i>Quaest. in Exod.</i>	
87	80, 276	2:85	65
<i>Conf.</i>		<i>Quaest. in Gen.</i>	
96	146	2:56	38
		14:18-19	53
<i>Hyp.</i>		<i>Rer. Div. Her.</i>	
8.6.1	249	84	17
8.11	388	176	234
11.14-17	132		
<i>Migr. Abr.</i>		<i>Sacr. A.C.</i>	
102	370	8 10	146, 148
<i>Mut.</i>		<i>Somu.</i>	
54	146	1:157-8	146
87	146	1:215	268
		1:241	146
<i>Omn. Prob. Lib.</i>		1:245	146
75	388	2:188-189	17
8.12:75, 91	249	2:221-230	147
91	388	2:222-3	146
		2:227-34	146
<i>Op. Mund.</i>		2:231	17
146	214		
<i>Poster. C.</i>		<i>Spec. Leg.</i>	
27-29	146, 148	1:66-67	268
		1:66	256
<i>Praem. Poen.</i>		1:88-89	156
23	41	1:261	111

1:269	111	2:71-145	65
3:205-207	111	2:80	65
<i>Vit. Cont.</i>		2:84	65
13	323	2:88	65
<i>Vit. Mos.</i>		2:98f	65
1:9	52	2:101-5	65
1:15	52	2:103	65
1:155-8	7, 8	2:117-126	39, 65, 367
1:18	52	2:119-121	65
2:68-70	134	2:127f	65
		2:133-135	39, 65, 367
		2:143	39, 65, 367

Josephus

<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>		11:3 29 339	59
1:196-199	139	11:3-6-12	25
2:224	52	12:129-144	79
2:231	52	12:142	42
2:232	52, 53	13:3-22	56
3:3-18	126	13:3-11	248, 249
3:123	65	13:171-2	248
3:138-4	65	13:282-83	56
3:159 178	230	13:298	248
3:166	235	13:299 300	56
3:171	249	15:3-79	126
3:179-187	65	15:3-78	248
3:180	39, 65, 126, 367	15:371	249
3:183-87	367	15:371-372	123
3:183-7	39, 65	15:372	124, 126, 127
3:184-87	230	15:372-373	248
3:184	65	15:373-379	56, 123, 249
3:185	229, 249	17	249
3:186-87	198	17:346	249
3:186-7	353	17:346-48	249
3:186 187	246	18:11	248
3:20	126	18:18	248
3:123	62	18:19	361
3:172-78	246	19:3-47	126
3:181	62	19:344-347	126
3:185	46	19:344-345	124
3:214-218	230	19:343-52	1, 59
3:215-218	235	19:3-25	130
3:215 17	223	20:216-18	27
3:216-7	56, 249	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>	
3:216-17	155	1:68-9	56
4:14-66	185	1:78	249
8:93	231	1:26	57
9:291	26	2	140
11:3-41	26	2:3-72	125
11:3-31-336	84	2:567	249
11:3-31-335	70, 101, 381		

2:119-161	127, 130	5:212-3	65
2:119	248	5:217	65
2:120	227	5:231	65
2:129-32	110, 111	5:232	372
2:136	250	6:42	130
2:138	110	6:289	10, 430
2:141	470	6:293-4	430
2:142	470	6:293	270
2:145	140	7:3-99	324
2:149-50	110	7:3-44-45	125
2:152-3	130	7:3-44-346	323, 324
2:152	140	7:3-40	323
2:154-8	127		
2:160-61	110	<i>Contra Apionem</i>	
2:160-1	113	2:119	270
2:160	248	2:198	111
3:11	249		
4:3-24	65	<i>Vita</i>	
5:145	248	10	248
5:146	65		

Targums

<i>Frag. Targ.</i>		<i>Targ. Ps.-J.</i>	
Paris Ms 110	10	<i>passim</i>	10, 51
Vatican Ms Ebr 440	10		
<i>Targ. Neof.</i>			
<i>passim</i>	10, 51		

Rabbinic & Medieval Jewish Literature

<i>Mishnah</i>		<i>b. Hag.</i> 12b	219, 359, 396
<i>Kel.</i> 1:8	57	<i>b. Hag.</i> 14b	66, 397
<i>Pes.</i> 21.6	145	<i>b. Hag.</i> 16a	147
<i>Sot.</i> 7:8	125	<i>b. Meg.</i> 21st Tislev	70, 101, 381
<i>Tam.</i> 4.1	50	<i>b. Ned.</i> 32b	51
<i>Tam.</i> 7:2	316	<i>b. Pes.</i> 54b	234
<i>Yom.</i> 3:3	111	<i>b. Sab.</i> 87b	66
<i>Yom.</i> 5:1-4	155	<i>b. Sanh.</i> 16a	230
<i>Yom.</i> 7:4	155	<i>b. Sanh.</i> 38b	39, 215
<i>Yom.</i> 8.9	110	<i>b. Sol.</i> 12a	52
		<i>b. Suk.</i> 51b	62, 66
<i>Talmuds</i>		<i>b. Yom.</i> 19b	214
<i>j. Ta'an.</i> 68d	10	<i>b. Yom.</i> 69a	59, 70, 101, 381
<i>j. Yom.</i> 7.3 44b	363	<i>b. Yom.</i> 71b	230
<i>b. B. Bat.</i> 4a	62, 66	<i>b. Yom.</i> 77a	396
<i>b. Ber.</i> 55a	65	<i>Abot. de R. Nathan</i>	
<i>b. Git.</i> 68a	234	A ch. 2	53
<i>b. Hag.</i> 12a	39, 215	A 2.2	147

A 37.2	147	<i>Num. Rab.</i>	
B 2	134	2.2	257
<i>Midrash</i>		12.12	24
<i>Bereshith Rab.</i>		13.19	62
24f.	99	<i>Pesiq. Rab Kah.</i>	
<i>Deut. Rab.</i>		1.4-5	65
11.10	52	21.5	65
<i>Ecd. Rab.</i>		32	138
6.9.1	99	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>		5.3	65
1.20	52	7.4	65
30.16	117	14.15	70
32.1	86	<i>Pirke R. El.</i>	
38.8	71	3	65
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>		46	147
3.9	65	11-12	99
8.1	215	37	16
8.10	99	48	52
8.11	147	<i>Sifra schenini</i> 43	66
14.3	117, 147	<i>Sifre Deut</i> 355	234, 355, 411
21.3	215	<i>Tanhuma</i>	
21.5	117	15 (26a-b)	8
24.2	215	<i>Noah</i> 6	53
26.4	51	<i>Naso</i> 24	65
38.8	363	<i>Pegude</i> 2	65
47.6	300	<i>Sefer Yesira passim</i>	65
65.21	344	<i>CTLevi</i> ar Bodleian	
68.12	300	col. a line 9	205
69.3	300	col. a lines 9-10	272
77.1	411	cols. a, b, c, d	272
82.6	300	<i>Hekhalot Literature</i>	
<i>Lev. Rab.</i>		<i>Hekhalot Rabbati</i> 9.4	300
4.1	86	<i>Massekhet Hekhalot</i> 15.4	257
13.5	70	<i>Synopse</i> §§ 384-99	363
21.11	363	<i>Samaritan Literature</i>	
21.12	13, 17	<i>Memar Marqah</i> 4.12	146
<i>Mek.</i>			
6.43-60	234		

Early Christian and Gnostic Writings

<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i> <i>passim</i>	268	<i>Epiphanius</i>	
<i>Athenagoras</i>		<i>Panarion</i>	
<i>Supplicatio</i> 13.1	272	10.1-5	248
<i>Acta s. Apollonii</i> 8	272	19	249
		19.5	248
		20	249

Eusebius		Jerome	
<i>Ecl. Hist.</i>		<i>Contra Rufinum</i> 3.3-1	11, 420
4.8.4	10	Justin	
4.6.1-4	11	<i>Apol.</i> 1:3-2:12-13	10
4.22.7	249	<i>Apol.</i> 1.31.6	10
<i>Præp. Evang.</i>		Irenæus	
8.9.38-8.10.17	147	<i>Adv. Haer.</i> 3:1:1	301
9.27.25	138	<i>Adv. Haer.</i> 3:11:8	301
9.27.37	400	Origen	
<i>Gospel of Bartholomew</i>		<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
4:52-60	99	5:2:41	323
<i>Gospel of Peter</i>		8.21	272
40	9, 215	<i>Commentary on John's Gospel</i>	
<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>		2.3 1	28
18	147	<i>Protocanonical of James</i>	
Hippolytus		5.1	224
<i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>		24.3	304
9:18	248	Pseudo-Clementine Homilies	
9.18-28	130	II 22-3-4	146
9.27 128		II 24.6-27	146

Greek and Roman Literature

Apollodorus		Lucian of Samosata	
<i>Library</i> 1.46	41	<i>De dea Syria</i> 12-13	41
Damascius		Pliny	
<i>De Princ.</i> 125c	191	<i>Natural History</i>	
Diodorus Siculus		5.17.4	132, 248
<i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>		Tacitus	
XI. 3.3-8	101	<i>Histories</i>	
XI. 3.5	14	5.5	355
XI. 3.6	14	Pompeius Trogus	
XI. 3.5-6	70	<i>passim</i>	5, 172, 1
Hesiod		Pseudo-Callisthenes	
<i>Works and Days</i> 170-2	131	<i>Alexander Romanus</i>	
Homer		2:24	70, 381
<i>Iliad</i> 16:844-50	417	Synesius of Cyrene	
<i>Odyssey</i> 4.561-8	131	<i>Dio</i> 3, 2	248
Pseudo-Justin			
<i>Historiae Philippicae</i>			
36.1.6-10	173		
36.2.11	52		

Papyri

P. Oxy. 840 2 11

Ancient Near Eastern Texts

<i>Atrahasis</i>		<i>Epic of Gilgamesh</i>	
col. vi 11: 254-56	21	Tab. XI ii 193-95	21
col. vi 11	25		
<i>CTA</i>			
5.I.1-5	362		

Gnostic Texts

Zostrianos
NHC VIII 1 58:13-24 354

Islamic Texts

Koran
7:12-14 99
15:30-36 99

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Aaron 3, 15, 24, 41, 44, 47, 53,
81-83, 139, 140, 153, 167, 178,
179, 182, 185, 187, 188, 227,
230, 231, 235, 269, 295, 298,
317, 340
- Abel 18, 52
- Abiathar 230
- Abihu 458, 467, 468
- Abraham 24, 27, 39, 42, 137, 147,
196, 207, 214, 415
- Adam 6, 12, 17, 18, 20, 26, 39,
54, 78, 80, 89-94, 96-100, 102,
103, 106, 107, 112, 115, 116,
176, 180, 198, 214, 235, 276,
282, 359, 381, 382, 404, 409,
440, 442, 445, 447, 448, 476,
479
as Glory of God 479
worshipped by angels 91, 98-103
- Agrippa I, Herod 124-26
- Akiba 10
- Alexander the Great 363, 381
- Amram 188
- Ancient of Days 38, 53, 349, 350
- Angel of the LORD 13, 21, 146,
421
- angel of the presence 14, 150, 152,
158, 173
- Angelic worship, of humanity 18, 21
- angels
food of 18, 29, 30, 34, 91, 194,
195
language of 190, 260
son of God 29, 189, 417
worship of, by humanity 165, 177,
463
- Antiochus III 79
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes 1
- apocalyptic 2, 3, 17, 21, 260, 264,
266, 267, 283, 284, 354, 375,
386, 387, 392, 398, 441, 456,
463, 465, 472, 473
- apotheosis 203, 204, 212, 213, 215,
219
- ark, Noah's 33, 40, 41
- Asael 40
- ascent to heaven 21, 40, 49, 130,
202, 204, 208, 212, 213, 220,
259, 264-67, 272, 344, 346, 381,
382, 385, 386, 392, 393
- asceticism 3, 130, 213, 214, 479
- Azazel 463
- Baal 84
- Babel, tower of 409
- Bar Kochba 10, 420 357
- beauty 26, 44, 73, 80, 82, 88, 90,
246, 294, 340, 354, 356, 357,
363, 400
- Belial 395, 397, 402, 449, 450, 455,
460, 461, 465, 468, 469
- Bezalel 76, 87
- Bitenosh 35
- blasphemy 140
- blessed ones 313, 321, 322, 325
- Book of Giants 38, 129
- breastpiece 155, 157, 193, 194,
221-51, 356, 358, 364, 388, 394
- bronze laver 76, 79
- Cain 17, 18, 21, 51, 52
- celibacy 50, 89, 131, 479
- chaos 76, 107, 172, 380, 464, 469
- Chaoskampf 77, 191
- cherubim 235, 242, 255, 256, 270,
278, 293, 298, 300, 301, 322,
328, 329, 341-43, 345-47, 370,
384, 391, 392
- Christianity, early 4, 12, 13, 178,
205
- Christology 2, 183, 190
- circumcision 52, 53, 271
- clothing 5, 18, 21, 31, 44, 73, 129,
354, 417, 436
God's 8, 439
- cosmic mountain 269, 270, 274
- Covenant Renewal Ceremony 112,
153, 158, 319, 386
- crown 24, 30, 50, 129, 158, 198,
199, 231, 247, 288, 351, 353-55
- David 139, 146, 196, 204, 231, 258,
413-18, 421, 422, 431
- Day of Atonement 40, 43, 45, 72,
212, 214, 216, 218-20, 379, 381,
463

- demons 55, 162, 468
 dissonance theory 209
 divine warrior 81, 83, 137, 138, 166,
 172, 191, 218, 242, 243, 247,
 380, 396, 415, 423, 435, 436,
 440, 453, 465, 475
 dualism 2, 128, 134, 203, 217, 220,
 241, 253-64, 307, 314, 321, 391,
 395, 397, 401, 414, 415, 420,
 450, 459
 Eden 12, 18, 30, 74, 89, 92, 94, 97,
 106-108, 112, 120, 129, 131, 180,
 300, 322, 382, 436, 441, 445
 Elcazar (leader of Sicarii) 125, 323,
 324
 Elcazar (son of Aaron) 180, 224
 Elect One 350
 elect ones 257, 310, 314, 325, 399,
 423, 424, 428, 429
 Elendsbetrachtung 273
 Elijah 131
 elim 85, 255, 256, 280, 281, 292, 94,
 298, 302, 304-308, 319, 326,
 328, 329, 332, 337, 342, 351,
 395, 396, 398, 458, 473-75
 elohim 85, 255, 256, 278, 280, 281,
 292, 293, 298, 302, 308, 326, 29,
 332, 334, 336, 339, 342, 343,
 351, 352
 living elohim 303, 305, 327, 29,
 332, 337, 339, 341, 342,
 344, 47
 encratism 322
 Engelgemeinschaft 255, 263, 308,
 309, 329, 397, 399, 402, 415,
 422, 423, 435
 Enoch 6, 10, 13, 22, 26, 33, 34, 39,
 41, 42, 47, 50, 114, 129, 131,
 142, 149, 173, 189, 196, 198,
 205, 211, 214, 269, 273, 277,
 287, 34
 Enosh 26, 114-116, 198
 enthronement, heavenly 202,
 206, 208, 214, 219, 355, 380
 ephod 230, 231, 235, 300, 356, 358,
 362, 372, 376
 Epistle of Enoch 36
 eschatology 112, 117, 129, 158, 60,
 180, 185, 190-192, 196, 201,
 206, 207, 209-12, 216, 217, 266,
 269, 295, 296, 307, 316, 322,
 397, 450
 realized 89, 208, 237, 296
 Essene(s) 31, 88, 90, 96, 123-32,
 134, 175, 248-51, 321, 323,
 388-91, 393, 465, 469, 470,
 477-80
 Ezra 22, 25
 flesh 7, 9, 14, 16, 34, 37, 39, 37, 93,
 105, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117,
 118, 127, 128, 130, 134, 142,
 162, 164, 176-78, 186, 187, 195,
 200-203, 208, 453, 459, 468,
 471, 474, 475
 forgiveness of sins 106, 110, 111,
 211, 212, 218, 280, 296
 Gabriel 255, 313, 318, 411, 470
 Galus Galigula 1
 Gerizim, Mount 25, 26
 giants 34, 37-39, 129, 181, 214
 gigantism 21, 29, 38, 39, 91, 122,
 182, 211, 215, 287
 Gilgamesh 38
 glorious ones 20, 73
 Glory of God 4, 7, 16, 20, 21, 44,
 72, 332, 92-97, 105, 119, 131,
 135, 141, 144, 148-50, 154, 156,
 157, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166,
 174, 175, 179, 180, 187, 191,
 196-98, 200, 201, 213, 236, 237,
 244-46, 248, 278, 282, 285, 294,
 302, 303, 305, 333, 335, 336,
 343, 346-50, 353, 357, 362, 365,
 372, 373, 375-82, 386, 387, 392,
 394, 408, 432, 436-41, 443, 45,
 449, 476, 479
 god(s) 5, 6, 20-22, 82, 84-87, 122,
 124, 163, 168-171, 173, 187,
 200, 202, 204, 208, 216, 220,
 276, 278, 280, 293, 294, 299,
 302, 405
 Goliath 113, 414, 417, 420
 hair, white, wooden 33, 38
 hasidim 141, 142, 148, 389
 Hekhalot literature 152, 208, 252,
 257, 259, 61, 266, 333, 354,
 392
 Hekhalot Mysticism 3
 Hermon, Mount 23, 74, 269
 Herod the Great 123, 125
 Hezekiah 181
 holy of holies 108, 150, 155, 167,
 168, 177, 179, 180, 193, 219,
 232, 243, 264, 272, 280, 295,

- demons 55, 162, 468
 dissonance theory 209
 divine warrior 81, 83, 137, 138, 166,
 172, 191, 218, 242, 243, 247,
 380, 396, 415, 423, 435, 436,
 440, 453, 465, 475
 dualism 2, 128, 134, 203, 217, 220,
 241, 253-64, 307, 314, 321, 391,
 395, 397, 401, 414, 415, 420,
 450, 459
 Eden 12, 18, 30, 74, 89, 92, 94, 97,
 106-108, 112, 120, 129, 131, 180,
 300, 322, 382, 436, 441, 445
 Eleazar (leader of Sicarii) 125, 323,
 324
 Eleazar (son of Aaron) 180, 224
 Elect One 350
 elect ones 257, 310, 314, 325, 399,
 423, 424, 428, 429
 Elendsbetrachtung 273
 Elijah 131
 elim 85, 255, 256, 280, 281, 292-94,
 298, 302, 304-308, 319, 326,
 328, 329, 332, 337, 342, 351,
 395, 396, 398, 458, 473-75
 elohim 85, 255, 256, 278, 280, 281,
 292, 293, 298, 302-308, 326-29,
 332, 334, 336, 339, 342, 343,
 351, 352
 living elohim 303-305, 327-29,
 332, 337, 339, 341, 342,
 344-47
 encratism 322
 Engelgemeinschaft 255, 263, 308,
 309, 329, 397, 399, 402, 415,
 422, 423, 435
 Enoch 6, 10, 13, 22-26, 33, 34, 39,
 41, 42, 47-50, 114, 129, 131,
 142, 149, 173, 189, 196, 198,
 205, 214, 244, 269, 273, 277,
 287, 34
 Enosh 26, 114-16, 198
 enthronement, (heavenly) 202,
 206-208, 214, 219, 355, 380
 ephod 230, 231, 235, 300, 356, 358,
 362, 372, 376
 Epistle of Enoch 36
 eschatology 112, 117, 129, 158-60,
 180, 185, 190-192, 196, 204,
 206, 207, 209-12, 216, 217, 266,
 269, 295, 296, 307, 316, 322,
 397, 450
 realized 89, 208, 237, 296
 Essene(s) 31, 88, 90, 96, 123-32,
 134, 175, 248-51, 321, 323,
 388-91, 393, 463, 469, 470,
 477-80
 Ezra 22, 25
 flesh 7, 9, 14, 16, 34, 37, 39, 87, 93,
 105, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117,
 118, 127, 128, 130, 134, 142,
 162, 164, 176-78, 186, 187, 195,
 200-203, 208, 458, 459, 468,
 471, 474, 475
 forgiveness of sins 106, 110, 111,
 211, 212, 218, 280, 296
 Gabriel 255, 313, 318, 411, 470
 Gaius Galigula 1
 Gerizim, Mount 25, 26
 giants 34, 37-39, 129, 181, 214
 gigantism 21, 29, 38, 39, 91, 122,
 182, 214, 215, 287
 Gilgamesh 38
 glorious ones 20, 73
 Glory of God 4, 7, 16, 20, 21, 44,
 72, 382, 92-97, 105, 119, 131,
 135, 141, 144, 148-50, 154, 156,
 157, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166,
 174, 175, 179, 180, 187, 194,
 196-98, 200, 201, 213, 236, 237,
 244-46, 248, 278, 282, 285, 294,
 302, 303, 305, 333, 335, 336,
 343, 346-50, 353, 357, 362, 365,
 372, 373, 375-82, 386, 387, 392,
 394, 408, 432, 436-41, 443-45,
 449, 476, 479
 god(s) 5, 6, 20-22, 82, 84-87, 122,
 124, 163, 168-171, 173, 187,
 200-202, 204, 208, 216, 220,
 276, 278, 280, 293, 294, 299,
 302, 405
 Goliath 413, 414, 417, 420
 hair, white woollen 33, 38
 hasidim 141, 142, 148, 389
 Hekhalot literature 152, 208, 252,
 257, 259-61, 266, 333, 354,
 392
 Hekhalot Mysticism 3
 Hermon, Mount 23, 74, 269
 Herod the Great 123, 125
 Hezekiah 181
 holy of holies 108, 150, 155, 167,
 168, 177, 179, 180, 193, 219,
 232, 243, 264, 272, 280, 295,

- 303, 304, 327, 342, 343, 345,
347, 357
- holy one(s) 5, 8, 14, 85, 104, 114,
115, 142, 150, 151, 162-167,
174, 176, 177, 179, 185-87, 200,
207, 255, 257, 278, 280-83,
285, 288, 292, 294, 295,
306-308, 326, 404, 423, 424,
425, 429, 430, 435, 437, 439,
446, 450
- honey 80, 380
- Iaol 355
- Image of God 18, 38, 54, 76, 78, 80,
81, 88, 93, 101-103, 172, 173,
349, 362, 442
- immortality 118, 128 30, 133,
146-48, 276, 292, 317, 322, 323
338, 477
- incense 24, 74, 76, 78, 80, 142, 181,
182, 185, 226, 231, 358, 359,
363-65, 458
- Isaac 14, 15, 24, 27, 42, 415
- Isaiah 260, 261
- Isles of the blessed 127, 321-24
- Ithamar 467
- Jacob 26, 39
- Jacob/Israel 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 25,
27-29, 82, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94,
96-98, 113, 122, 135, 139, 145,
149, 159, 163, 167, 174, 180-82,
186, 189, 194-97, 202, 214, 227,
275, 276, 281, 283-85, 308, 322,
340, 359, 378, 379, 396, 398,
400-12, 422, 425-27, 431, 440,
442, 443, 446, 447, 449, 452,
454, 456-59, 462-65, 467, 471,
473, 474, 476
- Israel as true Adam 97, 436
- Jacob worshipped by Aseneth 122
- Jahaziel, Levite 433
- Jared 34
- Jeremiah 180
- Jeshurun 411
- Jesus 38, 39, 99, 133, 137, 178, 183,
189, 190, 192, 202, 204, 207,
215, 227, 320, 360, 365, 441,
444, 480
- birth of 51, 53
- Transfiguration of 142, 189
- John Hyrcanus I 227, 250
- Joseph 6, 21, 25-27, 29, 30, 122,
172, 355
- Judah 15
- Judas Maccabeus 181, 182, 186, 187
- Kenaz 416
- king 6, 18, 45, 82, 85, 88, 91, 126,
146, 183, 205, 207, 218, 265,
334, 363, 415, 443
- Kingdom of God 31, 326, 333, 376,
334, 336, 357
- Korah 184
- Lamech 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 50
- Lebanon 74, 215
- Leontopolis, temple of 30, 31,
391
- Levi 6, 13-16, 30, 32, 41, 82, 153,
179, 184, 188, 190, 205, 225 28,
271-73, 319, 425
- Lilith 162
- Luke-Acts 4
- magic 170, 172, 173, 204, 213, 256
- Mahalalel 197, 198
- Masada 125, 253, 254, 278, 296,
310, 323, 324, 361, 388
- maskil 55, 154, 161-63, 166, 168,
169, 171, 173, 174, 202, 205,
212, 237, 252, 254, 256, 262,
279, 280, 292-94, 297, 298, 301,
314, 317, 441
- as a god 168-174
- Melchizedek 6, 49, 51-53, 190,
216-22, 255
- merkabah 303, 343, 345-47, 385,
386, 392
- merkabah mysticism 3, 244, 265,
267, 354, 387, 392
- messiah 10, 12, 86, 129, 141, 150,
151, 183, 190, 192, 196, 197,
205-207, 226, 350, 360, 413-15,
418-22, 430, 431, 442-44, 447,
453
- as representative of Israel 445
- as second Adam 445
- dual 419, 422, 471
- worship of (royal) messiah 444
- Metatron 10, 21, 24, 205, 214, 244,
287, 363, 369, 418
- Methuselah 33, 34, 41, 42, 50
- Michael 20, 24, 102, 202, 216,
217, 220, 255, 313, 318, 359,
382, 396, 401, 410, 411, 414,
451, 456, 458, 459, 461-64,
467-74

- miqveh* 110, 111
 monotheism 1, 277, 480
 Moses 4, 6-9, 16, 21-27, 39, 42, 55, 72, 76, 78, 79, 82, 86, 88, 89, 126, 134, 136-49, 153, 171, 180, 188, 202, 207, 216, 226, 231, 239, 242, 267, 278, 289, 317, 355, 400, 415-18, 455, 465, 469, 477
 as divine warrior 137-138
 birth of 52, 53
 mystery of existence 114, 116, 184
 mysticism, Jewish 3, 28, 214, 252, 261, 265, 344, 363, 375, 386, 387, 441

 Nadab 458, 467, 468
 Name of God 3, 4, 10, 21, 24, 27, 28, 93, 108, 138, 146, 148, 150, 154, 57, 161, 163, 169, 170, 172, 174, 190, 196, 198, 200, 216, 231, 244, 246, 282, 288, 311, 312, 316, 320, 321, 357
 Nehemiah 25
 Nicolas of Damascus 123
 Nir 50, 51
 Noah 6, 13, 33, 55, 88, 149, 182, 198, 258, 322, 363
 as second Adam 54
 birth of 34-55, 88, 149, 214, 340, 400
 Book of 36-55, 173, 182

 oil of anointing 20, 23, 76, 78, 79
ophannim 255, 256, 302, 328, 329, 343, 345, 346, 384, 392
 ordination to priesthood 31, 188, 231, 272, 426, 465

 P 75, 101, 102, 275, 276, 317, 371, 408, 448, 478
 pantheism 350
 Paqid 427
paruket 340, 341, 385, 393
 Paul 204, 260, 261, 266, 370
 "perfect of way" 54, 95, 258, 300, 315, 400, 402, 454
 Pharisism 227
 Philo 3, 17, 86, 115, 116, 146, 148, 275, 323, 370
 Phinehas 180, 181
 physiognomy 31, 91, 400
 pillar of cloud 77

 priest, (high)
 as (co-)creator 75-81, 84, 153, 317, 190-92, 407, 408, 473
 as divine warrior 81-84, 166, 218, 246, 247
 as Glory of God 72, 73, 88, 247, 386, 441, 479
 as Wisdom 73-81, 317
 garments of 45, 50, 52, 74, 82, 90, 151, 156, 181, 194, 223, 225, 230, 231, 234, 239, 245, 246, 265, 303, 340, 353, 356-58, 362-378, 440, 448, 465, 479
 worship of, by humanity 381-382, 441, 479
 prince of light(s) 199, 396, 446, 450, 451, 459, 465, 467, 69
 Prince of the Congregation 158, 160, 414, 415, 444, 453
 prophecy 249

 Qahat 41, 188
Qedushah 106, 334, 335, 348, 383, 437, 43, 457

 rabbis 86, 125, 230, 274, 275
 Raphael 255, 313, 318, 396, 411, 470
 Rechabites 322
 red heifer 112
 resurrection 105, 112, 128-30, 133, 397
 Revelation, book of 4

 sabbath/rest 76, 77, 80, 83, 120, 252, 263, 265, 266, 271, 275, 276, 378, 393
 Samaritans 3, 4, 25-7, 146, 148
 Sariel 255, 318, 396, 411, 470
 Satan 102
 Saul 415, 416
 Sefer Ha-Razim 256
seraphim 260, 335, 440
 Seth 26, 114, 116, 198, 413
 seven heavens 20, 382
 Shechem 26, 27
 Shekinah 24, 390
 Shem 26, 51, 53, 173, 198
 Shu'ur Qomah 214
 Simeon b. Laqish 301
 Simon Magus 3, 146, 173
 solar calendar 252
 Son of God 218

- Son of Man 21, 189, 202, 349, 350, 379, 381
- Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 6, 84, 88, 90, 101, 105, 121, 131, 161, 176, 194, 216, 230, 238, 248, 250, 251, 437, 441, 455, 478
- Sons of Darkness 395, 397, 409, 454
- sons of heaven 105, 108, 111, 119, 120, 208, 288
- Sons of Light 395, 397, 398, 409, 414, 447, 454
- standing, as divine human 107, 146-48, 352
- Standing One 146
- stars 31, 50, 78-80, 95, 98, 174, 233, 235, 236, 243, 261, 343, 353, 367, 401, 416, 430, 455
- stones 18, 93, 157, 171, 181, 183, 193, 222-25, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 235, 238, 239, 246, 247, 249, 300, 364-66, 368, 370-372, 380, 415
- suffering servant 189
- sun/solar symbolism 33-34, 46, 50, 52, 79, 80, 95, 139, 174, 189, 190, 193, 207, 228, 229, 233, 235, 236, 243, 247, 261, 343, 353, 366, 367, 416, 455
- synagogue 60, 335, 394
- Tabernacles, feast of 45, 46, 355
- Tamid 76, 83, 120, 238, 244, 247, 408, 454, 455
- Teacher of Righteousness 159, 191-93, 204, 205, 209, 215
- temple
 as microcosm 79, 183, 247, 273-75, 277, 317, 378, 391, 407, 474-76, 478, 479
 community as Ersatz 132, 161, 166, 167, 255, 297, 379
 heavenly 267-74
 house as house 47, 48, 52, 74, 79, 408
- tenmah* 195, 306, 308, 309, 336, 337, 357, 358, 360
- Testament, genre 188
- Theios Aner 1
- Therapeutae 323
- throne 81, 93, 137, 138, 174, 175, 200, 202, 205, 207, 208, 214, 252, 269, 270, 277, 303, 309, 325, 343-47, 349, 351, 375, 380-8
 throne room 24, 268, 343, 385
 throne vision 194, 278
- transformational mysticism 3, 130, 170, 215
- uno mystica* 208, 235
- Uriel 27, 313
- Urien and Hummin 222-51
- Urmensch 18, 93, 258, 300, 362, 379, 448
- UT 155-57, 194, 258, 369
- Utnapishtim 21
- vestibule (of sanctuary) 303, 384, 385, 392, 393
- Vision of Hagi 114-16
- watchers 23, 27, 37, 48, 129, 132, 195, 269, 463
 fall of 22, 36, 40, 45, 48, 133
- Weeks, feast of 271, 359, 360, 386
- Wisdom 1, 28, 72, 73, 75-79, 84, 93, 116, 121, 191, 317, 364, 378
 as co-creator 78, 81
 worship of humanity by the angels 100, 135
- Yahad 90
- Zadok, sons of 429
- Ziusudra 20
- Zoroastrianism 397