

A STREAM FROM EDEN

A STREAM FROM EDEN: THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A
REVELATORY TRADITION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

By ERIC R. MONTGOMERY, B.S., Th.M.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University
© Copyright Eric R. Montgomery, 2013

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2013)
Department of Religious Studies
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: A Stream from Eden: The Nature and Development of a Revelatory Tradition in
the Dead Sea Scrolls

AUTHOR: Eric Ryan Montgomery, B.S. (Oregon State University), Th.M. (Dallas
Theological Seminary)

SUPERVISOR: Eileen M. Schuller

NUMBER OF PAGES: xvi, 431

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the nature and theological function of God's revelation of knowledge in five texts discovered at Qumran: *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage*. Chapter 1 is a historical survey of the different ways scholars have understood and classified God's revelation of knowledge in the Scrolls. Scholars have often interpreted these texts in isolation from one another, and they have disagreed about whether the concept of divine revelation expressed in them is derived from the sapiential, prophetic, or apocalyptic traditions. I propose that all five of these texts should be interpreted together and that they all drew upon a single distinct revelatory tradition.

In chapters 2–6, I examine each of the texts mentioned above by asking three questions: What did God reveal? How did he reveal it? What is the theological function of God's revelation? In asking the last question, I am particularly interested in the role that God's revelation of knowledge plays in the anthropological and soteriological worldview of the authors. Over the course of chapters 2–6, I argue that all five of these texts represent essentially the same revelatory tradition. In this tradition, God has revealed the mysteries of his cosmic design and the statutes of his covenant with creation to certain righteous people. God's act of revelation takes place either through a visionary experience or an indwelling spirit that imparts knowledge. This knowledge of God's cosmic design has the power to rectify the corrupt human condition which, in turn, allows those who have knowledge to enter into paradise where they can commune with the angels. Through God's

revelation of knowledge, the righteous can obtain the glorious state that Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden.

In chapter 7, I conclude the thesis by summarizing the principle features of the revelatory tradition contained in these five texts. I argue that this tradition did not flow directly from any of the standard tradition streams of which scholars typically speak (sapiential, prophetic, or apocalyptic), although, it does contain elements from all of these. Instead, these texts utilize a revelatory tradition that originated from within the Jerusalem temple establishment. This temple tradition equated the inner sanctuary of the temple with the Garden of Eden and the high priest with Adam. Within the holy of holies one could access God's throne and receive the knowledge of his cosmic design. This tradition was eventually brought out of the temple and into religious communities which came to see themselves as the true paradisiacal temple. These communities believed that God continued to reveal his cosmic design in and through them allowing the community members to become like Adam and join together with the angels in communal worship of God.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in the revelation of knowledge in the Scrolls began with a research paper for a graduate seminar on the Dead Sea Scrolls led by Dr. Eileen Schuller at McMaster University in 2009. It was Dr. Schuller's guidance, critical feedback, and genuine interest that motivated me to pursue this topic further. I could not have had a better doctoral advisor. Dr. Schuller has always held me to the highest academic standard and treated me like a respected colleague. I have learned a great deal from her over the last five years, not only about the Dead Sea Scrolls, but also about humility, self-sacrifice, and serving others. She will always be a mentor, a friend, and a dear and beloved member of our family.

My work never would have come to fruition without the help and support of the other members of my advisory committee. Dr. Dan Machiela arrived at McMaster the same year as me. It has been a real joy to study under him and work with him at the university. It was Dr. Machiela who introduced me to the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran, and my brief discussion of these texts in chapter 7 is, in a way, a tribute to him. Dr. Anders Runesson directed my first graduate seminar and my first teaching assistantship at McMaster. His teaching and research has shaped much of my thinking about ancient communities and how communities define themselves and interact with others. While Dr. Runesson has been many things to me (all of them good), more than anything else he has been an encourager who always cheered me on.

Over the last few years, I have had the privilege of presenting parts of my research at the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies annual meeting, the annual meeting of the

Society of Biblical Literature, and the Scrollery colloquium at McMaster University and the University of Toronto. These venues have allowed me to refine ideas and receive valuable feedback from colleagues. I have also received financial awards and grants that have allowed me to continue my research without worrying about how to provide for my family. In 2008, I received the Alvin Irwin Ogilvie scholarship for studies in humanities and social sciences. At the 2010 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies I was given the Founder's Award for my paper, "Divine Knowledge as a Requisite for Communion with the Angel." In 2011, I was a recipient of an Ontario Graduate Scholarship and the Abby Goldblatt memorial scholarship for study in Early Judaism.

West Highland Baptist Church and the members of our Springfield life group have been an invaluable source of strength and encouragement. A doctoral program is wearisome for a student, but it is nearly intolerable for one's spouse and children. Our life group has been a refreshing oasis (or should I say a paradise) in the midst of the blistering and dry desert of graduate studies. I would specifically like to thank Job and Mary Babu who have been surrogate parents while we have lived so far from home. Our families in the U.S. and India have provided constant support through their visits, gifts, and prayers, and their love has kept us strong as we have run the race.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for my wonderful wife, Pauline, and my daughters, Annabelle and Aayna. If I learned nothing else over the last five years, I learned that a doctoral degree is only successfully earned as a team effort. Pauline has encouraged and supported me without hesitation over these long years, and she has been a sounding board for ideas and a valuable critic who spurs me on to excellence. My children have sacrificed a lot of daddy time so that this thesis could see the light of

day; and at four and two years old they know more about the Dead Sea Scrolls than most adults. I am proud to say that when Annabelle now asks me, “Daddy, are you done working yet?” I can happily respond, “Sweetheart, I’m done. Let’s go play!”

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	xii
Transcriptions, Translations, Notations, and Terminology	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1. The Impetus for This Study	3
2. The History and Present State of Research	7
2.1. Research in the 1950s–1980s	7
2.2. Research in the 1990s–Present	14
2.2.1. Matthew Goff: Sapiential and Apocalyptic Revelation	17
2.2.2. Leo Perdue: Mantic Revelation	18
2.2.3. Martti Nissinen and Alex Jassen: Sapientialized Prophetic Revelation	19
2.2.4. Shane Berg: Differing Traditions of Revelation	22
3. Revealed Knowledge and the Parable of the Elephant	24
4. The Objective and Outline of This Study.....	27
Chapter 2: <i>Instruction</i>	29
1. Introduction	29
1.1. Provenance of <i>Instruction</i> and Its Relationship to Other Texts	30
2. The Content of God’s Revelation in <i>Instruction</i>	36
2.1. The רז נהיה: God’s Design for His Creation.....	36
2.2. God’s Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	44
2.3. God’s Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind	46
3. The Means of God’s Revelation in <i>Instruction</i>	49
3.1. The “Vision of Meditation”	51
3.2. A Related Visionary Experience in <i>Mysteries</i>	63
3.3. “From the Hand of Each of Your Instructors”	66
3.4. The Mosaic Law as the Source of the רז נהיה?	68
4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in <i>Instruction</i>	70
4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	71
4.2. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge	75
5. Conclusion	87
Chapter 3: The <i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i>	89
1. Introduction	89
1.1. Provenance of the <i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i> and Its Relationship to Other Texts	91
2. The Content of God’s Revelation in the <i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i>	94
2.1. Knowledge of God’s Cosmic Design and the Scheme of the Forces of Evil	94

2.2. The Eschatological Gift of Knowledge	101
3. The Means of God’s Revelation in the <i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i>	103
4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the <i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i>	115
4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	115
4.2. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge	121
5. Conclusion	127
Chapter 4: The <i>Hodayot</i>	130
1. Introduction	130
1.1. Provenance of the <i>Hodayot</i> and Its Relationship to Other Texts	134
2. God’s Revelation of Knowledge in the H ¹ Psalms	138
2.1. The Content of God’s Revelation in the H ¹ Psalms	139
2.1.1. Knowledge of God’s Cosmic Design	140
2.1.2. God’s Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	145
2.1.3. God’s Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind	146
2.1.4. God’s Revelation as a Stream from Eden.....	147
2.2. The Means of God’s Revelation in the H ¹ Psalms	151
2.2.1. The Vision of Knowledge: A Prophetic Visionary Experience	151
2.2.2. The Psalmist as a Second Moses and Adam	153
2.2.3. Revelation through the Spirit of God?	162
2.2.4. The Mosaic Law as a Source of Knowledge?	163
2.3. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the H ¹ Psalms	168
2.3.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	168
2.3.2. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge	171
2.4. Summary	177
3. God’s Revelation of Knowledge in the H ² Creation Hymn	178
3.1. God’s Design, the Spirits, and the Cosmos	179
3.2. God’s Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	181
3.3. God’s Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind	182
3.4. Summary	182
4. God’s Revelation of Knowledge in the H ³ Psalms	183
4.1. The Content of God’s Revelation in the H ³ Psalms	183
4.2. The Means of God’s Revelation in the H ³ Psalms	187
4.2.1. The “Men of Your Vision”	187
4.2.2. Unmediated Access to God?	189
4.2.3. Revelation through the Spirit of God?	191
4.3. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the H ³ Psalms	192
4.3.1. Knowledge and Covenant Obedience	193
4.3.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State?	193
4.3.3. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge	195
4.4. Summary	197
5. God’s Revelation of Knowledge in the H ⁴ Psalms	198

5.1. The Content of God's Revelation in the H ⁴ Psalms	198
5.1.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design	199
5.1.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	202
5.1.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind	203
5.2. The Means of God's Revelation in the H ⁴ Psalms	206
5.2.1. Revelation through an Indwelling Spirit	207
5.2.2. Revelation through a Visionary Experience	208
5.2.3. The Mosaic Law as a Source of Knowledge?	212
5.3. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the H ⁴ Psalms	213
5.3.1. The Corrupt State of Humanity in the H ⁴ Psalms	213
5.3.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	222
5.3.3. Returning to Paradise through God's Revelation of Knowledge	225
5.4 Summary	239
6. Conclusion	240
Chapter 5: The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice	242
1. Introduction	242
1.1. Provenance of the <i>Sabbath Songs</i> and Its Relationship to Other Texts	245
1.2 Angels and Humans in the <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>	251
2. The Content of God's Revelation in the <i>Sabbath Songs</i>	256
2.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design	256
2.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	264
2.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind	265
3. The Means of God's Revelation in the <i>Sabbath Songs</i>	266
4. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the <i>Sabbath Songs</i>	270
4.1. Knowledge and Worship	270
4.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	275
5. Conclusion	279
Chapter 6: The Songs of the Sage	281
1. Introduction	281
1.1. Provenance of the <i>Songs of the Sage</i> and Its Relationship to Other Texts	282
2. The Content of God's Revelation in the <i>Songs of the Sage</i>	287
2.1. Knowledge of the Cosmic Design Created in God's Mind	287
2.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation	290
2.3. Knowledge of God's Radiant Splendor and Divine Glory	291
3. The Means of God's Revelation in the <i>Songs of the Sage</i>	295
4. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the <i>Songs of the Sage</i>	297
4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State	297
4.2. Returning to Paradise through God's Revelation of Knowledge	304
4.2.1. The <i>Maškil</i> as a New Adam	304
4.2.2. Fellowship with the Angels	305

4.2.3. Knowledge and Worship	307
4.2.4. Eschatological Expectation	308
4.3. The Apotropaic Power of Revealed Knowledge	314
5. Conclusion	317
Chapter 7: Conclusion	319
1. The Nature and Function of Revealed Knowledge in the Scrolls from Qumran	319
2. Once More, the Parable of the Elephant	324
3. A Priestly Revelatory Tradition	326
3.1. Priests as Mediators of Divine Revelation	327
3.2. The Temple as the Locus of Divine Revelation	331
3.3. The Temple as a Microcosm and Primordial Paradise	333
3.4. The Inner Sanctuary, the Knowledge of God's Design, and the Restoration of Paradise	335
4. The Origin of the Revealed Knowledge Tradition: A Proposal	338
4.1. The Temple and the Tradition of God's Revelation of Knowledge	338
4.2. The Development of the Tradition outside of the Temple	340
5. Some Observations for Further Study	343
Appendix A: The Redaction-History of the <i>Hodayot</i>	349
1. Introduction	349
2. Characteristic Features of the Different Groups of <i>Hodayot</i> Material	351
2.1. Group 1 of the <i>Hodayot</i> (H ¹)	351
2.2. Group 2 of the <i>Hodayot</i> (H ²)	355
2.3. Group 3 of the <i>Hodayot</i> (H ³)	356
2.4. Group 4 of the <i>Hodayot</i> (H ⁴)	358
2.4.1. H ⁴ Interpolations in the H ¹⁻³ Material	364
3. Relative Chronology of the Groups of <i>Hodayot</i> Material	379
4. The Process of the <i>Hodayot</i> 's Formation	381
Bibliography	386

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow Patrick Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999). This study uses the following abbreviations which are not found in the *SBL Handbook*:

- DJD I* Barthélemy, Dominique and Józef T. Milik. *Qumran Cave I. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
- DJD VII* Baillet, Maurice. *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- DJD XI* Eshel, Esther et al. *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 11. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XIX* Broshi, Magen et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- DJD XX* Elgvin, Torleif et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 20. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- DJD XXIII* García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. *Qumran Cave 11.II: (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- DJD XXVI* Alexander, Philip S. and Geza Vermes. *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 26. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XXVIII* Gropp, Douglas M. et al. *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 28. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- DJD XXIX* Chazon, Esther et al. *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 29. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- DJD XXXIV* Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr l'ĒMēvîn): 4Q415ff.* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 34. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.

- DJD XL* Stegemann, Hartmut and Eileen Schuller. *1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 40. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- DSSSE* García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- DSSR* Parry, Donald W. and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–05.
- EDSS* Schiffman, Lawrence H. and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- HDSS* Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Harvard Semitic Studies 29. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.
- PTSDSSP 1* Charlesworth, James H. et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1. Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- PTSDSSP 4B* Charlesworth, James H. et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 4B. Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.

TRANSCRIPTIONS, TRANSLATIONS, NOTATIONS, AND TERMINOLOGY

For the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I have generally used the transcriptions found in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series. Transcriptions of the *Community Rule* (1QS) are based on James H. Charlesworth et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1. Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. For the *War Scroll* (1QM) I have used Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. Transcriptions of the *Damascus Document* (CD) are drawn from Magen Broshi, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. For the *Genesis Apocryphon* I have used Daniel Machiela's critical edition, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. The text of the *Aramaic Levi Document* is taken from Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. For the Hebrew text of Ben Sira I have used Pancratius Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*.

Unless otherwise noted, translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are my own.

Translations of the Bible and deuterocanonical books (apocrypha) are taken from the New Revised Standard Version. Translations of Josephus and Philo are from the Loeb Classical Library editions. English renderings of the Septuagint are from Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Most translations of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha are from James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, with the exception of the book of *Jubilees*, for which I have used the translation by James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*. Translations of the

Nag Hammadi Codices are taken from James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*.

Regarding notations, I frequently use (=) to indicate where the text of one manuscript overlaps with another manuscript. For example, 4Q417 1 i 8–9 (= 4Q418 43–45 i 6). Readers who are familiar with the Scrolls will understand that overlapping manuscripts are not always in perfect agreement. Lacunae, orthographic differences, and scribal errors can result in variation where two or more manuscripts have overlapping text. Usually these variations are not significant for my purposes, but where there are important differences I will note these for the reader. Similarly, I have tried to consistently alert the reader when I use one manuscript to reconstruct text in another manuscript.

Finally, a few words need to be said about terminology. Throughout this thesis, I use the expression “Qumran community” in an intentionally amorphous way to refer broadly to the religious movement that began sometime in the second century BCE and eventually settled (in part or in whole) at Khirbet Qumran. I am aware that there is ongoing debate about the origin of this community and whether it was a single community or multiple communities. Although some scholars have suggested that we abandon the title “Qumran community,” I have chosen to retain this designation since at this point we have nothing better to replace it. When I am referring exclusively to the community established at Khirbet Qumran in the early first century BCE, I will usually use the expression “the settlement at Qumran.” On a related note, I use the expressions “scrolls from Qumran” and “Qumran scrolls” to refer generally to the scrolls discovered near Khirbet Qumran. In using this terminology, I do not mean to imply that members of the settlement at Qumran (or even members of the broader movement) necessarily authored all of these texts. When I

specifically refer to texts that were authored by members of the Qumran community, I will refer to these as texts “composed by the Qumran community.”

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

When the scrolls from Cave 1 near Khirbet Qumran first began to be published in the late 1940s and early 1950s, scholars quickly noticed the prominence of divinely revealed knowledge in these texts.¹ The concern with knowledge in the Scrolls was so great that within a few years commentators began to consider the possibility that these texts might be related to later Gnostic ideology.² This is quite understandable if we imagine what scholars must have thought when they first read statements like this declaration of God's revelation near the end of the *Community Rule*: "For from the fountain of his knowledge he opened my light, and my eyes observed his wonders and the light of my heart the mystery of what will be" (1QS XI 3–4).

Early students of the Scrolls recognized that there is a proclivity for the nouns בִּינָה, דַּעַת, שְׂכָל, their cognate verbs, and the terms אִמָּת and רָז in texts like the *Community Rule*, *Hodayot*, *Damascus Document*, and, to a lesser degree, the *Habakkuk Peshet*.³ Together these terms signify what Martin Hengel later called, "that group of concepts which

¹ Millar Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën* (ed. P. A. H. de Boer; Leiden: Brill, 1950), 168–71; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), 252–59; André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (trans. E. Margaret Rowley; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), 42, 65 n. 1; Jacob Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 97–99.

² Burrows, "The Discipline Manual," 168; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 252–59; Isaiah Sonne, "A Hymn against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls," *HUCA* 23 part 1 (1950–51): 275–313; W. D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25–30," *HTR* 46 (1953): 129–36; Bo Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *NTS* 1 (1954): 137–41; Menahem Mansoor, "Studies in the New *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns) — V: Some Theological Doctrines," *BR* 5 (1960): 12–20; idem, "The Nature of Gnosticism in Qumran," in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 394–96; Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. Emilie T. Sander; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 250–52; idem "Qumran and Gnosticism," in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo*, 379–82; G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 562–70.

³ Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 254–55; Friedrich Nötscher, *Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (BBB 10; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956), 38–79.

probably possessed the greatest importance for Essene theology . . . the concepts of *knowledge, insight and wisdom*.”⁴ Since the full publication of the Scrolls, scholars have come to realize that the same emphasis on revealed knowledge is found in other texts as well, such as *Instruction*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage*. In these works we find references to God as the “God of knowledge” who is enthroned upon the “high places of knowledge” where he is surrounded by the “gods of knowledge,” “spirits of knowledge,” or “angels of knowledge” who praise him with “tongues of knowledge.” God created the world “by his knowledge,” and the elements of his creation operate in the knowledge of his design. Through the revelation of his mysteries, God has “placed knowledge into the heart” of the righteous so that they can live “in accordance with knowledge.”

While it is clear that knowledge is a central theme in several of the Scrolls, questions still persist among scholars. What is the content of the knowledge revealed by God and why was it so important for the authors of these texts? Why was there a preference for the words *בִּינָה*, *דַּעַת*, and *שִׁכְל*, which scholars identify as wisdom terminology, but the use of *הַכְּמָה* is relatively infrequent?⁵ Why did the Qumran community apparently esteem texts containing dream visions and apocalyptic revelations, but the texts that are usually attributed to the community show little interest in dream visions, heavenly

⁴ Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. John Bowden; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1.222, italics his.

⁵ This observation has been made several times since the discovery of the Scrolls, and some scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon, although, at present, there is no commonly agreed upon explanation. See Burrows, “The Discipline Manual,” 169; Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960), 138–39; John Edward Worrell, “Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls” (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1968), 154, 185–86, 406; Sarah Jean Tanzer, “The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987), 178–79.

journeys, and angelic mediators?⁶ These questions and others like them indicate that there is much work left to do before we fully understand the importance of knowledge and divine revelation in the Scrolls.

1. The Impetus for This Study

This study seeks to examine the nature and theological function of God's revelation of knowledge in a small group of seemingly related texts. My investigation was originally prompted by the observation that *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage* share very distinctive terminology and themes related to God's revelation of knowledge. Compared to the other texts found at Qumran, these five works tend to have unusually high rates of occurrence for the terms *בינה*, *דעת*, *שכל*, their cognate verbs, and the words *אמת* and *רז* (see Table 1).⁷

⁶ Several apocalyptic texts were found at Qumran in large quantities suggesting that they were important for the Qumran community. These include Daniel (8 mss.), parts of *1 Enoch* (11 mss.), and *Jubilees* (at least 14 mss.). In addition, several other previously unknown texts concerned with dream visions and angelic mediation were discovered at Qumran, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen), the *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–536), the *Testament of Jacob* (4Q537), the *Apocryphon of Levi*⁹(?) (4Q541), *Aramaic Levi* (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, and 4Q214b), and the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–547). Scholars generally agree that these texts were not composed by the Qumran community. While the community possessed such texts and apparently valued them, it did not produce its own apocalypses or texts concerned with dream visions and angelic mediators. See Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.404–5, 425.

⁷ For the sake of comparison, we might consider two other texts which are associated with the Qumran community and concerned with divine revelation: the *Damascus Document* (CD) and 1QpHab.

	דעת	ידע	בינה	בין	שָׁכַל	שָׁכַל	משכיל	אמת	רז
<i>Damascus Document</i>	3	20	2	12	1	1	2	4	1
1QpHab	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	3

Table 1⁸

	דעת	ידע	בינה	בין	שָׁכַל	שָׁכַל	משכיל	אמת	רו
<i>Instruction</i> ⁹	11	26	14	38	8	9	5	42	28
<i>Treatise</i>	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	15	3
<i>Hodayot</i>	25	76	19	19	16	17	5	68	26
<i>Sabbath Songs</i> ¹⁰	47	8	10	3	5	1	6	13	5
<i>Songs of the Sage</i>	11	5	5	3	0	0	2	5	4

There are also a number of distinctive expressions which occur in these five texts. All five contain the epithet “God of Knowledge” which is most likely drawn from 1 Sam 2:3 (אלהי הדעות).¹¹ Other common expressions includes the noun חוק (“statute”) combined with the verb חרת (“to engrave”),¹² תמימי דרך (“the perfect of way”),¹³ בני שמים (“sons of heaven”),¹⁴ and some form of the phrase “wondrous mysteries”¹⁵ (see Table 2).

⁸ In this table I have not counted words deleted by a scribe, very uncertain reconstructions, or places where manuscripts overlap (so the same word is not counted multiple times). The counts for *Instruction* are collated from: 1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, and 4Q423. For the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* my count is based on the 1QS manuscript. For the *Hodayot*, I have used the concordance in *DJD XL* that lists entries based on the 1QH^a manuscript supplemented with material from 1QH^b and the 4QH manuscripts. The entries for the *Sabbath Songs* take into consideration 4Q400–405, Mas1k, and 11Q17. Entries for the *Songs of the Sage* are based on 4Q510–511.

⁹ Eighteen of the entries under בין are for occurrences of מבין.

¹⁰ I have included the noun בין in 4Q403 1 i 37 under the entries for בינה.

¹¹ The most frequent form of the title “God of knowledge” is אלהי הדעות, found in the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, and *Instruction* (1QS III 15; 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13–14; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 32–33; 4Q417 1 i 8; 4Q418 55 5). The expression אלהי דעת is used in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400 2 8; 4Q401 11 2; 4Q402 4 12; 4Q405 20 ii–22 7; 4Q405 23 ii 12). The *Songs of the Sage* has אלהי דעות (4Q510 1 2; 4Q511 1 7). Outside of the five texts I am considering, the title “God of knowledge” is found in *Mysteries* (אלהי הדעות, 4Q299 35 1; 73 3), the *Words of the Luminaries* (אלהי הדעות, 4Q504 4 4), and the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (אלהי הדעות, 4Q379 22 i 6 [without a word space between אלהי and הדעות]).

¹² This combination of the noun חוק with the verb חרת is only found in four texts from Qumran: *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 14–15), the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400 1 i 5, 15; 4Q402 4 3), the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511 63–64 ii 3), and the Final Psalm of the *Community Rule* (1QS X 6, 8, 11). The use of חרת is derived from Exod 32:16 which has the only occurrence of this verb in the Hebrew Bible. This passage describes the writing of God engraved on the tablets given to Moses; yet, the use of חרת with חוק is not a biblical phrase since חוק is not used in Exod 32:16.

¹³ This expression is attested in 1QS IV 22; 1QH^a IX 36; 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 13 6; 4Q510 1 9; 4Q511 10 8; 4Q511 63 iii 3. The expression is also used in 1QSa I 28 and 1QM XIV 7. It might have been derived from חום דרך in Job 4:6 and Prov 13:6.

¹⁴ בני שמים is found in 1QS IV 22; 1QH^a XI 23; XXIII 30; XXV 26 (partially reconstructed); XXVI 36 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 18); 4Q416 1 12; 4Q418 69 ii 12–13 (partially reconstructed). This

Table 2

	“God of knowledge”	חוק + הרת	תמימי דרך	בני שמים	“wondrous mysteries”
<i>Instruction</i>	✓	✓		✓	✓
<i>Treatise</i>	✓		✓	✓	
<i>Hodayot</i>	✓		✓	✓	✓
<i>Sabbath Songs</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓
<i>Songs of the Sage</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓

In addition to common terminology, I would argue that there are substantial thematic similarities between *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage*. They frequently refer to God’s own knowledge¹⁶ or the knowledge possessed by the heavenly beings.¹⁷ Directly or indirectly, these texts are concerned with divine revelation,¹⁸ which usually pertains to the

expression is also attested in 1QS XI 8 and 4Q181 1 ii 2 (partially reconstructed). The Aramaic expression, בני שמיין, is used in 1QapGen II 5, 16; V 3–4; VI 11.

¹⁵ The expression רזי פלא is attested in 1QH^a V 19; IX 23; X 15; XII 28; XV 30; XIX 13; 4Q417 1 i 2, 13; 4Q418 219 2 (רזי פלא); and 4Q511 44–47 6. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices* has two forms: רזי הפלא in 4Q403 1 ii 27 and רזי נפלאות in 4Q401 14 ii 2. Outside of the texts I am studying, the expression רזי פלא is used in CD III 18; 1QS IX 18; XI 5; 1Q27 1 i 7; 4Q286 1 ii 8; and רזי נפלאות is found in 1QM XIV 14.

¹⁶ The title “God of knowledge” is but one example. In general, the texts speak of God’s דעת or בינה as his rational mind which he uses to plan and organize his creation. The *Sabbath Songs* proclaims, “From his knowledge and from his [plan]s (ומזמון) תייר היו כול תעודות עולמים) all eternally determined things have existed” (Mas1k I 2–3). 1QH^a IX 21–22 declares, “in the wisdom of your knowledge (בחכמת דעתכה) you determ[i]ned their des[t]iny before they existed.” In 4Q511 2 i 6–7, God’s דעת is the basis for his decision to “place Israel into twelve camps.” 4Q418 69 ii 3–4 seems to express the idea that the created elements (specifically the seas) operate according to God’s knowledge which governs them: “Do not their [] move about in truth (באמת) and in knowledge (בדעת) all of their waves?” According to 1QS IV 22, the righteous will be given the same knowledge that characterizes the Most High in the *eschaton*.

¹⁷ 1QS IV 22 speaks of the בני שמים (“the wisdom of the sons of heaven”). 4Q417 1 i 16–18 claims that God grants knowledge to some people because their inclination is like that of the holy ones (i.e., the angels). This implies that the angels already possess such knowledge. The *Hodayot* and *Sabbath Songs* refer to the heavenly beings as: דעת/רוחות דעת (“spirits of knowledge,” 1QH^a XI 23–24; 4Q405 17 3; 19 4), צבא דעת (“host of knowledge,” 1QH^a XXI 9), מלאכי הדעת (“angels of knowledge,” 11Q17 X 6), and אלי דעת (“gods of knowledge,” 4Q400 2 1; 4Q403 1 i 14–16 [partially reconstructed]; 4Q403 1 i 31, 38 [אילי דעת]; 4Q405 23 i 8).

¹⁸ In *Instruction*, we repeatedly find the claim that God has revealed knowledge of the רזי נהיה to the understanding ones (1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 8, 17–18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 184 2; and 4Q423 5 2–3). In the *Treatise*, God presently reveals knowledge by means of his spirit of truth (1QS IV 2–6), and in the *eschaton* he will purify the righteous in order “to cause the upright to understand the knowledge of the Most High and

knowledge of God's design or plan (מזמה or מהשבה) that governs the created order.¹⁹ These texts tend to emphasize the trans-temporal nature of God's plan as encompassing "all that was and will be."²⁰ In his 1995 monograph, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, Armin Lange observed that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Sabbath Songs* all contain the idea of a "pre-existent sapiential order" which God established to govern the entirety of creation.²¹ In addition to emphasizing God's plan, these texts have a common anthropology which asserts that humans are unable to understand God's design because they are creatures of flesh and dust.²² They also share a common belief that righteous humans can join together with the angels in worshipping and praising God. Björn Frennesson has shown that such a belief is attested in the *Hodayot*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage*, among other texts.²³ *Instruction* and the *Treatise* are less interested

to instruct the perfect of way in the wisdom of the sons of heaven" (1QS IV 22). The *Hodayot* is replete with statements describing God's revelation of knowledge (e.g., 1QH^a XII 28–29; XIX 7). The *Sabbath Songs* speaks of God apportioning knowledge to the angels (4Q402 4 2). The *Songs of the Sage* declares multiple times that God has put knowledge into the sage's heart (4Q511 18 ii 7–8; 28–29 3; 48–49+51 1; 63–64 iii 2).

¹⁹ 4Q417 1 i 11–12 states that "with proper understanding were made kno[wn the hidden] things of his design (תרי מהשבתו)." In the *Treatise*, God orders the world "according to his glorious design" (כמהשבת כבודו, 1QS III 16), and it is this design which the spirit of truth reveals to the righteous (1QS IV 4–5). 1QH^a XVIII 3 states, "by your design everything will be and by the plan of your heart it is established," (במהשבתכה נהיה כל וכל במזמת לבכה תו[כ]). The *Hodayot* psalmist goes on in XVIII 5–7 to claim that God has made known to him the very wonders of his design. 4Q402 frag. 4 (= Mas1k I 1–7) contains several references to God's מהשבה and מזמה which he revealed to the angelic priests so that they might live according to it. In 4Q511 42 7 the sage claims, "I know your design" (אדעה מהשבתכה).

²⁰ Notably, all five texts use the verb היה to express the trans-temporal aspect of God's plan, often combining the verb with the word עולם. For example, we find the expressions: הווי עולמים (4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q405 13 6); הווי עד (4Q511 10 10); נהיה עולם (4Q418 69 ii 7); נהיות עולם (1QH^a V 29; XXI 13; 4Q418 190 3 [partially reconstructed]); נהיי עולמים (4Q418 238 3 [partially reconstructed]; 4Q511 10 11). The *Treatise* and the *Songs of the Sage* use what appears to be a stock phrase to denote the eternity of God's design. This expression consists of the *qal* and *niphal* participles of היה in close succession to indicate the past, present, and future (1QS III 15; 4Q511 10 10–11; see also 1QS XI 4, 11; CD II 10; and 1QM XVII 5).

²¹ Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995). Lange did not consider the *Songs of the Sage* in his study.

²² 1QS IV 20–22; 1QH^a IX 23–25 et al.; 4Q400 2 7; 4Q417 1 i 17–18; 1 ii 12–14; and 4Q511 28–29 3–4.

²³ Björn Frennesson, "In a Common Rejoicing." *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (SSU 14; Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1999).

in “liturgical communion” with the angels, but they still contain the idea that humans can become like the angels and will join together with the angels in the *eschaton*.²⁴

In this study, I will argue that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage* contain such common themes and terminology because the authors of these texts drew upon a single, distinct tradition of divine revelation which had its own vocabulary and theology. According to this tradition, God has revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design (i.e., his master plan that orders and regulates all of creation) to the community of the righteous, and this knowledge has the capacity to rectify the corrupt human inclination and it is the means by which God restores humanity to the glorious state which Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden. I will also argue that these five texts should be read together and interpreted in light of one another since they all drew upon the same revelatory tradition. By doing so, we can gain a more accurate and more complete understanding of each individual text. Before I begin my analysis of these texts, it will be worthwhile to take stock of the state of research pertaining to revealed knowledge in the Scrolls.

2. The History and Present State of Research

2.1. Research in the 1950s–1980s

One of the earliest studies of knowledge in the Scrolls was a 1953 article by W. D. Davies.²⁵ He attempted to classify the passages concerned with knowledge into six categories: simple intellectual discernment, passages where knowledge is associated with

²⁴ For the *Treatise* see 1QS IV 22–23, and for *Instruction* see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 104–15.

²⁵ W. D. Davies, “‘Knowledge’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 113–140. Davies’ study was limited to CD, 1QpHab, 1QS, and 1QH^a.

the Mosaic Law, secret knowledge, knowledge concerned with the interpretation of events or of eschatological significance, knowledge of a personal or intimate nature, and passages where knowledge is mediated. After his classification, Davies addressed the possible relationship between the revelation of knowledge at Qumran and later Gnostic movements—a question that would occupy scholars for the next decade-and-a-half. Davies concluded that there is a superficial similarity between the two, but they differ radically in their details. He postulated that the emphasis on the concept of knowledge “may well be due to the influence of Hellenistic factors” that “were sufficiently strong to color the *terminology* of the sect without radically affecting its thought.”²⁶

In 1956, Friedrich Nötscher devoted a substantial portion of his book, *Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, to the study of knowledge in the Qumran scrolls.²⁷ His primary purpose was to counter claims by some earlier scholars, particularly K. G. Kuhn and Kurt Schubert, who maintained that the Scrolls contain a Gnostic concept of knowledge.²⁸ Nötscher argued that knowledge in the Scrolls is not arcane or mystical in nature; rather, it is knowledge that is derived from the proper understanding of the Law and the prophets. This knowledge yields insight into the mysteries of divine action and allows the community members to live in a righteous relationship with God and his creation.

²⁶ Ibid., 135–36.

²⁷ Nötscher, *Zur Theologischen Terminologie*, 15–79.

²⁸ Ibid., 39–40. For the arguments presented by Kuhn and Schubert, see K. G. Kuhn, “Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament,” *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192–211, esp. 203–5; idem, “Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,” *ZTK* 49 (1952): 296–316. Schubert went so far as to claim that the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* was the earliest Gnostic text. See his article, “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften, 25: Der Sektenkanon von En Feshcha und die Anfänge der Jüdischen Gnosis,” *TLZ* 78 (1953): 495–506, esp. 503.

Four years after Nötscher's work was published, Otto Betz wrote a monograph on the nature of divine revelation in the Scrolls.²⁹ Betz argued that divine revelation for the Qumran community was rooted in the inspired interpretation of scripture. Like Daniel, the priests and the "Teacher of Righteousness" had been imbued with a divine spirit so that they could properly understand the hidden things of God's will contained in his written revelation, i.e., the Law and the prophets.³⁰ Through this inspired interpretation of scripture, the community was able to obtain knowledge of the divine mysteries associated with the natural world, sacred times, the course of history, and especially the events leading up to the *eschaton*.³¹

Betz' monograph was followed in 1962 by Jean de Caebel's article on knowledge in the *Hodayot*.³² De Caebel sought to explain why the portrayal of knowledge and revelation in the *Hodayot* is so different from the Qumran legal texts (CD and 1QS). As with Betz, de Caebel argued that the knowledge revealed to the *Hodayot* psalmist consisted of an understanding of the new covenant³³ that was derived through an inspired interpretation of the Law and prophets.³⁴ This knowledge came through the holy spirit and the study of the Law as the psalmist lived in a state of purity.³⁵ Knowledge was then passed on to the community as religious prescriptions in order to form an ethical religious life in

²⁹ Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 80–82, 119–54.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 82–87.

³² Jean de Caebel, "La connaissance religieuse dans les Hymnes d'action de grâces de Qumrân," *ETL* 38 (1962): 435–460.

³³ *Ibid.*, 449.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 440–42, 450. It should be noted that de Caebel is forced to admit that the *Hodayot* never explicitly mentions the study of the Law and prophets. He states, "La solution la plus simple semble donc d'admettre que, en dépit de l'absence de toute mention explicite à ce sujet, la révélation décrite par le livre des Hymnes est identique à celle obtenue par l'étude et la compréhension inspirées de la Loi et des Prophètes" (442).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 456.

its members.³⁶ According to de Caebel, the *Hodayot* psalmist believed that sin is a consequence of ignorance that is due to humanity's natural state as a creature of dust.³⁷ De Caebel also argued that the revealed "mystery," of which the *Hodayot* psalmist so often speaks, is not a cosmic mystery; rather, it refers to the paradox of the psalmist's life and mission. God has shown the psalmist that he is a retched sinner who suffers under persecution, while at the same time he is a source of life for the faithful.³⁸ De Caebel concluded that the *Hodayot* does not differ from the legal texts (1QS and CD); it is only another genre of literature that has its own distinct terminology.³⁹

In 1966, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn devoted part of his book, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, to the gift of knowledge in the *Hodayot* "Community Hymns."⁴⁰ Kuhn argued that the revelation of knowledge in the "Community Hymns" should be viewed in relationship to priestly knowledge and in contrast to the revealed wisdom and knowledge in apocalyptic literature.⁴¹ Whereas apocalyptic texts see the revelation of knowledge as a future eschatological event, the "Community Hymns" describe the revelation of knowledge as a present reality for those who have entered into the community. According to Kuhn, God revealed to the Qumran covenanters knowledge of their present realized salvation as a holy temple-like community.⁴²

³⁶ Ibid., 450–52.

³⁷ Ibid., 452–53.

³⁸ Ibid., 458–59.

³⁹ Ibid., 452–53, 456. De Caebel has not been alone in suggesting that the *Hodayot*, *Community Rule*, and *Damascus Document* essentially understand revealed knowledge in the same way although they make use of different genres. Hengel made a similar claim when he stated, "The supposed theological differences [between 1QS, 1QM, 1QH^a, and CD] are predominantly caused by the different forms of the individual literary units" (*Judaism and Hellenism*, 2.148 n. 739).

⁴⁰ Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), 139–75.

⁴¹ Ibid., 141–55.

⁴² Ibid., 172–73.

Two years later, John Worrell completed his doctoral dissertation on wisdom in the Qumran Scrolls.⁴³ He argued that Qumran was a wisdom community that had appropriated wisdom language and themes, and gave them a more particularized meaning, often with apocalyptic overtones.⁴⁴ A significant portion of Worrell's dissertation was devoted to an examination of wisdom terms found in CD, 1QS, 1QH^a, and 11QPsalms^a, especially בינה, דעת, חכמה, ערמה, and תושיה. Worrell noted, as other scholars had before him,⁴⁵ that the word חכמה is relatively rare in these texts. He explained this peculiarity by claiming that the Pharisaic opponents of the Qumran community had already appropriated חכמה as their self-defining word. In response, the Qumran community adopted שכל as its self-defining term.⁴⁶ Although Worrell did not extensively discuss the nature of revealed wisdom/knowledge in the Scrolls, he understood it to be the gift of insight into the mysteries and plans of God through the interpretation of scripture.⁴⁷

In the same year as Worrell, Carl Davenport defended his dissertation on knowledge in CD, 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSB.⁴⁸ He chiefly focused his research on the usage of various wisdom and knowledge terms (such as אמת, דעת, חכמה, עצה, רז, and שכל) and what they communicate about God's knowledge and the knowledge given to the human community. As with others before him, Davenport argued that when these texts speak of revealed mysteries and knowledge they are referring to a proper understanding of the community's teachings based on its interpretation of scripture.⁴⁹ According to Davenport,

⁴³ John Edward Worrell, "Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1968).

⁴⁴ Ibid., 180, 393, 405–10.

⁴⁵ Burrows, "The Discipline Manual," 169; Betz, *Offenbarung und schriftforschung*, 138–39.

⁴⁶ Worrell, "Concepts of Wisdom," 154, 185–86, 406.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 170–80, 203, 397, 404.

⁴⁸ Carl Wayne Davenport, "Knowledge in 1QS and CD" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1968).

⁴⁹ Ibid., 150, 171–76, 207, 244–49, 256.

the community did not believe that knowledge was imparted directly by God; rather, it came through the study of the Law and prophets.⁵⁰ Davenport noted that the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* use knowledge terminology differently. He states that דעת and דעה are “used frequently in 1QS as technical terms to refer to the knowledge which the sect cherished. In CD, however, the terms do not appear to have any such technical usage.”⁵¹ He also observed that “[t]his technical usage appears to be present in 1QSb but not in 1QSa.”⁵² From this, Davenport concluded that the *Community Rule* represents an earlier stage of the Qumran community than the *Damascus Document*, and the latter originated from a time when the community placed less emphasis on knowledge.⁵³

Early scholarship was particularly interested in two issues regarding knowledge in the Qumran scrolls. First, scholars observed that many of the Cave 1 texts frequently use the Persian loanword רז. Until the discovery of the Scrolls, this word was most familiar from its use in Daniel. With the publication of texts from Cave 1, the number of occurrences of רז in Second Temple Jewish literature dramatically increased.⁵⁴ As a result of this new data, much work was done in the 1950s and early 1960s to investigate the origin of this term, its meaning, and especially its connection to μυστήριον in the New Testament.⁵⁵ The second issue that occupied scholars through the first two decades of

⁵⁰ Ibid., 144, 172–73, 212, 245–46.

⁵¹ Ibid., 254.

⁵² Ibid., 254 n. 2.

⁵³ Ibid., 266–69, 281.

⁵⁴ The word רז occurs nine times, with certainty, in the Hebrew Bible (Dan 2:18, 19, 27–30, 47 twice; 4:9). In the Cave 1 Hebrew and Aramaic texts רז is attested 60 times, plus one occurrence in CD. There are more than 120 instances of רז in the complete corpus of non-biblical Scrolls, with at least 18 occurrences in the Aramaic texts and approximately 103 in the Hebrew works (excluding places where manuscripts overlap). *Instruction* (28), the *Hodayot* (26), and *Mysteries* (13) account for about two-thirds of all the occurrences in the Hebrew texts.

⁵⁵ E. Vogt, “‘Mysteria’ in textibus Qumran,” *Bib* 37 (1956): 247–57; Nötscher, *Zur Theologischen Terminologie*, 71–75; B. Rigaux, “Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament,” *NTS* 4 (1957–58): 237–62; Raymond E. Brown, “The Pre-Christian Semitic Concept of

Scrolls research was a debate over whether the concept of knowledge in the Scrolls represents an early form of Jewish Gnosticism. Some argued that the Scrolls attest to a form of proto-Gnosticism or have a Gnostic pattern of thought,⁵⁶ while others vehemently denied that the Qumran texts have any connection to Gnosticism.⁵⁷ Eventually, the latter view won the consensus with the majority of scholars concluding that the Dead Sea Scrolls are not proto-Gnostic texts.

By the end of the 1960s the drive to examine knowledge in the Scrolls had lost most of its steam. At least in part, this waning interest was due to the realization that the Scrolls have little or no connection with Gnosticism. In addition, the 1970s witnessed the publication of the *Temple Scroll* which profoundly reoriented scholarship toward a focus on the observance and interpretation of the Law at Qumran.

While the question of revealed knowledge in the Scrolls received little attention during the 1970s and 80s, Hengel devoted a short section of his work, *Judaism and Hellenism*, to the concepts of knowledge, insight, and wisdom in the Scrolls.⁵⁸ Hengel believed that the knowledge cherished by the community originated from “the ‘inspired’

‘Mystery,’” *CBQ* 20 (1958): 417–43; idem, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mysterion* (I),” *Bib* 39 (1958): 426–48; idem, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mysterion* (II),” *Bib* 40 (1959): 70–87; Betz, *Offenbarung und schriftforschung*, 82–88; Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 71–74; and Hendrik Goedhart, *De Slothymne van het Manual of Discipline: A Theological-Exegetical Study of IQS X,9–XI,22* (Rotterdam: Bronder-Offset, 1965), 246–51.

⁵⁶ For example, Driver claimed that “the scrolls reveal some traces of its [Gnostic] influence” (*The Judaean Scrolls*, 562). Ringgren wrote, “Thus it becomes rather a question of definition as to whether the Essenes of Qumran should be called Gnostic or not. One must apparently take into account a whole series of gradations, of shades of meaning between Gnostic and non-Gnostic movements. Qumran lies somewhere in the middle of the scale. Viewed from a historical point of view, perhaps it should be a question of a preliminary stage of Gnosticism, a proto- or pre-Gnosticism” (*Faith of Qumran*, 250–51).

⁵⁷ Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 252–59; Davies, “‘Knowledge’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 129–36; Reicke, “Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?” 137–41; Mansoor, “Studies in the New *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns) — V,” 12–20. Davenport provides a more complete list of early scholars and where they stood on the question of Gnosticism in the Scrolls (“Knowledge in IQS and CD,” 269–71).

⁵⁸ Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.218–47. The revelation of knowledge is largely addressed on pages 1.218–24 and 1.241–43.

interpretation of the Torah and the prophets, and also astrology, manticism, and the interpretation of dreams.”⁵⁹ His main contribution was to highlight foreign (esp. Hellenistic) influences on the Qumran concept of revealed knowledge.⁶⁰ Hengel argued that the “towering significance of the group of concepts including knowledge, understanding, revelation and mystery” constitutes an “intellectualization of piety”⁶¹ that differs from the Hebrew Bible and is more akin to Greek philosophy.⁶²

2.2. Research in the 1990s–Present

Since the early 1990s there has been a dramatic resurgence in scholarship pertaining to divine revelation in the Scrolls. This profound redirection of Qumran studies was largely the result of the increased publication of texts under the direction of Emanuel Tov, and specifically it was due to the release of new texts, like *Instruction* (formerly known as *Sapiential Work A*), which blend traditional wisdom instruction with an apocalyptic worldview. At the conclusion of his 1994 essay, “Wisdom at Qumran,” Daniel Harrington stated, somewhat prophetically, “. . . a new area of Qumran research—Wisdom at Qumran—is opening up with the study of this [*Instruction*] and other Qumran Wisdom texts.”⁶³ The publication of these texts led to a flood of secondary literature examining wisdom⁶⁴ and its relationship to apocalypticism in the scrolls from Qumran.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1.251. See also 1.240.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 1.228–29; 1.241–43; 1.246–47.

⁶¹ Ibid., 1.228. Hengel explores this “intellectualization of piety” in a later essay, “Qumran and Hellenism,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 51–55.

⁶² *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.240. Hengel even speculates that the “The Teacher of Righteousness and other learned members of the community probably introduced a certain degree of ‘Greek education’ into the community at the time of its foundation . . .” (1.246).

⁶³ Daniel J. Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; CJA Series 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 137–52.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*; idem, “Wisdom and Predestination in the

Over the last two decades, the issue of divine revelation in the Scrolls has been approached from other angles as well. Since the mid-1990s there has been an increasing interest in practices of Jewish mysticism attested in the Qumran texts,⁶⁶ and some scholars

Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 240–54; idem, “Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 3–30; idem, “Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 455–78; Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996); John J. Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 265–81; John I. Kampen, “Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1.211–43; idem, *Wisdom Literature* (ECDSS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011); Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Five: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume Two: World View, Comparing Judaisms* (ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton; Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East 57; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147–69; Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007); idem, “Recent Trends in the Study of Early Jewish Wisdom Literature: The Contribution of 4QInstruction and Other Qumran Texts,” *CBR* 7 (2009): 376–416.

⁶⁵ For studies on the relationship between wisdom and apocalypticism in the Scrolls, see John J. Collins, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in „*Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit . . . Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Weisheit, Diethelm Michel zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Anja A. Diesel et al.; BZAW 241; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 19–32; idem, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 49–65; Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE—The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47; idem, “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 15–38; Alexander Rofé, “Revealed Wisdom: From the Bible to Qumran,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–11; Menahem Kister, “Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to *Mysteries*,” in *Sapiential Perspectives*, 13–47. There are also many essays of interest in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003).

⁶⁶ For the contemporary discussion of mysticism in the Scrolls, see Bilhah Nitzan, “Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 163–83; Elliot R. Wolfson, “Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 185–202; idem, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge: Qumran E/Sotericism Recovered,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 177–213; Igor R. Tantlevskij, “Elements of Mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Thanksgiving Hymns, War Scroll, Text of Two Columns) and Their Parallels and Possible Sources,” *Qumran Chronicle* 7 (1997): 193–213; Rachel Elijor, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of*

have sought to understand God's revelation of knowledge as a byproduct of the community's mystical experiences.⁶⁷ A number of scholars have produced socio-rhetorical analyses of the Qumran community's claim that it alone possesses secret knowledge revealed by God.⁶⁸ Others have sought to identify the streams of tradition which underlie the concept of divine revelation in the Scrolls, such as sapiential, apocalyptic, mantic, or prophetic traditions.

I will turn now to consider this last point—the different revelatory traditions which scholars have proposed as antecedents for the Qumran texts concerned with revealed knowledge. Since my study is limited to *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage*, I will only focus on the different traditions which have been proposed for these texts. The purpose of this brief survey is to

Jewish Mysticism (trans. David Louvish; Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004); Andrea Lieber, "Voice and Vision: Song as a Vehicle for Ecstatic Experience in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture. Volume 2: Later Versions and Traditions* (ed. Craig A. Evans; SSEJC 10; LSTS 51; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 51–58; Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within," in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. April D. DeConick; SBLSymS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 145–78; Philip S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (LSTS 61; London: T & T Clark, 2006); idem, "Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 215–35; Peter Schäfer, "Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism," in *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (ed. Peter Schäfer and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner; SHK 65; Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2006), 37–66; idem, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 112–53; James R. Davila, "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 433–54.

⁶⁷ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 106–7; idem, "Genealogy of Western Mysticism," 225; Schäfer, "Communion with the Angels," 40–43, 65; idem, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 125–28.

⁶⁸ Carol Newsom has produced the most thorough analysis of the claim to revealed knowledge as a socio-rhetorical strategy in the Scrolls (*The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* [STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004]). Other studies include Rofé, "Revealed Wisdom," 1–11; Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLEJL 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009). See also the earlier study by George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity," in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1985), 73–91.

demonstrate that there is a lack of agreement regarding the nature of divine revelation in these texts.

2.2.1. Matthew Goff: Sapiential and Apocalyptic Revelation

Matthew Goff is representative of a wide body of scholars who have argued that divine revelation in texts like *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Hodayot* is a combination of traditional wisdom instruction with an apocalyptic worldview.⁶⁹ According to Goff, and others, these texts maintain that true wisdom consists of ethical instruction and practical skills as well as knowledge of the course of history, the nature of good and evil, the fates of different individuals, cosmology, and the *eschaton*. At its most essential level, true wisdom is an understanding of God's grand cosmic plan.⁷⁰ In *Instruction*, and related texts, true wisdom is no longer accessible to the common person;⁷¹ it is hidden in the heavens and can only be acquired through an act of special divine revelation.

In *Instruction*, the מביין (“understanding one”) gains wisdom by contemplating the רז נהיה (“mystery of what will be”)⁷² which God has revealed. This רז נהיה is the “divine plan that orchestrates reality.”⁷³ By contemplating God's cosmic design, the מביין can

⁶⁹ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 39, 216–18; idem, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos of 4QInstruction,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills; SBLSymS 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 59. Elgvin refers to *Instruction* as “an apocalyptically flavored tradition on revelation of wisdom from above” (“Wisdom at Qumran,” 167). Likewise, Harrington states, “While 4QInstruction gives ample space to apocalyptic elements, this work remains a wisdom instruction with apocalyptic features.” See Daniel J. Harrington, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 355.

⁷⁰ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 30–69.

⁷¹ Elgvin, “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic,” 38.

⁷² Goff prefers to translate this phrase as “the mystery that is to be.” See my discussion of this expression in ch. 2 §2.1.

⁷³ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 79; idem, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 163–86. Elgvin calls the רז נהיה “a comprehensive word for God's mysterious plan for creation and history, His plan for man and for redemption of the elect. It is ‘salvation history’ in a wider meaning” (“Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 235).

comprehend the divinely ordained order for the universe and live in accordance with it.

Goff never commits himself to an explanation of how God revealed knowledge of his divine plan to the “understanding ones,” but he suggests that it likely took place through a visionary experience rather than through the interpretation of scripture.⁷⁴

Goff has argued that the same merger of traditional wisdom and apocalypticism is evident in the *Hodayot* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.⁷⁵ In both of these texts, true wisdom is obtained through God’s revelation of his cosmic order, and it entails ethical understanding (esp. the knowledge of good and evil) as well as the knowledge of eschatological reward and judgment.⁷⁶ While the phrase *רז נהיה* is not used in the *Hodayot* or the *Treatise*, both still employ the word *רז* to denote God’s design.⁷⁷ For Goff, all three of these texts speak of the divine revelation of wisdom by framing wisdom in an apocalyptic worldview.

2.2.2. Leo Perdue: Mantic Revelation

Recently, Leo Perdue has argued that the titles *משכיל*, *מבין*, *גבון*, and *חכם* in the Scrolls refer to mantic sages who receive knowledge of God’s mysteries through their mantic practices and pass this knowledge on to the members of their community.⁷⁸ Perdue defines mantic wisdom as “knowledge that is obtained by the divine revelation of predetermined creation, history, and the end time through dreams, visions, heavenly

⁷⁴ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 38–39, 69–73, 94.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 80, 119–20; Goff, “The Mystery of Creation,” 179–80; *idem*, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 263–88. See also Elgvin, “Wisdom at Qumran,” 161–69; Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered,” 277–79.

⁷⁶ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 62–63, 78–79, 120; *idem*, “The Mystery of Creation,” 170; *idem*, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 273–77.

⁷⁷ Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 273–74.

⁷⁸ Leo G. Perdue, “Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 133–89, esp. 166–74.

journeys, the casting of lots, and the study of authoritative texts and heavenly tablets.”⁷⁹

For Perdue, one of the key indicators for the presence of mantic wisdom in a text is the use of the term רז, since רז “refers to events and matters that not only reside in the future, but also . . . the origin of the human and cosmic dimensions and the current state of affairs in the world.” The רזין are the hidden things of the divine plan that only the mantic sage can discover.⁸⁰ In the end, Perdue argues that many of the so-called wisdom texts from Qumran, including *Instruction*, *Mysteries*, *Words of the Maskil to All the Sons of Dawn*, *Songs of the Sage*, and the *Hodayot* are all texts containing features of mantic wisdom.⁸¹

2.2.3. Martti Nissinen and Alex Jassen: Sapientialized Prophetic Revelation

A number of scholars have associated the revelation of knowledge in the Qumran texts with prophetic traditions in the Hebrew Bible.⁸² Although it is widely acknowledged

⁷⁹ Ibid., 135. Perdue distinguishes mantic wisdom from apocalypticism as follows: “Apocalypticism shares numerous features with mantic wisdom. It also includes esoteric knowledge derived from visions and dreams, their interpretation by angels, and dualism. However, there are important differences from mantic wisdom. Apocalypticism provides more considerable detail about the conflict between good and evil, the personification of the forces of evil, the cosmic transformation following the final battle between good and evil, the resurrection and judgment of the dead, retribution that results in the reward of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, and the heavily symbolic and often bizarre language that describes these elements. Mantic wisdom contains esoteric knowledge, but its images are common to everyday life” (136).

⁸⁰ Ibid., 176.

⁸¹ More than a decade before Perdue, James VanderKam published a study on texts from Qumran that exhibit mantic qualities (“Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 [1997]: 336–53). In contrast to Perdue, VanderKam limited his classification of mantic texts to works that are much more clearly concerned with practices of divination, such as the physiognomic texts (4Q186; 4Q561; possibly 4Q534), the brontologion (4Q318), and those works (especially those in Aramaic) that are very interested in dream visions and dream interpretation: the Enoch literature, the *Book of Giants* (e.g. 4Q530 II 3–23), Daniel, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. VanderKam also discussed the practice of *pesher* interpretation as belonging to the category of mantic wisdom. He states, “The Qumran *pesherim* contain the results of mantic manipulation of prophetic texts (understood broadly). That is, they are the result of the assumption that God has revealed the future in encoded form in the prophetic texts” (350).

⁸² Hans M. Barstad, “Prophecy at Qumran?” in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Its Period* (ed. Knud Jeppesen, Kirsten Nielsen, and Bent Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 104–20; James E. Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.354–78; Kister, “Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres,” 13–47; George J. Brooke, “Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards,” in *Prophecy, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak;

that the Scrolls rarely use traditional prophetic terminology, especially when referring to the community or its leadership,⁸³ many scholars have argued that some of the texts closely associated with the Qumran community display prophetic traits or a prophetic quality.⁸⁴ Those who are interested in prophetic practices within the Qumran community usually use the *pesharim* (esp. 1QpHab II 5–10 and VII 1–8) as a starting point, along with the *Damascus Document* and parts of the *Community Rule* (1QS V–IX). Based on these texts, they conclude that the Qumran community received its divine revelation through the inspired interpretation of scripture. When these commentators go to interpret other texts, like *Instruction* and the *Hodayot*, they implicitly or explicitly assume that the revelation of knowledge in these texts also takes place through scriptural interpretation.⁸⁵

LHBOTS 427; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 151–65; idem, “The Place of Prophecy in Coming Out of Exile: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 535–50; idem, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004* (ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31–48; Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran*, 188–220; Devorah Dimant, “Time, Torah and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit: Literaturgeschichtliche Perspektiven* (ed. Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Herwig Görgemanns, and Michael von Albrecht; RRS 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 151–65.

⁸³ Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 371, 376.

⁸⁴ Scholars have examined whether the Teacher of Righteousness was considered to be a prophet. See, for example, Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 371–76; Collins, “Apocalypticism and Literary Genre,” 424–26; George J. Brooke, “Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to be a Prophet?” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 77–97. Brooke concludes that the Teacher’s “priestliness has a prophetic character,” although he was never actually called a prophet (96). He believes that the Teacher and his followers intentionally avoided explicit prophetic labels for sociological reasons. According to Brooke, the Teacher wanted to create a cohesive community “that could construct its identity in relation to his own” (87). By giving the Teacher the title “prophet,” this would have set him apart from the people he was trying to identify with (87–89, 95–96).

⁸⁵ For example, in an early study of *Instruction*, Elgvin attempts to interpret the text in light of the *pesharim*. He writes, “According to the main sectarian writings, the primary medium of revelation is inspired exegesis, along the lines established by the Teacher, ‘the Interpreter of the Law.’ The authority accorded to the Teacher is probably the major reason why the sectarians did not need to write new apocalypses; the problem of authority and revelation was solved. Maybe Sap. Work A should be connected with the phase of the Teacher in the sectarian movement, and the *raz nihyeh* with the inspired exegesis in his footsteps.” See

Martti Nissinen and Alex Jassen are good examples of those who see the revelation of knowledge in texts like *Instruction* and the *Hodayot* as prophetic in nature. Both Nissinen and Jassen understand these texts as a sapientialized form of prophetic revelation. Nissinen broadly defines prophecy as the “transmission of divine knowledge and revelation.”⁸⁶ According to Nissinen, the Qumran community experienced an “intellectualization, or sapientialization, of prophecy” which “gave prophecy a new divinatory context, virtually merging it together with the ideas and practices of scribal, intellectual divination.”⁸⁷ In Nissinen’s opinion, wisdom teachers like the *maskil* or Teacher of Righteousness fulfilled an intermediary prophetic role by receiving דעת, אמת, דעת, חכמה, or רזין from God through the inspired interpretation of scripture and transmitting that knowledge to the community. Thus, Nissinen sees the revelation of “mysteries” in texts like the *pesharim*, the *Community Rule*, *Instruction*, and the *Hodayot* as a merger of “traditional oral/aural prophecy and scribal or mantic divination.”⁸⁸

Jassen’s monograph is the most current and extensive study of prophecy at Qumran.⁸⁹ Jassen examines the use of prophetic language and typology in numerous Qumran texts, including the *pesharim*, the *Damascus Document*, *Instruction*, and the *Hodayot*.⁹⁰ His main interest is to see how the prophetic experience was reconstructed and

Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr.; SBLSPS 34; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 451.

⁸⁶ Martti Nissinen, “Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 513–33. For his definition of prophecy see pp. 516, 525–26.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 516–17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 527.

⁸⁹ Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁹⁰ Jassen bases his understanding of prophecy on a definition by Nissinen. Jassen states, “In using the term ‘prophecy,’ I refer to the ‘transmission of allegedly divine messages by a human intermediary to a

reconceptualized in the Second Temple Period. Jassen argues that prophetic activity continued at Qumran through two new modes of revelation: revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation.⁹¹ According to Jassen, “The former term refers to the inspired interpretation of older prophetic Scripture while the later designates the receipt of divinely revealed wisdom as a revelatory experience.”⁹² He classifies the *pesharim*, 4Q265 VII 7–8, CD IX 8–10, and 4Q504 1+2 iii 9–14 as examples of revelatory exegesis while he lists *Instruction*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* as sapiential revelation.⁹³ Jassen maintains that such sapiential revelation is a “modified mode of ancient prophetic revelation” in which wisdom pertaining to the order of the universe is disclosed within the framework of a prophetic experience.⁹⁴

2.2.4. Shane Berg: Differing Traditions of Revelation

In his recent Yale dissertation and a published follow-up article, Shane Berg has argued that there are two different traditions of divine revelation in the Scrolls concerned with revealed knowledge.⁹⁵ He maintains that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the “Community Hymns” in the *Hodayot* “share a distinctive religious epistemology that is

third party” (*Mediating the Divine*, 4). This broad definition allows Jassen to interpret almost any act of divine revelation through a human mediator as prophecy.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 20–22, 277.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 197. Jassen’s two categories of prophetic activity are somewhat problematic because he has constructed one based on the means of revelation (revelatory exegesis) and the other based on the content of revelation (sapiential revelation). This means that the two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and thus the boundary between these categories becomes difficult to maintain when we encounter an act of revelation that is both exegetical and sapiential. For example, Jassen classifies Ben Sira as an example of sapiential revelation although Ben Sira views the Torah as the chief source of wisdom (313–14).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 314–29, 347–62, 366–73. For *Instruction*, Jassen sees a form of “sapiential revelation” that “only generally draws upon standard prophetic language” (329).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 375 and 257, 276–77.

⁹⁵ Shane A. Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Heritage and Transformation of the Wisdom Tradition,” (PhD diss.; Yale University, 2008); *idem*, “Religious Epistemology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community,” in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* (ed. Daniel Harlow et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 333–49.

associated with the wisdom tradition,” while the epistemology of the “Teacher Hymns” in the *Hodayot* “is not grounded in the wisdom tradition but rather draws on prophetic models of revelation.”⁹⁶ Berg differentiates the two bodies of literature based on certain perceived features. He argues that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Hodayot* “Community Hymns” emphasize the submission of creation to God’s fixed plan, share a common anthropology that draws heavily upon ideas of creation in Gen 1–3, view otherworldly spirits as the mediators of divine knowledge, and all three texts engage with scripture through allusions and interpretation but they do not describe scripture as a source of revelation.⁹⁷ Berg sees the absence of the idea of divine revelation through scriptural interpretation as a principal indicator that these texts reflect a wisdom tradition where knowledge is obtained directly from God’s creation.⁹⁸

In contrast, according to Berg, the *Hodayot* “Teacher Hymns” do not have an epistemology based on the agency of spirits, and they lack “an emphasis on a divine plan for the cosmos and an interpretation of the Genesis creation account that is employed in an epistemologically significant way.”⁹⁹ Since the psalmist of the “Teacher Hymns” acts as an intermediary who has direct access to God and imparts revelation to the community, Berg argues that the psalmist should be seen as a prophetic figure.¹⁰⁰ Berg concludes that “The religious epistemology of the teacher hymns is so different from the wisdom-based

⁹⁶ Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 4–5; idem, “Religious Epistemology,” 335.

⁹⁷ Berg, “Religious Epistemology,” 335–39.

⁹⁸ Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 167; idem, “Religious Epistemology,” 339.

⁹⁹ Berg, “Religious Epistemology,” 339–40.

¹⁰⁰ Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 201–2, 212–37.

epistemology of the other texts [*Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the “Community Hymns”] . . . that it warrants its own designation as a prophet-type epistemology.”¹⁰¹

To Berg’s credit, he has advanced the discussion of divine revelation in the Scrolls in two ways: he has read *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Hodayot* “Community Hymns” together as related texts, and he has seriously approached the *Hodayot* as a composite text and tried to distinguish between the different revelatory ideas contained within this collection of poetry. Ultimately, however, I cannot agree with Berg’s thesis that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the “Community Hymns” reflect a wisdom-based epistemology while the “Teacher Hymns” reflect a substantially different prophetic epistemology. Through the course of this study I will argue that all of these texts, as well as the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *Songs of the Sage*, drew upon a single, distinct revelatory tradition that has combined sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic language and ideas.

3. Revealed Knowledge and the Parable of the Elephant

There is a well-known Indian parable about a king who assembled certain blind men and had them feel different parts of an elephant. He then asked them what an elephant is like. The one who touched its head said, “An elephant is like a pot.” The one who touched its ear said, “An elephant is like a winnowing basket.” The one who touched its leg said, “An elephant is like a pillar.” Finally, the one who touched the tuft of its tail said, “An elephant is like a broom.”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Berg, “Religious Epistemology,” 340.

¹⁰² A Buddhist version of this story can be found in *Udana* 6.4.

Like the Parable of the Elephant, the investigation of sapiential, apocalyptic, mantic, and prophetic revelation in the Scrolls has yielded partial and sometimes contradictory pictures of the nature and function of revealed knowledge at Qumran. We can see a specific example of this divergence in opinions in how the various commentators mentioned above interpret the revelation of רזין (“mysteries”) in the *Hodayot*. Goff interprets the *Hodayot* in light of *Instruction* as a blending of sapiential and apocalyptic ideas, and he sees the knowledge of divine mysteries as an intimate understanding of God’s ways and his plan for creation acquired through direct revelation apart from scriptural interpretation.¹⁰³ Perdue, who sees the *Hodayot* as exemplifying mantic wisdom, sees the divine mysteries as the “comprehensive, determined plan of God for humanity and the cosmos, set in motion at creation and continuing through the present to the final fulfillment in the end-time.”¹⁰⁴ These mysteries are revealed to the teacher through dreams, visions, and the interpretation of sacred texts.¹⁰⁵ Nissinen and Jassen, who classify revelation in the *Hodayot* as sapientialized prophecy, see the divine mysteries as “intellectual illumination”¹⁰⁶ that allows the inspired interpreter to properly discern the secret meanings hidden in scripture.¹⁰⁷ In addressing the *Hodayot*, Berg differentiates

¹⁰³ See Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 69–73; idem, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 265–68, 272–74, 287.

¹⁰⁴ Perdue, “Mantic Sages,” 176.

¹⁰⁵ Brooke has also associated the divine mysteries with mantic practices, although he offers a slightly more nuanced description than Perdue. Brooke argues that the רזין in the *Hodayot* and the רז נהיה in *Instruction* are associated with certain “mantological interpretative practices” by which an inspired member of the community is able to interpret the mysteries of the visions and auditions contained in earlier prophetic literature (Brooke, “Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 163).

¹⁰⁶ This is Nissinen’s description (“Transmitting Divine Mysteries,” 531).

¹⁰⁷ Nissinen, “Transmitting Divine Mysteries,” 529–31; and Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 366–71 (cf. 280–90). Note, however, that Jassen does not see the רז נהיה in *Instruction* as strictly limited to scriptural interpretation. Rather, he suggests that “the רז נהיה refers to an undefined body of divine knowledge found in multiple sources. These could include literary or oral works, but likely also refers to empirical knowledge gained through independent contemplation and consideration of natural forces. The רז נהיה is the full range of all perceivable knowledge pertaining to the past, present, and future” (*Mediating the Divine*, 325).

between the “Community Hymns,” which he argues are based on a sapiential tradition, and the “Teacher Hymns” which stem from a prophetic tradition. According to Berg, the divine רזין in the “Community Hymns” pertain to “a knowledge of the regularity of the created order ordained by God” and his covenant with the elect which has been mediated by a divine spirit,¹⁰⁸ while in the “Teacher Hymns” Berg asserts that the רזין do not relate to the cosmic order¹⁰⁹ but rather they pertain to the interpretation of scripture¹¹⁰ and “a particular understanding of the Sinai covenant that the teacher regards as having been revealed to him by God.”¹¹¹ These are only a small sample of the different interpretations that scholars have given regarding God’s revealed mysteries in the *Hodayot*.¹¹²

I have outlined the views of Goff, Perdue, Nissinen, Jassen, and Berg in order to illustrate the lack of consensus among scholars regarding the nature of divine revelation in *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage*. As in the Parable of the Elephant, the concept of revealed knowledge in these texts has been assessed in a piecemeal fashion, identifying parts of the whole without ever coming to understand the whole itself. Because of this, I would suggest that a different approach is needed—one that recognizes that the parts are actually interconnected and that by putting information from the discrete parts together we can create a composite picture of the whole.

¹⁰⁸ Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 173, 183, 190–96.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 237–38.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 225. In his discussion of the “Teacher Hymns” Berg never explicitly states what he thinks the רזין refer to; this has to be inferred from his general argument about the nature of divine revelation in the “Teacher Hymns.”

¹¹² Since I will be considering the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as part of my study, I should note that scholars who are interested in early Jewish mysticism in the Scrolls tend to interpret the *Hodayot* in light of the *Sabbaths Songs*, and they see the revealed mysteries of the *Hodayot* as mystical knowledge of the divine acquired through some form of heavenly ascent and angelification. See, for example, Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 177–213; Alexander, “Genealogy of Western Mysticism,” 225.

In this study I will argue that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage* should be interpreted together as witnesses to a single, distinct revelatory tradition that is not sapiential, apocalyptic, or prophetic, although it uses concepts and terminology from all of these traditions. While these texts certainly contain significant differences with respect to their subject matter and genres, they are in fact legs, tails, and heads that testify to a larger single body (the “elephant”), that is, the revelatory tradition underlying them. By reading these texts in light of one another, we can understand each individual text better and we will be able to reconstruct the revelatory tradition which informed them.

4. The Objective and Outline of This Study

The objective of this study is to examine the content, means, and theological function of divine revelation in *Instruction* (chapter 2), the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (chapter 3), the *Hodayot* (chapter 4), the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (chapter 5), and the *Songs of the Sage* (chapter 6). For each text, my investigation is guided by three general questions: What did God reveal? How did he reveal it? Why is God’s revelation of knowledge important? With respect to the last question, I am particularly interested in the function that divinely revealed knowledge serves within the theological worldview of each text, especially as it relates to the author’s anthropology and soteriology. While each chapter is devoted to a single text, I compare and contrast all of the texts as the study progresses. In chapter 7, I conclude my study by summarizing the principle features of the revelatory tradition underlying these five texts. I also explore the origin of this revelatory tradition, and I argue that it is not a “genetic descendent” of the sapiential, prophetic, or apocalyptic traditions; rather, it is a priestly tradition that originated within the

Jerusalem temple establishment. At the end of chapter 7, I briefly compare the concept of divine revelation in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs* and the *Songs of the Sage* with the notion of divine revelation in two other groups of texts: (1) the *Damascus Document*, the *pesharim*, and parts of the *Community Rule*, and (2) the Aramaic texts found at Qumran.

CHAPTER 2 *INSTRUCTION*

1. Introduction

The text known as *4QInstruction*, or simply *Instruction*,¹ has garnered substantial attention since the mid-1990s. *Instruction* is noteworthy because it conveys classical wisdom teachings framed within an apocalyptic worldview.² The text is a collection of sapiential instructions primarily addressed to the מבין (“understanding one”),³ but interspersed throughout the text are references to God’s act of creation, the angels, and the *eschaton*. One of the major themes of *Instruction* is God’s revelation of certain “mysteries” (רזין), particularly the “mystery of what will be” (רז נהיה). The מבין is instructed to study God’s mysteries so that he can obtain practical skills for daily living as well as an understanding of the pending eschatological judgment. For the author of *Instruction*, practical wisdom is only one part of the knowledge that can be gained by studying God’s mysteries. As a whole, the mysteries of God pertain to his entire created order, and those who study them are able to comprehend his divine plan for the universe.

In this chapter, my goal is to examine the content, means, and theological function of God’s revelation in *Instruction*. I will begin, in §2, by considering the nature of the “mysteries” which God has revealed. Then, in §3, I will examine the so-called “vision of

¹ In earlier literature, scholars often referred to this work as *Sapiential Work A* or *Mûsâr l’Mēvîn*. Recently it has become customary to use the title *4QInstruction*, although in my opinion this title is inappropriate since there is also a Cave 1 manuscript for this work (1Q26). It is better to simply refer to the work as *Instruction*.

² Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 39, 216–18; idem, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos,” 59.

³ Although the author of *Instruction* typically addresses the מבין in the singular, the text seems to be directed to a community of מבינים (see 4Q415 11 5; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 221 3). For convenience, I will use masculine pronouns (he/his/him) when referring to the מבין, but in doing so I am not excluding the possibility that there were female מבינים.

meditation” pericope (4Q417 1 i 13–18) which contains the clearest description of the means of God’s revelation. Finally, in §4, I will investigate the anthropological and soteriological significance of God’s revelation. I will look at how God’s revelation of knowledge rectifies the corrupt human “inclination” (יצר) and allows the מבין to experience a paradisiacal existence in the present and in the *eschaton*. Before I begin, a few words need to be said about the date and provenance of *Instruction*.

1.1. Provenance of *Instruction* and Its Relationship to Other Texts

The present consensus among scholars is that *Instruction* originated from outside of the Qumran community.⁴ Given its extra-Qumran origin, many tend to date the composition between the end of the third and the middle of the second centuries BCE, before the establishment of the settlement at Qumran.⁵ While scholars tend to agree that

⁴ Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Addressees of 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 74–75; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 219–28; idem, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 267; Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom,” 64; Samuel L. Adams, *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions* (JSJSup 125; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 267–69. There are a number of differences between *Instruction* and the texts that are usually considered to be products of the Qumran community (the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, the *pesharim*, etc.). For instance, *Instruction* does not use technical terminology associated with the Qumran community, such as *yahad*, sons of light, or teacher of righteousness. It also makes no mention of an established community institution or a penal code. The differences between *Instruction* and the texts originating from the Qumran community are further discussed by John Strugnell, “The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 595–608; Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 267–68.

⁵ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 46–47; idem, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel,” in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. Antoon Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 130, 157–58; Torleif Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 133–34; idem, “Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 67, 83–84; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and*

Instruction was composed outside of the Qumran community, they have debated whether or not the text emerged from a priestly milieu.⁶ In my judgment, there is substantial evidence that the author had priestly concerns and that he had some affiliation with the priesthood. Lange summarizes the evidence well:

Unlike other Jewish wisdom literature, Musar le Mevin is interested in priestly questions and concerns. Examples include the sacrifice of the firstborn (4Q423 fr. 3, line 4 par 1Q26 fr. 2, line 4), concerns about mixing things (4Q418 fr. 103, lines 2, 6–9; cf. Deut. 22: 9–11), the mention of feasts and seasons (4Q418 fr. 118, line 3; 4Q416 fr. 1, line 3), and references to impurity (4Q417 fr. 4 2: 2; 4Q418 fr. 20, line 2). This interest in priestly matters suggests that Musar le Mevin was written in a priestly milieu which was connected with the Jerusalem Temple.⁷

To these comments by Lange, we should also note a few other passages. In 4Q418 81+81a 1–2, the author states, “he separated you from every spirit of flesh.” Tigchelaar has suggested that we should read this statement as an allusion to Num 8:14, 16:9, and Deut 10:8–9 where the Levites are separated from the sons of Israel.⁸ The Levitical concerns of the author are apparent in line 3 where he writes, “he is your portion and your inheritance.”

Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 247; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 228–32; idem, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 268; idem, *Discerning Wisdom*, 65–67.

⁶ See Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 19–21; Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel,” 131; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 235–36; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 178–87; Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 267. Elgvin has disputed the priestly provenance of *Instruction*. Initially, he suggested that the group responsible for *Instruction* might have merged with a priestly community at a later time. He writes, “We suggest that 4QInstruction reflects non-priestly circles in Judea from the early Hasmonean period and that these circles had developed a distinct community identity. Perhaps these circles later merged with the priestly group of the Righteous Teacher when the community of the *yahad* was formed” (“Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 247). In a later publication, Elgvin argues that the priestly language is symbolic rather than an actual address to priests (“Priestly Sages?” 79–83). Similarly, Adams rejects the idea that *Instruction* emerged from priestly circles, although he concedes that the text has noticeable priestly elements. He writes, “4QInstruction alludes to the ‘law of mixed things’ (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9–11) in 4Q418 103 ii 2–9 and utilizes priestly language in key passages (e.g. 4Q418 81+81a 4), but the cult and the Temple do not receive much attention in this text” (*Wisdom in Transition*, 239). The fact that temple institutions are absent in *Instruction* does not necessitate the conclusion that the author was a layman. It is conceivable that a priest or someone associated with the priesthood could compose a work that did not mention the temple or priesthood.

⁷ Lange, “Wisdom Literature and Thought,” 462. See also the list of passages with cultic interest in Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel,” 131.

⁸ Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 232.

This is an allusion to Num 18:20 and Deut 10:9 where God tells Aaron and the Levites that he is their inheritance. The author of *Instruction* goes on to say in lines 4–5, “just as he appointed you for a most holy one⁹ for al[l] the world, and among all the [g]o[ds] he cast your lot. And your glory he increased greatly, and he appointed you for himself as a firstborn [. . .]” The appointment of a group of people as God’s firstborn is reminiscent of Num 3:12, 45 where God takes the Levites instead of the firstborn Israelite children. Finally, 4Q423 5 1a contains the exhortation, “Take heed, lest you give back to Levi the prie[st . . .]” Lines 1b–2 go on to say, “. . .] the judgment of Korah. And as he uncovered your ear [to the mystery of what will be].” The reference to Korah here calls to mind the rebellion in Numbers 16 when Korah the Levite, along with Dathan, Abiram, and others, sought to usurp the priesthood from Moses and Aaron. This juxtaposition of Korah with a reference to God’s revelation of his mysteries suggests that the addressees of *Instruction* were involved in a priestly dispute with some other group over who had legitimate access to God. Most likely, Korah represents the false priestly pretenders while the author and addressees are part of the community with true priestly authority because God’s has revealed the knowledge of his mysteries to them.

The evidence for a priestly milieu for *Instruction* is admittedly circumstantial. The author never explicitly identifies himself or the addressee as a priest or Levite. Yet, the

⁹ The expression קדוש קודשים should be translated as “most holy one” rather than “holy of holies,” as some have render it (e.g., Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 302; Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* [Rev. ed.; New York: HarperCollins, 2005], 490). Lines 4b–5 contain four parallel cola in an A-B-B-A pattern:

(A) שמכה לקדוש קודשים [לכול] תבל
 (B) ובכול [א]ל[ים] הפיל גורלכה
 (B) וכבודכה הרבה מואדה
 (A) וישמכה לו בכור ב[]

This parallelism indicates that קדוש קודשים is a personal designation equivalent to בכור (“first born”). For a discussion of the phrase קדוש קודשים and its use elsewhere in the Scrolls, see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 233; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 105–8.

priestly concerns are so apparent that it is easier to suppose that the author was associated with the priesthood than not. We cannot simply dismiss this evidence by supposing that a priest could not have written a text filled with sapiential instructions.¹⁰

Certain comments in *Instruction* also allow us to surmise that the author and his intended audience saw themselves as an internally cohesive group distinct from the majority of Jews.¹¹ Like the “sectarian” Qumran community, the community represented in *Instruction* believed that they alone possessed knowledge of God’s hidden mysteries.¹² They are the men of God’s favor (אנשי רצון)¹³ and they describe themselves as the מטעת עו[לם] (“eter[nal] planting”)—the eschatological community of the righteous elect.¹⁴ Although *Instruction* lacks a strong polemical tone,¹⁵ the author certainly felt that his

¹⁰ For example, Strugnell and Harrington attempt to dismiss the priestly language of 4Q418 81+81a 4–5 on such grounds (*DJD XXXIV*, 305).

¹¹ I would disagree with Tigchelaar who argues that the “composition apparently intends to admonish people from all layers of society to behave according to their God-given ordained position” (“The Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 75). Adams has shown that the audience and author of *Instruction* existed in “a marginalized social location.” The addressees are clearly of limited economic means, and the text shows little concern for the wealthy or elite, although *Instruction* does not condemn the wealthy as is done in the *Epistle of Enoch*. See Adams, *Wisdom in Transition*, 235–42 (quote from page 237); idem, “Rethinking the Relationship between 4QInstruction and Ben Sira,” *RevQ* 24 (2010): 560–62; also John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 118–119; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 145–67, 226; Benjamin G. Wright, “The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 109–23. Berg remarks, “the author understands the world to be constituted by pairs of moral opposites that manifest themselves according to a divine plan. While not in itself conclusive proof of sectarianism, it cannot be denied that dualism is often the handmaiden of sectarian identity” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 86–87). He goes on to argue that the rhetorical language of *Instruction* is “broadly ‘sectarian’” in nature (92–94).

¹² See Shane Berg, “Ben Sira, the Genesis Creation Accounts, and the Knowledge of God’s Will,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 156. In comparing the community behind *Instruction* with the Qumran community I am not suggesting that the group responsible for *Instruction* existed as a closed association. *Instruction* does not evince the same geographical or social isolationism that marked the Qumran community.

¹³ 4Q418 81+81a 10. Cf. the terminology בני רצונה / רצונו in 1QH^a XII 33–34; XIX 12.

¹⁴ 4Q418 81+81a 13. Cf. מטע in 4Q423 1–2 i 7. On the use of this terminology in *Instruction*, see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 511; Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 324–26; Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 242–44; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 112–15.

¹⁵ However, compare the relatively damning prediction of judgment in 4Q418 69 ii 4–9.

community was distinct from the rest of society because of the knowledge that God had revealed to them. Like the *Hodayot* psalmist and his community in 1QH^a XVI, the author of *Instruction* declares that those who have received knowledge from God presently exist in a Garden of Eden (4Q423 1–2 i 1–9) while those who have rejected knowledge live outside of the garden in a cursed state (4Q417 1 i 17–18). The author and his community are a “spiritual people” with a “holy spirit” (4Q417 1 i 16; 4Q416 2 ii 6), and God has separated them “from every spirit of flesh” who will ultimately be destroyed (4Q418 81+81a 1–2; cf. 4Q423 5 7).¹⁶

Given the priestly concerns and the marginalization of the author and his audience, I would suggest that *Instruction* originated as hortatory teaching material for the followers of a group of dissociated priests¹⁷ who believed that God had revealed special knowledge to them.¹⁸ This group of priests and their followers (the מְבִינִים) might have had a direct or indirect relationship to the Qumran community.¹⁹ If the community behind *Instruction* was

¹⁶ Because of what I interpret as clear insider vs. outsider language and concepts in *Instruction*, I cannot fully accept the comments by Strugnell and Harrington: “Moreover, considered sociologically, 4Q415ff. does not reflect a specific sect or closed community like that of Qumran, nor an earlier quasi-sectarian group. Indeed, it is dubious whether one should talk of communities or groups at all in looking for the background of this work” (*DJD XXXIV*, 36). While it is true that *Instruction* may not represent a “sect or closed community like that of Qumran,” *Instruction* certainly does represent a group of people who are bound together by their adherence to God’s special revelation. These are the “spiritual people” who presently exist in a Garden of Eden and who will be rewarded in the *eschaton* when all others suffer divine wrath.

¹⁷ In using the term “dissociated” I am being intentionally vague. The priests responsible for *Instruction* might have been disestablished from the temple, but this is not necessarily the case. They might have continued in priestly service but felt disconnected from the temple because they alone possessed true knowledge of God’s will.

¹⁸ I would suggest that *Instruction* reflects a group of priests, instead of just one priestly leader. This seems to be the case since *Instruction* speaks of multiple teachers, מְשִׁכִּילִים. I would speculate that these מְשִׁכִּילִים are priests who claimed to have special knowledge from God. On the מְשִׁכִּילִים in *Instruction* see §3.3 below.

¹⁹ Elgvin and Goff have suggested that *Instruction* was used in the “camps” mentioned in the *Damascus Document*. See Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 246; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 226–27. However, Schiffman has demonstrated that two of the halakhic regulations in *Instruction*, vows for married women and the law of mixed species, differ from the *Damascus Document*. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the*

related in some way to the Qumran community, it would explain why *Instruction* is alluded to so frequently in texts composed by the Qumran community²⁰ and why so many copies were found at Qumran.²¹ Such a hypothesis also helps to account for the fact that *Instruction* shares several important themes with the texts that originated from the Qumran community, especially the belief that the righteous are able know God's רזין and the separation of the righteous from others based on their knowledge. There are also significant terminological similarities, such as אל הדעות, בני אמת, בני שמים, כוח גבורה, מקור, כוח גבורה, בני שמים, בני אמת, אל הדעות, עולם, רזי פלא, רז נהיה, סוד אמת, עולם, חוק, חרת together with חוק.²² It would appear that the Qumran community adopted many of the technical terms used in *Instruction* and reemployed them in its own writings. The best explanation for this is that *Instruction* was produced by a group with whom the Qumran community had some familiarity, and the priestly language in *Instruction* suggests that, like the Qumran community, this was a group of dissociated priests who claimed to have access to God's mysteries.

Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001 (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 89–100.

²⁰ The *Hodayot*, *Damascus Document*, and 1QSa make reference to *Instruction*. See n. 93 and 94 below.

²¹ There are seven, or possibly eight, extant copies of *Instruction*, all dated paleographically to the Herodian period. These are 1Q26; 4Q415–418; 4Q418a; and 4Q423. 4Q418c (formerly 4Q418 161) might represent an eighth manuscript (see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 501).

²² For example, אל הדעות is found in 4Q417 1 i 8 and 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13–14. בני אמת is used in 4Q416 1 10 and 1QM XVII 8; 1QH^a XIV 32; XV 32–33; XVII 35. בני שמים occurs in 4Q416 1 12 and 1QS XI 8; 1QH^a XI 23; XXIII 30. כוח גבורה is found in 4Q418 159 ii 3 (partially reconstructed) and 1QS XI 19; 1QH^a V 15; XII 33. The phrase מקור עולם is attested in 4Q418 81+81a 1 and 1QH^a XIV 20–21; XVI 9. The words סוד אמת are used in 4Q417 1 i 8 and 1QH^a IX 29; X 12; 4Q286 1 ii 7. The expression רז נהיה is found in 4Q416 2 i 5 and 1QS XI 3–4. Finally, the use of the verb חרת together with חוק occurs in 4Q417 1 i 14–15 and 1QS X 6, 8; 4Q511 63–64 ii 3. (This is not an exhaustive list of every occurrence of these phrases.) Some additional terminological similarities between the Qumran compositions and *Instruction* are discussed by Torleif Elgvin, “Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise, et al. ANYAS 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 185–86.

2. The Content of God's Revelation in *Instruction*

2.1. The רז נהיה: God's Design for His Creation

Since its initial publication in the early 1990s, scholars have been fascinated with *Instruction* because the text is concerned with traditional wisdom teachings but it sees practical wisdom as the product of divine revelation. A true understanding of God's created order is only available to those who seek to understand the special revelation that God has given. For example, in 4Q416 2 iii 12–16 the wisdom of proper familial relationships is associated with God's revelation of knowledge:

If you are poor, do not say: I am poor and (therefore) I can no[t] seek knowledge. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, and with every [. . .] refine your heart, and with much knowledge your thoughts. Investigate the mystery of what will be (רז נהיה), and consider all paths of truth, and observe closely all the roots of injustice. Then you will know what is better for a human being and what is sweet for a man. Honour your father in your poverty, and your mother in your steps.²³

It is now generally recognized that the author of *Instruction* favored the expression רז נהיה (“mystery of what will be”) to denote the content of God's revelation to the מבין.²⁴ The addressee is told to consider (נבט), seek (דרש), acquire (לקח), and meditate upon (הגה) the רז נהיה (4Q416 2 i 5; 2 iii 14; 4Q418 77 4; 4Q418 43–45 i 4). At least four times,²⁵ the

²³ Translation from *DSSSE*, 853, with slight modification.

²⁴ The expression רז נהיה is found in 1Q26 1 1, 4; 4Q415 6 4; 4Q416 2 i 5 (= 4Q417 2 i 10–11); 4Q416 2 iii 9, 14, 18, 21; 4Q417 1 i 6, 8, 18, 21; 4Q418 77 2, 4; 123 ii 4; 172 1; and 184 2. Strugnell and Harrington (*DJD XXXIV*) reconstruct the words רז נהיה in 4Q415 24 1; 4Q416 17 3; 4Q417 1 ii 3; 4Q418 179 3; 190 2–3; 201 1; 4Q418c 8; 4Q423 3 2; 5 2; and 7 7. The expression also is attested once in the Final Psalm of the *Community Rule* (1QS XI 3–4) and twice in *Mysteries* (1Q27 1 i 3–4). While the author of *Instruction* prefers the expression רז נהיה he also uses the terms רזי פלא (4Q417 1 i 2, 13; cf. 4Q418 219 2), רזיכה (4Q416 2 ii 8; 4Q417 1 i 25), רזיו (4Q418 177 7a), כול שורשי עולה (4Q416 2 iii 14; 4Q418 9 15), and כול שורשי בינה (4Q418 55 9) to refer to the content of God's revelation.

²⁵ 1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 17–18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; and 184 2. Strugnell and Harrington also reconstruct this phrase in 4Q418 190 2–3; 4Q423 5 2–3; and 7 6–7 (*DJD XXXIV*). In 4Q423 7 6–7, almost the entire phrase has to be restored, but there is good reason for thinking that this reconstruction is correct. The extant text of *Instruction* uses the verb גלה seven times, five of which occur as part of the phrase גלה גלה. Of the two remaining occurrences of גלה, one is in 4Q423 7 6. Thus, statistically, it is very likely that the reconstruction of 4Q423 7 6–7 is correct.

extant text of *Instruction* asserts that God has גלה אִזְנוֹכָה בְּרוֹז נְהִיָּה (“uncovered your ear to²⁶ the mystery of what will be”).²⁷ The expression רִז נְהִיָּה is usually interpreted to mean the entire plan of God from creation to the *eschaton*.²⁸ Elgvin defines רִז נְהִיָּה as, “a

²⁶ Jassen sees the *bet* on בְּרוֹז נְהִיָּה as instrumental and translates the expression as, “he . . . has revealed to your ear . . . through the mystery that is to come” (*Mediating the Divine*, 319–20). However, the preposition *bet* most likely indicates the content of God’s revelation, not the means of revelation. Cf. CD II 2–3, וְאִגְלָה אִזְנוֹכֶם בְּדַרְכֵי רִשְׁעִים.

²⁷ In the Hebrew Bible, גלה + אִזְנוֹן can be used of normal human to human disclosure of information (Ruth 4:4; 1 Sam 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8, 17) or of divine revelation (1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chr 17:25; Job 36:10, 15). In *Instruction*, it is not entirely clear in every case who is the subject of גלה. Yet, in 4Q423 5 2–3 and 7 6–7, the context undoubtedly indicates that God is the subject. In 4Q416 2 iii 18, Strugnell and Harrington have suggested emending גלוּ to גלה based on the sense of the passage. This emendation would make the addressee’s parents the subject of גלוּ (*DJD XXXIV*, 122). However, this proposal should be rejected. The expression רִז נְהִיָּה גלה אִזְנוֹכָה בְּרוֹז נְהִיָּה is remarkably consistent throughout *Instruction*, with only a few minor variations. In all other cases, the verb is written as a third person singular. More importantly, the parallel structure of 4Q416 2 iii 17–19 confirms that God is the subject of גלה. These lines can be diagrammed as follows:

(A) וְכַאֲשֶׁר הַמְשִׁילְמָה בְּכַה וַיִּצַר עַל הָרוּחַ
 (B) כִּן עֹבְדֵם
 (A) וְכַאֲשֶׁר גָּלָה אִזְנוֹכָה בְּרוֹז נְהִיָּה
 (B) כְּבָדֵם לְמַעַן כְּבוֹדָהּ
 (B) וְ[בִן] הַדֹּר פְּנִיָּהּ לְמַעַן חַיִּיכָה וְאִרוּךְ יָמֶיהָ

Both (A) cola are assertions about what God has done for the מְבִיֵן, while the (B) cola state how the addressee should respond. We should conclude, then, that *Instruction* sees God as the primary revealer of hidden knowledge, and this role is never ascribed to parents.

²⁸ Regarding the meaning of the words רִז נְהִיָּה, see Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 57–61, 91–92, 120; Daniel J. Harrington, “The *Rāz Nihyeh* in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 549–53; idem, “Mystery,” in *EDSS*, 590; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 121–23; idem, “Wisdom Reconsidered,” 272–74; idem, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom,” 55; idem, “The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 288–91; Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 232–40; idem, “The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 131–39; Billah Nitzan, “The Idea of Creation and Its Implications in Qumran Literature,” in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman; JSOTSup 319; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 249–54; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 30–42, 54–79; idem, *Discerning Wisdom*, 23–28; idem, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos,” 61–63; idem, “Recent Trends,” 380–83; Kister, “Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres,” 30–35; James E. Harding, “The Mystery of What Shall Be: Interpreting 1Q/4QMysteries in the Context of Qumran,” in *Anafim: Proceedings of the “Australian Jewish Studies Forum”*, University of Sydney, 8–9 February 2004 (ed. Suzanne Faigan; Sydney: Mandelbaum, 2006), 111–21; Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 318–28; Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran*, 150–60; Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie* (STDJ 81; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 284–92; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 45–47; John Ashton, “‘Mystery’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel,” in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate* (ed. Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher; SBLEJL 32; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 53–68.

comprehensive word for God's mysterious plan for creation and history, His plan for man and for redemption of the elect."²⁹ Collins offers a similar definition calling the רז נהיה "a comprehensive term for the entire divine plan, embracing past, present and future."³⁰ Goff states that the רז נהיה "signifies a divine deterministic plan that guides the entire range of history and creation, presented to the addressee as a revealed truth."³¹ Those who investigate or consider the רז נהיה will gain insight into the way that the world works and their place in God's design.

The word רז in *Instruction*, as well as in the other texts I will examine, can be defined as the inscrutable way that something happens or will happen.³² The word denotes an action or operation that is normally beyond understanding.³³ In the Scrolls, רז is used to

²⁹ Elgvin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 235.

³⁰ Collins, "The Eschatologizing of Wisdom," 55.

³¹ Matthew Goff, "Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life: Genesis 1–3 in the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction," in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 142; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3.

³² For studies done during the 1950s–1960s on the word רז in the Scrolls, and especially its relationship to the use of *μυστήριον* in the New Testament, see ch. 1 n. 55. More recent studies include: Joseph Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of Saint Paul and Its Parallels at Qumran," in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor and James H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1990), 132–58; Daniel J. Harrington, "Mystery," in *EDSS*, 588–91; Wolfson, "Seven Mysteries of Knowledge," 177–213; Benjamin L. Gladd, *Revealing the Mysterion: The Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with Its Bearing on First Corinthians* (BZNTW 160; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 51–84; Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran*, 81–186. For the use of רז in the Talmud, see H. W. Basser, "The Rabbinic Attempt to Democratize Salvation and Revelation," *SR* 12 (1983): 27–33.

³³ While scholars usually note that רז has the meaning of "mystery" or "inscrutability," they seldom mention that רז also denotes a process or the way in which something happens. This operational aspect of רז is apparent in two parallel statements in 1QH^a XIX 7 and 12–13. Lines 7 declares [ה]בִּינֹתַי בְּסוּד אִמְתַּכָּה ("you have caused me to understand the basis of your truth and have instructed me in your wondrous works"). Lines 12–13 contain almost exactly the same words: הוֹדַעְתֶּם בְּסוּד אִמְתַּכָּה וּבְרִזִי פְּלֹאכָה ("you have caused them to know the basis of your truth and have instructed them in your wondrous mysteries"). Other than swapping ידע for בין and minor changes in word order and person, the only difference between these two statements is that the former has במעשי while the latter has ברזי. The author apparently felt that in this context מעשה and רז overlap enough in meaning that they could function as approximate synonyms. In 1QH^a XIX 7 and 12–13 both expressions, רזי פלא and מעשי פלא, refer to the unfathomable actions of God carried out in accordance with his divine plan. 4Q299 5 2 also emphasizes the functional/operational aspect of רז. This fragmentary text states, גב[וֹרֹת רִזִי אֹר וּדְרָכֵי הוֹשֵׁן] ("migh[ty] mysteries of light and ways of dark[ness]"). The contrasting parallelism of רז and דרך highlights the nature of רז as the means by which something happens.

describe the inscrutability of God's way of acting or thinking. We encounter phrases such as רזי הפצו ("mysteries of his pleasure"),³⁴ רזי חכמתה ("mysteries of your wisdom"),³⁵ רזי (י) שכלכה/ו ("mystery[ies] of your/his insight"),³⁶ and רזי ערמתו ("mysteries of his prudence").³⁷ God's mercy, grace, and forgiveness are referred to as "mysteries."³⁸ There are about half a dozen occurrences of the phrase רזי אל in the Scrolls, often used in reference to the destruction of evil in the *eschaton*.³⁹ The word רז is also used to describe the unfathomable ways in which evil operates in the world. We find reference to the רזי פשע ("mysteries of iniquity"),⁴⁰ and 1QM XIV 9 uses רז to refer to the scheming of Belial: כול רזי שטמתו ("all the mysteries of his enmity"). Perhaps most instructive is the use of רז to denote the cosmic design which regulates the operation of the universe. For example, 1QH^a IX 11–15 describes how God stretched out the heavens and created certain cosmological or meteorological objects and phenomena to function according to a set plan. Among the objects mentioned are the מאורות ("luminaries") which operate לרזיהם ("according to their mysteries"). The word רז is used again as a regulatory term at the end of this list, in 1QH^a IX 15, although the cosmological object created by God is now lost in the lacuna: [] לרזיהם.⁴¹

³⁴ 1QH^a XXI 27.

³⁵ 1QH^a XVII 23.

³⁶ 1QS IV 18; 1QH^a V 30; XX 16.

³⁷ 1QpHab VII 4; 4Q491 11 i 10.

³⁸ CD III 18; 1QH^a XV 29–30; 4Q286 1 ii 8.

³⁹ 1QS III 23; 1QpHab VII 8; 1QM III 9; XVI 11, 16. See also 4Q511 2 ii 6 (רזי אלוהים).

⁴⁰ 1Q27 1 i 2; 1QH^a XIII 38; XXIV 9. Cf. 1QapGen I 2 (רזי רשעא).

⁴¹ In *1 En.* 41:3 meteorological phenomena (lightning, thunder, winds, clouds, dew) are governed by certain "mysteries." In the Hermetic literature, the word *μυστήριον* is used to denote the hidden processes that govern the cosmos, including the realm of divine beings. See Christian H. Bull, "The Notion of Mysteries in the Formation of Hermetic Tradition," in *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty* (ed. Christian H. Bull, Liv Ingeborg Lied and John D. Turner; NHMS 76; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 399–425. Bull describes the mysteries as "the hidden reality or forces underlying the cosmic, phenomenal world" (421).

The expression רז נהיה has been translated in various ways, including “the approaching mystery,”⁴² “le mystère future,”⁴³ “the mystery of existence,”⁴⁴ “the secret of the way things are,”⁴⁵ “the mystery that is to be,”⁴⁶ and “the mystery of that which was coming into being.”⁴⁷ Most scholars now take רז נהיה as a *niphal* participle,⁴⁸ although there is debate about whether רז נהיה has a strictly future temporal sense or a more trans-temporal meaning.⁴⁹ The real difficulty in interpreting רז נהיה is the syntax. Does רז נהיה qualify רז as an adjectival participle or is רז נהיה substantival and in construct to רז?⁵⁰ If we understand רז to mean something like an “unknowable plan/design” or “the inscrutable way that something happens,” then it makes more sense to interpret רז נהיה as the “inscrutable design of what will be” rather than the “inscrutable design that will be.” The former treats רז נהיה as a substantive and understands the phrase רז נהיה to mean an inscrutable design pertaining to things that will come into being. The latter interpretation, “the inscrutable design that will be,” takes רז נהיה adjectivally and understands רז נהיה as a design that is not yet present, but will exist at some point in the future. This latter interpretation is not how the Scrolls use רז נהיה. Regardless of how we translate רז נהיה, it is clearly something that already exists for the

⁴² Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 403. Vermes also translates רז נהיה as “the mystery to come” (p. 115).

⁴³ 1Q27 1 i 3–4, as translated by J. T. Milik in *DJD I*, 103.

⁴⁴ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 67.

⁴⁵ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 483.

⁴⁶ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 34. Goff prefers this translation over “the mystery that is to come,” which is used by Strugnell and Harrington in *DJD XXXIV*.

⁴⁷ 4Q300 3 4, as translated by Schiffman in *DJD XX*, 105.

⁴⁸ Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, (WUNT 2/36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 54 n. 77. Rofé interprets the form as a *niphal* perfect (“Revealed Wisdom,” 2 n. 3).

⁴⁹ See Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 33–34, 54–61.

⁵⁰ In a survey of 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, and 1QH^a, Muraoka states, “Every nominalized singular participle in our corpus is invariably determined by means of the definite article.” This said, Muraoka goes on to note that the one possible exception is the *qal* and *niphal* participles of היה. In other words, the anarthrous participle of this verb can function adjectivally or substantivally. See Takamitsu Muraoka, “Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira. Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 104–6.

writers. In 1QS XI 3–4, the psalmist has already observed the רז נהיה. Likewise, in *Instruction*, the reader is exhorted to meditate on or consider the רז נהיה, with the assumption that it already exists (e.g. 4Q417 1 i 18). Perhaps most significantly, 4Q417 1 i 8–9 claims that when God created the world he laid the foundation of truth by means of the רז נהיה. 4Q417 1 i 8–9 implies that the רז נהיה existed with God at the beginning of time, and by it he established the principles of the universe. Thus, it is best to interpret רז נהיה as the “mystery of what will be,” meaning the inscrutable way that the future will unfold.⁵¹

As commentators on *Instruction* have noted, the knowledge that one obtains by understanding the רז נהיה is vast.⁵² It encompasses knowledge of agricultural seasons (4Q423 3 1–5), animal husbandry (4Q418 172 1–14), proper marriage practices (4Q416 2 iii 21–iv 13), and the origins (מולד) of certain events.⁵³ The רז נהיה informs one of how to behave properly before God (4Q416 2 iii 14; 4Q417 1 i 6, 18).⁵⁴ It is the source of all דעת (4Q418 69 ii 11), בינה (4Q418 55 5–6), שכל (4Q418 81+81a 9), and חכמה (4Q417 1 i 6).⁵⁵

⁵¹ Goff tries to avoid a strictly future sense in his translation of the phrase, pointing out that “רז נהיה” extends throughout all history.” Yet, if we understand that the רז נהיה existed before creation and extends forward through all time, then a future translation does not conflict with the fact that רז נהיה may cover the past, present, or future from the author’s perspective. For Goff’s arguments, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 34; idem, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos,” 61–62; idem, “Genesis 1–3 and Conceptions of Humankind in 4QInstruction, Philo and Paul,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical Studies* (ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; SSEJC 15; LNTS 392; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 115; idem, “Recent Trends,” 381; idem, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 3.

⁵² The breadth of this knowledge is outlined by Goff, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos,” 62, 66–67.

⁵³ See especially 4Q416 2 iii 9 and 4Q417 2 i 11. Regarding the meaning of מולד, see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 113; Matthew Morgenstern, “The Meaning of בית מולדים in the Qumran Wisdom Texts,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 141–44; Goff, “Recent Trends,” 382–83; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 45 n. 19.

⁵⁴ In 4Q416 2 ii 8–9, God’s prescribed חוקים seem to be synonymous with the רזין that govern the addressee. By observing God’s mysteries, one adheres to his statutes.

⁵⁵ Elgvin believes that the רז נהיה has effectively replaced divine wisdom in *Instruction*. Largely, he bases this argument on the fact that the רז נהיה is the source of wisdom and on his interpretation that the רז נהיה, not חוכמה, is God’s agent in creation (4Q417 1 i 8–10). However, divine wisdom and the רז נהיה are not as similar as Elgvin supposes. The latter is never personified or hypostatized. The רז נהיה is never contrasted with words like “folly.” To be precise, the רז נהיה is not God’s agent in creation; it is the schematic or

Consideration of the רז נהיה can yield insight into the glory of God's might,⁵⁶ his wondrous mysteries, and his mighty works. It can give one the ability to discern between good and evil⁵⁷ and a foreknowledge of eschatological rewards and punishments (4Q418 77 2–4). In 4Q418 123 ii 2–3, the רז נהיה is associated with “the coming in of years and the going out of times,” and “all that will be in it, why it has been and what will be.”⁵⁸ All of this knowledge is available to those who consider the רז נהיה because the רז נהיה is God's comprehensive cosmic design that governs all created things.

The relationship between the רז נהיה and God's creation is explained in 4Q417 1 i 8–9. Here, the author writes, כִּי־אֵל הַדְּעוֹת סוּד אִמַּת וּבְרָזוּ נְהִיָּה פֶּרֶשׂ אֶתְ אֹשֶׁה (“For the God of knowledge is the basis⁵⁹ of truth and by the mystery of what will be he spread⁶⁰ its

blueprint by which he establishes all that ought to be and ought not to be. Fundamentally, God's wisdom and the רז נהיה refer to different principles. His wisdom is a reference to God's rational, decision making faculty, while the רז נהיה denotes the design that God uses to construct and order the world. For Elgvin's views, see his article, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 235, 237; idem, “Wisdom at Qumran,” 154, 157–58.

⁵⁶ Cf. 4Q418 126 ii 9–10.

⁵⁷ In *Instruction*, the knowledge of good and evil is a key concept that separates the righteous from the unrighteous. It is more than moral awareness; it is “wisdom about the divine framework in which human life is to be understood” (Goff, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 5). The knowledge of good and evil is comparable to the knowledge of truth and iniquity (4Q417 1 i 6–8; 4Q416 2 iii 14–15). These merisms signify a comprehensive understanding of the way that something aligns with God's plan. This is illustrated by the fact that *Instruction* even applies the knowledge of good and evil to the proper timing of one's harvest (4Q423 5 5–6).

⁵⁸ In 1QS XI 3–4, רז נהיה is associated with הוּיָא עוֹלָם (“what exists eternally”).

⁵⁹ In the expression סוּד אִמַּת, the word סוּד should be understood as “foundation” or “basis.” While סוּד can mean “council” or “assembly” (e.g., 1QS VI 19), “counsel” (e.g., 1QS IV 1–2), or “secret” (e.g., 1QH^a XII 28–29), in the texts from Qumran the word has acquired the additional meaning of “foundation” or “basis.” This was probably the result of associating סוּד with the word יסוד which means “foundation” or “base” (*DJD XXXIV*, 158; Qimron, *HDSS*, §500.3). For example, 4Q525 15 6 states, סוּדוֹ לְהַבִּי גּוֹפְרִית וּמְכֻנָּהוּ (“Its foundation is flames of brimstone and its place is fi[re]”). The parallelism of סוּד and מְכֻנָּה makes it clear that סוּד has a structural meaning here. A similar use of סוּד to mean “foundation” is found in 4Q286 1 ii 4: וְרוֹם כְּבוֹד סוּד קְדוּשׁ וּמְקוֹר זֹהָר וְרוֹם תְּפָאֵרַת (“and a height of glory, a foundation of holiness, and a fountain of brilliance, and a height of beauty”). In this line there is an up-down-down-up parallelism of location terms in which מְקוֹר and סוּד represent the foundation or base. Likewise, in line 6–7 סוּד is used in a string of mostly structural terms: מְכֻנָּה, אוּצֵר, תְּבִנִית. During her work on *4QBerakhot*, Nitzan observed that סוּד is frequently paralleled with the words מְקוֹה and מְקוֹר. She mentions a couple instances of such parallelism in *4QBerakhot* (4Q286 1 ii 4, 6–7) and possibly one in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 1–2). See Bilhah Nitzan, “4QBerakhot (4Q286–290): A Preliminary Report,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies. Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed.

foundation”). Commentators have often interpreted this to mean that God formed the world by means of the *רז נהיה*.⁶¹ Implicitly, this is true; but it is not exactly what the author meant. The third person feminine singular suffix on *אושה* refers back to *אמת*, not to an abstract notion of creation.⁶² The author is asserting that God is the source for all truth and by means of his cosmic design, the *רז נהיה*, he spread out the foundation of truth. This passage utilizes an architectural analogy. The *רז נהיה* is the design or blueprint that God used to construct the foundation upon which all truth is grounded. God is the cosmic architect and his blueprint, the *רז נהיה*, is the universal standard that determines the correct operation of all things.⁶³ Having established the standard of truth, God then created the world in accordance with his truth.

In the worldview of *Instruction*, every aspect of creation is supposed to function according to God’s design. This emphasis on the orderly processes of creation is immediately evident at the beginning of *Instruction* (4Q416 1).⁶⁴ Here, the author describes

George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 66 n. 28. To these we should add 4Q511 63 iii 1–2; 1QH^a IX 24; XIII 28 (paralleled with *מעין*); and 1QH^a V 32, if the reconstruction is correct. The reason for this parallelism may have to do with a perceived conceptual similarity between *סוד* and *מקור/מקודה/מעין*. In all of these passages where *סוד* is paralleled with *מקור/מקודה/מעין* it is possible that *סוד*, via its meaning of “foundation,” has taken on the additional nuance of a “source.”

⁶⁰ The verb *פרש* is not typically used for laying a foundation. Although *פרש* is unusual here, the author of *Instruction* probably chose this word because it depicts God spreading out the heavens like a cloth. The use of *פרש* in line 9 might also have been prompted by the use of *פרש* in lines 10–11: having “spread” (*פרש*) the foundation of truth, God “expounded” (*פרש*) his truth to the righteous so that they could walk in it. Cf. 4Q418 126 ii 4 where *פרש* is used in parallel with *שים* in a context that appears to describe God’s creation of the heavenly host.

⁶¹ See Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 235; Goff, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos,” 66; Lange, “Wisdom Literature and Thought,” 458–59.

⁶² Berg (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 54–56, 58) and Strugnell and Harrington (*DJD XXXIV*, 154, 158–59) have correctly interpreted the feminine suffix as referring to *אמת*. In his earlier work, Lange transcribed *אישה* instead of *אושה*, although he acknowledged that the transcription was uncertain (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 50, 52, 62). Lange did note that if the word was transcribed as *אושה*, the feminine suffix would refer to *אמת* (62 n. 82).

⁶³ In *Instruction*, the *רז נהיה* is described as the standard by which all things are done and measured. For example, in 4Q415 6 4, the author states, “By the *רז נהיה* test these things.”

⁶⁴ Many scholars have observed that the fragment 4Q416 1 has an unusually wide right margin, and from this they conclude that this fragment is the beginning of the manuscript. See Strugnell and Harrington,

God establishing the astronomical bodies that regulate the times and seasons.⁶⁵ In 4Q418 69 ii 3–4, we get another glimpse of how the created elements operate according to God’s design. The passage states, “Do not their [] move about in truth (באמת) and in knowledge (בדעת) all of their waves?” Although the context is now lost, these lines seem to refer to certain bodies of water moving about in accordance with the divine plan. Most of *Instruction* is concerned with humans adhering to God’s cosmic design in all aspects of their lives, whether it is marriage, agriculture, or business interactions. God’s design governs all of creation, and every aspect of creation must conform to it or suffer God’s wrath.

2.2. God’s Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

The רז נהיה is not only a cosmic blueprint which God uses to construct and order the universe, it is also the legal basis for God’s covenant with creation. I would argue that the author of *Instruction* envisioned a reality in which God exists in a covenantal relationship with his creation. When God created the universe, he established certain statutes according to his divine design which are meant to govern the created order.⁶⁶ All created things are

DJD XXXIV, 17–19; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 155–62, 175–93; idem, “Toward a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 99–126. Lange comments on the possibility that 4Q417 1 i preserves an earlier and shorter introduction to the work, while the text preserved in 4Q416 1 was added later (“Wisdom Literature and Thought,” 461–62; see also the assessment by Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 191–92).

⁶⁵ Cf. 4Q418 126 ii 1–4 where *Instruction* describes God’s creation of a certain “host” (perhaps the host of celestial bodies or the host of human and angelic spirits). Lines 3–4 describe how this “host” operates according to God’s truth: “[For] with a true e[ph]ah and a right weight God has meted out all . . . [. . .] He has spread them out, in truth has He established them.”

⁶⁶ The idea that God established a covenant with creation can be found in Job (14:5; 26:10; 28:23–27; 37:12–13, 16; 38:10, 12, 33), *I Enoch*, Wisdom of Solomon, and Philo. For example, Philo writes, “Now the divine covenant consists of all the incorporeal principles, forms and measures for the whole of all the things of which this world was made” (*QG* 3.40). Again, he states, “Since He had earlier spoken of the covenant, He says, ‘Do not seek it in writing, for I Myself am, in the highest sense, the genuine covenant.’ For after showing Himself and saying, ‘I,’ He adds, ‘behold My covenant,’ (as if to say, ‘This is) nothing else but Me, for I am that same covenant by which pacts are made and formed and agreed upon, and, moreover,

supposed to operate according to the laws of the “cosmic covenant,”⁶⁷ and if they transgress those laws they will be punished and destroyed.

In *Instruction*, God’s cosmic design, the רז נהיה, consists of certain statutes, the חוקים, which are meant to govern the operation of the cosmos.⁶⁸ These חוקים are the covenantal laws that God has set in place for his creation so that it can operate according to

all things are well distributed and set apart.’ This is the archetypal form of covenant, composed of ideas and incorporeal measures and principles, through which this world was completed” (*QG* 3.42). The concept of a divine covenant with creation has been most thoroughly examined in *1 Enoch*. See Margaret Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK, 1991), 78–82; Mark Elliott, “Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book,” in *Henoch: The Origins of Enochic Judaism. Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19–23, 2001* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2002), 23–38; Harry Alan Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.19–22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (LNTS 336; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 30, 99–108; Helge S. Kvanvig, “Enochic Judaism—a Judaism without the Torah and the Temple?” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Iba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 171–72. Regarding the Enoch literature, Elliott writes, “The very idea of order-in-creation in Judaism was apparently given covenantal import. There is an order for everything and breaking this order breaks God’s order established (as it was understood) in the covenant, which was viewed as God’s act of returning order to chaos” (“Covenant and Cosmology,” 29). Hahne observes that God established the cosmic covenant for the purpose of “setting limits to the created bodies and binding the forces of chaos” (*The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 103 n. 22). In the *Similitudes* of *1 Enoch*, God is said to have established a covenant that governs the operation of the cosmos (*1 En.* 41:5–6; 43:2; 69:16–26). Hahne has noted that the objects of creation are personified in the *Similitudes* and held morally accountable to keep God commandments, just like humans (*The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 99–100). Normally, the created things operate “faithfully” according to God’s design (see *1 En.* 74:12, 17; 80:6 where בקשות is used to describe the heavenly bodies); but, the created things can be led astray, like humans, by the corrupting influence of the Watchers (e.g., *1 En.* 69:28; Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 104–5). For the notion of a cosmic covenant in the Wisdom of Solomon, see Randall D. Chesnutt, “Covenant and Cosmos in Wisdom of Solomon 10–19,” in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 223–49. For general discussions of the divine covenant with creation, see Robert Murray, *The Cosmic Covenant: Biblical Themes of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007; repr., London: Sheed & Ward, 1992); William J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation: An Old Testament Covenantal Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1984), 11–43; idem, “Creation, Covenant and Work,” *ERT* 13 (1989): 138–40.

⁶⁷ Hahne, Murray, and Barker use the expression “cosmic covenant” as a label for God’s covenant with creation that regulates the heavenly bodies, the seas, and other natural phenomena. See Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 78–82; Murray, *The Cosmic Covenant*, xx–xxi; Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 30, 103–8.

⁶⁸ Cf. Job where the word חוק is used to denote the limits or regulations that God has imposed upon the various aspects of creation, including the seas (Job 26:10; 38:10; cf. Prov 8:29; Jer 5:22), the age of humanity (Job 14:5) and the rains (Job 28:26). In other texts, the חוקים direct the angels and spirits (4Q400 1 i 5, 9; 1QH^a IX 12), the elements of nature (Sir 39:31; 42:15–43:33), and humans as well (4Q417 1 i 14).

his will.⁶⁹ The statutes of God's design form, in effect, the legal basis for his covenant with creation. These statutes are also "mysterious" in that they are beyond normal human understanding.⁷⁰ According to *Instruction*, the statutes of God's design are engraved upon heavenly tablets situated near his throne (4Q417 1 i 14–15; see §3.1 below).⁷¹ The righteous person who understands the רז נהיה is able to comprehend the statutes of God (4Q417 6 2) and live in accordance with God's covenant (4Q416 2 ii 8).

2.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind

We saw above, in 4Q417 1 i 8–9, that "the God of knowledge is the basis of truth and by the mystery of what will be he spread its foundation." Twice in the extant text of *Instruction*, the author refers to God as אל הדעות ("the God of knowledge," 4Q417 1 i 8; 4Q418 55 5).⁷² In 4Q417 1 i 8, the title is associated with God's sovereign creative power.⁷³ The word דעה expresses the forethought, omniscience, and rationality of God, and by means of his דעה God created his cosmic plan, the רז נהיה.⁷⁴ The "God of knowledge" is the

⁶⁹ The word בירת is only used three times in the extant text of *Instruction* (4Q415 2 ii 4, 7; 4Q418 188 6). In all three cases, the context is broken and the exact meaning is uncertain. This said, I think it is quite clear that the author of *Instruction* used חוקים to denote *covenantal* regulations. This is apparent in 4Q417 1 i 14–15 where the author employs language from God's engraving of the Ten Commandments in Exod 32:16. Just as the Ten Commandments were engraved (חרות) on tablets of stone, so also the חוקים of God in *Instruction* are engraved (חרות) on heavenly tablets. Both the Ten Commandments and the חוקים in *Instruction* represent the legal basis of God's covenant; the former were meant for the people of Israel while the latter govern the entirety of creation.

⁷⁰ In *Instruction*, the חוקים of God are closely related to his רזין (both terms indicate the process by which something must happen). This close relationship between חוקים and רזין can be seen in 4Q416 2 ii 8 where the two terms are used in synonymous parallelism. The same phenomenon occurs in 1QH^a IX 12–13 where חוקים and רזין are used to denote the regulations that govern the behavior of the angelic beings and the heavenly bodies. I would argue that 4Q416 2 ii 8, like 1QH^a IX 12–13, is using the words חוקים and רזין to denote the inscrutable laws that God has put in place to order his creation.

⁷¹ Cf. *1 Enoch* 103:2 and possibly 4Q534 1 i 5–8 which state that God's רזין are written on heavenly tablets.

⁷² For other occurrences of this title in Scrolls, see ch. 1 n. 11.

⁷³ The context of 4Q418 55 5 is more fragmentary and difficult to discern.

⁷⁴ The words דעת and דעה can be used in the Scrolls to denote one's reasoning faculty or rational mind. For example, 4Q403 1 i 35 states, לְמִוּצָא שִׁפְתָיו כּוֹל רוּחֵי עוֹלָמִים [בְּרִי] צוֹן דַּעְתוֹ כּוֹל, לְאִמְרֵי פִיהוּ יִהְיוּ כְּ[וֹל אֱלֵי רוּם] ("At the saying of his mouth will be a[ll] the exalted gods [], at what issues from his lips (will be)

Lange describes the word *מחשבה* here as God's pre-existent "order of the world."⁷⁶ The words *נס[תרי מחשבתו]* should probably be understood as equivalent to the expression *רז נהיה*.⁷⁷ In essence, 4Q417 1 i 11–12 declares that God has made known the hidden thoughts of his mind through the revelation of his cosmic design.

The concept of the cosmic design in *Instruction* is similar in some ways to Philo's understand of the divine Logos.⁷⁸ According to Philo, when God set about to create the world he first conceived its design in his mind. Philo refers to this mental blueprint as God's Logos. Using this blueprint, God then created the material "sensible world."⁷⁹ God's Logos continues to function as a law that governs all created things, and it serves as the basis for God's covenant with creation.⁸⁰ Philo also argues that the Logos is the image of God's mind and the source of true wisdom.⁸¹ A person who studies the Logos can know the deep things of God's thoughts.⁸² The same basic worldview underlies *Instruction's*

⁷⁶ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 65–66; idem, "Wisdom and Predestination," 348.

⁷⁷ At the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 we find the formulaic expression "seek these things . . . and then you will know. . ." which is used elsewhere for considering the *רז נהיה* (e.g. 4Q418 123 ii 4–5; 4Q417 1 i 6). In line 12, the antecedent of "these things" is, in part, the *נס[תרי מחשבתו]*. The use of this formulaic expression for considering the *נס[תרי מחשבתו]* indicates that the *נס[תרי מחשבתו]* are synonymous with the *רז נהיה*.

It is also worth noting that the words *מחשבה* and *רז* are used as parallel terms in the Scrolls. For example, 1QM XIV 14 (= 4Q491 8–10 i 12) states, *כיא גדולה מחשבת כבודכה ורזי נפלאותיכה במרום[יכה]* ("For great is your glorious design and your wondrous mysteries in [your] height[s]"). A similar, although more fragmentary, example is found in 4Q299 3a ii–b 10–11. Here, the author writes of God, *ומזמות כול מעשה ומ[] כול רז ומכון כול מחשבת []* ("and the plans of every action and [] every mystery and establishes every thought"). Although the meaning of the text is not perfectly clear, it seems apparent that *מעשה*, *רז*, and *מחשבה* are placed parallel to each other since they are related to the planning and carrying out of a deed. In 4Q534 I 8–9, both *רז* and *חשבון* should probably be understood to mean a "plan/scheme." Because the protagonist knows the mysteries/plans of all living things, their plans against him will fail. In this passage, *רז* probably has the sense of the plan of God or plan of creation, while *חשבון* is the scheming of his opponents. Other examples of parallelism between *מחשבה* and *רז* can be found in 1QS XI 18–19 and 1QH^a IX 15.

⁷⁸ Ashton makes a similar connection between the *רז נהיה* and the Johannine Logos ("Mystery" in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 61–63).

⁷⁹ *Opif.* 16–25; *Leg.* 3.96.

⁸⁰ *Migr.* 127–31; *Somn.* 2.237.

⁸¹ *Fug.* 100–101, 137–38; *Leg.* 1.43–65; *Plant.* 18–20; *QG* 2.56.

⁸² *Somn.* 1.115; *Spec.* 1.45–50; *Praem.* 28, 36–46; *Her.* 69–70.

understanding of the רז נהיה. Similar to Philo's Logos, the רז נהיה is God's blueprint for creation and his law that governs the universe.⁸³ The רז נהיה is a product of God's rational thought, his דעה; it is an expression of his mind. As with Philo's Logos, the רז נהיה is the source of true wisdom, and the מבין can gain insight into God's mind and the divinely determined order of the cosmos by meditating on the רז נהיה.⁸⁴

3. The Means of God's Revelation in *Instruction*

It is readily apparent in *Instruction* that the רז נהיה is the source of knowledge about God's cosmic design, but the means by which the מבין gains this knowledge is itself a bit of a mystery. Berg states the problem well: "The sage shows virtually no interest in the logistics of attending to the רז נהיה, but instead asserts what can be gained from such diligent attention."⁸⁵ We can only speculate as to why the author did not elaborate on the means of God's revelation. Perhaps he assumed that his readers already knew; or, possibly,

⁸³ As with Philo's Logos, I think it is likely that the idea of the רז נהיה in *Instruction* has been influenced by Stoic conceptions of the natural law. Like the Stoic natural law, the cosmic design in *Instruction* is the ordering principle of the universe. It is an ultimate reality which governs all aspects of the world, from the heavenly bodies and the angelic beings to the behavior of humans. On the natural law in Greek thought, see Helmut Koester, "NOMOS ΦΥΣΕΩΣ: The Concept of Natural Law in Greek Thought," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; SHR 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 522–30; Gerard Watson, "The Natural Law and Stoicism," in *Problems in Stoicism* (ed. A. A. Long; London: Athlone, 1971), 216–38; Gisela Striker, *Essays on Hellenistic Epistemology and Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 209–20. On the natural law in Philo and other Jewish texts, see Koester, "NOMOS ΦΥΣΕΩΣ," 530–41; Richard A. Horsley, "The Law of Nature in Philo and Cicero," *HTR* 71 (1978): 35–59; Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 70–107; eadem, "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?" *SPhilo* 15 (2003): 54–63; Gregory E. Sterling, "Universalizing the Particular: Natural Law in Second Temple Jewish Ethics," *SPhilo* 15 (2003): 64–80; Luca Mazzinghi, "Law of Nature and Light of the Law in the Book of Wisdom (Wis 18:4c)," in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 142; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 45–50.

⁸⁴ Philo and *Instruction* are also similar in that they both associate God's rational design with the Garden of Eden and they describe true wisdom as a paradise that is to be cultivated by the wise. See, for example, *Leg.* 1.43–65; *Plant.*, 36–49; *QG* 1.6, 10, 56; *Somm.* 2.242–49. For *Instruction*, see 4Q423 1–2 i 1–9.

⁸⁵ Berg, "Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 47.

it was a secret that would be too dangerous to write. The best we can do as outsiders is to piece together implicit remarks in the text.

The situation is complicated by several conflicting factors. On the one hand, the author of *Instruction* assumes that the מְבִין has almost complete free agency to seek out knowledge of the רִזְנוּ נְהִיָּה;⁸⁶ yet, on the other hand, the author states that knowledge of the רִזְנוּ נְהִיָּה can only be obtained through divine revelation (see n. 27 above). The author also indicates that some people have not bothered to seek understanding, and so they will suffer God's judgment (4Q418 55 5; cf. 69 ii 4–9).⁸⁷ To muddy the waters further, there are several places where *Instruction* alludes to passages in the Hebrew Bible that are concerned with the Mosaic Law. One example is 4Q417 1 i 6 (= 4Q418 43 4) where the מְבִין is exhorted to “meditate [day and]night on the mystery of what will be.” This is very similar to statements in Josh 1:8 and Ps 1:2 which speak of meditating (הִגָּה) on the Law. Oddly, however, the extant text of *Instruction* only mentions Moses twice (4Q418 184 1; 4Q423 11 2) and the word תּוֹרָה is never used. Unfortunately, none of this data conclusively points to any single mode of revelation. Are we dealing with a visionary experience,⁸⁸ wisdom gained through the observance of nature or history,⁸⁹ or are these references to divine revelation through the study of scripture or some other sacred text?⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The author of *Instruction* uses the verbs בִּטַּשׁ, דָּרַשׁ, לָקַח, and הִגָּה when exhorting the reader to examine the רִזְנוּ נְהִיָּה (e.g., 4Q416 2 i 5; 2 iii 14; 4Q418 77 4; 43–45 i 4). Several times in *Instruction* we find the formula, “seek/consider . . . and then you will know. . . .” This formula occurs in 4Q416 2 iii 9 (= 4Q418 9 8), 15 (= 4Q418 9 16); 4Q417 1 i 6, 8, 13.

⁸⁷ Cf. a similar claim in *Mysteries* (1Q27 1 i 3–7) that those who have not known the רִזְנוּ נְהִיָּה will suffer God's judgment.

⁸⁸ This view is suggested by Goff in *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 38–39, 94.

⁸⁹ Berg has argued that God reveals his design through nature, i.e. the way the world works. He states, “The primary source of God's revelation is not Torah but rather the divine plan embedded in creation and detected in careful attention to human behavior and one's own situation in life” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 91). Berg's view, however, is problematic. It does not explain the full breadth of knowledge that one gains through the רִזְנוּ נְהִיָּה. Moreover, we would expect to find in *Instruction* some of the usual proverbial statements about considering nature (e.g. Prov 30:25). Werman

3.1. The “Vision of Meditation”

Goff suggests that knowledge of the *רז נהיה* might have been achieved through a visionary experience which was subsequently transmitted through oral teachings. He states,

. . . in 4QInstruction the frequency of *נבט* with regard to the mystery that is to be underscores a more visual understanding. In rabbinic Hebrew *נבט* can refer to having a vision. This suggests that gazing upon the mystery that is to be might have been a type of visionary experience. When the mystery that is to be is referred to as a past event, there is a component of hearing; it is revealed to the ‘ear’ of the addressee. Contemplation of the mystery that is to be probably involved reflection upon teachings that had already been given.⁹¹

Goff does not elaborate on this proposal any further, but there is evidence to support his suggestion that knowledge of the *רז נהיה* was achieved by means of a visionary experience. The most important passage in this regard is 4Q417 1 i 1–27.⁹² The fact that

emphasizes world history as the source of revelation. She argues that “4QInstruction calls on each individual to meditate both on his own life and on the course of history in order to learn what laws were assigned specifically to him and what laws were assigned to humanity as a whole.” See Cana Werman, “What is the Book of Hagu?” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 140.

⁹⁰ Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology,” 450–51; idem, “The Mystery to Come,” 131. Harrington has proposed that the *רז נהיה* refers to “an extrabiblical compendium” like the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the Book of Meditation (mentioned in CD and 1QSa), or even the book of *Mysteries* (Harrington, “The Rāz Nihyeh,” 552–53; idem, “Mystery,” in *EDSS*, 590).

⁹¹ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 38–39.

⁹² This section of *Instruction* has been heavily worked by scholars, although its exact meaning continues to defy a convincing explanation. Significant studies include Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 45–92; Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 151–69; Torleif Elgvin, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction” (PhD Diss., Hebrew University, 1997), 83–94; idem, “The Mystery to Come,” 139–47; John J. Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 609–18; idem, “The Mysteries of God,” 299–303; idem, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom,” 53–55; Jörg Frey, “Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 392–97; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 113–18; Claude Coulot, “L’image de Dieu dans les écrits de sagesse 1Q26, 4Q415-418, 4Q423,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003),

this section of *Instruction* is alluded to twice in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a V 12–VI 33 and IX 25–27)⁹³ and at least three times in the *Damascus Document* (CD X 6; XIII 2; XIV 8; see also 1QS^a I 7)⁹⁴ suggests that this passage is a critical part of *Instruction* that conveys some of its central ideas about divine revelation.

4Q417 1 i 1–27 is divisible into four subsections: 1–13a, 13b–18a, 18b–24, and 25–27. The first subsection begins with an exhortation for the מבין to consider the רז נהיה, which is also referred to here as the “wondrous mysteries” of God (lines 1–6b). In lines 6b–8a, the author informs the מבין that through the רז נהיה he will come to know “truth and iniquity” and gain eschatological insight into “all of their ways with their recompense (פקודתם) for all eternal times.” In other words, the מבין is granted knowledge of the eternal consequences associated with every act of “good and evil” (line 8). Lines 8b–10a break into an excursus on God as the one who establishes truth in accordance with the mystery of what will be. This is followed by a declaration that God has revealed “the [hidden] things of his design” so that a person can walk in proper understanding (lines 10b–12a). The

171–81; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 80–126; idem, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 13–17; Werman, “What is the Book of Hagu?” 125–40; Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 2/201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 138–49; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 51–85; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation’: Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 85; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 103–18; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 277–304.

⁹³ The semantic similarities between these passages in the *Hodayot* and 4Q417 1 i 1–27 are laid out in a tabular format by Rey, *4QInstruction*, 24–27.

⁹⁴ Goff has suggested that the phrase “vision of Hagu” in *Instruction*, which is associated with a certain “book of remembrance,” inspired the title “Book of Hagu” in the *Damascus Document* and 1QS^a (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 83). I believe Goff’s suggestion is correct. The expression ספר ההגוי, which is found in the *Damascus Document* and 1QS^a, is an interpretive conflation of the phrase חזון ההגוי from 4Q417 1 i 16. The *Damascus Document* and 1QS^a have interpreted this line in *Instruction* as a reference to the Mosaic Law. We should be extremely hesitant to read the *Damascus Document* and 1QS^a back into *Instruction*, as some have done (Lange, “Wisdom and Predestination,” 343; Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology,” 455–56, idem, “The Mystery to Come,” 143–45).

subsection ends with an exhortation for the מבין to seek out those things which God has revealed (lines 12b–13a).

The next subsection, lines 13a–18b, contains the so-called “vision of meditation” pericope. Here, the author writes:⁹⁵

(13) וְאַתָּה (14) מִבִּין רִישׁ⁹⁶ פְּעֻלַּתְכָּה בְּזִכְרוֹן הָעֵן] ⁹⁷ בַּא
 חֲרוֹת הַחֻקִּיִּם⁹⁸ וְחֻקֵּי כֹל הַפְּקוּדָה
 (15) כִּי חֲרוֹת מִחֻקֵּי לֹאֵל עַל כֹּל עַ[וֹלוֹת]⁹⁹ בְּנֵי שֵׁת
 וְסֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן כָּתוּב לִפְנֵי (16) לְשִׁמְרֵי דְבָרָו
 הַיְהִיָּה¹⁰⁰ חֲזוֹן הַהֲגוּי לְסֵפֶר¹⁰¹ זִכְרוֹן

⁹⁵ I have arranged the lines according to their poetic structure.

⁹⁶ Scholars have transcribed the word here as either רישׁ or רישׁ. We would expect an imperative following the vocative expression וְאַתָּה מִבִּין (see 4Q417 1 i 18). Along with Goff, I have interpreted the word in question as רישׁ, a *plene* form of the biblical Hebrew רישׁ. 4Q418 81+81a 3 (יִוְרִישִׁם אִישׁ נִחְלָתוֹ) uses language similar to 4Q417 1 i 14–16. See Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 84–85. On *yod* as a representative for *tsere*, see Qimron, *HDSS*, §100.33.

⁹⁷ The letters following בזכרון are a matter of much dispute. Strugnell and Harrington read הַשְׁלוֹם כִּי [בַּא] (*DJD XXXIV*, 151, 160–61). Tigchelaar has [בַּא] הָעֵן], but does not attempt to reconstruct the words in the lacuna. He does note that there is a blank space between בַּא and the lacuna (*To Increase Learning*, 53). Goff proposes [בַּא] הָעֵן כִּי [בַּא] (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 85–86). Lange transcribes [בַּא] הָעֵן כִּי [בַּא] (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 51). Elgvin has [בַּא] הָעֵן כִּי [בַּא] (“The Mystery to Come,” 139).

⁹⁸ The letters כה are marked by deletion dots.

⁹⁹ This lacuna is often filled with עולת or some other term denoting evil deeds. See Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come,” 142 n. 77; Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 163; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 86–87.

¹⁰⁰ This pronoun has caused difficulty for many interpreters. Werman argues that the pronoun refers to “the repeated demands to seek, to examine carefully” (“What is the Book of Hagu?” 137). Tigchelaar reads הוּאֵה and suggests that it refers back to the paraphrase of Mal 3:16 in lines 14–15. He notes 4Q174 1–2 i 11 as a comparison (“Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians,” 113–14). Tigchelaar’s view, however, is problematic in that it treats this passage as if it were using a *pesher*-like formula which is unattested elsewhere in *Instruction*. Moreover, it is unclear how the sentence “And that is the vision of meditation of/on the book of remembrance” would explicate the meaning of Mal 3:16. Goff’s interpretation of הוּאֵה as a deictic pronoun seems to ignore the *waw* and results in an awkward, redundant reading: “The book of remembrance is written before him for those who keep his word—that is, the vision of Hagu for the book of remembrance” (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 92–93). If the pronoun was deictic, there would be no reason for the second occurrence of the phrase “book of remembrance.” I think it is best to read the letters here as a feminine, rather than masculine, pronoun. The scribe of 4Q417 typically writes a longer down stroke on the *waw* of a masculine pronoun (clear examples include 4Q417 2 i 5; 1 ii 10; and possibly 4Q417 20 4). There is almost no down-stroke in 4Q417 1 i 16. In this case, הַיְהִיָּה probably refers back to פְּעֻלַּתְכָּה in line 14. Line 16 is resuming the flow of thought that had been interrupted by the discussion of the heavenly writings.

¹⁰¹ In Tigchelaar’s judgment, there should be no *lamed* here. He states, “There are no clear traces of a letter before *samek*, but the area above the ceiling-line is indeed darker than average. This does not of necessity indicate ink, though” (*To Increase Understanding*, 54). However, as Goff notes, the word space between הַהֲגוּי and סֵפֶר would be larger than usual without an intervening letter (*The Worldly and Heavenly*

וינחילה¹⁰² לאנוש עם עם רוח
 כ[י]א (17) כתבנית קדושים יצרו
 ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר
 כי לא ידע בין (18) [טו]ב לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו

(13) And you, (14) understanding one, possess your reward¹⁰³ in the remembrance of the [] comes.

Engraved is the statute and decreed is every punishment.

(15) For engraved is that which is decreed of God against all the in[iquities of] the sons of Sheth,¹⁰⁴

and the book of remembrance is written before him (16) for those who keep his word.

And it is the vision of meditation on the book of remembrance.

Wisdom, 87). This, coupled with the fact that the dark superlinear mark preceding ספר looks like the straight down-stroke of a *lamed*, leads me to believe that the transcription in *DJD XXXIV* is correct. The *lamed* marks the object of meditation.

¹⁰² Here, I am following Tigchelaar in reading a feminine singular pronominal suffix (see Tigchelaar, “Reflections on *4QInstruction* and 1 Corinthians,” 111 n. 34). In an earlier publication, Tigchelaar proposed reading וינחילנו (To Increase Learning, 52, 54). Later he withdrew this suggestion. The feminine suffix has also been transcribed by Lange (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 51) and Elgvin (“An Analysis of *4QInstruction*,” 83). Strugnell and Harrington argue that the scribe initially wrote וינחילה, but this was later changed to וינחילנו (*DJD XXXIV*, 163–64). The feminine suffix on וינחילה supports my reading of פעלה earlier in line 16. I would suggest that both the pronoun and the pronominal suffix refer back to פעלה in line 14. It makes sense that the מביין would be exhorted to take possession (ריש פעלתכה) of that which God has given as an inheritance (וינחילה).

¹⁰³ In this passage, the word פעלה has the meaning “reward.” This is suggested by the surrounding terminology which is concerned with divine reward and punishment (see especially the words ספר and פקדה (זכרון).

¹⁰⁴ Lange sees this as a reference to the patriarch Seth and his offspring (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 53, 87–88). Tigchelaar takes שית as a variant spelling of שאה, “devastation” (“Reflections on *4QInstruction* and 1 Corinthians,” 106 n. 8). Elgvin translates the phrase as “sons of perdition” arguing that the author of *Instruction* has “interpreted שית of Num. 24.17 in light of Lam. 3.47” (“The Mystery to Come,” 142 n. 77). The most likely referent of בני שית is the sons of Sheth condemned by Balaam in Num 24:17 (see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 163; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 89–92; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 72–73; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 296–97). The title בני שית is also used in IQM XI 6, CD VII 21 (בני שית); 4Q175 13 (בני שות). In all three cases, the words בני שית are either part of a quotation from Num 24:17 or directly associated with a quotation from Num 24. The בני שית typify the ungodly who will be destroyed by God and his anointed ones. The fact that the *Treatise*, a text closely related to *Instruction*, alludes to Balaam’s oracle (1QS IV 22; cf. Num 24:16) suggests that the oracle had a particular significance for the group(s) responsible for these texts. See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 60–68, 74–80. Incidentally, if the author of *Instruction* did draw upon Balaam’s oracle for the expression בני שית in line 15, this would be additional support that the author is describing a vision of the heavenly realm in 4Q417 1 i 13–18.

And he has bequeathed it to a person¹⁰⁵ along with the spiritual people,
 f[o]r (17) according to the pattern of the holy ones is his inclination;¹⁰⁶
 but no longer¹⁰⁷ has he given meditation to the spirit of flesh,
 for he did not discern between (18) [goo]d and evil according to the judgment of
 his [sp]irit.¹⁰⁸

The remainder of the column contains two more subsections exhorting the מְבִיֵן to consider and understand God's mysteries (lines 18b–24 and 25–27). These lines are

¹⁰⁵ Some have interpreted the word אָנוּשׁ as a reference to the patriarch Enosh. See Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 87–88; Jörg Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’ in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 218. Wold sees אָנוּשׁ as a reference to all of humanity (*Women, Men and Angels*, 139). Elgvin contends that אָנוּשׁ should be translated “man/mankind,” and suggests that it denotes the elect community (“Mystery to Come,” 143 n. 78). Collins and his students have argued that אָנוּשׁ should be interpreted as a reference to Adam (Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 123–25; idem, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” 610–12; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 95–99; idem, *Discerning Wisdom*, 34–35; Adams, *Wisdom in Transition*, 260–61; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 79–82). While the understanding of אָנוּשׁ as Adam could fit the context of this passage, this interpretation is unlikely. Collins cites 1QS III 17–18, הוֹדָא בְּרֵא אָנוּשׁ, לְמַמְשֵׁלָה תְּבֵל, as support for reading אָנוּשׁ as Adam (“In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” 612), but, as Wold notes, the “use of the term אָנוּשׁ [in 1QS III 17–18] is not so much an allusion to the first man Adam ruling over creation, but rather purposefully uses the term to indicate ‘humanity’ ruling over creation” (*Women, Men and Angels*, 131). As the context indicates (1QS III 18–19), the author is making a universal claim that God has put two spirits in all people until the time of their recompense. 1QS III 17–18 is not a description specifically of Adam. The least problematic interpretation is to see אָנוּשׁ as a singular generic reference to “a person.” This use of אָנוּשׁ is consistent with the other occurrences of this word in *Instruction* (4Q418 8 12; 55 11; 77 3). The following words, עַם עִם רוּחַ, are the category of people to which the אָנוּשׁ belongs, all of whom God has given the vision of meditation. The use of this construction (וַיְנַחֵלָה לְאָנוּשׁ עַם עִם רוּחַ) can be explained by the author's desire to focus on and exhort the individual rather than the group, although he acknowledges that the מְבִיֵן is part of a larger community (the עַם רוּחַ).

¹⁰⁶ The word יִצְרוּ could be translated as a verb (“he formed him”) or as a noun (“his inclination/formation”). Since, 4Q417 1 i 16c–17a and 17b–18a are contrasting parallel statements, יִצְרוּ in 17a must have approximately the same meaning as מִשְׁפֵּט [ר]וּחַ (“judgment of his [sp]irit”) in 18a. Thus, we should understand יִצְרוּ as “his inclination.” The masculine suffix וֹן יִצְרוּ refers back to אָנוּשׁ.

¹⁰⁷ The translation of the words וְעוֹד לֹא has been problematic for many interpreters. Some have rendered the expression as “still” or “not yet.” See Adams, *Wisdom in Transition*, 258 (he cites 2 Chr 20:33 as support for his translation). Goff initially translated these words as “moreover, he did not” (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 84, 99). Later, he accepted the translation “no more” (“Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 16–17). Wold also argues for the meaning “no longer” (*Women, Men and Angels*, 135–41).

¹⁰⁸ In every discernible instance in *Instruction*, the word רוּחַ, when applied to people, is always used in a psychological sense; it is never a spiritual being (e.g., 4Q416 1 16; 2 iii 6; 2 iv 6, 8; 4Q418 77 4; 222 2). In addition, it is clear that the author of *Instruction* uses the nouns רוּחַ and יִצְרֵי interchangeably to refer to a person's disposition or the capacity for decision making. This can be seen in 4Q416 1 12–16 where רוּחַ בִּשְׂרִי is used synonymously with יִצְרֵי בִּשְׂרִי. We might also consider 1QS VIII 3 and 4Q436 (*Barkhi Nafshi*) 1 i 10–ii 4 where יִצְרֵי is used synonymously with רוּחַ, as well as 1QH^a VII 26 which speaks of God determining the “inclination” of a person's spirit. On the near synonymy of רוּחַ and יִצְרֵי see Marco Treves, “The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community,” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 449; Paul Heger, “Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings,” in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; LSTS 76; London: T & T Clark, 2010), 93–96.

increasingly fragmentary toward the bottom on the column, but we can make two important observations. First, in line 22, the addressee is told to כּוֹל חֲזוֹן [אֵדַע] (“know every vision”), possibly indicating that there are multiple visions. Second, in line 27, we find that the מִבֵּין is still at risk for transgressing God’s will. The author exhorts, “Do not go astray afte[r] you[r] heart and after your ey[e]s[. . .]” (cf. line 23). The מִבֵּין has received knowledge of God’s design, but he must consciously and continuously adhere to it and not be led astray by an evil heart.

The overarching theme of 4Q417 1 i 1–27 is that the מִבֵּין should study God’s mysteries so that he can choose between right and wrong, and receive deliverance from God’s judgment. Seven times in this passage the author uses the word רָז,¹⁰⁹ and there are twelve imperatives to consider, meditate, seek, investigate, understand, possess, know, and learn God’s mysteries and what God has revealed. In the extant text of *Instruction*, 4Q417 1 i 1–27 is the most concentrated appeal for the מִבֵּין to study the רָז נְהִיָּה; and, it is here, in the midst of this call to know God’s mysteries, that the author makes reference to a vision associated with a book of remembrance. This naturally raises the question as to whether it is through this vision that the מִבֵּין comes to know the רָז נְהִיָּה.

To begin with, we should note that there are certain terminological similarities between the “vision of meditation” pericope (lines 13a–18b) and the various exhortations to seek and consider the רָז נְהִיָּה in the rest of 4Q417 1 i 1–27. In both cases, the author uses the verb הִגֵּה or a cognate. In line 6, the מִבֵּין is told to בְּרָז נְהִיָּה, whereas in line 16 he receives חֲזוֹן הִהְגִּי. Both the vision and the רָז נְהִיָּה yield knowledge of God’s eschatological judgment, and specifically his appointed פְּקוּדָה (see especially lines 6–8 and 14). In line 14,

¹⁰⁹ This includes instances of רָז restored in lacunae using the overlapping text in 4Q418 43.

the מְבִין is commanded to possess his “reward” (פְּעוּלָה), and a few lines later (25–26) he is again told that his understanding of God’s רְזִין is associated with a “reward” (פְּעוּלָה).

Finally, both the “vision of meditation” and the רְזִין נְהִיָּה are associated with the knowledge of good and evil (lines 6–8 and 17–18). These terminological similarities between the “vision of meditation” pericope and the exhortations to consider the רְזִין נְהִיָּה suggest that they are closely related. I will turn now to look at the “vision of meditation” pericope in more detail.

It will be helpful if we consider the flow of thought through lines 13b–18a. The previous subsection (lines 1–13a) ends with the author exhorting the מְבִין to investigate and understand the mysteries that God has revealed. Then, the “vision of meditation” pericope, starting at the end of line 13, opens with the author describing the reward that has been given to the מְבִין because he has sought to understand and adhere to God’s design. The מְבִין is told to take possession of his reward which is related in some way to “remembrance.” Given that the book of remembrance is mentioned in line 15, the “remembrance” in line 14 likely refers to God’s favorable remembrance of the righteous מְבִין during the coming time of divine judgment.

Lines 14b–16a digress into an excursus on the certainty of God’s ordained judgment and reward. These lines are particularly important because here we have two allusions to writings located in the heavens. The book of remembrance is a reference to Mal 3:16 which states, “Then those who revered the Lord spoke with one another. The Lord took note and listened, and a book of remembrance was written before him of those who revered the Lord and thought on his name.”¹¹⁰ This book of remembrance is a register

¹¹⁰ Elsewhere in the Scrolls, the book of remembrance is mentioned in CD XX 19. See also מְגִילָה

of the righteous that is located in the heavenly realm near God's throne. The other allusion to heavenly writings is indicated by the word *חרת* in lines 14 and 15 which is a reference to God's engraving of the Ten Commandments in Exod 32:16.¹¹¹ Yet, in 4Q417 1 i 14–15, the author is not referring to the Mosaic Law. The terminology in line 14 (*חרות החוק*) is very similar to the expression *אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח* in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400 1 i 5). According to the *Sabbath Songs*, God has engraved certain tablets in the heavenly realm that contained his statutes for the angelic priests as well as a record of his glorious works. In 4Q402 4 1–15, the engraved writings are also associated with God's design (*מחשבה*) by which he created and governs the world (see ch. 5 §2.1). I would argue that in lines 14b–16a the author of *Instruction* is describing a collection of heavenly writings which contains God's statutes (*חוקים*) that regulate his creation and which serves as register for the deeds of humanity.¹¹² While the immediate concern of the author is that

לזכירן^{oo} ("scroll for remembrance") in 1QapGen V 1, assuming that the reading of these words is correct. See Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 40.

¹¹¹ The verb *חרת* is used only once in the Hebrew Bible in Exod 32:16, which states, *והלחת מעשה ויהי חרות על-הלחת* ("The tablets were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God engraved on the tablets").

¹¹² I would suggest that the heavenly writings in *Instruction* are conceptually similar to those in *Jubilees*. In *Jubilees*, the heavenly tablets contain God's laws and decrees (33:10–12), his judgments (24:33), festival and calendrical regulations (6:30–35), a register of the righteous and wicked as well as their deeds (30:19–22), and God's intended design for future events (23:11–32; 32:21–22). *1 Enoch* 93:2 and 103:2 also describe certain heavenly tablets that contain God's grand design for creation. In *1 En.* 81:1–4; Dan 7:10; and Rev 20:12, the heavenly writings record the deeds of all humanity. The "three books" in 4Q534 1 i 5 are probably heavenly writings which are available to the protagonist and by which he knows the "mysteries of man" and the "mysteries of every living thing." Similarly, in 4Q537 (*Testament of Jacob*) 1–3 3–6, the protagonist is allowed to read certain tablets (*לוחיא*) which contain "everything that would happen" to him during his life (cf. *Prayer of Joseph* frag. B in *OTP* 2.714). For the heavenly tablets in *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*, see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 150–52; Florentino García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243–60; Martha Himmelfarb, "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*," in *A Multifarious Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 19–29; Hindy Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies," *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410; Cana Werman, "The *חורה* and the

these writings contain the ordained rewards and punishments for the righteous and wicked, the heavenly writings also contain God's entire plan for the universe. The fact that the book of remembrance is said to be written in God's presence (וספר זכרון כתוב לפניו, line 15) indicates that these writings are located in the heavenly realm near the throne of God.¹¹³

Following the excursus on the heavenly writings, the feminine pronoun in line 16 (והיא) picks up the word פעלה ("reward") from line 14 and continues with a description of the reward given to the מבין (see n. 100). This reward is a "vision of meditation upon the book of remembrance." Most likely, this means that the מבין has been allowed to see his name written in the heavenly book,¹¹⁴ or another person, possibly the *maškîl*, has experienced the vision and conveyed the information to the מבין (see §3.3 below). Either way, line 16 indicates that the reward given to the מבין is a vision of the heavenly tablets which record the righteousness of the מבין.

In lines 16c–17a, the author states that God has granted this reward¹¹⁵ to a person (see n. 105), along with all of the spiritual people,¹¹⁶ because his inclination (see n. 106) is

תעודה' Engraved on the Tablets," *DSD* 9 (2002): 75–103; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Jubilees and 1 Enoch and the Issue of Transmission of Knowledge," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 99–101. More general discussions of the role and nature of heavenly writings in the Qumran literature can be found in Friedrich Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 405–11; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 69–79. On the heavenly tablets in the literature of the Ancient Near East, see Shalom M. Paul, "The Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," *JANES* 5 (1973): 345–53.

¹¹³ In other texts from the Second Temple period, the heavenly writings are usually located near God's throne: Dan 7:10; Rev 5:1–7; 20:11–12; *1 Enoch* 81:1–2.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:5–9; 7:1–11; *T. Abr.* 12; *Ascen. Isa.* 9:19–23.

¹¹⁵ The feminine suffix on וינהילה refers back to פעלה in line 14. See n. 102.

¹¹⁶ Lange interprets עם רוח as a reference to angels (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 88–89). This, however, is an unlikely interpretation. While רוח is used of angels elsewhere in the Scrolls, Elgvin correctly notes that there is no clear instance in *Instruction* where רוח refers to heavenly beings ("The Mystery to Come," 141 n. 72). I would contend that the עם רוח is a category of people to which the individual addressee (אנוש) is supposed to belong. In other words, a category of people exists in the world who have inclined their hearts to seek out God's will like the angels. These are the "spiritual people." The מבין is encouraged to consider God's revelation so that he can walk with a good inclination (4Q417 1 i 11) and be counted among the spiritual people.

like that of the holy ones (i.e., the angels).¹¹⁷ In other words, God has given the מבין (and all of the spiritual people) the privilege of meditating upon the heavenly writings and knowing that his name written in the book of remembrance because he is inclined to seek out God's truth like the angels. This is not an assertion that the spiritual people were originally created like the angels; rather, they received this reward because they sought out the knowledge of good and evil like the heavenly beings.¹¹⁸

This interpretation is confirmed in lines 17b–18a which contain the antithesis of 16c–17a: “but no longer¹¹⁹ has he given meditation to the spirit of flesh, for he¹²⁰ did not discern between [goo]d and evil according to the judgment of his [sp]irit.” Here, the author asserts that “meditation” has no longer been given to the “spirit of flesh” because he has chosen not to discern between good and evil. The expression משפט [ר]והו probably refers to

¹¹⁷ Lange correctly interprets the phrase כתבנית קדושים יצרו as a claim that the character (Gesinnung) of the אנוש is like that of the angels (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 86). In *Instruction*, the plural קדושים always refers to angels (4Q418 81+81a 1, 4, 11, 12; see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “‘Angels’ and ‘God’: Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism” in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* [ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North; JSNTSup 263; London: T & T Clark, 2004], 63–66). Elsewhere in *Instruction*, we see that the angels are praised because they tirelessly search out God's will, and the author exhorts the addressee to imitate the angels in this regard. In 4Q418 69 ii 12–15, the מבין is told to consider the angels as an example of steadfast performance of the “works of truth.” Similarly, in 4Q418 55 9 the author presents the angels as a model of ardently pursuing God's will. He writes, “And they [the holy angels] pursue after all the roots of understanding.” This passage implies that the מבין should seek out God's plan like the angels, and not be slothful like humans (lines 11–12).

¹¹⁸ Pace Collins, God did not *create* “two types of humanity, a spiritual people in the likeness of the Holy Ones and a ‘spirit of flesh’” (Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 125; see also idem, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” 617). Collins is probably correct that כתבנית alludes to Gen 1:27 and that this passage in Genesis was taken to mean that Adam was created in the likeness of the angels, the אֱלֹהִים (“In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” 615). However, this need not lead us to Collins' conclusion that God created two different types of people: the “spiritual people” and the “spirit of flesh.” Nowhere else in *Instruction* do we find evidence that the righteous have been created like the angels nor is there any inkling that they have been predestined to glory because they share an ontological similarity with the angels. In fact, the author of *Instruction* is careful to warn the מבין that he can be led astray by evil and fall into God's judgment (4Q417 1 i 23–24; 4Q418 55 11). In §4, I will argue that all people by nature have a רוה בשר. The author of *Instruction* asserts that through his knowledge of the רוה נהיה, the מבין has been separated from the רוה בשר (4Q418 81+81a 1–2) and he has come to bear the image of the אֱלֹהִים that Adam was originally created with (4Q417 1 i 17).

¹¹⁹ See n. 107 above.

¹²⁰ Presumably the subject of לא ידע is רוה בשר, and רוה בשר is the antecedent for the masculine pronominal suffix on רוה [ר] in line 18. It appears that the author viewed רוה בשר as a person and thus treated רוה as masculine instead of feminine.

the conscious and willful decision of the spirit of flesh, and it is equivalent to יצרו in line 17a.¹²¹ Whereas the spiritual people have sought to know God's will (i.e., the knowledge of good and evil) by considering the רז נהיה (cf. 4Q417 1 i 6–8), the spirit of flesh has chosen not to do so.¹²² As a result of this choice, God has ceased to give “meditation” to the spirit of flesh.

In both parallel passages, 16c–17a and 17b–18a, the issue at hand is God's gift of “meditation.” Contextually, we know from lines 14–16b that this “meditation” entails the capacity to consider and understand God's cosmic design engraved upon the heavenly tablets located in God's presence. As line 16 indicates, the מבין and the spiritual people are able to access (i.e., meditate upon) the heavenly writings by means of a visionary experience. God has given this “vision of meditation” to the מבין and the spiritual people because they have sought to know his will, but the people who have a spirit of flesh are “no longer” allowed to meditate upon the heavenly tablets because they have not desired the knowledge of good and evil.¹²³

¹²¹ See n. 106 and 108 above.

¹²² Regarding the contrast between “people of spirit” and “spirit of flesh” Stuckenbruck rightly observes, “More than drawing a contrast between ‘spirit’ versus ‘flesh,’ the authors of the *Musar*, the *Hodayoth*, and the final hymn in IQS seem just as concerned with distinguishing one kind of ‘spirit’ from another, that is, one that corresponds to the human's obedience and submission to God and one that is ‘depraved,’ iniquitous, and conditioned by the ‘flesh.’” See Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III:13–IV:26) in Its Tradition-Historical Context,” in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World* (ed. Armin Lange, Eric M. Meyers, Bennie H. Reynolds III and Randall Styers; JAJSup 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 158. The עם רוח and the רוח בשר are two categories of people who are characterized by their internal spirit or inclination. The עם רוח are people with a good inclination who are able to discern between good and evil (cf. 4Q416 1 15) while רוח בשר refers to people with a fleshly spirit or inclination (cf. 4Q416 1 16) who lack the ability to discern between good and evil. In §4.1 below, I will show that the word בשר is used in *Instruction* to connote ignorance of God's will.

¹²³ To be precise, there are two different issues being discussed in 4Q417 1 i 13b–18a. Lines 13b–17a describe a particular vision of meditation that has been given to the מבין and the spiritual people as a reward for their faithful adherence to God's design. These lines presume that the מבין has *already obtained* the knowledge of good and evil through consideration of רז נהיה (4Q417 1 i 8), and that this knowledge has endowed the מבין with a good inclination (lines 10–11) like the angels (line 17). The vision of meditation

The words “no longer” are curious and invite us to wonder in what way the spirit of flesh formerly had access to God’s presence and the heavenly tablets. I would suggest that the author of *Instruction* is drawing an analogy based on the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden in Genesis 3.¹²⁴ In this analogy, “meditation” is equivalent to being in the garden, and the analogy operates on the idea that both “meditation” and dwelling in the garden involve access to God and his heavenly tablets. The author indicates that God initially gave “meditation” (i.e., the ability to learn from the heavenly tablets and know God’s will) to all people, but those who did not desire to know good and evil were expelled from the garden (i.e., denied “meditation”) while those who desired to know good and evil were allowed to dwell in paradise and have the privilege of “meditation” (see the discussion of 4Q423 1–2 i 1–9 in §4.2 below).¹²⁵

upon the book of remembrance is not a vision by which the מביין gains knowledge of the רז נהיה. It is assumed in lines 13b–18a that the מביין already has this knowledge, and he is given “the vision of meditation upon the book of remembrance” as a reward because of it (note the causal כִּי at the end of lines 16 and in 17b). The concern in lines 17b–18a is substantially broader. These two lines contain a more general declaration that the spirit of flesh no longer has the privilege of “meditation” at all. That is, the spirit of flesh has been barred from accessing the heavenly tablets and considering God’s cosmic design. This broad condemnation in lines 17b–18a is important because it implies that the מביין and the spiritual people still have “meditation” (i.e., the ability to study the heavenly tablets). Although the specific vision described in lines 13b–17a is not the vision by which the מביין first gained knowledge of the רז נהיה, presumably, such knowledge came through other similar visionary experiences, such as those mentioned in 4Q417 1 i 22 (כֹּל הַזֹּוֹן [דַּע], “know every vision”).

¹²⁴ Goff makes a similar suggestion, stating: “The assertion that Hagu was ‘no more’ given to the fleshly spirit may obliquely refer to the fact that Adam is punished in the garden” (“Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 17).

¹²⁵ Goff acknowledges this as an interpretative possibility. He writes, “One can speculate that the ‘fleshly spirit’ once enjoyed the vision of Hagu, like the ‘spiritual people,’ and that they were originally a single group. In this reading the vision was taken away from the ‘fleshly spirit’ when it failed to distinguish good from evil.” Ultimately, however, Goff rejects this interpretation because “4QInstruction displays no awareness of a fall of humankind rooted in Adam’s sin” (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 99). Yet, 4Q423 1–2 i presumes a “fall” of some kind. This passage implies that the righteous who have knowledge of God’s design presently exist in the garden while those who lack knowledge do not. The idea that some people continued to exist in the garden (or returned to the garden) while others were expelled is attested in other Second Temple literature. For example, Stordalen has argued that Eccl 2:1–11 depicts Solomon-Qohelet as “a non-fallen Adam” who was permitted to stay in the garden because he did not forsake his wisdom. By contrast, Adam in Genesis and the Eden inhabitants in Ezek 28:11–19 and Ezek 31 were expelled because they forsook wisdom. Elsewhere, Stordalen states that one could re-enter or remain in paradise by acquiring wisdom: “The material [Ezek 28; 31; Qoh 2] indicates that sapiential circles imagined a life according to Wisdom (and Law) as ‘a-Life-in-Eden.’ A wise man ‘in Eden’ would be serving himself

According to 4Q417 1 i 13b–18a, God granted the מְבִינִים and the spiritual people one or more visionary experiences by which they are able to meditate upon the heavenly writings and gain knowledge of God’s cosmic design, the רִזְנוּהִיָּה. The spirit of flesh, however, no longer has the ability to meditate upon the heavenly writings because they have not desired the knowledge of good and evil. The analogy used in lines 16–17 suggests that the author understood these visions as a way of entering into the Garden of Eden. He saw the garden as the location of God’s throne and the heavenly tablets upon which he engraved his cosmic design,¹²⁶ and he associated God’s design with the knowledge of good and evil. As we will see in §4 below, the author thought of the knowledge of good and evil as something beneficial, and he believed that this knowledge has the capacity to rectify the corrupt human inclination and make the righteous like the angels.

3.2. A Related Visionary Experience in *Mysteries*

It is possible to verify that *Instruction* describes the revelation of God’s cosmic design as taking place through a visionary experience by comparing *Instruction* with the closely related text, *Mysteries*.¹²⁷ The word חֲזוֹן (“vision”) occurs three times in *Mysteries*,

from ‘Wisdom-the-Tree-of-Life’” (407). See Terje Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (CBET 25; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 394, 397–408, 430–31.

¹²⁶ Regarding God’s enthronement in paradise, see *1 En.* 24–25; *Jub.* 4:26, 8:19; *Life of Adam and Eve* 25; *Apo. Moses* 22:4; *3 En.* 5:1–5. On the Garden of Eden as the location of God’s court and throne, see Peter Thacher Lanfer, *Remembering Eden: The Reception History of Genesis 3:22–24* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 99–102, 148–53.

¹²⁷ While most scholars consider *Instruction* and *Mysteries* to be very closely related, the precise relationship between these texts is still a matter of debate. See Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel,” 127–34; Elgvin, “Priestly Sages?” 67–87; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1–4QMysteries,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 78–81. There are a number of important terminological and thematic similarities between the divine revelation described in *Instruction* and that in *Mysteries*. Both texts speak of God revealing the רִזְנוּהִיָּה, and in both texts the revealed רִזְנוּ are associated with God’s מַחְשְׁבָה, his plan or design (see 4Q299 3a ii–b 11). In both, God’s revelation entails knowledge of the past as well as the future, especially divine judgment (see 1Q27 1 i 4), and comprehension of God’s mysteries yields the knowledge of good and evil (see 4Q300 3 2).

all in one passage: 4Q300 1a ii–b 1–6.¹²⁸ This section of *Mysteries* is particularly important because the חזון is associated with certain רזי עד (“eternal mysteries”). The passage in question reads as follows:¹²⁹

- (1) [] [תֹּחַ] [הַחַרְטָמִים מְלַמְדֵי פִשְׁעֵי אִמְרוּ הַמֶּשֶׁל וְהַגִּידוּ הַחֵידָה בְּטֶרֶם נִדְבַר וְאִז תִּדְעוּ אִם הִבַּטְתֶּם
 (2) וְתַעֲוֹדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם] כִּסְלַכְמָה כִּי חֲתוּם מִכֶּם [חַ]תְּם הַחֲזוֹן וּבְרֹזֵי עַד לֹא הִבַּטְתֶּם וּבְבִינָה לֹא הִשְׁכַּלְתֶּם
 (3) אִזְ] [תֹּאמְרוּ לְ] [וְהַמִּי] [כִּי לֹא הִבַּטְתֶּם בְּשׁוֹרֵשׁ חֹכְמָה וְאִם תִּפְתַּחוּ הַחֲזוֹן
 (4) חֲסִתָּם מִכֶּם [כֹּל חֹכְמַת] [כִּם כִּי לִכֶּם הֵמָּה] [שְׁמוֹ כִּי] מֵהָ הֵיא
 חֲכָמָה
 (5) נִכְחַדְתָּ] עוֹ] לֹא תִהְיֶה]
 (6) [חַ]זוֹן []

- (1) [] [the magicians who are skilled in transgression utter the parable and relate the riddle before it is discussed, and then you will know whether you have considered,
 (2) and the signs of the heav[ens]your foolishness, for the [s]eal of the vision is sealed from you, and you have not considered the eternal mysteries, and you have not come to understand wisdom.
 (3) The[n]you will say [. . .] for you have not considered the root of wisdom, and if you open the vision
 (4) it will be kept secr[et from you . . .]all [yo]ur wisdom, for yours is the [. . .] his name, for [wh]at is wisdom (which is)
 (5) hidden[. . . sti]ll there will not be [. . .]
 (6) the [vis]ion [of . . .]

According to line 2, the “vision” is the source of knowledge regarding the רזי עד and בינה.¹³⁰ It is through this vision that one is able to consider the שורש חוכמה (“root of wisdom”).¹³¹ In 4Q300 1a ii–b, the words רזי עד, בינה, and שורש חוכמה are synonymous

¹²⁸ The joining of fragments 1a ii and 1b is discussed by Schiffman in *DJD XX*, 101. 4Q300 fragment 8 may also refer to a visionary experience. Line 1 contains the words מֵהָ חֲזוֹן יְמֵינוֹן (“vi[s]ion of our days”). This vision is likely explained in line 2: “. . .]what is before and what is aft[er. . .” However, too much of the context is now lost to arrive at any certain interpretation of these words.

¹²⁹ Translation taken from Schiffman, *DJD XX*, 103.

¹³⁰ The expression רזי עד is only used in *Mysteries* (here and 4Q299 3c 5). Schiffman (*DJD XX*, 102) notes that the phrase לא השכלתם ובינה is probably drawn from Dan 9:22–23 (לְהַשְׁכִּילָךְ בִּינָה) where the angel Gabriel comes to Daniel and gives him insight into God’s plan and reveals to him the understanding of the vision (מְרָאָה). In 4Q300 1a ii–b 2, as in Dan 9:22, בינה signifies knowledge of God’s hidden plan.

¹³¹ The phrase שורש חוכמה occurs only here in the Scrolls (although cf. Sir 1:6; 2 Bar 51:3; 59:7). A similar, if not synonymous, phrase (שורשי בינה) is found in 4Q301 1 2; 2b 1; and 4Q418 55 9. The expressions שורש חוכמה and שורשי עולה (4Q416 2 iii 14) and שרש רע

terms signifying the knowledge that has been revealed through the vision. Although the expression רז נהיה is not used in this passage, we can deduce that the terms רזי עד and שורש חוכמה are equivalent to רז נהיה by comparing the terminology in 4Q300 1a ii–b with similar language elsewhere in *Mysteries* (1Q27 1 i 3). In 4Q300 1a ii–b, the author claims that his opponents have not considered the רזי עד and שורש חוכמה, even though they profess to have wisdom. A similar claim is made in 1Q27 1 i 3 where the author of *Mysteries* states that certain adversaries “have not known the רז נהיה” in spite of their alleged wisdom. The idea is the same in both passages: certain opponents profess to have wisdom, but they lack the true wisdom that comes with the knowledge of God’s mysteries. If 4Q300 1a ii–b and 1Q27 1 i 3 are expressing the same idea, then רזי עד, שורש חוכמה, and רז נהיה are all synonyms which denote the source of true wisdom revealed by God through a visionary experience.¹³²

The precise nature of the vision is never made explicit in *Mysteries*. We simply do not know for certain how the author conceived of this vision. However, we can make an educated guess based on the language in 4Q300 1a ii–b. Line 2 states, חתום מכם [ח]תם החזון (“the [s]eal of the vision is sealed from you”).¹³³ I would suggest that the author is alluding to Isa 29:10–16.¹³⁴ The polemical tone of Isaiah 29 fits well with the conflict underlying 4Q300 1a ii–b. Here, in Isaiah, the prophet condemns the prophets and seers, saying that the Lord has poured out a spirit of deep sleep upon them and closed their eyes. In verse 11,

(4Q418 243 3). In both *Mysteries* and *Instruction*, the addressee is exhorted to search out (חקר), seek (רדף), or consider (גבט) the שורש חוכמה / שורשי בינה. Both texts also equate these “root” expressions with God’s רזין.

¹³² The equivalence of רז נהיה with רזי עד and שורש חוכמה is also confirmed by the fact that the exhortation to “consider” the רזי עד and the שורש חוכמה in 4Q300 1a ii–b 2–3 employs the same verb (גבט) that *Instruction* uses for “considering” the רז נהיה (e.g. 4Q416 2 iii 15) and the “roots of iniquity” (4Q416 2 iii 14).

¹³³ Cf. similar language in 1QH^a XVI 11–13 and XXVI 14.

¹³⁴ Schiffman has suggested that this wording is drawn from Dan 9:24 (*DJD* XX, 102). This is certainly possible, but I think Isa 29:10–16 is more likely since it shares greater thematic and terminological correspondence with 4Q300 1a ii–b.

he proclaims, “The vision of all this has become for you like the words of a sealed document.”¹³⁵ Even if they wanted to read it, they cannot (vv. 12–13). All of their supposed wisdom will perish (v. 14). If the author of *Mysteries* is alluding to Isa 29:10–16, then this suggests that 4Q300 1a ii–b reflects a conflict over prophetic truth claims.¹³⁶ This would indicate that the visionary experience referred to in *Mysteries* was viewed as a prophetic visionary encounter with God similar to the prophets of old.

3.3. “From the Hand of Each of Your Instructors”

There is some ambiguity in *Instruction* as to whether the מְבִין is the visionary seer or whether visionary knowledge was mediated to the מְבִין by another human agent who experienced these visions. We might suppose that the מְבִין had firsthand experience of these visions since there is personal imperative in 4Q417 1 i 13b–17 for the מְבִין to possess as his reward the “vision of meditation upon the book of remembrance.” However, there are some indications in *Instruction* that knowledge was conveyed through authoritative teachers.¹³⁷ For example, 4Q418 81+81a 17 states, [. . .] התבונן מודה ומיד כול משכילכה הוסף [. . .] לקח[. . .] understand greatly and from the hand of each of your instructors/sages increase insight[. . .]. Although it is unclear in 4Q418 81+81a 17 who these *maskilim* are, a fragmentary statement in 4Q418 221 might provide some additional information. In 4Q418 221 2–3, the author writes [. . .] נְבִיאִים וְלִהְבִּין כּוֹל פּוֹתִיִּים [. . .] ולהו[. . .] לקח למבינים prophets and to cause the simple ones to understand[. . .] and to increase insight for the

¹³⁵ Isa 29:11: וְתִהְיֶה לְכֶם חֲזוֹת הַכֹּל כְּדִבְרֵי הַסֵּפֶר הַהֶחָתוּם.

¹³⁶ The claim in 4Q299 8 6 that God has uncovered their ears to abundant insight (ברוב שכל גלה אוזנו) might also suggest a prophetic revelation. This formula is similar to *Instruction*'s גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה.

¹³⁷ Strugnell and Harrington have suggested that *Instruction* belonged to a school setting (*DJD XXXIV*, 20–21). Initially, Tigchelaar questioned this view (“The Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 67–69); yet, in a more recent work, he has recanted some of his statements and acknowledged that *Instruction* may contain evidence of a משכיל who teaches the מבינים (*To Increase Learning*, 245–46).

understanding ones”). Following this statement there is a *vacat* and then the author seems to change subject matter: . . .] *vacat* [. . .] נא ודעו משפטו ואז תבדלו ב[ין . . .] תתבוננו לדעת טוב[. . .] (“*vacat* [. . .] and know his judgment and then you will separate bet[ween . . . and] understand to know good[. . . ,” lines 3–5).¹³⁸ I would suggest that 4Q418 221 2–3 is a description of the same משכילים mentioned in 4Q418 81+81a 17 (note that both passages use the same wording: (יסף + לקה). If this is the case, then both 4Q418 81+81a 17 and 4Q418 221 2–3 portray the משכילים as authoritative teachers who cause the מבינים to grow in knowledge and wisdom. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the משכילים in *Instruction*; but, based on the presence of the word נביאים in 4Q418 221 2, we might speculate that they served a prophetic role as mediators between God and the מבינים.

These two passages suggest that the משכילים are the ones who received visionary knowledge of the רז נהיה and passed along this information to the מבינים. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in the *Hodayot* and the *Community Rule* the משכיל serves as a mediator of God’s revelation. Such an interpretation of *Instruction* would also explain an apparent paradox in the text. On the one hand, the author states that God has already revealed his mysteries to the מבינים, yet, on the other hand, the author continuously exhorts them to seek out God’s revelation. If God has already revealed it to them, why do they need to seek it out? This paradox can be resolved if we see the משכילים as intermediaries: God has revealed his cosmic design to the משכילים through one or more visionary experiences, and it is up to the מבינים to seek out knowledge from them.

¹³⁸ Notably, the verbs in lines 4–5 are plural suggesting that all of the מבינים are now being addressed.

3.4. The Mosaic Law as the Source of the רז נהיה?

The relationship between the רז נהיה and the Mosaic Law is a matter of debate.

Lange and others have argued that the written Law is the means by which one comes to know God's mysteries. Lange remarks,

These revelations were communicated in ancient or even mythological times and were transmitted in written form. The first is described in the clause [כי ה]בא הַרְוֹת הַחֹק ('because he caused the engraved command to be brought, and each plague to be inscribed'). This causal clause refers to Exod. 32:16 where the tablets of the law are described as קְרוֹת עַל-הַלְוָה. The text reasons that the sapiential order of the world can only be known because God revealed it in the form of the Torah.¹³⁹

Others have disputed this interpretation. Elgvin, for example, writes, "Righteous conduct is admonished [in *Instruction*], but 'Torah' does not seem to be an important concept for Sap. Work A. Different from the Epistle of Enoch there are no references to any debate about the right interpretation of the Torah. Wisdom is not equaled with Torah, as in Sirach 24 and Bar 3:9–4:4."¹⁴⁰ Elgvin goes so far as to claim that the רז נהיה has replaced the Torah.¹⁴¹

The difficulty is that *Instruction* makes allusions to the Law but never shows any interest in addressing the Law directly. On the one hand, we find statements like 4Q417 1 i 6, "meditate [day and]night on the mystery of what will be," which draws on Josh 1:8 and

¹³⁹ Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination," 342–43. Lange goes on to state, "By thus identifying the Torah with the pre-existent sapiential order of being, 4Qsap A stands in the tradition of texts like Sir. 24 and Bar. 3:9-4:4. These texts do not simply identify Wisdom and Torah—as e.g. Deut. 4:6—but they state that Wisdom is revealed through the Torah" (343 n. 6). In a later publication, Lange remarks that "the ordinances of the Torah and hence the Torah itself are a part of the mystery of being and becoming," but he goes on to note that "Other references to the mystery of being and becoming [in *Instruction*] show that it goes beyond the Torah" (Lange, "Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 458). Cf. the remarks by Rey, "Le רז נהיה et la Torah ne devraient pas être des réalités trop éloignées. Le רז נהיה serait néanmoins plus vaste, il engloberait la Torah, la création, le monde présent et l'eschatologie" (*4QInstruction*, 292).

¹⁴⁰ Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 450.

¹⁴¹ Elgvin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 237–38 ; idem, "Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic," 24. Goff takes a middle-of-the-road position between Elgvin and Lange without specifying the exact relationship between the Torah and רז נהיה. See Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 69–73; idem, *Discerning Wisdom*, 28–29.

Ps 1:2.¹⁴² Undoubtedly, the author is making a conscious comparison between the רז נהיה and the Law; yet, the extent of this comparison is unclear. On the other hand, there is the glaring fact that *Instruction* never explicitly gives authority to Moses or the Law, never indisputably equates Moses or the Law with God's revelation, and rarely cites the Law in its discussion of legal matters (one such instance is 4Q418 103 ii 6–9). There are two references to Moses in the extant text of *Instruction*, but both are fragmentary and it is difficult to get much information from them (4Q418 184 1 and 4Q423 11 2). Both passages seem to contain the phrase ביד משה (“by the hand of Moses”). 4Q423 11 2 is too small to glean any context for this statement.¹⁴³ In 4Q418 184 1–2 the phrase ביד משה might be associated with the revelation of the רז נהיה, but without more context it is difficult to say with certainty. This passage states, “he spok[e] by the hand of Moses, and[. . . w]ho uncovered your ear to the mystery of what will be in the day[. . . .]” If God is the subject of the verb גלה, as he is in all other instances of this phrase (see n. 27 above), then Moses is not the one who “uncovered your ear.” Could these lines be saying that God “uncovered your ear” by the hand of Moses? This interpretation is possible, but too much of the context has been lost to be sure.

I think the answer to our inquiry lies in 4Q417 1 i 14–15 and the comparison that we can make between these lines and the book of *Jubilees*. In *Jubilees*, there are tablets located in the heavens upon which God has written his plan and design for the creation. According to *Jubilees*, the Law revealed to Moses contains information from these

¹⁴² Another example is found in 4Q423 3 2, ברז[נהיה וכן התהלך], which might be an allusion to Lev 26:3 (אִם-בְּחֻקֹתַי תֵּלְכוּ). The use of Leviticus here is likely given that the preceding line, 4Q423 3 1, refers to Lev 26:20. If 4Q423 3 2 is based on Lev 26:3, then the author is associating the רז נהיה with God's covenant statutes. The connection between God's mysteries and statutes is also made in 4Q416 2 ii 8.

¹⁴³ According to Strugnell and Harrington, the reading of Moses' name here is not certain (*DJD XXXIV*, 527). The text reads, . . .]ה בידמש[. . . , but there is no word space between the *dalet* and *mem*.

heavenly tablets, but the Law of Moses is not the sum total of all that is written on the heavenly tablets.¹⁴⁴ I would argue that the same is true for *Instruction*. This is evidenced by the fact that the book of remembrance is listed among the heavenly writings (4Q417 1 i 14–15), and this book should certainly not be equated with the Mosaic Law. Thus, we should conclude that in *Instruction* the Mosaic Law reveals partial knowledge of God’s cosmic design, but it is not equivalent to the design itself. Full knowledge of God’s design can only be acquired from the heavenly writings that contain his divine mysteries.

4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in *Instruction*

The most obvious and straightforward purpose of God’s revelation in *Instruction* is to impart the knowledge of his cosmic design so that those who desire to be righteous can understand truth and wisdom so that they might live according to his will and ultimately receive salvation. This is stated as a general principle in 4Q417 1 i 6–8: “day and]night meditate on the mystery of what will be and seek continually. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom and [foll]y . . . dee[d] in all their ways with their recompense for all eternal times and everlasting recompense.” While it is clear in *Instruction* that God’s revelation of his cosmic design serves a practical wisdom-related function, it also works on a much more profound theological level. God’s revelation of knowledge has the capacity to rectify the corrupt human condition and restore humanity to the state of perfection that Adam once had in the Garden of Eden.

¹⁴⁴ Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets,” 25–28; García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets,” 243–60.

4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

According to *Instruction*, humanity suffers from an anthropological problem. This problem is described in different ways throughout the text, but they all come down to one root issue: the human spirit (רוּחַ) or inclination (יֵצֶר) is corrupt because humans are willfully ignorant of God's design. As a result, humans go astray from God's appointed order and they will ultimately reap the consequence of divine judgment. In 4Q417 1 ii 12, the author describes the anthropological problem in terms of a faulty יֵצֶר.¹⁴⁵ He writes, אַל . . . תִּפְתַּכָּה מִחֲשַׁבַּת יֵצֶר רָעָךְ. . . ("Do not let the thought of an evil inclination persuade you[. . .]"). In line 14, as part of the same context, he mentions the נְבוֹנוֹת בֶּשֶׂר ("fleshly understandings") which lead people astray, suggesting that a "fleshly understanding" is synonymous with an "evil inclination." Elsewhere in *Instruction*, we also find that humans are described as "fleshly."¹⁴⁶ They are fleshly spirits (רוּחַ בֶּשֶׂר, 4Q416 1 12; 4Q418 81+81a

¹⁴⁵ The יֵצֶר in *Instruction* is not personified nor does it have the dualistic sense of two opposed tendencies inherent in each person as in some rabbinic literature; rather, it has the more neutral sense of one's conscience, desire, motivation, or compulsion. In *Instruction*, one's יֵצֶר can be either inclined toward or away from God's will; yet, the nature of one's inclination is largely determined by what one knows. For example, 4Q417 1 i 10–11 states that a person walks in the inclination of his/her understanding (i.e., a person's understanding determines his/her inclination). On the concept of the human יֵצֶר in early Judaism and Christianity, see George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1.479–96; Roland E. Murphy, "Yēser in the Qumran Literature," *Bib* 39 (1958): 334–44; Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. Israel Abrahams; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975), 1.471–83; Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 77–81; idem, "Zu Vorkommen und Bedeutung von יֵצֶר im Jubiläenbuch," *JSJ* 14 (1983): 1–10; G. H. Cohen Stuart, *The Struggle in Man between Good and Evil: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Rabbinic Concept of Yeşer Hara'* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1984); Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 371–81; Serge Ruzer, "The Seat of Sin in Early Jewish and Christian Sources," in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (ed. Jan Assmann and Guy G. Stroumsa; SHR 83; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 367–91; Johann Cook, "The Origin of the Tradition of the יֵצֶר הַטוֹב וְיֵצֶר הַרָע," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 80–91; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-edition of 4Q468I (4QSectorian Text?)," in *Empsychoi Logoi — Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst* (ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg; AJEC 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347–57; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: "Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁶ Most of the uses of בֶּשֶׂר in *Instruction* do not have a pejorative sense. For a discussion of the use

1–2) who are guided by fleshly inclinations (יצר בשר, 4Q416 1 16). Contrary to how it may appear, the language of “flesh” is not an ontological description; it is epistemological.¹⁴⁷ Fleshliness connotes ignorance.¹⁴⁸ In 4Q417 1 i 17–18, the רוח בשר is one that does not discern between good and evil (cf. 4Q416 1 15). Similarly, in 4Q416 1 10–12, the בני אמת are contrasted with the רוח בשר, illustrating the fact that “truth” is antithetical to the “flesh.” The sense we get in *Instruction* is that all humans are inherently “fleshly” or have a “spirit of flesh.” In other words, all people are ignorant of God’s design and inclined by nature to stray from God’s appointed order.

The idea that humans are inherently plagued by an evil inclination or a fleshly spirit is probably based on an interpretation of Gen 6:3–5. Here, in verse 5, God sees that the inclination (יצר) of the human heart is only evil continually. The same idea is reinforced in Gen 8:21: “for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth.” The connection between humanity’s faulty יצר and its fleshliness might be based on Gen 6:3 where God condemns humans and withdraws his spirit from them because they are flesh (בשר).¹⁴⁹ The mere proximity of these statements in Gen 6:3 and 6:5 could have been justification for an

of בשר in *Instruction* and other texts from Qumran, see Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh,’” 197–226; idem, “Flesh and Spirit,” 367–404; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 186–88.

¹⁴⁷ The expression רוח בשר is often interpreted as a physical or ontological description. Goff, for example, states that “The phrase ‘fleshly spirit’ denotes the mortality of the body. The term can be reasonably understood as referring to the rest of humankind, the non-elect, who cannot attain eternal life” (“Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 14). However, this interpretation ignores the context of 4Q417 1 i 17–18 which pertains to the knowledge of good and evil. Tigchelaar rightly notes that רוח בשר in 4Q417 1 i 17 is a condemnation because of ignorance not because of a sinful nature (*To Increase Learning*, 187–88). See also Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 86–87. In 1QH^a V 30, the description רוח בשר expresses “the incapability of the human being to understand God’s counsel and to appreciate his glory” (Frey, “Flesh and Spirit,” 379).

¹⁴⁸ In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* there is a similar association between fleshliness and ignorance. In 4Q400 2 7, the author contrasts the human לישון עפר (“tongue of dust”) with angelic דעת (“knowledge”). There are many other examples in the literature of this time period of such an association between flesh and ignorance. See, for example, Philo, *Gig.* 29–30 and *Odes of Solomon* 8:8–9.

¹⁴⁹ The corruption of the בשר is again seen in Gen 6:12: “And God saw that the earth was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted its ways upon the earth.”

ancient interpreter to combine the two ideas: humans have an evil inclination from their youth because they are flesh.¹⁵⁰

In *Instruction*, it is clear that humanity's problem is one of the heart or intellect, and the remedy is the reception of God's revealed knowledge. Only through the knowledge of God's cosmic design can one discern between good and evil and choose the path of righteousness. This is clearly presented in 4Q416 2 iii 13–15 where the author states, בכל מוסר הבא שכמכה ובכל־] צרוף לבכה וברוב בינה־ מחשבותיכה רז נהיה דרוש והתבונן בכל דרכי אמת וכל []¹⁵¹ refine your heart, and with much understanding refine¹⁵² your thoughts. Study the mystery of what will be and understand all the ways of truth and consider all the roots of iniquity"). This section of lines 13–15 is composed of two sets of parallel tricola. The first set exhorts the מבין to acquire knowledge and understanding so that he can refine his heart/thoughts while the second set tells him that such knowledge is to be gained by studying the רז נהיה. The claim in this passage is quite remarkable: by acquiring knowledge of God's רז נהיה, the מבין is able to refine or purify his heart/thoughts, thus rectifying his corrupt inclination. Although the word יצר is not used in this passage, the terms לב and מהשבה have

¹⁵⁰ See W. D. Davies, who discusses the connection between “flesh” and “inclination” in Paul's thought (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* [4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980], 20–27). Philo is also worth noting. He interprets Gen 6:3–5 to mean that divinely given knowledge cannot abide in people who have a fleshly nature; for, “the chief cause of ignorance is the flesh and the tie which binds us so closely to the flesh” (*Gig.* 29). He goes on to say that, “nothing thwarts its [wisdom's] growth so much as our fleshly nature. For on it ignorance and scorn of learning rest. It is ready laid for them as a first and main foundation” (*Gig.* 30). According to Philo, the fleshly person is characterized by uncontrolled wickedness and self-fulfillment (Gen 6:4–5; *Deus* 3–4, 16–19) while those who are unencumbered by the flesh and exercise virtue have God's spirit as their companion (Gen 6:3). For Philo, the divine spirit is wisdom or pure insight that is given to certain wise men, such as Bezalel and Moses, so that they can see God and his powers (*Deus* 3).

¹⁵¹ The lacuna should almost certainly be filled with a knowledge word in order to parallel מוסר and בינה. See Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 119.

¹⁵² The verb צרף is doing double-duty for the second and third cola.

approximately the same anthropological significance. These terms are related to one's capacity for reasoning and decision making.¹⁵³

The power of God's revealed knowledge to change the human condition is also discussed in 4Q417 1 i 10–13. Here the author writes,¹⁵⁴

[He ex]pounded for their un[der]standing¹⁵⁵ every w[or]k to walk in the inclination of their understanding (ביצר מבינתם) and he expounded for [] and with proper understanding were made kn[own the hidden] things of his design together with how he should walk [per]fectly [in all of] his [wo]rks. Seek these things continuously and understand[al] of their outcomes. Then you will know the glory of [his] st[rength toge]ther with his wondrous mysteries and the mighty things of his works.

According to this passage, God has revealed his cosmic design to the מבינה (i.e., the mind) of the מבין in order that he might conduct his life according to a good inclination. In

¹⁵³ This is not to say that these terms are synonymous; they clearly have distinct meanings. The לב is the seat of emotions and rational thought. It is the “mind” of person. The יצר is the inclination that steers or guides the heart in its decision making process. The מחשבה is a thought, intention, or design that is produced by the לב (e.g. 1QH^a XII 14; cf. Prov 16:9), and a person's מחשבה serves to direct his/her actions. In this way, one's מחשבה is a reflection of their יצר at work in their heart. This anthropology is fairly consistent throughout the Scrolls. In several texts, we find the phrases מחשבות יצר אשמה, “thoughts of a guilty inclination” (CD II 16; 4Q286 7 ii 7–8), [רע]ה לבם יצר מחשבות, “thoughts of the inclination of their evil heart” (4Q370 1 i 3), or simply מחשבת יצרו, “thought of his inclination” (1QS V 4–5). Ben Sira 27:6 expresses the relationship between a person's “inclination” and “thought” quite clearly: על עבדת עץ יהי פרי כן השבון על יצר אהד (“[As] the fruit is based on the cultivation of a tree, so the thought is based on the inclination of a person”). According to the parallelism of this statement, a person's השבון is like the fruit of a tree; it depends on proper cultivation, that is, a proper יצר (see Cohen Stuart, *The Struggle in Man*, 89–91). For the combination of יצר and מחשבה in the Hebrew Bible, see Gen 6:5; 1 Chr 28:9; 29:18. For general comments on the relationship between יצר, לב, and מחשבה, see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (The Anchor Bible 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 338–39; David Rolph Seely, “Implanting Pious Qualities as a Theme in the Barki Nafshi Hymns” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 328.

¹⁵⁴ Lacunae have been filled in using the parallel text in 4Q418 43–45 i 8–10.

¹⁵⁵ Berg argues that the three occurrences of the term מבינה (“understanding”) in lines 10 and 11 should be emended to מבנית (“structures”). While the word מבנית could make sense in line 10 and 11a, the resulting interpretation of 11b would be awkward. Berg renders 11b as follows: “In the aptness of structures are known the secrets of his (God's) thought.” More importantly, Berg does not explain how the scribe misspelled מבנית three times in these two lines. Berg also misunderstands the *lamed* prepositions in line 10. He states that the verb פרש “is followed by two elements introduced by *lamed*s; the first would seem to [*sic*] the direct object and the second, it will be argued, expresses purpose” (60–61). There are, however, three *lamed* prepositions, and it is clear that להתהלך expresses purpose, not לכול, as Berg argues. *Pace* Berg, it is best to understand ינתם [ב]נתם in line 10 as the indirect object and לעשיה as the direct object, with להתהלך as the purpose. See Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 61–64.

essence, God's revelation changes the mind and the inclination of the מבין. To use language from elsewhere in *Instruction*, the מבין no longer has a "fleshly inclination" or a "spirit of flesh" (4Q418 81+81a 1–2); rather he has a "holy spirit" (4Q416 2 ii 6) because of God's revelation of knowledge. This rectification of the מבין is, in effect, a reversal of Gen 6:3–5. Whereas the normal state of humanity is characterized by an evil inclination and a spirit of flesh, the מבין who has sought to know God's design is now guided by a good and proper inclination—an inclination resembling that of the angels (4Q417 1 i 16–17).

We have already seen in 4Q417 1 i 13b–17 that the מבין is rewarded with "the vision of meditation on the book of remembrance" because כתבנית קדושים יצרו ("according to the pattern of the holy ones is his inclination"). The מבין is granted his reward vision because his inclination is like that of the holy ones—the angels.¹⁵⁶ This statement must be read in conjunction with 4Q417 1 i 10–12 where the author declares that God's revelation of his cosmic design is what allows the מבין to conduct his life with a good inclination. In reading lines 10–12 together with 16–17, it is apparent that God's revelation of the רז נהיה is what endows the מבין with an angel-like inclination.

4.2. Returning to Paradise through God's Revelation of Knowledge

The notion that God's revelation could transform the מבין into an angel-like being (or at least a being with an angel-like inclination) is the logical result of a more fundamental concept underlying *Instruction*: the idea that God's revelation of knowledge has the capacity to restore humanity to the state of perfection that Adam once had in the Garden of Eden. A number of scholars have noted that the רז נהיה in *Instruction* is

¹⁵⁶ On the use of קדושים to refer to angels in *Instruction*, see n. 117 above.

described in a way that is similar to the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden.¹⁵⁷ In particular, both the tree of knowledge and the *רז נהיה* grant the knowledge of good and evil (4Q416 1 15; 4Q417 1 i 8, 18; 4Q423 5 6). *Instruction* implies that by seeking out the *רז נהיה* the *מבין* will acquire the same knowledge of good and evil that Adam possessed in the garden (as we will see below, *Instruction* does not see the knowledge of good and evil as something forbidden to Adam). This belief is most clearly expressed in 4Q423 1–2 i 1–3,¹⁵⁸ which states,

[]and every fruit produced and every delightful tree, pleasant to give insight. Is [it] not a de[lightful] garden [and pleasant]to[gi]ve g[re]at insight? He set you in charge of it to till it and guard it. An [enjoya]ble g[arden . . . the ground,] thorns and thistles it will sprout for you, and its yield it will not give to you, [. . .].

In this passage, the author of *Instruction* indicates that the *מבין* presently dwells, in some sense, in the Garden of Eden and has full access to the knowledge that is available there.¹⁵⁹ Although this passage does not specifically mention the *רז נהיה*, it is almost certain that the references to knowledge here must refer to the knowledge obtained through consideration of the *רז נהיה*.¹⁶⁰ I would interpret 4Q423 1–2 i 1–3 to mean that the *רז נהיה* (God’s cosmic design) is analogous to the Garden of Eden, which in 4Q423 1–2 i 1–3 is really a garden filled with trees of knowledge (note that in line 1 all of the trees of the garden yield knowledge). The *מבין* is supposed to tend the trees of this “garden” (the *רז נהיה*) and eat from them, acquiring the fullness of the knowledge they have to offer.¹⁶¹ In

¹⁵⁷ Goff, “Adam, The Angels and Eternal Life,” 5–7, 16; Elgvin, “Admonition Texts,” 187–88;

¹⁵⁸ I have accepted Elgvin’s suggestion that 4Q423 frags. 1 and 2 should be joined together (see *DJD XXXIV*, 505–506).

¹⁵⁹ Goff outlines some of the terminology shared between this passage and Genesis 2–3 (“Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 6). See also Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 114–17.

¹⁶⁰ Note that line 7 has a broken reference to the knowledge of good and evil (. . .] הָרַע יוֹדַע הַטּוֹב (. . .) which is associated with the *רז נהיה* elsewhere in *Instruction*.

¹⁶¹ This interpretation of the Garden of Eden is similar to Philo’s (see n. 84 above).

doing so, the מבין will become like the angels, knowing good and evil and having a heart inclined toward God (4Q417 1 i 11, 16–17; see §4.1 above).¹⁶²

4Q418 81+81a 9 contains an idea similar to 4Q423 1–2 i 1–3. Here, the author writes, “But as for you, he [op]ened insight (שכל) for you and over his storehouse he set you in charge (ובאוצרו המשילכה).” The expression “over . . . he set you in charge” (ב- . . .) is exactly the same terminology used in 4Q423 1–2 i 2 of God placing the מבין in charge of the garden of knowledge (4Q423 1–2 i 2 has the words: (ובו המשילכה).¹⁶³ If we interpret אוצר as a metaphor for the Garden of Eden,¹⁶⁴ then 4Q418 81+81a 9 would be stating that God has put the מבין in charge of the garden which is the source of “insight.”

4Q418 81+81a is significant because earlier in this fragment (lines 3–5) the author tells the מבין that not only does he oversee the garden of God, but he also has a lot among the angels:

“But, he is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam and over his inheritance he set you in charge (ובנהלתו המשילכה).¹⁶⁵ And you honor him with this by consecrating yourself to him just as he appointed you for a most holy one for all the world and among all the [g]o[ds] he cast your lot and your glory he increased greatly and he appointed you for himself as a firstborn [. . .].”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Although it is contrary to a straightforward reading of Genesis 2–3, 4Q423 1–2 i 1–2 indicates that the מבין *should* eat the fruit from the trees of knowledge so that they can understand good and evil and become like the angels. While angels are not explicitly mentioned in 4Q423 1–2 i, I suspect that the author believed that the angels who dwell in the garden eat of this fruit as well (such is the case in *1 En.* 32:3–6 where the angels eat from the tree of wisdom). Thus, by eating of the garden’s fruit, the מבין becomes filled with knowledge and wisdom like the divine beings.

¹⁶³ On *Instruction*’s use of המשיל to express the idea of God giving authority to mankind over creation, see Elgvin “Admonition Texts,” 187–88; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 101–2.

¹⁶⁴ In later rabbinic literature, the Garden of Eden is sometimes referred to as an אוצר. See Simcha Paull Raphael, *Jewish Views of the Afterlife* (2d ed.; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 154–56.

¹⁶⁵ Strugnell and Harrington state that a scribe has corrected the text from המשילמה to המשילכה (*DJD* XXXIV, 302 and 305). Tigchelaar, however, claims that there “is no evidence in the fragment of correction or overwriting” (*To Increase Learning*, 95). Either way, the editors and Tigchelaar prefer to read המשילכה as the original text.

¹⁶⁶ Some lacunae have been filled in using 4Q423 8 2–3.

The antecedent of the pronominal suffix on בנהלתו probably refers to Adam.¹⁶⁷ Since line 3 uses the same formula as line 9 (ב-... המשילכה), we should conclude that Adam's "inheritance" is equivalent to God's אוצר, both of which refer to the Garden of Eden. The claim, in line 3, that the מבין has received authority over Adam's inheritance is immediately followed by an exhortation that the מבין should give honor to God because God has appointed him as "a most holy one for all the world"¹⁶⁸ and placed his lot among the gods.¹⁶⁹ The מבין is no longer among the "spirit of flesh" (lines 1–2) who lacks the knowledge of good and evil (4Q417 1 i 17–18); rather, he is now counted among the angels who know the mysteries of God's design.

If we read 4Q423 1–2 i and 4Q418 81+81a together, we come to the conclusion that the author envisioned the מבין as presently existing in the Garden of Eden among the host of holy ones. Here in the garden, the מבין cultivates the knowledge of good and evil by meditating on God's cosmic design (the רזו נהיה). We know from 4Q417 1 i 10–12 and 16–17, that it is this knowledge of good and evil which transforms the fleshly inclination of the מבין into an inclination resembling that of the holy ones. In 4Q417 1 i 17, the author states, כתבנית קדושים יצרו. Collins has rightly argued that 4Q417 1 i 17 is an allusion to Adam being created in the image of God in Genesis 1:26–27.¹⁷⁰ The author of *Instruction* intended to communicate the idea that by acquiring the knowledge of God's design the מבין

¹⁶⁷ The statement would be awkward if we took God as the antecedent. Why would the author tell the מבין that God is his inheritance, and then say that he has been set over God's inheritance? It makes more sense for the pronoun to refer to a person or group other than the addressee, and the only person in the passage that this could reasonably apply to is Adam.

¹⁶⁸ On the phrase קדוש קדושים see n. 9 above. Lines 4–5 bear some similarity to 1QSb IV 24–27.

¹⁶⁹ While the word [א]ל[ים] has to be almost entirely reconstructed from a single remaining *lamed*, the language of God placing one's lot among the angels/gods/holy ones is fairly common in the Scrolls. See, for example, 1QS XI 7–8; 1QSb IV 26; 1QH^a XIX 14–15; and 4Q181 1 4. Based on the context of 4Q418 81+81a 4–5 and the prevalence of this language in the Scrolls, I would maintain that מלאכים or אלים is an appropriate reconstruction. See also the comments in Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD XXXIV*, 305.

¹⁷⁰ Collins, "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones," 609–18.

has become endowed with the same image of God that Adam originally possessed.

Regardless of what the “image of God” meant to the author of Gen 1:26–27, the author of *Instruction* interpreted the “image of God” to mean that a person possesses the knowledge of good and evil and has an inclination similar to that of the angels.

I would argue that the author’s belief that the knowledge of good and evil could endow the מַבִּין with the image of God and allow him to dwell in the Garden of Eden among the angels was based on a particular interpretation of Genesis 1–3. According to this interpretation, when God originally created the first man, he imbued him with the knowledge of good and evil (or what some ancient writers simply referred to as “wisdom”), and it was this knowledge that made Adam resemble (i.e., bear the image of) God and the angels. In part, this interpretation was derived from Gen 3:5, 22. In Gen 3:5 the serpent says to the woman, “for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil.” Genesis 3:22 picks up the same thought when God declares, “See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil.” These verses were interpreted to mean that the knowledge of good and evil is what distinguishes the אֱלֹהִים (i.e., the divine beings)¹⁷¹ from humans, and by acquiring such knowledge humans can become like the divine beings.¹⁷² Genesis 3:5 and 3:22 were

¹⁷¹ J. A. Soggin argues that אֱלֹהִים in Gen 3:5 (וְהָיִיתֶם כְּאַלְהֵים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע) is best rendered as “divine beings.” The author of *Instruction* apparently interpreted the word אֱלֹהִים in this way and understood the words וְהָיִיתֶם כְּאַלְהֵים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע to mean “and you will be like the angelic beings, knowing good and evil.” For Soggin’s comments, see his essay “‘And You Will Be like God and Know What Is Good and What Is Bad’: Genesis 2–3,” in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (ed. Chaim Cohen, Avi Hurvitz, and Shalom M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 191–93.

¹⁷² Such an interpretation of Gen 3:5 and 22 might have found support in 2 Sam 14:17 where the woman of Tekoa says to David, “for my lord the king is like the angel of God, discerning good and evil.” Psalm 82:5–7 might also have provided support for this interpretation. Here the אֱלֹהִים, the “sons of the Most High,” are condemned to die like man (כְּאָדָם; could this have been read “like Adam”?) because they do not possess knowledge and understanding (לֹא יָדְעוּ וְלֹא יָבִינוּ). One could read this passage as an assertion that without knowledge the angels lose their immortal nature and are condemned to die just like humans (or Adam). The implication, then, is that knowledge and understanding is what separates humans from angels.

conflated Gen 1:26–27 with Gen 2:7, and the conjunction of God breathing into Adam with the mention of “understanding and knowledge” (בינה ודעת) suggests that knowledge was imparted to Adam when God breathed into him.¹⁷⁴

A very brief statement in the *Meditation on Creation C* (4Q305 II 1–3) expresses a similar belief: “. . . and he created in it animals [. . .] he gave to Adam knowled[ge . . .] and evil[] to know [. . . .]” This passage contains a direct claim that it was God who gave knowledge to Adam. Based on the sequence of events, it appears that God imbued Adam with knowledge after he had formed the animals in Gen 2:18–19 and before the creation of Eve in Gen 2:21. This would mean that God gave knowledge to Adam at approximately the same time he was given the opportunity to name the animals in the garden (Gen 2:20). In some later texts, such as the *Qur’an* and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, we find a tradition that Adam exhibited his profound knowledge by naming all of the animals.¹⁷⁵ Most likely, the *Meditation on Creation C* is an early representative of this tradition.

Another text found at Qumran, the *Meditation on Creation A* (4Q303), describes the events of Genesis 2. This text states, “. . .] and understanding of good and evil to [. . .] taking from it ^{Adam} for [. . .] made for him a sui[table] helper [. . . .]” (lines 8–10). Once again, the fragmentary nature of the text makes the meaning difficult to elucidate. However, we can conjecture that since the understanding of good and evil in line 8 is mentioned before the creation of Eve in lines 9–10, line 8 cannot be a reference to Eve taking fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.¹⁷⁶ Thus, it is reasonable to

¹⁷⁴ See John J. Collins, “Before the Fall: The Earliest Interpretations of Adam and Eve,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 299–300.

¹⁷⁵ *Qur’an* 2.30–31; *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* III.21.

¹⁷⁶ Wold interprets 4Q303 9 as a description of Adam taking something, possibly the fruit, from Eve. Because of this interpretation, Wold is forced to conclude that 4Q303 describes the woman giving Adam the

conclude that line 8 refers to Adam's possession of the understanding of good and evil before the creation of Eve.¹⁷⁷

We find the same interpretative tradition in Ben Sira 17:1–12. In this account of creation, Ben Sira declares how God filled (ἐμπίπλημι) the primordial humans “with knowledge and understanding, and showed to them good and evil” (17:7). Here, as in the preceding texts, God intentionally gave knowledge to the first humans.¹⁷⁸ Ben Sira does not explicitly state how God granted this knowledge to Adam, but the verb ἐμπίπλημι (“to fill”) in verse 7 suggests that Ben Sira saw God's act of breathing his spirit into Adam as the moment when the first man became endowed with knowledge.

Besides the *Words of the Luminaries*, *Meditation on Creation A*, *Meditation on Creation C*, and Ben Sira 17, there is ample evidence that a prominent tradition existed in the Second Temple period according to which God intentionally imparted knowledge to Adam at the time of his creation. This tradition is attested in Job 15:7–8; Ezek 28:12–17; *Jub. 3:15*; *Life of Adam and Eve 22:2*; *L.A.B. 26:6*; Philo;¹⁷⁹ and the Wisdom of Solomon.¹⁸⁰

fruit before she is created in line 10. This seems to be an unlike order of events. See Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 118.

¹⁷⁷ Collins, “Before the Fall,” 300.

¹⁷⁸ For the interpretation of Adam in Ben Sira 17 see Collins, “Before the Fall,” 296–301; idem, “Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 32–34; Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (The Anchor Bible 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 281–83; Berg, “Ben Sira, the Genesis Creation Accounts, and the Knowledge of God's Will,” 145–51.

¹⁷⁹ In his treatise, *On the Creation of the World*, Philo describes how God created the first human from dust and breathed his divine spirit into him (*Opif.* 134–35), imbuing him with a rational mind (*Opif.* 139; *Leg.* 1.39–42) which is the image of God (*Plant.* 44; *Her.* 55–57; *Moses* 2.65; *Conf.* 61–62, 146–47). Philo explains that the divine spirit or mind breathed into Adam is really a manifestation of God's Logos or reason (*Plant.* 19–20), and elsewhere he speaks of the Logos as an emanation of God's wisdom (*Leg.* 1.65). Thus, Adam was created with profound wisdom and an intellect resembling God's own mind (*Opif.* 145, 151).

¹⁸⁰ Wisdom of Solomon expresses the belief that Adam was initially imbued with divine wisdom. In Wis 10:1–2, pseudo-Solomon states, “Wisdom protected the first-formed father of the world, when he alone had been created; she delivered him from his transgression, and gave him strength to rule all things.” A few chapters earlier, in Wis 7:25–26, wisdom is described in terms strongly reminiscent of Gen 1:26–27 and 2:7. The author writes, “For she is a breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the

The same tradition can also be found in some later texts, such as *2 Enoch* 30:8–16; *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* 12:36–43; *Memar Marqah* 6.3; and *Gen. Rab.* 8:11. An interesting passage in the *Gospel of Judas* states, “But God caused knowledge to be [given] to Adam and those with him, so that the kings of chaos and the underworld might not lord it over them” (54.8–12).¹⁸¹ In a number of these texts, the author saw Gen 2:7b (God’s act of breathing into Adam) as the moment when the first man became filled with knowledge.¹⁸² Some of the texts also conflate Gen 2:7b with Gen 1:26–27 and see God’s knowledge-giving breath (i.e., his spirit) as the mechanism by which God imbued Adam with his divine image.¹⁸³ In such cases, the image of God is the divine spirit and knowledge breathed into Adam.¹⁸⁴

Almighty; therefore nothing defiled gains entrance into her. For she is a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness.” If we put these two passages together, pseudo-Solomon suggests that wisdom is the divine breath which God breathed into Adam in Gen 2:7, and Adam became the image of God because he was endowed with God’s wisdom.

¹⁸¹ Quotation from Rodolphe Kasser et al., *The Gospel of Judas together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos: Critical Edition* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007).

¹⁸² See, for example, 4Q504 8 *recto*, 4–5, Philo (*Opif.* 134–35, 139; *Leg.* 1.39–42), and the Wisdom of Solomon (in 7:25 wisdom is referred to as the breath of God, and in 10:1–2 pseudo-Solomon states that wisdom was given to Adam). The idea that God’s breath could impart knowledge is probably the result of a conflation of ideas. First, God’s breath in Gen 2:7 (נְשַׁמַת הַיָּיִם) was equated with his רוּחַ (in Gen 7:22; Job 33:4; 34:14; and Isa 42:5 God is said to have breathed his רוּחַ in the human being). Once this connection had been made, then God’s breath was probably associated with the spirit of God which grants special knowledge to people (e.g., Exod 31:3; Isa 11:2; Dan 5:12). Based on these intertextual connections, one could arrive at the idea that God breathed his spirit into Adam which filled the first man with profound knowledge. Such as interpretation of Gen 2:7 might be behind Job 32:8: “But truly it is the spirit in a mortal, the breath of the Almighty, that makes for understanding.”

¹⁸³ See Ben Sir 17:1–7; Philo (*Plant.* 19–20, 44; *Her.* 55–57; *Moses* 2.65; *Conf.* 61–62, 146–47); *Wis* 7:22–8:1; *Life of Adam and Eve* 13:1–3; *Pseudo-Phocylides* 105–8; and *Apocryphon of John (NHC II)* 19.15–20.28). See also Jarl Fossum, “Gen. 1,26 and 2,7 in Judaism, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism,” *JSJ* 16 (1985): 202–39.

¹⁸⁴ It is possible that Eccl 8:1 served as an exegetical basis for associating Adam’s knowledge with his luminous glory. This verse could be translated: “The wisdom of Adam enlightened his face” (הַכְּמַת אָדָם (תְּאִיר פְּנֵי). If Eccl 8:1 was interpreted together with Gen 1:27 and the belief that the image of God was a luminous glory borne by the primordial man, then one could conclude that Adam’s knowledge or wisdom imbued him with this splendid light.

I would argue that the author of *Instruction* knew of such a tradition and applied it to God's revelation of the רז נהיה.¹⁸⁵ He believed that God originally gifted Adam with the knowledge of his cosmic design (the knowledge of good and evil), and it was this knowledge that endowed Adam with the image of God and made him like the angels. The author also believed that in his present time God had once again revealed knowledge of his design to the spiritual people, and by receiving this knowledge they would be endowed with the image of God and dwell in the Garden of Eden together with the angels.¹⁸⁶

At this point, it is worth considering to what extent the image of God and Garden of Eden language in *Instruction* is metaphorical. It is doubtful that we should call this a "realized eschatology" as some have done.¹⁸⁷ Clearly, the author is ascribing to the מבין a present state analogous to that of Adam in the Garden of Eden; yet, there is no sense that the מבין is already perfect and glorious like the angels. The מבין is still in danger of being led astray (4Q417 1 i 23; 1 ii 12; 2 i 14–16) and must maintain vigilance. For that matter, the angels themselves are still striving for perfection and waiting for their eternal

¹⁸⁵ Several scholars have suggested that the Garden of Eden passage in 4Q423 1–2 is based on the same interpretive tradition as that found in 4Q504, 4Q303, 4Q305, and Sir 17. See Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 125–26; idem, "Before the Fall," 300; idem, "Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity," 35–36; Esther G. Chazon, "The Creation and Fall Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (ed. Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay; TEG 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 18–19.

¹⁸⁶ There are a number of Jewish and Christian texts from late antiquity which speak of divinely revealed knowledge as having the power to return people to a paradisiacal state. Two such texts are *Odes of Solomon* 11 and *Testament of Levi* 18. We might also consider *Gospel of Thomas* 19 (see the comments by April D. DeConick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* [VCSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 80–83). In some texts, knowledge has the capacity to transform people into the image of God. In Colossians 3:9–10, the author states that the mind of a Christian (the "new [person]") is being renewed unto a state of knowledge comparable to the image of God which is Jesus (κατ' εικόνα modifies εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, indicating the norm or standard of knowledge). In essence, the Christian's mind is transformed into the image of God through knowledge. We might also refer to Philo, *Mos.* 1.158–59, where Moses enters into the dark place of God and acquires knowledge of the invisible, incorporeal world. As a result, Moses becomes a model (παράδειγμα) of God for others. Although Philo does not use the word εἰκόν here, the sense is the same. Because of his firsthand knowledge of God, Moses has become an image of God for others to imitate.

¹⁸⁷ Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 187–88; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 457–59; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology," 144–45.

inheritance (4Q418 55 10–12; 69 ii 12–15). From the author’s perspective, the promise that the מְבִין will inherit glory is yet unrealized and the *eschaton* is still off in the distance (4Q416 1 10–13; 4Q418 69 ii 4–9; 211 4).¹⁸⁸

How is it, then, that the מְבִין is comparable to the angels? It would seem that the מְבִין and the angels are similar in that they both have acquired knowledge of God’s design and they both have a similar inclination to observe God’s will (4Q417 1 i 17). Through their knowledge, both the מְבִין and the angels bear the image and likeness of God. Yet, the author of *Instruction* is quite clear that the מְבִין is not an angel. The מְבִין is to revere the angels and recognize that the angels are superior to humans (4Q418 55 11; 81+81a 11–12).¹⁸⁹ Ultimately, the מְבִין is mortal and he will die (4Q416 2 iii 6–7; 418 103 ii 9).

At least in the present age, *Instruction* does not envision the same kind of physical communion between humans and angels that we find in the *War Scroll* and parts of the *Hodayot*.¹⁹⁰ The מְבִין exists in the Garden of Eden only in an analogical sense. The garden is an analogy for the רֶזֶן נְהִיָה. By “cultivating” God’s revelation and obtaining the fruits of knowledge from it, the מְבִין analogically becomes like Adam in the garden. Since the garden is the dwelling place of angels and because the מְבִין has become like them through knowledge, he experiences a sort of analogical fellowship with the host of holy ones.

¹⁸⁸ On the theme of eschatological judgment in *Instruction*, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 168–215.

¹⁸⁹ Fletcher-Louis has argued that the “holy ones,” whom the addressee is to revere in 4Q418 81+81a 10–11, are angelomorphic human priests (*All the Glory of Adam*, 178–85). Stuckenbruck has rebutted this interpretation and demonstrated that the “holy ones” are best understood as angels (“‘Angels’ and ‘God,’” 63–66).

¹⁹⁰ Goff contrasts the angelic communion of *Instruction* with that attested in the *Hodayot*. He writes, “The relationship of the righteous to the angelic world asserted in the *Hodayot* represents a bolder claim than that of 4QInstruction. The *Hodayot* can be said to have a ‘realized angelology’, since the elect are depicted as enjoying fellowship with the angels in the present. In 4QInstruction, by contrast, full participation with the angelic world is realized after death” (*The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 212).

This is the situation as it stands at the present time of the author, but, there are indications that in the age to come the מְבִין will be given a splendid afterlife with the angels in an actual Edenic paradise.¹⁹¹ 4Q416 2 iii 11–12 seems to assert that after death God will elevate the מְבִין to a place with the angels. The text states, “For out of poverty he lifted up your head, and with the nobles he has seated you, and over a glorious inheritance he has set you in charge.”¹⁹² If Goff and Wold are correct in suggesting that the word נְדִיבִים (“nobles”) refers to angels, then this passage assigns the מְבִין a place with the heavenly beings in the *eschaton*.¹⁹³

Elsewhere, the author of *Instruction* proclaims that because the מְבִין has observed the truth that is based upon the רִז נְהִיָה, he will receive an “inheritance of truth” (4Q416 4 3)¹⁹⁴ and “eternal joy” (שְׂמֵחַת עוֹלָם, 4Q417 2 i 10–12). He will dwell in “eternal glory and everlasting peace” (בְּכְבוֹד עוֹלָם וְשְׁלוֹם עַד, 4Q418 126 ii 8). This last passage, 4Q418 126 ii 8, is quite intriguing because in the same line we find reference to a רוּחַ חַיִּים (“spirit of life”) and in the next line the author refers to כּוֹל בְּנֵי חוּוֹה (“all the sons of Eve”). This seems to indicate that the words “eternal glory and everlasting peace” are a reference to life in the Garden of Eden. I would suggest that the same is true for the language of “eternal joy” in 4Q417 2 i 12 and “inheritance of truth” in 4Q416 4 3. All of this terminology is used to indicate that the מְבִין will inherit a blessed afterlife in paradise where he will dwell among

¹⁹¹ Goff makes the case that the eschatology of *Instruction* envisions an afterlife in which the מְבִין and the angels will dwell together. See Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 206–14; idem, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life,” 18.

¹⁹² 4Q416 2 iii 11–12 (וּבְנִחַלַת כְּבוֹד הַמְשִׁילְכָה) uses the same formula as in 4Q418 81+81a 3, 9, and 4Q423 1–2 i 2. In all of these passages, the formula הַמְשִׁילְכָה . . . בְּ- is meant as an allusion to Adam’s dominion over creation, and specifically the Garden of Eden (the formula might have been derived from Ps 8:6[7] read in conjunction with Gen 1:28).

¹⁹³ Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 209–10; Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 149–56.

¹⁹⁴ 4Q416 4 3: וְאֵתָה מְבִין שְׂמֵחָה בְּנִחַלַת אִמְתָּה. The context of 4Q416 4 1–3 seems to pertain to punishments and rewards meted out in the *eschaton*. Cf. 4Q171 IV 12 where a similar expression (יִשְׂמְחוּ) (בְּנִחַלַת אִמְתָּה) is used in an eschatological sense. See also 4Q418 55 6; 172 5.

the angels. This interpretation is supported by the fact that similar language (“peace,” “glory,” and “eternal joy”) is used in 1QS IV 6–8 to describe the Edenic afterlife of the righteous. Moreover, in 1QH^a V 23, the psalmist describes his expectation of an eschatological reward in paradise as a place of כבוד עולם והמדה ושמהת עד (“eternal glory, loveliness, and everlasting joy”).¹⁹⁵ Similar language is used in 1QH^a XIX 29–30 where the psalmist describes the life awaiting the righteous in the *eschaton*. In the eschatological paradise “There will be no sorrow or sighing, and iniquity [will] not [be found anymore]. Your truth will shine for everlasting glory and eternal peace (לכבוד עד ושלום עולום).”

For the author of *Instruction*, life in paradise is both a present and a future reality. The present Edenic existence of the מבין is but a shadow of what will come in the *eschaton*. In both the present and future, life in paradise is predicated upon the knowledge of God’s cosmic design. Only through knowledge can the מבין be endowed with the image of God and become like holy ones.

5. Conclusion

The central theological message of *Instruction* is that God has planned and orchestrated the entirety of his creation according to a grand cosmic design, and he has revealed knowledge of his design to certain humans allowing them to adhere to his cosmic covenant, granting them insight into his mind, and restoring them to a state resembling that which Adam had in the Garden of Eden. According to *Instruction*, the knowledge of God’s cosmic design is acquired through a visionary experience in which the מבין, or more likely the משכיל, enters into the presence of God and learns of the mysteries of God’s plan from

¹⁹⁵ In an Aramaic text thought to be part of the *Visions of Amram* (4Q548 1 13), the sons of light are rewarded in the *eschaton* by entering into the light and going [לשמחה]ת עלמא (“to [eternal] joy”).

the engraved heavenly writings located near the divine throne. The knowledge of God's design has the effect of transforming the מבין from one who has an evil inclination (i.e., a spirit of flesh) to one who has an inclination resembling that of the angels. In other words, God's revelation of knowledge rectifies the corrupt human condition described in Gen 6:3–5. God's revelation of knowledge also has the capacity to restore the מבין to a paradisiacal state. By cultivating this knowledge, the מבין becomes an Adam-like gardener who tends the Garden of Eden. He has received the same knowledge that God originally gave to Adam, and, just as God's gift of knowledge endowed Adam with the image of God and made him like the angels, the same is true for the מבין. In the present time, the paradisiacal existence of the מבין is more metaphorical than literal, but in the *eschaton* that will change. At the time of God's final judgment, the מבין will be given a place among the angels in a true Edenic paradise.

CHAPTER 3 THE *TREATISE ON THE TWO SPIRITS*

1. Introduction

The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is a self-contained tractate within the *Community Rule* describing the two opposing spirits which God placed inside all people in order to lead them to good or evil. The *Treatise* is found in its most complete form in 1QS III 13–IV 26.¹ It begins with a statement directed to the *maskîl* (למשכיל) expressing that the purpose of the *Treatise* is to instruct the sons of light “about the nature of all the sons of man” (1QS III 13–15a). The *Treatise* continues with a “creation hymn” (1QS III 15b–18a)² proclaiming that “From the God of knowledge comes all that exists and will exist.” The hymn goes on to say that God established the design of all things and he “created humanity to rule the earth and he appointed to him two spirits to walk in them until the appointed time of his visitation.” After the creation hymn, the third section of the *Treatise* (1QS III 18b–IV 1) describes the role of the two spirits in more detail, specifically referring to them as the “spirits of truth and perversity” and the “prince of lights” and the “angel of darkness.” The *Treatise* states that all of humanity is under the dominion of these two spirits. The next section of the *Treatise* (1QS IV 2–14) is an ethical description of the two ways of the spirits: the spirit of light leads people down “paths of true justice” while the

¹ For most of my analysis I will use the text of the *Treatise* as it is found in 1QS III 13–IV 26. Text parallel to 1QS IV 4–10, 12–15, 23–25 is found in 4Q257 V–VI. Tigchelaar has argued that the texts labeled 4Q487 37 and 4Q502 16 should be reassigned as fragments belonging to 4Q257 V. He has also suggested that 1Q29 13–17 belongs to a manuscript with an alternative version of the *Treatise*. See Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “‘These Are the Names of the Spirits of . . .’: A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise* (4Q257 and 1Q29a),” *RevQ* 21 (2003–4): 529–47. 4Q255 3 1–5 may preserve a few words from an alternative version of the *Treatise*, possibly aligning with 1QS III 20–25. See Alexander and Vermes, *DJD XXVI*, 31, 36–38; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 21.

² Lange entitled this section “Einleitender Schöpfungshymnus” (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 142).

spirit of darkness directs them down “paths of impurity with impure service.” The path of the spirit of light will lead to healing, peace, and long life while the path of the spirit of darkness will lead to the pit and destruction. The final section of the *Treatise* (1QS IV 15–26) states that God has divided all of the deeds of humanity into two divisions depending on each person’s inheritance in the spirit of truth or the spirit of perversity. The core of this section (1QS IV 18b–23a) is a proclamation that in the *eschaton* God will refine those whom he has chosen by “completely destroying all the spirit of perversity from the bowels of his flesh.” Then God will bestow on them “the knowledge of the Most High” and “all the glory of Adam.”

Based on the Cave 4 copies of the *Community Rule*,³ scholars have generally agreed that the *Treatise* originally existed as an independent work which was inserted at some point into the *Community Rule*.⁴ The redaction-history of the *Treatise* has been vigorously debated with no current consensus.⁵ While I think there is merit in trying to identify

³ The Cave 4 *Serek* manuscript 4Q258 begins with wording roughly parallel to 1QS V 1, indicating that 4Q258 did not contain the material in 1QS I 1–IV 26.

⁴ See, for example, Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 126–28; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, “The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited,” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 250–53. Earlier scholars had already proposed that the *Treatise* was an independent composition: Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969): 541–43; P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 17–27; Dale C. Allison, “The Authorship of 1QS III, 13 – IV, 14,” *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 258.

⁵ Scholars have proposed various theories for the redaction-history of the *Treatise*. See Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire,” 541–43; Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 17–27; J. Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976), 75–79; Jean Duhaime, “L’instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumrân (1QS III, 13-IV, 26),” *RB* 84 (1977): 566–94; idem, “Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32–56; idem, “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III 13 – IV 26),” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 103–31; Philip S. Alexander, “The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–53; Markus Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541–60; Charlotte Hempel, “The Community and Its Rivals according to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4,” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 77–79; eadem, “The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*,” in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; LSTS 76; London: T & T Clark, 2010), 102–20; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*

redactional elements within the *Treatise*, I have arrived at few firm conclusions in this regard.⁶ For the purposes of my analysis, I will treat the *Treatise* as found in 1QS III 13–IV 26 as a unified whole.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the content, means, and theological function of God’s revelation of knowledge in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. In §2, I will focus on the language used to describe the content of God’s revelation, particularly the word *מהשבה* and the expressions “wisdom and folly” and the “knowledge of good and evil.” In §3, my analysis of the means of God’s revelation is primarily concerned with the nature of the two spirits which convey knowledge in the *Treatise*. I will consider the cosmological origin of these two spirits and the relationship between these spirits and other mediating spirits in the Scrolls. In §4, I will examine the theological importance of God’s revelation as a means for rectifying the corrupt human condition, and I will look at how divinely revealed knowledge allows a human recipient to enter into paradise and obtain “all the glory of Adam.” Before I begin my analysis, it will be helpful to consider the date and provenance of the *Treatise*.

1.1. Provenance of the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and Its Relationship to Other Texts

The provenance and date of composition of the *Treatise* are uncertain. Some earlier scholars argued that parts of the *Treatise* were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness,⁷

Learning, 201–3; Claude Coulot, “L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III, 13 – IV, 26): structure et genèse,” *RevScRel* 82 (2008): 147–60. Sarianna Metso has observed that the Cave 4 manuscripts indicate that the redaction of the *Treatise* “involved more profound editorial work than merely joining passages together.” There is some evidence indicating that the *Treatise* existed in versions of varying length with slightly different wording. See Metso, *Textual Development*, 18–21, 90–91, 113–14; Alexander and Vermes, *DJD XXVI*, 31, 36–38; and Tigchelaar, “These are the Names of the Spirits of. . .,” 529–47.

⁶ I would agree with Hempel’s recent argument that the *למשכיל* heading of the *Treatise* was probably added by the redactor who inserted the *Treatise* into the *Serek* text. I can easily see that 1QS III 13–15a was created as a summary heading for the *Treatise*. This would mean that earlier independent versions of the *Treatise* began with the words *מאל הדעות*. For Hempel’s analysis, see “The *Treatise on the Two Spirits*,” 106, 113–16.

but few would defend this proposal today. Many recent commentators have noted similarities between the *Treatise* and *Instruction*,⁸ and there is a substantial amount of evidence suggesting a direct connection between the two texts. Both works use *מהשבה* to refer to God's plan or design that governs the creation (1QS III 15; IV 4; 4Q417 1 i 12). 1QS III 13 and 4Q418 77 2 use the word *תולדות* to refer to the nature of humanity.⁹ Tigchelaar notes that this use of *תולדות* is not found elsewhere in the Scrolls, except possibly 4Q299 32 3.¹⁰ Both texts use the formula *באמת + נחלה + לפי/כפי* ("according to an inheritance in truth")¹¹ and the expression *שמחת עולם* ("eternal joy").¹² *Instruction* and the *Treatise* contain the same form of the title *אל הדעות*.¹³ 1QS IV 12, 4Q418 69 ii 7, and 162 4 refer to the *שחת עולם* ("eternal pit"), a phrase only found elsewhere in 4Q286 7 ii 5.¹⁴ Based

⁷ See, for example, Allison, "The Authorship of 1QS III, 13 – IV, 14," 257–68.

⁸ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 128–30; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 194–203; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 22–24.

⁹ The use of *תולדות* in 1QS III 13 has been widely discussed. The term has been translated as "history," "generations," and "origins," but a number of commentators have advanced persuasive arguments that *תולדות* is a technical term signifying a person's "character" or "nature." Hogeterp offers a helpful definition of its usage in the *Treatise*: "It may therefore be supposed that *תולדות* denotes a revealed, predestinarian [*sic*] sense of nature, either in anthropological terms, as in 1QS III 13 and IV 15, or in cosmic terms of light and darkness, as in 1QS III 19" ("The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited," 254). For further discussion, see Jacob Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 89 n. 5; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 362; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 196; Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 180 n. 29.

¹⁰ See Tigchelaar's comments in *To Increase Learning*, 196.

¹¹ 1QS IV 24 has *באמת איש נחלת איש כפי נחלת איש באמת* while 4Q418 172 5 has *לפי רוב נחלת איש באמת*. Similar terminology is used in the H³ material of the *Hodayot* (see 1QH^a VI 30; VIII 22; XVIII 30).

¹² 1QS IV 7 has *שמחת עולמים* while 4Q417 2 i 12 has *שמחת עולם*. The expression *שמחת עולם* is also found in 1QH^a XXIII 16; XXVI 30 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 11); 4Q491 1–3 5, and *שמחת עולמים* is used in 1QH^a XXVI 13 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 17); 4Q491 11 i 21 and possibly 4Q403 1 i 40.

¹³ 1QS III 15; 4Q417 1 i 8 (= 4Q418 43–45 i 6); 4Q418 55 5. This form of the title "God of knowledge" is also found in the *Hodayot*, *Mysteries*, and *Words of the Luminaries* (1QH^a IX 28; XX 13–14 (= 4Q427 8 ii 16); XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 32–33; 4Q299 35 1; 73 3; and 4Q504 4 4 [= 4Q506 131–132 9]).

¹⁴ Tigchelaar lists approximately a dozen additional common phrases, most of which are also found in other texts from Qumran (*To Increase Learning*, 196–99).

on these points of commonality, Tigchelaar concludes that “The large number of correspondences strongly suggests some kind of relationship between the texts.”¹⁵

A number of commentators have suggested that the *Treatise* was composed after *Instruction*, and that the former drew upon the latter. This argument is based on the observation that the *Treatise* is more developed theologically in terms of its anthropology, demonology, and its dualistic view. Adams, for example, states:

“The *Treatise* depicts a more elaborate dualism, including light-darkness imagery, to convey the two types of individuals in the world. The ‘spiritual people’/‘fleshly spirit’ dichotomy of *4QInstruction* is less developed than the ‘sons of light’/‘sons of darkness’ imagery in the *Treatise*. The former text lacks the scene of a cosmic, mythological struggle (e.g. the references to a ‘prince’ in *IQS* 3:20). For this reason, it is more likely that the description of two groups in *4Q417* 1 i 13–18 preceded the more intricate portrait in *IQS* 3:13–4:26”¹⁶

In recent years, a consensus has been forming that the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* was composed prior to the establishment of the Qumran community,¹⁷ and it may have originated from the same circle as *Instruction* and *Mysteries*.¹⁸

¹⁵ Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 200.

¹⁶ Adams, “Rethinking the Relationship,” 570. See also Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 128–30; idem, “Wisdom and Predestination,” 348; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 78–79, 201–2. Tigchelaar has suggested a more complex relationship between *Instruction* and the *Treatise* based on his proposal for the redaction-history of the *Treatise*. Tigchelaar proposes that “the authors or editors of what I call group II of *Two Spirits* [1QS III 13–18 and IV 15–26] were identical to or belonged to the same group as the authors or editors of *Instruction*” (*To Increase Learning*, 207). He believes that 1QS III 18–IV 1 and IV 2–14 represent two earlier layers of material (p. 203). It remains to be seen whether or not Tigchelaar’s reconstruction will be accepted in all of its details.

¹⁷ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127–28; idem, “Wisdom and Predestination,” 346 n. 18; Metso, *Textual Development*, 137–38. Tigchelaar states that the *Treatise* “is commonly regarded as pre-sectarian” (“These Are the Names of the Spirits of. . .,” 537).

I think we can say with near certainty that the *Treatise*, in a form close to what we see in 1QS III 13–IV 26, existed prior to the last redactional stage of the *Hodayot* (for my proposal regarding the redactional stages of the *Hodayot*, see Appendix A). The H⁴ *Hodayot* material has a large number of conceptual and verbal similarities with almost all sections of the *Treatise*. Assuming that the *Treatise* preceded the composition of the H⁴ material (which must be the case since earlier groups of *Hodayot* material, especially H³, appear to have known the *Treatise*), it is reasonable to conclude that the *Treatise* in its fullest form (1QS III 13–IV 26) was in circulation prior to the final redaction of the *Hodayot*. Parallels between the *Treatise* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* material can be found in:

1QS III 18–19	=	1QH ^a XXV 8
1QS III 19	=	1QH ^a XIV 20

2. The Content of God's Revelation in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*

2.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design and the Scheme of the Forces of Evil

The *Treatise* begins with the words:

“For the *maskil* in order to teach and instruct all the sons of light about the nature of all humanity, (14) regarding all the kinds of their spirits in their signs, their works in their generations, and the visitation of their punishments with (15) the ages of their peace. From the God of knowledge comes all that exists and will exist, and before they existed he established their entire design, (16) and when they come into existence at their appointed times they fulfill their tasks according to his glorious design. And nothing is altered. In his hand are (17) the judgments of all things and he sustains them in all their affairs. And he created humanity to rule (18) the world and he appointed to him two spirits to walk in them until the appointed time of his visitation” (1QS III 13–18a).

This introduction can be divided into two parts: 1QS III 13–15a and 15b–18a.¹⁹ The first section describes the purpose of the *Treatise*: it is a text written for or by the *maskil* (למשכיל) so that he can teach his community about the spirits that guide and direct each person. The second section is a paraphrase of Genesis 1:1–2:7 which is meant to situate the *Treatise* within the framework of God's act of creation.

The second section begins by proclaiming that the “God of knowledge” is the source of all things (1QS III 15b). We have already encountered the title אל הדעות in *Instruction* where it is used to express the forethought, omniscience, and rationality with

1QS IV 7	=	1QH ^a V 34–35
1QS IV 7–8	=	1QH ^a XX 18
1QS IV 18	=	1QH ^a V 30 and XX 16
1QS IV 20–21	=	1QH ^a XIV 11–12
1QS IV 23	=	1QH ^a IV 27
1QS IV 23	=	1QH ^a IX 29 and XXI 30

¹⁸ Lange writes, “The Teaching of the Two Spirits was written, in my opinion, by the same circles in which 4QSap A and Myst. were composed. This can be seen, for example, by the fact that in both texts the God of Knowledge is the creator of the order of the world, and that in both texts this order is designated as מהשבה. The theology of the Teaching of the Two Spirits is a logical development of the dualism which characterizes the idea of the pre-existent order in 4QSap A” (“Wisdom and Predestination,” 348).

¹⁹ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 141–42.

which God laid out his cosmic plan (see ch. 2 §2.3). The title “God of knowledge” emphasizes that it is God’s reason, his דעה or דעה, which designed the universe and controls all things.

In 1QS III 15b the author states that before all things existed, the God of knowledge established their מחשבה, and in line 16 he writes that “when they come into existence at their appointed times they fulfill their tasks according to his glorious design (כמחשבת כבודו).”²⁰ As with the title God of knowledge, we have already witnessed the term מחשבה in *Instruction* where it is used synonymously with the expression רז נהיה (see ch. 2 §2.3).²¹ Lange rightly describes מחשבה in *Instruction* and 1QS III 15 and IV 4 as “die präexistente Ordnung von Kosmos und Geschichte, den Plan Gottes.”²² The word מחשבה signifies the cosmic design that underlies God’s creation; it is the grand blueprint for the universe which God drafted in the sovereign power of his rational mind.

The *Treatise* goes on to say in lines 16–17a that all things in the universe operate according to God’s “glorious design” without any deviation. God has predetermined the course of all created things and he sustains them in all that they are appointed to do. Lines

²⁰ The expression מחשבת כבודכה is used in 4Q440 3 i 24 and 4Q491 8–10 i 12 (= 1QM XIV 14). In both 4Q440 and the *War Scroll*, מחשבת כבודכה is closely associated with God’s “mysteries” (רזין). Contextually, these expressions denote God’s plan associated with eschatological judgment and reward.

²¹ In 4Q417 1 i 11–12, the רז נהיה is associated with the נס[תרי מחשבתו] (“the hidden] things of his design”). As with *Instruction*, the *Treatise* uses both רז and מחשבה to denote God’s design that regulates the universe. In 1QS III 15b–16a, the universe operates according to God’s מחשבה. The same idea is expressed in 1QS III 23 which states that all evil operates לפי רזי אל (“according to the mysteries of God”). Similarly, in 1QS IV 18: “God, in the mysteries of his prudence (ברזי שכלו) and the wisdom of his glory, set an end to the existence of deceit.” In 1QS IV 18, שכל should probably be understood as God’s “prudence”: the capacity of God’s rational mind to wisely act and orchestrate events (cf. similar uses of שכל in 1 Sam 25:3; 1 Chr 26:14; 2 Chr 2:12; and Ezra 8:18. The expression רזי שכלכה is used in 1QH^a V 30 and XX 16 to refer to the inscrutable intentions of God’s mind [see ch. 4 §5.1.3]. The construction ברזי שכלו is very similar to an expression in 1QpHab VII 14, ברזי ערמתו, which probably means “by the mysteries of his devising/cunningness”). In both 1QS III 23 and IV 18, the “mysteries” of God are the inscrutable intentions of his mind or heart which direct events in the world. The word רז is used in these passages to signify the unfathomable nature of God’s מחשבה.

²² Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 128, 151–52 (quote from p. 128).

17b–18a focus in on one aspect of God’s planned creation: the two spirits appointed to each person.²³ God created humanity to govern the world, but humanity itself is governed by two spirits which themselves function according to God’s cosmic design.²⁴

Going back to the beginning of the *Treatise*, 1QS III 13–15a indicates that the *maskil* has insight into the “nature” of humanity,²⁵ and specifically the two spirits which God appointed to each person. According to the *Treatise*, there is a hidden spiritual realm underlying and controlling the physical world. The most pertinent aspect of this for the *Treatise* is the two spirits allotted by God to determine the works and fate of each individual. The *maskil* is able to look behind the curtain of reality and see the cosmic puppet masters pulling the strings of human life. He knows the different kinds of spirits (מיני רוחות, 1QS III 14) in each person, how the influence of these spirits is manifested in behavior, and the eschatological punishments or rewards which each spirit brings. In essence, the *maskil* understands the cosmic nature and cause of good and evil in humanity.

While 1QS III 13–15a describes the *maskil*’s knowledge as it pertains to the spirits dwelling in each person, the *Treatise* also indicates that the *maskil* and his community have

²³ When the author writes והוא ברא אנוש לממשלת תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות להתהלך בם עד פועד פקודתו in 1QS III 17b–18a, I would argue that the author has intentionally used אנוש instead of אדם to signify that this statement applies universally to all humanity although it is based on a specific reference to Adam in Gen 1:26–28. By making this one lexical switch, the author essential claims that God not only made Adam with two spirits but also all of humanity. The word אנוש cannot be limited to Adam, as Collins has suggested, since then this statement would lack the universal relevance that the context demands. For Collins’ arguments, see *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 123–25; idem, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” 610–12. Wold correctly sees אנוש in 1QS III 17 as a reference to all of humanity (*Women, Men and Angels*, 131).

²⁴ I would suggest that the *Treatise* envisions three tiers to God’s creation: (1) the material world (2) the spirits which operate and guide the elements of the material world, and (3) the grand design which regulates the spirits. While the *Treatise* does not explicitly state that all of the physical aspects of creation have corresponding spirits which control them, such a worldview is presented in the Creation Hymn in 1QH^a IX 9–22 (see ch. 4 §3.1; cf. also *Jub.* 2:2). In 1QH^a IX 9–22 all material things, the earth, seas, stars, and even the angels, have underlying spirits which control them. I think the *Treatise* reflects a similar worldview, except that the *Treatise* has focused in on the spirits that control humans.

²⁵ On the meaning of תולדות in 1QS III 13, see n. 9 above.

a broader understanding of God entire cosmic design. This is indicated in 1QS IV 2–3 where the spirit of truth is said להאיר בלבב איש ולישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק אמת ולפחד לבבו במשפטי אל (“to illuminate the heart of a man, and to straighten before him all paths of true justice and to cause his heart to fear the judgments of God”). Lines 4–5 go on to describe the spirit of truth as a רוח דעת בכול מחשבת מעשה וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת קודש ביצר סמוך (“spirit of knowledge in every plan of action, of zeal for the just decrees and the holy plan²⁶ with a firm inclination”). The expression אל משפטי in lines 2–3 and the words כול מחשבת מעשה, משפטי צדק, and מחשבת קודש in lines 4–5 allude back to 1QS III 15b–17a where the same terminology is used to describe God’s plan that regulates the universe.²⁷ In 1QS IV 2–5, the spirit of truth mediates the knowledge of God’s entire design to the sons of truth.²⁸ It would seem that the degree to which a person understands God’s design is directly proportional to their “inheritance” in the spirit of truth. According to the *Treatise*, God has given different proportions of the spirit of truth and the spirit of perversity to each person (1QS IV 24–25). This would suggest that those who have a greater share in the spirit of truth also have a greater comprehension of God’s design.²⁹

²⁶ The expression מחשבת קודש is also attested in 1QS XI 19; 1QM XIII 2; 4Q215a 1 ii 11; and 4Q425 4 ii 3.

²⁷ The expressions אל משפטי in 1QS IV 2–3 and משפטי צדק in line 4 allude back to בידו משפטי כול והואה יכלכלם בכול הפציהם in 1QS III 16–17. The אל משפטי are God’s predetermined judgments or decisions about how the different elements of the universe are supposed to operate. The expressions כול מחשבת מעשה and מחשבת קודש in 1QS IV 4–5 allude back to כבודו כמחשבת כבודו in 1QS III 15–16. In both passages, the word מחשבה refers to God’s design for creation.

²⁸ In §3 below, I will examine the role of the spirits in the *Treatise* as mediators of revelation.

²⁹ I would argue that this is how the *Treatise* was later interpreted in 1QS V 20–21, 24 and 1QH^a VI 29–30. 1QS V 20–21 states, “And when someone enters the covenant to behave in compliance with all these decrees, enrolling in the assembly of holiness, they shall examine their spirits in the Community, one another, in respect of his insight and of his deeds in law, under the authority of the sons of Aaron . . .” 1QS V 24 goes on to say, “And their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his failings” (translation from *DSSSE*, 83). Similarly, 1QH^a VI 29–30 says, “And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel. According to his insight I will association with him, and according to the amount of his inheritance I will love him” (translation from *DJD XL*, 96). We know from 1QH^a VI 24 that what the psalmist is describing here is the spirit that God allots to each person.

The spirit of perversity should also be thought of as imparting knowledge—knowledge which is contrary to God’s design. The author describes the spirit of perversity as mediating lies, deception, and wicked thoughts to the human heart (1QS IV 9–11). Perhaps the best contemporary comparison to the *Treatise’s* spirit of perversity is the spirits of the bastard giants in the Watcher myth who teach sin and “rejected mysteries” (*I En.* 16:3) to humanity in order to lead their hearts astray from God’s will (*I En.* 7–10, 15–16; *Jub.* 10–12). Like the spirits of the bastards, the spirit of perversity corrupts the human heart and leads it astray by teaching it to sin.³⁰

In the *Treatise*, there is not only a conflict between two opposing spirits, but also two opposing cosmic plans: the “holy plan” (מחשבת קודש) imparted by the spirit of truth is in direct conflict with an evil scheme mediated by the spirit of perversity.³¹ Although the *Treatise* never explicitly states that the spirit of perversity communicates a wicked מחשבה, I

³⁰ There has been some disagreement as to whether the *Treatise’s* conception of two opposing spirits was influenced by the Watcher myth. Leonhardt-Balzer argues that “the tension between the predestination of man through God and the influence of the Angel of Darkness on the Sons of Light . . . derives from the influence of the Watcher legends.” She goes on to say that “the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is an ethicized and psychological version of the myth of the Watchers.” See Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, “Evil, Dualism and Community: Who/What Did the *Yahad* Not Want to Be?” in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; LSTS 76; London: T & T Clark, 2010), 141–42. See also Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6. 1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT 2/198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 166–79. Conversely, Collins has stated that “There is no allusion to the myth of the Watchers in the Instruction. The origin of evil is located in God’s act of creation, not in some subsequent rebellion.” See Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 41. See also idem, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 292–93. If the *Treatise* was influenced by the Watcher myth, it was probably influenced by the form of the myth contained in *Jubilees* where the archangelic figure Mastema rules over the spirits of the bastards. Such a reliance on *Jubilees* would explain the use of משטמה in 1QS III 23. In addition, the version of the myth in *Jubilees* emphasizes the misleading influence of the spirits of the bastard offspring of the Watchers, whereas the *Book of Watchers* focuses on the Watchers themselves. See Philip S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.341–44.

³¹ A similar idea is expressed in 1QH^a XII 13–14 where the psalmist contrasts God’s plan (מחשבת) (לבכה) with the design of worthlessness/*belial* (מחשבת בליעל).

would argue that this was the author's intention in 1QS IV 9–11.³² It is the evil scheme conveyed by the spirit of perversity which produces the wicked actions and character traits listed in lines 9–11. This was certainly how the *Treatise* was later interpreted by the psalmist who wrote the hymn in 1QM XIII.³³ According to 1QM XIII 2 and 4, Belial (who corresponds to the *Treatise's* “angel of darkness”) and the “spirits of his lot” counsel humans in his “inimical plan” (מחשבת משטמה) or “wicked plan” (מחשבת רשע) in order “to bring about wickedness and guilt” (1QM XIII 4–5, 11). In 1QM XIII 2–4, Belial's מחשבת משטמה is directly opposed to God's מחשבת קודש; the former produces “impure deeds” while the latter engenders “works of truth” (1QM XIII 2, 5). I think that 1QM XIII has correctly interpreted the sense of the *Treatise*: the spirits of truth and perversity each instruct a person to follow a different cosmic design or scheme, either the design consistent with God's order or the evil scheme opposed to God's order.

At the end of the *Treatise* are two important statements summarizing the knowledge imparted by the two spirits. The first statement, 1QS IV 23–24, remarks, “Until now the spirits of truth and perversity contend in the heart of a man so that they walk in

³² The strong parallelism between 1QS IV 2–8 and 9–14 suggests that the repeated references to God's plan in lines 2–6 must correspond to a similar idea in lines 9–11.

³³ The *Treatise* and 1QM XIII share a large quantity of technical terminology suggesting a direct dependence between the two texts: מחשבת קודש, אל ישראל, מועדי עולמים, משטמה, עבודת טמאה, רוחי גורלו, and שר מאור/שר אורים. I would argue that 1QM XIII is a later interpretation of the *Treatise* since it is the more explicit and theologically developed of the two. For example, in 1QM XIII 2 and 4 the anonymous “angel of darkness” from 1QS III 20–21 is now personified as a being called בליעל (“Belial”) who assumes a much more autocratic and aggressive role as compared with the *Treatise*. The *Treatise's* expression בדרכי חושך יתהלכו (1QS III 21) has been made slightly more explicit: בהוקי חושך יתהלכו (1QM XIII 12). In the *Treatise*, only the angel of darkness has spirit minions under his authority (1QS III 24), but in 1QM XIII 10 the prince of light is given his own spirit minions to oversee. Finally, 1QM XIII 10, ושר מאור מאז פקדתה לעוזרנו, is a revision and interpretation of 1QS III 24–25: ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו עזר לכול בני אור. In 1QM XIII 10, the *Treatise's* “angel of truth” has been more explicitly named the “prince of light” to keep the nomenclature consistent. More significantly, in 1QM XIII 10 God is no longer mentioned as one who gives aid (עזר) to the sons of light. Presumably this is to correct the sense in 1QS III 24–25 that God is diametrically opposed to the angel of darkness. By making this change, 1QM XIII 10 elevates God over both Belial and the prince of light.

wisdom or folly.” In this passage, the two spirits are connected to the wisdom tradition: the spirit of truth is responsible for wise behavior while the spirit of perversity moves a person to act in folly.³⁴ 1QS IV 23–24 is significant because it associates the two different cosmic schemes mediated by the two spirits with the opposing concepts of חכמה and אולת. The design of God is equated with wisdom while the scheme of the spirit of perversity is associated with folly.

The second summary statement is made in 1QS IV 26: “And he (God) gave them (the two spirits) as an inheritance to the sons of man to know good [and evil . . .].”³⁵ This line seems to be an allusion to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Gen 2–3,³⁶ although the *Treatise* does not see the knowledge of good and evil as a single body of knowledge (as in *Instruction*),³⁷ but as two separate bodies of knowledge—the knowledge of good and the knowledge of evil. This knowledge is mediated by the two spirits with the spirit of truth communicating the knowledge of good and the spirit of perversity teaching

³⁴ 1QS IV 23–24 might be an intentional play on the auditory similarity of עול and אולת. The connection between רוח and אולת could have been based on Prov 14:29: אָרְךָ אַפִּים רַב־תְּבוּנָה וְקִצְר־רוּחַ מְרִים אֹלֶת: אולת, אפיים, קצר/קצור, אולת, אפיים). Note that 1QS IV 10 uses much of the same terminology as in Prov 14:29 (אפיים, אולת, אפיים), suggesting that the author of the *Treatise* was familiar with this proverb.

³⁵ Commentators generally agree that ורע should be restored in the lacuna. For arguments to this effect, see Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 136.

³⁶ See, for example, Robert W. Kvalvaag who argues that 1QS IV 26 is a reference to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (“The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* [ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 162–63).

³⁷ Goff rightly notes the similarity between the knowledge of good and evil in the *Treatise* and in *Instruction*. In *Instruction*, one who studies the רז נהיה, the cosmic design of God, will know wisdom and folly and be able to discern between good and evil (4Q417 1 i 6–9). With respect to the *Treatise*, Goff writes, “In the *Treatise* on the Two Spirits, attaining knowledge of good and evil is also associated with an awareness of the world's overarching framework” (Goff, “The Mystery of Creation,” 170). The *Treatise*, however, is slightly different and more nuanced than *Instruction*. In *Instruction*, only the chosen righteous ones who have knowledge of God's design are able to understand good and evil. In the *Treatise*, all humans have the knowledge of good and evil to some degree because all people have both spirits. In *Instruction*, God's design yields the knowledge of good and evil, but in the *Treatise* God's design is only equated with the knowledge of good, while the knowledge of evil is equated with the wicked scheme that is opposed to God. Thus, in the *Treatise*, all people have some knowledge of good and evil, but the righteous have a much greater knowledge of good while the wicked have a greater knowledge of evil.

evil. I suspect that the author of the *Treatise* has interpreted the two trees in Genesis 2–3 in a way similar to Philo. According to Philo, the tree of life in Genesis is a tree of wisdom, understanding, and the knowledge of good (*Leg.* 1.59; 3.59; *Plant.* 36–37; *QGen* 1.6) while the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is a tree of folly, vice, and the knowledge of evil (*Leg.* 1.55, 61–62; *Plant.* 36–37; *QGen* 1.11). God sets these two trees in the human mind, and one must choose wisdom and virtue which leads to life or folly and vice which leads to death. Such an interpretation of the two trees would be in keeping with the *Treatise's* dualistic reading of Genesis. If this is the case, then the spirit of truth would correspond to the tree of life which imparts knowledge of God's cosmic design and wisdom while the spirit of perversity would correspond to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil which instructs a person to observe a cosmic scheme opposed to God's order resulting in folly.

2.2. The Eschatological Gift of Knowledge

While the *maskil* and his followers have knowledge of God's cosmic design in the present, this knowledge is imperfect and incomplete. Presumably, because they are continually influenced by the corrupt knowledge imparted by the spirit of perversity, their understanding of God's design is flawed. According to the *Treatise*, the knowledge of the righteous will be perfected only in the *eschaton* when the spirit of perversity is removed from their flesh. 1QS IV 20–22 states,

And then God will refine with his truth all the deeds of a man; he will purify for himself the structure of a person completely destroying all the spirit of perversity from the bowels of his flesh and purifying him with the holy spirit from all wicked deeds. And he will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like waters of purification apart from all lying abhorrences and the defilement by the spirit of impurity in order to cause the upright ones to understand the knowledge of the Most High and to teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way.

Two phrases here are particularly relevant: דעת עליון (“the knowledge of the Most High”) and חכמת בני שמים (“the wisdom of the sons of heaven”). These two phrases tell us something about the nature of the knowledge that will be imparted in the *eschaton*. The phrase דעת עליון is taken from the words of the prophet Balaam in Num 24:15–16: “The oracle of Balaam son of Beor, the oracle of the man whose eye is clear, the oracle of one who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High (דעת עליון), who sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls down, but with his eyes uncovered.”³⁸ In this passage, Balaam describes his credentials as a prophet who has entered into the divine assembly and stood in the presence of God. Part of Balaam’s claim is that he knows the דעת of God—the very thoughts or mind of the Most High. Because of his intimate knowledge of God’s thoughts and intents, Balaam is able to prophesy the unfolding of God’s plan.³⁹ The other expression, חכמת בני שמים, might be based on 2 Sam 14:20 where the wise woman of Tekoa comes to David and says, “But my lord has wisdom like the wisdom of the angel of God (כְּחִכְמַת מַלְאָךְ הַיְאֻלֵּהִים) to know all things that are on the earth.”⁴⁰ Here, David’s wisdom is compared to that of a heavenly being.⁴¹ This wisdom, according to the text, is the ability to know all that happens on the earth.

³⁸ Other scholars have noted that 1QS IV 22 is an allusion to Num 24:16. See, for example, Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 249 n. 21. Brooke discusses the use of גבר in 1QS IV 20–22 as a reference to Balaam (*Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* [JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985], 315–17). Such an allusion to Balaam here is not surprising since the prophet and his oracles are fairly important in a number of the scrolls found at Qumran. For a survey of Balaam in the Qumran literature, see Florentino García Martínez, “Balaam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam* (ed. George H. van Kooten and Jacques van Ruiten; TBN 11; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 71–82.

³⁹ Balaam would have been a natural comparison since the author of the *Treatise* saw God’s spirit as the mediator of divine revelation and Balaam is described as receiving his profound knowledge by means of God’s spirit (Num 24:2).

⁴⁰ Another possibility might be Prov 30:3: וְדַעַת קְדוֹשִׁים אֲדַעַע וְלֹא־לְמַדְתִּי חֵכְמָה וְדַעַת חֲכָמִים אֲדַעַע.

⁴¹ P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 347.

In 1QS IV 22, the *Treatise* states that in the *eschaton* the righteous will be granted the very knowledge and wisdom which belong to God and the angels.⁴² This knowledge is a full and complete comprehension of God's cosmic design that is untainted by the corrupt influence of the spirit of perversity. What the *Treatise* is describing in 1QS IV 22 is the eschatological perfection of the knowledge which has already been revealed to the righteous in the present in a limited way. Just as the spirit of truth was given to the sons of truth to impart דעת and חכמה in the current age (1QS IV 3–4), the same spirit of truth will grant the fullness of דעת and חכמה in the age to come.

3. The Means of God's Revelation in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*

It is quite clear in the *Treatise* that certain "spirits" serve as the agents of revelation. The spirit of truth enlightens the heart of a person, teaching them about God's cosmic plan (1QS IV 2–6),⁴³ while the spirit of perversity tries to corrupt the human heart with deceit and folly (1QS IV 9–11). In the *eschaton*, God's spirit of truth will be poured out once again "to cause the upright one to understand the knowledge of God and to teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way" (1QS IV 22). Both in the present and

⁴² 1QS IV 22 has been interpreted in various ways. Gruenwald has suggested that דעת עליין implies "every aspect of divine wisdom: historical and ethical on the one hand, and cosmological and 'scientific' on the other" (Ithamar Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision: Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of Their Alleged Origins," in *Israel Oriental Studies III* [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1973], 72–73). Wolfson interprets דעת עליין as the intimate knowledge of God that is "consequent to espousal" with God. He writes, "Comprehension of the 'supernatural knowledge,' which is parallel to the 'wisdom of the sons of heaven,' occasions the incorporation of the knower into the known, not in the Plotinian sense of union that effaces all differences, but in the ancient Near Eastern mythopoeic conception of angelification whereby the superior human being can join the ranks of the angels chanting hymns before the glory in the heavenly realm" ("Seven Mysteries of Knowledge," 203–4). Because of the parallelism between the two phrases "knowledge of the Most High" and "wisdom of the sons of heaven," the genitive דעת עליין must be subjective not objective. The *Treatise* is not stating that the righteous will obtain knowledge about the Most High; but rather, they will come to understand the way that the Most High thinks and what he knows. Similarly, דעת עליין in Num 24:16 should be read as a subjective genitive. See Martin Noth, *Numbers* (trans. James D. Martin; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 190.

⁴³ The verb אור in 1QS IV 2 conveys the idea of teaching or instructing. See, for example, 1QS II 3; 1QH^a XII 28; 4Q511 18 ii 8. In the Scrolls, light is often used as a metaphor for knowledge.

in the future, the function of the spirit of truth and the spirit of perversity is to affect the human life by imparting the knowledge good or evil, wisdom or folly.

While it is readily apparent that certain spirits transmit knowledge in the *Treatise*, scholars have not always agreed on the nature of these spirits. Over the years, there has been an extensive debate as to whether the spirits should be understood as heavenly beings who externally influence people⁴⁴ or internal emotional dispositions.⁴⁵ This has resulted in a controversy as to whether the *Treatise* reflects a cosmological or psychological dualism.⁴⁶ Yet, this debate seems to be an unnecessary splitting of a hair. Kvalvaag rightly states, “. . . this cosmic and psychological dualism may be understood as different aspects of the same basic dualism. This consistency is reflected in the terminology employed; the term רִיחַ designates both domains: it both denotes a cosmic entity, an angel, and a human quality, the spirit within each human being.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ For example, see André Dupont-Sommer, “L’instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le ‘Manuel de Discipline,’” *RHR* 142 (1952): 5–35; Herbert G. May, “Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 1–14.

⁴⁵ Treves, “The Two Spirits,” 449; P. Wernberg-Møller, “A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community,” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 413–41.

⁴⁶ John Levison offers a convenient history of the debate in “The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,” in *The Bible and The Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume Two: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 169–94. See also the survey of scholarly opinions presented in Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of RUAḤ at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 193–212.

⁴⁷ Kvalvaag, “The Spirit in Human Beings,” 162. Similarly, Popović writes, “It is not, however, necessary to interpret the two spirits in the entire text as references to either angelic beings or psychological dispositions. The *Two Spirits Treatise* conveys notions of dualism on different levels, including angelic, psychological, and ethical modes. In the text as we have it the psychological realm of the inner person is interconnected with the cosmic realm of supernatural angels and demons, being expressed in and recognizable by human conduct in terms of ethical dualism” (*Reading the Human Body*, 183). See also comments by Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40–41; Jörg Frey, “Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 289–300; Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, “A Case of Psychological Dualism: Philo of Alexandria and the Instruction on the Two Spirits,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical Studies* (ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; SSEJC 15; LNTS 392; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 33–34.

In the Scrolls, there are a number of examples where an otherworldly spirit is described as exerting a psychological force.⁴⁸ In the so-called *Plea for Deliverance* in the Cave 11 Psalms^a scroll (11Q5 XIX), the psalmist asks God for forgiveness and purification and to be granted a “spirit of faithfulness and knowledge.” He goes on to say, in lines 15–16: ירשו בעצמי: אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח טמאה מכאוב ויצר רע אל ירשו בעצמי: (“Let not a *satan* rule over me nor an unclean spirit; let neither pain nor an evil inclination possess my bones”). In this text, the *satan*/unclean spirit is almost certainly an external entity which exerts a negative physical and psychological force (“pain” and an “evil inclination”) upon a person.⁴⁹ Presumably, the “spirit of faithfulness and knowledge” is also an otherworldly being meant to oppose the influence of the *satan*/unclean spirit by instilling the psalmist with knowledge so that he can live faithfully without transgression.

A similar idea is expressed in the *Aramaic Levi Document*. In 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi*^b) 1 i 12–18, Levi prays, “Make far from me, my Lord, the unrighteous spirit, and evil thought and fornication, and turn pride away from me. Let there be shown to me, O Lord, the holy spirit, and grant me counsel and wisdom and knowledge and strength, in order to do that which is pleasing to you . . . And let not any *satan* have power over me, to make me stray from your path.”⁵⁰ As in the *Plea for Deliverance*, the “holy spirit” and the “*satan*” in *Aramaic Levi* are spiritual entities which influence the human heart or mind. In these two

⁴⁸ There are also examples in the Hebrew Bible of otherworldly spirits affecting the minds or hearts of people: 1 Sam 16:14–23; 1 Kgs 22:19–23. Some earlier commentators compared the two spirits of the *Treatise* with the opposing spiritual entities in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. I think these are justifiable comparisons, but with the discovery of 11QPs^a and *Aramaic Levi* we can compare the *Treatise* with texts that are closer chronologically. For earlier comparisons, see Oscar J. F. Seitz, “Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis,” *NTS* 6 (1959): 82–95; May, “Cosmological Reference,” 4.

⁴⁹ See Tigchelaar, “The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 350–51.

⁵⁰ Translation from Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 60–61. In this translation, the lacunae in the Aramaic text of 4Q213a 1 i 12–18 have been filled in by using the Greek Mt. Athos manuscript.

texts, the malevolent spirit engenders an evil inclination (יצר רע) and evil thoughts (δialoγισμὸν τὸν πονηρὸν) by conveying deceitful and corrupt knowledge. This evil influence can only be countered by the knowledge and wisdom bestowed through God's benevolent spirit.⁵¹

There is one other text found at Qumran which can shed substantial light on the nature of the spirits in the *Treatise*. Hogeterp has rightly pointed to the opposing spirits in 4Q444 (*Incantation*) as bearing striking similarity to the spirits in 1QS III 13–IV 26.⁵² 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–4 states, “And I, a terrifier of God, with the knowledge of his truth he opened my mouth and from his holy spirit [. . .] truth for a[1]l[thes]e. And they became spirits of contention in my structure. The statute[s of God . . . in the] bowels of flesh. A spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness God put in [my] he[art . . .] and it gains strength in the statutes of God in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness.”⁵³ 4Q444 and the *Treatise* use precisely the same terminology to describe the two opposing spirits who rule their own dominions (ממשלה) and wage a conflict (ריב) within the structure of the body (מבני[ת]) and within the bowels of the flesh (תכמי בשר).⁵⁴ In

⁵¹ We might also compare the *Treatise* with the Aramaic *Visions of Amram*. Commentators have noted that the idea of two cosmic beings contending for control over a human is strikingly reminiscent of a dream vision scene in *Amram* (4Q543 5–9 1–8; 4Q544 1 10–15; 4Q547 1–2 iii 9–13). At the beginning of this vision, Amram encounters two angelic beings; one angelic being is extremely dark and dressed in dyed clothes, the other angel is described as laughing, and his dress seems to be different (4Q544 2 11–16; 4Q543 14 1–3 and 4Q544 3 1–2 probably describe the same two angelic beings). In the course of this vision, Amram learns that these two angelic powers rule over light and darkness, and these two beings are contending for authority over him. Amram is told that he must choose which power will rule over him. On the similarities and differences between the *Treatise* and the *Visions of Amram*, see William R. G. Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 325–26; Stuckenbruck, “The Interiorization of Dualism,” 162–63; Miryam T. Brand, “‘At the Entrance Sin is Crouching’: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature” (PhD diss., New York University, 2011), 500–503.

⁵² Hogeterp, “The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited,” 255–56, 259.

⁵³ ואני מיראי אל בדעת אמתו פתח פי ומרוח קודשו . . . אמת לכ[ו]ל[ל] אל[ה] ויהיו לרוחי ריב במבניתי חוקי אל . . . ב[תכמי בשר רוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק שם אל בל[ב]בי . . . ויה ותחזוק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה

⁵⁴ ממשלה is found in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 7 and 1QS III 20–23; ריב in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 2 and 1QS IV 18, 23; (ת) מבני in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 2 and 1QS IV 20; and תכמי בשר in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3 and 1QS IV 20–21.

both texts, the benevolent spirit from God imparts דעת, בינה, אמת, the משפט of God, and צדק (cf. 1QS IV 2–6), while the malevolent spirit brings רשע(ה) and טמאה (cf. 1QS IV 9–10).

I think 4Q444 1–4 i+5 is even more significant for a proper understanding of the *Treatise* than Hogeterp indicates. I would argue that in 4Q444 the holy spirit which God has placed into the speaker’s heart is actually one of the spirits which dwells near God’s throne in the heavenly temple. In 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3, the phrase רוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק is the singular form of a title used in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q405 17 3) for the spirits which surround God in the heavenly holy of holies.⁵⁵ Rather than this being a coincidence in terminology, which is extremely unlikely, I would suggest that the author of 4Q444 knew of the *Sabbath Songs* and believed that the spirit which God had put into his heart was one of the spirits described in the *Sabbath Songs*. If this is the case, then the holy spirit given to the writer in 4Q444 is able to convey knowledge, understanding, truth, and righteousness because it has direct access to the enthroned deity and intimate knowledge of God’s will. I would conjecture that the same belief underlies the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*: the spirit of truth originally dwelt in the presence of God in the heavenly sanctuary before it was placed into the human vessel. Because of its access to God, the spirit of truth understands God’s cosmic design and is able to communicate knowledge of it to each person.

This interpretation of the spirit of truth in the *Treatise* finds confirmation in 1QS III 18–19, which states, “They are the spirits of truth and perversity. In the spring of light

⁵⁵ 4Q405 17 3 mentions the . . . רוחי דעת ובינה אמת. These spirits are located . . . בדבירי קודש מישבין] (“in the holy inner shrines, seats of[. . .],” line 6), which, in the *Sabbath Songs*, refers to God’s throne in the heavenly holy of holies. 4Q405 19 4–5 probably describes the same group of spirits which it calls רוחי דעת [רו]חי דעת אמת [ו] צדק בקודש [ק]ודשים [צ]ורות אלהים חיים צורי רוחות מאירים righteousness in the holy of [h]olies, living divine [i]mages, images of luminous spirits”).

(במעין אור)⁵⁶ is the nature of truth and from the fountain of darkness (ממקור חושך) is the nature of perversity.” In this passage, “spring of light” and “fountain of darkness” are expressions denoting the ultimate origin of light/truth and darkness/perversity. The two spirits are able to reveal the knowledge of good and evil, wisdom and folly, because they come from the “spring of light” or the “fountain of darkness.” The “spring of light,” I would argue, refers to the enthroned God as the source of all light and truth while the “fountain of darkness” signifies the darkness of the abyss which is the source of all chaos and all that is opposed to God’s will.

The phrase מעין אור is almost certainly meant as an allusion to Gen 1:3–4 reminding the reader that God is the source of all light and life. Yet, the phrase also has a more specific nuance. The words מעין אור are used one other time in the Scrolls in 1QH^a XIV 20 as part of a passage depicting the eschatological paradise.⁵⁷ In 1QH^a XIV 18–20, the psalmist describes how “all the rivers of Eden” will water the eternal planting, causing it to grow and cover the entire world. In lines 20–22, the psalmist describes the source of the Edenic rivers as a spring of light from which judgment will pour forth on the wicked: “[. . . and] the spring of light (מעין אור) will become an eternal fountain, without lack. In its bright flames all the children of[iniquity] will burn, [and it will become] a fire that burns up all the guilty until they are utterly destroyed.”⁵⁸ The imagery in 1QH^a XIV 18–22 is based, in part, on Gen 2:10 which states, “A river flows out of Eden to water the garden, and from

⁵⁶ In 1QS III 19, I am reading מעין אור instead of במעון אור which is transcribed in *DSSSE*, 74; *PTSDSSP I*, 14; and Millar Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume II, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951). The letter between *ayin* and *nun* could be read as either a *yod* or *waw*. In terms of its shape, the letter is identical to the *yod* in ואין in line 16. Reading במעין אור in line 19 makes better sense of the parallelism with ממקור חושך.

⁵⁷ A similar phrase, מקור אור, is used in 1QH^a VIII 14. Unfortunately, the context is too broken to glean much from this passage. Similar “source” and “light” imagery can be found in 1QS XI 3–4.

⁵⁸ Translation from *DJD XL*, 196–97.

there it divides and becomes four branches.” The *Hodayot* psalmist interpreted Gen 2:10 to mean that God is the source of the Edenic river; he is the “spring of light” and the “eternal fountain” because life and death issue from him.⁵⁹ The psalmist’s interpretation of Gen 2:10 is based on the idea that God is enthroned in Eden⁶⁰ and from his throne flow streams of life-giving water and rays of brilliant light (see below).

Similar Edenic throne imagery is found in Ps 36:8–9 [9–10] which might have inspired the phrase מעין אור in the *Treatise* and 1QH^a XIV 20: “They feast on the abundance of your house, and you give them drink from the river of your delights (נַחַל עֲדָנִיָּה). For with you is the fountain of life (מְקוֹר חַיִּים); and in your light we see light.” Psalm 36 describes the house of God as a paradise watered by an Edenic river (the “river of your delights”), and it claims that God himself is the source of the river that waters the garden. The water flowing from God is a stream of life and light. Other texts from the Second Temple period also describe the throne of God as a source of water (Jer 17:12–13; *1 En.* 48:1; Rev 22:1–5) and streams of light and fire (Ezek 1:13, 26–28; *1 En.* 14:18–22; Dan 7:9–10; 4Q486 1 ii 3–4; Rev 4:5).⁶¹ In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, God’s throne is מקור הקודש (“the fountain of holiness,” 4Q400 1 i 7), and in *4QBerakhot* the divine throne is eulogized as the source of light, power, truth, and cosmic order (4Q286 1 ii 1–13). Based

⁵⁹ It is not uncommon for God to be described as a spring or fountain. See Jer 2:13; 17:13; 1QS X 12; 1QSb I 3; Philo, *Fug.*, 197–98.

⁶⁰ See *1 En.* 24–25; *Jub.* 4:26, 8:19; *Life of Adam and Eve* 25; *Apo. Moses* 22:4; *3 En.* 5:1–5. On the Garden of Eden as the location of God’s court and throne, see Lanfer, *Remembering Eden*, 99–102, 148–53.

⁶¹ *2 Baruch* 54:13 associates God’s throne with a fountain of light and wisdom which I think is very similar to the ideas underlying מעין אור in 1QS III 19: “For with your counsel, you reign over all creation which your right hand has created, and you have established the whole fountain of light with yourself, and you have prepared under your throne the treasures of wisdom.” Cf. also the description of the Monad, the Father of all, in the *Apocryphon of John*. Here, the ineffable Father is described as being surrounded by a spring of light and water: “For it is he who looks at him[self] in his light which surrounds [him], namely the spring [of the] water of life. And it is he who gives to [all] the [aeons] and in every way, (and) who [gazes upon] his image which he sees in the spring of the [Spirit]. It is he who puts his desire in his [water]-light [which is in the] spring of the [pure light]-water [which] surrounds him” (*NHC* II.4.19–26).

on the use of מעין אור in 1QH^a XIV 20 and similar concepts elsewhere, we should understand this phrase in 1QS III 19 to signify the enthroned God as the ultimate source of all light and truth.⁶² In the *Treatise*, the spirit of truth is able to communicate knowledge of God and his cosmic design because it emanates from the “spring of light”—the enthroned God.⁶³

The expression מקור חושך in 1QS III 19 must be antithetical, in some sense, to מעין אור. I would suggest that מקור חושך is most likely synonymous with הויות חושך (“abysses of darkness”) in 1QS IV 13.⁶⁴ In 1QS IV 13, the words הויות חושך refer to Sheol or the pit—the netherworld region where God will pour out his wrath and eternal destruction with fire and darkness on those who are led by the spirit of perversity. In the Second Temple Period, some saw the netherworld not only as a place of judgment and destruction but also as a source of chaos (disorder opposed to God’s order) and evil spirits which plague the world.⁶⁵ For example, in 1QH^a XI 16–19, 27–35 the chaotic waters, referred to as the “torrents of *belial*/worthlessness” (נהלי בליעל),⁶⁶ along with the “venomous spirits” (רוחי

⁶² Similarly, Osten-Sacken argues that מעין אור and מקור in 1QS and 1QH^a are metonymies for God, and that מעין אור signifies God as the source of light (*Gott und Belial*, 145). In essence, Osten-Sacken is correct, except that I would nuance the meaning of מעין אור as God seated upon his throne. The throne aspect is important because it fixes the location of the מעין אור in the heavenly holy of holies or the Garden of Eden (in ch. 7 §3.3 we will see that the heavenly temple and the Garden of Eden could be seen as identical). Thus, the meaning of 1QS III 18–19 is that the throne of God located in the Garden of Eden/heavenly temple is the source of truth.

⁶³ In this regard, the spirit of truth is analogous to wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon who dwells near God’s throne (Wis 9:4) and is able to impart the mysteries of God to those who will receive her. Like Paul’s description of the spirit of God in 1 Cor 2:6–16, the spirit of truth comprehends the deep things of God and communicates such knowledge and wisdom to the sons of light.

⁶⁴ The collocation מקור חושך does not occur elsewhere in the Scrolls. For the translation of הויות חושך in 1QS IV 13, see P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 82.

⁶⁵ See Pieter W. van der Horst, “Chaos,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst; 2d rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 185–86.

⁶⁶ The expression נהלי בליעל is almost certainly derived from 2 Sam 22:5/Ps 18:4[5]. The combination of terms in 2 Sam 22:5/Ps 18:4[5] (death, torrents, worthlessness, Sheol) suggests that נהלי בליעל is meant to convey the notion of cosmic chaos surging up from the underworld and overwhelming the

אפעה) surge up from Sheol/the pit to bring destruction and calamity upon the earth. Similar imagery is found in the New Testament book of Revelation where scorpion-like demonic beings rise from the bottomless pit to torment humanity (Rev 9:1–11) and the two evil beasts arise from the sea and the earth (Rev 13:1, 11; cf. Dan 7:1–8). The same idea is at work in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. The words מקור חושך in 1QS III 19, like הויית חושך in 1QS IV 13, refer to the abyss/netherworld and they denote the source of darkness, chaos, and evil which is opposed to God’s light, order, and righteousness.⁶⁷ If מעין אור is meant as an allusion to the enthroned God as the source of light in Gen 1:3–4, then מקור חושך alludes to the תהום (“deep”) in Gen 1:2. Based on this interpretation, we should understand the “angel of darkness” in 1QS III 20–24 as the chief ruler of the netherworld, comparable to Abaddon/Apollyon in Rev 9:11 or Belial in 1QM XIII.⁶⁸

The netherworld is not only a source of darkness, chaos, and evil spirits, it is also the dwelling place of folly. Perhaps the best illustration of this is found in 4Q184 (*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*) where folly is personified as a woman clothed in darkness (1 4–5) whose house is the darkness and eternal fire of the netherworld (1 5–11).⁶⁹ Sidnie White Crawford notes that “the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 becomes the personification of chaos opposed to God’s established order.”⁷⁰ She is a demonic force of disorder rising up from

psalmist. The same is true in the 1QH^a XI where the נחלי בליעל are meant as an allusion to the chaotic cosmic waters that threaten God’s order.

⁶⁷ Osten-Sacken has proposed a similar interpretation of מקור חושך (*Gott und Belial*, 145–47). See also May, “Cosmological Reference,” 2 n. 5; Leonhardt-Balzer, “Evil, Dualism and Community,” 134–35.

⁶⁸ In 1QM XIII, the *Treatise’s* angel of darkness is presented as a supernatural being called “Belial” who rules over a host of evil spirits and whose domain is the darkness of the pit (1QM XIII 11).

⁶⁹ On 4Q184, see Sidnie White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 355–66; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 104–121; idem, “Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184),” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20–45.

⁷⁰ Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly,” 361.

the pit to subvert God's plan.⁷¹ In both the *Treatise* and 4Q184, those who "inherit" (נהל/נהלה, 1QS IV 16, 24; 4Q184 1 7, 11) the spirit of perversity or dame folly are led astray from the "paths of justice" (דרכי צדק, 1QS IV 2; 4Q184 1 16) and destined for the pit and the torments of divine judgment.⁷² While the imagery is very different in the *Treatise* and 4Q184, essentially the spirit of perversity and dame folly serve the same function: they are responsible for bringing perversity and folly from the netherworld in order to corrupt the human heart and lead it astray from God's determined order.

Underlying the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is a complex and well developed angelology. The spirit of truth/prince of lights was thought to be a spirit who dwells near God's throne and comprehends God's cosmic plan. The spirit of perversity/angel of darkness is the chief ruler of the netherworld; it is the hypostatization of chaos, folly, and all that is opposed to God's cosmic order. God gave these spirit to each person in varying proportions, allowing them the possibility to know his will but also tempting them to stray from God's design.

As a final point, I would like to speculate about the exegetical basis upon which the *Treatise* asserts that God created humanity with two spirits. While I do not dispute the possibility that Zoroastrian dualism might have influenced the *Treatise*, as many have suggested,⁷³ I think it is more likely that the author of the *Treatise* derived the idea of two

⁷¹ Baumgarten argues that the woman of folly in 4Q184 has been made to resemble the demones, Lilith, who dwells in the darkness of the netherworld. See Joseph Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 139–43.

⁷² Crawford also notes the similarity in thought between the *Treatise* and 4Q184 ("Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly," 361–62). Similarly, Baumgarten seems to suggest that the *Treatise's* "angel of darkness" is comparable to the demonic woman of folly in 4Q184 ("On the Nature of the Seductress," 142–43).

⁷³ Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits," 5–35; idem, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes: New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. R. D. Barnett; New York: Macmillan, 1955), 118–30; Robert G. Jones, "The Manual of Discipline (1QS), Persian Religion, and the Old Testament," in *The Teacher's Yoke: Studies in Memory of Henry Trantham* (ed. E. Jerry Vardaman and James Leo Garrett, Jr.; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1964), 94–108; Shaul Shaked, "Iranian Influence on Judaism: First

opposing cosmic spirits through an imaginative interpretation of the binary language of the creation account at the beginning of Genesis.⁷⁴ Genesis 1:1–2a begins by establishing two localities: heaven and earth, and the text states that the earth is a place of chaos and disorder. Next, in Genesis 1:2b–c, two entities are presented; “darkness” and the “spirit of God”:⁷⁵ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם (“And darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the spirit of God darted about over the surface of the waters,” trans. mine). If the parallelism in this statement was taken to be antithetical, then this verse could easily be understood to mean that הַחֹשֶׁךְ is a spiritual being equal and opposite to the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, and both entities have authority over two separate bodies of water (two separate domains).⁷⁶ The spirit of darkness dwells over the chaotic waters of the “deep” (תְהוֹם) while the spirit of God is set over the “waters” (הַמַּיִם) which God would eventually use to form the heavens

Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume One: Introduction; The Persian Period* (ed. W. D. Davies and Lewis Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 308–25; Marc Philonenko, “La doctrine goumrânienne des deux Esprits: ses origines iraniennes et ses prolongements dans le judaïsme essénien et le christianisme antique,” in *Apocalyptique iranienne et dualisme goumrânien* (ed. Geo Widengren, Anders Hultgård, and Marc Philonenko; RechInt 2; Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1995), 163–211; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 153–54; Brand, ““At the Entrance Sin is Crouching,”” 517–22. Others, however, have argued against Zoroastrian influence on the *Treatise*. See, for example, Heger, “Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings,” 39–101.

⁷⁴ The notion of two opposing spirits might have been initially derived from texts outside of Gen 1–3 and later imported into the creation account in order to give the notion cosmological significance. For example, Zech 12–13 speaks of two spirits, the “spirit of compassion” poured out by God (12:10) and the “unclean spirit” which God will ultimately remove from the land (13:1). Psalm 51 is another likely base text. Although Psalm 51 does not explicitly mention an opposing malevolent spirit, the psalm could have been interpreted as suggesting that the presence of an evil spirit is responsible for the psalmist’s sin. 1 Kings 16:14 is also notable for the presence of two contrary spirits: “Now the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him.” Early on in the study of the *Treatise*, Seitz suggested that 1 Kgs 16:14 was the scriptural basis for the *Treatise*’s two spirits (“Two Spirits in Man,” 82–95).

⁷⁵ Here, I am not suggesting that the author of Gen 1:1–2 had this meaning in mind; I am only suggesting that this is how the author of the *Treatise* interpreted Genesis. Regardless of what רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים originally meant, it would have been natural for an ancient interpreter to understand this expression as a reference to the same “spirit of God” which is mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as the one who communicates the knowledge of God’s will (e.g., Gen 41:38; Exod 31:3; Num 24:2; 1 Sam 10:10, etc.).

⁷⁶ See Osten-Sacken who also argues that Gen 1:2 served as the exegetical basis for the spirit of truth and the spirit of perversity (*Gott und Belial*, 146–48).

(in Gen 1:7–8 God uses part of the מים to form the שמים, “heavens”).⁷⁷ Genesis 1:3–4 goes on to say that God created light, saw that the light was good, and separated the light from darkness. The light in Gen 1:3–4a could have been interpreted as a manifestation of the spirit of God mentioned in verse 2c,⁷⁸ while the darkness in Gen 1:4b would naturally be equated with the (spirit of) darkness in verse 2b. Thus, in Gen 1:3–4, God separates the spirit of darkness from the luminous spirit of God.⁷⁹ This separation is further described in Gen 1:6–8 where God creates a firmament dividing the waters below from the waters above. This passage could have been interpreted in conjunction with verse 2b–c as God establishing the domains of each spirit: the spirit of darkness was appointed over the waters under the firmament, i.e., the deep (תהום), while the spirit of light was appointed over the waters above the firmament, i.e., the heavens. I think it is likely that Gen 1:14–18 was also incorporated into this interpretative scheme and formed the background for the “prince of lights” and “angel of darkness” in 1QS III 20–25.⁸⁰ If the word מאור in Gen 1:14–16 was interpreted as an angelic being⁸¹ then the passage could be taken to mean that the greater luminary/angelic being is the spirit of light who has dominion (ממשלה) over the

⁷⁷ It is worth noting that in the *Hodayot*, there are two kinds of water: the chaotic destructive waters associated with בליעל (1QH^a XI 30–35), and the life-giving Edenic waters that flow from God (1QH^a XVI 5–27). The same may be true in the book of Revelation where the waters beneath heaven are a source of evil, but the heavenly waters are a source of peace and healing (Rev 4:6; 13:1; 21:1; 22:1–2). The *Treatise*, *Hodayot*, and book of Revelation seem to be basing this dichotomy on the two kinds of water present in the early chapters of Genesis.

⁷⁸ A similar interpretation of Gen 1:2–3 can be found in the Wisdom of Solomon where divine wisdom seems to be identified with the light of Gen 1:3 and the spirit of God in Gen 1:2. In Wis 7:22–8:1, wisdom is described as a radiant eternal light and the agent who orders God’s creation. In 9:17, wisdom is referred to as God’s holy spirit.

⁷⁹ *I Enoch* 41:8 seems to interpret Gen 1:1–4 in a way similar to the *Treatise*. The text states, “. . . in the name of the Lord of the Spirits, who created the distinction between light and darkness and separated the spirits of the people, and strengthened the spirits of the righteous in the name of his righteousness.”

⁸⁰ Berg has also suggested that “Genesis 1:16–18 provided inspiration to the author of the Discourse in formulating the statements about the spheres of control of the two spirits in 3.20–23” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 130).

⁸¹ For example, מאור is associated with angelic beings in 1QSb IV 27 and 4Q511 2 i 8.

day while the lesser luminary/angelic being is the spirit of darkness who has dominion (ממשלה) over the night. The two lights/angelic beings in Gen 1:14–18 were probably equated with the spirits of light and darkness in Gen 1:4–5 since both passages speak of the separation of day from night and light from darkness.⁸² This interpretive use of Gen 1:14–18 would explain why the spirits in the *Treatise* are associated with certain אותות (“signs,” 1QS III 14; see Gen 1:14) and why they are each given their own ממשלה (“dominion,” 1QS III 20–21; see Gen 1:16).

Although this interpretation of Genesis is speculative, it does correspond well with the imagery and ideology in the *Treatise*. Such an interpretation also explains the anthropology of the *Treatise*, as to why humans have two spirits and why the spirit of perversity is situated in the flesh. We will turn now to examine these aspects of the *Treatise’s* anthropology in more detail.

4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*

4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is, in part, a reflection on God’s creation of Adam and, by extension, the entire human race. While Adam is not the explicit focus of the *Treatise*, the author heavily relies on Gen 1–2 to formulate his ideas about the state of

⁸² This would mean that Gen 1:14–18 was interpreted as a recapitulation Gen 1:1–8. Alternatively, if the author of the *Treatise* understood Gen 1:14–18 to be chronologically subsequent to Gen 1:1–8, then the two angelic beings, the “prince of lights” and the “angel of darkness,” would have been created after the two spirits of light and darkness already existed. In this case, the two angels would be manifestations of their corresponding spirit who were given authority to rule as proxies. I have not decided which interpretation better fits with the *Treatise*, but exploring this idea may help us to understand how the *Treatise* conceptualizes the “prince of lights” and “angel of darkness” and how they are similar to and different from the spirits of truth and perversity.

humanity in the present and in the *eschaton*.⁸³ Human creation is described in 1QS III 17–18 by merging Gen 1:28 and 2:7 together: “And he created humanity (אנוש) to rule the world and he appointed to him (וישמ לו) two spirits to walk in them until the appointed time of his visitation.” The *Treatise* has interpreted Gen 2:7 to mean that God appointed two spirits to Adam and humanity. We might rightly wonder how the author of the *Treatise* arrived at this idea. Based on the interpretation of Genesis 1 which I proposed at the end of the previous section, I would conjecture that the *Treatise* understood Gen 2:7 to mean that one spirit, the spirit of darkness, is present in the flesh because Adam’s body was formed from dirt (Gen 2:7a)⁸⁴ and the other spirit, the spirit of light, was breathed into the human body by God (Gen 2:7b).⁸⁵ Since the spirit of darkness was believed to rule over all that is under the firmament, then all that is in the earth is tainted by its evil. This would mean that the soil used to fashion humanity is inherently flawed because it is inhabited by the presence of the evil spirit.⁸⁶ Humanity, then, is a mixture of two domains: the material realm possessed by darkness and the realm of spirit breathed into humanity by God.⁸⁷

⁸³ Newsom lists the following terminology used in both Gen 1 and the *Treatise*: אור, אורות, אור, חושך, ברא, אורות, אור, תולדות (The Self as Symbolic Space, 86). Berg has noted other thematic similarities (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 128–30).

⁸⁴ The idea that the spirit of darkness was formed within the human body could have been supported by reading Gen 2:7a in light of Zech 12:1: “Thus says the Lord, who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth and formed the human spirit within (וַיִּצֶר רוּחַ אָדָם בְּקִרְבוֹ).” To an ancient interpreter, the use of the verb יצר and the noun אדם in both Gen 2:7a and Zech 12:1 could suggest that when God formed the man from the dust of the ground he also formed a spirit in him. The spirit formed by God (Gen 2:7a) would then be different from the spirit breathed into the man by God (Gen 2:7b).

⁸⁵ Although Gen 2:7b does not mention God giving a רוח to Adam, it was not uncommon for later writers to use רוח when speaking of the divine breath. For example, Eccl 12:7 interprets Gen 2:7 by using רוח for the breath or spirit given by God (see also Gen 7:22; Job 32:8; 33:4; Isa 42:5). See James Barr, *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 43–44.

⁸⁶ To be clear, I do not think that the author of the *Treatise* saw the flesh as evil in and of itself. The problem with the flesh is that it has been tainted by the evil spirit which has corrupted all material things in God’s creation. In the *eschaton*, God does not dispose of the flesh; rather, he purges the evil spirit from it (1QS IV 19–21).

⁸⁷ A similar idea is attested in 2 En. 30:10 (ms. J): “From invisible and visible substances I created man. From both his natures comes both death and life.” Because humanity was created from earth and spirit, two ways are open to him; he can walk in the way of light and good or in darkness and evil (30:15).

These two spiritual entities are in perpetual conflict with one another for control over the human host.⁸⁸

While the *Treatise* is not directly concerned with Adam, it sees Adam as a template for humanity as a whole. Like Adam, each person is created with two spirits, although the relative proportion of these spirits differs from individual to individual.⁸⁹ For some people, God has granted them a greater share in the spirit of truth while others have been given more of the spirit of perversity (1QS IV 16, 24–25).⁹⁰ When God imbued humanity with these two spirits, he granted to them the knowledge of good and evil: “And he (God) gave them as an inheritance to the sons of man to know good [and evil . . .]” (1QS IV 26). Unlike the creation account in Gen 2–3, the knowledge of good and evil was not withheld from Adam; it was given to him at the time of his creation.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Collins has proposed a different exegetical origin for the two spirits. He writes, “A possible source may be suggested in Genesis 2:7, which says God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (נשמת חיים) and he became a living being (נפש חיה); both the breath and the נפש (*nepes̄*) could be understood as spirits.” Collins’ proposal is perhaps more straightforward than mine, yet it does not do justice to how the spirits are portrayed in the *Treatise*. The expressions נשמת חיים and נפש חיה are not easily set off against each other as two opposing spirits. It is also hard to see how נשמת חיים or נפש חיה came to be interpreted as an evil spirit of perversity and darkness. For Collins’ proposal, see “Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity,” 40.

⁸⁹ See Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 183–86.

⁹⁰ This differentiation in the proportion of the spirits creates, in effect, two divisions within humanity: those who are predominately led by the spirit of truth (the “sons of light” or “sons of righteousness”) and those who are led by the spirit of perversity (the “sons of perversity,” 1QS III 20–21). Since every person has both spirits, even the righteous sons of light can fall into iniquity when they are led astray by the spirit of perversity (1QS III 21–23).

⁹¹ Collins notes that this statement in 1QS IV 26 “suggests that this document, like Sirach and 4Q Sapiential Work A, may not have regarded the tree of knowledge as off limits” (*Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41). I have already demonstrated in ch. 2 §4.2 that during the late Second Temple period there was a widespread tradition that God created the primordial man with profound knowledge and wisdom. I also noted previously (§2.1 above) that the knowledge of good and evil in the *Treatise* should be seen as two separate bodies of knowledge associated with the two spirits: the spirit of truth conveys the knowledge of good (i.e., the knowledge of God’s cosmic design) and the spirit of perversity conveys the knowledge of evil (i.e., the scheme that is opposed to God’s order). The knowledge of good might signify Genesis’ tree of life while the knowledge of evil represents the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Those who follow the spirit of truth will adhere to God’s design and have life while those who walk in the spirit of perversity will adhere to the scheme opposed to God and receive destruction as their reward.

The *Treatise* never refers to Adam's transgression or "fall," yet such a "fall" seems to be implicit within the text. In 1QS IV 7–8 and 22, the Edenic Adam is held up as the image of perfection suggesting that Adam once possessed peace, long life and luminous glory (see §4.2 below). However, we also know from 1QS III 17–18 that all humans, including Adam, were created with two conflicting spirits, and this suggests that Adam was originally just as flawed and susceptible to transgression as any other person.⁹² This leads me to think that the author of the *Treatise* envisioned Adam as initially having a glorious existence in the Garden of Eden, but subsequently he lost this glory because he was led astray by the spirit of perversity in his flesh. It is clear that the *Treatise* does not blame Adam for the present condition of humanity; each person is created with two spirits, just as Adam was, and each person has their own lot determined by God. In a sense, the *Treatise* is similar to 2 Bar. 54:19 which states, "Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam."

Like Adam, each person's heart is influenced by the competing forces of the two spirits: "Until now the spirits of truth and perversity contend in the heart of a man so that they walk in wisdom or folly" (1QS IV 23–24).⁹³ These two spirits function as two different inclinations competing to inform the heart about how it should behave.⁹⁴ We have

⁹² We know from 1QS IV 20–21 that true perfection can only come to humanity once the spirit of perversity has been purged from the flesh.

⁹³ It is clear in the *Treatise* that the human heart is the battleground where the two spirits wage their conflict. The word לֵב or לִב is used four times in 1QS IV 2–14—the section of the *Treatise* which describes the ethical and psychological persuasion of each spirit. The spirit of truth "enlightens the heart of a person," and "strikes fear into his heart regarding the judgments of God" (1QS IV 2–3) while the spirit of perversity produces a "haughty heart" and an "unresponsive heart" (1QS IV 9, 11).

⁹⁴ A number of commentators have noted that the two spirits in the *Treatise* resemble the later rabbinic concept of the good and evil inclinations in each person's heart. See Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man," 93–94; Collins, "Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity," 40–41; Philip S. Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment* (ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon Gathercole; LNTS 335; London: T & T Clark,

already seen in 11QPs^a XIX 15–16 and 4Q213a 1 i 12–18 (§3 above) that a malevolent spirit can produce a רע יצר (“evil inclination”).⁹⁵ In these texts, the evil spiritual entity exerts a psychological influence over the human heart resulting in an inclination to do wrong. These texts also suggest that a benevolent divine spirit has the opposite effect of producing a good inclination.⁹⁶ It is for this reason that the authors of these texts petition God to grant them a spirit of knowledge, wisdom, and faithfulness.

The *Treatise* reflects the same worldview. It sees the spirit of perversity as producing an evil inclination⁹⁷ while the spirit of truth conveys the knowledge of God’s design in order to produce a “firm inclination” (יצר סמוך)⁹⁸ in the heart. 1QS IV 4–5 states that the spirit of truth is a רוח דעת בכלל מחשבת מעשה וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת קודש ביצר סמוך (“spirit of knowledge in every plan of action, of zeal for the just decrees and the holy plan with a firm inclination”). Here, the spirit of truth is described as a spirit which imparts the knowledge of God’s design (דעת בכלל מחשבת מעשה) and stirs up the heart of the righteous in

2006), 36–37; Heger, “Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings,” 57–58, 93–96. In ch. 2 n. 108, I noted that רע יצר and רוח are often used interchangeably when speaking of a psychological inclination.

⁹⁵ See also 4Q436 (*Barkhi Nafshi*^c) 1 i 9–ii 4 (= 4Q435 1 i 1–5); *T. Asher* 1:3–9 and *T. Benj.* 3:3.

⁹⁶ Cf. *T. Benj.* 6:1 which states, “The deliberations of the good man are not in the control of the deceitful spirit, Beliar, for the angel of peace guides his life.”

⁹⁷ The *Treatise* never uses the expression רע יצר, but I would argue that such an evil inclination is implied in the text. The fact that the spirit of truth produces a יצר סמוך strongly suggests that the spirit of perversity must produce a corresponding evil inclination. I suspect that the author of the *Treatise* read Gen 6:5 and 8:21 in conjunction with Gen 2:7a in order to arrive at the conclusion that all humanity has an evil inclination (יצר, Gen 6:5) because God formed (יצר, Gen 2:7a) their flesh from the dust of the earth. It is quite understandable that an ancient interpreter would draw a connection between Gen 6:3–5 and 2:7 since both texts use the root יצר and both speak of God’s breath/spirit and its relationship to the human body. The author of the *Treatise* could very well have read Gen 6:3 (“My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh”) in conjunction with Gen 2:7b to support the notion that the spirit which God breathed into humanity is in conflict with the flesh, or, more precisely, the evil spirit inhabiting the flesh. On the combined reading of Gen 1–3 with 6:3–5 in the Second Temple period, see Bruce J. Malina, “Some Observations on the Origin of Sin in Judaism and St. Paul,” *CBQ* 31 (1969): 25–27.

⁹⁸ The expression יצר סמוך is probably taken from Isa 26:3. It is also attested in 1QS VIII 3; 1QH^a IX 37; X 11, 38; and 4Q438 4 ii 2.

The spirit of truth and the knowledge it conveys are only a temporary and imperfect solution to humanity's anthropological problem. The righteous are susceptible to sin and transgression as long as the spirit of perversity continues to exist in their flesh (1QS III 21–25). Perfection can only be achieved in the *eschaton* when the spirit of perversity is purged from the flesh and God pours out the spirit of truth anew with increased knowledge and wisdom.

4.2. Returning to Paradise through God's Revelation of Knowledge

The eschatological restoration of the righteous is described in two passages: 1QS IV 6–8 and IV 18b–23a. In 1QS IV 6–8, the *Treatise* states that those who walk in the spirit of truth will receive as their reward “healing, abundance of peace in long life, and fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings and eternal joy in everlasting life and a crown of glory with radiant garment in eternal light.” The language in this passage is clearly meant to evoke the idea that the righteous will be restored to the primordial state that Adam had in the Garden of Eden.¹⁰³ Especially important is the last line: “a crown of glory with radiant garment in eternal light.” Here, the author proclaims that the sons of truth will be clothed with the same luminous glory that once covered Adam who was made in the image of God.¹⁰⁴ By receiving the crown of glory and the garment radiating eternal

¹⁰³ David E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity* (NovTSup 28; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 38–40, 185–88. Joy, peace, long life, and the garment of light are images typically used to describe the paradisiacal existence. See Rev 21:22–22:5; *Test. of Abr.* (rec. A) 20:14; 2 *En.* 42:3–5; *Odes Sol.* 6:15–18; 20:7–9.

¹⁰⁴ In the Second Temple period, there was a widespread belief that Adam was originally clothed in a splendid glorious light, and this light was identified as the image of God. See Gilles Quispel, “Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis,” *VC* 34 (1980): 1–13; Moshe Idel, “Enoch is Metatron,” *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–40; Stephen N. Lambden, “From Fig Leaves to Fingernails: Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Selected Early Postbiblical Jewish Writings,” in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*, ed. P. Morris and D. Sawyer (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 74–90; Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 16–18; Alon Goshen Gottstein, “The Body as Image of

light, the righteous will be restored to the image of God¹⁰⁵ and become resplendent beings like the angels in heaven.¹⁰⁶

The second passage, 1QS IV 18b–23a, gives us a more systematic view of the *eschaton*. Here, the *Treatise* states that at the time of God’s eschatological judgment, “he will purify for himself the structure of a person¹⁰⁷ completely destroying all the spirit of perversity from the bowels of his flesh and purifying him with the holy spirit from all wicked deeds.”¹⁰⁸ Having purged the spirit of perversity from the body, “he will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth . . . in order to cause the upright ones to understand the knowledge of the Most High and to teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way.” Those who are cleansed from the spirit of perversity and filled with the spirit of

God in Rabbinic Literature,” *HTR* 87 (1994): 171–95; DeConick, *Seek to See Him*, 77–79; David H. Aaron, “Shedding Light on God’s Body in Rabbinic Midrashim: Reflections on the Theory of a Luminous Adam,” *HTR* 90 (1997): 299–314; Andrei Orlov, “‘Without Measure and Without Analogy’: The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” *JJS* 56 (2005): 224–44; idem, “Vested with Adam’s Glory: Moses as the Luminous Counterpart of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Macarian Homilies,” in *L’Église des deux Alliances. Mémoires Annie Jaubert (1912–1980)* (ed. Madeleine Petit, Basile Lourié, and Andrei Orlov; OJC 1; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 135–52; Silviu Bunta, “One Man (φωσ) in Heaven: Adam-Moses Polemics in the Romanian Versions of *The Testament of Abraham* and Ezekiel the Tragedian’s *Exagoge*,” *JSP* 16 (2007): 146–51; Alexander Toepel, “When Did Adam Wear the Garments of Light?” *JJS* 61 (2010): 62–71.

¹⁰⁵ Meeks has examined the motif of the crown of light and notes that it signifies that the wearer has been vested with the image of God. See Wayne Meeks, “Moses as God and King,” in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; SHR 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 361–65.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *2 Bar.* 51; *T. Job* 40:3. See Lambden, “From Fig Leaves to Fingernails,” 81.

¹⁰⁷ Regarding the meaning of מְבַנֵּי אִישׁ, see Yigael Yadin, “A Note on DSD IV:20,” *JBL* 74 (1955): 40–43.

¹⁰⁸ The concept of an eschatological purification and purgation of an evil spirit and the pouring out of a good spirit might be based on Zech 12–13. In Zech 12:10, God declares that in the *eschaton* he “will pour out a spirit of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.” The text goes on to say that “On that day a fountain shall be opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to cleanse them from sin and impurity” (13:1). God will “remove from the land the prophets and the unclean spirit” (13:2). In Zech 13:9, God states, “And I will put this third into the fire, refine them as one refines silver, and test them as gold is tested. They will call on my name, and I will answer them. I will say, ‘They are my people’; and they will say, ‘The Lord is our God.’” Lange has argued that the רִיחַ הַמָּוֶת in Zech 13:2 should “be understood as representing a living demonic reality” comparable to the impure spirits in 4Q444, 11QPs^a XIX, the *Testament of Benjamin*, and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. See Lange, “Considerations Concerning the ‘Spirit of Impurity’ in Zech 13:2,” in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Röhle; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 254–68.

truth and knowledge will have an eternal covenant with God “and to them will be all the glory of Adam.” This is the eschatological new creation (עֲשׂוֹת הַדְּשָׁה, 1QS IV 25) that awaits the righteous.

I would suggest that the author of the *Treatise* intended 1QS IV 18b–23a to be understood as an eschatological reenactment of the creation of humanity in Gen 2:7–8. In other words, 1QS IV 18b–23a describes God re-creating humanity, and the sequence of events in these lines parallels Gen 2:7–8. This reenactment of Gen 2:7–8 begins in 1QS IV 20–21 where the *Treatise* declares that the spirit of perversity will be purged from the fleshly structure of the human body. These two lines correspond to Gen 2:7a where God prepares the earthen body to receive his breath/spirit. In the *Treatise*, the earthen body does not need to be formed as in Genesis (the body is already formed); rather, it needs to be purified from the taint of the spirit of perversity so that God can breathe his spirit anew into a clean earthen vessel. In 1QS IV 21–22, God “sprinkles over him the spirit of truth like waters of purification apart from all lying abhorrences and the defilement by the spirit of impurity. . . .” While the primary metaphor in this line is one of purification (cf. Num 19; 31:23), I would suggest that this statement also serves as an allusion to Gen 2:7b: God breathing his spirit once again into the vessel of flesh.¹⁰⁹ 1QS IV 22 goes on to say that when God sprinkles his spirit of truth over the righteous he will imbue them with profound knowledge similar to his own and that of the angels. This idea is based on the belief that when God breathed his spirit into Adam, the first man was granted special knowledge and

¹⁰⁹ A reader of the *Treatise* should rightly wonder why God needs to pour out his spirit of truth on the righteous in 1QS IV 21 when they already have the spirit of truth in them from the time of their creation (1QS III 18–19). This apparent contradiction is necessary in order for the author to fully describe God’s act of re-creation. For the new creation motif to be complete, God must breathe the spirit again into humanity.

wisdom.¹¹⁰ God's act of re-creation culminates in 1QS IV 22–23 which states that God has chosen the righteous for an eternal covenant and “to them will be all the glory of Adam.” The phrase “all the glory of Adam” should be seen as a shorthand reference back to 1QS IV 6–8: the “glory of Adam” entails healing, peace, fruitfulness, long life, eternal joy, and Adam's splendid luminous appearance.¹¹¹ The words “all the glory of Adam” encapsulate all that characterized Adam's life in the Garden of Eden.¹¹² I would suggest that the declaration, “to them will be all the glory of Adam,” is the *Treatise's* reenactment of Gen 2:8: “And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man

¹¹⁰ A number of Second Temple texts explicitly state that when God breathed into Adam he imparted the first man with the knowledge of good and evil. We can see the association between God's breath and the granting of knowledge in 4Q504 8 recto 4–5: “the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and understanding and knowledge [. . . .” In *Joseph and Aseneth* 19:11, Joseph takes on the role of God and Aseneth that of Adam. When Joseph kisses Aseneth, he imbues her with the spirit of life, spirit of wisdom, and spirit of truth. In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, divine wisdom is identified with the breath of God and the image of God (7:25–26) given to Adam (10:1–2). Ben Sira 17:7 states, “He (God) filled them with knowledge and understanding, and showed them good and evil.” The verb ἐμπλήμη (“to fill”) in verse 7 suggests that Ben Sira saw God's act of breathing his spirit into the human vessel as the moment when the first man became endowed with knowledge. Philo describes how God created the first human from dust and breathed his divine spirit into him (*Opif.* 134–35), imbuing him with a rational mind (*Opif.* 139; *Leg.* 1.39–42) which is the image of God (*Plant.* 44; *Her.* 55–57; *Moses* 2.65; *Conf.* 61–62, 146–47). Philo explains that the divine spirit or mind breathed into Adam is really a manifestation of God's Logos or reason (*Plant.* 19–20), and elsewhere he speaks of the Logos as an emanation of God's wisdom (*Leg.* 1.65). An interesting example is found in *Job* where God's spirit/breath is associated with knowledge of God's cosmic wonders. In *Job* 32:7–8, Elihu declares, “I said, ‘Let days speak, and many years teach wisdom.’ But truly it is the spirit in a mortal, the breath of the Almighty, that makes for understanding.” With the spirit/breath of God in him, Elihu knows the “wonders” (נפלאות) of God's creation (37:14) and is able to represent God as “one who is perfect in knowledge” (36:2–4).

¹¹¹ A number of scholars have suggested that the phrase “all the glory of Adam” in 1QS IV 23 denotes the splendid light which enshrouded the first man at the time of his creation. This is partially correct, but I would see the expression “all the glory of Adam” as a more comprehensive reference to all that Adam was blessed with in the Garden of Eden (this includes all that is described in 1QS IV 6–8). Regarding the “glory of Adam” as a reference to Adam's luminous appearance, see Alexander Golitzin, “Recovering the ‘Glory of Adam’: ‘Divine Light’ Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Ascetical Literature of Fourth-Century Syro-Mesopotamia,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity, Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 279–80, 283; John J. Collins, “The Angelic Life,” in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity* (ed. Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Økland; Ekstasis 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 295.

¹¹² Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 87; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 95–97. I think that 4Q171 (4QpPs^d) III 1–2 correctly interprets the intended meaning of this phrase when it renders כול נחלת אדם as כבוד אדם.

whom he had formed.” To receive the “glory of Adam” is to enter into Adam’s existence within the garden. Thus, 1QS IV 22–23 indicates that in the *eschaton* God will restore the righteous to paradise.

An essential part of this eschatological re-creation is God’s gift of knowledge. The righteous can only enter into the paradisiacal state once they have received “the knowledge of the Most High” and “the wisdom of the sons of heaven” (1QS IV 22).¹¹³ In this regard, Angel is quite correct when he writes, “By means of initiation into the knowledge of the Most High, which corresponds to the ‘wisdom of the sons of heaven,’ the community members return to the original glorious state of pre-fallen Adam, who, according to scriptural tradition, was created in the divine image.”¹¹⁴ In 1QS IV 22, God’s bestowal of knowledge upon the righteous is the integral act which transforms them into angel-like beings and invests them with the very image of God that Adam once had. It is their knowledge which causes them to resemble God.

As in *Instruction* (ch. 2 §4.2), the idea that divine knowledge can transform humans into angel-like beings is based on an interpretation of Genesis 3, verses 5 and 22, which declare that Adam became like the אֱלֹהִים by possessing the knowledge of good and evil. When Adam acquired the knowledge of good and evil, God declared, “See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil.” According to Gen 3:5 and 22, divine knowledge is what distinguishes the heavenly beings from humans. Genesis 3:5 and 22

¹¹³ I would speculate that the author of the *Treatise* read Gen 2:7–8 as a sequence of logically necessary steps which had to be undertaken in order for Adam to enter into paradise. First, God had to form Adam from the earth (Gen 2:7a). Then, God placed his spirit/breath into Adam (Gen 2:7b) which imbued the first man with knowledge. This knowledge made Adam resemble (bear the image of) the אֱלֹהִים—the divine beings (Gen 1:26; 3:5, 22). Once Adam was made like the angels, he could enter into the garden (Gen 2:8) and dwell among the angels. The important point of this logical sequence is that Adam could not enter paradise (Gen 2:8) as long as he was only a creature of dust (Gen 2:7a). The garden was only accessibly to him after he received God’s spirit and knowledge (Gen 2:7b).

¹¹⁴ Joseph L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 10.

were probably also read together with Gen 1:26–27, resulting in the view that divine knowledge is what gave Adam the image of God.¹¹⁵ Such a reading of Gen 3:5 and 22 with Gen 1:26–27 would be quite understandable since both groups of texts discuss Adam’s likeness to God and in Gen 3:22 and Gen 1:26 God addresses the heavenly court in the first person plural. According to this interpretation of Genesis, knowledge is what imbues a person with the image of God and makes them like the angels.

By granting knowledge to the righteous in the *eschaton*, God effectively restores the image of God to humanity and allows them to return to the garden and dwell among the angels just as Adam did at the time of his creation. The righteous will become like Adam, only more perfect than Adam.¹¹⁶ The righteous will live eternally in paradise without any possibility of transgression because their bodies will have been purified from the spirit of

¹¹⁵ I have pointed out previously (ch. 2 §4.2) that in some Second Temple traditions the image of God in Gen 1:26–27 was associated with Adam’s knowledge and wisdom or his rational mind. This is most apparent in Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon (see ch. 2 n. 179 and 180). In the *Treatise*, the author associates both Adam’s knowledge and his luminous appearance with the image of God. This is not unexpected since there is a strong conceptual connection between light and knowledge/wisdom in the Scrolls (see, for example, 1Q27 1 i 5–7; 1QS II 3; XI 3, 5; 1QSb IV 27; 1QH^a XX 15–18; XXIII 2–16; 4Q286 1 ii 1–7; 4Q403 1 i 45; 1 ii 35; 4Q405 6 3; 4Q511 18 ii 8; 4Q541 9 i 3–5; 4Q542 1 i 1–3; 4Q548 1 9–16; and 11QPs^a XXVII 2–4. Outside of the Scrolls, see Ps 199:105, 130; Eccl 8:1; Dan 12:3; Isa 26:9 [LXX]; Wis 7:26–29; and 2 Cor 4:6). When one has knowledge or wisdom they radiate light, and when one reveals knowledge they cause light to shine for others (e.g., 1QH^a XII 28–29; 4Q403 1 ii 34; 4Q511 18 ii 8). I would suggest that the *Treatise* reflects the same thought process such that “truth” and “light” are synonymous, and the spirit of truth causes light to shine by imparting knowledge (1QS IV 2–6). Thus, to say that the righteous receive the knowledge of God and the wisdom of the angels in the *eschaton*, is the same as saying that they will receive the luminous glory that enshrouds the heavenly beings.

¹¹⁶ George H. van Kooten writes, “Since the ‘configuration of man’ was dual from the outset (Col. IV 20–21), when God placed two spirits in Adam (Col. III 17–18), it seems to be only the latter-day Qumranic Adam who has the evil spirit ripped out ‘from the innermost part of his flesh’ (Col. IV 20–21); to *him* belongs ‘all the glory of Adam’, i.e. a glory exceeding the still limited glory of the first Adam. In this case, in 1QS, there is not just talk of a restoration of Adam’s likeness to God’s glory, but even of a glory transcending that of Adam.” See van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Judaism* (WUNT 232; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 20.

perversity. They will possess all the glory of Adam, existing perpetually among the angels in the very presence of God.¹¹⁷

5. Conclusion

The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is concerned with the two spirits that govern the actions of each person. According to the *Treatise*, God created the spirit of truth and the spirit of perversity, and he placed them within the human heart where they contend with each other for control. The spirit of truth aids people in observing God's covenant by imparting to them wisdom and the knowledge of good (i.e., the knowledge of God's cosmic design) while the spirit of perversity causes people to stray from God's appointed order by conveying folly and the knowledge of evil to them. The spirit of truth is able to comprehend and communicate God's design because it originates from the "spring of light"—the throne of God. The spirit of perversity, however, brings forth its lies and deception from the "fountain of darkness"—the abyss—which is the source of wickedness, chaos, and folly.

When God created the universe he placed the spirit of perversity in control over all that is under the firmament while the heavens are the dominion of the spirit of truth. This means that all material things are tainted by the presence of the spirit of perversity, including the soil used to make the first man. God formed Adam from this tainted dirt and breathed into him the spirit of truth. As a result, Adam, and every person descended from him, has two spirits dwelling in them, although the proportion of these spirits is different

¹¹⁷ The reference to Balaam in 1QS IV 22 ("the knowledge of the Most High") indicates that, like Balaam, when the righteous receive knowledge they will come to stand before God in the heavenly court. I would suggest that both Balaam and Adam served as models for the eschatological glorification of the righteous: both receive the spirit of God (Gen 2:7b; Num 24:2); both are imbued with knowledge; both dwell among the angels; and both are able to see God face to face in his otherworldly abode.

for each person. This also means that humanity is inherently corrupt and susceptible to transgression because they are polluted by the spirit of perversity. The spirit of truth, however, can help to counteract the evil influence of the spirit of perversity by imparting the knowledge of God's design and instilling a "firm inclination" to observe God's cosmic order.

A permanent remedy for humanity's corrupt state will only come in the *eschaton* when God purges the spirit of perversity from the bodies of the righteous, and pours out on them the spirit of truth anew along with divine knowledge and wisdom. This outpouring of divine knowledge will transform the righteous into angel-like beings and invest them with the very image of God that Adam once possessed. The eschatological re-creation of the righteous described in the *Treatise* culminates with God ushering them into a new paradisiacal existence where they will receive "all the glory of Adam."

The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* shares a number of important terms and thematic features with *Instruction*. Both texts profess that the universe was created and operates according to the mysteries (רזין) of God's מַחֲשָׁבָה—his cosmic design. They also indicate that God has revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to the righteous, allowing them to discern between truth and error, wisdom and folly, and good and evil. While the two texts have different views regarding the means of God's revelation (a visionary experience in *Instruction* and otherworldly spirits in the *Treatise*), they both assert that God's heavenly throne is the ultimate source of knowledge about God's design. The two texts are mutually concerned with the corruption and rectification of the human inclination (יִצַר). They declare that humans are inherently corrupt with an evil inclination because they are creatures of flesh (both texts use Gen 6:3–5 as the basis for their theological anthropology).

Salvation from this corrupt state is possible through God's revelation of knowledge which has the capacity to produce a good inclination in the human heart. God's revelation of knowledge also allows the righteous to obtain the glory and image of God that Adam once possessed. *Instruction* and the *Treatise* were written based on the idea that God gave knowledge to Adam as a benevolent gift, and it was this knowledge that endowed the first man with the image of God and made him like the angels (both texts derive this idea from Gen 1:26–27; 3:5, 22). In *Instruction* and the *Treatise*, the salvation of the righteous is both a present and a future reality. Those who have received the knowledge of God's cosmic design presently have a good inclination, but they are still at risk of being led astray and falling into divine judgment. Only in *eschaton* will the righteous be perfected and allowed to enter completely into paradise where they will be like angels, possessing full knowledge and wisdom.

CHAPTER 4 THE *HODAYOT*

1. Introduction

One of the seven texts initially discovered near Khirbet Qumran in 1947 was a collection of psalms commonly referred to as the *Hodayot* or *Thanksgiving Psalms*. Although the individual psalms differ in their themes and content, they are generally concerned with praising God for his revelation of knowledge and his deliverance of the psalmist. The *Hodayot* is now extant in eight manuscripts, two from Cave 1 and six from Cave 4, with the earliest manuscript (4Q428) dated paleographically to the first half of the first century BCE.¹ The most complete extant copy of the *Hodayot* is 1QH^a which has been dated between the late first century BCE and the middle of the first century CE.² I will be using the 1QH^a manuscript for the majority of my study.³

¹ See Schuller, *DJD XXIX*, 129–30.

² On the paleographic dating of 1QH^a, see Solomon Birnbaum, “The Date of the Hymns Scroll (1QH),” *PEQ* 84 (1952): 94–103; idem, *The Hebrew Scripts* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 2.155–56; Frank Moore Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; New York: Doubleday, 1961), 178 n. 152, 180, 199 n. 132 and n. 136. Radiocarbon dating of 1QH^a has generally placed the manuscript around the mid-first century CE. See Georges Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 845; Gordon Rodley and Barbara Thiering, “Use of Radiocarbon Dating in Assessing Christian Connections to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 41 (1999): 169–82; Joseph Atwill and Steve Braunheim, “Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 143–57, esp. 150; Johannes van der Plicht, “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on ‘Redating,’” *DSD* 14 (2007): 77–89.

³ Although the 1QH^a manuscript is relatively late, compared with some of the Cave 4 manuscripts, the content and order of the psalms represented in 1QH^a are probably quite early. Schuller has argued that 4Q428 (*Hodayot*^b) “contained the same collection of psalms as in 1QH^a and in the same order” (*DJD XXIX*, 126). If the reconstruction by Schuller and Stegemann is correct, then the earliest Cave 4 *Hodayot* manuscript would be very close or identical to 1QH^a. Note, however, that Angela Kim Harkins has challenged Schuller and Stegemann’s reconstruction of 4Q428. The matter is still being debated and awaits further research. For Harkins’ arguments, see “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a Sixty Years after Its Discovery,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 91; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–34; eadem, *Reading with an “I” to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Ekstasis 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 10–11.

From its initial discovery, the *Hodayot* has been as enigmatic as it has been important for understanding the Qumran community. For sixty years, scholars have debated the authorship of the *Hodayot*⁴ and its original use,⁵ and there is still no consensus on these questions. In some areas, our understanding of the *Hodayot* has advanced over the last two decades⁶ especially because of the publication of the Cave 4 *Hodayot* manuscripts and the reconstruction of the 1QH^a manuscript proposed independently by Puech and Stegemann.⁷ The Cave 4 manuscripts and the reconstruction of 1QH^a indicate that the *Hodayot* went through a complex process of textual evolution.

One of the fundamental issues surrounding the *Hodayot* that is still vigorously debated is the redaction-history of this work. Scholars have long discussed the unity and diversity of the *Hodayot*, but as yet there is no consensus as to how this collection of psalms developed. In Appendix A, I have put forth a new proposal for the redaction-history of the *Hodayot*. According to my analysis, there are four groups of material in the

⁴ From early on, scholars ascribed part or all of the *Hodayot* to the Teacher of Righteousness—the priestly founder of the Qumran community. See Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 39. For a bibliography on the different views of the authorship of the *Hodayot*, see Eileen M. Schuller and Lorenzo DiTomasso, “A Bibliography of the *Hodayot*, 1948-1996,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 95–96.

⁵ Some have argued that the *Hodayot* served as a liturgical text for the community while others have seen it as a collection of psalms used in private devotion. See the discussions in Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 332–48; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 29–33; Denise Dombkowski Hopkins, “The Qumran Community and 1QHodayot: A Reassessment,” *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 336–38; John J. Collins, “Amazing Grace: The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran,” in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions* (ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler; SBLSymS 25; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 85; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 196–204; Esther G. Chazon, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 *Hodayot* Collection,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 91; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–49.

⁶ For developments in research on the *Hodayot* since the early 1990s, see Eileen M. Schuller, “Recent Scholarship on the *Hodayot* 1993–2010,” *CBR* 10 (2011): 119–62.

⁷ Émile Puech, “Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH),” *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55; Hartmut Stegemann, “The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 272–84. See also Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 13–49.

1QH^a manuscript. I have labeled these groups H¹, H², H³, and H⁴, and I have defined them as follows:

- H¹ consists of: 1QH^a IX 36b–XVII 36 (excluding XI 21b–25a; XII 30b–XIII 6; XIV 9–22a; XV 29–XVI 4; and XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a).
- H² consists of: 1QH^a IX 9–22.
- H³ consists of: 1QH^a V 15–30a; VI 12–33; VII 21–VIII 10 (excluding VII 21b and VII 33b–34); VIII 20b–23, 26–29a; IX 23a; and XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5.
- H⁴ consists of the following whole psalms: 1QH^a IV 13–40; VI 34–41; VII 12–20; XV 29–36; XV 37–XVI 4; XVII 38–XVIII 14; XIX 6–XXVII 3.
 H⁴ also consists of the following interpolations within other *Hodayot* psalms: 1QH^a V 12–14; 30b–41; VII 21b, 33b–34; VIII 11–20a, 24–25, 29b–41; IX 1–8, 23b–36a; XI 21b–25a; XII 30b–XIII 6; XIV 9–22a; XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a; XVIII 16b–24a.

Each of these groups of *Hodayot* material is identifiable based on its own distinct themes, grammar, style, and terminology (for a fuller explanation see Appendix A §2). The H¹ *Hodayot* psalms are approximately equivalent to the material traditionally identified as the “Teacher Hymns.” Since the 1960s, scholars have argued that most of the psalms in 1QH^a X 5–XVII 36 form a coherent group that is distinct from the rest of the *Hodayot* which scholars have referred to as the “Community Hymns” (the label “Community Hymns” is usually used to refer to the material in 1QH^a I–X 4 and XVII 38–XXVIII along with some interpolations inserted into 1QH^a X 5–XVII 36). I would agree that most of the material in the so-called “Teacher Hymns” (1QH^a X 5–XVII 36) should be classified together as a distinctive group, although my delineation of this material is slightly different from that of previous scholars (see Appendix A §2.1). I would argue, however, that the so-called “Community Hymns” actually consist of three different groups of material: what I have labeled H², H³, and H⁴. The section of the *Hodayot* which I have label H² is a single “Creation Hymn” in 1QH^a IX 9–22. This Creation Hymn was added at an early stage to the

H¹ collection of psalms as a new introduction. The H³ *Hodayot* psalms were composed after H¹ and H² (this is apparent since they utilize and reinterpret parts of H¹ and H²), and most of the H³ psalms were transmitted independently as their own collection of psalms before being added to the *Hodayot* quite late in its development. The H³ psalms do not typically refer to God as לַא (where as other parts of the *Hodayot* frequently use לַא). They lack the personal “I,” the metaphorical language, and the expressions of persecution present in H¹, and they lack the pessimistic anthropology, the interest in angels, and the emphasis on praise and recounting God’s wonders which are evident in the H⁴ psalms. Unlike the rest of the *Hodayot*, the H³ psalms are concerned with ill-gotten wealth and the corrupting power of money, and they use Deuteronomistic language like not turning aside from God’s commands and choosing what God loves and abhorring what he hates. The H⁴ *Hodayot* material consists of several complete psalms as well as a number of interpolations inserted into the H¹⁻³ psalms. Stylistically, this H⁴ material can be identified by its use of rhetorical questions, verbless identification clauses, and the pronoun אֲנִי as a copula. The H⁴ psalms have their own distinctive terminology which is used broadly across these psalms but nowhere else in the rest of the *Hodayot* (a list of distinctive terminology can be found in Appendix A §2.4). Thematically, the H⁴ material has a distinctly negative anthropology and employs intense language of self-deprecation, and it is characteristically concerned with divine purification and forgiveness, angels and otherworldly beings, and rejoicing and praising God.

I have labeled the different groups of *Hodayot* material according to the order in which they were composed, with H¹ being the earliest material in the *Hodayot* and H⁴ being the latest (the rationale for this relative chronology is explained in Appendix A §3 and

§4). Groups 1–3 were probably each written by a single psalmist while the H⁴ material was most likely the work of multiple people (see Appendix A §4).⁸ In spite of the fact that the H⁴ material was produced by several authors and redactors, it is strikingly coherent in its terminology and thematic interests. Based on this coherence, I would speculate that the H⁴ material was the product of a close community or group that had rigidly established terminology and theology already in place before the H⁴ material was composed.

For the purposes of my study, I will treat each group of *Hodayot* material as an independent work with its own theological worldview. As a result, this chapter is divided into four major sections each of which addresses one group of *Hodayot* material. For each *Hodayot* group, I will examine the content, means, and theological function of God's revelation. As in the previous two chapters, I am particularly interested in the anthropological and soteriological significance of divinely revealed knowledge and how such knowledge enables the righteous to enter into paradise.

1.1. Provenance of the *Hodayot* and Its Relationship to Other Texts

Before I begin my examination of the *Hodayot* it is important to situate this collection of psalms in a relative chronological and literary relationship to *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. It is generally assumed that the *Hodayot* was composed by

⁸ Within the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms there are small grammatical, terminological, and thematic differences which suggest that this body of material was composed by different people within a larger community. For example, the H⁴ redactor who compiled and edited the material in 1QH^a I(?)–VIII had a preference for the direct object marker אַת which is not used in the rest of the H⁴ material. Also, some of the H⁴ psalms and interpolations in 1QH^a I(?)–XX 6 use distinct terminology that is not found in 1QH^a XX 7–XXVIII. For example, the phrase רוח נעוה is only used in 1QH^a V 32; VIII 18; XI 22; XIX 15. Similarly, the idea of purification (טהרה) is only found in 1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30; IX 34; XI 22; XII 38; XIV 11; XV 33; XIX 13; XIX 33. Conversely, the H⁴ psalms in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 and 1QH^a XX 7–XXVII 3 contain some terms and themes not found in 1QH^a I(?)–XX 6 (excluding XVII 38–XVIII 14). For example, the word אפר is only used in 1QH^a XVIII 7; XX 30; XXI 26; and XXIII 27 (this is strange since other terms like יצר חמר and עפר are found throughout the H⁴ material). Likewise, the kingship of God is only mentioned in 1QH^a XVIII 10; XXV 35; XXVI 6 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 10), XXVI 9 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 13), XXVI 11 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 15).

members of the Qumran community. There is no way of knowing precisely when the first *Hodayot* psalms (H¹) were written, but if they were authored by the founder of the community or another leader early in the community's development then we can reasonably situate the composition of the H¹ psalms in the third quarter of the second century BCE.⁹ The additions and redactions (H²⁻⁴) were probably added over the next few decades with the *Hodayot* reaching its final stage of completion around the beginning of the first century BCE.¹⁰

If *Instruction* and the *Treatise* were composed prior to the establishment of the Qumran community (ch. 2 §1.1 and ch. 3 §1.1), then it is possible that they influenced the language and thought of the *Hodayot's* authors and redactors. There is, in fact, substantial evidence that this was the case. *Instruction* appears to have had a significant influence on the *Hodayot* psalmists.¹¹ The H⁴ *Hodayot* material contains several indications that it has

⁹ I am not particularly concerned about who wrote the H¹ psalms, although I think a good case can be made that they were authored by the Teacher of Righteous, or, at least, later community members thought that this was the case (see Appendix A §2.1). In my judgment, what we do know with a fair degree of certainty is that the H¹ psalms were written earlier than the rest of the *Hodayot* (this demands that they must be placed firmly in the second century BCE) and they were thought to be authoritative in some way (hence other psalms were added to them). In my historical reconstruction here, I am assuming that the Qumran community existed in some formal sense for several decades before the settlement at Khirbet Qumran was established in the early part of the first century BCE. I am following Jodi Magness' revised chronology for the settlement at Qumran. See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 63–69.

¹⁰ The *Hodayot* manuscript 4Q428 indicates that the collection reached its most complete form (the form attested in 1QH^a) by the beginning of the first century BCE (see n. 3 above).

¹¹ Goff has undertaken the most extensive examination of the relationship between *Instruction* and the *Hodayot* ("Reading Wisdom at Qumran," 263–88). While Goff does not distinguish between different groups of material within the *Hodayot*, his study is a good survey of the overall influence of *Instruction* upon the *Hodayot*. He notes many common theological ideas, including a deterministic conception of God and God's creation, the use of רָא to signify knowledge revealed by God, the use of Adam and Garden of Eden imagery, and the idea that righteous humans have a shared lot with the angels. Goff concludes his analysis by saying, "Their thematic correspondences and terminological overlaps suggest a direct relationship. Since 4QInstruction can be plausibly dated to the second century BCE, it is reasonable to posit that the wisdom text influenced the *Hodayot*" (287). He goes on to note that the differences between *Instruction* and the *Hodayot* "suggest that ideas and phrases from the wisdom text were loosely incorporated into the hymns of the *Hodayot* and presented in a bolder and more extreme fashion. The author or authors of the *Hodayot* learned from 4QInstruction and elaborated some of its ideas" (288).

been influenced by *Instruction*. In particular, scholars have observed that the sentence הכול נצח חרות החוקקה in 1QH^a IX 25–26 is similar to *Instruction*'s חרות החוקקה לאל על כול ע[ולות] בני שית ספר זכרון כתוב לפניו לשמרי דברו (4Q417 1 i 14–16).¹² Other similarities in language between *Instruction* and H⁴ include the phrase להבין פותאים in 1QH^a V 13 (an H⁴ interpolation) which is essentially the same as להבין כול פותיים in 4Q418 221 2. The H³ psalms show the clearest dependence on *Instruction*. Elgvin, Tigchelaar, and Rey have demonstrated that there are significant points of correspondence between *Instruction* (especially 4Q417 1 i 1–27) and 1QH^a V 12–VI 18 (I classify most of this psalm as belonging to H³).¹³ The H³ psalm in 1QH^a XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5 also contains language very similar to *Instruction*.¹⁴ There are only a few specific similarities between the earliest group of *Hodayot* material (H¹) and *Instruction*, but these similarities are distinct enough that they indicate a direct dependence of the former upon the later. For example, both H¹ and *Instruction* describe the recipients of God's revelation as Adam-like gardeners tending a Garden of Eden (4Q423 1–2 i 1–9 and 1QH^a XVI 5–27).

¹² See Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 230; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 26–27.

¹³ Rey lists eighteen semantic and thematic parallels between 1QH^a V 12–VI 18 and *Instruction*. Not all of these are compelling, but the amount of similarity is striking. Significant similarities include the phrase לכול קצי עולם ופקודת עד which occurs in 1QH^a V 26–27 and 4Q417 1 i 7–8, and the use of the expressions רוח בשר (1QH^a V 15; 4Q417 1 i 17) and דרכי אמת (1QH^a V 20; 4Q416 2 iii 14). Based on such similarities, Elgvin has suggested that the author of 1QH^a V 12–VI 18 drew upon the text of 4Q417 1 i 1–27. Tigchelaar also comes to the conclusion that the hymn in 1QH^a V 12–VI 18 was influenced by both *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. See Elgvin, “Admonition Texts,” 185–86; idem, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 160–61; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 203–7; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 24–26.

¹⁴ 1QH^a XVIII 30–31 uses the phrase נחלתו בדעת אמתה which is similar to שמחה בנחלת אמת in 4Q416 4 3 and לפי רוב נחלת איש באמת in 4Q418 172 5. The phrase לפי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו is found in both 1QH^a XVIII 29–30 and 4Q418 55 10. The presence of this statement in both texts has prompted Elgvin to claim that “either this *hodayah* quotes from *Sap. Work A* or both depend upon a common tradition” (Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology,” 132.).

Instruction.²¹ The author of the H² Creation Hymn in the *Hodayot* might have been familiar with the *Treatise* since the wording of 1QH^a IX 18–20 is similar to 1QS III 14–15.²² There are some indications that the H¹ psalmist knew of the *Treatise*.²³ The wording in 1QH^a XV 17 (לישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק) is very close to 1QS IV 2 (לישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק). In addition, both H¹ and the *Treatise* use the expressions בעבודת צדק (1QS IV 9; 1QH^a XIV 22), אכל יגון (1QS IV 13; 1QH^a X 7), the verb חבה/חבא (1QS IV 6; 1QH^a XIII 13, 27; XVI 7, 19; XVII 24),²⁴ and both associate God’s revelation of knowledge with a יצר סמוך (“firm inclination”).²⁵

It is clear from the evidence listed above that the various *Hodayot* psalmists drew ideas and terminology from *Instruction* and the *Treatise*. This observation will help us to properly interpret the *Hodayot* material and to see the individual differences and nuances of each collection of *Hodayot* psalms (H¹⁻⁴).

2. God’s Revelation of Knowledge in the H¹ Psalms

H¹ is the oldest group of material within the *Hodayot* (see Appendix A §3 and 4). In this collection of psalms, the psalmist claims to be a prophet of sorts who has directly

²¹ See Tigchelaar who suggests that the author of 1QH V 12–VI 18 drew upon what he calls “group II” of the *Treatise*, that is 1QS III 13–18 + IV 15–26 (*To Increase Learning*, 207).

²² The *Treatise* states, לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם ולפקודת נגועיהם עם קצי שלומם, 1QH^a IX 18–20 has, פלגתה עבודתם בכול דוריהם ומש[פ]ט במועדיה לממשל[ת] וד[ר]כיהם הכינותה לדור ודור ופקודת שלומם עם עם, כול נגיעיהם. Note especially that both texts use the same five words (דור, פקודה, דור, עם, and נגיעיהם) although the order is different.

²³ Allison has argued that 1QS III 13–IV 14 and the “Teacher Hymns” from the *Hodayot*, as classified by Jeremias, were all penned by the Teacher of Righteousness. Allison’s conclusion overstates the similarities between the two documents and ignores their significant difference. The *Treatise* might have influenced the H¹ psalmist but they were certainly not composed by the same person. See Allison, “The Authorship of 1QS III, 13 – IV, 14,” 257–68.

²⁴ The verb occurs elsewhere in the Scrolls in 4Q382 1 2; 4Q385 6 3; 4Q434 1 i 7; 4Q511 8 7; 5Q16 4 2; and 11Q13 II 5.

²⁵ 1QS IV 5 and 1QH^a IX 37; X 11, 38. The expression is only used elsewhere in the Scrolls in 1QS VIII 3 and 4Q438 4 ii 2.

received knowledge from God and communicates it to his faithful followers (1QH^a XII 6, 28). He is a “mediator of the knowledge of wondrous mysteries” (1QH^a X 15) whom God has appointed to open the “fountain of knowledge” (1QH^a X 20) for those who would receive understanding. God has given him a “vision of knowledge” (1QH^a XII 19) and has hidden his “instruction,” “mysteries,” “the spring of understanding,” and the “basis of truth” within the psalmist’s heart (1QH^a XIII 11, 13, 27–28). As we will see below, the H¹ psalmist describes himself as a Moses- and Adam-like figure who has directly encountered God and received profound knowledge of God’s cosmic design.

2.1. The Content of God’s Revelation in the H¹ Psalms

The exact nature of God’s revelation in H¹ is difficult to determine. The H¹ psalmist never gives a precise and unambiguous description of what God has made known to him. Instead, he uses an array of equivalent terms and expressions to refer to the content of God’s revelation. For example, the psalmist declares that he has gained insight into כּוֹל מעשׂיך (“all your works,” 1QH^a XII 21), דברכה (“your word,” XII 18), חזון דעת (“the vision of knowledge,” XII 19), בריתכה (“your covenant,” XII 20; XV 23), מחשבת לבכה (“the design of your heart,” XII 14), מזמת לבכה (“the plan of your heart,” XII 22), דרך לבכה (“the way of your heart,” XII 25), רזי פלאכה (“your wondrous mysteries,” X 15; XII 28–29), סוד פלאכה (“your wondrous secret counsel,” XII 29), סוד אמת (“the basis of truth,” XIII 11, 28), תורתכה (“your instruction,” XII 11; XIII 13), מעין בינה (“the spring of understanding,” XIII 28), למודיכה (“your teachings,” XV 17) and אמתכה (“your truth,” XV 17). Most of these expressions are used as approximate synonyms in parallel pairs or triplets throughout H¹.²⁶

²⁶ The following is an incomplete list of passages where terms of revelatory content are used in synonymous parallelism (an “equal sign” indicates parallelism): אמת = מוסר (X 16), תלמד = בינה (X 19–20), חזון דעת = דברכה = דרך לבכה (XII 14), עצתכה = מחשבת לבכה (cf. X 23–24 with XV 23), בריתכה = אמתכה

Although it can be quite difficult to pin down the exact meaning of any one of these expressions, together these synonyms have a compounding effect that paints a fuller picture of what the psalmist has experienced.

2.1.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design

What is this profound knowledge that God has revealed to the psalmist? I would argue that the H¹ psalmist is describing the same revelation of God's cosmic design that we have seen in *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. God has made known to the psalmist his grand plan that governs every aspect of creation. This can be seen in the terminology that the psalmist uses. He declares that he has knowledge of מחשבת לבכה ("the design of your heart," XII 14) and מזמת לבכה ("the plan of your heart," XII 22).²⁷ I would suggest that the expression מחשבת לבכה is equivalent to מחשבת כבודו in 1QS III 16 and מַחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ in 4Q417 1 i 11, both of which refer to God's design for creation. Similarly, in 1QH^a X 15 and XII 28–29, the psalmist proclaims that God has made known to him his רזי פלא ("wondrous mysteries"). The expression רזי פלא is frequently used in the Scrolls to

18–19; in line 20 ברית is used as another synonym although it is not parallel with the other expressions), מחשבת לבכה = מעשיך (XII 21–22), רזי פלאכה = סוד פלאכה (XII 28–29), סוד אמת = מעין בינה (XIII 28), and אמתכה = למודיכה (XV 17). In a number of places, the psalmist speaks of God placing within him or within his heart בינה (1QH^a X 19–20), סוד אמת (1QH^a XIII 11), תורה (1QH^a XII 11; XIII 13), רז (1QH^a XIII 27), and מרחב of heaven (XIII 34–25). 1QH^a XIII 28 does not use the formula "in me" or "in my heart" but it expresses the same thought as XIII 27 when it states, "You have hidden the spring of understanding and the basis of truth." All of these statements should be understood as equivalent expressions of God's revelation.

²⁷ In 1QH^a XII 14 and 22, the psalmist does not explicitly say that the מחשבת לבכה and מזמת לבכה have been revealed to him. Contextually, however, it is clear that this is the case. The expressions מחשבת לבכה and מזמת לבכה are synonymous with דרך לבכה ("the way of your heart," XII 22), and it is clear in XII 19 that the psalmist has insight into the דרך לבכה through the "vision of knowledge." With regard to the bigger picture, 1QH^a XII 6–30 is concerned with two opposing plans—the plan of God which has been revealed to the psalmist and his followers, and the plan of worthlessness/*belial* to which the wicked adhere. This idea of two opposing cosmic plans is similar to what we see in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (ch. 3 §2.1).

denote the inscrutable ways in which God manages or controls the world.²⁸ In 4Q417 1 i 2 and 13 the רזי פלא are closely related or equivalent to the expression רז נהיה.²⁹

Perhaps the clearest indication that the psalmist has acquired knowledge of God's cosmic design is his declaration that God has revealed his סוד אמת ("basis of truth") to him.³⁰ Previously, we encountered the phrase סוד אמת in *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 8–9; see ch. 2 §2.1) where the author writes, כִּי־אֵל הַדְּעוֹת סוֹד אֱמֶת וּבְרֵז נִהְיָ פֶרֶשׁ אֶת אוֹשָׁה, ("For the God of knowledge is the basis of truth and by the mystery of what will be he spread its foundation"). In this passage, the author of *Instruction* declares that God himself is the "basis of truth" because he has spread the foundation of truth³¹ by means of his cosmic design—the "mystery of what will be." For the author of *Instruction*, God is an architect who used his blueprint, the רז נהיה, to spread out the foundation upon which all truth is

²⁸ In some texts, God's רזי פלא signify the hidden processes governing the physical phenomena of the universe (4Q286 1 ii 8–11; 1QH^a IX 23). The expression is also used for the otherwise unknowable rules and regulations which God has revealed to the righteous so that they can walk according to God's will (1QS IX 18). The expression רזי פלא is attested in: CD III 18; 1QS IX 18; 1QS XI 5; 1QH^a V 19; IX 23; X 15; XII 28–29; XV 30; XIX 13; 1Q27 1 i 7; 4Q286 1 ii 8; 4Q301 1 2 (reconstructed); 4Q403 1 ii 27 (רז הפלא); 4Q417 1 i 2, 13; 4Q418 219 2 (רז פלא); and 4Q511 44–47 6. See also רזי נפלאות in 1QM XIV 14 (= 4Q491 8–10 i 12); and 4Q401 14 ii 2.

²⁹ The same verb (נבט) is used of the רזי פלא in 4Q417 1 i 2 and of the רז נהיה in 4Q416 2 i 5. In 4Q417 1 i 6 and 13 the same formulaic expression (רז נהיה) is associated with both the רז נהיה and the רזי פלא. All of this indicates that רזי פלא and רז נהיה are equivalent expressions used to denote God's cosmic design.

³⁰ The phrase סוד אמת only occurs in three texts: the *Hodayot*, *4QBerakhot*, and *Instruction* (1QH^a VI 32 [partially reconstructed]; IX 29; X 12; XIII 11, 28; XVIII 6; XIX 7, 12, 15 [partially reconstructed], 19; 4Q286 1 ii 7; 4Q417 1 i 8; and 4Q418a 12 2). The phrase יסוד האמת in 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 1 might be a variant of this expression where יסוד ("foundation") has been substituted for סוד. See also the expression, ליסוד מוסד אמת, in 1QS V 5. The expression סוד אמת has been translated in various ways, including "true counsel" (*DJD XL*, 131), "foundation of truth" (*DJD XL*, 142), and "secret of truth" or "knowledge of truth" (Edward M. Cook, "What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It? Revelation and God in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part 5: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume 2: World View, Comparing Judaism* [ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton; Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East 57; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 5). In *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 8–9), it is clear from the context and surrounding terminology that סוד has the meaning "foundation" or "basis." God is the "basis of truth" because he is the one who has spread the foundation of truth by means of his cosmic design (the רז נהיה). Since the H¹ psalmist probably acquired the expression סוד אמת from *Instruction*, we should understand these words in H¹ to mean "basis of truth" rather than "true counsel" or "secret of truth." On the use of סוד to mean "foundation" or "basis," see ch. 2 n. 59.

³¹ The feminine pronominal suffix on אוֹשָׁה refers back to אמת.

constructed. According to *Instruction*, God has revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to certain “spiritual people,” and, as a result, they are able to understand and abide by God’s covenantal statutes that regulate all of creation.

The H¹ psalmist almost certainly drew upon this passage in *Instruction* and advanced the ideas in *Instruction* to a new level. Whereas the author of *Instruction* describes God as the סוד אמת, the psalmist sees himself as embodying the סוד אמת. In 1QH^a X 11–12, the psalmist declares, “you have set me as a reproach and derision for the treacherous, [but] a basis of truth and understanding for the upright of way.” Apparently, he can make this assertion because God has put the basis of truth in his heart: “And there, for justice, you established me, and the basis of truth you strengthened in my heart. And from this a covenant for those who seek it” (1QH^a XIII 10–11). Similarly, in 1QH^a XIII 27–28, the psalmist states that God has hidden his רז, the מעין בינה, and the סוד אמת within his heart. In these passages, the basis of truth is internalized within the psalmist; it is the content of God’s revelation.

The H¹ psalmist has reinterpreted *Instruction*’s use of סוד אמת so that the expression is now synonymous with God’s cosmic design (rather than a description of God, as in *Instruction*). We could even say that H¹’s use of סוד אמת is functionally equivalent to how *Instruction* uses the expression רז נהיה. For the H¹ psalmist, the “basis of truth” is God’s grand universal plan underlying all of creation, and it is this plan which God has revealed to the psalmist.

There are two other passages in H¹ where the psalmist describes a similar internalization of God’s revelation: 1QH^a XIII 34–35 and XVII 27–28. In these passages, the psalmist claims that God has put a heavenly foundation in his heart. In the first passage

(1QH^a XIII 34–35), the psalmist declares, “You, my God, have opened a מרחב (“broad place”) in my heart.” The word מרחב is only used one other time in the *Hodayot*, in 1QH^a XIV 34, which states, “The mighty one will stretch his bow, and he will open the fortresses of heaven on the broad place without end (למרחב אין קץ) and the eternal gates in order to bring forth the weapons of war.” In XIV 34, the “broad place” is the foundation of the heavenly realm upon which are located the “fortresses of heaven” and the “eternal gates.” In light of XIV 34, we should interpret XIII 34–35 to mean that God has put the “broad place” of heaven (i.e., the foundation of heaven) within the psalmist’s heart. Contextually, we can see that the “broad place” mentioned in XIII 34–35 is synonymous with the terms סוד אמת, רז, and מעין בינה used slightly earlier in lines 27–28, all of which signify the knowledge that God has placed in the psalmist’s heart.

1QH^a XVII 27–28 also expresses the idea that God has put the foundation of heaven in the psalmist’s heart. In this passage, he states that he has received גבורת פלא (“wondrous strength”) and a רחוב עולם (“eternal expanse”) which is the remedy for his stumbling and the constriction of his soul. The expression רחוב עולם is only used here in the *Hodayot*, but it is directly related to the rock and foundation imagery used in the rest of line 28. Similar rock and foundation imagery is also used in 1QH^a XV 9–12, suggesting that XV 9–12 and XVII 27–28 are describing the same thing. If this is the case, then the expression רחוב עולם is probably synonymous with the phrase אושי עולם (“eternal foundations”) in XV 12. This is significant since elsewhere in the H¹ material the phrase “eternal foundations” refers to God’s heavenly dwelling place which is the locus of divine truth (1QH^a XI 35–36). Putting these passages together, it becomes clear that when the

psalmist says that he has received an “eternal expanse” in XVII 27–28 he means that God has given him the “eternal foundations” of the heavens.

What does the psalmist mean when he says that God has placed the heavenly foundation in him? I would suggest that the H¹ psalmist used the image of a heavenly foundation as a metaphor that is equivalent to the phrase סוד אמת. The rationale for associating the expression “basis of truth” with a foundation supporting the heavens is quite straightforward. Since heaven is the locus of divine truth, the foundation of heaven (the מרחב, רחוב עולם, and אושי עולם) would signify the foundation or basis of truth. It is this heavenly foundation, this סוד אמת, which God has put into the psalmist’s heart.³²

I suspect that the H¹ psalmist derived the idea of an internalized heavenly foundation from 4Q417 1 i 8–9. As I mentioned above, 4Q417 1 i 8–9 uses an architectural analogy when it speaks of God spreading the foundation of truth, the סוד אמת, by means of his cosmic design, the רז נהיה. When the H¹ psalmist read this passage, he apparently associated the abstract idea of a foundation/basis of truth with the more concrete image of a foundation of heaven. Thus, the H¹ psalmist interpreted 4Q417 1 i 8–9 to mean that God spread out the foundation of heaven by means of his cosmic design. The H¹ psalmist also saw the foundation of truth/heaven as a perfect reflection of God’s cosmic design (just as a physical foundation is a reflection of its architectural blueprint). In this way, he is able to

³² It is possible that the H¹ psalmist is drawing upon Eccl 3:11 when he asserts that God has put the גם את־העולם נתן בלבם מבלי אשר לא־ימצא האדם את־המעשה, אושי עולם or רחוב עולם in his heart. Eccl 3:11 states, אשר־עשה האלהים מראש ועד־סוף (“Indeed, eternity he put in their heart, without which a man could not discover the work which God has done from beginning to end,” trans. mine). Usually, commentators take the words מבלי אשר to mean “except that,” “yet,” or a similar adversative expression; however, the words מבלי אשר could easily have been interpreted as “without which.” In the Hebrew Bible and the Scrolls, the words מבלי and לבלי often can simply be rendered “without.” See, for example, מבלי דעת and מבלי חוק (4Q162 II 4, 5), מבלי הון (4Q417 2 i 19), מבלי אומץ, and מבלי מבין (4Q509 12 i–13 2, 3). In the Hebrew Bible, see Job 30:8; 33:9; 38:2; Ps 63:2[1]; and Isa 28:8. If Eccl 3:11 was interpreted as I have rendered it, then it would indicate that God put עולם in the human heart so that a person can comprehend his plan and works.

speak of the foundation of heaven (רָחֹב עוֹלָם and מְרֻחָב) and the basis of truth (the סוֹד אֱמֶת) as essentially equivalent to God's cosmic design.

2.1.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

As in *Instruction* (ch. 2 §2.2), the cosmic design in H¹ is not only God's blueprint for the universe, it also serves as the legal basis for God's covenant with his creation. God's cosmic plan contains the rules and regulations that determine how the creation is supposed to operate. Because God has revealed his cosmic design to the psalmist, he is now able to serve God as a faithful adherent to the divine covenant (1QH^a X 24; XV 22–23). Those who listen to and obey the divine plan mediated through the psalmist are gathered into a covenant community together with the council of holy ones (1QH^a XII 25–26).³³

1QH^a XIII 11 is one of the most important passages for understanding that God's cosmic design serves as the legal basis for his covenant. Here, the psalmist writes, וְסוֹד אֱמֶת (“and the basis of truth you strengthened in my heart. And from this³⁴ a covenant for those who seek it”). In 1QH^a XIII 11 the psalmist makes two claims: (1) he declares that God has revealed his סוֹד אֱמֶת (i.e., his cosmic design) to him,

³³ The concept of a revealed divine covenant is quite important for the H¹ psalmist. At least twelve times the psalmist uses the word ברית in association with God's revelation (1QH^a X 24, 30; XI 4; XII 2, 6, 20, 25; XIII 11, 25; XV 11, 13, 23). Other passages do not use the word ברית but still contain covenant ideas. For example, Wise has suggested that the relatively common H¹ expression, הגבירה בי, is an allusion to the covenant language in Dan 9:27, “He shall make a strong covenant with many for one week” (הגבירה בי is used in X 26; XII 9, 24; XIII 17, and 27; it is also found once in the H⁴ material in IX 36). See Michael Wise, “The Concept of a New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns from Qumran (1QH^a X–XVII),” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 126–28. Hasselbalch has also discussed the adoption of covenantal themes from Dan 11:27–34 in 1QH^a XII. See Trine Hasselbalch, “The Redactional Meaning of 1QHodayot^a: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Heterogeneous Collection of Prayer Texts from Qumran,” (PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2011), 190–94.

³⁴ The masculine demonstrative, זה, most likely refers back to סוֹד.

and (2) he asserts that the *סוד אמת* serves as the source (*מזה*) for God's covenant with those who seek to be in a proper covenantal relationship with him.

Based on what we know from *Instruction*, we can speculate that the H¹ psalmist believed that God used his divine plan to establish the principles and laws which govern all aspects of the universe, from the order of natural phenomena (the sun, stars, weather, etc.) to the behavior and duties of all living beings. The created world is obligated to keep these laws lest they suffer divine wrath. Although the divine design and covenant apply to all of creation, the H¹ psalmist is particularly interested in its application to himself and his followers. As in *Instruction*, those who have received the revelation of God's cosmic design have a profound understanding about how the universe is supposed to operate and their place within God's appointed order. They are able to live in accordance with God's will and maintain their place in his covenant.

2.1.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind

The H¹ psalmist, like the authors of *Instruction* and the *Treatise* (ch. 2 §2.3; ch. 3 §2.2), saw God's cosmic design as an expression of God's mind, and he believed that by understanding the divine design he could comprehend the thoughts of God. As I noted above, the psalmist speaks of knowing the *מהשבת לבכה* ("design of your heart/mind," 1QH^a XII 14), *מזמת לבכה* ("plan of your heart/mind," 1QH^a XII 22), and the *דרך לבכה* ("way of your heart/mind," 1QH^a XII 19, 25). All three of these expressions connote an intimate knowledge of God's inner-most thoughts and intentions. Elsewhere, the psalmist declares that those who have received the knowledge of God's design through his teachings (1QH^a XII 25) are people who "walk in the way of your heart" (1QH^a XII 22, 25) and who are *כנפשכה* (lit. "as your own soul," 1QH^a XII 22).

The latter expression, כנפשו or כנפשוך, is used in the Hebrew Bible of intimate friendship, such as that between Jonathan and David (1 Sam 18:1, 3; see also Deut 13:7). In using this expression, the H¹ psalmist might have even intended to draw the reader's mind to Jonathan and David as an example. Those who have received knowledge of God's design have such a deeply intimate relationship with God that they can count themselves as God's closest friends. The psalmist and his followers are able to live in a harmonious relationship with God because they know what God intends and expects; they understand the very thoughts of God's heart.

2.1.4. God's Revelation as a Stream from Eden

One of the most interesting passages in H¹ that describes the nature of God's revelation is 1QH^a XVI 5–27.³⁵ At the beginning of this psalm (XVI 5–21), the psalmist describes himself as a fountain³⁶ that pours forth a river of knowledge from which grows an

³⁵ The secondary literary on this passage is extensive. See Meir Wallenstein, *The Nezer and the Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Reconstructed, Vocalized and Translated with Critical Notes* (UNHAI 2; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1957); Helmer Ringgren, "The Branch and the Plantation in the Qumran *Hodayot*," *BR* 6 (1961): 3–9; Chaim M. J. Gevaryahu, "The Parable of the Trees and the Keeper of the Garden in the Thanksgiving Scroll," *Immanuel* 2 (1973): 50–57; A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Genesis II–III in 1QH VIII," in *Studia Evangelica VI: Papers Presented to the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Oxford, 1969* (ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 609–14; James H. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh Haṣ-sedeq* (1QH 8:4–11)," in "*Sha'arei Talmon*": *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 295–307; James Davila, "The *Hodayot* Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 457–78; Michael A. Daise, "Biblical Creation Motifs in the Qumran *Hodayot*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 293–305; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 135–83; Paul Swarup, *The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community: An Eternal Planting, A House of Holiness* (LSTS 59; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 34–49; Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 206–64.

³⁶ 1QH^a XVI 5 states, אוד[כה אד]וּי כִי נִתְּנִי בְּמַקּוֹר נוּזְלִים בִּיבְשָׁה. This has been translated in various ways: "I thank [you, O Lo]rd, that you have placed me by the source of streams in a dry land (*DJD XL*, 223); "I give [you] thanks, [Lord,] because you have set me at the source of streams in a dry land" (*DSSSE*, 181). Charlesworth and Daise have suggested that the *bet* preposition on בְּמַקּוֹר should be understood as a *bet essentiae*, and thus the line should be translated as "I thank you, Lord, that you have placed me as a spring in

“eternal planting.”³⁷ Later in the psalm (XVI 22–27), the psalmist changes his metaphor and describes himself as an Adam-like gardener who tends the Garden of Eden by digging channels that bring life-giving water to the trees of paradise. In both sections of the psalm, the garden symbolizes the community of his followers.³⁸ Through his mediation of God’s revelation, the psalmist irrigates his adherents with the water of life and transforms them into fruit-bearing trees (XVI 12–15, 21). As in the biblical Psalms and wisdom literature, those who are wise and righteous are described as trees planted beside life-giving water.³⁹ Outside of the psalmist’s garden community, however, those who “do not have faith in the fountain of life” (XVI 15; cf. XII 18–19) are cursed and barren ground producing only thorns and thistles (XVI 25–27).

The abundant water imagery in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 serves as a metaphor for the knowledge that God has revealed to the psalmist and through him.⁴⁰ Elsewhere in the H¹

a barren land” (Charlesworth, “An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem,” 296 n. 4; Daise, “Creation Motifs,” 304). Daise and Charlesworth are probably correct since elsewhere the H¹ psalmist speaks of God putting the spring or fountain within him (X 19–20; XIII 28; XVI 17). In a qualified sense, it is logical that the psalmist would describe himself “as a fountain” since knowledge flows out of him and with it he waters the dry land (1QH^a XVI 22–27). We should keep in mind, however, that the psalmist only sees himself as a mediator (מְלִיץ) or conduit through which knowledge flows; the ultimate source of knowledge is God.

³⁷ Hughes has noted that the metaphor likening the righteous to “juniper and elm with cedar” (line 6) and the use of the expression “eternal planting” (line 7) are based on language in Isa 41:17–20 and Isa 60:13–61:3 which simultaneously conveys the idea that the righteous are the garden of the Lord and the temple sanctuary (*Scriptural Allusions*, 151–52, 168–71). The imagery in 1QH^a XVI indicates that through God’s revelation of knowledge (the life-giving waters) the righteous are transformed into a paradisiacal temple. In ch. 7 I will consider the relationship between paradise and the temple sanctuary in more detail.

³⁸ Davila, “The *Hodayot* Hymnist,” 465–68; Ringgren, “The Branch and the Plantation,” 6. On the righteous becoming like trees in paradise, see Morton Smith, “The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with Especial Reference to Goodenough’s Work on Jewish Symbols,” in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh. Volume One: Studies in Historical Method, Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism* (ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen; RGRW 130/1; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 143–45; Dmitrij F. Bumazhnov, “Adam Alone in Paradise: A Jewish-Christian Exegesis and Its Implications for the History of Asceticism,” in *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity* (ed. Emmanouela Grypeou and Helen Spurling; JCPS 18; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31–41.

³⁹ Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 180–81.

⁴⁰ Davila correctly identifies the “water” as the teachings of the psalmist (“The *Hodayot* Hymnist,” 465). DeConick has commented on the use of drinking metaphors to denote the revelation of hidden wisdom and knowledge (*Seek to See Him*, 109–11). See also *4 Ezra* 14: 38–41, 47; *2 Bar* 59:7; and *1 En.* 48–49.

material, the psalmist speaks of having the “spring of understanding and basis of truth” hidden in him (XIII 28). In 1QH^a X 19–20, the psalmist describes himself as a man “in whose mouth you established instruction, and understanding you put into his heart in order to open a fountain of knowledge for all the understanding ones” (cf. XVI 17, 22). By opening the “spring of mystery” (XVI 7) and the “eternal fountain” (XVI 9, 21), the psalmist is able to provide the “drink of knowledge” (1QH^a XII 12) to those who seek it. This knowledge is the “spring of life” (XVI 13), the “water of holiness” (XVI 14), and the “fountain of life” (XVI 15) for his garden community (XVI 21–22).

The water imagery in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 is based on a combination of biblical ideas, including the paradisiacal river in Gen 2:10 and the notion that the mouth of the wise is a “fountain of life” (Prov 10:11; 13:14). By merging these ideas together, the psalmist describes the teachings coming from his mouth as the river that flows from Eden and brings life to paradise.⁴¹ He is the channel through which the eternal, life-giving streams of knowledge and understanding flow from Eden to the garden, allowing it to grow into an “eternal planting.”⁴²

In 1QH^a XVI 5–27 there is no mention of the tree of life or the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, although both life and knowledge are key themes in this passage. I would suggest that these two iconic symbols from Genesis 2–3 have been

⁴¹ Very similar concepts and terminology are used in Ben Sira 24:30–34: “As for me, I was like a canal from a river, like a water channel into a garden. I said, ‘I will water my garden and drench my flowerbeds.’ And lo, my canal became a river, and my river a sea. I will again make instruction shine forth like the dawn (cf. 1QH^a XII 7) and I will make it clear from far away. I will again pour out teaching like prophecy, and leave it to all future generations. Observe that I have not labored for myself alone, but for all who seek wisdom.”

⁴² This idea was most likely derived from Gen 2:10: “A river flows out of Eden to water the garden.” The H¹ psalmist probably interpreted “Eden” as the dwelling place of God from which flows a river bringing life and knowledge to the garden (the community of the righteous). Philo gives a very similar interpretation of Gen 2:10 in *Somn.* 2.240–45. Here he states that God’s wisdom is the source of the river of wisdom and life that flows out of Eden to irrigate the shoots of the souls of those who love virtue as if they are a paradise.

merged into a single image: the river of life and knowledge flowing from God through the psalmist. By merging this Edenic imagery and applying it to himself and his teachings, the psalmist has made a profound claim to authority. He professes that God has given to him the same knowledge that Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden.⁴³ Moreover, the psalmist not only asserts that he is like Adam who tended the garden and possessed the knowledge of good and evil, but unlike Adam he has also reached out and taken from the tree of life, so to speak (i.e., the fountain of life, XVI 13, 15). In this way, the psalmist portrays himself as better than Adam—an Adam who did not transgress God’s commands, but remains in the garden full of life and knowledge.

The underlying ideology in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 is based on the same Edenic tradition that we observed in *Instruction*.⁴⁴ According to this tradition, God gave the knowledge of good and evil to Adam as a gift, and this knowledge was viewed as something positive and beneficial. As in *Instruction*, the H¹ psalmist equates the Edenic knowledge of good and evil with the knowledge of God’s cosmic design.⁴⁵ In the present time, God has revealed the knowledge of good and evil to the psalmist, or to the מְבִיךְ in *Instruction*, allowing them to return to the Garden of Eden where they tend it as Adam-like gardeners.⁴⁶

⁴³ Goff states, “The revelation disclosed to the speaker represents a recovery of knowledge possessed by Adam in Eden” (“Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 286).

⁴⁴ See ch. 2 §4.2. There are specific terminological similarities between 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36 and *Instruction* which support my contention that there is a literary relationship between the H¹ psalms and *Instruction* (see §1.1 above). Goff has noted some of the parallels between *Instruction* and the *Hodayot* with regard to their use of Gen 1–3 (“Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 286–87). Wold has also listed some of the terminological similarities between 1QH^a XVI and certain passages in *Instruction* containing references to Gen 1–3 (Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 83).

⁴⁵ In *Instruction*, the רֵץ נְהִיָּה is associated with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (4Q417 1 i 6–8; 4Q423 1–2 i 1–9).

⁴⁶ The motif of the garden and Adam-like gardener is slightly different in *Instruction* and H¹. In the former, it seems that all of the מְבִיכִים can become Adam-like gardeners, and the garden that they cultivate is wisdom, or the knowledge of God’s cosmic design. In H¹, only the psalmist is an Adam-like gardener, and his garden consists of his community of followers. I would suggest that the H¹ psalmist has adapted the Garden of Eden theme from *Instruction* and heightened the authority associated with being an Adam-like

2.2. The Means of God's Revelation in the H¹ Psalms

The H¹ psalmist is extremely vague, perhaps even reticent, when it comes to describing how God revealed his cosmic design to him. He frequently uses stock revelatory terminology, such as light, visions, God hiding knowledge in his heart, or God uncovering his ear, but all of these expressions are inherently ambiguous because of their frequent use as metaphors. It is quite obvious that the H¹ psalmist claims to be the recipient of profound divine revelation; yet, it is equally obvious that the psalmist was not trying to portray himself as one of the apocalyptic visionaries who like to describe their revelatory experiences in great detail. In this section, I would like to see if we can “pull back the curtain” in order to understand how the psalmist thought of the mechanics of God's revelation.

2.2.1. The Vision of Knowledge: A Prophetic Visionary Experience

It has been widely noted that the H¹ psalmist portrays himself as a prophetic figure,⁴⁷ although he does not make this claim directly nor does he use the terminology of the classical prophets when describing his reception and mediation of God's revelation.⁴⁸

gardener. For the H¹ psalmist, he alone is the authoritative Adam figure and his followers are merely trees in the garden dependent upon his care.

⁴⁷ Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 200; Gary T. Manning, Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period* (LNTS 270; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 148; Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 280–90; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 200–41. If the author of the H¹ psalms was the person known as the Teacher of Righteousness, then it would appear that his followers also viewed him as a prophet since 1QpHab, the *Damascus Document*, and 4QpPs^a describe the Teacher of Righteousness as a prophetic figure. See Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 81, 141; William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979), 129; Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 120; Håkan Ulfgard, “The Teacher of Righteousness, the History of the Qumran Community, and Our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 326–34; Brooke, “Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to be a Prophet?” 77–97.

⁴⁸ Brooke has proposed that the Teacher of Righteousness was intentionally discrete about his prophetic role because he was trying to create a cohesive community “that could construct its identity in

The H¹ material contains a number of allusions and references to prophets and prophetic conflict which suggest that the psalmist saw himself as a prophet in the midst of a dispute about prophetic legitimacy. Once, in 1QH^a XII 17, he refers to certain “prophets of falsehood.” Elsewhere, he calls his opponents “seers of deceit” (XII 11) and “seers of error” (XII 21), while his own followers are “seers of righteousness” (X 17). These titles are drawn from passages in the Hebrew Bible that are concerned with conflicts over prophetic authority, especially Isa 30:10 and Ezek 13:1–9.⁴⁹

There is some evidence to suggest that God revealed knowledge to the psalmist through a prophetic visionary experience. In 1QH^a XII 18, the psalmist speaks of God revealing his דבר (“word”). Although דבר can mean a variety of things, many of which have no connection to a prophetic revelation, the context in XII 18 suggests that דבר is meant to be understood as the “word of the Lord.” 1QH^a XII 18–19 states, “For they did not choose the wa[y of] your [heart] and they did not heed your word. For they said of the vision of knowledge, ‘It is not sure,’ and the way of your heart, ‘It is not that.’” This

relation to his own” (87). In order for the Teacher’s followers to self-identify with him, he had to appear as one of them. By taking the title of a “prophet,” he would have alienated himself from the people he was trying to identify with. While Brooke’s suggestion is interesting, I am not convinced that it is the best explanation. It is hard to imagine how a reader of the H¹ psalms would have missed the psalmist’s personal claim to be a prophet like Moses and an Adam-like gardener tending the Garden of Eden. These are bold and profound claims which would have been obvious to an attentive reader. Moreover, the community could not have been expected to self-identify with the “I” of the H¹ psalms. How could each member of the community be a Moses-like mediator of God’s revelation or an Adam-like gardener who waters the community with the knowledge that flows from God? For Brooke’s arguments, see “Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to be a Prophet?” 77–97.

⁴⁹ In 1QH^a X 16–17, 33–34; XII 8, 10–11, the psalmist refers to his opponents as מליצים and he associates them with certain חלקות (“smooth things”). The word חלקות alludes to Isa 30:10, and the use of this passage suggests that the wicked מליצים are false prophets. We will see below (§2.2.2) that the psalmist also describes himself as מליץ, which may be an allusion to Moses as a mediator of divine revelation. When the psalmist applies the word מליץ to himself, he might be claiming that he is a mediator like Moses. If this is the case, then when he applies the word מליץ to his opponents, he might be accusing them that they falsely claim Mosaic authority and that they are mediators of a false covenant. I would concede, however, that it is not certain that the H¹ psalmist intended מליץ as a reference to Moses; he may have used the word מליץ only to denote a prophet, as in Isa 43:27, without any Mosaic connotation. Either way, the psalmist clearly saw himself as part of a conflict over prophetic legitimacy.

passage has a very clear A-A'-B-B' structure in which the outside (A and B') and inside (A' and B) cola also parallel each other. This means that the words דברכה and חזון דעה are synonymous. The parallelism of “word” and “vision of knowledge” suggests that דבר is the prophetic “word of the Lord” so often mentioned in the classical prophets and that this “word” has come to the psalmist through a visionary experience.⁵⁰

A partially extant statement in 1QH^a XIV 6–7 might also indicate that God revealed his cosmic design to the psalmist through a visionary experience. Here the psalmist declares, ואתה אלֵי גליתיה אוֹזְנִי בְּמִן־סֵר, (“[and you, my God,] you uncovered my ear to ins[tru]ction”). The expression תגל/גליתיה אוֹזְנִי is a stock revelatory formula and its exact meaning depends on the intent of each author;⁵¹ but, it is tempting to read this statement as an allusion to *Instruction* where we frequently find the formula גלה אוֹזְנִי בְּרִזְנֵי נְהִיָּה (“he uncovered your ear to the mystery of what will be”). In *Instruction*, God’s revelation of the רִזְנֵי נְהִיָּה takes place through a visionary experience (see ch. 2 §3.1). If the H¹ psalmist is alluding to *Instruction*, then he probably intends the statement in 1QH^a XIV 6–7 as a reference to a vision similar to that described in *Instruction*.

2.2.2. The Psalmist as a Second Moses and Adam

I would suggest that the key to understanding the H¹ psalmist’s revelatory experience is his self-identification as a new Moses and Adam. Previous commentators have noted that the H¹ psalmist portrays himself as a new Moses or the anticipated prophet

⁵⁰ There are even a few occasions in the Hebrew Bible where דבר and חזון are used synonymously as we find in 1QH^a XII 18–19. For example, 1 Sam 3:1 states, “Now the boy Samuel was ministering to the Lord under Eli. The word of the Lord was rare in those days; visions were not widespread.” Similarly, in 1 Chr 17:15: “In accordance with all these words and all this vision, Nathan spoke to David.” See also Jer 23:16: “Thus says the Lord of hosts: Do not listen to the words of the prophets who prophesy to you; they are deluding you. They speak visions of their own minds, not from the mouth of the Lord.”

⁵¹ On the ambiguities of this expression, see ch. 2 n. 27.

like Moses (Deut 18:15–19).⁵² For example, in 1QH^a XV 23–25, the psalmist uses language reminiscent of Moses in Num 11:12 when he describes himself as a foster-father who cares for his people.⁵³ In 1QH^a XVI 23–24, the psalmist states, “And when I hold out a hand to hoe its furrows, its roots strike into the flinty rock (בצור חלמיש).” It is likely that this statement was meant as an allusion to Moses striking the rock in the wilderness which produced a torrent of water for the people of Israel (Exod 17:6; Deut 8:15).⁵⁴ Michael Wise has argued that ישומעוני in 1QH^a XII 25 is an allusion to the prophet like Moses in Deut 18:15.⁵⁵ The H¹ psalmist might be associating himself with Moses when he refers to himself as a מליץ דעת ברזי פלא (“mediator of the knowledge of wondrous mysteries,” 1QH^a X 15).⁵⁶ In the Hebrew Bible, מליץ refers to a mediator or spokesman.⁵⁷ In Isa 43:27, it is

⁵² See Geza Vermes, “La Figure de Moïse au tournant des Deux Testaments,” in *Moïse, l’homme de l’alliance* (ed. H. Cazelles; Paris: Desclée & Cie., 1955), 80–84; idem, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 54; M. Delcor, “Le Docteur de Justice, nouveau Moïse, dans les Hymnes de Qumrân,” in *Le Psautier. Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence* (ed. Robert De Langhe; OBL 4; Louvain: Université de Louvain Institut Orientaliste, 1962), 407–23; Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 170–74; Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 84 n. 196; John J. Collins, “A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in pre-Christian Judaism,” in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane; Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), 54–55; Michael C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14,” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1997), 293–96; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 119–20.

⁵³ Common terms include אומן, יונק, and היק. See Jacob Cherian, “The Moses at Qumran: The מורה הצדק as the Nursing Father of the יהוד,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume 2: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 351–61.

⁵⁴ Based on the terminology used in 1QH^a XVI 23–24, it seems fairly certain that the psalmist had Exod 17:6 and Deut. 8:15 in mind. The exact collocation צור חלמיש only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible in Deut 8:15 (צור החלמיש). In addition, both 1QH^a XVI 23–24 and Exod 17:6 use the verb נכה (“to strike”). In 1QH^a XVI 23–24, the H¹ psalmist compares himself to both Moses and Adam. He is like Moses who brought forth water from the rock, and, like Adam, he is a gardener who waters and tends the paradisiacal community.

⁵⁵ Wise, “New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns,” 119.

⁵⁶ This expression has been translated “expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries” (*DJD XL*, 142) or “knowledgeable mediator of secret wonders” (*DSSSE*, 163). However, דעת does not qualify מליץ; rather, it is the implied object of מליץ. Thus, we should translate the expression “mediator of knowledge in wondrous mysteries,” or more explicitly, “mediator of the knowledge of wondrous mysteries” (the preposition *bet* is often used to mark the content of דעת; e.g., 1QH^a VII 15 [= 4Q427 8 i 7]; XVIII 22; and 1QS IV 4). The word מליץ should be translated as “mediator” not “interpreter.” The word “interpreter” gives the false impression that the מליץ is an exegete of some kind.

used of prophets who are supposed to mediate God's word, and in Job 33:23 מליין seems to refer to an angel (מלאך) who declares a person to be just.⁵⁸ The word מליין is never used of Moses in the Hebrew Bible, but it is possibly applied to the patriarch in 4Q374 7 2⁵⁹ and 4Q368 3 7.⁶⁰ If מליין is used of Moses in these texts, then the use of מליין in H¹ might also be an allusion to Moses as a mediator of God's revelation.⁶¹

Twice, in 1QH^a XII 11 and XIII 13, the H¹ psalmist declares that God has revealed his תורה to him. In 1QH^a XII 11 he writes, זממו עלי בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי ("They plotted wickedness against me to exchange your *torah* which you recited in my heart"). The use of the verb שנג here is meant as an allusion to Deut 6:7: שִׁנְנָתָם לְבָנֵיהֶם ("Recite them to your children"). In 1QH^a XIII 11–13, the psalmist presents himself as a Moses-like figure to whom God has revealed his תורה (line 13) so that he might mediate the divine covenant (ברית) to the chosen community (line 11). In both of these passages the psalmist overtly likens himself to Moses: he is the recipient of God's תורה and he is the mediator of God's covenant to the elect.

⁵⁷ For the meaning of ליי and מליין in the Hebrew Bible, see H. Neil Richardson, "Some Notes on ליי and Its Derivatives," *VT* 5 (1955): 163–79. See also Douglas who discusses the use of מליין in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the Scrolls ("Power and Praise," 258–64). Douglas ("Power and Praise," 264) and Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 107) see מליין in H¹ as specifically referring to a teacher or interpreter of the Law. This understanding, however, is unwarranted. Nothing in H¹ justifies associating מליין with the interpretation of the Mosaic Law.

⁵⁸ A similar use of מליין to denote angelic mediators is found in the H⁴ material: 1QH^a XIV 16; XXIII 12, 26; XXVI 36 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 18).

⁵⁹ Newsom suggests that this passage might refer to Moses (*DJD XIX*, 107). Douglas concurs with Newsom ("Power and Praise," 261–62). See also arguments to this effect by Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology," *DSD* 3 (1996): 239; Phoebe Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to be an Angel by Those at Qumran?" in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (ed. Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter; BZAW 372; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 121–22.

⁶⁰ Based on other references to Moses in 4Q368, Douglas suggests that מליין in 4Q368 3 7 is a reference to Moses ("Power and Praise," 262). So also VanderKam and Brady in their edition of 4Q368 (*DJD XXVIII*, 141) and Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to be an Angel?" 121–22.

⁶¹ Delcor arrives at a similar conclusion and suggests that מליין might have been used in the *Hodayot* to associate the Teacher of Righteousness with the prophet like Moses ("Le Docteur de Justice, nouveau Moïse," 410–11).

Not only does the H¹ psalmist profess to be a Moses-like mediator of God's revelation, he also claims to be a second Adam. Previously (§2.1.4 above), I commented on 1QH^a XVI 22–27 where the psalmist portrays himself as a gardener tending the Garden of Eden which is meant to symbolize his community of followers. In describing himself this way, the psalmist implicitly identifies himself with Adam.⁶² The psalmist fulfills his role as a new Adam by tending his garden community and irrigating it with the waters of knowledge and life (XVI 22–24).

I would suggest that by identifying himself with both Moses and Adam⁶³ the H¹ psalmist claims that he has had a direct, visual, and personal encounter with God just as these two monumental figures did. He has entered into God's presence and obtained knowledge of God's cosmic design. The psalmist sees himself as more than just a prophet who has stood in the divine council; he is a new Moses who mediates a new covenant, and he is a new Adam who works to restore the righteous to the splendor of primordial paradise.

The imagery in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 supports the hypothesis that the psalmist has entered into God's presence and acts as a mediator between God and the earthly community. In 1QH^a XVI 21–22, the H¹ psalmist describes himself as a gardener who digs a channel from the מקור עולם (“eternal fountain,” also 1QH^a XVI 9) to the garden community. Through this channel flows the river of knowledge that brings life to the

⁶² Davila, “The *Hodayot* Hymnist,” 465.

⁶³ It was not uncommon in antiquity for Moses and Adam to be associated or compared with one another. See, for example, 2 *Bar.* 17:2–4. See also the studies by Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 222–23; Gottstein, “The Body as Image of God,” 182–83; Silviu Bunta, “Too Vast to Fit in the World: Moses, Adam, and צלם אלהים in *Testament of Moses* 11:8,” *Hen* 26 (2004): 188–204; Orlov, “Vested with Adam's Glory,” 135–52. Elsewhere, Bunta has argued that certain Romanian manuscripts of the *Testament of Abraham* as well as Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagōgē* attest to an ideological dispute over the superiority of Adam versus Moses. See Bunta, “One Man (φως) in Heaven,” 139–65.

garden. The expression מקור עולם most likely refers to God's heavenly dwelling place.⁶⁴

The metaphorical imagery in 1QH^a XVI 21–22 suggests that the psalmist acts as a mediator between God's heavenly abode and the earthly community of the righteous. The psalmist is the conduit through which the river of knowledge flows and God is the ultimate source of this river.⁶⁵

I would conjecture that the psalmist has based the Edenic river imagery in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 on the motif of a river flowing from God's abode—specifically God's heavenly throne. Perhaps the best known use of this motif is in Rev 22:1–2 which states, “Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city. On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.”⁶⁶ The description of God's abode as a fountain of paradisiacal waters is also found in Ps 36:8–9 [9–10], a passage which might have inspired the H¹ psalmist: “They feast on the abundance of your house, and you give them drink from the river of your delights. For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we see light.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The expression מקור עולם is also found in 1QSb I 3, 6 (reconstructed); 1QH^a XIV 20–21; XVIII 33; and 4Q418 81+81a 1. In these passages, the מקור עולם is associated with God's abode in the heavens.

⁶⁵ The H¹ psalmist relies on the biblical idea that God is the source of life-giving waters. See, for example, Jer 2:13: “for my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and dug out cisterns for themselves, cracked cisterns that can hold no water.” Jeremiah 17:13: “O hope of Israel! O LORD! All who forsake you shall be put to shame; those who turn away from you shall be recorded in the underworld, for they have forsaken the fountain of living water, the LORD.” Later literature also contains the notion that God himself is a fountain. In 1QS X 12, God is the “fountain of knowledge and the spring of holiness.” Philo describes God as the most ancient of all fountains who watered the world with life (*Fug.* 197–98).

⁶⁶ For other texts where God's throne is described as a source of water, light, or fire, see ch. 3 §3.

⁶⁷ See also Ezek 47:1–12, Joel 3:18, and Zech 13:1; 14:8. In these texts, the interior of the temple, the place of God's abode, is described as the source of life-giving water. In the broader Ancient Near East, a chief deity's dwelling place could be described as the source of life-giving rivers. See E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24;

For the H¹ psalmist, God's heavenly throne is the source of life and knowledge, and he sees himself as a mediator between the enthroned God and the elect community. The psalmist is responsible for opening a channel from the divine throne to the garden (1QH^a XVI 22). He is the conduit that brings water from the heavenly realm to the earthly realm.⁶⁸ The psalmist is able to fulfill his mediatorial role because he has contact with both realms. Just as he stands in the earthly community among his followers, so also he has stood in the heavenly realm in the presence of God.

1QH^a XII 6–7 reinforces the psalmist's claim that he has directly encountered God. Here, he states, "I thank you, Lord, for you have caused my face to shine for your covenant and [. . .] I seek you, and as sure dawn you caused [perf]ect light to shine for me" (cf. 1QH^a XI 4). I would suggest that in this passage the psalmist describes himself as having a luminous appearance similar to that which Moses had after his encounter with God on Sinai (Exod 34:29–35).⁶⁹ Both Exod 34:29–35 and 1QH^a XII 6–7 describe a brilliant facial radiance that is associated with the manifestation of God's visible glory and the revelation of his covenant. The words כשחר נכון ("as sure dawn") in XII 7 suggest that God has

Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980), 130–62; Howard N. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative* (HSM 32; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 70–89.

⁶⁸ Stordalen has collected iconographic evidence of an Ancient Near Eastern tradition in which a deity pours forth a stream of water into a secondary vessel which symbolizes a human intermediary, usually a king or priest. The human intermediary, in turn, becomes a source of water for others. In one tenth-century Assyrian roll seal, the winged sun disk pours forth streams of water to two figures, one of whom is a priest. The two figures are represented as standing next to a sacred tree situated on a mountain. The image is not explicit, but the priest seems to use this water to irrigate the sacred tree. I would suggest that a tradition such as this underlies 1QH^a XVI 5–27. The H¹ psalmist portrays himself as an intermediate agent who directs the river of knowledge flowing from God's throne and uses it to water the Garden of Eden. See Terje Stordalen, "Heaven on Earth – Or Not? Jerusalem as Eden in Biblical Literature," in *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise (Genesis 2–3) and Its Reception History* (ed. Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg; FAT 2/34; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 40–41.

⁶⁹ Wise, "New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns," 115, 119–21. For the view that Moses' face was thought to reflect the very radiance of God's glory, see Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism," 18; Bunta, "One Man (φως) in Heaven," 161–62. *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 11:3 and *Memar Marqah* 5.4; 6.3 state that Adam's glory was restored to Moses on Mt. Sinai.

directly manifested his radiant glory to the H¹ psalmist.⁷⁰ This expression is drawn from Hos 6:3: “Let us know, let us press on to know the Lord; his appearing is as sure as the dawn (כְּשֶׁחַר נֶכּוֹן); he will come to us like the showers, like the spring rains that water the earth.”⁷¹ The H¹ psalmist seems to have interpreted Hos 6:3 to mean that God’s visible appearance is like a sure dawn. In other words, he interpreted the words שֶׁחַר נֶכּוֹן as a description of the luminous splendor that radiates from God. In 1QH^a XII 6–7, he states that it is this divine radiance, or “perfect light,”⁷² which God has manifest to him, causing

⁷⁰ In 1QH^a XII 19, the psalmist’s opponents criticism him that his “vision of knowledge” is נֶכּוֹן. This may be a play on line 7 where the psalmist claims that his revelatory experience is כְּשֶׁחַר נֶכּוֹן.

⁷¹ Note that God is also the source of water (מִלְקוֹשׁ and מְשָׁם) in Hos 6:3.

⁷² The word אִוְרְתוּם occurs in three texts from Qumran and it is found with varying orthographic forms: 1QH^a XII 7 (אִוְרְ[ת]וּם), 24 (אִוְרְתוּם or אִוְרְתוּם); XXI 15 (אִוְרְתוּם); 4Q392 1 5 (אִוְרְתוּם); and 4Q403 1 i 45 (אִוְרְתוּם); 1 ii 1 (אִוְרְתוּם); 4Q404 5 4 (אִוְרְתוּם). Most commentators have transcribed the word as אִוְרְתוּם, interpreting it as a compound from אִוְר and תוּם, meaning “perfect light” (see, for example, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 80 n. 6; Newsom, *DJD XI*, 283). Dupont-Sommer initially proposed that אִוְרְתוּם was a combination of אִוְר and תוּם, the singular forms of *urim* and *thummim* (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey*, 74 n. 3; see also Yigael Yadin, “Some Notes on the Newly Published *Pesharim* of Isaiah,” *IEJ* 9 [1959]: 42 n. 16). Dupont-Sommer later changed his view, but Fletcher-Louis has defended his original proposal and argues that אִוְרְתוּם is connected to the *urim* and *thummim* (*All the Glory of Adam*, 232–43). When Dupont-Sommer changed his opinion, he argued that the word in question should be read as אִוְרְתוּם, and that it is “la form pseudo-duel du nom fm. אִוְרָה «point du jour»” (Dupont-Sommer, “Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH),” *Sem* 7 [1957]: 42). Schuller has defended this reading in the *Hodayot* (*DJD XL*, 160–61) since in 1QH^a XXI 15 the scribe has clearly written אִוְרְתוּם. The reading in 1QH^a XII 24 is less certain as the letter before the *mem* could be a *waw* or a *yod* (אִוְרְתוּם or אִוְרְתוּם). Unfortunately, in 1QH^a XII 7, there is a lacuna in the text between the *resh* and the *mem*. In 4Q404 5 4, אִוְרְתוּם is clearly written with two *waws*, although the overlapping text in 4Q403 1 i 45 has אִוְרְתוּם. If 1QH^a XXI 15 drew upon the *Sabbath Songs* (see ch. 5 §1.1) then the *Vorlage* of the *Sabbath Songs* used by the H¹ psalmist might have had אִוְרְתוּם or the psalmist might have “corrected” the reading to a dual form since this made more sense to him. Whatever the case might be, the apparent confusion in orthography seems to reveal that early scribes did not know what to make of the etymology of this word.

With respect to 1QH^a XII 7, 24, I suspect that the H¹ psalmist understood the word to be אִוְרְתוּם and interpreted this to mean “perfect light.” This makes the best sense in light of 1QH^a XV 27 where the psalmist proclaims וְהוֹפַעְתִּי בְּאִוְרֵי שִׁבְעִתַּיִם (“and I shine with sevenfold light”). The language in XV 27 is very similar to 1QH^a XII 7 and 24 which also use the verb יִפַּע, and “sevenfold light” could easily be synonymous with “perfect light.” Both 1QH^a XII 7 and XV 27–28 describe the psalmist as one who radiates light because God has revealed his own glorious light to him. Given the close similarities between 1QH^a XII 7, 24 and XV 27, I would suggest that we read אִוְרְתוּם in column XII and interpret it to mean “perfect light.”

Whether we understand the word in question as אִוְרְתוּם, meaning “perfect light,” or as the pseudo-dual form אִוְרְתוּם, meaning “dawn,” we should not lose sight of the fact that the word is used consistently in the Qumran texts to refer to the magnificent light that emanates from God. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, אִוְרְתוּם is used to signify the radiance of God’s dwelling place in the heavenly temple (4Q403 1 i 45; 1 ii 1). A similar meaning is found in 4Q392 1 5 where the author describes God’s omniscience and

his own face to shine with divine light. Like Moses in Exod 33:17–23, the psalmist has entered into the very presence of God and witnessed the perfect light of his glory. As a result, his own face, like Moses' in Exod 34:29–35, reflects the light of God's glory.

Presumably, it was during this theophanic experience that God revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to the psalmist.⁷³

When the psalmist speaks of his own radiance, he not only has Moses in mind but also Adam. In 1QH^a XV 27–28, he declares, “I shine with sevenfold light []you established for your glory. For you are an eternal light to me.” Here, as in 1QH^a XII 6–7, the psalmist radiates sevenfold or perfect light because God has revealed his own eternal light to the psalmist. According to Smelik, the sevenfold light in 1QH^a XV 27–28 signifies the primordial light of creation that is associated with the radiant glory of God.⁷⁴ In other words, through his encounter with God, the psalmist has come to radiate the same primordial light that surrounds God. I would suggest that in making this claim the psalmist

claims that אור אורתם וכל אפלה לפנו נחה (“in his dwelling is אור אורתם and all darkness rests before him”). This is probably related to line 7 which states that עמו אור לאין חקר (“with him is light without limit.”) In 1QH^a XXI 15–16, אור אורתים is associated with God's eternal dwelling and it seems to be used as a description for the eschatological salvation of the righteous. The text states, בִּמְכוֹן עוֹלָם לְאוֹר אֹרְתִים עַד נֹצֵחַ וְנֹסֶה [. . .] חוֹשֶׁךְ [. . .] סוֹף וְקִצֵּי שְׁלוֹם לְאֵין חֶקֶר (“in the eternal dwelling for light of dawn forever and darkness flees [. . .] end and times of peace without limit”). In all of these cases, אורתים/אורתום signifies the majestic light of God's presence, and it is this light that he causes to shine on the angelic priests in the heavenly holy of holies (4Q403 1 i 45) and on the *Hodayot* psalmist (1QH^a XII 7, 24).

⁷³ I would speculate that the psalmist thought of God's revelation to him as analogous to God's giving of the Law to Moses in Exod 34:10–28. This passage from Exodus is particularly important because it is sandwiched between two events that are central to the H¹ psalmist's self-identity: Moses' encounter with God's glory (Exod 33:17–34:9) and Moses' radiant face (Exod 34:29–35). If it true that the H¹ psalmist saw his own revelatory experience as analogous to Exod 34:10–28, then this passage in Exodus might have been highly symbolic for the psalmist. In Exodus 34, God reveals his covenant a second time because Moses broke the first set of tablets in response to the Israelites' idolatry (Exodus 32). In a sense, because the Israelites had broken the Law, God had to reveal it again to Moses. The H¹ psalmist might have seen this as symbolic of his own present circumstances: the Jews had broken or neglected the Law of God and so God had to reveal it again to the H¹ psalmist.

⁷⁴ See Willem F. Smelik, “On Mystical Transformation of the Righteous into Light in Judaism,” *JSJ* 26 (1995): 122–44.

is intentionally likening himself to Adam who was also thought to have radiated the primal, pre-existent light that surrounds God.⁷⁵

Similar thoughts are found in 1QH^a XVII 26–27, where the psalmist proclaims, “. . .]and by your glory my light shines. For you caused a light to shine from darkness for [. . . .” The language in this passage is reminiscent of the creation of heavenly lights in Gen 1:3–4 and 14–19, and the statement “by your glory my light shines” sounds very similar to the idea that Adam, as the image of God, was created to manifest God’s own luminous splendor. The psalmist seems to be saying that God is the ultimate source of all light, and that he, like Adam, has been filled with divine radiant glory, and like the heavenly luminaries he is to bring light into the darkness.

By comparing himself with Moses and Adam and through his use of theophanic light language (1QH^a XII 6–7; XV 26–27; and XVII 26–27), we can infer that the H¹ psalmist claimed to have had a direct, visual encounter with God during which he received the knowledge of God’s cosmic design. This would explain why the psalmist speaks of a חזון דעת (“vision of knowledge”) in 1QH^a XII 19. We are never told how or when this visionary experience took place. The psalmist only tells us that he did encounter God in a direct and personal way. Through his experience, he became filled with the light and knowledge that Adam once possessed, and, like Moses, he uses his knowledge of God’s design to mediate the divine covenant.

⁷⁵ Numerous Second Temple sources attest to the tradition that Adam was created with a radiant appearance that reflected God’s own luminous glory (see ch. 3 n. 104). In some cases, Adam’s radiance was specifically associated with the primordial light that surrounded God before creation. See Quispel, “Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis,” 6–7; DeConick, *Seek to See Him*, 65–70; Bunta, “One Man (φως) in Heaven,” 147–49. On the primordial light that surrounds God, see Philo, *Cher.*, 97; *Opif.* 31, 55; 2 *En.* 24–25.

2.2.3. Revelation through the Spirit of God?

Twice, the H¹ psalmist explicitly mentions God's spirit as a source of support and a cause for rejoicing (1QH^a XV 9–10; XVII 32).⁷⁶ This naturally raises the question as to whether God's spirit might be a means of divine revelation in H¹, as it is in the *Treatise* and in the H⁴ psalms (see below). This is not the case, however. The H¹ psalmist never describes God's spirit as a mediator of knowledge or revelation.⁷⁷ I would argue that the holy spirit given by God to the psalmist is equivalent to the יצר סמוך, the “firm inclination” (1QH^a IX 37; X 11, 38), which the psalmist possesses as a result of God's revelation. As I have pointed out before, the words יצר and רוּחַ could be used synonymously in a psychological sense to refer to one's inner disposition that guides their actions (see ch. 2 n. 108). In the H¹ material, the יצר סמוך and the רוּחַ קודש are both described as something that “supports” the psalmist. It is not coincidental that the only times the H¹ psalmist uses the verb סמך is in association with his new יצר or the holy spirit given by God (1QH^a IX 37; X 9–11, 38; XV 9; XVII 32). In the H¹ material, God's holy spirit is not a mediator of revelation; it is a holy and faithful inclination instilled in the psalmist because he has received God's revealed truth.⁷⁸

Most likely, the phrase רוּחַ קודש in H¹ is drawn from Ps 51:11[13]: “Do not cast me away from your presence, and do not take your holy spirit from me.” In this psalm, God's “holy spirit” is synonymous with a רוּחַ נְכוּן הַדָּשׁ (“new, upright spirit,” 51:10[12]) and a רוּחַ נְדִיבָה (“willing spirit,” 51:12[14]), and both of these phrases probably express the same

⁷⁶ 1QH^a XV 9–10: “I thank you, O Lord, that you have sustained me by your strength, and that you have spread your holy spirit upon me, so that I am not shaken.” 1QH^a XVII 32: “With sure truth you have supported me and with your holy spirit you have delighted me.”

⁷⁷ I would agree with Berg who notes that there is no obvious reference to spirits mediating knowledge in the “Teacher Hymns” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 210–11).

⁷⁸ Pace Sekki who argues that 1QH^a XV 9–10 and XVII 32 (1QH 7:6/7 and 1QH 9:32 in Sekki) do not refer to a new spirit or disposition in the psalmist (*The Meaning of Ruah*, 72–83).

thought as verse 6[8]: “You desire truth in the inward being; therefore teach me wisdom in my secret heart.” God’s “holy spirit” in this case should be understood as a wise and faithful disposition granted by God.⁷⁹ The same interpretation of רוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ is appropriate for 1QH^a XV 9–10 and XVII 32. God has granted the psalmist a strong and faithful disposition, and, just as in Ps 51:12[14], this “spirit” or disposition supports (סמך) the psalmist.

2.2.4. The Mosaic Law as a Source of Knowledge?

A significant number of commentators have argued that God’s revelation in the H¹ psalms pertains to the knowledge of certain mysteries in the written Mosaic Law acquired through inspired exegesis.⁸⁰ These commentators interpret the allusions to Moses in H¹, and especially the use of תורה and ברית, as references to knowledge gained through the study of scripture.⁸¹ Those who hold to this view usually take the *pesharim* (esp. 1QpHab II

⁷⁹ See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; trans. Linda M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 21; Anja Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth’: Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; FAT 2/35; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 172–77. Cf. Isa 63:10.

⁸⁰ See, for example, de Caebel, “La connaissance religieuse,” 440–42, 449–50; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 286–87; Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, 69; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 14, 42–56; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 150–52; idem, “Apocalypticism and Literary Genre,” 424–27; Brooke, “The Place of Prophecy,” 549; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumran Documents,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January, 1997* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 110–11; Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 371–73; Cook, “What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God?” 7–13; Kister, “Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres,” 18, 21–22, 32, 34; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 106–7; Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 368–69; Carol A. Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Function of the *Maškîl*,” in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 375–76; Nissinen, “Transmitting Divine Mysteries,” 527–32; Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran*, 197–220; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 224–26.

⁸¹ For example, Schiffman states, “Numerous passages in the *Hodayot* seem to use the term ברית as equivalent to God’s Torah and the covenant entered into at Sinai when it was given.” See Schiffman,

5–10 and VII 1–8) as a starting point, along with the *Damascus Document* and parts of the *Community Rule* (1QS V–IX). Based on these texts, they conclude that the Qumran community received its divine revelation via inspired exegesis. When these commentators interpret the *Hodayot* they implicitly or explicitly assume that God’s revelation of knowledge in this text must also take place through scriptural interpretation. Often, the psalm in 1QH^a XII 6–XIII 6, and specifically the words “your *torah* (תּוֹרַתְכֶּה) which you repeated in my heart” in XII 11, is used as the basis for the claim that the *Hodayot* psalmist was chiefly concerned with divine revelation through the Mosaic Law. The rest of the *Hodayot* is then assumed to conform to this interpretation.⁸²

Although it is widely thought that God’s revelation in H¹ pertains to the inspired interpretation of the Mosaic Law, this view is problematic. To begin with, we must consider the fact that in the H¹ material there are no appeals to the authority of the historical Moses. The psalmist never uses words like “you spoke by Moses” or “by the hand of Moses.” Rather, the psalmist portrays himself as a new Moses, and in doing so he seems to completely eclipse the Moses of history. We should also note that the H¹ psalmist never appeals to a written text. We do not find phrases like “book of the Law,” as we do in the *Damascus Document* (CD V 2) or “book of your statutes,” as in *Barkhi Nafshi* (4Q434 2 13). To borrow a phrase from Jon Levenson’s study of Psalm 119, there is no “book

Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 244.

⁸² There are numerous examples of this in the scholarly literature, although most commentators do not acknowledge that they are making this interpretive move. Nickelsburg, for example, interprets 1QH^a XII 6–XIII 6 in light of CD I; V 20–VI 11; 1QS V 1–13; VIII 1–15; and 1QpHab II 5–10; V 9–12; and VII 4–9 (“The Nature and Function of Revelation,” 107–12). Thomas uses 1QH^a XII 6–XIII 6 to bridge between 1QpHab VII and the rest of the *Hodayot* psalms (*The “Mysteries” of Qumran*, 208–9). See also Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 371–73.

consciousness” in the H¹ material of the *Hodayot*.⁸³ Levenson writes, “If our psalmist’s Torah had been written, if, in other words, his prayer were only for the gift of pneumatic exegesis, then the exigencies of the acrostic format should have made some reference to a book and to writing all the more likely.”⁸⁴ While Levenson’s comments are directed at the meaning of תורה in Psalm 119, his words are just as fitting for the H¹ psalms. If the H¹ psalmist believed that the written Mosaic Law was the source of God’s revelation, then somewhere in these psalms the author should have made some reference to a book.⁸⁵

Some have interpreted the well/fountain/spring language in the *Hodayot* as a reference to the Mosaic Law as a fountain of instruction accessed through inspired interpretation.⁸⁶ It is certainly true that the written Law is described at times as a well or spring in ancient Jewish literature,⁸⁷ but there is no support for this interpretation in H¹. In the *peshet*-like interpretation of Num 21:18 in the *Damascus Document*, the written תורה is explicitly identified as a באר (“well,” CD VI 3–4), and in CD III 16 the word באר is used to describe the source of knowledge about proper holy day observance. In H¹, however, there are no such implicit or explicit connections between well/fountain/spring language

⁸³ Jon D. Levenson, “The Sources of Torah: Psalm 119 and the Modes of Revelation in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 565.

⁸⁴ Levenson, “The Sources of Torah,” 565.

⁸⁵ One cannot object that the poetic nature of the H¹ material prevented the psalmist from explicitly referring to a book. As Levenson correctly points out with respect to Psalm 119, if the psalmist had wanted to make it clear that he had received inspiration to interpret the written Mosaic Law, he could very well have poetically stated this.

⁸⁶ Michael Fishbane, “The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and its Ancient Transformations,” in *‘Sha ‘arei Talmon’: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (eds. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 9; John H. Corbett, “Muddying the Water: Metaphors for Exegesis,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World* (ed. Wendy E. Helleman; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 211–13.

⁸⁷ Fishbane, “The Well of Living Water,” 13–16. See also Naphtali Wieder, “The ‘Law-Interpreter’ of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses,” *JJS* 3 (1952): 159–61; Johann Cook, “The Law of Moses as a Fence and a Fountain,” in *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll* (ed. Alastair G. Hunter and Philip R. Davies; JSOTSup 348; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 286–87.

and a written text. Rather, the well/fountain/spring language in H¹ should be interpreted in light of the prophetic tradition where God himself is a fountain and the wisdom literature where wisdom and knowledge are described as water.⁸⁸

Regarding the use of תורה in H¹ (1QH^a XII 11 and XIII 13), we must recognize that in the last few centuries BCE one could speak of God revealing his תורה without restricting the meaning to the written Mosaic Law.⁸⁹ For example, in both Psalm 119 and the Wisdom of Solomon, תורה and νόμος are used to denote a universal or “natural” law.⁹⁰ I would suggest that the H¹ psalmist is using תורה in a similar sense to refer to a cosmic law that encompasses the written Law of Moses but extends far beyond it. As I have already noted (see n. 26 above), the H¹ psalmist uses the word תורה, along with a host of other terms, to refer to God’s cosmic design. 1QH^a XIII 11–13 is particularly important because here we can clearly see that the psalmist uses תורה as a synonym for סוד אמת. In line 11, he writes, “and the basis of truth you strengthened in my heart. And from this a covenant for those who seek it.” Just a few sentences later, in line 13, he declares, [וְתוֹרַתְכָּה חִבֵּתָהּ בְּיָי] (“and your *torah* you hid in [me]”). Lines 11 and 13 express the same thought in that both תורה and סוד אמת refer to the content of God’s revelation which he placed in the psalmist’s heart.⁹¹ When the psalmist states in line 11 that God’s revealed סוד אמת is the basis for his

⁸⁸ See, for example, Prov 18:4; Jer 17:13; 4 Ezra 14:38–41.

⁸⁹ Levenson, “The Sources of Torah,” 567; W. Gutbrod, “νόμος,” in *TDNT*, 4.1044–91; John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 155–85.

⁹⁰ For Psalm 119, see Levenson, “The Sources of Torah,” 559–74. On *Wisdom of Solomon*, see Chesnutt, “Covenant and Cosmos,” 238.

⁹¹ There is also a parallelism between 1QH^a XIII 13 and XIII 27. In XIII 27, the psalmist uses the same verb חָבַה (“to hide”) as in line 13: וּבְרִיז חִבֵּתָהּ בִּי (“and with the mystery you hid in me”). These are the only two places in the scrolls from Qumran where the verb חָבַה is attested with this orthography (the form חָבַה is found in 1QH^a XVI 7, 9; XVII 24). The use of this verb in both passage indicates that the psalmist is expressing the same thought in lines 13 and 27, and that he is using תורה and רִז synonymously. Furthermore, in lines 27–28, רִז is used in conjunction with מַעֲיֵן בִּינָה and סוד אמת. By comparing these lines, we can see that

covenant, we can see that he thinks of the סוד אמת as functionally equivalent to the תורה (we would normally expect the תורה to be described as the basis for God's covenant). We have also already seen that סוד אמת is an expression taken from *Instruction* and that the H¹ psalmist uses it to denote God's cosmic design. In light of this, we should understand the word תורה to refer to God's universal plan or cosmic law that governs all of creation.

I think that the H¹ psalmist intentionally used the word תורה because of its obvious Mosaic and covenantal significance. The psalmist saw the תורה placed in his heart as the fulfillment of Jer 31:31–33: it is the eschatological revelation of the divine law that forms the basis for a new covenant. The psalmist portrays himself as a new Moses who has received a new revelation of God's law for the establishment of a new covenant.

Did the H¹ psalmist intend to supersede Moses? Did he expect that his teachings would replace the teachings of the first Moses? These questions are difficult to answer since the psalmist never refers to the historical Moses. There is no indication that the H¹ psalmist rejected Moses or the written Mosaic Law, but it does seem that he portrayed himself, not the historical Moses, as the fullest representation of the law that God designed to govern the cosmos. The psalmist might have believed that Moses also received the fullness of God's revelation on Sinai,⁹² but only transmitted a small part of that revelation

all four of these expressions, תורה, רז, מעין בינה, and סוד אמת, are synonyms. This realization should caution us against privileging the word תורה and interpreting it in isolation from the other expressions which the H¹ psalmist uses to signify God's revelation.

⁹² It is hard to believe that the H¹ psalmist would not have known and been influenced by the widespread belief in late Second Temple Judaism that Moses was granted a comprehensive knowledge of God's will at Sinai. This tradition is widely attested in the literature of the period. In the *Exagōgē* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Moses ascends into heaven, sits upon the throne of God, and receives the knowledge of things past, present, and future (68–89). In *Jubilees*, the angel of the presence reveals to Moses “tablets of the divisions of the years” which contain the regulations governing all of creation. Moses is shown “what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity” (*Jub.* 1:26). In *4 Ezra* 14:5, God says to Ezra, “I told him [Moses] many wondrous things, and showed him the secrets of the times and declared to him the end of the times.” Philo writes that Moses entered “into the darkness where God was, that is into the unseen,

through the written Law.⁹³ If so, then the H¹ psalmist would probably have seen the Mosaic Law as important but ultimately insufficient compared to the full knowledge of God's cosmic design which he possessed.

2.3. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the H¹ Psalms

Undoubtedly, the revelation of God's cosmic design was important for the H¹ psalmist. His encounter with God was so momentous that he likened himself to Moses and Adam, and he described God's revelation of knowledge as a stream that pours forth from God's presence bringing life to the Garden of Eden. We will turn now to consider the theological function of God's revealed knowledge and how this knowledge affected those who received it.

2.3.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

We have already seen that one of the fundamental purposes of God's revelation was to communicate the statutes that undergird his covenant with creation (§2.1.2). The H¹ psalmist saw God's revelation of the cosmic design as the basis for a covenantal relationship and a righteous existence (1QH^a XIII 10–11). The psalmist and his followers have come to know the regulations that govern the universe, and they can now abide by the laws of God's determined order. Those who have rejected God's revelation and the psalmist's teachings are outside of God's covenant community. They are cursed and doomed to suffer the judgment and wrath of God (1QH^a XIV 28–36; XV 14–15, 25–26).

invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature" (*Mos.* 1.158). Having ascended to the "intelligible world" of God's Logos (*Leg.* 3.96), Moses obtained knowledge of God's will (*Mos.* 2.71), that is, the archetypal pattern (*Leg.* 3.101–3) or blueprint (*Opif.* 16–20) that governs the order of the created world.

⁹³ In both *Jubilees* and *4 Ezra* 14, Moses is described as receiving a full knowledge of God's will at Sinai, but only part of this knowledge was transmitted in the written Law.

This said, the theological importance of God’s revelation is more subtle and complex than a simple disclosure of God’s covenantal laws. As in *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the knowledge of God’s cosmic design actually functions on an anthropological level to rectify humanity’s corrupt psychological state, that is, their faulty יצר (“inclination”).⁹⁴ The psalmist believed that humans by nature are misguided by a perverted and guilty inclination (1QH^a XIII 8; 33–34; XIV 35; XV 6); their hearts are filled with iniquity and worthlessness (בליעל, 1QH^a X 5; XIV 24). These ideas are based on Gen 6:5 where humanity is condemned because “every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually.” Genesis 8:21 repeats the same idea: “. . . the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth. . . .” Endemic to humanity is a faulty יצר which causes the heart to err and leads a person astray from God’s appointed order.

In addition to Gen 6:5 and 8:21, I would speculate that the psalmist’s understanding of the corrupt human יצר was influenced by interpreting Gen 6:4–5 in light of the Watcher tradition in *1 Enoch*.⁹⁵ If the psalmist interpreted Gen 6:4 as a reference to the Watchers

⁹⁴ In H¹, the noun יצר is always used in a psychological sense to denote a person’s “inclination.” Most of the instances of יצר clearly favor the translation “inclination,” although there are a couple of places where the proper translation is uncertain. In 1QH^a XIV 35, the expression יצר אשמה should probably be understood as “guilty inclination” rather than “guilty creature” (as translated in *DJD XL*). The expression יצר אשמה is used two other times in the Scrolls, in CD II 16 (= 4Q270 1 i 1) and 4Q286 7 ii 7–8 (partially reconstructed from 4Q287 6 7), where it clearly means “guilty inclination.” In 1QH^a XIV 35, the words ואין פלט ליצר אשמה should be taken to mean, “There will be no escape for one who has a guilty inclination.” Another uncertain passage is 1QH^a XVI 38–39. *DJD XL* has the words . . . לבב כרים ממשלת ביצרי . . . with the following translation: “. . .] heart krym dominion among the crea[tures of . . .].” The meaning of these words is difficult to interpret because much of the context is now lost. Yet, the mention of “tablet of my heart” toward the beginning of line 38, and the use of לבב again at the end of line 38 suggests that יצר (if it has been correctly restored) should be understood as “inclination” not “creature.” If this is the case, then יצר ממשלת ביצרי should be translated, “dominion with an inclin[ation . . .]” (there would be no need to reconstruct a *yod* after the *resh* of ביצרי). It should be noted that Qimron has a different transcription of these words: לבבי שמם ברומ ממשלת בליעל (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume One* [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010], 83).

⁹⁵ It is difficult to know with certainty whether or not the H¹ psalmist was aware of the Watcher tradition. Recently, Harkins has attempted to show that 1QH^a XI 6–19 and XI 20–37 drew upon imagery and

giving illicit mysteries to their human wives (*1 En.* 6–9), then he could have easily understood Gen 6:5 as the logical consequence of that act: because the Watchers revealed illicit mysteries to humans, “every inclination of the thoughts of their heart was only evil continually.” Thus, the evil יצר of humanity is a direct result of the illicit mysteries conveyed by the Watchers.⁹⁶ The only solution to this problem is the revelation of true mysteries, which is exactly what the psalmist has received from God (1QH^a XII 28–29; XIII 27).⁹⁷

For the H¹ psalmist, a person’s inclination can only be set right by obtaining the knowledge of God’s cosmic design. The psalmist desires that all who seek after righteousness would come to have a יצר סמוך (“firm inclination,” 1QH^a IX 37; X 38); yet, a

themes in the *Book of Watchers*. She bases her work on an earlier study by Nickelsburg who argued that 1QH^a XII 30–41 reinterprets parts of *1 Enoch* 1–5. While Harkins’ list of connections between the *Hodayot* and *Book of Watchers* are questionable at times, she has provided a sufficient number of examples to raise the possibility that the H¹ psalmist drew upon the *Book of Watchers*, consciously or unconsciously. See Angela Kim Harkins, “Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch,” *Hen* 32 (2010): 359–400; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40),” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 649–59.

⁹⁶ There are some indications in H¹ that the psalmist associated his opponents, the “mediators of deceit” (1QH^a X 33; XII 10–11), with the Watchers who mediated sinful mysteries and led people astray (4QEnoch^a IV 5; cf. *1 En.* 8:3; 9:6–8; 16:3). Such an allusion to the Watchers might be apparent in 1QH^a XIII 38. Here the psalmist remarks upon his opponents: “According to the mysteries of transgression they change the works of God in their guilt.” This description is very similar to the condemnation of the Watchers in 4QEnoch^a II 10–13 (= *1 En.* 5:4) where they are accused of altering the works of God (שניחן עבדכן). The phrase “mysteries of transgression” (רדי פשע) is used one other time in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a XXIV 9) within a psalm that is almost certainly drawing upon the Watcher tradition. In column XXIV, the “mysteries of transgression” seem to be related to human guilt and judgment, and they may be associated with the mysteries revealed by the Watchers. The fact that the terminology in 1QH^a XIII 38 is used elsewhere in the *Hodayot* in association with the Watcher myth suggests that the H¹ psalmist is subtly drawing a connection between the Watchers and his opponents. Both groups are mediators of sinful mysteries that cause humans to err and go astray from God’s appointed order. The psalmist might be implying, then, that he is like Enoch: he possesses the knowledge of true mysteries that allows him to live according to God’s will.

⁹⁷ In contrast to the H⁴ psalms which also utilize the Watcher myth, the H¹ psalmist is not concerned with evil spirits. For the H¹ psalmist, the root cause of human corruption is the illicit knowledge revealed by the Watchers. This is different from the H⁴ psalmist who sees both the evil spirits and the knowledge they convey as the cause for humanity’s present corrupt state.

“firm inclination” is only possible through God’s revelation.⁹⁸ It is the knowledge of God’s design, his truth, that “supports” (סמך) one’s soul (1QH^a X 9) and gives one a firm inclination (1QH^a X 11) or a holy spirit (1QH^a XV 9–13; XVII 32). Just as God’s design is thought of as the basis of truth and the foundation of heaven (§2.1.1), it also undergirds (כונן) one’s heart allowing them to walk before God “in the realm of [lif]e on paths of glory and peace” (1QH^a XV 9–18). With the knowledge of God’s design in their hearts, the psalmist and his followers are no longer led astray by a faulty inclination.⁹⁹

2.3.2. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge

For the H¹ psalmist, the ultimate purpose of God’s revelation is to restore humanity to the original glorious state which Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden. This is most clearly seen in 1QH^a XVI 5–27.¹⁰⁰ In this passage, the psalmist portrays himself as an Adam-like gardener who tends his garden community, the eternal planting, and irrigates it with the river of knowledge flowing from God’s throne (see §2.1.4 and 2.2.2 above).

According to the psalmist, it is the knowledge revealed by God that gives life to the trees

⁹⁸ 1QS IV 5 employs the same phrase as H¹, יצר סמוך, to describe the human inclination after it has received the knowledge of God’s design from the spirit of truth. Outside of the *Hodayot* and *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the expression יצר סמוך only occurs in 1QS VIII 3 and 4Q438 4 ii 2. The expression is probably taken from Isa 26:3.

⁹⁹ The difference between the psalmist and his opponents who have rejected God’s truth is brought out in 1QH^a XV 9–19. In lines 9–13, the psalmist states that God has set him firmly on the “eternal foundations” of his revealed truth. The unrighteous, however, have no such foundation. As a result, they are destined for divine judgment (lines 14–15). In line 16, the psalmist states, “For you know the inclination of every act and every reply of the tongue you recognize.” This statement probably applies to all people, including the psalmist. In other words, God knows the inclination of all people, and it is in their individual inclinations that they differ from one another. The psalmist goes on in lines 16–19 to describe how he differs from the wicked: “And you have established my heart according to your [te]achings and according to your truth, to straighten my step toward the paths of righteousness in order to walk before you in the realm of [lif]e on paths of glory and peace without tu[r]ning aside or] ceasing forever. And you know the inclination of your servant that not [. . .]” The psalmist is distinguished from the unrighteous because his heart has been changed by God’s teachings and truth. As God very well knows, the inclination of the psalmist has been rectified and brought into alignment with God’s will.

¹⁰⁰ Ringgren notes that “[the use of Gen 2–3 in 1QH^a XVI] implies the reopening of the gates of paradise: now, through the new covenant, man has again access to paradise” (“The Branch and the Plantation,” 8–9).

(i.e., the community members) and causes them to sprout into a fruitful paradise (XVI 13–14, 21). They are only able to grow into an eternal planting because they have stretched out their roots to the eternal fountain (XVI 7–9, 11) and the psalmist has irrigated them with the waters of knowledge (XVI 22–25). Without this knowledge, they would wither away and die (XVI 25–27).

In 1QH^a XVI 5–27, the psalmist implicitly claims that God has reversed the curse of Gen 3:16–19 through the revelation of his cosmic design. In lines 25–27, the psalmist declares that if he were to withhold the water of God’s revelation, the garden would dry up and perish; it would become a barren ground full of thorns and thistles. By using the imagery of a paradise and thorns and thistles the psalmist indicates that those who have drunk from the waters of knowledge have escaped the curse of Genesis 3:16–19 and re-entered the Garden of Eden while those who are outside of the paradisiacal community continue to live under God’s curse.¹⁰¹ As in *Instruction*, the H¹ psalmist clearly distinguishes between two groups of people: those who are inside the garden who have received the knowledge of God’s design, and those who are outside of the garden and lack knowledge (see ch. 2 §4.2).¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ The imagery of thorns and thistles is reminiscent of several judgment passages in the Hebrew Bible, but the conjunction of קוץ ודרדר (“thorns and thistles”) suggests more than just divine judgment. These two words are only used together in Gen 3:18 and Hos 10:8. In Gen 3:18, Adam and Eve are cast out of the garden and told that the cursed ground will bring forth thorns and thistles for them. Given the prolific Eden imagery in column XVI, it seems that the psalmist is drawing upon Gen 3:18 to imply that the curse of God rests on those who do not drink from the waters of knowledge that he is providing. In 1QH^a XVI 12–13, the psalmist reinforces the idea that he and his community have returned to paradise while all others remain outside. Here he states that the paradisiacal community is guarded by powerful mighty ones, spirits of holiness and a whirling flame of fire, which is an allusion to Gen 3:24.

¹⁰² In 1QH^a XVI 7–11, the psalmist uses a different metaphor to describe his community in contrast to his opponents. Here, the psalmist claims that there are two gardens or plantings (מטעת): the eternal planting watered by the psalmist (XVI 7, 11) and the planting of the wicked “trees of water” (cf. Ezek 31) that does not have access to the eternal fountain (XVI 10–11). This metaphor suggests that the psalmist’s opponents are a false paradise while his community is the true paradise.

Elsewhere in the H¹ material, the psalmist indicates that God's revelation of knowledge has endowed him and his followers with the same luminous image that Adam once possessed. I noted previously that the psalmist likens himself to Moses and Adam by describing himself as having their luminous appearance (§2.2.2). Particularly relevant are statements in 1QH^a XV 27 and XVII 26–27 where the psalmist professes that he radiates the perfect, primordial light that once surrounded Adam as the image of God.¹⁰³ These two passages must be read together with 1QH^a XI 4 and XII 6 where the psalmist declares that he has a luminous face similar to that of Moses after his encounter with God on Sinai. I would suggest that the psalmist understood both Adam's and Moses' radiance as the visible manifestation of the image of God.¹⁰⁴ The psalmist probably interpreted Exod 34:29–35 to mean that Moses reacquired the image of God that Adam once had through his encounter with God on Sinai and his reception of the covenantal Law.¹⁰⁵ The same is true of the psalmist himself. Like Moses, he has encountered God and received the divine covenant, and as a result he has been endowed with the luminous image that Adam once possessed.

In the H¹ psalms, the psalmist is not alone in manifesting the image of God. He is certainly the first and most important bearer of the divine image, but he also describes his followers as manifesting the luminous image of God. In 1QH^a XII 28, the psalmist states, *בי האירותה פני רבים* (“through me you have enlightened the face of many”).¹⁰⁶ In this

¹⁰³ The “image of God” was often associated with visible radiance. See ch. 3 n. 104.

¹⁰⁴ It was not unknown for authors in the Second Temple period to associate Moses' visible radiance with the image of God. See, for example, Philo, *Mos.* 1.158–59. Regarding the belief that both Adam and Moses reflected the very luminous glory of God, see n. 69 and n. 75 above.

¹⁰⁵ See n. 69 above.

¹⁰⁶ A very similar thought is expressed in 1QSb IV 27: *ליתבל בדעת [] וישימכה קוד[ש] בעמו ולמאור[]* (“And may he make you hol[y] among his people and for a luminary[] for the world in knowledge and to enlighten the face of many”).

passage, the psalmist describes his followers who have received the knowledge of God's cosmic design from him. Through the psalmist's mediation, God has caused the faces of his followers to shine with knowledge. What is particularly interesting is that the psalmist uses the same language in 1QH^a XII 28 as he does in XII 6 where he describes his own luminous transformation: האירותה פני לבריתכה ("you have caused my face to shine for your covenant"). I would argue that there is an intentional and logical connection between lines 6 and 28.¹⁰⁷ In line 6, the psalmist likens himself to Moses who has encountered God, received knowledge of God's cosmic design and covenant, and consequently become endowed with the image of God. The logical progression of thought continues in line 28 where the psalmist claims that those who receive knowledge from him will themselves become enlightened like Moses and received the image of God. The end result is that through God's revelation the psalmist and his followers have returned to paradise (1QH^a XVI 5–27) bearing the divine image that Adam once possessed.

In the preceding chapters, I argued that the concept of returning to paradise and re-creation into an Adam-like state through divinely revealed knowledge is based on a particular interpretation of Genesis 1–3. According to this view, Adam was originally created with the knowledge of good and evil (i.e., the knowledge of God's cosmic design) which made him like the אֱלֹהִים (Gen 3:5, 22).¹⁰⁸ By reading Gen 3:5 and 22 together with Gen 1:26–27 and 2:7, some interpreters came to the conclusion that when God breathed into the first man he imparted knowledge to him, endowing Adam with the image of God and making him like the angels. A logical implication of this reading of Genesis is that a person can be restored to Adam's original, glorious state by acquiring the knowledge that

¹⁰⁷ In fact, lines 6 and 28 probably form an *inclusio* at the beginning and end of the psalm (the original psalm in column XII ended in line 30 [see Appendix A n. 12]).

¹⁰⁸ On the belief that Adam was created with special knowledge, see ch. 2 §4.2.

Adam once possessed. Such an interpretation seems to underlie the H¹ material. Through God's revelation of his cosmic design, the H¹ psalmist and his community have been endowed with the image of God, reversed the curse, and returned to paradise.

As we might expect for someone who professes that they have returned to the Garden of Eden, the H¹ psalmist occasionally suggests that he and his followers presently co-exist with the angels in God's presence. In 1QH^a XII 25–26, he states, “Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me, and they assemble before you in the council of the holy ones.” Elsewhere, in 1QH^a XI 20–21, the psalmist speaks of ascent to the heavenly realm: “I thank you Lord that you have redeemed my life from the pit and from Sheol-Abaddon you have raised me up to an eternal height and I walk about on a boundless plain.” I would suggest that the language in 1QH^a XI 20–21 is symbolic: the “pit” and “Sheol-Abaddon” represent the curse of death which hangs over those who exist outside of paradise (cf. Gen 3:19) while the terms “eternal height” and “boundless plain” signify a heavenly paradise—the place of God's presence.¹⁰⁹ 1QH^a XI 20–21 uses the language of heavenly ascent to describe the psalmist's movement into paradise.¹¹⁰ For the H¹ psalmist, there is no heavenly ascent, in the usual sense; rather, the psalmist and his community have entered into the divine realm by returning to paradise (or, more precisely,

¹⁰⁹ Robert Laurin has argued that the expressions “eternal height” and “boundless plain” are completely metaphorical without any reference to heaven at all. He understands this language to connote only security and safety (“The Question of Immortality in the Qumran ‘Hodayot,’” *JSS* 3 [1958]: 346–47). This interpretation, however, is problematic. The H¹ psalmist must have thought of the “eternal height,” “boundless plain,” and similar expressions as an actual place since it is from here that the angelic hosts go forth to wage the eschatological battle (1QH^a XI 35–36; XIV 33–34; cf. XXVI 27–30). Weinfeld has assembled evidence from later Jewish literature that the expression *רום עולם* is used to denote the heavenly realm. See Moshe Weinfeld, “The Heavenly Praise in Unison,” in *Meqor Hajjim: Festschrift für Georg Molin zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (ed. I. Seybold; Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1983), 435 n. 22. See also Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 52–61.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the ascent language in 1QH^a XV 26–28. Fletcher-Louis also interprets the vertical ascent language as symbolic of movement into God's presence which is identified with the Garden of Eden and the holy of holies (*All the Glory of Adam*, 108).

presence. But, the culmination of God's salvific plan has yet to be fully realized. Iniquity and injustice persist in the world, and the eschatological war is still pending. The H¹ psalmist never describes life after the eschatological battle. The closest he comes is a couple of enigmatic statements in 1QH^a XIV 32 and 37. In line 32, he states that in the time of God's judgment "all the sons of truth will be aroused to extermin[ate. . . ." In line 37, he writes "Those who lie in dust raise up a standard and the worm of the dead lift up a banner." Some have interpreted these statements as a description of bodily resurrection, but we simply cannot know given the paucity of information in H¹.¹¹³

2.4. Summary

According to the H¹ psalms, the psalmist is a Moses- and Adam-like figure who has experienced a direct visual encounter with God in which he received knowledge of God's design that governs all of creation. The H¹ psalmist describes God's cosmic design as the basis for his covenant with creation (in this way God's revelation to the psalmist is analogous to that given to Moses), and he associates it with the knowledge given to Adam in the Garden of Eden. The psalmist himself is both a Moses-like mediator who communicates God's covenant to others and an Adam-like gardener who channels the waters of knowledge flowing from God's throne in order to irrigate the community of his followers.

¹¹³ See Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (2 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993), 356–63. Collins is more skeptical, but undecided, regarding 1QH^a XIV 32 and 37 as a reference to bodily resurrection. See John J. Collins, "The Essenes and the Afterlife," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 49–51; idem, "The Angelic Life," 308. For a survey of positions on this passage, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (exp. ed.; HTS 56; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 185–88.

For the H¹ psalmist, the theological purpose of God's revelation is to restore the righteous to the original, perfect state that once characterized Adam. Those who receive the psalmist's teachings are filled with the knowledge that Adam once had. Their faulty יצר is rectified and they can now faithfully adhere to God's covenant with a "firm inclination." The psalmist and his followers are transformed into luminous images of God radiating the knowledge of God. Through the knowledge mediated by the psalmist, the community members sprout into an eternal planting and are able to co-exist in some sense with the angels in God's presence. The H¹ psalms suggest that the paradisiacal community will continue to persist and be sustained by the waters flowing from the psalmist until God opens the gates of heaven and unleashes the eschatological war. Presumably, in the *eschaton*, the wicked will be destroyed and the righteous will be rewarded, although we know very little about what this reward entails.

3. God's Revelation of Knowledge in the H² Creation Hymn

The H² material consists of a short Creation Hymn (1QH^a IX 9–22) which praises God as the sovereign creator and describes how God's cosmic design regulates the universe. It would appear that the H² Creation Hymn was originally added to the beginning of the H¹ collection of psalms for the purpose of explicating the content of God's revelation (see Appendix A §3).¹¹⁴ In other words, the H² Creation Hymn makes it explicit that God's revelation to the H¹ psalmist entails a comprehensive understanding of how God designed the universe to operate. The H² material does not add any new information

¹¹⁴ Douglas states, "If it [column IX] were the product of a redactor who put the 'Teacher Hymns' into a book, then it would represent an early interpretation (probably by a first generation disciple) of the Teacher's status and special knowledge" ("Power and Praise," 232). Although I disagree with Douglas' conclusion that 1QH^a column IX is a unified composition, I think his statement is fairly accurate as it applies to 1QH^a IX 9–22.

about the means by which God revealed this knowledge nor does it address the theological function of God's revelation.

3.1. God's Design, the Spirits, and the Cosmos

In Lange's thorough examination of 1QH^a IX, he argues that this text describes a pre-existent sapiential order of history and existence, or what I have referred to as God's cosmic design.¹¹⁵ According to the H² psalmist, God's cosmic design is the fundamental system or schema that governs the internal workings of the universe. This is evident from the fact that the Creation Hymn highlights God creation of the cosmic *processes*, not just the material objects of the cosmos. We can see this in 1QH^a IX 11–15 where the psalmist repeatedly uses a formula to declare that God created a certain object to function in a certain way. Most of the objects listed follow a set pattern: object + ל + a word denoting order and regulation. For example, God created רוחות עזו לחוקיהם (“mighty spirits according to their statutes”), מאורות לרזיהם (“luminaries according to their mysteries”), and כוכבים לנתיבותיהם (“stars according to [their] paths”).¹¹⁶ In lines 11–15, the actual objects of creation are less important for the psalmist than the fact that God created them to operate according to an established design. God's cosmic design is the real focal point for the psalmist.¹¹⁷

The beginning lines of the H² Creation Hymn are critical for understanding how the psalmist understood the universe. After the introduction (lines 9–10a), the first words of

¹¹⁵ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 195–232. Lange finds evidence for a similar pre-existent order of creation in 1QH^a V 24–30; VII 26ff; and XX 7–14 (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 195, 230–32).

¹¹⁶ The words חוק, רז, and דרך denote the rules that God established to govern the cosmos (see ch. 2 §2.1 and §2.2).

¹¹⁷ Note the repeated mention of God's will (רצוניה) in 1QH^a IX 10, 12, 17, 22. The psalmist is trying to highlight God's sovereign ordering of the universe and the fact that God has revealed this cosmic order.

the body of the Creation Hymn are, “You yourself formed every spirit and [their] work [yo]u [established] and judgment for all their deeds” (lines 10b–11a). I would argue that this initial declaration is an intentional thesis statement that God created and predetermined every spirit that underlies the physical cosmos. Following this there is a small *vacat* which probably indicates a break in thought between the thesis statement in lines 10b–11a and the creation narrative beginning in 11b. In lines 11b–15, the psalmist describes certain spirits which became angelic beings and other spirits which control various heavenly phenomena (cf. *Jub. 2:2; T. Adam 4*). Presumably, these spirits are the same ones mentioned in lines 10b–11a. The psalmist goes on in line 17 to state that God formed the “*spirit of man/Adam*” (רוח אדם). Apparently, God created these spirits and placed them in each person in order to determine their destiny (1QH^a IX 17–21; cf. 1QS III 18).¹¹⁸

For the H² psalmist, spirits are the most basic element of the universe.¹¹⁹ Apparently, the psalmist believed that before God created anything else, he first formed a group of spirits that would govern his creation. These spirits were given control over every part of the creation, from angels to natural phenomena to humans, and they all function according to God’s design.¹²⁰ From the very beginning, God determined the work of every spirit and its judgment according to his will (lines 9–11a). In a sense, the psalmist thinks of

¹¹⁸ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 229. Such an interpretation of 1QH^a IX 17–21 makes a great deal of sense in light of the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (esp. 1QS III 17–25).

¹¹⁹ This idea might be due to the influence of Hellenistic philosophy on the author of the H² Creation Hymn.

¹²⁰ I would suggest that the Creation Hymn is something of a midrash on Genesis 1. Lines 9–10 (“before you created them”) represent Gen 1:1 (“In the beginning God created”). Lines 10–11 (“You yourself formed every spirit”) is based on Gen 1:2 (“the spirit of God moved over the surface of the waters”). Lines 11–12 (“You yourself stretched out the heavens”) refers to Gen 1:6–8. We could continue the correspondence through the entire Creation Hymn. What is important for our purposes is that the H² psalmist interpreted Gen 1:2 to mean that “spirits” are the primary or foundational element of creation.

God's creation as operating on three levels: the physical elements of creation, the spirits underlying those physical elements, and the cosmic design that governs the spirits.¹²¹

By attaching the Creation Hymn to the beginning of the H¹ collection of psalms, the H² psalmist meant for the reader to see the cosmogonic information contained in the Creation Hymn as a description of the knowledge revealed by God to the H¹ psalmist. According to the Creation Hymn, God has revealed knowledge about his cosmic design that regulates the spirits who direct the operation of the universe. In essence, this knowledge of the governing spirits is not substantially different from the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, which begins: “For the *maškil* in order to teach and instruct all the sons of light about the nature of all humanity, regarding all the kinds of their spirits in their signs, their works in their generations, and the visitation of their punishments with the ages of their peace” (1QS III 13–15). While the *Treatise* is specifically concerned with the spirits that govern humanity, the H² Creation Hymn is broader in scope and describes the spirits that govern all of creation; but the essential worldview is the same in both texts.

3.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

In *Instruction* and the H¹ psalms, God's cosmic design is thought of as the legal basis for his covenant with creation (§2.1.2 above; see also ch. 2 §2.2). His design consists of certain *statutus* (חוקים) which all aspects of his creation are meant to obey. Although God's covenant is never explicitly mentioned in H², I would speculate that the H² psalmist thought of God's design as the basis for his covenant with humanity and all of creation. This can be seen in 1QH^a IX 12 where the psalmist describes certain spirits as operating according to their חוקים (“statutes”). The psalmist sees God's design as a collection of laws

¹²¹ A similar three-tiered worldview is evident in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. See ch. 3 n. 24.

and regulations that govern the universe. The created elements (i.e., the angels, stars, seas, humans, etc.) must abide by these laws or else suffer the wrath of God (1QH^a IX 11).

According to the Creation Hymn, all created things exist in a covenantal relationship with God, and the legal basis of that covenant is God's cosmic design.

3.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind

As with *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the H¹ psalms, the H² Creation Hymn explicitly describes God's rational mind as the primary instrument by which he designed and governs the cosmos. This is most explicit in 1QH^a IX 21–22: ובחכמת דעתכה הכ[י]נותה תע[ו]נתם בטרם היותם (“and in the wisdom of your knowledge you det[er]mined their appointment before they existed”). Here, the word דעת refers God's rational mental faculty by which he created his cosmic design. God's דעת is the source of his “will” (רצון, line 22) that determines how the universe should operate.¹²² By logical inference, we might deduce that through his understanding of God's cosmic design the psalmist has insight into God's mind. In essence, the cosmic design is an expression of God's thoughts, and by knowing the “mysteries” and “statutes” that govern the cosmos, one can understand the way that God's thinks and works.

3.4. Summary

The H² Creation Hymn describes God's creation of certain governing spirits and the cosmological elements and phenomena which they control. According to the Creation Hymn, these fundamental spirits operate according to God's cosmic design. As with the other texts we have considered so far, God's design serves as the legal basis for his

¹²² For the use of דעת to denote one's reasoning capacity, see ch. 2 n. 74 (esp. 4Q403 1 i 35 which also expresses the idea that one's דעת is the source of their רצון).

covenant with creation, and it is an expression of his rational mind. Although the H² material never explicitly states that God has revealed knowledge of his design to the psalmist, the fact that the Creation Hymn was attached to the H¹ material makes such revelation implicit. With the addition of the Creation Hymn, it becomes clear that God's revelation to the *Hodayot* psalmist entails a profound understanding of the cosmic order. The psalmist has been given insight into God's hidden cosmic laws that regulate the spirits which govern all things in the universe, from the angels and the heavenly bodies to individual human destiny.

4. God's Revelation of Knowledge in the H³ Psalms

The H³ psalms are probably the most difficult to interpret.¹²³ In comparison to H¹ and H⁴, these psalms form a relatively small corpus. This problem is compounded by the fact that the H³ material has been heavily edited by one or more H⁴ redactors. Yet, in spite of these difficulties, the H³ psalms reflect an important stage in the development of the *Hodayot* that clearly had its own distinct views about God's revelation.

4.1. The Content of God's Revelation in the H³ Psalms

The most explicit description of God's revelation in H³ is found in 1QH^a V 17–20:

- (17) [תֹּת כֹּל בִּינָה וְמִן] וְסִר [רְזִי מַחֲשַׁבַת וְרֵאשִׁית] . . . הַ כִּינֹתָה
- (18) [] קֹדֶשׁ מִקְדָּם עֵו [לֹם וְ] לְעוֹלָמִי עַד אֶתָּה הוֹאֵל [תָּה . . .] קְדוּשִׁים
- (19) [] וּבְרִזִי פִלְאֵךְ הוֹדַעְתָּנִי בְעַ בֹּר כְּבוֹדְךָ וּבְעוֹמֶךָ . . . [מַעִין] בְּיִתְךָ לֹא
- (20) [] אֶתָּה גְלִיתָה דְרָכֵי אֱמֶת וְמַעֲשֵׂי רַע חוֹכְמָה וְאוֹלָתָּה . . .

(17) [] all understanding and in[struction] and mysteries of the design and beginning of[. . .] you [est]ablished

¹²³ The H³ material consists of 1QH^a V 15–V 30a; VI 12–33; VII 21–VIII 10 (excluding VII 21b and VII 33b–34); VIII 20b–23, 26–29a; IX 23a; and XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5.

- (18) [] holiness from time ete[rnal and] to everlasting ages you [yourself]
decided[. . .] holy ones
- (19) [] and [you] caused [me] to know your wondrous mysteries [for the] sake of
your glory and in the depth [. . . spring of]your understanding not
- (20) [] you yourself revealed the ways of truth and works of evil, wisdom and
folly[. . . .

The terminology in these lines is strikingly reminiscent of 4Q417 1 i 6–8 which has led a number of commentators to conclude that the author of this psalm drew upon *Instruction*.¹²⁴ I would suggest that the terminology in 1QH^a V 17–20 is meant to mimic *Instruction*'s description of the רז נהיה.¹²⁵ Although the H³ psalms never use the expression רז נהיה, I would argue that the words רזי פלא in line 19 are equivalent to רז נהיה in *Instruction*.¹²⁶ In effect, 1QH^a V 17–20, like *Instruction*, asserts that God has revealed the mysteries of his inscrutable cosmic design to the psalmist and his community.

This conclusion is supported by two observations. First, at the end of the H² Creation Hymn, the H³ psalmist inserted a single sentence: אלה ידעתי מבינתכה כיא גליתיה אוזני לרזי פלא (“These things I have known from your understanding for you uncovered my ear to wondrous mysteries”). By placing this interpolation in 1QH^a IX 23a the H³ psalmist claims that God has revealed to him the wondrous mysteries of the cosmic order which are described in the Creation Hymn (אלה, “these things,” refers back to the content of the Creation Hymn). Second, shortly after the proclamation of God’s revelation in 1QH^a V 17–

¹²⁴ See Elgvin, “Admonition Texts,” 185–86; idem, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction,” 160–61; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 203–7; Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran,” 263–88; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 24–26.

¹²⁵ In 1QH^a V 17–20, the H³ psalmist speaks of God revealing many of the same things that *Instruction* associates with the רז נהיה. In 4Q417 1 i 6–7, a proper understanding of אמת, עול, חכמה, and אולת (partially reconstructed) is related to one’s knowledge of the רז נהיה. The expression דרכי אמת, used in 1QH^a IX 20, is also found in 4Q416 2 iii 14 where the expression is directly associated with the רז נהיה.

¹²⁶ In 4Q417 1 i 2 and 13, the expression רזי פלא is closely related or synonymous with רז נהיה. We should also note that the words אלה ידעתי מבינתכה אוזני לרזי פלא added by the H³ psalmist as an interpolation in 1QH^a IX 23a are very similar to the phrase גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה which occurs repeatedly in *Instruction* (1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 17–18 [= 4Q418 10 1]; 4Q418 123 ii 4; and 184 2). This suggests that רזי פלא is the H³ psalmist’s equivalent to *Instruction*’s רז נהיה.

20 the psalmist gives a summary of God's created order (V 24–30). I have argued elsewhere (Appendix A §2.2) that the sub-unit in V 24–30 is an intentional paraphrase of the H² Creation Hymn. Given that this paraphrase is in such close proximity to the description of God's revelation in lines 17–20, it seems very likely that the H³ psalmist is claiming that God has revealed to him and his community the mysteries of God's cosmic order as described in the H² Creation Hymn. From these two observations, we can see that both of the explicit references to God's revelation in the H³ psalms (1QH^a V 17–20 and IX 23a) are associated with the H² Creation Hymn.¹²⁷ The H³ psalmist apparently saw the Creation Hymn as a profound description of God's design that governs the universe, and he believed that God revealed this design to him and his community.

As with the other texts I have considered so far, the H³ psalmist understood God's cosmic design as the legal basis for his covenant with creation. The cosmic design contains the laws by which the universe should operate, and whatever conducts itself according to his design is deemed to be true and acting in accordance with his covenant. For the H³ psalmist, God has made known the truth through the revelation of his cosmic design, and God's truth is equivalent to his covenant (1QH^a XVIII 32–33).¹²⁸ Because they have received God's revelation, the H³ psalmist and his community are able to observe God's covenant and live in truth (1QH^a VI 16–17; VII 24–25, 27–29; XVIII 29–33), while the wicked have rejected his covenant (1QH^a VI 32–33; VII 31–32).

Like his predecessor in H¹, the H³ psalmist associates God's revelation of the cosmic design with the knowledge available in the Garden of Eden. In 1QH^a XVIII 33, the

¹²⁷ It is important to note that the descriptions of God's revelation in V 17–20 and IX 23a are also bound together by their use of the phrase רזי פלא. This expression only occurs in the H³ psalms in these two places.

¹²⁸ This same synonymy between ברית and אמת is found in H¹ (cf. X 23–24 with XV 23).

psalmist states, וַאֲפָרְחָה כְּשׁוֹשַׁנָּה וּלְבִי נִפְתָּח לְמַקּוּר עוֹלָם (“And I sprout like a lily and my heart is open to the eternal fountain”). This language is drawn from H¹’s Garden of Eden psalm (specifically 1QH^a XVI 7–8). In the H¹ psalm, the psalmist describes himself as an Adam-like gardener who irrigates his followers (the plants of paradise) with the water of knowledge. The H³ psalmist’s description is slightly different but the analogy is the same. He describes himself as a blossoming Edenic plant whose petals are open in order to receive the waters of knowledge that flow out from God’s throne, the eternal fountain.¹²⁹ This fountain has filled his heart with God’s truth and covenant (1QH^a XVIII 32–33).

In 1QH^a V 20, the H³ psalmist associates God’s revelation with the Edenic knowledge of good and evil. Here, the psalmist claims that God has revealed the “the ways of truth and works of evil, wisdom and folly.” The exact terms טוֹב וְרַע are not used here, but the dichotomy between truth/wisdom and evil/folly probably expresses the same idea.¹³⁰ If this is the case, then in 1QH^a V 20 the psalmist claims that God has revealed to him and his community the same knowledge of good and evil that Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden.

In summary, we can see that the H³ psalmist claims that he and his community have received essentially the same knowledge as described in H¹ and H². God has revealed to them the knowledge of his cosmic design which serves as the legal basis for his

¹²⁹ In 1QH^a XVIII 34, the H³ psalmist states וּמִשְׁעִנְתִּי בְּמַעוֹז מְרוֹם (“and my support is in the stronghold on high”). This suggests that the “eternal fountain” is located in the heavens. Cf. similar statements by the H¹ psalmist in 1QH^a XV 11–12, 19–20.

¹³⁰ This suggestion is supported by the observation that the language in 1QH^a V 20 is probably drawn from the description of the רִז נְהִיָּה in 4Q417 1 i 6–8. If the reconstruction of 4Q417 1 i 8 is correct, then *Instruction* uses the antithetical terms “truth and iniquity” and “wisdom and folly,” as essentially synonymous with the knowledge of good and evil. Similar synonymity can be found in 1QS IV 23–26 where “truth and iniquity” and “wisdom and folly” are coupled with “good and evil.” The same terminological synonymity is implied in 1QH^a V 20.

covenant with creation. As in H¹, the H³ psalmist associates God's revelation with the knowledge of good and evil that is available within the Garden of Eden.

4.2. The Means of God's Revelation in the H³ Psalms

References to God's act of revelation are sparse in H³. This is partly due to the small quantity of extant material, but it is also due to the fact that the H³ material, like *Instruction* and H¹, shows little interest in the actual mechanics of God's revelation. We find some of the same vague terminology that we encountered in H¹, such as God placing understanding in the psalmist's heart (1QH^a VI 19). In 1QH^a VI 13, there is probably a reference to God revealing something to the ears of the community: וּאִתָּהּ גְּלִיתָהּ [אֶזְנוֹנֵנוּ לְ]. The same is true in 1QH^a IX 23a: כִּי־אֶתְּךָ גְּלִיתָהּ אֶזְנוֹנֵי לְרֹזֵי פְּלֵא. Similarly, in 1QH^a V 20, the psalmist declares, "You yourself revealed the ways of truth and works of evil, wisdom and folly." While these statements display a belief in some kind of divine revelation, they tell us very little about how that revelation was thought to have taken place.

4.2.1. The "Men of Your Vision"

In 1QH^a VI 18, there is a broken reference to the אֲנָשֵׁי חֲזוֹנָהּ [. . . (" . . .] men of your vision") at the climax of a eulogy praising the righteous conduct of God's elect. They are the "men of truth" who are characterized by insight, understanding, humility, and purity, and who act justly in accordance with God's statutes (VI 13–17). The fact that the H³ psalmist ends his eulogy with the words "men of your vision" indicates that this was the culmination of what it meant to be God's group of righteous elect ones. By means of God's vision, they are able to live in truth and righteousness according to their knowledge of God's will.

If we are justified in reading 1QH^a V 15–VI 18¹³¹ as a single psalm,¹³² then presumably the righteous ones in VI 12–18 are the same people to whom God revealed “all understanding and in[struction] and the mysteries of the design and the beginning[. . .]” (V 17), and whom he taught his wondrous mysteries (V 19) along with “the ways of truth and the works of evil, wisdom and folly” (V 20). Based on 1QH^a VI 18, this profound knowledge of God’s cosmic design appears to have been disclosed to the community through a vision. It is for this reason that the eulogy climaxes with the words “men of your vision.” To be a recipient of this vision is the ultimate description of what it means to be one of God’s elect.

It is an open question as to what exactly the psalmist meant by a “vision.” Was this a communal vision that all of the elect experienced? This is possible, but I think it is more likely that the words “men of your vision” are shorthand for a community of people who have accepted a particular leader’s personal vision. This would correspond with *Instruction* where it appears that certain authoritative teachers (משכילים) pass on knowledge to the מבנין based on their visionary experience(s). Such an interpretation would also correspond with 1QH^a XII 19 where the community of the righteous is defined as those who grant legitimacy to the H¹ psalmist’s vision. Given that the H³ psalmist knew of *Instruction* and

¹³¹ I would argue that 1QH^a V 12–14 is a latter addition by an H⁴ redactor (see Appendix A §2.4.1) and that the original psalm began in 1QH^a V 15. There is also an H⁴ interpolation that begins in V 30 and probably runs through the rest of column V. We cannot tell where the interpolation ends, but the material in VI 12–18 almost certainly belongs with the H³ psalms and is not part of the H⁴ interpolation.

¹³² Regarding the unity of 1QH^a V 15–VI 18 see Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 89–90; Puech, “Un hymne essénien,” 81. Stegemann and Schuller argue that this psalm extends all of the way to VI 33, and that VI 19–33 is a sub-section of this psalm (*DJD XL*, 89–90; see also Hartmut Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms in *1QHodayot* and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* [ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 213–15). Others have argued that VI 19–33 is a separate psalm entirely. See Puech, “Un hymne essénien,” 59–88; Hasselbalch, “Redactional Meaning,” 77–79. The exact end point of the psalm is not pertinent to my argument; I am only concerned that 1QH^a VI 12–18 is part of the psalm in column V.

the H¹ psalms, I suspect that the latter interpretation is what the H³ psalmist had in mind. He sees himself as part of a community which has received knowledge of God's cosmic design from an authoritative teacher/visionary.

4.2.2. Unmediated Access to God?

In the H¹ psalms, we saw that the psalmist claims to be a figure resembling Moses and Adam who has direct access to God's presence by means of which he has received the knowledge of God's cosmic design. The H¹ psalmist portrays himself as the agent of divine revelation. He is the channel through which the river of knowledge flows from God's throne to the paradisiacal community. In contrast to the H¹ psalmist, the H³ psalmist does not claim to have direct, personal access to God. The H³ psalmist is not a mediator of divine revelation; he is only a recipient, along with the rest of his community. This can be seen in 1QH^a XVIII 16a+24–XIX 5 where the H³ psalmist offers an interpretation of the H¹ Garden of Eden psalm in 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36. As the H³ psalmist carries out his interpretation we get a brief glimpse of his own theological emphases and nuances.¹³³ Most important for our purpose is how the H³ psalmist interprets his relationship to the “eternal fountain.” In the H¹ Garden of Eden psalm, the psalmist states that it is by his own hand

¹³³ For example, in 1QH^a XVIII 26–28, the H³ psalmist specifically identifies the “trees of water” in the H¹ psalm (1QH^a XVI 7–11) as the rich and affluent, although such an association is never made in H¹. Unlike the H¹ psalmist who portrays his opponents as violent and aggressive oppressors, the H³ psalmist is chiefly concerned with the corrupting influence of wealth. The psalmist plays off the word עֵדֶן and sets up a contrast between his community who are in Eden (עֵדֶן) and his opponents who are characterized by their רֹב עֲדִינִים (“abundant luxuries”). Another somewhat peculiar interpretation of the H¹ psalm is found in 1QH^a XVIII 35–38 where the H³ psalmist seems to describe a tour of the chambers of Sheol and speaks of God's pending judgment on the angelic beings, whom he refers to as גְּבוּרֵי כֹהַל (“powerful warriors”) and “the host of your holy ones.” The H³ psalmist is basing this idea on 1QH^a XVI 29–30, although the H¹ psalmist clearly uses descent to Sheol in a metaphorical sense and never mentions the judgment of angelic beings. In H¹, the גְּבוּרֵי כֹהַל are the angels guarding the entrance to the Garden of Eden (XVI 12), whereas in H³ the “powerful warriors” are angelic beings awaiting God's judgment (גְּבוּרֵי כֹהַל is only used in these two places in the *Hodayot*). It would appear that the H³ psalmist interpreted H¹'s descent into Sheol literally and adopted the expression גְּבוּרֵי כֹהַל as a title for all angelic beings. A full comparison of 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36 and XVIII 16a+24–XIX 5 needs to be conducted.

that God has opened the eternal fountain in order to water the garden (1QH^a XVI 22). In XVI 7–8, the community opens (פתח) its roots to the eternal fountain (מקור עולם) so that it might sprout (פרח) into an eternal planting. In the H¹ psalm, the psalmist portrays himself as God’s agent who brings water to the community which must receive that water so that it will grow into a paradise. By comparison, in 1QH^a XVIII 33 the H³ psalmist states, “I sprout (פרח) like a lily and my heart is open (פתח) to the eternal fountain (מקור עולם).” The contrast between the H¹ psalm and the H³ psalm is subtle, but significant. In 1QH^a XVIII 33, the H³ psalmist does not portray himself as the chief agent or mediator of God’s revelation; rather, he is one of the recipients of revelation described in 1QH^a XVI 7–8. Like any other member of the community, he has opened his heart to the eternal fountain that causes him to sprout into a paradisiacal plant. Unlike the H¹ psalmist, the H³ psalmist is not an Adam-like gardener; he is a flower being watered by God’s revelation.

In 1QH^a XVIII 16a+24–XIX 5, the H³ psalmist exhibits a sense of distance from the source of God’s revelation. This sense of distance would be appropriate if the psalmist and his community (“the men of your vision”) were followers of a prophetic leader instead of direct recipients of God’s revelation. I would speculate that the H³ psalmist was a follower or disciple of the H¹ psalmist, and he saw himself as one who had drunk the water of revelation provided by the H¹ psalmist. The H³ psalmist apparently believed that the H¹ psalmist was an authentic prophetic visionary who had received the knowledge of God’s will and cosmic design. In referring to his community as “the men of your vision,” the H³ psalmist asserts that they are true adherents to the visionary revelation of the H¹ psalmist.

4.2.3. Revelation through the Spirit of God?

There are two references in the H³ psalms to a “holy spirit” (1QH^a VI 24; VIII 21), and it is worth considering whether or not these references indicate that God revealed knowledge of his design by means of an indwelling spirit.¹³⁴ Berg has argued that in 1QH^a VI 24 “the agency of the holy spirit is directly linked to knowledge and understanding.”¹³⁵ Berg’s punctuation of the passage, however, is slightly misleading. He reads, “your holy [sp]irit, and thus you bring me¹³⁶ into an understanding of you.”¹³⁷ Whereas Berg places a comma after בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ and joins it to the following words וְכֵן תְּגִישֵׁנוּ לְבִינְתָךְ, most likely וְכֵן begins a new sentence and a new thought.¹³⁸ The word כֵן probably refers back to בְּרִצּוֹנְכָה earlier in line 24, not to בְּאֵי[י]שׁ (“in your favor to a pe[rs]on”) earlier in line 24, not to רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ. Accordingly, we could paraphrase וְכֵן תְּגִישֵׁנוּ לְבִינְתָךְ as: “And thus, in your favor to a person, you draw him closer to your understanding.”¹³⁹ A similar thought is expressed in line 28: וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי בְרוּב: (“And I have known by your abundant goodness”). In 1QH^a VI 24, 28 the psalmist attributes his knowledge to God’s favor and abundant goodness, not to God’s holy spirit.

It is important to note that in 1QH^a VI 24 the “holy spirit” is the product, not the agent, of God’s revelation. The words בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ are part of a larger stock phrase that

¹³⁴ The context around 1QH^a VIII 21 is too fragmentary to be of use. Hence, I will focus on 1QH^a VI 24.

¹³⁵ Berg, “Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 179. Sekki comes to a similar conclusion (*The Meaning of Ruah*, 79).

¹³⁶ Stegemann and Schuller read תְּגִישֵׁנוּ with a third person pronominal suffix (*DJD XL*, 93), not a first person suffix as read by Berg.

¹³⁷ The wording in 1QH^a VI 24 is as follows: כִּי בְרִצּוֹנְכָה בְּאֵי[י]שׁ הָרַבְּ[י]תָה נְחַלְתוּ [בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ וְכֵן תְּגִישֵׁנוּ לְבִינְתָךְ].

¹³⁸ The sentence וְכֵן תְּגִישֵׁנוּ לְבִינְתָךְ acts a transition between lines 19–24 which describe God’s act of revelation and lines 25–27 which describe the result of having or not having God’s revelation. A similar transitional sentence is found in line 29.

¹³⁹ This interpretation is confirmed by the third person pronominal suffix on תְּגִישֵׁנוּ which refers back to אִישׁ (see Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 93).

occurs elsewhere in the H³ material: ברצונכה באיש הרביתה נחלתו ב-. This phrase is attested in 1QH^a VI 24; VIII 22; XVIII 30, and in all three instances the word נחלתו is followed by a *bet* preposition marking the object of inheritance. This means that in 1QH^a VI 24 רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ is the object of the psalmist's inheritance; and, more importantly, it means that רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ is equivalent to צְדָקוֹת [יָד] in 1QH^a VIII 22 and דַּעַת אִמְתַּכָּה in 1QH^a XVIII 30. This equivalence indicates that רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ in 1QH^a VI 24 is related to the content of God's revelation or the result of his revelation, not the means of that revelation.

We have seen a similar use of רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ in *Instruction* (4Q416 2 ii 6) and the H¹ psalms (1QH^a XV 9–10; XVII 32; see §2.2.3 above) where רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ is used in a purely psychological sense. It is not an entity responsible for mediating knowledge. In *Instruction* and H¹, רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ is used to denote a wise, strong, and faithful disposition instilled within those who have received God's revelation. I would argue that in H³ רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ has the same meaning and refers to a holy disposition within the psalmist because he has obtained the knowledge of God's design.¹⁴⁰

4.3. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the H³ Psalms

It is difficult to get a full picture of the theological function of God's revelation in H³. The relatively small amount of extant material and its laconic nature only yields hints of ideas. This said, the major concepts that we see in these psalms are reminiscent of H¹, yet the H³ psalmist has developed these concepts in distinct ways.

¹⁴⁰ Elsewhere, the H³ psalmist uses רוֹחַ to speak of the human (1QH^a VI 14) and divine dispositions (1QH^a VIII 27), adding credence to the above interpretation of רוֹחַ קוֹדֶשׁ.

4.3.1. Knowledge and Covenant Obedience

Probably the most apparent and important function of God's revelation in H³ is that it allows the psalmist and his community to observe the requirements of God's covenant. As in H¹, the H³ psalmist believes that God has revealed knowledge of his cosmic design that serves as the legal basis for his covenant with creation (see §4.1 above).¹⁴¹ The psalmist's heart is open to the "eternal fountain" from which flows truth and the covenant of God (1QH^a XVIII 32–33). Having obtained the knowledge of God's design and his covenant requirements, the community is able to live righteously according to God's will (1QH^a VI 16–17; 19–22; 28–29). They can purify themselves from iniquity (1QH^a VII 23; VIII 28) and are able to reject evil works (1QH^a VI 21–22; VIII 28–29). As might be expected, the outcome of this covenantal obedience is an eternal reward. While the wicked who have rejected God's covenant will suffer divine wrath, the righteous will receive "eternal salvation and everlasting peace" (1QH^a VII 29–30).

4.3.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State?

In terms of its anthropology, the H³ psalms bear the closest resemblance to the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, although the H³ psalmist thinks of each person as having only one spirit rather than two.¹⁴² According to the psalmist, each individual human spirit has been predetermined by God. From the moment of their creation, each person is given a spirit that determines their destiny. In 1QH^a VII 26–27 the psalmist states, "I know that in your hand is the formation/inclination (יצר) of every spirit [and all] its [activi]ty you

¹⁴¹ Although it is difficult to quantify, the H³ psalmist seems to put more emphasis on the covenantal importance of God's revelation than in H¹. Undoubtedly, the H³ material has a more deuteronomistic tone than H¹.

¹⁴² Unlike the *Treatise*, the internal spirit in the H³ psalms is purely psychological and not cosmological (i.e., it is not a spiritual entity).

established before you created it” (see also VII 28–33a, 35). Apparently, some people receive a good spirit while others receive an evil spirit. 1QH^a VI 22–23 describes how God placed humans into two different lots: “[. . . lot]s of humanity, for according to the spirits you cast them between good and evil.” The psalmist is able to rejoice because God has formed a good spirit for him: “For you yourself created the spir[it of your servant and according to] your [wil]l you established me” (1QH^a XVIII 24). According to these passages, the H³ psalmist believed that God created each person’s spirit according to his design, and whichever lot one falls into (either good or evil) is a direct result of God’s predetermined will.¹⁴³

The anthropology of the H³ psalms is slightly different from the other texts I have examined. The H³ psalmist never states that all people are born with a faulty יצר and inclined to do evil. Rather, he asserts that God separated the righteous and the wicked before they were created according to the spirit which he would assigned to them. This said, God’s revelation aids the righteous by helping them to resist evil and choose what is good. Through his revelation of knowledge, God imparts a “holy spirit”—a faithful disposition—to the psalmist (1QH^a VI 24). As a result, the psalmist is able to stand against evil deeds (1QH^a VI 20–21) and not stray from God’s commandments (1QH^a VIII 23). Even though the psalmist was born with a good spirit, he still requires the knowledge of God’s design so that he can live in truth according to God’s covenant.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ The H³ psalmist probably developed these ideas from the H² Creation Hymn and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. The Creation Hymn conveys the notion that God created each person’s spirit according to his cosmic design, and that a person’s spirit determines their actions and the reward or punishment they will ultimately receive from God (1QH^a IX 17–21). A similar spiritual determinism is expressed in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.

¹⁴⁴ I would hypothesize that the psalmist saw the good or evil spirit that God created for each person as that which determines how they will respond to God’s revelation. Those who were created with a good spirit are inclined to accept God’s revelation, while those created with an evil spirit reject it. Having a good

4.3.3. Returning to Paradise through God's Revelation of Knowledge

As in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and H¹, the H³ psalmist saw God's revelation of his cosmic design as a means for allowing the community of the righteous to return to paradise. In §4.1 above, we saw that the H³ psalmist associates the knowledge he has received with the knowledge of good and evil (1QH^a V 20). In stating this, he implies that he has acquired the same knowledge that Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden. He also claims that through his knowledge of God's cosmic design (i.e., the knowledge of good and evil), he has returned to a paradisiacal state. This can be seen in 1QH^a XVIII 33 where the psalmist states, ואפרחה כשׁוֹשְׁנָה ולבי נפתח למקור עולם ("And I sprout like a lily and my heart is open to the eternal fountain"). As I noted in §4.2.2 above, the H³ psalm in 1QH^a XVIII 16a+24–XIX 5 is based on the H¹ Garden of Eden psalm in 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36. Using the H¹ psalmist's words in 1QH^a XVI 7–8, the H³ psalmist describes himself as a blossoming Edenic plant whose petals are open in order to receive the waters of knowledge. By applying the H¹ psalmist's Garden of Eden psalm to himself, the H³ psalmist indicates that all that is true of the eternal planting in 1QH^a XVI 5–27 is true of him. He is a prosperous fruit-bearing plant in the Garden of Eden because he has been irrigated with the waters of knowledge that flow from the eternal fountain.

In 1QH^a XVIII 25–34, the H³ psalmist draws an implicit contrast between his own Edenic state and the עֲדֻנִים ("luxuries," XVIII 26, 32) of the unrighteous. The wicked think that their wealth and unjust gain is a paradise (lines 25–28), but true paradise is only accessible through God's revelation which gives one knowledge of his truth and covenant

spirit in and of itself does not guarantee that one will receive an eternal reward from God. They must still seek out the knowledge of God's design and choose to live in accordance with it.

(lines 29–34).¹⁴⁵ This contrast between the luxuries of the wicked and the paradise of the righteous raises the possibility that the H³ psalmist associated the true Edenic existence with a state of righteous poverty. It is difficult to know this for certain; yet, the fact that the H³ psalms are characteristically concerned with money and the fact that the psalmist contrasts his own עֵדֶן with the עֲדֻנִים of the wicked, strongly suggests that the psalmist associated the true Eden with a low economic status.

In *Instruction* and probably the H¹ psalms, the authors envision two paradisiacal existences for the righteous: a present reality and a future eschatological hope. The same is true for the H³ psalmist. 1QH^a XVIII 29–34 suggests that the psalmist is in paradise at the present time. While the wealthy are trees of a false paradise (XVIII 26–28), the psalmist is a flower in paradise irrigated by the waters of knowledge that flow from God. Yet, elsewhere in the H³ material, the psalmist describes his paradisiacal existence as a pending eschatological reward. Two of the best descriptions of this eschatological reward are in 1QH^a V 23 which mentions כְּבוֹד עוֹלָם וְהַמְדָּה וְשִׂמְחַת עַד (“eternal glory, loveliness, and everlasting joy”) and VII 29 which speaks of יְשׁוּעַת עוֹלָם וְשְׁלוֹם עַד (“eternal salvation and everlasting peace”) for those who keep God’s covenant. Most likely, the expressions כְּבוֹד עוֹלָם and שְׁלוֹם עַד were taken from 4Q418 126 ii 8 (בְּכִבּוֹד עוֹלָם וְשְׁלוֹם עַד) which describes God’s act of eschatological salvation for the righteous.¹⁴⁶ This passage in 4Q418 also mentions the “spirit of life” and “all the sons of Eve,” suggesting that כְּבוֹד עוֹלָם and שְׁלוֹם עַד

¹⁴⁵ The H³ psalmist resembles the H¹ psalmist in that they both describe two present paradises: the false paradise of the wicked and the true paradise of the righteous who have received God’s revelation. In 1QH^a XVI 7 and 10 the H¹ psalmist describes two “plantings” (מִטְעָה). The wicked trees of water are a false planting or paradise while the righteous trees are the true planting/paradise of God.

¹⁴⁶ Outside of the *Hodayot*, the wording כְּבוֹד עוֹלָם occurs in 1QSb III 4 and 4Q418 126 ii 8, while שְׁלוֹם עַד is only found in 4Q418 126 ii 8. This suggests that 4Q418 126 ii 8 is the source for these expressions.

were terms specifically associated with an eschatological return to the Garden of Eden.¹⁴⁷ If the H³ psalmist drew these expressions from 4Q418 126 ii, then it is likely that intended to use them with the same eschatological and paradisiacal connotations that they have in *Instruction*. If so, then the language in 1QH^a V 23 and VII 29 is meant to describe an eschatological return to paradise.¹⁴⁸

Although both the H¹ and H³ psalms envision a present and a future paradisiacal existence for the righteous, there is a noticeable difference between them. The H¹ psalmist almost entirely focuses on the present paradisiacal state of the community with little attention given to what the future holds. By contrast, the H³ psalmist is much more interested in the future paradisiacal reward. The H³ psalmist knows that he and his community have been blessed in the present because of God's revelation, but true peace, salvation, and joy are inheritances yet to be received.

4.4. Summary

While the H³ psalmist undoubtedly drew on core ideas in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the H¹ psalms, and the H² Creation Hymn, he developed these concepts in distinctive ways. As with H¹, the H³ psalmist states that he has received knowledge of God's cosmic design; although, in terms of how he describes the content of God's revelation, his language is closer to *Instruction* (esp. 4Q417 1 i 6–8)¹⁴⁹ and the H² Creation Hymn. The psalmist and his community received their knowledge by means of a visionary experience; they are the men of God's vision (1QH^a VI 18). Most likely, this vision was only experienced by a

¹⁴⁷ Wold also sees 4Q418 126 ii as an allusion to the creation account in Genesis (*Women, Men and Angels*, 108–9).

¹⁴⁸ We should note that the word חמדה (“loveliness”) in 1QH^a V 23 also has an Edenic connotation. In *Instruction* (4Q423 1–2 i 1) and Gen 2:9 and 3:6, the verb חמד is used to describe the paradisiacal trees.

¹⁴⁹ The H³ psalmist probably used רוי פלא as a synonym for *Instruction*'s רז נהיה (see n. 126 above).

single prophetic leader (probably the H¹ psalmist is in mind here) which was subsequently mediated to the H³ psalmist and his companions. As in the other texts I have studied, the H³ psalmist saw God's revelation as the basis for salvation. Knowledge of God's design allows the psalmist and his community to adhere to God's covenant and to enter into paradise, both now and in the future.

5. God's Revelation of Knowledge in the H⁴ Psalms

The H⁴ material was the last part of the *Hodayot* to be composed and in some ways it is the most intriguing.¹⁵⁰ In these psalms, we find repeated declarations about the profound nature of God's revelation, numerous references to human fellowship with the angels, complex anthropological statements, discussions of demonic spirits, and descriptions of God's heavenly abode. While the H⁴ material contains some of the most striking language in the *Hodayot*, in many respects it is not essentially different from what we have seen in the H¹ psalms. I would suggest that the H⁴ psalms are a logical extension, or possibly a radicalization, of the thought in H¹.¹⁵¹

5.1. The Content of God's Revelation in the H⁴ Psalms

The H⁴ psalms describes God's revelation in much the same way as in the H¹ psalms. He speaks of God revealing his "truth" and "wondrous mysteries" (1QH^a XV 29–30). He claims that God has made known his "basis of truth" and "wondrous works"

¹⁵⁰ The H⁴ material consists of: 1QH^a IV 13–40; V 12–14; V 30b–41; VI 34–41; VII 12–20, 21b, 33b–34; VIII 11–20a, 24–25, 29b–41; IX 1–8, 23b–36a; XI 21b–25a; XII 30b–XIII 6; XIV 9–22a; XV 29–XVI 4; XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a; XVII 38–XVIII 14; XVIII 16b–24a; XIX 6–XXVII 3.

¹⁵¹ Although the H⁴ material was probably composed by multiple people, at this point I am not able to discern how many people were involved. Since the H⁴ material generally shows a great deal of thematic and terminological uniformity (and for the sake of convenience), I will simply speak of a single psalmist ("the H⁴ psalmist").

(1QH^a XIX 7). Stylistically, H⁴ even resembles H¹ in its technique of piling up synonymous expressions in order to describe the content of God's revelation. For example, in 1QH^a XVIII 3–7, the psalmist refers to God's revelation as: מְחֻשְׁבֵּת־כֹּה, מְזֻמַּת לַבְּכָה, רְצוּנָה, [סוּד] רְזִיכָה, חוֹכֵם [מִתְכָּה], נִפְלְאוֹת, and סוּד אִמְ[תְּכָה]. While much of the terminology and ideology employed by H⁴ is similar to H¹, there are also important differences between the two groups of psalms. We will turn now to look in detail at the particular nuances and emphases which the H⁴ psalmist used to describe the nature of God's revelation.

5.1.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design

As with the other *Hodayot* material, the H⁴ psalmist claims to have knowledge of God's cosmic design that governs all of creation. As I mentioned above, in 1QH^a XVIII 3–7 the psalmist proclaims that he has been given insight into מְחֻשְׁבֵּת־כֹּה, מְזֻמַּת לַבְּכָה, רְזִיכָה [סוּד], and סוּד אִמְ[תְּכָה]. Elsewhere, the psalmist states that he has knowledge of כּוֹל רְזִיכָה (1QH^a XX 23), סוּד אִמְתְּכָה (1QH^a XIX 7, 12, 19), רְזִי פְּלֹאכָה (1QH^a XV 30; XIX 13), and סוּד פְּלֹאכָה (1QH^a XX 15). All of this language is identical to the terminology used in H¹. Both psalmists speak of knowing the plan of God's heart (מְזֻמַּת לַבְּכָה; cf. 1QH^a XII 22), his thought or design (מְחֻשְׁבָּה; cf. 1QH^a XII 14), his mysteries (רְזִינִי; cf. 1QH^a XIII 27), the basis of truth (סוּד אִמְתָּה; cf. 1QH^a XIII 11), his wondrous mysteries (רְזִי פְּלֹאכָה; cf. 1QH^a XII 28–29), and his wondrous secret counsel (סוּד פְּלֹאכָה; cf. 1QH^a XII 29). The reuse of this language by the H⁴ psalmist indicates that he thinks of God's revelation in essentially the same way as described in H¹: God has made known his divine plan or cosmic design that regulates the universe.

Although there are many terminological similarities between the H¹ and H⁴ material, the H⁴ psalms use some distinctive terminology to describe what God has made known. In particular, only the H⁴ material refers to the knowledge of God's נפלאות¹⁵² and his כבוד.¹⁵³ In a number of cases, נפלאות and כבוד appear to be synonymous,¹⁵⁴ and both terms are associated with God's actions (מעשה) or the manner in which he acts.¹⁵⁵ In a general sense, knowledge of God's נפלאות, כבוד, and מעשה denotes an understanding of what God does and how he does it. In other words, the psalmist understands God's design and how God acts in accordance with that design.¹⁵⁶

In some ways, the H⁴ material is more descriptive and explicit about the content of God's revelation than the H¹ psalms.¹⁵⁷ One of the distinctive features of H⁴ is that knowledge of God's design is explicitly associated with an understanding of calendrical

¹⁵² 1QH^a II 12 (partially reconstructed); VI 34; VII 14 (partially reconstructed); IX 31–32, 35, 36; XI 24; XIV 14; XVII 7; XVIII 6, 17, 23; XIX 31; XXI 7; XXII 7 (partially reconstructed); XXVI 39 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 20a).

¹⁵³ 1QH^a VII 15; IX 31–32; XVIII 22–23; XIX 9; XXV 11. In 1QH^a XVIII 22–23, the psalmist declares that he contemplates (נבט) God's כבוד. Elsewhere in H⁴, the psalmist uses the language of contemplation (נבט) for considering God's cosmic design (1QH^a XVIII 5; XIX 20; XXI 5).

¹⁵⁴ 1QH^a VII 14; IX 31–32; XVIII 22–23.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, 1QH^a IX 32.

¹⁵⁶ Aitken has observed that the psalmist in the material I have labeled H⁴ uses terminology similar to Ben Sira 42:18–21. Here, Ben Sira speaks of seeing and recounting God's כבוד, מעשה, and נפלאות—terminology that signifies the underlying order of the world which God has planned and designed in his omniscience (42:18–21). Aitken has also argued that כבוד in Sir 42:17 and 1QH^a XVIII 12–13 should be understood as a term representing the divine presence itself. In other words, these texts profess that one can comprehend God's cosmic order by encountering God's very presence. Because of the polyvalence of כבוד, Aitken's case is difficult to prove; however, his conclusion might have some supporting evidence in the H⁴ material. There are a few passages in H⁴ where כבוד is used to denote the visible radiance surrounding God. For example, 1QH^a XX 18 states, [בְּהִדְרֵךְ כְּבוֹדְכָהּ לְאוֹר עוֹלָם] (“...with the splendor of your glory for etern[al] light”). In addition, as we will see below (§5.2.2), H⁴ contains a number of passages where the psalmist seems to claim that he has stood in the radiant light of God's presence. If so, then the psalmist knows God's כבוד, מעשה, and נפלאות because he has entered into God's presence. See James Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory’ in Ben Sira—Traces of a Development in Post-Biblical Hebrew,” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (ed. T. Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 14–18.

¹⁵⁷ I would argue that this is simply a result of the fact that the H⁴ psalmist is writing later and utilizing the H¹ material.

times. Such knowledge might be presumed in H¹⁻³, but in those groups of material God's revelation is never explicitly connected with calendrical matters. 1QH^a XX 7–16 is the most obvious place where the H⁴ psalmist asserts that God has made known the proper times for worship. Regarding this passage, Lange describes the psalmist's belief that "Der Gott of Erkenntnis hat die kalendarische Ordnung seiner Schöpfung als Teil der präexistenten Schöpfungs- und Geschichtordnung schon vor der Schöpfung festgelegt."¹⁵⁸ For the H⁴ psalmist, God's revealed calendar not only encompasses the proper times for worship, it also addresses the events of the *eschaton*. In 1QH^a XXV 12–13, the psalmist writes, רָבִישׁ [הבינותה] לַאֲנוֹשׁ בְּמִזְמַת לְבַכָּה וְקִצַּ תְּעוּדָה הַשְּׁכַלְתָּה לְבִשְׁרִי ("[you caused] a person [to understand] the plan of your heart and you gave insight to fle[sh] regarding the appointed time"). Within the context of 1QH^a XXV 3–16, the words קִצַּ תְּעוּדָה clearly refers to the time of eschatological judgment in which God will destroy all that is evil and declare the righteous to be innocent.¹⁵⁹ For the H⁴ psalmist, the calendrical order is simply one aspect of God's cosmic design, and by knowing God's design a person is able to understand the appointed time of all things.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 231–32.

¹⁵⁹ Goff, "Reading Wisdom," 277. The expression קִצַּ תְּעוּדָה only occurs here in the Scrolls, with an overlap in 4Q428 18 2 (in 1QH^a XXV 13 the *tsade* is written as a medial form, but in 4Q428 18 2 it is a final form).

¹⁶⁰ It is worth noting that other Qumran texts associate proper calendrical observance with an understanding of the plan of God's mind. For example, 4Q503 51–55 12–14 states, וְאָמְרוּ בְרוּךְ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [. . .] גּוֹרְלוֹת אֹר לְמַעַן נִדְעַ בְּאוֹתוֹת [ת] ה' וְיִדְעֵנוּ בְּמַחֲשַׁבַת בִּינְתוֹ הַגְּדוֹלָה [. . .] ("And they shall say, 'Blessed be the God of Israel . . . he has [ma]de known to us the gr[eat] design of his understanding . . . lots of light in order than we may know the sign[s] . . ."). The words "lots of light" and "signs" are references to the movements and positions of astronomical bodies used for calendrical measurements (cf. 1QS X 1–5; 1QH^a XX 7–13).

5.1.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

The H⁴ psalmist follows the same pattern of thought we have already seen in H¹⁻³ when he speaks of God's cosmic design as the basis for his covenant with creation.¹⁶¹ In 1QH^a XXI 9–10, the H⁴ psalmist declares that God has revealed his “established statutes” (חוקי נכוונת), and as a result of God's revelation the psalmist has been brought into God's covenant. The חוקים in 1QH^a XXI 9 should probably be understood as equivalent to the חוקות in 1QH^a XX 8 which are the statutes that govern the heavenly bodies.¹⁶² If so, then we should understand חוקות and חוקים in 1QH^a XX 8 and XXI 9 as the statutes contained in God's design which are meant to govern his creation. As in the other texts I have examined, the underlying idea is that God's design constitutes the laws that regulate all things. If one is to be in a proper covenantal relationship with God, they must understand God's will, and his will is expressed through his design.

A very interesting statement in 1QH^a IV 39 might associate the covenant revealed to the H⁴ psalmist with God's original covenant with Adam. The text states: א[א] נוֹשׁ וְאֵל כּוֹל בְּרִית אָדָם אֲבִיט [. . .] (“a pe[r]son and I will consider the whole covenant of Adam [. . .]”). The transcription of this line and its translation are a matter of dispute.¹⁶³ Yet, if the transcription and translation as I have presented them here are correct, the psalmist seems to be saying that he is observing the same covenant that God gave to Adam in the garden.

¹⁶¹ The word ברית is used twelve times in the H⁴ material: 1QH^a IV 17, 39; VIII 25, 33; XII 35, 36, 40; XXI 10, 14; XXII 15, 27; XXIII 10.

¹⁶² The idea that there are certain חוקים or חוקות that regulate the celestial bodies and phenomena might be based on the H² Creation Hymn (specifically 1QH^a IX 12).

¹⁶³ Qimron, for example, reads בִּינָה instead of בְּרִית (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 63). For additional notes on the rendering of בְּרִית and other possible readings, see Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 72. The words אדם בְּרִית could be translated “human covenant,” although it is unclear why the psalmist would profess to give consideration to a human covenant. Wise, Abegg, and Cook interpret the line as referring to a human covenant: “. . .] and I examine every human covenant [. . .]” (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 173).

The idea that God made a covenant with Adam soon after his creation would correspond quite closely to the underlying thought in H¹ and H³. Both H¹ and H³ equate the knowledge of God's design with the knowledge of good and evil given to Adam in the garden, and both groups of texts see the knowledge given to Adam as the basis for covenant obedience. In other words, God gave Adam the knowledge of his cosmic design so that Adam could observe God's covenant. In light of this, 1QH^a IV 39 is probably an assertion by the H⁴ psalmist that he will adhere to the covenant that God originally established with Adam. The knowledge of God's design has been revealed to the psalmist so that he too can observe the "covenant of Adam."

5.1.3. God's Cosmic Design as an Expression of His Mind

Several times the H⁴ psalmist employs the expression אֵל הַדְּעוּת ("God of knowledge").¹⁶⁴ We have already encountered this short title in *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 8) and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (1QS III 15) where it conveys the idea that God established a cosmic design to govern all things through the power of his rational mind (דַּעַת/דְּעָה). For the H⁴ psalmist, as in the other texts I have studied, God's cosmic design is a manifestation of his rational mind, and one can gain insight into God's thoughts by obtaining knowledge of his design.

In a number of passages, the H⁴ psalmist asserts that he has known God's בִּינָה or שִׁכְלָה, by which he seems to mean that he has knowledge of God's thoughts.¹⁶⁵ For example,

¹⁶⁴ 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 33–34.

¹⁶⁵ The words בִּינָה and שִׁכְלָה can be used to refer to one's mental faculty or capacity to reason. Such a use of שִׁכְלָה is found in 4Q420 1a11–b 4 where the author refers to a עֲנִי וְנָכִי שִׁכְלוֹ ("[man] who is humble and contrite in his mind"). Cf. similar uses of שִׁכְלָה in 1 Sam 25:3; 1 Chr 26:14; 2 Chr 2:12; and Ezra 8:18. As a faculty, בִּינָה signifies the power of reasoning or plotting (Prov 3:5; 23:4; Job 20:3). It is a quality that enables leaders to govern well (1 Chr 22:12; Isa 11:2). Michael V. Fox discusses בִּינָה as a mental faculty in, "Words for Wisdom: תְּבוּנָה and בִּינָה; עֲרֻמָּה and מְזֻמָּה; תּוֹשִׁיָּה and עֲצָה," *ZAH* 6 (1993): 154–58. Relatively often

in 1QH^a XX 15–16, the psalmist claims to have knowledge of the mystery of God’s שכל, that is, God’s rational mind or way of thinking: ברוח קדשכה [פ]תחתה לתוכי דעת ברו שכלכה. ומעין גבורת[כה] (“By your holy spirit you [o]pened in the midst of me the knowledge of¹⁶⁶ the mystery of your prudence and the spring of [your] strength . . .”).¹⁶⁷ In this passage, the psalmist asserts that God, through his holy spirit, has placed within him knowledge of his inscrutable thoughts—the unfathomable way that God thinks. Elsewhere, the H⁴ psalmist uses the terminology רזי שכלכה to denote the inscrutable way that God thinks or reasons. In 1QH^a V 30, the psalmist states, ברזי שכלכה פלג[תה] כול אלה להודיע כבודך, (“In the mysteries of your prudence [you] revealed all these things to make known your glory”).¹⁶⁸ We could paraphrase 1QH^a V 30 as follows: “According to the inscrutable way that you think, you decided to reveal all these things in order to make known your glory.” 1QH^a XXII 31 might also be a declaration by the psalmist that he has gained insight into God’s mind. Here the psalmist writes, פתחתה לבבי לבינתכה (“you have opened my heart to your understanding”). Since this passage uses language and terminology similar to 1QH^a XX

in the Scrolls, בינה (4Q400 2 9; 4Q402 4 3; 4Q503 51–55 13) and שכל (1QS IV 18; 4Q405 23 ii 13) are used to refer to God’s way of thinking: his prudence, rational thought process, or his intellectual power that produces a thought or plan. For example, in 4Q503 51–55 13, God’s בינה is the source of a great thought or design. The author claims that ה[ו]דיענו במחשבת בינתו הגד[ולה] (“he has [made known to us the gr[eat] design of his understanding”). In 1QS IV 18 the author states, אל ברזי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קץ להיות עולה, (“God, in the mysteries of his prudence and the wisdom of his glory, set an end to the existence of deceit;” see ch. 3 n. 21).

¹⁶⁶ In *DJD XL*, 260, Newsom translates the phrase ברו שכלכה דעת לתוכי as “you have [o]pened up knowledge within me *through* the mystery of your wisdom.” According to this translation, the preposition *bet* would be instrumental. However, the fact that דעת ברו שכלכה is paralleled with מעין גבורת[כה] strongly suggests that the entire expression (דעת ברו שכלכה) is a string of concatenative genitives. Moreover, it is not unusual for דעת to be followed by the preposition *bet* when indicating the content of what is known (e.g. 1QH^a VII 15; X 15; XVIII 22). Thus, the words דעת ברו שכלכה should be understood as “knowledge of the mystery of your prudence.”

¹⁶⁷ Wolfson also interprets this passage as referring to an intimate understanding of God’s mind (“Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 201). However, I would not go so far as Wolfson who describes God’s mind as a manifestation of seven divine potencies.

¹⁶⁸ The construction ברזי שכלו is very similar to an expression in 1QpHab VII 14, ערמתו, ברזי שכלו, which probably means “by the mysteries of his devising/cunningness.”

15–16, I would argue that *בִּינָה* in 1QH^a XXII 31 refers to God’s rational mind just as *שָׁכַל* does in XX 16. In 1QH^a XXII 31, the psalmist essentially claims: “you have opened my heart to your way of thinking.”

There is an interesting passage in 1QH^a XIX 13–17 where the psalmist speaks of ascending to God’s *בִּינָה*. The text states,

“For the sake of your glory you purified a person from transgression in order to be sanctified (14) for you from all impure abominations and unfaithful guilt, to be united with the sons of your truth and in a lot together with (15) your holy ones, *to raise the worm of the dead from dust to the basis of [your] t[ruth]* (*לְסוֹד אֵלֶּיךָ מִתְּכָה*) and from a *perverted spirit to your understanding* (*לְבִינְתְּכָה*), (16) and to take a stand in the place before you with the everlasting host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and to be renewed with all that e[xists] (17) and will exist and with those who know in a common rejoicing.”

In this text, the psalmist describes his ascension from the impurity of the earthly realm to the knowledge associated with the angels in the heavenly realm. What is interesting about 1QH^a XIX 15 is that it uses knowledge terminology (*לְסוֹד אֵלֶּיךָ מִתְּכָה* and *לְבִינְתְּכָה*) to describe the terminus of ascent.¹⁶⁹ As we saw in the H¹ psalms, the expression *אֵלֶּיךָ מִתְּכָה* refers to God’s cosmic design (§2.1.1). The word *לְבִינְתְּכָה* is in synonymous parallelism with *לְסוֹד אֵלֶּיךָ מִתְּכָה*, and *בִּינְתְּכָה* probably refers to God’s rational mind that produced his design. I would suggest that 1QH^a XIX 13–17 uses the imagery of heavenly ascent as a metaphor to describe the process of entering into an intimate knowledge of

¹⁶⁹ The same association between knowledge and the “physical” heavenly realm might be attested in 1QM XVII 8. This passage states, *יִשְׂמַח צְדָק בְּמְרוֹמַי וְכֹל בְּנֵי אֱמֶתוֹ יִגִּילוּ בְּדַעַת עוֹלָמִים* (“Righteousness will rejoice in the heights and all the sons of his truth will shout joyfully in eternal knowledge.”). Here “heights” is in synonymous parallelism with “eternal knowledge.” The heavenly realm is the place of eternal knowledge. Also, in the H¹ psalms, I noted that God’s cosmic design, the “basis of truth,” is described as the foundation of heaven (see §2.1.1 above). In this regard, the psalmist is able to claim that God has placed a heavenly foundation in his heart (1QH^a XIII 34–35; XVII 27–28).

God's mind and will.¹⁷⁰ In this passage, the psalmist does not literally ascend to heaven; he ascends to the knowledge of God's universal plan, and by ascending to this knowledge he stands among the angels.¹⁷¹

5.2. The Means of God's Revelation in the H⁴ Psalms

The H⁴ psalmist uses much of the same ambiguous stock imagery as in H¹ to describe God's act of revelation. He frequently speaks of God uncovering (גלה) his heart (1QH^a XX 37; XXI 10; XXIV 28–29), eyes (XXI 5), and ear (XXII 26, 31; XXIII 5; XXV 12), or opening (פתח) his heart (XXII 31) and ear (XXI 6; XXV 12). Notably, however, the H⁴ psalmist does not use the prophetic language and metaphors found in H¹, and there are no overt references to seers or visions. How is it, then, that God revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to the H⁴ psalmist?

¹⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that Philo draws a similar association between heaven and God's mind or his Logos (*Opif.* 24–25; *Somn.* 1.14–26; cf. *Fug.* 192). According to Philo's allegorical interpretation, heaven symbolizes God's mind, and to ascend into heaven is to ascend into the mind of God. The H⁴ psalmist might have been influenced by ideas similar to those in Philo.

¹⁷¹ Some commentators have interpreted this passage as a description of the present or future resurrection of the psalmist and his followers. See, for example, Puech, *La Croyance*, 375–84; George J. Brooke, "The Structure of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 and the Meaning of Resurrection," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 19–20, 29. While I would agree that this passage uses resurrection-like language when it speaks of the worm of the dead being raised from dust, this interpretation does not fully explain the language and themes contained in this passage. In 1QH^a XIX 13–17, the author also speaks of being raised from a perverted spirit and he uses the motif of a heavenly ascent. These aspects of the passage do not support a literal bodily resurrection. It is important to note that the terminus of ascent is knowledge (לבינתכה ו לסוד א[מתכה]), not heaven *per se*. I would argue that the psalmist intentionally uses the language of resurrection and heavenly ascent as a metaphor to illustrate the transformation of the righteous from a state of ignorance and iniquity associated with their earthly nature to a state of knowledge where they will resemble the heavenly beings. Nickelsburg correctly states, ". . . according to line 12 [line 15], man is raised not to eternal life as such, but to divine knowledge." He goes on to say that the author "is describing how God has taken man, alienated from him and *prone to death*, and given him access to himself and to the divine mysteries" (*Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 191–93, italics his).

5.2.1. Revelation through an Indwelling Spirit

The H⁴ psalmist makes a distinctive break from the rest of the *Hodayot* by attributing his knowledge to a spirit which God sent to mediate divine revelation.¹⁷² In several passages, the psalmist is very explicit in declaring בִּי בְרוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי (“I have known . . . by the spirit which you placed in me”).¹⁷³ It is by means of this “spirit of knowledge” (1QH^a VI 34) or “holy spirit” (1QH^a VIII 25)¹⁷⁴ that the psalmist is able to know the truth of God’s design and hold fast to God’s covenant.

What exactly is this knowledge-giving spirit bestowed by God? An important clue may be found by comparing 1QH^a VI 36 with XI 23–24 (both of which belong with the H⁴ material). The former passage states, “And I, your servant, you have favored with a spirit of knowledge (רוּחַ דַּעַת) to [. . . .]” I would suggest that this “spirit of knowledge” is the same as the “spirits of knowledge” mentioned in XI 23–24: “And you caused to fall to a man an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge (רוּחוֹת דַּעַת) in order to praise your name in a common rejoicing and to recount your wonders before all your works.” In the latter passage, the “spirits of knowledge” are angelic beings synonymous with the “host of holy ones” and “sons of heaven.”¹⁷⁵ Based on the use of רוּחוֹת דַּעַת as an angelic description in 1QH^a XI 23–24, it is likely that the רוּחַ דַּעַת in 1QH^a VI 36 should also be understood as an angelic being of some kind.

¹⁷² Berg observes that, unlike the “Teacher Hymns,” the “Community Hymns” emphasize God’s spirit as the primary means of revelation. This leads him to conclude that the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns” emerged from two different revelatory traditions: the former reflects a sapiential tradition while the latter represents a prophetic tradition. I would agree with Berg that a divine spirit plays no role as a mediator of revelation in H¹⁻³; however, the presence of such a spirit in H⁴ does not indicate that this material reflects a different revelatory tradition.

¹⁷³ 1QH^a V 35–36; XX 14–16; XXI 34. Revelation by means of God’s spirit might be implied in 1QH^a IV 29, 38; VIII 20; XXIII 29.

¹⁷⁴ While H¹ and H³ use the phrase רוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ in a psychological sense to refer to a holy disposition or inclination, the H⁴ psalmist uses the phrase to refer to an actual spiritual entity.

¹⁷⁵ Elsewhere, the H⁴ psalmist describes the heavenly beings as “mediators of knowledge” (1QH^a XXIII 12–13) and a “host of knowledge” (1QH^a XXI 9).

I would go one step further and propose that the otherworldly “spirit of knowledge” sent to inhabit the psalmist is one of the spirits which dwells around God’s heavenly throne. It is probably not coincidental that the plural expression “spirits of knowledge” is only attested in two texts among the Scrolls: the *Hodayot* (רוחות דעת, 1QH^a XI 23–24) and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (רוחי דעת, 4Q405 17 3; 19 4). In the *Sabbath Songs*, the “spirits of knowledge” are spiritual beings that dwell around God’s throne in the heavenly holy of holies. Presumably, they are filled with knowledge because they have direct access to God. I would speculate that the H⁴ psalmist adopted the expressions רווח דעה and רוחות דעת from the *Sabbath Songs*, and he believed that God sent one of these heavenly spirits to indwell him and impart knowledge to him. This is similar to the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* which portrays the “spirit of truth” as a spirit originating from God’s throne which God sent to indwell humanity and impart the knowledge of his design to them (ch. 3 §3). In 1QS IV 4, the “spirit of truth” is also referred to as a “spirit of knowledge” (רוח דעת בכול) (מחשבת מעשה).¹⁷⁶

5.2.2. Revelation through a Visionary Experience

While the H⁴ psalmist primarily describes God’s revelation as being mediated through an indwelling spirit, some passages indicate that the psalmist experienced a direct visual encounter with God. The belief that a divine spirit serves as the agent of revelation is by no means antithetical to a visual encounter with God. There are a number of cases in the Second Temple literature where a divine spirit comes upon a person resulting in a

¹⁷⁶ It is very likely that the ideas in 1QH^a VI 36–37 were intentionally drawn from the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. The terminology in VI 36–37 is strikingly reminiscent of 1QS IV 17, with both passages using the same key terms: אמת, the root תעב, דרך, and עולה.

visionary experience.¹⁷⁷ In a similar manner, it would appear that the H⁴ psalmist associated the revelation mediated through the heavenly spirit with a vision of God.

Such a case is apparent in 1QH^a XXIII 2–17. Here, in lines 2–4, the author appears to describe the light that surrounds God. In lines 2–3, he speaks of “your light,” and in line 4 he says, “For with you is light.”¹⁷⁸ In line 5, immediately following the description of God’s radiance, the psalmist makes a declaration regarding God’s revelation: “and you uncovered the ear of dust.” In line 6, there is a broken reference to a מזמה (“plan”), and after a lacuna we find the words ותאמנה באין[ז]ן עבדכה עד עולם (“you entrusted it to the e[a]r of your servant forever”).¹⁷⁹ The relationship between God’s light and his revelation is not clear in the extant text, but, in lines 7–8, the psalmist states, “. . .] your wondrous [me]ssages to shine forth to the eyes of all who hear[. . .]” The psalmist goes on, in line 11a, to speak of himself as one who stands before God (עומד לפניכה).¹⁸⁰ Then, in lines 11b–17, the psalmist states that God has opened a fountain of truth in his mouth in order to proclaim good news to the poor and contrite of spirit.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, Joel 2:28; Ezek 11:24–25; Acts 2:17; 7:55; 2 Bar. 6:3; *Ascen. Isa.* 6:10; *T. Ab.* 4:8 (rec. A); *L.A.B.* 9:10. See also Richard J. Bauckham, “The Role of the Spirit in the Apocalypse,” *EvQ* 52 (1980): 69–73; John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 99–130.

¹⁷⁸ Elsewhere in H⁴, the psalmist mentions the light of God’s presence. For example, 1QH^a XX 18 states, “. . .]בהדר כבודכה לאור עול[ם]ם (“. . .]with the splendor of your glory for etern[al] light”). In 1QH^a XXI 15, the psalmist describes the light of God’s eternal dwelling as the אור אורחים עד נצה (“light of eternal dawn”). Regarding the difficulties surrounding the word אורחים or אורתום, see n. 72 above. The form in 1QH^a XXI 15 is almost certainly אורחים, not אורתום. Note that in 4Q392 1 5, the expression אור אורתום is used to describe the unfathomable light of God’s dwelling.

¹⁷⁹ The feminine pronominal suffix on תאמנה could refer back to מזמה, but we cannot be certain.

¹⁸⁰ The H⁴ psalmist frequently speaks of standing before God in the assembly of angels (1QH^a XI 24; XVIII 13; XIX 6; XXVI 36). In many cases, it is difficult to know whether this is a present reality or a future expectation.

¹⁸¹ Toward the end of column XXIII there might be another description of the psalmist seeing God’s glorious light. Here, in lines 29–35, the psalmist twice speaks of God spreading his holy spirit over him (lines 29, 33). He also makes two references to what appears to be human fellowship with the angels (lines 30, 34). Finally, in line 32, he states, “. . .]and light you have revealed and not to return [. . .]” The close proximity of the statements regarding God’s spirit and fellowship with the angels suggests that line 32 could be a description of God revealing his luminous splendor.

What should we make of 1QH^a XXIII 2–17? It is possible that the use of light imagery is simply metaphorical language for divine revelation, and the notion of standing before God is equally metaphorical. Yet, the available evidence from 1QH^a XXIII 2–17 suggests that the psalmist is describing his own visual experience of God’s radiant glory whereby God granted him knowledge of the divine plan (מזמרה).¹⁸² Because the psalmist has entered into the divine presence, seen God’s splendid light, and received knowledge of the divine plan, he is able to pour forth water from the fountain of truth¹⁸³ in order to proclaim good news to the poor (11b–17). How does the psalmist relate this visionary experience to his reception of God’s spirit? The answer is in his allusion to Isaiah 61:1 in 1QH^a XXIII 15–16. Isaiah 61:1 states, “The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed, to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and release to the prisoners.” Through this allusion to Isa 61:1, the psalmist implicitly equates his visionary experience, described in lines 2–11, with his reception of God’s spirit, alluded to in lines 15–16. The psalmist is a herald of good news because he has received God’s spirit which has allowed him to enter into the light of God’s presence.

One other passage in the H⁴ material might indicate that the psalmist saw his revelatory experience as similar to that of Enoch in the *Book of Watchers*.¹⁸⁴ In 1QH^a XXIV

¹⁸² The word מזמרה is only used four times in H⁴ (1QH^a XVII 12; XVIII 3; XXIII 6; and XXV 12). In XVII 23, the psalmist speaks of his own “plan” or “thought,” but in XVIII 3 and XXV 12 he uses the word to refer to the “plan” of God’s heart. I would suggest that the latter meaning of God’s “plan” is intended in XXIII 6.

¹⁸³ In the H¹ Garden of Eden psalm (1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36), the imagery of a fountain is used to refer to the enthroned God as a source of truth and knowledge for the psalmist and his followers. I would argue that the fountain language in 1QH^a XXIII 11–17 is drawn from the H¹ psalmist’s Garden of Eden psalm; and, if so, then the “fo[unta]in of your truth” in XXIII 14 and the “fountain of kn[owledge]” in XXIII 16 should be understood as images that refer to God upon his throne.

¹⁸⁴ As we will see in §5.3.1 below, the H⁴ psalmist was certainly familiar with the traditions in the *Book of Watchers*. The מזמרים (“bastards”) in 1QH^a XXIV 16 and 26 are probably references to the Watcher

28–29, the psalmist seems to profess that he has received the same knowledge of the divine mysteries that were revealed to Enoch. The psalmist writes, פִּלְאֵי רִזִּיכָה גְלִיתָה לִּבִּי (“. . . [wonder of your mysteries you revealed to my heart]). In and of themselves, these words would be insignificant, but two lines earlier the psalmist mentions the “spirits of the bastards” which is a clear reference to the Watcher myth found in the *Book of Watchers*. Also, in line 9, the psalmist writes, וְרִזִּי פִשַׁע לְהַשְׁנוֹת בֶּשֶׂר בְּאֵן שְׁמַתָּם (‘‘and the mysteries of transgression to change flesh through [their] g[uilt . . .’’).¹⁸⁵ Since the context of 1QH^a XXIV 9 describes events from the Watcher myth, this statement probably refers to the Watchers’ revelation of illicit mysteries which resulted in the corruption of humanity (cf. *1 En.* 16:3). If lines 9 and 26 refer to the Watcher myth and the illicit mysteries mediated by the Watchers, then it is likely that in lines 28–29 the psalmist describes himself as an Enoch-like figure who has received the true mysteries from God. If the H⁴ psalmist does portray himself as an Enoch-like figure in lines 28–29, then he might have conceived of his revelatory experience as being similar to that of Enoch who entered into God’s presence and stood before the heavenly throne.¹⁸⁶

myth in *1 Enoch*. Wassen and Loader have both suggested that certain passages in the *Hodayot* that refer to divine judgment upon angelic beings might be based on the Enoch literature in which angels are capable of sinning and are punished for their wicked deeds (examples in the H⁴ psalms would include 1QH^a XXIV 8–12 and XXV 13–15). See Cecilia Wassen, ‘‘Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’’ in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpfli; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature, Yearbook 2007; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 515; Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 243. It is also worth noting that Miller has recently argued that the *Self-Glorification Hymn*, which I classify as H⁴ material, is reflective of Enochic traditions very similar to those in the *Book of Parables*. See Eric Miller, ‘‘The *Self-Glorification Hymn* Reexamined,’’ *Hen* 31 (2009): 317–24.

¹⁸⁵ The beginning of the lacuna can be filled in with some certainty by comparing this statement with 1QH^a XIII 38.

¹⁸⁶ Some commentators have argued that the *Self-Glorification Hymn* reflects such a visionary experience (see, for example, Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 212–16; Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 86–90, 109–10). However, there is very little evidence in the *Hymn* itself to suggest a visual encounter with God.

5.2.3. The Mosaic Law as a Source of Knowledge?

The only reference to Moses by name in the *Hodayot* occurs in the H⁴ material in 1QH^a IV 24: “. . . just as] you [s]poke by the hand of Moses [your] servant [to remov]e iniquity and sin and to atone for transgression and unfaithfulness [. . . .” This, of course, raises the question of how the H⁴ psalmist viewed Moses and the Mosaic Law, and how he might have associated them with God’s revelation.

Because of its fragmentary condition, interpreting the psalm in 1QH^a IV 21–27 is extremely difficult. I would suggest that Moses is brought into this psalm because of the psalmist’s concern with נסתרות in line 21. Probably, the psalmist is drawing upon Deut 29:29[28]¹⁸⁷ and associating Moses in some way with the “hidden things” of God. Given that this psalm is concerned with judgment for the wicked and salvation for the righteous, I would conjecture that the psalmist is asserting that the wicked have not observed the נסתרות given to Moses in order to remove their sin and iniquity. If this interpretation is correct, it is interesting, but it does not tell us much about how the psalmist viewed the written Mosaic Law. The נסתרות could be interpreted as hidden things in the Law (as in 1QS V 11; CD III 13–16), but the נסתרות could also refer to hidden things apart from the written Law (Sir 42:18–21; 4Q268 1 7). This one statement in 1QH^a IV 24 simply does not tell us. We know that the H¹ psalmist portrayed himself as a Moses-like figure who had experienced God’s glory and received knowledge of God’s cosmic design. We can infer from this that the *Hodayot* psalmists revered Moses and the revelation given to him, but this does not necessitate the conclusion that they thought of the written Mosaic Law as the sum-total of God’s revelation, or even the most significant part of God’s revelation (cf. *4 Ezra* 14:45–

¹⁸⁷ That the psalmist had Deuteronomy in mind is apparent from line 25 which loosely quotes Deut 32:22.

47). Regardless of what the H⁴ psalmist thought of Moses and the written Law, it is clear that he claims to have directly encountered God in his divine glory and received his own divine revelation.

5.3. The Theological Function of God's Revelation in the H⁴ Psalms

Of all the *Hodayot* material, H⁴ places the greatest emphasis and significance on God's revelation of knowledge.¹⁸⁸ The psalmist repeatedly thanks God for his revelation (e.g., 1QH^a XV 29–30; XIX 30–31), and he stands amazed that God has so graciously revealed knowledge of his design to such an unworthy creature (e.g., 1QH^a V 30–31). For the H⁴ psalmist, God's revelation is a source of hope (1QH^a XIV 9), joy (1QH^a XIX 33), and strength (1QH^a VII 12; XX 16). Most importantly, it is the basis for any understanding or worship of God (1QH^a VII 15; XVIII 16–23; XX 35–39). In this section, I will take a closer look at what it is that makes God's revelation so significant for the H⁴ psalmist.

5.3.1. The Corrupt State of Humanity in the H⁴ Psalms

We have already seen in the H¹ psalms (as well as *Instruction* and the *Treatise*) that God's revelation of knowledge was thought to be a remedy for the corrupt state of humanity. According to the H¹ psalmist, humans are led astray by a faulty יצר ("inclination")—an idea based on Gen 6:4–5. To rectify humanity's misguided inclination, God revealed knowledge of his cosmic design. This knowledge allows a person to live

¹⁸⁸ Since the 1960s, scholars have noted that the "Community Hymns" are more concerned with knowledge and revelation than the "Teacher Hymns." Kuhn observed that the "Community Hymns" have a much more frequent use of the verbs ידע, שכל, בין, הכם, and גלה, and their derivatives as compared with the "Teacher Hymns." According to Kuhn's count, these words occur five times more often in the "Community Hymns" than in the "Teacher Hymns" (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 139–41). What Kuhn describes with respect to the "Community Hymns" and "Teacher Hymns" is, in my judgment, really a reflection of the differences between the H⁴ material and the rest of the *Hodayot*.

according to God's will with a firm inclination (יצר סמוך), and no longer is their heart led astray.

Compared with H¹, the restorative power of knowledge plays an even greater role in H⁴. One of the characteristics of the H⁴ material is its highly developed and pessimistic anthropology that disparages the physical as well as the psychological nature of humanity. The H⁴ psalms express a fundamental worldview that all humans, including the psalmist himself, are corrupt in their bodies as well as their spirits/minds.¹⁸⁹

In the H⁴ material, the most pronounced statements regarding the corrupt nature of humanity pertain to human physicality.¹⁹⁰ According to the H⁴ psalmist, humans are but creatures of עפר ("dirt"), אפר ("dust"),¹⁹¹ חמר ("clay"), and a מגבל המים ("thing kneaded with water").¹⁹² The H⁴ psalmist also expresses ideas of human mortality and corruption when he describes a person as ילוד אשה ("born of a woman")¹⁹³ and שב אל עפרו ("one who returns

¹⁸⁹ This worldview is quite different from *Instruction* and the H¹⁻³ psalms which are primarily concerned with the psychological corruption of humanity, but, in a general sense, it is similar to the worldview expressed in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* which envisions the human body as inherently corrupt because it was formed from soil tainted by the spirit of perversity. I would suggest that the anthropology in H⁴ is based in large part on the *Treatise*.

¹⁹⁰ These proclamations of human physical corruption have received attention in previous studies. See, for example, Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 77–87; Erik Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," *ST* 9 (1955): 131–36; Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (SNTSMS 29; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 102–5.

¹⁹¹ The words אפר and עפר are usually used separately in 1QH^a, but twice we find the collocation עפר ואפר (1QH^a XVIII 7; XX 30). This expression is found elsewhere in Gen 18:27; Job 30:19; 42:6; and Sir 40:3. It seems to be a stock expression denoting a "diminished or demeaned status." For comments, see Charles Muenchow, "Dust and Dirt in Job 42:6," *JBL* 108 (1989): 609. See also Perdue who comments on "dust" as signifying mortality and weakness (Leo Perdue, *Wisdom in Revolt: Metaphorical Theology in the Book of Job* [BLS 29; Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 117–20). Hillers discusses the multivalence of the word עפר, which can connote worthlessness, lowliness, transitoriness, and mortality. See Delbert Hillers, "Dust: Some Aspects of Old Testament Imagery," in *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (ed. John H. Marks and Robert M. Good; Guilford, CT: Four Quarters, 1987), 105–9.

¹⁹² On the meaning of the phrase מגבל המים see Jonas Greenfield, "The Root 'GBL' in Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Hymnic Literature from Qumran," *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 155–62.

¹⁹³ 1QH^a V 31; XXI 2, 9–10; XXIII 13. This expression is used three times in Job to signify human mortality and impurity (14:1; 15:14; and 25:4). On the use of this expression in later Jewish literature, see DeConick, *Seek to See Him*, 100.

to his dust”).¹⁹⁴ All of these expressions form an implicit commentary on the nature of humans as created beings formed from the earth, and they simultaneously convey the notions of human inability, unworthiness, baseness, and mortality.¹⁹⁵

Newsom has argued that much of the physical terminology in the *Hodayot* is, what she calls, “container imagery.”¹⁹⁶ Expressions like *מבנה עפר*, *יצר עפר*, *יצר החמר*, and *מגבל המים* “refer to the embodied person as a pottery container.”¹⁹⁷ The idea that each person is a clay vessel is based on creation texts like Gen 2:7: “then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground.”¹⁹⁸ God created humans by forming them from the dust of the ground, and, as a result, humans are but vessels of clay (cf. Job 4:19; 10:9; 33:6) and to dust they will return (Gen 3:19; Job 10:9; Eccl 3:20; 12:7).

The clay vessel imagery in H⁴ is probably intended to evoke the idea that humans, like earthen pots, are easily susceptible to ritual uncleanness.¹⁹⁹ In the H⁴ material, the problem with humanity is that the human earthen vessel has become polluted by foul spirits. In its present state the human vessel is tainted by a *רוח נעוה* (“perverted spirit,” 1QH^a V 32; VIII 18; XI 22; XIX 15) or a *רוח התועה* (“spirit of error,” 1QH^a IX 24). As a

¹⁹⁴ 1QH^a XVIII 14; XX 34; XXII 8, 30. See similar expressions in 1QH^a XX 29, 30.

¹⁹⁵ Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 79–81; Sjöberg, “Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen,” 134.

¹⁹⁶ Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 351–53.

¹⁹⁷ Although Newsom does not highlight these expressions, I would argue that the words *מקור הנדה*, *מקור העוון*, *מבנה החטטה*, *כור העוון*, *מקוי עפר*, *מקוי אפר* are also used as metaphors meant to portray the human body as a deep ceramic vessel.

¹⁹⁸ Many commentators have noted the connection between the *Hodayot*’s pottery imagery and the theme of human creation. See Greenfield, “The Root ‘GBL,’” 160–62; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 77–84; Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 245–47.

¹⁹⁹ See Lev 15:12; *m. Kelim* 2–4. Regarding the Qumran community’s views of vessel impurity, see Hanan Eshel, “CD 12:15-17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February 1998* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52.

result, the human vessel serves as a מקור הנדה (“fountain of impurity,” 1QH^a IX 24; XX 28).

The H⁴ psalmist believed that all humans are possessed by evil spirits that lead them astray from God’s truth.²⁰⁰ Such spirits are probably mentioned in 1QH^a IV 13–20, although the text is too fragmentary to be sure of what these spirits are. 1QH^a IV 35–36 is more helpful. Here, the psalmist writes of himself in the third person, “Strengthen [his] loin[s in order to stan]d²⁰¹ against the spirits of [] and to w]alk in all that you love and to despise all that you hate.” Because the psalmist has received benevolent “spirits” (line 29) and insight (שכל) from God (line 33), he is able to resist the evil spirits that rule over his body (line 37) and seek to lead him astray from God’s will. Another passage referring to evil spirits is 1QH^a XXIV 26 where the psalmist mentions the “spirits of the bastards” who act wickedly with flesh. This is a clear reference to the Watcher myth according to which the spirits of the bastard giants plague humanity and lead them astray from God.²⁰² 1QH^a XXII 23–28 also describes certain evil, misguiding spirits that inflict suffering upon humanity.²⁰³ In line 23, the psalmists writes: נג[יעי גבר ממכא]וב אנוש (“affli]ctions of a man from the suffer[ing of a person”). Two lines later, he says to God, תג[ע]ר בכול שטן משחית (“you rebuke every destructive *satan*”). The hostile שטן is mentioned in

²⁰⁰ The idea of evil, misguiding spirits is certainly an important theme in the literature found at Qumran. See, for example, 1QS IV 9–14, 20–21; 4Q213a 1 i 17–18; 4Q435 1 i 5; 4Q444 1 i 1–4; 2 i 4; 4Q510 1 i 5–6; 4Q560 1 i 2–3; 1 ii 5–6; 11QPs^a XIX 13–16.

²⁰¹ Stegemann and Schuller read חזק מתנ[יו] לעמו[ד] at the end of line 35 (*DJD XL*, 63, 71–72). Qimron has חזק מותנ[יו] לעמו[ד] (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 63). Many previous commentators have read חזק instead of חזק, but the letters following this word are probably best read as . . . מתנ[יו], referring to the “loins” (מתנים) of the psalmist. The expression חזק מתנים is most likely drawn from Nah 2:1[2].

²⁰² *1 En.* 10:9; 15:8–12; *Jub.* 7:21–27.

²⁰³ Eshel has argued that 1QH^a XXII 20–33 was meant as an apotropaic prayer similar to 4Q510–511, 4Q444, and 6Q18. See Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden, 2003), 82–83.

other apotropaic texts from Qumran where it is clearly an evil spirit who causes suffering,²⁰⁴ and such seems to be the case in 1QH^a XXII 23–25. 1QH^a XXII 27–28 appears to describe the entrance of the שטן or other evil spirits into the men of the covenant: “it could not enter for [] but the men of the covenant were deceived (פִּוֹתוֹ) by them and it entered [] in my frame and [my] bowels [in rep]roof before you.”²⁰⁵

Twice, in 1QH^a V 32–33 and VIII 18, the H⁴ psalmist states that a perverted spirit rules over each person. 1QH^a VIII 18 is particularly interesting because it reads like an antithesis of Gen 2:7. In Genesis 2, the creature of dust (i.e., Adam) is imbued with the breath (i.e., spirit) of God, but in 1QH^a VIII 18 the creature of dust is filled with a perverted spirit (. . .]ֹּ֫וֹֹ עִפֹּ֫ר׃ בִּיִצֹּ֫ר׃ מִשְׁלֹּ֫ה [הּ וְרַחֵם נַעֲוֶה מִשְׁלֹּ֫ה]). I would suggest that 1QH^a VIII 18 is an intentional antithesis of Gen 2:7 and it reflects the fundamental anthropological assumptions of the H⁴ psalmist: all human beings are indwelt and ruled by perverted spirits because they are creatures formed from dust.

In several places, the H⁴ psalmist states that he presently suffers “affliction” (נגע). The psalmist never clearly explains what causes this affliction, but I would conjecture that he is referring to demonic affliction.²⁰⁶ I think this is evident in 1QH^a IV 20; XXII 23; and XXIV 25 where the psalmist speaks of affliction within a context dealing with evil spirits. In another passage, 1QH^a VIII 33, the psalmist states that affliction causes one to stumble from the statutes of God’s covenant—an idea that resembles the work of evil spirits (cf. 1QH^a IV 16, 35). When the psalmist declares that God will eradicate iniquity and affliction

²⁰⁴ See 4Q213a 1 i 17 and 11QPs^a XIX 15. In 11QPs^a XIX 15 the שטן is specifically described as the cause of מְכָאֹב (“suffering”).

²⁰⁵ The words מְבִיִּת (“frame”) and תְּכֵמִים (“bowels”) are used in 1QH^a IV 37; 1QS IV 20–21; 4Q444 1–4 i+5 2–3; and 4Q511 48–49+51 3–4 to describe the interior of the human body where evil spirits reside.

²⁰⁶ נגע is used of afflictions caused by evil spirits in 1QS III 23; IV 12; and 4Q510 1 7 (= 4Q511 10 4).

in the *eschaton* (1QH^a XIX 25 and 1QH^a XXVI 25–26 [= 4Q427 7 ii 6–7]) this could signal the destruction of evil spirits at the end of the age. If it is correct that the H⁴ psalmist is using נגל for afflictions caused by evil spirits, then his primary concern is not human adversaries, as in the H¹ psalms, but demonic ones.

H⁴'s underlying system of thought seems to be built upon ideas similar to those in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Watcher myth contained in the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees*. As in the *Treatise*, the fundamental problem with humanity is that they possess a body formed from dust which has been corrupted by evil spirits.²⁰⁷ As a result, humans are utterly unable to grasp God's cosmic design (1QH^a V 30; VII 34; XVIII 4–5; XX 30). Like the spirits of the bastard offspring of the Watchers (*1 En.* 15:8–12; *Jub.* 10–12), the indwelling perverted spirits in the H⁴ psalms lead humanity away from the knowledge of God's truth and blind their minds with ignorance so that they lack an understanding of God's will (1QH^a IX 24–25).

It is worth noting that in terms of their language and their description of the evil spirits, the H⁴ psalms closely resemble 4Q444 (*Incantation*) 1–4 i+5 1–11.²⁰⁸ In 4Q444, the spirits of wickedness rule over the human body, leading it astray from the statutes of God.

²⁰⁷ It is difficult to say whether the H⁴ psalmist saw the earthly material of the human body as inherently corrupted by evil spirits, as in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, or whether he saw the body as inherently neutral but highly susceptible to corruption because of its earthly nature (just like an earthen vessel is initially pure but susceptible to ritual impurity). In the *Treatise*, all earthly things are inherently corrupt because the spirit of iniquity tainted all things under heaven from the beginning of God's creation. As a result, all humans are corrupt because God formed their bodies from the earth. The perspective in the *Treatise* is different from saying that earthly things are inherently neutral, but weak and susceptible to corruption. I think that the latter perspective is closer to the view point of the H⁴ psalmist. It is clear that the H⁴ psalmist does not follow the *Treatise* in claiming that God created each person with two spirits. In addition, 1QH^a XXII 27–28 seems to indicate that the evil spirits enter into the body at some point during a person's life. This would mean that unlike the *Treatise* the evil spirits are not inherently part of the human body.

²⁰⁸ The H⁴ psalms and 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–11 share the following terminology when describing the evil spirits and their relationship to the body: חזק (1QH^a IV 35), מבנית (1QH^a XXII 28), ממזר (1QH^a XXIV 16, 26), ממשלה (1QH^a IV 37), רוחות רשעה (1QH^a XXV 6), and תכמים (1QH^a XXII 28).

I think that 4Q444 is quite important for understanding the worldview of the H⁴ psalmist, and I will return to this text again when I discuss the solution to the anthropological problem in H⁴.

As with the other texts I have examined, the H⁴ psalmist derived his anthropological worldview from Gen 6:3–5. I would speculate that the H⁴ psalmist interpreted Gen 6:3–5 as a logical sequence of cause and effect events, and he read Gen 6:3–5 in conjunction with Gen 2:7a.²⁰⁹ The psalmist took Gen 6:3b and Gen 2:7a to mean that the human body is inherently weak because God formed the flesh from the dust of the ground. As a result of their bodily weakness, humanity could not retain the divine spirit (Gen 6:3a) which God originally breathed into Adam (Gen 2:7b).²¹⁰ Consequently, humanity in its present state lacks the spirit of God, and, in a sense, they have returned to the state described in Gen 2:7a: humans are creatures of dust devoid of the divine spirit.²¹¹ Since humans now lack the spirit of God within them, they have become susceptible to the evil spirits produced by the Watchers (Gen 6:4; *I En.* 15; *Jub.* 7, 10). These evil spirits corrupted the יצר (“inclination”) of the human heart, causing people to sin and stray from God’s truth (Gen 6:5). In short, the human inclination (יצר, Gen 6:5) has been corrupted by evil spirits because the human body is a weak vessel formed from dust (יצר, Gen 2:7).

²⁰⁹ As in the *Treatise* (ch. 3 n. 97), the H⁴ psalmist probably drew a conscious connection between the verb יצר in Gen 2:7 and the noun יצר in Gen 6:5. This association would be natural for an attentive reader of Genesis since the verb יצר only occurs in Genesis in 2:7, 8, and 19, while the noun is only found in Gen 6:5 and 8:21. In addition, both Gen 2:7 and 6:3–5 refer to God’s breath/spirit.

²¹⁰ In Gen 2:7b, God breathes his breath or spirit into the human, but in Gen 6:3 he takes his spirit away. Genesis 6:3 was probably interpreted as an act that, in some sense, reversed the creation of humanity in 2:7. We might call the loss of God’s spirit in Gen 6:3 “the fall” of humanity.

²¹¹ There may be an echo of Ps 51:11[13] in the H⁴ psalmist’s underlying thoughts: God has taken his holy spirit away from the human heart. The psalmist apparently did not see God’s spirit as necessary for biological life. A person could be alive and still lack the divine spirit. If one were to consider the prophetic texts in the Hebrew Bible where God sends his spirit upon a person to inspire them, it could make sense to an ancient writer that God’s spirit is different from the spirit that gives biological life to humanity.

Because the H⁴ psalmist closely correlated Gen 2:7 and 6:5, he saw the corruption of the human body as functionally equivalent to the corruption of the human inclination. In other words, for the H⁴ psalmist the physical formation of the body and the psychological inclination are intertwined. This close connection between humanity's earthen physicality (Gen 2:7) and their corrupt inclination (Gen 6:5) explains why the H⁴ psalmist occasionally uses physical body terminology to convey moral or psychological connotations. The psalmist uses descriptors like “dirt,” “dust,” “clay,” and “flesh” not only to connote the weakness of the human body, but also the weakness of the mind or psychological spirit.²¹² Such use of physical terminology to signify moral and intellectual weakness can be seen in 1QH^a XIX 15. Here, the psalmist states that God raises “the worm of the dead from dust to the basis of [your] t[ruth] and from a perverted spirit to your understanding.” In this couplet, רוח נעוה and עפר are in synonymous parallelism, and both of these terms are set in contrast to words denoting God's revealed knowledge (בינתכה and סוד אמתכה). Within this context, רוח נעוה and עפר indicate a state of moral perversion and ignorance antithetical to the state of the one who has received knowledge from God.

Another example can be found in 1QH^a XXI 17–38. Over the course of these lines, and with apparent synonymy, the psalmist refers to himself as “a creature of dust” (XXI 17, 25, 34), “a creature of deceit” (XXI 29), “a creature of iniquity” (XXI 30), and “a creature of clay” (XXI 38). In every instance the psalmist uses the noun יצר in construct with either a physical or moral term. This rapid switching between physical and moral

²¹² We have already seen the word “flesh” used in this manner in *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 17: רוח בשר), and we will see a similar case in the *Sabbath Songs* where עפר and דעת are antithetical terms (4Q400 2 7). As early as the book of Job the physical language of dust and clay is associated with human morality and epistemology. For example, in Job 4:17–21 humans, who inhabit houses of clay and whose foundation is in the dust, are considered impure and devoid of wisdom. By nature, the creature formed from dust is polluted and ignorant.

terminology suggest that the psalmist intends for these expressions to be overlapping or identical in meaning.²¹³ Thus, a creature (יצר) of clay or dust is essentially the same as a creature of deceit or iniquity, and the physical terminology (clay and dust) should be taken to mean moral failing or baseness.²¹⁴

In 1QH^a XXI 17–38, and other places where the H⁴ psalmist uses יצר, I would suggest that he is actually playing on the multivalence of this word which can have a physical and psychological meaning: “creature,” “formation,” or “inclination.” We should recall that in H¹, יצר always has a psychological meaning, such as “inclination.” Given that the H⁴ psalmist heavily based his writings on H¹, it seems very unlikely that he would starkly deviate from the meaning of יצר used in H¹. Thus, I would conjecture that expressions like יצר המר and יצר עפר are really double entendres touching on the unworthiness and baseness of human physiology and psychology.²¹⁵ When the psalmist describes himself as a יצר המר or יצר עפר, he is referring to the corruption of his body as a created thing and he is also referring to the baseness of his inclination. This interpretation explains why we find physical terminology, such as יצר המר and יצר עפר, used in close proximity or even synonymously with expressions of moral corruption like יצר רמיה and יצר עולה. By playing on the multivalence of יצר, the psalmist intends to indicate both that he is

²¹³ Elsewhere, we can see a similar phenomenon where the psalmist interchanges physical and moral terminology. For example, the psalmist speaks of himself as a מבנה עפר (“building of dust,” V 32) and a מבנה החטאה (“building of sin,” IX 24). He is a מקוי עפר (“well of dust,” XX 28) and a מקור נדה (“fountain of impurity,” XX 28).

²¹⁴ There are a number of other passages in H⁴ where physical and moral language are used in close succession (1QH^a V 30–33; IX 23–25; XI 21–25; XII 30–31; XIX 23–24). As in 1QH^a XXI 17–38, the physical terminology in these passages is best interpreted as having a primarily moral connotation with a secondary physical meaning.

²¹⁵ 1QH^a VII 26 (an H³ passage) might reflect this double entendre when the psalmist states, “I know that in your hand is the יצר of every spirit.” The association of יצר with רוח suggests that יצר has a psychological meaning (something like “inclination”), but the imagery “in your hand” implies that the יצר is something formed or molded like clay.

a creature of clay and deceit and that he has an inclination of clay (i.e., weakness, corruptibility) and deceit.

Although the H⁴ psalmist does not use the expression יצר רע (“evil inclination”), he certainly thinks of humanity as universally having an evil inclination. Once we understand how the psalmist plays on the meaning of יצר it is clear that he thinks of himself (and all people) as having a weak inclination that is highly susceptible to the corrupting influence of the evil spirits. As in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and texts like 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi^b*) 1 i 12–18; 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–11; and 11QPs^a XIX 14–16, the evil spirits corrupt the human inclination in order to lead the heart astray from God’s will.²¹⁶

5.3.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

Up until now I have only considered the anthropological problem that plagues humanity in the H⁴ material, yet these psalms are also concerned with the solution that God has provided for the anthropological problem. For the H⁴ psalmist, salvation from the present state of iniquity can only come through the gift of God’s spirit which purifies the righteous²¹⁷ and imparts the knowledge of his cosmic design to them.²¹⁸ In 1QH^a XX 14–16 the psalmist writes, “And I, a *maškil*, I have known you my God by the spirit which you placed in me. Faithfully I have listened to your wondrous secret counsel. By your holy spirit you [o]pened in the midst of me the knowledge of the mystery of your prudence and

²¹⁶ For a more detailed analysis of 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi^b*) 1 i 12–18; 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–11; and 11QPs^a XIX 14–16, see ch. 3 §3. Both 1QH^a XXII 23–25 and 11QPs^a XIX 14–16 speak of a שטן causing מכאוב (“suffering”) to the human being. In 11QPs^a XIX 14–16, this “suffering” is synonymous with an יצר רע (“evil inclination”). I would suggest that the same is true in 1QH^a XXII 23–25, even though the extant text only mentions “suffering” and not an “evil inclination.”

²¹⁷ 1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30 (in these passages the verb טהר is used for God cleansing the righteous by means of his spirit). In 1QH^a XXIV 33, the psalmist states, “. . .] your [h]oly [spirit] you have spread to atone (לכפר) for guilt” (it is apparent from line 29 that “holy spirit” should be reconstructed in line 33).

²¹⁸ The notion that God’s holy spirit cleanses (טהר) the righteous and imparts knowledge to them is reminiscent of the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (1QS IV 21).

the spring of [your] strength[. . .]” (cf. 1QH^a VII 12). He goes on to say that he can do nothing right apart from God’s revelation: “What shall I say unless you open my mouth? And how shall I understand unless you give me insight? And what shall I say unless you uncover my heart? And how shall I walk the straight path unless you establi[sh my s]tep?” (1QH^a XX 35–37). In 1QH^a XII 32–34 the psalmist declares, “The way of a person is not established except by the spirit God formed for him in order to perfect the way of the sons of Adam so that they might know all his works in his mighty strength and the abundance of his compassion on all the sons of his favor.” Elsewhere the psalmist states that the one who has been filled with God’s knowledge-giving spirit is able to resist the affliction of the evil spirits (1QH^a IX 34; XII 37; XVII 12).²¹⁹ Their heart is no longer perverted and corrupt (1QH^a IV 31; XV 30–33). They are able to enter into God’s covenant (1QH^a XII 40; XXI 10; XXIII 10) and serve him with a perfect heart (1QH^a VIII 25, 35–36; XII 31–33). They can adhere to God’s will (1QH^a IV 33–35) and walk in the way of God’s heart (1QH^a XV 41 [reconstructed from 1QH^b 1 13 and 4Q428 10 5]).

The salvific power of God’s knowledge-giving spirit can be most clearly seen in how the H⁴ psalmist uses contrasting terminology to set up God’s spirit and the knowledge of his cosmic design as the antithesis to the lowly state of humanity. A prime example can be found in 1QH^a XIX 15 where the psalmist expresses his hope that he will be raised from “dust” to the “basis of truth” and from a “perverted spirit” to God’s “understanding.” In this passage, knowledge (the basis of truth and understanding) is the solution to humanity’s present corrupt state (dust and a perverted spirit). In some passages, the H⁴ psalmist uses similar terminological expressions to contrast the present human state with God’s spirit

²¹⁹ For נַגַּע as demonic affliction, see §5.3.1 above.

and revelation. For example, the sinful person has a רוח נעוה (“perverted spirit,” V 32; VIII 18), but God grants a רוח קודש (“holy spirit,” VIII 20) and a רוח דעת (“spirit of knowledge,” VI 36). Humanity is a סוד (“foundation”) of העררה (“shame,” IX 24) or א[שמה וחט]אה (“g[uilt and s]in,” V 32), but God reveals the סוד האמת (“foundation/basis of truth,” IX 29). The H⁴ psalmist laments that he was created as a מקור נדה (“fountain of impurity,” XX 28) and a מקוי עפר (“well of dust” XX 28), but God has made known the מקוי כבוד (“well of glory” XX 32) and מקור דעת (“fountain of knowledge,” XX 32). We can see from these examples that the H⁴ psalmist thought of God’s spirit and his revealed knowledge as the solution to the spiritual perversion and corruption of the human state.

In this regard, the H⁴ psalms are similar to the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi*^b) 1 i 12–18, 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–11, and 11QPs^a XIX 14–16. In all of these texts, God gives to certain individuals a benevolent spirit which imparts knowledge and wisdom to them so that they can resist the corrupting influence of the evil spirits. The same idea can be seen in 1QH^a IV 29–37 where the psalmist states that God has granted certain “spirits” and imparted insight to him.²²⁰ As a result, he has the strength to stand against the evil spirits that rule over his body and he is able to observe God’s will without stumbling. Similar thoughts are expressed in 1QH^a XII 32–38 where the psalmist states that the way of the sons of Adam is perfected by means of the spirit that God has formed for them (lines 32–33). This spirit gives them knowledge of God’s works (line 33) and allows them to resist the affliction (נגע) caused by the evil spirits (line 37). 1QH^a XII 32–38 is particularly

²²⁰ It is not clear in 1QH^a IV 29 why the psalmist speaks of God giving him “spirits” in the plural. Elsewhere in the H⁴ psalms the divine spirit sent by God is usually singular (although see 1QH^a V 39). Based on the context of IV 29 it seems that these “spirits” are all benevolent spirits sent by God to the psalmist. We should probably understand these spirits as equivalent to the holy spirit mentioned elsewhere in the H⁴ material.

interesting because the terms רוח, יצר, and אדם in lines 32–33 seem to be meant as an allusion to Gen 2:7.²²¹ The spirit formed by God and given to the psalmist is analogous or identical to the spirit given to Adam, and just as God’s spirit endowed Adam with knowledge, the same is true for the H⁴ psalmist.

5.3.3. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge

While the anthropological problem in H⁴ is rooted in Gen 2:7a and 6:3–5, the solution is based on a particular interpretation of Gen 2:7–8 read in combination with 1:26–27 and 3:5, 22.²²² In Gen 2:7–8, God initially created Adam from dust, and then he breathed into him the divine breath or spirit.²²³ When God breathed his spirit into Adam, he became filled with the knowledge of good and evil,²²⁴ and was endowed with the image of God (Gen 1:26–27).²²⁵ The psalmist interpreted Gen 1:26–27 together with Gen 3:5 and 22 to mean that Adam became like (i.e., bore the image of) the אֱלֹהִים (i.e., the divine beings) when he was imbued with the knowledge of good and evil through God’s spirit.²²⁶ In other

²²¹ I would suggest that the words כול מעשיו ידעו למען ידעו כול מעשיו in line 33 allude to God giving the knowledge of his divine works to Adam through his spirit.

²²² We should note that there are three primary elements that make up the psalmist’s anthropology: (1) physical metaphors associated with pottery vessels (אפר, עפר, חמר, מגבל המים, and שב אל עפרו), (2) the idea of an indwelling spirit (either a perverted spirit or a holy spirit), (3) and knowledge or the lack thereof. Within Genesis, there are two passages where these three elements converge: Gen 6:3–5 and Gen 2:7–8 (note that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is first mentioned in Gen 2:9). I think it is likely that the H⁴ psalmist saw Gen 2:7–8 and 6:3–5 as antithetical descriptions of humanity. Gen 2:7–8 describes humanity in its perfect form with God’s indwelling spirit and knowledge, while Gen 6:3–5 describes humanity in its present condition, plagued with corrupt spirits and misled in ignorance.

²²³ Although Gen 2:7 does not mention God giving a רוח to Adam, it was not uncommon for later writers to use רוח when speaking of the divine breath. See ch. 3 n. 85.

²²⁴ In ch. 2 §4.2, I demonstrated that during the Second Temple period there was a widespread tradition that God intentionally imparted knowledge and wisdom to the first man. For texts which speak of God imbuing Adam with knowledge through his divine breath, see ch. 3 n. 110.

²²⁵ There are a large number of ancient Jewish and Christian texts which indicate that ancient authors often harmonized Gen 1:26 with 2:7b. According to this interpretation, Adam became the image of God when God breathed his spirit into him. See ch. 2 n. 183.

²²⁶ As I mentioned previously (ch. 2 n. 172), it would have been quite natural for an ancient interpreter to read Gen 1:26 and Gen 3:22 together. In both passages, God addresses the heavenly court in the first person plural and he speaks of the אֱלֹהִים as being like (or in the image of) אֱלֹהִים.

words, it was Adam's knowledge that made him resemble the angelic beings. Having received God's spirit and knowledge, Adam could enter into paradise (Gen 2:8) and take his place among the heavenly host. He was no longer just a creature of dust; he had become an angel-like being who possessed profound knowledge and dwelt in God's presence.²²⁷

The H⁴ psalmist saw in Gen 1:26–27; 2:7–8; and 3:5, 22 a paradigm for human salvation. The first man, Adam, was initially created as a vessel of dust, but through God's spirit he was filled with knowledge and bore the image of God, becoming an angel-like being who could enter into paradise and exist in God's presence among the heavenly host. For the psalmist, what was true for Adam at the beginning is potentially true in the present time. The lowly creature of dust can be transformed into an angel-like image of God by acquiring the knowledge of God's cosmic design mediated through the divine spirit.

The H⁴ psalmist never provides an explicit exposition of his interpretation of Genesis 1–3, but we can deduce that he held such an interpretation as I described above. As we have seen already, it is clear that in the mind of the psalmist all humans in their present state are vessels of clay devoid of the divine spirit and the knowledge it provides (1QH^a V 30–33; IX 23–25; XVIII 5–6; XX 27–35). Humanity, in its present state, is the Adam of Gen 2:7a—a creature of dust without the spirit of God in it. Only through God's

²²⁷ It is very likely that the H⁴ psalmist drew some of his anthropological ideas from the book of Job. In Job, humanity is inherently ignorant of divine things because they are creatures of dust (Job 4:17–21). The book of Job also associates God's breath/spirit with the knowledge of God's cosmic design. In Job 32:7–8, Elihu declares, "I said, 'Let days speak, and many years teach wisdom.' But truly it is the spirit in a moral, the breath of the Almighty, that makes for understanding." He goes on to say, in 33:3–4, "My words declare the uprightness of my heart, and what my lips know they speak sincerely. The spirit of God has made me, and the breath of the Almighty gives me life." In spite of being "formed from a piece of clay" (Job 33:6), Elihu has been filled with the spirit or breath of God which gives him life and knowledge. Now, he knows the things of God and is able to represent God as "one who is perfect in knowledge" (Job 36:2–4). The knowledge that Elihu speaks of is an understanding of God's "wonders" (נפלאות), Job 37:14, cf. 1QH^a IX 32, 35, 36, et al.) that order and govern the created world (Job 36:24–37:24).

knowledge-giving spirit can humanity become the Adam of Gen 2:7b. The most succinct expression of this is found in 1QH^a XXI 34: “[And as for me, a cr]eature of dust, I have known by the spirit which you placed in me.” I would suggest that this short statement is an intentional allusion to Gen 2:7. In his natural state, the psalmist is a creature of dust (Gen 2:7a); but, God has placed within him his knowledge-giving spirit, transforming the psalmist into the Adam of Gen 2:7b.

As I mentioned above, the psalmist thought of the divine spirit given to him as analogous, or perhaps even identical, to the spirit that God breathed into the primordial man. Newsom has recently observed that the H⁴ material²²⁸ speaks of God putting a spirit “in” (כּ) the psalmist, whereas most passages in the Hebrew Bible state that God placed a spirit “upon” (על) someone. The significance of this is that the H⁴ psalmist does not see God’s spirit as an external force exerting control over an autonomous person; rather, the spirit sent by God inhabits the human in a way similar to their own indigenous psychological “spirit” with which they were born.²²⁹ In other words, the spirit sent by God becomes a new mind or heart within the individual. Newsom notes that there are similarities between H⁴’s conception of God’s indwelling spirit and the idea of a divinely given new spirit in Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27; and 37:6, 14.²³⁰ In Ezekiel, the new divine spirit is associated with a new creation (or re-creation) of the people of God, and it signifies that God is restoring his people to the state of perfection that they once possessed in the Garden of Eden (Ezek 28:12–15; 36:35). The spirit is God’s breath that gives life to the newly created body (Ezek 37:5–6), allowing the recreated person (or community) to observe

²²⁸ Newsom does not distinguish between different groups of material within the *Hodayot*, but most of her analysis comes from passages that I would classify as H⁴.

²²⁹ Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*,” 339–54.

²³⁰ Prior to Newsom, Sekki also suggested that the *Hodayot*’s expression, “by the spirit which he put in me,” is based on Ezek 36:27 and 37:6 (*The Meaning of Ruah*, 87–88).

God's will (Ezek 11:19–20; 36:27). Besides the use of the preposition *bet* when speaking of God's spirit, there are other indications that the H⁴ psalmist drew upon these spirit passages in Ezekiel. In 1QH^a XXI 6–14, the psalmist repeatedly states that he has (or had) a “heart of stone”—an expression which is used in Ezek 11:19 and 36:26. According to the psalmist, his heart of stone has been transformed because God has revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to him (XXI 6–7, 9, 13).²³¹

The psalmist's conscious use of Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27; and 37:6, 14 indicates that he viewed the divine spirit given to him as the breath of God that is meant to recreate the righteous with new life and restore them to their original state of perfection. We should note that in Ezekiel the original perfect state of humanity was a state filled with knowledge and wisdom in the Garden of Eden (Ezek 28:12–15). I believe that the H⁴ psalmist understood this aspect of Ezekiel and he interpreted the divine spirit and new creation in Ezekiel 11 and 36–37 as a return to the perfection of humanity described in Ezekiel 28. In applying the ideas of Ezekiel to himself, the psalmist saw the gift of God's spirit as the means by which he is recreated with perfect knowledge and wisdom and allowed to return to the Garden of Eden.

For the H⁴ psalmist, the ultimate purpose of God's indwelling spirit and his revelation of knowledge is that they allow the psalmist to enter into paradise and experience fellowship with the angels (just as was true for Adam in Gen 2:8). The psalmist expresses this belief in the H⁴ interpolation in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a. In lines 21b–23, the psalmist states, *ואדעה כיא יש מקוה לאשר יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם ורוח נעוה טהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב*

²³¹ In lines 6–7, 9, and 13 the words *נפלאות*, *גבורות*, and *נהיות עולם* are terms that are used elsewhere to describe God's cosmic design and his actions done in accordance with that design. See, for example, 1QH^a XIV 14; XVIII 6. The expression *נהיות עולם* is used in an H³ psalm (1QH^a V 29) to describe God's plan for his creation in the *eschaton*.

וַיֵּצֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר (‘‘And I know that there is hope for the one whom you formed from dust for an eternal council and the perverted spirit you purified from great transgression so as to take a place with the host of holy ones and to enter in together with the congregation of the sons of heaven’’). I would argue that this text is an allusion to Adam entering into the Garden of Eden and dwelling there among the angels (Gen 2:7–8). The words *מִן־הָאֲדָמָה* allude to Gen 2:7a (*וַיֵּצֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר*) which describes God creating Adam from dust, and the words *לְסוּד עוֹלָם* and *עִם צְבָא קְדוּשִׁים וּלְבוֹא בִיחָד עִם עֵדֹת בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם* allude to Gen 2:8 where God places Adam in the Garden of Eden. The *רוּחַ נְעוּה* is the perverted spirit presently dwelling in humanity, and it is the antithesis of God’s breath in Gen 2:7b. Furthermore, in lines 23–24, the psalmist states that God has cast his lot with the *רוּחוֹת דַּעַת* (‘‘spirits of knowledge’’). The expression ‘‘spirits of knowledge’’ is an allusion to the *אֱלֹהִים* (the host of divine beings) in Gen 3:5 and 22 who possess the knowledge of good and evil. The ‘‘spirits of knowledge’’ are the angelic beings who inhabit the Garden of Eden.

In this passage, the psalmist proclaims his belief that God has restored him to paradise where he is able to dwell among the angelic beings and praise God’s glory together with them (line 24). This restoration is possible because the perverted spirit of the psalmist has been purified by God. We know from elsewhere in the H⁴ psalms that this purification is a result of God placing his knowledge-giving spirit within the psalmist (1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30; XIX 13, 33–34).²³² While 1QH^a XI 21b–25 does not explicitly mention God’s revelation of knowledge to the psalmist, such revelation is implied in line

²³² In some others passages the psalmist states that it is God’s truth which purifies him (1QH^a XIV 11–12; cf. 1QS IV 20–21). Whether it is God’s spirit or his truth that purifies the psalmist, the meaning is essentially the same since the spirit is the mediator of God’s truth.

24 which states that the psalmist will be able to praise God's name and recount his wonders. Other H⁴ passages indicate that people can only praise God's name and recount his wonders once they have received the knowledge of God's design (1QH^a IX 31–36; XVIII 16b–23; XIX 7–17). To summarize, the psalmist claims in 1QH^a XI 21b–25 that he is able to join together with the angels in paradise because God has purified the perverted spirit and placed his holy spirit within him which conveys the knowledge of God's will.

1QH^a XI 21b–25a describes a re-creation of the psalmist that mirrors the sequence of events in Gen 2:7–8 (this is similar to what we observed in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* [1QS IV 20–23]; see ch. 3 §4.2). In his natural state, the psalmist is a creature of dust with a perverted spirit (Gen 2:7a with Gen 6:3–5). God enacts a new creation by cleansing the perverted spirit from the psalmist and placing in him a new holy spirit which conveys the knowledge of God's design (Gen 2:7b). As a result, the psalmist is allowed to enter into the Garden of Eden and join with the “spirits of knowledge” as they offer praise to God (Gen 2:8). It should not go unnoticed that by appending the word רוחות to דעת in lines 24–25, the psalmist stresses that the angelic beings in paradise are specifically characterized by their knowledge, emphasizing the fact that it is knowledge which separates humans from the angels. Once humans acquire knowledge through God's spirit they can become like the angels (as in Gen 3:5, 22).

As in the other texts I have examined, the H⁴ psalmist sees the community's paradisiacal existence as both a present and a future reality.²³³ I would suggest that the

²³³ Since the 1960s there has been a long and complex discussion regarding the eschatology in the *Hodayot*, and more specifically in the material I have labeled H⁴. My conclusion that the H⁴ material expresses a belief in both a realized and a future eschatology is in general agreement with the work done by Kuhn, Nickelsburg, and Collins. However, my analysis of the H⁴ material differs from that of previous scholars on a number of points, the most important of which is that I would argue that the H⁴ psalmist associated his present (realized) and future eschatological states with a restoration to paradise (in this regard,

passage just discussed, 1QH^a XI 21b–25a, was intended to be understood as a present experience of angelic fellowship.²³⁴ The present nature of this experience is suggested by the fact that this interpolation has been inserted after the H¹ psalmist's words, "I thank you Lord that you have redeemed my life from the pit and from Sheol-Abaddon you have raised me up to an eternal height and I walk about on a boundless plain." Regardless of what the H¹ psalmist might have meant, the H⁴ psalmist took these words to mean that those who have received God's revelation are presently able to co-exist, in some sense, with the angelic beings in paradise.

Other H⁴ passages also express the view that the psalmist and his followers are able to experience paradise and fellowship with the angels in the present. In 1QH^a XXIII 26–27, the psalmist declares that he is continually accompanied by angelic companions. He writes, "mediators of knowledge²³⁵ are with my every stride and truthful reprovers are [with] my [every] step." In the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn, the psalmist speaks of himself as a רע לקדושים ("companion to the holy ones," 1QH^a XXVI 6 [reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 10]), and he states, [י] אני עם אלים מעמד [י] ("As for me, [my] station is with the gods," 1QH^a XXVI 7 [reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 11]). The psalmist's community also seems to have

I am in substantial agreement with Aune). By viewing the present and future eschatological states as a restoration to paradise we are able to easily understand the peculiarities of the H⁴ psalms, especially the importance of divinely revealed knowledge and the expectation of fellowship with the angels. For previous discussions of the eschatology in the *Hodayot* as a whole, and the H⁴ material specifically, see Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*; Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology*, 29–44; Puech, *La Croissance*, 335–419; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 119–23; Ken Penner, "Realized or Future Salvation in the *Hodayot*," *JBS* 2.1 (2002); Brooke, "The Structure of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4," 15–33; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, immortality, and Eternal Life*, 188–93; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (STDJ 83; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 288–91.

²³⁴ Other commentators have also argued that 1QH^a XI 21b–25a refers to a present, realized eschatological state. See Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 44–61; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 119–21; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, immortality, and Eternal Life*, 188–91.

²³⁵ I would interpret מליצי דעת in 1QH^a XXIII 26 as a reference to angelic beings (cf. 1QH^a XIV 16; XXIII 12; XXVI 36). They are equivalent to the רוחות דעת in 1QH^a XI 23–24.

a place among the angels. In 1QH^a XXVI 9–11 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 14–15), he exhorts his companions to “rejoice [in the ass]embly of God,” “sing praise in the [holy] dwelling place,” and “exalt together with the eternal host.” Similar thoughts are expressed in 1QH^a VII 17 where the psalmist speaks of his community being instructed by God together with the ידעים (“those who have knowledge”). In the *Sabbath Songs*, the ידעים are the angelic priests who minister before God in the heavenly temple (Mas1k I 4–6; 4Q405 8–9 3–4). Apparently, the H⁴ psalmist was also using ידעים to refer to angels because in line 18a he speaks of being עם גבוריכה (“with your mighty ones”). In line 18b, he goes on to state, “And when (you act) wondrously, we will declare it together in the assemb[ly]²³⁶ of God].”

The importance of divinely revealed knowledge for present angelic fellowship is apparent in 1QH^a XIX 6–17.²³⁷ In lines 6–7, the psalmist offers thanks to God because he has revealed his “basis of truth” and his “wondrous works” to him. The psalmist goes on to state that he is able to praise God because he has received knowledge from him. In lines 12–13a, the psalmist again states that God has graciously made known his “basis of truth” and his “wondrous mysteries” to the children of his favor. Through his revealed knowledge, God has purified the righteous from sin so that they might sanctify themselves

²³⁶ 1QH^a VII 18 reads [בדעת אל], but the overlapping text in 4Q427 8 i 10 has בעדת אל. The context favors the latter reading as correct (see also the translation note in *DJD XL*, 106). The expression בעדת אל is also used in 1QH^a XXVI 10 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 14) with reference to the holy dwelling of God where the human community sings praises together with the angelic host.

²³⁷ Other commentators have also argued that 1QH^a XIX 6–17 refers to a present, realized eschatological state (Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 78–88; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 119–23). Nickelsburg summarizes the evidence for this passage as a description of the author’s present state. He writes, “The author begins [in line 13] with a sentence in the perfect tense: God has cleansed man from sin. This is followed by five subordinate infinitival clauses. Because man has been purified from sin, he is now holy unto God, and he is brought into the company of the holy ones, i.e., the eschatology community of the elect.” Nickelsburg goes on to say, “. . . we should probably also interpret the eschatological terminology of the last two infinitival clauses as referring to the sectarian’s present situation. Already he stands in the ranks of the angelic chorus. Even now the renewal of creation has begun” (*Resurrection, immortality, and Eternal Life*, 191–93).

from every abhorrent impurity (lines 13b–14a).²³⁸ As a result of their knowledge and purity, the righteous are able to ascend from their present corrupt state on earth to a place of knowledge,²³⁹ and there they are able to join together with the heavenly host (lines 14b–17). In line 17, the psalmist comes to a climax and states that the righteous will be “with those who have knowledge (עם ידעים) in a common rejoicing.” As in 1QH^a VII 17, I would contend that these ידעים are angelic beings, and I would suggest that they are equivalent to the רוחות דעת in 1QH^a XI 23–24.²⁴⁰ In 1QH^a XIX 17, the expression ידעים is an allusion to the אֱלֹהִים who possess the knowledge of good and evil Gen 3:5 and 22—they are the angelic beings who dwell in paradise. In 1QH^a XIX 6–17, the psalmist claims that he and his followers have been purified through God’s revelation and have entered into a paradisiacal communion with the angels. This is all possible because God has given them knowledge of his cosmic design, and they have become knowledgeable ones like the angels (the ידעים).

One other passage worth considering is 1QH^a XXIII 11–16 where the psalmist states that God has opened the fountain of truth in his mouth. This fountain of truth serves as a [ת]ֵּן מְקוֹר דְּעֵת (“fountain of kn[owledge]”) to satisfy the righteous with שְׂמֵחַת עוֹלָם (“eternal joy”). The fountain language here is reminiscent of 1QH^a X 20 and XVI 5–27

²³⁸ 1QH^a XIX 13b–14a does not explicitly state that God’s revelation of knowledge is responsible for purifying the righteous. The causal relationship between revelation and purification is implicit in the sequence of events. However, elsewhere in H⁴, the psalmist does explicitly associate God’s revelation with purification (1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30; XIV 11; XV 33; XIX 33–34).

²³⁹ I argued previously (§5.1.3 above) that the language of physical ascent in this passage is metaphorical. The psalmist does not literally ascend from earth to the heavens; rather, he “ascends” from a corrupt state to a state of knowledge. The metaphor of heavenly ascent is used in this passage because earth is associated with ignorance and the heavens are the place of knowledge.

²⁴⁰ There are numerous terminological and thematic similarities between 1QH^a XI 21a–25b and XIX 12–17 (see Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 80–85). Based on these similarities, it seems that both passages must be describing the same present state of paradisiacal communion with the angels that is possible because of God’s revelation of knowledge.

where the H¹ psalmist claims that he is responsible for opening the “fountain of knowledge” (X 20; cf. XVI 22) for his followers. In 1QH^a XVI 5–27, the H¹ psalmist associates the fountain of knowledge with the throne of God from which a river of knowledge pours forth to irrigate the paradisiacal community. The H¹ psalmist describes himself as a conduit for God’s revelation, and from his mouth flows a river of knowledge (1QH^a X 19; XVI 17). The same ideas seem to be expressed in 1QH^a XXIII 11–16. Like the H¹ psalmist, the H⁴ psalmist has stood in God’s presence and received knowledge from him.²⁴¹ In turn, the H⁴ psalmist has become a conduit for God’s revelation to others (lines 15–16). The H⁴ psalmist irrigates his followers, satisfying their thirst with the waters of truth and knowledge and bringing them “eternal joy.” Based on what we know from the H¹ psalms, the language here is meant to evoke thoughts of the Garden of Eden. The psalmist is saying that from him flows the water of knowledge which brings the “eternal joy” of a paradisiacal existence to the righteous.²⁴² As with the H¹ psalmist, the H⁴ psalmist is a conduit for God’s revelation, and through his mediation of divine knowledge his followers can also enter into paradise.

It is clear from the preceding passages that the H⁴ psalmist thought of himself and his community as capable of presently experiencing fellowship with the angelic host. I would suggest that this belief is based on the idea that the psalmist and his community have entered into paradise by receiving God’s revelation of knowledge. As a result of their knowledge, the psalmist and his followers have become like the angels (Gen 3:5, 22) and

²⁴¹ In §5.2.2 above, I discussed 1QH^a XXIII 2–17 which seems to indicate that the psalmist has entered into God’s presence and witnessed the light of divine glory radiating from God. During this encounter, it would appear that the psalmist received knowledge of God’s divine plan (lines 5–7).

²⁴² The expression שמחת עולם (or שמחות עולמים) is used elsewhere in 1QH^a XXVI 13 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 17), 30; and 1QS IV 7 where it describes a paradisiacal existence of peace and righteousness in which humans are able to join together with the angels in singing praise to God.

are able to worship God together with the heavenly beings.²⁴³ For the psalmist, paradise is the dwelling place of those who have profound knowledge of God and his cosmic design, and it is a place where humans and angels can co-exist in mutual praise of God.

It is difficult to say how literally or figuratively the psalmist thought of his present paradisiacal existence. I suspect that the psalmist held this view in tension with the realization that he and his followers will remain creatures of flesh and dust until the *eschaton*. If this is the case, then the present paradisiacal existence is but a shadow or analogy of what is to come at the end of the age. For the psalmist, the perfect paradisiacal life can only be inaugurated after the time of eschatological judgment when God will permanently eradicate injustice and the affliction caused by the evil spirits (1QH^a XIX 25; XXIV 6–36; XXVI 14–26 [partially reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 18–ii 7]). At the time of judgment, God will cast the evil spirits out of the world into everlasting destruction, and “evil will no longer exist” (1QH^a XXV 3–16). When the evil spirits are destroyed, the righteous will be able to live in complete holiness and God will reward them with peace, long life, and eternal joy (1QH^a IV 27; V 34–35; XXVI 26–30 [partially reconstructed from 4Q427 ii 7–11]).

The future paradisiacal hope of the H⁴ psalmist is most clearly expressed in 1QH^a XIV 9–22a. Here, the psalmist describes how the community of the righteous will be transformed into an eschatological Garden of Eden. The description begins in line 11 where the psalmist states that the hope of salvation is still in the future: “(those who repent) you will raise up in a little while, a survivor among your people and a remnant in your inheritance.” He goes on to say that God will purify and cleanse them from guilt and

²⁴³ It is important to note that the H⁴ psalmist is not concerned about becoming like the angels in the sense of bodily transformation; rather, his chief objective is to praise God like the angels. For the H⁴ psalmist, this is the apex of human salvation.

sin by means of his truth (line 11–12), and he will instruct them in his truth and his deeds (lines 12–15). Then, in line 16, the psalmist states that the community of the righteous will come to be “in a common lot with the angels of the presence and without a mediator between them.” He goes on in lines 17–22a to associate this angelic fellowship with life in the Garden of Eden. Those who have received knowledge from God will become like a great world-tree—an “eternal planting”—with branches extending up to the clouds,²⁴⁴ and their roots will be watered by “all the streams of Eden” which flow as an eternal fountain from the spring of light.²⁴⁵ The wicked, however, will perish in the light that emanates from God. It is apparent in this passage that the H⁴ psalmist envisions a future paradisiacal existence where he and his community will dwell together with the “angels of the presence” in the radiance of God’s splendor.

The flow of thought in 1QH^a XIV 9–22a mirrors the sequence of events in 1QS IV 18–23: God determines an end to injustice (1QH^a XIV 9–11; 1QS IV 18–20); he purifies and cleanses the righteous remnant by means of his truth (1QH^a XIV 11–12; 1QS IV 20–22); he instructs the righteous (1QH^a XIV 12–15; 1QS IV 22); the righteous become like Adam in the Garden of Eden (1QH^a XIV 16–21; 1QS IV 23); and wickedness is destroyed (1QH^a XIV 21–22a; 1QS IV 23). Based on the correspondence between 1QH^a XIV 9–22a

²⁴⁴ Fletcher-Louis has argued that the words *ועד שחקים יגבירהו בקומה* (“and unto the clouds he magnifies him in stature”) in 1QH^a XXVI 27–28 (= 4Q427 7 ii 9) should be understood in light of the rabbinic tradition that God created Adam with a gigantic body that covered the world (*All the Glory of Adam*, 212–16). Fletcher-Louis finds this interpretation especially likely since 1QH^a XXVI 28 has *יגבירה* instead of *יגבירהו* as in 4Q427 7 ii 9. This would be very interesting if he was correct, as it would indicate that the psalmist in the Self-Glorification Hymn believed that the righteous would be transformed into gigantic Adam-like figures. However, similar terminology in 1QH^a XIV 19 (*עד שחקים*) suggests that the language of physical magnitude should be understood as a hyperbolic metaphor. Moreover, there is nothing else in the *Hodayot* that associates an enormous body with Adam or the glorified community.

²⁴⁵ The expression *מעין אור* is used in 1QS III 19 for the throne of God—i.e., the source of truth from which the spirit of truth emanates. A similar expression, *מקור אור*, is found in 1QH^a VIII 14. The idea that God’s throne is a fountain or spring of light in the midst of paradise may have originated from Ps. 36:8–9[9–10]: “They feast on the abundance of your house, and you give them drink from the river of your delights (*נחל עֲדָנֶיךָ*). For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we see light.”

and 1QS IV 18–23, I would argue that the H⁴ psalmist derived his notion of an eschatological return to paradise from the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.²⁴⁶ This is not unexpected given that the H⁴ psalmist's anthropology closely resembles that of the *Treatise*.

There is an interesting passage in 1QH^a IV 27 which also suggests that the H⁴ psalmist was drawing his eschatology from the *Treatise*. This line states, [פִּשַׁע וְלֹהֵאֱשִׁיבָה . . .]. . . [transgression and to remove all their iniquity and to give them as an inheritance all the glory of Adam for abundance of days [. . .]. The expression כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם is almost certainly taken from 1QS IV 23²⁴⁷ and the words רֹב יָמִים are probably adapted from רֹב שְׁלוֹם בְּאוֹרֵךְ יָמִים in 1QS IV 7. If this is the case, then the “glory of Adam” in 1QH^a IV 27 denotes Adam's paradisiacal, angel-like state which he possessed because God had granted him his divine spirit and knowledge.²⁴⁸ According to this passage, God will remove iniquity from the righteous and restore them to the Garden of Eden in the *eschaton*.

One other passage, 1QH^a V 30–36, shows signs that the H⁴ psalmist's paradisiacal eschatology was informed by the *Treatise*. The importance of this passage is in lines 34–35 where the psalmist states, בְּהַדְרֵךְ תִּפְאָרְנוּ וְתִמְשַׁלְּנֶנּוּ בְּרֹב עֵדֵינִים עִם שְׁלוֹם עוֹלָם וְאוֹרֵךְ יָמִים (“With your splendor you will adorn him and you will cause [him] to rule [with] abundant delights together with eternal peace and long life”). The terminology here is reminiscent of 1QS IV 6–8 which speaks of God rewarding the righteous with רֹב שְׁלוֹם בְּאוֹרֵךְ יָמִים (“abundance of

²⁴⁶ This would also explain why the expression מְעִין אֹרֵךְ occurs in both 1QH^a XIV 20 and 1QS III 19 (this non-biblical expression only occurs in these two places in the Scrolls).

²⁴⁷ Outside of 1QS IV 23 and 1QH^a IV 27, the expression כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם only occurs elsewhere in CD III 20.

²⁴⁸ See Golitzin, “Recovering the ‘Glory of Adam,’” 279–80.

peace in long life”) and clothing them with a כליל כבוד (“crown of glory”) and מדת הדר (“radiant garment”). As in the *Treatise*, 1QH^a V 34–35 is intentionally evoking a picture of the primordial man in paradise to describe God’s eschatological reward for the righteous.²⁴⁹ The words ותמשילנן^ו תפארנו בהדרך are probably an allusion to Gen 1:26–28 where God creates Adam in his image and gives him dominion over the world. The words בהדרך תפארנו suggest that in the *eschaton* the righteous will be adorned with God’s visible splendor (the image of God) just as Adam was.²⁵⁰ In 1QH^a V 34–35, the psalmist expects that God will bless the righteous with a paradisiacal existence similar to Adam’s.

As with their present paradisiacal existence, the future life in the eschatological Garden of Eden is dependent upon the righteous receiving knowledge from God. This can be seen most clearly in 1QH^a XIV 12–21. In lines 12–15, the psalmist describes how God will pour out his truth on the righteous in the *eschaton*. They will be purified by God’s truth and will know God’s wonders. As result, the righteous will enter into God’s heavenly council (line 16) which is the paradise of God (line 17–20) and the place of his throne (line 20–21). The eschatological renewal in 1QH^a XIV 12–21 is based on the premise that Adam could only enter into the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:8) after he had received knowledge from God (Gen 2:7b) and became like the heavenly beings (Gen 1:26; 3:5, 22). The same is true for the H⁴ psalmist and his followers.

²⁴⁹ Cf. the terminology in 1QH^a IV 27 (רוב ימים) and XIX 29–30 (לכבוד עד ושלום עולם).

²⁵⁰ In the only other place where הדר is used in the *Hodayot* the word is associated with God’s own luminous glory (1QH^a XX 18; see also 4Q510 1 3). In the Hebrew Bible, the verb פאר can mean “adorn” or even “coronate” while the noun פאר is always associated with a headdress. Given that 1QH^a V 34–35 describes God as setting up the righteous to rule, פאר takes on the imagery of a king being formally robed or crowned. I would suggest that בהדרך תפארנו in 1QH^a V 34 is equivalent to באור עולמים in 1QS IV 7–8, and both passages are meant to describe the righteous regaining the image of God. Regarding 1QH^a V 34–35, Fletcher-Louis remarks, “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’” (*All the Glory of Adam*, 106).

5.4 Summary

In general, the nature of God's revelation in the H⁴ psalms is the same as in the rest of the *Hodayot*, as well as *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. The H⁴ psalmist claims that God has revealed to him knowledge of his cosmic design which serves as the basis for his covenant with creation and manifests the mind of God. The H⁴ material differs substantially from the rest of the *Hodayot* (and *Instruction*) in that it attributes the means of God's revelation to a heavenly spirit. In this regard, the H⁴ psalms are similar to the *Treatise*. This said, however, the H⁴ psalms also associate God's act of revelation with a visionary experience in which the psalmist enters into the divine presence. In speaking of both a heavenly spirit and a visionary experience, it is possible that the H⁴ psalmist was trying to merge together the different revelatory ideas in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the H¹ psalms.

The H⁴ psalmist describes the theological function of God's revealed knowledge in a way similar to *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the H¹ psalms. As in these other texts, the H⁴ psalmist interprets Gen 6:3–5 as a description of humanity's present corrupt state, and specifically their faulty inclination (יצר). The H⁴ psalmist is exceptional in the degree to which he disparages humanity's physical nature, but the essence of his thought is not substantially different from what we have observed in the *Treatise*. Both the *Treatise* and the H⁴ psalms portray humanity's physical nature as the underlying reason why humans are plagued by evil spirits.

As in the other texts I have examined, the H⁴ psalmist thinks of God's revelation as the solution to humanity's present corrupt state. By receiving God's knowledge-giving spirit, one can resist the influence of the evil spirits and be restored to Adam's original

glorious state. This idea is based upon a combination of passages in Genesis 1–3. Once a person has received God’s spirit and the knowledge it conveys (Gen 2:7b), they become like the angels who possess profound knowledge (Gen 1:26; 3:5, 22) and they are able to enter into the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:8). In their paradisiacal state, the righteous can communion with the angels and praise God with them because they too possess knowledge of God and his cosmic plan. As in *Instruction*, the H¹ psalms, and the H³ psalms, the H⁴ psalmist envisions both a present and a future paradisiacal existence for his community. Their present existence in paradise is but a shadow of that which will come when God’s judges the wicked, eradicates evil from the world, and blesses the righteous with their reward.

6. Conclusion

While the *Hodayot* is a diverse collection of psalms written by at least four different authors there are common ideological elements running throughout the text which are quite similar to what we have seen in *Instruction* and the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. The *Hodayot* psalmists all believed that God revealed knowledge of his cosmic design to them, and they saw the cosmic design as the legal basis for God’s covenant with creation and a genuine manifestation of God’s own mind. They also saw God’s revelation as the mechanism for restoring humanity to paradise in the present and in the future.

There are certainly substantial differences between the different groups of *Hodayot* psalms. The H¹ and H⁴ psalmists see God’s revelation as the means for rectifying humanity’s corrupt inclination while the H³ psalmist does not indicate that all humans inherently have a corrupt יצר. The *Hodayot* psalmists differ the most in how they describe the means of God’s revelation. The H¹ psalmist claims to have had a direct personal

encounter with God. The H³ psalmist describes a visionary experience that has been passed down through the teachings of the community. The H⁴ psalmist asserts that God's revelation came through an indwelling spirit and a visionary experience. In spite of their differences, however, the different groups of *Hodayot* material are theologically quite homogenous, and the essence of what we see in the *Hodayot* is very much in line with the worldview and theological understanding present in *Instruction* and the *Treatise*. This broad uniformity makes a great deal of sense if all of these texts originated out of the same general milieu and reflect the same revelatory tradition.

CHAPTER 5 THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

1. Introduction

The work known as *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*, or the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, is a cycle of thirteen songs which were probably recited on the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year.¹ Each song begins with an incipit addressed for or by the *maskil* (למשכיל).² The songs describe the worship of an assembly of angelic priests who serve before God in his heavenly temple (see §1.2 below). As the songs progress, the perspective moves from the outer courts of the heavenly temple to the inner sanctum where God is seated on his throne-chariot. Throughout the *Sabbath Songs*, the angelic priests are attributed with profound knowledge of God and his marvelous works.

Ten manuscripts of the *Sabbath Songs* are extant, eight from Qumran Cave 4, one from Cave 11, and one found at Masada.³ The earliest manuscript, 4Q400, is dated paleographically to the late Hasmonean period (75–50 BCE) while the latest text, Mas1k

¹ Newsom argues that the *Sabbath Songs* was only used during the first quarter of the year. In contrast, Maier and Falk have proposed that the *Sabbath Songs* was used in all four quarters of the years. Eshel suggests that the *Sabbath Songs* was used at least in the first and third quarters of the year. See Carol A. Newsom, “‘He Has Established for Himself Priests’: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath *Shirot*,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASORRM 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 109–10; Johann Maier, “*Shîrê 'Ôlat hash-Shabbat*, Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Seas Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 543–60; Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 136–37; Hanan Eshel, “When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, IV* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Devorah Dimant; Jerusalem: Bialik, 2006), 3–12 [Hebrew].

² Extant songs incipits can be found in 4Q400 3 ii+5 8; 4Q401 1–2 1; Mas1k I 8 (= 4Q406 1 4); 4Q403 1 i 30; 4Q403 1 ii 18; 4Q405 20 ii–22 6 (= 11Q17 16–18 9). According to Newsom’s reconstruction of the text, these extant incipits come from songs 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 12. Newsom provides a composite reconstruction of the *Sabbath Songs* in *PTSDSSP 4B*.

³ See *DJD XI*, 173–401; *DJD XXIII*, 259–304; Carol A. Newsom and Yigael Yadin, “The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *IEJ* 34 (1984): 77–88.

from Masada, is dated to the late Herodian period (c. 50 CE).⁴ There are ongoing debates about this text's original function,⁵ literary structure,⁶ genre,⁷ and its relationship to the later *hekhalot* texts and *merkavah* mysticism.⁸

⁴ 4Q406 and 4Q407 are too fragmentary to date accurately, although Newsom conjectures that 4Q407 is late Hasmonean (*DJD XI*, 399).

⁵ Scholars have proposed various hypotheses for the original purpose of the *Sabbath Songs*. See Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 17–21, 59, 67–72; eadem, “He Has Established for Himself Priests,” 113–17; Dale C. Allison, Jr. “The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 192; Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 166–67; Henry W. Morisada Rietz, “Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as a Test Case,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 42 n. 65; Judith H. Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,” in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck; TBNJCT 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 30.

⁶ Newsom sees the seventh Sabbath song as the climax of the cycle. Morray-Jones believes that the seventh Sabbath song is a preliminary crescendo while the true climax comes in the twelfth song. Fletcher-Louis and Dimant have argued that the thirteenth song is the apex of the *Sabbath Songs*. Newman takes a mediating position and argues that there are “multiple high points” with “a culminating conclusion.” See Newsom, *Critical Edition*, 13–17; Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 162, 165; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 375, 386; Devorah Dimant, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran,” in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 41 n. 40; Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran,” 39. For other views, or variations on one of the above, see Raʿanan S. Boustan, “Angels in the Architecture: Temple Art and the Poetics of Praise in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,” in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. Raʿanan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 200–201.

⁷ Nitzan and Boustan classify the *Sabbath Songs* as “liturgical invitation.” Fletcher-Louis argues that the *Sabbath Songs* is a heavenly ascent text similar to some apocalypses. Davila acknowledges certain similarities with apocalyptic otherworldly journeys, but also notes significant differences between the *Sabbath Songs* and the apocalypse genre. See Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 183–89, 195–200; Boustan, “Angels in the Architecture,” 199; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 264–67; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (ECDSS 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 87.

⁸ The relationship between the *Sabbath Songs* and *merkavah* mysticism has been explored by Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2d improved ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 29, 128; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “*Merkavah* Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q^{Serekh Shirot} *Olat ha-Shabbat*,” in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann* (ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Daniel Swetschinski; DMMRS 5; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982), 15–47; Carol A. Newsom, “*Merkavah* Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” *JJS* 38 (1987): 11–30; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and the Rabbinic *Merkavah* Traditions,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 199–213; Elisabeth Hamacher, “Die Sabbatopferlieder im Streit um Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik,” *JSJ* 27 (1996): 119–54; Michael D. Swartz, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 182–93; Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 153–70; Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 142–46.

In the preceding chapters, I have considered texts that are primarily concerned with God's revelation of his cosmic design to a community of righteous humans. While these texts usually assume that the angels in heaven already possess the knowledge which God has revealed to the righteous, they never explain how the angels acquired their knowledge nor do they expound upon the importance of knowledge for the angels. In a sense, the *Sabbath Songs* presents the other side of the coin. This text is chiefly concerned with angels and angelic knowledge, and it shows very little overt interest in the human realm (see §1.2 below). Although the *Sabbath Songs* deals with angels, not humans, I would argue that this text reflects the same revelatory tradition as that which underlies *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the different groups of *Hodayot* material. When these other texts refer to the knowledge of the angels or claim that humans can praise God together with the angels because they possess knowledge like the angels, we can gain a better understanding of these statements by looking to the *Sabbath Songs*.

Since the *Sabbath Songs* focuses on angels, not humans, the nature of this chapter will be slightly different from previous chapters. I will still address the same fundamental questions (what did God reveal, how did he reveal it, and what is the theological function of God's revelation), but the subjects involved will be angels for the most part. In §2 and §3 of this chapter, I will investigate what the angelic priests know and how they came to know it. In §4, I will consider the theological function of God's revealed knowledge as it pertains to the angelic priests. In this section, I will also look at the one passage in the *Sabbath Songs* where humans are undoubtedly mentioned, and I will examine how God's revelation affects them.

1.1. Provenance of the *Sabbath Songs* and Its Relationship to Other Texts

It has generally been accepted that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was composed within a priestly milieu.⁹ Newsom has suggested that the *Sabbath Songs* originated “in the priestly scribal circles that produced works such as *Jubilees* or Aramaic Levi.”¹⁰ Such a priestly milieu would explain why the author refers to כוהנתנו (“our priesthood”) in 4Q400 2 6.

Originally, in her critical edition, Newsom argued that the *Sabbath Songs* was produced by the Qumran community.¹¹ She maintained this position, with caution, until 1990 when she published an article in which she worked toward a more nuanced understanding of “sectarian” literature. In this article, Newsom proposed that the *Sabbath Songs* was not composed by the Qumran community.¹² She based her argument on two

⁹ Johann Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der “jüdischen Gnosis”* (Kairos 1; Saltzburg: Müller, 1964), 132–35; idem, “Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 572–74; Newsom, *Critical Edition*, 2; Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 129; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 126–38. Noam Mizrahi has raised doubts about the priestly provenance of the *Sabbath Songs* on the basis that certain terms used in the text (דביר, ריה, and ממולח טוהר) are characteristic of non-Priestly strata in the Hebrew Bible. Mizrahi suggests that there are two ways to interpret this data: the *Sabbath Songs* could have originated from a non-Priestly milieu, or it could have stemmed from a priestly circle that no longer had “a special connection to the communities underlying biblical priestly literature” (57). Mizrahi does not decide between these two possibilities. In my judgment, the latter is more likely. Between the fifth and second centuries BCE the priesthood underwent substantial changes and had a tendency for eclecticism (see ch. 7 §3.1). It is likely that as the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings become authoritative and viewed as sacred scripture, the non-Priestly parts of this literature influenced the terminology of the priesthood. For Mizrahi’s arguments, see “The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature: A Linguistic Reconsideration,” *HTR* 104 (2011): 33–57.

¹⁰ Newsom, “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in *EDSS*, 887.

¹¹ Newsom, *Critical Edition*, 59–72.

¹² Carol A. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. William Henry Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman; BibJS 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87, esp. 171 and 179–85. We should note, however, that even in 1990 Newsom maintained her new view with a degree of uncertainty. In that same year she published another article where she states that the Qumran origin of the *Sabbath Songs* is “the most *economical* hypothesis,” but then she adds a footnote citing her “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature” article and writes that she has “reconsidered the question of provenance” (see Newsom, “He Has Established for Himself Priests,” 103–104 and note 12a, italics hers). These two articles are a snapshot of Newsom in the midst of wrestling with the question of provenance. The point is that Newsom, in her “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” did not treat the question of provenance as a closed case. Instead she viewed the origin of the *Sabbath Songs* from outside of the Qumran community as “the most plausible explanation” which “appears most likely” (“‘Sectually Explicit’

main points. First, the presence of a copy of the *Sabbath Songs* at Masada raises the possibility that this text was used outside of the settlement at Qumran. Newsom admits that this evidence is inconclusive, but she believes it is a fact that should not be quickly dismissed.¹³ Second, the *Sabbath Songs* frequently uses the word אֱלֹהִים to refer to God while texts which were composed by the Qumran community avoid the use of אֱלֹהִים. She concludes from this that “the deviant use of *ʾelōhîm* seems to point toward non-Qumran authorship of the *Sabbath Songs*.”¹⁴

Despite Newsom reversing her opinion, many have held to her original assessment that the *Sabbath Songs* is a product of the Qumran community.¹⁵ Since her 1990 article,

Literature,” 184–85).

¹³ In my judgment, the presence of a copy of the *Sabbath Songs* at Masada does not pose a serious problem for those who see the *Sabbath Songs* as originating from within the Qumran community. The Masada manuscript is relative late (approx. 50 CE), which would fit with a theory that this manuscript was brought from Qumran shortly before or during the first Jewish revolt. Newsom originally made this very claim in her *Critical Edition*, 74 n. 5. Later, she became less convinced of this theory and she stated that such a “suggestion has something of the flavor of the theory of epicycles introduced to save the ptolemaic cosmology from erosion by apparently contradictory empirical observations” (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 182). It might be a little too much to say that the presence of the *Sabbath Songs* at Masada is contradictory. In any case, Mas1k should not be used to demonstrate that the *Sabbath Songs* was used outside of Qumran before the first century CE. Recently, Tov has made the case that most, if not all, of the non-biblical texts found at Masada were brought there by fugitives from Qumran. See Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 317–22.

¹⁴ Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 183. For more recent presentations of the same data and conclusions by Newsom, see “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in *EDSS*, 887 and *PTSDSSP 4B*, 4–5. The use of אֱלֹהִים in the *Sabbath Songs* is the real stumbling block for those who argue that this text was composed by the Qumran community. Most scholars, including Newsom, recognize that אֱלֹהִים is used occasionally in texts composed by the Qumran community. The primary example is the *Songs of the Sage*, but אֱלֹהִים is also found in 1QSb IV 25 and 4Q503 13 1; 37+38 14 (there is debate about whether 4Q503 is “sectarian” or not. Falk argues that 4Q503 was produced by the Qumran community [*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 22–29]). The use of אֱלֹהִים in the *Songs of the Sage* is usually explained by claiming that this is an apotropaic text in which words are power. Thus, as Newsom states, “in such a context the use of a normally restricted divine name is readily explicable” (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 185). What is important to recognize from the *Songs of the Sage* is that the use of אֱלֹהִים is not completely forbidden in a text composed within the Qumran community.

¹⁵ Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 127–30; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 89; Boustani, “Angels in the Architecture,” 198 n. 11; Morray-Jones, “The Temple Within,” 154–55; Rietz, “Identifying Compositions,” 29–52; Brent A. Strawn with Henry W. Morisada Rietz, “(More) Sectarian Terminology in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: The Case of תַּמְיַמֵי דֶרֶךְ,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 53–64.

scholars have provided a number of arguments in favor of a Qumran provenance.¹⁶

Boustan, for example, points out that the liturgical form of the *Sabbath Songs* “points to a highly organized, coherent community as the functional setting for the cycle.”¹⁷ Falk has observed that the *Sabbath Songs* shares some of the distinct terminology used in other scrolls composed by the Qumran community.¹⁸ Falk lists the following expressions: תמימי דרך (“the perfect of way”),¹⁹ שבי פשע (“those who turn from sin”),²⁰ אלוהי דעת (“God of knowledge”),²¹ and חרת חוקיו (“he engraved his statutes”).²² To Falk’s list I would add the phrase רזי נפלאות (“wondrous mysteries”) which is only found in 1QM XIV 14 and 4Q401 14 ii 2 and the expression רום כבוד (“height of glory”) which is only attested in 1QS X 12; 4Q286 1 ii 4; and 4Q403 1 ii 10.

In my judgment, the provenance of the *Sabbaths Songs* remains an unsolved problem. The use of אלוהים raises doubts about the text’s origin from within the Qumran community, yet it has a great deal of thematic and terminological similarity with texts composed by the community. In spite of this impasse, I think we can advance the

¹⁶ Newsom herself has observed that the *Sabbath Songs* shares “with the texts of sectarian authorship an adherence to the solar calendar and a preoccupation with the priesthood and angelology” (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 171). Like the texts composed by the Qumran community, the *Sabbath Songs* utilizes the title משכיל. She also argues that the authors of *4QBerakhot* and the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511) knew of the *Sabbath Songs*. Newsom rightly points out, however, that none of this is conclusive evidence that the *Sabbath Songs* was composed by the Qumran community (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 181, 183).

¹⁷ Boustan, “Angels in the Architecture,” 198 n. 11.

¹⁸ Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 127.

¹⁹ 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 13 6. This expression is also found in 1QS IV 22; 1QSa I 28; 1QM XIV 7; 1QH^a IX 36; 4Q511 10 8; and 63 iii 3. It may have been derived from תום דרך in Job 4:6 and Prov 13:6.

²⁰ 4Q400 1 i 16. The expression is also attested in CD II 5; XX 7; 1QS X 20; 1QH^a VI 35; X 9; XIV 6; and 4Q299 71 1.

²¹ 4Q400 2 8; 4Q401 11 2; 4Q402 4 12; 4Q405 20 ii–22 7; 23 ii 12. Variant forms of this expression are found elsewhere in 1QS III 15; 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13–14; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 32–33; 4Q299 35 1; 73 3; 4Q379 22 i 6; 4Q417 1 i 8; 4Q418 55 5; 4Q504 4 4; 4Q510 1 2; and 4Q511 1 7. The title was originally derived from 1 Sam 2:3 (אֵל דַּעוֹת).

²² 4Q400 1 i 5, 15; 4Q402 4 3. Elsewhere, the verb חרת used with the noun חוק is attested in 1QS X 6, 8, 11; 4Q417 1 i 14–15; and 4Q511 63–64 ii 3.

discussion somewhat by observing the literary relationship between the *Sabbath Songs* and the different groups of *Hodayot* material. When we compare the *Sabbath Songs* and the *Hodayot*, we find that there is little or no similarity in specific terminology and themes between the *Sabbath Songs* and the first three groups of the *Hodayot* (H¹⁻³), but there are substantial similarities between the *Sabbath Songs* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. For example, both the *Sabbath Songs* and the H⁴ psalms use the expressions אור אורתים (or אור תמימי),²³ אל הדעות,²⁴ דעת אמת,²⁵ מעשי אמת,²⁷ סוד עולם,²⁸ and תמימי דרך.²⁹ The H⁴ psalms and the *Sabbath Songs* also reflect a common anthropology. The human לשון עפר (“tongue of dust”) in 4Q400 2 7 is reminiscent of the לב עפר (“heart of dust”), יצר עפר (“creature of dust”), and the אוזן עפר (“ear of dust”) in the *Hodayot* H⁴ material.³⁰ The inability of humans to know the things of God is expressed by the phrase מי יבין באלה (“who is able to understand these things”) in 4Q401 16 4. This is similar to statements we find in the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms, such as 1QH^a V 30–31: כי מה ה[א]יָ רוח בשר (“[for what i]s the spirit of flesh to understanding all these things”). A key feature of both texts is their belief that humans are separated from angels because the

²³ 1QH^a XXI 15; 4Q403 1 i 45. In 4Q403 1 ii 1 we find the word אורתים at the beginning of the first line of text. The word אור could have preceded it. The word אורתים or אורתום without the preceding word אור is also used in 1QH^a XII 7, 24; 4Q392 1 5 (see ch. 4 n. 72).

²⁴ The expression אל הדעות is used in 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13–14; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 32–33. The *Sabbath Songs* uses the expression אלוהי דעת (4Q400 2 8; 4Q401 11 2; 4Q402 4 12; 4Q405 20 ii–22 7; 23 ii 12).

²⁵ 1QH^a XVIII 22; 4Q403 1 i 16 (partially reconstructed), 18 (partially reconstructed); 4Q405 13 2 (reconstructed); and 4Q405 19 4. See also 1QS IX 17; 1QH^a XVIII 31; 4Q413 1–2 2; and 4Q444 1–4i+5 1.

²⁶ 1QH^a VII 17; XIX 17; and MasIk 1 4.

²⁷ 1QH^a IX 32 and 11Q17 X 6. The expression is only found elsewhere in 1QS I 19; 1QM XIII 1, 2, 9; XIV 12.

²⁸ 1QH^a XI 22 (סוד עולם) and 4Q403 1 i 34 (סודי עולמים). The only other occurrence of this expression is in 1QS II 25 (סוד עולמים).

²⁹ 1QH^a IX 36; 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 13 6. For other occurrences, see n. 19 above.

³⁰ See 1QH^a XXI 10, 17; XXIII 5.

former lacks the knowledge of the latter (1QH^a XIX 12–17; 4Q400 2 7).³¹ One of the most significant similarities between the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms and the *Sabbath Songs* is the nomenclature they use to describe angelic beings. Both texts use either רוחות דעת or רוחות דעת,³² and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms describes angels as a צבא דעת while the *Sabbath Songs* employs the phrases מלאכי הדעת and אלי דעת.³³ These angelic epithets are not found anywhere else in the Scrolls.

Based on the evidence above, I would argue that there is a direct literary relationship between the *Sabbath Songs* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. Although it is difficult to prove the direction of literary dependence between the two groups of material, the evidence is most easily interpreted if we see the *Sabbath Songs* as a precursor to the H⁴ psalms.³⁴ If this is the case, then there are a number of possible conclusions. The *Sabbath*

³¹ In 1QH^a XIX 12–17, humans are able to join together with the angels because God has given them knowledge like the angels. This implies that humans and angels are separated on the basis of their knowledge.

³² 1QH^a XI 23–24 (רוחות דעת); 4Q405 17 3 and 19 4 (רוחי דעת).

³³ צבא דעת is found in 4Q400 2 1; 4Q403 1 i 14–16 (partially reconstructed), 31, 38 (איילי דעת); and 4Q405 23 i 8. 11Q17 X 6 uses מלאכי הדעת. 1QH^a XXI 9 has צבא דעת.

³⁴ As a test case, we might consider 1QH^a XI 21–24 which contains two expressions also found in the *Sabbaths Songs*: סוד עולם and רוחות דעת. Among the Scrolls, only the H⁴ psalms and the *Sabbath Songs* use the phrase “spirits of knowledge” in the plural as a title for angels while the expression סוד עולם is found nowhere else in the Scrolls except 1QS II 25. In 1QH^a XI 21–24, the expression סוד עולם occurs in the singular and is found along with two other references to the heavens: רום עולם and מישור לאין חקר. All three of these phrases apparently denote the heavenly realm in general. The expression רוחות דעת is also used with two other phrases, צבא קדושים and בני שמים, to designate angels as a general category of beings. In 1QH^a XI 21–24, the expressions סוד עולם and רוחות דעת are used abstractly with fairly broad meanings (the heavenly realm and angels, respectively). This is not the case in the *Sabbath Songs* where סודי עולמים and רוחי דעת have highly specialized meanings. In 4Q403 1 i 34, the plural form, סודי עולמים, refers to the various divisions of angelic priests, not the heavenly realm as a whole (Newsom, *Critical Edition*, 217; cf. 4Q403 1 ii 19, 22). Similarly, the רוחי דעת are not just run-of-the-mill angels in the *Sabbath Songs*. In 4Q405 19 4, it is clear that the רוחי דעת are a particular class of heavenly beings who dwell in the heavenly holy of holies and praise God based on their knowledge of his truth and righteousness. There are two ways we can assess this information. It is possible that the author of the *Sabbath Songs* could have extracted these phrases from the H⁴ *Hodayot* material and imbued them with profoundly complex new meanings. However, this view is problematic. It does not explain why the H⁴ psalmist would have used these unusual expressions in the first place. It is also difficult to imagine how the author of the *Sabbath Songs* could have developed such a detailed angelology from these phrases as they presently stand in the H⁴ material. How did the author of the *Sabbath Songs* conceptually transform סוד עולם from meaning “heaven” into an expression denoting the divisions of angelic priests? A more likely scenario is that the H⁴ psalmist adopted these technical terms from

1.2 Angels and Humans in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*

There has been a great deal of discussion over the last decade about the identity of the priestly figures in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The traditional and majority view has followed Newsom's interpretation, and understood the priestly figures in this text as angelic beings serving in a heavenly temple. The minority view, which is chiefly represented by Fletcher-Louis, has held that these figures are the human, priestly leaders of the Qumran community who have been transformed into "angelomorphic" beings.³⁹

Fletcher-Louis argues that during the Second Temple period it was not uncommon for important righteous figures, especially Moses and the high priest, to be viewed as quasi-angelic beings.⁴⁰ According to Fletcher-Louis, the traditions recorded in the scrolls from Qumran were no exception to this. He claims that many of the priestly figures mentioned

Basis of the similarity between Mas1k I 2–3 (= 4Q402 4 12–13) and 1QS III 15–16, Rietz has argued that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was composed by the Qumran community. However, the evidence does not demand such a conclusion. It is entirely possible that the *Treatise* served as source material for the *Sabbath Songs*, or vice versa, and that one or both texts originated outside of the Qumran community. See Rietz, "Identifying Compositions," 50–51. Charlesworth has also noted the similarities between these two texts, and has suggested that the *Sabbath Songs* was influenced by the *Treatise*, although he does not provide any support for dating the *Treatise* prior to the *Sabbath Songs* (*PTSDSSP 1*, 1 n. 7). If both texts are "non-sectarian" then it is equally likely that the *Sabbath Songs* influenced the *Treatise*. It is also possible that the redactor responsible for inserting the *Treatise* into the *Community Rule* was aware of the *Sabbath Songs* and used it to edit the *Treatise*. Without more information, it is difficult to discern the relationship between these two texts.

³⁹ For the history of the term "angelomorphic" and Fletcher-Louis' definition of it, see his monograph *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT 2/94; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 10, 14–15. For his views on the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1998* (Part 1; 2 parts; SBLSP 37; Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 367–99; idem, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 7 (2000): 292–312; idem, *All the Glory of Adam*, 252–394; and idem, "Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 185–98.

⁴⁰ For example, Fletcher-Louis argues that Ben Sira portrays Moses (Sir 45) and the high priest (Sir 50) as angelomorphic beings (*All the Glory of Adam*, 72–84). He discusses the description of Moses as a "god" in 4Q374 2 ii (*All the Glory of Adam*, 136–41) and the priestly figure in 1QSB IV 24–28 who is "like an angel of the presence" (*All the Glory of Adam*, 150–61). Other texts important for Fletcher-Louis' argument include *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Songs of the Sage*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *War Scroll*.

in the *Sabbath Songs* “are actually the laity or the priesthood of the Qumran community *in their transformed, heavenly, mode*.”⁴¹

Fletcher-Louis’ interpretations have received broad criticism on a number of levels.⁴² It is not possible, in this context, to respond to all of the arguments posed by Fletcher-Louis over several hundred pages,⁴³ nor can I review all of the counter-arguments which others have raised. The strongest evidence indicating that the priestly protagonists in the *Sabbath Songs* are genuine angels, not angelomorphic humans, is a passage in the second Sabbath song (4Q400 2 1–8). This passage is the only place in the *Sabbath Songs* where humans are undoubtedly mentioned, and hence this is the most important passage for determining whether or not exalted humans are present in the rest of the *Sabbath Songs*.⁴⁴ The text states:⁴⁵

⁴¹ *All the Glory of Adam*, 256, italics his.

⁴² In general, reviewers have faulted Fletcher-Louis for reading texts too literally and overstating the idea of angelomorphism in passages that are obscure at best. See the reviews of Fletcher-Louis’ book, *All the Glory of Adam*, by John J. Collins, “Review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*,” *JSJ* 34 (2003): 73–79; Carol A. Newsom, “Review of *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, by Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 431–35; and Émile Puech, “Review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*,” *RevQ* 22 (2005): 281–85. In addition, see comments by Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 45–47; Ra’anan S. Boustan, “Sevenfold Hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature: Formalism, Hierarchy and the Limits of Human Participation,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 236–41; Davila, “Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 442–43.

⁴³ Fletcher-Louis’ criticisms of Newsom’s interpretation can be generally grouped into three categories. (1) He accuses Newsom of interpreting the *Sabbath Songs* with too strict a dichotomy between heavenly and earthly realms (e.g., *All the Glory of Adam*, 265). In part, Fletcher-Louis seeks to prove that Jewish writings occasionally blurred the boundary between heaven and earth, or erased it altogether. (2) Fletcher-Louis frequently objects to Newsom’s interpretation by claiming that nothing like what Newsom has proposed is found in other writings of the Second Temple period (e.g., *All the Glory of Adam*, 281). (3) He notes that much of the language used for the priestly figures in the *Sabbath Songs* is rarely, if ever, used for angels in other Second Temple literature. It is language that we would expect to be used for humans, especially the members of the Qumran community (e.g., *All the Glory of Adam*, 256–58, 283–93).

⁴⁴ Surprisingly, Fletcher-Louis devotes only four pages to 4Q400 2 1–14 in his book (*All the Glory of Adam*, 306–9).

⁴⁵ This is a composite text from 4Q400 2 1–8 and 4Q401 14 i 4–8. The line numbers follow 4Q400 2 1–8, except that lines 03–01 are transcribed from 4Q401 14 i 4–6.

- (03) [רומה רם על] . . .
- (02) [כיא נכבדת ב] [אלי אלים לר] [
- (01) [לראשי ממשלות] [שמי מלכות כב] [וד] כה
- (1) להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת ותשבוחות מלכותכה בקד[ו] שי קדושים
- (2) המה נכבדים בכל מחני אלוהים ונוראים למוסדי אנשים פלא
- (3) מאלוהים ואנשים יספרו הוד מלכותו כדעתם ורוממו[. . .]
- (4) שמי מלכותו ובכול מרומי רום תהלי פלא לפי כול[. . .]
- (5) כבוד מלך אלוהים יספרו במעוני עומדם vacat ו[. . .]
- (6) מה נתחשב [ב]ם וכוהנתנו מה במעוניהם וק[ודשנו . . .]
- (7) קודש[י]הם [מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אל[ים . . .]
- (8) [ל]ר[נתנו גרוממה לאלוהי דעת] . . .

- (03) [] its height is exalted above [. . .
- (02) [] for you are honored in [] gods of gods for []
- (01) for the chiefs of the dominions [] heaven of your glo[rious]
- kingdom
- (1) to praise your glory wondrously among the gods of knowledge and to sing praises of your dominion among the ho[li]est of the holy ones.
- (2) They are glorified in all the camps of gods and awe-inspiring to all councils of humans. More wondrously
- (3) than gods and humans they recount the majesty of his dominion according to their knowledge and exalt [. . .
- (4) the heavens of his dominion. And in all the exalted heights wondrous songs according to all[. . .
- (5) the glory of the king of gods they recount in the dwellings of their station. vacat But[. . .
- (6) How shall we be considered [among] them and our priesthood, how (shall it be considered) in their dwellings? And [our] h[oliness . . .
- (7) their holiness? [What] is the offering of our tongue of dust compared with the knowledge of the go[ds . . .
- (8) . . .] our [jub]ilation. Let us exalt the God of knowledge[. . .

It is important to note that these lines refer to four different groups of beings.⁴⁶ The first group, the אלי דעת/קדושי קדושים (“gods of knowledge/holiest of the holy ones”), are mentioned in line 1. These titles are parallel to one another, and they signify the group of priests who are the central protagonists throughout the *Sabbath Songs* (cf. 4Q400 1 i 3).

⁴⁶ My interpretation of this passage is largely in agreement with that given by Alexander in *The Mystical Texts*, 18–20.

Implied in line 1 is a second group: those who praise God “*with/among* the gods of knowledge” and “*with/among* the holiest of holy ones.” In this line, God is directly addressed in the second person, suggesting that the author and his community are the ones speaking (the author’s community again comes into view in lines 6–8).⁴⁷ The author and his community are the second group who worship God with the first group of priests. The third and fourth groups are mentioned in line 2: the *מחני אלהים* (“camps of *elohim*”)⁴⁸ and *מוסדי אנשים* (“councils of humans”). In line 3, these same two groups are simply referred to as *אלהים* and *אנשים*. These two groups, the *אלהים* and *אנשים*, are meant to signify two general categories of beings: angels and humans.

I would argue that there are two distinct groups of priests and two groups of laity in this passage. The “gods of knowledge” and the “holiest of the holy ones” refer to the angelic priests while the author and his community (in lines 6–8) are human priests. The “camps of *elohim*” and “councils of humans” refer to the company of lay angels and humans that accompany the angelic priests and the human priests. It is clear that the priests in lines 1–5, the “gods of knowledge” and the “holiest of the holy ones,” are superior to the general host of angels and the company of humans.⁴⁹ It is also apparent from lines 6–7, that the author and his community are inferior to the priestly protagonists described in lines 1–5. As a result, we must conclude that the author’s community cannot be identified with the priests in lines 1–5. The best conclusion is that the *אלי דעת* and *קדושי קדושים* represent angelic priests with whom the author desires to have communal worship.

⁴⁷ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 18. Wolfson comes to a similar conclusion. He writes, “I suggest that the subject of the statement [4Q400 2 1] is the *maskilim*, the enlightened [human] priests” (“Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 196).

⁴⁸ *מחני אלהים* is also used of heavenly beings in 4Q405 20 ii–22 13. This expression is probably based on *מִתְנַה אֱלֹהִים* in Gen 32:3.

⁴⁹ Alexander correctly interprets these lines to mean that “The priestly order of angels is exalted above both ordinary angels and mortals” (*The Mystical Texts*, 19).

It is worth noting that Fletcher-Louis actually concedes that the קדושי אלים and קדושיים in 4Q400 2 1–5 are angels,⁵⁰ although he argues elsewhere that the קדושי אלים and קדושיים are not angels but exalted humans.⁵¹ He attempts to circumvent this problem by noting that 4Q400 2 is part of the second Sabbath song, and he claims that in the early sections of the *Sabbath Songs* humans are distinguished from angels, but as the cycle progresses human worshipers become “absorbed into the ontology of the heavenly cult.”⁵² In other words, Fletcher-Louis conveniently dismisses 4Q400 2 simply for the reason that it is near the beginning of the *Sabbath Songs*.

The fact remains that in the only passage in the *Sabbath Songs* where humans are undoubtedly mentioned they are unambiguously contrasted with the priestly protagonists. In spite of Fletcher-Louis’ arguments that the author has dissolved the boundary between heaven/angels and earth/humans, 4Q400 2 1–8 actually maintains a very strict spatial and ontological dichotomy between the two realms. In lines 2–3, the author places heavenly beings (אלוהים/מחני אלוהים) in a category distinct from human beings (אנשים/מוסדי אנשים). The author knows very well that אנשים are not אלוהים. In lines 1 and 6–8, the author’s community is contrasted with the group of superior priestly angels. The author asks, “How shall we be considered [among] them and our priesthood, how (shall it be considered) in their dwellings?” It is clear in lines 7–8 that the author’s community and that of the heavenly priests occupy two different spatial domains. Based on 4Q400 2 1–8, we must conclude that Newsom’s interpretation is correct: the *Sabbath Songs* is primarily concerned with the activities of angelic priests serving before God in the heavenly temple.

⁵⁰ *All the Glory of Adam*, 309.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 281–96, 302, 319.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 309.

2. The Content of God's Revelation in the *Sabbath Songs*

2.1. Knowledge of God's Cosmic Design

The emphasis on knowledge, and especially the word דעת, is immediately obvious as one reads through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The noun דעת occurs an astonishing 47 times in the extant text; almost twice as much as in the *Hodayot* which has 25 occurrences of דעת.⁵³ In the *Sabbath Songs*, knowledge is one of the most prominent attributes of the angelic priests who serve in God's presence. They are referred to as the אלי דעת ("gods of knowledge"),⁵⁴ קרובי דעת ("those who are near to knowledge"),⁵⁵ יודעי עולמים ("those who know eternally"),⁵⁶ רומי דעת ("the exalted ones of knowledge"),⁵⁷ גבורי ("those who know the mysteries of"),⁵⁸ מיסדי דעת ("those who establish knowledge"),⁵⁹ and simply as ידעים ("those who know").⁶¹

What is it that these angelic priests know? One answer is found in 4Q400 1 i 3–8:

- [בקדושיעד⁶² קדושי קדושים ויהיו לו לכוהני] (3)
 [משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו בעדה לכול אלי] (4)
 [אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח ומשפטי] (5)
 [דעת עם בינות כבודי אלוהים vacat לקרובי דעת] (6)

⁵³ No other texts from Qumran come close to the using the word דעת as much as the *Sabbath Songs*. The *Sabbath Songs* also uses other knowledge terms, but less frequently: בינה occurs ten times, שכל five times, אמת thirteen times, and רז five times.

⁵⁴ 4Q400 2 1; 4Q403 1 i 14–16 (partially reconstructed), 31, 38 (אילי דעת); 4Q405 23 i 8. Mas1k I 11 and 400 2 7 speak of the knowledge (דעת) of the אלים.

⁵⁵ 4Q400 1 i 6; 4Q403 1 i 18 (partially reconstructed).

⁵⁶ Mas1k II 26; 4Q405 8–9 4. The title יודעי עולמים is often translated as "those who have knowledge of eternal things" or wording similar to this (see, for example, Newsom, *DJD XI*, 260, 282 and García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 817, 821). It would be better to render this title as "the eternally knowing ones" or "those who know eternally." In similar participial constructions, such as טהורי עולמים (4Q403 1 i 13) and קדושי עולמים (4Q403 1 ii 18–19), עולמים is adverbial.

⁵⁷ 4Q405 3 ii 4. Newsom understands רום as an adjectival form meaning "lofty, exalted" (*DJD XI*, 264).

⁵⁸ 4Q405 3 ii 9 (the *nomen rectum* after רזי is lost in the lacuna).

⁵⁹ 4Q403 1 i 24 (= 4Q405 3 ii 16).

⁶⁰ 4Q403 1 i 21; 4Q405 13 5.

⁶¹ Mas1k I 4.

⁶² The words are written without separation.

[עולמים וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש] (7)

[כֹּהֵן] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש] (8)

- (3) [] among the eternally holy ones, the holiest of the holy ones, and they became for him priests of
 (4) [] ministers of the presence in the inner shrine of his glory. In the assembly for all the gods of
 (5) [] God engraved his statutes for all spiritual creatures⁶³ and the judgments of
 (6) [] knowledge, a people of understanding, honored of God.⁶⁴ *vacat* For those who are near to knowledge
 (7) [] eternity and from the fountain of holiness for the sanctuaries of holiness
 (8) [] prie[sts of] the inner sanctum, ministers of the presence of the king of holiness

Lines 15–17 go on to say,

(15) [וחוקי קוד]שִׁים חרת למו בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד ויטהר טהורי

(16) [לכול נעוי דרך ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע *vacat*

(17) [דעת בכוהני קורב ומפיהם הורות כול קדושים עם משפטי

- (15) [and statutes of holi]ness he engraved for them. By them all the eternally holy ones sanctify themselves, and he purifies the pure of
 (16) [] for all who pervert the way and they appease his favor for all who repent of transgression. *vacat*
 (17) [] knowledge in the priests of the inner sanctum. And from their mouths are teachings of all the holy ones⁶⁵ with judgments of

⁶³ The expression מעשי רוח probably refers to “spiritual creatures” (so *DSSSE*, 809) not “spiritual matters” (so *DJD XI*, 178). Elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs*, the angelic beings are referred to as מעשי (4Q403 1 i 35). In *Mas1k I 6*, the angelic beings are part of כבודו מעשי.

⁶⁴ The meaning of the phrase עם בינות כבודי אלוהים is uncertain. Fletcher-Louis prefers to read כבודו with a third person singular masculine suffix in agreement with Newsom’s original transcription (*Critical Edition*, 89, 99–100). He translates the phrase as “the people of his glorious discernment, gods.” Fletcher-Louis takes אלוהים as appositional to עם בינות כבודו (*All the Glory of Adam*, 298–99). Later, Newsom adopted the suggestion of Qimron who postulated that כבודי is a *qal* passive participle, otherwise unattested in biblical and Qumran Hebrew (see Newsom, *DJD XI*, 180; Elisha Qimron, “A Review Article of ‘Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition,’ by Carol Newsom,” *HTR* 79 [1986]: 358–59). Tentatively, I have followed Newsom (*DJD XI*) and Qimron, although the decision does not have much bearing on my argument. Even if we accept Fletcher-Louis’ reading, it does not demand that we see the עם בינות כבודו as humans. The author could have been trying to prevent this exact misunderstanding by placing אלוהים in apposition to כבודו מעשי.

⁶⁵ Newsom translates עם משפטי קדושים עם משפטי as “And from their mouths (come) teachings concerning all matters of holiness together with precepts of . . .” I have chosen to take קדושים as referring to other angelic beings since this is how קדושים is typically used elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs*. I would interpret line 17 as a reference to the angelic priests instructing the community of lay angels. In 4Q400 1 i 2–

Here, at the beginning of the first Sabbath song, the author describes God's establishment of the angelic priesthood, the holiest of the holy ones (קדושי קדושים),⁶⁶ which is to serve before him in the inner sanctum (קורב). Lines 5 and 15 declare that God has engraved (חרת) for his heavenly priests certain statutes from which they gain knowledge in order live in holiness and purity. The angelic priests are described as "a people of understanding" and "those who are near to knowledge" because they have access to God and his engraved statutes. Line 17 states that the knowledgeable angelic priests teach the rest of the angelic beings how to observe God's judgments.⁶⁷

As in *Instruction* (4Q417 1 i 14–15; see ch. 2 §3.1), the use of חרת in 4Q400 1 i lines 5 and 15 alludes to God engraving the two tablets for Moses on Sinai.⁶⁸ It would appear, based on the use of חרת in 4Q400 1 i 5 and 15, that God has given the angelic

3 and 19, the קדושים are best understood as the general population of lay angelic beings (whereas the priests are the קדושי קדושים), and I think the same sense fits the context in line 17. There might be an intentional parallelism between lines 5 and 17. In line 5, God engraves his statutes for "all spiritual creatures," and in line 17 the angelic priests pass these teaching along to "all the holy ones." Both lines are concerned with the revelation/communication of God's laws, and both lines have a similar structure: the medium and content of revelation (מפיהם הורות/חרת חוקיו) + the recipients (כול קדושים/כול מעשי רוח) + the word משפטי.

⁶⁶ Elsewhere, in 4Q400 2 1–3, these קדושי קדושים are referred to as אלי דעת and they are distinguished from the general population of heavenly beings, the מחני אלוהים ("camps of gods").

⁶⁷ As with earthly priests, the angelic priests have a duty to disseminate the knowledge of God's will to the laity (cf. Mal 2:7). In this regard, the priestly אלי דעת are appropriately referred to as מיסדי דעת ("those who establish knowledge," 4Q403 1 i 24). This title most likely refers to the fact that the heavenly priests make the knowledge of God available to the congregation of lay angels. 4Q403 1 ii 35 expresses a similar notion of priestly angels teaching the lay angels. The text states, למאירי דעת בכול אלי אור ("for those who make knowledge shine among all the gods of light"). There are two groups of heavenly beings in this passage: those who are teaching (making knowledge shine) and the "gods of light" who receive this knowledge. The identity of the "gods of light" is not certain, although they could be associated with the אלוהי אורים in 4Q405 46 2. Another reference to the teaching function of the angelic priests is found in 4Q401 14 ii 7. This broken line declares, השמיעו נסדרות ("they proclaim hidden things"). The subject of the verb is probably the נשיאי ("princes") from line 6, and the content of their proclamation is most likely related to רזני [נפלאותיו] ("his wondrous myster[ies]") in line 2. Alexander interprets this passage, in light of CD III 10–16, as angelic beings instructing the human community in a "new Torah" (*The Mystical Texts*, 21). This interpretation is doubtful, however, when the passage is compared with 4Q400 1 i 17 and 4Q403 1 ii 35 in which the angelic priests teach other angels. Furthermore, the word נסדרות in 4Q401 14 ii 7 does not have the same legal specificity that it has in CD III 13–15; it is a more general notion of the hidden things of God's plan and will (cf. 1QH^a XIX 19–20).

⁶⁸ The verb חרת is used only once in the Hebrew Bible in Exod 32:16.

priests a set of heavenly tablets containing his covenantal law which are analogous to the tablets given to Moses.⁶⁹ It is their access to these tablets that gives the angelic priests their unique knowledge. The exact content of the engraved tablets is never explicitly described in the *Sabbath Songs*. All we are told is that they contain certain חוקים (“statutes”).

The word חוק is used at least eight times in the *Sabbath Songs*,⁷⁰ and it is clearly associated with the rules governing the behavior and services performed by the angelic priests.⁷¹ The heavenly priests are said to conduct themselves in accordance with God’s statutes, allowing them to be pure and holy before God (4Q400 1 i 14–15). Yet, God has engraved more than just statutes regulating moral behavior and cultic service. The thirteenth Sabbath song (4Q405 23 ii 3) records the intriguing statement: מלך וחרת . . .

. . . king and he engraved his glory [. . .]⁷² If this use of חרת is speaking of the same act of written revelation as in 4Q400 1 i 5 and 15, then God has also engraved and made known “his glory” for the angelic priests. We should probably understand כבודו

⁶⁹ Newsom has rightly compared the engraved tablets in the *Sabbath Songs* to the heavenly tablets in the book of *Jubilees* (*Critical Edition*, 99). *Jubilees* is the best example, outside of the *Sabbath Songs*, where the heavenly priesthood is governed by regulations written on heavenly tablets. It is even possible that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* drew upon and developed ideas contained in *Jubilees*. The fact that the *Sabbath Songs* describes in detail the service of the angelic priests whereas in *Jubilees* the angelic priests are only a peripheral concern might indicate that the former is dependent on the latter. Judith Newman has downplayed the similarity between the *Sabbath Songs* and *Jubilees* because the former contains no explicit reference to “tablets” and it lacks the “mediating role of scribal activity” (“Priestly Prophets at Qumran,” 42–43). Newman overstates the differences between the two texts. Although לוח is not attested in the extant text of the *Sabbath Songs*, the verb חרת is an unambiguous reference to the tablets engraved by God on Sinai. Newman seems to suggest that in the *Sabbath Songs* the angelic priests are themselves the incarnated “tablets” upon which God engraves his statutes. This is an interesting suggestion, but it does not have support in the text. The *Sabbath Songs* never speaks of God engraving his statutes on or in the heavenly priests. The most reasonable conclusion is to see חרת as a reference to actual tablets analogous to the tablets from Sinai and to suppose that these tablets are located in the heavens for the angelic priests.

⁷⁰ 4Q400 1 i 5, 9; 2 11; 4Q401 12 2; 4Q403 1 ii 21; 4Q405 23 i 10; 43 3; 11Q17 VII 4. This does not include reconstructed occurrences.

⁷¹ In 4Q400 1 i 5, משפט is placed in parallel to חוק as something God has engraved for the spiritual creatures. These words are frequently paired in the Hebrew Bible where they are used to signify the covenant regulations that God has given to his people, especially through the hand of Moses (e.g. Exod 15:25; Lev 26:46; Deut 4:1, 5, 8, 14, 45; 5:1; Ps 147:19; Ezek 11:12).

⁷² The ה at the end of כבודו is marked by deletion dots.

the words of knowledge.⁷⁷⁸ At this point, lines 12b–15 transition to an excursus exalting God’s governing knowledge. The text states,⁷⁹

כִּי־מֵאלוֹהֵי דַעַת נִהְיוּ כּוֹל הוּי עַד
וּמִדַּעְתּוֹ (13) [וּמִזְמוֹ]תִּיּוֹ⁸⁰ הִיוּ כּוֹל תְּעוּדוֹת עוֹלָמִים
עוֹשֶׂה רֵאִישׁוֹנוֹת [לְעַתּוֹ]תִּיהֶם
וְאַחֲרוֹנוֹת (14) לְמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם
וְאִין בִּידְעִים נִגְלִי [פְּלֵא] לְהַבִּין לְפָנַי עֲשׂוֹתוֹ
וּבְעֲשׂוֹתוֹ לֹא יִשְׁכִּילוּ כּוֹל (15) [אֱלוֹהֵי]־מֶה יִזּוּם
כִּי־מִמַּעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדוֹ הֵמָּה
לְפָנַי הִיוֹתָם [מִמַּחֲשַׁב]תּוֹ

For from the God of knowledge came into existence all that exists forever,
and from his knowledge (13) and his [plan]s came all the eternally appointed things.
He makes the former things [for] their [tim]es,
and the latter things (14) for their appointed times.
And none among those who know (are able) to understand [wondrous] revelations before
he acts,
and when he acts none of the [god]s (are able) to discern (15) what he plans.
For they are part of his glorious works
Before they existed (they were) [part of] his [desig]n.⁸¹

The language in 4Q402 4 12b–13 is very similar to 1QS III 15–16 and 1QS XI 11
which assert that God created and governs the universe according to his מחשבה (“design”)
which originated from his דעת (“mind”). 4Q402 frag. 4 seems to indicate that God has
“apportioned” (line 2) the knowledge of his cosmic design (lines 6, 11–15) to the angelic
priests.⁸² Furthermore, the words in line 3, כ[ב]יִנְתּוּ חֶרֶת [וְקִי], suggest that God has engraved

⁷⁸ Much of lines 11–12 has to be filled in using the overlapping text from Mas1k I 1–2.

⁷⁹ Lacunae in 4Q402 4 12b–15 are filled in using Mas1k I 2–7. Places where both texts have overlapping lacunae are marked in brackets. I have arranged lines 12b–15 according to their poetic structure. The structural parallelism of 4Q402 4 12b–15 is more fully explained by Newsom in *DJD XI*, 231.

⁸⁰ [מִזְמוֹ]תִּיּוֹ has to be restored from the last three letters. The reading is not certain, but the presence of similar terminology in line 11 (כּוֹל אֱלֹהֵי עֲשָׂה פְּלֵא בְּמִזְמוֹת חֶסֶד), partially reconstructed from Mas1k I 1) makes the restoration of מזמותי more likely. The words מזמה and דעת are used in parallel in Prov 1:4; 5:2; and 8:12.

⁸¹ Mas1k I indicates that the fifth Sabbath song ends here.

⁸² While the angelic priests are described as having profound knowledge, the author of the *Sabbath Songs* is careful to limit them in what they can know of God’s design. Half of the doxology in 4Q402 4 12b–15 is devoted to contrasting God’s knowledge with that of the heavenly beings. Even though they are the אֱלֹהֵי

mysteries (line 2).⁸⁷ The phrase רזי נפלאות occurs one other time in the Scrolls in 1QM XIV 14.⁸⁸ In 1QM XIV 14, רזי נפלאותיכה is used in parallel with מהשבת כבודכה, the latter expression referring to God's glorious design or plan.⁸⁹ This passage in the *War Scroll* indicates that the phrase רזי נפלאות is another way of describing God's plan for his creation. The רזי נפלאות are the wondrous inscrutable ways in which God acts to carry out his design.⁹⁰ The same meaning for רזי נפלאות is probably intended in 4Q401 14 ii 2. The angelic priests are those who know the mysteries of God's design (4Q405 3 ii 9) and declare the hidden things of God's design to others (4Q401 14 ii 7).

The description of God's revelation in the *Sabbaths Songs* is remarkably similar to *Instruction*. Both texts speak of God engraving (חרת) his חוקים, and both associate God's engraved tablets with his מהשבה—his plan or design (cf. 4Q417 1 i 11–15). Both *Instruction* and the *Sabbath Songs* also associate the knowledge of God's design with the knowledge of his רזין.⁹¹ Based on these similarities, I would argue that the *Sabbath Songs*,

Newsom's restoration of line 4 is correct, then 4Q401 17 4–5 makes it clear that those who know נסתרות are the heavenly priests.

⁸⁷ Cf. 1QS IX 18. In 1QH^a XIX 19–20, רז and נסתרות are closely associated when the psalmist recounts what God has revealed to him. These two words are used in parallel in 1QH^a XXVI 14–15 (partially reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 19) where the author describes God as, [ל]חֲתוּם רִימִים וּלְגִלוֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת, (“sealing mysteries and revealing hidden things”). Such parallelism is not surprising since both terms connote inscrutability. Tzoref has observed that נסתרות is frequently used in conjunction with רז in Daniel and the Qumran Scrolls. See Shani Tzoref, “The ‘Hidden’ and the ‘Revealed’: Esotericism, Election, and Culpability in Qumran and Related Literature,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 89; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 308–11.

⁸⁸ A composite text of 1QM XIV 14–15 and 4Q491 8–10 i 12–13 reads as follows: כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ מִשְׁבַּח מְגִלָּתְךָ וְרִי־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ בְּמִרְוֵמֶיךָ [כֵּן] לְהַרְיִם לְכֵּן מִעַפְרֵי וְלֹהֵשְׁפִיל מְאֻלִּים כְּבוֹדְכֶּךָ וְרִי־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ בְּמִרְוֵמֶיךָ [כֵּן] לְהַרְיִם לְכֵּן מִעַפְרֵי וְלֹהֵשְׁפִיל מְאֻלִּים.

⁸⁹ The expression מהשבת כבוד is used in both 1QS III 16 and 4Q440 3 i 24 (partially reconstructed) where it refers to God's design for his creation.

⁹⁰ While the expression רזי נפלאות only occurs in 4Q401 14 ii 2 and 1QM XIV 14, the collocation רזי נפלא is quite frequent in the Scrolls: CD III 18; 1QS IX 18; XI 5; 1QH^a V 19; IX 23; X 15; XII 28; XV 30; XIX 13; 1Q27 1 i 7; 4Q286 1 ii 8; 4Q301 1 2 (reconstructed); 4Q417 1 i 2, 13; 4Q418 219 2 (פלא); and 4Q511 44–47 6. The expression רזי נפלא is usually used to refer to the unfathomable ways that God fulfills his divine purpose (cf. CD III 18; 1QH^a XV 30).

⁹¹ Newman rightly interprets רז in the *Sabbaths Songs* by comparing it with the רז נהיה in *Instruction* (“Priestly Prophets at Qumran,” 48). She states, “The mystery appropriated [by the angels] would comprise

like *Instruction*, envisions God's heavenly tablets as a written record of his plan and regulations that govern the universe. Through their access to the heavenly tablets, the angelic priests are able to know the mysteries of God's cosmic design.

2.2. God's Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

As in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Hodayot*, the author of the *Sabbath Songs* considers God's cosmic design to be the legal basis for his covenant with creation. It is clear from the terminology used in the *Sabbath Songs* that the heavenly tablets are meant to be analogous to the two stone tablets of the Law kept in the ark of the covenant. God has engraved (חרת) his statutes (חוקים) on the heavenly tablets just as he did for Moses on Sinai. Although the word ברית is never used in the extant text of the *Sabbath Songs*, the terminology and priestly imagery make it clear that the heavenly tablets contain God's covenantal law. Through their access to the heavenly tablets, the angelic priests are able to comprehend and carry out God's covenant requirements.

While the covenant statutes engraved on the heavenly tablets govern the behavior of the angelic priests (4Q400 1 i 5, 15), there are also indications that the engraved statutes regulate other aspects of God's creation. In 4Q402 4 1–15, the engraved statutes are mentioned in a passage that is concerned with God's sovereign control over the course of history and all created things. Based on this passage, I would argue that the heavenly tablets contain God's statutes for his entire created order, not just the statutes for the angelic priests. Since the purpose of the heavenly tablets is to establish God's covenant,⁹² the tablets evidently serve as the basis for God's covenant with all created things. This

knowledge of creation, ethics, and eschatology, an all-embracing comprehension ensuring proper behavior in relation to the divine plan for creation and all its inhabitants in the heavenly and earthly realms.”

⁹² This is apparent based on the analogy between the heavenly tablets and the tablets given to Moses.

Instruction, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms where it conveys the idea that God created and governs the universe by means of his דעת. In these other texts, God's דעת is the source of his plan or design, and by knowing God's design one can gain insight into his mind or heart. The same idea is present in the *Sabbath Songs*. Although the text never explicitly states that the angelic priests have acquired an understanding of God's mind or heart, it does contain all of the same ideological elements as in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the H⁴ *Hodayot* material: the God of knowledge has created a cosmic design by means of his rational mind, and he has revealed this design to certain angels and humans. I would infer from this similarity in terminology and ideology that the author of the *Sabbath Songs* saw God's design engraved on the heavenly tablets as a way for the angelic priests to have some degree of insight into God's mind.⁹⁸

3. The Means of God's Revelation in the *Sabbath Songs*

As we might expect from a text concerned with the heavenly priesthood, the author uses human priestly analogies to describe the means by which God reveals his cosmic design and covenant. Like their human counterparts, the angelic priests are able to enter into God's presence in the inner sanctuary and stand before the divine throne where they

⁹⁷ 4Q405 20 ii-22 7 contains the words דעת [במשכן] אלוהי. Newsom has restored דעת [במשכן] אלוהי ("in the tabern[acle of the God of] knowledge") to fill the lacuna, which fits perfectly with an average amount of space on each side of אלוהי. In the *Sabbath Songs*, the only words in construct with דעת are: אלוהי, רוחי, דברי, מאירי, רזי, במותי, מרגני, הוגי, מיסדי, רומי, לשוני, קרובי, אלי, רזי, הוגי, אלי. Of these, רזי, הוגי, אלי, are too short to fit the space and לשוני and דברי would not make sense in the context (in his initial publication of this fragment, John Strugnell restored דעת [במשכן] אלי; see "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân-4Q Serek Šîrôt 'Ôlat Haššabbāt," in *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959* [VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960], 336). All of the remaining words, when joined to דעת, are used of heavenly beings, except אלוהי and במותי. Given the fact that the context of 4Q405 20 ii-22 7 is concerned with the angelic praise of God, and that the only other place in the *Sabbath Songs* where משכן is used (4Q403 1 ii 10) it is a reference to God's dwelling place, we would not expect a word designating heavenly beings to fill this lacuna. If במותי was reconstructed here, then it would have to be understood as appositional to משכן, which seems unusual for the *Sabbath Songs*. Hence, the best reconstruction is דעת [במשכן] אלוהי, as Newsom has suggested.

⁹⁸ On the limits of angelic knowledge, see n. 82 above.

can read the statutes of God's will engraved on the heavenly tablets (cf. the ark and the Ten Commandments).⁹⁹ The angelic priests are referred to in 4Q400 1 i 6 as קרובי דעת ("those who are near to knowledge").¹⁰⁰ Contextually, this title is related to the epithet כוהני קורב ("priests of the inner sanctum") used in lines 8, 17, and 19. The priests who serve in the inner sanctum are "those who are near to knowledge." The implication is that the angelic priests acquire knowledge through their direct access to God in the heavenly temple.

When the angelic priests enter into the heavenly holy of holies they come to stand before God's throne, and it is here where they obtain the knowledge of God's cosmic design. Near the end of the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 1–4), God's throne is referred to as the במותי דעת ("high places of knowledge"). The passage reads:

(1) אורתום רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי]ם
 (2) במותי דעת ובהדום רגליו ג]
 (3) מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוח]י
 (4) כבודו ובכול מהפכיהם שערי]ו

- (1) perfect light, multicoloredness of the spirit of the holy of holi[es
- (2) high places of knowledge and at his footstool [
- (3) appearance of the glorious structure of the chiefs of the dominion of spirit[s
- (4) his glory. And in all their revolutions the gates of[

The use of the phrase בהדום רגליו indicates that God's throne is in view here.¹⁰¹ It would seem that במותי דעת must denote the throne that is over God's footstool. The imagery is based on descriptions of the ark of the covenant where God's throne-chariot is situated over a platform supported by the cherubim that are atop the ark (cf. 4Q405 20 ii–22 8–11),

⁹⁹ Exod 25:21–22; 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16.

¹⁰⁰ The same phrase is partially reconstructed in 4Q403 1 i 18.

¹⁰¹ The same observation has been made by Newsom (*DJD XI*, 284) and Wolfson ("Seven Mysteries of Knowledge," 206).

and the ark itself serves as his footstool.¹⁰² If this is the case, then the phrase *במותי דעת* should be equated with God's *כסא*, *מרכבה*, and *מושב* which are used elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs* to describe God's throne. The use of the word *במה* to indicate a throne is unusual,¹⁰³ but it might be used here to portray God's seat in the holy of holies as a mountain throne.¹⁰⁴ In any case, it is clear that God's throne is the source of *דעת*. God sits upon the "high places of knowledge"¹⁰⁵ within the *דביר* ("inner shrine") of the heavenly sanctuary, and it is from here that the angelic priests receive their knowledge of God and his design.

4Q403 1 ii 1 mentions the brilliant "perfect light" that emanates from God's throne.¹⁰⁶ Slightly earlier in the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 i 45), knowledge is

¹⁰² 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 1 Chr 13:6; 28:2, 18; Ezek 1:4–28; *1 En.* 14.

¹⁰³ The word *במה* is only found here in the *Sabbath Songs*, and in the Hebrew Bible this term is not used explicitly for a seat or throne. However, in 4Q525 14 ii 2, the plural, *במות*, is found in parallel with *כסא* ("throne"), indicating that *במה* can be used to mean a throne. 4Q525 14 ii 2 states, *[. . . על כסא עון ועל במות, . . . כנס]תם* (" . . . on the throne of evil and on the high places of [their] gather[ing . . .]"). Elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs* (11Q17 X 7), we find a construction similar to 4Q403 1 ii 2 except that *כסא* is used instead of *במה*. This passage states, "for the thrones of his glory and for the footstool of [his] f[et cha]riots of his majesty, and for [his] ho[ly] inner shrines." Using 11Q17 X 7, it is reasonable to suppose that *כסאי כבודו* is equivalent to *במותי דעת*, and that both of these expressions denote the throne of God located above his footstool.

¹⁰⁴ Similar imagery is found in *1 En.* 18:8; 25:3. On the relationship between the temple and the cosmic mountain, see Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 177–81; Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods*, 147–58; Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 89–184.

¹⁰⁵ The plural form, *במותי דעת*, may at first strike us as unusual; yet, it is easily explained when we realize that the *Sabbath Songs* has a tendency to pluralize words referring to God's throne (this is not universally true, and there are occasional exceptions such as 4Q405 20ii–22 2, 8, 9). Hannah suggests that the pluralized references to God's throne are plurals of majesty (Darrell D. Hannah, "The Throne of His Glory: The Divine Throne and Heavenly Mediators in Revelation and the Similitudes of Enoch," *ZNW* 94 [2003]: 85). Boustani believes that the architectural elements are pluralized in order to emphasize their similarity with the angelic beings ("Angels in the Architecture," 207–12). Morray-Jones has suggested that the *Sabbath Songs* envisions a heavenly temple containing seven *דבירים* (see 4Q405 7 7) with a throne in each *דביר* ("The Temple Within," 156–57; cf. the *Ascension of Isaiah* which describes seven heavens each containing a throne). Whatever might be the true explanation, the pluralization of *במה* associates it with the pluralized divine throne.

¹⁰⁶ On the meaning of the word *אורתום* or *אורתים* and its association with the radiance of God's dwelling place, see ch. 4 n. 72.

associated with the magnificent light that surrounds God:¹⁰⁷ וְיִפְלֵא אֱלֹהִים [ה] כְּבוֹד בְּאוֹר אֹרְתָם דַּעַת

[. . .] (“[And the] God of glory is wondrous with the light of the perfect light of knowledge [. . .]”).¹⁰⁸ The imagery in the seventh Sabbath song (4Q403 1 i 45 and 1 ii 1–2) suggests that knowledge radiates from God’s throne like the light of his glory. By entering into God’s presence, the angelic priests are filled with the light of knowledge. As a result, they are able to manifest the light of the knowledge of God to the rest of the angelic host. This is alluded to in the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 35) where the angelic priests are referred to as מאירי דעת בכול אלי אור (“those who cause knowledge to shine among all the gods of light”).

4Q286 (*Berkhot*^a) 1 ii 1–13 contains an elaborate description of God’s throne that bears significant similarity to 4Q403 1 ii 1–2.¹⁰⁹ This fragment begins with the words, “The seat of your honor and the footstool of your glory in the heights of your position and the spo[t of] your holiness.” Lines 3–4 describe the awesome fire and light that emanate from God’s throne. The text goes on in lines 6–7 to speak of the divine throne as a “foundation of wisdom and structure of knowledge and fountain of understanding, fountain of prudence and council of holiness and basis of truth, storehouse of insight, building of righteousness

¹⁰⁷ Lacunae in 4Q403 1 i 45 are filled in using 4Q404 5 4 and 4Q405 6 6.

¹⁰⁸ The exact syntactical relationship of דַּעַת to אֹרְתָם is uncertain because of the fragmentary state of the text. Yet, it is clear that somehow the author is associating knowledge with the light of God’s presence. This is not unexpected given that the revelation of knowledge is described metaphorically as illumination elsewhere in the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q403 1 ii 35; 4Q405 6 3), and it is a motif familiar from other Second Temple literature (see ch. 3 n. 115).

¹⁰⁹ Scholars have suggested that there is a close relationship between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *4QBerakhot*. Strugnell, for example, observed that the *Sabbath Songs* has linguistic parallels with *Berakhot* (“Angelic Liturgy,” 319 and 331–34). These two texts share particular terms which are otherwise unattested in the Scrolls. Common terms include: אֱלֹהוּת (4Q287 2a–b 8; 4Q400 1 i 2; 4Q403 1 i 33), רוּחֵי קוֹדֵשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים (4Q287 2a–b 5; 4Q405 23 ii 8), מְרַכְבּוֹת כְּבוֹד (4Q286 1 ii 2; 4Q405 20 ii–22 3, 5), and יְדוּעֵי עוֹלָמִים (4Q286 7 i 6 [ידעי עולמים]; 4Q403 1 i 11; 4Q405 8–9 3). In addition, *4QBerakhot* and the *Sabbath Songs* share terms, such as יָקָר (“honor”), רִיקְמָה (“multicolored”), תְּבִינָה (“structure”), רֹם כְּבוֹד (“height of glory”), which are rarely used in other texts from Qumran. Additional parallels between the texts are noted by Nitzan in *DJD XI*, 1–74. Given the close connection between these two texts, it is reasonable to use *4QBerakhot* to aid our understanding of the *Sabbath Songs*.

and place of upright[ness.” The heavenly throne is also the source of the [רזי פלִּאִים] (“wond[rous] mysteries”) that regulate the days, weeks, months, years and the appointed holy days (lines 8–11).

It is clear that the author of the *Sabbath Songs* thought of God’s heavenly throne as the source of knowledge for the angelic priests. Here, at the center of the heavenly holy of holies, God governs his creation according to the design that he created in his mind. God engraved his cosmic design on the heavenly tablets which he then placed at the foot of this throne (the heavenly throne and tablets being analogous to the ark and the Ten Commandments). The angelic priests are able to enter into God’s presence where they can gaze upon the heavenly tablets and become filled with the light of knowledge that radiates from God’s throne.

4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the *Sabbath Songs*

In the *Sabbath Songs*, the knowledge revealed by God has a central role in the theology of the text. By entering into God’s presence and obtaining knowledge of his cosmic design, the angelic priests are able to live in accordance with God’s will and abide by the statutes of his covenant (4Q405 23 i 10–11). The angelic priests exist in a state of purity and holiness because of their knowledge and obedience (4Q400 1 i 14–17). Yet, as important as knowledge is for the sanctification of the heavenly priests, the primary purpose of God’s revelation in the *Sabbath Songs* is to enable them to worship God.

4.1. Knowledge and Worship

Regarding the relationship between knowledge and worship in the *Sabbath Songs*, Alexander notes, “For our author true worship has to be founded on knowledge, and the

greater the knowledge the truer the worship.”¹¹⁰ The underlying assumption of the author is that one can only appropriately praise God when one fully knows his will, character, and works. A number of passages in the *Sabbath Songs* attest to the centrality of knowledge in the praises offered by the heavenly priests. In 4Q400 2 3, the gods of knowledge יספרו הוֹד מלכותו כדעתם (“recount the majesty of his dominion according to their knowledge”). When the heavenly priests praise God, they do so with “tongues of knowledge.” 4Q405 23 ii 12 states בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת [ו]ברכו לאלוהי דעת בכול מעשי כבודו (“In the chiefs of praise-offerings¹¹¹ are tongues of knowledge [and] they bless the God of knowledge with all his glorious works”).¹¹² The phrase “tongues of knowledge” might be related to the peculiar words כנפי דעת (“wings of knowledge”) in 11Q17 VII 6 (= 4Q405 20 ii–22 4). These “wings of knowledge” probably refer to the praises offered to God by means of the beating angelic wings (11Q17 VII 10–11; 4Q405 20 ii–22 8).¹¹³ If this is the case, then the

¹¹⁰ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 19.

¹¹¹ Newsom suggests that the word תרומה in the *Sabbath Songs* takes on the meaning of a “praise-offering” (*DJD XI*, 190, 365). Qimron, however, argues that תרומה is derived from רום, meaning “exaltation,” and that תרומה does not carry the theological connotation of an offering (“A Review Article,” 356–57; *HDSS*, 113, 115). Nitzan has challenged Qimron’s interpretation (*Qumran Prayer*, 47 n. 1, 291 n. 59). In my opinion, Qimron’s objection to interpreting תרומה as an “offering” is unpersuasive. In 1QS IX 4–5, it is quite clear that verbal praise, תרומת שפתים (“offering of the lips”), has taken on the theological significance of a cultic offering that is a pleasing aroma (ניחוח) to God (cf. Ezek 20:40–41 and 11Q19 XV 11–13 where תרומה is described as a ניחוח before God). Zanella has argued that the lexeme תרומה in certain Qumran texts (the *Community Rule*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage*) is used in a new way to mean an “offering of prayer” or “contribution of knowledge.” See Francesco Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew* (SSN 54; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 312–13; idem, “The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts of Qumran: Analysis of a Semantic Development,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures, Volume One* (ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold; VTSup 140/1; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 159–76.

¹¹² The words לשׁוֹנֵי דַעַת (“ton[gues] of knowledge”) are also found in 4Q400 2 11. Cf. the expression לשׁוֹן בֵּרַךְ (“[to]ngue of blessing”) in 4Q405 14–15 i 2 and תרומת לשׁוֹנֵיהֶם (“offering of their tongues”) in 4Q403 1 ii 26. The expression לשׁוֹנֵי דַעַת is also used in 4Q503 (*Daily Prayers*^a) 7–9 3–4. This text declares כוֹל לְשׁוֹנֵי דַעַת [אֹר . . . כוֹל דְּגָלִי] (“and we,] the sons of your covenant, will prais[e your name] with all companies [of light . . . al] tongues of knowledge”).

¹¹³ Newsom, *DJD XI*, 350–51. Cf. Targum to Ezekiel 1:24–25.

expression “wings of knowledge,” like the phrase “tongues of knowledge,” indicates that the angelic beings praise God in accordance with their knowledge of him.

Near the beginning of the seventh Sabbath song, there is a rich passage illustrating the importance of knowledge for worship (4Q403 1 i 36–40). This passage states:

- (36) רננו מִרְנְנִי [דעתו¹¹⁴ ב]רֹנֶן באלוהי פלא והגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת רנות פלאו
 (37) בפי כול הוגי [בו כיא הוא]אלוהים לכול מרנני דַעַתְּ עד ושופט בגבורתו לכול רוּחי בין¹¹⁵
 (38) הודו כל אלי הוד לְמִן [ל]ךְ ההוד כיא לכבודו יודו כול אילי דעת וכול רוּחות צדק יודו באמתו
 (39) וירצו דעתם במשפְּטִי פיהו והודותם במשוב יד גבורתו למשפְּטִי שלומים זמרו לאלוהי עז
 (40) במנת רוּחַ רוּשׁ לְ[מזמו]ר בשמחת אלוהים וגיל בכול קדושים לזמרות פלא בשמחת עוֹלָם [מים]

- (36) Rejoice, you who sing joyfully of [his knowledge with] rejoicing among the wondrous gods, and chant his glory with the tongue of all those who chant with knowledge; his wondrous rejoicings
 (37) with the mouth of all those who chant [to him. For he is]God to all those who rejoice forever and judge in his might to all the spirits of understanding.
 (38) Magnify, all you magnificent gods, the magnificent k[in]g, for all the gods of knowledge praise his glory and all the spirits of righteousness praise his truth.
 (39) And they make their knowledge pleasing by the judgments of his mouth and their thanksgivings by the returning of his mighty hand for judgments of recompense. Sing to the God of strength
 (40) with the portion of the chief spirit¹¹⁶ for[a melo]dy with divine joy and shout¹¹⁷ with all the holy ones for wondrous songs with eter[nal] joy.

The quantity of knowledge terminology in this call to praise is striking. Clearly, knowledge is essential for those who worship God.

¹¹⁴ Newsom suggests restoring דעתו after מרנני (DJD XI, 274). This restoration is likely given that the scribe mistakenly wrote דעת מרנני in the next line, and later דעת was marked for deletion. As Newsom notes, “That error may have been occasioned by the presence of דעת מרנני in line 36.”

¹¹⁵ The word בין is the masculine form of בינה (Newsom, DJD XI, 275).

¹¹⁶ Newsom translates במנת רוּחַ רוּשׁ as “choicest spiritual portion” (DJD XI, 272, 275). In agreement with Newsom, Nitzan interprets רוּשׁ רוּחַ במנת רוּחַ as a reference to the hymns sung by the priests (*Qumran Prayer*, 308 n. 111). However, because of the parallelism within line 40, we should see רוּשׁ רוּחַ במנת רוּחַ as corresponding to בכול קדושים, both of which refer to groups of singing angels. The phrase במנת רוּחַ רוּשׁ probably indicates the portion of angels who are under the authority of the chief spirit.

¹¹⁷ Newsom notes, “It is tempting to emend וגילו to וגיל and read an imperative parallel to זמרו” (DJD XI, 275). Given the strong parallelism in this line, I think such an emendation is appropriate and I have done so in my translation.

It is worth noting that in the *Sabbath Songs* the knowledge-based praise of the angels is described in terms of a cultic offering.¹¹⁸ In 4Q403 1 i 39, דעת is placed in parallel with הודות, both of which are the direct objects of ירצו. The knowledge of the angels, like their praises of thanksgiving, is to be presented to God in a way that is pleasing to him (cf. Lev 1:3–4; 22:27). A similar idea is expressed in 4Q400 2 7 where the human community cries out, “[What] is the offering of our tongue of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the go[ds]?” In this line, angelic דעת is portrayed as a sacrificial offering given to God and it is contrasted with the תרומה (“offering”) of human praise. Both humans and angels offer their “oral sacrifices”¹¹⁹ to God, but the offering of the angels is vastly superior to that of humans because it is based on a true and intimate knowledge of God and his cosmic design.

There is one other passage which associates knowledge and worship. At the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song (4Q403 1 ii 27), reference is made to שבע רזי דעת [.] ברוז הפלא לשבעת גבולי קודש קדשים].¹²⁰ Wolfson interprets these “seven mysteries of knowledge” as “seven potencies that constitute the substance of *da‘at ‘elyon*.”¹²¹ According to Wolfson, the author of the *Sabbath Songs* envisions God as a corporate body consisting of these seven potencies. The context, however, suggests a different interpretation. This passage is concerned with the praises offered by the seven priestly divisions that serve in the heavenly temple (see lines 20–22). The “seven mysteries

¹¹⁸ Zanella, “The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts of Qumran,” 166–68.

¹¹⁹ I have borrowed this expression from Zanella who writes, “[The mixture of praise and true knowledge] may also assume the form of an ‘oral sacrifice’ which one perhaps should understand as a substitution of the animal sacrifices to be offered in Jerusalem” (ibid., 176).

¹²⁰ Part of the lacuna in 4Q403 1 ii 27 has been filled in using 4Q405 11 2.

¹²¹ Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 204.

of knowledge,” in line 27, are mentioned immediately prior to an outbreak of angelic worship. The worship begins with one angelic prince who is then joined by a second, and then a third, and so on until all seven princes are offering their praise to God (lines 27–29). Presumably each of the seven priestly divisions is singing along with its prince.

I would argue that the “seven mysteries of knowledge” refer to the sevenfold, combined worship of the seven priestly divisions. It is important to note that at the beginning of the eighth Sabbath song the number seven is used in every discernible instance as a reference to the seven-fold angelic priesthood. We would expect, then, that the “seven mysteries of knowledge” also refer in some way to the seven divisions of priests. If we take the *lamed* preposition on לשבעת in 4Q403 1 ii 27 as distributive,¹²² then רז הפלא should be interpreted to mean that there is a רז הפלא associated with each precinct of the holy of holies, for a total of seven רזי הפלא. We should see the seven רזי דעת as equivalent to the seven רז הפלא of the seven priestly precincts. If this interpretation is correct, then the terms רז הפלא and רזי דעת in 4Q403 1 ii 27 refer to the praises offered to God by the seven priestly division. In this case, the word רז would denote an unfathomable act of worship, and the expression רזי דעת would mean the unfathomable worship of the angelic priests which is based on their knowledge of God.¹²³ Since the knowledge of the angelic priests is privileged, their manner of worship is unknowable; it is a mystery to all others.¹²⁴

¹²² See *BDB* s.v. “ל,” 5.i.a.

¹²³ The expression רזי דעת occurs one other place in the Scrolls in 1QS IV 6. In the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the אמת רזי דעת (“truth of the mysteries of knowledge”) is something possessed and concealed by the spirit of truth. The phrase is not related to praise, as in the *Sabbath Songs*, but it is associated with proper behavior carried out in accordance with God’s plan (lines 5–6). In a general sense, the *Treatise* and the *Sabbath Songs* both use רזי דעת to mean deeds or behavior that is based on privileged knowledge; and, as a result, these acts are unfathomable to those who do not have this special knowledge.

¹²⁴ Scholars have often pondered why the *Sabbath Songs* does not recount the actual words of the angelic praise. Allison has reviewed several proposals and ultimately suggests that silence itself is the vehicle

4.2. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

Up to this point I have not discussed the role of humans in the *Sabbath Songs*. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, humans rarely appear in this text. The most important and perhaps the only passage where humans are mentioned is in the second Sabbath song (4Q400 2 1–8; see §1.2 above). In 4Q400 2 1, the author addresses God and speaks of his community as being able “to praise your glory wondrously among the gods of knowledge and to sing praises of your dominion among the ho[l]iest of the holy ones.” Lines 2–5 describe the majesty of the angelic priests and their worship. Then, in lines 6–7, the author declares: “How shall we be considered [among] them and our priesthood, how (shall it be considered) in their dwellings? And [our] ho[liness . . .] their holine[ss]? [What] is the offering of our tongue of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the go[ds]?” The author goes on in line 8 to call his community to worship God: “. . .] our [jub]ilation. Let us exalt the God of knowledge[. . .].”

In this passage, the author expresses his astonishment that he and his community have been allowed to join together with the angelic priests in mutual worship of God. It is not clear to what extent the human community is able to join together with the angels. It could simply be a communion of worship in which both parties praise God while the angels remain in heaven and the humans on earth.¹²⁵ However, 4Q400 2 6 suggests that the

of praise (“The Silence of Angels,” 189–97). Newman takes a different view and argues that “the significance of that omission is that the Songs point beyond themselves to the active composition of new ‘songs’ and other ‘offerings of the Sabbath’ by those commissioned by the inspired angelic priests during the course of the liturgy. . . .” (“Priestly Prophets at Qumran,” 35). These are interesting hypotheses, but I think they ultimately misunderstand the nature of the angelic praise. The heavenly priests’ songs are based on their unique knowledge of God. By not recording the words of angelic praise, the author reinforces the idea that only the heavenly priests have the knowledge necessary to offer appropriate worship. If the words were written, it would presume that the reader had the same knowledge of God as the angelic priests. The author might have also feared that knowledge of God could be inadvertently revealed to those who are not worthy if the words of the angels were recorded.

¹²⁵ Frennesson seems to interpret the text in this way (“*In a Common Rejoicing*”, 98–100).

author's community has actually entered into the otherworldly dwellings of the angelic priests: "How shall we be considered [among] them and our priesthood, how (shall it be considered) in their dwellings?"¹²⁶

I would argue that 4Q400 2 1–8 expresses a view of human lowliness and fellowship with the angels which is similar to that found in the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. According to this view, the problem with humans is that they are creatures of dust who are ignorant of God's cosmic design, and they are unable to properly praise God because of their lack of knowledge. The angels, however, possess profound knowledge of God's design and are able to worship him accordingly. This idea is expressed in 4Q400 2 7 where the author contrasts the human "tongues of dust" with the knowledge of the angelic priests (in 4Q400 2 11, the angels are described as having "ton[gues of] knowledge," cf. 4Q405 23 ii 12).

Although 4Q400 2 1–8 does not explicitly mention God's revelation of knowledge to the human community, I think this is implied by the rhetorical questions in lines 6–7. In the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms, rhetorical questions are usually used to express marvel at God's acts of mercy and salvation directed to the psalmist and his community. For the H⁴ psalmist, God's greatest act of mercy is his revelation of knowledge about his cosmic design because this knowledge rectifies the corrupt state of humanity and allows them to enter into communion with the angels. I would suggest that the same ideas are present in 4Q400 2 1–8. The rhetorical questions in lines 6–7 are an expression of astonishment that

¹²⁶ This is closer to the interpretation proposed by Fletcher-Louis (*All the Glory of Adam*, 306–9). However, Fletcher-Louis' interpretation goes beyond what the text can support. The passage might indicate that the author's community has entered into the heavenly dwelling place of the angelic priests, but it does not suggest that the human community has been ontologically transformed into angels.

God has dealt so wondrously with creatures of dust.¹²⁷ He has given them knowledge comparable to the angelic priests, and now they are able to join together with the heavenly host in communal worship of God (lines 1, 8).¹²⁸

The *Sabbath Songs* never describes how God revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design to the author and his community; yet, in spite of this lack of explicit information, I think we can derive a reasonable hypothesis using the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms and 4Q444 (*Incantation*). In the H⁴ material, God reveals the knowledge of his design through a spirit which has been sent from its place near God's throne to indwell the psalmist. The same is true in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3 where the author states, וְרוּחַ דַּעַת וּבִינָה אִמְתָּ וְצַדִּיק שֶׁם אֱלֹהִים בְּלִי בְבִי (“And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness God put in [my] h[ear]t”). 4Q444 is highly significant because the expression רוּחַ דַּעַת וּבִינָה אִמְתָּ וְצַדִּיק is the singular form of a title used in 4Q405 17 3 for the spirits that surround God's throne.¹²⁹ I would argue that the author of 4Q444 drew upon the *Sabbath Songs* and believed that God had sent one of his throne spirits to impart knowledge to him and his community. Based on the similarities between these texts, we can reasonable hypothesize that the author of the *Sabbath Songs* held to the same view as in the H⁴ psalms and 4Q444. If so, then the author

¹²⁷ Some commentators have interpreted the rhetorical questions in lines 6–7 as a declaration by the human community that it continues to exist in a state of lowliness. According to this view, the words “Let us praise” in line 8 are an utterance declared in spite of persistent human inferiority. The human congregation is depressed and anxious about its inadequate state, and yet they choose to praise God anyway (see, for example, Frennesson, “*In a Common Rejoicing*”, 99–100). This interpretation fails to take into account the use of similar rhetorical questions in the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms where these questions imply that God has in fact acted wondrously on behalf of the unworthy human community and moved them from a lowly state to a state where they resemble the heavenly host.

¹²⁸ In 4Q400 2 1–8, the human community is able to praise God just like the angelic priests. The terminology used to describe the human praise in 4Q400 2 1 (“to praise your glory . . . and to sing praises of your dominion . . .”) is similar to that used of the angelic praise in 4Q403 1 i 25, 32.

¹²⁹ 4Q405 17 3 reads: . . .] יְהִי רוּחֵי דַּעַת וּבִינָה אִמְתָּ . . . Line 3 ends after the word אִמְתָּ and it is likely that the word וְצַדִּיק should be restored at the beginning of line 4. 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3 and 4Q405 17 3 are the only places in the Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible where we find the exact collocation אִמְתָּ וּבִינָה דַּעַת (רוּחַ). 4Q405 19 4 refers to these spirits as וְצַדִּיק [רוּחֵי דַּעַת אִמְתָּ].

believed that God had sent one the spirits which dwells around his throne and comprehends his cosmic design engraved on the heavenly tablets to impart knowledge to the chosen human community.

Alexander has rightly pointed out that in the *Sabbath Songs* knowledge is what differentiates classes of beings.¹³⁰ God, as the supreme being, possesses knowledge far surpassing all others (4Q400 2 9; 4Q402 4 14–15). Next, are the angelic priests, followed by the host of lay angels (4Q400 2 2–3). Finally, there are humans whose dust (i.e., their state of corruption and ignorance) is not worthy to be compared with the knowledge of the angelic priests (4Q400 2 7). By acquiring knowledge from God, the author and his community are able to become like the angelic priests. Wolfson is most likely correct when he suggests that the priestly community responsible for the *Sabbath Songs* believed that they could acquire knowledge like the angels, and thereby fulfill Mal 2:7.¹³¹

I would conjecture that the author understood his communion with the angels as a return to paradise. There are a number of indications in the *Sabbath Songs* that the author envisioned the heavenly temple as the paradise of God,¹³² specifically the mountain paradise described in Ezekiel 28.¹³³ For example, the expression “high places of knowledge” in 4Q403 1 ii 2 likely refers to the mountain throne of God which was located at the center of paradise (cf. Ezek 28:13–14).¹³⁴ Ezekiel 28:13 uses the word יקר

¹³⁰ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 19, 23, 105.

¹³¹ Wolfson, “Seven Mysteries of Knowledge,” 206.

¹³² On the close association between temple and paradise, see ch. 7 §3.3.

¹³³ For the relationship between paradise and the cosmic mountain, see Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 10; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1976), 25–36; idem, *Sinai and Zion*, 128–33; Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods*, 151–62; Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, 70–89; Gary A. Anderson, “The Cosmic Mountain: Eden and its Early Interpreters in Syriac Christianity,” in *Genesis 1–3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden* (ed. Gregory Allen Robbins; SWR 27; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1988), 187–224.

¹³⁴ On the mountain throne located in the garden of God, see Pilchan Lee, *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation* (WUNT 2/129; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 58–61, 74–75, 221, 224.

(“precious”) to describe the stones which covered the protagonist when he dwelt in the garden of God. The same word is used in 4Q405 15 ii–16 6 to refer to God’s dwelling place in the inner sanctuary. The angelic priests who serve before God in the *Sabbath Songs* are called תמימי דרך (“the perfect of way,” 4Q403 1 i 22). A similar form of this expression is used for the protagonist in Ezek 28:15 (תָּמִים אֶתָּה בְּדַרְכֶיךָ). In Ezekiel 28 and Gen 3:5, 22, the angelic beings who inhabit God’s paradise are characterized by knowledge and wisdom—the same is true for the angelic priests in the *Sabbath Songs*. Based on these thematic and terminological similarities, I would argue that the author of the *Sabbath Songs* associated the heavenly holy of holies with the mountain paradise in Ezekiel 28, and he believed that by communion with the angels in the heavenly temple he was returning to paradise.

The ideology in the *Sabbath Songs* is very similar to what we have seen in the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. Humans by nature are ignorant and corrupt creatures of dust; yet, through God’s gracious act of revelation, they can acquire the same knowledge of God’s cosmic design which the angels possess. By obtaining this knowledge, humans are rescued from their dusty state and become like the heavenly beings (Gen 3:5, 22). They are able to enter into paradise and join together with the angels in communal praise of God.

5. Conclusion

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* provides a vivid portrayal of the service and worship of the angelic priesthood. At the center of worship is the God of knowledge, seated upon his throne in the heavenly holy of holies, who designed the world and governs it through the power of his mind (his בִּינָה or דַעַת). When God appointed his heavenly priesthood, he engraved for them heavenly tablets containing the statutes that regulate the

entirety of his creation. During their cultic service, the angelic priests approach God and acquire knowledge of his will, his wondrous works, and his covenant requirements by gazing upon his luminous glory and reading from the engraved statutes located at the foot of this throne. Equipped with this knowledge, the angelic priests are able to “make knowledge shine” for the assembly of lay angels (4Q403 1 ii 35), and they can praise God and “recount the majesty of his dominion according to their knowledge” (4Q400 2 3).

While the *Sabbath Songs* shows little overt interest in humans, the one passage concerned with humans (4Q400 2 1–8) is quite similar to the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. The author of the *Sabbath Songs* believed that humans are inherently ignorant and corrupt because they were created from dust; yet, because God has revealed knowledge of his cosmic design to the author and his community (probably through an indwelling spirit), they are able to join together with the angels in communal worship of God. It seems that the author equated the heavenly temple with the garden of God so that by receiving knowledge and joining with the angels the author’s community has returned to paradise.

CHAPTER 6 THE SONGS OF THE SAGE

1. Introduction

The work known as the *Songs of the Sage* is a collection of psalms written for or by the *maskil* (למשכיל).¹ The psalms are chiefly concerned with God's revelation of knowledge to the sage, the sage's struggle against evil spirits, and the coming time of eschatological judgment. The text is extant in two, partially overlapping manuscripts (4Q510 and 4Q511) which are both dated paleographically to the late first century BCE.² Several studies have highlighted features in the *Songs of the Sage* which indicate that it was used liturgically in a corporate setting.³

As with the other texts I have examined, my aim in this chapter is to investigate the nature and theological function of God's revelation of knowledge. I will look at the content and means of God's revelation and the effect that revealed knowledge has on the sage. Since the *Songs of the Sage* is particularly concerned with resisting the influence of evil spirits, I will also consider the relationship between God's revelation of knowledge and the sage's apotropaic power. Before I begin my analysis of the text, it is necessary to situate the *Songs of the Sage* in its historical context and establish its literary relationship to other texts.

¹ Song incipits are preserved in 4Q511 2 i 1 and 8 4.

² Baillet, *DJD VII*, 215, 219.

³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238, 239 n. 50; Philip S. Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places': Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scripture: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 321; Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 83–84; Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 2–3.

1.1. Provenance of the *Songs of the Sage* and Its Relationship to Other Texts

In the *editio princeps*, Baillet suggested that the *Songs of the Sage* was originally composed within the Qumran community,⁴ and subsequent scholarship has generally accepted Baillet's interpretation.⁵ This view is supported by the fact that the text contains terminology which is typically used elsewhere in the Scrolls to designate the Qumran community: בני אור ("sons of light"),⁶ גורל אלוהים ("lot of God"),⁷ כול אנשי ברית ("all the men of the covenant"),⁸ עצה אל ("council of God"),⁹ and תמימי דרך ("the perfect of way").¹⁰ The fact that all of these expressions are found in 1QS might suggest that the *Songs of the Sage* originated from the same circle as the *Community Rule* or that the author of the *Songs* was familiar with the terminology used in the *Community Rule* (or vice versa).

While an absolute date of composition for the *Songs of the Sage* cannot be established, I think we can confidently conclude that it was composed after the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the H⁴ group of *Hodayot* material. Angel has shown that the *Songs of the Sage* utilizes much of the same terminology and ideology as in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.¹¹ He writes,

“Both refer to the community as בני אור, ישרים, and תמימי דרך, the only two Qumran compositions to do so. A common cosmological and ideological

⁴ Baillet, *DJD VII*, 220.

⁵ See, for example, Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 183–85; Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness,’” 321.

⁶ 4Q510 1 7. בני אור is also attested in 1QS I 9; II 16; III 13, 24, 25; 1QM I 1, 3, 9, 11, 13; 4Q174 1–2 i 9; 4Q177 10–11 7; 12–13 i 7, 11; 4Q266 1a–b 1; and 4Q280 2 1.

⁷ 4Q511 2 i 8. גורל אל is found in 1QS II 2; 1QM XIII 5; XV 1; and XVII 7.

⁸ 4Q511 63 iii 5. The phrase אנשי ברית is used in 1QS V 9; VI 19; 1QSa I 2 (אנשי ברית); 1QH^a XXII 27 (אנשי ברית); 1QH^a A3 3; 1Q36 7 2; and 4Q258 VI 8.

⁹ 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 1. This expression is also found in 1QS I 8, 10; and 1QSb IV 24.

¹⁰ 4Q510 1 9 (= 4Q511 10 8) and 4Q511 63 iii 3. The plural construct תמימי דרך is used elsewhere in 1QS IV 22; 1QSa I 28; 1QM XIV 7 (= 4Q491 8–10 i 5); 1QH^a IX 36; 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 13 6.

¹¹ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 8–12, 15.

framework shines through in shared vocabulary such as מלאכי חבל,¹² גורל, רוחות, להתהלך, יחד, קץ, ממשלת,¹³ רזי אל/אלוהים. Moreover, they each use distinctive language to describe the eschatological reward of the righteous, שמחת עולמים בחיי נצה (1QS 4:7) and שמחת ע[ולמים] וחיי נצה (4Q511 2 i 3–4). In each of these passages, this reward is connected with shining light (אור עולמים in the former and להאיר אור in the latter).¹⁴

Regarding the striking similarity between 1QS IV 7 and 4Q511 2 i 3–4, Angel goes on to say, “in Qumran literature the pairing of the words [שמחת] עולמים with the words חיי נצה occurs only in these two passages. I believe that the *Songs* are dependent on the *Treatise* here.”¹⁵

Newsom has suggested that the *Songs of the Sage* is literarily dependent upon the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and she lists several points of commonality between the two texts.¹⁶ Here, I will highlight a few of the more significant items. Newsom notes that the description of God consecrating priests in 4Q511 35 is similar to what we see in 4Q400 1 i. Both texts also have similar incipits, למשכיל שיר (“For/by the *maskil*, a song . . .”).¹⁷ Most importantly, both works prefer to use אלוהים when referring to God. This is a noteworthy trait since the use of אלוהים is highly unusual for texts composed by the Qumran community.

¹² 1QS IV 12 speaks of certain מלאכי חבל while 4Q511 43 6 mentions רוחי חבל and 4Q510 1 5 has רוחי מלאכי חבל.

¹³ Both texts speak of certain evil spirits whom God has given limited dominion (ממשלת) to corrupt the “sons of light” (1QS III 20–24; 4Q510 1 6–8; 35 8).

¹⁴ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 9.

¹⁵ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 15. In addition to Angel’s observations, we should note that both texts use the phrase בני עול[ה] (1QS III 21; 4Q511 1 8), and the wording קציהם קציהם in 1QS IV 13 is similar to קצי דורותי in 4Q511 35 6.

¹⁶ Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran,” 381; eadem, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 181, 183–84.

¹⁷ Incipits in the *Songs of the Sage* are extant in 4Q511 2 i 1 and 8 4. For the *Sabbath Songs*, see 4Q403 1 i 30.

I would add a few other similarities to Newsom's observations. Among all of the Scrolls, the phrase מרומי רום ("exalted heights") is only found in these two works.¹⁸ Both texts use a similar form of the title "God of knowledge": the *Sabbath Songs* uses אלוהי דעת while the *Songs of the Sage* has אלוהי דעות.¹⁹ They use the same terms to describe God's dwelling place: ממשלת, מדר, מלכותו, מעון, and תפארת.²⁰ The claim in 4Q511 10 11 that God judges בסוד אילים ואנשים ("in the assembly of gods and humans") is reminiscent of a statement in 4Q400 2 2 that certain elite angels are honored in the מחני אלוהים ונוראים למוסדי אנשים ("camps of the gods and awe-inspiring to the humans assemblies"). In 4Q511 18 ii 8, the author declares that האיר אלוהים דעת בינה בלבבי ("God caused the knowledge of understanding to shine in my heart.") Similar wording is found in 4Q403 1 ii 35: . . . למאירי . . . דעת בכול אלי אור] ("to those who cause knowledge to shine among all the gods of light[. . ."). The association of דעת with the verb אור is only found in these two passages among the Scrolls. These similarities strongly support Newsom's suggestion that the *Songs of the Sage* is dependent upon the *Sabbath Songs*.

Early on, Strugnell observed that there are similarities in style between the *Hodayot* and the *Songs of the Sage*.²¹ Later, Baillet also noted numerous points of commonality between these two texts.²² For example, both use the expressions ואני משכיל ("And I, a

¹⁸ 4Q400 1 i 20; 1 ii 4; 4Q401 2 4; 4Q403 1 i 34 (= 4Q405 4–5 2); and 4Q511 41 1.

¹⁹ For the *Sabbath Songs*, see 4Q400 2 8; 4Q401 11 2; 4Q402 4 12; 4Q405 20 ii–22 7; 4Q405 23 ii 12. The title "God of knowledge" is found twice in the *Songs of the Sage*: 4Q510 1 2 and 4Q511 1 7.

²⁰ Below, I will argue that the description of God's dwelling in 4Q510 1 draws heavily upon the sixth and seventh Sabbath songs (see n. 53).

²¹ Strugnell, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 64.

²² Baillet, *DJD VII*, 215–62. Baillet's comments are scattered throughout his notes on the *Songs of the Sage*. Baillet concludes his introductory remarks to 4Q511 by stating, "Les rapprochements avec les *Hodayôt* sont si nombreux qu'il peut y avoir une communauté d'auteur avec au moins certains passages. On pense évidemment à celui qu'on appelle d'habitude 'le Maître du Justice'" (*DJD VII*, 220).

maškil)²³, גבורי כוח (“mighty ones of power”),²⁴ כנור ישועות (“harp of salvation”),²⁵ ממזרים (“bastards”),²⁶ מעשי נדה (“impure works”),²⁷ מצורוק (“a mixed thing”),²⁸ and מקוי הכבוד (“well of glory”).²⁹ The phrase מת הא]סוד, if accurately reconstructed in 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 1, is essentially the same as סוד אמת in the *Hodayot*, *Berakhot*, and *Instruction*.³⁰ In addition to these similarities noted by Baillet, there are other points of commonality as well. The words האִיר אלוהים דעת־ בלבי ומוכיחי צִדֶּק עם נעוּוֹתִי in 4Q511 18 ii 8–9 are similar to 1QH^a XIV 7: . . . גליתה אוזני במִן]סר־ מוכיחי צִדֶּק עם]. In fact, both the *Hodayot* (H¹ and H⁴) and the *Songs of the Sage* quite frequently speak of God placing his revelation in the psalmist’s heart.³¹ The statement of self-abasement in 4Q511 28–29 3–4 is very similar to what we see in the H⁴ psalms.³² Both the *Hodayot* and the *Songs* contain the expressions מלך הכבוד

²³ 4Q510 1 4; 1QH^a XX 14 (= 4Q427 8 ii 17). This combination of a pronoun with the word משכיל is not found anywhere else in the Scrolls.

²⁴ 4Q510 1 3; 1QH^a XVI 12; XVIII 36–37. This is a biblical expression from Ps 103:20, but, in the Scrolls it is only used in the *Songs of the Sage* and the *Hodayot*.

²⁵ 4Q511 10 8; 1QH^a XIX 26. This collocation is not used elsewhere in the Scrolls or in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁶ 4Q510 1 5; 4Q511 2 ii 3; 35 7; 48–49+51 3; 182 1; 1QH^a XXIV 16, 26. In the Scrolls, the word ממזר is only attested elsewhere in 4Q174 1–2 i 4; 4Q397 5 1; and 4Q444 1–4i+5 8.

²⁷ 4Q511 18 ii 7; 1QH^a XXI 36. Cf. 1QS V 19 and CD II 1: מעשיהם לנדה לפניו. This collocation is not used in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁸ 4Q511 28–29 3; 1QH^a XX 35; XXIII 28, 36; 1QS XI 21 (= 4Q264 1 9). On the meaning of this term, see Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 258–59.

²⁹ 4Q511 52+54–55+57+59 2; 1QH^a XX 32. Cf. מעין כבוד in 1QS XI 7.

³⁰ סוד and יסוד are often used interchangeably in the Scrolls. See ch. 2 n. 59 and Baillet, *DJD VII*, 245.

³¹ For the *Songs of the Sage*, see 4Q511 18 ii 7–8; 28–29 3; 48–49+51 ii 1; 63–64 iii 1–2. Compare with 1QH^a X 20; XIII 10–11; XXII 31.

³² In 4Q511 28–29 3–4, the sage states [ש]מתה דעת בסוד עפרי לה[ללכה] ואני מצירוק יצר [חמר] קורצתי [you [p]ut knowledge into my foundation of dust to p[raise you]]. And I am a creature mixed [of clay]; I was pinched off and from darkness is [my] mixt[ure]. The expression חמר יצר מצירוק is also used in 1QH^a XX 35. It is possible that the wording in 4Q511 28–29 3–4 is based on 1QS XI 21 which has very similar terminology: והוא מעפר מגבלו ולחם רמה מדורו והוא מצירוק חמר קורצ. The word מצירוק/מצירוק only occurs in the Scrolls in 1QS XI 21; 1QH^a XX 35; XXIII 28, 36; and 4Q511 28–29 3. On the possible meanings of מצירוק/מצירוק see Stegemann and Schuller, *DJD XL*, 258–59.

(“king of glory”),³³ אספרה נפלאותיכה (“I will recount your wonders”),³⁴ and למען כבודכה (“on account of your glory”),³⁵ and both use the expression מוכיחי צדק, although with a different meaning.³⁶

It is worth pointing out that most of the commonalities between the *Hodayot* and the *Songs of the Sage* are found in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material. It is possible that the *Songs of the Sage* was written by a person with close connections to the group responsible for the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms. While we cannot be certain about this, at the very least we must conclude that the themes and language in H⁴ were very influential upon the author of the *Songs*. The *Songs*, however, clearly represents an advancement in the ideas contained within H⁴. As we will see below, the role of evil spirits is much more pronounced in the *Songs* and they have a more developed understanding of how God’s revelation of knowledge empowers the sage and rectifies the human condition.

Based on the preceding information, I would argue that the *Songs of the Sage* was composed within the Qumran community and drew upon the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the H⁴ *Hodayot* material. Although we cannot determine exactly when the *Songs* were composed, it must post-date the latest material in the *Hodayot*.

³³ 4Q510 1 1; 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 4; 1QH^a XXVI 9 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 13). This title is probably taken from Ps 24. It is also found in 1QM XII 8; XIX 1; 4Q403 1 i 3, 31; 1 ii 25; 4Q405 18 ii–16 7; 11Q17 VIII 7; X 5.

³⁴ 4Q511 63–64 ii 2–3; 1QH^a VII 14; IX 32, 35; XI 24; XVIII 16–17, 22–23. Similar uses of the verb ספר with the *niphal* plural participle of פלא are found in the Hebrew Bible: Jgs 6:13; 1 Chr 16:24; Ps. 9:1[2]; 26:7; 75:1[2]; 78:4; and 96:3. It is not used elsewhere in the Scrolls.

³⁵ 4Q511 28–29 2; 1QH^a XIX 13. This expression only occurs elsewhere in 4Q416 2 iii 18. It is not used in the Hebrew Bible.

³⁶ In 4Q511 18 ii 8–9, מוכיחי is singular with a first person pronominal suffix and refers to God: “my reprover is just.” In 1QH^a X 6 and XIV 7 (cf. also מוכיחי אמת in XXIII 26) the expression is a plural construct phrase most likely referring to angels as “righteous reprovers.” A similar phrase is found in CD XX 17 (מוכיחי). The expression might have been derived from Isa 11:4, but the exact collocation of the verb יכה with צדק does not occur in the Hebrew Bible.

2. The Content of God's Revelation in the *Songs of the Sage*³⁷

In describing the *Songs of the Sage*, Angel remarks,

“Even a cursory look at the surviving fragments reveals the centrality of the conception of knowledge in the text. The term דעת and its variations appear no less than seventeen times. The text is also concerned with ‘understanding’ (בינה six times), and the word גבורה/גבורות, which often has the connotation of powerful knowledge (rather than physical might) in Qumran literature, appears at least eleven times.”³⁸

Undoubtedly, knowledge is an important theme in the *Songs of the Sage*. The author mentions a certain “spirit of understanding” that is related to the human heart (4Q510 1 6; 4Q511 18 ii 6). Twice, he refers to God as the “God of knowledge” (4Q510 1 2; 4Q511 1 i 7–8), and in one other place he speaks of God’s own דעת, by which he seems to mean God’s rational mind (4Q511 2 i 6–7). At least four times, the sage explicitly states that God has revealed knowledge to him; that is, God has placed knowledge in his heart (4Q511 18 ii 8; 28–29 3; 48–49+51 ii 1; 63–64 iii 1–2). The author even speaks somewhat philosophically about knowledge as the foundation for every thought and action (4Q511 63–64 ii 3–4). This compels us to ask what it is that God has revealed to the sage and how it might be related to God’s own knowledge.

2.1. Knowledge of the Cosmic Design Created in God’s Mind

As in the other texts I have studied, I would suggest that the author of the *Songs of the Sage* believed that God had revealed to him the knowledge of his cosmic design which

³⁷ In contrast to other major texts found at Qumran, commentators have not subjected the *Songs of the Sage* to a thorough and comprehensive examination. The text is frequently surveyed in articles and essays dealing with demonology and apotropaic magic, but the work has yet to be understood as a whole in its own right. In my opinion, the best holistic treatments of the *Songs* are Nitzan’s chapter on magical poetry in *Qumran Prayer* (pp. 227–72) and Angel’s recent article, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience.” I will engage extensively with Angel since he is more interested in issues of divine revelation and knowledge as compared with Nitzan who is primarily concerned with the literary forms in the *Songs*.

³⁸ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 6.

governs all of creation.³⁹ I think that this is explicitly stated in 4Q511 42 7 where the sage writes, . . .]ואדעה מחשבתכה (“and I know your design/plan/thought[. . .”). Elsewhere, in 4Q511 22 4 and 63–64 ii 3, the sage uses the word מחשבה to signify the thought or intent of one’s heart. Since there is no reason to think that he is using מחשבה differently in 4Q511 42 7, it would seem that the sage claims to know the intent or design of God’s heart or mind.

The sage’s understanding of God’s mind is implied elsewhere in the text as well. On at least three separate occasions, the author speaks of God’s mind (his דעת)⁴⁰ as the cause of order in creation. One such instance is found in 4Q511 2 i 6–7 where the author writes, בדע[ת אלוה]יִם־הנבוּנה שם [י]שראל [בש]נִים עֶשֶׂר מַחֲנוֹת (“By the perceptive knowle[dge] of [Go]d, he arranged [I]srael [into t]welve camps . . .”).⁴¹ While the context of this statement is difficult to discern, what is important for our purposes is that God’s דעת signifies his rational thought or mind that arranges and regulates his creation. The other two references to God’s mind as the source of creative order are found in 4Q510 1 2 and 4Q511 1 7–8 where God is called אלוהי דעות (“God of knowledge”). In both cases, this title is associated with God’s power over other heavenly beings. In 4Q510 1 2–3, אלוהי דעות stands at the head of a series of titles for God. The three other titles used in this passage, אדון לכול קדושים (“Lord of all the holy ones”), אל אלים (“God of gods”), and תפארת גבורות (“splendor of the mighty ones”), all stand in apposition to אלוהי דעות, and they all express God’s authority over the angels. Lines 3–4 state more emphatically that God is not only

³⁹ In describing the content of revelation in the *Songs of the Sage*, Angel states, “The knowledge bestowed upon the Maskil is thus esoteric and at the same time universal in that it encompasses the divine scheme behind all human behavior” (“Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 12).

⁴⁰ For the use of דעת to mean one’s rational mind, see ch. 2 n. 74.

⁴¹ This sentence probably refers to Numbers 2. It is possible that the subject of שם is Moses, although I think this is unlikely. Moses is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sage*, and the rest of 4Q511 2 i 1–10 is concerned with God. It might make better sense of the Hebrew if we interpret אלוהים to mean “divine.” In this case, the sentence would read, “With perceptive [divi]ne knowle[dge] he (i.e., God) arranged [I]srael [into t]welve camps.”

superior to the heavenly beings, but in spite of their power, they flee before his majesty. Based on this context, the title “God of knowledge” in 4Q510 1 2 is meant to express God’s sovereign authority over the angels, and it also hints at God’s creative power—that is, the power to create, govern, and destroy all things. This can be seen even more clearly in the other passage where “God of knowledge” is used.

In 4Q511 1 7–8, the title “God of knowledge” is related to God’s power over the evil spirits who wreak havoc on his creation.⁴² Lines 1–7 refer to various elements of God’s creation (obedient spirits, earth, seas, living things) which will praise God in the *eschaton* because the מִשְׁחִית (“destroyer”) and רוּחֵי רָשָׁע (“evil spirits”) are no longer among them.⁴³ Lines 7–8 explain that the evil forces have been expelled because הוֹפִיעַ כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהֵי דַעוּת בְּאִמְרָיו (“the glory of the God of knowledge shines through his words”). This statement is filled with creation imagery which is probably based on Genesis 1:2–4 where God speaks and causes his light to shine into the darkness, driving back the cosmic forces associated with chaos. The idea seems to be that the evil spirits are the cause of chaos and disorder in the present universe (cf. ch. 3 §3); yet, the God of knowledge will eventually bring order to the chaos in the *eschaton* when he causes his radiant splendor to shine into the darkness as he speaks the words of creation once more, establishing a new creation.⁴⁴ If this

⁴² 4Q511 1 1–8: “(1) [. . .] their [do]minions (2) . . . and al[l . . . on the ea]rth and in all (3) the spirits of its dominion continuously. May the seas bl[ess] him in their times, (4) and may all their living things proclaim [. . .] splendor, (5) may all of them rejoice before the God of justice with cr[ies] of salvation. (6) For there is n[o] destroyer in their regions and evil spirits (7) do not walk among them. For the glory of the God of knowledge shines (8) through his words, and all of the sons of wickedness are unable to endure.”

⁴³ The מִשְׁחִית and רוּחֵי רָשָׁע are evil and destructive indwelling spirits. See Baillet, *DJD VII*, 220 and Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 332.

⁴⁴ בְּאִמְרָיו in 4Q511 1 8 is probably referring to God’s words, not the sage’s. The sage typically refers to himself in the first person not the third person. I suspect that בְּאִמְרָיו is meant as an allusion to the verb אָמַר in Genesis 1 where God spoke the creation into existence and order. “His words” are the words spoken by God to bring order and structure to the universe. I will argue in §4.2.4 that 4Q511 1 7–8 is describing a new creation in which God will purify the world from the evil spirits that presently plague it.

interpretation is correct, then the title “God of knowledge” signifies the creative power of God’s mind which brings order to the cosmos.⁴⁵

This interest in God’s דעת and the author’s repeated assertion that God has revealed דעת to him suggest that the דעת of God must be related to the דעת granted to the sage. Since God’s דעת is the basis for designing and governing the creation, his revelation of דעת to the *maškîl* pertains to knowledge of the created order or the cosmic design. This is essentially what the sage says in 4Q511 42 7 where he claims to know the מהשבה of God—the thought, intent, or plan of God’s mind that regulates the entire creation. Because God has revealed knowledge of his design to the *maškîl*, he has a degree of insight into the mind of God. He is able to understand how God acts, the spiritual forces controlling the creation, and his own place in the grand cosmic scheme.⁴⁶

2.2. God’s Cosmic Design as the Basis for His Covenant with Creation

Entailed within the sage’s knowledge of God’s cosmic design is an understanding of God’s covenant regulations which govern all of the creation. In 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 4–5, he writes, חוקי אל בלבבי (“The statutes of God are in my heart”). This statement must be synonymous with line 1 which states, “he has put the [knowled]ge⁴⁷ of his understanding [in my] hear[t].” I would suggest that these חוקים are the rules and regulations laid out in God’s cosmic design which govern the operation of the universe. The חוקים are the statutes

⁴⁵ The expression “God of knowledge” is used in the *Songs of the Sage* essentially the same way as in the other Qumran texts I have examined. It is a title expressing God’s unique power to plan and govern all things. The word דעת or דעה emphasizes the fact that it is God’s rational mind which brings order to chaos and perfectly designs the universe.

⁴⁶ The sage’s claim that he can know God’s mind by knowing his cosmic design is essentially the same as what we have seen in the other texts concerned with revealed knowledge.

⁴⁷ Baillet (*DJD VII*, 243) and Perry and Tov (*DSSR*, 5.188) read ה[] without reconstructing anything in the lacuna. García Martínez and Tigchelaar restore ה[חוקמ]ת בנתרו here (*DSSSE*, 1034). I would suggest reading ה[דעת]ת בנתרו in the lacuna given that the author uses the collocation דעת בינה in 4Q511 18 ii 8 (cf. also 4Q511 2 i 6–7) and that ה[חוקמ]ת is never used anywhere else in the *Songs of the Sage*.

which direct the angels and spirits (cf. 4Q400 1 i 5, 9; 1QH^a IX 12), humans (cf. 4Q416 2 ii 8; 4Q417 1 i 14), and the elements of nature (cf. Sir 39:31; 42:15–43:33). The חוקים are the covenantal laws that God has established with his creation so that it might operate according to his will.⁴⁸

Implied in 4Q511 48–49+51 is the idea that those who know God’s cosmic design are able to live in accordance with his covenantal regulations. Since God is the יסוד האמת (“basis of truth,” 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 1) and his design is an expression of divine truth, those who have received knowledge are able to serve God in truth (4Q511 63–64 ii 4). They are the תמימי דרך (“perfect of way,” 4Q511 10 8)⁴⁹ who “keep the way of God” and walk on “his [h]oly pat[h]” (4Q511 2 i 6). They are the אנשי ברית (“men of the covenant”) who will receive peace from God (4Q511 63–64 ii 5; 63–64 iii 4–5).

2.3. Knowledge of God’s Radiant Splendor and Divine Glory

The *maskil* has not only gained an understanding of God’s cosmic design and insight into God’s mind, a very interesting passage in 4Q510 frag. 1 suggests that the sage has personally experienced God’s luminous glory which radiates out from his heavenly dwelling place. The text states,

(1) [תשבוחות בר־כות למ]לך הכבוד דברי הודות בתהלי (2) [הוד] לאלוהי דעות תפארת גבור[ות] אל אלים אדון לכול קדושים וממש[לתו] (3) על כול גבורי כוח ומכוח גבור[ת]ן יבהלו ויתפזרו כול ויחפזו מהדר־מע[ון] (4) כבוד מלכותו vacat ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל] (5) כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים לילית אחים וציים . . . (6) והפוגעים פתע פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשמ לבכם ונ־תם בקץ ממשל[ת] (7) רשעה ותעודות תעניות בני או[ר] באשמת קצי נגוע[ת] עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם (8) [כי א]ם לקץ תעניות פשע

⁴⁸ For more on the חוקים as they relate to God’s covenant with creation, see ch. 2 §2.2; ch. 4 §3.2; 5.1.2.

⁴⁹ The expression תמימי דרך is used fairly frequently in the Scrolls for humans and angels who keep God’s covenant regulations: 1QS IV 22; 1QSa I 28; 1QM XIV 7 (= 4Q491 8–10 i 5); 1QH^a IX 36; 4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 13 6; 4Q510 1 9; 4Q511 10 8; 4Q511 63 iii 3. See also Ps 119:1 and Prov 11:20.

[] praises. Bles[sings to the k]ing of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of (2) [splendor] to the God of knowledge, splendor of the mi[ghty on]es, God of gods, Lord of all the holy ones. [His] domi[nion] (3) is over all the mighty of power, and from the power of his migh[t] they are terrified and they are all scattered. They flee from the radiance of the dwe[lling]⁵⁰ (4) of his majestic glory. *vacat* And I, a *maškil*, proclaim the radiance of his splendor in order to frighten and to te[rri]fy] (5) all the spirits of the destroying angels and the spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, howlers, and[desert dwellers . . .] (6) and those who strike very suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding and to desolate their heart. And [] them in the age of the dominio[n] (7) of wickedness and the determined periods of humiliation of the sons of lig[ht] in the guilt of the ages of [those] stricken with iniquities and not for eternal destruction (8) [but rat]her for the age of humiliation of sin.

There is a careful and precise logic in this passage. Lines 1–2a offer praise to God because of his great glory and knowledge. Lines 2b–4a go on to state that God has dominion over all of the angelic powers. As mighty as the heavenly beings are, they are terrified and scattered by God’s great power, and “they flee from the radiance of the dwe[lling] of his majestic glory.” This last statement indicates that the angelic beings are frightened by the splendid light⁵¹ that exudes from the dwelling place of God’s glory (i.e., his throne).⁵² God’s visible splendor is so awesome that it strikes fear into the hearts of the other heavenly beings.⁵³

⁵⁰ The word [] מע is damaged and has to be reconstructed. Baillet reconstructed the text as מע[ון] (DJD VII, 216) while García Martínez and Tigchelaar read מע[ון] (DSSSE, 1028). Either reconstruction could work contextually, and whether we read מע[ון] or מע[ון], the idea is the same: the light of God’s dwelling place/stronghold terrifies the heavenly beings. I prefer Baillet’s reconstruction since מעון is widely used in the *Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice* to describe God’s dwelling place.

⁵¹ The word הדר typically means “splendor” or “majestic adornment.” Here, in 4Q510 1 3, it signifies the splendid and majestic radiance that surrounds God. הדר is used of the visible light of God’s glory in 1QH^a XX 18; 4Q286 1 ii 4–5; 4Q416 69 ii 14; 11QPs^a XXVI 9; 11Q17 X 7; possibly also in 1Q19 13–14 2 and 4Q299 9 3. In 1QS IV 8; 1QH^a V 34; and 4Q525 11–12 2, הדר is associated with the supernatural, divine light that will clothe the righteous in the *eschaton*. 4Q405 14–15 i 6; 19 6; and 23 ii 7 use הדר to describe the splendid radiance of the angelic beings who dwell nearest to God’s throne.

⁵² Cf., for example, 1 En. 14:15–25. In the *Sabbath Songs*, תפארת, הדר, הוד, and כבוד מלכות are key terms used to describe the visible majesty of God’s throne (e.g. 4Q403 1 ii 10; 4Q405 23 i 3; 11Q17 VIII–X).

⁵³ I would argue that 4Q510 1 1–4a is drawing heavily upon the sixth and seventh songs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q403 1 i 1–46 with parallel texts). There are numerous thematic and terminological similarities between the two texts: תהלה, גבורות, דברי ה(ו)דות, הדר, תשבחות, קדושים, מלך הכבוד, תהלה, גבורות, דברי ה(ו)דות, הדר, תשבחות, קדושים, מלך הכבוד, כבוד מלכות, and אדון. With the *Sabbath Songs* as a background, we should understand 4Q510 1 1–4a as a

After a small *vacat*, the sage picks up in line 4b with a description of himself as the one who proclaims the radiance of God's splendor in order to frighten and terrify the evil spirits (lines 4b–8). There are a number of important parallels between lines 1–4a and 4b–8. Both passages are concerned with the power of God's glory to terrify otherworldly beings. Just as God is characterized by תפארת ("splendor," line 2) and הדר ("radiance," line 3) which shine out from his dwelling place, terrifying the angels, so also the *maskil* is the one who proclaims the הוד⁵⁴ ("radiance") of God's תפארת in order to terrify and frighten the evil spirits (lines 4b–5).⁵⁵ I would argue that the sage describes himself as an earthly analogy to God (a proxy of divine power) in the sense that both he and God radiate divine splendor. The radiance of God is a magnificent visible light while the radiance of the sage is verbal,⁵⁶ but the effect is the same in both cases: the manifestation of God's glory which frightens the angelic beings.⁵⁷

I would infer from 4Q510 1 that the *maskil* has obtained an intimate knowledge of God's visible glory. It is this firsthand knowledge of God's glory that enables the sage to manifest God's splendor which terrifies and drives away the spirits that threaten the righteous. 4Q510 1 does not explain how the sage acquired this knowledge of God's glory, but it is possible that the sage has entered into the divine presence and gazed upon the

description of the radiant splendor emanating from God's throne which terrifies the surrounding angels and causes them to praise God.

⁵⁴ הדר and הוד should be taken as synonyms. They are often used in parallel in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 21:6; 45:4; see also 11Q17 IX 8).

⁵⁵ The parallelism is reinforced by similar verbs of fear in each section: בהל, פזר, and הפז in line 3, and פהד and בהל in line 4b.

⁵⁶ The author of the *Songs* sees speech as analogous to light. For example, in 4Q511 1 7–8, he writes, הופיע כבוד אלוהי דעות באמריו ("the glory of the God of knowledge shines out through his words"). When the *maskil* proclaims in 4Q510 1 4 that he "declares" the radiance of God's splendor, we should understand this analogically to mean that he manifests the light of God's glory through his words. The association of speech and light is also found in Psalm 119:105; Hos 6:5; 2 Cor 4:4; *L.A.B.* 28:3.

⁵⁷ I will argue below (§4.2.1) that the sage portrays himself as an Adam-like figure who manifests God's glory as the image of God.

splendor radiating from God's throne.⁵⁸ Logically, this would make sense of the powerful claims made by the sage in 4Q510 1. The sage is able to serve as God's proxy by proclaiming God's splendor and terrifying the evil spirits because he has personally stood in God's presence and witnessed his luminous glory.⁵⁹

There is one other passage in the *Songs of the Sage* which suggests that the *maškil* had direct access to God's presence. A very broken passage in 4Q511 8 6–9 states,

...]. אֱלֹהִים בְּסִתְרֵי שְׂדֵי (6)

...]. לְשִׁירֵי יְחִבְיָאֵנִי [] לְ (7)

...]. בְּקִדּוּשֵׁי (8)

...]. דְּעִם קִדּוּשׁ יוֹ (9)

(6) . . .] God in the hiding place of the Almighty [. . .

(7) . . .]his [] he hides me [. . .

(8) . . .] among his holy ones[. . .

(9) . . .] with [his] holy one[s] . . .

The words אֱלֹהִים בְּסִתְרֵי שְׂדֵי in line 6 are most likely drawn from Ps 91:1 which uses both סִתְרֵי and שְׂדֵי: “You who live in the shelter (בְּסִתְרֵי) of the Most High, who abide in the shadow of the Almighty (שְׂדֵי).”⁶⁰ In line 7, the sage speaks of God hiding him, and in lines 8–9 he twice mentions the “holy ones” (i.e., the angels). This passage seems to describe a situation where the *maškil* has dwelt in the presence of God among his angels. The fact that this declaration occurs right at the outset of a new song which begins with the words, “second [s]ong to terrify those who frighten him” (line 4), indicates that the sage's claim to

⁵⁸ The author of the *Songs of the Sage* might be implicitly likening himself to Moses or Enoch who stood in the very presence of God. It is likely that the psalmist had Enoch in mind since he makes several references to the Watcher myth throughout the text.

⁵⁹ 3 *Enoch* 5:4–5 asserts that one who has gazed upon the Šekinah (which dwells in the Garden of Eden) is granted protection against evil: “anyone who gazed at the brightness of the Šekinah was not troubled by flies or gnats, by sickness or pain; malicious demons were not able to harm him, and even the angels had no power over him.”

⁶⁰ Others have observed this connection with Psalm 91. See, for example, Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 270 n. 147.

have experienced God's presence is of paramount importance and is directly related to his ability to frighten the evil spirits. In other words, the *maskil* has power over the spirits because he has entered the "hiding place of the Almighty" and has witnessed the very splendor of God's glory. As a proxy for God, he is now able to proclaim God's glory and terrify the spirits just as if they were in the presence of God himself.

3. The Means of God's Revelation in the *Songs of the Sage*

The terminology used to describe God's revelation of knowledge in the *Songs of the Sage* is similar to the other Qumran texts examined in previous chapters. The author speaks of God opening his ears (4Q511 16 5),⁶¹ and he claims that God has placed knowledge in his heart. In 4Q511 18 ii 7–8, the sage states, כִּיָּא הָאִיר אֱלוֹהִים דַּעַתְּ בִּינָה בִּלְבָבִי ("For God caused the knowledge of understanding to shine in my heart").⁶² Similarly, in 4Q511 28–29 3, he praises God because "you have [pla]ced knowledge in my foundation of dust." In another place, the sage claims that God "has put the [knowled]ge⁶³ of his understanding [in my] hear[t]" (4Q511 48–49+51 ii 1). A few lines latter, he repeats the same thought, saying, "the statutes of God (חוקי אל) are in my heart" (4Q511 48–49+51 ii 4–5). Finally, in 4Q511 63–64 iii 1–2, the sage writes, "You have placed a fountain of praise on my lips and in my heart the basis of the beginning of all human actions" (סוד (רִישִׁית כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי אִישׁ).⁶⁴ While the sage repeatedly professes that God has revealed profound

⁶¹ Cf. similar language in 1QH^a XIV 6–7; XXI 6; XXV 12; 4Q416 2 iii 17–18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; and 184 2.

⁶² Cf. 1QS IV 2; 1QH^a XII 6; and 4Q403 1 ii 35 which use the *hiphil* of אור to speak of God's revelation.

⁶³ For the reconstruction of דַּעַת here, see n. 47 above.

⁶⁴ Although this last quotation does not explicitly mention "knowledge," according to the sage knowledge is the "basis of the beginning of all human actions." 4Q511 63–64 iii 1–2 must be understood in

knowledge to him, he never describes the means of divine disclosure. There is no reference to a heavenly ascent or an angelic mediator of knowledge. The *maskil* claims to have entered into the presence of God and witnessed the divine glory (§2.3 above), but he never directly explains how this encounter took place. We are left wondering how it is that the sage acquired his profound knowledge of God's splendor and the cosmic design.

I would conjecture that the *Songs of the Sage* conceptualizes God's revelation as taking place through an indwelling spirit which imparts knowledge of God's mind and plan, and also grants the sage a visual encounter with God whereby he directly experienced God's luminous glory.⁶⁵ Twice in the extant text, the author speaks of having a רוח בינה ("spirit of understanding," 4Q510 1 6; 4Q511 18 ii 6). Within the context of these two passages, the רוח בינה signifies the inner psychological spirit or inclination of the sage's heart. It is something which can be led astray by the evil spirits that attack humanity. The sage never explicitly states that God gave this "spirit of understanding" to him; yet, I would suggest that this is implied in the text. The רוח בינה or רוח דעת is frequently mentioned in the Scrolls⁶⁶ and there are similar expressions in the Hebrew Bible⁶⁷ and the broader Second Temple literature.⁶⁸ This spirit of knowledge or understanding is almost always bestowed upon a person by God as an act of special revelation.

In the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms God places his divine spirit within certain people in order to reveal his cosmic design to them so that they can

light of 4Q511 63–64 ii 3 where the sage states, "At the beginning of every thought of the heart is knowledge."

⁶⁵ This idea of revelation is very similar to what we see in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material (ch. 4 §5.2.2).

⁶⁶ 1QS IV 4; 1QSb V 25; 1QH^a VI 36; VIII 24; 4Q161 8–10 12; 4Q405 17 3; 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3; 6Q18 5 3; 11QPs^a XIX 14.

⁶⁷ Cf. Exod 31:3; 35:31; Isa 11:2.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Eph 1:17; *1 En.* 49:3; *T. Levi* 2:3; 18:7; Sir 39:6; *4 Ezra* 5:22; Wis 7:22; *Jos. Azen.* 19:11.

resist the influence of evil misguiding spirits. This concept is also found in 11QPs^a XIX 13–16; 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3; and 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi*^b) 1 i 14–18 where God imparts a knowledge-giving spirit⁶⁹ to the righteous in order to counteract the influence of corrupting spirits (I discussed these texts in more detail in ch. 2 §3; see also below). In all of these texts, רוח encompasses both a psychological faculty of supernatural understanding and a spiritual entity distinguishable from the human being. I would argue that the same idea is present in the *Songs of the Sage*: God has sent a spirit of understanding to inhabit the heart of the sage so that he can withstand the onslaught of the evil spirits. If this interpretation is correct, then when the author declares that God has put knowledge in his heart, he means that God has put a spirit of understanding in his heart which imparts the knowledge of God’s mind and his cosmic design. Presumably, it was this imparted spirit of understanding which granted the *maškil* a visionary experience of God’s presence and allowed him to gaze upon God’s radiant splendor.⁷⁰

4. The Theological Function of God’s Revelation in the *Songs of the Sage*

4.1. Knowledge and the Rectification of the Human State

The chief anthropological problem in the *Songs of the Sage* is the influence of evil spirits which lead astray the mind of the righteous.⁷¹ The clearest expression of this belief is found in 4Q510 1 5–6, which speaks of, “all the spirits of the destroying angels and the

⁶⁹ The spirit is referred to as רוח אמונה ודעת in 11QPs^a XIX 14, רוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3, and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄδικον in *Aramaic Levi* (much of the Aramaic is lost for this line; the Greek is from the Mt. Athos manuscript).

⁷⁰ It is not unusual in the Second Temple literature to find cases where a divine spirit coming upon a person results in a visionary experience. See ch. 4 n. 177.

⁷¹ In this respect, the *Songs of the Sage* is very similar to the H⁴ *Hodayot* material and, to a lesser degree, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.

spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, howlers, and[desert dwellers . . .] and those who strike very suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding and to desolate their heart.” The language and concepts in 4Q510 1 5–6 strongly reflect the ideology of the *Book of Watchers* (1 *En.* 15:8–12) and especially *Jubilees*.⁷² In *Jubilees* 10–12, the “impure demons” (10:1) who were spawned from the Watchers are said to corrupt the human heart (12:3–5) and lead them astray by attacking the spirits of the living (10:6). In *Jub.* 12:20, Abram prays, “Save me from the power of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of people’s minds. May they not mislead me from following you, my God.”⁷³

According to the *Songs of the Sage*, humans are not alone in their struggle against the evil spirits; 4Q511 1 1–8 indicates that the devastation of the evil spirits has also affected the entire universe.⁷⁴ In 4Q511 1 1–8, the earth, the seas, and their living things praise God because “there is n[o] destroyer in their regions and evil spirits do not walk among them.” Lines 6–8 state that the creation will be freed from the evil spirits when God expels them through the radiance of his glory.⁷⁵ As in 4Q510 1 5–6, the war in 4Q511 1 1–8 is spirit against spirit. The evil spirits do not directly attack the earth or the seas; they attack God’s obedient spirits who control and regulate his creation. The idea in 4Q511 1 1–8 is identical to the H² Creation Hymn in the *Hodayot*: God has established certain spirits

⁷² Regarding the influence of the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees* on the demonology of the *Songs of the Sage*, see Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness,” 322–23; Ida Fröhlich, “Invoke at Any Time. . .: Apotropaic Texts and Belief in Demons in the Literature of the Qumran Community,” *BN* (2008): 58–67; Giovanni Ibba, “The Evil Spirits in *Jubilees* and the Spirit of the Bastards in 4Q510 with Some Remarks on Other Qumran Manuscripts,” *Hen* 31 (2009): 111–16.

⁷³ The thoughts in *Jub.* 12:20 are based on a reading of Gen 6:4–5 in which 6:4 has been interpreted as a reference to the spirit offspring of the Watchers who are responsible for corrupting the human heart in Gen 6:5. I have suggested that the same interpretation of Gen 6:4–5 is present in the H¹ and H⁴ groups of *Hodayot* material. I will demonstrate below that this reading of Genesis is also evident in 11QPs^a XIX 13–16 and 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi*^b) 1 i 14–18.

⁷⁴ For a translation of 4Q511 1 1–8, see n. 42 above.

⁷⁵ 4Q511 1 1–8 describes God’s act of re-creation in the *eschaton* when he will expel the evil spirits from the world by speaking the words of creation (from Genesis 1) anew. I discuss this passage in more detail in §4.2.4 below.

which underlie all of the physical elements of the universe.⁷⁶ When the evil spirits attack the earth or seas, they attack the spirits that control the earth and the seas. This is indicated by the wording in 4Q511 1 2–3 which states, “ea]rth and in all the spirits of its dominion continuously.” In and of itself, the meaning of this broken line would be impossible to discern, but the same terminology, כּוֹל רוּחֵי מַמְשַׁלוֹת, (“all the spirits of the dominions”) is used in 4Q286 (*Berakhot*^a) 3 5 for the spirits that regulate meteorological phenomena. Thus, what the author is describing in 4Q511 1 2–3 is a conflict between the evil spirits and the obedient spirits that control the physical elements and phenomena of the earth.

The *Songs of the Sage* is set against the background of a conflict between two dominions: the dominion (מַמְשַׁלַת) of God (4Q510 1 2) and the dominion of wickedness (מַמְשַׁלַת רַשְׁעָה, 4Q510 1 6–7). These two realms are at war, and all of creation is caught in the middle. For the *maśkil*, this combat is immensely real, and the chief battleground between God and evil is the human heart. As in the H⁴ material of the *Hodayot*, the author of the *Songs* believes that humans are empty vessels of dust which can be filled either by God’s spirit or evil spirits. Because they were created from dust and clay, humans are inherently flawed and susceptible to the influence of evil spirits (see ch. 4 §5.3.1). In 4Q511 28–29 2–4, the sage praises God, saying, “And I, [I will praise yo]u, for on account of your glory you [p]ut knowledge into my foundation of dust to p[raise you]. And I am a creature mixed [of clay]; I was pinched off and from darkness is [my] mixt[ure]”⁷⁷ A similar sentiment is expressed in 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 1–5: “For he has put the [knowled]ge of his understanding [in my] hear[t and on my tongue] the praises of his justice and [. .]

⁷⁶ The same idea seems to be expressed in *Jub.* 2:2.

⁷⁷ On the terminology in 4Q511 28–29 2–4 see n. 32 below. Similar language of human lowliness might present in 4Q511 126 2 which has been reconstructed as follows: וַאֲנִי עִפְרָא וְאֵין מִן אֱדָבָר (Baillet, *DJD VII*, 257).

and by my mouth he terrifies [all the spirits of] the bastards to subdue []
 uncleanness. For in the bowels of my flesh⁷⁸ is the foundation of [. . . and in] my body are
 wars. The statutes of God are in my heart, and I prof[it. . . .”

When we put these two passages together we can see the essence of the anthropological problem in the *Songs of the Sage*. In his natural, created state (without God’s indwelling spirit) the *maskil*, like all humans, is only a vessel of clay—a weak and inglorious earthen container which is highly susceptible to corruption.⁷⁹ He is a man formed from dust (Gen 2:7a) lacking the breath or spirit of God (Gen 2:7b), and without God’s spirit in him his body can be easily filled with the evil spirits that will mislead his heart.⁸⁰ The solution to humanity’s problem is referred to in 4Q511 28–29 2–3 where the psalmist praises God, saying, “And I, [I will praise yo]u, for on account of your glory you [p]ut knowledge into my foundation of dust.” It is God’s revelation of knowledge, through his spirit of understanding, which brings potential salvation to the *maskil*. Yet, this salvation is not fully realized in the present. As 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 1–5 indicates, there is an ongoing war that rages within the *maskil*’s body—a conflict between the bastard spirits (lines 2–4) and the revelation which God has placed within his heart (lines 1, 4–5).

I think we can gain additional insight into the *Songs of the Sage* by considering other texts found at Qumran which express the idea that a divine spirit mediating

⁷⁸ In 1QS IV 20–21 and 4Q444 1–4 i+5 3, the expression תכמי בשר (“bowels of the flesh”) denotes the place within a person where the good and/or evil spirits reside.

⁷⁹ By associating the human body with an earthen container, the author intends to convey the idea that humans, like clay vessels, are easily susceptible to impurity and ritual uncleanness (see ch. 4 n. 199).

⁸⁰ As I discussed in ch. 4, the idea that the absence of God’s spirit permits evil spirits to invade the heart and lead it astray is probably based on the logical flow of thought in Gen 6:3–5. In Gen 6:3, God says his spirit will not remain in human beings because they are flesh. Subsequently, the Watchers came, produced offspring, and evil spirits filled the earth (Gen 6:4 read in light of the Watcher tradition). Since humans were fleshly and lacked God’s spirit, the bastard spirits of the Watchers entered them and corrupted their hearts (Gen 6:5). This is the state in which humanity continues to exist.

knowledge and wisdom can counter the attacks of a hostile evil spirit.⁸¹ Two excellent examples can be found in the so-called *Plea for Deliverance* in 11QPs^a XIX 13–16 and 4Q213a (*Aramaic Levi*^b) 1 i 12–18.⁸² In both texts, the authors appeal to God for a spirit of knowledge so that they will not stumble and be led astray by a שטן—a malevolent spirit. In 11QPs^a XIX 15–16, the presence of a שטן or a רוח טמאה within a person is said to produce pain and an יצר רע (“evil inclination”).⁸³ I would argue that the author of the *Plea for Deliverance* has interpreted Gen 6:4–5 in light of the Watcher myth to arrive at the conclusion that evil spirits produce an “evil inclination.” In the *Plea for Deliverance*, the שטן and רוח טמאה are the spirits of the Watchers (alluded to in Gen 6:4) which are responsible for corrupting the human inclination (Gen 6:5). The same basic concept also underlies *Aramaic Levi*. In 4Q213a 1 i 12–14, 17–18, Levi appeals to God that he would remove from him the διαλογισμὸν τὸν πονηρὸν⁸⁴ (“evil thought”) which is associated with a שטן that seeks to rule over him and lead him astray from God’s path. In both texts, evil spirits are responsible for corrupting the inclination or thought of the human heart and causing it to stray from God. The solution to humanity’s problem, according to 11QPs^a XIX 14 and 4Q213a 1 i 14–16, is to obtain a benevolent divine spirit that conveys the true knowledge of God which is able to thwart the errant influence of the evil spirits. In the *Plea for Deliverance*, the author asks that God would bestow upon him “a spirit of faith and knowledge” so that he will not stumble in transgression, the *satan* and the unclean

⁸¹ I have already examined this concept in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* material.

⁸² Lacunae in 4Q213a 1 i 14–18 are reconstructed from the Greek Mt. Athos manuscript. For Aramaic and Greek texts of this passage, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 60–61.

⁸³ Lange, “Spirit of Impurity,” 262.

⁸⁴ For much of lines 12–18 there is no Aramaic text extant so I have used the Greek Mt. Athos ms. The word διαλογισμός is probably a translation of מחשבה from Gen 6:5. In the LXX and Ben Sira, διαλογισμός is often used to translate מחשבה (e.g., Ps 39:6 [LXX]; 55:6 [LXX]; 93:11 [LXX]; Isa 59:7; Jer 4:14; Lam 3:60; Sir 13:26; 33:5).

spirit will not rule over him, and the evil inclination will not take possession of his bones. Likewise, in *Aramaic Levi* the patriarch pleads for God's holy spirit so that the evil thought will be removed from him and the *satan* will not rule over him: "Let there be shown to me, O Lord, the holy spirit, and grant me counsel and wisdom and knowledge and strength in order to do that which is pleasing to you."

There are other texts as well that contain the same ideas, especially 4Q436 (*Barkhi Nafshi*^c) 1 i 9–ii 4 (= 4Q435 1 i 1–5) and 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1–11. 4Q444 is especially relevant because of the close relationship that this text has to the *Songs of the Sage*.⁸⁵ Language very similar to 4Q511 48–49+51 1–5 is used in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 2–3: ויהיו לרוחי ("And they became spirits of contention in my structure. The statute[s of God . . . in the] bowels of flesh. A spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness God put in [my] he[art]"). Essentially, the *Songs of the Sage* and 4Q444 are describing the same belief: God has given the righteous sage an indwelling spirit which imparts knowledge so that he can resist the bastards and unclean spirits (4Q444 1–4 i+5 8).

While the *Songs of the Sage* is similar to these other texts, it provides one important detail which the other texts lack: it explains why the knowledge given by God is able to rectify the thoughts or inclination of the human heart. In 4Q511 63–64 ii 3–4 the author writes, ברישית כול מחשבת לבב דעת ("The beginning of every thought of the heart is knowledge"). With what might be characterized as philosophical reflection, the sage asserts that knowledge determines one's thought process (מחשבה), which, in turn, produces

⁸⁵ On the relationship between the *Songs of the Sage* and 4Q444 see Chazon, *DJD XXIX*, 370–71.

their actions.⁸⁶ In essence, knowledge is the basis for all that a person thinks and does. This same idea is expressed in 4Q511 63–64 iii 1–2: ובשפתי שמתה מקור תהלה ובלבי סוד רישית כֹּל (“And on my lips you put a fountain of praise and in my heart the basis of the beginning of all human actions”). Since elsewhere the sage claims that it is knowledge which God has put into his heart (4Q511 18 ii 8; 28–29 3; 48–49+51 ii 1, 4–5), we could paraphrase 4Q511 63–64 iii 1–2 as follows: “. . . and you put knowledge in my heart which is the basis for the beginning of all human actions.”

For the author of the *Songs of the Sage*, knowledge is the key anthropological issue. It is knowledge which ultimately directs human thought and behavior, either for good or for evil. The sage never explicitly says how the evil spirits lead human hearts astray, but I would conjecture that he thought of the evil spirits as imparting deceitful and abominable knowledge like the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 6–10.⁸⁷ This sinful knowledge has universally corrupted the inclination of the hearts of all people (Gen 6:4–5). The *maskil*, however, has received true knowledge from God, and, as a result, he is able to resist the influence of the misguiding evil spirits. Thus, in 4Q511 18 ii 7–8, the sage states, “And all the works of impurity I hate for God has caused the knowledge of understanding to shine in my heart.” As a result of God’s revelation, he is able to praise God, saying, “And I, [I will praise yo]u, for on account of your glory you have [p]ut knowledge into my foundation of dust”

⁸⁶ A similar concept underlies the phrase רוח דעת בכלל מחשבת מעשה (“a spirit of knowledge in every thought of an action”) in 1QS IV 4. The phrase מחשבת מעשה probably means the thought which produces or governs an action, and the רוח דעת is the force which directs or shapes the מחשבה.

⁸⁷ The revelation of the Watchers is summarized in *1 En.* 16:3: “You were (once) in heaven, but not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you, and you (only) know the rejected mysteries. Those ones you have broadcast to the women in the hardness of your hearts and by those mysteries the women and men multiply evil deeds upon the earth.” Once again, in *1 En.* 16:3 we can see an example of how an ancient author interpreted Gen 6:4–5 as a logical argument. In Gen 6:4, the Watchers took human wives and transmitted knowledge to them. This resulted, in Gen 6:5, with human wickedness and corruption throughout the earth.

(4Q511 28–29 2–3). Although the *maškîl* remains a vessel of clay, he is a vessel filled with the knowledge of God’s design which enables him to adhere faithfully to God’s will and not be led astray any longer.

4.2. Returning to Paradise through God’s Revelation of Knowledge

The *Songs of the Sage* never explicitly mentions the Garden of Eden,⁸⁸ but it does contain all of the same key elements associated with returning to paradise which we have observed in *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Sabbath Songs*. In the previous section, I argued that the sage saw God’s revelation of the knowledge of his cosmic design as the means for rectifying the corrupt human state. In this section, we will see that once the sage has been rectified through knowledge he becomes an Adam-like figure who radiates God’s glory, enjoys fellowship with the heavenly beings, and is able to worship God just like the angels.

4.2.1. The *Maškîl* as a New Adam

The anthropological and soteriological ideas contained in the *Songs of the Sage* are essentially the same as what we have seen in the H⁴ material of the *Hodayot*. The sage thinks of himself as a vessel of clay which has been filled with God’s spirit of understanding. This idea is an intentional analogy to Adam based on Gen 2:7. God has imparted (we might even say “breathed”) his knowledge-giving spirit into the *maškîl*, and the *maškîl* has become a new Adam.

⁸⁸ “Adam” might be mentioned in a broken passage in 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 2 ([. . . לַאֲדָם וְלִבְנֵי יוֹרֵ] . . .).

I would suggest that this interpretation of the *Songs* is supported in 4Q510 1 1–4.⁸⁹ Like Adam, the sage has stood in the presence of God, and just as Adam bore the image of God by visibly manifesting the luminous glory of God so too the *maskil* verbally radiates⁹⁰ the splendor of God by which he is able to terrify the evil spirits.⁹¹ In his present state, the *maskil*'s similarity to Adam is incomplete; he is still a creature of clay and dust, and his radiance of God's glory is not yet the actual visible luminescence that Adam had. Yet, in the *eschaton* the *maskil* and his followers will be given the full eternal joy, everlasting life, and luminous majesty of Adam (4Q511 2 i 4; see §4.2.4 below).

4.2.2. Fellowship with the Angels

Once the *maskil* and his followers received knowledge from God they could enter into paradise and fellowship with the angels just like Adam.⁹² In 4Q511 8 6–10, the sage asserts that he has dwelt in the “hiding place of the Almighty” among the holy ones (see §2.3 above). The same claim is made in 4Q510 1 1–4 where the sage implies that he has entered into the divine presence and witnessed the visible glory of God (see §2.3 above). In a number of places the author uses terminology that indicates that he and his followers have become like the angels. In 4Q510 1 9 and 4Q511 63–64 iii 3, he calls them תמימי דרך (“the perfect of way”), and in 4Q511 2 i 2 he refers to them as . . .] יודעי (“those who know

⁸⁹ See §2.3 above for a more detailed discussion of this passage.

⁹⁰ As I remarked above in n. 56, the author of the *Songs* sees speech as analogous to light. When the sage declares in 4Q510 1 4 that he proclaims the splendor of God, we should understand this as analogous to visibly radiating God's glory.

⁹¹ Regarding Adam's luminous appearance in early Jewish literature, see ch. 3 n. 104.

⁹² In ch. 4 §5.3.3, I discussed how Gen 2:7–8 could be read as a sequence of necessary steps which ultimately led to Adam being placed in the garden. First, God formed Adam from the earth (Gen 2:7a). Second, he placed his spirit/breath into Adam (Gen 2:7b) which was associated with God imbuing Adam with his divine image and knowledge. Third, after giving Adam the spirit and knowledge, God placed him in the garden (Gen 2:8).

[. . .]).⁹³ These titles are significant because in the *Sabbath Songs* the same designations are used for the angelic priests who serve before God (4Q403 1 i 22; 4Q404 2 3; 4Q405 3 ii 9; 8–9 3; 13 6; also in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material the ידעיים are angelic beings [1QH^a VII 17; XIX 17]). Since the *Song of the Sage* drew heavily upon the *Sabbath Songs*, the author surely knew that these titles were applied to angels.⁹⁴ By using תמימי דרך and יודעי for his followers, he implies that they have become like the angelic priests.⁹⁵ The title יודעי is particularly important because it suggests that God’s revelation of knowledge is what has transformed the *maskil* and his followers into knowledgeable beings like the angels (cf. Gen 3:5, 22).

These passages in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 1 1–4; 4Q511 2 i 2; 8 6–10; and 63–64 iii 3) indicate that the *maskil* and his community are like the angelic priests and enjoy fellowship with the heavenly beings in the present, at least to some degree (see §4.2.4 below). I would argue that the concept of angelic fellowship in the *Songs of the Sage* is essentially the same as in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material: through God’s revelation of knowledge, the hearts or inclinations of the *maskil* and his followers have been rectified, they have been transformed into Adam-like beings, and their community has become a paradise where humans and angels coexist.⁹⁶

⁹³ In 4Q511 2 i 2, the *nomen rectum* of the construct phrase is no longer extant. The line reads: קודשו . . . ורוממוהו כול יודעי Baillet restores צדק after יודעי on the basis of a similar expression in CD I 1 (*DJD VII*, 221–22). In the *Sabbath Songs* the *nomen rectum* varies, with extant examples including: יי[ד]עי בנינת נס[ת]רות (4Q401 17 4), . . . לכול יודעי רזי ס[] (4Q405 3 ii 9), and בכול ידועי [ע]ולמים (4Q405 8–9 3–4).

⁹⁴ The phrase תמימי דרך can be used of humans in the Scrolls (1QS*a* I 28; 1QM XIV 7; see also Ps 119:1 and Prov 11:20), but because of the close connection between the *Songs of the Sage* and the *Sabbath Songs* I think that the author must have been using תמימי דרך in a way that intentional reflected its use in the *Sabbath Songs*.

⁹⁵ Angel makes a similar observation (“Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 14).

⁹⁶ Although the community is an Edenic paradise, we should keep in mind that the garden was not free from the influence of evil. I would speculate that the sage saw the attack of evil spirit within his own community as analogous to the serpent in the garden; both attempt to lead the heart astray with erroneous knowledge.

4.2.3. Knowledge and Worship

The paradisiacal nature of the *maškil*'s community is further attested by their capacity to praise God like the angels. As in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material and the *Sabbath Songs*, the *Songs of the Sage* sees the knowledge of God's cosmic design as essential for proper worship. In several passages the sage directly equates God's revelation of knowledge with his ability to extol God. In 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 1, he writes, “[the knowle]dge of his understanding he has placed [in my] hear[t and on my tongue] the praises of his righteousness.” Similarly, in 4Q511 63–64 ii 2–4, the *maškil* states, “I will bless your name and in my appointed times I will recount your wonders and engrave them as statutes of the praises of your glory. The beginning of every thought of the heart is knowledge and the offering of the utterance of just lips and in being ready for every true service.” A third example can be found in 4Q511 63–64 iii 1–2: “And as for me, my tongue will rejoice in your righteousness, for you have loosened it. On my lips you have put a fountain of praise and in my heart the basis of the beginning of all human actions.”

Just as knowledge is the basis for action, it is also the basis for worship (4Q511 63–64 ii 2–4). Once the *maškil* is endowed with the knowledge of God's design, he is able to offer appropriate praise that is based on a true and complete understanding of God's will and his works. Especially important for the sage is his comprehension of God's eschatological plan for judgment against the evil spirits and his pending salvation for the righteous. The author knows that the age of wickedness is only temporary; it will eventually be brought to a close and the righteous will be exalted. With this knowledge in their hearts, the *maškil* and his followers are able to rejoice confidently in God (4Q510 10 7–9).

Although the *Songs of the Sage* does not clearly describe the knowledge possessed by the angels, I would conjecture that, as in the H⁴ *Hodayot* material, the *Treatise*, and the *Sabbath Songs*, angels were thought to have profound knowledge of God's cosmic design, and it is because they have such knowledge that they are able to praise God.⁹⁷ Humans can join together with the angels in worship by obtaining the same knowledge of God's design that the heavenly beings possess. Fundamentally, knowledge is the great equalizer that makes humans and angels equivalent in their worship of God.⁹⁸

4.2.4. Eschatological Expectation

As with many of the other Qumran texts I have considered, the *Songs of the Sage* envisions a partial paradisiacal reality in the present as well as a future fully-realized paradisiacal existence after the time of God's eschatological judgment. Through God's revelation of his cosmic design, the *maškil* and his followers have been transformed into Adam-like figures who manifest the image of God by verbally radiating God's glory, and who enjoy fellowship with the angels in communal worship of God. The world, however, is not perfect and the *maškil's* community still suffers from the ravaging attacks of the evil spirits. This is readily apparent in 4Q511 10 3–12 where the sage informs his followers that God has placed them in the “age of the dominion of wickedness and the determined periods of humiliation” only for a time. They are not destined for everlasting destruction;

⁹⁷ In 4Q511 35 4–5, the author describes the worship of God as one of the chief functions of angels. I will consider this passage in more detail below.

⁹⁸ Angel writes, “It is thus the God-ordained praises, the *Songs of the Sage* themselves, that break down the barrier between the angelic and the human, leading to the ultimate goal of joint participation in cosmic worship” (“Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 21). *Pace* Angel, I would argue that it is not the songs themselves, but the knowledge underlying the songs which breaks down the barrier between humans and angels.

rather, they should rejoice because God will save them when he judges the “council of divine beings and humans” (4Q511 10 11).⁹⁹

At the time of God’s eschatological judgment, there will be a new creation in which God will once again speak the words used to fashion the universe and he will drive out the evil spirits from the world. This act of new creation is described in 4Q511 1 1–8 (see §2.1 above). In this passage, the sage proclaims that the earth, sea, and their living things will rejoice “before the God of justice with cr[ies] of salvation. For there is n[o] destroyer in their regions and evil spirits do not walk among them. For the glory of the God of knowledge shines through his words, and all of the sons of wickedness are unable to endure” (4Q511 1 5–8). These lines allude to Gen 1:3–4 where God speaks the words of creation and causes his light to shine into the chaotic abyss driving back the darkness. According to the sage, in the *eschaton* God will re-create the world in the same way. He will purge the evil spirits from the world when he once again causes the light of the words of his creative power to shine forth. The result will be a world purified and freed from the influences of the evil spirits.¹⁰⁰

To some extent, this eschatological recreation of the world has already occurred in the present through the power and work of the *maskîl*. Just as God will ultimately drive the wicked spirits out of the world by speaking the words of creation anew (4Q511 1 7–8), the sage drives the evil spirits out of the community of the righteous by speaking what God

⁹⁹ For additional comments on the expectation of eschatological salvation in the *Songs of the Sage*, see Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 5.

¹⁰⁰ The thoughts expressed in 4Q511 10 3–12 and 1 1–8 are similar to 1QS IV 18–22 which states that in the *eschaton* God will purify the righteous, sprinkle over them a new spirit, and rip out “every spirit of injustice from the bowels of his flesh.”

had revealed to him (4Q510 1 4; 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 2–3).¹⁰¹ This correlation between God’s recreative speech and the speech of the sage suggests that the sage has begun the work of recreation through his declaration of God’s design and glorious splendor. In a sense, the sage has been imbued, to a limited degree, with God’s own creative power.¹⁰²

The *Songs of the Sage* also describes the future eschatological expectation of the *maskil*’s community in 4Q511 2 i 1–10. In lines 2–4, the sage recounts the time of God’s judgment when he will bring an end to the reign of the evil spirits and transform the *maskil* and his followers into luminous, Adam-like beings: “Let all those who know [] exalt him [. . .] and the chief of the dominions¹⁰³ he removed without [. . .] eternal [joy] and everlasting life to cause light to shine [. . . .” Angel has provided valuable insight into this passage. He writes,

. . . if the ones “who know []” are the same ones destined for “endless [joy] and everlasting life, making light shine,” then we once again have a striking parallel to the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. If we recall, there (1QS 4:6–8), as a result of their participation in supernatural knowledge, the angel-like ‘sons of truth’ are rewarded

¹⁰¹ I would conjecture that in the *Songs of the Sage* the author intended for there to be a correlation between God’s act of eschatological recreation in 4Q511 1 7–8 and the present work of the sage in 4Q510 1 4 and 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 2–3. All three passages are concerned with the power of speech to terrify and drive away the evil spirits.

¹⁰² There are a number of ways in which the sage could have arrived at the conclusion that God had endowed him with his creative power. First, it is possible that the *maskil* believed that the spirit of understanding granted to him by God is the same divine spirit which fills the cosmos (4Q511 30 6). Such a belief could easily be derived by reading Gen 2:7 in light of Gen 1:2: God breathed into Adam (and subsequently the *maskil*) the same primordial spirit which held back the waters of chaos (this is very similar to what we see in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, ch. 3 §4.1). Second, in 4Q510 1 1–5 the sage seems to describe a situation where he has entered into God’s presence and witnessed the light of God’s glory. If the author thought of this light as the primordial light that surrounds God (see ch. 4 n. 75) and if the primordial light was associated with the creative power of God, then by seeing the light surrounding God the sage would have come to know the divine words and power which God used to fashion the world. Just as God spoke light into the universe and drove away darkness (Gen 1:3) so also the *maskil* speaks the light of God’s glory with creative power and drives out the darkness of the wicked spirits.

¹⁰³ The expression ריש ממשלות is most likely a title denoting an angelic leader. The same title, ראשי ממשלות, is found in the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q401 14 i 6). I would speculate that the “chief of the dominions” spoken of in 4Q511 2 i 3 is the ruler of the evil spirits comparable to Mastema in *Jubilees* or the angel of darkness in 1QS III 20–24. Line 3 is apparently describing God’s eschatological judgment against the ruler of the dominion of wickedness.

with ‘endless joy in everlasting life . . . in eternal light’ (באור . . . שמחת עולמים בחיי נצח . . . עולמים).¹⁰⁴

In 1QS IV 6–8, those who adhere to the spirit of truth and possess knowledge of God’s design will be rewarded with the Edenic bliss that once characterized Adam: healing, peace, eternal joy, everlasting life, and a luminous, majestic appearance. The very same thought seems to be expressed in 4Q511 2 i 4. In the *eschaton*, “those who know” (i.e., the *maskil* and his community) will obtain the same eternal life, joy, and visible radiance¹⁰⁵ possessed by Adam.

4Q511 2 i 8–10 goes on to describe the coming age when the Adam-like righteous ones will dwell around God’s throne with the angels. The sage writes, “the lot of God with the ange[ls] of his glorious luminaries. By his name he determined the p[r]aise of their [] for the festivals of the year, [and] a common [d]ominion to walk [in] the lot [of God] according to [his] glory [and] to serve him in the lot of the people of his throne.”¹⁰⁶ This passage describes humans and angels dwelling together in a common “lot”¹⁰⁷ around God’s throne. The use of verb שרת suggests that they are serving God in a priestly capacity.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 15. Angel goes on to argue that this section of the *Songs of the Sage* is dependent on the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.

¹⁰⁵ I take לאיר אור in 4Q511 2 i 4 as a reference to the luminous appearance that will be granted to the righteous. This interpretation is justified by comparing the words here with 1QS IV 7–8 where the same three elements, joy, life, and light, occur in the same order.

¹⁰⁶ The expression גורל אל is found in 1QS II 2; 1QM XIII 5; XV 1; XVII 7. In these passages, the “lot of God” is the community of those chosen to be blessed with eternal light and knowledge.

¹⁰⁷ Similar terminology is used in 1QS XI 7–9: “To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the Community and a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages” (translation from *DSSSE*, 97). Note that in 1QS XI 7–9, the common lot of humans and angels becomes an “eternal planting.” The expression מטעת עולם is used in the Qumran literature to signify the elect community as a paradise and a temple (1QS VIII 5; 1QH^a XIV 18; XVI 7; 4Q418 81+81a 13). It is in this paradisiacal temple where human and angelic priests serve God. In my opinion, 1QS XI 7–9 and 4Q511 2 i 8–10 are describing the same eschatological expectation. For additional comments on paradise and temple connotations associated with the phrase מטעת עולם, see Swarup, *An Eternal Planting, A House of Holiness*.

¹⁰⁸ Although שרת does not necessarily indicate cultic service, the only other instance of this verb in

The location of God's throne is open to speculation, but I would argue that the sage understood God to be enthroned in the heavenly temple which was associated with the divine paradise. This would be consistent with what we have seen in the H¹ *Hodayot* psalms and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and it would correspond well with the fact that the imagery in 4Q511 2 i 1–10 is drawn from Genesis 1–3.¹⁰⁹ If this is the case, then 4Q511 2 i 1–10 describes an eschatological expectation in which the righteous will become Adam-like priests who join together with the angelic priesthood and serve before God in the paradisiacal temple.

The same eschatological expectation is attested in 4Q511 35 1–9. This passage begins with a reference to the time of God's judgment when he will eradicate wickedness (lines 1–2). God will then purify the righteous and make them holy “as an eternal sanctuary.”¹¹⁰ Those who are purified shall be “priests, his righteous people, his host, and ministers, the angels of his glory.”¹¹¹ They will praise him with wondrous marvels” (lines 3–5). The fragment ends with the *maskil* remarking on his present condition as he awaits God's judgment: “As for me, a terrifier of God¹¹² in the times of my generations, for the

the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511 35 4) refers to priestly service in a paradisiacal temple (see below). Also, we should note that שרת is always used of cultic service before God's heavenly throne in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

¹⁰⁹ As I noted previously, line 4 most likely refers to Adam's luminous appearance (see n. 105 above). Fletcher-Louis has suggested that the language of “luminaries” and “dominion” in lines 8–9 alludes to Gen 1:14–19 (*All the Glory of Adam*, 174–75).

¹¹⁰ Fletcher-Louis rightly compares מקדש עולמים here with מקדש אדם in 4Q174 (*Florilegium*) I 6 (*All the Glory of Adam*, 166–68). While Fletcher-Louis sees both expressions as referring to the present state of the community as a temple sanctuary, I think we need to distinguish between the present and future self-conceptions of the community. In my opinion, both מקדש עולמים and מקדש אדם signify that the community is a paradisiacal sanctuary, yet there is a present sense in which this is true and there is a future expectation which is still to be realized.

¹¹¹ I suspect that the expression מלאכי כבודו is based on Mal 2:7 where the priest who has knowledge of God is called מְלֹאֲדֵי יְהוָה יִצְבְּאוּ.

¹¹² The phrase מירא אל is a title associated with exorcism. The expression is also found in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1. See Florentino García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 120 n. 31.

exaltation of the name [I] have spo[ken to terrify] with his strength al[] the spirits of the bastards to humble them” (lines 6–7). It is as if the sage is saying, “The eschatological hope has not yet been realized, so in the present time I will continue to terrify and frighten the evil spirits until God brings this age to a close.”

The eschatological hope of the community is to exist as an eternal sanctuary of angel-like priests serving before God.¹¹³ I would suggest that 4Q511 35 2–5 describes the *maskil* and his followers as returning to the Garden of Eden—the paradisiacal temple where Adam originally served as high priest (see, for example, *Jub.* 3:8–14, 26–27). In the *eschaton*, God will purify the righteous from the influence of evil spirits (cf. 4Q511 1 1–8; 1QS IV 20–22) and restore the righteous to paradise where they will minister before his throne.

The eschatological expectations laid out in 4Q511 2 i 1–10 and 4Q511 35 are not essentially different from how the community sees itself in the present time. Presently, those who have received God’s revelation are transformed into Adam-like beings who verbally radiate the glory of God. Because of their knowledge, they are able to join together with the angels and participate in the angelic worship of God. In the *eschaton*, the only substantial difference is that the evil spirits will be purged from the world in an act of re-creation (4Q511 1 1–8; 35 2–5) and the righteous will be transformed into visibly

¹¹³ In part, I would agree with Fletcher-Louis who sees lines 2–5 as a reference to human priests who have become like angels (*All the Glory of Adam*, 162–66). I would differ from Fletcher-Louis (pp. 168, 175–76), however, in that I would interpret lines 2–5 as a yet-to-be-realized eschatological hope which will come to pass after God’s judgment described in lines 1–2 (so also Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 23–25). Presumably, the *maskil* anticipates that he will take part in this future glorification, but it has not happened yet (as indicated in lines 6–9).

radiant beings.¹¹⁴ The *eschaton* will bring perfection to the partially-realized salvation experienced in the present.

4.3. The Apotropaic Power of Revealed Knowledge

While much of what we have seen in the *Songs of the Sage* is not new in comparison to the other texts concerned with God's revelation of knowledge, there is one aspect of 4Q510–511 that stands out—its emphasis on apotropaic power against evil spirits. The *Songs of the Sage* has frequently been studied as an apotropaic text that reflects an early stage in the development of Jewish magical practices.¹¹⁵ In particular, Nitzan has compared the *Songs of the Sage* with later Jewish apotropaic incantations, arguing that the act of singing these songs was used to ward off evil spirits.¹¹⁶ According to this view, the Qumran community attributed magical powers to the songs themselves.¹¹⁷ The clearest evidence for this is found in 4Q511 8 4 where a new song begins with the words, שִׁיר שְׁנִי [ש

¹¹⁴ While the righteous verbally radiate the glory of God in the present, in the future they will visibly manifest God's luminous splendor (4Q511 2 i 4; see n. 105 above). This may suggest an ontological transformation in the *eschaton*.

¹¹⁵ Bilhah Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran — 4Q510–4Q511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53–63; eadem, *Qumran Prayer*, 236–65; Armin Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 431–33; Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness," 319–24; Swartz, "Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism," 191–92; Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 79–80; eadem, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 407–9; García Martínez, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 117–20; Fröhlich, "Invoke at Any Time. . ." 66–67; David Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period," *BN* 138 (2008): 63–87; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "'Protect Them From the Evil One' (John 17:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate* (ed. Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher; SBLEJL 32; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 146–47. Some have argued that the label "magic" should not be applied to the *Songs of the Sage*. See W. J. Lyons and A. M. Reimer, "The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures," *DSD* 5 (1998): 16–32.

¹¹⁶ Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 54; eadem, *Qumran Prayer*, 237–38. Nitzan and others have described the *Songs of the Sage* as the "weapons" used by the community against the demons. See, for example, Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 162; Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 4.

¹¹⁷ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 237.

... לפחד מִרְאִיוֹ] (“second [s]ong to terrify those who frighten him[. . .]”). This introductory formula suggests that the song itself was thought to have apotropaic power.

The problem with this interpretation, as even Nitzan notes, is that the *Songs of the Sage* lacks many of the key features of later Jewish apotropaic incantations.¹¹⁸ The songs are not second person addresses to the evil spirits; they do not contain any awe-inspiring descriptions of God that would serve to frighten the spirits; there is no use of magical power words such as the name of God;¹¹⁹ and, unlike other apotropaic incantations, the *Songs of the Sage* does not seek to destroy the evil spirits, they only intend to scare them away.¹²⁰ Regarding this lack of standard apotropaic features, Lincicum states, “Perhaps the most striking aspect of these texts is that, were it not for a few key phrases, the songs would appear to be normal liturgical compositions.”¹²¹

Scholars who have situated the *Songs of the Sage* in a setting of magic practice have usually neglected the revelatory elements of this text. I would argue that the *maskil*'s

¹¹⁸ Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran,” 54–55; eadem, *Qumran Prayer*, 235, 248–49.

¹¹⁹ Nitzan argues that in the *Songs of the Sage*, “the ‘Power of the Word’ recited by the Sage, is the ‘Power of God’s Predestinated Thought’” (“Hymns from Qumran,” 62). In other words, the power to terrify the evil spirits is based on God’s plan and intent which governs the creation. I would agree with Nitzan on this point; however, it needs to be recognized that such power is substantially different from incantations which use the esoteric names of God to exert magical influence over evil spirits.

¹²⁰ For a list of features characterizing apotropaic incantations, see Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran,” 54–55; Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 86–88; eadem, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 403–5. Eshel has argued that the *Songs of the Sage* should be seen as a collection of apotropaic prayers not incantations (Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 79–80; eadem, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 406); however, this hardly solves the problem. The *Songs of the Sage* does not petition God for forgiveness, purification, or protection from sin, and they rarely appeal to God for present deliverance. In 4Q511 10 9, the sage declares, “Save me O God,” yet this appeal seems to pertain to the future, not the present. The context is concerned with God’s eschatological judgment over humans and angelic beings in which he will save the righteous and destroy the wicked. For criteria used to characterize apotropaic prayers, see David Flusser, “Qumran and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205; Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 74, 86–88; eadem, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 406–7.

¹²¹ Lincicum, “Scripture and Apotropaism,” 76. Nitzan makes a similar remark: “One might say that, were it not for the Maskil’s explicit statement of the purpose of his poetry [in 4Q511 8 4], it would be difficult to imagine that these songs of praise, which are similar to many other examples in Qumran literature, were intended for magical use at all” (*Qumran Prayer*, 244).

power over evil spirits is not rooted in the songs themselves as apotropaic prayers or incantations but in the *maskil* himself as a proxy of God's glory and power over creation. The sage has received knowledge of God's cosmic design which imbues him with a measure of authority over the evil spirits.¹²² He has also witnessed the visible radiance of God's glory, and now he manifests that same glory within his community. Just as the God of knowledge terrifies the angelic beings with his sovereign creative power (4Q510 1 1–4; see §2.1 above), so also the *maskil* is endowed with the same power (4Q510 1 4–5).

In a very real sense, the *maskil* is an Adam-like image of God. He is a representative of God's power over the cosmos and a manifestation of God's own splendor. As with Adam, he has been granted authority over the land, the seas, and the living things (Gen 1:28); but, in order to fulfill his Adam-like role as God's viceroy, he must wrest control of the world from the evil spirits. The *Songs of the Sage* might have served an apotropaic function, as indicated in 4Q511 8 4, but if so it was not because the text itself is a magical incantation. The *Songs of the Sage* is only a testimony of the revelation and power given to the *maskil*. In the *Songs of the Sage*, true apotropaic power rests within the *maskil* because he has received knowledge of God's glory and cosmic design which imbues him with authority over the evil spirits.

¹²² In 4Q511 48–49+51 ii 2–3, the sage declares, “And through my mouth he terrifies [all the spirits of] the bastards” (cf. 4Q510 1 4). This statement is framed on either side by a declaration that God has put his knowledge and statutes in the sage's heart. It is because the sage has knowledge of God's glory and cosmic design that he is able to terrify the evil spirits. I would argue that the same thought is expressed in 4Q444 1–4 i+5 1 where the author writes, פִּי וְאֲנִי מִיִּרְאֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּדַעַת אֱמֶתוֹ פִּתַּח פִּי (“And I, a terrifier of God, with the knowledge of his truth he opened my mouth”). In 4Q444, the speaker is able to frighten the evil spirits because God has put a spirit of truth and understanding in his heart (line 3).

5. Conclusion

The concept of divine revelation expressed in the *Songs of the Sage* represents a development of ideas from earlier texts, especially the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the H⁴ *Hodayot* material, and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The *maškîl* has received a “spirit of understanding” through which the God of knowledge has granted knowledge to him (§3). The sage has been given insight into the creative power of God’s דעת (“mind,” §2.1) and he understands God’s מַחֲשַׁבָּה (4Q511 42 7)—his design which regulates the universe and which serves as the legal basis for his covenant with creation (§2.2). By means of God’s spirit, he has also entered into the divine throne room and witnessed the visible radiance of God’s glory (§2.3).

God’s revelation of knowledge has a powerful transformative and soteriological effect on the *maškîl*. Endowed with the knowledge of God’s design, he is able to resist the influence of the evil spirits which corrupt the human heart or inclination, and he is empowered to adhere to the regulations which govern God’s covenant with creation (§4.1). The *maškîl* is also transformed into a new Adam-like figure who verbally radiates the glory of God. As an image of God, the sage terrifies the evil spirits by manifesting God’s own creative power (§4.3). In the present time, the *maškîl* has begun the process of purifying the world and establishing an Adam-like dominion by driving away the corrupt spirits and imparting knowledge to his community. Through knowledge, his followers are brought into paradise where they serve as angel-like priests and praise God together with the heavenly beings (§4.2.2–3). This transformation into a paradisiacal state will only be completed in the *eschaton* when God recreates the world by purging the evil spirits from it (4Q511 1 1–8). At that time, the *maškîl* and his community will fully become radiant,

Adam-like priests who minister with the angels before God's throne in the paradisiacal temple (§4.2.4).

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

Over the course of this study I have examined the concept of divine revelation in five texts discovered at Qumran: *Instruction*, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, the *Hodayot*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage*.¹ All of these texts contain a fairly consistent understanding of God's revelation and its theological significance. The fact that these texts share very specific themes and terminology indicates that they all drew upon a single distinct revelatory tradition. In concluding this study, I would like to propose an origin for this revelatory tradition and briefly reflect on how these revealed knowledge texts relate to other documents found at Qumran. Before I begin, it will be beneficial to summarize the common elements of divine revelation which are found in the five revealed knowledge texts.

1. The Nature and Function of Revealed Knowledge in the Scrolls from Qumran

All of the texts that I have studied consistently describe the content of God's revelation as the knowledge of his cosmic design. According to these texts, the "God of knowledge" used his rational mind to draft a master plan that governs every aspect of his creation, from the activities of the angels and the heavenly bodies to the behavior of humans and the natural phenomena of the world. God has revealed the mysteries (רזין) of his cosmic design (his מַחֲשֵׁבָה or מְזֻמָּה) to certain righteous humans, giving them insight into the operation of the universe. Since God's design was created by his mind it is a manifestation of his reason and intellect, and those who have knowledge of God's design

¹ For convenience, I will refer to these texts collectively as "the revealed knowledge texts."

are able to understand, to some degree, the depths of his thoughts. God's cosmic design also serves as the legal basis for his covenant with the creation. All created things are obligated to obey God's design and its constituent statutes (חוקים), or else suffer divine judgment.

The texts examined in this study describe two basic means by which God reveals his cosmic design: either a direct visionary experience or the granting of a knowledge-giving spirit.² Regardless of whether the act of revelation takes place through a vision or a spirit, the texts generally suggest that God's throne is the ultimate source of knowledge.³ Either a human figure has entered into God's presence and acquired knowledge of his design, or God has sent one of the spirits that dwells around his throne to mediate knowledge to the human community. Some texts, such as *Instruction* and the *Sabbath Songs*, refer to heavenly tablets which are located near God's throne and contain a record of his cosmic design. It is noteworthy that the revealed knowledge texts show remarkably little interest in describing the exact means of God's revelation. Unlike apocalypses and dream visions, the authors of these texts apparently did not feel the need to legitimate their claims of divine revelation by recounting the revelatory event.

There are no indications in the revealed knowledge texts that these authors saw authoritative scripture as the source of knowledge about God's design; nor did they see God's revelation as insight into the proper interpretation of scripture. Undoubtedly the books of Moses, the psalms, prophets, Job, and other works were important for these authors; yet, they did not associate God's revelation of knowledge with an understanding

² In the H⁴ *Hodayot* material and the *Songs of the Sage*, there is evidence of both a mediating spirit and a visual encounter with God. For both of these texts, I have argued that the primary or initial means of revelation was through a divine spirit, and subsequently this spirit granted the sage a vision of God in his celestial throne room.

³ Only the H² and H³ sections of the *Hodayot* do not make any apparent allusions to God's throne.

of sacred texts. I would suggest that, like *Jubilees*, the authors of these texts saw the written Mosaic Law as an incomplete disclosure of God's entire cosmic design.⁴ They were not claiming deeper insight in the Mosaic Law; rather, they were claiming to have a complete understanding of God's universal plan that governs every created thing. This cosmic design certainly encompasses the written Mosaic Law, but it expands far beyond the Law.⁵

In all the texts I have considered, God's revelation of knowledge serves an important theological function. Since God's design consists of the statutes that govern his covenant with creation, those people who have knowledge of his design are able to fulfill the requirements of his covenant. The texts indicate that all people by nature have a corrupt inclination (יצר) and are ignorant of God's design because they are creatures of flesh and dust. Each text is different in how it specifically deals with the issue of anthropology, but there is a general tendency to use Gen 2:7a and 6:3–5 as the basis for an anthropological worldview.⁶ Regardless of their particular anthropological formulations, in all of the texts it

⁴ In *Jubilees*, it is evident that the heavenly tablets are a complete record of the divine statutes governing all of creation, but the written Mosaic Law contains only a small part of these statutes (Himmelfarb, "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets," 25–28; García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets," 243–60). Some scholars have argued that *Jubilees* reflects a priestly conflict regarding scribal authority and the sufficiency of the written Mosaic Law. See, for example, Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 86–98; idem, "From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heavenly Tablets as the Foundation of a Competing Halakah," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 193–210.

⁵ During the late Second Temple period it seems that a belief circulated in some circles that Moses received two bodies of knowledge on Sinai: a fuller revelation which he kept to himself and a lesser revelation (or a distilled form of revelation) which was written down and revealed to the people of Israel. See *Jubilees*; 4 Ezra 14; Philo, *Mos.* 1.158; 2.71; *Leg.* 3.96, 101–3. A similar view is expressed in the *Memar Marqah* 1.1; 2.9; 4.1.

⁶ With regard to the corrupt human state, the revealed knowledge texts can be generally divided into two groups. In the *Treatise*, H⁴, and the *Songs of the Sage* (possibly also the *Sabbath Songs*, although the extant text does not refer to the human יצר), the faulty יצר is strongly associated with the physical corruption of the human body. The human יצר ("inclination") is faulty (Gen 6:5) because humans were formed (יצר) from the dust of the earth (Gen 2:7a). These texts also assert that certain evil spirits have inhabited the human body in order to lead their hearts astray. In these works, humans are susceptible to the corrupting influence of

is God's revelation of knowledge which rectifies the human inclination. The inclination is a problem of the heart and intellect, and it can only be corrected by the knowledge of God's cosmic design.

God's revelation of knowledge not only rectifies the corrupt human inclination and allows humanity to observe God's covenant requirements, it also has the capacity to restore humanity to the glorious state which Adam once possessed in the Garden of Eden. This belief was based on a tradition that God originally imbued Adam with profound wisdom and knowledge at the time of his creation (see ch. 2 §4.2). The authors of the revealed knowledge texts apparently thought that Adam became the image of God when God bestowed knowledge upon him. By reading Gen 1:26–27 together with Gen 3:5, 22 (“See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil”) they arrived at the conclusion that Adam became like the אֱלֹהִים (i.e., the divine beings)—that is, he became the image of the אֱלֹהִים—by acquiring the knowledge of good and evil (the knowledge of good and evil in Genesis was interpreted as the knowledge of God's cosmic design—all that ought and ought not to be). Some texts, such as the *Treatise* and the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms, went a step farther and read Gen 1:26–27 together with Gen 2:7b as both referring to the creation of Adam. In doing so, they came to the conclusion that Adam acquired his knowledge, and thus the image of God, when God breathed his spirit into him. For the

evil spirits because they were formed from the dust of the earth. These evil spirits mislead the human heart by imparting knowledge that is contrary to God's plan (cf. the Watcher myth in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*). Yet, God is able to counter the influence of the evil spirits by imbuing the righteous with his own knowledge-giving spirit. The result is that there are two spiritual beings waging war within the heart of the righteous, and each of these spirits is trying to impart knowledge to the human recipient.

In the second group of texts, consisting of *Instruction* and the H¹ *Hodayot* psalms, the faulty יצר is seen as a purely psychological problem; it is a defective inclination within the human mind or heart. In this group of texts there is less concern with malevolent spirits and the physical corruption of humanity. The purpose of God's revelation is to rescue the elect from their state of ignorance. While the first group of texts describe God's revelation as initially coming through an indwelling spirit, in *Instruction* and H¹ God reveals his design through a direct visionary experience.

authors of these texts, it is God's spirit which imparts the knowledge of his cosmic design. Based on these interpretations of Genesis, the authors of the revealed knowledge texts concluded that if one could obtain the knowledge which Adam once possessed then one could also obtain the divine image that characterized the first man.

Most of the texts concerned with revealed knowledge indicate that those who possess the knowledge of God's cosmic design are able to join with the angels in communal worship of God. In these texts, knowledge is the primary trait separating humans from angels. The angelic beings are characterized by *בינה*, *דעת*, *חכמה*, and *שכל* while humans are devoid of knowledge and understanding in their natural state. It is only by receiving knowledge from God that humans can become like the angels and unite with the heavenly host. This idea was based on an interpretation of Gen 3:5, 22 which were read as a literal assertion that Adam became like the angels—the *אֱלֹהִים*—by possessing the knowledge of good and evil. The logic of this interpretation suggests that Adam could commune with the angels because he possessed the knowledge of God's design and bore the image of God like the angels.

These texts also maintain that knowledge is the basis for true worship of God (whether by humans or angels). The underlying assumption is that one can only appropriately worship God if one knows God and comprehends the grandeur of his plan that regulates the universe.⁷ Since Adam was created with knowledge, he could enter into paradise and join with the angels as they sang praises to God.⁸ In the present time, the only way for humans to commune with the paradisiacal angelic choir is to obtain the same knowledge that the angels possess and was originally granted to Adam.

⁷ Cf. Philo who writes that God planted wisdom (i.e., the Garden of Eden) in humans so that they might understand the order of the world and properly praise God (see *QG* 1.6).

⁸ On Adam and the angelic choir in paradise, see *2 En.* 31:2.

The revealed knowledge texts generally divide the restoration of the righteous into two periods: a present partial restoration and a future eschatological restoration when God will judge the wicked and reward the righteous with complete renewal. *Instruction* and the H¹ *Hodayot* psalms emphasize the actuality of restoration in the present time,⁹ whereas the *Treatise*, the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms, and the *Songs of the Sage* emphasize the final redemption of humanity in the future after God's recreation of the world.¹⁰ In general, all of the revealed knowledge texts depict the final eschatological renewal as the transformation of the righteous into luminous Adam-like figures who will possess the same knowledge as the angels and who will dwell among the heavenly host in God's presence.

2. Once More, the Parable of the Elephant

In chapter 1, I used the well-known Indian Parable of the Elephant to illustrate the divergent views held by scholars who have studied the revelation of knowledge in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage*. Some have seen in these texts a continuation of older prophetic traditions while others have argued that they represent sapiential ideology, mantic wisdom, or witnesses to an apocalyptic tradition. As in the Parable of the Elephant, I think that these different

⁹ In both *Instruction* and H¹, the community of the righteous is described as a present-day Garden of Eden. This is not the case in the *Treatise*, H⁴, and *Songs of the Sage* which highlight the present reality of human corruption, even for the righteous. In these texts, life in paradise is predominately an eschatological hope, although God's revelation of knowledge has brought about some measure of transformation in the present.

¹⁰ This difference in the realization of God's restoration is probably a natural consequence of each author's anthropology. *Instruction* and H¹ are concerned with the psychological corruption of humanity (i.e., their ignorance of God's design) while the *Treatise*, H⁴, and the *Songs of the Sage* (and possibly the *Sabbath Songs*) focus more on the physical corruption of the human body. It is easier to claim a present psychological transformation than it is to claim that the body of flesh has been purified and perfected. Thus, those texts that see human corruption as predominately a psychological problem are able to claim a greater degree of present realization of God's restoration. Those texts that associated the corrupt עֲרָ with the physicality of the body must push off the realization of restoration until the *eschaton*.

perspectives are the result of an incomplete assessment of a larger whole. They are correct in so far as they accurately describe parts of the whole, but they are erroneous in that they mistake the part for the whole. I would agree that there are sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic themes and terminology in the texts concerned with revealed knowledge,¹¹ but none of these traditions in itself, and not even all of them combined, can explain the whole “elephant.”

Over the course of this study I have demonstrated that *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage* utilize common themes and terminology, and I have argued that they all drew upon a single distinct revelatory tradition. By analyzing these five texts together as representatives of the same revelatory tradition we can get a more holistic picture of the concept of divine revelation in those Qumran scrolls concerned with revealed knowledge. Using the essential features of this

¹¹ With respect to the sapiential tradition, it is quite obvious that most of the revealed knowledge texts use traditional wisdom terminology such as *בִּינָה*, *דַּעַת*, and *שִׁכְל*. A number of texts speak of *חִכְמָה* (“wisdom”) and *אִילָת* (“folly”). Other sapiential themes include the interest in theological anthropology and specifically the human *יִצְר* (cf. Sir 15:14; 27:6), the concern with primordial paradise, the concepts of spatial (heaven vs. earth) and ethical (good vs. evil) dualism, the divine determination of times, seasons, cosmic phenomena, and human behavior, and, most importantly, the belief that God has established a cosmic order and that humans must understand God’s order so that they can live in harmony with it.

As for prophetic themes, several of the revealed knowledge texts emphasize the role of a prophet-like figure (usually referred to as the *מְשִׁיכִיל*) who mediates between God and humans, and who delivers knowledge of God’s will to the community. Divine revelation through a “vision” (the use of *חִזְוִן* in *Instruction*, H¹, H³) or through an otherworldly spirit (*Treatise*, H⁴, *Songs of the Sage*) are typical modes of prophetic experience in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, the interest in the heavenly court, the throne of God, and the claim that a chosen mediator can enter into the divine assembly are standard prophetic themes.

Perhaps the most obvious apocalyptic characteristic in the revealed knowledge texts is the emphasis on God’s revelation of the mysteries of his cosmic plan. The frequent use of the word *רָז*, which is also prominent in Daniel and *I Enoch*, suggests influence from the apocalyptic literature. Other typical apocalyptic themes include the struggle between good and evil, the origin of evil, the role of evil spirits (especially the use of the Watcher myth), the periodization of history, the coming of an eschatological war, the expectation of final judgment and reward, and communion with the angelic beings.

While I see strong indicators of sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic influence on the texts concerned with revealed knowledge, I have not found evidence that the notion of divine revelation in these texts is mantic in nature (cf. Perdue, ch. 1 §2.2.2). None of the texts I have studied indicate that God reveals his cosmic design through the interpretation of scripture or divinatory practices, nor is there any mention of divine revelation through a dream or dream interpretation.

tradition which I outlined above, I would like to pose the question again, “What is an elephant like?”

3. A Priestly Revelatory Tradition

I would propose that all of the texts I have studied drew upon a revelatory tradition that initially emerged from the Jerusalem priesthood.¹² This tradition of divine revelation was built upon a fundamental belief that the temple sanctuary is analogous to the primordial paradise with the high priest representing Adam and the knowledge obtained and mediated by the high priest being equivalent to the knowledge given to Adam at the time of his creation. As we will see below, such a priestly background for this tradition of divine revelation explains many of the distinctive features in these texts, such as the emphasis on God’s throne, the belief that God’s design consists of statutes governing his covenant with creation, the concern with paradise, the interest in angelic fellowship, as well as the merging of sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic ideas. In order to understand how this revelatory tradition emerged from the Jerusalem priesthood, we first need to consider some of the ideology pertaining to the priesthood and temple during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

¹² An origin within the Jerusalem priesthood is not unexpected since most, if not all, of the texts concerned with revealed knowledge bear evidence of having originated from a priestly milieu, and scholars generally acknowledge that the Qumran community emerged from a priestly group that was in conflict with the temple establishment. See Michael E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988): 159–70; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Community without Temple: The Qumran Community’s Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 271–72; Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 29–61. For a nuanced discussion of the various priestly groups referred to in the Qumran literature, see Heinz-Joseph Fabry, “Priests at Qumran—A Reassessment,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 243–62.

3.1. Priests as Mediators of Divine Revelation

During the Second Temple period, the identity of the Jewish priesthood evolved, in some circles, from a primarily sacrificial and judicial office to a position that was chiefly associated with divine mediation.¹³ The priest became an eclectic melding of prophet, sage, mantis, and apocalyptic seer who had unique access to God and the knowledge of God's will.¹⁴ At least in part, justification for this evolution of priests into mediators of divine knowledge could be found within the writings of the prophets. In Hos 4:6, for example, the prophet condemns priests because they have not fulfilled their duty as the keepers of the knowledge of God's law. Hosea 6:6 might have had profound significance through its assertion that the knowledge of God is more important than cultic sacrifices. A highly suggestive statement is found in Mal 2:7: "the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and people should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger/angel (מַלְאָךְ) of the Lord of hosts."¹⁵ This view of priests as the keepers of divine knowledge and God's

¹³ Regarding the changing image of the priesthood in the Second Temple period, Angel states, "In light of the magnified political and religious importance of the priesthood in the Second Temple period and the critical eyes under which it operated, it is no surprise to encounter a variety of texts from the era reflecting a range of fervent opinions regarding the proper behavior and role of priests in society. With the support of scriptural exegesis, these compositions craft ideal patterns of priestly conduct and exemplary priestly figures. In doing so, they often expand the traditional biblical portrait of the priest, which includes mostly cultic, but also judicial, instructional, and other responsibilities, and attribute to him the key social roles of external figures (such as king, sage, or scribe)—a literary phenomenon that may be termed 'priestly magnetism.'" See Joseph L. Angel, "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 89; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 32. See also Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 36; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 167–72.

¹⁴ On the confluence of prophetic, sapiential, and apocalyptic roles within the priesthood, see R. B. Y. Scott, "Priesthood, Prophecy, Wisdom, and the Knowledge of God," *JBL* 80 (1961): 1–15; Lester Grabbe, "Prophets, Priests, Diviners, and Sages in Ancient Israel," in *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. Heather A. McKay and David J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 162; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 53–62; Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism* (BEATAJ 14; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988), 125–44.

¹⁵ *L.A.B.* 28:3 contains an interesting theological reflection on Mal 2:7. Here, the judge Kenaz says to Phinehas, "Speak, Phinehas. Should anyone speak before the priest who guards the commandments of the

“angels” eventually resulted in a dramatic increase in priestly prerogative to communicate esoteric knowledge about God and his inscrutable will.

One development within the priesthood was a greater attribution of prophetic roles and powers to certain prominent priests. Fairly frequently, priests are described as receiving dream-oracles, hearing the voice of God, and making predictions about future events.¹⁶ The author of *Joseph and Aseneth* describes Levi as a prophet who can see into heaven and predict the future (*Jos. Asen.* 22:13, 23:8).¹⁷ Philo refers to Moses as a high priest, prophet, and lawgiver (*Mos.* 2.2). Josephus, in describing God’s gift of prophecy to John Hyrcanus as high priest, writes, “for so closely was he in touch with the Deity, that he was never ignorant of the future” (*War* 1.68; cf. *Ant.* 13.300).¹⁸ In *War* 3.351–54, Josephus associates his own prophetic dreams with his status as a priest. Blenkinsopp suggests that Josephus even viewed the prophetic authority of the priesthood as superior to the prophets of old. He writes, “for Josephus the only unambiguous kind of prophecy was associated not with the *nebi’im* but with the priesthood and the Temple; and according to his criteria it was superior precisely because it was unambiguous.”¹⁹

As legal and sapiential traditions became closely associated in the Second Temple period (e.g. Baruch and Ben Sira), priests, as interpreters of the Law, became sages, the

Lord our God, especially since truth goes forth from his mouth and a shining light from his heart?” We can see in *L.A.B.* 28:3 that Mal 2:7 was being used to justify priestly authority because the priests are mediators of God’s will.

¹⁶ E.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 11.327; 13.282–83, and 322. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus,” *JJS* 25 (1974): 239–62; Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*, 137–38.

¹⁷ Deutsch points out that Levi (*Jos. Asen.* 22:13) is made to resemble the angel who visits Aseneth in that both figures know the unspeakable things of God. See Celia Deutsch, “Aseneth: Ascetical Practice, Vision and Transformation,” in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic, and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elior* (ed. Daphna V. Arbel and Andrei A. Orlov; Ekstasis 2; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 340–44.

¹⁸ On Josephus’ view of John Hyrcanus as a prophet, see Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16–23.

¹⁹ Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus,” 253.

purveyors of wisdom.²⁰ For some Jewish writers, the inner sanctuary of the temple was the dwelling place of wisdom. This is expressed quite clearly in Sir 24:10–11 where wisdom declares, “In the holy tent I ministered before him, and so I was established in Zion. Thus in the beloved city he gave me a resting place, and in Jerusalem was my domain.”²¹

Hayward makes the case that Ben Sira even identifies the high priest as the embodiment of wisdom.²² Indeed, there are a number of texts where the high priest’s vestments are associated with divine wisdom. For example, in Sir 6:30–31, the sage describes wisdom as a priestly garment: “Her yoke is a golden ornament, and her bonds a purple cord. You will wear her like a glorious robe, and put her on like a splendid crown” (cf. Sir 50:5–11).²³ Through his access to God in the temple, the high priest became a manifestation (an “image” so to speak) of divine wisdom.

During the Second Temple period, priests also began to function as mantic sages and apocalyptic seers. Flannery-Dailey remarks, “. . . many of the dreamers in early

²⁰ Michael E. Stone, “Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 578–82; Angel, “The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism,” 37–40, 44–46.

²¹ Hayward provides an extensive discussion of Ben Sira’s efforts to move divine wisdom into the temple. See C. T. R. Hayward, “Sirach and Wisdom’s Dwelling Place,” in *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church, and the Contemporary World* (ed. Stephen C. Barton; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 31–46.

²² C. T. R. Hayward, “Sacrifice and World Order: Some Observations on Ben Sira’s Attitude to the Temple Service,” in *Sacrifice and Redemption: Durham Essays in Theology* (ed. Stephen W. Sykes; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 23–24. See also Martha Himmelfarb, “The Wisdom of the Scribe, the Wisdom of the Priest, and the Wisdom of the King according to Ben Sira,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000), 89–99.

²³ See also *T. Levi* 8:2 where angels clothe Levi with “the vestments of the priesthood, the crown of righteousness, the oracle of understanding, the robe of truth, the breastplate of faith, the miter for the head, and the apron for prophetic power.” In this passage, the priestly vestments are associated with qualities reflecting special knowledge and wisdom. A similar idea is expressed in the second or third century CE Christian text, *The Teaching of Silvanus*. Here, wisdom declares, “I am giving to you a high-priestly garment which is woven from every (kind of) wisdom. . . . clothe yourself with wisdom like a robe, put knowledge on yourself like a crown, and be seated upon a throne of perception” (*NHC VII.89.10–12, 20–24*).

Judaism are connected to priestly activities.”²⁴ She goes on to say, “The literary evidence clearly suggests that most dreams in early Judaism evince priestly concerns.”²⁵ As examples, she notes Ezra in *4 Ezra*, Baruch in *2 Baruch*, Samuel in *Pseudo-Philo (L.A.B. 53)*, Levi in the *Testament of Levi*, and Josephus in the *Jewish War* (3.351–54). Perhaps the most interesting example of a priestly visionary is Enoch in the *Book of Watchers* who is portrayed as a priest and prophet who ascends to the heavenly temple and enters into the holy of holies.²⁶ Here, in the presence of the heavenly court, he receives divine wisdom and knowledge of God’s control over the cosmos.

In the last few centuries BCE, there seems to have been a growing trend to associate priests with heavenly beings.²⁷ Angels were increasingly described as priests serving in a heavenly temple,²⁸ and human priests, like their angelic counterparts, were thought to be heavenly messengers who could enter into God’s presence, obtain knowledge of the divine plan and will, and convey that information to humanity. This association between priests and angels might have drawn support from Mal 2:7 which refers to the priest as the מְלֹאֲךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (“angel of the Lord of hosts”).²⁹ In the Second Temple literature, there are a significant number of cases where priests are described as being like

²⁴ Frances Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* (JSJSup 90; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 209.

²⁵ Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 256.

²⁶ On Enoch’s identity as a priest, prophet, and dispenser of heavenly wisdom, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,” *JBL* 100 (1981): 589; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 23–25; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 20–27; Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 70–76; Angel, “The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism,” 50.

²⁷ See, for example, Himmelfarb, *Heavenly Ascents*, passim; Elijior, *The Three Temples*, 165–200.

²⁸ Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 86; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–167.

²⁹ On the use of Mal 2:7 to draw a connection between priests and angels, see Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 13–17.

angels.³⁰ For example, in *Jub.* 31:14, Jacob prays over Levi, saying, “May the Lord give you and your descendents extremely great honor; may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like angels of the presence and like the holy ones.”³¹ According to Philo, when the high priest enters into the holy of holies he is neither a man nor God, but a being contiguous with both (*Somn.* 2.189). It is generally assumed that the congruence between priests and angels was based on the belief that the earthly temple is analogous to the heavenly temple. The temple becomes, in a sense, the place where heaven and earth coalesce,³² and in the temple the line between humans and angels blurs or perhaps even disappears.

3.2. The Temple as the Locus of Divine Revelation

While priests came to be seen as knowledgeable mediators between God and humanity, it was the temple that served as the locus of divine revelation. In the temple, where human and divine realms converge, a select few can enter into God’s presence and experience the wonders of divine glory.³³ While the temple as a whole was important as a

³⁰ This phenomenon has been thoroughly investigated by Fletcher-Louis in *All the Glory of Adam*. Fletcher-Louis argues that certain prominent priestly figures were thought to be “angelomorphic” beings that embodied the heavenly and earthly realms simultaneously. While Fletcher-Louis has been justly criticized for some of his interpretations, his work highlights the close similarities that ancient Jewish writers were drawing between priests and angels.

³¹ Cf. 1QSb III 22–IV 28 where the *maskil* blesses the sons of Zadok that God will set them “as a splendid ornament in the midst of the holy ones” (III 25–26) and that they will be “like the angel of the presence in the holy dwelling place . . . serving in the temple of the kingdom and casting lots with the angels of the presence” (IV 25–26).

³² Levenson writes, “The ‘holy place’ (*heykhal qodsho*) is both the Temple (e.g., Ps 79:1) and the supernatural archetype which it manifests. YHWH’s presence in His Temple does not diminish His presence in the heavens. On the contrary, the two ‘places’ are the same. The relationship of the Temple to the world is not one of simple spatiality. The Temple is the objective correlative of the paradoxical doctrine of God’s simultaneous otherness and omnipresence.” Jon D. Levenson, “The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience,” in *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible through the Middle Ages* (ed. Arthur Green; London: Routledge, 1986), 39.

³³ The understanding of the temple as the locus of divine revelation is evident in texts that associate the temple with theophanies and dream incubation. See Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus,” 252; Robert Gnuse, “The Temple Theophanies of Jaddus, Hyrcanus, and Zechariah,” *Bib.* 79

locus of divine revelation, it was the inner sanctuary which had paramount significance.³⁴ In the Hebrew Bible, God is said to be enthroned over the cherubim in the holy of holies (Exod 25:22; 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16), and those who are worthy can enter in and receive a vision of his face.³⁵ It is here, at his holy throne, where God makes himself known (see Exod 25:22 [LXX]; Num 17:19).³⁶ This can be seen in *2 Baruch* 34–43 where Baruch intentionally sits upon the location of the ruined holy of holies in order to receive God’s revelation. Josephus describes the inner sanctuary as the place where the divine voice would manifest itself (*Ant.* 13.282).³⁷

The belief that the temple’s inner sanctuary represents the heavenly throne room and that heaven and earth merge together in the holy of holies apparently led to the development of a practice of “temple mysticism.” Several scholars have argued that some groups of priests and Levites believed that they could receive visions of the heavenly realm or actually enter into the heavenly throne room through certain ritual or liturgical

(1998): 457–72; Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 147–64; Torleif Elgvin, “Temple Mysticism and the Temple of Men,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 230–31. Fletcher-Louis writes, “By the second century B.C. there was already a well-established tradition within Judaism of priestly visions and auditions closely associated with the Temple as the place where heaven and earth met. Within the (proto-) apocalyptic corpus we should recall the visionary activity of the priests Ezekiel (esp. chs. 8-11; 40-48) and Zechariah (chs. 1-6)” (“The High Priest as Divine Mediator,” 171).

³⁴ See Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 127–77.

³⁵ Levenson, “The Jerusalem Temple,” 43–51, 53–57; Elgvin, “Temple Mysticism,” 227–30.

³⁶ MT Exod 25:22 reads, “There I will *meet* with you, and from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubim that are on the ark of the covenant, I will deliver to you all my commands for the Israelites.” LXX Exod 25:22 introduces an important conceptual change: “And I will be *known* to you from there, and I will speak to you from above the propitiatory in between the two cherubim that are on the ark of witness, even in accord with all that I may command you for the sons of Israel.” Regarding this change in the LXX, Hayward states, “The Ark and the Tent (prototypes of the Temple) are thus, according to LXX, places where God offers *knowledge* of Himself to Moses and Israel (“Sirach and Wisdom’s Dwelling Place,” 37, italics his).

³⁷ In describing the rabbinic concept of the *bath qôl*, the heavenly voice, and its relationship to prophecy and the priesthood in Josephus, Blenkinsopp states, “For the rabbis the *bath qôl* could be heard under different circumstances and in different places. It seems, however, that for so long as the Temple stood the Holy of Holies was the place where this form of divine communication and revelation could be expected to take place.” See Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus,” 252.

practices.³⁸ According to Elior, these priests and Levites saw the earthly holy of holies as a “microcosmic reflection” of the heavenly throne room and the divine throne-chariot. By strictly observing God’s prescribed cosmic order of time (i.e., the calendar) and proper ritual, the priests could mystically enter into the presence of the divine throne and commune with the heavenly beings.³⁹ Both Elior and Elgvin have argued that such a practice of temple mysticism is evident in some of the scrolls found at Qumran, especially the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

3.3. The Temple as a Microcosm and Primordial Paradise

In addition to being the locus of divine revelation, the temple was also seen as a microcosm—it was the reflection of God’s perfect order on earth.⁴⁰ The temple and its appurtenances symbolically represented the very structure of the world. Josephus describes the microcosmic temple in this way: “In fact, every one of these objects [in the temple] is intended to recall and represent the universe” (*Ant.* 3.180). Similarly, Philo states that the four materials which were used to make the curtain in the temple represent the four elements that compose the physical world (*QE* 2.85). Levenson writes,

“The temple is the world as it ought to be. It is a world in which God’s reign is unthreatened, and his justice is manifest, in which life is peaceful, and every Israelite is

³⁸ Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy*, 188–201; Rachel Elior, “The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in the Heykalot Literature,” in *Expérience et écriture mystiques dans les religions du livre: actes d’un colloque international tenu par le Centre d’études Juives, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne 1994* (ed. Paul B. Fenton and Roland Goetschel; EJM 22; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 41–54; eadem, *The Three Temples*, passim. Torleif Elgvin, “Priests on Earth as in Heaven: Jewish Light on the Book of Revelation,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 85; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 257–78; idem, “Temple Mysticism,” 227–42.

³⁹ Elior, *The Three Temples*, passim.

⁴⁰ On the temple as a microcosm, see Moshe Weinfeld, “Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord—The Problem of the Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1–2:3,” in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l’honneur de M. Henrie Cazelles* (ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981), 501–12; Jon D. Levenson, “The Temple and the World,” *JR* 64 (1984): 275–98; idem, “The Jerusalem Temple,” 51–53; idem, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 78–99; Elior, *The Three Temples*, 2–7, 37.

without blemish. It is no wonder that prophets could call the mountain of God ‘Eden’ or compare Zion glorified to that paradisiacal garden (Ezek 28:13–14; Isa 51:3). In this theology, the Temple was a piece of primal perfection available within the broken world of ordinary experience—heaven on earth.”⁴¹

At the heart of the microcosmic temple was the inner sanctuary which was associated with the primordial paradise.⁴² Here, in the paradisiacal sanctuary, God sits enthroned in the midst of his court.⁴³ In this worldview, the heavenly temple, the earthly temple, and the primordial paradise all merge together into a single location—a place of utmost holiness and the dwelling place of God.⁴⁴ To enter into the earthly holy of holies is to enter into the heavenly throne room and simultaneously to enter into the innermost part of the primordial garden.

In this line of thought, some ancient writers saw the Garden of Eden as the archetypal holy of holies where the primordial man, Adam, served as the archetypal high priest.⁴⁵ The analogical relationship flowed in the other direction as well. Stordalen notes

⁴¹ Levenson, “The Jerusalem Temple,” 53.

⁴² On the relationship between temple and paradise, see Meredith Kline, “Investiture with the Image of God,” *WTJ* 40 (1977–78): 39–62; Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration*, 25–36; idem, *Sinai and Zion*, 128–33; Gordon J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, August 4–12, 1985. Division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 19–25; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord’s Vineyard,” *JJS* 40 (1989): 1–6; Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 57–103; Martha Himmelfarb, “The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,” in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley; Contributions to the Study of Religion 30; New York: Greenwood, 1991), 63–78; Jacques van Ruiten, “The Garden of Eden and Jubilees 3:1–31,” *Bijdr 57* (1996): 311–12; George J. Brooke, “Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 2/118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 294–97; Lawrence E. Stager, “Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden,” *ErIsr* 26 (1999): 183–94; Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 307–12; 410–17; idem, “Heaven on Earth – Or Not?” 28–53; Lanfer, *Remembering Eden*, 127–57. On cultic gardens generally, see Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 111–61.

⁴³ Regarding God’s enthronement in paradise, see ch. 3 n. 60.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Jub.* 8:19, “He knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord.”

⁴⁵ See, for example, Ezek 28:12–19; *Jub.* 3:8–14, 26–27; Sir 49:16–50:1; *Gen. Rab.* 16:5. Also, see the studies by van Ruiten, “The Garden of Eden and Jubilees 3:1–31,” 315–16; idem, “Eden and the Temple:

that in a symbolic universe where the temple is associated with Eden, “a priest serving in a temple that is a ‘blueprint’ of Eden, would of course himself be ‘as in Eden.’”⁴⁶ In this symbolic universe, the high priest becomes analogous to Adam.⁴⁷ When the priest enters into the inner sanctuary, he is entering the primordial paradise at the center of the cosmos; he is returning to the state of perfection in which God created the world. In the holy of holies, the high priest stands among the angels in the very presence of God.⁴⁸ He becomes, in effect, one of the heavenly host—an angel of the presence.⁴⁹ Like the angelic priests, the earthly priest serves before God’s throne, gazing on the luminous divine splendor and receiving decrees from the king of glory.

3.4. The Inner Sanctuary, the Knowledge of God’s Design, and the Restoration of Paradise

Based on the idea that the temple is a microcosm and its association with the primordial paradise, it was believed that one who entered the inner sanctuary had intimate access to the perfect primordial creation and could potentially gain insight into the proper

The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4–3:24 in *The Book of Jubilees*,” in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen; TBN 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 75–79; Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism,” 19; Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory’ in Ben Sira,” 8.

⁴⁶ Stordalen, “Heaven on Earth – Or Not?” 38.

⁴⁷ On the high priest as Adam, see Sir 49:16–50:1. Also, C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 44–47, 71–72; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 17–19, 72–81.

⁴⁸ The belief that the high priest stands among the angels within the holy of holies is based, in part, on the idea that the inner sanctuary is analogous to the primordial paradise in which the angels dwell (although angels are not said to inhabit the garden in Gen 2–3, in other texts like Ezek 28:11–19; 2 *En.* 8:8 and *Life of Adam and Eve* 25 the garden is the abode of heavenly beings). The architecture and artistry within the temple supported such a belief. In the Solomonic temple, the interior of the inner sanctuary was engraved with cherubim, trees, and open flowers (1 Kgs 6:29), giving the impression of a garden-like environment filled with angelic beings.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Jub.* 31:14; 1QSb IV 24–27. It is not entirely clear to what extent ancient writers thought of the high priest as actually being ontologically transformed into an otherworldly being. As I noted above, Philo states that when the high priest enters into the holy of holies he is neither a man nor God, but a being contiguous with both (*Somn.* 2.189). For more on this issue, see Barker, *The Great High Priest*, 124–40; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, passim.

order of the universe.⁵⁰ Within the inner sanctuary the high priest could receive wisdom and knowledge just as Adam was granted knowledge in the Garden of Eden.⁵¹ Such a belief is attested in Sir 50:5–11 where the sage states that when Simon, the high priest, emerges from the temple adorned in his vestments, he shines like a brilliant chromatic light. Hayward and Fletcher-Louis have both argued that in this passage Ben Sira is portraying Simon as the embodiment of divine wisdom and a figure resembling Adam.⁵² According to Hayward and Fletcher-Louis, the high priest's vestments are analogous to the glorious splendor that once clothed Adam in the Garden of Eden, and by donning his vestments the high priest becomes the very image of God visibly manifesting the divine glory.

While I agree with the general thrust of the argument presented by Hayward and Fletcher-Louis, I would argue that the glory borne by the high priest is not simply the physical grandeur of his clothing; rather, his clothes symbolize the majestic wisdom that he radiates as one who has stood in the presence of God and comprehended the divine will.⁵³ As I noted previously (§3.1), the high priest's vestments could be associated with divine wisdom. This is evident in Sir 6:30–31 where the sage describes wisdom as a priestly garment: "Her yoke is a golden ornament, and her bonds a purple cord. You will wear her like a glorious robe, and put her on like a splendid crown." According to Ben Sira, the

⁵⁰ Barker, *The Great High Priest*, 188–201. According to the Hermetic text, *Kore Kosmou* (§26), "when mankind wants to see 'the beautiful mysteries of nature,' they search in the inner sancta of the temples to observe the ordered movement of the heavens, and thus become initiated in the good" (translation from Bull, "The Notion of Mysteries," 406).

⁵¹ Regarding the belief that God gave special knowledge to Adam in the Garden of Eden, see ch. 2 §4.2.

⁵² Hayward, "Sacrifice and World Order," 23–24; idem, *The Jewish Temple*, 44–47; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 68–81. See also Aitken, "The Semantics of 'Glory' in Ben Sira," 7–10.

⁵³ It is important to observe that the glory borne by Simon is evident only after he has emerged from the holy of holies (Sir 50:5). Like Moses on Sinai (Exod 34:29–35), the high priest is glorified once he has entered into the divine presence and received knowledge of God's will.

glorious splendor manifested by the high priest is the light of divine wisdom⁵⁴ which is symbolized in his garments. In other words, it is Simon's wisdom and knowledge of God's will that makes him an image of God like Adam.⁵⁵

As a messenger, or “angel,” mediating divine wisdom and knowledge, the high priest had the unique role of one who could restore order and primordial perfection to the world by distributing the knowledge of God. A good example of this can be found in the *Testament of Levi* where the high priest is described as a great, radiant sun (4:3) who causes the light of the Law (14:4) to shine out for the world. *Testament of Levi* 18 goes on to describe the coming of an eschatological high priest who will cause the light of knowledge to shine like the sun, filling the earth with the knowledge of God. Through his manifestation of divine knowledge, the high priest will drive sin and darkness from the earth, ushering in peace and joy. Through his teachings, “he shall open the gates of paradise; he shall remove the sword that has threatened since Adam, and he will grant to the saints to eat of the tree of life” (18:10–11).⁵⁶ In essence, *T. Levi* 18 declares that the

⁵⁴ Note the connection between wisdom and light/radiance in Ben Sira: 24:27, 32; 32:16.

⁵⁵ Ben Sira's use of תפארת in Sir 49:16 and 50:1 to characterize Adam and Simon indicates that the splendor of these two men is their wisdom. Elsewhere, Ben Sira states that the “fear of the Lord” is a person's תפארת (9:16; 10:22). Since the “fear of the Lord” is the quintessence of wisdom (Sir 1:11–20), it seems quite clear that Ben Sira uses the word תפארת to characterize an eminently wise person (see also the uses of תפארת in 31:10 and 44:7). It is worth noting that in Sir 45:8 תפארת is used to describe the magnificent garments given to Aaron as high priest, and the description of Aaron's dress in Sir 45:7–8a is similar to the description of God clothing Adam with knowledge, wisdom, and glory in Sir 17. It seems that in 45:7–13, Aaron's adornment with physical clothing is meant to parallel Adam's adornment with knowledge and wisdom.

⁵⁶ 4Q541 (*Apocryphon of Levi^b ar[?]*) 9 i 3–5 describes a figure who is apparently able to regenerate God's creation through his teachings. Some scholars have suggested that the protagonist in this passage is an eschatological high priest. The text states: מאמרה כמאמר שמין ואלפונה כרעות אל שמש עלמה תניר ויתזה נורה בכל (His word is like the word of heaven and his teaching is like the will of God. His eternal sun will shine and its fire will burn to all the ends of the earth. And on darkness it will shine, then darkness will pass [fr]om the earth and thick darkness from the dry land”). The light and darkness imagery in this passage is probably meant as an allusion to God causing light to shine into the primordial darkness in Gen 1:3–4, and it suggests that the protagonist has the power to regenerate the world by spreading the knowledge of God's will. On the identity of the protagonist in this text,

knowledge of God mediated by the eschatological high priest has the power to restore humanity to their perfect primordial state.⁵⁷

According to some Jewish writers in the late Second Temple period, the inner sanctuary of the temple was the source of knowledge about God's appointed order and the high priest was the one who mediates this knowledge to the world. The knowledge of God's cosmic design is able to restore order to his creation, and those who obtain this knowledge can return, in some sense, to the perfection of the primordial paradise.

4. The Origin of the Revealed Knowledge Tradition: A Proposal

4.1. The Temple and the Tradition of God's Revelation of Knowledge

I would propose that the tradition of divine revelation attested in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage* originated from priests or Levites who were associated with the Jerusalem temple establishment. Such an origin best explains many of the distinctive features of this revelatory tradition. The fact that sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic traditions were being merged together within the priesthood (§3.1 above) explains why the revealed knowledge texts exhibit traits from these different traditions. The scrolls concerned with revealed knowledge are not sapiential works written with an apocalyptic worldview, nor are they sapientialized prophecy; they

see George J. Brooke, "4QTestament of Levi^d (?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. Martinus C. De Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 83–100; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 88–89; Géza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 110–15; Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 77–81, 186.

⁵⁷ The association between the knowledge of God and eschatological restoration might have found support in Hebrew Bible texts like Isa 11:9 ("They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea") and Hab 2:14 ("But the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea").

are priestly texts that were written using sapiential, prophetic, and apocalyptic language and themes.

The revealed knowledge texts claim that God has disclosed the knowledge of his cosmic design, and they suggest that God's design functions as the legal basis for his covenant with creation. This emphasis on God's prescribed order and covenant is easily understandable within a priestly context. The temple sanctuary was seen as a manifestation of God's perfect order on earth, and by entering into the holy of holies one could receive knowledge of the mysteries of God's design for the creation (§3.2, 3.3 above). The inner sanctuary was also the place where God kept the record of his covenant. It was the responsibility of the priesthood to mediate the knowledge of God's covenant to his people.

The texts concerned with revealed knowledge consistently indicate that God's throne is the ultimate source of knowledge. In *Instruction* and the *Sabbath Songs*, God's cosmic design is engraved on heavenly tablets located near his throne in the heavenly temple. The motif of the divine throne and the heavenly tablets is based on the idea that God is enthroned over the mercy seat of the ark and the two tablets containing his covenant are located at his feet. Although the ark and stone tablets were gone by this point in history, some Jews believed that when the high priest stepped into the holy of holies he would simultaneously enter the heavenly throne room of God where he could see the heavenly tablets containing God's design.⁵⁸

Most of the revealed knowledge texts express an interest in humans joining together with angels in communal worship. This interest in angelic fellowship and worship is understandable within a priestly context. In the temple, human and angelic priests could

⁵⁸ For example, Philo states that when the high priest enters into the inner sanctuary he simultaneously touches both the human/earthly and divine/heavenly realms (*Somn.* 2.189). See §3.2 above.

unite in offering praise to God.⁵⁹ This union was possible because the heavenly and earthly realms converge within the temple (§3.1 above), and because the human priests share in the holiness and knowledge of their angelic counterparts. Mutual holiness permits the earthly and heavenly priesthods to join together, and their shared knowledge allows them to praise God as equals.

The temple origin of the revelatory tradition in the revealed knowledge texts also explains why these texts are concerned with returning to the primordial paradise.⁶⁰ The inner sanctuary of the temple was seen as God's present paradise on earth, and the high priest was thought to be analogous to Adam (§3.3 above). By entering into the paradisiacal holy of holies, the high priest could acquire the same profound knowledge of God's design that Adam once possessed, and, as a result, he would be transformed into an image of God (cf. Sir 50:5–11; §3.4 above). The high priest also became a messenger (an "angel," so to speak) for the community of the righteous. By communicating the knowledge of God's design, the high priest could establish God's order on earth, and in doing so, the community itself could be transformed into a paradise where God's will and design are completely fulfilled (e.g., *T. Levi* 18).

4.2. The Development of the Tradition outside of the Temple

While the revelatory tradition evident in the revealed knowledge texts originated within the Jerusalem temple establishment, it did not remain there. At some point this tradition of divine revelation left the confines of the temple and underwent a profound development. *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of*

⁵⁹ Barker, *The Great High Priest*, 117–20, 140–43; Eilior, *The Three Temples*, 166–71.

⁶⁰ Aune has argued that the return-to-paradise motif in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the *Hodayot* is a reflection of the community's realized eschatology which was experienced corporately within a cultic setting. See Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology*, 29–44.

the Sage were all written within priestly communities, but these communities no longer saw the Jerusalem temple as the locus of God's revelation and his true paradise on earth.⁶¹ Instead, the groups responsible for these texts transferred the identity of the paradisiacal temple to their own communities.⁶²

The fact that all of these texts drew upon the same distinct revelatory tradition although they were not all composed by the same community suggests that multiple communities existed contemporaneously in the second century BCE which all had a

⁶¹ While we have limited knowledge about the communities responsible for *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (assuming that all of these texts were composed outside of the Qumran community), we have a much clearer understanding about how the Qumran community viewed itself and its relationship to the Jerusalem temple. The so-called "sectarian" scrolls discovered at Qumran indicate that the community had become dissociated from the Jerusalem temple establishment and no longer saw the temple as the legitimate place of divine worship (Schiffman, "Community without Temple," 267–84). Based on the ideological similarities between the revealed knowledge texts, I would argue that the authors/groups responsible for the "non-sectarian" texts (i.e., *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, and the *Sabbath Songs*) had a similar understanding of their own communities and the Jerusalem temple.

⁶² Scholars have frequently observed that the Qumran community used the metaphor of a temple to describe itself and referred to itself as the true paradisiacal sanctuary of God. In doing so, the community expressed its belief that it had become a substitute for what the Jerusalem temple should have been. See Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 4–46; Devorah Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–89; Davila, "The *Hodayot* Hymnist," 465–68; Brooke, "Miqdash Adam," 285–301; Elgvin, "Temple Mysticism," 238–41; Cecilia Wassen, "Visions of the Temple: Conflicting Images of the Eschaton," *SEA* 76 (2011): 41–59.

There is debate about the degree to which the Qumran community separated itself from the Jerusalem temple or saw the temple as illegitimate. Haber has suggested that the metaphorical temple and purity language in the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* does not necessarily indicate that the community saw itself as a new temple that replaced the temple in Jerusalem (Susan Haber, "*They Shall Purify Themselves*": *Essays on Purity in Early Judaism* [ed. Adele Reinhartz; SBLEJL 24; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008], 106–24). Goodman has recently argued that the members of the community "continued to treat the Jerusalem Temple and its worship as central to their lives" (Martin Goodman, "The Qumran Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Contexts* [ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010], 263–73; idem, "Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and Its Aftermath," in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History* [ed. Sacha Stern; IJS Studies in Judaica 12; Leiden: Brill, 2011], 21–37, esp 27–30). I am not as optimistic as Goodman that the Qumran community had such a positive view of the Jerusalem temple. According to the Garden of Eden psalm in 1QH^a XVI there are two present paradises: the true paradise of the psalmist and his community (line 7) and the false paradise of the "trees of water" (line 10). If the paradise imagery is also meant to be temple imagery (see ch. 4 n. 37), then we can interpret 1QH^a XVI to mean that there are two temples: the true temple of the psalmist's community and the false temple that is under God's curse (whatever is outside of the psalmist's paradisiacal community is cursed; cf. lines 12–14, 25–27 and Gen 3:18, 24) and destined for divine judgment. The false temple is never explicitly identified in 1QH^a XVI, but the most obvious reference is the Jerusalem temple.

similar concept of God, divine revelation, human nature, and eschatology.⁶³ This implies that the Qumran community, if it was in fact a single community,⁶⁴ was not unique. There were apparently other contemporary communities who had dissociated from the temple and believed that God continued to reveal his cosmic design in and through them.

It is difficult to know when this tradition of divine revelation became removed from the Jerusalem temple and began to be used to establish the identity of independent religious groups. I would speculate that this took place during the turmoil of internal priestly conflict that arose in the late third and early second centuries BCE when some groups of priests and Levites became dissociated from the temple and no longer saw the physical sanctuary in Jerusalem as the locus of God's true revelation.⁶⁵ Believing the

⁶³ It is difficult to know how many distinct communities are represented in these five texts. Most scholars would agree that the *Hodayot* and the *Songs of the Sage* were composed within the Qumran community, and it is generally thought that *Instruction* was composed outside of the Qumran community. If the *Treatise* was authored by an individual or group other than the Qumran community or that responsible for *Instruction*, then it might represent the ideology of a third distinct community. Similarly, if the *Sabbath Songs* was not composed by the Qumran community, then it probably represents a fourth community. Even if the *Sabbath Songs* was composed by priests who were still in service at the temple, it would represent a community different from the other texts I have studied.

⁶⁴ See the recent studies by Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009)*; John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).

⁶⁵ In the third and early second centuries BCE the internal priestly conflict played out on several levels. During this time various political factions formed within the priesthood and struggled for influence as the Seleucids and Ptolemies fought for dominance in the region. This political tension came to a head after the death of Simon II when the Oniads and Tobiads openly fought for control over the priesthood. At the same time, the aristocracy within the priesthood came under increasing criticism for its despotism, avarice, and its neglect of support for the lower class priests and Levites. Socio-religious tensions also erupted over the Hellenization of the priesthood. The crisis reached a boiling point when the Hasmoneans rulers assumed the role and responsibilities of the high priest. On the internal conflict within the priesthood, see David Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–34; Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 212–36; Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity* (WUNT 2/291; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 46–165. Several scholars have argued that during this period various groups, including Levites, priests, and scribes, vied with one another to assert their own authority as interpreters of the Law and mediators of divine revelation. See Maxine Grossman, "Priesthood as Authority: Interpretive Competition in First-Century Judaism and Christianity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 117–31; Fabry, "Priests at Qumran," 259–60; Mark Leuchter, "From Levite to Maškîl in the Persian and Hellenistic Eras," in

temple to be defiled and illegitimate, these priests and Levites came to see themselves as God's appointed messengers and their own communities as the holy dwelling place of God's glory on earth.

By transferring the identity of the temple to themselves, their communities became paradisiacal sanctuaries where God revealed the knowledge of his cosmic design. They saw their communities as paradises of divine order and righteousness in the midst of a cursed and barren world plagued by evil spirits, chaos, and ignorance. These communities thought that they were continuing to fulfill the role of the priesthood as God had intended it. They believed that they had access to the true covenant of God, and they sought to mediate the knowledge of God's design to the faithful laity who attached themselves to their communities.⁶⁶ They also continued the practice of worshipping God together with the angels, just as the priests had traditionally done in the temple. Since the temple was God's paradise on earth, these communities became, in effect, gardens of Eden where the members of the community dwelt as Adam-like beings filled with the knowledge of God.

5. Some Observations for Further Study

I would like to end by briefly considering the relationship between the revealed knowledge texts and some of the "core sectarian texts"⁶⁷ and the Aramaic scrolls discovered at Qumran. Scholars have tended to use the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* as the primary lens through which they understand the

Levites and Priests in Biblical History and Tradition (ed. Mark Leuchter and Jeremy M. Hutton; SBLAIL 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 215–32.

⁶⁶ Here, I am particularly thinking of *Instruction*. I would speculate that the מבינים in *Instruction* are the faithful laity who are being exhorted to seek the knowledge of God's cosmic design from the priestly משכילים (see ch. 2 §1.1 and 3.3).

⁶⁷ Scholars have used the expression "core sectarian texts" as a way of grouping the *Damascus Document*, the *Community Rule*, the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa), the *Rule of Benedictions* (1QSB), the *Hodayot*, the *pesharim*, and the *War Scroll*.

Qumran community. Undoubtedly there are good reasons why this is the case, but in doing so I think we have misunderstood the Qumran community and overlooked aspects of its early history. The texts concerned with revealed knowledge give us a glimpse into the precursors and earliest stages of the Qumran community,⁶⁸ and in some ways this community is starkly different from what we see in some of the “core sectarian texts.”

To illustrate this difference, it is worth considering the relationship between the revealed knowledge texts and 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26,⁶⁹ the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim*. While the latter are certainly interested in God’s revelation,⁷⁰ there are significant terminological and ideological differences between these texts and the revealed knowledge texts. It is readily apparent that 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* use the terms בינה, דעת, שכל, and רז much less frequently than the revealed knowledge texts, especially when describing God’s revelation. They also contain many more references to Moses and the תורה. These texts speak of God revealing נסתרות, but, unlike the revealed knowledge texts, these נסתרות are associated with the hidden things of scripture which are discerned through inspired interpretation.⁷¹ According to 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* God’s revelation pertains to the proper interpretation of the Mosaic Law and the prophets. The authors of these texts are not concerned with a grand cosmic design located in the heavens; instead,

⁶⁸ In saying this, I am supposing that *Instruction* and the *Treatise* predate the Qumran community (the same might be true for the *Sabbath Songs*) and that the different groups of material within the *Hodayot* were composed relatively early in the community’s history (at the very least this is true for the H¹ psalms which were probably composed by the founder of the community).

⁶⁹ In this comparison, I have excluded from the *Community Rule* the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the final psalm (1QS IX 26b–XI 22) which is closely related to the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms.

⁷⁰ Key revelatory passages include: 1QpHab VII 3–5; 1QS I 8–9, 13–15; V 8–13; VIII 11–16; IX 12–19; 4Q268 I 5–8 (= 4Q266 2 i 3–6); CD II 12–13; III 12–20; VI 2–11.

⁷¹ Paul Heger, “The Development of Qumran Law: *Nistarot*, *Niglot* and the Issue of Contemporization,” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 167–85; Tzoref, “The ‘Hidden’ and the ‘Revealed,’” 299–324; Valérie Triplet-Hitoto, “The Hidden Things and the Revealed Things: The Qumranic Interpretation of Dt 29,28,” *Hen* 34 (2012): 289–312.

they believe that God has revealed his will in scripture and it is up to the community of the righteous to properly interpret God's written revelation. The members of the community are able to interpret scripture properly because God has given them his holy spirit.⁷² There are no references to a visionary experience in these texts, and no one peers into the heavenly throne room to gaze upon the heavenly tablets. While God's spirit inspires the community to interpret scripture, these texts emphasize the work of human interpreters and downplay role of the spirit as a mediator of knowledge.

As with the revealed knowledge texts, 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* believe that the human heart and inclination are inherently flawed. The authors repeatedly warn their readers not to be led astray by the thoughts of a guilty inclination or a stubborn heart.⁷³ Yet, unlike the revealed knowledge texts, these documents do not view God's revelation of knowledge as a remedy for the anthropological problem. God's revelation allows them to escape the ignorance of his will, but they must voluntarily choose to obey him. Moreover, these texts never associate the corrupt human inclination with human physicality. There are no disparaging statements about the flesh or the creature of clay and dust. It is also noteworthy that 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* make few, if any, references to human and angelic fellowship, either in the present or in the *eschaton*. There is no indication in these texts that God's revelation is directly responsible for restoring the righteous to paradise.⁷⁴

The differences between the revealed knowledge texts and 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim* raise some important questions. How is it

⁷² 1QS VIII 16; CD II 12.

⁷³ See 1QS I 6; II 26; III 3; V 4–5; IX 10; CD I 13; II 16.

⁷⁴ CD III 20 is the one place that might refer to a return to paradise, but this passage describes the eschatological reward for those who remain steadfast in obeying God's commandments. In CD III 20, it is obedience, not knowledge, which allows one to gain eternal life and "all the glory of Adam."

that the same community could utilize texts which have a fundamentally different view of God's revelation? Or, conversely, we might ask why there is not greater uniformity among these texts if they were all used and many of them were composed within the same community? Is it possible that these texts attest to an evolution of thought within the Qumran community? If so, we might hypothesize that the Qumran community was much more mystical⁷⁵ in its earlier stages than in its later stages. If we take the H¹ *Hodayot* psalms to be one of the earliest texts composed within the Qumran community, then it would seem that during this time the community believed that they had knowledge of God's entire cosmic design through their charismatic leader (the H¹ psalmist) who professed to have direct access to God like Moses. The H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms and the *Songs of the Sage* might represent the next generation of the community, after the charismatic leader had died, when authoritative *maškîlîm* professed to have God's spirit and mediated knowledge of God's cosmic design to the community. As time went on the role of the *maškîl* might have evolved from an inspired visionary to an inspired interpreter of scripture.⁷⁶ More research needs to be done on how the concept of divine revelation changed within the Qumran community so that we can better understand how the community evolved.

In this study, I have not focused much attention on the Aramaic scrolls found at Qumran; yet, there are some interesting similarities between the Aramaic scrolls and the

⁷⁵ I am using the word "mystical" to mean the entrance of a human agent into the heavenly realm in order to see the divine glory, commune with the angels, and join in their worship of God. This definition is based on Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 7–11; Davila, "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 433–35.

⁷⁶ This scenario assumes that the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms and the *Songs of the Sage* predate 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim*.

revealed knowledge texts.⁷⁷ Generally speaking, the Aramaic texts are concerned with God's revelation of his predetermined plan for history. Revelatory experiences often involve knowledge of future events, but they can also include general wisdom about the operation of the world, the activities of the heavenly beings,⁷⁸ the origin of good and evil, calendrical knowledge, proper temple rituals, divine commandments, and even the "deep things" of God.⁷⁹ In some of the Aramaic texts, knowledge is acquired from heavenly tablets,⁸⁰ and some of the documents speak of God revealing רזין ("mysteries").⁸¹ The Aramaic texts are concerned with the influence of evil angels/spirits which can lead the human heart astray,⁸² and they also refer to humans becoming like the angels or instances of human communion with the angels.⁸³ As with the revealed knowledge texts, the Aramaic scrolls describe a period of eschatological judgment when God will purge the world of evil

⁷⁷ Of particular interest are the *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–536), the *Testament of Jacob* (4Q537), the *Apocryphon of Levi*^b (?) (4Q541), *Aramaic Levi* (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, and 4Q214b), the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–547 [possibly including 4Q548]), and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen).

⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that both the revealed knowledge texts and the *Genesis Apocryphon* use the expression "sons of heaven." בני שמים is found in 1QS IV 22; 1QH^a XI 23; XXIII 30; XXV 26 (partially reconstructed); XXVI (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 18); 4Q416 1 12; 4Q418 69 ii 12–13 (partially reconstructed). The Aramaic expression, בני שמין, is found in 1QapGen II 5, 16; V 3–4; VI 11. Outside of these texts, this expression is only attested in 1QS XI 8 and 4Q181 1 ii 2 (partially reconstructed).

⁷⁹ In 4Q541 3 3 and 7 1, the wise one is given knowledge of עמיקין ("deep things"). Similar language is used in 1QS XI 19 and Dan 2:22.

⁸⁰ 4Q534 1 i 5; 4Q537 1–3 3–6; and probably 4Q541 7 4–6 (the language of 4Q541 7 4 is reminiscent of Daniel 7:10 [ספרין פתיחון]). 1QapGen XV 20 seems to refer to a heavenly text from which an angel relays information to Noah in a dream vision. In *Aramaic Levi* 10:12, reference is made to a certain βιβλίον μνημοσύνου ζωῆς ("book of the memorial of life"). This is a conflation of ספר היים (LXX: βιβλος ζώντων) from Psalm 69:29 (LXX 68:29) and ספר זכרון (LXX: βιβλίον μνημοσύνου) from Mal 3:16.

⁸¹ 1QapGen V 20–25; VI 12; XIV 19–20; 4Q534 1 i 7–8; 4Q436 1 i 8–12; 4Q545 4 16.

⁸² 1QapGen I 1–9 describes the deceitful influence of the Watchers. *Aramaic Levi* 3:5–9 mentions the "unrighteous spirit" and the "satan" which produces an "evil thought" within the heart. The רוח בשר in 4Q534 1 ii+2 7 might be a reference to an evil spirit (this is likely since lines 1 and 16–18 refer to the Watcher myth). In the *Visions of Amram*, Amram has a vision in which he learns that there are two angelic powers contending for control over humanity—an angel of light and an angel of darkness (4Q544 1 10–15 [= 4Q543 5–9 1–8; 4Q547 1–2 iii 9–13] and 2 11–16).

⁸³ In 4Q543 2 4, Amram tells Aaron ". . .] you will be God and an angel of God you will be ca[lled]." 4Q436 2 i 1–13 suggests that the protagonist has become like one of the angels because he possesses the knowledge of mysteries.

and darkness and reward the righteous with joy and eternal light.⁸⁴ There are important differences, of course, between the Aramaic scrolls and the revealed knowledge texts. God's revelation in the Aramaic scrolls often comes in the form of a dream vision; this is not the case in the revealed knowledge texts. In the Aramaic scrolls, angelic mediators play an important role in the process of divine revelation, whereas there are no references to angelic mediators in the revealed knowledge texts. In spite of these differences, one could argue that the revealed knowledge texts are ideologically closer to the Aramaic scrolls than they are to texts like 1QS I 1–III 12, V 1–IX 26, the *Damascus Document*, and the *pesharim*.

While much work remains to be done on the various ideologies attested in the Qumran scrolls and the interrelationship of these ideologies, my analysis of the revealed knowledge texts allows us to put one more piece of the puzzle into place. The distinctive revelatory tradition found in *Instruction*, the *Treatise*, the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Songs*, and the *Songs of the Sage* indicates that these texts and their respective communities are all related. They represent a single “elephant” so to speak. Undoubtedly there are other texts from Qumran that should be grouped together in a similar fashion (e.g., some of the Aramaic scrolls). With additional research, we will be able to understand how individual and groups of texts are related to one another, and through these connections we will gain a better understanding of the Scrolls as a whole.

⁸⁴ *Aramaic Levi* 13:15–16; 4Q437 1 1–2; 4Q541 9 i 3–5; 24 ii 6; 4Q548 1ii–2 1–16.

APPENDIX A THE REDACTION-HISTORY OF THE *HODAYOT*

1. Introduction

There has been a long and still unresolved discussion pertaining to the composite nature and development of the collection of thanksgiving psalms commonly referred to as the *Hodayot*. Much of this discussion took place in the late 1950s through the 1960s, and focused on literary forms, content, and the nature of the “I” figure in the various *Hodayot* psalms.¹ The research from this period resulted in the majority view that 1QH^a consists of two bodies of material: the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns.”²

In the late 1990s, scholars once again returned to the questions surrounding the composition and development of the *Hodayot*.³ The discussion has been advanced by the reconstruction of 1QH^a by Émile Puech and Hartmut Stegemann, the publication of the Cave 4 *Hodayot* manuscripts, and studies of orthographic variation in 1QH^a. In particular,

¹ For a review of early opinions and theories regarding literary forms and authorship, see Dombkowski-Hopkins, “The Qumran Community and 1QH^a,” 323–36. See also Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 316–31; Günter Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajôth* (ThA 16; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961); Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 168–73; Jürgen Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 50–56; Kuhn, *Enderwartung and Gegenwärtiges Heil*, 21–29.

² The “Teacher Hymns” have been variously called “psalms of thanksgiving” (Holm-Nielsen), “individuelle Danklieder” (Morawe, Jeremias), “Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit” (Becker), “Lehrerlieder” (Kuhn), while the “Community Hymns” have been called “hymns of the community” (Holm-Nielsen), “hymnischen Bekenntnislieder” (Morawe), “Gemeindepsalmen” (Becker), “Gemeindelieder” (Kuhn). Some scholars have maintained the literary unity of the *Hodayot*: Hans Bardtke, “Considérations sur les cantiques de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 229–33; Jean Carmignac, “Les éléments historiques des ‘hymnes’ de Qumran,” *RevQ* 2 (1959–1960): 205–22; Émile Puech, “Hodayot,” in *EDSS*, 366–67.

³ Douglas, “Power and Praise;” idem, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 239–66; Angela Kim Harkins, “Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^a and 4QH^a (4Q427),” *DSD* 12 (2005): 233–56; eadem, “The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 121–54; eadem, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a,” 101–34. To a certain degree, Hasselbalch’s recent dissertation (“Redactional Meaning”) addresses some of these questions as well.

Michael Douglas and Angela Kim Harkins have moved our thinking forward by positing three groups of material in 1QH^a. Based on orthographic differences, Douglas argues that the final form of the *Hodayot* (as exemplified in 1QH^a) comprises three “collections” or “sources” that were combined: (1) 1QH^a I–VIII (excluding VII 12–20); (2) 1QH^a IX 1–XX 6; (3) 1QH^a XX 7–end.⁴ Douglas believes that collections (2) and (3) were joined first and later collection (1) was attached at the beginning. About a decade after Douglas, Harkins published an article in which she essentially defends Douglas’ conclusions. Harkins divides the “Community Hymns” into two groups: Community Hymns I (CH I = 1QH^a I–VIII) and Community Hymns II (CH II = 1QH^a XIX 6–XXVIII).⁵ She argues, as Douglas did, that the “Teacher Hymns” were first joined to CH II, and only later was CH I added to this collection. Harkins’ argument is based upon orthographic difference between the three constituent parts and what she perceives to be strong literary affinities between the “Teacher Hymns” and CH II which are lacking in CH I.

Building on the work of Douglas and Harkins, I would argue that there are four major groups of material in 1QH^a which can be identified based on distinctive grammar, themes, and terminology. These four groups of material consist of the following:

- H¹: 1QH^a IX 36b–XVII 36 (excluding XI 21b–25a; XII 30b–XIII 6; XIV 9–22a; XV 29–XVI 4; and XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a).
- H²: 1QH^a IX 9–22.
- H³: 1QH^a V 15–30a; VI 12–33; VII 21–VIII 10 (excluding VII 21b and VII 33b–34); VIII 20b–23, 26–29a; IX 23a; and XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5.
- Whole H⁴ Psalms: 1QH^a IV 13–40; VI 34–41; VII 12–20; XV 29–36; XV 37–XVI 4; XVII 38–XVIII 14; XIX 6–XXVII 3.

⁴ Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 9, 240–44. See also his appendices 4 and 5.

⁵ Harkins, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a,” 101–34.

H⁴ interpolations within Other *Hodayot* Psalms: 1QH^a V 12–14; 30b–41; VII 21b, 33b–34; VIII 11–20a, 24–25, 29b–41; IX 1–8, 23b–36a; XI 21b–25a; XII 30b–XIII 6; XIV 9–22a; XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a; XVIII 16b–24a.

In the analysis below I will describe the distinctive features that characterize each of these groups of material, and then I will explain the developmental process that eventually led to the text we have in 1QH^a.

2. Characteristic Features of the Different Groups of *Hodayot* Material

2.1. Group 1 of the *Hodayot* (H¹)

Group 1 of 1QH^a is more or less what has traditionally been referred to as the “Teacher Hymns,” although I would prefer to designate it as H¹.⁶ The category of “Teacher Hymns” is usually thought to consist of 1QH^a X 5–21; X 22–32;⁷ X 33–XI 5;⁸ XI 6–19;⁹ XI

⁶ There is some potential for confusion since the material I label H¹ agrees substantially (although not completely) with what other scholars refer to as the “Teacher Hymns.” I have adopted the label H¹ for two reasons. First, scholars are not completely consistent or in agreement about what they mean by the “Teacher Hymns.” Since I define the limits of this group of *Hodayot* material somewhat differently than previous scholars, my classification needs its own unique label so as to avoid the ambiguity associated with the title “Teacher Hymns.” Second, the designation H¹ emphasizes the fact that this is the earliest material in what we now call the *Hodayot* (see §3 below). As much as possible, I will consistently use H¹ as the designation for this section of the *Hodayot*. However, when I refer to other scholars’ opinions about this material I will occasionally use the terminology “Teacher Hymns” so that I can accurately present their views. In such cases, I intend for the reader to understand that what a particular scholar has said about the “Teacher Hymns” I am applying to H¹.

⁷ Jeremias does not include 1QH^a X 22–32 in his list of psalms that can be certainly identified with the Teacher of Righteousness (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171). Kuhn seems to be uncertain about the classification of this psalm. He places 1QH^a X 22–32 in its own category, neither with the “Teacher Hymns” nor the “Community Hymns.” Kuhn notes that it does not contain the mediator of revelation motif which is typical of the “Teacher Hymns,” but its linguistic characteristics resemble the “Teacher Hymns” (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24). Newsom includes 1QH^a X 22–32 in her discussion of “Community Hymns,” although she is somewhat ambivalent about its designation (*The Self as Symbolic Space*, 232–33). Morawe (*Aufbau*, 108–9), Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 54), Tanzer (“The Sages at Qumran,” 61–62), and Douglas (“Power and Praise,” 121–22) have argued that 1QH^a X 22–32 should be categorized as part of the “Teacher Hymns.” I think that the latter view is correct since this psalm contains many of the distinctive terms and themes which are found in the other so-called “Teacher Hymns” (see esp. the analysis by Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 89–90, 119–22).

⁸ Kuhn suggests that the psalm in 1QH^a XI 6–19 might have begun at X 33 (see also Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171 n. 1), and thus he addresses X 33–XI 5 and XI 6–19 as one psalm. He acknowledges that this material could belong to the “Teacher Hymns,” but he leaves the issue undecided

20–37;¹⁰ XI 38–XII 5;¹¹ XII 6–30a;¹² XIII 7–21; XIII 22–XV 8;¹³ XV 9–28; and XVI 5–

XVII 36.¹⁴ Since the 1960s, scholars have generally agreed that 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6;¹⁵ XV

(*Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23 n. 5). Morawe (*Aufbau*, 113–15), Jeremias (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171), Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 53 n. 2), Tanzer (“The Sages at Qumran,” 68), and Douglas (“Power and Praise,” 124–26) count 1QH^a X 33–XI 5 as a “Teacher Hymn.”

⁹ Morawe (*Aufbau*, 115), Jeremias (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171), and Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 53) all classify 1QH^a XI 6–19 as a “Teacher Hymn.” Tanzer argues that 1QH^a XI 6–10a should be categorized with the “Teacher Hymns” while XI 10b–19 is secondary material added from an unidentified source (“The Sages at Qumran,” 73–75). Douglas argues for the unity of this psalm (*pace* Tanzer), and categorizes the psalm with his “Block B” material (“Power and Praise,” 179–80).

¹⁰ Jeremias does not include 1QH^a XI 20–37 in his list of psalms that can be certainly identified with the Teacher of Righteousness (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171). Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 52, 55) excluded 1QH^a XI 20–37 from the “Teacher Hymns.” Likewise, Kuhn did not classify this psalm as a “Teacher Hymn” because it contains a “soteriologisches Bekenntnis” and “Elendsbetrachtung” which are typical characteristics of the “Community Hymns” (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 22, 63–64). Morawe classifies 1QH^a XI 20–37 as part of the “Teacher Hymns” (*Aufbau* 110–11). Puech tentatively places it in the “Teacher Hymns” (*La croyance*, 366). Tanzer classifies 1QH^a XI 20–21a and 25b–37 as hybrid “Teacher Hymn” material, and she argues that lines 21b–25a have been drawn from the “Community Hymns” (“The Sages at Qumran,” 106–7, 125–27). Douglas argues for the unity of this psalm and places it with his “Block B” material (“Power and Praise,” 184–90). I would suggest that the root of this confusion is the presence of a secondary interpolation in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a (this is similar to what Tanzer suggested). The interpolation begins with the words וְאֵדָעָה כִּיָּא in line 21 and ends with the words וְיִמְהַר כֹּהֵ לִי כִיָּא in line 25 (see §2.4.1 below). Once we omit this material, the psalm in 1QH^a XI 20–37 has all of the characteristics of the so-called “Teacher Hymns.”

¹¹ Jeremias does not include 1QH^a XI 38–XII 5 in his list of psalms that can be certainly identified with the Teacher of Righteousness (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171). Morawe (*Aufbau*, 115–16), Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 53), and Tanzer (“The Sages at Qumran,” 62–63) consider 1QH^a XI 38–XII 5 to be a “Teacher Hymn.” Douglas classifies it as “Block B” material (“Power and Praise,” 208). Kuhn (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*) never discusses the material in 1QH^a XI 38–XII 5.

¹² Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 54–55), Kuhn (*Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23 n. 3), Tanzer (“The Sages at Qumran,” 111), and Douglas (“Power and Praise,” 105–12) have argued that 1QH^a XII 6–30a is a “Teacher Hymn” while XII 30b–XIII 6 is a secondary addition. In my judgment, this assessment is correct. 1QH^a XII 6–30a should be classified with the H¹ material while 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 was added later by an H⁴ redactor (see §2.4.1 below).

¹³ Scholars have generally classified 1QH^a XIII 22–XV 8 as a “Teacher Hymn.” Tanzer has argued that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a is material adapted from the “Community Hymns” (“The Sages of Qumran,” 115–116). Douglas has responded to Tanzer’s claim and argued that such an interpolation in XIII 22–XV 8 is “doubtful” (“Power and Praise,” 194–201). *Pace* Douglas, I think Tanzer is correct in her assessment that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a belongs to a different source. I would argue that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a is a later interpolation added by an H⁴ redactor (see §2.4.1 below). The original H¹ psalm is contained in 1QH^a XIII 22–XIV 8 plus XIV 22b–XV 8.

On a different note, Harkins has recently argued that 1QH^a XIII 22–XV 8 was written later and by a different author than 1QH^a XI 6–19. She bases her claim on orthographic variations between כִּיָּא/כִּי in the two psalms and a difference in personalized tone. With regard to orthography, she notes that 1QH^a XI 6–19 uses כִּיָּא five out of six times, while XIII 22–XV 8 uses כִּי twelve out of twelve times (to be precise, Harkins’ numbers for 1QH^a XI 6–19 are not correct since she includes some reconstructed readings in her count. The numbers should be: כִּיָּא 3x, כִּי 1x). It is important to understand, however, that the data pertaining to כִּיָּא/כִּי is much more complicated than Harkins acknowledges. Generally, 1QH^a III–XIX has the defective כִּי while XX–XXVI has the *plene* form כִּיָּא (this might be a result of the change of scribal hands toward the end of

29–36;¹⁶ and XV 37–XVI 4¹⁷ do not belong with the “Teacher Hymns,” but should be identified with the “Community Hymns.” I would argue that 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6; XV 29–36; and XV 37–XVI 4 bear the distinct characteristics of the material that I have classified as H⁴, and I see these as later additions by an H⁴ redactor (see §2.4.1 below). I would contend that 1QH^a XI 21b–25a; XIV 9–22a; and XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a are also later insertions into the H¹ group of psalms and should be classified with the H⁴ *Hodayot* material.

column XIX). There are exceptions, however. For example, the only two occurrences of this particle in column IX are both *plene* (lines 6 and 23). The psalms in 1QH^a X 5–XII 30 are notably inconsistent in their spelling of כִּי/כִי (כִּי 11x and כִּי 16x), and the seemingly sporadic nature of this orthographic difference is not easily explained as the result of redaction. A similar sporadic inconsistency is found in 1QH^a VII 21–41 (כִּי in lines 26, 31, 34, 36, 39, and כִּי in lines 25, 32, 35, 37). The orthographic inconsistency of כִּי/כִי in 1QH^a makes it an unreliable indicator for authorship or redaction. In order to use orthography for claims of authorship, it should be accompanied by other data, such as lexical, grammatical, or stylistic variations, none of which Harkins has supplied. In fact, the lexical, grammatical, and stylistic data support the view that 1QH^a XI 6–19 and XIII 22–XV 8 (minus XIV 9–22a) were written by the same author. Most likely the orthographic differences in 1QH^a XI 6–19 and XIII 22–XV 8 are a reflection of scribal intervention during the transmission history of the text rather than indicators of authorship. As for Harkins’ arguments that 1QH^a XIII 22–XV 8 reuses the imagery from XI 6–19 in a more personalized way, this could easily be explained as an author’s subsequent reflection upon his own work (cf. Paul’s use of his letter to the Galatians in Romans). For Harkins’ arguments, see “The Performative Reading of the Hodayot: The Arousal of Emotions and the Exegetical Generation of Texts,” *JSP* 21 (2011): 68–70; eadem, “Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining the Teacher Hymns Hypothesis Fifty Years Later,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam, Volume One* (ed. Eric F. Mason; JSJSup 153/1; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 454–55.

¹⁴ Scholars have generally classified 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36 as a “Teacher Hymn.” Tanzer argued that 1QH^a XVII 14–18a and 29b–36 contain material adapted from the “Community Hymns” (“The Sages at Qumran,” 117–22). In part, I think Tanzer is correction. I would argue that 1QH^a XVII 6b–18a and XVII 33–34a are later interpolations added by an H⁴ redactor (see §2.4.1 below).

¹⁵ See n. 12 above.

¹⁶ Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 141), Morawe (*Aufbau*, 136–37), Jeremias (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171), Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 52), Kuhn (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 25), and Tanzer (“The Sages at Qumran,” 37–38) classify 1QH^a XV 29–36 with the “Community Hymns.” Douglas identifies this psalm as “Block C” material (“Power and Praise,” 215). Berg seem to regard it as a “Teacher Hymn” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 214).

¹⁷ Morawe (*Aufbau*, 147–48) and Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, 52) place XV 37–XVI 4 with the “Community Hymns.” Tanzer describes this psalm as a hybrid of “Teacher Hymn” and “Community Hymn” material (“The Sages at Qumran,” 84–85, 107). Douglas classifies the psalm as “Block C” material (“Power and Praise,” 213–15). Schuller comments on the similarities which this psalm has with both the “Teacher Hymns” and the “Community Hymns” (“A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b [4Q428 7],” *RevQ* 16 [1995]: 538–39). Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*), Jeremias (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*) and Kuhn (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*) do not discuss the classification of this psalm.

Whereas previous scholars typically mark the beginning of the “Teacher Hymns” at 1QH^a X 5, I would argue that the original beginning of the H¹ collection of psalms is found in 1QH^a IX 36–X 4. 1QH^a IX 36–X 4 has the features of an introduction as it begins with a direct address, “Hear O wise ones and those who ponder knowledge” (שמעו חכמים ושחי) (דעת).¹⁸ These lines also contain a number of terms and phrases that are typically or exclusively used in the rest of the H¹ material, such as חכמים (1QH^a IX 37; XI 15; XII 2 [reconstructed from 4Q428 6 2]), the *niphal* participle of מהר (1QH^a IX 37; X 11; XIII 23), the expression יצר סמוך (1QH^a IX 37; X 11, 38), עני (1QH^a IX 38; X 36; XIII 15, 16; also found in VI 15), and עריצים לצים יחרוקו שנים] (1QH^a IX 41; cf. X 13: עריצים לצים יחרוקו שנים).

The literary unity of 1QH^a X 5–XVII 36,¹⁹ minus interpolations, has been demonstrated by several studies²⁰ with the most recent and thorough examination being Douglas’ dissertation.²¹ These studies have shown that most of the psalms in this part of 1QH^a have a high degree of stylistic, thematic, and terminological similarity, and were probably composed by the same author. The authorship of the H¹ material is not pertinent for my thesis; however, I think a good case can be made for the traditional view that these

¹⁸ Although Douglas does not include 1QH^a IX 36–X 4 with the “Teacher Hymns,” he states that this section has “all the formal characteristics of an introduction.” He has also observed that there are terminological similarities between this passage and the opening lines of the book of Proverbs (“Power and Praise,” 228).

¹⁹ I believe that such literary unity extends to 1QH^a IX 36–X 4 although scholars traditionally have not included this material with the “Teacher Hymns.”

²⁰ Morawe, *Aufbau*, 107–35; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170–73; Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 50–56; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 21–24; Puech, *La croyance*, 336–38.

²¹ Most of the material that Douglas classifies as “Block A” and “Block B” material I would label as belonging to H¹ (for Douglas, Block A and B material includes: 1QH^a X 5–21; X 22–32; X 33–XI 5; XI 6–19; XI 20–37; XI 38–XII 5; XII 6–30a; XIII 7–21; XIII 22–XV 8; XV 9–28; XVI 5–XVII 36). The material he labels as “Block C” (XII 30b–XIII 6; XV 29–34, 35–XVI 4), I would classify as H⁴. However, I disagree with Douglas on a few points. I would argue that the material in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a; XIV 9–22a; and XVII 6b–18a, 33–34a is a product of an H⁴ redactor. Other than these exceptions, I would agree with the main thrust of Douglas’ thesis that most of the material in 1QH^a X 5–XVII 36 was written by a single author and that author was most likely the founder of the Qumran community. For a summary of Douglas’ findings and his division of *Hodayot* material, see “Power and Praise,” 216–17.

psalms were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness,²² or, at the very least, the Qumran community thought that these psalms were written by the revered teacher. Either way, it seems apparent that the H¹ psalms were highly valued. This would explain why a number of later redactors sought to attach their own words and thoughts to the voice of the H¹ psalmist.

2.2. Group 2 of the *Hodayot* (H²)

The second group of material within 1QH^a consists of a single Creation Hymn found in column IX lines 9–22.²³ I would argue that the original boundaries of the H² Creation Hymn are demarcated by an *inclusio* in lines 9–10 and 21–22.²⁴ My hypothesis that 1QH^a IX 9–22 originally existed as a self-contained unit is supported by 1QH^a V 24–30a which paraphrase the Creation Hymn in column IX. A long *vacat* in V 24 unambiguously marks the beginning of the sub-unit in V 24–30a, while a small *vacat* in line 30 marks the end (the rest the material in V 30b–41 is an H⁴ interpolation; see §2.4.1 below). By examining the sub-unit in 1QH^a V 24–30a, we can see that it lines up almost perfectly with 1QH^a IX 9–22, indicating that lines 9–22 originally stood on their own. The bulk of the

²² Douglas' dissertation, "Power and Praise," is the most recent attempt to show that the "Teacher Hymns" were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. See also the studies by Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 168–77, 264–67; and Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 50–56. Others have questioned whether these psalms go back to a single authoritative teacher. See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 316–31; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 196–97.

²³ While most commentators have taken 1QH^a IX 1–X 4 as a single psalm (e.g., Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 222; Douglas, "Power and Praise," 219–35), the history behind this passage is much more complex. As I argued above, the material in 1QH^a IX 36–X 4 was the original beginning of the H¹ collection of psalms that started with the introductory formula, "Hear, O wise ones." At some later time, the H² Creation Hymn (1QH^a IX 9–22) was added as a new introduction. Following the addition of the Creation Hymn to the H¹ psalms, the H³ redactor added a short sentence in what is now 1QH^a IX 23a (אלה ידעתי / מבינתכה כיה גליתה אוני לרוי פלא). Subsequently, an H⁴ redactor added the material in IX 1–8 and 23b–36 (see §2.4.1 below). In §3 and §4 below, I will explain the formative process of the *Hodayot* (as we know it in 1QH^a).

²⁴ The boundaries of the *inclusio* are marked by the words: בהכמת דעתכה and בחכמתכה, בטרם, מבלעדך, בטרם, בהכמת דעתכה and בחכמתכה (partial reconstructed in line 10), and רצונכה (partial reconstructed in line 22). In addition, the order of the expressions מבלעדך לא יעשה and רצונכה in line 10 are reversed in line 22, reinforcing the *inclusio*.

initial words in V 24–25 are identical to the terms used in 1QH^a IX 9–11: *בטרם בראתם, עולם, רוּח*, and the phrase *לשפוט בם את כול מעשיך* in V 24–25 is very similar to *משפט לכול מעשיהם* in IX 11. In V 25–27, the H³ psalmist summarizes the Creation Hymn, moving vertically through the same four realms: angelic host (V 25; IX 11–13), the skies (V 25–26; IX 13–15), the earth (V 26; IX 15), and the deep (V 26; IX 16–17). 1QH^a V 26–30 goes on to describe God’s plan using much of the same terminology as in 1QH^a IX 15–22: *צאצא* (V 26; IX 20), *מחשבה* (V 26; IX 16), *לכול קצי עולם ופקודת עד* (V 26–27) is probably equivalent to *לכל ימי עולם ודורות נצח* (IX 17–18), *הכינותה* (V 27; IX 19), *ספר* (V 28; IX 20), *ממשלת* (V 28; IX 19), *ברא* (V 28; IX 15), and the *qal* and *niphal* of *היה* in close succession (V 29; IX 21–22). After this double use of *היה*, both the Creation Hymn and the sub-unit in 1QH^a V 24–30a come to an end. To reiterate the point that I began with, the fact that the sub-unit in V 24–30a covers exactly the same material as IX 9–22 strongly suggests that IX 9 was the original beginning of the Creation Hymn and IX 22 was the end.

2.3. Group 3 of the *Hodayot* (H³)

The third group of material within 1QH^a consists of a number of psalms in columns V–VIII, one psalm in column XVIII (lines XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5),²⁵ and one sentence in column IX line 23a. The H³ material is probably the most difficult to pinpoint precisely because it has been heavily edited by one or more H⁴ redactors. This said, the H³ psalms certainly form a cohesive group with its own distinct terminology and thematic interests. The H³ psalms lack the personal “I,” the metaphorical language, and the expressions of

²⁵ The H³ psalm that begins in XVIII 16 is interrupted by an interpolation in XVIII 16b–24a. The material after the word *אדוני* in XVIII 16a and before the words *כי אתה יצרתה רוןה* in XVIII 24b has been inserted by an H⁴ redactor (see §2.4.1 below).

persecution present in H¹, and they lack H⁴'s pessimistic anthropology, interest in angels, and its emphasis on praise and recounting God's wonders.

The H³ psalms can be identified by certain characteristic terms and phrases. Only H³ uses the noun עלילה ("deed")²⁶ and the verb ברר ("to purify").²⁷ We also find the following distinctive phrases: [ברצונכה] באיש הרביתה נחלתו ב- (1QH^a VI 24; VIII 22; XVIII 30),²⁸ [א] ידעתי ב/מבינתכה כי [א] (1QH^a VI 23; VII 25; IX 23a), נפש עבדך תעבה (1QH^a VIII 28; XVIII 31), and לעיני כול מעשיך (1QH^a VI 27; VII 33). Group 3 is characteristically concerned with ill-gotten wealth and the corrupting power of money (1QH^a VI 30–31; VII 35–37; XVIII 24b–32). Only in H³ do we find the words הון (1QH^a VI 31; VII 36; XVIII 25, 31) and שחד (1QH^a VI 30, 31; VII 37). H³ does not typically refer to God as אל. This designation only occurs once in VII 38. Elsewhere in 1QH^a, אל as a name for God, not angels, is used 46 times, including passages reconstructed with 4QH material. H³ also does not use the longer spelling לבב for "heart" which is attested sixteen times in the rest of 1QH^a.²⁹

Unique to H³ is a notion of double predestination. Especially important for the H³ psalmist is the idea that God predetermined each person's spirit before they were created. In 1QH^a VII 26–27, the psalmist states, "I know that in your hand is the formation/inclination of every spirit [and all] its [activi]ty you established before you created it" (see also VII 35). In 1QH^a XVIII 24, he declares, "For you yourself created the spir[it of your servant and according to] your [wil]l you established me." According to the

²⁶ 1QH^a VI 20; VII 37; VIII 26.

²⁷ 1QH^a VI 15; VII 23; VIII 28.

²⁸ In all three cases, the word נחלתו is followed by a *bet* preposition marking the object of inheritance. The three "inheritances" are presumably synonymous: בְּרִיחַ קוּדְשֶׁךָ [נחלתו] (VI 24), [נחלתו] בְּצִדְקוֹתַי [יד] (VIII 22), and נחלתו בדעת אמתכה (XVIII 30).

²⁹ The H³ psalmist uses the shorter spelling, לב, in 1QH^a VI 19; VII 23; XVIII 25, 32, 33, 35; and XIX 5.

H³ psalmist, God gives some people a good spirit while others receive an evil spirit. In 1QH^a VI 22–23, he writes, “[lot]s of humanity, for according the spirits you cast them between good and evil.” This means that God has predetermined the righteous and the wicked (1QH^a VI 22–23; VII 36; XVIII 24b, 28–29). Some he appoints for reward and others for judgment (1QH^a VII 28–33; XVIII 24b, 28). This determinism, however, is tempered by the recognition that the psalmist and his community have the capacity to voluntarily obey God’s commands (e.g. 1QH^a VI 21, 28–29; VII 23). Likewise, the wicked have the same freedom and have “chosen that which you hate” (1QH^a VII 32). This belief in double predestination combined with a notion of freewill is distinct to the H³ material.

Perhaps the most important feature distinguishing the H³ material from H⁴ is the markedly more optimist anthropology of the former compared with the latter. Whereas H⁴ describes all humanity, including the psalmist, as utterly worthless and corrupt, the H³ psalmist describes his community in a positive light as righteous and faithful chosen ones who voluntarily persevere in keeping God’s statutes and commandments. The H³ psalmist recognizes human weakness (1QH^a VII 25–26), but he does not express the profound sense of inability and self-deprecation that characterizes H⁴. In H³, the righteous community is eager for God’s truth and seeks out understanding (1QH^a VI 13–14). The H⁴ psalmist could never claim, as the H³ psalmist does, “I have purified myself from iniquity” (1QH^a VII 23) or “I have chosen to cleanse my hand according to your will” (1QH^a VIII 28).

2.4. Group 4 of the *Hodayot* (H⁴)

The fourth group of *Hodayot* material is probably the most complex. It consists of a large collection of psalms in columns XIX–XXVIII, individual psalms in columns IV, VI, VII, XV and XVIII, and interpolations of varying length embedded in the H^{1–3} psalms.

Although this material was probably not composed by a single person,³⁰ all of the H⁴ material uses a common terminology and reflects uniform thematic interests.³¹

To begin with, the H⁴ material tends to use verbless identification clauses with the personal pronouns *אני*, *אתה*, and *הוא*. Favored phrases include *ואני יצר* (“and I am a creature of . . .”),³² *ואני מה* (“and what am I”),³³ *אתה אל הדעות* (“you are a God of knowledge”),³⁴ *והוא מבנה עפר* (“and he is in iniquity from the womb”),³⁵ *והוא משהוא* (“and he is a structure of dust”).³⁷ Unlike H¹ and H³, H⁴ uses the pronoun *הוא* as a copula. A common phrase, in this regard, is *מה אפהו* or *מה אף הוא* (“What indeed is . . .?”).³⁸ Perhaps one of the most telling features of the H⁴ material is its use of rhetorical questions (*מי*, *איך/איכה*), especially as a way of deprecating humanity.³⁹

³⁰ Within the H⁴ *Hodayot* psalms there are small grammatical, terminological, and thematic differences which suggest that this body of material was composed by different people within a larger community. For example, the H⁴ redactor who compiled and edited the material in 1QH^a I(?)–VIII had a preference for the direct object marker *את* which is used nowhere else in the *Hodayot* (not even in the other H⁴ material). There are also terminological differences between the H⁴ material in 1QH^a I(?)–XX 6 (minus 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14) and the H⁴ psalms in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 and 1QH^a XX 7–XXVIII. For example, the phrase *רוח נעיה* is only found in the H⁴ material in 1QH^a I(?)–XX 6 (1QH^a V 32; VIII 18; XI 22; XIX 15). Similarly, the idea of purification (*טהר*) is only found in this section (1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30; IX 34; XI 22; XII 38; XIV 11; XV 33; XIX 13; XIX 33). Conversely, the H⁴ psalms in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 and 1QH^a XX 7–XXVIII contain some terms and themes not found in 1QH^a I(?)–XX 6. For example, it is peculiar that the terms *יצר המר* and *עפר* are used throughout the H⁴ material, but *אפר* is only used in 1QH^a XVIII 7; XX 30; XXI 26; and XXIII 27. Likewise, the kingship of God is only mentioned in 1QH^a XVIII 10; XXV 35; 1QH^a XXVI 6 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 10), 9 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 13), 11 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 15). Much more research needs to be done on the internal differences within the H⁴ material.

³¹ In my discussion below I will speak of “the H⁴ psalmist” and “the H⁴ redactor.” I have adopted this terminology for convenience, but the reader should be aware that it is very likely that multiple people were responsible for the H⁴ material.

³² 1QH^a IX 23; XI 24; XXI 11, 17, 31; XXII 12, 19; XXV 31 (reconstructed from 4Q428 20 2).

³³ 1QH^a XIX 6; XXIII 24.

³⁴ 1QH^a IX 28; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 32–33.

³⁵ 1QH^a XVIII 5.

³⁶ 1QH^a XII 30–31.

³⁷ 1QH^a V 31.

³⁸ 1QH^a VII 34; XVIII 5, 14; XX 34; XXII 29 (in all of these cases, with the possible exception of VII 34, *אף* and *הוא* are run together without a word space). Other uses of the pleonastic *הוא* can be found in XV 35 and XIX 11.

³⁹ Early on, Kuhn observed that *מי*, *איך/איכה*, and *מה* occur very frequently in the “Community Hymns,” but never in the “Teacher Hymns” (*Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23 n. 3, 28–29). I would

The fourth group of *Hodayot* material has particular terminology that distinguishes it from the rest of the *Hodayot*. A favored expression applied to God is כה-____ גִּדְלַ + בֶּכַח (“in/according to the greatness of your ____”).⁴⁰ We also repeatedly find the terms or expressions אין השבת (“without ceasing”),⁴¹ כוח גבורה (“mighty strength”),⁴² נפלאות (“wonders”),⁴³ מקץ לקץ (“from age to age”),⁴⁴ לא יעשה + מבלעדיך (“without you nothing is done”),⁴⁵ להתיצב לפני כה+____ (“to stand in position”) or להתיצב לפני כה+____ (“to stand before your ____”),⁴⁶ ידע + כבודכה (“to know/make known your glory”),⁴⁷ and ידעתי + ברוח אשר נתתה בי (“I have known . . . by the spirit you placed in me”).⁴⁸ The H⁴ psalmist frequently appends descriptive nouns to מעשה, resulting in phrases such as מעשי פלאכה (“your wondrous works”),⁴⁹ מעשי צדקה (“works of righteousness”),⁵⁰ מעשי רמיה (“works of deceit”),⁵¹ and מעשי אמת (“works of truth”).⁵²

refine Kuhn’s observation by noting that the use of these interrogatives is almost universally confined to the H⁴ material. The only place where one of these interrogatives occurs outside of H⁴ is in 1QH^a VII 27.

⁴⁰ 1QH^a VI 34; VIII 30; IX 34; XVIII 18; XIX 32.

⁴¹ 1QH^a VII 16; XIV 15; XVII 40; XIX 27; XXIII 3; XXV 31; XXVI 13, 30.

⁴² 1QH^a V 15; XII 33; XXIII 9; XXVI 34. Cf. בכוחכה כול גבורה in XIX 11.

⁴³ 1QH^a II 12 (partially reconstructed); VI 34; VII 14 (partially reconstructed); IX 32, 35, 36; XI 24; XIV 14; XVII 7; XVIII 6, 17, 23; XIX 31; XXI 7; XXII 7 (partially reconstructed); XXVI 39 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 20a).

⁴⁴ 1QH^a VII 16; XVII 7–8; XX 7; XXVI 35.

⁴⁵ 1QH^a VIII 14 and XVIII 11. This expression is also used in H²: IX 10 (partially reconstructed) and IX 22. Only the H² and H⁴ psalmists use the particle בלעדי (“without”), and it is always employed to speak of something (or nothing) happening apart from God. In addition to the above mentioned passages, the particle בלעדי is also found in the follower H⁴ passages: 1QH^a VIII 29; XXI 33; XXV 15.

⁴⁶ להתיצב לפני כה+____ is used in 1QH^a XI 22; XIX 16; XXVI 36, and להתיצב לפני כה+____ in XV 32; XVIII 13; XX 33.

⁴⁷ 1QH^a V 30; VII 14, 33; IX 31–32; XXV 11.

⁴⁸ 1QH^a V 35–36; XX 14; XXI 34.

⁴⁹ 1QH^a XV 35, XVIII 13; XIX 7.

⁵⁰ 1QH^a IX 28 (מעשי הצדקה), XII 32, XXV 26 (partially reconstructed).

⁵¹ 1QH^a IX 29 (מעשי הרמיה); XXI 30.

⁵² 1QH^a IX 32.

The terminology used to address God is distinct in H⁴. Here we find the use of שמכה (“your name”)⁵³ to refer to God and the description of God as מלך.⁵⁴ The H⁴ psalmist often qualifies אל with descriptive terms that highlight God’s attributes, such as אל הצדק (“God of righteousness”),⁵⁵ אל הרחמים (“God of mercy”),⁵⁶ and אל הדעות (“God of knowledge”).⁵⁷

The H⁴ psalmist has a penchant for well or spring terminology (מעין, מקוה, or מקור), especially when describing God’s revelation or the state of humanity.⁵⁸ God either is, or has opened, a מקוי כבוד (“well of glory”),⁵⁹ מקור אור (“fountain of light”),⁶⁰ מקור דעת (“fountain of knowledge”),⁶¹ מעין גבורה (“spring of strength”),⁶² and מקור אמת (“fountain of truth”).⁶³ At other times, humanity is referred to as a מקוי אפר (“well of ashes”),⁶⁴ מקוי עפר (“well of dust”),⁶⁵ or מקור הנדה (“fountain of impurity”).⁶⁶

One of the hallmarks of H⁴ is its negative anthropology and intense language of self-deprecation.⁶⁷ Only H⁴ uses the phraseology אני יצר (“I am a creature. . .”),⁶⁸ יצר(ה)חמר

⁵³ 1QH^a III 32; IV 32; IX 32; XI 24; XVII 39; XIX 9, 28; XX 6; XXI 18; XXII 36; XXIII 9; XXVI 12 (שמר); A6 2. Once, in H¹ (X 32), שמכה is used.

⁵⁴ 1QH^a XVIII 10; XXV 35; XXVI 6, 9, 11.

⁵⁵ 1QH^a XXVI 33.

⁵⁶ 1QH^a XVIII 16; XIX 32.

⁵⁷ 1QH^a IX 28; XX 13; XXI 32; XXII 34; XXV 33.

⁵⁸ This terminology is not unique to H⁴, but it is more prevalent in this material as compared with H¹⁻³. In particular, H¹ uses the expressions מעין רז (XVI 7), מעין חיים (XVI 12), and מקור עולם (XVI 9; XVI 21) to refer to the waters flowing forth from God’s throne. In 1QH^a XVIII 33, H³ uses מקור עולם.

⁵⁹ 1QH^a XX 32.

⁶⁰ 1QH^a VIII 14. The phrase מעין אור is used in 1QH^a XIV 20 (part of an H⁴ interpolation).

⁶¹ 1QH^a IX 6 (partially reconstructed); XX 32; XXIII 16 (partially reconstructed). The phrase מקור דעת is used elsewhere in X 20.

⁶² 1QH^a VII 12; IX 7 (מעין הגבורה); XX 16.

⁶³ 1QH^a XXIII 14 (partially reconstructed).

⁶⁴ 1QH^a XXI 26.

⁶⁵ 1QH^a XX 28.

⁶⁶ 1QH^a V 32; IX 24; XX 28.

⁶⁷ I have intentionally avoided the labels “Niedrigkeitsdoxologie” and “Elendsbetrachtung.” While earlier scholarship used these labels to identify separate categories, I would argue that all of these self-deprecatory passages should be viewed in the same light whether or not there is an accompanying doxological element. For the classifications “Niedrigkeitsdoxologie” and “Elendsbetrachtung,” see Kuhn, *Endervartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27–29.

⁶⁸ 1QH^a IX 23; XI 24; XXI 11, 17, 31; XXII 12, 19; XXV 31 (reconstructed from 4Q428 20 2).

(“creature of clay”),⁶⁹ מגבל מים (“kneaded of water”),⁷⁰ ילוד אשה (“one born of a woman”),⁷¹ מקור הנדה (“source of impurity”),⁷² רוח נעוה (“perverted spirit”),⁷³ and שב אל עפרו (“one who returns to his dust”).⁷⁴ For H⁴, humans are utterly unworthy because they are only אפר (“dust”)⁷⁵ and עפר (“ashes”).⁷⁶ The H⁴ material has a much greater concern with the sinfulness of humanity, including the psalmist’s own iniquities. Expressions of sin and transgression, such as הטאה (“sin”),⁷⁷ מעל (“treachery”),⁷⁸ נדה (“impurity”),⁷⁹ נעויה (“perverseness”),⁸⁰ and תוכחה (“rebuke”),⁸¹ are unique to the H⁴ material. Unlike H¹⁻³, the H⁴ psalmist sees himself as guilty of transgression and confesses his unworthiness to God. In H⁴, the word פשע (“transgression”) is applied to humanity as a whole or to the psalmist in particular. This is a marked contrast from the rest of the *Hodayot* where פשע is only applied to the wicked who reject God’s will and oppose the psalmist.

One of the principle concerns for H⁴ is God’s mercy and his justification of the unrighteous psalmist. In this regard, H⁴ has a high concentration of verbs pertaining to atonement, purification, justification, and forgiveness. Only H⁴ employs the verbs כפר,⁸²

⁶⁹ 1QH^a III 29; IX 23 (יצר החמר); XI 24–25 (יצר החמר); XII 30; XIX 6; XX 29, 35; XXI 38 (יצר החמר); XXII 23; XXIII 13, 28 (יצר החמר; partially reconstructed); XXV 31 (יצר החמר).

⁷⁰ 1QH^a V 32; IX 23; XI 25; XX 28 (partially reconstructed).

⁷¹ 1QH^a V 31; XXI 2, 9–10 (partially reconstructed); XXIII 14.

⁷² 1QH^a V 32 (partially reconstructed); IX 24; XX 28.

⁷³ 1QH^a V 32; VIII 18 (partially reconstructed); XI 22; XIX 15.

⁷⁴ 1QH^a VI 39–40 (partially reconstructed); XVIII 14; XX 34; XXII 8, 30.

⁷⁵ 1QH^a XVIII 7; XX 30; XXI 26; XXIII 27.

⁷⁶ 1QH^a III 23; V 32; VII 34; VIII 18, 19; XI 22; XVIII 6, 7, 14; XIX 6, 15; XX 27–30, 34; XXI 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 25, 34; XXII 8, 30; XXIII 5, 13, 24, 27, 29 (x2); XXVI 27 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 8); XXVIII 11.

⁷⁷ 1QH^a IV 24; V 32; IX 24, 27; XIV 9; XIX 23; XXII 33.

⁷⁸ 1QH^a IV 24; VIII 34; XII 31, 35; XV 39 (reconstructed from 4Q428 10 3); XIX 14; XXII 12; XXIV 25. Both IV 24 and VIII 34 appear to use the expression פשע ומעל, while XII 31; XV 39; and XIX 14 have the phrase אשמת מעל.

⁷⁹ 1QH^a IV 31; V 32; IX 24; XV 40 (reconstructed from 4Q428 10 4); XIX 14; XX 28; XXI 36.

⁸⁰ 1QH^a IV 31; XVII 33; XXVI 22 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 4).

⁸¹ 1QH^a XV 32; XVII 9, 24, 33; XX 24, 34; XXII 28 (partially reconstructed).

⁸² 1QH^a IV 24; XII 38; XXIII 33.

זכה,⁸³ and צדק.⁸⁴ Nine of the eleven occurrences of טהר are found in H⁴.⁸⁵ H⁴ has twelve out of thirteen instances of the noun סליחה (“forgiveness”),⁸⁶ and it is distinct in its use of the expressions רוב רחמים (“plentiful mercy”),⁸⁷ המון רחמים (“abundant mercy”),⁸⁸ and ארוך אפים (“long suffering”).⁸⁹

H⁴ is characteristically concerned with rejoicing and declaring God’s glory.

Twenty-one of the twenty-two occurrences of the verb ספר are found in H⁴.⁹⁰ Typically, the psalmist in H⁴ seeks to declare God’s כבוד (“glory”) or his נפלאות (“wonders”). Similarly, only H⁴ uses the verb הלל (“to praise”),⁹¹ and it is often used as part of the expression + הלל שמחה. H⁴ also contains both instances of the verb שמה (1QH^a XIX 33; XXVI 10) and seven of the ten uses of the noun שמה.⁹² The use of the *hitpael* forms of נפל and חנן in conjunction (להתנפל ולהתחנן) is characteristic of H⁴ (1QH^a IV 30; VIII 24; XX 7).

H⁴ also has a greater interest in angelology and uses a more diverse nomenclature to refer to angelic beings. In H⁴, we find the expressions אלים (“gods”),⁹³ בני אלים (“sons of

⁸³ 1QH^a XVII 15 and XXII 29.

⁸⁴ 1QH^a V 34; VIII 29; IX 8; XV 31; XVII 9, 14, 15; XX 34; XXV 15; XXVI 31.

⁸⁵ 1QH^a IV 38; VIII 30; IX 34; XI 22; XII 38; XIV 11; XV 33; XIX 13, 33. Exceptions are X 5 and XIII 18. I have not included one instance of this verb in fragment C6 3 in this statistic.

⁸⁶ 1QH^a XIII 4; XIV 12; XV 33, 38; XVII 13, 34; XVIII 18 (reconstructed), 23; XIX 12, 34; XXII 24 (partially reconstructed); XXVI 34 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 16). H¹ uses the noun once in XV 21.

⁸⁷ 1QH^a V 34 (partially reconstructed); VI 34 (reconstructed); VII 17–18 (partially reconstructed); XII 33; XV 30; XXIII 15; XXVI 17–18 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 22).

⁸⁸ 1QH^a XII 37, 38; XIII 4; XIV 12; XV 33, 38; XVII 8, 34; XVIII 23; XXVI 32 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 14), 34 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 16). H³ uses the phrase once in 1QH^a VII 29.

⁸⁹ 1QH^a IV 29; VIII 34; IX 8.

⁹⁰ The one exception is in 1QH^a V 28. In this statistic, I have not included two occurrences of the verb ספר in unplaced fragments (A7 2 and A8 1).

⁹¹ 1QH^a III 32 (partially reconstructed); VII 15; VIII 15; IX 32; XI 24; XVII 39 (partially reconstructed); XVII 41; XIX 27; XX 6; XXIII 9 (partially reconstructed), 24; XXV 31; XXVI 10 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 14).

⁹² 1QH^a XIX 26; XX 5; XXII 24; XXIII 16; XXVI 13 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 17); XXVI 23 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 4); and XXVI 30. Other instances are found in 1QH^a V 23; X 7; and XVII 24.

⁹³ 1QH^a III 30; XV 31; XVIII 10; XXIII 30; XXIV 12; XXVI 5 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 8); 7 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i 11), 28 (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 ii 9).

gods”),⁹⁴ בני שמים (“sons of heaven”),⁹⁵ מלאך (“angel”),⁹⁶ צבא דעת (“host of knowledge”),⁹⁷ רוחות דעת (“spirits of knowledge”),⁹⁸ רוחות עולה (“iniquitous spirits”),⁹⁹ שטן (“*satan/adversary*”),¹⁰⁰ ממזרים (“bastards”),¹⁰¹ and רוחות רשעה (“evil spirits”).¹⁰² Whereas H¹ uses עדה (“congregation”) to refer to the human communities of the righteous and wicked (1QH^a X 24, 34; XIV 8), H⁴ typically uses עדה with reference to the community of angelic beings (1QH^a III 32; VII 19; XI 23; XXV 5, 32; XXVI 10, 28).¹⁰³ A similar difference is discernible in the use of מליץ which H¹ uses to refer to human prophetic mediators while H⁴ seems to use this term to denote angelic mediators (1QH^a XIV 16; XXIII 12, 26; XXVI 36).

2.4.1. H⁴ Interpolations within the H¹⁻³ Material

Among the H¹⁻³ psalms there are a number of interpolations that were inserted at some point by an H⁴ redactor. These interpolations range in size from short phrases (e.g. 1QH^a VII 21) or a few clauses (e.g. 1QH^a VII 33b–34) to large sections extending upwards of ten or more lines of text (e.g. 1QH^a XIV 9–22a; XVII 6b–18a). In some cases, whole psalms were inserted into a collection (e.g., 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14). The insertion or exchanging of individual words also occurs on occasion (e.g., 1QH^a XVII 24, 29).

⁹⁴ 1QH^a XXIII 23; XXIV 33–34 (בני אל).

⁹⁵ 1QH^a XI 23; XXIII 30; XXV 26 (partially reconstructed); XXVI 36.

⁹⁶ 1QH^a XIV 16; XXIV 8, 11. Also used in IX 13.

⁹⁷ 1QH^a XXI 9.

⁹⁸ 1QH^a XI 23–24.

⁹⁹ 1QH^a XXV 8.

¹⁰⁰ 1QH^a XXII 25; XXIV 23.

¹⁰¹ 1QH^a XXIV 16, 26.

¹⁰² 1QH^a XXV 6. Cf. XXIV 26, 27

¹⁰³ 1QH^a XV 37 is clearly an exception which speaks of the “congregation of worthlessness.” Only once does H³ use the noun עדה (V 25). Here, it occurs in a context dealing with God’s created things, and it refers to the host of heavenly beings.

Understanding the H⁴ interpolations might yield significant insights into the conceptual world of the H⁴ redactor. It would be helpful to understand the purpose of these interpolations and why they were inserted at their particular locations. In some cases, it would seem that the interpolations were meant to theologically counterbalance claims made by other *Hodayot* psalmists. Perhaps the best examples of this are the interpolations in 1QH^a V 30–41 and IX 23b–36 where it appears that the H⁴ interpolator wanted to emphasize human lowliness and unworthiness in juxtaposition to the declarations about God’s revelation. While the H^{1–3} psalmists believed that righteous humans were sufficiently worthy to receive God’s revelation, the H⁴ redactor certainly did not share this view. Thus, the redactor altered the text to demote human worthiness and exalt God’s sovereignty and mercy. Further study of the H⁴ interpolations would prove fruitful.

1QH^a V 12–14

I would argue that in column V the original H³ psalm began with the words “[Blessed are] you, O Lord” in line 15. This formula, ברוך אתה אדוני, seems to be the typical introduction for H³ psalms (VI 19 [partially reconstructed]; VII 21 [partially reconstructed]; VIII 26; and XVIII 16). The present למשכיל incipit, along with the rest of lines 12–14, was added later by an H⁴ redactor. These three lines have a number of terms that would be unusual for H³ but are characteristic of H⁴: the use of אל for God, the *hitpael* of נפל (cf. IV 30; VIII 24; XX 7), and a reference to the angelic host (סוד רוחי; cf. XXV 26). In addition, the words בכוח גבורתך, in line 15, were probably added by the H⁴ redactor. This expression is only found elsewhere in the H⁴ material (see n. 42 above).

1QH^a V 30b–41

The H⁴ interpolation in 1QH^a V 30–41 begins with the phrase וברזי שכלכה. The beginning of the interpolation is indicated by the small *vacat* preceding this phrase. Both of the expressions, רזי שכלכה and ידע + כבודכה, are characteristic of H⁴. The singular form רז שכלכה is found in 1QH^a XX 16, and ידע + כבודכה occurs in 1QH^a VII 14, 33; IX 31; and XXV 11. 1QH^a V 30–33 contains the typical pessimistic anthropology of H⁴ (עפר, ילוד אשה) with the normal use of repeated rhetorical questions. The psalmist's claim in line 35–36, ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי, is a relatively common H⁴ expression (1QH^a XX 14; XXI 34).

1QH^a VI 34–41

1QH^a VI 34–41 contains a number of features that mark it as a final product of an H⁴ redactor. First, we should note that the incipit is different from that normally used by the H³ psalmist (H³ psalms usually begin ברוך אתה אדוני), and it is identical to the incipits in H¹ and some other H⁴ psalms (1QH^a XV 29, 37). Lines 34–41 use phrases typically found elsewhere in H⁴: כגדול כוחך (line 34; cf. 1QH^a XIX 32), נפלאותיך (line 34; used frequently in H⁴), עד עולָם (line 34; cf. 1QH^a II 30; VIII 14; XVII 29; XXIII 7; XXV 6), and בלוא רצֹנִין (line 38; cf. 1QH^a XVIII 4, 11, 21). The words רוּחַ דְּעָה in line 36 most closely resemble רוּחַ בִּינִיָּה in 1QH^a VIII 24 and רוּחוֹת דַּעַת in 1QH^a XI 23–24 (both of which belong to H⁴).

While it seems fairly clear that an H⁴ redactor has edited this psalm, there is also some characteristic H³ terminology in 1QH^a VI 34–41. The use of love (אהב in line 37)¹⁰⁴ and hate language (שנא in line 36 and תעב in line 37) is not normal for the H⁴ psalms, but it is quite frequent in the H³ material. This could indicate that 1QH^a VI 34–41 was originally an H³ psalm that was later heavily edited by an H⁴ redactor. It is also possible that the psalm in 1QH^a VI 34–41 was composed by an H⁴ psalmist who was very familiar with the H³ psalms and simply adopted some of their terminology.

1QH^a VII 21b

I would conjecture that the words שִׁירִי מִזְמוֹר לְמִשְׁכִּיל in 1QH^a VII 21 were a later addition by an H⁴ redactor. There is little evidence within the context to prove this, but the fact that the other three לְמִשְׁכִּיל headings undoubtedly belong to H⁴ strongly suggests that such is the case in 1QH^a VII 21 as well.

1QH^a VII 33b–34

The short interpolation in 1QH^a VII 33b–34 begins either with the word להיות or לדעת in line 33 and continues until the small *vacat* at the end of line 34. The expression לעיני כול מעשיך in 1QH^a VII 33a is characteristic of H³, suggesting that the interpolation must begin after these words. The interpolation itself contains several key H⁴ features: לדעת (איך, מה אף הוא), and a negative anthropology (יצר עפר).

¹⁰⁴ The phrase אהבכה נדבה in line 37 expresses a degree of freewill and inherent goodness that is very atypical for H⁴. The same expression is used in the H³ material (1QH^a VII 23), and the H⁴ psalmist may have adopted it from there. However, it is still difficult to explain why the H⁴ psalmist would have used such an expression.

1QH^a VIII 11–20a

The material in 1QH^a column VIII is the most difficult to sort out with certainty. Most likely, lines 11–20a are an H⁴ interpolation. The phrase ^ובִּידֶךָ מִשְׁפֹּט כֹּלִים in line 11 is found elsewhere in 1QH^a XIII 6 (also an H⁴ interpolation). The rhetorical question in line 12, the word אֲשָׁמָה in line 13, the phrase ^ווְלֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֹּל [מִבְּלֵעַ] דִּיךָ in lines 13–14 (cf. 1QH^a XVIII 11), the words ^ועַד עֹלָם in line 14, the use of הִלֵּל in line 15, the mention of angels in lines 15–16, the expression ^ווְהָיָה נְעוּהָ in line 18, the negative anthropology in lines 18–19, and the idea of an indwelling spirit in line 20a are all typical features of the H⁴ material. This section also has the longer spelling for לִבָּב (line 13) which H³ does not use. In addition, this section uses the preposition עַד which is otherwise unattested in H³.

The interpolation most likely ends before the words ^ווְלֹא יוּכַל אֲנִי בְנוֹשׁ in 1QH^a VIII 20b since this expression is characteristic of the H³ material (the same expression is found in 1QH^a VII 26). If this is correct, then the words ^ומְלוֹאֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ in line 21 probably also belong to H³. This is important because a similar expression, ^ובְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ, occurs in line 10, indicating that 1QH^a VIII 10 is authentic H³ material. This gives us the boundaries of the interpolation: 1QH^a VIII 11–20a.

1QH^a VIII 24–25

A second H⁴ interpolation in column VIII can be identified in lines 24–25. A number of phrases in this small section are characteristic of the H⁴ psalms: אֲמַצְאָה מֵעֵנָה לִשְׁוֹן

(cf. 1QH^a IV 29), לֵהֲתַנְפֹּל וְלֵהֲתַחַנֵּן (cf. 1QH^a IV 30; XX 7), עָל פִּשְׁעֵי (cf. 1QH^a IV 30), לעֹבֹדֶךָ (cf. 1QH^a IV 26), and דְּבַר פְּיָךְ (cf. 1QH^a XXVI 37).

1QH^a VIII 29b–41

The third interpolation in column VIII begins in line 29 with the words וְאֵדְעָה כִּי לֹא יִצְדַּק אִישׁ מִבְּלַעֲדֶיךָ. These lines contain characteristic H⁴ terms and phrases which indicate that they are the product of an H⁴ redactor. Key H⁴ features include: the verb צִדַּק (line 29), אֲרוֹךְ אַפִּים (line 29), בְּרוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי (line 29), מִבְּלַעֲדֶיךָ (line 29), כַּגְדוֹל חֲסִידֶיךָ (line 30), טָהָר (line 30), מֵעַל (line 34), and מֵעַל (line 34).

1QH^a IX 1–8, 23b–36a

Two large sections of 1QH^a column IX, lines 1–8 and lines 23b–36a, contain features that are characteristic of the H⁴ material. Lines 1–8 have the words or expressions מִקּוֹר דַּעַת (line 6 [partially reconstructed]), מַעֲיֵן הַגְּבוּרָה (line 7), אֲרוֹךְ אַפִּים (line 8), and צִדַּק (line 8), while lines 23b–36a use the following H⁴ terminology: וְאֲנִי יֹצֵר (line 23), יֹצֵר הַחֲמֵר (line 23), מַגְבַּל מַיִם (line 23), מִקּוֹר הַנְּדָה (line 24), חֲטָאָה (lines 24, 27), rhetorical questions (lines 25–28), אֲתָה אֵל הַדְּעוֹת (line 28), מַעֲשֵׂי הַצְּדָקָה (line 28), מַעֲשֵׂי הַרְמִיָּה (line 29), יָדַע + כְּבוֹדָכָה (line 29), גְּדוֹל חֲסִידֶיךָ (line 31–32), לִסְפָּר נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ (lines 32, 35, 36), הַלֵּל (line 32), שִׂמְכָה (line 32), גְּדוֹל חֲסִידֶיךָ (line 34), and טָהָר (line 34). Based on the use of such characteristic H⁴ terminology, I would argue that 1QH^a IX 1–8 and 23b–36a were added by an H⁴ redactor.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ It is likely that the same redactor was responsible for both groups of material. This redactor was particularly careful to place the definite article ה on the *nomen rectum* in a construct chain. The H⁴ redactor responsible for 1QH^a IX 1–8 and 23b–36a uses the following expressions with an article: מַעֲיֵן הַגְּבוּרָה (line 7), מַגְבַּל הַמַּיִם (line 23), מַעֲשֵׂי הַצְּדָקָה (line 28), מַעֲשֵׂי הַרְמִיָּה (line 29), and סוּד הָאֲמַת (line 29). Elsewhere in the H⁴ material these expressions do not have an article on the *nomen rectum*.

1QH^a XI 21b–25a

Tanzer divides 1QH^a XI 20–37 into two separate blocks of material. She indentifies XI 21b–25a as material resembling the “Community Hymns,” and classifies XI 20–21a, 25b–37 as a combination of material later incorporated from “various Hymns of the Community, Hymns of the Teacher, and an unidentified apocalyptic source(s).”¹⁰⁶ Douglas objects to Tanzer’s division of this psalm, arguing that it is a single unit which he groups as part of his “Block B” material, that is, material that is almost certainly written by the Teacher of Righteousness.¹⁰⁷ Douglas lists eight terms or expressions which he believes link this psalm with his “Block A” and “Block B” material: בגבול רשעה in line 25; חלכאים in lines 26 and 27; כול חצי שחת in line 28; ויפרו לאין תקוה in line 28 (Stegemann and Schuller read ויורו instead of ויפרו [*DJD XL*, 151]); נעלמים in line 29; שורשי חלמיש in line 32; הווה in lines 26, 34, and 35; בליעל in lines 29, 30, and 33.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Harkins has argued that the psalms in 1QH^a XI 6–19 and 20–37 are closely related. She establishes her case by listing a number of terms and phrases which link the two psalms.¹⁰⁹

In my assessment, Douglas and Harkins are partially correct. Most of the material in 1QH^a XI 20–37 is closely related to the other H¹ psalms. In this regard, we should not follow Tanzer in seeing XI 20–21a and 25b–37 as a collection from different sources.

However, it is important to observe that all of the evidence listed by Douglas and Harkins

¹⁰⁶ Tanzer, “The Sages at Qumran,” 106–7, 125–27. Earlier on, Morawe identified XI 21b–25a as “eine katechismusartige Betrachtung über den Heilsweg” (*Aufbau*, 110). He described XI 21b–25a as having been inserted between the psalm’s introduction (XI 20–21a) and its body (XI 25b–37).

¹⁰⁷ Berg also contends that 1QH^a XI 21b–25a is not an interpolation, as Tanzer proposed. He sees the unusual anthropological language in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a as one of the “exceptions that prove the rule” (“Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 209 n. 18).

¹⁰⁸ Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 185–87. We might add to the list provided by Douglas the expression נפש אביין (line 26) which is found in X 34 and XIII 20.

¹⁰⁹ Harkins lists: כול חצי שחת (lines 17, 28), *hiphil* of רעע (lines 13, 34), and שאול + אבדון (lines 17, 20). She also notes that the phrase בהמון קולם in line 17 is similar to בהמון כוחו in line 35. Likewise, ובהבלי שאול in line 10 is probably related to והבלי מות in line 29. See Harkins, “Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch,” 372.

comes from 1QH^a XI 20–21a and 25b–37. There are no parallels between 1QH^a XI 21b–25a and the rest of the H¹ material. In fact, these lines contain a number of words and phrases that are characteristic of H⁴. These include: יצרתה מעפר (line 21b), כיא יש מקוה (line 22), personal purification (טהר) from sin (line 22), רוח נעוה (line 22), specific titles for angels (line 23–24), להלל שמכה (line 24), לספר נפלאותיכה (line 24), ואני יצר החמר (lines 24–25), מגבל במים (line 25a), and the use of rhetorical questions for self-deprecation (line 25a).

Based on these observations, we must conclude that Tanzer is also partially correct. She rightly notes that the material in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a is closer in relationship to the “Community Hymns” than to the “Teacher Hymns.” I would refine Tanzer’s analysis by suggesting that XI 21b–25a is a later interpolation from an H⁴ redactor. The H⁴ interpolation in 1QH^a XI 21b–25a probably begins with the words וואדעה כיא in line 21b, while the words in lines 20–21a (ending with במישור לאין חקר) were originally written by the H¹ psalmist.¹¹⁰ Most likely, the interpolation ends with the words ומה כוח לי כיא in line 25.¹¹¹ Based on this evidence, we should associate 1QH^a XI 21b–25a with H⁴, while the rest of the psalm belongs to H¹, as Douglas and Harkins have demonstrated.

1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6

Douglas has examined the unity of 1QH^a XII 6–XIII 6, and concluded that XII 30b–XIII 6 is probably a secondary insertion.¹¹² This is in agreement with the early

¹¹⁰ I think the evidence is quite clear that lines 20–21a belong to the H¹ psalmist. The term מישור (line 21a) is only used elsewhere in 1QH^a X 31 and partially reconstructed in 1QH^a XV 28. The phrase לאין חקר is found elsewhere in H¹ (1QH^a XIV 6; XVI 18) although it might be reconstructed in 1QH^a V 16; XIV 19–20; and XXI 16. The terms שאול (1QH^a XI 10, 17, 20; XVI 29; XVII 4; see also IV 25; XIV 20; XVIII 39 and XXV 14) and אבדון (see XI 17, 33; also reconstructed in XXI 21) are quite normal for H¹.

¹¹¹ Originally, instead of a כיא beginning the words ומה כוח לי כיא in line 25 there was probably some adversative transitional element, such as ואני.

¹¹² Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 105–12.

findings of Becker, Kuhn, and Tanzer.¹¹³ While Douglas associates XII 30b–XIII 6 with what he calls “Source 1,” that is, the material in 1QH^a I–VIII, I would associate this material with H⁴.¹¹⁴ 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 contains several terms and phrases that are characteristic of the H⁴ material: the use of rhetorical questions (line 30); יצר חמר (line 30), והוא בעוון מרחם (lines 30–31), מעל (lines 31, 35), מעשי צדקה (line 32), כוח גבורה (line 33), רוב סליחה (line 33), המון רחמים (lines 37, 38, XIII 4), purification from sin (line 38), and סליחה (line XIII 4).

1QH^a XIV 9–22a

Tanzer has argued that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a consists of material “adapted from the Hymns of the Community.”¹¹⁵ She notes that this section is concerned with “soteriological confessions” which are normally a characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” According to Tanzer, only lines 9–22a contain wisdom themes and terminology, while such wisdom elements are absent from the rest of the *hodayah*.

Douglas has also analyzed the unity of 1QH^a XIII 22–XV 8 and has rejected Tanzer’s proposal that XIV 9–22a is an interpolation.¹¹⁶ He argues for the unity of XIII 22–XV 8 by citing a handful of terminological parallels between XIV 9–22a and his “Block A” and “Block B” material. Douglas concludes from this that the evidence for an

¹¹³ See n. 12 above.

¹¹⁴ In a number of the places where Douglas notes similarities between 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 and his “Source 1” he is actually noting similarities between 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 and H⁴ interpolations within the H³ psalms. For example, Douglas observes the use of בשר in 1QH^a XII 30 and compares it to בשר in 1QH^a V 30 and VII 34 (both of which are H⁴ interpolations). Likewise, Douglas compares בידכה משפט כולם in 1QH^a XIII 6 with בידך משפט כולם in 1QH^a VIII 11 (another H⁴ interpolation). Douglas does record some similarities between 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 and actual H³ material (XII 32–33 is similar to VII 25–26 and XII 39 is similar to VII 27–30), but this can easily be explained if we hypothesize that the H⁴ redactor who composed 1QH^a XII 30b–XIII 6 knew of the H³ psalms which had been written earlier.

¹¹⁵ Tanzer, “The Sages of Qumran,” 115–116.

¹¹⁶ Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 194–201. Douglas discusses 1QH^a XIV 6–22a as a single literary unit within the larger psalm. I would agree with Tanzer, however, that the unit begins in XIV 9 with the words ואדעה כי and it ends in line 22 with the words אשמה עד כלה.

interpolation in XIV 9–22a is “doubtful.”¹¹⁷ He then goes on to state, “If it [1QH^a XIV 6–22a] were an interpolation, then one would have to hold that the interpolator took great pains to imitate the speech of the ‘Teacher Hymns.’”

I would suggest that this is exactly what has happened. 1QH^a XIV 9–22a is an H⁴ interpolation that has been inserted into an H¹ psalm. The H⁴ interpolator knew the H¹ psalms, including the Garden of Eden psalm in 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36, and he intentionally adopted themes and terminology from the H¹ material to craft his interpolation. The interpolation begins in line 9 with a characteristic H⁴ expression, וַאֲדַעָה כִּי יֵשׁ מִקֹּוה, and it ends in line 22 with the words אֲשֶׁמָּה עַד כֹּלָה. Other characteristic H⁴ features in this section include: חֲטָאָה (line 9), טָהָר (line 11), הַמּוֹן רַחֲמִים (line 12), סְלִיחָה (line 12), נִפְלְאוֹת (line 14), אֵין הַשְּׁבַת (line 15), מְלַאֲךְ (line 16), and the use of מְלִיִּץ to refer to angels (line 16).

It is interesting to note that if we omit XIV 9–22a, there is a remarkable parallelism in the flow of thought and terminology between the remainder of column XIV and the psalm in 1QH^a X 5–21. We can see the terminological symmetry in the following chart:

- X 5 and XIV 5: לְבִי/לִבִּי
- X 6 and XIV 7: מוֹכִיחֵי צְדָק (this expression is only used in these two places in 1QH^a)
- X 6 and XIV 8: חֲמָס (this noun is only used in these two places in 1QH^a)
- X 8 and XIV 24: הוֹוָה
- X 9 and XIV 23: עָרַל
- X 10 and XIV 25: רִשְׁעָה
- X12 and XIV 27: לִישֵׁר דֶּרֶךְ/לִישְׁרֵי דֶרֶךְ
- In X 14 and XIV 25, both psalms break into a violent sea metaphor with a number of parallel terms: גְּלִיחָם (X 14; XIV 26), הַמָּה (X 18; XIV 26, 27), חַיִּי (X 19; reconstructed in XIV 27), etc.

¹¹⁷ Importantly, Douglas does acknowledge that the Edenic imagery in XIV 9–22a is oriented toward an entire community while the corresponding imagery in 1QH^a XVI is focused on the author and “is consistent with the tendency of the ‘Teacher Hymns’” (“Power and Praise,” 199). This observation supports my contention that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a belongs with the H⁴ material, not H¹.

The fact that 1QH^a XIV 9–22a interrupts the symmetry between X 5–21 and column XIV is additional evidence that XIV 9–22a is a later interpolation.

1QH^a XV 29–36 and XV 37–XVI 4

Most close studies of 1QH^a XV 29–36 and XV 37–XVI 4 have argued that these two psalms should not be classified with the “Teacher Hymns” (see n. 16 and 17 above). I would agree with this assessment, and, based on terminological and thematic similarity, I would suggest that they belong with the H⁴ material. In 1QH^a XV 29–36, there are a number of characteristic H⁴ features: רוב רחמים (line 30), אלים (line 31), use of the verb צדק (line 31), להתיצב לפני ___ +כה (line 32), תוכחת (line 32), סליחה (line 33), purification from sin (line 33), and המון רחמים (line 33), rhetorical questions (line 31, 35), use of הוא as a copula (line 35), and מעשי פלאכה (line 35). Likewise, 1QH^a XV 37–XVI 4 contains the following H⁴ characteristics: סליחה (line 38), and המון רחמים (line 38), אשמת מעל (line 39), highly pessimistic anthropology (lines 39–40), and נדה (line 40).

1QH^a XVII 6b–18a

Tanzer has proposed that 1QH^a XVII 14–18a contains material adapted from the “Community Hymns.”¹¹⁸ In principle, I would agree with Tanzer’s assessment, except that I would attribute the interpolated material to an H⁴ redactor and I would expand the interpolation to include all of the material beginning with the word ואני in line 6 and ending in the middle of line 18 with the small *vacat* before the word ואני. This section of column XVII contains numerous terms and phrases characteristic of H⁴: נפלאותיכה (line 7), מִקֵּץ לִקְצֵץ (line 7),

¹¹⁸ Tanzer, “The Sages at Qumran,” 117–22.

(lines 7–8), המון רחמיכה (line 8), תוכחת (line 8), תחנה (line 11), סליחות^ו (line 13), פשע ראשון (line 13), אדעה^ו כ[י] יש מקוה (line 14), צדק (line 14), and זק[ה] (line 15).

1QH^a XVII 24

The word תוכחתכה in 1QH^a XVII 24 was probably inserted by an H⁴ redactor in place of another word. Elsewhere in the *Hodayot*, only the H⁴ psalmist uses the word תוכחת (1QH^a XV 32; XVII 9, 33; XX 24, 34; XXII 28). In XVII 9 and 33, the word תוכחת is used in two separate H⁴ interpolations. Given that a redactor used תוכחת twice in this column, it is not unlikely that he could have inserted the word again in line 24. The clearest evidence that this word was not part of the original H¹ psalm is the fact that the word תוכחתכה in XVII 24 breaks the parallelism with the surrounding lines. 1QH^a XVII 24b–26 contains four cola in an A-B-A-B structure:

(A) ותהי תוכחתכה לי לשמחה וששון
 (B) ונגיעי למרפא ע[ולם] ושלום [נצח]
 (A) ובוז צרי לי לכליל כבוד
 (B) וכשלוני לגבורת עולם

Since the two (A) cola are structurally very similar, we would expect the first (A) colon to begin with a word or short phrase that has a first person singular pronominal suffix as in the second (A) colon. This expectation is all the more warranted since the second and fourth cola also begin with words that have a first person singular suffix. However, what we find in the first (A) colon is a second person singular suffix which breaks the parallelism. Whatever the H¹ psalmist originally wrote in XVII 24b has now been changed to תוכחתכה.

1QH^a XVII 29

The words **עד עולם** following **לפלט** in 1QH^a XVII 29 might be an H⁴ interpolation. The collocation **עד עולם** is only found elsewhere in the H⁴ psalms (1QH^a II 30; VI 34; VIII 14; XXIII 7; XXV 6). This is not absolute proof that the H¹ psalmist did not use the phrase also, but it does raise doubts about the authenticity of these words.

1QH^a XVII 33–34a

This short interpolation starts at the beginning of line 33 and ends with the word **בי** in line 34.¹¹⁹ The interpolation in these two lines is identifiable based on two factors. First, there is an abundance of characteristic H⁴ terms: **תוכחת**, **נעויה**, **סליחה**, and **המון רחמים**. Second, this interpolation interrupts the poetic structure that begins in line 32 and ends 34b (the interpolation has been inserted between the two B cola):

(line 32) **ובאמת נכול סמכתי** (A)
 (line 32) **וברוח קודשכה תשעשעני** (A)
 (line 32) **ועד היום [א]תה תנהלני** (B)
 (line 33) **ותוכחת צדקכה עם נ[ע]ויתי** (Intervening text)
 (line 33) **ומשמר שלומכה לפלט נפשי** (Intervening text)
 (line 33–34a) **ועם מצעדי רוב סליחות וחמון רחמים בהשפטכה בי** (Intervening text)
 (line 34b) **ועד שיבה אתה תכלכלני** (B)

1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14

The material in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 is not an interpolation within another psalm, but a whole psalm inserted between the last H¹ psalm (1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36) and the H³ psalm in 1QH^a XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5. It is delimited on either end by a whole line

¹¹⁹ Tanzer argued that 1QH^a XVII 29b–36 contains material adapted from the “Community Hymns” (“The Sages at Qumran,” 117–22). *Pace* Tanzer, I would restrict the interpolation to lines 33–34a. The language pertaining to parents (29b–32 and 34b–36), the womb (line 30), and the idea of divine support (line 32) is found elsewhere in the H¹ material (esp. columns XI and XV).

vacat in 1QH^a XVII 37 and another in XVIII 15. The psalm in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 undoubtedly belongs with the H⁴ material since it contains many of the distinctive H⁴ terms and phrases: שמכה (XVII 39), אין השבת (XVII 40), הלל (XVII 41), מה אף הוא (XVIII 5, 14), אדמה הוא (XVIII 5), נפלאות (XVIII 6), humanity as אפר and עפר (XVIII 7), rhetorical questions (XVIII 7), אלים (XVIII 10), God as מלך (XVIII 10), מבלעדיכה לא יעשה כול (XVIII 11), מעשי פלאכה (XVIII 13), להתיצב לפני כבודכה (XVIII 13). Douglas has noted that this psalm shares two expressions with the psalm in 1QH^a XV 29–36.¹²⁰ The first is the phrase מעשי פלאכה הגדולים which is only found in 1QH^a XVIII 13 and XV 35–36. The second is the claim that no one is able to stand before God’s glory or wrath (1QH^a XVIII 13 and XV 32).

Douglas has argued that 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 was composed as a conclusion to the “Teacher Hymns,” or what Douglas refers to as the “Teacher’s Book.” He sees this psalm as forming an *inclusio* with column IX, noting especially the common terminology מבלעדיכה לא יעשה כול used in IX 10, 22 and XVIII 3–4, 11.¹²¹ Douglas also sees 1QH^a XVIII 16–XIX 5; XIX 6–17; and XIX 18–XX 6 as “an appendix or an expanded conclusion to the Teacher’s Book.”¹²² While I would disagree with Douglas’ conclusion that 1QH^a XVIII 16–XIX 5; XIX 6–17; and XIX 18–XX 6 were meant as an appendix to a “Teacher’s Book,” I think he is correct that 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 was added to form an *inclusio* with column IX. I would hypothesize that when the H¹⁻² psalm collection was edited by an H⁴ redactor (see §4 below), the psalm in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14 and the interpolation in

¹²⁰ Douglas, “Power and Praise,” 237.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 238–40.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 244.

XVIII 16b–24a were added to form a new conclusion to this collection that would mirror the introduction in column IX.¹²³

1QH^a XVIII 16b–24a

This interpolation begins in line 16 after the word אדוני. There is no other instance in the *Hodayot* where we have two vocative addresses, such as “O Lord, God of compassion. . . .” I would speculate, then, that the title אל הרחמים is the beginning of an H⁴ interpolation. This is supported by the fact that the only other use of אל הרחמים is in 1QH^a XIX 32.

Lines 16b–24a are filled with terminology typical for H⁴: לספֹר נפלאותכה (lines 16–17), בגדול טובכה (line 18), מגערתכה (line 20),¹²⁴ המון רחמים (line 23), סליחותיכה (line 23), and אקוה (line 24). We can also observe that lines 16b–24a are filled with first person singular verbs, while these are rare in lines 24b to the end. All of this indicates that lines 16b–24a are a secondary insertion from an H⁴ redactor. The H³ psalm probably resumes in line 24 with the words כי אתה יצרתה רוןִי.¹²⁵ The idea that God formed each person’s spirit is characteristic of H³ (1QH^a VI 22–23; VII 26–27), and the remainder of the material in lines 24b–XIX 5 bears a number of standard H³ features.

By adding the words כי הודיתני אלה in line 16b, the H⁴ redactor apparently intended to join 1QH^a XVIII 16–XIX 5 to the psalm in 1QH^a XVII 38–XVIII 14. The word אלה (“these things”) in line 16b would refer to the wonders of God’s cosmic design mentioned

¹²³ Since both column IX and column XVIII were heavily edited by an H⁴ redactor, it is possible that both columns were edited at the same time.

¹²⁴ The noun גערה is only used here in 1QH^a, but the verb גער is used twice in the H⁴ material (1QH^a XVII 11; XXII 25).

¹²⁵ I would conjecture that the original H³ psalm started with the words ברוך אתה אדוני כי אתה יצרתה . . . רוח עבדכה (lines 16a + 24b).

in XVIII 3–7. If this is the case, then it is likely that the redactor responsible for composing the psalm in XVII 38–XVIII 14 was the same person who inserted the interpolation in XVIII 16b–24a.

3. Relative Chronology of the Groups of *Hodayot* Material

I will now consider how we can determine the chronological order in which these groups of material within the *Hodayot* were composed. To begin with, I would argue that the H⁴ material was written last. The strongest evidence for this is the presence of H⁴ interpolations throughout the other groups of *Hodayot* material. The presence of these interpolations indicates that H⁴ was the final redactional stage of the *Hodayot*.

There are also several specific indicators that H⁴ has borrowed and developed ideas from the rest of the *Hodayot*. For example, in 1QH^a XXII 8–9 the H⁴ psalmist declares “I am a sinful man and one who has wallowed [. . .] wicked guilt” (. . .] ואני איש פשע ומגולל רשעה). This closely resembles a statement made by the H¹ psalmist in 1QH^a XIV 25: “they [determ]ine upon a wicked scheme, and wallow in guilt” (רשעה]ויכי[נו מהשבת רשעה). Both passages share common terminology, including גלל,¹²⁶ אשמה, and רשעה, but there is a significant difference: in XIV 25 these words describe the psalmist’s enemies while in XXII 8–9 they describe the psalmist himself. It would appear that the H⁴ psalmist adopted the language of the H¹ psalmist and reapplied it to himself.

Another example of theological development in H⁴ can be seen in 1QH^a XIV 15–22a which closely resemble H¹’s Garden of Eden psalm in 1QH^a XVI 5–XVII 36. For the H¹ psalmist, the Garden of Eden is a present reality. He is the Adam-like gardener who

¹²⁶ Within the 1QH^a manuscript, the verb גלל is only used in these two passages and IV 31.

irrigates his community with the water of God's revelation, causing them to grow into a paradise. The H⁴ psalmist, however, uses much of the same language and imagery as in column XVI, but he describes the community's transformation into an Edenic paradise as a future eschatological event with little or no sense of a present reality. Because of the highly poetic structure of H¹'s Garden of Eden psalm, it is likely that this version came first and H⁴'s version in column XIV was a secondary adaptation.

Regarding H³, there is substantial evidence that the author of this collection of psalms drew upon H¹ and H². Previously (see §2.2 above), I demonstrated that the H³ material in 1QH^a V 24–30a is a paraphrase of the H² Creation Hymn. The line of dependency can only go one direction in this case, from H² to H³. I think it is most likely that the highly structured Creation Hymn served as the basis for the less structured text in 1QH^a V 24–30a. A similar argument can be made for the relationship between H³ and H¹. In 1QH^a XVIII 26–38, the H³ psalmist reinterprets H¹'s Garden of Eden psalm as a condemnation on those who take refuge in their wealth. As part of this reinterpretation, the role of the psalmist also changes. Whereas the H¹ psalmist describes himself as an Adam-like gardener who waters the plants of the garden, the H³ psalmist describes himself as a plant being watered. The H¹ psalmist claims to be the source or conduit of divine revelation, while the H³ psalmist sees himself as a recipient of revelation. Essentially, the H³ psalmist has distanced himself from the authoritative claims of the H¹ psalmist.

With respect to the H² Creation Hymn, it would appear that this hymn was added as a new introduction after the H¹ psalms had been compiled.¹²⁷ However, we do not know if the Creation Hymn was composed specifically for this purpose or whether it had been

¹²⁷ Previous scholars have suggested that 1QH^a IX 1–X 4 was added secondarily as an introduction to the "Teacher Hymns." See Eileen M. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994): 145; Douglas, "Power and Praise," 219, 232–35.

composed prior to the H^1 psalms and circulated independently before it was attached at the beginning.

4. The Process of the *Hodayot*'s Formation

Now that we have considered the relative chronology for the composition of material in $1QH^a$, we must recognize that the order in which the *Hodayot* groups were composed almost certainly does not reflect the order in which material was physically joined together to form this collection of psalms. In other words, some psalms that were composed relatively early were only attached to the collection of *Hodayot* psalms quite late in its development. In Diagram 1, below, I have illustrated my proposal for the process by which the *Hodayot* was formed into the collection attested in $1QH^a$.

The *Hodayot* initially began as a collection of psalms which I have labeled H^1 . After the H^1 psalms were compiled, the H^2 Creation Hymn was attached to the beginning as a new introduction to the H^1 collection. H^{1-2} was then transmitted as a single collection. Following this, another psalmist composed the material I have labeled H^3 . At this early stage, most of the H^3 psalms were transmitted independent of the H^{1-2} collection, with the exceptions of the sentence in $1QH^a$ IX 23a and the H^3 psalm in $1QH^a$ XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5. The sentence in column IX and the psalm in column XVIII were probably added into the H^{1-2} collection quite early.¹²⁸ At this point, two separate “*Hodayot*” collections would have been in circulation: (1) the H^{1-2} collection plus $1QH^a$ IX 23a and XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5, and (2) the collection of the H^3 psalms in what is now $1QH^a$ V–VIII.

¹²⁸ Since $1QH^a$ XVIII 16a+24b–XIX 5 draws substantially upon the last H^1 psalm ($1QH^a$ XVI 5–XVII 36) it might have been appended as a new conclusion for the H^{1-2} collection. Douglas has advanced a similar argument, although I would disagree with him that $1QH^a$ XVII 38–XVIII 14 was part of the collection at this time (“Power and Praise,” 244). The material in $1QH^a$ XVII 38–XVIII 14 undoubtedly belongs to H^4 and was inserted at a later time.

The next phase would have been the composition of the H⁴ psalms and interpolations. At this time, an H⁴ psalmist composed a collection of psalms which is equivalent to 1QH^a XIX–XXVIII, including the psalm in 1QH^a VII 12–20. Initially, this H⁴ collection of psalms was transmitted independently. The manuscript 4Q427 (*Hodayot*^d) probably attests to this stage in the developmental process when there was an independent collection of H⁴ psalms. Around the same time, an H⁴ redactor added material to and edited the H¹⁻² collection of psalms, resulting in a product approximately equivalent to what we now see in 1QH^a IX 1–XIX 5. This H⁴ redaction of the H¹⁻² collection is most likely attested in 4Q432 (*Hodayot*^f) and possibly 4Q429 (*Hodayot*^e).¹²⁹ Also at this time, the H³ collection of psalms was substantially edited by an H⁴ redactor, resulting in a collection of material close to what we have from the beginning of 1QH^a through column VIII. The editor of this combined collection preferred a defective orthography for the second person singular masculine pronominal suffix¹³⁰ and also liked to use the direct object marker נא.¹³¹

¹²⁹ According to the reconstruction proposed by Stegemann and Schuller, the manuscript 4Q432 originally began with 1QH^a IX 1 and probably ended at 1QH^a XVII 36 or some point thereafter (*DJD XXIX*, 210–11). This would mean that the manuscript contained the H² Creation Hymn (1QH^a IX 9–22) along with the H¹ psalms and most if not all of the H⁴ interpolations found in 1QH^a IX 1–XVII 36. Several of the extant fragments indicate that this collection of H¹⁻² material had already been redacted with H⁴ interpolations. 4Q432 2 1 contains two words from 1QH^a IX 36; frag. 10 1–2 has part of the interpolation represented in 1QH^a XII 36–37; and frag. 12 1–4 contains words from the H⁴ psalm in 1QH^a XV 29–36.

The same stage of development might be attested in 4Q429, although the evidence from 4Q429 is less conclusive than that from 4Q432. Stegemann and Schuller have hypothesized that this scroll originally could have contained the psalms represented in 1QH^a IX 1–XVII 36, i.e. the H¹⁻² material (see *DJD XXIX*, 178–79). In addition, fragment 4 i contains part of an H⁴ interpolation that is represented in 1QH^a XIV 9–22a.

¹³⁰ As others have noted, 1QH^a beginning–VIII (excluding VII 12–20) almost universally uses a defective spelling of the second person pronominal suffix (7-) while columns IX–XXVIII have a *plene* spelling (נא-). This orthographic difference supports the hypothesis that 1QH^a IX–XXVIII was transmitted as a collection separately from 1QH^a beginning–VIII. Douglas states, “The orthographic and Cave 4 ms. evidence point strongly to the conclusion that cols. 1-8 once existed as an independent collection that was attached to Collections 2 and 3” (“Power and Praise,” 242).

¹³¹ The direct object marker נא is only found in columns I(?)–VIII, and it is found in both H³ and H⁴ material (IV 25, 33; V 25, 28; VI 21, 32, 40; VII 22, 27, 33; VIII 25, 27). I would suggest that the presence of נא in these columns is a scribal characteristic introduced in the process of textual transmission. In other words, the use of נא in 1QH^a I(?)–VIII indicates that these columns were transmitted independently apart from the rest of the *Hodayot*, even after some of the H⁴ redactions had been added into the H³ psalms.

This collection of H³ psalms with H⁴ additions continued to be transmitted independently. At this point, there would have been three independent groups of *Hodayot* material in circulation: (1) a group of H³ psalms with H⁴ redactions equivalent to 1QH^a I(?)–VIII; (2) the redacted H¹⁻² collection equivalent to 1QH^a IX 1–XIX 5; and (3) a collection of H⁴ psalms equivalent to 1QH^a XIX 6–XXVIII.

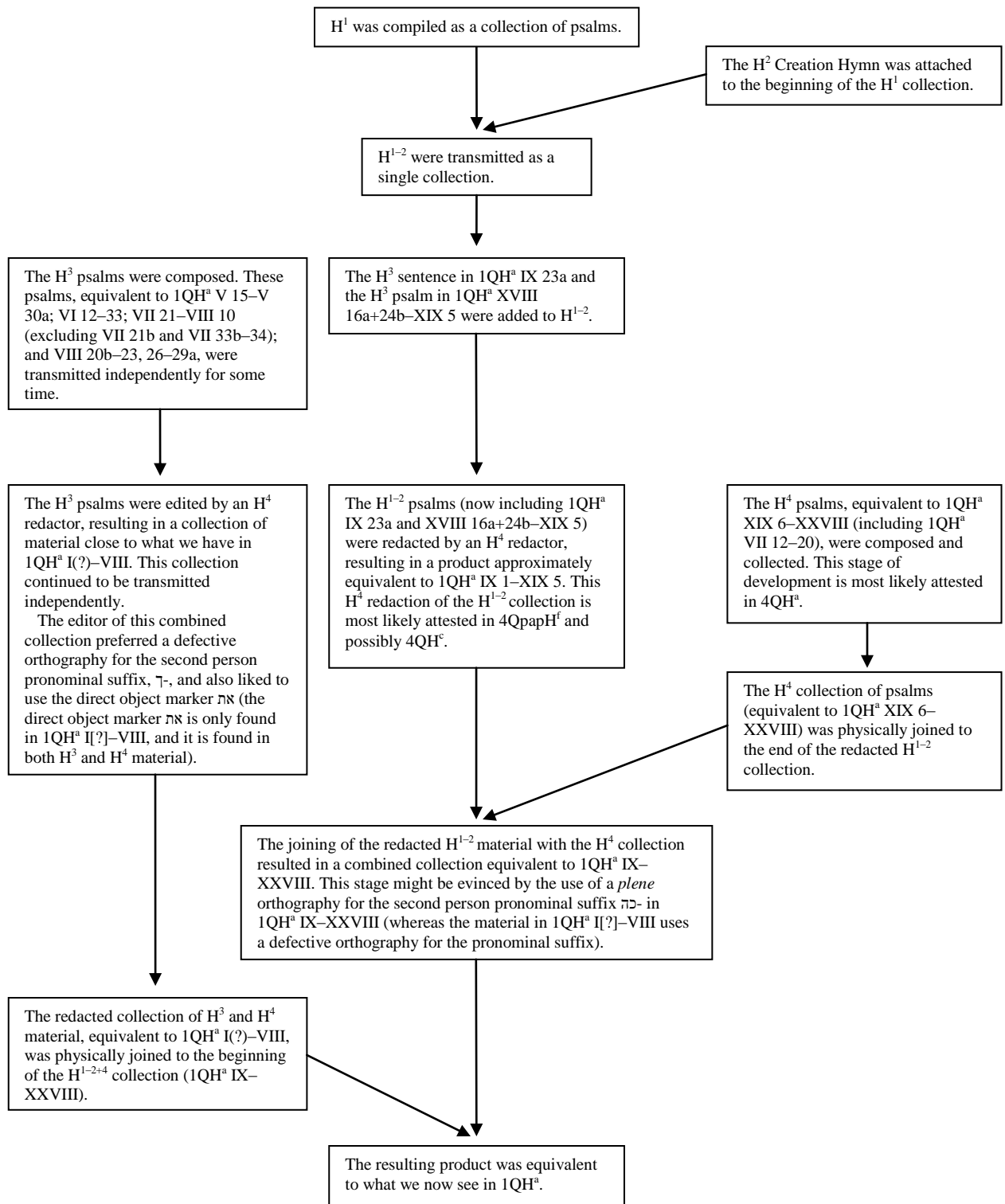
The penultimate stage of development came when the H⁴ collection of psalms was physically joined to the end of the redacted H¹⁻² collection, resulting in a combined collection equivalent to 1QH^a IX–XXVIII. This stage of development is evinced by the fairly uniform use of a *plene* orthography for the second person singular masculine pronominal suffix in columns IX–XXVIII.

At the final stage of development (at least as far as we know it), the redacted collection of H³ psalms with H⁴ material was affixed to the beginning of what is now columns IX–XXVIII. This final stage of development is what we see in the reconstructed 1QH^a manuscript and possibly in 4Q428 (*Hodayot*^b).¹³² This final stage of the *Hodayot* might have been intentionally shaped into a five part collection of psalms. Puech has suggested that 1QH^a originally had five לַמִּשְׁכִּיל headings.¹³³ Four are still extant in 1QH^a V 12; VII 21; XX 14; XXV 34, while a fifth has to be postulated at the beginning of the manuscript. Whether or not this was meant to mimic the Psalter, as Puech believes, I would argue that an H⁴ redactor was responsible for this attempt at organization. Two of the לַמִּשְׁכִּיל headings are clearly in H⁴ psalms (1QH^a XX 14; XXV 34), and the other two,

¹³² Stegemann and Schuller have proposed that 4Q428 originally contained the same collection of psalms as in 1QH^a and in the same order (*DJD XXIX*, 125–28). If this is correct, then it would mean that the *Hodayot* reached its last developmental stage by the beginning of the first century BCE. Note, however, that Harkins has challenged this reconstruction of 4Q428. For Harkins' arguments, see "A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a", 101–34; eadem, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 10–11.

¹³³ Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration," 52–53; idem, "Hodayot," in *EDSS*, 366–67.

1QH^a V 12–15 and VII 21, are part of H⁴ interpolations within H³ psalms (see §2.4.1 above). If this is the case, then an H⁴ redactor was responsible for shaping the *Hodayot* into a fivefold collection.

Diagram 1: Process of the Formation of the *Hodayot*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts and Translations

- Alexander, Philip S. and Geza Vermes. *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 26. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Baillet, Maurice. *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- Barthélemy, Dominique and Józef T. Milik. *Qumran Cave I*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
- Beentjes, Pancratius C. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 68. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- Burrows, Millar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume II, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*. New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951.
- Broshi, Magen, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992.
- Broshi, Magen, Esther Eshel, Joseph Fitzmyer, Erik Larson, Carol Newsom, Lawrence Schiffman, Mark Smith, Michael Stone, John Strugnell, and Ada Yardeni. *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- _____. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 2: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- Charlesworth, James H., Frank M. Cross, Jacob Milgrom, Elisha Qimron, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Richard E. Whitaker, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1. Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.

- Charlesworth, James H., Carol A. Newsom, Henry W. L. Rietz, Brent A. Strawn, and Richard E. Whitaker, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 4B. Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Chazon, Esther, Torleif Elgvin, Esther Eshel, Daniel Falk, Bilhah Nitzan, Elisha Qimron, Eileen Schuller, David Seely, Eibert Tigchelaar, and Moshe Weinfeld. *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 29. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- Elgvin, Torleif, Menachem Kister, Timothy Lim, Bilhah Nitzan, Stephen Pfann, Elisha Qimron, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Annette Steudel. *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 20. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Eshel, Esther, Hanan Eshel, Carol Newsom, Bilhah Nitzan, Eileen Schuller, and Ada Yardeni. *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 11. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. *Qumran Cave 11.II: (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Greenfield, Jonas C., Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel. *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 19. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Gropp, Douglas M., Moshe Bernstein, Monica Brady, James Charlesworth, Peter Flint, Haggai Misgav, Stephen Pfann, Eileen Schuller, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and James VanderKam. *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 28. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- Josephus*. Translated by H. St. Thackeray et al. 10 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965.
- Kasser, Rodolphe, Marvin Meyer, Gregor Wurst, and François Gaudard. *The Gospel of Judas together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos: Critical Edition*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007.

- Machiela, Daniel A. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 79. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Parry, Donald W. and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–05.
- Philo*. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 10 vols. and 2 supplementary vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,
- Pietersma, Albert and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume One*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010.
- Robinson, James M., ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. 3d rev. ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.
- Stegemann, Hartmut and Eileen Schuller. *1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 40. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr l^eMēvîn): 4Q415ff*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 34. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- VanderKam, James C. *The Book of Jubilees*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 511, Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 88. Louvain: Peeters, 1989.
- Vermes, Geza. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. London: Penguin, 1997.
- Wise, Michael O., Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Rev. ed. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Yadin, Yigael. *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. Translated by Batya and Chaim Rabin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Literature Cited

- Aaron, David H. “Shedding Light on God’s Body in Rabbinic Midrashim: Reflections on the Theory of a Luminous Adam.” *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997): 299–314.

Adams, Samuel L. *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 125. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

_____. "Rethinking the Relationship between *4QInstruction* and *Ben Sira*." *Revue de Qumran* 24 (2010): 555–83.

Aitken, James K. "The Semantics of 'Glory' in Ben Sira—Traces of a Development in Post-Biblical Hebrew." Pages 1–24 in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 33. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Alexander, Philip S. "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal." *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 437–53.

_____. "'Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places': Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community." Pages 318–37 in *The Scrolls and the Scripture: Qumran Fifty Years After*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26. Roehampton Institute London Papers 3. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.

_____. "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 331–53 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

_____. *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*. Library of Second Temple Studies 61. London: T & T Clark, 2006.

_____. "Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 27–49 in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*. Edited by John M. G. Barclay and Simon Gathercole. Library of New Testament Studies 335. London: T & T Clark, 2006.

_____. "Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism." Pages 215–35 in *New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru, in collaboration with Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 88. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Allison, Dale C., Jr. "The Authorship of 1QS III, 13 – IV, 14." *Revue de Qumran* 10 (1979–81): 257–68.

_____. "The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 189–97.

_____. *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Anderson, Gary A. "The Cosmic Mountain: Eden and its Early Interpreters in Syriac Christianity." Pages 187–224 in *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*. Edited by Gregory Allen Robbins. *Studies in Women and Religion* 27. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1988.

Angel, Joseph L. *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 86. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran." Pages 27–54 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 89. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511)." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19 (2012): 1–27.

Ashton, John. "'Mystery' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel." Pages 53–68 in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*. Edited by Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher. *Society of Biblical Literature, Early Judaism and Its Literature* 32. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Atwill, Joseph and Steve Braunheim. "Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11 (2004): 143–57.

Aune, David E. *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity*. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 28. Leiden: Brill, 1972.

Bardtke, Hans. "Considérations sur les cantiques de Qumrân." *Revue Biblique* 63 (1956): 220–33.

Barker, Margaret. *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem*. London: SPCK, 1991.

_____. *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy*. London: T & T Clark, 2003.

Barr, James. *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

Barstad, Hans M. "Prophecy at Qumran?" Pages 104–20 in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Its Period*. Edited by Knud Jeppesen, Kirsten Nielsen, and Bent Rosendal. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994.

Basser, H. W. "The Rabbinic Attempt to Democratize Salvation and Revelation." *Studies in Religion* 12 (1983): 27–33.

Bauckham, Richard J. "The Role of the Spirit in the Apocalypse." *Evangelical Quarterly* 52 (1980): 66–83.

Baumgarten, Joseph M. "The Qumran Sabbath Širot and the Rabbinic Merkabah Traditions." *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 199–213.

_____. "4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord's Vineyard." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 40 (1989): 1–6.

_____. "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991): 133–43.

Becker, Jürgen. *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament*. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.

Berg, Shane A. "Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Heritage and Transformation of the Wisdom Tradition." PhD diss., Yale University, 2008.

_____. "Religious Epistemology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community." Pages 333–49 in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*. Edited by Daniel Harlow, Karina Martin Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Joel S. Kaminsky. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

_____. "Ben Sira, the Genesis Creation Accounts, and the Knowledge of God's Will." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132 (2013): 139–57.

Betz, Otto. *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 6. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960.

Birnbaum, Solomon. "The Date of the Hymns Scroll (1QH)." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 84 (1952): 94–103

_____. *The Hebrew Scripts*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1971.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974): 239–62.

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

_____. "From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heavenly Tablets as the Foundation of a Competing Halakah." Pages 193–210 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Bockmuehl, Markus N. A. *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 36. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990.

_____. "Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*." *Revue de Qumran* 18 (1998): 541–60.

Bonani, Georges, Susan Ivy, Willy Wölfli, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell. "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 843–49.

Boustan, Ra'anan S. "Sevenfold Hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature: Formalism, Hierarchy and the Limits of Human Participation." Pages 220–47 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*. Edited by James R. Davila. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 46. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

_____. "Angels in the Architecture: Temple Art and the Poetics of Praise in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*." Pages 195–212 in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*. Edited by Ra'anan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Bowley, James E. "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran." Pages 354–78 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Brand, Miryam T. "'At the Entrance Sin is Crouching': The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature." PhD diss., New York University, 2011.

Brooke, George J. *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 29. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.

- _____. "4QTestament of Levi^d (?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest." Pages 83–100 in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*. Edited by Martinus C. De Boer. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 84. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- _____. "Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community." Pages 285–301 in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. Edited by Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 118. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- _____. "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards." Pages 151–65 in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 427. London: T & T Clark, 2006.
- _____. "The Structure of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 and the Meaning of Resurrection." Pages 15–33 in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 61. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- _____. "The Place of Prophecy in Coming Out of Exile: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 535–50 in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. Edited by Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- _____. "Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament." Pages 31–48 in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004*. Edited by Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 84. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- _____. "Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to be a Prophet?" Pages 77–97 in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*. Edited by Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 52. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Brown, Raymond E. "The Pre-Christian Semitic Concept of 'Mystery.'" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 20 (1958): 417–43.

_____. “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mysterion* (I).” *Biblica* 39 (1958): 426–48.

_____. “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mysterion* (II).” *Biblica* 40 (1959): 70–87.

Brownlee, William H. *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 24. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979.

Bull, Christian H. “The Notion of Mysteries in the Formation of Hermetic Tradition.” Pages 399–425 in *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty*. Edited by Christian H. Bull, Liv Ingeborg Lied and John D. Turner. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 76. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Bumazhnov, Dmitriy F. “Adam Alone in Paradise: A Jewish-Christian Exegesis and Its Implications for the History of Asceticism.” Pages 31–41 in *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Emmanouela Grypeou and Helen Spurling. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 18. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Bunta, Silviu. “Too Vast to Fit in the World: Moses, Adam, and צלם אלהים in *Testament of Moses* 11:8.” *Henoch* 26 (2004): 188–204.

_____. “One Man (φως) in Heaven: Adam-Moses Polemics in the Romanian Versions of *The Testament of Abraham* and Ezekiel the Tragedian’s *Exagoge*.” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 16 (2007): 139–65.

Burrows, Millar. “The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters.” Pages 156–92 in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*. Edited by P. A. H. de Boer. Leiden: Brill, 1950.

_____. *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955).

de Caemel, Jean. “La connaissance religieuse dans les Hymnes d’action de grâces de Qumrân.” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 38 (1962): 435–60.

Carmignac, Jean. “Les éléments historiques des ‘hymnes’ de Qumran.” *Revue de Qumran* 2 (1959–1960): 205–22.

Charlesworth, James H. “An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh Has-sedeq* (1QH 8:4–11).” Pages 295–307 in “*Sha‘arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. Edited by Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

Chazon, Esther G. "The Creation and Fall Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 13–24 in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*. Edited by Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay. Tradition Exegetica Graeca 5. Louvain: Peeters, 1997.

_____. "Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection." Pages 135–49 in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 91. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Chesnutt, Randall D. "Covenant and Cosmos in Wisdom of Solomon 10–19." Pages 223–49 in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Cherian, Jacob. "The Moses at Qumran: The מורה הצדק as the Nursing Father of the יחד." Pages 351–61 in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume Two: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.

Clifford, Richard J. *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Cohen Stuart, G. H. *The Struggle in Man between Good and Evil: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Rabbinic Concept of Yeşer Hara'*. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1984.

Collins, John J. *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. New York: Doubleday, 1995.

_____. "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in pre-Christian Judaism." Pages 43–58 in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Edited by John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995.

_____. "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 19–32 in „*Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit . . .*“ *Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Weisheit, Diethelm Michel zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Anja A. Diesel, Reinhard G. Lehmann, Eckart Otto, and Andreas Wagner. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 241. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.

_____. *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Routledge, 1997.

_____. *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997.

_____. "Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 265–81.

_____. *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.

_____. "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 403–30 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

_____. "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran." Pages 609–18 in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

_____. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

_____. *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

_____. "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon." Pages 287–305 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.

_____. "Review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2003): 73–79.

_____. "Amazing Grace: The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran." Pages 75–85 in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 25. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____. "Before the Fall: The Earliest Interpretations of Adam and Eve." Pages 293–308 in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*. Edited by Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 83. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

- _____. “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 49–65 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- _____. “Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 29–43 in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*. Edited by Matthias Henze. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- _____. “The Essenes and the Afterlife.” Pages 35–53 in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 61. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- _____. “The Angelic Life.” Pages 291–310 in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*. Edited by Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Økland. Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- _____. *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
- Cook, Edward M. “What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It? Revelation and God in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 3–22 in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Five: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume Two: World View, Comparing Judaisms*. Edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East 57. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Cook, Johann. “The Law of Moses as a Fence and a Fountain.” Pages 280–88 in *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll*. Edited by Alastair G. Hunter and Philip R. Davies. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 348. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- _____. “The Origin of the Tradition of the יצר הרע and יצר הטוב.” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 (2007): 80–91.
- Coppens, Joseph. “‘Mystery’ in the Theology of Saint Paul and Its Parallels at Qumran.” Pages 132–58 in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jerome Murphy-O’Connor and James H. Charlesworth. New York: Crossroad, 1990.

- Corbett, John H. "Muddying the Water: Metaphors for Exegesis." Pages 205–21 in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*. Edited by Wendy E. Helleman. Lanham, ML: University Press of America, 1994.
- Coulot, Claude. "L'image de Dieu dans les écrits de sagesse 1Q26, 4Q415-418, 4Q423." Pages 171–81 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.
- _____. "L'Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III, 13 – IV, 26): structure et genèse." *Revue des sciences religieuses* 82 (2008): 147–60.
- Crawford, Sidnie White. "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998): 355–66.
- Cross, Frank Moore, Jr. "The Development of the Jewish Scripts." Pages 133–202 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*. Edited by G. Ernest Wright. New York: Doubleday, 1961.
- Daise, Michael A. "Biblical Creation Motifs in the Qumran Hodayot." Pages 293–305 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- Davenport, Carl Wayne. "Knowledge in 1QS and CD." PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1968.
- Davies, W. D. "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25–30." *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953): 113–40.
- _____. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*. 4th ed. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
- Davila, James R. "The *Hodayot* Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise." *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 457–78.
- _____. *Liturgical Works*. Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 6. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- _____. "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 433–54 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- DeConick, April D. *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 33. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Delcor, M. "Le Docteur de Justice, nouveau Moïse, dans les Hymnes de Qumrân." Pages 407–23 in *Le Psautier. Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence*. Edited by Robert De Langhe. Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia 4. Louvain: Université de Louvain Institut Orientaliste, 1962.
- Deutsch, Celia. "Aseneth: Ascetical Practice, Vision and Transformation." Pages 325–48 in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic, and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elior*. Edited by Daphna V. Arbel and Andrei A. Orlov. Ekstasis 2. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Dimant, Devorah. "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple." Pages 165–89 in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky*. Edited by A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud. Leuven: Peeters, 1986.
- _____. "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran." Pages 31–51 in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.
- _____. "Time, Torah and Prophecy at Qumran." Pages 147–61 in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit: Literaturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*. Edited by Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Herwig Görgemanns, and Michael von Albrecht. Ratio Religionis Studien 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Dombkowski-Hopkins, Denise. "The Qumran Community and 1QHodayot." *Revue de Qumran* 10 (1981): 323–64.
- Douglas, Michael C. "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1997.
- _____. "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6 (1999): 239–66.
- Driver, G. R. *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Duhaime, Jean. "L'instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumrân (1QS III,13-IV,26)." *Revue Biblique* 84 (1977): 566–94.
- _____. "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 49 (1987): 32–56.

_____. “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III 13 – IV 26).” Pages 103–31 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.

Dumbrell, William J. *Covenant and Creation: An Old Testament Covenantal Theology*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1984.

_____. “Creation, Covenant and Work.” *Evangelical Review of Theology* 13 (1989): 137–56.

Dupont-Sommer, André. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey*. Translated by E. Margaret Rowley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952.

_____. “L’instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le ‘Manuel de Discipline.’” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 142 (1952): 5–35.

_____. *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes: New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Translated by R. D. Barnett. New York: Macmillan, 1955.

_____. “Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH).” *Semitica* 7 (1957): 5–117.

Elgvin, Torleif. “Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4.” Pages 179–96 in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*. Edited by Michael O. Wise, et al. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994.

_____. “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing.” Pages 440–63 in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers*. Edited by Eugene H. Lovering, Jr. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 34. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.

_____. “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*.” Pages 126–65 in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 20. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

_____. “An Analysis of 4QInstruction.” PhD Diss., Hebrew University, 1997.

_____. "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation." Pages 113–50 in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*. Edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

_____. "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE—The Evidence of 4QInstruction." Pages 226–47 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.

_____. "Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic." Pages 15–38 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. "Wisdom at Qumran." Pages 147–69 in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Five: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume Two: World View, Comparing Judaisms*. Edited by Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East 57. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

_____. "Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction." Pages 67–87 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____. "Priests on Earth as in Heaven: Jewish Light on the Book of Revelation." Pages 257–78 in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

_____. "Temple Mysticism and the Temple of Men." Pages 227–42 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 90. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Elior, Rachel. "The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in the Heykalot Literature." Pages 41–54 in *Expérience et écriture mystiques dans les religions du livre: actes d'un colloque international tenu par le Centre d'études Juives, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne 1994*. Edited by Paul B. Fenton and Roland Goetschel. Études sur le judaïsme médiéval 22. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*. Translated by David Louvish. Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004.

Elliott, Mark. "Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book." Pages 23–38 in *Henoch: The Origins of Enochic Judaism. Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19–23, 2001*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2002.

Eshel, Esther. "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period." Pages 69–88 in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon, with the collaboration of Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 48. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

_____. "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 395–415 in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*. Edited by Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

Eshel, Hanan. "CD 12:15-17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran." Pages 45–52 in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February 1998*. Edited by Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 34. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.

_____. "When Were the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Recited?" Pages 3–12 in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, IV*. Edited by Moshe Bar-Asher and Devorah Dimant. Jerusalem: Bialik, 2006 [Hebrew].

Fabry, Heinz-Joseph. "Priests at Qumran—A Reassessment." Pages 243–62 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 90. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Falk, Daniel K. *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Fishbane, Michael. "The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and its Ancient Transformations." Pages 3–16 in *"Sha 'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. Edited by Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

Flannery-Dailey, Frances. *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 90. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3 (1996): 236–52.

_____. "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case." Pages 161–93 in *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 36. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

_____. *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 94. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.

_____. "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." Pages 367–99 in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1998*. Part 1. 2 parts. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 37. Atlanta: Scholars, 1998.

_____. "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000): 292–312.

_____. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 42. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

_____. "Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 185–98 in *New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru, in collaboration with Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 88. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Flusser, David. "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers." *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966): 194–205.

Foerster, Werner. "Der Heilige Geist im Spätjudentum." *New Testament Studies* 8 (1962): 117–34.

Fossum, Jarl. "Gen. 1,26 and 2,7 in Judaism, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 16 (1985): 202–39.

Fox, Michael V. "Words for Wisdom: תבונה and בינה; ערמה and מזמה; עצה and תושיה." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 6 (1993): 149–65.

Frennesson, Björn. "In a Common Rejoicing." *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1999.

Frey, Jörg. "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History." Pages 275–335 in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995*. Edited by Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

_____. "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage." Pages 197–226 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage." Pages 367–404 in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 159. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.

Fröhlich, Ida. "'Invoke at Any Time. . .': Apotropaic Texts and Belief in Demons in the Literature of the Qumran Community." *Biblische Notizen* (2008): 41–74.

García Martínez, Florentino. "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," Pages 243–60 in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*. Edited by Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 65. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997. Translated by Michael Thomas Davis, from "Las Tablas Celestes en el Libro de los Jubileos." Pages 333–49 in *Palabry y Vida: Homenaje a José Alonso Díaz en su 70 cumpleaños*. Edited by A. Vargas Machuca and G. Ruiz. Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas Madrid, Series I. Estudios 58. Madrid: Ediciones Universidad de Comillas, 1984.

_____, ed. *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.

_____. "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 109–30 in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 64. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- _____. "Balaam in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 71–82 in *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam*. Edited by George H. van Kooten and Jacques van Ruiten. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 11. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Gärtner, Bertil. *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Gevaryahu, Chaim M. J. "The Parable of the Trees and the Keeper of the Garden in the Thanksgiving Scroll." *Immanuel* 2 (1973): 50–57.
- Gladd, Benjamin L. *Revealing the Mysterion: The Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with Its Bearing on First Corinthians*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 160. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008.
- Gnuse, Robert. "The Temple Theophanies of Jaddus, Hyrcanus, and Zechariah." *Biblica* 79 (1998): 457–72.
- Goedhart, Hendrik. *De Slothymne van het Manual of Discipline: A Theological-Exegetical Study of IQS X,9–XI,22*. Rotterdam: Bronder-Offset, 1965.
- Goff, Matthew J. "The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10 (2003): 163–86.
- _____. *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 50. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- _____. "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11 (2004): 263–88.
- _____. "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos of 4QInstruction." Pages 57–67 in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*. Edited by Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 35. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.
- _____. *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 116. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- _____. "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 39 (2008): 20–45.
- _____. "Genesis 1–3 and Conceptions of Humankind in 4QInstruction, Philo and Paul." Pages 114–25 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical Studies*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 15/Library of New Testament Studies 392. London: T & T Clark, 2009.

_____. "Recent Trends in the Study of Early Jewish Wisdom Literature: The Contribution of 4QInstruction and Other Qumran Texts." *Currents in Biblical Research* 7 (2009): 376–416.

_____. "Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life: Genesis 1–3 in the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction." Pages 1–21 in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 142. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Golitzin, Alexander. "Recovering the 'Glory of Adam': 'Divine Light' Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Ascetical Literature of Fourth-Century Syro-Mesopotamia." Pages 275–308 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity, Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*. Edited by James R. Davila. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 46. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Goodman, Martin. "The Qumran Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem." Pages 263–73 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Contexts*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 90. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. "Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and Its Aftermath." Pages 21–37 in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*. Edited by Sacha Stern. Institute of Jewish Studies: Studies in Judaica 12. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Gottstein, Alon Goshen. "The Body as Image of God in Rabbinic Literature." *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994): 171–95.

Grabbe, Lester. "Prophets, Priests, Diviners, and Sages in Ancient Israel." Pages 43–62 in *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by Heather A. McKay and David J. A. Clines. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 162. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.

Gray, Rebecca. *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Greenfield, Jonas C. "The Root 'GBL' in Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Hymnic Literature from Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 2 (1959–60): 155–62.

Grossman, Maxine. "Priesthood as Authority: Interpretive Competition in First-Century Judaism and Christianity." Pages 117–31 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews*. Edited by James R. Davila. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 46. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. "Knowledge and Vision: Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of Their Alleged Origins." Pages 63–107 in *Israel Oriental Studies III*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1973.

_____. *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism*. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums 14. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988.

Gundry, Robert H. *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Haber, Susan. "*They Shall Purify Themselves*": *Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*. Edited by Adele Reinhartz. Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature 24. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008.

Hahne, Harry Alan. *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.19–22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. Library of New Testament Studies 336. London: T & T Clark, 2006.

Hamacher, Elisabeth. "Die Sabbatopferlieder im Streit um Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 27 (1996): 119–54.

Hannah, Darrell D. "The Throne of His Glory: The Divine Throne and Heavenly Mediators in Revelation and the Similitudes of Enoch." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 94 (2003): 68–96.

Harding, James E. "The Mystery of What Shall Be: Interpreting 1Q/4QMysteries in the Context of Qumran." Pages 111–35 in *Anafim: Proceedings of the "Australian Jewish Studies Forum", University of Sydney, 8–9 February 2004*. Edited by Suzanne Faigan. Sydney: Mandelbaum, 2006.

Harkins, Angela Kim. "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^a and 4QH^a (4Q427)." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 12 (2005): 233–56.

_____. "The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 15 (2008): 121–54.

_____. "A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^A Sixty Years after Its Discovery." Pages 101–34 in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 91. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

- _____. "Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch." *Henoch* 32 (2010): 359–400.
- _____. "The Performative Reading of the Hodayot: The Arousal of Emotions and the Exegetical Generation of Texts." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 21 (2011): 55–71.
- _____. *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions*. Ekstasis 3. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.
- _____. "Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining the Teacher Hymns Hypothesis Fifty Years Later." Pages 449–67 in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam, Volume One*. Edited by Eric F. Mason, Samuel I. Thomas, Alison Schofield, and Eugene Ulrich. *Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series* 153/1. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Harrington, Daniel J. "Wisdom at Qumran." Pages 137–52 in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam. *Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series* 10. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- _____. "The Rāz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423)." *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 549–53.
- _____. *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- _____. "Mystery." Pages 588–91 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra." Pages 343–55 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.
- Hasselbalch, Trine B. "The Redactional Meaning of 1QHodayot^a: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Heterogeneous Collection of Prayer Texts from Qumran." PhD diss., University of Copenhagen, 2011.
- Hayward, C. T. R. "Sacrifice and World Order: Some Observations on Ben Sira's Attitude to the Temple Service." Pages 22–34 in *Sacrifice and Redemption: Durham Essays in Theology*. Edited by Stephen W. Sykes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- _____. *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*. London: Routledge, 1996.

- _____. "Sirach and Wisdom's Dwelling Place." Pages 31–46 in *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church, and the Contemporary World*. Edited by Stephen C. Barton. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999.
- Heger, Paul. "The Development of Qumran Law: *Nistarot*, *Niglot* and the Issue of 'Contemporization.'" *Revue de Qumran* 23 (2007): 167–206.
- _____. "Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings." Pages 39–101 in *Dualism in Qumran*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Hempel, Charlotte. "The Community and Its Rivals according to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4." *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2003–2004): 47–81.
- _____. "The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*." Pages 102–20 in *Dualism in Qumran*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. Translated by John Bowden. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974.
- _____. "Qumran and Hellenism." Pages 46–56 in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Hillers, Delbert R. "Dust: Some Aspects of Old Testament Imagery." Pages 105–9 in *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*. Edited by John H. Marks and Robert M. Good. Guilford, CT: Four Corners, 1987.
- Himmelfarb, Martha. "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira." Pages 63–78 in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Edited by Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley. Contributions to the Study of Religion 30. New York: Greenwood, 1991.
- _____. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- _____. "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*." Pages 19–29 in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*. Edited by Benjamin G. Wright. Scholars Press Homage Series 24. Atlanta: Scholars, 1999.

- _____. "The Wisdom of the Scribe, the Wisdom of the Priest, and the Wisdom of the King according to Ben Sira." Pages 89–99 in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000.
- Hogeterp, Albert L. A. "The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited." *Revue de Qumran* 23 (2007): 247–59.
- _____. *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 83. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Acta Theologica Danica 2. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960.
- Horsley, Richard A. "The Law of Nature in Philo and Cicero." *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978): 35–59.
- Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar and Erich Zenger. *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*. Edited by Klaus Baltzer. Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- van der Horst, Pieter W. "Chaos." Pages 185–86 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. 2d rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Hughes, Julie A. *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*. Studies on the Texts of the Deserts of Judah 59. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Ibba, Giovanni. "The Evil Spirits in Jubilees and the Spirit of the Bastards in 4Q510 with Some Remarks on Other Qumran Manuscripts." *Henoch* 31 (2009): 111–16.
- Idel, Moshe. "Enoch is Metatron." *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–40.
- Jassen, Alex P. *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 68. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Jeremias, Gert. *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.
- Jones, Robert G. "The Manual of Discipline (1QS), Persian Religion, and the Old Testament." Pages 94–108 in *The Teacher's Yoke: Studies in Memory of Henry Trantham*. Edited by E. Jerry Vardaman and James Leo Garrett, Jr. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1964.

Kampen, John I. "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts." Pages 211–43 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

_____. *Wisdom Literature*. Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

Kister, Menahem. "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to *Mysteries*." Pages 13–47 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Klein, Anja. "From the 'Right Spirit' to the 'Spirit of Truth': Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS." Pages 171–91 in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*. Edited by Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz. Forschungen zum Alten Testament. Second Series 35. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.

Kline, Meredith. "Investiture with the Image of God." *Westminster Theological Journal* 40 (1977–78): 39–62.

Koester, Helmut. "ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ: The Concept of Natural Law in Greek Thought." Pages 521–41 in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*. Edited by Jacob Neusner. Studies in the History of Religions 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.

van Kooten, George H. *Paul's Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Judaism*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 232. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang. *Enderwartung and Gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran*. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966.

Kuhn, K. G. "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 47 (1950): 192–211.

_____. "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952): 296–316.

Kvalvaag, Robert W. "The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts." Pages 159–80 in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*. Edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

Kvanvig, Helge S. "Enochic Judaism—a Judaism without the Torah and the Temple?" Pages 163–77 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Lambden, Stephen N. "From Fig Leaves to Fingernails: Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Select Early Postbiblical Jewish Writings." Pages 74–90 in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*. Edited by Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 136. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.

Lanfer, Peter Thacher. *Remembering Eden: The Reception History of Genesis 3:22–24*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Lange, Armin. *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 18. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

_____. "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 240–54.

_____. "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination." Pages 377–436 in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*. Edited by Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

_____. "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel." Pages 113–59 in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*. Edited by Antoon Schoors. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 136. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998.

_____. "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung." Pages 3–30 in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 159. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.

- _____. "Considerations Concerning the 'Spirit of Impurity' in Zech 13:2." Pages 254–68 in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*. Edited by Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- _____. "Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 455–78 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Laurin, Robert B. "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hodayot.'" *Journal of Semitic Studies* 3 (1958): 344–55.
- Lee, Pilchan. *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 129. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Leonhardt-Balzer, Jutta. "A Case of Psychological Dualism: Philo of Alexandria and the Instruction on the Two Spirits." Pages 27–45 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical Studies*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias. *Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* 15/Library of New Testament Studies 392. London: T & T Clark, 2009.
- _____. "Evil, Dualism and Community: Who/What Did the *Yahad* Not Want to Be?" Pages 121–47 in *Dualism in Qumran*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits. *Library of Second Temple Studies* 76. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Leuchter, Mark. "From Levite to *Maskîl* in the Persian and Hellenistic Eras." Pages 215–32 in *Levites and Priests in Biblical History and Tradition*. Edited by Mark Leuchter and Jeremy M. Hutton. *Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature* 9. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
- Levenson, Jon D. *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*. Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 10. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1976.
- _____. "The Temple and the World." *Journal of Religion* 64 (1984): 275–98.
- _____. *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*. Minneapolis: Winston, 1985.
- _____. "The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience." Pages 32–61 in *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible through the Middle Ages*. Edited by Arthur Green. London: Routledge, 1986.

_____. "The Sources of Torah: Psalm 119 and the Modes of Revelation in Second Temple Judaism." Pages 559–74 in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*. Edited by Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.

_____. *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988.

Levison, John R. *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

_____. "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology." Pages 169–94 in *The Bible and The Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume Two: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.

Licht, Jacob. "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll." *Israel Exploration Journal* 6 (1956): 1–13, 89–101.

_____. "An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD." *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958): 88–99.

Lichtenberger, Hermann. *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde*. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.

_____. "Zu Vorkommen und Bedeutung von צַר im Jubiläenbuch." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 14 (1983): 1–10.

Lieber, Andrea. "Voice and Vision: Song as a Vehicle for Ecstatic Experience in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*." Pages 51–58 in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture. Volume 2: Later Versions and Traditions*. Edited by Craig A. Evans. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 10/Library of Second Temple Studies 51. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Lincicum, David. "Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period." *Biblische Notizen* 138 (2008): 63–87.

Loader, William R. G. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Lyons, W. J. and A. M. Reimer. "The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998): 16–32.

Magness, Jodi. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Maier, Johann. *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "jüdischen Gnosis"*. Kairos 1. Salzburg: Müller, 1964.

_____. "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 543–86.

_____. "Shîrê Ôlat hash-Shabbat, Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style." Pages 543–60 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Seas Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. 2 vols. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 11. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Makiello, Phoebe. "Was Moses Considered to be an Angel by Those at Qumran?" Pages 115–27 in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*. Edited by Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 372. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.

Malina, Bruce J. "Some Observations on the Origin of Sin in Judaism and St. Paul." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31 (1969): 18–34.

Manning, Gary T., Jr. *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*. *Library of New Testament Studies* 270. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Mansoor, Menahem. "Studies in the New *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns) – V: Some Theological Doctrines." *Biblical Research* 5 (1960): 1–21.

_____. *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961.

_____. "The Nature of Gnosticism in Qumran." Pages 389–400 in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13–18 Aprile 1966*. Edited by Ugo Bianchi. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

May, Herbert G. "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 (1963): 1–14.

Mazzinghi, Luca. "Law of Nature and Light of the Law in the Book of Wisdom (Wis 18:4c)." Pages 37–59 in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*. Edited by Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér. *Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 142. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

McCarter, P. Kyle. *II Samuel*. *The Anchor Bible* 9. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984.

Meeks, Wayne A. *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 14. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

- _____. "Moses as God and King." Pages 354–71 in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*. Edited by Jacob Neusner. Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to *Numen*) 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Metso, Sarianna. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 21. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Miller, Eric. "The *Self-Glorification Hymn* Reexamined." *Henoch* 31 (2009): 307–24.
- Mizrahi, Noam. "The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature: A Linguistic Reconsideration." *Harvard Theological Review* 104 (2011): 33–57.
- Moore, George F. *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Morawe, Günter. *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajôth*. Theologische Arbeiten 16. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961.
- Morgenstern, Matthew. "The Meaning of בית מולדים in the Qumran Wisdom Texts." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000): 141–44.
- Morray-Jones, Christopher R. A. "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 1–31.
- _____. "The Temple Within." Pages 145–78 in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*. Edited by April D. DeConick. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 11. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- Muenchow, Charles. "Dust and Dirt in Job 42:6." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108 (1989): 597–611.
- Mullen, E. Theodore, Jr. *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Jewish Literature*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 24. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew." Pages 92–149 in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira. Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995*. Edited by T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Murphy, Roland E. "Yēšer in the Qumran Literature." *Biblica* 39 (1958): 334–44.
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté." *Revue Biblique* 76 (1969): 528–49.

- Murray, Robert. *The Cosmic Covenant: Biblical Themes of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007. Repr., London: Sheed & Ward, 1992.
- Najman, Hindy. "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999): 379–410.
- _____. *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 77. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- _____. "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?" *Studia Philonica Annual* 15 (2003): 54–63.
- Newman, Judith H. "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*." Pages 29–72 in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Newsom, Carol A. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. Harvard Semitic Studies 27. Atlanta: Scholars, 1985.
- _____. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shiroṭ." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 38 (1987): 11–30.
- _____. "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Function of the *Maškîl*." Pages 373–82 in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- _____. "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran." Pages 167–87 in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*. Edited by William Henry Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman. Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- _____. "'He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shiroṭ." Pages 101–120 in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 8; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament/American Schools of Oriental Research Monographs 2. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990.
- _____. "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." Pages 887–89 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

_____. "Review of *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, by Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10 (2003): 431–35.

_____. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 52. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____. "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*." Pages 339–54 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Newsom, Carol A. and Yigael Yadin. "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 (1984): 77–88.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100 (1981): 575–600.

_____. "Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity." Pages 73–91 in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1985.

_____. "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)." Pages 649–59 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991*. Edited by Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. 2 vols. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 11. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

_____. "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumran Documents." Pages 91–119 in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January, 1997*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 31. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

_____. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*. Expanded Edition. Harvard Theological Studies 56. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

- Nissinen, Martti. "Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 513–33 in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. Edited by Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Nitzan, Bilhah. "Hymns from Qumran — 4Q510–4Q511." Pages 53–63 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. Edited by Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 10. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- _____. "4QBerakhot (4Q286–290): A Preliminary Report." Pages 53–72 in *New Qumran Texts and Studies. Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*. Edited by George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 15. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- _____. "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran." *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 85 (1994): 163–83.
- _____. *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*. Translated by Jonathan Chipman. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 12. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- _____. "The Idea of Creation and Its Implications in Qumran Literature." Pages 240–64 in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition*. Edited by Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 319. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Noth, Martin. *Numbers*. Translated by James D. Martin. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968.
- Nötscher, Friedrich. *Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*. Bonner Biblische Beiträge 10. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956.
- _____. "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 1 (1959): 405–11.
- Orlov, Andrei A. *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 107. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- _____. "'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56 (2005): 224–44.

- _____. “Vested with Adam’s Glory: Moses as the Luminous Counterpart of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Macarian Homilies.” Pages 135–52 in *L’Église des deux Alliances. Méorial Annie Jaubert (1912–1980)*. Edited by Madeleine Petit, Basile Lourié, and Andrei Orlov. *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* 1. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008.
- Osten-Sacken, Peter von der. *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran*. Studien zum Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.
- Paul, Shalom M. “The Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5, The Gaster Festschrift (1973): 345–53.
- Penner, Ken. “Realized or Future Salvation in the Hodayot.” *Journal of Biblical Studies* 2.1 (2002).
- Perdue, Leo G. *Wisdom in Revolt: Metaphorical Theology in the Book of Job*. Bible and Literature Series 29. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1991.
- _____. “Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 133–89 in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*. Edited by Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange. *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology* 52. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Philonenko, Marc. “La doctrine qoumrânienne des deux Esprits: ses origines iraniennes et ses prolongements dans le judaïsme essénien et le christianisme antique.” Pages 163–211 in *Apocalyptique iranienne et dualisme qoumrânien*. Edited by Geo Widengren, Anders Hultgård, and Marc Philonenko. *Recherches Intertestamentaires* 2. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1995.
- van der Plicht, Johannes. “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on ‘Redating.’” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 14 (2007): 77–89.
- Popović, Mladen. *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 67. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Pouilly, J. *La règle de la communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire*. Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 17. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976.
- Puech, Émile. “Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: 1QH V 12–VI 18 (= col. XIII–XIV 7) et 4QBéat.” *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 59–88.

- _____. "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39 (1988): 38–55.
- _____. *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*. 2 vols. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993.
- _____. "Hodayot." Pages 365–69 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*." *Revue de Qumran* 22 (2005): 281–85.
- Qimron, Elisha. "A Review Article of 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition,' by Carol Newsom." *Harvard Theological Review* 79 (1986): 349–71.
- _____. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Harvard Semitic Studies 29. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.
- _____. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume One*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010.
- Quispel, Gilles. "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis." *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980): 1–13.
- Raphael, Simcha Paull. *Jewish Views of the Afterlife*. 2d ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
- Reicke, Bo. "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954): 137–41.
- Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Richardson, H. Neil. "Some Notes on קִיָּה and Its Derivatives." *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 163–79.
- Rietz, Henry W. Morisada. "Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as a Test Case." Pages 29–52 in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*. Edited by Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Rigaux, B. "Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament," *New Testament Studies* 4 (1957–58): 237–62.

Ringgren, Helmer. "The Branch and the Plantation in the Qumran *Hodayot*." *Biblical Research* 6 (1961): 3–9.

_____. *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Translated by Emilie T. Sander. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963.

_____. "Qumran and Gnosticism." Pages 379–88 in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13–18 Aprile 1966*. Edited by Ugo Bianchi. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Rodley, Gordon and Barbara Thiering. "Use of Radiocarbon Dating in Assessing Christian Connections to the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 41 (1999): 169–82.

Rofé, Alexander. "Revealed Wisdom: From the Bible to Qumran." Pages 1–11 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Rosen-Zvi, Ishay. *Demonic Desires: "Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

van Ruiten, Jacques T. A. G. M. "The Garden of Eden and Jubilees 3:1–31." *Bijdragen* 57 (1996): 305–17.

_____. "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4–3:24 in *The Book of Jubilees*." Pages 63–94 in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by Gerard P. Luttikhuisen. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 2. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Ruzer, Serge. "The Seat of Sin in Early Jewish and Christian Sources." Pages 367–91 in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions*. Edited by Jan Assmann and Guy G. Stroumsa. Studies in the History of Religions [*Numen* Book Series] 83. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Sawyer, John F. A. "The Image of God, the Wisdom of Serpents and the Knowledge of Good and Evil." Pages 64–73 in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*. Edited by Paul Morris and Deborah F. Sawyer. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992.

Schäfer, Peter. "Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism." Pages 37–66 in *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam*. Edited by Peter Schäfer and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner. Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 65. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2006.

_____. *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.

Schiffman, Lawrence H. “*Merkavah* Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q*Serekh Shirot ‘Olat ha-Shabbat*.” Pages 15–47 in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann*. Edited by Jehuda Reinharz and Daniel Swetschinski, with the collaboration of Kalman P. Bland. Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982.

_____. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. New York: Doubleday, 1995.

_____. “Community without Temple: The Qumran Community’s Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple.” Pages 267–84 in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. Edited by Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 118. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.

_____. “Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran.” Pages 89–100 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____. *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.

Schiffman, Lawrence H. and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Schofield, Alison. *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 77. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Scholem, Gershom G. *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*. 2d improved ed. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965.

Schubert, Kurt. “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften, 25: Der Sektenkanon von En Feshcha und die Anfänge der Jüdischen Gnosis.” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 78 (1953): 495–506.

Schuller, Eileen M. “The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description.” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 85 (1994): 137–50.

_____. "A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b (4Q428 7)." *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1995): 527–41.

_____. "Recent Scholarship on the *Hodayot* 1993–2010." *Currents in Biblical Research* 10 (2011): 119–62.

Schuller, Eileen M. and Lorenzo DiTomasso. "A Bibliography of the *Hodayot*, 1948–1996." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 55–101.

Scott, R. B. Y. "Priesthood, Prophecy, Wisdom, and the Knowledge of God." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 80 (1961): 1–15.

Seely, David Rolph. "Implanting Pious Qualities as a Theme in the *Barki Nafshi* Hymns." Pages 322–31 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.

Seitz, Oscar J. F. "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis." *New Testament Studies* 6 (1959): 82–95.

Sekki, Arthur Everett. *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 110. Atlanta: Scholars, 1989.

Shaked, Shaul. "Iranian Influence on Judaism: First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E." Pages 308–25 in *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume One: Introduction; The Persian Period*. Edited by W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Sjöberg, Erik. "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen." *Studia Theologica* 9 (1955): 131–36.

Skehan, Patrick W. and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. The Anchor Bible 39. New York: Doubleday, 1987.

Smelik, Willem F. "On Mystical Transformation of the Righteous into Light in Judaism." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 26 (1995): 122–44.

Smith, Morton. "The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with Especial Reference to Goodenough's Work on Jewish Symbols." Pages 116–49 in *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh. Volume One: Studies in Historical Method, Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism* Edited by Shaye J. D. Cohen. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 130/1. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Soggin, J. A. “‘And You Will Be like God and Know What Is Good and What Is Bad’: Genesis 2–3.” Pages 191–93 in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*. Edited by Chaim Cohen, Avi Hurvitz, and Shalom M. Paul. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004.

Sonne, Isaiah. “A Hymn against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 part 1 (1950–51): 275–313.

Stager, Lawrence E. “Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden.” *Eretz-Israel* 26 (1999): 183–94.

Stegemann, Hartmut. “The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot.” Pages 272–84 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.

_____. “The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot^a and Some of Their Sections.” Pages 191–234 in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon, with the collaboration of Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 48. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Sterling, Gregory E. “Universalizing the Particular: Natural Law in Second Temple Jewish Ethics.” *Studia Philonica Annual* 15 (2003): 64–80.

Stone, Michael E. “Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age.” Pages 575–86 in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*. Edited by Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.

_____. “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 19 (1988): 159–70.

Stordalen, Terje. *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 25. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

_____. “Heaven on Earth – Or Not? Jerusalem as Eden in Biblical Literature.” Pages 28–57 in *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise (Genesis 2–3) and Its Reception History*. Edited by Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg. Forschungen zum Alten Testament. Second Series 34. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Strawn, Brent A. with Henry W. Morisada Rietz. "(More) Sectarian Terminology in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: The Case of תמימי דרך." Pages 53–64 in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*. Edited by Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.

Striker, Gisela. *Essays on Hellenistic Epistemology and Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Strugnell, John. "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân." *Revue Biblique* 63 (1956): 49–67.

_____. "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân—4Q Serek Širôt 'Ôlat Haššabbāt." Pages 318–45 in *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 7. Leiden: Brill, 1960.

_____. "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations." Pages 595–608 in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. "'Angels' and 'God': Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism." Pages 45–70 in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*. Edited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 263. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

_____. "The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III:13–IV:26) in Its Tradition-Historical Context." Pages 145–68 in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*. Edited by Armin Lange, Eric M. Meyers, Bennie H. Reynolds III and Randall Styers. Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

_____. "'Protect Them From the Evil One' (John 17:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 139–60 in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*. Edited by Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher. Society of Biblical Literature, Early Judaism and Its Literature 32. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Sukenik, Eleazar L., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955.

Suter, David. "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 50 (1979): 115–35.

- Swartz, Michael D. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8 (2001): 182–93.
- Swarup, Paul. *The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community: An Eternal Planting, A House of Holiness*. Library of Second Temple Studies 59. London: T & T Clark, 2006.
- Tantlevskij, Igor R. "Elements of Mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Thanksgiving Hymns, War Scroll, Text of Two Columns) and Their Parallels and Possible Sources." *Qumran Chronicle* 7 (1997): 193–213.
- Tanzer, Sarah Jean. "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987.
- Thomas, Samuel I. *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Society of Biblical Literature, Early Judaism and Its Literature 25. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009.
- Tigheelaar, Eibert J. C. "The Addressees of 4QInstruction." Pages 62–75 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- _____. *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 44. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- _____. "Toward a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction." Pages 99–126 in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 159. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- _____. "Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1–4QMysteries." Pages 69–88 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.
- _____. "'These Are the Names of the Spirits of . . .': A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)." *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2003–2004): 529–47.

- _____. “Jubilees and 1 Enoch and the Issue of Transmission of Knowledge.” Pages 99–101 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- _____. “The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-edition of 4Q468I (4QSectorian Text?).” Pages 347–57 in *Empsychoi Logoi — Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*. Edited by Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magda Misset-van de Weg. *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 73. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- _____. “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation’: Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians.” Pages 103–18 in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Tiller, Patrick A. “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 312–35.
- Toepel, Alexander. “When Did Adam Wear the Garments of Light?” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61 (2010): 62–71.
- Tov, Emanuel. *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 54. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Treves, Marco. “The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community.” *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961): 449–52.
- Triplet-Hitoto, Valérie. “The Hidden Things and the Revealed Things: The Qumranic Interpretation of Dt 29,28.” *Henoch* 34 (2012): 289–312.
- Tzoref, Shani. “The ‘Hidden’ and the ‘Revealed’: Esotericism, Election, and Culpability in Qumran and Related Literature.” Pages 299–324 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 89. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Ulfgard, Håkan. “The Teacher of Righteousness, the History of the Qumran Community, and Our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories.” Pages 310–46 in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*. Edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Urbach, Ephraim E. *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*. Translated by Israel Abrahams. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975.

VanderKam, James C. *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 16. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984.

_____. "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 336–53.

Vermes, Geza. "La Figure de Moïse au tournant des Deux Testaments." Pages 63–92 in *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*. Edited by H. Cazelles. Paris: Desclée & Cie., 1955.

_____. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*. Studia Post-Biblica 4. Leiden: Brill, 1961.

Vogt, E. "'Mysteria' in textibus Qumran." *Biblica* 37 (1956): 247–57.

Wallace, Howard N. *The Eden Narrative*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 32. Atlanta: Scholars, 1985.

Wallenstein, Meir. *The Nezer and the Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Reconstructed, Vocalized and Translated with Critical Notes*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 2. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1957.

Wardle, Timothy. *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 291. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

Wassen, Cecilia. "Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 499–523 in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception*. Edited by Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpflin. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature, Yearbook 2007. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

_____. "Visions of the Temple: Conflicting Images of the Eschaton," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 76 (2011): 41–59.

Watson, Gerard. "The Natural Law and Stoicism." Pages 216–38 in *Problems in Stoicism*. Edited by A. A. Long. London: Athlone, 1971.

Wedderburn, A. J. M. "Genesis II–III in 1QH VIII." Pages 609–14 in *Studia Evangelica VI: Papers Presented to the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Oxford, 1969*. Edited by Elizabeth A. Livingstone. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973.

Weinfeld, Moshe. "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord—The Problem of the Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1–2:3." Pages 501–12 in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henrie Cazelles*. Edited by A. Caquot and M. Delcor. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981.

_____. "The Heavenly Praise in Unison." Pages 427–37 in *Meqor Hajjim: Festschrift für Georg Molin zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*. Edited by I. Seybold. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1983.

_____. *Deuteronomy 1–11*. The Anchor Bible 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Wenham, Gordon J. "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story." Pages 19–25 in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, August 4–12, 1985. Division A: The Period of the Bible*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986.

Werman, Cana. "'The תורה and the תעודה' Engraved on the Tablets." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9 (2002): 75–103.

_____. "What is the Book of Hagu?" Pages 125–40 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Wernberg-Møller, P. *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 1. Leiden: Brill, 1957.

_____. "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community." *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961): 413–41.

Wieder, Naphtali. "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 3 (1952): 158–75.

Wise, Michael O. "The Concept of a New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns from Qumran (1QH^A X–XVII)." Pages 99–128 in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Wold, Benjamin G. *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 201. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Wolfson, Elliot R. "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan." *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 85 (1994): 185–202.

_____. "Seven Mysteries of Knowledge: Qumran E/Sotericism Recovered." Pages 177–213 in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*. Edited by Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 83. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Worrell, John Edward. "Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls." PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1968.

Wright, Archie T. *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6. 1–4 in Early Jewish Literature*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Second Series 198. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Wright, Benjamin G. "The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature." Pages 101–23 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associate Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Xeravits, Géza G. *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 47. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Yadin, Yigael. "A Note on DSD IV:20." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 40–43.

_____. "Some Notes on the Newly Published *Pesharim* of Isaiah." *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959): 39–42.

Zanella, Francesco. *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of "Gift" in Ancient Hebrew*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica 54. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. "The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts of Qumran: Analysis of a Semantic Development." Pages 159–76 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures, Volume One*. Edited by Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 140/1. Leiden: Brill, 2011.