REASSESSING THE GENRES OF THE HODAYOT

REASSESSING THE GENRES OF THE HODAYOT

(THANKSGIVING PSALMS FROM QUMRAN)

By MICHAEL B. JOHNSON, B.A., M.Div., M.A.

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

McMaster University DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2019) Hamilton, Ontario (Religious Studies)

TITLE: Reassessing the Genres of the Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran)

AUTHOR: Michael B. Johnson, B.A. (Huntington University), M.Div. (Candler School of Theology, Emory University), M.A. (Trinity Western University)

SUPERVISOR: Eileen M. Schuller

NUMBER OF PAGES: xvi, 314

LAY ABSTRACT

In this thesis I study the Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran (1QHodayotᵃ), a collection of Jewish psalms from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The collection is typically divided into two categories: the "Teacher Hymns" written by a leader of a sect, and the "Community Hymns" that are associated with his followers. Scholars agree that these categories are inadequate, but no alternatives have been offered. I propose to use a more flexible approach that can classify all of the psalms by genre. The psalms are classified on a spectrum between two modes of praise by their objectives and strategies of persuasion. I argue that the psalms participate in two interlocking genres (the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and the psalms of hymnic confession) and that all the psalms enable the speaker (the Maskil/Instructor) to achieve the two objectives of praising God and instructing his audience how to do the same.

ABSTRACT

The psalms of the Hodayot tradition (the Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran) have been

customarily divided into two categories: the "Teacher Hymns" written by a leader of the sect at

Qumran, and the "Community Hymns" associated with the ordinary members of the sect. These

categories are considered problematic because of well-recognized problems pertaining to

authorship and to the poor fit of many of the psalms in the categories. I propose a new set of

categories for the Hodayot that classify the psalms on the basis of genre. It is my contention that

genre offers a better frame of reference because it defines the psalms against the backdrop of the

genres of early Jewish psalms and not solely in terms of the sectarian community.

To propose new generic categories, I employ John Swales's rhetorical moves analysis to

classify the psalms on the basis of how their formal structures (what he calls "rhetorical moves")

work together to achieve common rhetorical objectives. Swales defines a composition's genre

primarily by its rhetorical objectives rather than a definitional checklist of features. I use

rhetorical moves analysis to describe where the Hodayot psalms fall along the spectrum of

descriptive and declarative praise in Claus Westermann's schema for the genres of the biblical

psalms. I conclude that there are two interlocking generic categories in the Hodayot:

eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and psalms of hymnic confession. These generic

categories have overlapping rhetorical strategies consisting of rhetorical moves that work closely

together to achieve the primary communicative purpose of praising God descriptively and

declaratively. In this respect, they serve the Maskil's secondary rhetorical objective of instructing

the audience in the sectarian discourses of praise and supplication, making the Hodayot tradition

a part of the Maskil's programme of instructing sectarians and evaluating their insight into the

divine plan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

privilege to work under a supervisor of her calibre. This thesis would not have been possible

without her efforts to publish all of the Hodayot manuscripts as expeditiously as she did. In

addition to the publication of the editions, her careful and measured research on early Jewish

psalms has provided a steady foundation for my work. I would also like to express my gratitude

to the members of my committee, Dan Machiela and Hanna Tervanotko. I deeply appreciate the

many hours of labour that they invested into this process and into my development as a scholar

and a teacher.

The PhD programme would have been immeasurably more difficult without my fellow

graduate students in the Department of Religious Studies, past and present. I owe so much to the

those who went ahead of me. I am particularly grateful to Miriam DeCock, Jordan Ryan, Andrew

Knight-Messenger, Nick Meyer, and Jonathan Bernier because they were so generous in sharing

their hard-earned wisdom and continue to do so. I am also indebted to those who have worked or

collaborated with me in various capacities during my time in the program, especially John

VanMaaren, Rob Jones, Katharine Fitzgerald, and Channah Fonseca-Quezada. I am proud of

what we were able to accomplish over the years through teaching, TA work, and special

programs in the department.

I also would like to thank the Sherman Centre for Digital Scholarship at McMaster

University for supporting my research. I have especially appreciated the mentorship of Andrea

TABLE OF CONTENTS

REASSESSING THE GENRES OF THE HODAYOT
(THANKSGIVING PSALMS FROM QUMRAN)

FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations used are according to the second edition of the *The SBL Handbook of Style* (2014).

Abbreviations for Rhetorical Moves

AoDi	Account of distress
APA	Account of provisional assistance
AED	Account of eschatological deliverance
B Intro	"Blessed are You" introductory formula
B Sub	"Blessed are You" subsection formula
CoK	Confession of knowledge
EM	Eschatological meditation
EPT	Eschatological psalm of thanksgiving
Ex	Exhortation
H	Hypophora section
HS	Hymnic section
ITY Intro	"I thank you, O Lord" introductory formula
M	Meditation
Pet	Petition
PHC	Hymnic confession psalm
Rec	Recollection of the speaker
Res	Resolution
Sup	Superscription

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BR	*Biblical Research*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CC	Continental Commentaries
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*

DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000
EJL	Early Judiasm and Its Literature
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
HeBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
Hen	*Henoch*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Literature*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplement to the Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
RefR	*Reformed Review*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
Sem	*Semitica*
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SJ	Studia Judaica
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

I, Michael B. Johnson, declare that this thesis has been researched and written by myself and myself alone.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study proposes a new set of generic categories[1] for the Hodayot that classify the

psalms on the basis of genre rather than the authorship or persona of the speaker.[2] The Hodayot

tradition consists of psalms that praise and thank God that were unknown before the discovery of

1QHodayot[a] in Cave 1 near Qumran in 1947. By 1956, the remains of seven additional and

extremely fragmentary manuscripts were discovered, one in Cave 1 (1QH[b]) and six in Cave 4

(4QH[a-f]). All of the Hodayot psalms, with one exception (4QH[a] 8 i 13–8 ii 21), are preserved in

1QH[a], the most intact manuscript (though still fragmentary) that contains at least nineteen

psalms. An indeterminate number of psalms are lost to damage and decay. The Hodayot psalms

are counted among the key sectarian compositions that give us insight into the late Second

Temple period Jewish group or groups behind the large collection of scrolls found in the eleven

---

1. Genre is one kind of categorization, and language pertaining to genre and categorization are compatible. I use the term "generic category" as an umbrella term for categories at different levels of the hierarchies of genre schemas. For example, I would refer to a "genre" and a "subgenre" as "generic categories."

2. I use the terms "the Hodayot," and "the Hodayot tradition" as proper names for the corpus of psalms found in 1QHodayot[a–b] and 4QHodayot[a–f]. Individual psalms are referred to as "psalms" or "Hodayot psalms" to distinguish them from compositions found in other corpora. The primary point of reference for the Hodayot corpus in this study is 1QH[a] as it has been reconstructed in Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, DJD 40. Although the psalms appear in smaller collections that in some cases have a different order (4QH[a, e]), this study will work primarily with reference to the 1QH[a] arrangement since the reconstruction of 4QH[a] in particular is not well-established and only a single psalm is preserved in 4QH[e]. The other manuscripts follow the 1QH[a] order (4QH[b–d, f]). For the purposes of this study, I will not be treating the psalms in the "Hodayot-like" manuscripts (4Q249m, 4Q433, 4Q433a, 4Q440, 4Q440a). The evaluation of these texts is reserved for a future study. Unless stated otherwise, transcriptions, translations, textual reconstructions, and material reconstructions are from Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40 and Eileen M. Schuller, DJD 29. Translations of biblical texts are taken from the NRSV and translations and transcriptions of Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from the DJD series unless noted. This study also converts all references in older studies to the column and line numbers in DJD 40, whether they use Sukenik's system or the interim system (for more discussion of interim editions See p. 44 n. 136).

caves adjacent to the site of Qumran. The settlement is considered to be a site that the sect

occupied from approximately 100 BCE to 68 CE.[3]

Although the psalms of the Hodayot were initially categorized in terms of biblical[4]

psalms genres, they later came to be classified by authorship or by the persona of the speaker.

Although the psalms of the Hodayot tradition have formal and thematic affinities with the

biblical psalms, they do not fit neatly into the generic categories that Hermann Gunkel used for

biblical psalms and that have become the standard generic schema for psalms.[5] Moreover, as the

Essene hypothesis was taking form, there was great interest in reading the Hodayot against the

---

3. The terms "sect" and "sectarian" are much debated in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. I will not rehearse the entire debate here, but it suffices to say that the terms are problematic when used uncritically. Jutta Jokiranta has outlined several ways the group or groups could be described as sect and warns against mixing theories of sectarianism. Jutta Jokiranta, "Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 225. David Chalcraft has outlined the benefits of employing Max Weber's concept of sect as "a religious community founded on voluntary membership achieved through qualification." David Chalcraft, "Social Scientific Approaches: Sectarianism," *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 238. This is the basic sense of "sect" and "sectarian" adopted for this study. See also David Chalcraft, "Towards a Weberian Sociology of the Qumran Sects," in *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, ed. David Chalcraft, BibleWorld (London: Equinox, 2007), 74–105.

4. The concept of "biblical" psalms is anachronistic in the discussion of the Hodayot tradition. It is well established that in the Second Temple period there was nothing like a conventional collection of psalms along the lines of any of the canonical psalters that we have today. Although there are Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts that contain arrangements of psalms that would later be found in the canonical psalters, they contain shorter arrangements of psalms that in many cases present the psalms in a different order and mixed with other psalms that were in circulation in the Second Temple period that were not incorporated into any of the canons. For more discussion, see Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 19–50. While I fully acknowledge Eva Mroczek's argument for removing our "biblical spectacles," I will be referring to "biblical" psalms at times in the course of my engagement with the form-critical schemas that were developed specifically for the biblical psalms and presuppose a canonical collection. Every instance the term "biblical" in this study should be understood as if it is in scare quotes and not as an implicit claim for the existence of a canonical book of psalms in the Second Temple period.

5. The discussion of how Hermann Gunkel's foundational generic schema has been adjusted and qualified in subsequent psalms research is to be discussed briefly below (see p. 73). While the generic categories have remained intact in psalms research, the form criticism that underpins them has been critiqued and extensively revised.

backdrop of reconstructed history of the sect, especially with respect to the figure of the Teacher

of Righteousness. As a consequence, during the first generation of scrolls scholarship a

provisional categorization schema was devised that was not strictly generic and divided the

psalms into two basic categories that have come to be known as the "Teacher Hymns" and the

"Community Hymns."[6] I use the term "Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema" as an

umbrella term for all of the forms and variations of this categorization schema, though as the

following discussion will demonstrate, the variations are far too divergent to be reconciled into a

single schema.

A revised categorization schema is necessary for several reasons. First, the Teacher

Hymn-Community Hymn schema was formed before all the Hodayot manuscripts were

reconstructed and published, leaving eight columns (21–28) of material at the end of 1QH[a] and

---

6. The Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns have been designated with a variety of names: *Danklieder* and *hymnischen Bekenntnislieder* [Günter Morawe]; psalms of thanksgiving and hymns [Svend Holm-Nielsen]; *Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit* and *Gemeindepsalmen* [Jürgen Becker]; *Gemeindelieder* und *Lehreliedern* [Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn], Hymns of the Teacher and Hymns of the Community [Sarah Tanzer]; Thankoffering Songs and Hymns [Bonnie Kittel]; Hodayot of the leader and Hodayot of the community [Carol Newsom]; Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns (sometimes "non-Teacher Hymns") [Angela Kim Harkins]. Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960); Günter Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajôth* GTA 16 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961); Jürgen Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* SUNT 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964); Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* SUNT 4 (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Sarah J. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot" PhD diss., Harvard University, 1986); Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* SBLDS 50 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981); Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Angela Kim Harkins, "The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation," *DSD* 15.1 (2008), 121–54; "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*, eds. Daniel K. Falk et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–34.

several additional placements of fragments in other columns out of consideration.[7] To this point,

Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller argue that "[m]uch more work remains to be done...

[t]he groundbreaking work of Gert Jeremias and Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn that established the

categories of 'Hymns of the Teacher' and 'Hymns of the Community' now needs to be re-

evaluated, and almost certainly refined, in light of the totality of the reconstructed scroll and the

new materials preserved in the cave 4 copies."[8] Second, a consensus has emerged that the

Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema is not sound because the hypothesis that the Teacher

of Righteousness is the author of the Teacher Hymns no longer has wide acceptance.

Third, there is little agreement about which psalms belong to each of the categories or

whether a binary categorization schema can account for a corpus of psalms that display

considerable formal hybridity.[9] The lack of agreement about the classifications of psalms is

partly the result of how categories that were originally generic were expanded to address non-

---

7. Columns 1–3 as Stegemann reconstructed them were not available either, but the fragments of these columns are small, few in number, and very uncertainly placed. No fragments were placed in col. 1, two tiny fragments in col. 2 (frgs. 23 and 16), and two larger fragments in col. 3 (frgs. 21 and 11). Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:55–61; pl. I.

8. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:10–11.

9. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 21–23; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 288; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 228–229; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 20; Angela Kim Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH[a] (4Q427)," *DSD* 12.3 (2005), 239–40; "The Community Hymns Classification," 126–29; "A New Proposal," 107–110; Angela Kim Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* Ekstasis 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 20–21, 20 n. 45; Trine B. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Collection of Prayers from Qumran* EJL 42 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 26–34; Shem Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role: Cultural Memory in the Hodayot," *JBL* 137.2 (2018), 364; Katri Antin, "Transmission of Divine Knowledge in the Sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2019), 36–38.

generic research questions. Despite the widespread recognition of the inadequacies of the

Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema, its nomenclature continues to be used for lack of a

better alternative, though such usages are almost always accompanied by a disclaimer about the

problematic nature of the schema.[10] These disclaimers are indications that a revised

categorization schema is a desideratum in Scrolls research. By reassessing the genres of the

Hodayot tradition in this study, I will offer an alternative to the Teacher Hymn-Community

Hymn schema that classifies the psalms by genre rather than on the basis of criteria related to

other unrelated research questions.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will 1) outline the history of the discovery,

reconstruction, and publication of the Hodayot manuscripts, and 2) provide an overview of the

emergence of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema and how it was shaped by the

limitations of the evidence that was available to the early categorizers.

1.2 The Publication and Reconstruction of the Hodayot Manuscripts

The account of the reconstruction and publication of the Hodayot manuscripts has been

thoroughly described elsewhere and does not need to be rehearsed here in full; however, it is

important to establish a basic timeline so that the reader will have a sense of what Hodayot

material was available to each of the scholars involved in categorizing the Hodayot tradition.[11]

---

10. See previous note.
11. For more details, see Schuller, DJD 29: 69–75; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40: 1–53; Eileen M. Schuller, "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993-2010," *CurBR* 10.1 (2011), 119–31.

Fig. 1: Timeline for the Reconstruction and Publication of the Hodayot Manuscripts	
1QHᵃ was discovered.	1947
Eleazar Sukenik published his first report on 1QHᵃ.[12]	1948
1QHᵇ was found during the controlled excavation of Cave 1.[13]	1949
Sukenik published his second report on 1QHᵃ.[14]	1950
4QHodayotᵃ⁻ᶠ were discovered.[15]	1952
Sukenik died.	1953
Nahman Avigad and Jacob Licht posthumously published 1QHᵃ (unreconstructed) with the discussion compiled mostly from Sukenik's 1948 and 1950 reports.[16]	1954
J. T Milik published 1QHᵇ in DJD 1.[17]	1955
John Strugnell issued a report that more Hodayot manuscripts were found in Cave 4.[18]	1956
Hartmut Stegemann finished the first draft of his reconstruction.[19]	1963
Stegemann completed an unpublished revision of his reconstruction while collaborating with Strugnell. Stegemann delayed publication until Strugnell had a chance to publish 4QHᵃ⁻ᶠ first.[20]	1968
Émile Puech independently reconstructed 1QHᵃ with a few more fragment placements than Stegemann had placed.[21]	1988
Strugnell assigned 4QHodayot manuscripts to Eileen Schuller for publication.	1990
Schuller published preliminary studies on 4QHodayotᵃ⁻ᶠ.	1993–98
Schuller published 4QHodayotᵃ⁻ᶠ in DJD 29. Stegemann's reconstructions of the more extensively preserved manuscripts are included.[22]	1999
Stegemann and Schuller arranged to work on the publication of Stegemann's reconstruction and edition of 1QHᵃ. Stegemann died unexpectedly in 2005. Schuller completed the edition in 2009 (DJD 40).	2005–2009

---

12. Eleazar L. Sukenik, *Hidden Scrolls from the Ancient Genizah Discovered in the Judean Desert, First Report* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1948).

13. Dominique Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, DJD I:6.

14. Eleazar L. Sukenik, *Hidden Scrolls from the Ancient Genizah Discovered in the Judean Desert, Second Report* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1950).

15. G. Ernest Wright, "Archaeological News and Views," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 16.3 (1953): 67–68, 67; Schuller, DJD 29:69–254.

16. Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954); Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955).

17. Barthélemy and Milik, DJD I:136–38.

18. John Strugnell, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63.1 (1956), 64.

19. Hartmut Stegemann, "Rekonstruktion der Hodajot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran" (PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 1963).

20. Hartmut Stegemann, "Hinweise zur Neuedition von 1QHodajotᵃ" (unpublished manuscript, July 1, 1968); see also the account in Hartmut Stegemann, "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot," in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 273–4.

21. Émile Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39.1 (1988), 38–55; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:24–26.

Elisha Qimron published his edition of 1QHª with a system of coloured fonts to indicate overlaps with 1QHᵇ and 4QHª⁻ᶠ.[23]	2010

Fig. 1

The main observation to be drawn from this chart is that the editions and reconstructions of the

Hodayot manuscripts were not completely available in published form until 2009. As a

consequence, the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema emerged and evolved without the

benefit of a substantial amount of relevant evidence. In particular, the psalms in cols. 21–27 had

little bearing on the development of the schema.[24] Even though that evidence has been published,

the schema continues to be used. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will describe how

the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema emerged and evolved into its current state.

1.3 Background of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn Schema (1948–1966)

1.3.1 Eleazar Sukenik (1948-53) Eleazar Sukenik laid the foundation for the Teacher Hymn-

Community Hymn schema in his second report.[25] Material from the well preserved columns of

---

22. Material reconstructions have been proposed for all of the Hodayot manuscripts except 1QHᵇ and 4QHᵈ. The former exhibits peculiar formatting, and the latter is too minimally preserved (one fragment) to reconstruct. Schuller, DJD 29:70; "A Reconsideration of 1QHᵇ (1Q35)," in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter Flint*, eds. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, EJL 47 (Atlanta: SBL, 2017), 483–500.

23. One of the major differences with Stegemann's edition is that Qimron considered Stegemann's argument for the placement of frg. 10, 34, and 42 to be too tenuous. Consequently, these fragments are not found in Qimron's 1QHª col. 7 but are designated for the beginning of the scroll. Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010), 1:59, 66, 105.

24. Although many of the placed fragments were too small to be of significance for questions of genre, the small to medium sized fragments (frgs. 10, 12, 13, 18, 22, 34, 42, 44) in the upper halves of cols. 5–8 contain highly relevant material. Frgs. 10, 12, 13, 34, and 42 are also among the most tenuous and tentatively placed by Stegemann, and need careful reconsideration in light of new digital approaches to manuscript reconstruction that have emerged since DJD was published. It is not possible to discuss this aspect of Stegemann's reconstruction within the scope of the present study, but I will be addressing it in a future project. The text of these passages will have a bearing on the survey of rhetorical moves (defined in the next chapter) in Chapter 3, but the contents of the fragments will not be considered in the part of the analysis that requires delimited psalms in Chapter 5.

25. Sukenik, *Meghillot Genuzot II*, 32.

1QHᵃ was disseminated in this publication, including a passage (1QHᵃ 12:6–41) that became the

basis for the hypothesis that the מורה הצדק "Teacher of Righteousness" was the author of the

Hodayot. This passage appears in the psalm found in 1QHᵃ 12:6–13:6. In 1QHᵃ 12:6–10, the

speaker describes being isolated from his family and friends:

> I thank you, Lord, that you have illumined my face for your covenant and *m*[   ] I
> seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me as early [li]ght. But they, your
> people, [ ] in [their] stra[ying, and] they used slippery words on them. Deceitful
> interpreters led them astray and they came to ruin without understanding, for [   ]
> with delusion their deeds, for (I) have been rejected by them. They have no regard
> for me when you show your strength through me, for they drive me away from
> my land like a bird from its nest. All my friends and my relatives are driven away
> from me, and they regard me as a broken pot (1QHᵃ 12:6–10b).

Sukenik read this section of the psalm in light of a passage from another Cave 1 manuscript,

1QpHab 11:6, which describes the Teacher of Righteousness in exile and in conflict with the

Wicked Priest: "Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of

Righteousness to consume him with the heat of his anger in the place of his banishment. In

festival time, during the rest of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them, to consume them

and make them fall on the day of fasting, the sabbath of their rest."[26] Sukenik hypothesized that

the references to the banishment/exile possibly reflect the same historical reality. Sukenik's

tentative proposal about this passage was made very early on in Scrolls scholarship when only a

few scrolls were available, and it was implicitly understood that further study would be

necessary to develop more secure hypotheses once all of the material had been fully published.

---

26. Sukenik, *Meghillot Genuzot II*, 32; Florentino García Martínez and Elbert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1:19–21.

Thus the Teacher hypothesis was born out of Sukenik's first impression from a very limited range of evidence from 1QH[a] and 1QpHab.

Sukenik died in February of 1953 and never had an opportunity to publish a complete edition of 1QH[a] or to see the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts and consider their implications for his work on 1QH[a]. After he passed away, a committee was formed at the Hebrew University to bring together Sukenik's work on the Hebrew University scrolls and to provide full photographic plates and transcriptions of each scroll.[27] This volume, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (*DSSHU*), was less ambitious than the edition Sukenik envisioned. He intended to annotate the texts and provide additional discussions about the "study and elucidation" of the scrolls, all of which was well beyond the scope of what could be published in a single volume.[28] In *DSSHU* the account of the discovery of the scrolls and their descriptions were taken in large part from *Meghillot Genuzot I–II* and "compiled" into the text of *DSSHU*, as was much of the discussion of 1QH[a], resulting in a basic and expeditiously published *editio princeps*.[29]

This edition included transcriptions and plates of the poorly preserved columns that contained substantially different psalms that did not resemble psalms of individual thanksgiving and did not express the distinctive persona of the persecuted leader that Sukenik associated with the Teacher of Righteousness. Because *DSSHU* combines Sukenik's introductions to the previous

---

27. The task fell to Nahman Avigad, who was assisted by Licht. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, 8.
28. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, 7.
29. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, 7.

reports that only discussed cols. 9–11 with the photos and transcriptions of the previously

unpublished portions of the scroll, *DSSHU* gives the impression that Sukenik held to his original

articulation of the Teacher hypothesis even after having access to the rest of the scroll. Since

Sukenik did not publish any further studies before he died in 1953, it is impossible to know how

Sukenik's views on the authorship and form of the psalms in the Hodayot might have evolved as

more of the scroll was unrolled and transcribed after *Meghillot Genuzot II* was published.

1.3.2 Svend Holm-Nielsen (1960) Several years after *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew*

University was published, Svend Holm-Nielsen rejected Sukenik's Teacher hypothesis for two

reasons. First, he argued that it was impossible to make a persuasive case for authorship or even

to identify the historical circumstances that generated the psalms with the available evidence.[30]

The psalms do not offer specifics about the author or the historical context of the Hodayot, and

even if they did explicitly identify the psalms as those of the Teacher of Righteousness, it is not

clear whether the Teacher was a single figure or title granted to multiple leaders of the sect.[31]

Second, Holm-Nielsen considered the quest to identify the author of the Hodayot as a distraction

from the more important question of the *Sitz im Leben* and purpose of the psalms. He argued that

even if we could establish that the Teacher of Righteousness wrote some or all of the psalms,

speculation about authorship cannot advance our understanding of the use of the psalms. Instead

---

30. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 331; Svend Holm-Nielsen, "'Ich' in den Hodajoth und die Qumrāngemeinde," in *Qumran-Probleme*, ed. Hans Bardtke, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 227; Svend Holm-Nielsen, "Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmodic Tradition," *ST* 14.1 (1960), 7.

he advocated a shift in Hodayot research to what he considered to the more fruitful objectives of

the *Sitz im Leben* and purpose of the psalms.

Holm-Nielsen offered a tentative *Sitz im Leben* for the Hodayot tradition in the liturgy of

the Qumran community.[32] He looked to the entrance ceremony described in 1QS 1–2; 5:8–11 as a

possible occasion for the performance of at least some of the psalms. He argued that they were

not for private instruction or personal meditation, but should be viewed as "the Qumran

community's liturgical prayers and songs of praise."[33] However, he did not offer any additional

details because there is so little known about this ceremony or how the Hodayot might have fit

into it.

---

31. Holm-Nielsen's doubts about the Teacher hypothesis contributed to a long discussion about the historical reality behind the Teacher and whether the history of the Essenes/sectarians can be reliably extracted from sectarian literature. For some recent discussions about the Teacher of Righteousness, see Florentino García Martínez, "Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The 'Voice of the Teacher' as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen M. Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–44; David Hamidović, "The Teacher of Righteousness from the Perspective of the Sociology of Organizations," in *Scripture as Social Discourse*, eds. Todd Klutz, C. Strine, and J. M. Keady (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 159–82; Angela Kim Harkins, "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*, ed. Eric F. Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 449–67; Jutta Jokiranta, "The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 254–63; Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Teacher of Righteousness and His Enemies," in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, eds. Feldman Ariel, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 515–32; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity*, eds. Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin G. Wold, WUNT 212 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 75–94.

32. Holm-Nielsen proposed that both Temple and synagogue activities could be regarded as liturgy or "divine service," and that "it is highly questionable whether it is possible to draw a hard-and-fast line between the religious instruction and the divine service." This more flexible concept of liturgy apart from the temple enabled him to speak of "liturgy" at Qumran. Holm-Nielsen, "Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody," 8–9.

33. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 348.

The first multi-category categorization schema was developed by Holm-Nielsen. He divided the psalms into the categories of the "psalms of thanksgiving" and the "hymns." He made this modification to Sukenik's single category of ההודיות or "the thanksgivings" because Holm-Nielsen found that "the more one busies oneself with the Hodayot, the more their apparent uniformity disappears."[34] Although he accepted that at least some of the psalms are closely related to the form of the psalm of individual thanksgiving,[35] he proposed that others were closer to the form of a hymn.[36] Compared to Günter Morawe (discussed below), his categorization of each psalm relied more on his interpretation of the intent of each psalm—to praise or thank. He did not pursue a systematic survey of formal structures in each psalm, though some analysis of formal structures is sporadically offered throughout the commentary.[37]

Holm-Nielsen also differentiated the categories with respect to their inward or outward orientation. He argued that "on the basis of their content, [the psalms] can be divided into two large groups, of which the one is concerned in a more technical way with the conditions of the community, while the other expresses on the basis of this same community, the view of the surrounding world based upon its relationship to God."[38] The former group, which addresses

---

34. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 320, 347.

35. Holm-Nielsen also considered these psalms to be influenced by the biblical psalms of complaint. Psalms of complaint and psalms of thanksgiving are considered to be closely related because typically they both contain accounts of distress.

36. This identification is not entirely apt because hymns address God in the third person, whereas the Hodayot tradition typically addresses God in the second person.

37. There is some discussion regarding the *Sitz im Leben* of these forms, but not of the formal elements themselves. Formal structures are small, self-contained components of the psalms that can be generically determinative for the *Gattung* or genre. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 341–42

38. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 320.

internal concerns, correlates with the Hymns of the Community, and the latter group, which

addresses concerns external to the community, correlates with the psalms of individual

thanksgiving.

Holm-Nielsen supplemented this schema with a few additional observations about the

character of each category. He noted that the psalms of thanksgiving in the Hodayot are "far

more fitly described as a 'mosaic of Scriptures' than the hymns are."[39] He also observed that the

"'hymns of the community' are less marked in their word usage, their vocabulary being more

limited and more terminological," and that "the two groups separate themselves from each other

by means of certain special words within each group."[40] In sum, the division of the psalms into

two categories is driven primarily by his interpretation of the orientation of the psalms to

external or internal concerns, and secondarily by the distribution of vocabulary and use of

scripture, followed by basic correlations of the intent of the psalms of the Hodayot to that of

biblical psalms of thanksgiving and hymns.

In Holm-Nielsen's analyses of individual psalms, however, his classifications are not

always clear cut, especially among the hymns. When Holm-Nielsen indicated the category for

each psalm, in many cases he described them as mixed forms. For example, he considered a

number of psalms to be a mixture of psalms of thanksgiving, complaint, and trust.[41] He also

---

39. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 320.
40. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 322.
41. 1QHª 10:3–21; 22–32; 10:33–11:19; 11:20–37; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28; 15:29–36; 16:5–17:41; 19:32–20:39.

classified two psalms with the perplexing designation of a "hymn of thanksgiving," that possibly implies some sort of hybrid of his two categories.[42] In one case he described a psalm as a "prayer and supplication" (1QHª 8:26–38) without explaining whether it constitutes a new category.[43] In this respect the classification of the psalms in the analysis of each psalm belies the simple bifurcation of the Hodayot psalms into two categories in his conclusions.

In Holm-Nielsen's discussion of the "Use of the Old Testament in the Hodayot," he introduced even more complexity into his schema. He broke the psalms into three groups on the basis of their use of scripture as their contents: 1) psalms of thanksgiving,[44] 2) hymns that "extol the greatness of God on the basis of His creation, and in relation to earthly man and the angels,"[45] and 3) hymns "whose basis is not the power of God in the universe in general, but as it is expressed in a concrete form in the salvation which He has created for His elect within the community, and for which he is being praised."[46] He makes no mention of this subdivision of the hymns category in his closing analysis in the commentary, so he may have regarded it as less central to his main categories of hymns and thanksgivings.[47]

---

42. 1QHª 15:29–36; 19:18–31.

43. According to Holm-Nielsen, it is possible that this is not an independent psalm, but he does not explain to which category of psalm it would belong. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 241.

44. Holm-Nielsen's psalms 2–6 (1QHª 10:3–21; 10:22–32; 10:33–11:3; 11:4–19, 11:20–37), 8–11 (12:6–13:6; 13:7–21; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28), 14 (16:5–17:41). Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 312–3.

45. Holm-Nielsen's psalms 1 (1QHª 9:3–41), 12 (15:29–36), 14 (16:5–17:41), and (Sukenik's) col. 13 (5:18–38). Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 313.

46. Holm-Nielsen's psalms 16–19 (1QHª 18:16–19:5; 19:6–17; 19:18–31; 19:32–20:39), col. 14:18–22 (6:19–33), col. 18:1–33 (an incorrect reconstruction of a column with two unnumbered fragments [frg. in upper left of col. 23 and frg. in upper part of col. 21] and frg. 1 [upper part of col. 22–23]. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 313.

Holm-Nielsen's Delimitations	Holm-Nielsen's Classifications	Holm-Nielsen's Psalm Delimitations	Holm-Nielsen's Classifications
4:13–20	?	11:20–37	PT
4:21–27	?	11:38–12:5	?
4:28–37	?	12:6–13:6	PT
4:38–40	?	13:7–21	PT
5:18–38	?	13:22–15:8	PT
6:12–18	?	15:9–28	PT
6:19–33	H2	15:29–36	H1
6:34–38	?	15:37–16:4	?
7:14–39	?	16:5–17:36	PT
8:19–25	?	17:38–18:14	H1
8:26–38	PS	18:16–19:5	H2
9:3–41	H1	19:6–17	H2
10:3–21	PT	19:18–31	H2
10:22–32	PT	19:32–20:39	H2
10:33–11:3	PT	Invalid col. 18	H2
11:4–19	PT		

? = Discussed but not classified by Holm-Nielsen[48]

PT = Psalm of Thanksgiving   H1 = Hymn Type 1[49]

PS = Prayer and Supplication   H2 = Hymn Type 2[50]

Fig. 2

In sum, Holm-Nielsen divided the psalms by genre, and consolidated them into two (or

three) categories, psalms of thanksgiving and hymns, by their orientation to exterior or interior

concerns of the community and their use of scripture. His schema relies heavily on the use of

---

47. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 331. Three years later Holm-Nielsen reiterated his threefold categorization of the psalms, so it is difficult to determine whether he is working with two or three categories, or even two categories, with subcategories for the hymn category. Holm-Nielsen, "'Ich' in den Hodajoth und die Qumrāngemeinde," 220–21.

48. Parts of the manuscript that are not included in the chart are not discussed by Holm-Nielsen in the commentary.

49. The hymns that "extol the greatness of God on the basis of His creation, and in relation to earthly man and the angels." Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 313.

50. The hymns "whose basis is not the power of God in the universe in general, but as it is expressed in a concrete form in the salvation which He has created for His elect within the community, and for which he is being praised." Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 313.

scripture and vocabulary and the inward or outward orientation of the hymns because he was

more concerned with the purpose of the psalms and their *Sitz im Leben* than classifying the

psalms by their formal structures. As a consequence, Holm-Nielsen paved over some of the

formal complexity unearthed in his analyses of each psalm by offering two simplified categories

in his final analysis. His schema was mainly shaped by the psalmist's motivation (to thank or to

praise) and the overall thrust of the psalm (praising the God of creation or the God of the elect).

1.3.3 Günter Morawe (1961) Günter Morawe published his generic categorization schema

within a year of Holm-Nielsen's commentary. Even though Morawe and Holm-Nielsen worked

independently of each other and took different approaches to categorization, their classifications

of each of the psalms are remarkably close. The similarity of their results has been taken as

evidence of the soundness of the dividing the Hodayot tradition into two generic categories.[51]

Both studies constitute the starting point for discerning two genres in the Hodayot tradition,

which in turn paved the way for the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema.

Morawe had two objectives in his form-critical work on the Hodayot tradition. First, the

primary objective of Morawe's study was the form-critical classification of the psalms with a

detailed discussion of formal structures (*Gattungen*) that appeared in each psalm. Unlike Holm-

Nielsen, Morawe systematically catalogued the formal structures in the Hodayot tradition and

---

51. Michael C. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux," *DSD* 6.3 (1999), 242–43; Harkins, "The Community Hymns Classification," 128 n. 19; "Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns?," 450; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 14; Carol A. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot," *DSD* 17.3 (2010), 277; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 3.

dedicated a section to discussing each element in detail. Morawe's approach sets his work apart

from Holm-Nielsen's commentary, which did not sustain such a narrow focus on formal

structures.

Morawe's second objective was to demonstrate how the Hodayot psalms occupy a

position somewhere between "biblical" and "late Jewish" psalms in the development of psalms.[52]

He discusses this question to a limited extent in *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, but a fuller treatment

appears in his article *Vergleich des Aufbaus*, where he offers broader comparisons of the Hodayot

and Jewish literature beyond Qumran.[53]

Morawe did not explore the questions of authorship or *Sitz im Leben* in any depth in his

analysis. He stopped short of identifying the "I" of the any of the psalms with the the Teacher of

Righteousness, though he acknowledged similarities and the possibility that the Teacher could be

the speaker in his footnotes.[54] To this end, Morawe did not incorporate the Teacher hypothesis

into his discussion of any of his formal structures. Neither did he tie any of his criteria for his

generic categories to a *Sitz im Leben*. Morawe reserved his reflections on *Sitz im Leben* until

after his categories were established. He left the question open, only suggesting the possibility of

a cultic setting: "Ich glaube annehmen zu können, daß ihr eigentlicher 'Sitz im Leben' der Kult

---

52. Günter Morawe, "Vergleich des Aufbaus der Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder (1QH) von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spætjudentum," *RevQ* 4.3 (1963), 356.

53. For example, Morawe observed that in contrast with hymnic elements in other so-called late Jewish psalms, the Hodayot do not recount salvation history. He concluded that the Hodayot tradition to be situated in late Jewish poetry. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 12, 78, 162, 171; Morawe, "Vergleich des Aufbaus," 355.

54. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 170–71 n. 2; see also 51 n. 142, cf. Harkins, "The Community Hymns Classification," 123 n. 6.

ist, und lasse dabei offen, worin ihre spezielle Bedeutung im kultischen Leben der Gemeinde

bestand."[55] As a consequence, Morawe's study side-stepped the two pitfalls of authorship and

Sitz im Leben in his work on the Hodayot tradition.

Morawe's approach in *Aufbau und Abgrenzung* was to survey as many formal structures

as he could throughout cols. 4–20 and several other large fragments, to delimit the psalms, and to

identify patterns of formal structures in each psalm.[56] Morawe's inventory of formal structures

included introductory formulae, accounts of distress, accounts of deliverance, vows, petitions,

reflections, hymnic elements, and exhortations.[57] He found that many of these formal structures

settle into two major categories: the "*Danklieder*" or thanksgiving psalms and the "*hymnischen*

Bekenntnislieder" or hymnic confession psalms.[58]

Morawe's Delimitations	Morawe's Classifications	Morawe's Psalm Delimitations	Morawe's Classifications
4:12–27	H	11:38–12:5	D
4:29–37	H	12:6–13:6	D
4:38–40	H	13:7–21	D
5	H	13:22–41	D
6:12–18	H	14:4–39	D
6:19–33	H	15:4–8	D
6:34–39	H	15:9–28	D
7	H	15:29–36	H
8:18–25	H	15:37–16:4	H
8:26–38	H	16:5–17:36	D
9:5–41	H	17:38–18:14	H
10:5–21	D	18:16–19:5	H
10:22–32	D	19:6–17a	H

---

55. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 170.
56. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 16.
57. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 21–106.
58. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 107–08.

Morawe's Delimitations	Morawe's Classifications	Morawe's Psalm Delimitations	Morawe's Classifications
10:33–41	D	19:17b(?)– 41	H
11:2–19	D	20:4–39	H
11:20–37	D	22:3–17 (frg 1)	H

D = Danklieder   H = hymnische Bekenntnislieder

Fig. 3

Morawe's first category of the *Danklieder* is the best defined of the two. According to

Morawe, the *Danklieder* bear a strong resemblance to the psalms of individual thanksgiving in

the book of psalms. Each *Danklied* in the Hodayot is introduced with the formula אודכה אדוני, I

thank Thee, O Lord, wherever an introduction is preserved, with the exception of one instance in

1QHᵃ 13:22 where part of the original introduction has been erased and replaced with ברוך אתה.[59]

The introduction is customarily followed by the main body of the psalm consisting of two related

parts: an account of distress and an account of deliverance.[60] The account of distress describes

either the particular troubles or anxieties experienced by the speaker or in some cases even

eschatological scenarios of distress (1QHᵃ 11:8b–13a; 11:27–35a). The account of deliverance

serves as a counterpart to the account of distress, detailing how God has delivered the speaker

from his trouble. In three of the *Danklieder* Morawe found a doubled report of distress and

deliverance (13:7–21; 10:12b–17; 12:9b–39). Morawe discovered other formal structures

scattered among the *Danklieder* but none were found consistently enough to be considered

constitutive of either of his *Gattungen*. For example, four psalms included a complaint in

---

59. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 32–33.
60. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 37.

combination with the account of distress and deliverance (10:27b–30a; 15:4–8; 17:5–7a; 12:36), and there is a vow at the end of at least two of the psalms (10:32; 12:40). Morawe deemed these formal structures too uncommon to include as constitutive formal structures of the *Danklieder*.[61]

Morawe's second category is the *hymnische Bekenntnislied*. This category is less clearly defined than the *Danklieder* because it lacks a core set of formal structures that are common to each of the psalms in the category. *Hymnischen Bekenntnislieder* open with an introductory formula that is either אודכה אדוני or ברוך אתה אדוני. The main body of each psalm consists of what Morawe called hymnic elements and reflections in various combinations.[62] Vows are also found in the majority of these psalms; however, Morawe did not consider this feature to be an obligatory formal structure for the genre of psalm. In sum, the *hymnische Bekenntnislieder* are distinguished by their reflections and hymnic elements and the absence of accounts of distress and deliverance.

Morawe's hymnic elements are sections of the psalm that praise God for his justice toward his creatures, for his knowledge of creation, and for his orchestration of the cosmos. They also describe the opposition between God and Belial.[63] Hymnic elements lack references to specific scenarios of distress and rescue as a motivation for praise; rather, they are theologically motivated, with a focus on God's attributes and good will toward the elect.[64] In four cases

---

61. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 169.
62. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 169.
63. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 70.
64. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 79.

(15:35b; 18:5b–14; 20:27bff; 9:23–28a) this praise of God is juxtaposed with what Morawe called a "misery motif" that expresses the low status of the speaker as a creature in a wicked domain (11:24–25), often invoking images of dust, dirt, or a clay vessel to express the speaker's inadequacy. Morawe also included in this element statements beginning with בלוא that emphasize how nothing is possible for the speaker without the aid of God.[65]

The other common formal structure of the *hymnische Bekenntnislider* is the reflection. Morawe suggested that they express the knowledge and teachings of the sect.[66] Reflections describe the path of salvation for the sinner, sometimes with references to the speaker's friends or enemies. These formal structures are often introduced with the clause ואדעה כי or וידעתי כי, and they express insights that God has given to the speaker about divine activity or the path of the righteous.[67] According to Morawe's schema, reflections are regular formal structures that can appear in almost any position in these psalms, with the exception of the *hymnische Bekenntnislider* in 1QHa 15:29–36 and 17:38–18:14, which lack these reflections.

Morawe explained that the reflections and hymnic formal structures are often intertwined and are indistinguishable in some cases.[68] In fact, Morawe rarely demarcated between hymnic elements and reflections in his table of *Gattungselementen* for each psalm.[69] The ambiguity renders Morawe's generic schema somewhat less helpful, as it is very difficult to distinguish or

---

65. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 77.
66. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 79.
67. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 80.
68. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 78–79.
69. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 159–61.

clearly characterize the two constitutive formal structures of his hymnic confession psalms. Still, Morawe's detailed analysis contributed to the identification of two genres in the Hodayot and complemented Holm-Nielsen's less structurally focused study, laying the foundation for the Teacher Hymn-Community schema.

1.4 The Emergence of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn Schema (1962–1966)

This section outlines the work of the founders of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. It is widely agreed that three monographs by Gert Jeremias, Jürgen Becker, and Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn in the Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments series (SUNT) mark the beginning of the fully-fledged categories of the Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns.[70] Occasionally the work of these scholars on the Hodayot tradition is collectively designated as either the "Göttingen School"[71] or the "Heidelberg School."[72] The grouping is a convenient way to refer collectively to the three studies, but at the same time it is somewhat problematic because it paves over the points of distinction between these authors while creating an artificial distinction between their work and the Hodayot scholarship on categorization that preceded and followed. More to the point, although Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn build on each other's work,

---

70. Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* SUNT 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*.

71. The views expressed by Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn were first called the "Göttingen School" by Michael Douglas. Michael C. Douglas, "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14" (Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1998)," 3–8. He makes no mention of any school in Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 239–66.

72. In DJD 29, Eileen Schuller referred to Douglas's "Göttingen School" as the "Heidelberg School." Heidelberg is more apt because the three SUNT volumes of Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn were originally dissertations at Heidelberg. The "Heidelberg School" has become the more common designation for this body of work. Schuller, DJD 29:74.

their projects had distinct criteria and objectives, and they were not intending to develop a

monolithic schema. Rather each scholar had his own objectives and research questions that

shaped how they contributed to the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema, as will be

discussed below. While there was an exchange of ideas among these three scholars, it is more

prudent to treat them individually than as a school because they are not especially compatible or

independent from the earlier categorization work of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen or the work of

later categorizers like Michael Douglas, Carol Newsom, Angela Kim Harkins).[73] Jeremias,

Becker, and Kuhn can, however, be regarded as the originators of the Teacher Hymn-Community

Hymn schema, insofar as they each contribute fundamental pieces of a classification system that

construed Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's form-critical categories in terms of the Teacher

hypothesis. As we will see below, however, the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema

should be attributed primarily to Becker, whose work actually initiated the use of the Teacher

Hymn-Community Hymn terminology and served as the point of departure for all subsequent

work on the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema.

1.4.1 Gert Jeremias (1963) In *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (1963) Gert Jeremias proposed a

refinement of Sukenik's Teacher hypothesis in light of Holm-Nielsen's and Morawe's proposals

that the psalms of the Hodayot can be differentiated into two categories. Jeremias adopted

---

73. Although Harkins has critiqued the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema, her work continues to use and perpetuate the categories, especially in her recent work which deals with blocks of psalms in 1QH[a] labelled CH I (Community Hymns block I), TH (Teacher Hymns), and CH II. Harkins, "A New Proposal," 131; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 3–17.

Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's basic division of the psalms; however, he introduced a third

category to isolate psalms that could be ascribed to the Teacher of Righteousness. It must be

emphasized, however, that the main objective of his dissertation was to establish who the

Teacher of Righteousness is, what kind of spiritual figure he was, and how the Qumran

community viewed him in their literature.[74] Consequently, Jeremias's dissertation worked with

all of the literature that could shed light on the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab, 1QpMic, CD,

4QpNah, and 4QpPsª), including the Hodayot tradition because of Sukenik's Teacher hypothesis.

In this respect, Jeremias's study was not driven by research questions about issues of genre and

categorization in 1QHª.[75] Jeremias's formation and discussion of the *Danklieder* category,

therefore, is only one piece in his larger project of synthesizing a picture of the Teacher of

Righteousness from the literature that mentions him or is attributed to him. The final objective of

Jeremias's study was to contrast the Teacher of Righteousness with the historical Jesus to

contribute to the discussion around the relationship between the Scrolls and the New Testament.

As mentioned above, Jeremias identified three categories: *Danklieder*, *Psalmen*, and

Hymnen.[76] Among the psalms belonging to Morawe's *Danklieder* and Holm-Nielsen's psalms of

thanksgiving, Jeremias isolated a smaller group of eight psalms (1QHª 10:3–21; 10:33–41; 11:2–

19; 12:6–13:6; 13:7–21; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28; 16:5–17:37) that he argued were written by the

---

74. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 7–8.
75. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 127–166.
76. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170.

Teacher of Righteousness himself.[77] Jeremias called these psalms "*Danklieder*", not to be

confused with Morawe's *Danklieder*. The criterion for distinguishing Jeremias's *Danklieder*

from the rest of Morawe's *Danklieder* or Holm-Nielsen's psalms of thanksgiving is that the "I"

of Jeremias's psalms expresses a well-formed personality that is distinguishable as an individual

historical person rather than a generic "I" or a communal "I."

Jeremias claimed to identify the Teacher of Righteousness in the Hodayot by what the "I"

says and the vocabulary used to say it. These psalms express a very distinctive experience of

distress and divine deliverance that could not apply to anyone other than a specific leader of the

sect. The individuality of the "I" is expressed particularly in his suffering and persecutions that

he endured on account of his teaching.[78] As the argument goes, a mystery or revelation from God

could only belong to one intermediary, so the "I" must be a single figure, whom Jeremias

asserted is the author of the psalms. Jeremias also argued that these psalms are distinguished by

their unique language. They include more elaborate and extended metaphors and have a set of

vocabulary that is shared only by this group of psalms, leading Jeremias to conclude that the

Teacher Hymns are the work of a single literary genius.[79] This literary genius describes a struggle

over his message that Jeremias considered to overlap with that of the Teacher of Righteousness

---

77. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171.
78. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170.
79. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 172–73.

in CD and the pesharim, and thus, Jeremias argued that the author of the *Danklieder* is the

Teacher of Righteousness.[80]

Jeremias's second category of *Psalmen* are the remainder of Morawe's *Danklieder* and

Holm-Nielsen's psalms of thanksgiving after Jeremias's *Danklieder* have been factored out as a

separate category. The categories are further complicated because Jeremias admitted that some

Psalmen may actually belong to the *Danklieder* but cannot be included because they are either

fragmentary or do not bear enough markers of the Teacher of Righteousness's individuality to be

included.[81] From a few brief comments, Jeremias indicated that the *Psalmen* are primarily of a

doctrinal character and would serve well as a sectarian catechism.[82] He described them as

"Schülerpsalmen" that were possibly written in imitation of the *Danklieder* of the Teacher of

Righteousness.[83] These psalms use less colourful and descriptive language than those associated

with the Teacher.

The final category more or less reflects Morawe's *hymnischen Bekenntnislieder* and

Holm-Nielsen's Hymn (types 1–2) and his category of the prayer and supplication (only 8:26–

38). Jeremias's *Hymnen* consist of 1QH[a] 9:5–41; 17:38–18:14; 19:6–17a; 20:4–39; cols. 4, 6–8

frg. 1 and the fragments of Sukenik's col. 18. These compositions praise God's role as creator

---

80. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 176–177. This argument is a somewhat fuller version of Sukenik's argument because Jeremias had read more texts that discuss the Teacher of Righteousness. Sukenik did not have access to 1QpMic, 4QpNah, and 4QpPs[a].
81. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171.
82. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170.
83. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 171.

and emphasize the omnipotence of God without detailed references to any specific situation of

the psalmist, making it likely that they reflect a generic or communal "I."[84] Jeremias also

described them as instructive in character, though he does not elaborate.[85]

Jeremias's Delimitation	Jeremias's Classification	Jeremias's Delimitation	Jeremias's Classification
4:12–27	H	12:6–13:6	D
4:29–37	H	13:7–21	D
4:38–40	H	13:22–15:8	D
6	H	15:9–28	D
7	H	15:29–36	P
8:18–25	H	15:37–16:4	P
8:26–38	H	16:5–17:36	D
9:5–41	H	17:38–18:14	H
10:3–21	D	18:16–19:5	P
10:22–32	P	19:6–17a	H
10:33–41	D	19:17b(?)– 41	P
11:2–19	D	20:4–39	H
11:20–37	P	21	P
11:38–12:5	P	22:3–17 (frg 1)	H

D = Danklieder   P = Psalmen

H = Hymnen

Fig. 4

As part of an investigation that was intended to address the debate over the identity of the

Teacher of Righteousness and his comparability with Jesus, Jeremias developed a new

classification schema that combined the insights of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen about the

diversity of psalms in the Hodayot tradition with Sukenik's Teacher hypothesis to propose three

categories, one of which—the *Danklieder*—was authored by the Teacher of Righteousness who

is similarly described in CD and several of the pesharim. His categories of the *Psalmen* and the

---

84. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170.
85. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 170.

Hymnen were not systematically discussed; rather, he was mainly interested in distilling a subset of Teacher Hymns that can be tied to the Teacher of Righteousness. With Jeremias's three category schema, we are one step closer to the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn categorization schema.

1.4.2 Jürgen Becker (1964) In *Das Heil Gottes*, Jürgen Becker was the first categorizer to propose a binary Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Becker's primary objective, however, was to compare the concept of salvation in Qumran texts and the New Testament. The study also extends somewhat beyond the scope of the Qumran texts that were available to Becker at the time, including other early Jewish literature, such as Jubilees, Enoch, and the Psalms of Solomon. One of the concerns that motivated Becker's study was that parallels between Qumran and the New Testament were too superficially made in earlier studies, so in *Das Heil Gottes* he undertakes a more thorough examination and comparison of the concept of salvation in the two corpora.[86]

Becker's study illustrates how the concept of salvation is variegated throughout the literature of the Second Temple period and underscores the need for carefully tracing the subtle differences in concepts in that body of material. The categorization of the psalms of the Hodayot tradition is only a single piece of this larger study, and it serves the purpose of contextualizing concepts of salvation in the Hodayot tradition. Becker differentiated two categories of psalms

---

86. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 11–12.

that he argued mark a deep running division in the Hodayot tradition that cuts deeper than issues

of genre and authorship. He proposed that the two categories were written by different authors

from different phases of the Qumran community.[87] In view of this divide, Becker treated the

concept of salvation in the two categories as two phases in the development of the theology of

salvation at Qumran.[88]

To create his schema, Becker combined the binary classification schemas of Morawe and

Holm-Nielsen with Jeremias's argument that at least a subset of the psalms are authored by the

Teacher of Righteousness.[89] Becker distributed the psalms of Jeremias's less individualized

Psalmen category between his two main categories, "*die Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit*"

and the "*Gemeindepsalmen,*" thus narrowing the schema from Jeremias's three categories to

two.[90] While the *Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit* were psalms by the Teacher of

Righteousness, the *Gemeindepsalmen* were considered to be the daily prayers of the Essenes that

had significance as a "sacrifice of the lips" as a substitute for animal sacrifices at the Temple.[91]

Becker's Delimitation	Becker's Classification	Becker's Delimitation	Becker's Classification
4:12–27	G	13:7–21	P
4:29–37	G	13:22–41	P
4:38–40	G	14:4–15:8	P
6	G	15:9–28	P
7	G	15:29–36	G
8:18–25	G	15:37–16:4	G
8:26–38	G	16:5–41	P

---

87. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 55–56.
88. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 58–73; 126–67.
89. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 50–51 n 4.
90. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 53 n. 2.
91. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 129–30; 167.

Becker's Delimitation	Becker's Classification	Becker's Delimitation	Becker's Classification
9:5–41	G	17:1–17:36	G
10:3–21	P	17:38–18:14	G
10:22–32	P	18:16–19:5	G
10:33–41	P	19:6–17a	G
11:2–19	P	19:17b(?)– 41	G
11:20–37	G	20:4–39	G
11:38–12:5	P	21	G
12:6–13:6	P	22:3–17 (frg 1)	G

P = Psalmen des Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit   G = Gemeindelieder

Fig. 5

Becker's schema made several adjustments and qualifications to Jeremias's schema. First, as mentioned above he assigned a few of Jeremias's *Psalmen* to the *Gemeindepsalmen* (11:20–37; 15:29–36; 15:37–16:4; 18:16–19:5; 19:17b(?)–41; and col. 21). Second, he considered 12:30b–13:6, part of one of the *Psalmen des Lehrers* (12:6–13:6), to be a later addition. Third, he regarded the "I" of 1QHᵃ 17:1–36 to be too general to be associated with the Teacher, so he moved it to the *Gemeindepsalmen*.[92] By associating one of his categories with the community, Becker was able to isolate a source for the community's theology on salvation: "Diese Gruppe der Psalmen steht also sicherlich für sich, in ihnen spiegelt sich deutlich die Theologie der Gemeinde wieder."[93] The isolation of community theology in this group of psalms is the genesis of the Community Hymns. Becker also argued that differences in genre, language, authorship, and chronology in the Hodayot all fall along the same division of the psalms into two groups.

92. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 52.
93. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 52.

This assertion intertwined the form-critical criteria for Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's categories with other non-generic considerations in Becker's study.[94]

Although Becker's categories are indebted to those of Morawe, Holm-Nielsen, and Jeremias, Becker shaped the categories and their criteria into the first schema that is recognizable as the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Becker was also the first to name the categories themselves after the persona of the speaker and the sectarian community. In these respects, Becker can be described as the father of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema.

1.4.3 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn (1966) In *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (1966), Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn refined Becker's Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema by clarifying the criteria for its categories. His study discussed Hodayot tradition as part of his investigation of future and present eschatological salvation at Qumran *vis-à-vis* the Community Hymns. Although Kuhn focused mainly on the Community Hymns, he also provided an overview of the Teacher Hymns and their criteria as a background for discussing the Community Hymns. As a result, his study addressed the entire Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema to some extent. In addition to clarifying the criteria for the categories, Kuhn was also the first to bring the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema into conversation with an early version of Stegemann's reconstruction.[95]

---

94. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 50.

95. His interaction with Stegemann's reconstruction is reflected in how he orders his lists of citations and divisions between psalms for the most part. He acknowledges that there are newly reconstructed columns, but considers them too fragmentary to categorize. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 16–17, especially n. 2.

Kuhn's version of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema presented three categories of psalms: *Lehrerlieder* (teacher songs), *berichtendes Loblied des einzelnen* (reporting praise of the individual) and the *Gemeindelieder* (community songs).[96] The *Lehrerlieder* and *Gemeindelieder* designations appear to be an alternative form of Becker's terms for the categories (*Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit* and *Gemeindepsalmen*).

Kuhn's Delimitations	Kuhn's Classifications	Kuhn's Delimitations	Kuhn's Classifications
4:12–19		13:7–21	L
4:20–27	G	13:22–14:39	L
4:29–37	G	15:4–8	
4:38–40		15:9–28	L
6:19–33	G	15:29–36	G
7:14–39	G	15:37–16:4	
8:18–39		16:5–41	L
9:5–41	G	17:1–17:36	
10:3–21	L	17:38–18:14	G
10:22–32	BLE	18:16–19:5	G
10:33–41	L?	19:6–17	G
11:6–19	L?	19:18–42	G
11:20–37	G	20:4–39	G
11:38–12:5		21:20–38	G
12:6–13:6	L	22:3–17	

L = Lehrerlieder   L? = Possible Lehrerlieder
G = Gemeindelieder   BLE = berichtendes Loblied des einzelnen
Fig. 6

The *Lehrerlieder* category is closest to Jeremias's *Danklieder* with a few differences.[97]

The *Lehrerlieder* include 1QHᵃ 10:3–21; 12:6–13:6;[98] 13:7–21; 13:22–14:39; 15:9–28; 16:5–41.[99]

---

96. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24–25.
97. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24.
98. 1QHᵃ 12:30b–13:6 is considered by Kuhn and Becker to be secondary edition. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23; Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 54.
99. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23.

Kuhn considered it possible that 10:33–41 and 11:2–19 are *Lehrerlieder* as well, but that these

units that Jeremias treated as separate psalms may actually belong to a single composition.[100] As

the name *Lehrerlieder* suggests, the author and speaker of these psalms is thought to be the

Teacher of Righteousness.[101] Kuhn's *Lehrerlieder*, however, diverge substantially from Becker's

Psalmen des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit because Becker incorporates both Jeremias's *Danklieder*

and his *Psalmen*—the latter lacking the markers of the individuality of the speaker according to

Jeremias. Kuhn either left these psalms uncategorized or distributed them to his other categories.

According to Kuhn, the criteria for the *Lehrerlieder* are that they include an account of

distress (*Notbericht*) and a motif of the revelatory intermediary (*Motiv des*

Offenbarungsmittler).[102] The account of distress is the main formal structure that differentiated

the *Lehrerlieder* from the *Gemeindelieder*, whereas the motif of the revelatory intermediary

identifies the "I" of the psalm with the person of the Teacher of Righteousness.[103] These passages

include passages that situate the speaker as an intermediary figure between ordinary sectarians

and God. For example, the speaker describes how: "you (God) have made me a banner for the

elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries in order to test [persons

of] truth and to prove those who love moral discipline. And I have become an adversary to erring

---

100. Kuhn proposed that the psalm beginning in 1QHᵃ 10:33–41 might have continued until 11:19. *Kuhn, Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23–24 n. 5. See p. 34 n. 105.

101. Kuhn does not address the question of authorship; rather, he simply directs the reader to Jeremias's discussion of the *Danklieder*. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23 n. 2.

102. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 22.

103. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 22, 119 n.7.

interpreters, and a conten[der] for all who see what is right" (1QH[a] 10:15–17).[104] This revelatory

motif is what distinguishes Kuhn's *Lehrerlieder* from Becker's larger group of the *Psalmen des*

Lehrers, and it also necessitates the creation of Kuhn's second category of the *berichtendes*

Loblied des einzelnen (reporting praise of the individual).[105] This category consists of only a

single psalm in Kuhn's schema: 1QH[a] 10:22–32. Although the psalm has an account of distress,

it lacks the motif of the revelatory intermediary, and Kuhn could not include it with his

Lehrerlieder. Because the psalm fit in neither of the two main categories, it was assigned its own

category.[106] In Jeremias's schema, this psalm fits in his *Psalmen* category consisting of non-

Teacher psalms of individual thanksgiving.

Kuhn's third category, *die Gemeindelieder*, is built upon the revised criteria of Morawe's

hymnischen Bekenntnislieder category. It includes 1QH[a] 4:20–27; 4:29–37; 5:20–38; 6:19–33;

7:14–39; 9:5–41; 11:20–37; 15:29–36; 17:38–18:14; 18:16–19:5; 19:6–17; 19:18–42; 20:4–39.[107]

Kuhn took Morawe's list of formal structures found in his survey and reduced them to three

defining formal structures: *hymnische Stücke*, *Reflexionen*, and *Stücke im Lehrstil*.[108] Kuhn

reworked these three structures into two that constitute the category and differentiate it from the

---

104. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24.

105. Kuhn explained that the *Lehrerlieder* is just a nickname for *berichtende Loblieder des Offenbarungsmittlers*—his more technical term for the category. Both technical terms resemble some of the language used by Westermann. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 22–4; Claus Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 76.

106. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24.

107. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 25–26.

108. Kuhn eliminates *Gelübde*, *Bitten*, and *Aufforderungen* because they are too infrequent to be representative of the *Gattung* and *Einleitungsformeln* because they are so universal in the Hodayot that they cannot be used as a distinguishing feature. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 26.

Lehrerlieder and *berichtendes Loblied des einzelnen*: soteriological confessions

(*soteriologischen Bekenntnisse*) and the closely related lowliness doxologies and misery

meditations (*Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and *Elendsbetrachtungen*).[109] Soteriological confessions are

always initiated by either ואדעה כי (And I know that) or ואני ידעתי כי (And as for me, I know that)

and confess how God has saved the speaker.[110] In Morawe's schema, soteriological confessions

are partly covered by the category "*Reflexionen*."[111] Lowliness doxologies express the speaker's

guilt and low creaturely status in the face of God's righteousness, whereas misery meditations

lack the former's contrast with God's righteousness, focusing solely on the speaker's status.

Kuhn argued that lowliness doxologies are derivative of biblical *Gerichtsdoxologien* (justice

doxologies) that praise God for God's justice (cf. Exod 9:27–28; Lam 1:18–22; Ezra 9; Neh 9;

Dan 9).[112] Lowliness doxologies modify justice doxologies by incorporating a confession of the

sinfulness and lowliness of human beings, such that the human lowliness is strongly contrasted

with the exalted justice of God. They can be introduced as questions using איכה (how) and מי

(who) or by ואני (and as for me). Aspects of these elements can appear in soteriological

confessions as motifs.[113]

---

109. Kuhn calls *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and *Elendsbetrachtungen* two variant expressions (*Ausprägungen*) of a single *Gattung* element. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27.

110. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 26–27.

111. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27.

112. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27–28.

113. Kuhn follows Morawe in distinguishing motifs and *Gattung* elements. Motifs are reoccurring thoughts and ideas expressed in similar language, but are not expressed in a formalized way, as *Gattung* elements are. Thus, soteriological confessions may contain a small part of a lowliness doxology or misery meditation, but they do not rise to the level of a formal element of the psalm and remain subordinated to the soteriological confession. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 22; Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 21.

After establishing his three *Gattung* elements for the Community Hymns, Kuhn offered a hypothesis about their *Sitz im Leben*. The connection of the biblical *Gerichtsdoxologien* to the renewal of the covenant led Kuhn to suggest that the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and *Elendsbetrachtungen* might be connected to an Essene covenant renewal ceremony. To Kuhn, the emphasis of the soteriological confessions on the salvation of the community pointed to the setting of the entry into the community as described in 1QS 2–3.[114] He argued that the covenantal festival is the most plausible setting for the Community Hymns.[115]

1.5 Reception of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn Schema (1967–2015)

1.5.1 Sarah Tanzer (1986)[116] In Sarah Tanzer's dissertation "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot," she examined the presence of wisdom in the Hodayot. It is one of the first major studies on the Hodayot after Becker and Kuhn introduced the fully-fledged form of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. She employed a modified form of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema and also made use of a pre-publication version of Stegemann's reconstruction of 1QH[a].[117] Although her dissertation was never published, it has been read widely enough to shape subsequent Hodayot research. She posed what remains one of the strongest critiques of the schema—that a simple binary classification schema is too simplistic to account

---

114. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 32–33.

115. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 33.

116. Tanzer's work on the Hodayot is found in her unpublished dissertation and an essay that was recently published. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran;" Sarah J. Tanzer, "Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 255–75.

117. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 2–3 n. 7.

for the diversity and hybridity of material in the Hodayot, while presenting the most complicated

schema to date.

In "The Sages at Qumran," Tanzer catalogued wisdom elements including formal

structures, motifs, and terminology throughout the psalms in 1QH[a]. She ranked each psalm on a

three-tiered scale, ranging from psalms with no wisdom elements, psalms with limited wisdom

elements, and psalms with strong wisdom elements. Tanzer found that wisdom is dominant in the

Community Hymns and in Community Hymn-like inclusions into certain Teacher Hymns, and

she hypothesized that the Community Hymns material is a later addition to the Hodayot

tradition.[118]

Tanzer expanded the category of the Teacher Hymns, which she called the "Hymns of the

Teacher," to include more psalms than were found in analogous Teacher Hymn categories in the

schemata of Jeremias, Kuhn, or Becker. To Jeremias's eight Teacher Hymns, she added three

more psalms: 1QH[a] 10:22–32, 11:38–12:5, and 15:37–16:4. She also reassigned one of Kuhn's

Gemeindelieder (1QH[a] 11:20–37) to the Hymns of the Teacher because it is similar to 1QH[a]

11:6–19, which she classified with the Teacher Hymns. In sum, she counted twelve Teacher

Hymns, four more than Jeremias's original eight, and one more than Becker.[119]

---

118. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 84 n. 12, 126, 129, 138, 140.
119. She delimited a single psalm in 1QH[a] 13:22–15:8 where Becker counted two psalms (13:22–41; 14:4–15:8). 1QH[a] 15:37–16:4 is the only psalm that Tanzer added that Becker did not originally include.

Tanzer subdivided these psalms into three categories based upon their scenarios: 1) "those compositions which offer thanksgiving to God for deliverance and/or protection and emphasize an expression of confidence in God," 2) "those compositions which express salvation for the righteous, while warning the righteous not to be seduced away from the leadership of the psalmist," and 3) "two Hymns of the Teacher whose central focus is an apocalyptically imagined destruction of the wicked: 1QH^a 11:6–19 and 11:20–37."[120]

Tanzer expanded Kuhn's *Gemeindelieder* from fifteen psalms to twenty-five. As mentioned above, she transferred 11:20–37 to the Teacher category, reducing Kuhn's list to fourteen psalms, and she added eleven more (4:13–20; 4:38–5:11; 6:12–18; 6:34–31; 7:12–20; 21:2–38; col. 22; col. 23; col. 24; col. 25; col. 26).[121] Six of these new Hymns of the Community are from psalms that Stegemann reconstructed as cols. 21–27 and the rest came from cols. 4–7. All six psalms come from some of the most fragmentary parts of the scroll.[122]

The Hymns of the Community fall into six subcategories: 1) "[c]ompositions about creation which include an undercurrent of predestination," 2) "compositions which declare that 'salvation is possible only through God's covenant and statutes,' and which also foresee the extermination of the wicked," 3) "two compositions which stress the need to 'separate from the ungodly,'" 4) "compositions which focus on the 'Deuteronomic' theme of choosing what God

---

120. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 139.
121. Kuhn's original group of Community Hymns included 4:21–28; 4:29–37; 5:18–38; 6:19–33; 7:21–39; 8:18–25; 8:26–37; 9:3–10:4; 11:20–37; 15:29–36; 17:38–18:14; 18:16–19:5; 19:6–17; 19:18–31; 19:19–20:42.
122. The theoretical cols. 1 and 28 and the minimally preserved cols 2–3 and 27 are the worst preserved.

loves and abhoring what God hates," 5) "[p]rayers to the God of Compassion," and 6) "[h]ymns

about the salvation of the Elect."[123] The first set of subcategories describe topical subdivisions of

their respective categories rather than form-critical variations within the two genres.[124]

Tanzer employed still another set of subcategories (subcategory 2 in the chart) that have a

greater impact on her conclusions than the first set: Deuteronomic Hodayot and

Niedrigkeitsdoxologie Hodayot.[125] The topical subcategories for the Hymns of the Community

discussed above (subcategory 1) fit within the two major subcategories (subcategory 2) with the

exception of the fifth and sixth topical categories that include both Deuteronomic and

Niedrigkeitsdoxologie Community Hymns. The Deuteronomic Hodayot include subcategories 3–

6, while *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hodayot include 1, 2, 5, and 6. Her contention is that the category

of the Hymns of the Community, as Kuhn has defined it, is too broad, and that there is a

demonstrable split into at least two categories that can be observed on the basis of Deuteronomic

language and themes on the one hand, and *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* on the other.[126] The split

between the Deuteronomic and *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hymns of the Community falls more or

less between the Hymns of the Community at the beginning of the reconstructed scroll (mostly

Deuteronomic) and at its end (mostly *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hodayot).

---

123. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 141–42.
124. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 133–35, 159–61.
125. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 137–38; 144–58.
126. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 144.

Another observation that Tanzer made and is taken up in subsequent studies is the notion

of "hybrid" psalms. In her classification schema, hybrids are not a discrete category that is

separate from the Hymns of the Teacher and the Hymns of the Community; rather, it is a label for

psalms already assigned to one of the existing categories but contain ambiguities or anomalies

that make them outliers. In most cases, hybrids are Hymns of the Teacher in which Tanzer

detected elements from Hymns of the Community—specifically those from the

Niedrigkeitsdoxologie Hodayot (1QH^a 10:5–21; 11:6–19; 12:6–13:6; 13:22–15:8; 15:37–16:4;

16:5–17:36). She suggested that these elements have been integrated into these psalms from

other sources, though none of these sources are extant.[127] In two cases Tanzer also used the term

"hybrid" to describe a psalm that employs different topics or scenarios. 1QH^a 11:20–37 is called

a hybrid because she argued that an eschatological "cosmic struggle scenario" is "taken from

elsewhere," probably an apocalyptic source.[128] The other exception is 1QH^a 15:29–36. Tanzer

classified this psalm as a Hymn of the Community that has had a Hymn of the Teacher incipit

redacted onto it.[129]

---

127. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 62 n. 20; 71 n. 94; 74 n. 59; 84; 84–85 n. 12; 107 n. 73; 128; 128 n. 115; 149.

128. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 139.

129. Tanzer argued that the אודך אדוני "I thank You, O Lord" incipit is a marker of Teacher Hymn compositions because, apart from 1QH^a 15:29–36, Teacher Hymns only use this opening formula. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 149.

Tanzer's Delimitation	Conversion to Stegemann	Tanzer's Classification	Concentration of Wisdom Elements	Subcategory 1	Subcategory 2	Hybrids
1:1(?)–2:2	9:3–10:4	CH	SWH	CH 1	Niedrigkeits	
2:3–19	10:5–21	TH *	LWH	TH 2		Hybrid
2:20–30	10:22–32	**TH**	NWH	TH 1		
2:31–3:4	10:33–11:5	TH	NWH	TH 1		
3:5–18	11:6–19	TH	NWH	TH 3		Hybrid
3:19–36	11:20–37	*TH*	LWH	TH 3		Hybrid
3:37–4:4	11:38–12:5	**TH**	NWH	TH 1		
4:5–5:4	12:6–13:6	TH	LWH	TH 2		Hybrid
5:5–19	13:7–21	TH	NWH	TH 1		
5:20–7:5	13:22–15:8	TH	LWH	TH 2		Hybrid
7:6–25	15:9–28	TH	NWH	TH 1		
7:26–33	15:29–36	*CH*	SWH	CH 6	Niedrigkeits	Hybrid
7:34–8:3	15:37–16:4	**TH**	LWH	N/C		Hybrid
8:4–9:36	16:5–17:36	TH	LWH	N/C		Hybrid
9:37–10:12	17:38–18:14	CH	SWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
10:14–11:2	18:16–19:5	CH	LWH	CH 5	Deuteronomic	
11:3–14	19:6–17	CH	SWH	CH 6	Niedrigkeits	
11:15–28	19:18–31	CH	LWH	CH 6	Niedrigkeits	
11:29–12:36?	19:32–20:42	CH	SWH	CH 5	Niedrigkeits	
13:1–21? + frg. 17 and 15.1b	5:18–38 ?	CH	SWH	CH 1	Niedrigkeits	
14:?–7	6:12–18	CH	LWH	CH 3	Deuteronomic	
14:8–22	6:19–33	CH	LWH	CH 3	Deuteronomic	
14:23–28(?)	6:34–31	CH	LWH	CH 4	Deuteronomic	
15:(?)1–7(?) + frg. 10	7:12–20 + frg. 10	CH	LWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
15:8–26(?)	7:21–39?	CH	SWH	CH 2	Niedrigkeits	
16:1–7 + frg. 12 and 13	8:18–25?	CH	LWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
16:8–20?	8:26–37	CH	LWH	CH 5	Deuteronomic	
17:?–8	4:13–20	CH	NWH	N/C		
17:9–15	4:21–28	CH	NWH	CH 6	Niedrigkeits	
17:17–25	4:29–37	CH	LWH	CH 4	Deuteronomic	
17:26–13:?	4:38–5:11	CH	NWH	N/C	Deuteronomic	
18:16–33 + frg. 3	21:2–38	CH	SWH	CH 2	Niedrigkeits	
frg 1i, 4	22	CH	LWH	CH 5	Niedrigkeits	

Tanzer's Delimitation	Conversion to Stegemann	Tanzer's Classification	Concentration of Wisdom Elements	Subcategory 1	Subcategory 2	Hybrids
18:1–16 + frg. 2i	23	CH	LWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
frgs. 9; 6	24	CH	NWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
frgs. 5; 7i; 8	25	CH	LWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	
frgs. 7ii; 46ii; 55ii; 56ii	26	CH	LWH	N/C	Niedrigkeits	

TH 1 = Thanksgiving to God for Deliverance and/or protection and emphasize an expression of confidence in God

TH 2 = Express salvation for the righteous, while warning the righteous not to be seduced away from the leadership of the psalmist

TH 3 = Apocalyptically imagined destruction of the wicked

CH 1 = Composition about Creation

CH 2 = Salvation is possible only through God's covenant and statutes

CH 3 = Separate from the ungodly

CH 4 = Deuteronomic category; choosing what God loves, abhoring what God hates

CH 5 = Prayers to the God of Compassion

CH 6 = Hymns about the salvation of the Elect

N/C = Not categorizable

LWH = Limited Wisdom Hodayot

NWH = No Wisdom Hodayot

SWH = Strong Wisdom Hodayot

Fig. 7

Another consequential contribution of Tanzer's study is her redaction-critical proposal about the process that produced the arrangement of psalms found in 1QHᵃ. With respect to the Hymns of the Teacher, she proposed "that this central block of Hodayot may have formed the earliest nucleus of the collection." [130] The "central block" includes all of the psalms in 1QHᵃ 10:5–17:36 with the exception of 15:29–36 mentioned just above. Then she proposed that "a later editor has adapted material from the Hymns of the Community into the Hymns of the Teacher," producing the eight hybridized psalms (see chart).[131] In the final stage (perhaps concurrent with the hybridization phase) the Hymns of the Teacher were "surrounded and

---

130. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 81, 138.
131. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 138.

dominated by the Hymns of the Community."[132] She concluded that "while the Hymns of the

Teacher may have originated as the response of a righteous leader to persecution, they have since

been adapted to the wider context of the Hymns of the Community in which they are found."[133]

Tanzer's proposal was the first redaction-critical proposal to be applied to Stegemann's

reconstruction of 1QH[a] and raised the question of the diachronic development of the 1QH[a]

arrangement of psalms in Hodayot scholarship. The conflation of questions of categorization

with questions of redaction set Hodayot research on a new trajectory that has dominated the

discussion ever since.

1.5.2 Émile Puech (1988) In the late 1980s, Émile Puech reconstructed 1QH[a] during the process

of writing his dissertation on the Essene doctrine of resurrection because he wanted to

incorporate more of 1QH[a] into his work. This reconstruction was published in 1988.[134] Puech's

reconstruction was done independently of Stegemann's, yet he came to a majority of the same

conclusions, with the exception that Puech was able to place more fragments of 1QH[a] than

Stegemann. These fragment placements were subsequently incorporated in Stegemann's final

edition (frgs. 30, 31, 43, 44, 54 + unnumbered frg. in SHR 4276).[135] Puech's reconstruction is the

basis for many of the so-called "interim editions" of the Dead Sea Scrolls that adopted the new

column numbers.[136]

---

132. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 138.
133. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 138–39.
134. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 38–55.
135. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:24–26.

Puech contributed to the discussion of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema in two ways. First, he called attention to the Maskil superscriptions that were published for the first time in his 1988 article.[137] He suggested that the regular appearance of these paratextual features in 1QH[a] may indicate that the psalms were organized into sections under each of the rubrics.[138] He proposed that there may have been as many as five such sections, paralleling to some extent the five-fold division of the MT psalter. Although the comparison is anachronistic since there is no evidence of psalms manuscripts with five books at Qumran, Puech's comparison is meant to highlight the principle of sectionally organized psalms collections, regardless of the exact number of sections or any relationship to the MT psalter.

Second, Puech critiqued the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema by asserting that the division of the psalms into two categories on the basis of the persona of the "I" is fallacious because:

> the Teacher of Righteousness was no doubt capable of expressing himself according to various literary approaches and could vary his vocabulary wherever necessary. His strong personality was certainly not limited to a single type of hymn composition, and could vary between expressing himself in his own name and using his own spiritual experience as a pattern, or composing in a more impersonal manner for his group and for community praise of God. This would

---

136. Schuller coined the term "interim editions" for transcriptions and translations of 1QH[a] that use Stegemann's column numbers but retain Sukenik's line numbers. Stegemann's work resulted in an adjustment of the line numbers from those of the interim editions because edge fragments were placed that established the vertical position of some of the columns that were previously missing top and bottom margins. For the discussion of the interim numbering system and some of the editions and studies that used it, see Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 126; Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH[a]* EJL 36 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 7.

137. For further discussion of these superscriptions, see pp. 111–118.

138. Émile Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 366–67; Puech, "Quelques aspects," 53.

better explain an unmistakable unity of style and vocabulary that is rather striking in these Hymns....[139]

Puech's incisive critique undercut the Teacher hypothesis because it raises the possibility that sectarian leaders—who would possess an intuitive grasp of sectarian discourse—could modulate their discourse and were capable of code-switching if it served their purposes.

Puech's critique also highlights the extent to which the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema has departed from Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's objective of generic classification to an overriding interest in authorship, and by extension, historical reconstruction. Ultimately Puech, like Morawe, remained agnostic about authorship by the Teacher of Righteousness, only going so far as to leave open the possibility without dismissing an alternative scenario in which the Teacher's disciples composed the psalms.

One aspect of Puech's critique that has not generally been upheld is that the Cave 4 evidence undermines the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Puech argued that "the preliminary publications of passages from 4QHodayot are not without contradictions in the scholarly distinctions between 'Hymns of the Teacher' and 'Hymns of the Community.'"[140] Contrary to Puech, it has been argued that the 4QHodayot[a–f] manuscripts permit and even support the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema because 4QpapH[f] (perhaps 4QH[c] too) seems to have contained the psalm in col. 9 + Teacher Hymns. 4QH[a] contains only Community Hymns,

139. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 366.
140. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 367.

though in a different sequence than in 1QHᵃ/4QHᵇ. 4QHᵉ appears to be a manuscript that began

with the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn (25:34–27:3). In every case besides the 1QHᵃ/4QHᵇ

arrangement of the Hodayot, the Teacher Hymns and the Community Hymns appear to be

compiled separately, with the exception of the col. 9 Community Hymn thought to be written as

an introduction to the Teacher Hymns.[141] Puech argued that "it is far from being proven that

4QHodayotᶜ contained only the "Hymns of the Teacher" on twelve line columns; the same also

holds true for 4QHodayotᶠ."[142] His critique underscores that the Cave 4 evidence does not amount

to a demonstration that the Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns are ordering principles of the

collections.

1.5.3 Michael Douglas (1998)[143] In "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study

of 1QH 9:1–18:14" (1998), Michael Douglas situated himself in the "Göttingen School" with

Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn in advancing a renewed argument in favour of the Teacher Hymn-

Community Hymn schema.[144] He expanded upon a number of earlier proposals, including

Jeremias's argument for grouping the Teacher Hymns together on the basis of idiosyncratic

---

141. See the discussion of the Teacher's Book in the next section (p. 48). Schuller tentatively suggested that the psalm in 1QHᵃ 9 might have been composed as an introduction to the Hymns of the Teacher because it is found at the beginning of 4QpapHᶠ, which otherwise only contains psalms designated for the Teacher or non-Teacher *Danklieder*: "I am tempted to suggest that it may have served some specific function, perhaps as an introduction to the Hymns of the Teacher collection." Eileen M. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85.1-2 (1994), 145. Later Schuller formalized this into a proposal in Schuller, DJD 29:209–11, see especially 212. See also Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:10, 120.

142. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 366. See also Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 131.

143. This discussion interacts primarily with Douglas's dissertation, Douglas, "Power and Praise." Douglas published many of the details of his argument in his article Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 239–66.

144. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 5.

language and the identification of the distinctive speaker in these psalms as the Teacher of

Righteousness. He also depended heavily on Tanzer's redaction-critical proposal for the

existence of an original collection of Teacher Hymns that later had Community Hymn material

incorporated into them and were bracketed with two blocks of Community Hymns.[145] Douglas

addressed the Community Hymns to a limited extent but only insofar as he distinguished them

from the Teacher Hymns and discussed them as part of the redactional process.

Douglas was a major proponent of the Teacher hypothesis, but he considered the Teacher

Hymn-Community Hymn schema to be inadequate without some refinements. He found

Jeremias's method for identifying the distinctive language of the Teacher to be problematic

because much of the vocabulary is too common or insignificant to permit a firm identification

with the Teacher of Righteousness.[146] According to Douglas, Jeremias succeeded in

differentiating the Teacher Hymns from the Community Hymns but failed to demonstrate that the

Teacher of Righteousness wrote them.[147]

Douglas attempted to improve on Jeremias's linguistic criteria by arguing that the Teacher

Hymns could be linked to the Teacher of Righteousness with a high degree of probability by

their use of the "signature phrase" הגבירכה בי "when you [God] exercise your power through

me."[148] Because this phrase is unique to the Hodayot and only occurs five times in four

145. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 78–81; Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 81, 138.
146. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 172–73.
147. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 247.
148. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 247.

compositions in 1QHᵃ 10–13, Douglas used it as his "criterion of dissimilarity" for the Teacher

Hymns.[149] That is to say, Douglas used הגבירכה בי to identify a core group of authentic psalms of

the Teacher of Righteousness.[150]

Douglas expanded his list of Teacher hymns by looking for other distinctive language in

his core psalms to identify a larger network of distinctive phrases that also occur in authentic

psalms.[151] When these secondary phrases appeared in other psalms that lacked the main signature

phrase of הגבירכה בי, Douglas included them in the Teacher Hymns. On this basis, he argued that

the Teacher of Righteousness wrote much of the material found in a source that he calls the

"Teacher's Book" (1QHᵃ 9:1–20:6, or possibly 9:1–17:36 or 9:1–18:14 at an earlier stage),[152]

with the Community Hymn beginning in col. 9 serving as a specially composed introduction.[153]

Like Tanzer, Douglas proposed that the other Community Hymns were added before and

after the Teacher's Book at a later stage to create the Hodayot arrangement found in 1QHᵃ.[154] He

divided 1QHᵃ into three sources: Source 1: cols. 1–8, Source 2 (the Teacher's Book): 9:1–20:6,

and Source 3: 20:7–28:42.[155] Douglas argued that the Hodayot tradition developed in stages that

correspond to these sources. The first stage was constituted by the authoritative claims of the

---

149. 1QHᵃ 10:26; 12:9, 24; 13:17, 27.

150. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 247–48.

151. Repetition of significant phrases are listed in Appendix 2, and claims of authority, status, and significance are found in Appendix 3. These components form the basis for inclusion into the Teacher Hymns category. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 394–403; 404–11.

152. In "Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," Douglas limits the Teacher Book to either 9:1–17:36 or 9:1–18:14. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 256.

153. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 256, 352.

154. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352; "Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," 256–57.

155. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352.

Teacher of Righteousness in the authentic Teacher Hymns that he wrote during his life. After his

death, the Teacher Hymns were edited into a self-standing collection that he calls the Teacher

Book.[156] In the next stage, Source 3 (20:7–28:42) was appended to the Teacher's Book, and then

Source 1 (cols. 1–8) was inserted before the Teacher's Book to form the 1QH[a] arrangement.[157]

His primary support for the addition of the Community Hymns to the Teacher's Book is the fuller

orthography in Source 3.[158] In Douglas's view, spelling practices indicated that the Community

Hymns were added at different stages in the development of 1QH[a] and that the orthographic

differences were never completely levelled out by the copyists.[159]

Douglas proposed a temporal sequence for the three sources using references to the

Teacher's conflict in 1QpHab and framing them in terms of Victor Turner's model of social

conflict.[160] According to Douglas, 1QpHab (2:1–2; 9–11) describes two phases of the career of

the Teacher: "1) controversy in Jerusalem leading to exile and 2) the Teacher in exile."[161]

---

156. Douglas's argument for the Teacher's Book was possibly corroborated by the discovery of 4QpapH[f]. As mentioned above, 4QpapH[f] it began at 9:1, coinciding with what Douglas hypothesizes to be the Teacher's Book.

157. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352.

158. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352; 404–11.

159. There has been significant discussion of how orthography can help us to discover redactional activity by Harkins as well in "Observations on the Editorial Shaping," 249–54; "The Community Hymns Classification," 140 n. 46–47; "A New Proposal," 101–34; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 120, 197–218; "The Performative Reading of the Hodayot: The Arousal of Emotions and the Exegetical Generation of Texts," *JSP* 21.1 (2011), 68–71; "Another Look at the Cave 1 Hodayot: Was CH I Materially Part of the Scroll 1QHodayot[a]," *DSD* 25.2 (2018), 194, 208–9, 213, 215.

160. Victor W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), 91–94 (overview), 95–287 (case studies and analysis); Victor W. Turner, "Social Dramas and Stories about Them," in *On Narrative*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 137–64, see especially 145–157.

161. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 330.

Douglas argued that these phases can be mapped onto a pattern of social conflict that Turner

observed while studying the Ndembu tribe of northwestern Zambia. Turner theorized that this

tribal pattern of conflict can be generalized to a universal pattern of social conflict in four stages:

1) breach, 2) escalation of the crisis, 3) redressive action, and 4) reintegration or irreparable

schism. Douglas proposed that 1QH^a 10:5–21; 10:22–32; 10:33–11:5 reflect the breach and

escalation of the crisis because they "were written and express the conflict in Jerusalem before

the author's exile."[162] The redressive action and irreparable schism are found in 1QH^a 12:6–30a;

13:7–21; 13:22–14:6 + 15:4–8; 15:9–28; 16:5–17:36, which "were written in the wilderness in

exile."[163] Douglas argued that because these psalms follow Turner's pattern of social conflict,

they can be taken as evidence that the Teacher Hymns reflect a historical reality—in this case the

conflict expressed in 1QpHab.[164]

Douglas's most enduring contribution to the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema is

his elaboration of Tanzer's approach of dividing 1QH^a into one block of Teacher Hymns and two

blocks of Community Hymns. The block approach overlooked the messiness and inconsistency

of the distribution of the Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns by Jeremias, Becker, and

---

162. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 344.
163. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 345.
164. The core of Douglas's argument is that the Teacher Hymns reflect the same historical conflict described in 1QpHab. The application of Turner's model is counterproductive because it does not increase the likelihood that the Habakkuk pesher and the Teacher Hymns correspond to the same historical person; rather, it achieves the very opposite. The sociological model would make it less likely that the stages of social conflict that Douglas has identified would be unique to a particular historical figure like the Teacher of Righteousness. Sociological models like Turner's describe commonplace patterns, not unique historical situations.

Kuhn, and treated the psalms as simplistic groupings of material. This more wieldy division of

material into blocks facilitated Douglas's redaction-critical research question of why the Teacher

Hymns are found in the middle of 1QH[a]. His approach to categorization is made possible by the

emphasis on shared vocabulary by degrees of association with the signature phrase, הגבירכה בי,

which enabled Douglas to isolate an uninterrupted block of Teacher Hymns by degrees of

association. According to Douglas, all psalms that are not Teacher Hymns are put automatically

into the Community Hymn category, even those from cols. 2 and 27–28 that only have a few

small surviving fragments and the hypothetical col. 1.[165] Thus, Douglas moved a step beyond

Becker in constructing zero-sum categories—if a psalm is not in the Teacher Hymn block, then it

must be a Community Hymn, even if no material evidence has survived from the column.

1.5.4 Carol Newsom (2004)[166] Carol Newsom's study *The Self as Symbolic Space* (2004) opened

a new perspective on the Hodayot tradition by leaving aside the old unanswerable question about

the authorship of the psalms to explore how the Hodayot and Serekh traditions construct a

---

165. 1QH[a] 1 has no assigned fragments. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:55.

166. This section focuses on Newsom's argument in *The Self as Symbolic Space*. Related discussions can be found in Carol A. Newsom, "Kenneth Burke Meets the Teacher of Righteousness: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hodayot and the Serekh Ha-Yahad," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*, eds. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, College Theology Society Resources in Religion (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 121–31; 167–87; "The Case of the Blinking I: Discourse of the Self at Qumran," *Semeia* 57 (1992), 13–23; "Apocalyptic Subjects: Social Construction of the Self in the Qumran Hodayot," *JSP* 12.1 (2001), 3–35; "Constructing "We, You, and the Others" through Non-polemical Discourse," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, eds. Florentino Garcia Martínez and Mladen Popović (Boston, Mass: Brill, 2008), 13–21; "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339–54; "Predeterminism and Moral Agency in the Hodayot," in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal, STDJ 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 193–211.

sectarian "self" or subjectivity. Newsom categorized the psalms by how the "I" situates itself

with respect to the symbolic world constructed by the text. As a consequence, her primary

objective was not to present a fully-formed categorizational schema or to comprehensively revise

the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema and all of its criteria. Despite having another

objective, her study marks a major transformation of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn

schema and a turning point in how the schema is employed in Hodayot scholarship.

Newsom's schema built on the contours of Jeremias's version of the schema by dividing

the psalms into three categories 1) Hodayot of the leader, 2) Hodayot of the community, and 3)

Hodayot associated with the Maskil. In some respects, these categories are reminiscent of

Jeremias's *Danklieder*, *Hymnen*, and *Psalmen* in that there are three main categories; however,

Newsom uncoupled Jeremias's *Danklieder* from the Teacher of Righteousness and reframed

them as the "Hodayot of the leader."

Newsom's Delimitations	Newsom's Classifications	Newsom's Delimitations	Newsom's Classifications
4:13–20	C	13:22–15:8	L
4:21–28	C	15:9–28	L
4:29–37	C	15:29–36	C
4:38–5:11	C	15:37–16:4	C
5:12–38?	M	16:5–17:36	L
6:12–18	C	17:38–18:14	C
6:19–33	M	18:16–19:5	C
6:34–31	C	19:6–17	C
7:12–20 + frg. 10	C	19:18–31	C
7:21–39?	M	19:32–20:6	C
8:18–25?	C	20:7–20:42	M
8:26–37	C	21:2–38	C
9:3–10:4	C	22	C
10:5–21	L	23	C

Newsom's Delimitations	Newsom's Classifications	Newsom's Delimitations	Newsom's Classifications
10:22–32	C	24	C
10:33–11:5	C	25:1–33	C
11:6–19	C	25:34–?	M
11:20–37	C	26	C
11:38–12:5	C	27	C
12:6–13:6	L	28	C
13:7–21	L		

C = Hodayot of the community   L = Hodayot of the leader

M = Psalms with Maskil superscriptions or that correspond closely to the Maskil's duties

Fig. 8

Newsom found Jeremias's argument for the *Danklieder* as a discrete category

compelling, but she followed Holm-Nielsen in underscoring the "futility of trying to marshal

evidence to show that a particular individual did or did not compose a text."[167] In other words,

she set aside the Teacher hypothesis while accepting the contention of Jeremias and several of

the categorizers who followed that at least some subset of psalms can be shown to reflect a

persona who is distinguishable from the rest of the community as a leader. Thus, instead of

calling this subset of psalms "the Teacher Hymns," she called them "Hodayot of the leader,"

leaving the identity "I" of the psalms unspecified.[168] She considered the "only reliable criterion

for distinguishing a separate group of Hodayot is whether or not the speaker represents himself

as distinct from the community in the capacity of leader."[169] She suggested that the office of the

"Mebaqqer" מבקר (CD 9:18–19; 13:7–16; 14:11–12; 1QS 6:14–15, 20) strongly reflects the

---

167. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 287; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 317–31.

168. In this respect, Newsom's position is close to that of Licht, Holm-Nielsen, and Morawe, who did not think there was sufficient evidence for authorship by the Teacher of Righteousness (see discussions above).

169. Newsom sheds Kuhn's criterion of the account of distress (see p. 33). Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 287–88.

persona of the leader psalms.[170] In this regard, she distinguished her position from that of Licht,

who argued that either Maskil or the Mebaqqer could be the speaker.[171] In the leader's role of

maintaining group boundaries and dealing with dissent, she saw "a virtual inventory of the major

responsibilities attributed to the Mebaqqer in the Serek ha-Yahad and in the Damascus

Document."[172] Newsom regarded other criteria relating to specific motifs, formal elements,

vocabulary, or syntax to be meaningless for identifying Hodayot of the leader apart from the

primary criterion of speaker's self-presentation as a leader who is distinct from the community.[173]

She proposed that these psalms "articulate the leadership myth of the existing community"—a

myth that generates the sectarian, us-versus-them worldview.[174]

---

170. Although in an earlier publication Newsom finds convincing Vermes's proposal that the Maskil and the Mebaqqer are essentially the same office, in *The Self as Symbolic Space* she takes up the view that they are actually different figures. As a consequence, she parses many of the psalms of the Hodayot between those that align with the office of the Mebaqqer (the Hodayot of the leader) and those that align with the office of the Maskil (1QH^a 5:12; 6:19–33; 7:21; 20:7; 25:34), with the remainder associated with ordinary sectarians. Carol A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maśkîl," in *Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, eds. John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 375; Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 29; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 288. In this respect, she takes up Jeremias's view that the Maskil is "a shadowy figure without individual personality," while the Mebaqqer has clear organization and leadership duties. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 294; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 175. See also Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 136–37 n. 92; "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement," *RevQ* 20.3 (2002), 438–40; "Problems in Reconstructing the Organizational Chart of the Essenes," *DSD* 16.3 (2009), 391 n. 7; 405 n. 35.

171. Although Licht includes the possibility of the Mebaqqer, his discussion focuses more on evidence related to the Maskil. Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), 24–26; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 294. For additional discussion of Licht's proposal, see p. 275.

172. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 297; see also 294–95.

173. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 287.

174. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 289.

Newsom considered her second category, the "Hodayot of the community," to be a less coherent category than the Hodayot of the leader. The criterion is once again the speaker's persona, but the Hodayot of the community express the perspective of "an ordinary member of the community."[175] Like Tanzer and Douglas, she did not regard the Hodayot of the community "as a homogenous collection;" rather she considered them as a "remainder" after the Hodayot of the leader are factored out.[176]

Newsom further divided the Hodayot of the community into two categories: those expressing the perspective of the ordinary sectarian[177] and those associated explicitly or implicitly with the Maskil (1QH[a] 5:12; 6:19–33; 7:21; 20:7; 25:34).[178] Although Newsom recognized that the institutional office of the Maskil has duties that ordinary sectarians do not have, she argued that "his character is described in terms similar to those used [of ordinary sectarians] in the community hymns."[179] In other words, the persona of the Maskil, which she

---

175. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198.

176. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198.

177. Newsom did not provide a full list of the Hodayot of the community. After discussing the Hodayot of the leader, she explained that the "remainder of the Hodayot do not form a homogeneous collection" and asserted that "no reason for assuming that the "I" of the text represents a figure other than an ordinary member of the community." I take this to mean that non-leader psalms are Hodayot of the community. The one possible exception that she noted is 1QH[a] 26:24–27?; 4QH[a] frag. 7, part of the psalm found in 1QH[a] 25:34–27:3. This psalm has a Maskil heading, so despite the language of being "among the heavenly beings," this psalm would seem to belong to Newsom's Maskil category. This exception, however, undercuts Newsom's claim that the Maskil's character "is described in terms similar to those used in the community hymns." Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198.

178. A category of psalms associated with the office of the Maskil was impossible before the publication of Puech's reconstruction, which revealed several Maskil superscriptions (only 1QH[a] 25:34 preserved a clear למשכיל) that were not previously recognized in earlier publications. Tanzer's unpublished dissertation had evidence for at least one additional Maskil superscription (1QH[a] 20:7–14a) because she used Stegemann's unpublished reconstruction. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 52–53; Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 3 n. 7, 22, 50–53.

179. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198.

viewed as a depersonalized office, expresses a persona closer to ordinary sectarians than to the

unique persona of the Hodayot of the leader. In this respect, Newsom's schema departed from

other variations of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema by incorporating a third

category associated with the figure of the Maskil, an office that she read as standing in sharp

contrast to the role of the leader—possibly the Mebaqqer or a similar figure or office.

1.5.5 Angela Kim Harkins (2010 to 2018) Angela Kim Harkins's substantial contribution to

Hodayot research can be grouped into two phases. Phase 1 includes her dissertation and her

articles from 2005 and 2008,[180] and phase 2 includes her material published since 2010.[181] I will

focus on her most recent proposals in this section.

In phase 2, Harkins transitioned from viewing 1QH[a] through the lens of Puech's five-fold

division of 1QH[a] to a hypothesis that built on Tanzer and Douglas's work with redactional blocks

in 1QH[a] and their proposals for the redactional development of the Hodayot. As discussed above,

Douglas's dissertation concluded with a claim that the Teacher's Book (9:1–20:6) was originally

an independent source to which was added what he called "Source 3" (20:7–28:42).[182] On the

basis of orthographic differences and comparisons with the contents of 4QH scrolls, he proposed

that "Source 1, now comprising 1QH cols. 1–8, was the last collection to be added to the

---

180. Angela Kim Harkins, "Signs of Editorial Shaping of the Hodayot Collection: A Redactional Analysis of 1QH[a] and 4QH[a–f]" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003); "Observations on the Editorial Shaping," 233–56; "The Community Hymns Classification," 121–54.
181. Harkins, "A New Proposal," 101–34; "The Performative Reading, 55–71; "Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns?," 449–67; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*; "Another Look at the Cave 1 Hodayot, 185–216.
182. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352.

complete 1QHᵃ Hodayot scroll."[183] Harkins followed Douglas's three source hypothesis very

closely, though with different designations for each block: Source 1 = CH I; Source 2/the

Teacher's Book = TH; and Source 3 = CH II.[184] However, while she accepted the Teacher's Book

as a redactional unit, she firmly rejected the Teacher hypothesis.[185] Instead she proposed instead

that the vivid language of distress in the so-called "Teacher Hymns" is not intended to reflect

historical realities but is designed "to arouse fear."[186] In this respect, the Teacher Hymns are part

of a larger programme of constructing an "imaginal body" and assisting "the reader in entering

into the world of the text," ultimately generating "within an ancient reader a religious experience

of transformation and ascent."[187]

Harkins also proposed that "the earliest form of the collection 1QHᵃ consisted of the

Teacher Hymns and the second group of Community Hymns (= CH II) and that the first group of

Community Hymns (= CH I) was added at a later date."[188] She added to Douglas's proposal by

arguing that the manuscript 4QHᵇ contains only psalms from TH + CH II and thus offers

concrete evidence of this stage of development.[189] She also developed Douglas's proposal by

---

183. Douglas, "Power and Praise," 352.

184. Harkins, "A New Proposal," 103. Harkins also argued that 1QHᵃ 17:38–19:5 is either a conclusion to the TH section or transition to CH II. Angela Kim Harkins, "The Thanksgiving Hymns," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2013), 3.2021.

185. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 17–24; "Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns?," 449–67.

186. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 94.

187. Harkins, "Who is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns?," 467; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 3.

188. Harkins, "A New Proposal," 103; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 10 n. 26.

189. She contested the placement of 4QHᵇ frgs. 1–2, which would fall in CH I (4QHᵇ frg. 1 // 1QHᵃ 4 39–40; 4QHᵇ frg. 2 // 1QHᵃ 5 19–20). Both fragments are tentatively placed. Schuller, DJD 29:133–34.

focusing a common theme of communion with the angels[190] and by nuancing Douglas's

orthographic argument by noting affinities between TH and CH II against CH I.[191] More recently

she argued on a material basis that CH I may not belong to 1QH^a at all and entertained the

possibility that it was erroneously grouped together with the TH + CH II in the reconstruction of

1QH^a.[192] She based this proposal on the lack of evidence of stitching and Sukenik's description of

the state of 1QH^a when it came into his possession. If accurate, this proposal would bolster her

earlier claim that 4QH^b might not have had CH I material situated before the Teacher's Book,

and that TH and CH II were meant to be read together as a separate work.

In *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens* (2012), Harkins proposed that this TH + CH II

collection programmatically moves "from places of punishment, through Paradise, and brings the

reader into the heavens."[193] She suggested that the performance of the Hodayot would create the

disposition for a kind of religious visionary experience through its emotional language of

embodiment.[194] The process of performing and experiencing the psalms of TH + CH II would

---

190. In this respect, Harkins's work relies on Chazon's discussion of communion with the angels at Qumran. See Esther G. Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, eds. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and Eileen M. Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105; Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47; 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*, eds. Daniel K. Falk et al., STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–49; Esther G. Chazon, "Lowly to Lofty: The Hodayot's Use of Liturgical Traditions to Shape Sectarian Identity and Religious Experience," *RevQ* 26.1 (2013), 3–19.
191. Harkins, "A New Proposal," 103.
192. Harkins, "Another Look at the Cave 1 Hodayot, 188, 194; "A New Proposal," 134.
193. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*," 6.

come full-circle when the audience reflects on the experience generated by their reading of the

psalms and would respond by writing new psalms.[195] She suggested that this exegetical process

has occurred in 1QH 11:7–8 and 13:22–15.8, where the former exegetically inspired the latter.

Harkins's Delimitation	Teacher Hymns	Community Hymns I (Distinct Collection?)	Community Hymns II	Other
Cols. 1–3		x		
4:?–4:40		x		
5:1–11		x		
5:12–6:33		x		
6:34–7:11		x		
7:12–20		x		
7:21–8:41		x		
9:1–10:4				Intro to TH
10:5–21	x			
10:22–32	x			
10:33–11:5	x			
11:6–19	x			
11:20–37	x			
11:38–12:5	x			
12:6–13:6	x			
13:7–21	x			
13:22–15:8	x			
15:9–28	x			
15:29–36	x			
15:37–16:4	x			
16:5–17:36	x			
17:38–19:5	x			
19:6–20:6	x			
20:7–22:42			x	
23:1–25:33			x	
25:34–27:3?			x	
27–28			x	

Fig. 9

194. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*," 267–68.
195. Harkins, "The Performative Reading," 68–71; *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*," 190–204, 268.

In sum, Harkins perpetuated Tanzer and Douglas's division of the Hodayot tradition into redactional blocks and elaborated upon the redactional development that they proposed in their unpublished dissertations. She employed Tanzer's and Douglas's proposals in order to make sense of the heterogeneity of the psalms of the Community Hymns and how the so-called Teacher Hymns stand in relationship to them. Her main contribution to the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema was that she fleshed out this redactional development with more orthographic and material evidence and elaborated on the possibility that CH I was added at a separate redactional phase than CH II, raising the possibility that CH I was a later loose-leaf addition. Harkins's scholarship has had considerable impact as the CH I, TH, CH II nomenclature has been widely adopted to describe the Hodayot tradition in recent scholarship on the Hodayot and more broadly in the study of Second Temple Literature and adjacent fields.

1.5.6 Trine Hasselbalch (2015) Trine Hasselbalch's published dissertation is the most recent monograph dedicated to the Hodayot, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns* (2015). She acknowledged that there are certain formal distinctions in the psalms that stem from earlier stages, but insofar as the 1QHᵃ arrangement of psalms is concerned, they demonstrate a hybridized "I" that reflects an elite persona that was intended for all of the elect to adopt. Her study addressed what she argued is the problematic reading of categories of psalms in 1QHᵃ along sociological lines—Leader Hymns and Community Hymns.[196] In this regard, she

---

196. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 32

responded generally to the Heidelberg School but more specifically to Newsom's rebranding and reworking of the categories, with the Teacher Hymns as psalms that express a leader ethos, but not necessarily that of the Teacher of Righteousness.[197] Hasselbalch considered Newsom's Community Hymn/Leader Hymn dichotomy as emblematic of a fundamental error of beginning with presumptions about the community—that there is a hierarchy of leaders and ordinary members—and reading that sociological dichotomy into the classifications of the psalms in the collection.

Hasselbalch argued that because of the psalms' "entextualization" in 1QH[a], they should be read on the basis of their commonalities. Her contention was that regardless of the prior social or literary context, each psalm or each redactional block is utterly recontextualized in 1QH[a]. The new collection repurposes the psalm for a new community, a process she referred to as "entextualization."[198] She argued that one cannot use the old social contexts and functions to understand what the new collection, 1QH[a] is doing.[199] Instead, the collection must be read in light of its commonalities in order to uncover the rationale for its compilation, which in turn sheds light on the community behind the collection. Consequently, any valences of meaning pertaining to leadership or the general membership from previous contexts need to be bracketed when considering the present form of the collection. She selected four "hybrids" (not Tanzer's hybrids,

---

197. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 3–12.
198. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 15–16.
199. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 269.

but her own more flexible notion of hybridity) as case studies for illustrating hybridity and for

finding the common rationale for including each of the psalms in the 1QHᵃ collection.[200]

Hasselbalch contended that the common thread that runs through the psalms is that of a

elite and corporate "I" that plays an intermediary role between God and the rest of the world. She

reached this conclusion using transitivity analysis from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

Transitivity analysis involves analyzing the relationship between subjects, verbs, and objects to

measure the degree of agency or the degree to which something is the instrument or the object of

the action of another agent.[201] Hasselbalch argued that in the four psalms examined in her study,

the speaker is simultaneously the "Goal" (object) of divine agency, and an "Actor" (agent). She

interpreted these observations to mean that the speaker in these psalms is an elite mediator

figure, and that this mediator role can be extrapolated to the rest of the psalms in 1QHᵃ, even if it

is not present, by virtue of being in the same collection.[202] She argued that the goal of the

redactor of 1QHᵃ is to establish this intermediary speaker.

In Hasselbalch's view, this composite "I" did not reflect the leader or the general

sectarian membership. Rather, she identified the "I" as a corporate speaker with which the entire

---

200. "'Hybridity is not defined by fixed criteria, and in what follows I abandon Tanzer's narrow, redaction-critical definition according to which hybrids occurred when wisdom material had been fused into otherwise non-wisdom compositions. The texts manifest hybridity in varying ways, and only one of the compositions, 1QHᵃ XII 6–XIII 6, is a hybrid according to Tanzer's definition. Apart from this, I use the designation 'hybrid' about compositions that *otherwise* appear to contradict the notion that the two main categories of compositions identified in 1QHodayotᵃ represent distinct social groups or types (leadership and membership, respectively) within the Dead Sea community." Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 36–37.
201. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 270.
202. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 180.

"Dead Sea community" would identify. This corporate "I" has a special claim to hidden knowledge and plays an elite mediating role between the rest of the world and God.[203] She associated this mediation role with that of the maskilim from Daniel and 4QInstruction, and argued that the Dead Sea community inherited and adapted this maskil ethos from a pre-sectarian, Danielic wisdom group.[204]

One of the primary objectives of Hasselbalch's study was to set aside the sociological structure embedded in the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn classification schema so that the "I" can be understood as a single hybrid entity. The 1QH[a] arrangement of psalms is designed to present this hybrid "I" to the entire audience, regardless of their rank in the sect. Hasselbalch was not interested in developing a new categorization schema; rather, she portrayed the speaker in the Hodayot tradition as so hybridized that categorization on the basis of persona is neither possible nor helpful. Although she conceded that categories might be meaningful for early, possibly pre-sectarian redactional stages, they are no longer relevant now that the psalms have been redacted and entextualized into a new collection.[205] In other words, she put aside the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema, and implicitly grouped all the psalms together in a single hybrid category of psalms intended for a corporate "I."

1.6 Studies on Selections of Hodayot Psalms

---

203. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 245–46, 269.
204. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 208–16, 257.
205. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 269.

In this section I am including three additional monograph-length studies that have made important contributions to Hodayot scholarship through the discussion of a smaller set of case studies but that were less focused on issues of categorization than the studies discussed above. These studies include: Bonnie Kittel's selective translation and commentary, *The Hymns of Qumran*, Julie Hughes's *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, and Katri Antin's recent dissertation, *Transmission of Divine Knowledge in the Sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran*. Despite being focused on other research questions, these studies take explicit or implicit positions on the categorization of the psalms in the Hodayot tradition that have ramifications for my reassessment of the genres of the Hodayot.

1.6.1 Bonnie Kittel (1981) In *The Hymns of Qumran*, Bonnie Kittel offered a poetic analysis of the psalms of the Hodayot tradition that come from both of the binary form-critical categories proposed by Morawe and Holm-Nielsen. In addition to deepening our appreciation of the poetic dimensions of the Hodayot tradition, Kittel demonstrated how poetic analysis can enhance our understanding of the emphasis of the psalms and help with textual difficulties that become less fraught when poetic structure is taken into account.[206] With respect to issues of categorization and genre, she attempted to bring observations about poetic structure to bear on the question of genre. She argued that attention to poetic structure could improve upon what she considered to be somewhat subjective approaches by Morawe and Holm-Nielsen.[207] For example, she argued

---

206. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 173.
207. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 3–4.

that 1QH[a] 15:29–36, 19:6–17, and 17:38–18:14 could be classified as hymns rather than

thanksgiving psalms because the poetic patterns emphasize hymnic aspects of the psalm.[208] In

this respect, she offered one of the early critiques of Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's

classifications. Even so, to some extent even observations about poetic structure are subjective,

so her contributions did not provide much firmer ground for differentiating categories than

Holm-Nielsen and Morawe do.

Kittel also rejected the Teacher hypothesis. She regarded it as "fallacious" and "circular"

because the language of distress and deliverance has been interpreted in an overly determined

way. She argued that "much of what appears to be specific description is actually the application

of formalized, scriptural language which provided the stamp of authenticity to the community's

interpretation of their experiences as in the 'last times.'"[209] Curiously, despite writing in 1981,

she made no reference to Jeremias, Becker, or Kuhn, and as a consequence she offered no

discussion on the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Rather she seemed content to work

primarily with Morawe and Holm-Nielsen.

1.6.2 Julie Hughes (2006) Julie Hughes framed her work as an expansion of Kittel's project,

only she focused more narrowly on scriptural allusion as a poetic device and how it can unearth

the exegetical processes that underpin each of the compositions. She worked from the

assumption that the Hodayot tradition is not a "uniform collection" because the Cave 4 evidence

---

208. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 108, 112, 144.
209. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 9.

demonstrates that there are collections of varying lengths and arrangement. This argument seems

built upon the assumption that different arrangements of psalms rule out that they could form a

cohesive tradition. As a consequence, she works from the starting-point that the Hodayot scrolls

are anthologies of diverse psalms that should be read individually and not programmatically as

part of a more coherent tradition.[210] By reading psalms in isolation, she took the opposite of

Douglas's approach, which deals with the Hodayot tradition in large blocks of psalms. In this

respect, Douglas and Hughes have starkly different starting-points that result in very different

conclusions.

Hughes rejected Douglas's renewed argument for the Teacher hypothesis and affirmed

Newsom's leader hypothesis that the speaker is not necessarily a historical figure but takes on the

subject position of a sectarian leader.[211] However, she regarded the speaker as not so special that

the "lowliest member of the community" could not write a pseudepigraphic Teacher/leader

psalm. In this respect, she inverted Puech's argument that the Teacher of Righteousness would

have been capable of writing in more than one mode—the case could be argued for ordinary

sectarians as well.[212]

---

210. The contention that the Hodayot is an anthology is assumed rather than argued. Discussions of the Hodayot as an anthology only appear in Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 33–34, 62, 233. She points to the instances of variation in the arrangement and length of some of the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts and the case of the Self-Glorification Hymn, which may have been edited and used in other contexts. She does not, however, explain why the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts undercut programmatic readings of 1QHᵃ. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 10, 34.

211. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 16, 234.

212. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 366; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 234.

Part of Hughes's argument for diversity of style and content includes an expansion of Tanzer's observation of hybridity in the psalms. Tanzer found that some Teacher Hymns had Community Hymn inclusions; however, Hughes identified an example of a Community Hymn (1QHᵃ 7:21–8:?) with Teacher Hymn inclusions.[213] Moreover, with respect to 1QHᵃ 11:20–37, she cut through the debate over its classification by suggesting: "that a far simpler solution is to recognize that the categories of Teacher and Community Hymn are inadequate. This poem has a more obviously distinctive style and content than some."[214] In other words, Hughes saw the diversity in the Hodayot psalms to be so great that a binary classification schema like the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema paved over too much of the particularity of each psalm.

1.6.3 Katri Antin (2019) In *Transmission of Divine Knowledge*, Katri Antin investigated how divine knowledge is transmitted in the Hodayot in seven psalms that she described as sapiential psalms (1QHᵃ 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 20:7–22:42). She set out to examine the speaker's role as a divine intermediary in her seven sapiential psalms through the lens of Martti Nissinen's definition of divination.[215] She demonstrated that there is not a consistent picture of the transmission of divine knowledge in the Hodayot; rather, in (1QHᵃ 5:12–

---

213. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 148–150; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 93.
214. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 228.
215. Antin, "Transmission of Divine Knowledge," 8; Martti Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy: Near Eastern, Biblical, and Greek Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 10–23.

6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 20:7–22:42 the speaker is a mediator of knowledge,[216] whereas in

1QH[a] 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 no mediator of divine knowledge is needed.

Although Antin's dissertation does not directly address issues of categorization, her

rationale for setting aside the labels of "Teacher Hymns" and "Community Hymns" in her study

echoes some of the common critiques about the inadequacy of the Teacher Hymns-Community

Hymn schema.[217] Furthermore, Antin found that the epistemologies of the psalms do not

correspond to the binary division of the psalms in the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema

as Shane Berg has claimed.[218] For example, she found that there was similar transmission of

divine knowledge in the so-called Teacher Hymn of 1QH[a] 12:6–13:6 and the so-called

Community Hymn of 1QH[a] 20:7–22:42. She took this as evidence that undermines Berg's

conclusions and the integrity of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema.[219]

Each of the studies described above critique and undermine different parts of the Teacher

Hymn-Community Hymn schema. What is telling about each of these studies is that the

---

216. Antin argues that the subject position of the intermediary could only be occupied by a teacher figure. Antin, "Transmission of Divine Knowledge," 200.

217. Antin, "Transmission of Divine Knowledge," 27–28, 37–38.

218. Berg claimed that the epistemological distinctions that he saw in the psalms correspond to the blocks of material, serving as confirmation of Douglas's proposal for a redactional-block version of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Berg found Douglas's Teacher hypothesis convincing: "[t]he prophetic-type epistemology identified in the teacher hymns fits very well with such a charismatic figure." He further argued that the Teacher of Righteousness exposed the sectarian community to a new form of divinely inspired exegesis that was adopted and manifest itself in later sectarian writings, such as the pesharim and possibly also in the Teacher Hymn-like "inclusions" in the Community Hymns. Shane A. Berg, "Religious Epistemology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community," in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism*, eds. Daniel Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 335, 340, 346, 349.

219. It should be noted that 1QH[a] 12:6–13:6 was considered a hybrid by Tanzer, supporting Antin's conclusion that the Teacher Hymn classification is not altogether useful. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran," 135.

inadequacy of Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema becomes the most apparent in close

readings of individual psalms. The classifications made in a categorization schema should remain

valid and useful in high- and low-altitude studies of the Hodayot tradition, but the studies

described above indicate that the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema breaks down the

more one attends to individual psalms.

1.7 Overview

What began as Sukenik's provisional Teacher hypothesis has evolved into a

categorization schema that reflects differences in genre, authorship, the persona of the speaker,

redactional blocks, epistemologies, and even stages of material production. The categories and

criteria differ so much from scholar to scholar that the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema

has lost much of its usefulness and meaningfulness. As the history of scholarship illustrates, the

schema has been appropriated for a broad array of research questions and has diverged from the

original interest of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen in classifying the Hodayot psalms by genre. They

set aside the question of authorship raised by Sukenik to trace the relationships of the Hodayot

tradition with other psalms by trying to discern where the Hodayot fit into their operative generic

schema—Gunkel's generic schema for the biblical psalms. I would contend that their objective

of classifying the tradition in terms of genre is still a worthy goal. On the one hand, there is much

to be gained by looking at the psalms of the Hodayot as part of the evolution of psalms in the

Second Temple period, but on the other hand, the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema only

offers the dead-end of reading the Hodayot as the niche literature of an ill-defined persona from the edges of a sectarian collective memory.

The work of Tanzer and Hasselbalch in particular highlights an additional shortcoming of each of the versions of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema and their predecessors: their inability to account adequately for hybridity. A binary schema is an inflexible approach to categorization that permits a psalm's membership in only a single category. As a consequence, ambiguous psalms with hybridized formal structures are 1) considered mixed or anomalous, 2) treated as a member of a single category while ignoring the anomalous elements, or 3) separated out and labelled as an additional category. These strategies for dealing with hybridity are the source of most of the discrepancies in variants of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema described above.

The Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema has undergone seventy years of development, qualification, and critique, and it remains the dominant nomenclature and interpretive framework for the Hodayot tradition. Despite the consistent critiques levelled over the past thirty years of scholarship, a viable alternative has not been developed, and as a consequence, the categories continue to be used out of convenience, even by those who dispute the soundness of the schema. Recent scholarship on the Hodayot has settled, somewhat uneasily, into a Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema that treats the psalms as redactional blocks (CH I, TH, and CH II) that allow broad swaths of the 1QH[a] arrangement to be characterized by group

rather than individually. As a consequence, all of the psalms in Stegemann's reconstruction, even those with only a few small fragments (cols. 2–3 and 21–28) or no fragments at all (col. 1), have been automatically classified as CH I or CH II by where they are found in 1QH^a. This modular approach to categorization is in danger of paving over many of the finer distinctions that earlier categorizers made as they developed their respective variations of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. The redactional blocks also lend themselves to the conflation of generic differences with redactional and material concerns.

Now that all of the manuscript evidence and reconstructions are available, it is time to return to the original task of generic categorization that Morawe and Holm-Nielsen undertook in the early 1960s. In the present study the criteria of authorship, the personae of the speaker(s), redactional blocks, or epistemology will be set aside in order to reassess the categories of the Hodayot narrowly in terms of genre. However, rather than going back to the rigid categorization framework inherited by Morawe and Holm-Nielsen from Gunkel, an updated concept of genre and approach to genre analysis is needed that can account for formal hybridity. In Chapter 2, I will explore some of the resources that modern genre theory offers for this task, and I will introduce rhetorical moves analysis, the approach from modern genre theory taken up in this study.

Chapter 2: Theory and Method

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the schema, concept of genre, and approach to genre analysis that will be taken in this study. Chapter 1 highlighted two problems of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn classification schema: 1) how the nomenclature and some of the criteria for the categories presume authorship by the Teacher of Righteousness, and 2) how the psalms of the Hodayot tradition have resisted efforts to impose a binary classification schema on them because there is a high degree of formal hybridity in many of the psalms. The first problem is simply dealt with by setting aside any criteria for the categories that pertain to authorship or the personality of single leader. The question of authorship is unanswerable, and any hypotheses about the speaker are better reserved for a later stage in the analysis, lest they shape the reading of the evidence from the outset.

The second problem requires a more nuanced concept of genre and approach to genre analysis that can account for the formal hybridity in the Hodayot tradition. As discussed in the previous chapter, so far the three main strategies for resolving the crux of categorizing hybrid psalms has been to 1) create still further categories, 2) treat the appearance of Community Hymns elements in Teacher Hymns as secondary, or 3) categorize by redactional blocks of material that gloss over issues of hybridity. However, if we locate the crux not in the hybridity of the psalms but in the principles of the categorization schema itself, it is possible to find a way

forward by adopting a concept of genre and a generic schema that better accounts for the

hybridity of the Hodayot psalms and how they interrelate. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to

genre theory for new conceptual frameworks that can move beyond the inflexible definitional

approach to genre analysis that shaped Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's formulation of binary

categories.

In the following chapter I will accomplish five objectives. First, I will discuss how Claus

Westermann's generic categorization schema offers a beneficial starting-point for reassessing the

genres of the Hodayot tradition. Second, I will discuss how modern genre theory can be used to

inform the generic schemas and the analyses of genre in ancient texts like the Hodayot. Third, I

will explore how concepts from genre theory can be integrated with Westermann's schema. In

particular I will look at John Swales's concept of genre, but I will also draw on compatible

concepts by two other prominent genre theorists, Amy Devitt and Charles Bazerman. Fourth, I

will describe Swales's approach to genre analysis and explain how I am adapting it in order to

reassess the genres of the Hodayot. Fifth, I will close the chapter by outlining how I will employ

a modified form of Swales's rhetorical moves analysis in the remaining chapters of this study.

2.2 Claus Westermann's Schema

The inflexible approach to categorization that underlies each of the variations of the

Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema is due in large part to the state of psalms research in

the late 1940s and 50s.[220] This period fell toward the end of the heyday of Gunkel's

categorization of the biblical psalms when it was pervasive and largely uncontested in psalms

studies.[221] It is not surprising that when Morawe and Holm-Nielsen were carrying out their form-

critical analyses, they were working squarely within the classificatory mindset of Gunkel's well-

established and widely accepted schema. As a consequence, the rigidity of Gunkel's schema

carried over into the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema from its inception, and the

Hodayot psalms were laid on the procrustean bed of Gunkel's biblical *Gattungen*.[222]

---

220. It is not possible to summarize Psalms research in the 20th–21st centuries here. For Psalms research between 1955 and 1969, see David J. A. Clines, "Psalm Research Since 1955: I. The Psalms and the Cult," *TynBul* 18 (1967), 103–126; "Psalm Research Since 1955: II. The Literary Genres," *TynBul* 20 (1969), 105–25. For psalms research in the latter decades of the twentieth century, see Brevard S. Childs, "Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God*, eds. Frank M. Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 377–88; Feininger Bernd, "A Decade of German Psalm-Criticism," *JSOT* 6.20 (1981), 91–103; J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Psalms: Gains and Trends in Recent Research," *CurBS* 2 (1994), 77–106; James L. Mays, "Past, Present, and Prospect in Psalm Study Past Present Future: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker," in *Old Testament Interpretation*, eds. James L. Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent H. Richards (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 147–56; Erich Zenger, "Psalmenforschung nach Hermann Gunkel und Sigmund Mowinckel," in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998*, eds. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø, VTSup 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 399–435; J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Continuing the Engagement: Psalms Research Since the Early 1990s," *CurBR* 10.3 (2012), 321–78.

221. After Westermann, there were more significant departures from Gunkel: e.g. an approach based partly on nomenclature in psalms superscriptions in Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* CC (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988); *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary* CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); significant modifications of Gunkel in Frank Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* WMANT 32 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969); Fritzlothar Mand, "Die Eigenständigkeit der Danklieder des Psalters als Bekenntnislieder," *ZAW* 70.3-4 (1958), 185–99; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 1, with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* FOTL 14 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations* FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001); theological reconfigurations of the categories for the psalms in Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms: A Theological Commentary* Augsburg Old Testament Studies (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984). Gunkel's categories are still widely used, despite these attempts to develop a new schema. See further Rolf A. Jacobson, "Imagining the Future of Biblical Studies," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Book of Psalms*, ed. Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, AIL 20 (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 233; William P. Brown, *Psalms* Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon, 2010), 41; Patrick D. Miller, *Interpreting the Psalms* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 3; Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 12–13.

222. See Morawe, "Vergleich des Aufbaus," 323–56.

A significant reconfiguration of Gunkel's categories emerged just as the first generation

of scholars was reading 1QH[a] for the first time in the early fifties. In 1953, Claus Westermann's

monograph, *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen,* reconfigured Gunkel's schema in terms of "polar

relationships" and "polarity" (*polaren Entsprechung* and *Polarität*) rather than definitional

categories.[223] While Gunkel structured his schema so that complaint and thanksgiving were the

primary genres, Westermann developed his schema on two primary discourses (*Grundweisen des*

Reden) of lament[224] and praise that have a polar relationship to each other rather than subsisting

in two discrete separate categories:

> In my years of work on the Old Testament, particularly on the Psalms, it has
> become increasingly clear to me that the literary categories of Psalms of lament
> and Psalms of praise (*die Gattungen des Klage- und des Lobpsalms*) are not only
> two distinct categories among others, but that they are the literary forms which
> characterize the Psalter as a whole, related as they are as polar opposites (*als*
> *solche in einer polaren Entsprechung zueinander stehen*).[225]

It would be inaccurate to read the reference to "polar opposition" as a strong bipolar relationship

in which psalms only ever participate in one discourse or the other; rather, there is usually some

degree of participation in both discourses simultaneously. For example, when Westermann

surveyed all of the individual psalms of petition and lament (*Bitte und Klage*), he observed that

"there are no Psalms which do not"—note the double negative—"progress beyond petition and

---

223. Westermann's *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* was first published in 1953, followed by several editions and expansions to include additional out-of-print studies that were eventually translated in Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms,* trans. Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981).

224. *Klage* is translated "lament" by Crim and Soulen. I am using this translation for the discussion of Westermann, but I will revert to using the translation "complaint" afterwards. See the discussion in Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 170 n. 15; *Das Loben Gottes*, 129 n. 15.

225. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 11; *Das Loben Gottes*, 5.

lament (Bitte und Klage)."[226] In light of this observation, he argued: "this fact that in the Psalms of the O.T. there is no, or almost no, such thing as 'mere' lament and petition (*Klagen und Bitten*), shows conclusively the polarity between praise and petition (*Lob und Bitte*) in the Psalms."[227] In other words, psalms tend to participate in both discourses of praise and petition to varying degrees rather than just one—a feature of his schema that is especially useful in accounting for formal hybridity.[228]

Westermann also proposed that there were two modes of praise (*zwei verschiedenen Weisen des Loben*).[229] Gunkel's separate genres of hymns and thanksgiving psalms fell under the umbrella of Westermann's discourse of praise, relabeled as the modes of "descriptive" and "declarative praise," respectively. *Descriptive praise speaks more generally about God's "activity in its fullness and praises God for the totality of his dealings with men and of his being," whereas declarative praise is "for a specific deed" where God has delivered the speaker in some respect.*[230] For example, the declarative psalm in Ps. 30 opens: "I will extol you, O Lord, for you have drawn me up, and did not let my foes rejoice over me" (Ps 30:1). The speaker is praising God because God has acted specifically on his behalf to support him and prevent his

---

226. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 74.

227. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 75. There is a fluidity in Westermann's understanding and use of the terms *Klagen*, *Bitten*, *Loben*, and *Flehen*: "Dieser Tatbestand, daß es in den Psalmen des A.T. ein 'bloßes' Klagen und Bitten nicht oder fast nicht gibt, zeigt m. E. unausweichlich die Polarität von Lob und Bitte in den Psalmen. Das Rufen zu Gott ist hier niemals einlinig, spannungslos. Es ist immer irgendwo in der Mitte zwischen Bitte und Lob; es kann seinem Wesen nach gar nicht nur Bitten und Klagen sein, sondern es ist immer auf dem Weg vom Flehen zum Loben." Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes*, 55–6.

228. The discourse of "petition" or *Bitte* subsumes complaints, requests, and laments to God in Westermann.

229. Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes*, 28; idem *Praise and Lament*, 34.

230. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 31–32.

enemies from rejoicing over him. Descriptive praise is more general. For example, in Ps 113 the

speaker opens with imperative praise without a specific reason or rationale: "Praise the Lord!

Praise, O servants of the Lord; praise the name of the Lord" (Ps 113:1). The speaker continues

with general praise of God, only referring to what God has done for people in general terms,

without any specific action on behalf of the speaker alone:

> The Lord is high above all nations, and his glory above the heavens. Who is like
> the Lord our God, who is seated on high, who looks far down on the heavens and
> the earth? He raises the poor from the dust, and lifts the needy from the ash heap,
> to make them sit with princes, with the princes of his people. He gives the barren
> woman a home, making her the joyous mother of children. Praise the Lord! (Ps
> 113:4–9).

Although Westermann did not explicitly refer to these modes of praise in terms of polarity, I

would argue that they function as if they are a second set of poles. Westermann devoted an entire

section to fleshing out the deep "connections" (*Verbindungen*) between descriptive and

declarative praise. At the beginning of this section, he described how "the declarative Psalm of

praise, following the vow of praise, passes over into the descriptive Psalm of praise" and how

"the conclusion of the declarative Psalm of praise is a descriptive Psalm of praise."[231] In other

words, Westermann observed a similar kind of bleeding across generic categories between

descriptive and declarative praise as he saw in petition and praise when he proposed a polar

relationship between them. As a consequence, I would suggest that Westermann implicitly

viewed the modes of praise as existing in a similar polar relationship.

---

231. Westermann also argued that "descriptive praise developed from declarative (or confessing) praise and never entirely lost its connection with it." Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 116–17, 153.

In this respect, the explicit and implicit polar relationships between discourses and modes of praise shape Westermann's entire schema and determine where individual psalms genres (*Psalmengattungen*) belong in it.[232] At the highest level in the schema (see fig. 10), Westermann referred to praise (*Lob*) and petition (*Bitte*) as his two basic forms of discourse (*Grundweisen des Reden*) as mentioned above.[233] These two forms of discourse are further divided into genres (*Psalmengattungen*). The discourse of petition includes the psalm of "lament" of the people (*Klagepsalmen des Volkes*) and the psalm of "lament" of the individual (*Klagepsalmen des Einzelnen*). Descriptive and declarative praise are not genres but modes of praise, with genres subordinated to them. The genres of praise consist of the declarative psalm of praise of the people (*berichtender Lobpsalm des Volkes*), declarative psalm of praise of the individual (*berichtender Lobpsalm des Einzelnen*), and the eschatological psalm of praise (*eschatologisches Loblied*). Westermann's schema can be represented in a hierarchy, though this presentation somewhat obscures its polarities:

- ◆ Discourse: Petition (Pole)
    - – Genre: Psalm of Complaint[234] of the People[235]
    - – Genre: Psalm of Complaint of the Individual
- ◆ Discourse: Praise (Pole)
    - ◦ Mode of Praise: Declarative Praise (Pole)
        - – Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the People

---

232. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 9; idem Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes*, 1.

233. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 35; idem Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes*, 28.

234. At this point, I am diverging from Crim and Soulen's translation of *Klage* as "lament" to translating it "complaint."

235. Westermann also included the "double wish" or *Doppelwunsch* in his list of Psalms genres. I have omitted this "genre" because it is a formal structure of psalms of lament, not a genre in its own right. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 52 n. 1.

       – Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the Individual
     ◦ Mode of Praise: Descriptive Praise (Pole)
       – Genre: Descriptive Psalm of Praise
       – Genre: Eschatological Psalm of Praise

Fig. 10

Westermann subordinated all other genres as "smaller genres" (*kleineren Gattungen*) beneath his

primary genres.[236] Thus there are four levels in his schema: discourses of praise and petition,

modes of descriptive and declarative praise, genres, and "smaller genres."

   I propose to elaborate Westermann's schema to emphasize and formalize aspects that are

especially well-suited for assessing the genres of formally hybrid psalms. Though understated,

Westermann's concept of polarity is a radical departure from definitional approaches to

classification. I want to emphasize this dimension of Westermann's schema by describing his

polarities in terms of spectrums. There is a spectrum spanning the poles of the discourses of

petition and praise and a spectrum spanning the poles of the modes of descriptive and declarative

praise. This thesis will focus more narrowly on the spectrum of descriptive and declarative

praise, though I will make some references to the spectrum of petition and praise when

discussing petitions in the psalms of the Hodayot.

   When the modes of descriptive and declarative praise are conceived on a spectrum (see

fig. 11), psalms can be located between the two extremes of unhybridized descriptive praise

(with no hint of declarative praise) and unhybridized declarative praise (with no hint of

---

236. Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes*, 28; idem Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 35.

descriptive praise). The midpoint on the spectrum between the polar extremes expresses an equal

or balanced participation in descriptive and declarative praise. Genres, then, are conceived as

ranges along the spectrums. For example, the declarative psalms of praise could fall anywhere

along the declarative side of the spectrum to the extent that they primarily participate in

declarative praise.

The Spectrum of Praise

Pure Descriptive Praise   Both Modes Equally Combined   Pure Declarative Praise

| Mode: Descriptive Praise | | Mode: Declarative Praise |

Genre: Descriptive Psalms of Praise   Genre: Declarative Psalms of Praise
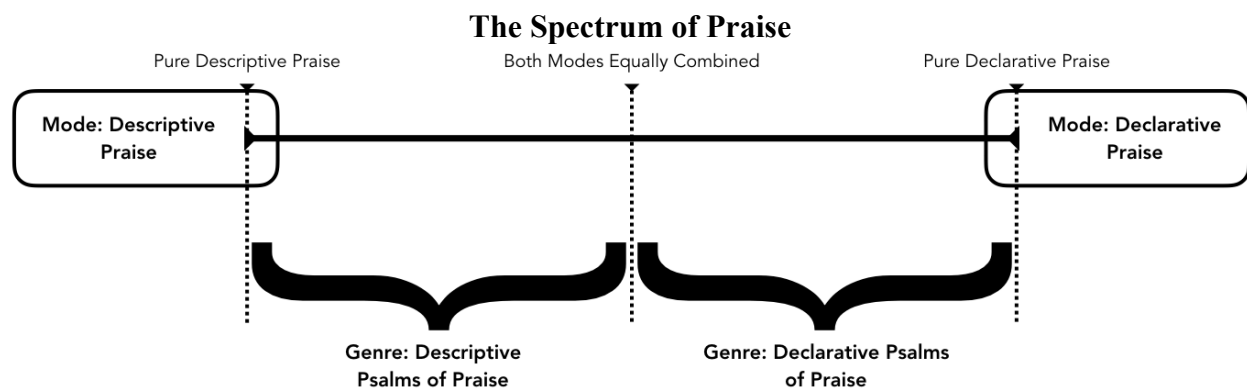
Fig. 11

        Westermann's entire schema can be conceptualized as a triangular plot to demonstrate the

relationship between the two spectrums, with the main spectrum of the discourses of petition and

praise running vertically and the secondary spectrum of modes of praise running horizontally:

Discourse: Praise

Mode Descriptive Praise   o   Mode: Declarative Praise

x

Discourse: Petition
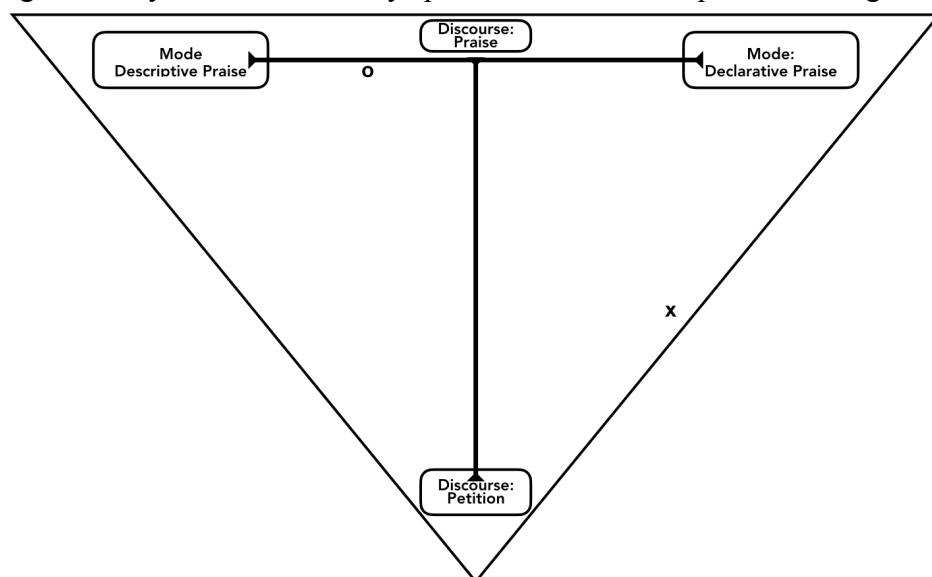
Fig. 12

Insofar as a psalm contains descriptive or declarative praise, it will range to the left or right, and

insofar as a psalm participates in the discourse of petition, it will range downward. Thus, a psalm

that engages equally in declarative praise and petition (perhaps one of Westermann's "heard

petitions") would fall approximately where the "x" is on the chart. The "o" represents a psalm

that is skewed toward descriptive praise yet still incorporates some declarative elements, and

does not participate at all in the discourse of petition.[237] A psalm that participates equally in both

modes of praise and in the discourse of petition would fall in the very centre of the triangular

plot.

The elaboration of Westermann's poles in terms of spectrums highlights the main benefit

of Westermann's schema: he has reorganized Gunkel's definitional categories of hymns,

thanksgivings, and psalms of complaint, conceptualizing them as poles rather than classificatory

boxes. These poles and spectrums create a field without interior boundaries that can categorize

hybrid psalms just as well as it can categorize unhybridized psalms of any stripe. Consequently,

there is no longer a need to draw a hard-and-fast demarcation between what was formerly

distinguished as psalms of thanksgiving, complaint, and hymns.

Although Westermann's *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* appeared already in 1953

before 1QHª was published by Sukenik, his schema did not immediately gain sufficient traction

---

237. The placement on the chart is not meant to reflect mathematically derived coordinates; rather, it gives a relativistic illustration of which discourses and modes in which a psalm is participating.

81

in psalms research to be considered as an alternative way of categorizing the psalms in 1QH[a].[238]

Morawe, Holm-Nielsen, and Jeremias did not cite Westermann in their studies, and there is only superficial engagement with him in the footnotes of Becker and Kuhn.[239] As a consequence, the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema emerged in a Gunkelian context without the consideration of Westermann's schema as a serious alternative. If Westermann's schema had been adopted instead of Gunkel's, there would have been a more fluid boundary between the hymns and the thanksgivings because they would have been considered as different aspects of the main category of praise. Reading hymns and thanksgivings on a spectrum between descriptive and declarative praise would have better accommodated the hybridity of the psalms that made them so difficult to sort into Gunkelian categories with firmer boundaries.

I propose that Westermann's spectrum of descriptive and declarative praise provides a better starting point than Gunkel's definitional categories because it permits us to see hybridity in terms of an innate interrelationship between two modes of praise rather than a violation of the boundaries between psalms of thanksgiving and hymns. The tactics of dismissing hybrid elements as secondary or insignificant or multiplying categories is unnecessary when genres are defined by poles on a spectrum rather than boundaries between categories. In this respect,

---

238. Roland Murphy called attention to the initially tepid reception of Westermann's schema in his review article in 1959 when he said that in the literature he "could find no serious consideration of Westermann's views.... One might also note the caustic remarks of A. R. J. in the 1954 Book List of the British Society for Old Testament Study." Roland E. Murphy, "A New Classification of Literary Forms in the Psalms," *CBQ* 21.1 (1959), 83 n. 4. See also Erhard S. Gerstenberger, review of *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen*, by Claus Westermann, JBL 81.2 (1962).

239. Kuhn classified a single psalm (1QH[a] 10:22-32) as *berichtendes Loblied des einzelnen* (reporting praise of the individual), a label employed by Westermann. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24–25.

Westermann intuitively anticipated major developments in genre theory in the second half of the twentieth century that have offered new concepts of genre and new approaches for pursuing genre analysis. In order to reassess the genres of the Hodayot, it is necessary to dig deeper into developments in modern genre theory to undergird my elaboration of Westermann's schema[240] with genre theory and to find an approach to genre analysis that will assist in mapping the Hodayot tradition onto a spectrum of descriptive and declarative praise. Furthermore, certain concepts from genre theory can help us to conceptualize how and why the generic categories of the Hodayot are juxtaposed and hybridized in 1QHᵃ.

2.3 Modern Genre Theory

Before discussing the concepts from genre theory that can further supplement and elaborate Westermann's schema, I will provide some background for modern genre theory and discuss how it can be applied to ancient texts. In the second half of the 20th century, genre theory evolved out of its subordinate role in the study of literature to become a field in its own right. It is highly interdisciplinary, drawing heavily on the social sciences, especially cognitive science, information science, and communication studies. Genre theory has also moved beyond the study of high literature to address the full gamut of forms of recurrent human communication, including the mundane non-literary genres that were previously overlooked in the study of genre.[241] One of the major developments in the study of genre has been the empirical dimension

---

240. From this point on, when I refer to Westermann's schema I am referring to my elaboration of Westermann unless stated otherwise.

of genre theory that has reshaped concepts of genre in light of observations about how texts function in everyday circumstances. The empirical approach has provided a more grounded and practical understanding of genres and how they function in social settings than previous, highly idealized, and often artificial conceptions of genre found in the study of literature. The empirical dimension should not be overstated—genre studies is not a hard science—but observations about genres "in the wild" provides firmer footing for genre theory and pushes beyond earlier classical and literary concepts of genre that only considered canons of elite literature.[242]

The interdisciplinary and empirical aspects of modern genre theory have benefits as well as liabilities for the study of ancient texts, though I would argue that the former outweigh the latter. The benefit is that modern genres have situations and contexts that can be observed and studied, while those who study ancient genres are left searching for any hints of a context, whether real or idealized, and often little if anything can be said about performance or the

---

241. For fuller treatments of genre and genre theory, see Anis S. Bawarshi and Mary Jo Reiff, *Genre: An Introduction to History, Theory, Research, and Pedagogy* Reference Guides to Rhetoric and Composition (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 2010); Amy J. Devitt, *Writing Genres* Rhetorical Philosophy and Theory (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004); David Duff, ed. *Modern Genre Theory* Longman Critical Readers (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000); Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); John Frow, *Genre* The New Critical Idiom (London: Routledge, 2006); Sevinç Türkkan, "Genre Theory," in *The Encyclopedia of Literary and Cultural Theory*, eds. Michael Ryan et al. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 216–19.

242. The idea of studying genres "in the wild" is a key aspect of modern genre studies. For example, Swales is known for developing "textography" (a portmanteau of "text analysis" and "ethnography") that involves observing how texts are used in discourse communities and interviewing users of the texts to get an "emic" or insider description of their genres. John M. Swales, *Other Floors, Other Voices: A Textography of a Small University Building* Rhetoric, Knowledge, and Society Series (New York: Routledge, 1998).

intended setting with confidence. Insights into how genres function in modern contexts can serve as heuristic starting points for hypotheses about ancient genres.

The liabilities, however, are obvious. We have no way to guarantee that ancient genres function in their contexts like modern genres do, and there are certainly many aspects of modern print culture and communication that would be alien in ancient contexts because of differences in literacy levels and the proliferation of highly typified written genres of varying complexities in every aspect of modern life. The generically saturated milieu of today would be utterly foreign in an ancient context where the mastery of written genres would have been the preoccupation of scribal specialists and a limited audience of readers.[243] In sum, there are major pitfalls in applying modern genre theory uncritically and anachronistically, especially when it involves the retrojection of modern reading and writing culture into the distant past.

These pitfalls notwithstanding, we are much better off with modern genre theory and its empirically based insights than we are with only our vague notions and presuppositions about how ancient genres might have functioned in their contexts. One of modern genre theory's primary contributions to other fields has been the dismantling of the static and idealized notions of genre that were operative into the 20th century.[244] Genre is not limited to the narrow set of Aristotle's frozen categories, rather, they encompass the entire range of flexible and patterned responses to recurrent situations.[245] In this regard, I would echo Newsom's recommendation that

---

243. By "mastery" I mean the ability to compose a composition that participates in a genre with a full command of the conventions.

modern genre theory offers resources for thinking through alternatives to the definitional

approach to categorization inherited by earlier categorizers of the Hodayot tradition.[246]

The field of modern genre theory, like most fields, is a complex and interdisciplinary

ecosystem of theories, concepts, and approaches. In 1996, Sunny Hyon mapped genre theory into

three primary research areas:[247] English for Specific Purposes (ESP),[248] Rhetorical Genre Studies

(RGS)/North American New Rhetoric,[249] and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).[250] She was

primarily concerned with genre theories with pedagogical applications, and as a consequence,

244. Major advances in genre theory were made by the Russian formalists, though their work was focused mainly on elite genres and high literature and what distinguished it from mundane discourse. For discussion of the relevance of Bakhtin and Russian formalism to issues of genre in biblical studies, see Roland Boer, ed. *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies* SemeiaSt 63 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007). For a historical overview of Russian formalism, see Carol Any, "Introduction: Russian Formalism, 1915-1930," *Soviet Studies in Literature* 21.3-4 (1985), 5–28; S. I. Sukhikh, "The Fate of Russian Formalism (Russian Formalism as Understood by Foreign Critics)," *Soviet Studies in Literature* 21.3–4 (1985), 29–38.

245. Plato presents Socrates's theory of narrative in Plato, *The Republic*, 392c-8b. Aristotle draws on this theory of narrative in his tripartite discussion of the genres of lyric, epic, and dramatic literature. Aristotle, *Poetics*. For a fuller discussion of generic classification schemas in the Greco-Roman world, see Cristina Pepe, *The Genres of Rhetorical Speeches in Greek and Roman Antiquity* International Studies in the History of Rhetoric (Leiden: Brill, 2013). See especially her appendix, "Speech Genres in Contemporary Rhetorical Theory," 519–42, where Pepe traces how classical genres are appropriated in Romantic and modern literary theories of genre. See further Türkkan, "Genre Theory," 216–18.

246. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 277–78.

247. Sunny Hyon, "Genre in Three Traditions: Implications for ESL," *TESOL Quarterly* 30.4 (1996), 694.

248. John Swales's *Genre Analysis* is considered the foundational text in ESP. John M. Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

249. Carolyn Miller's groundbreaking article, "Genre as Social Action," is widely regarded as the beginning of Rhetorical Genre Studies. Charles Bazerman is another founding figure in this school of thought, whose contributions have built upon Miller's work. Charles Bazerman, "Genre as Social Action," in *Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, eds. James P. Gee and Michael Handford, Handbooks in Applied Linguistics (London: Routledge, 2012), 226–38; Carolyn R. Miller, "Genre as Social Action," *QJS* 70.2 (1984), 151–67.

250. SFL is based largely on Michael Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, which was first published in 1985 and is now in its third and much revised edition. Michael A. K. Halliday and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* 3rd ed. (London: Arnold, 2004).

she did not incorporate approaches to genre from literary theory.[251] Hyon's mapping of modern

genre theory into three areas was taken up subsequently as the standard taxonomy of the field,

though it is recognized that there is actually a greater multiplicity of theories[252] that overlap and

draw upon each other to a great extent, and that they are not mutually exclusive options.[253] As

genre theory has evolved over the last decades, there is a growing understanding that the theories

have become integrally intertwined, or to use Swales's words, "my perception is that these so-

called 'three traditions' have, fifteen years later, largely coalesced, particularly in terms of

practical and pedagogical applications."[254] John Flowerdew recognized this coalescing as well,

and offers a more simplified mapping of genre theories that arranges them along a "linguistic"

and "non-linguistic" axis that represent the different primary emphases of modern genre

theories.[255] Linguistic theories, such as ESP and SFL focus more on the textual aspects of genres,

whereas RGS/New Rhetoric privileges social context.

The choice of a theoretical framework and its concept of genre, then, depends on the

researcher's objectives. Newsom insightfully asserted that "[n]o single model of genre is

---

251. Hyon, "Genre in Three Traditions," 693.

252. Bawarshi and Reiff include corpus linguistics, the French and Swiss pedagogical traditions, and the Brazilian synthesis alongside ESP, SFL, and RGS in their overview and devote entire chapters to each. Bawarshi and Reiff, *Genre*, 4–5.

253. Ian Bruce, "Results Sections in Sociology and Organic Chemistry Articles: A Genre Analysis," *English for Specific Purposes* 28.2 (2009), 106.

254. John M. Swales, "Coda: Reflections on the Future of Genre and L2 Writing," *Journal of Second Language Writing* 20.1 (2011), 85; Ann M. Johns, *Genre in the Classroom: Multiple Perspectives* (Mahwah, N.J.: Routledge, 2001), 7; A.M. Johns et al., "Crossing the Boundaries of Genre Studies: Commentaries by Experts," *Journal of Second Language Writing* 15.3 (2006), 234–35.

255. John Flowerdew, "Genre in the Classroom: A Linguistic Approach," in *Genre in the Classroom: Multiple Perspectives*, ed. Ann M. Johns (Mahwah, N.J.: Routledge, 2001), 91–92.

adequate to inform all types of research questions" and that "[i]n any particular instance of genre

study, several of the approaches may be in play in a complementary fashion."[256] In this respect,

she echoes the widespread view in modern genre theory that generic theories, concepts, and

approaches are interoperable and can be combined in various configurations to address particular

research questions.

2.4 Modern Genre Theory and Westermann's Schema

Now let us turn to the task of undergirding Westermann's schema with some compatible

concepts from modern genre theory. Although I will be drawing from concepts from several

genre theorists, I am mainly working with John Swales's work because it applies well to a

generic schema built on the principles of polarity and spectrums. Swales is a senior scholar at the

University of Michigan who has written several benchmark studies on genre analysis in the

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) area of genre theory.[257] He is especially well-known for his

contributions to the subfield of English for Academic Purposes (EAP).[258] His work has expanded

the understanding of how academic genres are structured and how knowledge of the structures

and their functions assists in building up the genre competency of ESL students. His approach to

"rhetorical moves analysis" has been widely adopted in the field of genre studies and will be

---

256. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 270, 276.

257. John M. Swales, *Aspects of Article Introductions*, Michigan Classics Edition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011; repr., Birmingham: University of Aston in Birmingham, 1981); Swales, *Genre Analysis*; John M. Swales, *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications* Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

258. English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is one of the subdivisions of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Hyon, "Genre in Three Traditions," 698.

employed in the present study with some modification (see discussion below).[259] Swales's work

on genre is so influential that it has penetrated into the discussion of genre in scholarship on

Second Temple period literature over the last decade, especially in discussions of the genre of

apocalypse.[260]

In the following section, I will discuss the theoretical foundations of Swales's concept of

genre in two earlier theories of categorization, followed by a discussion of Swales's concept of

genre. Then I will explore the concepts of genre sets and genre systems proposed by Charles

Bazerman and Amy Devitt, which will also bear on the conclusions of this thesis.

2.4.1 *Theoretical Foundations of Swales's Concept of Genre* Family resemblance and prototype

theories of categorization are the theoretical foundation of Swales's concept of genre and for

each of the schools of genre theory discussed above.[261] I would suggest that these theories also

provide a basis for a schema constituted by spectrums rather than definitional categories. Family

---

259. For a helpful description of rhetorical moves analysis, see Biber, Connor, and Upton's overview: Biber, Douglas, Ulla Connor, and Thomas A. Upton, *Discourse on the Move: Using Corpus Analysis to Describe Discourse Structure* Studies in Corpus Linguistics (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007), 29–30.

260. Carol A. Newsom, "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology," in *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies*, ed. Roland Boer, SemeiaSt 63 (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 23; "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 271; John J. Collins, "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 17.3 (2010), 421–26; "The Genre of the Book of Jubilees," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 739–41; *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4–6; *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 11–14, 91–93; Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*, EJL 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 14–15; Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525* STDJ 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 169–71. See further Michal Beth Dinkler, "Genre Analysis and Early Christian Martyrdom Narratives: A Proposal," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*, eds. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 323–26; Elizabeth E. Shively, "Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark's Gospel," *CBQ* 80.2 (2018), 281.

resemblance and prototype theories are so foundational because they move beyond a basic

definitional model of genre by permitting permeable boundaries and variation (family

resemblance) while still providing a means for distinguishing between genres (prototype theory).

These two dimensions of modern genre theory provide grounds for analyzing the formal

hybridity in the Hodayot without abandoning any and all distinctions between genres. I would

suggest that Westermann's model of two closely related genres set as opposite poles of a

spectrum implicitly anticipated the classificatory principles at work in family resemblance theory

and prototype theory. As a consequence, Westermann's schema and Swales's concept of genre

are compatible because they rely on common principles.

"Family resemblance theory" is an extension of Ludwig Wittgenstein's insights into

categories and processes of categorization with respect to his concept of "Sprachspiele" or

"language-games."[262] In attempting to define "language-games," Wittgenstein asserted that there

was no list of features that defined the more general category of "games;" rather, every activity

that belongs to the category of games seemed be related by networks of shared features:

---

261. To be clear, family resemblance theory and prototype theory are views on what determines membership in a category, in the general sense of the term. A family resemblance "model" of genre is the application of family resemblance theory to the more specific arena of defining membership in a genre, a more specific kind of category. The same theory-model dynamic applies for prototype theory as well. Swales discussed the relevance of these theories to his concept of genre in Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 49–52.

262. In Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations*, he was not mainly interested in genre or categorization, but rather, he was anticipating his reader's objection that there is no commonality among the examples he was using to support his philosophical concept of "language-games." Family resemblance "theory" has been stripped of philosophical significance and adopted as a general model of categorization without reference to language games, though its association with Wittgenstein endures. Ludwig Wittgenstein, P. M. S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte, eds. *Philosophical Investigations,* trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S. Hacket, and J. Schulte (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 8–36.

"phenomena have no one thing in common in virtue of which we use the same word for all—but there are many different kinds of *affinity* between them."[263] An activity can be categorized as a game to the extent that it shares similarities with at least some other games, not whether it involves something specific like a ball, teams, or strategy.[264] That is to say, categorization by family resemblance does not employ lists of hard criteria to define what is and is not a member of a category.

Wittgenstein's approach to categorization has been applied to the specific domain of genre to explain why texts might be considered as a group in light of networks of shared features. For example, Newsom framed the genre of court stories in terms of Wittgenstein's family resemblance:

> "One can line up the exemplars so as to show how A resembles B, which resembles C, which resembles D, and so forth. One can see how the originary literature that featured a king and a wise courtier could spread culturally, geographically, and historically in order to give rise to a quite variegated literature that, nonetheless, can be assembled into a family portrait that allows one to trace the genetic resemblances across time and space."[265]

Family resemblance enabled Newsom to explain how disparate court stories could be conceptually assembled into a genre (in a certain sense) on the basis of a relational network rather than a strict set of criteria shared by all examples of the genre.

---

263. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 35–36.
264. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 35–36.
265. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 271–72.

A family resemblance model of categorization enables us to see the formal hybridity of the Hodayot tradition in a new light. Genres can be constituted by affinity as "families" of texts that share networks of formal structures similar to what Westermann observed in the overlap of the discourses of petition and praise (discussed above). Furthermore, there can be texts from different genres that share even considerable overlapping content and formal structures. At the risk of overextending the genetic analogy of "family" resemblance theory, hybridized genres are like two families that have intermarried. Viewed through the lens of family resemblance theory, formal hybridity is not a violation of definitional boundaries any more than marriage violates family boundaries; rather, it is a innate feature and an indication that genres are not static and do not arise or evolve in isolation from each other. In sum, family resemblance theory provided modern genre theory an alternative means of constituting generic categories that does not rely on hard criteria with impenetrable definitional boundaries between genres. In such a framework, hybridity is not necessarily a sign that the generic categories are wrongly conceived or that hybrid texts are anomalous; rather, hybridity can be understood as a characteristic of closely related genres.

One of the limitations of family resemblance theory, however, is that when it is applied to generic classification, there is little to prevent genres from collapsing into each other. As Swales has objected, when taken to an extreme "family resemblance theory can make anything resemble anything."[266] For example, biblical psalms of individual complaint and thanksgiving are both first

person psalms that contain accounts of distress, and therefore, it could be argued that they belong to the same family/genre, at least to some extent. Although these common features are important points of similarity that tie the two genres together with respect to a common motivating crisis, grouping psalms of complaint and thanksgiving together as a genre would miss their starkly different objectives.

Thus, while family resemblance may be a useful framework for making sense of the formal hybridity of the psalms in the Hodayot, it is less useful for maintaining some level of distinction between genres. Unless we are willing to abandon all distinctions and let the psalms of the Hodayot coalesce into a single muddy category, something more than family resemblance is needed.[267]

Prototype theory was developed in response to the shortcomings of family resemblance theory by offering a framework for defining categories without erecting hard definitional boundaries. Prototype theory is founded on Eleanor Rosch's research into categorization (in the general sense) in the field of cognitive science. Although her work applies broadly to issues of categorization, like Wittgenstein, Rosch's insights have been applied to the more specific domain of genre theory by Swales and other genre theorists.

---

266. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 51.

267. Subsuming all the psalms under a single genre is undesirable because it runs in the face of the consensus since Morawe and Holm-Nielsen that there is some duality in the Hodayot, even if it cannot be satisfactorily described. The single exception to this consensus is Hasselbalch, who argues that all distinctions have collapsed, at least insofar as they appear in 1QHª, though she permits that in earlier stages of the Hodayot tradition, before they were merged by compilers, there were "separate compositional categories." Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 269.

In one of Rosch's foundational studies on human cognition and the process of categorization, she collected a "goodness-of-example" rating from participants for how well certain items fit into categories. For example, for the category "bird," a "robin" was ranked first of her fifty-four examples, while a "bat" ranked last.[268] This experiment demonstrated that for the mental category of "bird," the participants considered the robin to be the most prototypical or central of the fifty-four examples, while the bat, which has wings but is typically classified as a mammal, was rated the least prototypical. To avoid a common misconception about prototypes, it should be emphasized that this experiment did not demonstrate that the robin is the "prototype" of a bird. Rather, a robin is only the most central member of the mental category of bird in the list of examples provided.[269]

Unlike family resemblance, prototype theory establishes that shared mental categories like genres have defining centres while permitting permeable boundaries and the participation of an object in multiple categories at once. For example, a platypus (an egg-laying, duck-billed, beaver-tailed animal with fur and mammary glands) simultaneously participates in bird and mammal categories, as far as non-specialists are concerned. In most cases, however, one can

---

268. Eleanor Rosch, "Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 104.3 (1975), 232; see further Carolyn B. Mervis and Eleanor Rosch, "Categorization of Natural Objects," *Annual Review of Psychology* 32.1 (1981), 89–115; Eleanor Rosch and Carolyn B. Mervis, "'Family Resemblances:' Studies in the Internal Structure of Categories'," *Cognitive Psychology* 7 (1975), 573–605; Rosch, "Cognitive Representations, 192–233; Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, *Cognition and Categorization* (Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates; New York: Halsted Press, 1978); Eleanor Rosch, "Principles of Categorization," in eds. Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, Cognition and Categorization (Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates; New York Distributed by Halsted Press, 1978), 27–48; Eleanor Rosch, "Wittgenstein and Categorization Research in Cognitive Psychology," in *The Meaning and Growth of Understanding: Wittgenstein's Significance for Developmental Psychology*, eds. Michael Chapman and Roger Dixon (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987), 151–66.

distinguish an item's primary category from its secondary membership in other categories by comparing degrees of (proto)typicality (goodness of fit). That is to say, an item's typicality has less to do with discrete features, but how they come together as a *Gestalt* or a whole and fit better in one category than in any other.

2.4.2 Key Concepts in Genre Theory (Swales, Bazerman, and Devitt) Now let us look more closely at Swales's concept of genre. For this study, Swales's concept of genre is preferable to concepts from other branches of genre theory because it is built squarely on the theoretical frameworks described above, and it falls under the ESP tradition, which tends toward the textual end of Flowerdew's text-situation axis. Since we lack thick descriptions of the performative context for the psalms of the Hodayot, Swales's focus on texts over contexts is better calibrated

---

269. Precisely what constitutes the actual mental prototype is a topic of debate in cognitive science, but prototypes are mental frameworks or representations of the genre that are distinct from concrete examples. Consequently, when applying prototype theory to the analysis of the genre of a text, we should avoid identifying an existing composition as *the* prototype of a genre. Particular examples are more or less prototypical but are not in themselves prototypes, at least according to prototype theory. On this topic, see also Lakoff's discussion of idealized cognitive models. George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* University of Chicago Press, 1987), 68–76, especially the discussion of more complex "cluster models." Newsom employs the language of "prototypical *exemplar*" (emphasis mine) in the application of prototype theory to classification. Newsom, "Spying Out the Land," 25–26, "prototype models" in Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 281; see also 274–275, 280. This terminology is potentially problematic because it uses the language of "exemplar" that is too concrete to reflect a mental prototype. It dangerously close to the language used in Nosofsky's exemplar theory, a theory of categorization that sharply competes with Rosch's prototype theory. Robert M. Nosofsky, "Exemplar-Based Accounts of Relations between Classification, Recognition, and Typicality," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 14 (1988), 700–8; Robert M. Nosofsky, "Exemplars, Prototypes, and Similarity Rules," in *From Learning Theory to Connectionist Theory*, eds. Alice F. Healy, Stephen M. Kosslyn, and Richard M. Shiffrin (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992), 149–67; Robert M. Nosofsky, "The Generalized Context Model: An Exemplar Model of Classification," in *Formal Approaches in Categorization*, eds. Emmanuel M. Pothos and Andy J. Wills (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 18–39. For a comparison of prototype theory and exemplar theory see J. David Smith and John Paul Minda, "Distinguishing Prototype-Based and Exemplar-Based Processes in Dot-Pattern Category Learning," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 28.4 (2002), 800–11.

for this study. Moreover, the ESP approach to genre has advantages over that of Systemic

Functional Linguistics (SFL), the other textually-oriented branch of genre theory, because SFL

tends to focus too narrowly (though not exclusively) on the syntactical-grammatical level of a

text to account for the formal structures that are such integral parts of Westermann's spectrum.[270]

Swales's approach, however, attends mainly to the functional-semantic level—that is at the level

of formal structures—and is better suited for working with Westermann's schema.

According to Swales, a composition's primary generic category is the one that most

closely matches the composition's "communicative purpose." In this respect, Swales determines

the goodness of fit of a text in terms of its rhetorical objectives first and foremost. Swales

proposed that genre:

> comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set
> of communicative purposes.... Communicative purpose is both a privileged
> criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived
> narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose,
> exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure,
> style, content and intended audience.[271]

According to Swales, similarities of formal structure and content still matter insofar as they

contribute to a composition's communicative purpose, but they only mark a text's genre in a

subsidiary way and can vary in a genre as long as they accomplish a common purpose.[272] The

---

270. Hasselbalch drew on SFL to carry out her study of lexical strings and transitivity in the Hodayot. Although she recognized the concept of "schematic structures" (formal structures) in SFL, she does not employ them in her analysis. The analysis is quite granular as a result. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 57–58; See also Suzanne Eggins, *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (London: Continuum, 2007), 59.

271. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 58.

272. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 58.

key aspect of his articulation of genre is that characteristics like formal structures do not fully

define a genre; rather, a common communicative purpose is the "privileged criterion."[273] Genres

are then defined by a central purpose (or purposes) rather than a particular blueprint of formal

structures.[274] In this respect, compositions belonging to the same genre may exhibit variations in

form but ultimately realize the same communicative purposes.

Swales's identification of the communicative purpose as what constitutes a genre

resembles Westermann's spectrum where the poles represent general communicative purposes of

the two modes of descriptive and declarative praise. Both Swales and Westermann regard

similarities of formal structure as important insofar as they contribute to a composition's

communicative purpose, but they only mark a text's genre in a subsidiary way.[275] This principle

is reflected in the ability of Westermann's schema to classify psalms by their primary genre while

still indicating that they contain formal structures that are typical of other genres. In sum, genres

---

273. According to Swales, another important aspect of genre are the labels a discourse community uses for its genres. There is, however, very incomplete data on nomenclature for psalms and other compositions among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and it is not clear that they used generic terms in the same way and with the level of consistency that would be required for Swales's definition of genre. What have been argued to be superscriptions or rubrics in the Hodayot manuscripts do use some generic terms to describe as many as four of the psalms, but these are from very fragmentary parts of the scroll, are reconstructed in some cases, and are not fully understood (1QH[a] 5:12, 7:21, 20:7, 25:34). Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 54–55. See also Eileen M. Schuller, "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions," in *Biblical Perspectives*, eds. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 207–222; Hartmut Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot[a] 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*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Ruth A. Clements, and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 195–98; Justin L. Pannkuk, "Are there למשכיל Sections in the Hodayot? Evidence from Cave 4," *RevQ* 28.1 (2016), 3–13.

274. Holm-Nielsen seems to have intuitively followed the principle of classifying by communicative purpose. See discussion on p. 16.

275. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 58.

are defined by their communicative purposes rather than any list of defining features. The

communicative purpose of the genre, in turn is constituted by the coordinated communicative

purposes of its constituent parts.

A spectrum-based schema and Swalian concept of genre are also compatible with the

concepts of "systems of genre" and "genre sets."[276] These terms hold potential for describing

why the genres in the Hodayot are so closely interrelated. In 1994, Bazerman, a leading scholar

in the RGS branch of modern genre theory, developed the concept of a "system of genre"[277] to

describe how genres work, interact, and function with respect to one another within a discourse

domain.[278] This concept builds upon the concept of "genre sets" proposed by Devitt, a genre

scholar whose work falls in the ESP/EAP tradition.[279] A genre set consists of the genres available

to a single agent within a discourse domain. Devitt used the example of the professional field of

tax accountants, who have a narrowly defined set of genres that they use as they carry out their

---

276. Before Bazerman formalized the concept of systems of genre, Swales had already described something similar when he mapped the "dynamic relationship" of research genres in an academic discourse domain. Swales's map was a description of a system of genre in all but name, and as a result, we can regard Bazerman's concept of systems of genre as fully compatible with Swales's concept of genre. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 177.

277. Bazerman's concept of a system of genre should be distinguished from the "systems of genre" briefly discussed by Newsom in "Spying Out the Land," 27–28, and "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre," 275. Bazerman's system of genre developed separately and has had much more practical application in genre studies than the Russian Formalist concept referenced by Newsom. Bazerman's concept refers to the more concrete and observable phenomenon of how genres function practically within their contexts—that is, within specific discourse domains and communities—while Yuri Tynyanov and Victor Shklovsky are working much more in terms of discerning where genres ranked in the canons of high literature and their evolution throughout literary history. Yuri Tynyanov, "The Literary Fact," in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff, Longman Critical Readers (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 29–49; see also Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 235–55.

work. According to Bazerman, a genre system is the sum of all genre sets for every agent or class of agents in a discourse domain.[280]

A familiar example of a discourse domain with a clearly defined system of genre and genre sets is that of a university course.[281] In the classroom discourse domain, the system of genre would include the genre sets used by instructors and students that have some bearing on the execution of the course. For example, the genre set of the instructor includes the course proposal, course description in the registrar's catalogue, the syllabus, the attendance sheets, and instructor feedback, to name a few. The student's genre set includes genres such as reflection papers, research papers, peer feedback, and (unfortunately) email requests. These genres serve as dedicated options for exerting agency for the two roles in the discourse domain.

---

278. A "discourse domain" is a term from socio- and cognitive linguistics that describes the context with which linguistic patterns and conventions are closely associated. The concept of "discourse domains" derive from the work of Joshua Fishman Diana Boxer, ultimately originating in Nystrand's concept of speech communities. Joshua Fishman, "Domains and the Relationship between Micro- and Macroscoiolinguistics," in *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, eds. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 440–53; Diana Boxer, *Applying Sociolinguistics: Domains and Face-to-Face Interaction* Impact: Studies in Language and Society 15 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002), 3–7; Martin Nystrand, "Rhetoric's 'Audience' and Linguistics's 'Speech Community': Implications for Understanding Writing, Reading, and Text," in *What Writers Know*, ed. Martin Nystrand (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 15–17; Charles Bazerman, "Systems of Genres and the Enactment of Social Intentions," in *Genre In The New Rhetoric*, eds. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway, Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 81–82. For Fishman and Boxer, the domains are quite broad spheres of life: family, friendship, religion, education, and employment. In this regard, Bazerman's concept of discourse domains is closer to Swales. In 1990, Swales supplied six criteria for what constitutes a discourse domain, but he has since critiqued his own criteria as being somewhat too inflexible. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 24–27; John M. Swales, "Reflections on the Concept of Discourse Community," *ASP* 69 (2016), 7–19. Amy Devitt refers instead to "discourse communities" rather than "discourse domains" to refer to the sphere within which genre sets are employed. Amy J. Devitt, "Intertextuality in Tax Accounting," in *Textual Dynamics of the Professions*, eds. Charles Bazerman and James Paradis (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 336–37.

279. Devitt, "Intertextuality," 336, 339.

280. Bazerman, "Systems of Genres," 83.

281. Bazerman briefly employs the example of a classroom as well, though the system of genre underlying US patent law serves as his primary example. Bazerman, "Systems of Genres," 82.

Bazerman's contention is that within a particular discourse domain, genres such as the course proposal or the research paper do not stand alone but form an interrelated complex of genres "that interact with each other in specific settings."[282] Instructors and students in the discourse domain of the classroom express their agency by using genres from their respective genre set to enact typified processes within the course that in turn give rise to related genres and processes within the same system of genre. For example, when a student submits a research paper, it initiates an evaluation process resulting in the instructor's feedback. The feedback may then prompt the student to request a better grade for the assignment. Thus each text has its own set of formal conventions, communicative purposes, and gives rise to other genres in the discourse domain. This model of genre emphasizes the social and rhetorical functions of genres because according to Bazerman "[i]n each case to achieve our ends we must successfully hold up our ends of the generic exchanges."[283] In other words, to use genres competently in a domain, one has to know which genres are considered valid options in any given scenario, when they can be employed, and which genres may be used in response by other agents. Viewed in this light, generic texts in a system of genre are not independent and self-contained but work together toward some greater objective or set of objectives within a particular system.

Caution is necessary in applying systems of genre and genre sets to the Hodayot. First, Bazerman's and Devitt's concepts are rooted in the analysis of highly bureaucratized discourse

---

282. Bazerman, "Systems of Genres," 82.
283. Bazerman, "Systems of Genres," 82.

domains like tax accounting and patent law, in which genres of documents are highly instrumental, transactional, and structured. It would be problematic to look for the same degree of systemic instrumentality in ancient contexts, except perhaps in highly bureaucratized and standardized settings. One would have to look to ancient documentary texts (receipts, marriage contracts, etc.) to find a comparable system contemporary to the Scrolls.

However, with due restraint, systems of genre and genre sets are still applicable to the Hodayot tradition. Bazerman was using patent law as a highly "determined" example that "gives insight into the way other less explicit socio-textual systems work."[284] In other words, he understood systems of genre to be at work in less structured discourse domains as well, though the dynamics of those systems may be less obvious at first glance. Thus systems of genre and genre sets can still be at work in compositions like the Hodayot, but the genres take on less mechanical functions and constitute subtler moves in their discourse domain. It should be kept in mind, however, that because of the limitations of cultural distance and fragmentary evidence, ancient systems of genre and their genre sets may only be partially recovered. An appropriate level of restraint would require us to couch any insights in the awareness that we only have limited evidence of genre sets and systems, not the entire system.

In sum, family resemblance theory, prototype theory, and the concepts of genre sets and systems all underpin Swales's concept of genre and support Westermann's schema and the

---

284. Bazerman, "Systems of Genres," 67.

concept of generic spectrums. They also address key issues in the Teacher Hymn-Community

Hymn categorization schema: 1) distinguishing genres, especially when most psalms display a

high level of formal hybridity, and 2) the questions of why the genres are juxtaposed and how

they are interrelated. Westermann's polarities, theories of categorization, and the concepts from

modern genre theory described above enable us to see the psalms of the Hodayot tradition with

new eyes. Formal hybridity is no longer the fly in the ointment that impedes our understanding

of genre; rather, it is a clue that generic categories may be working in close coordination through

the interlocking of their formal structures.

2.5 Rhetorical Moves Analysis

In order to find a place for the psalms of the Hodayot tradition along any of the spectrums

in Westermann's schema, there needs to be some process for determining the primary and

secondary genres of individual psalms. The approach to genre analysis that will be taken in this

study (with some modifications) is Swales's rhetorical moves analysis. According to Swales, a

composition can be analyzed by breaking it down into what he calls "rhetorical moves." He

defined a rhetorical move as "a discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent

communicative function in a written or spoken discourse."[285] Rhetorical moves can consist of

units of text ranging from a single clause to multiple sentences, and it is above all a "functional,

not a formal unit."[286] In this respect, rhetorical moves are similar to formal structures except that

they are not viewed as mere building blocks in a generic structure; rather, they constitute discrete

"moves" that the author or intended speaker makes as a part of a strategy to achieve a rhetorical

objective.

The process of identifying rhetorical moves is similar in most respects to that of

identifying formal structures. Swales characterizes rhetorical moves analysis as "a bottom-up

process" in which "[t]he identification of moves, and consequently the setting of move

boundaries, is established by a mixed bag of criteria, which together typically—if not

universally—produce defensible decision criteria."[287] Swales outlined three aspects of rhetorical

---

285. Swales, *Research Genres*, 228. Rhetorical moves are also described by Bhatia: "The communicative purpose of the article introduction is accomplished through four rhetorical moves, which give this genre its typical cognitive structure. Just as each genre has a communicative purpose that it tends to serve, similarly, each move also serves a typical communicative intention which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre." Vijay Bhatia, *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, Applied Linguistics and Language Study (London: Longman, 1993), 75. This concept is also discussed in O'Connor, Davis, and De Rycker's "T-Units," which denote single moves within cover letters that "describe the functions (or communicative intentions) which a particular portion of the text realizes in relationship to the overall task of applying for respectively an academic Job or an overseas Student internship." Ulla Connor, Kenneth Davis, and Antoon De Rycker, "Correctness and Clarity in Applying for Overseas Jobs: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of US and Flemish Applications," *Text & Talk* 15.4 (1995), 463; cf. Biber, Douglas, Connor, and Upton, *Discourse on the Move*, 24. A similar concept is found in the schematic structure in SFL. Eggins, *Introduction*, 58–84.

286. Swales, *Research Genres*, 229.

287. Swales, *Research Genres*, 229. Beverly Lewin, Jonathan Fine, and Lynne Young highlight a limitations of rhetorical moves analysis in finding a common approach to demarcating rhetorical moves as discourse units. They argue that in research articles, "[o]nly a small proportion of rhetorical functions are delineated by formal boundaries, whether linguistic, such as conjunctions, or graphic, such as paragraph initiations and subtitles. Furthermore, when boundary markers do occur, they are not uniform, but specific to the move." In this respect, they found that moves can alternatively be demarcated by "ideational content." Lewin, Fine, and Young adopt an approach to defining rhetorical moves that involves subdividing a rhetorical move into two levels: the overarching rhetorical move and the core "act" also called the "head act." The head act is the part that achieves the purpose of the rhetorical move. Pre- and post-head acts support the head. For example, in the rhetorical move of making a claim, the head is the main part of the rhetorical move—the claim itself—while pre-head steps lay the groundwork for the claim and post-head steps provide evidentiary support for the claim. This approach to demarcating rhetorical moves is suited to modern research articles but less useful for Hodayot psalms which engage in a subtler kind of rhetorical strategy than a research article. Beverly Lewin, Jonathan Fine, and Lynne Young, *Expository Discourse: A Genre-based Approach to Social Science Research Texts* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 17–21, 114, 150.

moves that can be used in their identification. He indicates that grammatical features, lexical

features, or distinctive vocabulary or signal phrases can indicate the type or nature of a move.[288]

Swales's examples of lexical signals come from the genre of research article introductions,

including key terms like "methods" and "results" or phrases like "in conclusion" or "in

summary."[289] Third, he explained that "the *placement* of a discourse chunk can be used to

interpret its status."[290] That is to say, sometimes rhetorical moves can be defined by their absolute

location in the composition or by their relative location with respect to other elements. The

identification of rhetorical moves translates well to Westermann's spectrum because the formal

structures that collectively determine a composition's relative location on his spectrum are

defined by the same grammatical, lexical, and structural characteristics as rhetorical moves.

In *Genre Analysis* (1990), Swales further broke down his rhetorical moves into steps, a

process that he characterized as a "Move–Step analysis."[291] In some cases, once the rhetorical

moves of a composition have been identified, they can be further divided into "steps" that

constitute a staged execution of a single move. The difference between a step and a move is that

the step, on its own, does not perform what Swales describes as a coherent communicative

function, and it needs at least one more step to complete a coherent move.[292] The concept is

---

288. Swales, *Research Genres*, 229.
289. Swales, *Research Genres*, 229.
290. Swales, *Research Genres*, 229.
291. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 142; Biber, et al. discuss the steps in their formalization of Swales's discourse analysis into a method. Biber, Douglas, Connor, and Upton, *Discourse on the Move*, 31.
292. For an example, see Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 143.

helpful for formal structures with multiple parts (for example, see the discussion of the hypophora move on p. 184). The communicative purpose of a composition is determined by the "rhetorical structure" or the sum of all the moves made in the composition. The communicative purpose is not achieved by the mere presence of formal structures, but through their collaborative functioning as rhetorical moves. In this respect, it is critical to identify not just the presence of rhetorical moves in psalms, but what kind of function the move has when it is made in any given composition.

I am making some adjustments to rhetorical moves analysis terminology to better reflect some of the realities of applying rhetorical moves analysis to ancient compositions. First, the concept of "communicative purpose" as the characteristic aspect of a genre is problematic with respect to ancient genres because we do not have access to authorial intentions or purposes. Unlike the modern genres that Swales studies, we cannot interview the authors of psalms to ask what their communicative purpose was. Instead, I use the term "rhetorical objectives." Rhetorical objectives can be drawn from explicit statements in a psalm about its objectives or implicitly from objectives that can be discerned from the strategic use of rhetorical moves without having direct access to the author's intentions and purposes. Identifying rhetorical objectives is an interpretive process of reading and making sense of the material, so some level of subjectivity cannot be entirely eliminated. However, the explicit statements in a psalm about its rhetorical objectives can be used as a check for interpretation.[293]

Second, there is not a consistent term used in rhetorical moves analysis for the aggregate of rhetorical moves in a composition. Swales tends to use the term "structure" or "rhetorical structure," while Biber, Connor, and Upton have introduced the term, "move structure."[294] I am using the term "rhetorical strategy" to describe the rhetorical moves that constitute a psalm because "structure" might imply a certain fixity and sequencing that is not found in the biblical psalms or in the Hodayot. A rhetorical strategy is a "strategy" in the sense that the psalmist strategically employs a series of moves in a psalm to achieve a rhetorical objective.

Third, in rhetorical moves analysis there is no term for the set of rhetorical moves that are customarily used in compositions of the same genre. If a psalmist composes a psalm with a particular rhetorical objective in mind, he or she would have an intuitive sense of the range of rhetorical moves that are typically used to achieve that objective.[295] A prototypical psalm would be one that both achieves the rhetorical objectives of the psalm and draws on these conventional moves in a way that coheres with this intuitive sense of the genre. I propose to call this conventional set of rhetorical moves a "generic palette." I use the term "palette" in the sense of a painter's palette, where colours of paint intended for a painting are kept at the ready for mixing and blending before being applied to the canvas. The concepts of a rhetorical strategy and

---

293. As a point of clarification, rhetorical moves have their own rhetorical objectives as well. The rhetorical objective of a rhetorical move is the function it carries out in a rhetorical strategy and how it contributes to the overall rhetorical objective of a psalm.

294. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 86; 133–34, 215; Biber, Douglas, Connor, and Upton, *Discourse on the Move*, 25.

295. Alternatively, from an exemplar theory perspective, the psalmist would have a particular psalm in mind rather than a *Gestalt* picture of conventional rhetorical moves.

generic palette should not be confused: a generic palette pertains to the psalmist's genre competency while a rhetorical strategy is a matter of textual execution. I would suggest, however, that a sense of the generic palette can be cultivated by studying rhetorical strategies.[296]

Furthermore, the rhetorical moves of one palette may be blended with those typically found in the palettes of other genres to achieve related rhetorical objectives. In this respect, a psalmist has the creative freedom to combine rhetorical moves from different generic palettes if he or she wants to accent a composition in a particular way or to nuance its rhetorical objectives. In other words, a formally hybrid psalm is the product of a psalmist who used multiple generic palettes to create the rhetorical strategy of a psalm, resulting in a mixture of rhetorical moves from different genres.

2.6 Approach

The following chapters will pursue a generic analysis of the Hodayot tradition that will reassess its genres using Swales's rhetorical moves analysis and Westermann's schema with the modifications described in this chapter. Chapter 3 will survey all the rhetorical moves in the Hodayot tradition and delimit all the psalms that have identifiable boundaries. The rhetorical moves in this chapter will be discussed individually to identify their respective functions across

---

296. Rhetorical strategies and generic palettes correspond to the two factors that I argue channel the influence of genre in the process of composing texts in a balanced way: the prototype (generic palette) and exemplars (instances of rhetorical strategies). It seems likely to me that both mental prototypes and concrete exemplars would shape how psalmists compose psalm. In other words, I would argue that the competing schools of prototype theory and exemplar theory need not be mutually exclusive options. See the discussion of prototype theory and exemplar theory on p. 95 n. 269.

the entire Hodayot corpus. Chapter 4 will look at two compositions (Isa 12:1–6; 1 Chr 29:10–20)

that are rare precedents for the rhetorical moves made in the Hodayot. I will use these two

distinct sets of rhetorical moves as the basis for positing the existence of two generic palettes that

were drawn upon in the composition of the psalms of the Hodayot. Chapter 4 will also introduce

a new spectrum of eschatologically oriented praise to Westermann's schema on the basis of the

analysis of Isa 12:1–6. Chapter 5 will propose two generic categories for the Hodayot tradition

and map the psalms of the Hodayot tradition onto this spectrum of eschatological praise. This

chapter will also explore how the concepts of genre sets and systems can explain why the psalms

of the Hodayot tradition exhibit formal hybridity.

Chapter 3: Survey of Rhetorical Moves in the Hodayot

This chapter is the first stage of the rhetorical moves analysis. It will survey every kind of rhetorical move in the Hodayot tradition by discussing their characteristics, delimitations in 1QHᵃ, and rhetorical objectives. The order of the presentation of rhetorical moves in this survey chapter is not intended to reflect the order of appearance of rhetorical moves in the Hodayot. With the exception of introductions, the location of rhetorical moves in psalms varies from psalm to psalm. This survey covers paratextual and introductory rhetorical moves in sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively, with the rhetorical moves in the bodies of psalms discussed in 3.3. The delimitation of the psalms in 1QHᵃ will be discussed in the excursus (p. 138) following section 3.2 .[297] Due to the number of the passages that must be covered in this survey chapter, it is only feasible to discuss select examples of each rhetorical move. Unfortunately, it is not possible to offer a detailed analysis of each psalm and the rhetorical moves that constitute each psalm's rhetorical strategy, nor is it possible to offer extended discussions of secondary literature pertaining to the instances of each rhetorical move. A complete listing of rhetorical moves in 1QHᵃ can be found in Appendix 1 on p. 313. The primary benefit of this survey is not in the granular analysis of individual rhetorical moves, but in the discussion of how rhetorical moves typically contribute to the rhetorical strategies of psalms across the entire corpus. This survey

---

297. Appendix 1 also reflects the delimitation of psalms.

lays the groundwork for the Chapter 5, where each psalm will be classified on the basis of its use of rhetorical moves.

Some rhetorical moves described in this survey have a basis in the formal structures identified in Morawe's form-critical survey of *Gattungelementen*. There is not always a simple correlation between the form-critical structures and rhetorical moves, but the discussion of each rhetorical move will indicate where some semblance with previously identified formal structures remains.

The rhetorical moves will be referenced in the vast majority of cases by their place in 1QHᵃ. There are two additional rhetorical moves from 4QHᵃ that do not appear in 1QHᵃ.[298] The delimitations of rhetorical moves offered in this study should not be regarded as absolute, and in many cases alternative delimitations are possible. Rhetorical moves are functionally defined and are closely intertwined so that there is not always a hard-and-fast division between them. The psalmist's interweaving of rhetorical moves with gradual transitions makes their delimitation challenging. Furthermore, delimitation of any kind in the Hodayot is hampered by the poor state of the manuscript evidence. Oftentimes the transition between rhetorical moves falls mid-line. Mid-line divisions are indicated with an "a" "b" and sometimes "c" to give a basic indication of

---

298. The materially and textually reconstructed edition of 1QHᵃ in DJD 40 contains the fullest extent of all the Hodayot psalms with the exception of one text that Stegemann did not locate in 1QHᵃ: 4QHᵃ 8 i 13–21. The rhetorical moves that could be identified in what remains of this psalm are incorporated in this survey in addition to the rhetorical moves found in 1QHᵃ.

the part of the line that the rhetorical move occupies. Cross-referencing the master chart can

assist in locating a rhetorical move on a line in relation to its neighbouring rhetorical moves.

3.1 Paratextual Elements

3.1.1 Superscriptions

I. *Characteristics:* Superscriptions (also called rubrics) are short titular paratexts situated at the

beginnings of psalms. They set the performer's[299] expectations and provide information about the

text and its interpretation.[300] Although it is possible that superscriptions were read as part of the

performance of psalms, they are more likely texts to help orient the performer rather than part of

the composition proper. In the Hodayot tradition, superscriptions orient the performer by 1)

associating the psalm with the office of the Maskil,[301] 2) applying genre terms to the psalm, and

3) describing how the speaker is to use or perform the psalm.[302]

---

299. The performer is the one who takes up the "I" of the text by reading out the psalms. I use the term "performer" in the sense that ancient compositions were not intended for silent reading and would almost always be vocalized as a performance. This kind of performative communal reading is portrayed in 1QS 6:6–8. Brooke suggests that the reference to "blessing together" in this passage might have been an occasion for offering a Hodayot psalm. I consider this a plausible suggestion for the use of individual psalms in light what will be discussed in Chapter 4 (see especially pp. 235–242). George J. Brooke, "Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the יחד," in *The Temple in Text and Tradition*, ed. R. Timothy McLay, LSTS 83 (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 153; Judith H. Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 111–12; 135. For a discussion of performance and orality in the Hodayot, see Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 359–82; "'Sectual' Performance in Rule Texts," *DSD* 25.1 (2018), 15–38.

300. Gerard Genette defines a paratext as textual elements "that surround [a work] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it" Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Literature, Culture, Theory 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2. Paratexts include titles, intertitles, prefaces, notes, indications of authorship, and epitexts.

301. "The Maskil" will be used as a shorthand way of referring to the office of the Maskil. In this study, the Maskil is regarded as an office or a role, not a singular historical figure like the Teacher of Righteousness or even a singular office. We cannot dismiss the possibility that there were several Maskilim operating simultaneously.

All four surviving superscriptions in the Hodayot tradition associate their respective

composition with the Maskil using the prepositional phrase למשכיל (1QHᵃ 5:12; 7:21; 20:7;

25:34).[303] The interpretation of the ל faces some of the same ambiguities as the לדויד references in

superscriptions in other psalms corpora. As a consequence, we cannot automatically assume that

למשכיל indicates that the Maskil is the intended speaker. The Maskil could also be the dedicatee,

beneficiary, or even the putative author of the psalm.[304] One important clue that clarifies the ל in

the Hodayot superscriptions is the reference to the Maskil in 1QHᵃ 20:14, where the speaker

begins a psalm by saying ואני משׂכיל ידעתיכה אלי "And I, the Maskil, I know you, my God."[305]

Since this psalm is prefaced by a למשכיל superscription in 1QHᵃ 20:7, the speaker's self-

reference as the Maskil indicates that למשכיל is the intended speaker of 20:7–22:42. Moreover, I

would argue that this interpretation of למשכיל applies to the other למשכיל superscriptions in the

Hodayot because it is less plausible that למשכיל would have fluctuating meaning from

---

302. Falk suggests that there might be a petition that has not survived in the superscription in 1QHᵃ 5:12–14 because language of penitential supplication might have followed the reference to prostrating להתנפל in 5:12. His alternative explanation that "the reference could be to the didactic function of the psalm to lead, among other things, to penitential supplication" seems more likely. Daniel K. Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 141–42.

303. Two of the למשכיל phrases are reconstructed: 1QHᵃ 5:12 למ[שׂכּ֯י֯ל and 7:21 למש[כיל] are partially is reconstructed without a parallel text. The phrase in 1QHᵃ 20:7 is reconstructed on the basis of 4QHᵃ and 4QHᵇ. See discussion in Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40, 255. Puech has proposed that Maskil superscriptions may correlate not to individual psalms but to entire divisions of the collection. They would perhaps play a role analogous to the doxological conclusions of sections in the book of the psalms (Ps 41:13; 72:20; 89:52; 106:48). This possibility is intriguing, but it would need further substantiation to be considered seriously. Conservatively, the superscriptions at least correlate to the material to which they are attached—that is, the psalm that follows, as in the case of 1QHᵃ 20:7–14 that demonstrates a concrete link between a למשכיל superscription and the self-identification of the speaker in the composition itself. It should also be noted that there is another instance of a Maskil superscription in 4QHodayot-like Text B (4Q433 2 2).

superscription to superscription. Furthermore, there is no countervailing evidence that psalms

beginning with למשכיל superscriptions were designated for other speakers.

Another characteristic of these superscriptions is the use of generic terminology.[306] 1QHᵃ

7:21 has שִׁיׄר מזמור "song, a psalm" written before the למשכיל phrase, and 20:7 has ה[וׄ]דות ותפלה

"[th]anksgiving and prayer."[307] 1QHᵃ 25:34 has a partially preserved מזׄמׄור[שיר that Newsom

translates differently as: "melo[dy, a song."[308] In 1QHᵃ 5:12, מזמור "psalm" is reconstructed on

the basis of other superscriptions (1QHᵃ 7:21; 25:34).[309] The precise meaning of these terms is

---

304. The issue of ל in psalms superscriptions has been treated extensively in Psalms scholarship. Recent treatments of the topic are found in David Wilgren, *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms: Reconsidering the Transmission and Canonization of Psalmody in Light of Material Culture and the Poetics of Anthologies*, FAT II 88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 173–78; Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination*, 51–85; Rolf Rendtorff, "The Psalms of David: David in the Psalms," in *The Book of Psalms*, eds. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, VTSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 53–64. See further James L. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy*, ed. James L. Kugel, Myth and Poetics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 49; Matthieu Millard, *Die Komposition des Psalters*, FAT I 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 27–45, see especially 42–43; James L. Mays, "The David of the Psalms," *Int* 40 (1986), 143–55; Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*, HSS 28 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 27–32; Nahum M. Sarna, "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History*, eds. Raphael Loewe and Sigfried Stein (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1979), 281–300; Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*, FBBS 19 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 349–51; Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 210–17; Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1962), 96–97. The term משכיל appears in biblical psalm superscriptions in Ps 32:1; 42:1; 44:1; 45:1; 47:8; 52:1; 53:1; 54:1; 55:1; 74:1; 78:1; 88:1; 89:1; 142:1. It is typically interpreted as a generic term (not an office) in these instances.

305. Adapted from Newsom's translation in DJD 40.

306. A full discussion of generic terms is not possible here. The discussion of the use of "biblical" generic terms in the Scrolls is taken up by Schuller in "The Use of Biblical Terms," 207–22; see also S. J. Scorza, "Praise and Music in the Qumran Community," *RefR* 11 (1958), 32–6. For discussion of use of generic terms in the biblical psalms, see Wilgren, *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms*, 178–82; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 1:40; Bathja Bayer, "The Titles of the Psalms: A Renewed Investigation of an Old Problem," in *Yuval Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ed. Israel Adler, Yuval Studies 4 (Jerusalem: Magness, 1982), 21–123.

307. In 1QHᵃ 20:7 הודות can be reconstructed on the basis of 4QHᵃ 8 ii 10. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:409.

308. שיר is reconstructed on the basis of 4QHᵃ 3 4. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:289–90, 296; see also Puech, "Quelques aspects," 53; Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future* Études biblique 21–22 (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993), 2:405.

309. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 52; *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:405; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:78.

difficult to establish (possibly explaining the variability in the translation), especially since they

appear in slightly different pairings at least three times, but it suffices to say that they are

characteristics useful for identifying superscriptions, even if some of the intricacies of their use

and meaning remain a mystery.[310] Their appearance in pairs, however, might indicate some

recognition of the generic hybridity of the psalms by the psalmist that is being communicated to

the performer in the superscription, though this is only a speculation.

Superscriptions also employ infinitive constructs that describe what the speaker is to

accomplish with the psalm. They have survived in two superscriptions in the Hodayot: 1QH[a]

5:12–14 uses three infinitive constructs (with one repetition) להתנפל֯, ו֯להבין, ולהבין and 1QH[a]

20:7–14 uses ל֯תנ֯פל והתחנן and לנות֯. Not enough text has survived of 1QH[a] 7:21 and 1QH[a]

25:34 to determine if they used infinitive constructs too. This syntax is familiar also from the

beginning of 1QS 1:1–15 and the book of Proverbs (1:1–7), in what might be regarded as

extended superscriptions.

---

310. Generic terms are also used in 1QH[a] cols. 17 and 19. The term הודות is used in 19:7, 36. תהלה is used in 19:8, 26, 36. תחנה appears in 17:11 and 19:37. Despite the seeming relevance of generic terminology to a study on genre, it is somewhat perilous to rely too heavily upon it since we have such a limited understanding of how it was used. Furthermore, there is evidence from titles in the Serekh tradition that generic terminology was to some degree interchangeable (1QS 5:1; 4QS[b] 9:1). In 1QS 5:1 and 4QS[b] 9:1 different generic terms are used in the same passage: מדרש למשכיל and וזה סרך לאשני היחד, possibly for the purpose of creating a framework for 1QS-1QSa-1QSb with a series of סרך subsections. In this regard, the generic identification of the material may have been subordinated to editorial concerns. Since this variation of generic terminology occurs in the context of attribution to the Maskil, we should be especially cautious about the use of generic terminology in the context of Maskil superscriptions in the Hodayot tradition. See discussion in Michael B. Johnson, "One Work or Three? A Proposal for Reading 1QS-1QSa-1QSb as a Composite Work," *DSD* 25.2 (2018), 162–64.

II. *Number and Location of Superscriptions:* As indicated above, there is evidence for four

superscriptions in the Hodayot tradition.[311] For the most part, these superscriptions only become

apparent when the overlapping passages from 4QH[a–b] were published, with the exception of

1QH[a] 25:34, which preserves an isolated למשכיל prepositional phrase on frg. 8.[312] As a

consequence, it was not recognized that the 1QH[a] and 4QH[a] arrangements of the Hodayot psalms

had a system of superscriptions until Puech published his reconstruction of 1QH[a] in 1988.[313] As

discussed above, Puech speculates that there would have been an additional superscription at the

beginning of the first column of 1QH[a].

Fig. 13: Superscriptions	Psalm
1:1? (Puech's hypothesis)	Col. 1[314]
5:12–14	5:12–6:41
7:21[315]	7:21–8:41
20:7–14a	20:7–22:42
25:34	25:34–27:3

Fig. 13

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Superscriptions:* Superscriptions are not technically rhetorical

moves because they do not form a part of the psalm proper and may not have been read as part of

the performance of the psalm. They are rhetorical, however, to the extent that they were written

---

311. Although the Hodayot-like manuscripts fall outside of the scope of this study, it should be mentioned that 4QHodayot-like text B (4Q433a) 2 2 contains a Maskil superscription as well.

312. There is no evidence for superscriptions in any of the Cave 4 manuscripts that are only known to contain material from the so-called TH block of psalms (4QpapH[f] and possibly 4QH[e]). Schuller, DJD 29:178–79, 212; see also discussion in Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts," 143–45; Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 139–40; Schuller and Newsom, *The Hodayot*, 4.

313. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 38–55.

314. Nothing from 1QH[a] col. 1 survives, and it is only a part of the reconstruction because Stegemann assumed that every sheet of 1QH[a] would have four columns. Stegemann, "Material Reconstruction," 276.

315. The traces of what may be a superscription are found on the bottom of frg. 10, which may not belong in col. 7.

for the Maskil to shape his understanding of the psalm and to guide his performance. In this respect, superscriptions are invaluable because they provide at least some sense of the psalm's rhetorical objectives. It must be emphasized that superscriptions only offer a partial and very vague sense of communicative purpose that is further obscured by their poor preservation. Even so, even these vague hints are invaluable for orienting us to the psalm's rhetorical objectives.

The infinitive constructs provide some of the most useful information about the psalm's rhetorical objectives. They tell us what the psalmist directs the speaker to do and to achieve in the performance of the psalms: he is to "prostrate himself" (5:15; 20:7), and to make "the simple" and "humankind understand" (1QH^a 5:13–14). From the poorly preserved remnants of superscriptions, it appears that the Maskil is modelling an internal disposition toward God through a posture that is probably intended to match the sense and mood of the psalm that he is delivering.[316] At least in the case of 1QH^a 5:12–14, this prostration and performance is intended to give his human audience some degree of understanding or enlightenment.

1QH^a 20:7–14a is an especially lengthy superscription that expounds on the times for prayer with an elaborate description of the cycles of the luminaries and the times for prayer. In fact, it is so long that it has been described by some as a composition in its own right.[317] The superscription probably is not specifying the intended times for the performance of this particular

---

316. See Newman's detailed discussion of the Maskil's prostration in "Embodied Techniques: The Communal Formation of the Maskil's Self," *DSD* 22.3 (2015), 249–66; "Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, eds. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 252; *Before the Bible*, 127–32.

psalm; rather, it describes how the psalm forms part of the Maskil's obligation to praise and

supplicate continually. It also indicates that the speaker's prayer regimen is just as much a

witness to the divine plan as the words of the psalm.[318] The direction for the Maskil to "prostrate

oneself and supplicating continually at all times: with the coming of light... at the midpoints of

the day... when it turns to evening and light goes forth," (1QH[a] 20:7–8), does not necessarily

mean that this particular psalm must be performed by the Maskil everyday at every time for

prayer. Rather, it is more plausibly conveying the Maskil's prayer regimen and prostrations—

including but not limited to the performance of this "thanksgiving and prayer" (1QH[a] 20:7). The

Maskil's regimen reflects his deep understanding of and synchronicity with God's all-

encompassing plan for the cosmos and the elect.

The superscription closes by underscoring how God's orchestration of the luminaries is a

witness to God's plan. The luminaries and the speaker's practices are described as: "a testimony

of that which exists. This is what shall be, and there shall be no end.... Truly, the God of

---

317. Occasionally it is referred to as "the List of Times" Schuller, DJD 29:115; the "mystical 'Time-Hymn'" Barbara E. Thiering, "Poetic Forms of the Hodayot," *JSS* 8.2 (1963), 193; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 19; "List of Appointed Times" Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 148. Penner characterizes this superscription as a "calendar" and "a textual icon" that has a common *Vorlage* with a similar calendar in 1QS 9:26b–10:8a. Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 137–64, see especially 159–64.

318. To this point, Penner suggests that because 1QH[a] 20:7–14 is "poetic and lack[s] specific directives about which prayers to coordinate with these heavenly cycles, the calendar is probably more of a symbolical expression of a deeper theological *Tendenz* of the Qumran community." See also Robert A. Kugler, "Of Calendars, Community Rules, and Common Knowledge: Understanding 4QS[e]-4QOtot, with Help from Ritual Studies," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 226–27; cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2.4 (1960), 475–500. See also Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 104.

knowledge has established it and there is none other with him" (1QHᵃ 20:12–14). The Maskil's

celestially coordinated prayer regimen is being characterized as the "testimony" that discloses

knowledge of the divine plan just as the words of the psalm do. This practice is described by

Judith Newman in terms of Pierre Bourdieu's "habitus."[319] In this respect, the superscription

specifies the Maskil as a very specific kind of speaker who is utterly in sync with the luminaries

and God's plan. In other words, it is not a psalm for just any person to perform; rather, it is

reserved for someone with a reputation for living within the temporal rhythms of the cosmos—

namely, the Maskil.

3.2 Rhetorical Moves at the Beginning of Psalms

3.2.1 *Introductory Formula* אודכה אדוני כי

I. *Characteristics:* The אודכה אדוני כי formula serves as an introduction for a significant subset of

psalms in the Hodayot tradition, though the exact number of these introductions is a matter of

debate (see discussion below).[320] The formula always begins with an address of אודכה, followed

by the appellative (a vocative expression) to God, אדוני , אל , אל עליון, and a subordinate כי

---

319. For Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, see Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice,* trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52–65. See Newman's comments on the habitus of the Maskil in Newman, *Before the Bible*, 141–44. See also Newman, "Embodied Techniques," 254–66; "Speech and Spirit," 252; "The Thanksgiving Hymns of 1QHᵃ and the Construction of the Ideal Sage through Liturgical Performance," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*, eds. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 949–50; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 186; John J. Collins, "Prayer and the Meaning of Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 70–72; Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 56–64.

320. In this discussion, "introductory formula" denotes an introduction or *incipit* that consists of typified and conventionalized language and syntax, whereas an "introduction" is a broader category that can refer to any incipit, regardless of whether it has been conventionalized. Thus the repeatedly used אודכה אדוני כי and ברוך אתה אדוני introductions can be called formulae, whereas the ואני משכיל introduction is not.

clause.[321] In every clear case, the כי clause consists of a suffix conjugation verb that describes

what God has done to help the speaker (1QHᵃ 10:5, 22; 11:20, 38; 12:6; 13:7; 13:22; 15:9; 16:5;

19:6) except for one case where it is a verbless clause (1QHᵃ 10:33).[322]

II. *Number and Location of the* אודכה אדוני כי *Introductory Formula:* According to my count, the

formula is found at the beginning of thirteen psalms. This figure can vary depending on where

each scholar textually reconstructs the formula and how they delimit psalms in the Hodayot

manuscripts.[323] While the אודכה אדוני כי psalms are clustered in the central columns of 1QHᵃ (10–

19), they may be interrupted by 1QHᵃ 13:22–15:8, in which a scribe has erased אודכה אדוני and

replaced it with ברוך אתה.[324]

Determining the number of אודכה אדוני כי introductory formulae is challenging because

many require textual reconstruction. Since it is not always possible to establish whether or to

what degree a line was indented, the length of the formula can be difficult or even impossible to

discern. Stegemann proposed that Scribe A followed certain indentation conventions for the

beginning of psalms and subsections that can lend some assistance; however, Scribe A was not

always, especially in the first eight columns where the conventions were not always consistently

applied.[325]

---

321. For the terminology of "address" and "appellative," see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 19.

322. For further discussion of this formula, see p. 137.

323. See discussion in Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 29–31; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 13–14, 41 n. 1; Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 277.

324. See the discussion on p. 130 n. 351.

The following chart provides the thirteen אודכה אדוני כי introductory formulae that I have

included in this survey, followed by a discussion of proposed reconstructions of additional

אודכה/אודך formulae that I have not included[326]

Fig. 14: אודכה אדוני כי Introductory Formula[327]	
אודכה אדוני כיא ישרתה בלב]בّי כול מעשי עוّلّה	**10:5**[328]
I thank you, O Lord, that you have made straight in] my [hea]rt all the deeds of iniquity	
אודכֹה אֹدֹוני כי שמתה נפשי בצרור החיים	**10:22**
I thank you, O Lord, that you have placed my soul in the bundle of the living	
אודכה אדוני כיא עינכה על]י]בֹשׁכֹוֹل נפשי	**10:33**
I thank you, Lord, that your eye (watches) over [me]in the bereavement of my soul	
אודכה אדוני כי פדיתה נפשי משחת	**11:20**
I thank you, Lord, that you have redeemed my life from the pit	
אודכה אדוני כיא הייתה לי לחֹומת עוז	**11:38**
I thank you, Lord, that you have been a strong wall to me	
אודכה אדוני כיᵃ האירוֹתה פני לבריתכה	**12:6**
I thank you, Lord, that you have illumined my face for your covenant	
אודכה אדוני כי לא עזבתֹנֹي בגורי בעם נٓכٓר	**13:7**
I thank you, O Lord, that you have not abandoned me when I dwelt with a foreign people	
ברוך אתה אֹوֹדֹכֹה אדוני כי לא עזבתה יתום	**13:22**[329]
~~I thank you~~ Blessed are you, O Lord, for you have not abandoned the orphan	

---

325. The evidence for Scribe A's indentation conventions in the first eight columns of Stegemann's reconstruction is somewhat overstated. Two examples (1QHᵃ 7:12, 21) derive from tenuous placement of frgs. 10, 34, and 42 and the textual reconstruction of ברוך אתה formulae in the lacunae. Scribe A made at least one exception to the practice of starting "at the very beginning of a line only if more than half of the line before is occupied by text of the preceding section" in 1QHᵃ 16:17. The Scribe A's subsection practice is based on only three examples (1QHᵃ 6:28, 9:23, and 17:23), so there is a fairly high rate of deviation with subsections. See also the discussion of the "anomalous" formatting of the psalm introduction in 1QHᵃ 6:19 as well. Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 209–10, 215; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:89–90.

326. For a detailed discussion of these introductions, see DJD 40 for the discussion of pre-2009 reconstructions. See also Qimron's 2010 edition. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40: ad loc.; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 191–223; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ad loc. in 1:59–108.

327. All parallels (1QHᵇ, 4QHᵃ⁻ᶠ) in the chart are indicated with identical underlining. Refer to Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40: ad loc. for more information about parallels with other manuscripts.

328. Habermann and Gaster reconstruct אודכה א[דו]ני on 1QHᵃ 10:3. Abraham M. Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Machbaroth Lesifruth, 1959), 116; Theodor H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1956), 128, cf. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:134.

329. 1QHᵃ 13:22 appears in charts for both kinds of introductory formula. See the discussion on p. 130 n. 351.

אודכה אֱדוני כי סמכתני בעוזכה	**15:9**
I thank you, O Lord, that you have sustained me by your strength	
אֹוֹדֹכֹה אדו]נֹי כי השכלתני באמתכה	**15:29**
I thank yo[u, O Lor]d, that you have instructed me in your truth	
אֹוֹדֹכה אדונֹי כֹּי לוא הפלתה גוֹרלי ב}יֹ{עֹדת שו	**15:37**
I thank you, O Lord, that you have not cast my lot in the assembly of fraud	
אוד]כה אד]וֹנֹי כֹּי נֹתתני במקור נוזלים ביבשֹה ומבוע מים בארץ ציה ומשקי	**16:5**
I thank [you, O Lo]rd, that you have placed me by the source of streams in a dry land	
אֹודכה אלי כי הפלתה עֹם עפר	**19:6**
I thank you, O my God, that you have acted wonderfully with dust	

Fig. 14

In total, scholars have identified or proposed as many as twenty אודכה/אודך references in 1QHᵃ

including partial and complete textual reconstructions. I have rejected seven proposals for

reasons discussed below.

Col. 4: Three Proposals for Introductions Not Included

A number of scholars have reconstructed אודכה אדוני כי or ,אודך אדוני אודך, formulae in

1QHᵃ 4:21, 29, and/or 38.[330] Still others reconstruct ברוך אתה formulae in these locations. The

amount of space for textual reconstruction in col. 4 depends on where one presumes the right

margin to be, and without parallels from Cave 4 manuscripts or evidence of the right margin,

introductions of varying length can be reconstructed. Because there are no clear constraints, I am

_____

330. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 209, 212; André Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH): Traduction intégrale avec introduction et notes," Special issue, *Sem* 7 (1957)," 98–99; Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, 132; Jean Carmignac and Pierre Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran: Traduits et annotés* Autour de la bible (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), 209; Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräische und Deutsch, mit masoretisches Punktation, Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1971), 170; Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 1:391, 394; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:63. See also Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:64 n. 3.

bracketing these potential ברוך אתה or אודך אדוני formulae as too speculative to include in the survey.

Col. 6: Two Proposals for Introductions Not Included

In 1QH[a] 6:19 a large lacuna in the column obscures the end of a *vacat* and the beginning of the formula. Where Stegemann has reconstructed a ברוך אתה formula, Qimron reconstructs אודך.[331] Since the width of *vacat*s can vary, we cannot use letter spacing to determine which formula is a better fit. Stegemann, however, argued convincingly that this cannot be an אודך formula for a new psalm because of the following anaphoric demonstrative phrase (6:20). This demonstrative refers back to the material before 6:19, indicating that 6:19 begins a subsection. Furthermore, the introduction in 6:19 does not employ the כי clause that is conventionally used in the אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula, but a participle, הנותן. Participles are sometimes used after ברוך אתה אדוני introductions and subsections (see 1QH[a] 19:30 and 22:34), but the אודכה אדוני כי formula is too consistent elsewhere in the Hodayot to reconstruct in 6:19 with a participle. Stegemann's argument that this is a ברוך אתה אדוני subsection formula is the more likely scenario, though we might consider the possibility of אודך used in a resolution too (see discussion below).[332]

In 1QH[a] 6:34, the reconstruction of אוד[ך or something similar is probably accurate, but I do not count it as an example of the אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula. Stegemann justified this

---

331. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:63.
332. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:89; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot[a]," 213–15.

reconstruction by noting that "[a]ll commentators restore as such and begin a new psalm here."[333]

He also argued that the formula follows Scribe A's indentation conventions for new psalms. As

discussed above, however, these conventions were not always observed since Scribe A had

already deviated from convention in the same column in 1QHᵃ 6:18.[334]

In any case, the restoration of אוד[ך does not necessitate the delimitation of a new psalm

in 1QHᵃ 6:34, and I would suggest that this passage is functioning as a resolution in the body of

the psalm.[335] 1QHᵃ 6:34 employs the prepositional phrase כגדול כוחך "in accordance with your

great strength" instead of the conventional כי clause found elsewhere in 1QHᵃ. The use of a

prepositional phrase is more than a cosmetic difference. In an אודכה אדוני כי formula, the כי

clause (the full clause in each case, not just the particle) is the piece that enables the reader to

identify the psalm as declarative praise for a particular experience of divine deliverance rather

than a descriptive praise of God and God's attributes. Since 1QHᵃ 6:34 has a different

communicative function, it should be distinguished from an אודכה אדוני כי introductory formulae.

This divergent אודך אדוני כגדול phrase may serve as an introduction to a subsection

instead. In the biblical psalms of complaint and thanksgiving, אודך clauses function as vows or

reports of vows to thank God once deliverance has come. For example, in the book of Psalms,

אודך commonly appears with prepositional phrases or temporal adverbs that indicate the manner,

333. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40: 94.
334. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:90, 94.
335. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:94.

location, or duration that the psalmist will thank or praise God: אוֹדְךָ בְּקָהָל רָב "I will thank you in the great congregation" (Ps 35:18); וְאוֹדְךָ בְכִנּוֹר אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהָי "I will praise you with the harp, O God, my God" (Ps 43:4); אוֹדְךָ בָעַמִּים אֲדֹנָי "I will give thanks to you, O Lord, among the peoples" (Ps 57:10, cf. Ps 30:13; 71:22; 86:12; 108:3; 119:7; 138:1). 1QH[a] 6:34 may be modelled on this kind of formal feature, which occurs within the psalm rather than at its beginning. This interpretation would incline us to read 6:34 through the end of the psalm as a continuation of 5:12–6:41, one of the psalms with a Maskil superscription.[336] In this scenario, 6:34 would be a resolution of the Maskil to thank God, possibly anticipating psalms beginning with אודכה אדוני later in the 1QH[a] arrangement.

Col. 11: One Proposal for an Introduction Not Included

Although an introductory formula has been reconstructed in 1QH[a] 11:6 by some scholars, I have followed Carmignac, Guilbert, Delcor, and Kuhn's delimitation of a psalm in 1QH[a] 10:33–11:19 instead.[337] I see two reasons for treating 1QH[a] 10:33–11:19 as a single psalm. First, the only consistent pattern in the Hodayot tradition's rhetorical moves is that the main clause of introductions are regularly followed by accounts of provisional assistance. However, Stegemann reconstructed the following:[338]

---

336. The transition between this psalm and the next is unclear because of the poor state of the manuscript.

337. Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran*, 1:191–98; Mathias Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot): Texte hébreu, introduction, traduction, commentaire* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 106–23; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23–24 n. 5; cf. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 36 n. 1; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot[a]," 203; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:144, 146–47; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:72. Some reconstruct an אודך אדוני formula earlier on line 4. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation*, 135–37; Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, 117; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 51–52.

] *vacat* אודכה אדוני כיא אמ[תָּ פיכה ותצילני מ[סוד שוא]

vacat I thank you, O my Lord, that] your command is [tru]th and that you delivered me from [a worthless council]

The confession that God's "command is truth" is unusual here because it is a nominal sentence that expresses descriptive praise of God rather than the declarative praise for deliverance from a particular form of distress that we would expect. Stegemann drew upon 1QHᵃ 19:10 and 22:13–14 for the wording of this textual reconstruction; however, in both of the precedents the nominal phrase belongs to a confession of knowledge, not an introductory formula.[339]

Qimron's alternative reconstruction of an introductory formula 1QHᵃ 11:6 manages to put material more consistent with an account of provisional assistance after the main clause:

] *vacat* אודכה אדוני כיא הסתרתני בסתר [כֹּפיכה ותצילני מ]

vacat I thank you, O my Lord, that you have hidden me in a refuge] according to your command and that you delivered me from [

Although the content of Qimron's textual reconstruction fits the context better, the reading of a medial *kaph* before פיכה is not apparent in the plates in *DSSHU* or DJD 40.[340] I would suggest that Stegemann's decision to reconstruct according to the soteriological confessions is the more feasible option, since a *tav* is a more plausible reading of the ink trace and the reconstructed phrase has multiple precedents. In other words, I would suggest that there is probably not an

---

338. Stegemann noted that André Dupont-Sommer and Puech also reconstructed an introduction here, though the precise textual reconstructions are different. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 36 n. 1. Puech delimits a psalm in 11:6, but did not offer a reconstruction or discussion. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 52. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:146.

339. Confessions of knowledge are discussed on pp. 177–181.

340. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, pl. 37.

introductory formula here but the formula for a confession of knowledge along the lines of the

precedent that was used to reconstruct the phrase (1QHᵃ 19:10 and 22:13–14).

A second reason for reading 1QHᵃ 10:33–11:19 as a single psalm is the sustained use of

the motif of offspring. In 1QHᵃ 10:40 the speaker mentions כול צאצאי "all of my offspring." This

reference anticipates the speaker's description of his plight in 1QHᵃ 11:8: "I was in distress like a

woman giving birth to her firstborn." Although it is possible for neighboring psalms to have

overlapping topics or motifs, the focus on offspring in 1QHᵃ 10:40 and 11:8 lends at least some

additional support to the delimitation of 1QHᵃ 10:33–11:19 as a single psalm.

Col. 19: One Proposal for an Introduction Included, Another Not Included

I have included 1QHᵃ 19:6 among the אודכה אדוני כי formulae even though it uses a

different vocative ascription: אֹודכה אֵלִי כי. 1QHᵃ 19:6 has all of the parts of the אודכה אדוני כי

formula: 1) אודך, 2) a vocative ascription to God, and 3) a כי clause that expresses the reason for

thanksgiving. Even though the use of אלי in 19:6 diverges from the norm in 1QHᵃ, I would argue

that the substitution of a different vocative is only a cosmetic change, as far as genre is

concerned.

Although 1QHᵃ 19:18 contains another אודכה formula, as with 6:34, I would suggest that

it is an אודכה deployed as a resolution in the body of the psalm.[341] This formula diverges from the

אודכה אדוני כי formula because it lacks a כי clause. Moreover, Stegemann identified an ink trace

---

341. See the discussion of 6:34 as a resolution on p. 194.

that he reconstructs as the *yod* of [ואנ]יֹ just before the אודכה.[342] Pronouns are not used with אודך

formulae elsewhere in the Hodayot. Another major difference from the conventional אודכה אדוני

כי formula is that 1QHᵃ 19:18 consists of two parallel independent clauses, but elsewhere in the

Hodayot אודכה אדוני כי formulae do not employ parallelism in the main clause.[343] These

differences suggest that 1QHᵃ 19:18 is closer to the אודך resolution in 1QHᵃ 6:34 and other

biblical psalms. Since 1QHᵃ 19:18 probably is not the beginning of a new psalm, I would suggest

1QHᵃ 19:6 extends until 20:6, just before the large Maskil superscription in 1QHᵃ 20:7–14a.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Introductory Formulae:* The אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula is a

rhetorical move that sets up the psalm for declarative praise at the most crucial point for shaping

audience expectations in the performance of the psalm.[344] The repeated use of this formula also

suggests some level of programmatic continuity at the core of 1QHᵃ—that the same speaker and

reader expectations are maintained or even developed from one אודכה אדוני כי psalm to the next.

That is to say, these psalms were not haphazardly compiled but were likely intended to be read

---

342. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:245.

343. The psalmist may be inspired by Isaiah 25:1: יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי אַתָּה אֲרוֹמִמְךָ אוֹדֶה שִׁמְךָ כִּי עָשִׂיתָ פֶּלֶא עֵצוֹת מֵרָחוֹק אֱמוּנָה אֹמֶן.

344. It was commonly held in Greco-Roman oratory that the initial rhetorical move of a composition is one of the most important. Among the classic rhetors, there was intensive interest in how the exordium—the beginning part of the composition—sets audience expectations and establishes the speaker's ethos. Although the short introductions of Hodayot psalms are not fully fledged exordiums in a classical rhetorical sense, they have similar rhetorical objectives of establishing the speaker's ethos and previewing the content of the psalm while the audience's attention is at its peak. Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, 3.14.1–15; Cicero, *De Inventione*, 1.15.20–16.23; Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 4.1–79. Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation,* trans. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1971), 495–98.

together in light of the consistency of the introductory formula, even if there are generic

differences among these psalms.

3.2.2 ברוך אתה אדוני *Introductory Formula*

The first rhetorical move in three psalms is the ברוך אתה אדוני introductory formula. The

introductory formula is structurally indistinguishable from the subsection formula. Although the

ברוך אתה אדוני introductory and subsection formula are distinct rhetorical moves, the discussion

of their structures and identifications are so intertwined that it is impractical to tease them

entirely apart. The following section will therefore make extensive references to the subsection

formula, followed by an abbreviated treatment of the rhetorical move later in the chapter.[345]

I. *Characteristics:* The introductory and subsection formula begins with ברוך אתה "Blessed are

you," followed by an appellative that refers to the divine. Although the formula is shared by

introductions and subsections, contextual and paratextual clues can assist in distinguishing them,

even if those clues are not always definitive. In two cases where the formula is used as a psalm

introduction, אדוני is used, whereas in subsections the formula employs a varied set of vocatives:

אל עליון, אדוני, אל.[346]

II. *Number and Locations of the* ברוך אתה אדוני *Introductory Formula:* Counting ברוך אתה אדוני

formulae is challenging for the same reasons discussed above with respect to the reconstructions

of אודכה אדוני כי introductions. This challenge is compounded by the difficulty of distinguishing

---

345. For the ברוך אתה subsection introductions, see p. 200.

346. This variability is found to a lesser degree in the אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula in 1QHᵃ 19:6 where אלי is used as a variation of the conventional formula.

between introductions and subsections. The following chart provides my identification of the

introductory and subsection formulae. Both are presented together in the chart to help the reader

follow the discussion. I have not included the ברוך אתה formula reconstructed in col. 4 for the

same reasons that I did not adopt the אודך reconstructions.[347]

Fig. 15: ברוך אתה אדוני Formula—Introductory and Subsection		
Transcription and Translation	(I)ntroductory/ (S)ubsection	Passage
]∘∘ר רוח בּשר בֿבֿ[ ]∘∘ ברוך] אתה אדוני ∘∘[Blessed are] you, O Lord, [ ] *r* a spirit of flesh *bb* [	I	5:15[348]
ברוך אתה]אֿדוני הנותן בלב עבדֿךֿ בּֿינה להשכּֿיל בכול אלה Blessed are you,]O Lord, who places understanding in the heart of your servant so that he may have insight into all these things	S	6:19[349]
ברֹוֹ]ךֿ Bless[ed	I?	7:21[350]

---

347. See the discussion on p. 122.

348. There is general agreement that 1QHᵃ 5:15 should be reconstructed ברוך] אתה אדוני. However, there is not a consensus about what belongs at the beginning of the line. Dupont-Sommer reconstructed רזיך. André Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950), 113. His reconstruction arises from the incorrect joining of 15a–b in Sukenik's pl. 56 that situated a כול at the end of the line before ברוך] אתה. In this scenario, Dupont-Sommer considered רזיך to be a likely collocation with כול. In the reconstructions of Puech and Stegemann, frg. 15 was divided into 15a and 15b, and they were placed on the left and right margins of col. 5, respectively. As a consequence, the כול was moved to line 16, below the ברוך] אתה in 5:14. See Puech, "Quelques aspects," 44–45; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:22; Stegemann, "Material Reconstruction," 275–76, 281 fig. 2. Puech reconstructs כול before ברוך אתה. Émile Puech, "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: "1QH" V 12–VI 18 (= col. XIII-XIV 7) et "4QBéat"," *RevQ* 13.1/4 (1988), 63, 65–67; Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:409. Most editions, commentaries, and translation leave it unreconstructed: Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 239; Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, 141; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 270–71; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran*, 168; Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran*, ad loc. (no page number); *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 150; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:75; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:64. It is probably not necessary to reconstruct כול or any other word to fill in the apparent gap between the right margin and the right edge of frg. 15a. In DJD 40 Pl. III, the positioning of frg. 15a, containing] אתה אדוני ∘∘[, is somewhat confusing because of the warping of the fragment. In order to make the lower edge of the fragment match the top edge of SHR 4295, the fragment curves away from the right margin of the column. See Stegemann, "Material Reconstruction," 281 fig. 2. The angle of the written lines on frg. 15a demonstrates the extent to which this fragment has warped to the left. See also Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:64; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:75, 79; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 271; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 153; Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 409; Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 113.

Transcription and Translation	(I)ntroductory/ (S)ubsection	Passage
ברוך אתה אדוֹנֹי גֹדוֹל הֹעֹצֹה ורֹב העֹליליה אשר מעשיד הכול Blessed are you. O Lord, great in counsel and mighty in deed because all things are your works	S	**8:26**
ברוך אתה אֹוֹדֹכֹהֹ אדוני כי לא עזבתה יתום Blessed are you, O Lord, for you have not abandoned the orphan	I	**13:22**[351]
[Full Blank Line] בֹ[רו]ֹך אֹתֹ[ה אדוני [לֹ] [ֹ∘∘ֹ]]ֹר הגברתה עֹֹד אין מספֹֹר B[less]ed are yo[u, O Lord]*l* [ ] [ ]*r* you have increased without number	S	**17:38**[352]

---

349. Opinions are split on how to reconstruct this formula. Some scholars have reconstructed ברוך אתה: Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation*, 188; Hans Bardtke, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften," *TLZ* 82.5 (1957), 342; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 218, 220 n. 1 (because of the participle that does not appear in אודכה introductions); Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 30; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran*, 154 (because of the participle); *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:152; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:87, 89–90, 92. Several other scholars reconstruct אודכה] אדוני: Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 188; Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 88; Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, 130; Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated, with an Introduction*, STDJ 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 180; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 146–48; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:65.

350. The traces at the beginning of 1QHᵃ 7:21 are reconstructed: בֹֹֹ[רוֹ]ֹך Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran*, 164; ברון]ֹך Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 154; and בֹרֹוֹ]ֹך Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:98. Puech reconstructs בֹיֹצֹ]את Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 385 n. 237.

351. It is generally agreed that 1QHᵃ 13:22 is אודכה אדוני כי formula that Scribe B has corrected to a ברוך אתה אדוני formula. Stegemann considered Scribe A's original אודכה formulation to be the intended reading and that ברוך אתה was added to change this psalm to a subsection or that the corrector had another manuscript with ברוך אתה rather than אודכה אדוני there was a different manuscript. Schuller suggests that the scribe may not have recognized the difference between the ברוך אתה and אודך אדוני formulae. Chazon proposed that the addition of a ברוך אתה is part of a liturgical editing of the scroll. Although I am inclined to accept Stegemann's interpretation of the editorial activity in 1QHᵃ 13:22, I am less confident that we can come to such a firm conclusion about the intended reading here, so I am including it in references for the אודכה אדוני כי and the ברוך אתה introductory formulae. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes, 48; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 104; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran*, 1:216 n. 1; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 82–83; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:168, 173–74, Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 221 n. 108, 229; Eileen M. Schuller, "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*, eds. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, Resources in Religion 5 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 136 n. 14; Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 143–44 n. 14. For a proposal for an alternative explanation, see the discussion on p. 134 n. 363.

Transcription and Translation	(I)ntroductory/ (S)ubsection	Passage
[Full Blank Line] ברוך אתה אדוני אל הרחמיֹם וֹ[רב ה]חסד כי הודעתֹנֹי אלה לסֹפֹר נפלאותכה Blessed are you, O Lord, God of compassion and [abundant] kindness, for you have made known to me these things so that (I may) recount your wonders	S	18:16–17
ברוך אתֹה] אדוני א[שֹר נתתה לעֹבֹדֹכֹה שכל דעה להבין בנפלאותיכה Blessed are you,[O Lord, w]ho have given to your servant insightful knowledge to understand your wondrous works.	S	19:30
ברוך אתה אל הרחמים והֹחַנינה כגדו[ל כֹ]וֹֹ[ן]חֹכה ורוב אמתכה Blessed are you, God of mercy and grace, according to the great[ness of] your st[ren]gth and the magnitude of your truth	S	19:32
ברוך אתֹ[ה] אדוני כי אתה פעלתה אלה ותשם בפי עבדֹכֹה הֹוֹֹדֹוֹת תֹ[ה]לֹ[ה] ותחנה ומענה לשון Blessed are yo[u,] O Lord, for you have done these things and you have put into the mouth of your servant hymns of pr[a]is[e] and a prayer of supplication, and a ready answer.	S	19:35–37
ברוך אתה אל הדעות אשר הכינותֹ[ה] Blessed are you, God of knowledge, because you have established...	S	22:34

Fig. 15

The following discussion will move through the ברוך אתה formulae from those with clearer

identifications to those with more complex or uncertain identifications. 1QH[a] 5:15, if it has been

accurately reconstructed, is the only unambiguous introductory formula for an entire psalm

because it immediately follows the superscription (5:12–14), a paratextual element that comes

before the first line of the composition proper (for more discussion of superscriptions, see pg.

111). 1QH[a] 19:30, 32, 35–36, and 22:34 are all examples of ברוך אתה at the beginning of very

---

352. Puech and Stegemann reconstruct a ברוך אתה formula here against the reconstructions of most previous scholars. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:381; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot[a]," 192–93 n. 6; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:227, 231; cf. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 150; Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 73; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran*, 1:248; Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, 125; Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran*, 148; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 184–85. Stegemann's reconstruction was facilitated by the identification of ink traces that are consistent with a ברוך אתה formula. Qimron confirms Stegemann's readings of traces in 17:38. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:85.

short sections that are unlikely to be self-standing compositions. All but 1QHᵃ 19:30 appear in the middle of a line of text, which is not consistent with how the beginning of psalms are formatted elsewhere in the Hodayot tradition. The only formula in this group to begin at the beginning of the line is 19:32, where it is sandwiched between two other short ברוך אתה elements in a series of ברוך אתה formulae. It is almost certainly functioning as a shorter element as well.[353]

One additional introduction may occur where there are traces of letters at the beginning of 1QHᵃ 7:21. These traces can be reconstructed as בר̊ו̊]ך.[354] In Stegemann's reconstruction, the bottom of frg. 10 aligns with line 21; however, the placement of frg. 10 (along with 34 and 42) are placed on very tenuous grounds and need further consideration. As a consequence, we do not have any additional text from the line that can help us determine whether this possible instance of a ברוך אתה formula is for a subsection or introductory formula. I consider 1QHᵃ 7:21 as a potential example of an introductory formula in the absence of any clear indications that it marks a subsection, though it is far from a secure identification.

At this stage, we are left with 1QHᵃ 6:19, 8:26, 13:22, 17:38, and 18:16 to be distinguished as introductory or subsection formulae. 1QHᵃ 6:19 contains הכול אלה. As explained above, by pointing back to the previous text, the demonstrative pronoun indicates that the formula is for a subsection rather than a new psalm.[355] Likewise, Stegemann has proposed that

---

353. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:217–19; 243–44.
354. See p. 130 n. 350.

1QHᵃ 8:26 should be read as a subsection because 8:25 extends to the end of the line and 8:26 has no indentation. According to the formatting conventions of Scribe A, this indentation is indicative of a subsection.[356] Although Scribe A's formatting conventions are not completely reliable, in this case Stegemann's suggestion is plausible because there is a pattern of short ברוך אתה subsections at the ends of some psalms (1QHᵃ 19:30, 32, 35–36, and 22:34). There is a new psalm beginning in col. 9 shortly after the ברוך אתה formula in 1QHᵃ 8:26 that suggests the same pattern of short ברוך אתה subsections at the ends of psalms.[357] Scribe A's convention appears to have been followed in 1QHᵃ 13:22 as well. It is not indented, and it follows a line that fell short of the column's midpoint.[358] The psalm was copied as a אודכה אדוני כי introduction, so it is difficult to tell if the corrector intended it to become subordinated to the previous psalm or if it was intended to stand alone with a ברוך אתה introductory formula.

Stegemann's interpretation of Scribe A's formatting conventions breaks down with 1QHᵃ 17:38 and 18:16. These passages are a special group of ברוך אתה formulae because they are preceded by a complete blank line and are not indented. According to Stegemann, 1QHᵃ 17:38 introduces a new psalm because the preceding blank line requires no indentation in his understanding of the formatting conventions of Scribe A.[359] In Stegemann's thinking, a blank line counts as a previous line that does not extend to the midpoint of the column, and therefore the

---

355. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:89; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 214–15.
356. Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 209–10.
357. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:111.
358. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:169
359. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:228–30.

next line does not require any indentation.[360] However, Scribe A formatted 1QHᵃ 18:16

identically to 17:38, yet the ברוך אתה formula contains an anaphoric reference (אלה) to preceding

material. In light of this demonstrative pronoun, Stegemann argued that 1QHᵃ 18:16 must be "the

beginning of a sub-section within a psalm."[361] If the demonstrative pronoun tells us that the

formatting in 1QHᵃ 18:16 is not for a new psalm, then Stegemann's claims about the blank line in

17:37 and the new psalm in 17:38 cannot be maintained.[362] Identical formatting should indicate

the same kind of section in both cases. I would propose that the אלה in the 1QHᵃ 18:16

subsection formula tells us that this formatting is not for new psalms, but for subsections, and

that 1QHᵃ 17:38 should be considered to be a subsection as well.[363]

In light of this interpretation of the formatting, we would read 17:38–18:14 and 18:16–

19:6 as two major final subsections of the psalm beginning in 16:5. These two large ברוך אתה

subsections are structurally analogous to the appending of shorter ברוך אתה אדוני subsections to

psalms in 1QHᵃ 5:12–6:33 (6:19 ברוך אתה); 7:21–8:41 (8:26 ברוך אתה); 19:6–20:6 (ברוך אתה

19:30–36), and 20:7–22:42 (22:36 ברוך אתה).[364]

---

360. Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 210.
361. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:236.
362. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:236.
363. If blank lines were understood to indicate subsections in 1QHᵃ, then the convention could explain the correction of 1QHᵃ 13:22 from אודכה to ברוך אתה. 1QHᵃ 13:21 has only a single word, אריות, that the corrector may have interpreted as Scribe A's failed attempt to maintain a blank line, with an accidental overflow of a single word from 13:20. If the corrector understood 1QHᵃ 13:21 as a blank line, he may have corrected the אודכה to reflect a subsection because blank lines indicated subsections in this manuscript in 17:37 and 18:15. In other words, the corrector may have changed the formula in 13:22 to a subsection formula to match the attempt at a blank line in 13:21.
364. For the special conclusion of 25:34–27:3, see discussion of exhortation elements on pg. 203.

To summarize, ברוך אתה formulae are used in three settings: 1) to introduce two, possibly three psalms, 1QHᵃ 5:15, 7:21, and 13:22, 2) to introduce small subsections within the psalms (1QHᵃ 6:19, 8:26, 19:30, 32, 35–37, 22:34), or 3) to introduce long subsections with blank lines (1QHᵃ 17:38, 18:16).

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Introductory Formulae:* The main communicative purpose of the introductory ברוך אתה formula is somewhat difficult to establish because, of the three instances, 1QHᵃ 5:15 is very poorly preserved and important parts of the subordinate clause are missing, and 1QHᵃ 13:22 was originally composed as an אודכה אדוני כי formula before being corrected to a ברוך אתה אדוני כי formula. There are not enough well-preserved ברוך אתה אדוני introductory formulae in the Hodayot tradition to establish what the convention might have been for ברוך אתה introductions and whether it might have employed כי clauses where subsection formulae do not. In the case of 1QHᵃ 13:22, the corrected ברוך אתה אדוני כי formula sets up a psalm of declarative praise because it blesses God for not abandoning the speaker. In light of the scribal correction, however, it would be unwise to assume that the ברוך אתה formula in 1QHᵃ 5:15 or 7:21 set the same declarative tone with כי clauses too.

One of the only uses of ברוך אתה in the "biblical" psalms might provide a further hint about the rhetorical objective of the ברוך אתה formula in the Hodayot. In Ps 119:12 there is a close association between the speaker's ברוך אתה and his openness and attentiveness to teaching: "Blessed are you, O Lord; teach me your statutes."[365] In this case, blessing and receptivity are so

deeply linked that they are joined in parallelism. Ps 119:12 might suggest that the ברוך אתה

formula engenders a sort of enlightened openness to receiving insight from God. Although little

can be said about the use of ברוך אתה at the beginning of psalms in the Hodayot, it might be

possible to extrapolate some additional insights from the form and function of the subsection

formulae (see below) that are more numerous and better preserved than 1QHᵃ 5:15 and 7:21.

3.2.3 ואני משכיל *Introduction*

I. *Characteristics, Number, and Location:*[366] One additional kind of introduction has survived in

1QHᵃ 20:14b–15a: ואני משׁכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח אֹשר נתתה בי "And I, the Maskil, I know you, my

God, by the spirit that you have placed in me."[367] This introduction is the opening line of the

psalm in 1QHᵃ 20:7–22:42, appearing in 20:14b following a lengthy Maskil superscription (1QHᵃ

20:7–14a).

The ואני משכיל introduction in the Hodayot may be a reconfiguration of the confessions

of knowledge formula ואני ידעתי כי that it specifies *how* instead of *what* the speaker knows.[368] The

ואני משכיל introduction has similarities with a passage in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510, 4Q511),

another collection of psalms associated with the Maskil.[369] There are too few examples and too

many differences to consider the ואני משכיל passages in the Hodayot and the Songs of the Sage a

formula, but they are similar enough to be grouped together as a looser convention for beginning

---

265. The other instance of ברוך אתה in the Hebrew Bible (1 Chr 29:10) will be addresssed in the next chapter.
    366. The three headings normally used in the other discussions of rhetorical moves in this chapter are combined since there is only a single example of this introduction.
    367. Adapted from Newsom's translation in DJD 40.
    368. Newman calls 1QHᵃ 20:14 a "a confession of knowledge." Newman, *Before the Bible*, 137.

psalms or major sections. What links the two semi-conventional introductions together is how

the speaker uses a self-reference to call attention to his role and agency, in contrast with how the

ברוך אתה אדוני and אודכה אדוני כי introductions direct attention to God's activity.

ואני משכיל opens a new section in 4Q510 1 4b//4Q511 13 after a *vacat* in 4Q510 1 4b and

on a new line in 4Q511 13:

> ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל] כול רוחי מלאכי חבל
> And I, Maskil, declare his glorious splendor in order to frighten and terr[ify] all
> the spirits of the ravaging angels (4Q510 1 4–5//4Q511 10 1).[370]
> ואני משׁכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח אֿשר נתתה בי ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה ברוח ק'דשכה
> I, the Maskil, I know you, my God, by the spirit that you have placed in me (1QHᵃ
> 20:14–15).[371]

Although the ואני משכיל part of the introductions is the same in the Songs of the Sage and the

Hodayot, the former employs a participle followed by infinitive constructs. This syntax differs

from the use of a finite verb in 1QHᵃ 20:14–15. In terms of content, the Maskil's agency is more

pronounced in the introduction in the Songs of the Sage because he is harnessing the power of

his own praise to frighten the spirits. In 1QHᵃ 20:14–15 the emphasis is on what the Maskil

---

369. 4Q510 and 4Q511 are not identical copies of the same collection. See Joseph L. Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sageᵇ (4Q511)," *RevQ* 27.1 (2015), 25–82; "Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence: Preliminary Observations and Questions," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, eds. Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner, BZAW 486 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 185–211. For a fuller discussion of the Maskil's role in the Songs of the Sage, see Joseph L. Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)," *DSD* 19.1 (2012), 1–27; Joseph L. Angel, "A Newly Discovered Interpretation of Isaiah 40:12–13 in the Songs of the Sage," in *Hā-ʾîsh Mōshe: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, eds. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke, STDJ 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 28–39.

370. Translation from Angel, "Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence," 209. Transcription from from Maurice Baillet, DJD 7:216.

371. Adapted from Newsom's translation in DJD 40.

knows through God. Thus we should view ואני משכיל as a highly adaptable kind of introduction

that can be applied in different liturgical contexts.

II. *Rhetorical Objectives of the* ואני משכיל *Introduction:* The ואני משכיל introduction stands out

from the ברוך אתה אדוני and the אודכה אדוני כי introductory formulae because it puts a renewed

emphasis on the speaker and his role in the sectarian hierarchy. Whereas the focus of the אודכה

and ברוך אתה formulae is on what God has done for the speaker or for the elect, the ואני משכיל

introduction draws attention to the Maskil's office and his function within the community. As a

rhetorical move, the ואני משכיל introduction is an ethos-building move that would draw attention

to the speaker's special role as a conduit of knowledge of the divine plan to the audience. It

would also serve as a call to attention to the audience to heed the Maskil's divinely inspired

discourse.

Excursus: The Delimitation of the Psalms in the Hodayot Tradition

This excursus gathers my modifications to Stegemann's delimitation of psalms in 1QHᵃ into one place for

the reader's reference. Although the current chapter surveys the entire scroll for rhetorical moves, the synthesis in

Chapter 5 only considers psalms that can be delimited. The analysis of rhetorical moves that appear at the beginning

of psalms (see sections 3.1–3.2 above) has resulted in a few points of divergence from Stegemann's delimitations.

The changes that I have proposed are mostly the result of distinguishing between introductions to psalms and

introductions to subsections that often employ similar if not identical formulae, as discussed above.

Fig. 16 omits sections of 1QHᵃ that lack delimitations and provides the references for every psalm that has

a delimitation, as far as the present study is concerned. In the figure, where "Stegemann" appears in the

"delimitation" column, I agree with Stegemann's delimitation of the psalm. Where "Stegemann+" appears, I have

combined what Stegemann counted as two psalms into a single psalm. The justification for Stegemann's

delimitations will not be rehearsed here, but they can be found *ad loc.* in DJD 40."[372] The rationales for the

divergences from Stegemann will not be repeated in this section but the page numbers are provided below.

Psalm Delimitations in 1QHᵃ			
Psalm	Rationale	Psalm	Rationale
5:12–6:41	**Stegemann+**	13:22–15:8	Stegemann
7:21–8:41	Stegemann	15:9–28	Stegemann
9:1–10:4	Stegemann	15:29–36	Stegemann
10:5–21	Stegemann	15:37–16:4	Stegemann
10:22–32	Stegemann	16:5–19:5	**Stegemann+**
10:33–11:19	**Stegemann+**	19:6–20:6	Stegemann
11:20–37	Stegemann	20:7–22:42	Stegemann
11:38–12:5	Stegemann	23:1–25:33	Stegemann
12:6–13:6	Stegemann	25:34–27:3	Stegemann
13:7–21	Stegemann		

Fig. 16

The three places where my delimitations diverge from Stegemann's are 1QHᵃ 5:12–6:41; 10:33–11:19;

16:5–19:5.[373] This revised delimitation yields a total of nineteen psalms in 1QHᵃ that will be considered in Chapter 5.

There are certainly more than nineteen psalms in 1QHᵃ, and future work may permit more psalms to be delimited

and added to this number.

There are three sections of 1QHᵃ that cannot be delimited and will not be considered in Chapter 5.[374] 1) No

psalms can be delimited with confidence in 1QHᵃ 1:1–5:11. There have been various attempts to reconstruct

introductory formulae in col. 4 (see p. 121); however, these proposals are too speculative to be adopted in this study.

2) Frgs. 10, 34, and 42 form a cluster of related fragments that has been very tentatively placed in the upper part of

---

372. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40. See also Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ.

373. The discussions of these differences are found in the following locations: 1QHᵃ 5:12–6:41 (p. 122), 10:33–11:19 (p. 124), and 16:5–19:5 (p. 133).

374. Two rhetorical moves can be gleaned from 4QHᵃ 8 i 13 (8 i 13–21 is the text of a psalm found in 4QHᵃ that does not appear in the remains of 1QHᵃ); however, it is far too fragmentary to delimit. See the discussion of the rhetorical moves from 4QHᵃ 8 i 13 in the sections on exhortations and hymnic sections pp. 203 and 209.

col. 7 without any material join to the rest of the column.[375] As Qimron has indicated, these fragments may belong

earlier in the scroll.[376] At the very bottom of this cluster, frg. 10 preserves traces of a Maskil superscription, so at

minimum there is the end of a delimited psalm. I am removing this fragment cluster from consideration as a

delimited psalm in the present study because its complete delimitation and analysis would require further

investigation of the possibility of its placement elsewhere in the reconstruction—a major component of my next

project. 3) 1QHª 27:4–28:42 consists of small tentatively placed fragments that lack clear markers of introductions.

In the following sections of this chapter, non-delimited material will be included in order to survey as many

of the rhetorical moves as possible in the Hodayot tradition. Even though material that cannot be delimited and will

not be considered in Chapter 5, a survey of rhetorical moves in these sections is valuable, not only for gathering the

most comprehensive list of each rhetorical move, but also for the future analysis of these fragmentary psalms.

3.3 Rhetorical Moves in the Body of Hodayot Psalms

3.3.1 Accounts of Distress

I. *Characteristics:* Accounts of distress are defined primarily by their references to the speaker's

distress and secondarily by linguistic markers in the Hodayot. The topics of the speaker's distress

include: 1) references to actions that the speaker's opponents take against him, 2) distressing

situations in which God has placed the speaker to carry out God's will or to test the speaker, 3)

defection or betrayal by his associates, 4) his distress over divine judgment, 5) and his distress

over the human condition. In each of these topics, the speaker expresses his deep anguish, often

employing descriptive language that echoes the biblical psalms of complaint. It should be noted

---

375. Frgs. 10, 34, and 42 are related to each other because they contain text that overlaps with 4QHª 8 i 6–12. 4QHª, however, provides no basis for linking the cluster to the rest of the col. 7. Frgs. 10, 34, and 42 are placed using repeating patterns of damage. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:40, 97–100.

376. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:59, 66, 105.

that accounts of provisional assistance and accounts of eschatological deliverance can take up the language of distress as well, but these references to distress are subordinated to the main communicative purpose of God assistance or deliverance vis-á-vis the distress.

Accounts of distress are written mainly in the first person singular and third person plural, and sometimes with an emphatic ואני or (ה)והמ. The *vav* + pronoun construction can be read adversatively, "But as for me" for ואני, and "But they" or "But as for them" for והמה.[377] Of the twelve uses of והמה (defective in four cases)[378] in 1QHª, only 10:31, 14:17, and 20:32 occur outside of accounts of distress.[379] והמה or והם can be described as a characteristic feature of accounts of distress where they appear.[380] ואני, however, is found more extensively in other rhetorical moves, so it is not peculiar to the accounts, even though it is frequently used.

Another distinguishing feature of the accounts of distress are negative "I have become" statements. ואני הייתי and ואהיה appear six times in accounts of distress.[381] ואני הייתי is unique to accounts of distress, while ואהיה also appears more commonly in accounts of provisional assistance where it expresses positive expressions of what the speaker has become with God's

---

377. Morawe depended heavily on independent pronouns to demarcate shifts in his form-critical units. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 39, 41, 44, 48–9, 56.

378. 1QHª 22:6, 14:17, 12:17, and 10:31. והמה is reconstructed in 1QHª 24:12. הם appears without ו in 1QHª 7:37 in the context of a different rhetorical move.

379. 1QHª 14:17 refers to a plural subject becoming "princes in the [eternal] lo[t," which is unlikely to be a description of the speaker's opponents. The classification of 1QHª 20:32 is uncertain because the text is poorly preserved, but it appears to belong to a hypophora section.

380. והמה does not appear in 1QHª 10:5–21; 10:33–11:19; 11:20–37; 13:7–21; 15:37–16:4; 16:5–19:5; 19:6–20:6; 23:1–25:33.

381. ואני הייתי appears in the following accounts of distress: 1QHª 10:13; 13:24; 14:25; 16:15. ואהיה appears in: 1QHª 10:12, 16:28. Note that ואני הייתי and ואהיה occur in parallel statements in the account of distress section in 1QHª 10:12b–15a.

help.[382] In this respect, the "I have become" statement should be regarded as language that

conceptually links accounts of distress and provisional assistance.

II. *Number and Location of Accounts of Distress:* There are twelve psalms with accounts of

distress.[383]

Fig. 17: Accounts of Distress	Psalm/Section
10:12b–15a, 18b–21	10:5–21
10:23b–26a, 27b–30a	10:22–32
10:35b–36a; 11:7b–10a	10:33–11:19
11:25b–26 (H),[384] 27–35a (EM)	11:20–37
12:7c–13a, 14b–19a, 34b–36a	12:6–13:6
13:12b, 19	13:7–21
13:24b–27a, 28b–34a; 13:35b–41, 22b–27a; 15:4–8	13:22–15:8
15:39b–40a	15:37–16:4
16:14b–16, 28b–36a, 36c–17:6a; 18:34b–38	16:5–19:5
19:22–25a (Rec), 34b–38	19:6–20:6
21:20–24a, 28, 35; 22:6b–9a, 27–29a, 32b–34a;	20:7–22:42
24:12b–14a;[385] 25:9b–10a (AoDi), 22–26a (AoDi)	23:1–25:33

Fig. 17

---

382. See discussion on p. 154.

383. For the purposes of this study, I am only counting a maximum of one of each kind of rhetorical move per psalm, even when the account appears in separate sections of the psalm or is interrupted by another rhetorical move. I am counting this way because two or more of the same kind of rhetorical move in a psalm are often integrally interrelated and should be taken together. For example, multiple instances of accounts of distress in a psalm cannot be considered in isolation because they often resume topics or themes raised earlier in the psalm. In some cases, there is only a brief interlude where an element from another rhetorical move has been interjected and the account of distress resumes (e.g. 1QHᵃ 12:7c–13a, 14b–19a; 13:24b–27a, 28b–34a; 16:28–36a, 16:36c–17:6). Furthermore, since many psalms are poorly preserved, in many cases we may only have a single piece of the account of distress, and counting each section as a separate account could potentially misconstrue the poor state of the evidence to give the impression that the account has been preserved whole. There may be entire accounts of distress that have been lost in the lacunae because there are large sections of cols. 1–8; 21–28 and missing lines at the top and bottom of many of the columns in 1QHᵃ 9–20 that may have contained additional moves. For example, an account of distress has not survived in the short psalm found in 1QHᵃ 11:38–12:5, but it straddles the transition between columns where the lines are badly damaged. A short account may have been lost in these lacunae (note the reference to משחיתים "destroyers" in 11:39).

384. Parentheses indicate that the reference is embedded in another move. For abbreviations see p. xiii.

385. This והמה is reconstructed without any textual parallels. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:282.

This list differs from Morawe's list of accounts of distress (*Notberichte*) because it includes passages in 1QH[a] 10–19 that he classified as different formal structures. Many of the additions to the accounts of distress in my list are simply recategorized passages from Morawe's subsidiary categories of formal structures related to accounts of distress, including descriptions of opponents (*Schilderung der Feinde*), eschatological accounts of distress (*eschatologische Notberichte*), short notes of distress (*kurze Notizen der Not*), and the doubled form of the account of distress (*die doppelte Form der Notberichte*).[386] I consider all of these categories under the umbrella of accounts of distress.

I made additional adjustments to Morawe's list for several reasons. In two cases (1QH[a] 10:8; 13:7), I did not include passages that Morawe labelled accounts of distress because they were too closely integrated into other formal structures.[387] In 1QH[a] 18:34b–38, what Morawe classified as reflections, I have reclassified as an account of distress because of its content.[388]

The most significant expansion of the list of accounts of distress is the result of including additional, previously unrecognized accounts of distress found in cols. 21–24. These accounts, along with the reclassified passages mentioned above (18:34b–38; 19:22–25), fall in psalms that

---

386. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 37–53.

387. Morawe classified 10:8bff as a description of opponents; however, it is embedded in an account of deliverance, so it was excluded. 1QH[a] 13:7 was classified as a short note of distress, but it forms a part of the introductory formula. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 45, 52.

388. The topics found in these passages appear in other accounts of distress. The topic of the speaker's distress over his human condition also appears in 1QH[a] 12:34–36; 15:39–40; 13:30–34. The theme of the speaker's distress over the severity of God's judgment in 1QH[a] 18:34b–38 also appears in 1QH[a] 22:27–29; 22:32–34 in passages that fall in parts of 1QH[a] that were not addressed in Morawe's study. Both of these topics fall within the purview of Gunkel's accounts of distress. Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel,* trans. James D. Nogalski (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 136–38.

are typically classified as part of the CH II block of Community Hymns, where we would not

expect to find them. Several of these newly identified accounts of distress contain internal

distress over God's judgment and the human condition that would fall under what Gunkel

described as "internal distress," that is, distress that stems from the speaker's interiorized

concerns and reactions rather than external sources of persecution by his adversaries. These

passages from cols. 18–24 are classified as accounts of distress because they contain themes

found elsewhere in Morawe's accounts of distress.[389] In some cases, these additional accounts of

distress are even marked with the והמה or והם (20:32; 22:6) that appear commonly in accounts of

distress elsewhere in the Hodayot, as discussed above.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Accounts of Distress:* The accounts of distress in the Hodayot are

intended to shape the audience's perception of the speaker as an elect agent of God. They also

model how the elect should conceive of their hardships in terms of God's all-encompassing

divine plan. Just at the point where the accounts of distress begin to appear in the 1QH[a]

arrangement of psalms, the speaker declares that "I will recit[e continually] in their midst the

judgements which have afflicted me, and to humankind all your wonders by which you have

shown yourself strong through [me before hu]mankind" (1QH[a] 9:35–36). The accounts of

distress (as well as accounts of provisional assistance and eschatological deliverance discussed

---

389. They include references to the speaker's exile or captivity, the speaker's distress over his human condition, and opponents leading the speaker's associates astray (refer to outline of themes in the criteria section for verse references).

below) are intended to be recited in the hearing of the audience and to have a set of effects on them. The formative effects of the speaker's accounts are detailed in the exhortations in 1QHᵃ 9:36–38, which indicate that his audience should "hear," "become firm in purpose," "become more discerning," "put an end to injustice," "hold fast," and "be patient." These effects point to a rhetorical objective of modelling steadfastness, discernment, and resistance for the audience.

Accounts of distress in the Hodayot accomplish this rhetorical objective in two ways: 1) they establish the speaker's ethos as an agent of God on the basis of his persecution by his opponents, and 2) they deter the speaker's audience from defecting to his opponents by portraying the other side as the non-elect or as agents of Belial. By setting up "us-versus-them" and "righteous-versus-wicked" dichotomies, the audience is presented with two opposing sides, and they must choose whether to remain loyal to God and the speaker or to defect to Belial and the false interpreters.

In accounts of distress, the two steps of establishing the speaker's credibility and edifying his audience are achieved in the process of reflecting on a number of topics that are distressing to the speaker. The speaker's credentials as a persecuted agent of God are established by his opponents' deeds. They are also established by his anxiety over the human condition because it signals his awareness of the utter dependence of his elect status on God's goodness and not his own merits. I have divided these topics into eight categories:

☐ *When opponents lack understanding or comprehension of the speaker's teaching or station*: "he sees without recognizing, and he considers without believing in the fount of life"

(16:14–15),[390]

□ *When opponents scheme against the speaker*: "My mind was appalled by an evil plan. For Belial (is present) when their destructive intention manifests itself" (15:6),[391]

□ *When opponents ostracize the speaker*: "Because of the iniquity of the wicked, I have become a slander on the lips of the ruthless" (10:12–13),[392]

□ *When opponents isolate of the speaker*: "They have no regard for me when you show your strength through me, for they drive me away from my land like a bird from its nest. All my friends and relatives are driven away from me, and they regard me as a broken pot. But they are lying interpreters and deceitful seers" (12:9–11),[393]

□ *When opponents seek to ambush or attack the speaker*: "They lie in wait for robbery," (13:12),[394]

□ *When opponents rush or rage against the speaker*: "Against me the assembly of the wicked rages" (10:14),[395]

□ *When opponents distort the speaker's message*: "In accordance with the mysteries of sin they alter the works of God through their guilt, for I was bound with cords" (13:38),[396]

□ *The speaker's distress over his human condition*, "[But I am] an uncl[ean per]son [and from the womb of the one who conceived me (I have lived) in faithless guilt, and from the breasts of my mother]in iniquity, and in the bosom [of my nurse (attached) to great impurity, and from my childhood in blood guilt, and unto old age in the iniquity of flesh....]" (15:39–40),[397]

In each of these categories, the rhetorical objective is to demonstrate the speaker's prominence

and centrality in the conflict and to draw a clear line between himself and those who oppose him

through scheming, slander, attack, subversion of his message, or social isolation.

One topic that is central to establishing the speaker's credibility as an agent of God is

how to deal with his sinfulness, impurity, and general fallibility as a human being. These human

---

390. See also 1QHᵃ 10:24–25, 35.
391. See also 1QHᵃ 10:18–19; 12:11; 12:14–17; 13:12; 15:6.
392. See also 1QHᵃ 10:35–36; 11:7–8; 12:9; 13:24–27, 28–35.
393. See also 1QHᵃ 10:19, 13:38–41; 24:13.
394. See also 1QHᵃ 10:23, 25–26; 13:19.
395. See also 1QHᵃ 10:18; 13:19.
396. See also 1QHᵃ 12:11–13; 13:38; 14:22; 16:38.
397. See also 1QHᵃ 9:23b–25a; 16:28b–41; 22:32b–33.

limitations and failings undermine the speaker's claim to have a special role and insight into

God's plan.[398] In the Hodayot, part of the speaker's strategy is to own up to the worst aspects his

humanity to emphasize how deeply they distress him. In this respect, the speaker acknowledges

that he needs God to intervene just as much with respect to his humanity as he does with

persecution by his enemies. The speaker's concern over the human condition is ultimately

resolved in other rhetorical moves (see discussion of accounts of provisional assistance and

accounts of eschatological deliverance). In this respect, the accounts of distress serve as one

rhetorical move in a larger rhetorical strategy to establish his credibility as an elect agent of God

in spite of his humanity.

The accounts of distress also highlight the danger posed to the audience of the psalm by

the speaker's opponents as they seek to lead them astray, making them targets of God's

judgment. Three topics address this objective:

➢ *When opponents are leading the speaker's associates and/or God's people astray*: "[d]eceitful interpreters led them astray, and they came to ruin without understanding" (12:8),[399]

➢ *The speaker's distress over his opponents and betrayers*: "I am like a man abandoned in agony [...]∘∘ without strength, for my af[fl]iction breaks out into bitterness and an incurable pain so that it is not possible to keep (my) strength" (16:28–29, continuing until line 41),[400]

➢ *The speaker's distress over the severity of God's judgment*: "And I tremble when I hear of

---

398. An example of a comparable concern for the credibility of the speaker also appears in Psalm 38, where the speaker's sin and impurity undermine his credibility and leave him vulnerable to attack by opponents. Although Psalm 51 does not explicitly indicate that the speaker's moral authority as a teacher is undermined by his sin, there is a sense in 51:13–14 that the speaker's ability to admonish and instruct others will be enhanced once he has been cleansed and set aright: "Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you. Deliver me from bloodshed, O God, O God of my salvation, and my tongue will sing aloud of your deliverance."

399. See also 1QHª 10:20–21; 12:11–13, 17; 14:22; 22:27–29.

400. See also 1QHª 11:8–10; 13:32–33, 35–38; 15:4–8.

your judgments upon the strong warriors and your case against the host of your holy ones in the heavens" (18:36–37).[401]

These three topics are closely related. In the first topic, the description of opponents seeking (and in some cases succeeding) to lead the speaker's associates astray serves as a warning to the audience to hold fast and not be swayed by the efforts of the speaker's adversaries, lest they be counted among the non-elect and destined for judgement.

The second topic of the speaker's distress over his opponents and betrayers serves two purposes. It contributes to the appearance that the speaker is under heavy persecution as God's agent, and it underscores the severity of what the opponents and betrayers have done against God by persecuting the speaker. In a less direct sense, the opponents' attempts to isolate, attack, and undermine the speaker and their twisting of his message could be read as part of their schemes to lead the audience astray. If the speaker is discredited and weakened by their attacks, then it would be easier to lure away his less resolute followers. The third topic is integrally related because it concerns the speaker's distress over God's judgment. Not only is the speaker disturbed by what the opponents and betrayers have done to him, he also acts as if he is terrified at the prospect of the divine judgment that is in store for his former associates. I consider it unlikely that the persona of the speaker is actually upset about the judgment of the wicked; rather, he plays up his terror over their judgment to deter his audience against defection and betrayal in light of the dreadful consequences that any future defectors will face.

---

401. See also 1QHª 22:27–29; 22:32–34; 24:12.

One notable outlier among the accounts of distress appears in 1QHª 11:27–35a, which Morawe classified as an eschatological account of distress. In this passage, the archetypal narrative of distress is taken to an entirely different level. It is not the speaker that is in distress, but the earth personified. In an elaborate series of temporal clauses, the speaker identifies a point in the eschatological future when:

> "all the snares of the pit are open, and all the nets of wickedness are spread, and the seine of the vile ones is upon the surface of the waters; when all the arrows of the pit fly without cease and are shot, leaving no hope; when the line is cast for judgement, and the lot of anger is upon the forsaken, and the outpouring of fury upon the hypocrites, and the time of wrath (comes upon) all devilishness, and the cords of death encompass, leaving no escape" (11:27–29)

Next the speaker describes how "the torrents of Belial pour over all the steep banks" burning everything and penetrating into the earth, causing "the structures of the deep" to "roar at the noise of those who cast up mire" (11:30–33). Unlike the interpersonal conflict described in other accounts of distress, this account registers on a cataclysmic scale. It is as if the speaker's internal distress has been scaled up and superimposed onto the earth.

This eschatological account of distress—not that of the speaker alone but the distress of the whole earth—sets the stage for God's complete and final intervention in the account of eschatological deliverance that follows (see discussion below).[402] References to the speaker's opponents and their tactics in this eschatological scenario are characteristic of the speaker's

---

402. Harkins reads extensive references to Enochic traditions in 1QHª column 11. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 141–47, 156–72; Angela Kim Harkins, "Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch," *Hen* 32.2 (2010), 12–41; See also Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 253–61. Newsom discussed this account through a cinematic perspective, emphasizing how this account of distress with its graphic detail is distinct from the less vivid accounts found elsewhere.

opponents elsewhere, especially in the accounts of distress. For instance, there are similar

references to Belial (1QHᵃ 10:18, 24; 11:29-30, 33; 12:11, 14; 13:28, 41; 14:24; 15:6), חלכאים

"wretched ones" (1QHᵃ 12:26, 36), נעלמים "pretenders" (1QHᵃ 12:14; 15:37), and those who

prepare "traps" פחים, "nets" מצודות, and a "pit" שחת for the speaker's associates (1QHᵃ 10:23;

12:13; 13:20; 21:11, 24). If the psalms of the Hodayot are meant to be read alongside each other,

then the speaker's present accounts of distress can be read as the initial rounds of a conflict that

will ultimately be resolved with a divine intervention of apocalyptic proportions.

　　With such a divine intervention confidently expected in the eschatological future, the

speaker can explain his distress as a temporary condition that marks him as an elect agent of God

in a conflict that is rapidly escalating toward a final confrontation. The account of eschatological

distress draws on apocalyptic imagery to convey to the speaker's audience that his opponents,

who are currently seeking to seduce and ensnare the audience, are also opponents of God who

will eventually find themselves on the wrong side of "the war of the champions of heaven" at the

end of the eschatological age (1QHᵃ 11:36–37). Thus the audience's choice of whether to stand

alongside the speaker is construed as more than a question of loyalty to the speaker but of

faithfulness to God.

　　In sum, I would argue that the accounts of distress in the Hodayot constitute a rhetorical

move that legitimizes the speaker as a persecuted ally of God and binds the audience to the

speaker by deterring them from defection and betrayal. With respect to 1QHᵃ 13:20–15:5,

Newsom explains that "[t]he speaker here uses traditional language to colonize the new moral territory of sectarian ethics.... [s]ince the betrayers are unlikely to have been part of the audience that overhears this prayer of thanksgiving to God, the clarification is evidently intended for those who have not defected but whose loyalty needs to be reinforced."[403] I would suggest that the rhetorical objective of bolstering the allegiance of his associates applies to the other accounts of distress as well because they are narrowly focused on topics of persecution and defection. It is the recurring plot of opposition, seduction, and betrayal that lends the accounts of distress in the Hodayot a distinctively sectarian quality.

More importantly, the accounts of distress model for the audience how to frame one's personal circumstances in terms of a cosmic eschatological scenario. The speaker positions himself as a leader and a teacher in a scenario that is eschatologically-oriented. His descriptions of distress are so specific to his role that the audience could not facily appropriate them as their own accounts of distress without extensive modification and personalization. However, an audience that is directed to listen and learn from such a speaker would be inclined to take up this highly individualized eschatological outlook and analogically apply it to their own perspectives. The sustained exposure to accounts of distress in the Hodayot tradition would help them develop a sense for this elect discourse of distress.

3.3.2 Accounts of Provisional Assistance

---

403. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 342.

I. *Characteristics:* The account of provisional assistance is a rhetorical move that does not have a direct precedent in any previously identified formal structures. Accounts of provisional assistance describe how God supports and strengthens the speaker in the midst of the distress caused by external opponents and/or anxieties over his humanity. Although accounts of provisional assistance have some linguistic features that facilitate their identification, they are mainly characterized by how they describe God's help to the speaker.

These accounts are commonly framed in four ways: 1) the speaker's descriptions of God's support and protection from his adversaries, 2) characterizations of what the speaker has become because of God's support, 3) pronouncements that the speaker has been forgiven, cleansed, or given a spirit to compensate for his human condition, and 4) assertions that God has made the speaker a benefit to his associates but a detriment to his opponents. When read alongside the accounts of distress and accounts of eschatological deliverance (discussed below), the accounts of provisional assistance cannot be decribed as God's complete and final deliverance from the speaker's internal and external distress. Rather, God's deeds support the speaker in the conflicts of the present age, sometimes even intensifying the conflict to further God's plan. A central characteristic of accounts of provisional assistance is that the speaker's distress over his human condition is not entirely resolved. Rather, God's limited actions on the speaker's behalf contribute to the impression that the speaker and the rest of the elect are imperfect agents that God is sustaining to play an important role in the divine plan.

Accounts of provisional assistance follow directly after introductory rhetorical moves in fifteen cases.[404] Typically the subordinate clause of the introduction expresses the rationale for thanking God through an account of provisional assistance.[405] This regular positioning of some of the accounts provisional assistance after introductions suggests that they a focal point of the psalms. Furthermore, since accounts of provisional assistance are found in every psalm, they can be regarded as a common thread in the Hodayot tradition in every arrangement of the psalms.

Another common but non-exclusive characteristic of accounts of provisional assistance is the use of *vav* + a second person prefix conjugation verbs to describe what God has done for the speaker.[406] Material with these verbal forms constitute the basic content of the accounts of provisional assistance. Similar statements about what God has done on the behalf of the elect can appear in the meditations too, but accounts of provisional assistance are distinguished by the specification of the speaker as the beneficiary.[407]

References to "your servant" עבדך in accounts of provisional assistance and elsewhere in the Hodayot can be somewhat ambiguous. In 1QHᵃ 5:12–6:41, the Maskil self-identifies as God's servant twice (5:35; 6:36), and in many other cases עבדך appears to be a third person

---

404. 1QHᵃ 5:15b–16a; 10:5b–12a, 22b–24a, 33b–35a; 11:20b–21a, 38b–40; 12:6b; 13:7b–12a; 22b–23a; 15:9b–13, 29b–30, 37b–38; 16:5b–14a; 19:6b; 20:15b–17a.

405. Westermann refers to this part of the psalm as an "introductory summary." Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 103.

406. Accounts of provisional assistance contain the majority of instances of *vav* + 2ms prefix conjugation: 1QHᵃ 3:16; 4:38; 5:34; 6:22; 8:27; 10:5–6, 9–11, 15, 23, 33, 37; 12:4, 24, 26–28; 13:8b–12a, 12c, 15–16, 18; 15:10–11, 13, 16, 23, 25–26, 28, 38; 17:10, 12, 24, 35; 21:10; 22:16, 31; 23:5–6, 13; frg. A 4 3.

407. See the discussion of meditations on p. 167.

reference to the speaker. At the same time, some of the references could also be read as a

reference not only to the speaker but also to a generic member of the elect (see especially 1QH[a]

4:23–24, 35, possibly also 6:22; 8:28–29; 15:19). The speaker's descriptions of God's actions on

this servant's behalf are phrased so that audience members could easily suture themselves to the

subject position occupied by the speaker.[408] In this respect, the polyvalent meaning of "your

servant" may be one of the ways that the speaker sets himself up as a model for the audience.

Another characteristic of accounts of provisional assistance is their use of positive ואהיה

"I have become" statements that describe what the speaker has become with God's help. They

are the counterpart to the negative "I have become" statements that describe what the speaker has

become as a consequence of the persecution of his adversaries.[409] Four of seven ואהיה instances

come from accounts of provisional assistance (1QH[a] 10:10, 16–17; 14:28), with the other three

examples appearing in accounts of distress (1QH[a] 10:12; 11:7; 16:28). The "I have become"

---

408. See Newsom's discussion of "suture" in Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 200; Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 5–6. Newsom also draws on Bo Reicke in suggesting that "[e]ven if one assumes a form of use in which a designated reciter read the Hodayot at the covenant ceremony or for daily worship, it still seems that in hearing the words spoken each individual would have understood them as prototypical rather than as unique to the reciter." The ability for עבדך to simultaneously refer to the speaker and each member of the audience would facilitate their fusing with the "I" of the psalms. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 202; Bo Reicke, "Remarques sur l'histoire de la form (Formgeschichte) des textes de Qumran," in *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte*, ed. Jean Danielou (Paris: Paris University Press, 1957), 38–44; cf. the anthropologizing/rhetorical "I" of the reader in Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 157, see also George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Qumranic Radicalizing and Anthropologizing of an Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29–40)," in *Ernten, was man sät*, eds. D. R. Daniels, Uwe Glessmer, and Martin Rösel (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 423–35.

409. See the discussion on pg. 141.

statements in the accounts of provisional assistance coordinate with second person verbs to describe the results of God's support of the speaker.

The phrase ואתה אלי is an occasional marker of accounts of provisional assistance. All six appearances of ואתה אלי[410] are found in this rhetorical move.[411] ואתה אלי is only an occasional element because it does not appear universally in every account of provisional assistance. It usually comes at the beginning of the section containing part of an account of provisional assistance or at a sense division within the account.[412] In every case ואתה אלי is followed by a second person singular suffix conjugation verb (e.g. ואתה אלי תשיב סערה לדממה 1QH[a] 13:20).[413] There are also two instances of ואתה אל that fall in accounts of provisional assistance. The lack of a first person suffix in these cases may have something to do with being embedded in highly metaphorical accounts that refer to God's assistance in symbolic scenarios. The speaker is not

---

410. This count includes ואת אלי in 1QH[a] 13:34. Additionally, another similar phrase appears in 1QH[a] 21:7: עשיתה אלה אלי. It appears in a confession of knowledge that closely linked to an account of provisional assistance in 21:6b–7a.

411. 1QH[a] 10:36 (אלי in paleo-Hebrew); 13:16, 20, 34; 15:13; 16:17. There are two partially reconstructed instances in accounts of provisional assistance, which if included, would bring the total to eight: 1QH[a] 15:40; 23:24–25. An additional ואתה אלי is completely reconstructed in 1QH[a] 14:6. For the discussion of the reconstruction of 1QH[a] 14:6, see Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 110; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:184–85. All four cases of כה אלי- in 1QH[a] are either in an account of provisional assistance (1QH[a] 14:28) or an account of provisional assistance appears shortly after the vocative (1QH[a] 19:6, 19:18, 20:14). There is one additional occurrence that is reconstructed in 1QH[a] 12:38, but it is very tentative: לכֹהֹ[א]לֹ[י]. This instance of כה אלי- falls just after an account of provisional assistance and begins a meditation. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:164.

412. ואתה אלי comes at the beginning of a section of provisional assistance in 1QH[a] 10:36, 13:16, 20, 34; 15:40; 16:17.

413. Suffix conjugation verbs are reconstructed in 1QH[a] 23:28. The regular collocation of ואתה and 2ms suffix conjugation verbs is the rationale for reconstructing ואתה אלי in 1QH[a] 14:6—גליתה begins the next line. Conversely, in 1QH[a] 23:28, תכנתה is reconstructed because a partially reconstructed ואתה appears at the end of 1QH[a] 23:27. In two instances an adverbial or prepositional phrase falls between ואתה and the verb (1QH[a] 13:34; 23:24–25 [pronoun is mostly reconstructed]). Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:280, 286.

explicitly identified as the direct recipient of God's actions in 1QHᵃ 14:23 and 16:12, so perhaps

the speaker reserves ואתה אלי when he recounts what God has done concretely for the speaker.

II. *Number and Location of Accounts of Provisional Assistance:* There are accounts of

provisional assistance in all nineteen delimited psalms and also in cols. 3, 4, and in 7:12–20

(passages from psalms with uncertain delimitations).

Fig. 18: Accounts of Provisional Assistance	Psalm/Section
3:28b, 32	Cols. 1–3
4:21b, 23b–24, 26b–27, 29b, 33b–34a, 38b–39a	4:?–4:40
5:15b–16a, 19–21a; 6:13–18, 19b–22a, 28–29a, 36c–37a	5:12–6:41
7:12–13a, 17b–18a, 19b–20	7:12–20
8:9–11, 14b–16a, 20a, 26c–27a	7:21–8:41
9:6–7a, 23a, 33c–35a	9:1–10:4
10:5b–12a, 15b–18a	10:5–21
10:22b–24a, 26c–27a, 30b–31	10:22–32
10:33b–35a, 36b–40a; 11:4–5, 6c–7a	10:33–11:19
11:20b–21a, 22b–24a	11:20–37
11:38b–40; 12:2b–5	11:38–12:5
12:6b, 23b–27a, 28b–30a, 36b–38a; 13:4–6	12:6–13:6
13:7b–12a, 12c–18, 20–21	13:7–21
13:22b–23a; 27b–28a, 34b–35; 14:6b–8, 10b–13a, 27b–32a	13:22–15:8
15:9b–13, 16b–28	15:9–28
15:29b–30	15:29–36
15:37b–38; 40b–41; 16:1b–3a	15:37–16:4
16:5b–14a, 17–28a, 36b; 17:6b–8a, 9b–13, 18b–21a; 26–29a, 29c–36, 38b–40; 18:16b–19a, 24b–25, 31b–34a	16:5–19:5
19:6b, 18b–20a, 30c–31, 34c–35a, 36b–40; 20:4–5a	19:6–20:6
20:15b–17a, 27b–30a; 21:6b–7a, 10b–11a, 12b–13a, 14b; 22:9b–13a, 14b–16, 26	20:7–22:42
23:5–9a, 11b–17, 24c–27a, 27c–29; 24:28–29a; 25:31b–33a	23:1–25:33
26:7b–9a, 32b–34, 37b–41	25:34–27:3

Fig. 18

The accounts of provisional assistance are closely related to accounts of deliverance in

Morawe's survey of formal structures. Morawe identified two kinds of deliverance: 1) accounts

of deliverance (*Rettungsberichte*) and 2) the eschatological accounts of deliverance

(*eschatologische Rettungsberichte*). Most of the accounts of provisional assistance overlap with

Morawe's accounts of deliverance, but a few coincide with Morawe's other elements or from in

parts of 1QH[a] that were not available to Morawe (cols. 21–25).[414]

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Accounts of Provisional Assistance:* In the accounts of provisional

assistance, the speaker focuses narrowly on how God supports and strengthens him in the midst

of persecution, protecting him from threats to his life while reserving the final deliverance of the

speaker from his adversaries for the end of the eschatological age. The accounts of provisional

assistance achieve the objectives of: 1) framing the speaker as an agent whom God is using as a

catalyst in a conflict with his adversaries, 2) communicating that the speaker is God's special

channel for supporting and conveying insight into the divine plan to the audience, and 3)

reframing distress and the human condition as a temporary concern that God is presently

mitigating for the elect and that God will ultimately alleviate.

A common topic in the accounts of provisional assistance is how the speaker serves as a

catalyst for conflict. In the biblical psalms of individual thanksgiving, the speaker wants to be

delivered from distress as soon as possible and as completely as possible. By contrast, in the

Hodayot the speaker discloses that he has special insight to know that God's deliverance cannot

---

414. See the discussion of Morawe's Not- and Rettungsberichte in Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 37–63 and the tables in 133–35; 159–61. See also the discussion of Morawe's eschatological accounts of deliverance below on pg. 162.

come too soon because his suffering and flaw humanity plays a role in the divine plan. God even exacerbates the speaker's distress to elevate the eschatological conflict.[415] Because the speaker's distress is evidence of his centrality in the eschatological conflict, if his distress were to be completely alleviated, it would undermine his claim to be a suffering agent of God. The speaker has to maintain a delicate balance of recounting God's deeds while not undercutting his own status as a persecuted agent. In this regard, the speaker focuses narrowly on how God supports and strengthens him in the midst of persecution, protecting him from threats to his life while reserving the final deliverance for the end of the eschatological age.

The speaker's role as an intensifier of eschatological conflict is most clearly communicated in 1QHᵃ 10:10–17, where positive "I have become" statements (10:10; 16–17) bracket an account of distress in 10:12–15. In this passage, the speaker draws a contrast between what his opponents have strived to make him and what God has done with him:

> And so I became (ואהיה) a snare to transgressors but healing to all who repent of transgression, prudence for the simple, and a resolute purpose for the eager. You made me an object of reproach, and derision to the treacherous, (but) a foundation of truth and understanding to those whose way is upright. Because of the iniquity of the wicked, I have become (ואהיה) a slander on the lips of the ruthless; the scornful gnash (their) teeth. And I have become (ואני הייתי) a mocking song for transgressors. Against me the assembly of the wicked rages, and they roar like stormy seas when their waves crash, heaving up slime and mud. But you have made me a banner for the elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries in order to test [persons of] truth and to prove those who love moral discipline. And I have become (ואהיה) an adversary to erring interpreters, and a conten[der] to all who see what is right. I have become a zealous spirit to all who seek smo[oth things,] (1QHᵃ 10:10–17).

---

415. See also 1QHᵃ 10:31; 15:25–26; 17:6–13, 19–22.

This passage juxtaposes distress and provisional assistance to emphasize the role of the speaker as an agent of God and an intensifier of conflict. According to the speaker, God has set him up as a target to draw the fire of his opponents in order to exacerbate the eschatological conflict. In this respect, his distress (being slandered, derided, and raged against) derives in part from the agitator role of an agitator that he has been appointed to play. It is critical for the audience to know about the speaker's role lest they mistake his enduring state of distress and isolation as an indication of a lack of divine favour. On the contrary, it is an evidence of his central role in the divine plan. The upshot for the audience is that their own distress can be framed as a marker of their role in the divine plan, even if it is not quite as central as that of the speaker's role.

The accounts of provisional assistance also present the speaker as a channel of divine support and insight for his supporters. As discussed in the accounts of distress, the speaker wants his associates to stand with him and remain loyal in the face of opposition and not stray to his opponents' camp. To encourage loyalty, he situates himself as an intermediary for divine support.[416] The speaker describes at length all that God had done to "support," "establish" and "strengthen" him,[417] and indicates that this divine support is also available for his loyal associates through him. Some of the most evocative passages in the Hodayot describe this intermediary

---

416. As discussed in Chapter 1, the passages describing the speaker as an intermediary figure are regarded as the key criterion for the Teacher Hymns. See especially the discussion of Kuhn and Newsom on pp. 33 and 53.

417. E.g. 1QHᵃ 10:6–10, 23, 27, 30–31, 35, 37; 12:24, 36–37; 13:5, 34; 15:16, 26; 16:12–13; 17:13; 19:34–35.

role. In 1QHᵃ 15:21–22 the speaker describes how he has found "security in (your) strength" and

that

> by] your righteousness you have stationed me in your covenant, and I have held
> fast to your truth, and I *t*[   ] and you have made me a father to the children of
> kindness and like a foster-father to the people of good omen. They opened their
> mouth like a nurs[ing child] and like the playing of an infant in the bosom of its
> foster-father." (15:23–25)

Thus, God's support for the speaker passes along to those who are counted among the "children

of kindness" and have this familial relationship of dependency with him. A similar image of the

speaker is found in the garden scenario:

> When I stretch out a hand to hoe its furrows, its roots strike into the flinty rock...,
> and at the time of heat it retains strength. When I withdraw (my) hand, it becomes
> like a juniper[in the wilderness,].... Before the heat comes its foliage dries up,
> and does not open with the rain" (16:23–27)

In this passage, the speaker's intermediation of divine support has two sides. Those who are

under the speaker's care flourish, while those who are not—enemies and betrayers—wither and

rot.[418]

Another rhetorical objective of accounts of provisional assistance is to reframe

persecution and distress as a temporary but a necessary evil for the speaker and his associates.

This purpose comes across especially clearly in 1QHᵃ 11:8b–13.[419] The speaker portrays the task

---

418. The exact nature of the divine support seems intentionally vague or multivalent. It is linked closely to the covenant, insight, and teaching (1QHᵃ 10:15–17, 30b, 13:5–6; 15:13, 38, 23:5–9; 23:11–16 25:10–13), but it also has to do with the willpower to withstand distress and discouragement (1QHᵃ 12:36–37; 13:34–35; 19:34–35) and remedies for the human condition (12:38; 17:9–13). These facets of support are intertwined in accounts of provisional assistance. For further discussion of this passage's gardening metaphor, see Matthew Goff, "Gardens of Knowledge: Teachers in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and the Hodayot," in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. Karina M. Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Emma Wasserman, EJL 41 (Atlanta: SBL, 2017), 181–86; Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 206–4.

of enduring distress in terms of childbirth, with its pain and risks to the health of the mother. He explains that: "All wombs hasten, and there are severe labour pains at their births and shuddering for those pregnant with them. And so at his birth all (these) pains come upon the crucible of the pregnant one" (1QHᵃ 11:11–13). These comments explain the pain as a routine suffering that is necessary to deliver the "manchild" (11:10–11). The description is almost dismissive of the woman's pain because the emphasis falls on: the birth of the male who will be a פלא יועץ "wonderful counsellor" (1QHᵃ 11:11). From the perspective of the audience, this rationalization of the speaker's distress as a necessary evil would be inculcated as a rationalization for enduring their own pain and distress as they stand with the speaker against his opponents.

Within the symbolic world of the psalm, the only alternative would be to defect to the speaker's opponents, whom Newsom characterizes as the "evil twin" of the pregnant woman: the one "pregnant with venomous vanity" who "(will be subject) to painful labour, and the womb opening of the pit to all the works of terror" (1QHᵃ 11:13).[420] Thus the audience's choice is between standing with the persecuted speaker as he agitates against God's adversaries, or aligning with these adversaries and subjecting themselves to God's final judgment on the wicked.

In some contexts, the accounts of provisional assistance have a somewhat different role of characterizing the speaker's knowledge about the divine plan as special insight received from

---

419. See discussion of this passage in Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 242–53; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*; 51–64; Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 156–72. See also Kittel's characterization of distress in 1QHᵃ 13:7–21 as an "ordeal" that all the elect must endure. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 96.

420. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 245–46; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 192.

God. Often these accounts of provisional assistance appear near meditations (including

eschatological meditations discussed below).[421] For example, after meditating on God's plan in

1QHᵃ 9:7–22 (eschatological in 9:19b–22) the speaker offers a short account of provisional

assistance: אלה ידעתי מבינתכה כיא גליתה אוזני לרזי פלא "These things I know because of

understanding that comes from you, for you have opened my ears to wondrous mysteries" (1QHᵃ

9:23a).[422] In this context, content of the meditations is characterized as knowledge that the

speaker has received from God and that is being presented as a form of provisional assistance.

The enlightenment of the speaker is not just for his own benefit, but also for the benefit of his

audience, to whom the knowledge trickles down through the speaker's delivery of meditations

and other rhetorical moves that convey aspects of the divine plan.

3.3.3 Accounts of Eschatological Deliverance

I. *Characteristics:* Accounts of eschatological deliverance are the forward-looking parts of the

speaker's narrative of his distress and deliverance that anticipate and envision his ultimate

vindication through the defeat and judgment of his enemies at the end of the eschatological age.

Accounts of eschatological deliverance range from short passages, some of which are embedded

---

421. Accounts of provisional assistance appear before meditations in 1QHᵃ 4:21b, 23b–24; 5:15b–16a, 19–21a; 6:19b–22a; 8:14b–16a, 20a, 26c–27a; 9:6–7a; 12:36b–38a; 13:22b–23a; 14:10b–13a; 18:16b–19a, 24b–25; 20:15b–17a; 22:14b–16; 23:27c–29.

422. There is only a tenuous basis for an account of provisional assistance in 1QHᵃ 9:6–7a, which appears before the meditations in 9:7b–19a. If Stegemann's textual reconstruction is accurate, then an account of provisional assistance might be indicated by the reconstructed אתה אלי. We would expect an account of provisional assistance after the introduction to the psalm. 1QHᵃ 9:6–7a may have been a part of it. Alternatively, without any reference to the speaker in lines 6–7a, this passage might be part of the meditation that describes how God is a source of knowledge and a reservoir for the elect as a group rather than the speaker in particular.

into other rhetorical moves, to substantial passages with more elaborate descriptions. They are

also marked by the use of second person singular prefix conjugation verbs that describe what

God will do vis-á-vis the elect and the non-elect at the end of the eschatological age.

Accounts of eschatological deliverance take up topics similar to eschatological

meditations (discussed below), but what distinguishes the former is that they are anchored in the

speaker's personal distress. For example, in the account of eschatological deliverance in 1QH[a]

12:19b–20, the speaker describes how "you, O God, will answer them, judging them in your

strength." In this passage, "them" or להם refers back to the speaker's opponents in the account of

distress who "say of the vision of knowledge, 'It is not certain', and of the way of your heart, 'It

is not that'" (1QH[a] 12:18b–19a). In other words, the judgment described in 1QH[a] 12:19b–20 is

designated for the opponents referenced in the speaker's account of distress. In the eschatological

meditation that immediately follows, however, the reference is broadened beyond the opponents

quoted by the speaker, and now describes more generally how God "will cut off in ju[dgem]ent

all deceitful people" (1QH[a] 12:20).

II. *Number and Location of Accounts of Eschatological Deliverance:* There are accounts of

eschatological deliverance in nine psalms.

Fig. 19: Accounts of Eschatological Deliverance	Psalm
10:26b (AoDi)	10:22–32
11:10b–11a, 13b–14a	10:33–11:19
11:41–12:1–2,	11:38–12:5
12:19b–20, 27b–28a	12:6–13:6
14:32b–39	13:22–15:8
15:14–16a	15:9–28

17:21b–25, 17:29b (APA); 19:4–5 (AoDi)	16:5–19:5
19:25b (Rec)	19:6–20:6
23:9b (APA), 21–24	23:1–25:33

Fig. 19

The accounts of eschatological deliverance are related to Morawe's category of *eschatologische*

Rettungsberichte (1QH[a] 11:13–19, 35b–37; 13:38–41; 14:32b–39).[423] I follow his delimitation of

1QH[a] 11:35–37 and 14:32b–39—the lengthiest accounts of eschatological deliverance. I partly

follow Morawe's account of eschatological deliverance in 1QH[a] 11:13–19, but there is a shift to a

more generalized discussion of the eschatological age in 11:14b–19 that is more characteristic of

an eschatological reflection. I have not included Morawe's account of eschatological deliverance

in 1QH[a] 13:38–39 because it describes the speaker's distress when he "was bound with cords that

could not be sundered and chains that could not be broken" (13:38b–39a).[424] This material is

more accurately labeled as an account of distress.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Accounts of Eschatological Deliverance:* Accounts of

eschatological deliverance set the speaker's descriptions of his distress and God's provisional

assistance against his expectations for complete eschatological deliverance. As a rhetorical move,

accounts of eschatological deliverance implicitly justify the distress being experienced in the

---

423. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 60.

424. Morawe's interpretation of this passage hinged on the identification of subject in 1QH[a] 13:38b, whom he understand to be Belial rather than the first person speaker. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 60. Morawe may have worked from Sukenik's transcription, נאסר֭, in which the the conjugation of the verb is ambiguous. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, pl. 39. Working with photos and the manuscripts, Stegemann read נאסרתי with certainty, though it is difficult to confirm on the plate in *DSSHU* and DJD 40. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:178.

present moment by the speaker and his audience by drawing the audience's attention to the

eschatological horizon where deliverance and vindication await the elect.

Accounts of eschatological deliverance portray deferred salvation as an integral part of

the divine plan. The speaker's conflict with his opponents is elevated far beyond any of the

conflicts described in the biblical psalms of complaint and thanksgiving. The scale of the

speaker's conflict is so great that it can only be resolved by the war of heaven, final judgment,

and ultimate vindication. For example, in the account of provisional assistance in 1QH[a] 14:27b–

32a, the speaker describes himself as "one who enters a fortified city and finds refuge behind a

high wall until deliverance (comes)" (14:28). He describes himself as protected "until the end of

all the arrows of the wars (with) wickedness" (14:31–21). The speaker characterizes God's

protection as a temporary measure until the end of the eschatological conflict, just as the

protection of a fortified city is never envisioned as a permanent solution. The account of

eschatological deliverance in 1QH[a] 14:32b–39 describes how "the sword of God will come

quickly at the time of judgment" (1QH[a] 14:32) when "there will be no escape for the guilty

creature" (1QH[a] 14:35). Those who were formerly besieged by the adversaries "will rouse

themselves to extermin[ate] wickedness" (14:32–33). In other words, the speaker only envisions

the full deliverance from his current distress in a dramatic eschatological reversal in which he

and the elect have preordained roles to play in the slaughter.

The deferral of the speaker's deliverance to the end of the eschatological age provides the speaker with considerable rhetorical leverage. It demonstrates that as one of the elect, the speaker's plight is not just a personal struggle or a misfortune that might indicate divine disfavour. It is an important part of the eschatological conflict. If the speaker's associates perceive the conflict and eschatological resolution as the speaker intends, then they would not want to forsake the speaker under any circumstance, even if the current opposition is deceptively persuasive or their persecution is especially grievous. The eschatological conflict is totalizing—there is no middle ground.[425] In the world of the text one is either counted among the "children of his truth" or the "children of guilt" (1QH[a] 14:32–33). In this manner the accounts of eschatological deliverance raise the stakes for disloyalty, making any current distress seem small in comparison with what awaits those who do not stand with the speaker.

Furthermore, from the audience's perspective, the accounts of eschatological deliverance offer a model for how one of the elect positions himself or herself with respect to the divine plan. The elect play a central role in the divine plan—not only collectively, but also individually. The speaker's account of eschatological deliverance demonstrates a mode of discourse where the subject envisions himself or herself as the protagonist in the eschatological conflict. Although such passages have been read as the exclusive discourse of the Teacher of Righteousness or a

---

425. Newsom describes the rhetorical power of pairs in her discussion of the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:15–4:26): "balanced pairs provide a powerful analytical tool for rendering the complexity intelligible," serving "to totalize knowledge." In this case, the "us vs. them" dynamic gives the speaker considerable power to structure the audience's relationship with himself and the speaker's opponents. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 81.

leader figure in the past, I would suggest that this imaginative subject position of the protagonist

in the eschatological conflict could be taken up by any member of the audience, and it would

have had a powerful role in shaping the sectarian imagination of the audience.[426]

3.3.4 Meditations

I. *Characteristics:* I am introducing "meditations" as a rhetorical move that reflects upon God's

plan for creation and all of its creatures—especially the elect—without focusing narrowly on the

speaker's role in the plan. There are two modes of meditation that can be distinguished: 1) non-

eschatological meditations that reflect upon aspects of God's plan that deal with the past and

present, and 2) eschatological meditations that describe aspects of the plan that pertain to the end

of the eschatological age. This distinction is somewhat artificial because the speaker already

situates himself in the initial phase of the eschatological age, and so the "non-eschatological"

meditation passages dealing with the present occupy an "already-not yet" eschatological middle

ground (see the discussion on p. 238).[427] I reserve the "eschatological" classification for the

meditations that deal specifically with the events of final conflict, judgment, and vindication that

---

426. This suggestion is deeply indebted to Newsom's proposal that the psalms of the Hodayot tradition served as "templates for the distinctive experience of the self cultivated in the sect" and that "[s]peaking of himself with words like these, the sectarian acquires an immediate experience of himself different from that which he previously had." Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 347–48.

427. This kind of already-not yet eschatology was discussed at length by Kuhn. The terms "already-not yet" or "realized eschatology" carry a lot of significance for New Testament scholarship an Christian theology that is problematic to overlay onto the Hodayot. My use of the term is only in the most basic sense of an eschatological scenario wherein the initial phase of the eschatological age has begun and the expectations for the end of the eschatological age are soon to be fulfilled. Kuhn's work explores some of the differences between already-not yet eschatology in the New Testament and at Qumran. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 34–38; 176–204.

are expected at the end of the age. Because non-eschatological and eschatological meditations

are closely related, they will be discussed together in this section

"Meditation"[428] is a term that reflects the process of learning and meditating on the

mysteries of God's plan in the Hodayot.[429] The language of "meditation" is useful because it is

endogenous to the Hodayot in the partially overlapping semantic ranges of שׂיח and הגי (שׂיח as

polel imperfects in 14:14, 17:7, and 19:8; see also ולהגות הגי יגון in 19:24–25)[430] to describe the

process of reflecting on דעת "knowledge" (1QHᵃ 9:37), ובגבורותי[כה "on Your mighty works"

(14:14), בנפלאותיכה "on your wonders" (17:7), and ובגבורתכה on "your strength" (19:8). For

example:

---

428. Erhard Gerstenberger identified two kinds of meditations in the book of Psalms: 1) meditations "upon the supplicant's own state (cf. Pss 42:6, 12; 43:5)," and 2) "thoughts about the state of mankind and the world (cf. Psalms 39; 49; 90), which may well be called, in a broader sense, meditation." I am using the term "meditations" in the second sense, specifically with reference to God's deterministic plan for humankind and the world. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 1*, 252. This sense is somewhat different than Harkins's view that the Hodayot were intended to produce an intense arousal of strong emotions in the audience as they meditated on the imagery of the psalms. According to her study, meditative reading was also an exegetical process that produced new psalms that arouse similar emotions. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens*, 270, see especially Chapter 2, "The Imaginal Body as an Affective Script for Transformation," 69–113.

429. Meditation is also an essential part of sectarian education. In 1QSa 1:6–7, it is mandated that "From [early ch]ildhood each boy is to be instructed in the Book of Meditation" (See also CD 13:2–3; 14:6–8). We might regard the Book of Hagu as a composition that could contain meditations similar to what is found in the Hodayot where meditation is mobilized as praise. It would, however, be too presumptuous to suggest that the Book of Hagu and the Hodayot are one and the same since we know so little about the former. If the book of Hagu and the חזון ההגוי לספר זכרון ההגוי לספר חזון זכרון "vision of the meditation of the book of memorial" in 4Q417 1 i 16 are similar, then it is possible that it addresses the topic of God's plan for the elect like the meditations in the Hodayot. For a detailed discussion of the overlapping deterministic theological conceptions in 4QInstruction and the Hodayot tradition, see Matthew Goff, "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot," *Dead Sea DiscoveriesDSD* 11.3 (2004), especially 272. See further

430. In 1QHᵃ 19:24–25 the speaker recounts how he is "moaning the meditation of grief" (author's translation) "until injustice has ceased, and th[ere is no longer pain] nor agony to make one weak" (Newsom's translation). At this point at the end of the eschatological age, the speaker will then "sing praises on the lyre of salvation" (19:25–26, see also Isa 12:1–6). Here the meditation of grief is the counterpart to singing praises on the lyre of salvation, exhibiting two phases of meditation on God's plan: meditation before salvation and praise after it.

ואני משאה למשאה וממכאוב לْנֹגע ומחבלים למשברים תשוחח נפשי בנפלאותיכה

But as for me, from disaster to desolation, and from pain to affliction, and from travails to breakers my soul meditates on your wonderful deeds (1QHª 17:6–7).

Meditation is not a private or internalized activity; rather, it involves the collective vocalization of God's deeds. In 1QHª 26:13, in a series of exhortations to praise God, the speaker instructs his audience to הֹשׁמֹ[יעו הגי רנה "Sound al[oud a joyful noise!" Here the act of meditation fits squarely in the sectarian discourses of praise that the audience is expected to vocalize at the end of the collection. To be clear, the passages describing the act of meditation are not meditations themselves; rather, they are found in other rhetorical moves. For example, the previous two examples come from an account of provisional assistance (1QHª 17:6–7) and an exhortation (1QHª 26:13). Thus, references to meditation are not a criterion for meditations, but they do indicate that meditating on God's deeds is a rhetorical move that was consciously made in sectarian contexts.

The end of the hypophora section in 1QHª 19:7 and the resolution in vv. 8–10 further clarify what the Hodayot psalmist means by meditation. The focus of this meditation is the "counsel of Your truth" (בסוד אמתכה) and "insight into Your wonderful works" (במעשי פלאכה). This divinely bestowed insight serves as a foundation for the praise that God puts on the lips of the speaker (19:7–8). As a result, the speaker resolves that:

I shall praise Your mercy	ואזמרה בחסדיכה
and consider Your strength all the day.	ובגבורתכה אשוחחה כול היום
I will bless Your name continually,	תמיד אברכה שמכה
and I will recount Your glory among humankind;	ואספרה כבודכה בתוך בני אדם
in the abundance of Your goodness my soul delights	וברוב טובכה תשתעשע נפשי
(1QHᵃ 19:8–10)	

This resolution puts ואספרה, אברכה, אשוחחה, ואזמרה in parallel, demonstrating a close

conceptual relationship between singing praise, meditating, blessing God's name, and recounting

God's kindness and strength. This discourse of meditation is a verbalization of one's insight into

the divine plan (note the language of mouth, tongue, and lips in 19:7–8).

The meditations in the Hodayot take up many of the same topics covered in the accounts

of distress, provisional assistance, and eschatological deliverance because they share an

emphasis on how the elect fit into the divine plan. Non-eschatological meditations tend to

discuss topics found in accounts of provisional assistance, while eschatological meditations tend

to discuss topics found in accounts of eschatological deliverance. The key difference is that in

both cases the meditations are broadly concerned with all of the elect, not with the particular

experiences of the speaker that are found in the accounts. Meditations also work with the

hypophora sections and confessions of knowledge to deliver the basic content of the speaker's

teaching and set up the context of the divine plan for the speaker's accounts of distress,

provisional assistance, and eschatological deliverance.

In most cases meditations constitute discrete rhetorical moves, but in one instance a meditation is embedded in a lengthy superscription in 1QHᵃ 20:7–14a. It has a concluding section that exhibits meditation language:

> It is a testimony of that which exists. This is what shall be, and there shall be no end. Apart from it nothing has existed nor shall yet be. Truly, the God of knowledge has established it, and there is none other with him. (1QHᵃ 20:12–14).

The absoluteness of God's orchestration of the cosmos and its synchronicity with sectarian praise is a common topic in meditations.[431]

II. *Number and Location of Meditations:* The following charts provide all of the non-eschatological and eschatological meditations in 1QHᵃ. Often non-eschatological meditations and eschatological meditations appear clustered together, but they also appear separately as independent rhetorical moves. There are non-eschatological meditations in eleven psalms, with additional meditations found in 1QHᵃ cols. 2–4 and 7:12–20.

Fig. 20: Non-Eschatological Meditations	Psalm
3:23–26, 29–31	Cols. 2–3
4:13–20, 32–33a	Col. 4
5:16b–18, 24–30a; 6:22b–23a, 38b–41	5:12–6:41
7:14b–17a	7:12–20
7:27b–29a, 37b–38a; 8:18–19, 20b–21, 26b, 27b	7:21–8:41
9:7b–19a, 29b–33a, 39b–41	9:1–10:4
11:11b–13a	10:33–11:19
12:13b–14a, 32–34a, 38b–39, 41	12:6–13:6
13:23b–24a; 14:13b–18a	13:22–15:8
16:3b–4	15:37–16:4
16:17; 17:14b–18a	16:5–19:5
19:10c–17, 32b–33a	19:6–20:6

---

431. 1QHᵃ 6:38–40; 9:10, 22; 11:37; 12:13–14; 15:35; 18:3–4. Similar statements also appear as responses in hypophora sections (18:10–12; 23:27; see discussion below).

| 20:12b–14a (embedded), 17b–19, 22–27a; 22:24–25 | 20:7–22:42 |
| 23:2–4, 33–36; 24:8–12a, 30b–37a | 23:1–25:33 |

Fig. 20

There are eschatological meditations in eleven psalms and in col. 4 and frg. A2.

Fig. 21: Eschatological Meditations	Psalm
4:22–23a, 25–26a, 39c–40	Col. 4
5:21b–23; 6:26b–27	5:12–6:41
7:22a, 29b–33, 38b; 8:16b–17	7:21–8:41
9:19b–22; 33b	9:1–10:4
11:14b–19	10:33–11:19
11:27–37	11:20–37
12:21–23; 13:3	12:6–13:6
14:18b–22a	13:22–15:8
15:32b–35a	15:29–36
19:29b–30a	19:6–20:6
20:20–21, 27b–30, 35–37; 21:13b–14a, 14c–16	20:7–22:42
23:30–32	23:1–25:33
Frg. A6 2	Unplaced

Fig. 21

The rhetorical move of meditations proposed here is not to be confused with Morawe's

reflections. Meditations are new to this study and pull together passages that Morawe had

distributed to several different formal structures.[432]

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Meditations:* Meditations are important rhetorical moves because

they present knowledge about the divine plan that the audience has to master to demonstrate their

---

432. The meditations consist of what Morawe classified as reflections (e.g. 4:13–20, 22–23, 25–26; 7:27–33; 20:17–27), hymnic sections (8:16–21; 9:3–22, 29–33; 15:32–35; 17:16–17), and didactic sections (5:25–30; 17:14–16, 17–18). Although I agree with Kuhn that Morawe's identification of these formal structures is in need of refinement, I do not follow Kuhn's solution of the formal structure *Elendsbetrachtungen/Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*. His soteriological confessions are renamed confessions of knowledge in my schema. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 28 n. 6, see also the discussion in this study beginning on p. 34.

insight and elect status. Furthermore, for the speaker's accounts of distress, provisional

assistance, and eschatological deliverance to be comprehensible and truly compelling, the

audience would need to know the details of God's plan. The speaker's bold claims to be an agent

of God and a catalyst for eschatological conflict would seem far fetched to an audience that did

not grasp the theological perspective that underpins the speaker's declarative praise. This

perspective is stated most clearly in the meditations.

In the non-eschatological meditations, the speaker emphasizes that God's plan has been

established from before creation:

> And these [[aspects of the divine plan]] are what [you] es[tablished from]ages [of old] to judge through them all your creatures, before you created them together with the host of your spirits and the congregation of [the heavenly beings together wi]th your holy firmament and all its hosts, together with the earth and all that springs from it, in the seas and in the deeps, [according to] all the plans for them for all the eternal epochs and the everlasting visitation. For you yourself established them from ages of old and the work [ ] among them in order that they might make known your glory in all your dominion, for you showed them what not *y*[ ]which was of old, and creating new things, destroying what was established of old, and [raising] up what will be forever. For you yourself have [established] them, and you yourself exist for everlasting ages. In the mysteries of your understanding [you] apportioned all these in order to make known your glory. (1QHᵃ 5:24–30).[433]

This quotation highlights one of the central pieces of the divine plan: that God has built into

creation certain mechanisms for determining the conduct of human and angelic beings in order to

judge them and to make known God's glory. The primary mechanism for this is God's allotment

---

433. Also 1QHᵃ 5:16–17; 8:26–27; 9:9–16; 12:38–39; 24:8–12. See also statements about the absoluteness of the divine plan in 1QHᵃ 6:38–40; 12:13–14; 18:3; 20:12–14.

of spirits to human beings: "For according to (their) spirits you cast (the lot) for them between good and evil, [and] you have determined [ ] *tm* their recompense" (1QHᵃ 6:22–23, see also 3:26; 9:10–11; 12:32–34). Human dispositions and their conduct are engineered through the allotment of spirits that in turn determines who will be given the insight to grasp God's plan and to offer a proper response.[434] As for the non-elect (those for whom God has cast a lot for evil), they "will not have the power to understand [your] glory [and to re]cite [your] wonder[ful] deeds" (1QHᵃ 7:14), but for the elect God gives them the power "[to] have insight into all your mysteries, and to answer" (20:23, 25). As a consequence, those who have the right allocation of spirits also have insight into the divine plan and the ability to respond appropriately with the discourse of the elect.

The eschatological meditations elaborate what is yet to come in the divine plan, namely, the judgment and destruction of the wicked, and the final deliverance of the elect from the wicked and from their own human condition:

> And you opened the ear of flesh and [you gave] to humanity [insight] into the plan of your mind, and you caused fles[h] to understand the appointed time. [The h]ost of heaven you will judge in heaven and the inhabitants of the earth upon the earth. And also [in Sheo]l below you will judge. Against the inhabitants of darkness you will bring suit, to declare inno[ce]nt the righteous and declare gu[ilty the wicked], for there is none ap[art from] you (1QHᵃ 25:12–15).[435]

---

434. See Berg's discussion of "moral" and "spiritual architecture" and the divine plan in Berg, "Religious Epistemology," 336.

435. References to judgment, especially of the wicked, are found throughout the eschatological meditations 4:22–23, 25; 5:21–23, 27; 7:37–38; 8:16–17; 9:19–20; 11:14–19; 11:27–37; 12:21; 13:3; 21:27–30, 35–37; 24:14–17, 21–27; 25:3–10.

This passage underscores how God's purpose in disclosing the divine plan to the elect is so that they would know about the end of the eschatological age and the total judgment that will ensue at every level of the cosmos. In other words, through the lens of the meditations, everything about the divine plan is oriented toward its conclusion. All internal and external conflicts will be resolved in the war of heaven and the final judgment. Knowledge of God's plan and its goal enables the speaker and the audience to reframe their current experiences of conflict as part of God's plan and the time leading up to the eschatological age.

The eschatological meditations also devote considerable attention to God's ultimate deliverance of the elect. There are numerous references to the relief of the distress of the elect: "you prepared him for the time of favor, to be attentive to your covenant and to walk in all (your ways,) and to advance (him) upon it in your abundant compassion, and to relieve all the distress of his soul for eternal salvation and everlasting peace, without lack" (1QHª 7:28–29).[436] Here the speaker anticipates a final resolution to distress that may foreshadow the accounts of distress to come in later columns of 1QHª.

The eschatological meditations also anticipate a solution to the sin, impurity, and fallibility of the human condition among the elect. The speaker explains how:

---

436. This passage could be mistaken as an account of eschatological deliverance because it seems to refer to a single person who could be read as a third person reference to the speaker. However, 1QHª 7:27–28 describes how God "created the righteous," who is later contrasted with "the wicked you created for the [pur]pose of your wrath" (1QHª 7:30). The contrast between the righteous and the wicked makes it clear that in this case the third person reference to the righteous reflects a generic reference to all the elect rather than a veiled reference to the speaker. See also 1QHª 7:29; 9:20–22; 12:22–23; 15:32–35; 23:30–32; 25:26–31; 26:20–26.

> "all the children of your truth you bring before you in forgiveness to cleanse them from their transgressions through your great goodness, and through your overflowing compassion to station them before you for ever and ever. For you are the eternal God, and all your ways are established from age to age" (1QHᵃ 15:32–35).

The speaker anticipates a solution to human sin, impurity, and fallibility as one of the outcomes of God's plan. This passage demonstrates that the human condition is not some insuperable barrier; rather, God has planned to deal with these obstacles as a part of the divine plan. The response of the elect to this deliverance is that "For ever and ever" they "will bless you according to [their] insight, [and at all tim]es they will proclaim together with a joyous voice" (1QHᵃ 19:28–29).[437] The blessing of God "at all tim]es" indicates that all the elect are already blessing God for this final salvation, insofar as they grasp God's plan—that is, "according to [their] insight" (1QHᵃ 19:28).[438] Thus in the current era, the elect are in the process of being refined and examined as the speaker cultivates them into sectarians who are able to offer the response of the elect similar to his.

In sum, the meditations in the Hodayot communicate the theological worldview of the speaker to the audience. The meditations are crucial rhetorical moves because they give the fullest sense of the requisite knowledge that the elect must master in order to formulate their own praise. Furthermore, without a clear picture of this divine plan in mind, it would be difficult for

---

437. See also 1QHᵃ 4:39–40; 7:22; 9:33; 14:18–22.
438. See discussion of this jussive exhortation on p. 207.

the audience to grasp the speaker's claims to be a divine agent in spite of his persecution and

impurity or to understand how he can thank God for deliverance that he has not yet experienced.

3.3.5 Confessions of Knowledge

I. *Characteristics:* The confession of knowledge is my designation for Kuhn's soteriological

confessions.[439] Confessions of knowledge begin with one of two standard formulae: 1) ואני ידעתי

כי or 2) ואדעה כי, and describe what the speaker knows about God or God's plan.[440] This

rhetorical move is primarily defined by the use of the formulae because the similar topics and

language are used in meditations, answers in hypophora sections (discussed below), and accounts

of provisional assistance and eschatological deliverance. In 1QHᵃ 4:33–34, there is a slight

divergence from the standard formula: ואני הוֹבינותי כי את אשר בחרֹתֹה הֹ[כינותה] דרכו "As for me, I

understand that (for) the one whom you have chosen [you determi]ne his way" (1QHᵃ 4:33).

Here the speaker uses ואני הוֹבינותי כי "I understand that" instead of ואני ידעתי כי. The use of a

different root may reflect a nuancing of the rhetorical move in this instance, but it is similar

enough to be included among the other more conventional confessions of knowledge.

II. *Number and Location of Confessions of Knowledge:* There are nine psalms with confessions

of knowledge, with two additional examples in col. 4 and frg. A8 2.

---

439. See the discussion of Kuhn's formal structures on p. 34. Rony Kozman refers to this as an "epistemic formula." Rony Kozman, "Ezekiel's Promised Spirit as Adam's Revelatory Spirit in the Hodayot," *DSD* 26.1 (2019), 33–34.

440. Kozman proposes that there is a subgroup of confessions of knowledge with special significance with respect to the Maskil (1QHᵃ 5:35–36; 20:14–15; 21:34). This class includes the phrase ברוח "by your spirit" that Kozman argues is inspired by language from Ezekiel 36:26–27; 37:5–6, 14. Furthermore, he argues that the use of this formula suggests a broader theological inspiration by Ezek 36:16–37:14. Kozman, "Ezekiel's Promised Spirit," 55–56.

Fig. 22: Confessions of Knowledge	Psalm
4:33b–34a	Col. 4
5:35b–38; 6:23b–24a	5:12–6:41
7:25b–27a, 35b–37a, 38c–39; 8:22–23a, 28a, 29b, 34b–36a	7:21–8:41
11:6b	10:33–11:19
11:21b–22a	11:20–37
12:31b	12:6–13:6
14:9–10a	13:22–15:8
17:14a	16:5–19:5
19:10b, 20b–21	19:6–20:6
21:7b (embedded into hypophora section), 34; 22:13b–14a; 24:29b–30a	20:7–22:42
Frg. A8 2	Frg. A8

Fig. 22

Confessions of knowledge are what Kuhn called *soteriologischen Bekenntnislieder* "soteriological confessions."[441] Kuhn's term is too narrow and potentially misleading because it implies that the passages classified as soteriological confessions are concerned with salvation and the confession of guilt. I use the term "confessions of knowledge" to differentiate the rhetorical move from confessions of guilt and to expand the scope of the rhetorical move beyond soteriology. As a formal structure, it has been viewed as such a strong marker of the Community Hymns that it was considered a secondary addition to a Teacher Hymn when it was found in 1QH^a 12:31.[442] Confessions of knowledge were not common rhetorical moves in the Hebrew Bible, though there are a few instances that roughly approximate them.[443] The closest example is

---

441. See discussion of Kuhn's soteriological confessions on pg. 34.

442. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 54–55; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23.

443. A number of authors employ something like a confession of knowledge; however, they seem to play with it, subverting it to make their respective theological points about God's justice, salvation, and deliverance: Jon 4:2, Job 9:2, 10:13, especially 42:2–3; Qoh 3:12–15. There are two cases where the confession of knowledge formula occurs but the speaker is confessing guilt rather than knowledge (Jer 10:23 and Ps 119:75).

Jeremiah 10:23: יָדַעְתִּי יְהוָה כִּי לֹא לָאָדָם דַּרְכּוֹ לֹא-לְאִישׁ הֹלֵךְ וְהָכִין אֶת-צַעֲדוֹ "I know, O Lord, that the way of human beings is not in their control, that mortals as they walk cannot direct their steps." This passage would be at home in the psalms of the Hodayot because it points to God's sovereignty over human conduct.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Confessions of Knowledge:* As rhetorical moves, confessions of knowledge accomplish three things for the speaker: 1) they underscore key aspects of the divine plan for the audience, 2) they emphasize that the speaker possesses keen insight into the divine plan, and 3) they model the confession of knowledge as a rhetorical move for the audience to emulate.

The primary aspect of the divine plan highlighted in the confessions of knowledge is how God enables the elect to repent, be forgiven, and walk on the righteous path. For example, the speaker knows that "you are a God]... who forgives transgression and unfaithful[ness], moved to pity concerning a[ll the iniquity of those who love] you and keep [your] commandments, [those] who have returned to you in steadfastness and (with) a perfect heart" (1QHª 8:34b–35).[444] The speaker's transgression does not disqualify him from serving as God's agent in the divine plan because the elect have the God-given capacity to repent and return to God with "a perfect heart." This is not to say that the speaker envisions the radical freewill of a person to repent on his or her own. Elsewhere in the confessions of knowledge, the speaker confesses that:

---

444. See also 1QHª 4:33–34; 7:38b–39; 8:22–23, 28; 14:9–10a.

"it is not through the power of flesh [that] an individual [may perfect] his way, nor is a person able to direct his steps. And I know that in your hand is the inclination of every spirit, [and all] its [activi]ty you determined before you created it. How could anyone change your words?" (1QHᵃ 7:25–27).[445]

In other words, the confessions of knowledge attribute even the impulse to repent to God's plan.

I would argue that the speaker's assertion that he "knows" about various facets of God's plan is an implicit a claim to election. The speaker's contention throughout the Hodayot tradition is that God only gives insight into the divine plan to the elect. The explicit connection between the confessions of knowledge and the insight into God's plan is made in 1QHᵃ 5:35–37: "And I, your servant, know by means of the spirit that you have placed in me [ ] and all your deeds are righteousness. And your word will not turn back. And all your ages are appoin[ted] l[ar]ranged with respect to their affairs." Although the passage is broken in several places, there is a continuity of thought from the speaker's claim to know by the spirit that God has given to him to a discussion of God's plan with references to appointed ages and arrangement of some aspects of creation. By emphatically claiming to know about the divine plan the speaker makes an implicit yet strong claim to elect status.[446]

If the confessions of knowledge are used by the speaker to assert his own election and special insight, it is possible that his audience would also adopt such a rhetorical move to do the same. The speaker's frequent use of this rhetorical move throughout the 1QHᵃ arrangement of

---

445. See also 1QHᵃ 7:38–39; 8:22–23; 12:31b.
446. See discussion of the "social power" of esoteric knowledge in sectarian contexts in Matthew Goff, "A Blessed Rage for Order: Apocalypticism, Esoteric Revelation, and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge in the Hellenistic Age," *HeBAI* 5.3 (2016), 203.

psalms would instill in the audience a sense of how to use confessions of knowledge to assert

their election by expressing their insight into the divine plan. Confessions of knowledge may

also be used to signal genuine repentance that would require the speaker to acknowledge that

even the urge to repent comes from God rather than something that the penitent has determined

to do independently.

3.3.6 Hypophora Sections

I. *Characteristics:* What are usually described as rhetorical questions in the Hodayot, I am

designating as "hypophora sections." A rhetorical question is a fairly common rhetorical move

(or more plainly, a rhetorical device) consisting of questions that require no answer because the

audience already knows it or can easily infer it from the question. In other words, rhetorical

questions make a point without the speaker having to make an explicit assertion, and they give

the impression that the speaker's point is common knowledge.

The questions in the Hodayot do not fit the profile of a rhetorical question. The defining

feature of a rhetorical question is that it stands on its own without any necessity for or

expectation of an answer. In the majority of cases in the Hodayot, however, the so-called

rhetorical questions appear to be answered. I would argue that these questions and their answers

are better classified as a rhetorical move called "hypophora" ὑποφορά by classical and modern

rhetoricians (also called anthypophora or antiphora). Hypophora is related to the rhetorical

question in that it poses a question that has a rhetorical effect; however, in a hypophora the

speaker provides the response.[447] Divorcing the questions and answers in the psalms misses the full rhetorical effect of some of the most powerful statements in the Hodayot. I refer to occurrences of hypophora in the Hodayot as "hypophora sections" because they sometimes appear accumulated in groups of questions whose rhetorical objectives might be obscured if they were teased apart and dealt with separately.

In classical settings, hypophora was employed to change or modify the views of audiences. Authors and rhetors used hypophora to anticipate their audience's objections or concerns by first raising them and then dispatching them with a response. The hypophora technique can also be used to disrupt the audience's assumptions about a topic in order to reshape their views. This device can be used didactically to instruct the audience by raising questions about concepts to clarify them or for orations in juridicial contexts. Hypophora is used in a similar way in the Hodayot to shape the perspective of the audience (see section III).

If we employ Swales's move-step analysis (see p. 104), the main characteristics of a hypophora section can be divided into two basic steps: 1) the posing of a question and 2) its answer by the speaker.[448] However, where there is a cluster of questions and responses, matching the answers to the questions can be challenging because the sequence of the hypophora section is

---

447. [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 4.23.33–25.34. This text was misattributed to Cicero in antiquity and the author is unknown. T. E. Page et al., "Introduction," in *Rhet. Her*, xiv. Quintilian discusses various rhetorical uses of questions, including answering one's own question, though he does not use the specific term hypophora: "Moreover, to question yourself and then to answer yourself can produce variety that is not unattractive. Thus Cicero in *Pro Ligario*: "In whose presence am I saying this? In the presence of the man who, although he knew this, restored me to my country before he even saw me.'" Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 9.2.14–15.

448. See discussion of move-step analysis on p. 104.

very flexible in the Hodayot. Answers can even appear before questions—a counterintuitive

sequence for modern readers. In two cases questions are answered by an adjacent rhetorical

move (1QHª 7:27; 15:35b–36, see fig. 23). The topics addressed in hypophora sections overlap

substantially with the topics of the speaker's accounts, meditations, or confessions of knowledge,

to an extent that the answers of hypophora sections are indistinguishable without the

accompanying questions.

II. *Number and Location of Hypophora Sections:* There are eleven psalms that contain

hypophora sections, with two additional examples in col. 2 and 7:12–20.

Hypophora Sections	Psalm
2:26–31	Cols. 1–3
5:30b–35a	5:12–6:41
7:13b–14a, 27b (answered in CoK in 25b–27a)	7:12–20
7:34–35a; 8:12–14a	7:21–8:41
9:25b–29	9:1–10:4
11:24b–26	11:20–37
12:30b–31a	12:6–13:6
15:31–32a, 35b–36 (answered in APA in 29b–30)	15:29–36
18:5b–14	16:5–19:5
19:6c–8a, 27b	19:6–20:6
20:30b–39; 21:4–10a, 11b–12a, 24b–27a, 31–33; 22:29b–30	20:7–22:42
23:24b–25a, 27b	23:1–25:33
26:4b–7a, 35–37a	25:34–27:3

Fig. 23

Morawe considered rhetorical questions to be part of the "misery motif" that is closely connected

to his hymnic sections (distinct from my hymnic sections).[449] Kuhn considered rhetorical

questions to be one of the distinguishing characteristics of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and the

---

449. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 77, 102–103.

Elendsbetrachtungen.[450] The identification of hypophora sections largely coincides with the rhetorical questions found by Morawe and Kuhn, except that the delimitation of hypophora sections includes the answer and treats the rhetorical move as a separately, whereas Morawe and Kuhn considered it one aspect of another formal structure or motif.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Hypophora Sections:* As rhetorical moves, hypophora sections are similar in function to confessions of knowledge in that they underscore an aspect of the divine plan as especially significant and seek to focus the audience's attention on it. However, unlike the confessions of knowledge, the emphasis is not on the speaker's knowledge or an implicit claim to election. Rather, the emphasis is on the audience's knowledge that is being prompted and shaped with hypophoric questions. By employing hypophora, the speaker induces his audience 1) to call to mind the proper response immediately after, or 2) to let the audience recall the answer that had just been supplied earlier in the psalm. In either case, the hypophora shapes the theological perspectives of that audience by "filling in the blank" for them. This rhetorical move is more powerful as a didactic strategy than a rhetorical question because it scripts the audience's understanding of what the common sense response should be rather than relying on their current knowledge. Used in this way, hypophora operates in the epideictic mode of rhetoric (promoting or educating about community values) rather than the deliberative (juridical/ political).[451]

---

450. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 29.
451. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 51–54.

Hypophora sections often address the problem of the sin, impurity, and moral weakness of the elect, a topic of concern in the speaker's accounts of distress. While it is fairly simple to imagine how God will deal with sources of distress like enemies and defectors (eschatological judgment), the intractable problems, limitations, and weaknesses of human beings do not have simple theological solutions. As a didactic rhetorical move, a hypophora section can convey complex theological solutions to the audience by raising the theological crux and scripting the proper sectarian answer.

The hypophora sections raise three interrelated kinds of questions: 1) questions about the human condition,[452] 2) questions about the incomparability of the elect to God or to the angels,[453] and 3) questions about who can offer a response of praise to God.[454] Each of these kinds of questions point to a common recognition that humans have no standing before God's judgment or grounds for praising God on their own. As Nicholas Meyer explains: "the psalmists find themselves continually dragged down by the earthly body and its defilements. Like death and decay, even the occasional taint of ritual defilement is ultimately irreconcilable with eternal life in a heavenly liturgy."[455] One of the most elaborate examples of a hypophora section on the

---

452. 1QHᵃ 5:30b–33a; 9:25b–29; 11:24b–26; 12:30b–31a; 18:5b–14; 19:6c–9a; 20:30b–39; 21:4–10a, 11b–12a, 24b–27a, 31–33; 22:29b–30; 23:24b–25a, 27b.

453. 1QHᵃ 7:27b; 8:12–14a; 15:31–32a, 35b–36; 26:4b–7a.

454. 1QHᵃ 7:13b–14a; 19:27b; 26:35–37a.

455. Nicholas A. Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul*, NovTSup 168 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 58.

human condition is one offered by the Maskil in 1QHᵃ 20:30–39. The hypophora is preceded by

an account of provisional assistance in 1QHᵃ 20:27–29:

> As for me, from dust [you] took [me, and from clay] I was [sh]aped as a source of
> pollution and shameful dishonor, a heap of dust and a thing kneaded [with water,
> a council of magg]ots, a dwelling of darkness.

This account of provisional assistance describes God's election as a messy process of first

shaping the Maskil like a chunk of clay, kneading him with water into more flexible and usable

clay, and hand-building him into a ceramic vessel "as a source of pollution and shameful

dishonour" (1QHᵃ 20:28).[456] Meyer explains that the Maskil "is painfully aware that none of this

[possession of wondrous secret counsel] can be attributed to his own merit nor is it even

compatible with what he knows of his humanity as such."[457] As a consequence, the Maskil is

acknowledging possible objections to his claims of election and secret knowledge by admitting

that God has designed and formed him as an impure creature.

Then the Maskil transitions from a description of his creation as an impure vessel to the

time of judgment: "And there is a return to dust (תשובת עפר) for the vessel of clay at the time of

[your] anger [ ]dust returns to that from which it was taken." (20:29–30). Meyer has highlighted

how this draws on the image of Adam and his return to dust. I would suggest that it could also be

translated as an "answer of dust"—that is, a response that the Maskil will give at the time of

judgment.[458]

---

456. See Meyer's discussion of the *adam*-of-dust motif in this passage Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory*, 48–49.

457. Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory*, 60. See also Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 261–63.

The term תשובה points to the questions in the hypophora section:

> What can dust and ashes reply (ומה ישיב עפר ואֵֹפֶֿר) [concerning your judgment? And ho]w can it understand its [d]eeds? How can it stand before the one who reproves it? And [ ]holiness [ ] eternal and a pool of glory and a fountain of knowledge and [wond]rous power. They are not [abl]e to recount all your glory or to stand fast before your anger. There is none who can reply to your rebuke (ואין להשיב דֵֹבֶֿר על בוכחתכה). Truly, you are just, and there is none corresponding to you. What, then, is he who returns to his dust? As for me, I remain silent. What could I say concerning this? According to my knowledge I have spoken, a thing kneaded together, a vessel of clay. What can I say unless you open my mouth? How can I understand unless you give me insight? What can I s[peak] unless you reveal it to my mind? How should I walk the straight way unless you establ[ish my st]ep? [How shall] [my] step stand [without (your) making it] firm in strength? How shall I raise myself up [unless] and all [ ] my step with[out]...” (1QHᵃ 20:30–39).

The first question contextualizes the תשובת עפר as a response that the Maskil will give at the time of judgment and signals that the hypophora section is dedicated to this question of how the Maskil's status as an impure creature does not undermine his elect status.

Through the rhetorical technique of accumulation, the Maskil incorporates related questions of how he can understand or stand in the face of judgment.[459] The Maskil answers his questions by asserting that human beings "are not [abl]e to recount all your glory or to stand fast before your anger," emphasizing that only God is just (1QHᵃ 20:34).[460] This answer is

---

458. See Meyer's discussion in Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory*, 37–46, 200–1, especially 43. This may be a wordplay that is intended to juxtapose the speaker's human weakness over and against what God enables him to do by virtue of his election.

459. Quintilian includes accumulation as one of "the four principal methods of amplification" that uses the "piling up of words" to amplify an important concept. He uses a series of overlapping questions as his example: "What was that sword of yours doing, Tubero, the sword you drew on the field of Pharsalus? Against whose body did you aim its point? What meant those arms you bore? Whither were your thoughts, your eyes, your hand, your fiery courage directed on that day? What passion, what desires were yours?" Thus he envisioned the piling up of questions as an primary form of accumulation to amplify a point. Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 8.4.3, 26–27.

personalized when the Maskil indicates that "As for me, I remain silent" (1QHᵃ 20:35), implying

that he has no reply and is unable to stand up for himself before God's judgment.

At this point, the hypophora section elaborates how it is possible for the Maskil to offer a

reply with God's assistance. A series of "unless" clauses (כיא אם) incorporate the answers into

the passage: "What can I say unless (כיא אם) you open my mouth? How can I understand unless

(כיא אם) you give me insight? What can I s[peak] unless (כיא אם) you reveal it to my mind? How

should I walk the straight way unless (כיא אם) you establ[ish my st]ep?" (1QHᵃ 20:35–37). These

clauses answer the original question of what "dust and ashes" can reply concerning God's

judgment. In each case, God enables the Maskil to perceive and do what ordinary mortals are

incapable of doing by their own effort. That is to say, the Maskil is able to stand and respond to

God's judgment because of God's special intervention on behalf of the elect.

Some of the hypophora sections emphasize how God's purpose in deliberately forming

the elect as imperfect vessels is to demonstrate God's glory. In 1QHᵃ 18:12–14, the answer to the

hypophora is provided before the question: "There is none beside you in strength, none

comparable to your glory, and for your strength there is no price" (18:12). With the answer just

---

460. The expressing of God's incomparability because of God's righteousness falls under what Von Rad calls *Gerichtsdoxologie*, based on Horst's concept of or "hymnic refrains which constitute a recognition of the justice of God in punishment of sin." Friedrich Horst, "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch," *ZAW* 47 (1929), 45–54; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology,* trans. D.M.G. Stalker (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 1:357–59; *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, TB 48 (München: C. Kaiser, 1973), 245–54. See also Esther G. Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation in Sectarian Religious Poetry," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 55; Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 55; Rolf Knierim, "The Vocation of Isaiah," *VT* 18 (1968), 56.

provided, the audience is primed to answer the question that follows: "Who among all your

wondrous great creatures can retain the strength to stand before your glory? And what, then, is he

who returns to his dust that he could summon such strength?" (18:12–14). The inability to stand

before God or to walk on the righteous path without God's special assistance has the principal

objective of demonstrating the glory of God.

If there is one common thread that runs throughout almost every column of 1QH[a], it is the

glory of God, and the role of the elect in understanding, recounting, and proclaiming that glory.[461]

God's glory is offered as the rationale for creating flawed human beings in the hypophora section

in 1QH[a] 20:30–39 (see also 1QH[a] 18:5–14; 19:6–9; 21:4–10, 25–27). I take this to mean that

God's glory is powerfully demonstrated by the feat of coaxing enlightened praise from impure

vessels like the speaker and his audience. This is the raison d'être for the elect in the Hodayot

tradition.

In sum, as a rhetorical move, the hypophora sections answer the question of how human

beings, with all of their inadequacies and shortcomings, can be counted as the elect who will be

---

461. 1QH[a] 5:19, 22–24, 27–30; 7:14, 32–34; 8:26–27; 9:11–12, 31–33; 11:4–5; 12:28–30; 13:22–23; 14:11–17; 15:16–18, 26–27; 16:3–7; 17:16–18, 23–28; 18:11–14, 22–25; 19:6–16, 27–30; 20:5–6, 25–39; 21:4–11; 22:36–38; 23:2, 7–11, 23–25, 27, 34–38; 25:10–13; 26:9–10, 29–30, 32–34; 28:11–14; frg. A7 1–A8 2. See also the לך אתה הצדק section (1QH[a] 4:32–35) that does not mention God's glory, but demonstrates the same rationale that God's plan is for the benefit of God. For a further discussion of this formula as an expression of *Gerichtsdoxologie* in other literature, see Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution*, EJL 13 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 156; Esther G. Chazon, "The 'Words of the Luminaries' and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times," in *Seeking the Favor of God: Volume 2*, eds. Mark J. Boda, Daniel F. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, EJL 22 (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 2:180 n. 9; Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation," 55–67, especially 58–60, where she discussed the resemblance of the formula with 1QH[a] 8:27; 4Q504 19:4–5, frg. 1–2 vi 3–4; Dan 9:7; and Jer 14:22. These references span different kinds of rhetorical moves, but I have listed them here to demonstrate the ubiquity of God's glory as the primary objective of the divine plan.

able to stand before God at the end of the eschatological age and give a response of praise that

only the elect can give. Part of that response involves acknowledging that an elect person's

understanding of the divine plan and their ability to repent and praise God are attributable solely

to God and are part of the divine plan to demonstrate God's glory through the elect.

3.3.7 Resolutions

I. *Characteristics:* Resolutions are rhetorical moves in which the speaker formally expresses

what he intends to do, usually prompted by other rhetorical moves that describe what God has

done or will do. Resolutions typically employ first person singular prefix conjugation verbs. In

most cases the resolutions are positive, though in two cases they are negated: ולא אביא בסוד

מֹתך]אֹ (1QHᵃ 6:32); ואחז׳קה (7:24). In one highly exceptional case a resolution is made in first

person plural: נספרהֹ (1QHᵃ 7:18). I have also included 1QHᵃ 17:41, שׂכלו יהלל[שׂמכה ולפיֹן] "and

according to[his insight he will praise[your name," in the resolutions because the speaker may

be referring to himself in the third person, perhaps as God's "servant," in one of the lacunae.

With the exception of the אודך introductions, the resolutions account for the vast majority of first

person prefix conjugation verbs in the Hodayot tradition. It should also be noted that resolutions

might be functioning as cohortatives in some cases.[462]

_____

462. See discussion on p. 194. For additional discussion of the "cohortative," see Steven E. Fassberg, "The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 102; Takamitsu Muraoka, "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 196–98, 212; Michael P. O'Connor and Bruce K. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 544, 576–77.

II. *Number and Location of Resolutions:* There are resolutions in eleven psalms, with two additional resolutions appearing cols. 2–3 and one in frg. A2 1.

Resolutions	Psalm
2:15; 3:28a	Cols. 1–3
4:29c–31a, 39b	4:?–4:40
6:29b–32a (part of recollection), 32b–36a, 37b	5:12–6:41
7:18b–19a	7:12–20
7:23b, 24b–25a; 8:23b–25	7:21–8:41
9:35b–36a	9:1–10:4
10:32	10:22–32
12:7a, 40	12:6–13:6
16:1a	15:37–16:4
17:8b–9a, 41; 18:22–24a	16:5–19:5
19:8b–10a, 18a, 25a–27c (eschatological like Isaiah 12), 34b; 20:5b–6	19:6–20:6
21:18; 22:36	20:7–22:42
25:33b	23:1–25:33
25:36–37	25:34–27:3
Frg. A2 1	Unplaced Fragments

Fig. 24

Resolutions were called *Gelübde* or "vows" by Morawe, reflecting the concept of the vows that one would pledge to make in a psalm of individual complaint if God answered the prayer. Vows also appear in psalms of individual thanksgiving to express what the speaker is about to do within the context of תודה sacrifice. In the Hodayot, however, Schuller has argued that there is not "any reference to a thanksgiving vow or sacrifice," which should cause us to rethink Morawe's nomenclature for these so-called "vow" passages.[463] Indeed, the statements of what the speaker intends to do are not explicitly coordinated with sacrifice, so to avoid potential

---

463. Eileen M. Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls & Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 38–39.

confusion I am using the term "resolutions," to describe actions that the speaker resolves to carry out, regardless of whether sacrifice is in view.[464]

Morawe described vows as *Gattung* elements that are usually positioned at the end of the main body of the *Danklieder*.[465] Although he associated vows with the *Danklieder*, he regarded them as too infrequent to be regular formal structures of the *Gattung*.[466] I have included all of the eight instances of Morawe's vows in the list of resolutions (1QHª 6:29b–33, 37b–38a; 10:32; 12:40; 19:8–10a, 25b–26; 20:6b–14a). One significant modification of Morawe's vows is 1QHª 20:7–14a. This passage is actually a superscription for the Maskil that was not recognized until Puech's reconstruction was published in 1988.[467]

I have included a number of resolutions that Morawe did not include in his survey of formal structures.[468] In part the discrepancy is the result of Morawe's presupposition that vows are particular to the *Danklieder*. Many of the additional resolutions that I have identified appear in Morawe's *hymnischen Bekenntnislieder*. Still more resolutions appear in parts of the scroll that were not covered in Morawe's study (cols. 1–3; 21–28). The remainder are classified among Morawe's other *Gattung* elements: reflections (4:39; 7:18b–19a, 24b–25a; 8:28b–29a), didactic

---

464. *Gelübde* is translated "vow" in Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, e.g. 180–81, 184–86, 190–94, 197–203, 209, 213–15, 250; Westermann consistently calls the vow a "vow of praise" or "*Lobgelübde*" to avoid references to thanksgiving and to emphasize the fundamental character of the psalms as praise. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, e.g. 30, 46, 106, 117. See also Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 1*, 257; Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, 537–38.

465. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 63, 65–66.

466. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 63.

467. Puech, "Quelques aspects," 52–3. See pg. 115.

468. 1QHª 2:15; 3:28a; 4:29c–31a, 39b; 7:18b–19a, 24b–25a; 8:23b–25, 28b–29a; 9:35b–36a; 12:7a; 16:1a; 17:8b–9a, 41; 18:22–24a; 19:18a, 34b; 20:5b–6; 21:18; 22:36; 25:33b, 36–37; Frg. A2 1.

sections (4:29c–32a; 19:34b), hymnic sections (8:23b–25 [part of a reflection embedded in a hymnic section]; 9:35b–36a) and an accounts of deliverance (17:8b–9a).

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Resolutions:* As a rhetorical move, resolutions communicate what the speaker intends to do either in the psalm, in subsequent psalms in the collection, in the immediate future, and/or at the end of the eschatological age. By expressing what the speaker himself will do in response to knowledge of the divine plan, he models how the rest of the elect should respond as well. The resolutions fall into several overlapping groups, such as 1) resolutions to rejoice, bless, or praise God (1QH^a 2:15; 20:5b–6; 21:18; 22:36; 25:33; 26:36–37), resolutions to respond to God by recounting God's wonders (4:29c–31; 6:34–36a; 7:18b–19a [communal]; 8:23a–25; 9:35–36b; 17:41; 18:22–24a; 19:9b–10a, 18a, 26–27a), resolutions to wait on God's kindness (1QH^a 18:22–24a; 19:34b; 22:36), and resolutions to stand firm and resist the wicked (1QH^a 7:24b–25a; 10:32; 12:40; 16:1; 17:8a–9a). There are additional resolutions that do not fit into larger groups, such as the resolution to walk continually (1QH^a 3:28b), to look to the covenant of Adam (4:39b), to seek God (12:6), love God forever (7:23b), and to appeal for mercy (frg. A2 1).

The speaker also resolves to associate with the elect according to their insight (1QH^a 6:39–30), not to take bribes (6:30–31), and not to let anyone into the council who turns away from the covenant (6:31–32). These statements may not be resolutions but perhaps part of the contents of the speaker's שבועה "oath" not to do anything evil in God's sight (1QH^a 6:28–29).[469]

After the *vacat* in 6:33, a more standard resolution begins that describes how the speaker will

"thank you, O Lord, in accordance with your great strength" (1QHᵃ 6:34–36a).[470]

3.3.8 Petitions

I. *Characteristics:* Petitions are a challenging rhetorical move to identify because volitional verb

forms can be ambiguous, especially in unpointed texts and in cases where context clues are

obscured by damage.[471] Furthermore, in some cases there are alternative readings of some of the

verbal forms. The potential instances of petitions in the Hodayot tradition take the form of

imperatives, negated prefix conjugation verbs, and in one case, the root חלה in a *piel* prefix

conjugation form that takes on the meaning "to entreat" with פנים as an object.[472] Although

petitions do not appear in the so-called Teacher Hymns, they implore God to do many of the

---

469. See the oath of initiates upon their entrance into the community in 1QS 5:7–20. They are to return to the law of Moses (1QS 5:8) and to separate from the men of iniquity (5:10). The resolution in 1QHᵃ 6:29–33 is compatible with the contents of the oath for initiates described in 1QS 5:7–20, especially the injunction to separate from men of iniquity.

470. As discussed above, this passage has been interpreted as an introductory formula; however, it lacks the conventionalized syntax of a כיא clause following the אודכה אדוני, which may indicate that it is not intended to be read as a introductory formula.

471. Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Between Bible and Mishnah (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), 160–61, 167–69, 172; Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology* SBLRBS 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 98–99. Counting petitions becomes more difficult if, as Hasselbalch argues, we take into account the potential for prefix conjugation verbs to have modal meanings that could have been meant as implicit directives in certain circumstances and contexts. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 117; cf. Ken M. Penner, "Verb Form Semantics in Qumran Hebrew Texts: Tense, Aspect, and Modality between the Bible and the Mishnah" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2006), 123–24 idem *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts*, SSN 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 111–13. A full treatment of this topic is not possible here, but it should be recognized that the question of identifying volitional and modal forms is a complex and ongoing discussion.

472. David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* ט–ז [Hebrew] DCH (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

things that God is described doing for the speaker in those psalms, suggesting a strong

correlation of petition and declarative praise in the Hodayot tradition.

II. *Number and Location of Petitions:* Approximately four psalms contain petitions (ten verbs,

some clustered together in sections), with additional petitions appearing in 1QH[a] col. 4.

Fig. 25: Petitions	Psalm
4:32b–33a [ופדה,[473] 35b–37 יו]חזק מתֹנ[474	4:?–4:40
8:29c–34a (see section III), 36b: vv. 29–31 ואחלה פניך; v. 33 אֹ[ו]בֹּיֹ[475 ואל ;v. 36 אל תשב and וא]ל תֹזֹנֹח	7:21–8:41
19:33b–34a שמח נפש עבדכה and וטהרני	19:6–20:6
22:37b וֹאֹל תעזובנו	20:7–22:42
23:10–11a תן משמר צדקכה 23:25; אל תשב ידכה	23:1–25:33

Fig. 25

This chart includes instances of petitions discussed by Schuller and Falk (see footnote for

omissions).[476]

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Petitions:* Petitions are small but powerful rhetorical moves in

which the speaker models the tricky sectarian discourse of supplication.[477] Falk describes one of

---

473. Carmignac and Puech reconstruct יפדה. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:393 n. 281.

474. Read as חזק by Licht and Puech. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 210; Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:393.

475. Reconstructed as י[היה by Licht, Dupont-Sommer, and Bardtke. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 205; Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, 95 n. 9; Bardtke, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung," 345 n. 137

476. Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," 39–41. Falk counts approximately fifteen petitions, including reconstructed examples and one hypothesized petition in the superscription of 1QH[a] 5:12–14. These are all worth considering, but for this analysis I am excluding the "cohortative" in 1QH[a] 4:29 since the 1cs prefix conjugation form is fairly ambiguous and a non-cohortative meaning seems just as likely given its similarity with resolutions elsewhere in the corpus. I am also excluding Falk's hypothetical petition (1QH[a] 5:12–14) and petitions with reconstructed verbs (עשה in 1QH[a] 4:32; "keep" [Falk provides no Hebrew reconstruction] 4:35). Even with these more tenuous petitions removed from consideration, there is still much uncertainty because of the ambiguity of the 2ms imperative form in unpointed texts, the non-cohortative use of the cohortative *he* in Qumran texts, and the potential for imperfect forms to be read as jussives when the roots are not III-ה, geminate, or biconsonantal verbal roots. Moreover, as Puech and Schuller have noted, the negated prefix conjugation forms in 1QH[a] 22:37 and 23:10 could be "taken as purpose clauses rather than as petitions." Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," 40; Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 139–48; Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 2:402. See also the discussion in Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:70, 115, 127–28.

the rhetorical dimensions of sectarian petitions when he observes that, "in confession and petition for forgiveness and spiritual strength, the psalmist [in 1QHᵃ col. 4] claims and realizes his standing among the elect."[478] In other words, petitions can function as implicit claims to election just as much as praise does because both kinds of sectarian discourse are grounded in insight that only the elect possess.

The entanglement of petition and praise in the Hodayot can be described in terms of Westermann's schema. As discussed in Chapter 2, Westermann argued that the biblical psalms are fundamentally defined by a spectrum of petition and praise."[479] This main spectrum intersects with the spectrum of descriptive and declarative praise. The intersection of these spectrums forms a triangular framework for conceiving of how petition and praise are interrelated in psalms like those of the Hodayot tradition.[480] When we encounter Hodayot psalms with petitions, they can be considered not just in terms of where they fall along the spectrum of descriptive and

---

477. There has been a sustained discussion about whether the sectarian worldview could accommodate petitions to God in view of the determinism expressed in some strains of sectarian literature. A full discussion is not possible here, but the question of how petition and praise interlock in the Hodayot tradition bears on this discussion. For discussions of petitions in the Hodayot see Russell Arnold, "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness," *JQR* 95.3 (2005), 509–29; Russell Arnold, "Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2*, eds. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, EJL 22 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 2:159–75; Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 136–59; Israel Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relation between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115.1 (1996), 17–30; Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," 29–45. More recently Dorothy Peters has raised a related question about lament in the Hodayot. Dorothy M. Peters, "'I Thank You, O Lord … in the Bereavement of My Soul': Lament Reshaped in a Thanksgiving Psalm (1QHᵃ 10:33–11:5)," in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter Flint*, eds. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, EJL 47 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 501–20.
478. Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 141.
479. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 33–35, 152–55.
480. Refer to the chart of Westermann's schema as a triangular plot on p. 81.

declarative praise, but also by where they fall on the spectrum of petition and praise. Insofar as

petitions can be identified, the psalms will also range toward the petition pole. It falls outside of

the scope of this study, but a fuller investigation of this dimension of the genre of the Hodayot

needs to be pursued after a complete survey of supplication in the Hodayot tradition. For now,

however, the short list of potential petitions outlined above permits us to make a few tentative

observations about how Hodayot psalms simultaneously engage in petition and praise.

The speaker's petitions and accounts of provisional assistance address overlapping topics.

Falk observes that petitions "directly correspond to things for which the psalmist has expressed

confidence and praise to God."[481] For example, in col. 4 the speaker petitions God to "ransom"

(1QH^a 4:32) and to "strengthen" him (4:35). These two petitions address the speaker's concerns

about the human condition with respect to sin and the inability to walk the righteous path—

assistance for which God is thanked elsewhere (e.g. ransom: 1QH^a 10:37; strengthening: 4:34;

9:34; 16:16). These topics are familiar from the accounts of provisional assistance, only here

divine assistance is *requested* rather than *recounted*. In some respects the juxtaposition of

accounts of provisional assistance and petitions reflects Westermann's concept of "heard

petitions" where petitions and declarative praise coexist.[482] Westermann, however, was referring

to petitions accented with declarative praise, reflecting the certainty of being heard, whereas in

---

481. Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 141. 1QH^a 4:29–31 correlates praise and supplication before the petitions in 4:35–37.

482. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 34, 79–80.

the Hodayot we have the opposite: declarative praise accented with petition, reflecting the

provisionality of the deliverance experienced so far.

The mirroring of topics in petitions and accounts of provisional assistance appears in

other petitions too. In a confession of knowledge in 1QH^a 8:29, the speaker asserts that he knows

"that no one can be righteous apart from you," and therefore he entreats God by "the spirit that

you have placed in me" בֿרוח אשר נתתֿהֿ בֿ֯י (1QH^a 8:29). This part of the petition reflects the

deterministic plan of God wherein God regulates human deeds by allocating the spirits that

decide a person's disposition toward good or evil.

The contents of the speaker's entreaty follow in a series of infinitive constructs. He asks

God to "make your kindness to your servant complete forever" להשלים חֿסֿדֿיך עם עבדֿךֿ לֿ[עוֹ]לֿם,

"cleansing me by your holy spirit" לטהרנֿי ברוח קודשך, "drawing me nearer by your good favor"

ולהגישני ברצונך כגדול חסדיך, "causing [my feet] to sta[nd in] the whole station of [your] good

fa[vor]" וֿלֿ[ה]עֿמֿ[יד פעמי ב]כֿוֹל מֿעֿמדֿ רצֿוֹ[נך], (1QH^a 8:29–31). This complex petition closes with

a final negative entreaty to "let there not c[o]me before him any affliction (that causes) stumbling

from the precepts of your covenant" ואל יבֿ[וֹ]אֿ לפניו כול נֿגֿע מכשול מחוקי בריתך (1QH^a 8:33). In

this case the speaker is petitioning God for the purification (e.g. 1QH^a 4:38, 9:34, 11:22), resolve

(12:37, 15:26–27, 17:28), and strength to hold fast to the covenant (10:30, 22:14–15) that are

also important facets of accounts of provisional assistance and are prerequisites for

eschatological praise with the angels.

The petitions in 1QHᵃ 19:33–34 also reflect the speaker's experiences of God's support in the present while awaiting eschatological deliverance. The speaker petitions God to "Gladden the soul of your servant through your truth, and purify me by your righteousness" שמח נפש עבדכה באמתכה וטהרני בצדקתכה (1QHᵃ 19:33–34). These petitions reflect the provisional assistance described in the form of gladdening and purification while the speaker awaits eschatological deliverance from internal and external sources of distress (1QHᵃ 17:13; 18:18 שעע+).[483]

1QHᵃ 22:37 is poorly preserved, but it possibly contains a negative petition not to "forsake" the speaker וֹאֹל תעזובנו. Elsewhere the speaker discusses how God has not abandoned him and has been like a parent to him, unlike his own parents (1QHᵃ 15:24–25; 17:34–36). These passages are found in accounts of provisional assistance (1QHᵃ 15:16b–28; 17:29c–36), further demonstrating Falk's point that petitions and accounts of provisional assistance are two sides of the same coin. Likewise, in 1QHᵃ 23:11 the speaker makes another negative petition, asking God not to "remove your hand" אל תשב ידכה. From the immediate context, it is clear that God's hand on the speaker is correlated with the speaker's ability to "hold fast to your covenant" (1QHᵃ 23:10).[484] As mentioned above, the speaker praises God for strengthening him to hold fast to the covenant in accounts of provisional assistance in 1QHᵃ 10:30, 22:14–15.

---

483. See previous paragraph for purification in accounts of provisional assistance.

484. The following passages in accounts of provisional assistance contain references to how God has supported the speaker with respect to the covenant: 1QHᵃ 10:30; 11:4; 12:2, 6; 15:11, 13, 22–23; 18:32; 21:10; 22:14–15.

In sum, there is a correspondence between the petitions and declarative praise, wherein petitions ask for the same kinds of assistance that the speaker claims he has already experienced and for which he is already praising God. As a consequence, the petitions underscore that the assistance that the elect have received so far is only provisional, since continued support is necessary to endure until God's eschatological deliverance is finally at hand. In other words, in the early stages of the eschatological age, petition and declarative praise are very closely interlocked because of the already-not yet character of the divine deliverance experienced so far by the elect. In this respect, Westermann's spectrum of petition and praise is well-suited to describe this dynamic wherever petition and praise occur together.

3.3.9 ברוך אתה אדוני *Subsection Formula*

I. *Characteristics:* As discussed in an earlier section, ברוך אתה אדוני introductory and subsection formula are structurally indistinguishable. Subsection formulae, however, can be identified with some confidence by clues from context and scribal formatting conventions. Context clues include the use of anaphoric demonstratives that link the subsection to the previous section, the appearance of ברוך אתה אדוני formula in a series of short sections introduced by ברוך אתה אדוני formulae. Scribe A's conventions for introductions and subsections can be used as well, though with caution. For more details, see section 3.3.4 on p. 128.

Subsections introduced by ברוך אתה אדוני can be divided into two groups: 1) very short sections with relatively simple combinations of rhetorical moves, and 2) lengthier sections with

more complex combinations of rhetorical moves. The lengthier sections begin with ברוך אתה

אדוני subsection introductions in 1QH[a] 6:19; 8:26; 17:38; 18:16–17, while shorter subsections

begin in 19:30, 32, 35–37, and 22:34.

II. *Number and Locations of the* ברוך אתה אדוני *Subsection Formula:* The ברוך אתה אדוני

subsection formula appears in eight places in five Hodayot psalms (see fig. 15 on p. 131):

Fig. 26: ברוך אתה אדוני Subsection Formulae	Psalm
6:19 (subsection)	5:12–6:41
8:26 (subsection)	7:21–8:41
17:38; 18:16–17 (subsections)	16:5–19:5
19:30, 32, 35–37 (subsections)	19:6–20:6
22:34 (subsection)	20:7–22:42

Fig. 26

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of the* ברוך אתה אדוני *Subsection Formulae:* There are two rhetorical

objectives: a liturgical objective of blessing God and a didactic objective of instructing the

audience in the sectarian discourse of blessing. The liturgical objective of this formula is to

initiate a shift in the performance of the psalm to the discourse of blessing God. ברוך אתה אדוני

subsection introductions can praise God descriptively by blessing God for God's attributes (1QH[a]

19:32), and God's plan (possibly 22:34). They also praise God declaratively for giving insight

into God's plan to the speaker (1QH[a] 6:19; 8:26; 19:30, possibly 17:38). They can even praise

God with a combination of descriptive and declarative praise (18:16–17; 19:35–37). In this

respect, the ברוך אתה אדוני formula is capable of expressing a wider range of praise than the

אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula because it is not constrained by the use of the כי subordinate

clause that sets up declarative praise. Instead they can employ אשר clauses, participles,

prepositional phrases, and non-verbal clauses that are flexible enough to permit both modes of praise.

There may have been an additional didactic communicative purpose of teaching the sectarian discourse of blessing God to the audience. I would suggest that the ברוך אתה אדוני formulae introducing longer sections model the sectarian discourse of blessing in its full complexity while the shorter sections offer easier templates or exemplars for an audience that is just learning this discourse and lack the speaker's mastery of it.

The ברוך אתה אדוני subsections in 1QHᵃ 6:19, 8:26, 17:38, and 18:16 might be regarded as too complex for an audience to imitate because of the number and variety of rhetorical moves. 1QHᵃ 6:19–41 has seven unique moves; 8:26–37 has six unique moves; and 17:38–19:5[485] has seven unique moves. Each of these sections repeats three of its rhetorical moves, adding another layer of complexity.[486] These lengthier subsection introductions, with the exception of 17:38, also happen to occur where the ברוך אתה אדוני formula is followed by an anaphoric demonstrative referring back to the content of the previous section.[487] The presence of demonstratives in these cases indicates that the subsections are most likely meant for the speaker alone since the antecedents are anchored in his earlier discourse, and this would result in an awkward or

---

485. 1QHᵃ 18:16 employs the demonstrative pronoun אלה that links it to 17:38–18:14, so the two subsections were probably performed together.

486. 1QHᵃ 17:38–19:5 repeats four moves if ברוך אתה is included.

487. As far as we know, 1QHᵃ 17:38 is not immediately followed by an anaphoric demonstrative, so it is not listed in this group; however, its similarities with 18:16 would justify including it among the lengthy sections intended solely for the speaker to recite. The formula appears at the poorly preserved bottom of col. 17, so an anaphoric demonstrative could have been used here as well but did not survive.

potentially confusing template for direct emulation by the audience. Therefore, I would suggest that the longer and more complex ברוך אתה אדוני subsections beginning in 1QHᵃ 6:19, 8:26, 17:38, and 18:16 are not templates for the audience—at least not for those who have not yet mastered the discursive art of elect speech well enough to perform very complex psalms with long ברוך אתה אדוני subsections.

The subset of three very short and simple sections following ברוך אתה אדוני subsection formulae in 19:30–20:6 and 23:34–37 might have lent themselves to emulation by a novice audience. 1QHᵃ 19:30b–31 has two unique moves, 19:32–35a has five, 19:35b–20:6 has three, and 23:34b–37b has four. These subsections do not repeat rhetorical moves, with the possible exception of 19:35b–20:6, which is interrupted by a large lacuna at the bottom of col. 19 and the top of col. 20. In these cases, the audience might be reasonably expected to bless God on the basis of these minimalistic ברוך אתה sections with some measure of success. At this stage in the performance of the 1QHᵃ arrangement of the collection, they would have been exposed to many lengthy blessings of the speaker. By the time they heard the short blessings in 19:30–20:6 and 22:34 they would have been prepared to bless God on the basis of the simplified blessings.

3.3.10 Exhortations

I. *Characteristics:* Exhortations are short rhetorical moves that are characterized by their use of imperative and jussive forms directed at the audience by the speaker. Because of the difficulty of discerning whether third person prefix conjugation verbs are jussives, more exhortations could

be added to this list from other rhetorical moves.[488] I only treat these verb forms as jussive where there is a compelling contextual reason for interpreting them as directives to the audience (1QH^a 9:37; 19:28–29a; 26:31aa). In 9:37 and 26:31aa, the prefix conjugation forms appear in the midst of imperative forms. The argument for 19:28–29a is also based on context, but I will reserve the discussion for section III below.

II. *Number and Location of Exhortations:* There are exhortations in three psalms, with perhaps a fourth in 4QH^a 8 i 13–21.

Fig. 27: Exhortations	Psalm
9:36b–39 [see p. 205]	9:1–10:4
ישמיעו, יברכוכה 19:28–29a	19:6–20:6
26:9b–19 [see p. 207], 26b וֹאֹמרֹ]ו השׁ[מֹ]יֹעו, 31aa יומרו 41b השמיעו ואמורו	25:34–27:3
4QH^a 8 i 13 [verb form not extant]	4QH^a 8 i 13–21

Fig. 27

Exhortations appear in three ways: together in sections (1QH^a 9:36b–39a; 26:9b–19), as introductions to individual hymnic sections (26:26b, 31aa, 41b), and in one case as a possible jussive exhortation that prefaces three short blessing subsections (19:28–29a). The text of several of the exhortations (1QH^a 9:36b–39a; 19:28–29a) has been available since *DSSHU* (1954); however, 19:28–29a has not been recognized as an exhortation.[489] The full extent of the exhortations in 1QH^a col. 26 and the text of a possible exhortation in 4QH^a 8 i 13 were published in 1993 by Schuller, greatly expanding our knowledge of exhortations in the Hodayot tradition.[490]

---

488. See note on pp. 194 and 195.
489. Morawe classified 1QH^a 19:28–29a as part of a hymnic section. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 73–74, 91.

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Exhortations:* Exhortations are relatively rare rhetorical moves in the psalms of the Hodayot tradition, but they play a disproportionately important role by giving an indication of what the audience is directed to do and what role they play over the course of the 1QH^a arrangement of the psalms collection. The exhortations define the role of the audience at three points, though in different ways. Whereas the exhortations in 1QH^a 9:36b–39a are didactic in character, the examples in 1QH^a 19:28–29a, 26:26b, 31aa, 41b; 4QH^a 8 i 13 are primarily liturgical because they direct the audience to bless or hymn God.

In the first set of surviving exhortations (1QH^a 9:36–39), the speaker allocates a passive role to the audience when he directs them to "Hear," "become firm in purpose," "become more discerning," "hold fast," "be patient," and "Do not reject righteous judgement[s."

> שמעו חכמים ושחי דֿעֿת וֿנֿמֿהרים יהיו ליצר סמוך] כל ישרי ד]רֿךֿ הוסיפו ערמה צדיקים
> השביתו עֿוֿלה וכול תמימי דרך הֿחזיק[ו   נד]כֿא עני האריכו אפים ואל תמאסוֿ במֿשֿפֿטֿ[י צדק
> Hear, O sages, and those who ponder knowledge. May those who are eager become firm in purpose. [All who are straight of wa]y become more discerning. O righteous ones, put an end to injustice. And all you whose way is perfect, hold fast [O you who are cru]shed by poverty, be patient. Do not reject [righteous] judgment[s. (1QH^a 9:36–39)

In other words, the audience is instructed to become a docile and teachable audience, absorbing and inculcating the speaker's teaching into their own worldview.[491]

---

490. Schuller, DJD 29:96–108 (especially 100–101), 158, 204–7; Eileen M. Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript : 4Q427 7 i + ii," *JBL* 112.4 (1993)," 605–28; see also Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 127–28; Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts," 147–50; Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:300–301.

491. Newsom explores how disciplinary institutions and practices have the "general aim of producing human beings who are both productive and docile." Perhaps we are seeing that here in the use of liturgical directions to the audience to become docile and receptive to the speaker's discourse. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 96.

Later in the 1QH^a arrangement of psalms, the audience is assigned a new role with a higher level of agency. In 1QH^a 19:28–29a, two possible jussive exhortations mark a decisive shift in the agency of the audience away from the passive role that they were directed to play in 1QH^a 9:36b–39a. The speaker says:

לעולם ועד יברכוכה כפי שכֿלֿ]ם
ובכול קצ]ים ישמיעו יחד בקול רנה

> For ever and ever let them bless you according to [their] insight,
> [and at all tim]es let them proclaim together with a joyous voice (1QH^a 19:28b–19a).[492]

Although the prefix conjugation verbs יברכוכה and ישמיעו could be read as descriptions of what the elect do habitually, in the context of the three short blessings that follow (1QH^a 19:30b–20:6), these verbs are more plausibly be read as directions to the audience to bless God in the immediate context of the psalm.

These exhortations fulfill an expectation set in col. 9, just before the audience was directed to become receptive listeners. The speaker anticipates that the mouths of "all who know you" will "[[a]]ccording to their insight, bless you for everlasting ages" (1QH^a 9:33). In this passage the same form, יברכוכה, is used. In this instance, however, I would suggest that it is not a jussive; rather, it foreshadows the direction to bless in 19:28–29a.[493] Immediately after this foreshadowing, the speaker issues his own resolution that he will "recit[e continually] in their midst the judgments which have afflicted me and to humankind all your wonders by which you

---

492. The translation is adapted from Newsom's translation in Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:248.
493. Penner tags the mood of this verb as "absolute future." Ken M. Penner. "Database for Verbs in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Brill*, https://figshare.com/articles/Database_for_Verbs_in_the_Dead_Sea_Scrolls/1434634.

have shown yourself strong through [me" (1QHᵃ 9:35–36)—his signal that his declarative praise

is about to begin. Thus, the point of the יברכוכה in col. 9 is not to direct the audience to bless at

that moment, but to raise their expectations that they will soon participate in the speaker's

discourse of blessing at a later point in the performance—namely in col. 19.

After the audience has absorbed the speaker's words in the intervening columns, the

speaker transforms their role by repeating יברכוכה in 1QHᵃ 19:28–29a, only this time as a jussive

direction to bless, followed by three short exemplar blessings.[494] Another indication that יברכוכה

in 1QHᵃ 9:33 is anticipating the יברכוכה in 19:28–29a is the curious use of שמע+ in both psalms.

In 1QHᵃ 9:36 the first exhortation issued to the audience is שמעו, "Hear." In 1QHᵃ 19:28–29a the

speaker activates the audience by deftly altering the command to hear by directing them to

proclaim with the hiphil form: ישמיעו "proclaim together with a joyous voice." In sum, in this

instance the exhortations to the audience serve as a rhetorical move that modulates the agency of

the audience from didactic passivity to liturgical activity.

Later in col. 28, the Maskil directs his audience to praise God with a litany of

exhortations (1QHᵃ 26:9b–19). The exhortations are imperative verbs,[495] שַׂמְּחֻו, *שׁירו, *זמרו,

---

494. Penner tags יברכו and ישמיעו in 1QHᵃ 19:28–29a as expressing habitual modality. Penner, "Database for Verbs in the Dead Sea Scrolls." While לעולמי עד and ובכול קצ]ים might indicate that the elect carry out this action habitually, I suggest that in the context of this psalm, the speaker is indicating that they will bless now just as they do habitually. In other words, the speaker is invoking the sectarian habitus of praise for the audience, just as the superscription in 1QHᵃ 20:7–14a invoked the sectarian habitus of praise in the Maskil. See discussion on p. 137.

495. 1QHᵃ 26:9b–19. References with asterisks are completely supplied by 4QHᵃ 7 i 13–18 and 4QHᵉ 1 1–9. Schuller, DJD 29:96.

השתחוו] ,*הביעו בשמחות ,הרימו לבד קולכם* ,הֿשֿמֿ]יעו הגי רנה ,הקדישו] שֿ]מו ,*הבו גדול ,רוממו ,*הללו

[קהל ביחֿד ,ברכו, that build toward the final imperative to bless:

> Sing praise, O beloved ones! Sing to the king of glory!] Rejoic[e in the congregation of God! Cry gladly in the tents of salvation! Give praise in the holy dwelling!] Exalt [together with the eternal host! Ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our king! Sanctify] [his] na[me with strong lips and a mighty tongue! Lift up your voices by themselves at all times!] Sound al[oud a joyful noise! Exult with eternal joy and without ceasing! Worship] in common [assembly! Bless the one who wondrously does majestic deeds and who makes known the strength of his hand, sealing up] mysteries and revealing hidden things, rai[sing up those who stumble and those among them who fall, restoring the steps of those who wait for knowledge] [but bringing] low the lofty assemblies of the [eternally] proud,[bringing to completion splendid mysteries and raising up glorious wonders.] [(Bless) the one who judges with des]tr[uctive wrath] *l* [with kindness, righteousness, and with an abundance of] [compassion, supplication compassion for those who frustrate his great goodness" (1QHᵃ 26:9b–19).

Once the exhortations reach ברכו (26:14), the content expands, with a more fulsome account of why God is being blessed and praised. 1QHᵃ 26:14–19 describes how God conceals "mysteries" and reveals "hidden things" (26:15), referring to the revelation of the mysteries of the divine plan to the elect through the Maskil's liturgical instruction. The Maskil also exhorts his audience to praise God for "rai[sing up those who stumble" and "bringing] low the lofty assemblies of the [eternally] proud" (26:15–16). These deeds reflect the eschatological reversal of fortunes that are anticipated in the accounts of eschatological deliverance.

In 1QHᵃ 26:26b, 31aa, 41b, the Maskil directs his audience to "proclaim and declare" and to "say."[496] Each of these exhortations is a part of the triad of imperative hymnic sections in col.

---

496. Strugnell contributed to the reconstruction of השמיעו ואמורו Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:299, 307

26 (see the discussion of hymnic sections on p. 209). These directions to sing to God continue

the active role of the audience initiated in 1QHª 19:28–29a, only this time they are exhorted to

engage in hymnic praise.

I would tentatively suggest that an additional exhortation may be partially preserved in

4QHª 8 i 13:

בי]חֿד רנה גדול אל הֿמֿפלי

"...in com]mon rejoicing, Great is God who does wonders."[497]

The phrase בי]חֿד רנה "in com]on rejoicing" might be the end of an exhortation directing the

audience to praise God in common rejoicing by using the hymnic section that follows.[498] In this

regard, it would be similar to the liturgical directive to the council of the Yahad in 4QBerakhotª:

עצת היחד יומרו כולמה ביחד אמן אמן "the council of the community, all of them will say together:

'Amen, Amen.'"[499] 4QHª 8 i 13 might have employed a jussive rather than an imperative

exhortation, along the lines of 1QHª 19:28. Alternatively, this hymnic section may be offered as a

preview or a description of what will be said in common rejoicing at some point in the future.

3.3.11 Hymnic Sections

I. *Characteristics:* Hymnic sections are short sections of descriptive praise. Within the Hodayot,

hymnic sections are characterized by their introduction by exhortations (for more discussion see

p. 203) to the audience to "Proclaim and declare" (26:26), "Let them say" (26:31a), "Declare and

---

497. Schuller, DJD 29:109–10, 112. I have adjusted the translation to reflect the language of "common rejoicing" used in Newsom's translation of the same phrase in 1QHª 11:24 and 19:17.

498. For ביחד רנה, see 1QHª 11:24; 19:17. See also ישמיעו יחד בקול רנה (1QHª 19:29).

499. Bilhah Nitzan, DJD 11:28.

say" (26:41).[500] These exhortations are common at the beginning of imperative hymns in the

biblical psalms.[501] Hymnic sections are also characterized by references to God in the third

person rather than by the default mode of direct address to God in the second person that is more

commonly used in the Hodayot tradition. In each case of hymnic imperatives in the Hodayot, the

audience is first directed to begin by predicating something about God: גדול אל "Great is God"

(1QHª 26:26), ברוך אל "Blessed is God" (26:31), ברוך אל עליון "Blessed be God Most High"

(26:41). The rest of each of the hymnic sections elaborates the initial predication by referring to

what God has done that has motivated the speaker's praise.

II. *Number and Location of Hymnic Sections:* There are only three, possibly four hymnic

sections. Hymnic sections are only known to appear in two places in the Hodayot tradition: 1QHª

25:34–27:3 and 4QHª 8 i 13–21.

Fig. 28: Hymnic Sections	Psalm
26:26c–30, 31ab–32a, 41c–42	25:34–27:3
4QHª 8 i 13	4QHª 8 i 13–21

Fig. 28

The identification of the full extent of hymnic material derives from Schuller's groundbreaking

work on the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts beginning in 1993.[502] These hymnic sections in col. 26

and their accompanying exhortations changed the shape of Hodayot research, renewing the

---

500. These exhortations are mostly reconstructed on the basis of 4QHª and 4QHᵉ. I have not included brackets or indications of Cave 4 overlaps in the translation. See Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:299.

501. See Pss 96, 98, 100, 103–7, 134–36, 146–50. For Frank Crüsemann's discussion of the imperative hymn, see Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 19–82. Note that 26:31aa is introduced by a jussive, not an imperative.

502. See p. 205 n. 490.

question of the liturgical orientation of the Hodayot tradition.[503] I have also included the contents

of 4QH[a] 8 i 13 as a hymnic section because it begins with בי[חֹד רנֹה גדול אל המֹפלי "toge]ther a

shout of praise, Great is God who does wonders.[504] In DJD 29, Schuller described this line as

having "hymnic elements in the third person."[505] This passage has an affinity with 1QH[a] 26:26,

where the speaker exhorts his audience: השׁ[מֹ]יעׁו] וֹאֹמרֹ]ו גדול אל עושה פלא "Pro[c[laim] and

declar[e: Great is God who does wonders."[506]

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of Hymnic Sections:* Hymnic sections descriptively praise God while

also providing the audience short hymnic sections to that may have served as models or

exemplars. In the sequence of psalms found in 1QH[a], it appears that the resolutions to praise God

and that the meditations on how the elect will praise God might be partly realized in the hymnic

sections embedded into 1QH[a] 25:34–27:3, a psalm near the end of the collection. These hymnic

sections are rare and as a consequence they are an important and distinctive kind of rhetorical

move in the 1QH[a] arrangement of the psalms.[507] The three hymnic sections in col. 26 work with

the hymnic exhortations to transform the audience from passive recipients of the speaker's

knowledge about the divine plan to active participants in the recounting of God's wonders and

---

503. For example, building on Schuller's observation that 4QH[a] seems more liturgically oriented than the other Hodayot collections, Chazon has proposed that 1QH[a] is liturgically oriented too. Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 148; Schuller, DJD 29:87. In particular, Newman has explore the liturgical dimensions of the Hodayot in her recent work. Newman, *Before the Bible*.

504. Schuller, DJD 29:109–10, 112.

505. Schuller, DJD 29:113.

506. 1QH[a] is reconstructed with 4QH[a] 7 ii 7; 4QH[e] 2 6. Schuller, DJD 29:97, 206.

507. In the 4QH[a] arrangement, hymnic sections are relatively common because there were fewer psalms that included every psalm that had a hymnic section.

the goodness of God's plan. In effect, the audience joins the speaker as those who have knowledge of God's plan, who know how the plan relates to their current situation, and who recognize their obligation to praise and thank God continually for ongoing support and future deliverance at the end of the eschatological age.

The three hymnic sections recall central topics discussed in earlier psalms in the 1QH^a arrangement. For example, in the first hymnic section, God is praised for bringing low the proud while lifting up "the poor one from the dust to the eternal height, and to the clouds] he makes him tall in stature, and (he is) with [the divine beings in the congregation of the community" (1QH^a 26:27–28). This hymnic section deftly encapsulates the ultimate judgment of the opponents of the elect and the elevation of a creature of dust to status reserved for the elect. The human condition is no barrier to election, as "those who stumble to the ground he rai[ses up without price, and everlasting power is with their step] and eternal joy in their dwellings,[everlasting glory without ceasing for ever and ever" (1QH^a 26:29–30).

This hymnic section invokes the very important topic of communion with the angels that runs through the entire collection. Esther Chazon has demonstrated that communion with the angels is a common thread that runs through both the so-called Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns alike.[508] The limitations and weaknesses of the human condition only illustrate God's

---

508. Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 149; Chazon, "Lowly to Lofty," 3–4, 18–19.

goodness and ability to create something out of dust that is capable of praising God with the host of heaven.

The second hymnic section turns to the topic of how God has disclosed the divine plan to the elect so that they might have sufficient insight to see their distress and opposition by the men of iniquity in light of God's plan. The section directs the audience to praise God for "acting mightily] to make known (his) power and acting righteou[sly in the knowledge of all his creatures and (with) goodness toward them,] so that they might know the magnitude of his kindness[and the abundance of his compassion for all the children of his truth" (1QHᵃ 26:31–32). In other words, the divine plan and its benefits for the children of his truth—that is, the elect—are revealed through God's acts. In the minds of the audience, the reference to God's mighty acts probably surfaces a whole host of intertextual resonances with salvific divine activity from Genesis, Exodus, and the Deuteronomistic History, but it would also call up God's deeds on behalf of the speaker and the elect described in previous psalms as well. The speaker sees his personal distress, support, and eschatological deliverance as a central part of an eschatological conflict of cosmic proportions, and so his personal deliverance from his foes takes on the same kind of weight as key events in Israel's history.

Only the beginning of the third hymnic section has survived, but enough text remains to identify at least one, perhaps two topics. This section instructs the audience to praise God as the architect of creation who "stretches out the heavens by his might] [and establishes all their

structures by his strength, who makes the earth through his power" (1QHᵃ 26:41–42). This topic

conceptualizes God as one whose intricate design for creation is intentional and pervasive.

Another passage, 1QHᵃ 9:9–22, might shed some light on what followed 1QHᵃ 26:41–42.

In 1QHᵃ 9:10–12, the speaker describes how God: "formed every spirit, and [their] work [you

determin]ed, and the judgment for all their deeds. You yourself stretched out the heavens for your

glory, and all [ ] you [de]termined according to your will." The speaker goes on to describe the

intricacies of how God creates the world and shapes human dispositions in parallel. Thus, in col.

9, the portrayal of God as architect develops into a portrayal of God as an engineer of human

dispositions (1QHᵃ 9:9–22). I would suggest that the same development may have occurred in

1QHᵃ 26:41–42 and into the opening lines of col. 27.[509]

In each hymnic section, the audience is exhorted to offer a hymn to God by employing

key topics from the speaker's earlier discourse. In this respect, these three short hymns offer a

first step for the audience to demonstrate their insight or at least to practice the discourse of the

elect with simple exemplars.

3.3.12 The Speaker's Recollections

I. *Characteristics:* I am proposing the "recollection of the speaker" as a rhetorical move where

the speaker recounts his entry into the elect group. The rhetorical move is defined mainly by its

topic but also by linguistic features. Recollections could easily be mistaken for accounts of

---

509. Stegemann tentatively placed frgs. 61+62 in col. 27 on the basis of shape. They are placed too low in the column to be relevant to the question of whether the motif of God as engineer is in view here. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:310.

distress or provisional assistance because they recall past events; however, in the speaker's

recollections the "I" of the speaker is the subject and primary agent instead of God or the

speaker's enemies. In the speaker's recollections, God's agency recedes somewhat into the

background and the speaker provides details about how he enrolled into the community of the

elect. Recollections tend to use suffix conjugation verbs and temporal phrases that frame what

the speaker is describing as a more distant memory than his immediate and ongoing experiences

of distress and divine assistance.

II. *Number and Location of Recollections:* There are five recollections in four psalms.[510] They

are few enough to provide the extant text.

<div dir="rtl">ומסוד רֹמֹ[ה י]צֹאֹתי ולא נֹלוֹיתי</div>

But from the council of wor[ms] I have [de]parted, and I have not joined myself
to... (1QHᵃ 4:31b).

<div dir="rtl">וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי לפי שֹכלוֹ אגישנו וכרוב נחלתו אהבנו ולא אשא פני רֹע
וש[וח]דֹ רֹ[ש]עֹה לא אכיר [ו]לֹ[א] אמיר בהון אמתך ובשוחד כול משפטיך כי אם לפֹי
[ ]°° אי[ש אה]בֹנו וכרחקך אותו כן אתעבנו</div>

And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel.
According to his insight I will associate with him, and according to the amount of
his inheritance I will love him. But I will not regard evil, and a b[rib]e (given) in
wi[cked]ness I will not acknowledge. [And] I will no[t] exchange your truth for
wealth nor any of your judgments for a bribe. But according as [a per]son, [I will
l]ove him, and according as you place him far off, thus I will abhor him (1QHᵃ
6:29b–32a).

<div dir="rtl">ועל נפ[שֹׁי הקֹי]מותי לבלת[י]ֹ סור מכול אשר צויתה</div>

[And upon] my [li]fe [I] have sw[orn no]t to turn aside from all that you have
commanded (1QHᵃ 7:23b–24a).

---

510. Morawe classified these recollections as part of a hymn (4:31b), a vow and a reflection (6:29b–32a; 7:23b–24a), and a reflection (8:37; 19:22). Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung*, 159–61.

ואני על דבריך קרבֿ֯תֿ֯י ל֯[

And as for me, on account of your words I have drawn close to[... (1QHᵃ 8:37).

וֿאני נפתח לי מקור לאבל מרורים [   ]וֿלֿא נסתר עמל מעיני בדעתי יצרי גבר ותשובת אנוש
אֿתֿ[בוננה ואכירה א]בֿֿל חטאה ויגון אשמה ויבואו בלבבי ויגעו בעצמֿי֯ ל֯

[   ]°ֿים ולהגות הגי יגון וֿאנחה בכנור קינה לכול אבל יֿגֿ[וֿ]ֿן֯[   ] ומספד מרורים עד כלות עולה ואֿ[י]ן
מכאוב]ואין נגע להחלות

As for me, a fount of bitter mourning was opened to me [ ]and trouble was not hidden from my eyes when I knew the inclinations of humans, and I un[derstood] to what mortals return, [and I recognized the mour]nfulness of sin, and the anguish of guilt. They entered my heart and they penetrated my bones *l* [ ] *ym* and to utter an agonized moan and a groan to the lyre of lamentation for all gr[iev]ous mourning[ ] [ ] and bitter lament until the destruction of iniquity, when there is n[o more pain]and no more affliction to make one weak (1QHᵃ 19:22–25a).

In the first four recollections (1QHᵃ 4:31b, 6:29b–32a, 7:23b–24a, 8:37), some reference is made to joining the elect group. 1QHᵃ 4:31b describes how the speaker joined the elect group in the negative. He has left the סוד רמה or the "council of worms" and goes on to describe how he has ולא נֿלֿוֿיֿתי "not joined myself to" something. Whatever he has not joined has not survived in the manuscript, but the reference likely refers to the opposition to the elect group. It is possible that he was indirectly describing his decision to join the elect group by describing how he did not join the non-elect group.

1QHᵃ 6:29b–32a is more explicit about the speaker's experience of joining the elect group: "And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel" וכן הוגשתי ביחֿד ובשבועה הקימותי על כול אנשי סודי. This recollection seems to be prompted by the mention of the נפֿשי "the oath I pledged upon my life" in the confession of knowledge in 1QHᵃ 6:28. This may

be the oath that one takes upon entering the elect group or one similar to it.[511] What follows in

1QHᵃ 6:29b–32a reads somewhat like a resolution at the time of the performance of the psalm,

but I would suggest that it is actually a recollection of the resolution that the speaker made upon

entering the elect group. The speaker remembers swearing a similar (perhaps even the same) oath

again in 1QHᵃ 7:23b–24a. Finally, in 1QHᵃ 8:37 there is a reference to how he has קרבׁתׁי "drawn

close" in a poorly preserved passage.[512] Thus each of these first four references could point to the

same experience of joining the elect group.

The longer recollection in 1QHᵃ 19:22–25a does not make any explicit references to

joining the elect group. I classify this passage as a recollection because the speaker is

remembering a very particular and traumatic moment in the past בדעתי יצרי גבר "when I knew the

inclinations of humans" (1QHᵃ 19:23). I would suggest that this passage refers to his entry into

the elect group. The speaker seems to be referring to a watershed moment when he had sufficient

insight from God to perceive the destiny of the elect and the non-elect. This knowledge of human

inclinations is part of God's plan, specifically the allotment of spirits that determine human

conduct and election. CD 16:4–6 correlates the oath with the acquisition of insight: "And on the

---

511. See CD 15:1–9; 16:4–9; 4Q271 4 i 11–12; 4 ii 7–10; 1QS 5:7–11. For a discussion of the oaths of initiates, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 129–33; *The Serekh Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 70; Jutta Jokiranta, "An Experiment on *Idem* Identity in the Qumran Movement," *DSD* 16.3 (2009)," 322–25; Robert A. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33.2 (2002), 139–42; Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, eds. James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.71.

512. קרב is used as a technical term for joining the sectarian groups in CD, 1QS, 1QSa (CD 5:9; 1QS 6:16, 19, 22; 7:21; 8:18; 9:15; 1QSa 1:9; see also 1QHᵃ 6:24–25).

day when a man takes upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses, the angel Mastema

shall turn aside from after him, if he fulfills his words. Therefore, Abraham was circumcised on

the day of his knowing."[513] Likewise, in 1QS when new members have been initiated they are

given access "to all that has been revealed from it [the law of Moses] to the Sons of Zadok—

priests and preservers of the Covenant, seekers of His will—and the majority of the men of their

Covenant" (1QS 5:7–12). The הנסתרות or "hidden laws" may refer to the mysteries governing

the allotment of spirits. I would suggest that the moment of clarity described in 1QH^a 19:22–25

is a recollection because it recalls when the speaker gained full recognition of the implications of

the hidden laws pertaining the inclinations and election.[514]

III. *Rhetorical Objectives of the Speaker's Recollections:* The speaker's recourse to his

recollections of his own entry into the elect group and his enlightenment establishes a rapport

with his audience. It also serves as a counterbalance to his claims to extraordinary insight and

standing among the elect. Members of the speaker's audience, especially any who recently

entered the group, would have significantly less experience and insight than the speaker. If the

speaker is the Maskil or occupies a position of similar rank and function like the Overseer or the

---

513. Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 2 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 39, 41.

514. In the Hodayot, *nistarot* seems to be associated with the mysteries of the divine plan: "you have given me insight] into [wonderful] myster[ies, and you have let me understand your wonders,] [and] your [hid]den things you have revealed to me גליתה לי נס]תֹרֹותֹיֹכֹה, so that I have gazed upon [ ] *y* kindness." 1QH^a 19:19–20. See the discussion of hidden law in Aryeh Amihay, *Theory and Practice in Essene Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 103–4; Paul Heger, "The Development of Qumran Law: *Nistarot*, *Niglot* and the Issue of 'Contemporization'," *RevQ* 23.2 (2007), 184–86; Goff, "A Blessed Rage for Order," 202; *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, VTSup 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 301.

Paqid, his advanced level of insight and role in regulating entry and advancement in the group might make him unrelatable as a model for other sectarians. One of the overriding themes in the Hodayot is that no human being is born with insight, not even deeply knowledgeable figures like the Maskil.[515] God has to nurture knowledge and insight among the elect so that they can be "raised up from the dust" (1QHª 11:22; 19:15; 26:27) to play a role in the divine plan. Reminding the audience that the speaker himself went through the same process of entry into the group and gaining knowledge of the divine plan would establish a commonality with the audience and instil trust in the speaker and acceptance of his teaching. In this respect, the recollections of the speaker play an important role in establishing the speaker's ethos as a model for the elect. This ethos is especially important when troubling aspects of the divine plan and its implications for non-elect humanity are in view or when teaching is presented to the audience that runs against their previously held theologies or deeply engrained worldviews.

3.4 Overview

This chapter has surveyed sixteen rhetorical moves and the related paratextual element of superscriptions in the Hodayot tradition. With the exception of material that has been lost or is too fragmentary to categorize, these rhetorical moves account for the entirety of the psalms, providing a more complete account of the formal structures of the Hodayot tradition (as rhetorical moves) than Morawe's survey. Before turning to the work of mapping the psalms onto

---

515. Note that 1QHª 6:29b–32a and 7:23b–24a appear in psalms with Maskil superscriptions. The holder of the office of the Maskil was likely the intended speaker.

Westermann's schema, however, I will take up the examination of two compositions that attest to the generic palettes of rhetorical moves that are combined in the Hodayot tradition.

Chapter 4: Isaiah's Psalm (Isa 12:1–6), David's Prayer (1 Chr 29:10–20), and a New Spectrum of Eschatological Praise

4.1 Introduction

Before proceeding to the next stage of the analysis that will locate the psalms of the

Hodayot tradition in Westermann's spectrum-based schema, it remains to be demonstrated that

Westermann's schema can accommodate compositions that do not fit into form-critical categories

with rigid boundaries and checklists of required features. It is also necessary at this point to

introduce the rhetorical strategies of two Second Temple compositions that are especially

germane to the discussion of genre in the Hodayot: Isaiah's psalm in Isa 12:1–6 and David's

prayer in 1 Chr 29:10–20. These compositions each contain substantial yet distinct subsets of the

rhetorical moves in the Hodayot tradition surveyed in Chapter 3.[516] It is my contention that Isa

12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 are rare precedents for two separate generic palettes (see discussion

of the term "generic palette" on p. 106) that have become partially merged in the Hodayot

tradition. Accordingly, if Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 can be classified in Westermann's

schema, then we will have points of reference to assist in the classification of the more complex

rhetorical strategies in the Hodayot that combine the kinds of rhetorical moves found in Isaiah's

psalm and David's prayer. I will also demonstrate below that Gunkel's definitional schema has

failed to classify these compositions with any consistency because they hybridize formal

---

516. The terms "formal structure" and "rhetorical move" are used interchangeably in this chapter because I am treating formal structures as rhetorical moves. When "rhetorical move" is applied to the analysis of Westermann or Gunkel, I am discussing their formal structures through the lens of rhetorical moves analysis.

structures from different categories in his schema. Westermann's spectrum-based schema, however, holds more potential in this respect, and I will argue that Westermann's schema is capable of classifying 1 Chr 29:10–20, and with the addition of a new spectrum dedicated to eschatological praise, it is also capable of classifying Isa 12:1–6.

This chapter will discuss Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 each in three stages. First, I will survey the rhetorical moves that are used in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 and establish how they form rhetorical strategies in their respective compositions that attest to distinct generic palettes. Second, I will discuss how Westermann's spectrum-based schema—with the addition of a spectrum of eschatological praise—is better suited than Gunkel's definitional classification schema for accommodating compositions like Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20. Third, I will explore how the generic palettes used in these compositions are the predecessors of the generic palettes used in the Hodayot tradition. I will also explore how the Hodayot has adapted those strategies. In particular, I will discuss how the Hodayot has reframed the rhetorical moves found in both rhetorical strategies with an already-not yet apocalyptic eschatological framework. This transformation synchronizes the moves of both generic palettes so that those moves can be combined in the same rhetorical strategy.

4.2 Isa 12:1-6

4.2.1 The Rhetorical Moves and Rhetorical Strategy of Isa 12:1–6

I. *Delimitation of Isa 12:1–6:* Within the book of Isaiah, Isa 12:1–6 is presented as the psalm that the elect will perform once God has restored them and returned them to the land of Israel and to

Jerusalem. It is an eschatological psalm in the sense that it anticipates events at the end of an age

when God intervenes on behalf of the righteous, though this kind of prophetic eschatology is

different than the apocalyptic eschatology found in sectarian literature like the Hodayot tradition.

Although Gunkel read Isa 12:1–6 as two psalms in most instances in his discussion of the

psalm, I would argue that this interpretation is generated by the constraints of Gunkel's schema

rather than the actual features of the composition.[517] To this point, H. G. M. Williamson proposes

that Isa 12:1–6 was composed as a single psalm that draws together many of the main themes of

the book of Isaiah.[518] Taken as a single psalm, Isa 12:1–6 can be conceived of as a generic

innovation of Deutero-Isaiah, who has appropriated declarative praise and integrated it into his

prophetic discourse.

II. Text and Translation

Eschatological Framework	1a	וְאָמַרְתָּ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
		You will say on that day
Introduction[519]	1b	אוֹדְךָ יְהוָה כִּי
		I will give thanks to you, O Lord, for

---

517. See the discussion on p. 231.

518. H. G. M Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 705–40, especially 715–21; H. G. M. Williamson, "Isaiah 12 and the Composition of the Book of Isaiah," *HeBAI* 6.1 (2017), 101–19; H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 118–22. See also Gérard Nissim Amzallag, "The Paradoxical Source of Hope in Isaiah 12," *RB* 123.3 (2016), 362; J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 191–93; Robert J. Marshall, "Structure of Isaiah 1-12," *BR* 7 (1962), 19–32; Willem S. Prinsloo, "Isaiah 12: One, Two or Three Songs," in *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen: Collected Communications to the XIIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Leuven 1989*, eds. Klaus-Dietrich Schunck and Matthias Augustin, BEATAJ 20 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 30; cf. John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah*, WBC 25 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 218–22; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 269–70; Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 55–56, 227.

Accounts of Distress and Deliverance	1c–2a	אָנַפְתָּ בִּי יָשֹׁב אַפְּךָ וּתְנַחֲמֵנִי
		though you were angry with me, your anger turned away, and you comforted me.
Resolution	2b	הִנֵּה אֵל יְשׁוּעָתִי אֶבְטַח וְלֹא אֶפְחָד כִּי־עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת יָהּ יְהוָה וַיְהִי־לִי לִישׁוּעָה:
		Surely God is my salvation; I will trust, and will not be afraid, for the Lord God is my strength and my might; he has become my salvation.
Fortschreibung	3–4a	וּשְׁאַבְתֶּם־מַיִם בְּשָׂשׂוֹן מִמַּעַיְנֵי הַיְשׁוּעָה: וַאֲמַרְתֶּם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
		With joy you will draw water from the wells of salvation. And you will say on that day
Exhortations and Hymnic Section	4b–6	הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה קִרְאוּ בִשְׁמוֹ הוֹדִיעוּ בָעַמִּים עֲלִילֹתָיו הַזְכִּירוּ כִּי נִשְׂגָּב שְׁמוֹ: זַמְּרוּ יְהוָה כִּי גֵאוּת עָשָׂה מֵידַעַת [מוּדַעַת] זֹאת בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ: צַהֲלִי וָרֹנִּי יוֹשֶׁבֶת צִיּוֹן כִּי־גָדוֹל בְּקִרְבֵּךְ קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל
		Give thanks to the Lord, call on his name; make known his deeds among the nations; proclaim that his name is exalted. Sing praises to the Lord, for he has done gloriously; let this be known in all the earth. Shout aloud and sing for joy, O royal Zion, for great in your midst is the Holy One of Israel.

Fig. 29

III. *Eschatological Framing and* Fortschreibung *(Isa 12:1a, 3–4a):* Before surveying the rhetorical moves of the psalm in Isa 12:1–6, it should be noted that the passage contains elements that are not rhetorical moves of the psalm itself but are external comments that embed the psalm in the book of Isaiah. The first comment appears in Isa 12:1: "You will say on that day."[520] This prefatory statement is part of the prophetic framing of the psalm, which will be discussed below. There is another comment in what Williamson has identified as *Fortschreibung* in v. 3 and the repetition of the prefatory comment in v. 4a to resume the psalm. Williamson argues convincingly that the *Fortschreibung* is generated by two references to salvation in v. 2, and that it interjects: "a later comment directing the readers to the book of Isaiah itself if they want to find

---

519. The awkward division after the כי in Isa 12:1b is to underscore the similarity with the אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula in the Hodayot tradition.

520. The NRSV translates ביום ההוא inconsistently in Isaiah as "in" and "on that day." For the sake of consistency, all translations of this formula in this study are translated as "on that day." Elsewhere the NRSV is used for English translations of Isaiah.

the joy of salvation.[521] I will return to this point, but for now it suffices to say that Isa 12:1a and

3–4a are probably not a part of the psalm proper but part of its framing and reception.[522]

The temporal phrase ביום ההוא "on that day" refers back to the eschatological scenario of

the restoration of Israel described at length in Isaiah 11.[523] For example, in Isa 11:10–11 it is

recounted how: "[o]n that day" (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) "the root of Jesse shall stand as a signal to the

peoples; the nations shall inquire of him, and his dwelling shall be glorious. On that day (בַּיּוֹם

הַהוּא) the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that is left of his

people" (Isa 11:10–11). Here the language of ביום ההוא is repeated as a key phrase for the

prophetically anticipated end of the exile and the beginning of a new future in Jerusalem.[524]

Within the context of the book of Isaiah, the formula also looks forward to later chapters

in the book of Isaiah. Nissim Amzallag argues that the formula "delivers the reader to the time of

salvation extensively developed in Isaiah 40–66," and as a consequence "Isaiah 12 becomes an

important feature for evaluation of the level of unity in Isaiah and the sources of this book's

---

521. Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 2:735, see also 732–35. Williamson's argument builds on an earlier proposal by Hans-Peter Mathys, who even suggests that the emphasis on ישועה in Isa 12:1–6 is a thinly veiled reference to the book of Isaiah itself: "Hier jedoch besitzt der Ausdruck *mcjnj hjšwch* eine fast technische Bedeutung: Diese Quellen sind etwas Vorliegendes, Verfügbares, woraus man (immer wieder) schöpfen kann, eben das Buch Jesaja: In Jes 12 kundigt sich seine Kanonisierung an." Hans-Peter Mathys, *Dichter und Beter: Theologen aus spätalttestamentlicher Zeit*, OBO 132 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 188–89.

522. One of the reasons for separating Isa 12:1–6 into two psalms is that there is a change from the masculine singular וְאָמַרְתָּ in 12:1 to masculine plural וַאֲמַרְתֶּם in 12:4. The only two Isaiah manuscripts from Qumran (1QIsaᵃ and 4QIsaᵉ) that preserve the verb in Isa 12:4 have the singular ואמרתה. The Old Greek translates a singular verb as well. This evidence leaves open the possibility that the deployment of "you will say on that day" phrases in Isa 12 is a repetition of the same formula in some of the earliest evidence. Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, DJD 32:2:214; Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 354.

523. Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 2:722.

singular theology and its eschatological outcome."[525] Along similar lines, Williamson proposes that Isa 12:1–6 is deployed as a deliberate structuring element by Deutero-Isaiah.[526] The psalm's eschatological framing transforms the conventional purpose of the thanksgiving psalm from thanking God for salvation that the speaker has already experienced into a prediction of what will be said in response to God's restoration of Israel and the Davidic line "on that day."

IV. *Introduction (Isa 12:1b):* The first rhetorical move in the psalm is its distinctive introduction that propels its frame of reference into the future. It begins with the element אודך and the vocative ascription to the tetragrammaton.[527] The ascription is followed by the predicative כי clause that briefly outlines the reason for the thanksgiving. This psalm employs the same kind of introduction that has become a highly conventionalized formula in the Hodayot tradition.[528] By contrast, אודך is rare in the introductions of biblical psalms. Fifteen out of seventeen אודך

---

524. The concept of what will be said "on that day" would have changed from the original setting in Isa 12 to its interpretation in the Hodayot tradition. Eschatology evolved over the course of the post-exilic period. Initially it concerned the restoration of Israel and the Davidic line (see especially Isa 11) but eventually it took on broader significance that would have changed how audiences understood the ביום ההוא formula in Isaiah. This evolution in eschatology can be traced in Isaiah with references to God swallowing up death forever in Isa 24–27 and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth in Isa 65. Although these are highly charged mythical and figurative passages, there is a sense that the end of days is taking on a greater cosmological significance than just the restoration of Israel from the Exile. With the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology in Daniel, 1 Enoch, and Jubilees later in the Second Temple period, there is a more concrete expectation of a wide-ranging cosmological struggle that would involve clashes of supernatural beings, worldwide judgment, and resurrection after death in some cases. Sectarian literature is somewhat more restrained in its eschatology, with no full-blown apocalypses or literal discussions of resurrection. Even so, the struggle between the human and supernatural forces of good and evil play a role in key texts like 1QS-1QSa-1QSb and 1QM and there is a clear sense that sectarians considered themselves to be the elect who were living in the last days (e.g. CD 4:4; 6:11; 1QSa 1:1; 1QpHab 7:7–8, 12–13; 9:6–7; 4QMMT C14).

525. Amzallag, "The Paradoxical Source," 358, 375.

526. Williamson, "Isaiah 12," 154–55.

527. The nomenclature of "ascription" is drawn from W. Sibley Towner, "Blessed be YHWH and Blessed art thou, YHWH: The Modulation of a Biblical Formula," *CBQ* 30.3 (1968), 388.

references in the biblical psalms do not appear as introductions but as vows[529] in the bodies of

psalms of complaint and thanksgiving, typically toward the end and sometimes in the middle of

the psalm.[530] In psalms of complaint, vows promise that the speaker will praise and worship God

once the prayer has been answered. When vows occur in conventional psalms of thanksgiving,

they announce that the speaker is fulfilling the vow to praise or thank God from the original

complaint.

For example, in Psalm 30 (an individual thanksgiving psalm) the speaker closes with

אודך: "O Lord my God, I will give thanks to you forever (לְעוֹלָם אוֹדֶךָ)" (Ps 30:12–13). Likewise,

in Psalm 52 (an individual complaint psalm) the psalmist closes with אודך: "I will thank you

forever, (אוֹדְךָ לְעוֹלָם) because of what you have done. In the presence of the faithful I will

proclaim your name, for it is good" (Ps 52:9). Besides Isa 12:1–6, the only other psalm to begin

with אודך is Psalm 138, another example of a thanksgiving psalm oriented toward future

deliverance, though in this case it is not eschatologically framed.[531]

---

528. In Hodayot scholarship it has been observed that the Isa 12:1 formula is similar to that of the אודכה אדוני כי
formula in the Hodayot. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 277; Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran*, 195; Holm-
Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 41 n. 1; 302–3; James M. Robinson, "The Hodayot Formula in Prayers and Hymns of Early
Christianity," in *The Sayings Gospel Q, Collected Essays*, eds. Christoph Heil and Joseph Verheyden, BETL 189
(Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1964), 90 n. 41.

529. See the discussion of the translation of the *Gelübde* on p. 191.

530. 2 Sam 22:50; Ps 18:50; 30:13; 35:18; 43:4; 52:11; 57:10; 71:22; 86:12; 108:4; 118:21, 28; 119:7; 139:14;
Job 40:14. See especially Crüsemann's comments on the solidification of the אודך form into a formula in the
Hodayot tradition. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 277. For more on the אודך formula in vows, see Mand,
"Die Eigenständigkeit der Danklieder," 185–99; Robinson, "The Hodayot Formula," 78.

531. Ben Sira 51 should also be mentioned. It includes אודך second in a series of parallel introductory formulae.
In this instance, however, it appears that the scribe is just showing off his skill by enumerating his repertoire of
introductory formulae.

I would suggest that Isa 12:1 employs the אודך element that is more commonly used as a

vow in order to begin the psalm with an eschatological orientation. To audiences familiar with

psalms of complaint and thanksgiving, the associations of אודך as a future-oriented element

would signal that a psalm introduced by the same verb form may also have a future orientation or

the sense of fulfilling a vow to praise God upon deliverance.[532] By resolving to offer

thanksgiving in the future, the speaker proclaims with unparalleled confidence that the

eschatological deliverance outlined in Isaiah 11 will come to pass. The future-orientation of Isa

12:1–6 acquires its explicit eschatological tenor from the immediate context of Isa 11 and the

narrator's prediction that this psalm is what they will say on that day.

V. *Accounts of Distress and Deliverance (Isa 12:1c–2a):* This psalm engages mainly in

declarative praise because it contains a concise account of past distress and deliverance that

constitutes the conceptual core of the psalm. The account of distress is that God was angry with

the speaker (12:1c), which is immediately followed by an account of deliverance that "your

anger turned away, and you comforted me" (12:1d–e). The prophetic psalmist may have only

included very brief accounts of distress and deliverance because the psalm serves the function of

closing Isaiah chs. 1–11, and the details of distress and deliverance had already been addressed at

length in the previous chapters and continue to be elaborated in the later chapters.[533] Even when

---

532. Alternatively, the form could be read volitionally; however, I am suggesting that the verb form is eschatologically charged when it is deployed as an introduction.

533. Amzallag, "The Paradoxical Source," 372–77.

truncated, these elements demonstrate that the psalm still participates in the mode of declarative

praise, albeit in an eschatologically-reframed and prophetically-embedded form.

VI. *Resolution (12:2b):* Unlike many of Gunkel's psalms of thanksgiving, Isa 12:1–6 is not

implicitly or explicitly tied to the thanksgiving sacrifice.[534] It does not contain any references to

the תודה or to the fulfillment of ritual vows made at the time of the original petition. There is,

however, a vow-like resolution that is dissociated from any cultic context in verse 2: "I will trust,

and will not be afraid, for the Lord God is my strength and my might; he has become my

salvation" (Isa 12:2). Here the speaker's resolution is not tied to Gunkel's cultic nexus of

complaint and thanksgiving as would be the convention for a vow; rather it is tied to praise—that

God is the strength and salvation for the elect.[535] In this respect, this rhetorical move has greater

affinities with the resolutions of the Hodayot than the vows of individual psalms of thanksgiving,

since both are expressions of an intention to praise God. In Isa 12:1–6, this resolution is fulfilled

by the imperative hymnic section discussed below. The resolution, exhortations, and hymnic

sections hang together as a section of descriptive praise that is subordinated to the primary

discourse of declarative praise expressed in 12:1–2a. In this respect, the psalm is not an example

of unhybridized declarative praise, but ranges closer to the centre of the spectrum of praise.

VII. *Exhortation and Hymnic Section (12:4b–6):* The psalm transitions into a short hymnic

section in 12:4–6 that is largely dominated by exhortations to the intended eschatological

---

534. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 278.
535. Note especially the allusion to salvation in Moses's song (Exod 15:2).

audience. The exhortations direct them to "give thanks," "call on his name," "make known his deeds," "proclaim," etc. because God "has done gloriously" (כִּי גֵאוּת עָשָׂה 12:5).[536] This terse announcement that God has acted is the core of the hymnic section because it describes God's action in the third person and as an act that has benefits for the elect beyond the narrow confines of the speaker's situation.

This short hymnic section and its accompanying exhortations are similar to those of the Hodayot tradition's hymnic sections, which can also appear as imperative hymns. In Isa 12:1–6, however, the intended speaker is one who has experienced complete deliverance and is directing his audience (presumably the rest of the elect) to offer a full-throated eschatological praise of God. Furthermore, Isa 12:4–6 is somewhat different because it consists mainly of directions to praise without any substantial elaboration of what God has done in the third person. As with the terse descriptions of distress and deliverance in Isa 12:1d–e, the laconic description of God's deeds may have something to do with the role of Isa 12:1–6 as a point of transition in the book of Isaiah. The lack of elaboration may have had the unintended consequence of inviting later readers to speculate about the full extent of what the elect will say on that day. Readers would have been referred by the *Fortschreibung* in v. 3 to the rest of the book of Isaiah as a resource, making this kind of speculation an exegetical process.

---

536. Amzallag argues that the poetically parallel elements in 12:1–3 and 4–6 were intended to be read antiphonally by Zion and a choir. When read this way, the thanksgiving and praise elements are even more tightly intertwined. Amzallag, "The Paradoxical Source," 363. Prinsloo made a similar kind of argument for unity on the basis as structure. Prinsloo, "Isaiah 12," 25–30.

4.3 *Isa 12:1–6 in Gunkel's and Westermann's Schemas*

Like the Hodayot psalms, the classification of Isa 12:1–6 has posed a serious challenge

for Gunkel's form-critical schema because of how it blends descriptive and declarative rhetorical

moves. Gunkel classified and delimited Isa 12:1–6 differently at three points in his analysis,

partly because he did not recognize 12:3–4a as *Fortschreibung*, but also because the psalm

contains formal structures that belong to multiple form-critical categories.

In the section devoted to the *Gattung* of the hymns, Gunkel described Isa 12:1f (1–3?)

and 12:4–6 as separate examples of "eschatological hymns" that are a "deviation" from

conventional hymns.[537] According to Gunkel, in the eschatological hymns, the psalmists have

composed "the song that one will sing 'on that day.'"[538] These hymns were motivated by the

"prophets' powerful spirit" that "pushes toward the final time and loves to paint the final

condition graphically."[539]

Gunkel's classification of Isa 12:1–6 changes in his section on the psalms of individual

thanksgiving, where Isa 12:1–6 is listed once again as two psalms, this time 12:1f (1–2?) and

12:3–6. Gunkel described 12:1f as "a very special poem in which Israel of the future should sing

an individual thanksgiving song of this type" and 12:3–6 as an "eschatological hymn" that has

been attached to the thanksgiving psalm.[540] Here the division between the two psalms has been

---

537. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 55.
538. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 55.
539. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 55.
540. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 212.

shifted by a verse and the first psalm is no longer classified as an eschatological hymn, but as a

psalm of individual thanksgiving.

In still another section of Gunkel's study, this time on the *Gattung* of the communal

thanksgiving psalms of Israel, Gunkel listed Isa 12:3–6 as one of a "few complete examples of

Israel's thanksgiving song that have been preserved."[541] He then described how 12:3–6 has strong

affinities with the psalm of individual thanksgiving.[542] In a move that further confuses the

situation, toward the end of the discussion, the entirety of Isa 12:1–6 is described as "a

thanksgiving song which Israel should sing when YHWH has completed his great saving act in

the future," extending the delimitation of a communal psalm of Israel back to include the first

three verses.[543]

Part of the reason for Gunkel's shifting classifications and delimitations is that he

hypothesized that "the hymn and the individual thanksgiving song influenced the communal

thanksgiving song."[544] This theory of the cross-pollination of genres in the development of the

communal thanksgiving psalm does not, however, explain the irreconcilable variety of

delimitations and classifications of the material in Isa 12:1–6. It seems that Gunkel could not

decide what to do with a psalm like Isa 12:1–6 that integrated formal structures characteristic of

thanksgiving and hymns, especially when set against an eschatological horizon.

---

541. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 240 n. 230.
542. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 231.
543. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 247.
544. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 245.

In sum, the inconsistencies in Gunkel's classification suggests that Isa 12:1–6 proved too anomalous for him to classify securely in his schema.[545] The structure of his categorization schema with its hard boundaries between hymns, eschatological hymns, and thanksgivings led him to subdivide material that he was inclined to read as a single psalm at least on one occasion. The inconsistency of Gunkel's attempt to classify Isa 12:1–6 resembles the inconsistency in the classification of the psalms of the Hodayot tradition, which do not fit neatly into Gunkel's form-critical schema or in the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema.

There is no obvious place for Isa 12:1–6 in Westermann's schema either, at least in its current formulation. Although Westermann's schema has a genre of "eschatological songs," it is defined narrowly in Gunkelian fashion as a psalm with an imperative hymnic introduction followed by the contents of a descriptive psalm.[546] The presence of this single, narrowly circumscribed genre of eschatological hymn in Westermann's schema calls our attention to a gap. There is no place for other kinds of eschatological praise, especially eschatological modes of declarative praise. To fill this gap, I propose a new spectrum for eschatological modes of praise:

Fig. 30: Isa 12:1–6 on the Proposed Spectrum of Eschatological Praise

---
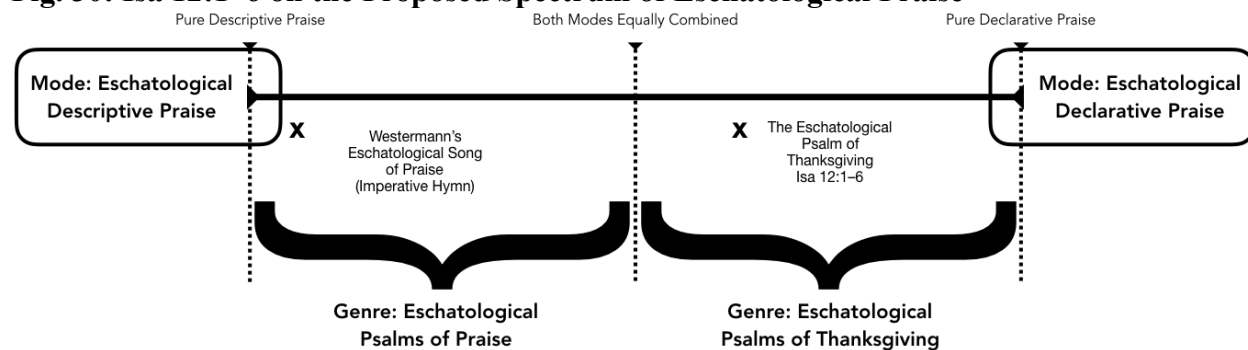
545. Williamson, "Isaiah 12," 119.
546. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 143.

Fig. 30

This spectrum would replace Westermann's narrow genre of eschatological songs with a full spectrum of descriptive praise and declarative praise that is eschatological framed. This proposed spectrum of eschatological praise parallels Westermann's original spectrum of (non-eschatological) descriptive and declarative praise. Expanding Westermann's schema to include an entire spectrum of eschatologically framed praise enables us to classify Isa 12:1–6 and other psalms that engage in eschatological declarative praise, most notably the psalms of the Hodayot tradition.

In sum, as a result of this expansion of Westermann's schema, we can speak of 1) eschatological and non-eschatological modes of declarative and descriptive praise, 2) genres of eschatological psalms of praise and thanksgiving, and 3) subgenres of eschatological praise that include Westermann's subgenre of imperative eschatological hymns. Isa 12:1–6 belongs to the genre of eschatological psalms of thanksgiving, though I would not consider it a unhybridized declarative mode of eschatological praise because it closes with an imperative hymnic section that has the objective of praising God descriptively. As a consequence, Isa 12:1–6 should not be placed at the very end of the declarative spectrum, but situated nearer the centre of the spectrum where formally hybrid psalms belong. It must be emphasized that eschatologically inflected descriptive and declarative praise are on a continuum, and the genres of the eschatological

psalms of praise and thanksgiving can employ rhetorical moves from generic palettes belonging

to both ends of the spectrum in their rhetorical strategies.[547]

4.3.1 Overview of Isa 12:1–6 and Its Influence on the Hodayot Tradition

Isa 12:1–6 has significant overlaps with a subset of rhetorical moves found in the survey

of the Hodayot tradition, including the אודך אדוני/יהוה כי formula, accounts of distress and

eschatological deliverance, resolutions, and imperative hymnic sections. These similarities raise

the question of some sort of influence, whether directly through an exegetical process or

indirectly through diffusion of genre conventions—that is, shared generic palettes—in the

Second Temple period.[548] Although the latter cannot be ruled out entirely, I would argue that Isa

12:1–6 exerted a direct exegetical influence on the Hodayot tradition and forms the basis for

eschatological psalms of thanksgiving in the Hodayot.

It is not necessary to rehearse how Isaiah was of central importance for sectarians, a point

that is widely acknowledged in Scrolls scholarship. The prevalence of Isaiah manuscripts and

Isaiah pesharim at Qumran and the centrality of Isaianic language in sectarian discourse suffice

to establish its importance.[549] What has not been well-established is how Isa 12:1–6 would have

---

547. Westermann considered the eschatological hymns to be structuring elements employed by Deutero-Isaiah. One of Williamson's contributions is that Isa 12:1–6 serves a similar role and should be included among Deutero-Isaiah's structuring psalms. I would go a step further and say that Westermann's eschatological hymns and Williamson's eschatological psalm of thanksgiving are generically related and overlap on the same generic spectrum. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 120.

548. It is certainly possible that there were more eschatological thanksgiving psalms that antedate the Hodayot tradition, but Isaiah would be the most authoritative precedent for the genre because of its prominence. Even so, one does not necessarily need to have a single exemplar like Isa 12:1–6 in mind to write an eschatological thanksgiving psalm, especially if the psalmist encountered the genre through other examples. See p. 95 n. 269.

been the object of keen sectarian exegetical interest. Unfortunately no pesher of Isa 12:1–6 survives, though the remnants of two pesharim cover nearby passages.[550] Still, it is not difficult to image how sectarian exegetes would treat such a passage. It would have been rather simple to claim that the sectarians are the elect ones who will "say on that day, I thank you, O Lord." For exegetes steeped in contemporizing exegesis it would have been reflexive to elaborate and fill in the content of what will be said by the elect at the end of days, especially since Isa 12:1–6 is so terse.[551] It would be surprising if sectarian exegetes read Isa 12:1–6 and did not see it as a rich resource for exegetical activity and for framing their expressions of declarative and descriptive praise.

My speculative argument can be strengthened by turning back to the *Fortschreibung* in Isa 12:3. This insertion into Isa 12:1–6 indicates that the psalm was already being read with an exegetical lens. The details of the "salvation" described in Isa 12:2 are to be drawn out of the "well" (that is the book of Isaiah), through exegesis. Thus, Isa 12:1–6 and its *Fortschreibung* sets up the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving as the primary mode of discourse for elaborating

---

549. For more discussion of the importance of Isaiah at Qumran see J. J. M. Roberts, "The Importance of Isaiah at Qumran," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins 31 (Waco: Baylor University, 2006), 273–86; Dwight D. Swanson, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Interpreting Isaiah*, eds. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson (Nottingham: Apollos; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 191–212. For examples of Isaiah in sectarian self-characterization, see 1QS 8:5–9 (Isa 28:16); 1QS 8:12–16 (Isa 40:3); CD 4:12–19; 5:13–17; 6:8.

550. 4QpIsaᵃ discusses Isa 10:20–11:5, and 4QpIsaᶜ discusses Isa 10:19–25.

551. In Ulrich's examples of places where scribes of Qumran scrolls inserted additional text that "they considered an appropriate piece of additional information," he includes the insertion "of many ביום ההוא passages in Isaiah," suggesting that this phrase was especially potent and relevant for their reading of Isaiah. Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 43.

upon the details of eschatological salvation, integrally linking the exegesis of Isaiah to the

eschatological praise of God. In this regard, the *Fortschreibung* has obvious resonances with

how the sectarian group(s) in CD 6:2–10 characterized their exegetical activity:[552]

> He raised up from Aaron insightful men and from Israel wise men and He taught
> them and they dug the well: "the well the princes dug, the nobility of the people
> dug it with a rod" (Num 21:18). The Well is the Law, and its "diggers" are the
> repentant of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of
> Damascus... And the "rod" is the interpreter of the Law of whom Isaiah said, "he
> brings out a tool for his work" (Isa 54:16). The "nobility of the people" are those
> who come to "dig the well" by following rules that the Rod made to live by
> during the whole era of wickedness....[553]

This portrayal of sectarian exegetical activity as digging at the well would have applied equally

as well to a sectarian reading of the *Fortschreibung* in Isa 12:3. In sum, Isa 12:1–6 was already

an exegetically active text that called readers to search Isaiah for the content of the

eschatological psalm of thanksgiving that the elect would one day perform. I contend that such

an exegetical focal point in Isaiah would have be irresistible to sectarian exegetes as an occasion

for composing their own eschatological psalms of thanksgiving that reflect a distinctively

sectarian worldview. I would propose that the Hodayot tradition is in part a sectarian exegetical

response to Isa 12:1–6, especially in the psalms that employ similar rhetorical strategies.

The conventionalization of the אודך יהוה כי introduction from Isa 12:1 into a frequently

used formula in the Hodayot tradition substantiates that the eschatological thanksgiving and

---

552. Williamson calls attention to this passage as he is offering evidence that Isa 12:3 is a *Fortschreibung*.
Williamson, "Isaiah 12," 113–14; Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 734–35.

553. Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*
(New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 57.

praise envisioned in Isa 12:1–6 was in part responsible for generating the Hodayot tradition. Isa 12:1 took a future-oriented vow element and redeployed it as an introduction to frame the psalm as eschatological declarative praise. In the Hodayot, this introduction is repeated numerous times to introduce still further examples of eschatological declarative praise that also has accents of descriptive praise and sometimes even imperative hymnic praise. It is my contention that the psalmist adopted the eschatological thanksgiving psalm in Isa 12:1–6 as a point of eschatological departure for his own speculation on what the elect—that is, the sectarian group—will say in the eschaton. Such psalms would situate the exegetes as the elect who are already participating in eschatological thanksgiving in the early stages of the eschatological age.

Despite this possible exegetical relationship, significant adjustments have been made to the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving in the Hodayot tradition. In the Hodayot, the speaker is no longer positioned at the point of complete eschatological deliverance; rather, he is situated in the midst of a protracted eschatological conflict that leads up to the end of the eschatological age. Unlike Isa 12:1–6, the speaker does not look back on completed instances of God's deliverance; rather, he thanks God for ongoing protection and support that falls short of eliminating external threats or of alleviating his anxiety over the human condition. The speaker's insight into the secret divine plan leads him not to expect complete deliverance until the end of the eschatological age at the time when the wars of wickedness end and God judges the wicked.

This new eschatological framing fits the general contours of sectarian apocalyptic eschatology. A full discussion of apocalyptic eschatology is not possible here, but there is broad agreement that sectarian literature shares what has been referred to as "a kind of 'realized eschatology,'" in which the elect were already experiencing the initial phases of the trials and events of the last days but the climax of the eschatological age was yet to come.[554] There is much less agreement on which views the sectarians held on eschatological topics like the messiah or resurrection, and it is likely that there is not a monolithic perspective. These points of debate, however, do not present any obstacles to the identification of the speaker's positioning in the conflict leading up to eschatological deliverance.

This new framing complicates the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving because the speaker thanks God for some assistance while anticipating final deliverance and vindication at the end of the eschatological age. This already experienced but not yet fulfilled deliverance and eschatological framing means that the speaker's internal and external sources of distress are worked out in very complex ways as the speaker experiences limited divine assistance. Thus the

---

554. Kenneth E. Pomykala, "Eschatologies and Messianisms," *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* 500; John J. Collins, "Eschatology," *EDEJ*, 596, see also Annette Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16.2 (1993), 225-46; 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), especially 55–59; John J. Collins, "Metaphor and Eschatology: Life beyond Death in the Hodayot," in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, eds. Feldman Ariel, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), especially 415–22; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, HTS 56 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Theological Studies, 2006), 81–93.

speaker's distress, God's assistance, and God's eschatological deliverance play out over two interlinking domains of the internal and external experiences of the speaker.
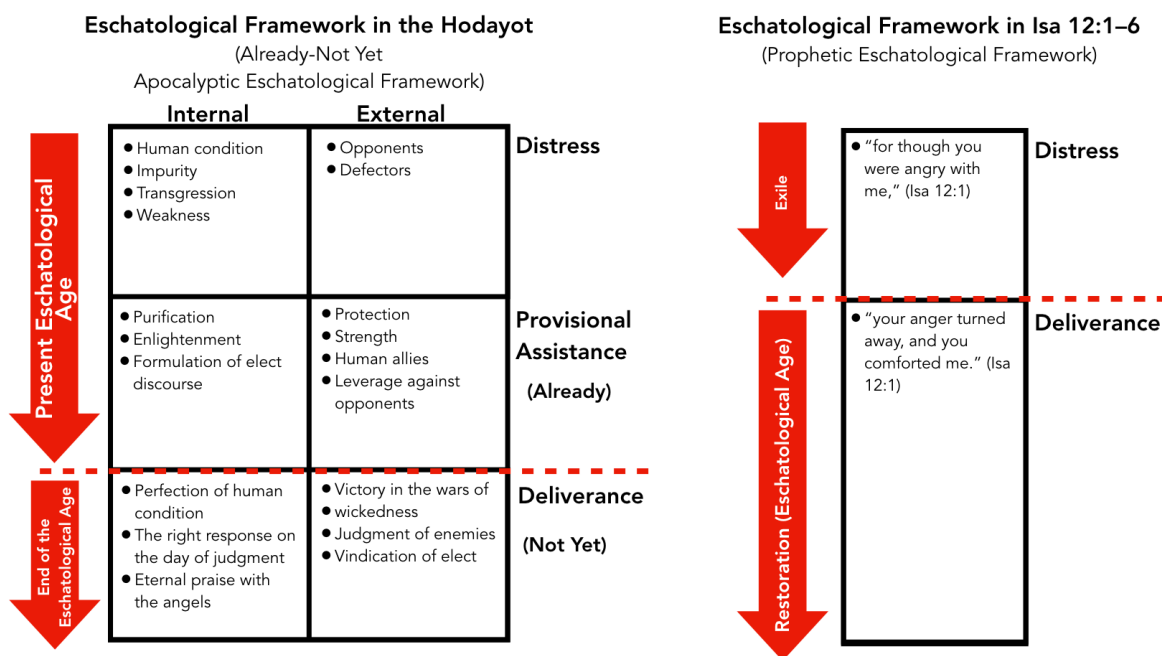
Fig. 31

As discussed in Chapter 3, the internal sources of distress include the speaker's anxiety over transgression, impurity, and his low status as an earthly creature. The external sources of his distress come from his opponents—especially those who have betrayed him. The internal and external sources of distress are mutually compounding because external persection and betrayal weaken the speaker's resolve and his ability to play his role in God's plan. This state of distress renders the speaker too weak to keep up the morale of his disciples or withstand his enemies.[555]

Although God will ultimately staunch all of the internal and external sources of distress experienced by the speaker and his followers by bringing the benefits of their election to full

---

555. For a discussion of these topics of the speakers distress, see the discussion on pp. 140–151.

fruition, in the present the two domains of distress play an important role in the divine plan. The opposition by outsiders has a function in the psalms: to refine the elect "in the crucible of the smelters for sevenfold purity" (1QHª 13:18; see also 6:15; 14:11–12) and to exacerbate the wickedness of the opponents (7:33–34; see also 7:38; 17:18–25). In God's plan, the current age is dedicated to strengthening and refining the elect in advance of eschatological vindication and judgment on the one hand, and building a case against the non-elect on the other. In this respect, the delayed deliverance is construed not as evidence of God's disfavour but as a necessary precursor to eschatological judgment and vindication.

God's provisional assistance is just enough to preserve and strengthen the speaker at the most crucial stage in the divine plan. Meyer describes this as "a temporary frustration of an exalted human destiny created by human ontology" that is embedded into the divine plan.[556] God only renders provisional assistance to the speaker by protecting him from complete destruction by his enemies and by giving him adequate insight, resolve, and purification to continue clinging to the covenant and teaching and strengthening his associates. A key evidence of this divine assistance and of the speaker's elect status is the speaker's God-given ability to offer the proper reply of praise. That is, his ability to engage in elect discourse marks him as one of the elect who will eventually be delivered and vindicated at the end of the eschatological age. Those of his

---

556. Meyer, *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory*, 92.

disciples who are predisposed to learn the discourse of the elect from the speaker also reap the benefits of God's provisional assistance vis-à-vis the speaker.

In sum, the Hodayot tradition employs a similar, yet modified generic palette of rhetorical moves that has swapped out the terse accounts of distress and deliverance in Isa 12:1–6 and the vague content of the hymnic section for analogous rhetorical moves that express the more nuanced sectarian experience of divine activity in the early stages of the eschatological age. However, unlike the elect speaker in Isa 12:1–6, the speaker in the Hodayot is not speaking from a position of total deliverance, but from the heat of the eschatological conflict, having only received some provisional assistance from God, yet holding fast to the expectation of total eschatological deliverance at the end of the age.

4.4 1 Chronicles 29:10–20

4.4.1 The Rhetorical Moves in David's Liturgical Prayer (1 Chr 29:10–20)

I. *Delimitation and Introduction:* Unlike Isa 12:1–6, there is not a debate about the delimitation of 1 Chr 29:10–20 because the narrative framework indicates the extent of the composition. 1 Chr 29:10–20 is a liturgical prayer that the Chronicler attributed to David for the dedication of the public assembly's freewill offering for the construction of the temple. This dedication took place just before David transferred the kingship to Solomon.[557] I am describing this as a "liturgical" prayer in the sense of Stefan Reif's broad definition of "liturgical" as "a constellation of practices, including prayers" that encompass "the whole gamut of worship in and around the study of sacred texts, the acts of eating and fasting, and of course, benedictions, prayers and

amulets."[558] Even though the ceremony described in 1 Chr 29:10–20 is not depicted as part of the temple liturgy proper, it still qualifies as part of the constellation of broader liturgical practices because it is part of a ceremony in which the assembly watched David's performance of the prayer and responded with a blessing of their own. In this setting, David functions as a "liturgical maestro," a term Newman uses for a figure like David or the Maskil who models prayer practices and directs an audience how to pray.[559]

There is broad agreement in Chronicles scholarship that David's prayer is probably modelled on liturgical practices and speech patterns from the early Second Temple period that would have appealed to the Chronicler's audience.[560] For example, Sara Japhet noted that, "[t]he prevalence of the 'ceremonial' component in the Chronicler's work may very well reflect his historical setting, in which public ceremonies may have occupied an important place in the community's life"[561] and that "[i]t is very possible that this description of the ceremony reflects

---

557. Within Chronicles, this prayer brackets David's preparations for the temple in chapters 17–29 with his prayer in 1 Chr 16:7–36, which also includes a liturgical response of the people, who say "Amen" and offer praises of their own (1 Chr 16:36). H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 186; Gwilym H. Jones, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 40–41; Simon J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL 11 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 222; Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14 (Waco: Word Books, 1986), 285.

558. Stefan C. Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran*, eds. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook (Berlin: Gruyter, 2004), 442. This definition is adopted by Newman in Newman, *Before the Bible*, 8.

559. Newman draws an explicit connection between the term "liturgical maestro" and 1 Chr 29. Newman, *Before the Bible*, 70, cf. 54–55, 69, 144.

560. Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 2:953; Peter R. Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, TBC (London: SCM, 1973), 93–94; Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 532; R. J. Coggins, *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 142; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 185; Steven L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 42; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 283.

actual forms of the regular service in the Second Temple, especially in the people's vocal worship and bodily prostration in response to the prayer of the officiators in the cult, represented here by the king."[562] That is, this prayer plausibly reflects later liturgical practices that the Chronicler has retrojected into his narrative account of the monarchy.

David's liturgical prayer in 1 Chronicles 29:10–20 is composed of rhetorical moves that seek to shape the theological views of the Chronicler's audience. David's prayer displays the earliest example of a prayer or a psalm with a rhetorical strategy consisting of a ברוך אתה introduction, meditations, hypophora sections, confessions of knowledge, and petitions combined for rhetorical effect. This prayer can be classified as a prose prayer for the dedication of a freewill offering in light of its narrative context and the presence of a rhetorical move that announces the freewill offering in 29:13.

II. Text and Translation

Narrative Framework	29:10a	וַיְבָרֶךְ דָּוִיד אֶת־יְהוָה לְעֵינֵי כָּל־הַקָּהָל וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִיד
		Then David blessed the Lord in the presence of all the assembly; David said:
ברוך אתה Formula	29:10b	בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד־עוֹלָם
		Blessed are you, O Lord, the God of our ancestor Israel, forever and ever.

561. Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 40, 504.

562. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 512.

Meditation	29:11–12	לְךָ֣ יְהוָ֡ה הַגְּדֻלָּה֩ וְהַגְּבוּרָ֨ה וְהַתִּפְאֶ֜רֶת וְהַנֵּ֣צַח וְהַה֗וֹד כִּי־כֹל֙ בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם וּבָאָ֔רֶץ לְךָ֤ יְהוָה֙ הַמַּמְלָכָ֔ה וְהַמִּתְנַשֵּׂ֖א לְכֹ֥ל ׀ לְרֹֽאשׁ׃ וְהָעֹ֤שֶׁר וְהַכָּבוֹד֙ מִלְּפָנֶ֔יךָ וְאַתָּה֙ מוֹשֵׁ֣ל בַּכֹּ֔ל וּבְיָדְךָ֖ כֹּ֣חַ וּגְבוּרָ֑ה וּבְיָ֣דְךָ֔ לְגַדֵּ֥ל וּלְחַזֵּ֖ק לַכֹּֽל׃
		Yours, O Lord, are the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heavens and on the earth is yours; yours is the kingdom, O Lord, and you are exalted as head above all. Riches and honor come from you, and you rule over all. In your hand are power and might; and it is in your hand to make great and to give strength to all.
Announcement of the Freewill Offering	29:13	וְעַתָּ֣ה אֱלֹהֵ֔ינוּ מוֹדִ֥ים אֲנַ֖חְנוּ לָ֑ךְ וּֽמְהַֽלְלִ֖ים לְשֵׁ֥ם תִּפְאַרְתֶּֽךָ׃
		And now, our God, we give thanks to you and praise your glorious name
Hypophora	29:14–15	וְכִ֨י מִ֤י אֲנִי֙ וּמִ֣י עַמִּ֔י כִּֽי־נַעְצֹ֣ר כֹּ֔חַ לְהִתְנַדֵּ֖ב כָּזֹ֑את כִּֽי־מִמְּךָ֣ הַכֹּ֔ל וּמִיָּדְךָ֖ נָתַ֥נּוּ לָֽךְ׃ כִּֽי־גֵרִ֨ים אֲנַ֧חְנוּ לְפָנֶ֛יךָ וְתוֹשָׁבִ֖ים כְּכָל־אֲבֹתֵ֑ינוּ כַּצֵּ֧ל ׀ יָמֵ֛ינוּ עַל־הָאָ֖רֶץ וְאֵ֥ין מִקְוֶֽה׃
		But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to make this freewill offering? For all things come from you, and of your own have we given you. For we are aliens and transients before you, as were all our ancestors; our days on the earth are like a shadow, and there is no hope.
Meditation	29:16	יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֵ֔ינוּ כֹ֣ל הֶהָמ֤וֹן הַזֶּה֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר הֲכִינֹ֔נוּ לִבְנֽוֹת־לְךָ֥ בַ֖יִת לְשֵׁ֣ם קָדְשֶׁ֑ךָ מִיָּדְךָ֥ היא [ה֖וּא] וּלְךָ֥ הַכֹּֽל
		O Lord our God, all this abundance that we have provided for building you a house for your holy name comes from your hand and is all your own.
Confession of Knowledge	29:17	וְיָדַ֣עְתִּי אֱלֹהַ֔י כִּ֤י אַתָּה֙ בֹּחֵ֣ן לֵבָ֔ב וּמֵישָׁרִ֖ים תִּרְצֶ֑ה אֲנִ֗י בְּיֹ֤שֶׁר לְבָבִי֙ הִתְנַדַּ֣בְתִּי כָל־אֵ֔לֶּה וְעַתָּ֗ה עַמְּךָ֤ הַנִּמְצְאוּ־פֹה֙ רָאִ֣יתִי בְשִׂמְחָ֔ה לְהִֽתְנַדֶּב־לָֽךְ׃
		I know, my God, that you search the heart, and take pleasure in uprightness; in the uprightness of my heart I have freely offered all these things, and now I have seen your people, who are present here, offering freely and joyously to you.
Petitions	29:18–19	יְהוָ֗ה אֱלֹהֵ֞י אַבְרָהָ֤ם יִצְחָק֙ וְיִשְׂרָאֵ֣ל אֲבֹתֵ֔ינוּ שֳׁמְרָה־זֹּ֣את לְעוֹלָ֔ם לְיֵ֥צֶר מַחְשְׁב֖וֹת לְבַ֣ב עַמֶּ֑ךָ וְהָכֵ֥ן לְבָבָ֖ם אֵלֶֽיךָ׃ וְלִשְׁלֹמֹ֣ה בְנִ֗י תֵּ֚ן לֵבָ֣ב שָׁלֵ֔ם לִשְׁמוֹר֙ מִצְוֹתֶ֣יךָ עֵדְוֹתֶ֖יךָ וְחֻקֶּ֑יךָ וְלַעֲשׂ֣וֹת הַכֹּ֔ל וְלִבְנ֖וֹת הַבִּירָ֥ה אֲשֶׁר־הֲכִינֽוֹתִי׃
		O Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our ancestors, keep forever such purposes and thoughts in the hearts of your people, and direct their hearts toward you. Grant to my son Solomon that with single mind he may keep your commandments, your decrees, and your statutes, performing all of them, and that he may build the temple for which I have made provision."
Narrative Framework: Liturgical Direction and Response	29:20	וַיֹּ֤אמֶר דָּוִיד֙ לְכָל־הַקָּהָ֔ל בָּֽרְכוּ־נָ֖א אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֑ם וַיְבָרְכ֣וּ כָֽל־הַקָּהָ֗ל לַיהוָה֙ אֱלֹהֵ֣י אֲבֹֽתֵיהֶ֔ם וַיִּקְּד֧וּ וַיִּֽשְׁתַּחֲו֛וּ לַיהוָ֖ה וְלַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃
		Then David said to the whole assembly, "Bless the LORD your God." And all the assembly blessed the LORD, the God of their ancestors, and bowed their heads and prostrated themselves before the LORD and the king.

Fig. 32

III. *Narrative Framework:* 1 Chr 29:10–20 is embedded in a narrative, and as a consequence we have more details about its rhetorical objectives and performance than we do about Isa 12:1–6 or the any of the psalms in the Hodayot. As described above, the setting of the dedication of the temple gives an occasion and contextualizes the discussion of benefaction that is taken up in the prayer. 1 Chr 29:10a also describes David as blessing in the context of a public assembly, so there is a clear indication of the discourse (blessing), the direct audience (God), and the indirect audience (the assembly). The narrative framework appears again in 1 Chr 29:20, where the narrator tells the Second Temple period audience of Chronicles how David instructed his audience to bless and how they responded. 1 Chr 29:20 contains a brief account of David's instruction to the audience to "[b]less the Lord your God" (1 Chr 29:20b). This part of the narrative framework indicates that such a liturgical prayer could be followed by a separate instruction to bless God (1 Chr 29:20c). The audience not only reacts by blessing God, they also "bowed their heads and prostrated themselves before the Lord and the king," performing a fully embodied response that was not explicitly directed by David (1 Chr 29:20c). The unprompted prostration suggests that it may have been a conventional posture to take when commanded to bless God in the Chronicler's context.[563] The assembly may have also responded with a collective

---

563. Compare to 1 Chr 16:36 where thanksgiving and praise is offered during the installation of the ark in Jerusalem. After the prayer, the people respond with "Amen" and their own praise without any coordinated prostration or directions from the leader(s).

blessing that I would suggest replicated David's blessing or was patterned after some other part

of the prayer, but we can only speculate about the exact details.[564]

IV. ברוך אתה *Introduction (1 Chr 29:10b):* The prayer begins with ברוך אתה יהוה (1 Chr 29:10b),

a formula that anchors the prayer in the Second Temple period. There is widespread agreement

that the ברוך אתה formula emerged as a way to bless God directly in the Second Temple

period.[565] Although in the Hebrew Bible ברוך אתה formulae are occasionally addressed to human

beings (Deut 28:3, 6; 1 Sam 15:13; 26:25) and ברוך is used sometimes used to bless God in a

third person mode of address (Gen 14:20; 2 Sam 22:47; Ps 18:47; 72:19), God is almost never

directly blessed in the second person. The only examples in the Hebrew Bible of ברוך אתה

directed to God are found in Ps 119:12 and 1 Chr 29:10, and as a consequence this passage is

foundational for understanding the use of the formula, which becomes more prevalent later in the

Hodayot and in other Second Temple period psalms and prayers.[566]

---

564. One possibility is that the people's blessing would have been patterned somehow on David's petition for the people: "O Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our ancestors, keep forever such purposes and thoughts in the hearts of your people, and direct their hearts toward you." (1 Chr 29:18). Such a blessing is suggested by the narrative framework, which describes how "all the assembly blessed the Lord, the God of their ancestors" (1 Chr 29:20). Perhaps there was a widely known blessing that went something like, "Blessed are You, O Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our ancestors" followed by a reworking of the petition into a participial phrase: "...who keeps forever such purposes and thoughts in the hearts of your people, and directs their hearts toward you." This suggestion is highly speculative, but it seems plausible that some set of cues and conventions would have enabled the audience to respond collectively, even if modern readers lack the background knowledge to discern the proper response.

565. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 28; Sheldon H. Blank, "Some Observations concerning Biblical Prayer," *HUCA* 32 (1961)," 88; See especially the discussion in Schuller, "Some Observations," 134–38; Esther G. Chazon, "Looking Back: What the Dead Sea Scrolls Can Teach Us about Biblical Blessings," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Nóra Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 155–171; Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation," 64; Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 143–44; Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns*, SJ 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977)," 77–103; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*," 79–84; Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ," 191–234.

V. *Meditation (1 Chr 29:11–12):* 1 Chr 29:11–12 is a theological meditation that makes an assertion about God, similar to what we find in the non-eschatological meditations in the Hodayot tradition:

> Yours, O Lord, are the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heavens and on the earth is yours; yours is the kingdom, O Lord, and you are exalted as head above all. Riches and honor come from you, and you rule over all. In your hand are power and might; and it is in your hand to make great and to give strength to all (1 Chr 29:11–12).[567]

Although this theological principle of God's ownership of all things is expressed as if it was addressed to God, it was probably intended to shape the audience's theology of wealth and possessions indirectly since the prayer is recited in their hearing and it concerns the intention behind their freewill offering.[568]

VI. *Announcement of Thanksgiving and Praise for the Freewill Offering (1 Chr 29:13):* One rhetorical move in 1 Chr 29:10–20 that does not appear in the Hodayot is the announcement of

---

566. Examples of ברוך אתה references (some partially reconstructed) can be found in: 1QS 11:15; 1QH^a 8:26; 13:22; 17:38; 18:16; 19:30, 32, 35; 22:34; 4Q284 2 ii 5; 3 3; 4Q291 1 5; 4Q414 2 ii–4 6; 27–28 2; 4Q503 33 i+34 20; 4Q511 16 4; 4Q512 33+35 6; 29–32 1, 8; 42–44 ii 3; 84 1. See Chazon, "Looking Back," 160–164 for a discussion of some of these examples.

567. The specific formulation of this assertion—לְךָ + vocative, where the vocative refers to God—only appears in psalms in Ps 38:15; 69:13; 101:1. There are some interesting parallels directed at human subjects, where the rhetorical force of the assertion is not meant to shape the perspective of a human audience, but rather the actual human addressee. In Song 8:12, the לְךָ + vocative is directed at Solomon rather than God and makes an assertion about Solomon's rights and privileges vis-à-vis the speaker's metaphorical vineyard. Here the speaker is shaping Solomon's understanding of what does and does not belong to him. Likewise, in 1 Chr 12:19, Amasai uses this form of the assertion to convince David that he is an ally rather than an enemy. A negative assertion is made in 2 Chr 26:18 when the priest Azariah and his cohort argued that it was within King Uzziah's rights to enter the temple and make an offering on the altar of incense. In comparison, these examples show how when the לְךָ + vocative formula is directed at God, it has a different and indirect rhetorical function than when it is used with human addressees. In the former the assertion is primarily meant to shape the audience's view of their own wealth, whereas in the latter cases, the assertion is primarily meant to shape the addressee's perspective.

568. To be clear there is an implied audience from the period of the monarchy and an implicit audience from the Chronicler's time. The theological principle is rhetorically aimed at the Chronicler's audience.

thanksgiving and praise for the freewill offering. 1 Chr 29:13 announces and characterizes what

David and the assembly are ostensibly doing in the prayer, giving thanks and praise as they

dedicate their freewill offering: וְעַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מוֹדִים אֲנַחְנוּ לָךְ וּמְהַלְלִים לְשֵׁם תִּפְאַרְתֶּךָ "And now, our

God, we give thanks to you and praise your glorious name."[569] Burke Long describes this

element as indicative of a "prayer of dedication" that "is spoken on the occasion of dedicating an

object, person, offering, or building to God."[570] The language of thanksgiving and praise suggests

a combination of declarative and descriptive praise, but in the narrative context of David's prayer

it can be further specified as a dedication of a freewill offering for the temple construction

project. In the case of 1 Chr 29:10–20, this rhetorical move gives a clearer sense of the liturgical

objective of the prayer, though David's objective is not solely a dedication of the offering. As the

following elements indicate, he has an additional objective with respect to his audience's

understanding of their wealth and their offering.

VII. *Hypophora (1 Chr 29:14–15):* After David's announcement of his thanksgiving and praise

for the freewill offering, the Chronicler employs a hypophora section (1 Chr 29:14–15) in which

the author answers his own questions, similar to what we find in the Hodayot. In 1 Chr 29:14–15,

the hypophora is used to disrupt the audience's assumptions about their offerings. David asks

"But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to make this freewill offering?"

---

569. The rhetorical move functions similarly to what Israel is instructed to say when dedicating their offering of
the first fruits described in Deut 26:10: וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה הֵבֵאתִי אֶת־רֵאשִׁית פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתָּה לִּי יְהוָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ "So
now I bring the first of the fruit of the ground that you, O Lord, have given me."
570. Burke O. Long, *2 Kings*, FOTL 10 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 308.

He responds first by restating the theological principle from the meditation, applying it to their ability to support the temple materially (29:11–12): "For all things come from you, and of your own have we given you" (1 Chr 29:14). In other words, David explains that they are able to make this offering because God first allocated them each a portion of God's wealth. Then David returns to the questions of "who am I, and what is my people," answering: "For we are aliens and transients before you, as were all our ancestors; our days on the earth are like a shadow, and there is no hope" (1 Chr 29:15). This construal of the wealthy donors of the assembly as aliens and transients who are simply giving back what God first gave to them is a radical and possibly an unwelcome redefinition of their more desirable status as benefactors of a monumental public works project.

David uses this hypophora to disrupt his audience's assumptions about their wealth by asserting that their offering and prestige are actually effects of God's greater generosity and universal ownership of all creation. In some respects, this use of the hypophora is similar to hypophora sections in the Hodayot because it not only shapes the audience's theology but also their self-image and their sense of complete dependence on God. The main difference is that in 1 Chr 29:14–15, the audience is dependent on God for wealth and status, whereas in the Hodayot the stakes are higher because the audience is dependent on God for insight, election, and salvation. In both settings, hypophora serves as a rhetorical move that achieves the didactic objective of shaping the audience's worldview.

VIII. *Meditation (1 Chr 29:16):* The second meditation (1 Chr 29:16) mirrors the first (1 Chr 29:11–12). David prays, "O Lord our God, all this abundance that we have provided for building you a house for your holy name comes from your hand and is all your own" (1 Chr 29:16).[571] This meditation reapplies to the particular situation of the assembly's freewill offering the principle that all wealth is God's wealth from the first meditation. It also draws out the implication that the current freewill offerings—and more importantly, future freewill offerings—all belong to God in the first place. Even in this short psalm, meditations are used multiple times to reiterate important theological principles. Meditations are similarly repeated in the Hodayot to engrain the theological principles of the divine plan into the audience. In both cases the meditations are couched in discourses of praise, often serving as the descriptions of God and God's mighty acts that are the basis of descriptive praise.

IX. *Confession of Knowledge (1 Chr 29:17):* 1 Chr 29:17 contains a rare biblical example of a confession of knowledge. Gunkel described 1 Chr 29:17 and other related passages as "something sounding like a confession," and De Vries classified this kind of formal structure as "a confession, not of guilt, but of utter dependence on the Yahweh whose greatness has been extolled in vv. 11–12."[572] 1 Chr 29:17 employs the same וידעתי כי formula that is characteristic of confessions of knowledge in the Hodayot:

---

571. Alternatively, this second meditation may be part of the response to the hypophora section. In this scenario, David would acknowledge that he and his people are not independently wealthy and that their material prosperity derives from God in the first place.

> "I know, my God, that (וְיָדַעְתִּי אֱלֹהַי כִּי) you search the heart, and take pleasure in uprightness" (1 Chr 29:17).

The emphasis of the confession is on affirming that both the speaker and the audience are making their offerings with upright intentions. In the present context, the confession implies that the offerings are given with the frame of mind that all wealth belongs to God. In other words, the speaker confesses that he and his audience are not giving as altruistic benefactors; rather, they are giving back what belongs to God anyway. This confession is rhetorically effective because it moves ahead by assuming the audience's agreement, subsuming any competing motivations for the offering. Furthermore, if the Second Temple audience was not entirely of the same mind with Chronicler about their material support for the rebuilt temple, David's confession on behalf of the upright assembly might incline them to adopt a similar view of giving so that they too might be counted among the upright assembly of their own era.[573] They might even convey their

---

572. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 33; De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 222. In De Vries's outline of 1 Chr 29:17, he labels this section as a "plea of innocence," that according to the glossary is "a statement formally declaring that one is not guilty of allegations or accusations made against him." The characterization of this section as a plea of innocence does not seem to fit in the context of the dedication of an offering, and there is no mention of guilt or innocence. There is a discrepancy with De Vries's discussion of the rhetorical move, which describes it instead as a "confession." This label from the discussion is more fitting than the label of "plea of innocence," especially since he identifies the passage as a confession of utter dependence rather than a confession of guilt or innocence. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 221–23, 433.

573. Gary Knoppers explained that "[o]ne cannot help but wonder whether the presentation of boundless kindness, the donation of 'freewill offerings to Yhwh with a whole heart' (29:9), is geared toward addressing the needs of the author's own time. Constructing a temple along with its attendant buildings was an expensive proposition in the ancient Mediterranean world and the maintenance and staffing of these buildings required a continuing investment of considerable resources. These costs could be offset, however, by the income that temples and palaces received or generated through offerings, endowments, conscription, gifts, taxes, booty, and tribute. But the Jerusalem Temple, unlike most other temples in the Achaemenid Empire, does not seem to have had its own extensive lands to support it. This meant that the Jerusalem Temple depended on the goodwill of supporters for its maintenance." Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 964–65.

acceptance of such a view by repeating the confession, demonstrating that they have internalized

the theology of wealth espoused by the Chronicler through David.

X. *Petitions (1 Chr 29:18–19)* The prayer closes with two petitions, one for the people (1 Chr

29:18) and another for Solomon (1 Chr 29:19):

> O Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our ancestors, keep forever such purposes and thoughts in the hearts of your people, and direct their hearts toward you. Grant to my son Solomon that with single mind he may keep your commandments, your decrees, and your statutes, performing all of them, and that he may build the temple for which I have made provision.

These petitions build on the overarching theme of intentions, asking God to ensure that the

people and Solomon maintain the upright heart and commitment to building and maintaining the

temple. David already confessed that the audience has this intent in the confession of knowledge

(1 Chr 29:17).

These petitions are the culmination of the prayer because they shift from dedicating the

offering and shaping the audience's view of wealth to the question of what the audience will do

in the future. In addition to serving the narrative function of foreshadowing developments in 2

Chronicles, these petitions further entrench David's view of wealth by lifting it up as an ideal for

future generations—the Chronicler's audience—with respect to supporting the temple.

Petitions in the Hodayot constitute a similar rhetorical move because they tend to ask

God to maintain the very thing that God is thanked and praised for providing. In David's case he

petitions God to maintain the audience's stance of generosity and obedience in future

generations, while in the Hodayot the speaker asks God to continue to protect, strengthen, and

purify the speaker in the same breath as he thanks God for doing the same.[574] In both cases there is a sense that whatever gains that have been made need to be carefully maintained, lest they be undone. David, however, does not seem concerned about his own conduct—the Chronicler's David can do no wrong—but the speaker in the Hodayot is acutely aware of his utter dependence on God's goodness and the tenuousness of God's provisional assistance.

4.4.2 1 Chr 29:10–20 in Gunkel and Westermann

Gunkel struggled to classify 1 Chr 29:10–20 in his schema because it contained formal structures that were characteristic of his psalms of complaint, thanksgiving, and hymns, the three major genres in Gunkel's schema. This difficulty stems from the same challenge of classifying formally hybrid psalms that produced similar contradictory results in Isa 12:1–6 and in the psalms of the Hodayot tradition. Initially, Gunkel identified 1 Chr 29:10–20 as a prose "prayer of thanksgiving;" however, later he includes it in his list of the biblical prose prayers that are comparable to the psalms of individual complaint.[575] Elsewhere Gunkel refers to key aspects of the prayer as examples of characteristic formal structures and performative features of hymns. For example, he included the meditation in 1 Chr 29:11 as one of the expressions of a hymn that "name the essence and qualities belonging to YHWH."[576] Likewise, he referred to the confession of knowledge in 1 Chr 29:17 as characteristic of the main part of a hymn.[577] Gunkel also used 1

---

574. See the discussion of petitions on pp. 194–200.
575. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 27, 121.
576. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 37.
577. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 32.

Chr 29:20 to illustrate the "bodily movements which accompany the singing of hymns."[578] In

sum, 1 Chr 29:10–20 has no secure place in Gunkel's schema because it has rhetorical moves

that led him to associate it in all three of his major genres. Once again it is apparent that the

definitional approach cannot accommodate a consistent classification of the genre of texts that

contain hybridized formal structures.

Even though Westermann never attempted to classify 1 Chr 29:10–20, his schema has the

flexibility to accommodate it. It does not belong to any of Westermann's primary genres because

a prayer to dedicate a freewill offering is very specific to a particular occasion. In this respect,

Westermann would have classified 1 Chr 29:10–20 as one of his smaller subgenres, a level lower

than his primary genres of psalms (see Fig. 34 below). When positioned on the triangular plot

(see Fig. 33 below), I would suggest that it does not fit squarely among the psalms of petition or

praise because it incorporates elements of both praise (1 Chr 29:10–17) and petition (vv. 18–19).

Rather, it seems to occupy a point somewhere along the middle of the spectrum of praise and

petition on the one hand, and descriptive and declarative praise on the other hand.

There are aspects of declarative praise in this prayer because it is blessing God for

making it possible to build the temple through the freewill offering of the people. Furthermore,

from David's perspective, the assembly's support is a specific divine blessing that ensures that

---

578. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, 45.

his plans for the temple will come to fruition, and in this respect there is an undertone of thanks

for helping David to achieve his objective.

1 Chr 29:10–20 in Westermann's Schema (Triangular Plot)
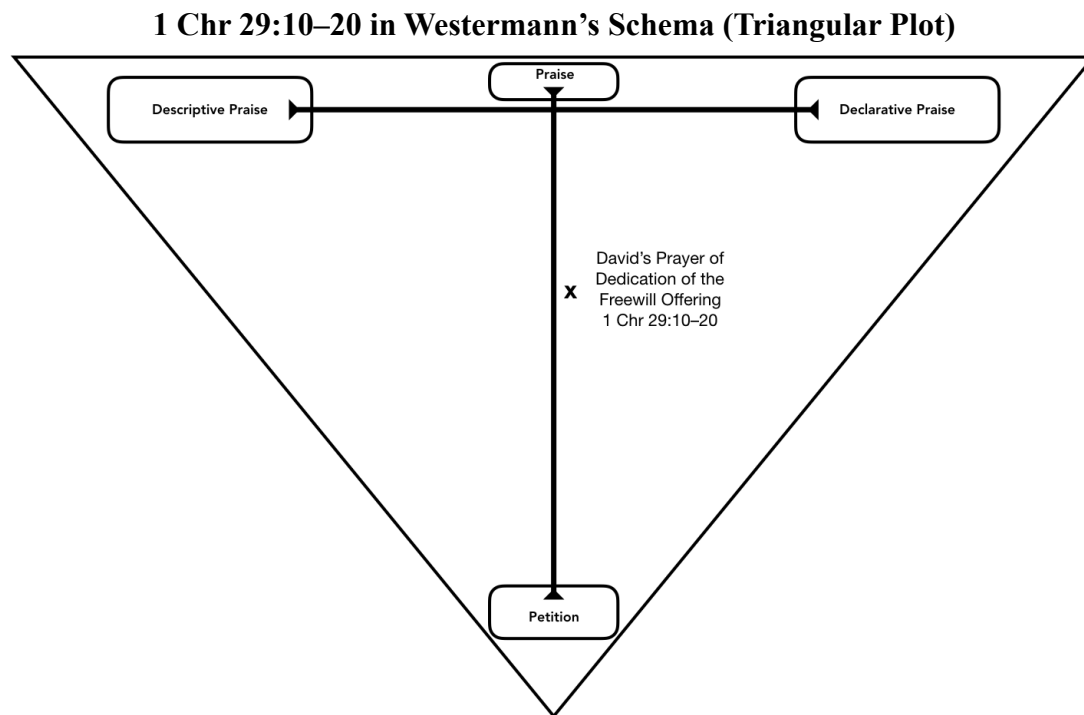
Fig. 33

Westermann's Expanded Generic Schema[579]

- □ Discourse: Petition
    - ◦ Genre: Psalm of Complaint of the People
    - ◦ Genre: Psalm of Complaint of the Individual
- □ Discourse: Praise
    - ◆ Mode of Praise: Declarative Praise
        - ◦ Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the People
        - ◦ Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the Individual
        - ◦ ***Genre: Eschatological Psalm of Thanksgiving (Isa 12:1–6)***
    - ◆ Mode of Praise: Descriptive Praise
        - ◦ Genre: Descriptive Psalm of Praise
            - – ***Subgenre: Psalm of Dedication of the Freewill Offering (1 Chr 29:10–20)***
        - ◦ Genre: Eschatological Psalm of Praise

Fig. 34

---

579. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 1, 34.

The psalm does not consist entirely of declarative praise because David takes the occasion of blessing God for the freewill offering to engage in a broader, more descriptive praise by ascribing all wealth to God, broadening the declarative praise of God for temple funds to a praise of God as the source for all wealth. In this respect, David uses the occasion for declarative praise to engage in descriptive praise that communicates a broader theological point to the audience. As a consequence, descriptive and declarative praise are somewhat evenly balanced in the psalm, perhaps with a slight advantage to declarative praise in view of the narrative context of the dedication of a freewill offering. The discourse of supplication in the psalm is subordinate to the praise of God, since the petitions trail at the end of the prayer and ask for a continuation of what God has already done by providing wealth and engendering generous dispositions among the donors.

4.4.3 Overview of 1 Chr 29:10–20 and Its Influence on the Hodayot Tradition

Within the Chronicler's prayer of dedication, he used a combination of a ברוך אתה introduction, meditations, a hypophora section, a confession of knowledge, and petitions to shape his audience's theology of wealth and attitude toward materially supporting the temple institution.[580] These rhetorical moves are less essential to the genre of the dedication, which is more or less achieved in the narrative context and the announcement of the freewill offering (1 Chr 29:13, 18–19). Rather, the meditations, hypophora, confessions of knowledge, and petitions

---

580. Within the narrative, the audience would be expected to continue to support the temple institution beyond an initial dedicatory offering. The Chronicler's audience would likewise be expected to support the institution of the Second Temple. See p. 252 n. 573.

serve the didactic objectives of the Chronicler in the formation of his audience's theology. Since

there is nothing tying these elements specifically to a prayer of dedication, it is not surprising

that these rhetorically powerful elements would be deployed in other generic contexts like the

psalms of the Hodayot.

The lines of influence between 1 Chr 29:10–20 and the Hodayot tradition are probably

much less direct than the kind of exegetical influence of Isa 12:1–6. Even though sectarian

psalmists undoubtedly knew of David's prayer, Chronicles did not exert a strong pull on the

literary and exegetical imaginations of the authors of sectarian literature. Comparatively few

quotations or allusions to Chronicles are found in the corpus, and there are no clear examples of

Chronicles manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, except perhaps 4Q118, which contains 2

Chr 28:27–29:3, but also has signs of being an excerpted or rewritten text.[581] This lack of

apparent interest in Chronicles and paucity of Chronicles manuscripts at Qumran raises the

possibility that the sectarian groups did not consider Chronicles valuable enough to acquire,

maintain, and copy, at least in quantities significant enough to have survived at Qumran.[582]

---

581. See citations of Chronicles in Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 191–95, 377–78. For discussion of Chronicles at Qumran see Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Édition préliminaire de 4QChronique," *RevQ* 15.4 (1992), 523–29; Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Chronicles, First and Second Books of," *EDSS*, 129; George J. Brooke, "The Books of Chronicles and the Scrolls from Qumran," in *Reflection and Refraction*, eds. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and Brian Aucker, VTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 38; James Nati, "New Readings in 4Q118 I (4QChronicles) and a Parallel at 4Q381 31 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B)," *RevQ* 29.1 (2017), 129–38.

Without any evidence of direct influence, it is more plausible that a generic palette

consisting of a similar set of rhetorical moves—perhaps without the highly specific move of the

announcement of the freewill offering—was more widely in use throughout the Second Temple

period. While it is possible that the Chronicler invented the strategy, but I consider it more

plausible that he drew on an existing generic palette of rhetorical moves that would have been

especially compelling for his audience.[583] The generic palette persisted as part of the rhetorical

repertoire throughout the Second Temple period because it appears at least once more in the

Hodayot. I would suggest that the generic palette that was used for composing David's prayer

was likewise selected for the Hodayot for the same reasons the Chronicler chose it: it was still a

persuasive pattern of rhetoric for late Second Temple period audiences, especially for achieving

the rhetorical objective of actively shaping the theological worldview of the audience.

1 Chr 29:10–20 also provides a framework for thinking about how a Second Temple

period audience of the Hodayot might respond to rhetorical strategies derived from the same

generic palette. The Chronicler provides the rare benefit of a narrative to tell us what happened

after David finished his prayer. The account of David's liturgical direction to bless and his

audience's response of blessing and prostration is especially important data for reconstructing

---

582. As always with interpretations of numbers of manuscripts at Qumran, we must keep in mind the caveat that the surviving manuscript count may not be representative and distort the original numbers of manuscripts possessed by the groups whose scrolls were deposited at Qumran. However, the minimal evidence for books from the Persian period—Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Esther—is very striking. For two recent discussions about the hazards of counting manuscripts, see Mika Pajunen, "Bible," *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 371–74; Eva Mroczek, "The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature," *JAJ* 6.1 (2015), 2–35.

583. See Japhet's discussion on p. 243.

how prayers and psalms with similar rhetorical strategies may have played out. In the first place, the Chronicler's narrative makes us aware that at least in some cases the performative dimensions of a liturgical psalm may be missing or incomplete when we only have the text of the psalm itself. 1 Chr 29:10–20 also attests to tacit conventions that shaped audience responses to the performance of liturgical psalms and prayers, such as knowing to prostrate when directed to bless. Since the Hodayot psalms are not embedded in a historiographical narrative, we are not given the benefit of a fulsome account that supplies the oral liturgical directions given to the audience or an account that hints at what tacit conventions they followed when obeying those directions. If the Chronicler's prayer can be used as a precedent for the performance of similar blessings, we can reconstruct at least one possible scenario for how the audience of the Hodayot tradition might have responded to rhetorical strategies with affinities to that of 1 Chr 29:10–20.

A final observation needs to be made about eschatology and the rhetorical strategy of 1 Chr 29:10–20. The Hodayot tradition draws from the same generic palette used by the Chronicler, but to a different end. For the Chronicler, the rhetorical moves of the palette were used to convey David's insight from the distant *past* in order to enlighten the Chronicler's audience about wealth to make them more generous toward the temple institution. In the Hodayot, opposite is the case. The psalmist uses similar rhetorical moves to convey insight about the eschatological *future* that enables the speaker and the audience to participate in eschatological praise. This change is the result of deploying the rhetorical moves in an already-

not yet eschatological framework. As a consequence, in the Hodayot tradition, many of the

meditations discuss eschatological aspects of the divine plan, expanding the rhetorical moves of

the palette to include eschatological meditations alongside non-eschatological meditations. In

this respect, the framework enables the two distinct strategies in 1 Chr 29:10–20 and Isa 12:1–6

to interlock functionally and rhetorically in the eschatologically-oriented psalms of the Hodayot

tradition. Both sets of rhetorical moves can be combined to cultivate audience insight into the

divine plan that provides a sound basis for a proper reply of praise.

4.4.4 Summary

In sum, this chapter has identified two unique precedents for the rhetorical moves found

in the Hodayot tradition: Isaiah's psalm (Isa 12:1–6) and David's prayer (1 Chr 29:10–20). Each

employs a rhetorical strategy consisting of a distinct subset of rhetorical moves that appeared in

the survey of rhetorical moves in the Hodayot tradition. I suggest that the reappearance of these

rhetorical moves in the Hodayot tradition indicates that there were separate generic palettes used

for Isaiah's psalm and David's prayer that were later drawn upon to create the rhetorical

strategies of the psalms in the Hodayot tradition. To lay the groundwork for classifying the

psalms of the Hodayot tradition, I classified Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 in Westermann's

schema. Although it was possible to classify 1 Chr 29:10–20 in Westermann's schema as a non-

eschatological subgenre (a dedication of a freewill offering), the eschatologically framed psalm

of thanksgiving in Isa 12:1–6 could not be classified in the existing schema. I proposed a new

eschatological spectrum for Westermann's schema that can accommodate the full range of eschatological praise, including the new genre of the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving that I proposed for Isa 12:1–6. I argued that Isa 12:1–6 exerted a direct exegetical influence on the Hodayot, while the rhetorical strategy found in 1 Chr 29:10–20 was probably taken by the Chronicler and the Hodayot psalmist(s) from a common or similar generic palette of rhetorical strategies that were available in the Second Temple period. Finally, I argued that both generic palettes are couched in an already-not yet apocalyptic eschatological framework in the Hodayot, and their common eschatological orientation enables the moves of those palettes to functionally and rhetorically interlock. Now that the spectrum of eschatological praise is in place and the precedents for the Hodayot tradition are classified, we can turn to the task of mapping out the Hodayot tradition in Westermann's schema and examining how and why the generic palettes attested by Isaiah's psalm and David's prayer have been used to create psalms with interlocked rhetorical strategies.

Chapter 5: Rhetorical Moves Analysis: Synthesis

5.1 *Introduction*

In this chapter, the rhetorical moves analysis of the psalms of the Hodayot tradition will

be completed by examining to what extent the psalms of the Hodayot tradition make the same

kinds of rhetorical moves made in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 and where the psalms of the

Hodayot tradition fall on the spectrum of eschatological praise proposed in the previous chapter.

A detailed examination of the rhetorical strategy of each psalm in the Hodayot is not possible,

but a broad comparison of the unique rhetorical moves made by each psalm can tell us how the

generic palettes attested separately in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 are combined to varying

degrees in the Hodayot. This blending of generic palettes results in the "hybridity" that has

impeded previous attempts at classifying the psalms. In the first section of this chapter I will

demonstrate how each of the delimited psalms in the Hodayot tradition interlock rhetorical

moves from both generic palettes, and I will indicate where they belong on the spectrum of

eschatological praise. In the second section, I will revisit the question of the persona of the

speaker to advance an alternative to the view that there are three "I"s in the Hodayot (the Teacher

or leader, the Maskil, and ordinary sectarians). In the third and final section, I will discuss the

speaker's liturgical and didactic rhetorical objectives and how they are reflected in what I argue

is the programmatic sequencing of psalms in 1QH[a].

5.2 *Reassessment of the Generic Categories of the Hodayot*

The psalms of the Hodayot tradition are difficult to classify because they have hybridized formal structures, or viewed through the lens of rhetorical moves analysis, they make rhetorical moves from distinct generic palettes. I would argue that this hybridity is not the result of some kind of degradation of "pure" genres; rather, it is a purposeful "interlocking" of rhetorical moves from existing generic palettes of rhetorical moves to achieve a set of related rhetorical objectives. It is my contention that the vast majority of psalms draw from a primary and secondary generic palette. These two rhetorical palettes correspond roughly to the rhetorical strategies exemplified in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20. I am proposing two interlocking generic categories for the Hodayot on the basis of the overlapping use of these generic palettes: 1) the genre of "eschatological psalms of thanksgiving" (=EPT), and 2) what I am calling the subgenre of "psalms of hymnic confession" (=PHC).[584] The former is for psalms that participate primarily in the primary generic palette of Isa 12:1–6 while the latter is for psalms that participate in a generic palette very similar to 1 Chr 29:10–20. As discussed at the end of Chapter 4, these generic palettes have been adapted to fit into an already-not yet eschatological context.

---

584. The genre of the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving was proposed in Chapter 4 on p. 234. The subgenre of psalms of hymnic confession was not proposed earlier, though it falls at the same level of the subgenre of the prayer of the dedication of the freewill offering. The term "psalms of hymnic confession" is borrowed from Morawe's generic term, *hymnischen Bekenntnislieder*. Morawe's term is apropos because of the emphasis of the rhetorical strategy on descriptive praise and its signature confessions of knowledge that set it apart from the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving. Kuhn employed a related term of *Bekenntnislieder des Frommen* as an alternative name for the Community Hymns. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 140.

The rhetorical moves surveyed in ch. 3 can be divided into three sets. The first set

includes four rhetorical moves that are not clearly aligned with either of the generic palettes and

are mostly concerned with the speaker's[585] self-identification or his guiding of the performance

of the psalms. These include the 1) ואני משכיל introduction, 2) recollections of the speaker, 3)

resolutions, and 4) exhortations.[586] The paratextual element of superscriptions can be included in

this group as well because it is not necessarily restricted to a single generic palette and could be

used for any genre of psalm. This first set of rhetorical moves is not a generic palette proper;

rather, it is a group of highly adaptable features without strong associations with either generic

palette.

The second set includes four rhetorical moves from the generic palette of the

eschatological psalm of thanksgiving:[587] 1) an אודכה אדוני כי introductory formula, 2) accounts of

distress, 3) accounts of provisional assistance, 4) accounts of eschatological deliverance.[588] As

---

585. I distinguish between the author and the implied speaker. There is very little we can say about the actual author/psalmists. Psalmists write for and assign intentions to an implied speaker, regardless of whether that speaker is someone else, themselves, or even a respected figure from the past. In this respect, the speaker is constructed by the text and actualized by real readers or performers of the text. See Newsom's discussion of the speaking subject and subject of speech for further nuancing of the "I" of the psalms. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 199–200.

586. There is a resolution in Isa 12:1–6 that anticipates the descriptive praise of the hymnic section. I do not include resolutions in the set of rhetorical moves that make up the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving because a resolution to praise could be employed with respect to declarative or descriptive praise alike. Likewise, exhortations can direct an audience to listen to declarative praise or participate in descriptive praise. I consider both of these rhetorical moves too flexible to align strongly with one of the strategies.

587. Here I am not including the hymnic section that concludes Isa 12:1–6 (vv. 4–6) in the rhetorical strategy of the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving because it is a rhetorical move that is more consistent with the descriptive end of the spectrum. As discussed in the previous chapter, Isa 12:1–6 is not itself a unhybridized eschatological psalm of thanksgiving because it incorporates this imperative hymnic section as a subsidiary rhetorical move.

588. A psalm does not have to employ every rhetorical move belonging to a rhetorical strategy to participate in the genre. See the discussion on See the discussion on p. 97.

previously discussed, these moves have been modulated by the already-not yet eschatological framework, resulting in the inclusion of the account of provisional assistance.[589]

The third set includes rhetorical moves that constitute the generic palette of the psalms of hymnic confession. They consist of 1) the ברוך אתה אדוני introductory formula, 2) the ברוך אתה אדוני subsection formula, 3) non-eschatological meditations, 4) eschatological meditations, 5) confessions of knowledge, 6) hypophora sections, 7) hymnic sections,[590] and 8) petitions. Because the psalms of hymnic confession contain the rhetorical moves such as meditations, confessions of knowledge and hypophora sections that are the most concerned with descriptive praise, I have grouped the rare element of imperative hymnic sections with the psalms of hymnic confession.[591] The generic palette is also expanded by additional ברוך אתה אדוני subsections that do not appear in 1 Chr 29:10–20. Additionally, the psalm of hymnic confession differs from 1 Chr 29:10–20 because it is eschatologically framed and it does not contain an announcement of the freewill offering. Along with the psalms of dedication, I would group the psalm of hymnic

---

589. See p. 238.

590. Hymnic sections in the Hodayot are introduced with exhortations, but I am counting exhortations that accompany hymnic sections as a single rhetorical move in the psalms of hymnic confession since imperative hymnic sections conventionally belong together. Hymnic sections do not appear in 1 Chr 29:10–20, but I am including them with the rhetorical strategy of the psalm of hymnic confession because hymnic sections are quintessentially descriptive praise and do not contribute to the primary rhetorical objective of eschatological psalms of thanksgiving to engage in eschatologically framed declarative praise.

591. Isa 12:1–6 has an imperative hymnic section in vv. 4b–6. In the Hodayot tradition, the addition of the hymnic section to the rhetorical moves found in 1 Chr 29:10–20 might be influenced by the imperative hymnic section in Isa 12:4b–6, at the point where declarative praise has given rise to descriptive praise. In the Hodayot tradition, imperative hymnic sections do not appear in eschatological psalms of thanksgiving; rather, they appear to have migrated to the hymnic confession psalms rhetorical strategy in 1QHᵃ 25:34–27:3 (26:26b–26:42). See p. 265 n. 587.

confession with the smaller subgenres in Westermann's schema that he subordinated beneath his

primary genres.[592]

New Generic Categories in Westermann's Schema

◆ Discourse: Petition

    – Genre: Psalm of Complaint of the People

    – Genre: Psalm of Complaint of the Individual

◆ Discourse: Praise

    ◦ Mode of Praise: Declarative Praise

        – Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the People

        – Genre: Declarative Psalm of Praise of the Individual

        – ***Genre: <u>Eschatological</u> Psalm of Thanksgiving****

    ◦ Mode of Praise: Descriptive Praise

        – Genre: Descriptive Psalm of Praise

        – Genre: <u>Eschatological</u> Psalm of Praise

            ■ ***Subgenre: Psalms of Hymnic Confession****

Spectrum of Petition and Praise

Spectrum of Praise

Spectrum of Eschatological Praise

Fig. 35

When the kind of rhetorical strategy found in 1 Chr 29:10–20 no longer makes the

rhetorical move of the announcement of the freewill offering, I would argue that it becomes

oriented toward a less situational rhetorical objective that emphasizes the descriptive praise of

God and the inculcation of a theological perspective in the audience. I would locate the psalms of

hymnic confession further toward the descriptive praise end of the spectrum. However, the

psalms of hymnic confession are not purely devoted to descriptive praise because every psalm

participates to some degree in declarative praise through the consistent incorporation of accounts

of provisional assistance. Consequently, the psalms of hymnic confession should not be located

at the far extreme of the descriptive praise end of the spectrum where examples of unhybridized

---

    592. Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 35.

psalms of eschatological praise would belong, but at the centre where descriptive and declarative

praise are more evenly balanced.

For the purposes of this discussion, we can focus exclusively on just one of the three

spectrums in Westermann's schema, the spectrum of eschatological praise. Since both the psalms

of hymnic confession and eschatological thanksgiving fall along this eschatological spectrum of

praise, they are more functionally and rhetorically compatible than Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–

20, which fall on eschatological and non-eschatological spectrums of praise, respectively. The

proximity of psalms of hymnic confession and psalms of eschatological thanksgiving along the

spectrum of eschatological praise emphasizes that they can have interlocking rhetorical

objectives tied to an eschatological worldview, a point that I will argue below.[593]

New Generic Categories on the Spectrum of Eschatological Praise

Pure Descriptive Praise   Both Modes Equally Combined   Pure Declarative Praise

Mode: Eschatological Descriptive Praise   Mode: Eschatological Declarative Praise

Genre: Eschatological Psalms of Praise   Genre: Eschatological Psalms of Thanksgiving

Subgenre: Psalms of Hymnic Confession

Fig. 36

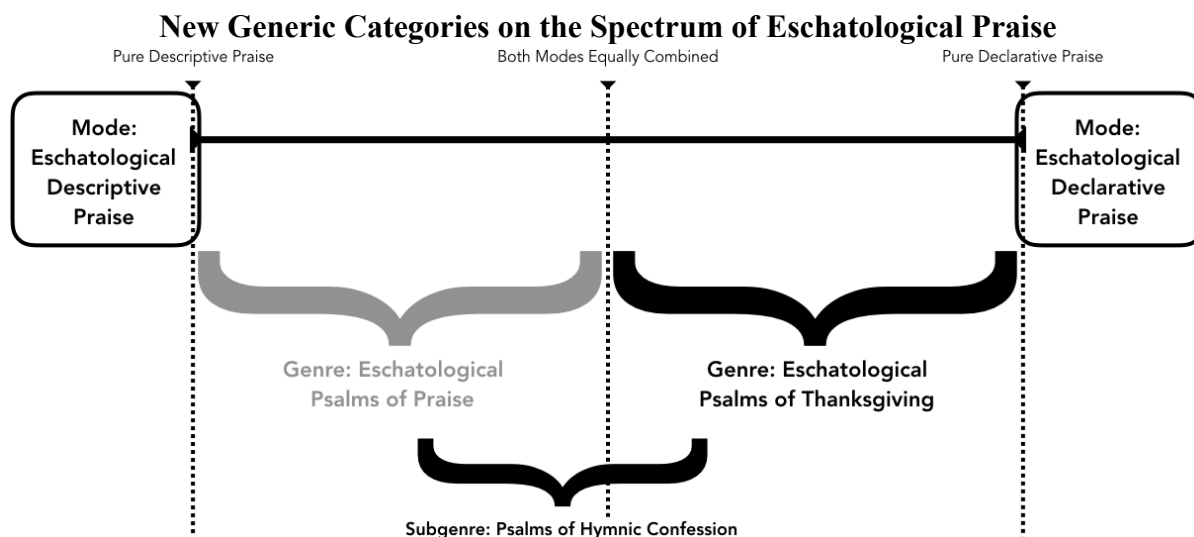593. Although the petitions in the Hodayot affect where some psalms fall along the spectrum of petition and praise, I am focusing on the most significant spectrum for this study—the spectrum of eschatological praise. More work remains to be done on identifying the full range of petitions and supplications in the Hodayot to consider the psalms in terms of Westermann's spectrum of petition and praise. See p. 194.

Fig. 36 is a schematic illustration to help conceptualize the place of the generic categories of the Hodayot tradition on the spectrum. Each generic category occupies a range on the overall spectrum of eschatological praise. The genre of eschatological psalms of praise is rendered in grey to indicate that it is not being used to classify the psalms of the Hodayot. The two generic categories that are used to classify the psalms of the Hodayot tradition are rendered in black. In the hierarchy of Westermann's schema, the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving are at the level of a genre, while the psalms of hymnic confession are at the level of a subgenre. This subgenre straddles the midpoint between descriptive and declarative praise where both modes of praise are equally mixed, though it is skewed toward the descriptive end of the spectrum.

In addition to showing the place of the generic categories in the spectrum, fig. 36 also depicts an overlap of the psalms of hymnic confession and eschatological psalms of thanksgiving. The generic categories cover overlapping stretches of the spectrum of eschatological praise because it is already clear from the survey of elements in Chapter 3 that most psalms in the Hodayot incorporate rhetorical moves from both strategies to some degree. Thus, to map individual psalms onto this spectrum, we need to know the extent to which each psalm participates in each generic palette. It is challenging to establish the primary and secondary rhetorical strategies of a given composition because the poor state of many of the psalms leaves us with a significant number of rhetorical moves that have been lost. As a result, we only have a partial picture of the rhetorical strategy used in many cases. Furthermore,

counting, weighting, and comparing every move from each strategy in each psalm would result

in a distorted picture,[594] especially for the longer and more fragmentary psalms in 1QHª cols. 5–8

and 21–26, not to mention the extremely fragmentary material in cols 2–4 and 27–28.[595]

To minimize this distortion, I have adopted the approach of counting how many unique

usages of each rhetorical move there are in a psalm. That is to say, the repetition of rhetorical

moves are not figured into the calculation. The purpose of counting unique moves is not to

establish how much a particular rhetorical move or generic palette is used, but to what extent the

full range or rhetorical moves from the generic palettes are represented in a given psalm. For

example, I would consider a psalm that contains each of the four rhetorical moves of the psalms

of eschatological thanksgiving to participate more fully in the generic palette than a psalm that

only contains two of the four, but contains multiple instances of each.

The following chart indicates what percentage of the total rhetorical moves from each

generic palette is used in each psalm, insofar as the psalms are preserved.

Percentage of Moves from EPT and PHC Generic Palettes in Each Psalm			
Psalm	EPT % (four moves)	PHC % (eight moves)	Primary % - Secondary %[596]
5:12–6:41	25%	75%	50% PHC
7:21–8:41	25%	88%	63% PHC
9:1–10:4	50%	38%	12% EPT (Balanced)
10:5–21	75%	0%	75% EPT

594. Part of the distortion would come from single rhetorical moves interrupted by one or more lacunae that would multiply the number of rhetorical moves of that type.

595. Col. 1 is only a hypothetical column with no fragments assigned.

596. This column subtracts the secondary percentage from the primary percentage to gain a rough sense of the extent to which the psalm participates in the dominant strategy.

Percentage of Moves from EPT and PHC Generic Palettes in Each Psalm			
Psalm	EPT % (four moves)	PHC % (eight moves)	Primary % - Secondary %
10:22–32	100%	0%	100% EPT
10:33–11:19	100%	25%	75% EPT
11:20–37	50%	38%	12% EPT (Balanced)
11:38–12:5	75%	0%	75% EPT
12:6–13:6	100%	50%	50% EPT
13:7–21	75%	0%	75% EPT
13:22–15:8	75%	50%	25% EPT
15:9–28	75%	0%	75% EPT
15:29–36	50%	25%	25% EPT
15:37–16:4	100%	13%	87% EPT
16:5–19:5	100%	50%	50% EPT
19:6–20:6	75%	63%	12% EPT (Balanced)
20:7–22:42	75%	75%	0% (Balanced)
23:1–25:33	75%	63%	12% EPT (Balanced)
25:34–27:3	25%	50%	25% PHC

Fig. 37

The percentages of unique moves made in each psalm helps us gain some sense of the primary and secondary rhetorical strategy. It must be emphasized that the percentages are not absolute because psalms are not completely preserved and rhetorical moves are missing. The percentages only indicate the extent to which the remains of the psalms participate in the two generic palettes.

The psalms can be distributed onto the spectrum of eschatological praise by the strength of their primary strategy:[597]

Psalms of the Hodayot in the New Generic Categories

Pure Descriptive Praise	Both Modes Equally Combined	Pure Declarative Praise

Mode: Eschatological Descriptive Praise							Mode: Eschatological Declarative Praise

Eschatological Psalm of Thanksgiving in the Hodayot

100% PHC (no EPT)	50%–63% Primarily PHC	12% Primarily PHC	Balanced	12% Primarily EPT	100% EPT (no PHC)
X	5:12–6:41 7:21–8:41	25:34–27:3	9:1–10:4 11:20–37 19:6–20:6 20:7–22:42 23:1–25:33	10:33– 11:19 12:6–13:6 13:22–15:8 15:29–36 15:37–16:4 16:5–19:5	10:5–21 10:22–32 11:38–12:5 13:7–21 15:9–28

Psalms of Hymnic Confession in the Hodayot

Genre: Eschatological Psalms of Praise

Genre: Eschatological Psalms of Thanksgiving

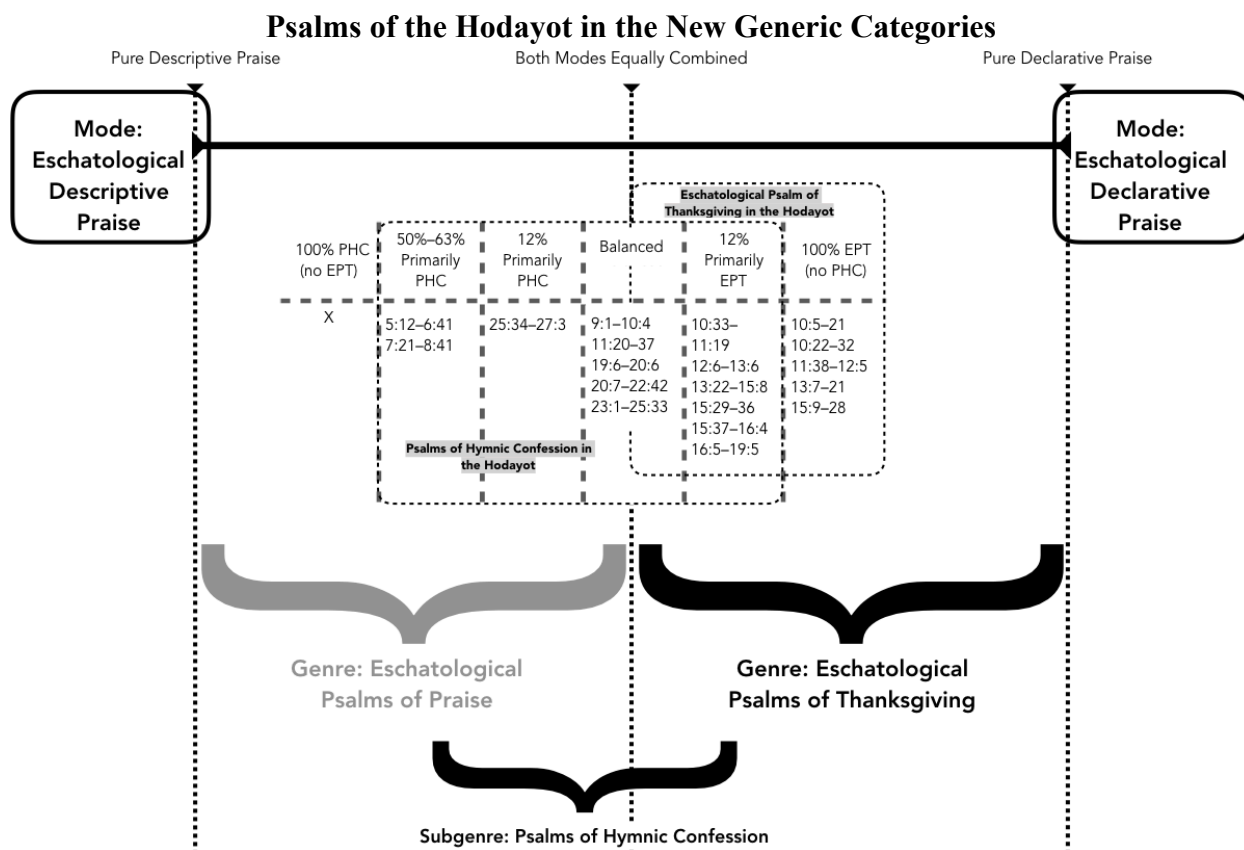Subgenre: Psalms of Hymnic Confession

Fig. 38

The psalms in left columns of the spectrum contain primarily rhetorical moves from the psalms of hymnic confession and the right columns contains psalms that are primarily or entirely psalms of eschatological thanksgiving. There are no unhybridized psalms of hymnic confession because every psalm has at least one account of provisional assistance from the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving. At the far right of the spectrum are psalms that only contain rhetorical moves from the generic palette of the eschatological psalm of thanksgivings. There is only one case (1QHª

---

597. The psalms are located on the spectrum by calculating the percentage of rhetorical moves of both rhetorical strategies. The psalms are grouped into tranches by subtracting the percentage of the secondary strategy from the primary strategy. It must be emphasized that this is not a scientific chart but a schematic illustration that gives a basic sense of where the psalms fall along the spectrum of eschatological praise and how much the psalms of hymnic confession and eschatological thanksgiving overlap.

10:22–32) where all four of the rhetorical moves of the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving are made without being interlocked with any rhetorical moves from the psalms of hymnic confession. Psalms that fall in "primarily" categories contain a percentage of rhetorical moves in one of the generic palettes by more than 12%. The psalms at the centre of the spectrum are psalms that employ both generic palettes to equal or near-equivalent extents—that is, within 12% of each other.[598]

As a result, we are left with eleven eschatological psalms of thanksgiving (1QH^a 10:5–21; 10:22–32; 10:33–11:19; 11:38–12:5; 12:6–13:6; 13:7–21; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28; 15:29–36; 15:37–16:4; 16:5–19:5), three lengthy psalms of hymnic confession (1QH^a 5:12–6:41; 7:21–8:41; 25:34–27:3), and five balanced psalms (9:1–10:4; 11:20–37; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42; 23:1–25:33).[599] A more thorough analysis of each psalm needs to be done to confirm the rough approximation of primary and secondary rhetorical strategies offered here, but such a project goes well beyond what can be accomplished in this study.

The rough figures above demonstrate the close conceptual linkages of declarative and descriptive praise in the psalms of the Hodayot tradition. In the Hodayot, both generic categories of praise are founded upon and motivated by knowledge of the divine plan for the elect that is communicated mainly in the confessions of knowledge and meditations that are distributed

---

598. The unevenness and seemingly arbitrary percentages are the result of the number of rhetorical moves in each strategy and how they constrain results.
599. See fig. 39 on p. 286.

throughout the corpus. With knowledge of the divine plan expressed in the rhetorical moves of the psalms of hymnic confession, an individual can both praise God in general terms or confess specifically how God has acted to protect and assist him or her in the present and how God will provide ultimate deliverance and vindication at the end of the eschatological age. The presence of secondary strategies in nearly every psalm demonstrates that descriptive praise is never entirely decoupled from declarative praise and in most cases declarative praise is always founded upon the insight into God's plan contained in descriptive praise. In this respect, even when recounting God's plan and blessing God for it in general terms, the speaker persistently makes at least some rhetorical move to situate himself in the divine plan and in the eschatological conflict as the recipient of divine assistance.

In sum, the main takeaway is that the generic categories of the Hodayot are even more "hybridized" than scholars have previously recognized, preventing any simplistic division of the psalms into two categories. Although two generic categories can be identified in the Hodayot tradition, they are formally—and I would argue functionally—interlocked with each other. This interlocked relationship makes it unfeasible to tease the two genres completely apart and treat them as redactional blocks of material (CH I, TH, and CH II). Rather, the common thread of accounts of provisional assistance and the interlocking rhetorical strategies indicate that the Hodayot tradition is tightly and intentionally woven together to achieve an interrelated set of

rhetorical objectives. To better understand these objectives, we need to turn back to the much discussed question of the identity of the "I" of the psalms.

5.3 *The Speaker*

One of the primary barriers to reading the Hodayot tradition as a coherent and interlocking corpus of psalms is the Teacher hypothesis—that the Teacher of Righteousness is the author or is the intended speaker of a subset of the psalms of the Hodayot tradition. Although it is generally agreed that the Teacher hypothesis goes well beyond the evidence, the impression persists that there are still multiple speakers in the Hodayot tradition. The most widely accepted version of this view is Newsom's identification of three speakers 1) the distinctive "I" of the leader (possibly the Mebaqqer or Paqid, but not the Maskil), 2) the institutional "I" of the Maskil, and 3) the ordinary "I" of the average sectarian.[600] This approach is convenient in the sense that it allows the familiar Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema to continue on under new leadership; however, I would argue that it constructs an unnecessarily complicated explanation of the "I" and moves too quickly past the simplest solution. I suggest that Jacob Licht's early proposal that the Maskil is the intended speaker in the Hodayot tradition has more explanatory potential and best fits the evidence.

Licht's proposal that the Maskil is the speaker was made very early on in 1957 and was not considered again in much depth except to be explicitly rejected by Jeremias and Newsom.[601]

---

600. See discussion on p. 53.

601. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 24–26; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 294; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 176–78.

Part of the reason his proposal was never taken up is because the Maskil superscriptions were only apparent decades later after Puech's publication of the material reconstruction of 1QH[a] in 1988. Although למשכיל was preserved on 1QH[a] frg. 8 (1QH[a] 25:34), it was not recognizable as a superscription on the basis of frg. 8 alone. Even though Licht had access to this fragment, he does not cite its reference to the Maskil in his proposal nor is frg. 8 discussed in his commentary.[602] He relied on the description of the Maskil in 1QS to correlate the "I" of the Hodayot with the Maskil. Since he did not have the advantage of the references for the Maskil in the Hodayot, I will pull together this evidence in support of Licht's original proposal.

To make the case that the Maskil is the implied speaker[603] in the Hodayot, we must return to the superscriptions and the ואני משכיל introduction. These features were not employed in the rhetorical strategies of Isa 12:1–6 or 1 Chr 29:10–20, and I suggest that they were introduced in the Hodayot tradition to play the primary role of identifying the speaker, his role, and his objectives in the performance of the 1QH[a] arrangement of psalms. These features give the clearest indication that the Maskil is the speaker in the collection by providing a group of psalms that are explicitly associated with the Maskil. The ואני משכיל in 1QH[a] 20:14 identifies the psalm

---

602. Licht preferred to treat substantial fragments, especially those that could be reconstructed with the rest of the manuscript. Since frg. 8 was unplaced until Puech's reconstruction in 1988, it did not enter into his analysis or even into his index of Hebrew words in the Hodayot. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 24–6; Puech, "Quelques aspects," 49.

603. To be clear, I am not arguing that the Maskil is the author. Rather, I am advocating the position that the psalms are written for the Maskil to perform as the speaker. I hold the view that the Maskil is not a single person but an office that presumably multiple people could occupy. Licht held a similar view of the Maskil as a high level office rather than a singular leader or a name for ordinary members. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll*, 25. An office cannot be the author of a text, but it can be the designated speaker.

in 1QHª 20:7–22:42 as a psalm for the Maskil to perform. As discussed in Chapter 3, since this

psalm also has a Maskil superscription (1QHª 20:7–14a), we can infer that the other Maskil

superscriptions were probably intended for the Maskil to perform as well. This establishes a base

of at least four lengthy psalms that were intended for the Maskil as the speaker (1QHª 5:12–6:41;

7:21–?,[604] 20:7–22:42; 25:34–27:3).

The Teacher/Leader Hypothesis depends on the distinction between the special and

highly personal discourse of the speaker over and against the more general discourse of the

Maskil or of ordinary sectarians. However, I would argue that such a distinction exists because

the Maskil was proficient in making the rhetorical moves from both rhetorical palettes, including

the highly personalized moves like accounts of distress, provisional assistance, and

eschatological deliverance.[605] In the psalms explicitly associated with the Maskil's office, he

delivers almost the full range of rhetorical moves in both palettes: ברוך אתה אדוני formulae for

psalms and psalm subsections (1QHª 5:15), a Maskil introduction (5:15), non-eschatological and

eschatological meditations (e.g. 5:16b–18; 21:27b–30); confessions of knowledge (5:35b–38;

22:13b–14a); hypophora sections (5:30b–35a; 20:30b–39); exhortations (26:9b–19, 26b, 31aa,

41b), hymnic sections (26:26c–30, 31ab–32a, 41c–42); at least one petition (22:37b), resolutions

(e.g. 6:32b–36a; 21:18; 25:36–37), and a recollection of the speaker (6:29b–32a). The only kind

---

604. The traces of a Maskil superscription on the bottom of frg. 10 may not belong in col. 7, but they do indicate that at least one additional Maskil psalm, possibly somewhere before col. 4, where Qimron has suggested frg. 10 belongs. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:9, 66, 105.

605. The speaker's recollections of what he did and said when he joined the elect group is evidence that the speaker can empathize with ordinary sectarians. See the recollections of the speaker on p. 215.

of rhetorical move that is not explicitly marked as part Maskil's discourse is the אודכה אדוני כי

introductory formula.[606] The Maskil's use of virtually all of the rhetorical moves across both

rhetorical palettes establishes that the full gamut of sectarian discourse was explicitly scripted for

the Maskil at some point in the collection.

Newsom argues that the leader hymns (1QHᵃ 10:5–21, 12:6–13:6, 13:7–21, 13:22–15:8,

15:9–28, and 16:5–17:36) stand apart as a separate category because "[t]he speaker does not

appear as integrated into a hierarchically organized community but stands apart from the

community as a solitary leader."[607] She does not merge her categories of the psalms of the Maskil

and the psalms of the leader because "they seem quite different in tone and self-representation

from the psalms of the persecuted leader."[608] The persona of this persecuted leader in the

Hodayot is "represented in a highly personal way" as "a figure of emotion, an object of personal

hatred and personal loyalty."[609] Newsom considers the figures of the Mebaqqer or the Paqid as

better candidates for this persona than the Maskil because their duties in 1QS and CD include

boundary maintenance and dealing with disputes and dissension.[610]

The chief difficulty with this argument is that it overlooks that the Maskil also had a

prominent and deeply involved role in boundary maintenance and dealing with dissension that is

---

606. The Maskil is not explicitly scripted to say an אודכה אדוני כי formula because the psalms beginning with the formula do not have superscriptions.

607. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 295.

608. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 299.

609. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 294–95.

610. CD 9:18–19; 13:7–16; 14:11–12; 1QS 6:14–15, 20. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 297–98.

so fundamental to the Hodayot of the leader. In 1QS 9:12–21 the Maskil is charged with

boundary maintenance:

> He is to discern who are the true Sons of Righteousness and to weigh each man's spiritual qualities, sustaining the chosen ones of his own time in keeping with His will and what He has commanded. In each case he shall decide what a man's spiritual qualities mandate, letting him enter the *Yahad* if his virtue and understanding of the Law measure up. By the same standards he shall determine each man's rank.[611]

The Maskil also deals with internal and external disputes. The Maskil proclaims that:

> [External conflict:] The multitude of evil men I shall not capture until the Day of Vengeance; yet my fury shall not abate from Men of the Pit, and I shall never be appeased until righteousness be established. [Internal dissension:] I shall hold no angry grudge against those repenting of sin yet neither shall I love any who rebel against the Way; the smitten I shall not comfort until their walk be perfected. I shall give no refuge in my heart to Belial (1QS 10:19–21).

This passage reflects the speaker's antagonism against external opponents and his role in

correcting the elect and rejecting rebellious members. The Maskil's role in dealing with dissent

overlaps with boundary maintenance since he weighs spiritual qualities in order to admit,

promote, or reject members of the group (see also 1QH^a 6:32).

The Maskil is also charged with reproving the elect and concealing special insight into

the law from outsiders. In 1QS 9:16–17, the Maskil describes his opposition to "the men of the

pit." This passage adds that he is responsible for cultivating the insight of the elect through

reproof while withholding insight—or in the words of 1QH^a 16:23–26, withdrawing his hand—

from non-elect (1QS 9:16–18).[612] Moreover, in 1QS 9:23–24 the Maskil is portrayed as: "a zealot

---

611. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *A New Translation*, 131.

for God's law whose time will come: even the Day of Vengeance. He shall work God's will when he attacks the wicked and exercise authority as He has commanded." These passages are unambiguous about the centrality of the Maskil in the eschatological conflict, building up the elect while vigorously opposing the non-elect.[613]

In light of these passages, I would argue that the Maskil possesses the special leadership roles that Newsom ascribes to the persona of the leader in the Hodayot.[614] It stands to reason that anyone holding the office of the Maskil—who is personally responsible for evaluating, admitting, and rejecting people from the elect group—would be just as much of "a figure of emotion, an object of personal hatred and personal loyalty" as the Mebaqqer or the Paqid. However, neither of the latter two are mentioned in the Hodayot, while the Maskil is.[615]

---

612. Note that the translation supplies "Instructor" where there is only ואשר. The translation is picking up the antecedent "Instructor" (Maskil) from 1QS 9:12. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *A New Translation*, 131.

613. Amihay makes the intriguing suggestion that the Maskil is an "eschatological officer" whose future duties were "supplemented with authorities and duties for the present" including "the curation and instruction of esoteric knowledge, connecting his present duties with his future role." Amihay works primarily with reference to CD and 1QS, but I suggest 1QHᵃ supports his reading of the Maskil as an eschatological officer. Amihay, *Theory and Practice*, 146–51; see especially 150.

614. See also Newman's discussion of the Maskil as the "chief teacher and exemplar in the Yaḥad." Newman, *Before the Bible*, 112–15.

615. It may not be accurate to treat the Paqid, Mebaqqer, and the Maskil as contemporary leadership figures that had distinct contemporaneous roles. Metso raises the question of whether there was really such a number of leadership figures with administrative duties because "it is difficult to see how all these leaders could have functioned as administrators of the Essene movement without a bureaucratic nightmare or some serious clashes of egos." She asks "to what degree these passages in [sectarian compositions] describing organizational units can be taken as representative of actual life and activity among the Essenes at any single given time and place, and to what degree they should be viewed as literary works that during their transmission processes took lives of their own and were often separated from their original mooring." We cannot dismiss the possibility that sectarian texts give us a flattened picture of the development of the sect administrator or a conflated view of administrators from different groups within the sect. Sarianna Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, eds. Florentino Garcia Martínez and Mladen Popović, STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 233.

Newsom also identified two additional types of speakers in the psalms assigned to the Maskil and to ordinary sectarians. According to Newsom, the "I" of these psalms does not exhibit the distinctive markers of the leader persona. Even if the speaker does not identify himself as a leader and a figure of emotion in these "non-leader" psalms, I would argue that they could be intended for and read by the Maskil too. Puech astutely makes the point that the Teacher of Righteousness was certainly capable of expressing himself in more than a single genre.[616] I would contend that the *Maskil* was certainly capable of performing the "I" in psalms of different genres with different levels of personalization and references to his leadership, and that he did so in the Hodayot, especially in the course of modelling less elaborate discourse for his audience.

While it is certainly the case that Newsom's Hodayot of the community refer to aspects of sectarian identity that are not unique to the leader but are common to all sectarians, the Maskil cannot be ruled out as the speaker of this group of psalms.[617] It is the ordinariness of the Hodayot of the community that makes it possible for *any* sectarian, even the leaders, to perform them. The speaker's persona is deeply rooted in the perception that all of his insight and standing is utterly contingent on God's goodness. Even as he expresses his role as a leadership figure, his discourse is anchored to the recognition of his utter unworthiness and incapacity to be a servant of God apart from God's assistance. This is expressed especially well in the one place where the Maskil identifies himself: "And I, the Maskil, I know you, my God, by the spirit that you have placed in

---

616. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS*, 366.
617. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198.

me. You have [o]pened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom and the

fountainhead of [your] pow[er" (1QH[a] 20:14–16).[618] The speaker's position and insight hinges

upon the spirit that God has given to him—a theological perspective that is fundamental to

sectarian identity at every level.[619] Furthermore, the Maskil is responsible for instructing and

nurturing the insight of the elect. We should not be surprised when on some occasions his

discourse reflects a common sectarian perspective, especially—as I will argue below—if part of

his rhetorical objective is to teach his ordinary sectarian audience how to express ordinary

sectarian discourse.[620]

5.4 *The Rhetorical Objectives and Sequencing of the Maskil's Genre Set*

If the Maskil is to be regarded as the speaker of all the psalms in the Hodayot, we can

conceive of the Hodayot tradition as part of the "genre set" belonging to the Maskil in the larger

sectarian "system of genre." As discussed in Chapter 2, genres often belong to particular

discourse domains and constitute particular social actions or functions that the performer of the

genre can use to carry out his or her role in the discourse domain. All the genres that belong to a

particular discourse domain can be described as a "system of genre," while the genres used by a

---

618. Adapted from Newsom's translation in DJD 40.

619. Berg discusses how the spirit is an instrument for giving special insight to the Maskil. Shane A. Berg, "Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Heritage and Transformation of the Wisdom Tradition" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2008), 179.

620. Miller makes the excellent point that "[t]he authors of the Hodayot portray the Maskil as a leadership office with a particular 'performance role' rather than as a historical person." That is to say, any leader could take on the "I" of the Maskil to appropriate the office's authority. It is helpful to distinguish between historical performers of the texts and the office of the Maskil. We have some information about the latter, but we can only speculate about the former. Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 374–78, 382.

single agent in a discourse domain as part of his or her role can be described as a "genre set." I

would propose that the psalms of hymnic confession and the psalms of eschatological

thanksgiving are two generic categories in the Maskil's genre set. Certainly the Hodayot tradition

does not exhaust the Maskil's genre set. There are many other examples of texts that appear to be

earmarked for the Maskil, e.g. parts of 1QS-1QSa-1QSb (1QS 3:13; 9:12, 21; 1QSb 1:1; 3:22;

5:20), CD (12:21; 13:22), the Songs of the Sage (4Q510 1 4; 4Q511 2 i 1; 8 4), Words of the

Maskil (4Q298 1–2 i 1); 4QWays of Righteousness (4Q421 1a ii—b 12); 4QpapH-like B (2 2).[621]

If the Hodayot psalms are part of the Maskil's genre set and if they are so generically and

rhetorically intertwined, then what were their rhetorical objectives?

The Maskil's rhetorical objectives in the Hodayot tradition can be divided into two

overarching objectives: 1) liturgical rhetorical objectives and 2) didactic rhetorical objectives.[622] I

would argue that both generic categories have a combination of liturgical and didactic rhetorical

objectives that cannot be teased apart.[623] Chazon has already demonstrated that the 1QH[a]

collection is "liturgically-oriented" through the recurring theme of communion with the angels,

---

621. There is a discussion about whether the title "Maskil" refers to the same figure in these texts, especially with respect to works that are thought to have existed prior to the sectarian groups described in S, D, and 4QMMT. Hempel, "Community Structures," 79–84, especially 81–2; Metso, "Problems in Reconstructing," 405, see also 405 n. 36; Metso, *Textual Development*, 135–40; Newsom, "The Sage," 375; John F. Priest, "Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah," *JBL* 81.1 (1962), 61; Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*," 29.

Even if works associated with a different kind of Maskil existed previously, it does not preclude their appropriation by the Maskil described in S, D, and H for performance or as a reference. I consider it possible that the sectarian Maskil's role and responsibilities evolved, necessitating the redactional activity that takes place in 1QS-1QSa-1QSb where the Maskil's role is specified with respect to the sons of Zadok and other figure leadership figures. Johnson, "One Work or Three?," 171–72.

622. These joint objectives were proposed by Newman in Newman, *Before the Bible*, 134–36.

the "accumulation of features" including blessings, the so-called "List of Times" in the Maskil superscription in 20:7–13, and the plural summons to praise in col. 26.[624] At the liturgical level, the Hodayot are expressions of the Maskil's regimen of praising God continually.[625] That is to say, the psalms of the Hodayot tradition are primarily geared toward the sectarian habitus: coordinated and regular descriptive (EPT) and declarative (PHC) praise informed and prompted by his special insight into the divine plan.[626] The didactic rhetorical objectives build on the liturgical objectives in order to inculcate the sectarian habitus into the audience through the Maskil's example and through their active participation in his performance. In contrast to a composition like 4QInstruction where, as Matthew Goff argues, "[t]he *mebin* [student] acquires wisdom not from the revelation itself but from studying it," in the Hodayot tradition the student acquires understanding of the divine plan not by observing the Maskil's performance, but by actively participating in it.[627]

---

623. See especially Newman's discussion of the Maskil as "the authorizer of the Hodayot" and her claim that "the Hodayot of 1QHᵃ served purposes of both worship and instruction." Newman, *Before the Bible*, 135. Miller argues that the Maskil's role is characterized by two attributes: "liturgical master and authoritative teacher." Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role, 373–74.

624. Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 148–49; see also Schuller, DJD 29:87.

625. See especially Miller's argument for the liturgical setting for the performance of the Hodayot tradition. Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 365–68.

626. Newman, "The Thanksgiving Hymns of 1QHᵃ," 949–50. Newman describes a "penitential sectarian habitus." While supplication and petition is certainly in view, in the context of the Hodayot petitions are made in order that the speaker may be able to engage in constant praise and thus are subordinated to that larger purpose. It might be more accurate to describe the sectarian habitus as one focused on the ultimate objective of praise, even though it includes supplication to a limited extent.

627. Matthew Goff, "Wisdom," *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 454.

The majority of psalms have a liturgical rhetorical objective of rendering descriptive and declarative praise to God, with the declarative praise prioritized in eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and descriptive praise prioritized in psalms of hymnic confession. As we have seen, in at least five psalms with balanced rhetorical strategies (9:1–10:4; 11:20–37; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42; 23:1–25:33), the descriptive and declarative communicative purposes are roughly equivalent in terms of the selection of unique moves in each psalm. The interlocking rhetorical strategies in the Hodayot creates some overlap in these rhetorical objectives. Declarative praise is found primarily in the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and secondarily in the psalms of hymnic confession, while descriptive praise is found primarily in psalms of hymnic confession and secondarily in most eschatological psalms of thanksgiving.

In the Hodayot tradition, each psalm also has a secondary didactic objective. This secondary objective is evident mainly from the use of rhetorical moves like resolutions and exhortations that provide clues for what the Maskil is doing as he praises God descriptively and declaratively. The Maskil's liturgical-didactic programme unfolds as he instructs his audience to observe his modelling of sectarian discourses of praise and directs them to participate at certain points in the performance of the collection (discussed further below).[628] This programme correlates closely with the distribution of genres in the 1QH[a] arrangement of psalms (see fig. 39).

---

628. I am assuming that the 1QH[a] arrangement of psalms were to be read serially. It is an open question whether the psalms were to be performed all at once or staged over a longer period of time.

Distribution of Genres in 1QHᵃ Arrangement (Colour)	
Psalm	**Place on EPT-PHC Spectrum**
Cols. 1–4	N/A
5:12–6:41	Primarily PHC
7:12–20*	N/A
7:21–8:41	Primarily PHC
9:1–10:4	Balanced
10:5–21	Unhybridized EPT
10:22–32	Unhybridized EPT
10:33–11:19	Primarily EPT
11:20–37	Balanced
11:38–12:5	Unhybridized EPT
12:6–13:6	Primarily EPT
13:7–21	Unhybridized EPT
13:22–15:8	Primarily EPT
15:9–28	Unhybridized EPT
15:29–36	Primarily EPT
15:37–16:4	Primarily EPT
16:5–19:5	Primarily EPT
19:6–20:6	Balanced
20:7–22:42	Balanced
23:1–25:33	Balanced
25:34–27:3	Primarily PHC Dominant
27:4–28?	N/A

Fig. 39

The first part of the collection, 1QHᵃ 5:12–8:41, is constituted by long psalms of hymnic

confession with relatively unhybridized rhetorical strategies. The absence of rhetorical moves

associated with the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving (apart from the accounts of provisional

assistance) gives the psalms of hymnic confession in 1QHᵃ 5:12–8:41 a different tone and focus

than the rest of the scroll. In addition to 1QHᵃ 25:34–27:3, 5:12–8:41 engage to the greatest

extent in the descriptive praise of God by emphasizing God's plan and God's deeds for the elect

as a group rather than with respect to the speaker himself. Even so, the speaker makes it clear through the accounts of provisional assistance that whatever the speaker knows about the divine plan is a consequence of his election and special position among the elect. Both of these psalms are associated with the Maskil, who is primarily responsible for enlightening the elect and administering entry and advancement in the hierarchy of the elect group. These psalms establish the Maskil's role with respect to the elect and familiarize the audience with the rhetorical moves of the psalms of hymnic confession, especially blessing God and meditating on God's plan.

A major point of transition appears in col. 9. In the meditation in 1QHª 9:29–33, the Maskil anticipates that the elect will "bless" God "according to their insight" (9:33). This meditation anticipates that at some unspecified point in time the elect audience will bless God as the Maskil has blessed God in accordance with his own deep insight into the divine plan (1QHª 5:15, 6:19, 8:26; perhaps 7:21). In Chapter 3, I argued that this expectation of the elect's blessing language anticipates the speaker's direction to the audience to bless God with the short, model blessings offered in 1QHª 19:30b–20:6.

However, before the audience blesses God, the Maskil initiates new phase in the 1QHª collection where he instructs the audience to remain passive and learn from his performance of eschatological psalms of thanksgiving. This phase is initiated shortly after the anticipation of the audience's blessing in 1QHª 9:33, mentioned above. The Maskil resolves to "recit[e continually] in their midst the judgments which have afflicted me, and to humankind all your wonders by

which you have shown yourself strong through [me before hu]mankind" (1QHᵃ 9:35–36). The

Maskil's resolution to recite his afflictions and God's demonstrations of strength through him

sounds like the contents of the accounts of distress and provisional assistance that make up the

core of the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving that begin in 1QHᵃ 10:5.

In 1QHᵃ 9:36b–39 the last surviving rhetorical move that the Maskil makes before

initiating the first unhybridized eschatological psalm of thanksgiving (1QHᵃ 10:5–21) is to exhort

the audience to "hear," "become firm in purpose," "become more discerning," "put an end to

injustice," "hold fast," and "be patient," and not to "reject righteous judgments" (9:36b–39).

These exhortations prepare the audience to be especially attentive and receptive to what the

Maskil has announced that he will perform in the following psalms. The audience does not

appear to have an active role in the performance of the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving, so

they are probably learning elect discourse by sustained exposure to it rather than by practicing it

in this phase of the performance. The Maskil's solo performance of these psalms would enable

the audience to develop an ear for the genre. To an extent all of the psalms could be regarded as

performances that inculcate a prototypical sense of the varieties of elect discourse, but in 1QHᵃ

9:36–39 the Maskil's explicit directions to listen and learn are evidence that the eschatological

psalms of thanksgiving are not just psalms for praising God but also a curriculum for the elect.

The declarative praise of the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving in cols. 10:5–19:5

focuses narrowly on the speaker's experience of distress and divine assistance against the

backdrop of eventual eschatological deliverance. Although the rest of the elect are sometimes

described in the speaker's accounts, they only play a supporting role. References to other people

are restricted to two groups: associates of the speaker who are among the elect or enemies of the

speaker who are destined for judgment. Within the figured world constructed by the

eschatological psalms of thanksgiving, there is no neutral ground.[629] A passive audience would be

faced with how they fit into the binary allegiance of that figured world—are they for or against

the speaker? Likewise, they would be faced with the related question of whether they belong to

the elect "children of truth" or the non-elect "children of guilt" (1QHᵃ 13:9; 14:32–33; 15:14, 23;

17:35; 18:29; 19:12–14; 26:32).

The two large ברוך אתה subsections in 17:38 and 18:16 seem to mark the beginning of a

point of transition. These subsections are oddly formatted with blank lines, and we can only

speculate about their function. I would propose that the long ברוך אתה אדוני subsections were

visually set off as a cue for the Maskil to prostrate himself like he does when blessing in the ברוך

אתה אדוני psalm in 1QHᵃ 5:12–6:41.[630] Whereas the ברוך] אתה in 1QHᵃ 5:15 is has the benefit of

a superscription to instruct the Maskil to prostrate himself (5:12), the ברוך אתה formulae in 17:38

and 18:16 are in the middle of a psalm where they cannot be marked by a paratextual element

---

629. Here I am drawing on the concept of "cultural figured worlds" that Newsom first applied to the Hodayot to describe "how the discourse of the community creates an alternative figured world and self-identity, thereby critically engaging other forms of contemporary Judaism" Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 21, see also 93–95; Dorothy Holland et al., *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 49–65.

630. If the audience is mimicking David's blessing of God, then it is possible that there was an implicit understanding that David was also prostrating himself.

like a superscription. I suggest that a blank line is used in lieu of a superscription as some kind of prompt for the Maskil's performance at these two points in the psalm.

The balanced psalms in 1QH[a] 19:6–25:33 introduce a new stage in the 1QH[a] arrangement where the Maskil performs more advanced sectarian discourse that participates equally in both rhetorical strategies.[631] 1QH[a] 19:6–20:6 in particular blends the rhetorical strategies of the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and the psalms of hymnic confession with such balance that it is difficult to distinguish which strategy is primary. 1QH[a] 19:6–20:6 employs the אודכה אדוני כי and ברוך אתה אדוני formulae in the same psalm, two of the most salient rhetorical moves in their respective rhetorical palettes because they appear at the beginning of psalms or subsections of psalms.[632] This especially balanced and blended strategy occurs at a strategic point in the 1QH[a] sequence of psalms where the speaker's declarative praise gives way to descriptive praise and the generic palette of the psalms of hymnic confession is once again amplified, though not to the same extent as it was in 1QH[a] 5:12–8:41. Whereas in previous psalms the Maskil typically made rhetorical moves from a primary generic palette with relatively minor blending of rhetorical moves from the secondary palette, in 1QH[a] 19:6–25:33, the Maskil freely mixes the rhetorical moves from the two generic palettes in highly complex and intricately coordinated rhetorical strategies.

---

631. The use of a variant of the אודכה אדוני כי formula weighs heavily enough that one could argue it tips these psalms slightly toward the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving side of the spectrum.

632. 1QH[a] 16:5–19:5 also contains both formulae, but it falls in the ETP dominant category.

In light of David's prayer for the dedication of the temple in 1 Chr 29:10–20, I suggested that the short blessings in 1QH[a] 19:30–20:6 may be short blessings that the speaker is offering as a template for initiates to develop proficiency in elect discourse.[633] Unlike the exceedingly complex and lengthy blessings of God earlier in the collection, the blessings in col. 19 are brief and only employ a simple set of rhetorical moves that would be relatively easy to remember and imitate. In view of the precedent of 1 Chr 29:10–20, this psalm may have been an occasion for the Maskil to direct the audience to bless God as David directed his audience to bless God, securing their assent to his theological worldview and inculcating his way of speaking about it through the direct imitation of an exemplar. The audience's blessing in 19:30–20:6 was foreshadowed in 1QH[a] 9:33, when the Maskil anticipates that the audience will bless God. As discussed in Chapter 3, this language is repeated with a jussive meaning: "let them bless" in 1QH[a] 19:29–29.[634] Such an opportunity for blessing would fundamentally alter the audience's role from that of passive hearers and learners to active participants in the performance of the psalms with the Maskil.

After the audience performed the blessings in 1QH[a] 19:30–20:6 or offered their own blessings in imitation, the Maskil would have resumed the performance with the psalm in 20:7–22:42. This major point of transition is notated by the *paragraphos* marker,[635] an extensive

---

633. See discussion on p. 202.
634. See discussion on p. 207.
635. This explanation of the *paragraphos* does not solve the riddle of why it appears between lines 7 and 8 rather than between lines 6 and 7. Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40:255. There is not a *paragraphos* in the corresponding passage in 4QH[b]. Schuller, DJD 29:146.

superscription (20:7–20:14a), and the unique introduction that draws the focus of the

performance squarely back to the speaker and to his insight into the divine plan once more: ואני

משׂכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח אׄשר נתתה בי "And I, the Maskil, I know you, my God, by the spirit that

you have placed in me" (1QHᵃ 20:14b–15a).[636] This self-referential introduction may have been

coordinated with the prostration described in the superscription (1QHᵃ 20:7). Both of these

actions would have marked a major transition from the preceeding blessings back to the Maskil's

discourse in the final section of the 1QHᵃ compilation of the psalms.

The juncture between 19:6–20:6 and 20:7–22:42 coincides with a major development in

the psalms of hymnic confession. 1QHᵃ 20:7–22:42 and 23:1–25:33 incorporate accounts of

distress and eschatological deliverance in their rhetorical strategies, whereas these rhetorical

moves are absent in the psalms of hymnic confession in cols. 4–8.[637] I suggest that there is a

programmatic development in the 1QHᵃ sequence of psalms after the fully interlocking psalm in

1QHᵃ 19:6–20:6, where the rhetorical strategies have become more deeply and complexly

intertwined. In this respect, the introduction of declarative praise into the collection in 1QHᵃ 9:1–

20:6 is not an isolated section of psalms, rather, there is a cumulative effect where the rhetorical

moves in each psalm become more interlocked as one reads through the scroll, so that in the

balanced psalms in 1QHᵃ 20:7–22:42, 23:1–25:33 the discourses of descriptive and declarative

---

636. Adapted from Newsom's translation in DJD 40.
637. There is a single account of distress regarding the speaker's human condition in 1QHᵃ 9:23b–25a. No accounts of eschatological deliverance are found in cols. 4–8.

praise have become thoroughly fused. For an audience expected to master the Maskil's discourse

to demonstrate their own insight into the divine plan and their place in it, the psalms in 20:7–

25:33 would be the most challenging to emulate because they require almost equal mastery of

making rhetorical moves in both rhetorical strategies.

The last psalm that has survived in the 1QHª arrangement of the collection is 1QHª

25:34–27:3. In terms of the overall balance of rhetorical strategies, this psalm employs fewer

rhetorical moves from the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and it is the first psalm after

1QHª 7:21–8:41 that can be regarded as a psalm of hymnic confession. It has an affinity with

9:1–10:4 because the Maskil employs explicit directions to the audience in the form of

exhortations (1QHª 26:9b–19, 26b, 31aa, 41b). However, instead of exhorting the audience to

"hear," now the Maskil is exhorting them to praise God with hymns (26:26c–30, 31ab–32a, 41c–

42). In this respect, the exhortations draw the audience into the performance like the jussive "let

them bless" (1QHª 19:28) does before the short template blessings in 19:6–20:6. The Maskil

foreshadows the hymnic praise of col. 26 in 9:29–33:

> You created breath for the tongue, and You know its words. You determined the
> fruit of the lips before they came about. You appoint words by a measuring line
> and the utterance of the breath of the lips by calculation. You bring forth the
> measuring lines in respect to their mysteries, and the utterances of breath in
> respect to their reckoning in order to make known Your glory and recount Your
> wonders in all Your works of truth and Your righteous jud[gments] and to praise
> Your name openly, so that all who know You might bless You according to their
> insight for ever [and ever.]

This extended meditation on the preordained praise of the elect anticipates the Maskil's extended

exhortation to his audience to:

> Sing praise, O beloved ones! Sing to the king of glory!] Rejoic[e in the congregation of God! Cry gladly in the tents of salvation! Give praise in the holy dwelling!] Exalt [together with the eternal host! Ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our king! Sanctify] [his] na[me with strong lips and a mighty tongue! Lift up your voices by themselves at all times!] Sound al[oud a joyful noise! Exult with eternal joy and without ceasing! Worship] in common [assembly! Bless the one who wondrously does majestic deeds and who makes known the strength of his hand, sealing up] mysteries and revealing hidden things, rai[sing up those who stumble and those among them who fall, restoring the steps of those who wait for knowledge] [but bringing] low the lofty assemblies of the [eternally] proud,[bringing to completion splendid mysteries and raising up glorious wonders.] (1QHª 26:9b–19).

The three short imperative hymnic sections immediately follow,[638] indicating that at this point in

the collection the audience was once again—though more emphatically—directed to participate

actively in praise of God. According to 1QHª 9:29–33, only God could be credited for bringing

forth this praise through the insight given to the elect. By the time the Maskil issues his

exhortation to praise, the audience would have learned about the divine plan and how to

formulate a proper response of eschatological praise through the rhetorical moves made by the

Maskil. Unfortunately, we do not know how the 1QHª arrangement ends, but there is a sense that

a major turning point has been reached in col. 26 where the Maskil directs the audience to

participate with the greatest intensity and directness in the 1QHª arrangement.

---

638. For a discussion of these hymnic sections, see discussion p. 209. See also Miller's discussion in "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 367.

If we look back at how the 1QHᵃ arrangement unfolds, there is some basis for suggesting that each variety of sectarian discourse is taught and evaluated differently by the Maskil.[639] He seems to have taken a different approach to educating the audience in the discourses of blessing and singing hymns to God than he does in the discourses of thanksgiving and supplication. As discussed above, there are indications that the Maskil provided short exemplar texts for blessing (1QHᵃ 19:30–20:6) and singing hymns to God (26:26–42) and directed the audience to recite them or model their own response on them. The audience's ability to recapitulate the Maskil's blessings and hymnic sections would not have given the Maskil much perspective on their ability to improvise elect discourse. In teaching and learning terminology, this would be called as a "formative assessment" that is meant to support the audience's process of learning with an active learning exercise where the students learn through doing rather than passively absorbing information from the teacher. The audience's imitation of the Maskil's relatively simple blessings and hymns would not have given a full sense of each audience member's level of insight, but it might have given the audience an opportunity to practice engaging in the discourse that they had been passively observing in the Maskil's psalms.

Curiously, the Maskil never directs the audience to participate in the discourses of thanksgiving and petition. These discourses are demonstrated by the Maskil, but there are no explicit instructions to the audience to thank or petition God at any point.[640] Presumably they

---

639. By sectarian discourse I do not mean genre, since varieties of discourse (blessing, hymning, petitioning, or thanking) can appear in the same psalm.

would have had to master thanksgiving and petition as well as offering hymns and blessings to God. We might ask why the audience is only directed to engage in one set of elect discourses and not in the other.

I would tentatively suggest that the Maskil may have reserved the assessment of the audience's understanding of thanksgiving and petition for another purpose or occasion. Regardless of whether the Maskil or an ordinary sectarian is the speaker, hymns and blessings tend to express descriptive praise that is not necessarily rooted in the speaker's distress or deliverance, while individual thanksgiving and petition are inextricably linked to the speaker's particular situation and experience. If each member of the audience simply mimicked the Maskil's petitions and thanksgivings that reflect the particularities of his role, they would not have demonstrated their ability to contextualize their unique situations and experiences in terms of the divine plan.[641] To some extent petition and thanksgiving needs to be customized to the individual, especially in a context where the ability to offer the proper reply in the midst of one's distress is a marker of election.

---

640. For the references for the petitions, fig. 25 on p. 195. References for the psalms of eschatological thanksgiving are listed in fig. 39 on p. 286.

641. It is certainly the case that ordinary sectarians could "suture" or fuse their subjectivities with that of the "I" of the Hodayot psalms, even if that "I" was primarily intended as a script for the Maskil. Still, I think we should not rule out the possibility that at some point ordinary sectarians might have had to attempt an eschatological psalm of thanksgiving of their own, even if only in the form of an oral composition. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 200. See also Miller's discussion of how the enactment of the Hodayot could have generated a collective identity, transformed personal identities, and socialized members through shared narratives. Miller, "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 368–73.

I would suggest further that the audience's ability to perform elect discourses of thanksgiving and supplication would be the clearest indicator to the Maskil of each member's respective level of insight. Though the Maskil can help them learn to offer more generalized praise through formative assessments, it might have been left up to each member to formulate customized thanksgivings and petitions that reflect their inculcation of the sectarian worldview. The performance of these discourses would be the equivalent of a "summative assessment," that is, the kind of high-stakes judgment that determines a student's level of achievement in learning that ultimately results in a decision on his or her standing (that is, the final grade). There is no indication in the Hodayot tradition of when these individual performances of thanksgiving and petition by the membership might have occurred, but the 1QH^a arrangement of the collection could have served as training or curriculum for such an assessment. The members would have come away from the Maskil's performance of 1QH^a with experience of offering blessing and hymns to God in very basic and general terms and with a prototypical sense of how eschatological thanksgiving and petition would sound expressed from a sectarian point of view.

To this point, the lack of patterned sequences of rhetorical moves in the Hodayot psalms suggests that these discourses may have been meant to be challenging.[642] The psalms of the Hodayot tradition would be demanding to emulate because they cannot be mastered by finding a

---

642. Miller describes this as an "overloaded" poetic style. See his discussions in Shem Miller, "Innovation and Convention: An Analysis of Parallelism in Stichographic, Hymnic and Sapiential Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2012), 401, 406; "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role," 362.

single exemplar, as it might be possible to do with other more formulaic traditions of psalms and

prayers. Moreover, they become more complex as one progresses through the 1QHª arrangement

of psalms. To compose a convincing Hodayot psalm one would need exquisite knowledge of the

divine plan and the rhetorical acumen for expressing it with the proper ethos and tone. The

discursive idiosyncrasies of elect speech have to be so engrained that one can reflexively go from

rhetorical move to rhetorical move with ease and without conveying a distorted sense of the

sectarian worldview or the divine-human relationship.

One could speculate that when the Maskil weighs the insight of members of the sect

(1QS 9:14; 1QHª 6:29–33), part of this process could have involved their improvisation of elect

discourse. This evaluation would not only test rote knowledge of the divine plan, it would also

examine whether members could convey their insight 1) in terms of their own experience and 2)

with rhetorical strategies that express the delicate balance of acknowledging human limitations

while making bold claims to divinely sourced insight. The Maskil, a master performer of this

kind of improvised elect speech, would have been able to assess which members were able to

formulate elect discourse and which members fell short. For example, if members failed to

qualify that God is the source of their insight or failed to indicate that the purpose of their

election and the divine plan was to demonstrate God's glory, they might have been judged to be

at a lower level of insight than the members who did. Or if members offered the wrong answer to

their own hypophora, it might indicate that they have a superficial understanding of the

theological view it is used to express in sectarian contexts.

In this respect, when the speaker describes himself as a cultivator of the elect in 1QH[a]

16:23–27, he may be referring in part to his role as a cultivator of elect speech:

> When I stretch out a hand to hoe its furrows, its roots strike into the flinty rock and[ ] *w* their rootstock in the earth, and at the time of heat it retains strength. When I withdraw (my) hand, it becomes like a juniper [in the wilderness,] and its rootstock like nettles in salty ground. (In) its furrows thorn and thistle grow up into a bramble thicket and a weed patch, and [ ]its bank they change like rotted trees. Before the heat comes its foliage dries up and does not open with the rain.

The speaker's stretching out and withdrawing of his hand expresses his control over who

flourishes within the group.[643] This aspect of the speaker's role might have included helping

junior members to develop the capacity for elect speech by exposing them to his own elaborate

discourse and directing them to repeat simpler units of discourse as a stepping stone to more

complex and individualized forms of speech. Their capacity for engaging in elect discourse is a

barometer of their insight that is in turn an indication of their election (1QH[a] 9:29–33).

Consequently, the process of engraining a proper reply into the members of the group could have

served an important role in managing group boundaries. Those whom the Maskil considered

more likely to belong among the elect might have received more intensive care and cultivation of

their speech than those who were suspected to lack insight or to have disloyal dispositions. Of

course, this scenario is only one possibility that highlights some of the rhetorical dynamics of the

---

643. The flourishing certainly encompasses more than just elect discourse, but also the ability to interpret scripture, follow the rules of the group, and maintain a high level of ritual purity.

Hodayot tradition uncovered in this study of 1QHᵃ. A more granular rhetorical-critical analysis of each of the psalms in the Hodayot tradition and the different arrangements of psalms found in the Cave 4 manuscripts is needed to explore the possibilities further.

To summarize, in the 1QHᵃ arrangement, the psalms move from simple to more complex rhetorical strategies that increasingly incorporate rhetorical moves from both rhetorical palettes. The synthesis reaches its zenith in 1QHᵃ 19:6–25:33, where the rhetorical palettes are completely interlocked. Moreover, the audience is directed to be passive and compliant for the eschatological psalms of thanksgiving (1QHᵃ 9:36–39), whereas in 1QHᵃ 19:28–29a and 26:9b–19, 26b, 31aa, and 41b, the audience is instructed to play a more active role. In other words, there seems to be a larger rhetorical strategy in the way the psalms are organized in the 1QHᵃ arrangement—one that facilitates the acquisition of insight into the divine plan and the proper reply through exposure to increasingly interlocked descriptive and declarative praise. In this chapter, I proposed that the 1QHᵃ arrangement of psalms may have served as a liturgical curriculum to inculcate insight and sectarian discourse into the audience through the Maskil's performance and the audience's limited engagement in simple examples of descriptive praise. I tentatively suggested that the Maskil may have reserved the testing of the audience's ability to engage in declarative praise and petition for his evaluation and ranking of the sectarian membership since these forms of discourse were highly individualized and would have reflected

each member's ability to improvise elect discourse. In this respect, the psalms of the Hodayot

tradition might be regarded as a liturgical and didactic tool in the Maskil's genre set.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

 The primary objective of this study has been to propose a schema for the genres of

psalms in the Hodayot tradition that can serve as an alternative to the problematic Teacher

Hymn-Community Hymn schema. I began this study by observing how the Teacher Hymn-

Community Hymn schema was built on Sukenik's tentative hypothesis about the authorship of

the psalms and Morawe's and Holm-Nielsen's early form-critical studies. Although these initial

proposals about the Hodayot made valuable observations about a basic generic duality in the

Hodayot tradition, they also laid the foundation for the problematic Teacher Hymn-Community

Hymn schema that emerged under the so-called Heidelberg school and continues to be

perpetuated in current scholarship. The provisional categories that developed in the early stages

of Hodayot research are overdue for reassessment in light of the reconstruction and publication

of the Hodayot manuscripts in the DJD series in 1999 and 2009. Although most scholars writing

on the Hodayot in recent decades acknowledge the inadequacy of the Teacher Hymn-Community

Hymn schema, it continues to be employed as the default categorical framework and

nomenclature for the psalms. Moreover, the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema has been

adapted to such a variety of research questions that it is no longer evident whether the categories

pertain to authorship, personae of the speaker, use of scripture, genre, epistemology, redaction, or

material aspects of 1QH[a]. Furthermore, there are so many variations of the Teacher Hymn-

Community Hymn schema, many with additional categories and criteria, that to call a psalm a "Teacher Hymn" or "Community Hymn" is no longer meaningful.

It is my contention that genre should be the primary categorical framework for the psalms of the Hodayot tradition because other Jewish psalms and prayers are primarily classified according to genre. If we are to make progress in exploring connections between the Hodayot and the larger corpus of early Jewish psalms, *generic* categories for the Hodayot psalms would be more beneficial than those with mixed criteria. However, instead of going back to the generic categories developed by Gunkel and applied to the Hodayot tradition by Holm-Nielsen and Morawe, I have proposed to draw upon Westermann's generic schema that I have elaborated and expanded to reflect modern genre theory and to accommodate the full spectrum of eschatological praise. Gunkel's definitional categories are ill-suited for formally hybrid psalms because the definitional boundaries between genres are too rigid. I have interpreted Westermann's concept of the poles of petition and praise and declarative and descriptive praise as spectrums or continuums along which generic categories can be situated without resorting to hard and fast boundaries. In this respect, I have argued that Westermann's approach anticipated advances made in theories of categorization and modern genre theory later in the twentieth century. His schema provides a new basis for reassessing the genres of the Hodayot tradition in light of these developments in genre theory.

By adopting Westermann's schema and by employing Swales's theoretically informed approach to genre analysis, I traced a new set of generic categories for the Hodayot tradition that sidestep the pitfalls of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. In particular, I have adopted Swales's concept of genre and his rhetorical moves analysis 1) to survey each of the rhetorical moves that the Maskil makes in the Hodayot tradition, 2) to identify the rhetorical strategies that are at work in each psalm, and 3) to locate each psalm on a spectrum of eschatological praise according to how it incorporates rhetorical moves from two generic palettes.

6.2 Main Contribution: A Generic Reassessment of the Hodayot Tradition

The primary contribution of this study is a proposal for two new interlocking generic categories for the psalms of the Hodayot tradition: 1) the genre of eschatological psalms of thanksgiving and 2) the subgenre of psalms of hymnic confession. These generic categories are derived from the generic palettes of rhetorical moves and objectives expressed in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20, though with some modifications to reflect an already-not yet eschatological outlook in the Hodayot. Although the rhetorical objectives and generic palettes used in Isa 12:1–6 and 1 Chr 29:10–20 are easily distinguished from each other, in the Hodayot they have become interlocked, though not to the extent that they have completely merged into a single generic category. These two partially merged generic categories fall along a spectrum of eschatological praise rather than sitting in binary categories with hard definitional boundaries. Since these

generic categories bleed into each other, their location on the same spectrum of eschatological

praise permits the classification of psalms in terms of primary and secondary generic categories

or even a balanced participation in both. In Chapter 5, I identified eleven eschatological psalms

of thanksgiving based primarily on the generic palette in Isa 12:1–6 (1QH^a 10:5–21; 10:22–32;

10:33–11:19; 11:38–12:5; 12:6–13:6; 13:7–21; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28; 15:29–36; 15:37–16:4;

16:5–19:5), three psalms of hymnic confession based primarily on the generic palette in 1 Chr

29:10–20 (1QH^a 5:12–6:41; 7:21–8:41; 25:34–27:3), and five psalms that are so fully interlocked

that they make equal or near equal use of both palettes (9:1–10:4; 11:20–37; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–

22:42; 23:1–25:33).[644] The extensive interlocking of these generic categories should caution us

against treating the psalms from the categories in isolation; rather, they are thoroughly

complementary in their deployment of rhetorical strategies, both in individual psalms and in the

1QH^a arrangement of the psalms.

The interlocking rhetorical strategies of the psalms tell us something about their

overlapping rhetorical objectives and how the psalms operate as integrally linked genres in the

Maskil's genre set. The evidence discussed in Chapter 5 leads me to suggest that the Hodayot

psalms belonging to these genres had complementary liturgical and didactic rhetorical objectives

of praising God descriptively and declaratively in order to instruct and ultimately to evaluate the

Maskil's audience. That is to say, the psalms of the Hodayot were plausibly used as a sort of

---

644. See fig. 39 on p. 286.

liturgical curriculum for the Maskil to carry out his duties of instructing and examining the

members of the sect. In this respect, the very aspect of the Hodayot tradition that destabilized the

definitional categories of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymm schema—their so-called

hybridity—is what provides the clearest indication of how the genres functioned as part of the

Maskil's genre set used in the execution of his leadership responsibilities. The generic categories

are so tightly interlocked because they are thoroughly coordinated liturgical discourses that the

Maskil uses to instruct and to evaluate his students.

6.3 Additional Findings and Observations

This thesis has made two additional contributions to the study of the Hodayot. First, I

have taken up Licht's early counter-proposal that the Maskil is the intended speaker of all the

psalms in the Hodayot rather than the Teacher of Righteousness. With the publication of the

Cave 4 manuscripts and the reconstruction of 1QH[a] there is more evidence than Licht realized

that the office of the Maskil was the intended speaker in superscriptions and the Maskil's explicit

self-identification. As for the psalms not explicitly associated with the Maskil, it is more

plausible to assume that the Maskil is the speaker in these psalms too, since a change in the

speaker is not indicated and the Maskil is the only sectarian figure known to express the full

gamut of rhetorical moves found in the Hodayot. Any change in persona in the psalms of

eschatological thanksgiving in 1QH[a] is more tenably understood as a generic shift and a new

phase in the programmatic development of the 1QH[a] collection (i.e. the Maskil's curriculum)

than sporadic, unmarked changes of speakers to ordinary sectarians or some other unnamed leadership figure like the Teacher of Righteousness, the Mebaqqer, or the Paqid. None of these leaders have discourses of praise scripted for them in sectarian literature, let alone the distinctive sectarian praise and supplication offered up by the Maskil in sectarian literature explicitly associated with his office.

Second, my examination of the 1QH[a] arrangement of the Hodayot cannot substantiate the view that the Teacher Hymns was sandwiched between two sections of Community Hymns as described in later versions of the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema. Although psalms of hymnic confession can be found in 5:12–8:41 and eschatological psalms of thanksgiving can be found in 10:5–19:5, the 1QH[a] arrangement does not conclude in a final CH II block. Rather, the psalms introduce the audience to deeply interlocked rhetorical strategies that offer multifaceted praise. The psalms from 1QH[a] 19:6–25:33 contain the most integrated combination of rhetorical moves from the rhetorical palettes of both generic categories in the Hodayot tradition, belying a simplistic classification of these psalms as Community Hymns. Rather, the Maskil unleashes the full potential of his descriptive and declarative praise with the entire range of rhetorical moves from both rhetorical palettes in this final section of 1QH[a].

Further Areas of Research

To close, I will outline a few areas for future research. First, now that the Hodayot has been re-categorized, the spectrum of eschatological praise can be used as a basis for exploring

the generic relationships of the Hodayot with other psalms. The psalms of the Hodayot tradition

exist along the same spectrum as the eschatological psalms of praise in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 40:9–

11; 42:10–13; 44:23; 45:8; 48:20; 49:13; 54:1–2) and the eschatological psalm of thanksgiving in

Isa 12:1–6. I have already discussed at length how the Hodayot tradition is illuminated by Isa

12:1–6, but further exploration remains to be done to examine the generic relationships with the

eschatological psalms of praise in Deutero-Isaiah and to identify more eschatological psalms of

praise and thanksgiving.[645] A broad survey was not possible in this study, but we can get a fuller

picture of eschatological praise by looking more broadly for eschatologically framed psalms

found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g. Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, 1QM 9–12, the Eschatological

Hymn and Apostrophe to Judah in 4QPs[f], and the Plea for Deliverance in 11QPs[a]) as well as in

the broader corpus of early Jewish psalms (e.g. Odes of Solomon, Psalms of Solomon, and the

"Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers" from books 7–8 of the Apostolic Constitutions). The expanded

form of Westermann's schema can accommodate these psalms and would facilitate the study of

eschatological praise and thanksgiving in its own right.

---

645. This area of investigation also expands the question of the relationship between Deutero-Isaiah and the Hodayot. This relationship has been explored in Hodayot scholarship mainly through the narrow question of whether the psalms of the Hodayot reflect the suffering servant. The spectrum of eschatological praise provides a broader basis for exploring the relationship between sectarian literature and Second Isaiah. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes, 13–20; Jean Carmignac, "Les Citations de l'ancien testament, et spécialement des poémes du serviteur, dans les hymnes de Qumrân," *RevQ* 2.3 (1960), 357–94; John J. Collins, "Teacher and Servant," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 80.1 (2000), 37–50; Israel Knohl, "The Suffering Servant: From Isaiah to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination*, eds. Deborah A. Green and Laura A. Lieber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 89–104.

Second, the arrangements of psalms in the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts need the kind of consideration offered in this study for 1QH^a. Chazon rightly emphasizes how important it is to examine the place of every hymn in *each* of "the *Hodayot* manuscripts and determine the nature of each collection."[646] I have made a case for the programmatic arrangement of 1QH^a, but I was not able to address the arrangement of psalms in the other Cave 4 manuscripts that are known to diverge from 1QH^a (4QH$^{a–b, f}$) because of several outstanding questions about the material reconstructions of these scrolls.[647] 4QH^a consists of a much smaller collection with a different order of psalms, and there are outstanding questions about whether 4QH^b contained the psalms found in 1QH^a 1–8. Additionally 4QpapH^f and possibly 4QH^c appear to consist of psalms only found in 1QH^a col. 9 and following in the same order as 1QH^a. Establishing the arrangement of psalms in each of these manuscripts will require careful reconsideration of their material reconstructions. My next project addresses the material reconstruction of 1QH^a and 4QH^a, and I hope to examine 4QH^b in the near future. Any analysis of the programmatic arrangement of psalms in these manuscripts and their generic significance must be deferred until the material issues are studied more closely.

Third, the survey of rhetorical moves and examination of rhetorical strategies in 1QH^a provides a basis for further examination of the so-called Hodayot-like manuscripts. Although

---

646. Chazon, "Liturgical Function," 149.

647. 4QH^e begins with the "Self-Glorification Hymn" but no additional psalms have survived and there is relatively little that can be said about a programmatic arrangement. There is no indication of alternative arrangements of psalms in the remaining Hodayot manuscripts.

preliminary work has been done on these manuscripts, the question of their precise relationship,

if any, with the Hodayot tradition would benefit from the survey of rhetorical moves, strategies,

and objectives made in 1QH^a. It may be possible to identify the generic palettes used in the

psalms of these manuscripts by surveying the rhetorical moves that have survived. Even if a full

analysis is not possible because of the material state of the scrolls, further study would shed more

light on the rhetorical and generic dimensions of what survives. In particular, the remains of a

Maskil superscription in 4Q433a 2 2 calls for closer examination and consideration as part of the

Maskil's genre set.

Fourth, the concepts of genre sets and genre systems from modern genre theory offer a

promising conceptual framework for the categorization of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Genre sets and

systems might supplement the concepts of "clusters" or "constellations" of sectarian texts that

have been proposed as new approaches to categorizing the Scrolls.[648] Furthermore, it would be

fruitful to examine some of the proposals made in this study with the benefit of computer-aided

---

648. See the proposals of Justnes and Tigchelaar for "clusters" or "networks" of texts Årstein Justnes, "On Being a 'Librarian': Labels, Categories, and Classifications," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, eds. Sidney W. Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 28; and Eibert Tigchelaar, "Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C," *JSJ* 43 (2012), 536. There may be points of contact between Najman's concept of textual "constellations" and systems of genre, especially in Wright's generically grounded articulation of it. A system of genre and its respective genre sets might not have been consciously recognized by ancient users of these texts, but we can recognize them as objectively existing interrelationships. Hindy Najman, "The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 316–17; Benjamin G. Wright, "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts," *DSD* 17.3 (2010), 293–95.

stylometric analysis along the lines of what Pierre Van Hecke has been exploring in his recent work.[649]

Fifth, more work needs to be done on the identification of discourses of supplication and petition in the Hodayot. In particular, there needs to be a more careful consideration of the possibility of implicit petitions that Hasselbalch has raised. With a fuller survey of explicit and implicit petitions, we would be better positioned to identify what rhetorical objectives petitions and supplications are meant to accomplish and what they contribute to the overall rhetorical objectives of the psalms of hymnic confession and the eschatological psalms thanksgiving. A more thorough study of the use of petitions and supplications in a deterministic sectarian context would also stimulate further discussion about theological conceptions of human agency among the elect.

The areas of future exploration mentioned above underscore how this study is only the beginning of a larger project of perceiving the place of the psalms (in the Hodayot and beyond) in a more flexible and nuanced generic schema. My generic reassessment of the Hodayot is certainly not the final word, and I anticipate that further alterations or adjustments will be necessary. Future refinements notwithstanding, this study has affirmed the emerging consensus that the Teacher Hymn-Community Hymn schema lacks explanatory power and flattens the rich

---

649. Stylometry could offer a check on the subjectivity of identifying rhetorical moves. The emphasis on authorship attribution, however, is less helpful, since the question of one or more authors is not centrally relevant to the question of genre and brings us back to a form of classification determined by author rather than genre. Van Hecke Pierre, "Computational Stylometric Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 25.1 (2018), 59–63, 81–82.

dynamism of the Hodayot tradition. It has also emphasized that "hybridity" is not a defect but it

is the defining characteristic of the Hodayot tradition that highlights its complementarity. The

psalms of the Hodayot tradition are so tightly-knit and intricately interlocked that they cannot be

treated as a loose compilation of psalms or as redactional blocks of generically homogenous

material that have been superficially edited together. Although two generic categories have been

identified in this study, they function symbiotically and cannot be fully isolated from each other.

Rather, the Hodayot tradition is a cohesive collection of psalms that is earmarked as part of the

Maskil's genre set. In particular the 1QH^a arrangement of psalms serves as a liturgical curriculum

for cultivating insight and teaching sectarian discourses of praise.

Rhetorical Moves in 1QH^a

Col. 4: 4:13–20 · 4:21a · 4:21b · 4:22–23a · 4:23b–24 · 4:25–26a · 4:26b–27 · blank line? · 4:29a · 4:29b · 4:29c–31a · 4:31b · 4:32a–33a · 4:33b · 4:34 · 4:35a? · 4:35b–37 · 4:38a · 4:38b–39a · 4:39b · 4:39c–40

5:12–6:41: 5:12–14 · 5:15a · 5:15b–16a · 5:16b–18 · 5:19–21a · 5:21b–23 · 5:24–30a · 5:30b–35a · 5:35b–38 · 6:13–18 · 6:19a · 6:19b–22a · 6:22b–23a · 6:23b–24a · 6:24b–26a · 6:26b–27 · 6:28–29a · 6:29b–32a · 6:32b–36a · 6:36b · 6:36c–37a · 6:37b · 6:38b–41

7:12–20: 7:12–13a · 7:13b–14a · 7:14b–17a · 7:17b–18a · 7:18b–19a · 7:19b–20

7:21–8:41: 7:21 · 7:22–23a · 7:23b–24a · 7:24b–25 · 7:25b–27a · 7:27b · 7:27c–29a · 7:29b–33 · 7:34–35a · 7:35b–37a · 7:37b–38a · 7:38b · 7:38b–39 · 8:9–11 · 8:12–14a · 8:14b–16a · 8:16b–17 · 8:18–19 · 8:20a · 8:20b–21 · 8:22–23a · 8:23b–25 · 8:26a · 8:26b · 8:26c–27a · 8:27b · 8:28–29a · 8:29b–34 · 8:34a–36a · 8:36b · 8:37

9:1–10:4: 9:6–7a · 9:7b–19a · 9:19b–22 · 9:23a · 9:23b–25a · 9:25b–29a · 9:29b–33a · 9:33b · 9:33c–35a · 9:35b–36a · 9:36b–39

10:5–21: 10:5a · 10:5b–12a · 10:12b–15a · 10:15b–18a · 10:18b–21

10:22–32: 10:22a · 10:22b–24a · 10:23b–26a · 10:26b · 10:26c–27a · 10:27b–30a · 10:30b–31 · 10:32

10:33–11:19: 10:33a · 10:33b–35a · 10:35b–36a · 10:36b–40 · 11:4–5 · 11:6a? · 11:6b · 11:6c–7a · 11:7b–10a · 11:10b–11a · 11:11b–13a · 11:13b–14a · 11:14b–19

11:20–37: 11:20a · 11:20b–21a · 11:21b–22a · 11:22b–24a · 11:24b–26 · 11:27–37

11:38–12:5: 11:38a · 11:38b–40 · 11:41–12:2a · 12:2b–5

12:6–13:6: 12:6a · 12:6b · 12:7a · 12:7b–13a · 12:13b–14a · 12:14b–19a · 12:19b–20 · 12:21–23a · 12:23b–27a · 12:27b–28a · 12:28b–30a · 12:30b–31a · 12:31b · 12:32–34a · 12:34b–36a · 12:36b–38a · 12:38b–39 · 12:40 · 12:41 · 13:3 · 13:4–6

13:7–21: 13:7a · 13:7b–12a · 13:12b · 13:12c–18 · 13:19 · 13:20–21

13:22–15:8: 13:22a · 13:22b–23a · 13:23b–24a · 13:24b–27a · 13:27b–28a · 13:28b–34a · 13:34b–35 · 13:35–41 · 14:5–6a · 14:6b–8 · 14:9–10a · 14:10b–13a · 14:13b–18a · 14:18b–22a · 14:22b–27a · 14:27b–32a · 14:32b–39 · 15:4–8

15:9–28: 15:9a · 15:9b–13 · 15:14–16a · 15:16b–28

15:29–36: 15:29a · 15:29b–30 · 15:31–32a · 15:32b–35a · 15:35b–36

15:37–16:4: 15:37a · 15:37b–38 · 15:39–40a · 15:40b–41

16:5–19:5: 16:5a · 16:5b–14a · 16:14b–16 · 16:17–28a · 16:28b–36a · 16:36b · 16:36c–17:6a · 16:3b · 16:3c–4 · 17:6b–8a · 17:8b–9a · 17:9b–13 · 17:14a · 17:14b–18a · 17:18b–21a · 17:21b–25 · 17:26–29a · 17:29b · 17:29c–36 · blank line · 17:38a · 17:38b–40 · 17:41 · 18:3–5a · 18:5b–14 · blank line · 18:16a · 18:16b–19a · 18:19b–21 · 18:22–24a · 18:24b–25 · 18:26–31a · 18:31b–34a · 18:34b–38 · 19:4–5

19:6–20:6: 19:6a · 19:6b · 19:6c–8a · 19:8b–10a · 19:10b · 19:10c–17 · 19:18a · 19:18b–20a · 19:20b–21 · 19:22–25a · 19:25b · 19:25c–27a · 19:27b · 19:28–29a · 19:29b–30a · 19:30b · 19:30c–31 · 19:32a · 19:32b–33a · 19:33a–34a · 19:34b · 19:34c–35a · 19:35b–36a · 19:36b–40 · 20:4–5a · 20:5b–6

20:7–22:42: 20:7–14a · 20:14b–15a · 20:15b–17a · 20:17b–19 · 20:20–21 · 20:22–27a · 20:27b–30a · 20:30b–39 · 21:4–6a · 21:6b–7a · 21:7b · 21:7c–10a · 21:10b–11a · 21:11b–12a · 21:12b–13a · 21:13b–14a · 21:14b · 21:14c–16 · 21:18 · 21:20–24a · 21:24b–27a · 21:27b–30 · 21:31–34 · 21:35–37 · 22:6–9a · 22:9b–13a · 22:13b–14a · 22:14b–16 · 22:24–25 · 22:26 · 22:27–29a · 22:29b–30 · 22:32b–34a · 22:34b · 22:34c–35a · 22:36 · 22:37b

23:1–25:33: 23:2–4 · 23:5–9a · 23:9b · 23:10–11a · 23:11b–17 · 23:21–24a · 23:24b · 23:24c–25a · 23:25b–26a · 23:26b–27a · 23:27b · 23:30–32 · 23:33–36 · 24:8–12a · 24:12b–14a · 24:14b–17 · 24:21–27 · 24:28–29a · 24:29b–30a · 24:30b–37 · 25:3–10a · 25:10b–13a · 25:13b–16 · 25:22–31a · 25:31b–33a · 25:33b

25:34–27:3: 25:34 · 25:36–37 · 26:4b–7a · 26:7b–9a · 26:9b–19 · 26:20–26a · 26:26b · 26:26c–30 · 26:31aa · 26:31ab–32a · 26:32b–34 · 26:35–37a · 26:37b–41 · 26:41b · 26:41c–42

Key

Abbreviation	Meaning
M	Meditation
EM	Eschatological Mediation
APA	Account of Provisional Assistance
B Sub	Blessed Are You - Subsection Formula
Pet	Petition
CoK	Confession of Knowledge
Rec	Recollection of the Speaker
Sup	Superscription
Mas	Maskil Introduction
ITY Intro	I thank You O Lord Introduction
Res	Resolution
AED	Account of Eschatological Deliverance
Ex	Exhortation
B Intro	Blessed are You - Introduction
HS	Hymnic Section
H	Hypophora
AoDi	Account of Distress

Bibliography

Ackroyd, Peter R. *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah.* TBC. London: SCM, 1973.

Amihay, Aryeh. Theory and Practice in Essene Law. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Amzallag, Gérard Nissim. "The Paradoxical Source of Hope in Isaiah 12." *RB* 123.3 (2016): 357–77.

Angel, Joseph L. "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)." *DSD* 19.1 (2012): 1–27.

———. "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage[b] (4Q511)." *RevQ* 27.1 (2015): 25–82.

———. "Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence: Preliminary Observations and Questions." Pages 185–211 in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner. BZAW 486. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017.

———. "A Newly Discovered Interpretation of Isaiah 40:12–13 in the Songs of the Sage." Pages 28–39 in *Hā-ʾîsh Mōshe: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*. Edited by Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke. STDJ 122. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Antin, Katri. "Transmission of Divine Knowledge in the Sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran." PhD diss., University of Helsinki, Helsinki 2019.

Any, Carol. "Introduction: Russian Formalism, 1915-1930." *Soviet Studies in Literature* 21.3-4 (1985): 5–28.

Aristotle. *Art of Rhetoric*. Translated by J. H. Freese. 1 Vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. *Poetics*. Translated by Stephen Halliwell. 1 Vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Arnold, Russell. "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness." *JQR* 95.3 (2005): 509–29.

———. "Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony." Pages 2.159–75 in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2*. Edited by Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline. EJL 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.

Baillet, Maurice. "510. Cantiques du sage (Shir[a])." Pages 215–18 in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)*. Edited by Maurice Baillet. DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

Bardtke, Hans. "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften." *TLZ* 82.5 (1957): 339–48.

Barrera, Julio Trebolle. "Édition préliminaire de 4QChronique." *RevQ* 15.4 (1992): 523–29.

———. "Chronicles, First and Second Books of." *EDSS* 1:129.

Barthélemy, Dominique and J. T. Milik. "Qumran Cave 1." Pages in Edited by DJD I Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.

Baumgarten, Joseph M. and Daniel R. Schwartz. "Damascus Document (CD)." Pages 4–58 in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. PTSDSSP 2. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993.

Bawarshi, Anis S. and Mary Jo Reiff. *Genre: An Introduction to History, Theory, Research, and Pedagogy.* Reference Guides to Rhetoric and Composition. West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 2010.

Bayer, Bathja. "The Titles of the Psalms: A Renewed Investigation of an Old Problem." Pages 21–123 in *Yuval Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*. Edited by Israel Adler. Yuval Studies 4. Jerusalem: Magness, 1982.

Bazerman, Charles. "Systems of Genres and the Enactment of Social Intentions." Pages 79–101 in *Genre In The New Rhetoric*. Edited by Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway. Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education London: Taylor & Francis, 1994.

———. "Genre as Social Action." Pages 226–38 in *Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Edited by James P. Gee and Michael Handford. Handbooks in Applied Linguistics London: Routledge, 2012.

Becker, Jürgen. *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament.* SUNT 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, New Haven 2008.

———. "Religious Epistemology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community." Pages 333–49 in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Daniel Harlow et al. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

Bernd, Feininger. "A Decade of German Psalm-Criticism." *JSOT* 6.20 (1981): 91–103.

Bhatia, Vijay. *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings.* Applied Linguistics and Language Study. London: Longman, 1993.

Biber, Douglas, Ulla Connor, and Thomas A. Upton. *Discourse on the Move: Using Corpus Analysis to Describe Discourse Structure.* Studies in Corpus Linguistics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007.

Blank, Sheldon H. "Some Observations concerning Biblical Prayer." *HUCA* 32 (1961): 75–90.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* AB 19. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Boda, Mark J. *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9.* BZAW 277. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999.

Roland Boer, ed. *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies.* SemeiaSt 63. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice.* Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Boxer, Diana. *Applying Sociolinguistics: Domains and Face-to-Face Interaction.* Impact: Studies in Language and Society 15. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002.

Braun, Roddy. *1 Chronicles.* WBC 14. Waco: Word Books, 1986.

Brooke, George J. "Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the יחד." Pages 140–56 in *The Temple in Text and Tradition.* Edited by R. Timothy McLay. LSTS 83. London: T&T Clark, 2015.

———. "The Books of Chronicles and the Scrolls from Qumran." Pages 35–48 in *Reflection and Refraction.* Edited by Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and Brian Aucker. VTSup 113. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Brown, William P. *Psalms.* Interpreting Biblical Texts. Nashville: Abingdon, 2010.

Bruce, Ian. "Results Sections in Sociology and Organic Chemistry Articles: A Genre Analysis." *English for Specific Purposes* 28.2 (2009): 105–24.

Brueggemann, Walter. *The Message of the Psalms: A Theological Commentary.* Augsburg Old Testament Studies. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984.

Carmignac, Jean. "Les Citations de l'ancien testament, et spécialement des poémes du serviteur, dans les hymnes de Qumrân." *RevQ* 2.3 (1960): 357–94.

Carmignac, Jean and Pierre Guilbert. *Les textes de Qumran: Traduits et annotés.* Autour de la bible. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961.

Chalcraft, David. "Social Scientific Approaches: Sectarianism." *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* 237–41.

———. "Towards a Weberian Sociology of the Qumran Sects." Pages 74–105 in *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*. Edited by David Chalcraft. BibleWorld London: Equinox, 2007.

Chazon, Esther G. "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran." Pages 95–105 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and Eileen M. Schuller. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

———. "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 35–47 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. STDJ 48. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

———. "The 'Words of the Luminaries' and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times." Pages 2:177–86 in *Seeking the Favor of God: Volume 2*. Edited by Mark J. Boda, Daniel F. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline. EJL 22. Atlanta: SBL, 2007.

———. "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 et al. STDJ 48. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

———. "Looking Back: What the Dead Sea Scrolls Can Teach Us about Biblical Blessings." Pages 155–71 in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Nóra Dávid et al. FRLANT 239. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

———. "Tradition and Innovation in Sectarian Religious Poetry." Pages 55–67 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

———. "Lowly to Lofty: The Hodayot's Use of Liturgical Traditions to Shape Sectarian Identity and Religious Experience." *RevQ* 26.1 (2013): 3–19.

Childs, Brevard S. "Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms." Pages 377–88 in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God*. Edited by Frank M. Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller. Garden City: Doubleday, 1976.

[Cicero]. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Translated by Harry Kaplan. 1 Vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cicero. *De Inventione*. Translated by Vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clines, David J. A. "Psalm Research Since 1955: I. The Psalms and the Cult." *TynBul* 18 (1967): 103–26.

———. "Psalm Research Since 1955: II. The Literary Genres." *TynBul* 20 (1969): 105–25.

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* ט–ז [Hebrew]. DCH 3. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.

Coggins, R. J. *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles*. CBC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Collins, John J. "Teacher and Servant." *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 80.1 (2000): 37–50.

———. "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls." *DSD* 17.3 (2010): 418–30.

———. "Eschatology." *EDEJ* 594–97.

———. "Prayer and the Meaning of Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 69–85 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

———. "The Genre of the Book of Jubilees." Pages 2.737–755 in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*. Edited by Eric F. Mason. JSJSup 153. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

———. *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

———. *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015.

———. "Metaphor and Eschatology: Life beyond Death in the Hodayot." Pages 407–22 in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of*

George J. Brooke. Edited by Feldman Ariel, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 119. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Connor, Ulla, Davis, Kenneth, and De Rycker, Antoon. "Correctness and Clarity in Applying for Overseas Jobs: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of US and Flemish Applications." *Text & Talk* 15.4 (1995): 457–75.

Crüsemann, Frank. *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel.* WMANT 32. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.

De Vries, Simon J. *1 and 2 Chronicles.* FOTL 11. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.

Delcor, Mathias. *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot): Texte hébreu, introduction, traduction, commentaire.* Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962.

Devitt, Amy J. "Intertextuality in Tax Accounting." Pages 336–55 in *Textual Dynamics of the Professions*. Edited by Charles Bazerman and James Paradis. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

———. *Writing Genres.* Rhetorical Philosophy and Theory. Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004.

Dinkler, Michal Beth. "Genre Analysis and Early Christian Martyrdom Narratives: A Proposal." Pages 314–36 in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*. Edited by Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. JSJSup 175. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Douglas, Michael C. "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14." Dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago 1998.

———. "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux." *DSD* 6.3 (1999): 239–66.

David Duff, ed. *Modern Genre Theory.* Longman Critical Readers. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000.

Dupont-Sommer, André. *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte.* Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950.

———. "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH): Traduction intégrale avec introduction et notes." Special issue, *Sem* 7 (1957): 1–117.

Eggins, Suzanne. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics.* London: Continuum, 2007.

Falk, Daniel K. *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

———. "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 136–59 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Fassberg, Steven E. "The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts." Pages 94–109 in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde. STDJ 36. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Fishman, Joshua. "Domains and the Relationship between Micro- and Macroscoiolinguistics." Pages 435–53 in *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. Edited by J. Gumperz and D. Hymes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Flowerdew, John. "Genre in the Classroom: A Linguistic Approach." Pages 91–102 in *Genre in the Classroom: Multiple Perspectives*. Edited by Ann M. Johns. Mahwah, N.J.: Routledge, 2001.

Fowler, Alastair. Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Frow, John. *Genre.* The New Critical Idiom. London: Routledge, 2006.

García Martínez, Florentino. "Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The 'Voice of the Teacher' as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts." Pages 227–44 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen M. Schuller. STDJ 92. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Gaster, Theodor H. *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation.* Garden City: Anchor Press, 1956.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation.* Literature, Culture, Theory 20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Gerstenberger, Erhard S., review of *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen*, by *JBL* 81.2 (1962): 207–8.

———. *Psalms, Part 1, with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry.* FOTL 14. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988.

———. *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations.* FOTL 15. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

Goff, Matthew. "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot." *DSD* 11.3 (2004): 263–88.

———. *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* VTSup 116. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

———. "A Blessed Rage for Order: Apocalypticism, Esoteric Revelation, and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge in the Hellenistic Age." *HeBAI* 5.3 (2016): 193–211.

———. "Gardens of Knowledge: Teachers in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and the Hodayot." Pages 171–94 in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by Karina M. Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Emma Wasserman. EJL 41. Atlanta: SBL, 2017.

———. "Wisdom." *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* 449–56.

Gunkel, Hermann. *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction.* FBBS 19. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

Gunkel, Hermann and Joachim Begrich. *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel.* Translated by James D. Nogalski. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998.

Habermann, Abraham M. *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Machbaroth Lesifruth, 1959.

Hall, Stuart. "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" Pages 1–17 in *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall. London: Sage Publications, 1996.

Halliday, Michael A. K. and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* 3rd. London: Arnold, 2004.

Hamidović, David. "The Teacher of Righteousness from the Perspective of the Sociology of Organizations." Pages 159–82 in *Scripture as Social Discourse*. Edited by Todd Klutz, C. Strine, and J. M. Keady. London: T&T Clark, 2018.

Hanneken, Todd R. *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees.* EJL 34. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Harkins, Angela Kim. "Signs of Editorial Shaping of the Hodayot Collection: A Redactional Analysis of 1QH^a and 4QH^{a-f}." PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003.

———. "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^a (4Q427)." *DSD* 12.3 (2005): 233–56.

———. "The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation." *DSD* 15.1 (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 et al. STDJ 91. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

———. "Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch." *Hen* 32.2 (2010): 1–42.

———. "The Performative Reading of the Hodayot: The Arousal of Emotions and the Exegetical Generation of Texts." *JSP* 21.1 (2011): 55–71.

———. "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.* Edited by Eric F. Mason. JSJSup 153. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

———. *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions.* Ekstasis 3. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.

———. "The Thanksgiving Hymns." Pages 2018–94 in vol. 3 of *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture.* Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2013.

———. "Another Look at the Cave 1 Hodayot: Was CH I Materially Part of the Scroll 1QHodayot^a." *DSD* 25.2 (2018): 185–216.

Hasselbalch, Trine B. *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Collection of Prayers from Qumran.* EJL 42. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

Heger, Paul. "The Development of Qumran Law: *Nistarot*, *Niglot* and the Issue of 'Contemporization'." *RevQ* 23.2 (2007): 167–206.

Heinemann, Joseph. *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns.* SJ 9. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977.

Hempel, Charlotte. "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures." Pages 2–67 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*. Edited by James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Hogeterp, Albert L. A. *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.

Holland, Dorothy et al. *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran.* ATDan 2. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960.

———. "Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmodic Tradition." *ST* 14.1 (1960): 1–53.

———. "'Ich' in den Hodajoth und die Qumrāngemeinde." Pages 217–27 in *Qumran-Probleme*. Edited by Hans Bardtke. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963.

Horst, Friedrich. "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch." *ZAW* 47 (1929): 45–54.

Hughes, Julie A. *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot.* STDJ 59. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Hyon, Sunny. "Genre in Three Traditions: Implications for ESL." *TESOL Quarterly* 30.4 (1996): 693–722.

Jacobson, Rolf A. "Imagining the Future of Biblical Studies." Pages 231–46 in *The Shape and Shaping of the Book of Psalms*. Edited by Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford. AIL 20. Atlanta: SBL, 2014.

Japhet, Sara. *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary.* OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993.

Jeremias, Gert. *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit.* SUNT 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.

Johns, A.M. et al. "Crossing the Boundaries of Genre Studies: Commentaries by Experts." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 15.3 (2006): 234–49.

Johns, Ann M. *Genre in the Classroom: Multiple Perspectives*. Mahwah, N.J.: Routledge, 2001.

Johnson, Michael B. "One Work or Three? A Proposal for Reading 1QS-1QSa-1QSb as a Composite Work." *DSD* 25.2 (2018): 141–77.

Jokiranta, Jutta. "The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach." Pages 254–63 in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*. Edited by Philip F. Esler. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006.

———. "An Experiment on *Idem* Identity in the Qumran Movement." *DSD* 16.3 (2009): 309–29.

———. "Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism." Pages 200–31 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Timothy H. Lim. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Jones, Gwilym H. *1 & 2 Chronicles*. OTG. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.

Justnes, Årstein. "On Being a 'Librarian': Labels, Categories, and Classifications." Pages 15–32 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*. Edited by Sidney W. Crawford and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 116. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Kittel, Bonnie Pedrotti. *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary*. SBLDS 50. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981.

Klein, Ralph W. *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.

Knierim, Rolf. "The Vocation of Isaiah." *VT* 18 (1968):

Knohl, Israel. "Between Voice and Silence: The Relation between Prayer and Temple Cult." *JBL* 115.1 (1996): 17–30.

———. "The Suffering Servant: From Isaiah to the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 89–104 in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination*. Edited by Deborah A. Green and Laura A. Lieber. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Knoppers, Gary N. *I Chronicles 10–29*. AB. New York: Doubleday, 2004.

Kozman, Rony. "Ezekiel's Promised Spirit as Adam's Revelatory Spirit in the Hodayot." *DSD* 26.1 (2019): 30–60.

Kratz, Reinhard G. "The Teacher of Righteousness and His Enemies." Pages 515–32 in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*. Edited by Feldman Ariel, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 119. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary.* CC. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1988.

———. *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary.* CC. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.

Kugel, James L. "David the Prophet." Pages 45–55 in *Poetry and Prophecy*. Edited by James L. Kugel. Myth and Poetics Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Kugler, Robert A. "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran." *JSJ* 33.2 (2002): 131–52.

———. "Of Calendars, Community Rules, and Common Knowledge: Understanding 4QS^e-4QOtot, with Help from Ritual Studies." Pages 215–28 in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Maxine L. Grossman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.

Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang. *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran.* SUNT 4. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.

Kuntz, J. Kenneth. "Psalms: Gains and Trends in Recent Research." *CurBS* 2 (1994): 77–106.

———. "Continuing the Engagement: Psalms Research Since the Early 1990s." *CurBR* 10.3 (2012): 321–78.

Lakoff, George. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Lange, Armin and Matthias Weigold. *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature.* Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

Lewin, Beverly, Fine, Jonathan, and Young, Lynne. Expository Discourse: A Genre-based Approach to Social Science Research Texts. New York: Continuum, 2001.

Licht, Jacob. *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957.

Lohse, Eduard. *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräische und Deutsch, mit masoretisches Punktation, Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen.* München: Kösel-Verlag, 1971.

Long, Burke O. *2 Kings.* FOTL 10. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.

Mand, Fritzlothar. "Die Eigenständigkeit der Danklieder des Psalters als Bekenntnislieder." *ZAW* 70.3-4 (1958): 185–99.

Mansoor, Menahem. *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated, with an Introduction.* STDJ 3. Leiden: Brill, 1961.

Marshall, Robert J. "Structure of Isaiah 1-12." *BR* 7 (1962): 19–32.

Mathys, Hans-Peter. *Dichter und Beter: Theologen aus spätalttestamentlichter Zeit.* OBO 132. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.

Mays, James L. "The David of the Psalms." *Int* 40 (1986): 143–55.

———. "Past, Present, and Prospect in Psalm Study Past Present Future: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker." Pages 147–56 in *Old Testament Interpretation*. Edited by James L. Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent H. Richards. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995.

McKenzie, Steven L. *1–2 Chronicles.* AOTC. Nashville: Abingdon, 2004.

Mervis, Carolyn B. and Rosch, Eleanor. "Categorization of Natural Objects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 32.1 (1981): 89–115.

Metso, Sarianna. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule.* STDJ 21. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

———. "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement." *RevQ* 20.3 (2002): 429–44.

———. *The Serekh Texts.* London: T&T Clark, 2007.

———. "Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?" Pages 63–84 in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*. Edited by Florentino Garcia Martínez and Mladen Popović. STDJ 70. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

———. "Problems in Reconstructing the Organizational Chart of the Essenes." *DSD* 16.3 (2009): 388–415.

Meyer, Nicholas A. *Adam's Dust and Adam's Glory in the Hodayot and the Letters of Paul.* NovTSup 168. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Millard, Matthieu. *Die Komposition des Psalters.* FAT I 9. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.

Miller, Carolyn R. "Genre as Social Action." *QJS* 70.2 (1984): 151–67.

Miller, Patrick D. Interpreting the Psalms. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.

Miller, Shem. "Innovation and Convention: An Analysis of Parallelism in Stichographic, Hymnic and Sapiential Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls." PhD diss., Florida State University, Tallahassee, 2012.

———. "'Sectual' Performance in Rule Texts." *DSD* 25.1 (2018): 15–38.

———. "The Role of Performance and the Performance of Role: Cultural Memory in the Hodayot." *JBL* 137.2 (2018): 359–82.

Morawe, Günter. *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajôth.* GTA 16. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961.

———. "Vergleich des Aufbaus der Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder (1QH) von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spætjudentum." *RevQ* 4.3 (1963): 323–56.

Mowinckel, Sigmund. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship.* 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1962.

Mroczek, Eva. "The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature." *JAJ* 6.1 (2015): 2–35.

———. The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Muraoka, Takamitsu. "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew." Pages 193–214 in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. Edited by Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde. STDJ 36. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Murphy, Roland E. "A New Classification of Literary Forms in the Psalms." *CBQ* 21.1 (1959): 83–87.

Najman, Hindy. "The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation." Pages 307–22 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Nati, James. "New Readings in 4Q118 I (4QChronicles) and a Parallel at 4Q381 31 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B)." *RevQ* 29.1 (2017): 129–38.

Newman, Judith H. "Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture." Pages 241–64 in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity*. Edited by Jörg Frey and John R. Levison. Ekstasis 5. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

———. "Embodied Techniques: The Communal Formation of the Maskil's Self." *DSD* 22.3 (2015): 249–66.

———. "The Thanksgiving Hymns of 1QHᵃ and the Construction of the Ideal Sage through Liturgical Performance." Pages 940–57 in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*. Edited by Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. JSJSup 175. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

———. *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Newsom, Carol A. "Kenneth Burke Meets the Teacher of Righteousness: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hodayot and the Serekh Ha-Yahad." Pages 121–31 in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin. College Theology Society Resources in Religion Lanham: University Press of America, 1990.

———. "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maśkîl." Pages 373–82 in *Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

———. "The Case of the Blinking I: Discourse of the Self at Qumran." *Semeia* 57 (1992): 13–23.

———. "Apocalyptic Subjects: Social Construction of the Self in the Qumran Hodayot." *JSP* 12.1 (2001): 3–35.

———. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran.* STDJ 52. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

———. "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology." Pages 19–30 in *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies*. Edited by Roland Boer. SemeiaSt 63. Atlanta: SBL, 2007.

———. "Constructing "We, You, and the Others" through Non-polemical Discourse." Pages 13–21 in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*. Edited by Florentino Garcia Martínez and Mladen Popović. Boston, Mass: Brill, 2008.

———. "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot." *DSD* 17.3 (2010): 270–88.

———. "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot." Pages 339–54 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

———. "Predeterminism and Moral Agency in the Hodayot." Pages 193–211 in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal. STDJ 127. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. "The Qumranic Radicalizing and Anthropologizing of an Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29–40)." Pages 423–35 in *Ernten, was man sät*. Edited by D. R. Daniels, Uwe Glessmer, and Martin Rösel. Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991.

———. *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*. HTS 56. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Theological Studies, 2006.

Nissinen, Martti. *Ancient Prophecy: Near Eastern, Biblical, and Greek Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Nitzan, Bilhah. "Berakhot." Pages 1–74 in *Qumran Cave 4. XX, Poetical and Liturgical Texts. Part 1*. Edited by Esther Eshel et al. Discoveries in the Judean Desert 11. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Nosofsky, Robert M. "Exemplar-Based Accounts of Relations between Classification, Recognition, and Typicality." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 14 (1988): 700–8.

———. "Exemplars, Prototypes, and Similarity Rules." Pages 149–67 in *From Learning Theory to Connectionist Theory*. Edited by Alice F. Healy, Stephen M. Kosslyn, and Richard M. Shiffrin. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992.

———. "The Generalized Context Model: An Exemplar Model of Classification." Pages 18–39 in *Formal Approaches in Categorization*. Edited by Emmanuel M. Pothos and Andy J. Wills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Nystrand, Martin. "Rhetoric's 'Audience' and Linguistics's 'Speech Community': Implications for Understanding Writing, Reading, and Text." Pages 1–28 in *What Writers Know*. Edited by Martin Nystrand. New York: Academic Press, 1982.

O'Connor, Michael P. and Bruce K. Waltke. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Pajunen, Mika. "Bible." *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* 369–77.

Pannkuk, Justin L. "Are there משכיל ל Sections in the Hodayot? Evidence from Cave 4." *RevQ* 28.1 (2016): 3–13.

Penner, Jeremy. *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism.* STDJ 104. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Penner, Ken M. "Verb Form Semantics in Qumran Hebrew Texts: Tense, Aspect, and Modality between the Bible and the Mishnah." PhD diss., McMaster University, Hamilton, ON 2006.

———. *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts.* SSN 64. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

———. "Database for Verbs in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Brill. https://figshare.com/articles/ Database_for_Verbs_in_the_Dead_Sea_Scrolls/1434634.

Pepe, Cristina. *The Genres of Rhetorical Speeches in Greek and Roman Antiquity.* International Studies in the History of Rhetoric. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Perelman, Chaïm and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation.* Translated by J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1971.

Peters, Dorothy M. "'I Thank You, O Lord … in the Bereavement of My Soul': Lament Reshaped in a Thanksgiving Psalm (1QHᵃ 10:33–11:5)." Pages 501–20 in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter Flint.* Edited by Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk. EJL 47. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

Pierre, Van Hecke. "Computational Stylometric Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls." *DSD* 25.1 (2018): 57–82.

Plato. *The Republic.* Translated by T. E. Page, E. Capps, W. H. D. Rouse. 2 Vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pomykala, Kenneth E. "Eschatologies and Messianisms." *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* 496–504.

Priest, John F. "Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah." *JBL* 81.1 (1962): 55–61.

Prinsloo, Willem S. "Isaiah 12: One, Two or Three Songs." Pages 25–33 in *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen: Collected Communications to the XIIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Leuven 1989.* Edited by Klaus-Dietrich Schunck and Matthias Augustin. BEATAJ 20. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992.

Puech, Émile. "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)." *JJS* 39.1 (1988): 38–55.

———. "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: "1QH" V 12–VI 18 (= col. XIII-XIV 7) et "4QBéat"." *RevQ* 13.1/4 (1988): 59–88.

———. *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*. Études biblique 21–22. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993.

———. "Hodayot." *EDSS* 365–69.

Qimron, Elisha. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [Hebrew]. vol. 1. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010.

———. *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Between Bible and Mishnah. Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018.

Quintilian. *The Orator's Education*. Translated by Donald A. Russell. 5 Vols. LCL. Cambridge: Havard University Press.

Rad, Gerhard von. *Old Testament Theology.* Translated by D.M.G. Stalker. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962.

———. *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament.* TB 48. München: C. Kaiser, 1973.

Reicke, Bo. "Remarques sur l'histoire de la form (Formgeschichte) des textes de Qumran." Pages 38–44 in *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte*. Edited by Jean Danielou. Paris: Paris University Press, 1957.

Reif, Stefan C. "Prayer in Early Judaism." Pages 439–64 in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran*. Edited by R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook Berlin: Gruyter, 2004.

Rendtorff, Rolf. "The Psalms of David: David in the Psalms." Pages 53–64 in *The Book of Psalms*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller. VTSup 99. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Reymond, Eric D. *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology.* SBLRBS 76. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014.

Roberts, J. J. M. "The Importance of Isaiah at Qumran." Pages 273–86 in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins Waco: Baylor University, 2006.

———. *First Isaiah: A Commentary.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015.

Robinson, James M. "The Hodayot Formula in Prayers and Hymns of Early Christianity." Pages 75–118 in *The Sayings Gospel Q, Collected Essays*. Edited by Christoph Heil and Joseph Verheyden. BETL 189. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1964.

Rosch, Eleanor. "Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories." *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 104.3 (1975): 192–233.

———. "Principles of Categorization." Pages 27–48 in Edited by Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd. Cognition and Categorization Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates; New York Distributed by Halsted Press, 1978.

———. "Wittgenstein and Categorization Research in Cognitive Psychology." Pages 151–66 in *The Meaning and Growth of Understanding: Wittgenstein's Significance for Developmental Psychology*. Edited by Michael Chapman and Roger Dixon. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987.

Rosch, Eleanor and Barbara B. Lloyd. *Cognition and Categorization.* Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates; New York: Halsted Press, 1978.

Rosch, Eleanor and Mervis, Carolyn B. "'Family Resemblances:' Studies in the Internal Structure of Categories'." *Cognitive Psychology* 7 (1975): 573–605.

Sarna, Nahum M. "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds." Pages 281–300 in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History*. Edited by Raphael Loewe and Sigfried Stein. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1979.

Schuller, Eileen M. *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection.* HSS 28. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.

———. "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran." Pages 133–43 in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin. Resources in Religion 5. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990.

———. "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript : 4Q427 7 i + ii." *JBL* 112.4 (1993): 605–28.

———. "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description." *JQR* 85.1-2 (1994): 137–50.

———. "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions." Pages 207–22 in *Biblical Perspectives*. Edited by Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon. STDJ 28. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

———. "427–432. 4QHodayot[a-e] and 4QpapHodayot[f]." Pages 69–232 in *Qumran Cave 4. XX, Poetical and Liturgical Texts. Part 2*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon et al. Discoveries in the Judean Desert 29. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

———. "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran." Pages 29–45 in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls & Related Literature Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

———. "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993-2010." *CurBR* 10.1 (2011): 119–62.

———. "A Reconsideration of 1QH[b] (1Q35)." Pages 483–500 in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter Flint*. Edited by Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk. EJL 47. Atlanta: SBL, 2017.

Schuller, Eileen M. and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH[a]*. EJL 36. Atlanta: SBL, 2012.

Scorza, S. J. "Praise and Music in the Qumran Community." *RefR* 11 (1958): 32–36.

Seybold, Klaus. Introducing the Psalms. London: T&T Clark, 2004.

Shively, Elizabeth E. "Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark's Gospel." *CBQ* 80.2 (2018): 273–92.

Smith, J. David and Minda, John Paul. "Distinguishing Prototype-Based and Exemplar-Based Processes in Dot-Pattern Category Learning." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 28.4 (2002): 800–11.

Stegemann, Hartmut. "Rekonstruktion der Hodajot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran." PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, Heidelberg 1963.

———. "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot." Pages 272–84 in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000.

———. "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot[a] and Some of Their Sections." Pages 191–223 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, Ruth A. Clements, and Avital Pinnick. STDJ 48. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

———. "Hinweise zur Neuedition von 1QHodajot[a]." Unpublished manuscript, last modified July 1, 1968.

Stegemann, Hartmut and Eileen M. Schuller. *Qumran Cave 1. III, 1QHodayot[a] with Incorporation of 1QHodayot[b] and 4QHodayot[a-f]*. Translated by Carol A. Newsom. DJD 40. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.

Steudel, Annette. "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran." *RevQ* 16.2 (1993): 225–46.

Strugnell, John. "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân." *RB* 63.1 (1956): 49–67.

Stuckenbruck, Loren T. "The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 75–94 in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity*. Edited by Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin G. Wold. WUNT 212. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.

Sukenik, Eleazar L. *Hidden Scrolls from the Ancient Genizah Discovered in the Judean Desert, First Report* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1948.

———. *Hidden Scrolls from the Ancient Genizah Discovered in the Judean Desert, Second Report* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1950.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University.* Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955.

Sukhikh, S. I. "The Fate of Russian Formalism (Russian Formalism as Understood by Foreign Critics)." *Soviet Studies in Literature* 21.3–4 (1985): 29–38.

Swales, John M. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings.* Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

———. *Other Floors, Other Voices: A Textography of a Small University Building.* Rhetoric, Knowledge, and Society Series. New York: Routledge, 1998.

———. *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications.* Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

———. Aspects of Article Introductions. Birmingham ed. Michigan Classics Edition. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011. Repr. Birmingham: University of Aston in Birmingham, 1981.

———. "Coda: Reflections on the Future of Genre and L2 Writing." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 20.1 (2011): 83–85.

———. "Reflections on the Concept of Discourse Community." *ASP* 69 (2016): 7–19.

Swanson, Dwight D. "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran." Pages 191–212 in *Interpreting Isaiah*. Edited by David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson. Nottingham: Apollos; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009.

Talmon, Shemaryahu. "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert." *RevQ* 2.4 (1960): 475–500.

Tanzer, Sarah J. "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot." PhD diss., Harvard University, Cambridge 1986.

———. "Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot." Pages 255–75 in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Edited by Matthias Henze. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.

Thiering, Barbara E. "Poetic Forms of the Hodayot." *JSS* 8.2 (1963): 189–209.

Tigchelaar, Eibert. "Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C." *JSJ* 43 (2012): 519–50.

Towner, W. Sibley. "Blessed be YHWH and Blessed art thou, YHWH: The Modulation of a Biblical Formula." *CBQ* 30.3 (1968): 386–99.

Türkkan, Sevinç. "Genre Theory." Pages 216–19 in *The Encyclopedia of Literary and Cultural Theory*. Edited by Michael Ryan et al. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Turner, Victor W. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957.

———. "Social Dramas and Stories about Them." Pages 137–64 in *On Narrative*. Edited by W. J. T. Mitchell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Tynyanov, Yuri. "The Literary Fact." Pages 29–49 in *Modern Genre Theory*. Edited by David Duff. Longman Critical Readers Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2000.

Ulrich, Eugene. *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*. VTSup 134. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*. VTSup 169. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Ulrich, Eugene and Peter W. Flint. *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls*. DJD 32. Oxford: Clarendon, 2010.

Uusimäki, Elisa. *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525.* STDJ 117. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Vermès, Géza. The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English. London: Penguin Books, 2004.

Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah.* WBC 25. 2 vols. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005.

Weiser, Artur. *The Psalms: A Commentary.* OTL. London: SCM Press, 1962.

Werline, Rodney Alan. *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution.* EJL 13. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.

Westermann, Claus. *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen.* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1977.

———. *Praise and Lament in the Psalms.* Translated by Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen. Atlanta: John Knox, 1981.

Wilgren, David. *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms: Reconsidering the Transmission and Canonization of Psalmody in Light of Material Culture and the Poetics of Anthologies.* FAT II 88. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

Williamson, H. G. M. *Isaiah 6–12: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary.* ICC. 3 vols. London: T&T Clark, 2018.

Williamson, H. G. M. *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction.* Oxford: Clarendon; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

———. "Isaiah 12 and the Composition of the Book of Isaiah." *HeBAI* 6.1 (2017): 101–19.

———. *1 and 2 Chronicles.* NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.

Wise, Michael O., Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation.* New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations.* P. M. S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte, eds. Translated by G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S. Hacket, and J. Schulte. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Wright, Benjamin G. "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts." *DSD* 17.3 (2010): 289–314.

Wright, G. Ernest. "Archaeological News and Views." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 16.3 (1953): 67–68.

Zenger, Erich. "Psalmenforschung nach Hermann Gunkel und Sigmund Mowinckel." Pages 399–435 in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998*. Edited by André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø. VTSup 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.