4Q280 3

A fragment that mentions a paradigmatic sin

[...][...][...][...][...]

Bottom Margin

Notes

baumgarten includes this fragment without comment in DJD 18 (173, plate xxxvii) as frag. 1 of 4Q271, a manuscript of the Damascus Document, even though it is grouped with 4Q280 in the photograph FAM 43.32 and MEEK mentions a third fragment of 4Q280 ("Melek-seged et Melek-rela," 129). Either identification seems possible. The handwriting of the two manuscripts is very similar, and both preserve bottom margins of a column. Baumgarten takes this fragment to be parallel to CD v.20, but the phrase could fit equally well in 4Q280 (note that it also appears in a curving ligature in Deut 27:17). One argument against including the fragment in 4Q271 is that nothing else survives in this manuscript from this early in the Damascus Document, and we would have to assume that a number of intervening columns have been destroyed entirely. Still, this is hardly impossible, and we must leave both possibilities open until new information—perhaps genetic analysis—determines in which manuscript the fragment belongs.

baumgarten reads [YN][GK][X][L][Y], "[and] his [brother, etc.]," to correspond with CD v.18-19, but the letters are so badly damaged that the text cannot be restored with any certainty.

Commentary

Line 2. Moving a boundary marker is a particularly serious sin in the HB (Deut 19:14; 27:17; Hos 5:10; Job 24:2; Prov 22:28; 23:10). The Damascus Document charges with this sin, apparently metaphorically, those who strayed from the true teachings of the sect (CD i.15-16; v.20; xix.15-16; 4Q266 11.12-13). Presumably this fragment also comes from a context describing the transgressions of those who reject the sect's teachings.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

(4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1K)

INTRODUCTION

The belief that the human world is a microcosm of the heavenly or ideal realm is best known from Platonic philosophy and its intellectual progeny, but the idea is far more ancient than Plato. For example, the Mesopotamian creation myth (the Eunaos Elish) treats the earthy temple of the god Marduk as a copy of his heavenly palace.1 In the Bible, the earthly sanctuary is pictured as a shadow of the archetypal heavenly sanctuary (Exod 25:9; 26:30; Heb 8:5), and this idea continues in postbiblical literature.2

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is one of the most extended and striking examples from the Second Temple period of the theme of the archetypal temple. Purporting to describe the Sabbath worship and sacrifices carried out by the angelic priests in the heavenly temple, this work preserves motifs and

1. Eunaos Elish v 119-30 (ANET 503).
2. Postbiblical references to the idea of the heavenly sanctuary as archetype of the earthly temple include 1 Enoch 14–15 and 2 Apoc. Bar. 4:5–6; 39:4. Plato's theory of a heavenly archetype behind the physical world is developed in his dialogue Timaeus and is picked up and harmonized with biblical traditions some centuries later by the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria, especially in De Opificio Mundi. The traditional Christian hierarchy of angelic beings arrayed around God's throne was given its canonical shape in the fifth or sixth century ca in the Celestial Hierarchy, a Neoplatonist work by an unknown author generally known as Pseudo-Dionysius today.
LITURGICAL WORKS


I. Contents

This document consists of thirteen songs, one for each of the Sabbaths in the first quarter of the year. The first song describes the heavenly angelic priesthood. The second, which is badly damaged, compares the human priesthood unfavorably to the angelic one. Although almost completely destroyed, Songs III-V seem to have dealt with an eschatological conflict in heaven. Song VI, describing the praises and blessings recited by the seven chief angelic princes, is mirrored by Song VIII, which relates the analogous praises and blessings of the seven secondary princes. The actual songs of the angels are not given. Song VII, sandwiched between them in a climactic position, invokes the praise of angels and the animate furnishings of the celestial temple. Songs IX to XI are also poorly preserved but appear to take us through the vestibules and entryways of the temple, and past the living divinities carved there, to rivers of fire. The curtain isolating the holy of holies is visible, apparently embroidered with living beings who add their praise to that of the others. We reach the nave of the temple, whose roof of wondrous plates is carved with more living spirits, and at last the innermost sanctuary and throne room can be seen. Song XII, another climactic passage, covers this scene in detail: in the vicinity of the throne-chariot we encounter cherubim, ophanim, and other angels offering praise, and various gods and divinities going out on divine missions and returning. Song XIII describes the high-priestly apparel of the chief angels who administer the celestial sacrifices.

Given the poetic nature and fragmentary condition of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, extracting a coherent cosmology from it is difficult, although such a cosmology was doubtless in the minds of the composers. A possible reconstruction is that seven firmaments are envisioned, each of which has its own sanctuary containing its own inner chamber (holy of holies) and administered by its own high-priestly chief prince and secondary prince. Multiple chariots and thrones are mentioned as well (e.g., XI 4Q405 20i-21-22:2-5, XIII 1IQ17 x7), so perhaps each sanctuary has one of these, presumably ridden or occupied by its chief prince.

The final inner chamber, the central throne room inhabited by God himself, is the subject of the first parts of Songs VII and XII. In this room we find the structure of the throne-chariot located above the firmament of the cherubim. It may be that the heavenly sacrificial cult is carried out in the tabernacle of the exalted chief (VII 4Q403 11i:10), perhaps the angelic priest and warrior angel Melchizedek, who sits on a seat like the throne of God’s kingdom (XI 4Q405 20i:21-22:2).

II. The Manuscripts

Eight manuscripts of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice have been recovered in the Qumran library, seven from Cave IV and one from Cave XI. In addition, another copy was excavated in the remains of the rebel encampment on Masada.

- The seven fragments of 4Q400 are written in a formal script dated to the late Hasmonean period (ca. 75-50 BCE) and preserve most of the first column of the work and parts of the next three columns (Songs I and II).
- 4Q401 survives in thirty-eight fragments written in a formal to semiformal early Herodian hand (ca. 25 BCE). Most or all of these small pieces appear to belong to the first six songs.
- Twelve fragments of 4Q402 survive in a formal script with some semiformal influence that is roughly contemporary with the script of 4Q401 but not identical to it. The few identifiable fragments come from Song V and possibly Song IV.
- 4Q403 survives in three fragments in an early Herodian formal script. The first and largest of these preserves one column and part of another containing text from Songs VI to VIII. The second and third fragments probably come from the second column.
- 4Q404 preserves twenty-five small fragments, some of which are assignable to Songs VI to VIII, in a formal late Hasmonean to early Herodian script.
- 4Q405 is the best-preserved copy, written in a late Hasmonean formal script heavily influenced by the semiformal tradition and containing approximately one hundred five fragments, twenty-three of which are substantial. Identifiable text comes from Songs VI to XIII in roughly thirteen columns.
- The script of the five small fragments of 4Q406 cannot be identified, although it appears that the manuscript wrote divine names in paleo-Hebrew letters. It is likely that these fragments come from the end of Songs V and VI.
- The two small fragments of 4Q407 seem to be written in a late Hasmonean formal script with semiformal influence. The content is sim-
LITURGICAL WORKS

ilar to that of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but the fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to the work, let alone to a particular place in it.

- The manuscript from Cave XI, 11Q17, has been newly reconstructed by the editors of DJD 23. Written in a formal Herodian script influenced by the round semiformal hand from roughly the turn of the era, it preserves forty-two fragments, twenty-five of which can be reconstructed into the remains of ten successive columns containing material from Songs VII to XIII.

- The manuscript from Masada, Mas1k, which survives in a single fragment written in a late Herodian formal hand of about the middle of the first century ce, preserves material from Songs V and VI.

There is a great deal of overlap among these manuscripts, and this fact, combined with the techniques developed by Hartmut Stegemann, allows us to reconstruct the content and order of most of the work with a great deal of confidence. Allowing some reasonable assumptions, Carol Newsom estimates that 4Q405 contained a total of twenty to twenty-one columns of twenty-five lines each. If we estimate thirteen or fourteen words to the average line, it seems that the entire work was about seven thousand words long, give or take several hundred words.

I translate an eclectic reconstructed text that incorporates all the manuscripts. Where these overlap, the best preserved is treated as a base text, and the readings of the other manuscript or manuscripts are indicated by underlining, italics, or dotted underlining. The header of the fragment shows how each manuscript is indicated in the text.

III. Genre, Structure, and Prosody

Although we do have indications that songs were recited during the Sabbath sacrifices, few examples survive. The heading of Psalm 92 ties it to the Sabbath, as does that of Psalm 38 (LXX 37) in the Greek translation. Yet nothing in these psalms is especially reminiscent of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Indeed, despite its title, the latter work contains descriptions of the angelic worship services for each Sabbath, but the actual songs sung by the angels are never given.


Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

Sabbath songs also survive in 4Q504, the "Words of the Luminaries," frags. 1-2 col. vii recto and vii verso, and possibly in 4Q503, "Daily Prayers," in the prayer for the twenty-fifth day of the month (frags. 37-38:2-11) and in frags. 24:25 and 40-41. Angelic praise figures in most of these, as in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Not all the openings of the thirteen songs survive, but they probably shared the same structure, with only minor variations: a heading "For the Sacrifice" (ידנית), followed by an indication of the date in the form "The song of the holocaust offering of the xth Sabbath on the yth day of the zth month." A call to worship follows, always beginning with "Psalms the God of . . ." The bodies of the songs vary considerably in content, although all of them share a focus on the worship and cult of the angelic priesthood in the celestial temple. There is a closing benediction at the end of Song VI (4Q403 11:28-29), the only song whose ending is preserved.

The number seven is used frequently as a structuring element. Newsom has pointed out that the overall structure of the document points toward the seventh song as a climax: coming in the middle of the work, its description of the heavenly sanctuary is sandwiched between accounts of the praises of the seven chief angelic princes in Song V and those of the seven secondary princes in Song VIII.5 However, C. R. A. Morray-Jones has argued that this is "no more than a preliminary crescendo," and that the true climax of the work is Song XII, which, describing the scene in the celestial throne room, would have been recited the day after the Festival of Weeks when the Qumran sectaries celebrated their annual covenant renewal ceremony (see the next section).6

The overall genre of the work remains elusive, but it does share a number of features with apocalypses containing otherworldly journeys (e.g., 1 Enoch 1-36). Like some of these, it carries the reader on a revelatory journey through the heavenly realm.7 The differences, however, are striking. There is no angelic interpreter guiding a human intermediary. (The figure of the Sage recurs in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but his role is unclear.) We simply travel through the heavenly realm from week to week and learn its secrets without the explicit revelatory framework central to the genre apocalypse.

Even the very basic problem of whether these songs are prose or poetry


7. The genre "apocalypse," whose basic structure involves heavenly revelations to a human visionary, is surveyed in detail in Collin, Apocalypse. For this type of apocalypse, see Collin's "Introduction," p. 15.
does not have a clear answer. This is partly because the text is often too broken to allow us to work out the details of the poetic structure, and reconstruction holds the danger of creating poetry out of damaged prose. There are some passages that show good parallelism typical of Second Temple Hebrew poetry such as the *Hiddasya*. As an example, we may lay out XII 4Q405 23:6b-11a in poetic couplets as follows:

Divinit[e]s psalm Him when they [be]gin to stand,
and all the s[pirits of] the firma[ment]s of 'purity rejoice in His glory,
and a voice of blessing from all its districts is recounting
the firmaments of His glory,
and His gates are psalming with a voice of chanting.
At the entrances of the gods of knowledge in portals of glory
and at all exits of angels of holiness to their realm,
the portals of His entrance and the gates of exit proclaim the glory
of the King.
blessing and psalming all spirits of His
divinities in exiting and
in entering by gate[s] of holiness.
And there is none among them who oversteps a law,
nor against the words of the King do they set themselves at al.

Other passages are highly structured, but not according to traditional poetic canons. For example, the praises and blessings of the chief princes in Song VI and of the secondary princes in Song VIII follow set forms that correspond to a large degree between the two songs. Still others (e.g., XI 4Q405 19:3-8; XIII 4Q405 23:7-12) have less structure but still are not simple prose.

IV. Life Situation

The surviving headings of the songs tie them unambiguously to the Holocaust offerings made on each Sabbath during the first quarter of the year. Although the Sabbath Holocaust offering is described in Num 28:9-10 and Ezek 46:4-5, neither passage indicates that singing accompanied the offering. However, 2 Chron 29:27-28 reports that the Levitical singers did perform during Here-

8. This problem is discussed in more detail by Segert in "Observations on Poetic Structures." Kittel provides an analysis of the poetics of the *Hiddasya* in The Hymns of Qumran.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

kiah's Holocaust offering for rededication of the temple, and it is reasonable to assume that similar performances accompanied the Sabbath Holocaust offerings. According to 11QPs cxvii.5-9, David composed fifty-two songs for the Sabbath offerings. It is possible that the thirteen songs in the work we call the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice were understood to be included among them, but this work covers only the first quarter of the year, with no trace of songs for the other thirty-nine Sabbaths. Any interpretation of it must explain its limited scope.

It is debatable whether the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice was written by the same group or groups who composed the other sectarian works in the Qumran library. Certainly the work does display notable similarities to these texts. It follows the same solar calendar; the sectarian community (יֵדְעוֹן) may be mentioned in V 4Q402 4:5 (although the context is broken and the meaning of the relevant word is ambiguous); the term "Sage" (הָיוּדְעָה) is a sectarian title of office, but it is also used in the more general sense of "wise person" in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Dan 11:33-35). Other words and phrases that seem to belong to the technical vocabulary of the Qumran sectarians include "lot" (הלַחְתָּה); "turners from transgression" (נְפָשְׂעַת מִשְׁתַּחֲרוּת); "those sound of way" (יְקֹלָה מִשְׁתַּחֲרוּת); and "set period" (מדְעַת). There are also numerous parallels with the description of the heavenly realm in the sectarian Berakhah.

Nonetheless, we simply do not know how widespread the use of the solar calendar was in this period; it was also advocated by the book of Jubilees and the Enochic Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72-82). Nor do we know how much of the terminology of the sectarian literature was part of contemporary Jewish religious jargon. The parallels with the Berakhah are general and show no more than a shared interest in speculation about celestial matters. The sectarian texts tend to avoid certain divine titles such as Elohim, a word meaning "God" that is used freely in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. However, the same word also appears in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511), a sectarian collection of exegetical hymns that shows a vital interest in angels and the heavenly realm, so it may be the case that the term *Elohim* was acceptable in texts with an incantatory function. Finally, the discovery of a fragmentary copy of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice at Masada makes problematic (although not impossible) the claim that it was an esoteric sectarian composition.

Whether or not the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice was composed by the Qumran sectarians, they did keep many copies of it and presumably used it in their liturgy. Given the hostility of the sectarians to the contemporary priestly

power complex in Jerusalem, their liturgical use of these songs may have served as a validation of their self-identification as a spiritual temple. By identifying themselves with the cult of the heavenly temple they could exalt their own rank above the priesthood of the mere earthly temple in Jerusalem.

We are still faced with the problem of the curiously truncated scope of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but recent research has made progress in explain-
ing why it covers only the first quarter of the year. David Halperin has demonstrat-
ed that by the time of the translation of Ezekiel into Greek (in the third or second century BCE) the exegesis of the first chapter of this book had been tied to Ps 68:17-20, thus connecting Ezekiel's vision of the divine chariot to the reve-
lation at Sinai. He has also shown that by the third century CE, these two pas-
sages figured in the liturgy of the Festival of Weeks, which celebrated the giving of the Torah at Sinai.10 Newcom in turn notes that both scriptural texts have in-
fluenced Songs XI and XII, which would have been recited on either side of the Festival of Weeks, the festival that marked the sect's annual covenant renewal cer-
emony.11 Thus, it is reasonable to deduce that the eleventh and twelfth songs marked the climax of the work in association with the covenant renewal, while the thirteenth functioned as a kind of coda or denouement that described the heavenly cult of the high-priestly angels.

V. Literary Context

The composers of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice were obviously immersed in the Hebrew Scriptures. Although the work does not quote the Hebrew Bible directly, many details and some of the structuring elements come from biblical texts. The book of Ezekiel exerts the strongest influence, especially chapters 1 and 10 (the visions of the living creatures and cherubim) and 40-48 (the tour of the ideal temple). The description of Solomon's temple in 1 Kings 6-7 prob-
ably inspired aspects of the architecture of the celestial temple. The angelology of the work, the descriptions of the contents and denizens of the heavenly throne room, and the liturgical terminology also draw on Numbers 1-2, 10; Isa 65:9-14; Ps 24:7-10; 68:17-20; 104:1-4; and 1 Chronicles 28-29.12

12. I do not exclude the very real possibility that the composers had access to nonbiblical royal, apsiental, and apocalyptic traditions about the celestial temple that no longer survive. As noted above, the idea that the earthly sanctuary is a shadow of the archetypal heavenly sanctuary is a very ancient one; see Barker, The Gate of Heaven, for a discus-
sion of traditions concerning the temple in Jerusalem and its heavenly archetype.
but one of this God's emanations — Sophia, goddess of wisdom — generated her own offspring, a bodied one named Yaldabaoth, Sammael, or Saklas. This offspring is the demiurge, the biblical god of Genesis 1–3 who created the imperfect physical world. One of his children is Sabaoth, a repentant god who is enthroned in the seventh heaven upon a four-faced chariot called cherubim. Evidently Sabaoth is a version of the biblical God YHWH Sabaoth, the Lord of Hosts (נְגֵז הָיוֹם). Gnostic mythology clearly draws on Jewish esoteric traditions like those found in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, although the content has been radically reinterpreted.13 The Melchizedek tractate found in the Coptic Gnostic library from Nag Hammadi (NHC IX, 1), although it may not be a Gnostic work, depicts Jesus Christ as the warrior angel Melchizedek, who defeats the evil archontics in powers in an eschatological war in heaven. The same figure also appears elsewhere in Gnostic myth (see “Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition” at the end of this chapter).

Finally, the Hebrew and Aramaic corpus of mystical revelatory traditions known as the Hekhalot literature also has numerous parallels to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Adequate analysis of these parallels would require a monograph; this commentary collects many of them, but space allows little discussion of their implications. Nevertheless, some generalizations can be made. The Hekhalot texts build on an exegesis of many of the same biblical passages as does the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but like Revelation, they include Isa 6:1–3 as an integral element. They describe the heavenly temple and throne room and their denizens in great detail and often in ways similar to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, sharing with it many technical terms. They both use seven as a structuring element; for example, the Hekhalot texts refer to seven concentric celestial palaces that are sometimes arrayed in seven layered firmaments. Some of the shared exegesis has a cultic life situation in the synagogue sermons for the Festival of Weeks, and echoes of this origin surface occasionally.

But again, there are many differences, both substantial and trivial, between them. In the Hekhalot texts, the four living creatures of Ezekiel 1 are taken to be separate beings from the cherubim of Ezekiel 10. The living creatures are not mentioned at all in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and their attributes seem to be assimilated to the cherubim. The exegesis of Isa 6:1–3 in the Hekhalot documents has already been mentioned. Some eschatological material survives in Songs III–V, but there is little elsewhere in the work. Eschatology

13. The material summarized here can be found in the Hypostasis of the Archons and On the Origins of the World, two Coptic Gnostic treatises from Nag Hammadi. For additional details, see the commentary to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, below, and De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship."

is still more muted in the Hekhalot texts: the primary interest is in the eternal verities of the celestial world, and the angelic high priest Metatron (or the Youth) plays no eschatological role. The cultic context most often presented in the Hekhalot material is a set of rituals that an individual mystic can use to experience the ascent (or "descent") to God's chariot in the seventh celestial palace. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice contains no such instructions and presents the tour of the heavenly realm without making clear how it is being experienced. The vision of God's gigantic and magnificent enthroned body is described in great detail in the Shi'ur Qomah texts (a subgroup of the Hekhalot corpus), whereas in Songs XII and XIII there is a strange reticence in the material about the figure presumably sitting in the great throne-chariot, almost as if its light has caused the writer to turn his eyes away so that all he can see is the reflected glimmer of the glory on the angelic armor around the throne. Lastly, the Hekhalot literature is filled with incantations and nonsense words and often makes clear its quest for raw magical power. Although the hypnotic rhythms of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice may imply a certain incantatory power, these trappings of magic and theurgy are entirely missing in them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Editions and Translations
Charlesworth, James H., Carol A. Newsom, et al. The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, vol. 4B, Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999. (Became available to me only when this volume was at the proof stage.)


II. Studies


Framzma, M. "The Use of the Terms 'King' and 'Kingdom' in a Selection of Gnostic Writings in Comparison with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *Musioon* 104 (1991) 221-34.


IV. Related Studies and Texts


Davila, James R. "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.
LITURGICAL WORKS


Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice


SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

(4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1k)

Song 1

(4Q400 1 [+ 4Q401 15], 3i + 5, 3ii:1-7, 4i)

Calls the holy divinities to psalm God and describes the angelic priests who serve in the celestial temple and who intercede for those who repent. Bits of description of the angels’ praises are preserved as well.

4Q400 1i:1-21 + 4Q401 15

Title, opening call to praise, and description of the angelic priests

TOP MARGIN

14[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of] the first [Sabbath] on the fourth of the first month. Psalm [the God of . . .]. O divinities of all the most holy ones, and in His godhead [ . . .] most holy ones among the holy ones of eternity. And they have become to Him priests of [ . . .] attendants of the Presence in the inner chamber of His glory, in the assembly belonging to all the gods of [ . . .]divinities. He engraved His laws for all spiritual works and judgments of [ . . . ]knowledge, a people of understanding, glorified by God. For those who draw near to knowledge [ . . .] and from the source of holiness to the [most] holy sanctuaries [ . . .]priests of the interior, attendants
of the Presence of the King of the [most] holy ones 44. 45. His glory and law upon law they confirm to the seven 29. 30. He founded them [for] Himself, for the [most] holy ones in the holy of holies 46. 47. They became great among them according to the counsel of 48. 49. From knowledge of 50. 51. Holy of holies, priests 52. 53. They are officers of 54. 55. Stationed in the palaces of the King 56. 57. In their border and in their territory 58. 59. They do not endure any who are perverse of way and there is nothing impure in their holy places 60. 61. [and] He engraved for them [laws of] holiness; by them all the eternal holy ones are sanctified. And He purifies the pure ones of 62. 63. [for] all who are perverse of way; and they propitiate His favor on behalf of all who repent of transgression. BLANK 64. 65. 66. Knowledge among the priests of the interior and from their mouths are teachings of all holy ones with judgments of 67. 68. 69. His acts of klijndes for eternally merciful acts of forgiveness. But with His zealous vengeance 70. 71. 72. He established for Himself priests of the interior, most holy ones 73. 74. 75. 76. gods, priests of exalted heights who approach 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. raises of

Notes

This heading is restored on the basis of the beginnings of Songs II, IV, VI-VIII, and XII.

This word is the Qumran equivalent of a BH noun (24) (cf. HDS 200:26; 11Q13 iii.160) and is used here with the technical meaning of the holy of holies in the heavenly temple (cf. Ps 48:10). It appears frequently in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, usually in the phrase "priests of the interior." This meaning is explicit in IX 4Q403 14-15:4: "the interior of the holy of holies." This interpretation of the word may be inspired by Exod 23:20-23, in which God tells the Israelites that He will send an angel before them and that they should obey this angel, "for My name is in His midst" (23:20; 23). The composers of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice may have taken this phrase to mean "for My name is in (his) angel (the angel's interior) (sanctuary)" and taken the angel in question to be Melchizedek or the "exalted chief" whose tabernacle seems to be mentioned in Song VII. For discussion of the passages mentioning Melchizedek and the exalted chief, see note e-e to VII 4Q403 ii.10; the commentary to VIII 4Q403 iii.21; and "Excurssus on the Melchizedek Tradition" at the end of this chapter.

Take the word "they confirm" ("מַסְיַר") as a Piel imperfect. An alternate translation would be "they strengthen, sustain" (cf. Zech 10:6; 12; Eccles 11:16; IQSh v.28; BH [Jastrow, 2080]). The Hiphil has the meaning "to confirm" in Dan 9:27.

Commentary

Line 1. According to Gen 1:14-19, the sun and moon were created on the fourth day of the first week (a Wednesday). In Jewish tradition this marks the beginning of calendrical reckoning (which can be based on the movements of the sun or the moon), so in the solar calendar used in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, the first Sabbath of the first month is on the fourth day of the month. The heading "For the Sage" is evidently comparable to the various headings in the book of Psalms, and like many of them its meaning is not entirely clear. Indeed this very heading appears in Ps 32:42, 45, 44, 44, 45, 52-55; 74, 78, 88, 89, 142 (cf. Ps 47:8), but meaning a type of psalm rather than the title of an ode. The word translated "Sage" appears in the HB nineteen times. The most interesting passages for our purposes are (1) Dan 1:34; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10, which apply the term to Daniel and his friends as well as to sages who will suffer persecution and martyrdom during the Maccabean revolt, but will be resurrected in glory at the eschaton (cf. 1 Enoc 100:6; 104:12); and (2) 2 Chron 30:22, which applies the term to the levitical singers in the time of King Hezekiah. In the QL the word can be used as a general term meaning "one who is insightful" or "one who gives insight" (QOM x.10), but usually it is a title for an...
office in the sectarian community. The heading "For the Sage" occurs at the beginning of a number of songs and prose units in the QL. (e.g., IQS ii:13; IQHP v:1; 4QS11 2:1). The grammar of the heading permits it to indicate authorship ("by the Sage") or reference ("pertaining to the Sage"). This heading seems to have begun all thirteen of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and I take the word "Sage" to be a title, perhaps of the same office as in the undoubtedly sectarian texts.

The holocaust offering was a sacrifice in which the carcass of an animal was completely consumed on the altar. The Sabbath holocaust offering is described in Num 28:9-10 and Ezek 46:4-5. In 2 Chron 29:27-28 (cf. Josephus Ant. 20 §§216-18), songs sung by the Levites during the holocaust sacrifice are mentioned, but their content is not given.

Line 2. The word translated God (El-shahim) can also be taken as a plural noun due to a peculiarity of Hebrew morphology in which one type of singular abstract noun has the same ending as the masculine plural noun. In the HB this word usually refers to the one true God, but it can also be applied to pagan deities (e.g., Exod 20:3; Josh 24:20, 23) and perhaps to angels (e.g., Ps 97:7; 38:1). The QL tends to avoid this word, although the Songs of the Sabbath (4QS 0 and 4Q511) use it freely, as does the Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice. In both the word can refer either to God (e.g., 4Q510 1:2; 4Q511 2:16; I 4Q400 1:6), in which case I have translated it "God," or to angels (e.g., 4Q511 8:12; Songs I 4Q400 1:2), in which case I have translated it "divinities." When the context is ambiguous I have noted this in the commentary.

The title "holy ones" is used mostly of angels or divinities in the HB (e.g., Deut 33:3; Ps 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; Zech 14:5; Dan 4:14). The only clear exception is Ps 34:10, in which the holy ones seem to be human. The term is used of angels in, for example, I Enoc 1:9 (cf. Jude 14); 14:23: 61:8; 106:19; T. Job 33:1: 1QSc 12:9: 1QH vii:22; 4Q510 1:2; 1IQ13 ii:9; and often in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, although it is applied to human beings in Tob 8:15; 1 Enoc 48:7, and often in early Christian literature (e.g., Acts 9:13; Rom 8:27; 1 Tim 5:10; Heb 6:10; 1 Clem. 46:2; Ign. Smyrn. 1:2). In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice the main reference seems to be to angels, although the inclusion of the prophetic titles of human worshipers may be implied as well.

Line 3. The ancient Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria describes the heavens as the holy of holies of the true temple of God, having "for priests, the subordinate ministers of His power, namely, the angels" (Spec. Leg. 1:66). For Michael as the heavenly high priest, see the commentary to XII 4Q405 23:3-6.

Line 4. The phrase "attendants of the Presence" is also found in 1 Q400 1:8, and the term "His Presence" in X 4Q405 151:1-64; XI 1IQ17 vii:2. Com- pare 2 Sam 1:18 and Esther 1:10. In the HB the word "attendant" is usually used in a cultic sense of priests and Levites, although it refers to angels in Ps 104:4. It is used of deified humans in the eschatological temple in 4Q511 35:4. Angels are frequently called "attendants" in the HL, although the phrase "attendants of the Presence" does not occur.

The term "Presence" (literally "Face") as a divine title is more typical of the later literature, but it has biblical roots (Exod 33:14-15; Ps 21:10; Lam 4:16). The phrase "the angel of His Presence" in Isa 63:9 is doubtless the inspiration for the idea of a class of ministering angels of the Presence (many terms and ideas in Isa 63:9-14 are picked up in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). In the QL "the Presence of God" is mentioned in 4Q511 7:52; the eschatological high priest is likened to the angel of the Presence in 1Qb40 iv:24-25; and the angel or angels of the Presence appear in 1QH vii:15; 1QS b:26; 3Q7 5:3. The phrase also appears in singular or plural in nonbiblical texts (e.g., Jub 1:27, 29; T. Judah 25:2; T. Levi 3:5-7). The divine title "the Presence" is common in the HL: the normal title of Metatron in 3 Enoch is "Metatron, the angel prince of the Presence," and one document gives directions for invoking the "prince/officer of the Presence" (Bar Puccim §§623-39).

The "inner chamber" is the central room or holy of holies in Solomon's temple (e.g., 1 Kings 6:5-31; 7:49; 6:6, 8; Ps 28:2; 2 Chron 3:16). The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice frequently uses this term in the singular, but sometimes also mentions multiple inner chambers (seven, if the reconstruction in VII 4Q405 7:7 is correct). It may be that each of the seven chief princes (in Song VI), along with his corresponding secondary prince (Song VII), serves in his own inner chamber. Compare the phrase "in the assembly belonging to all the gods" to "to the assembly of God" in Ps 82:1; 11Q13 ii:10; 4Q427 7:14 and "the assembly of the gods" in IQM i:10; 1Q22 iv:1; 4Q491 5:15.

The Hebrew word translated "gods" is normally used in the singular in the QL for God. It is the generic Semitic term for a god and is used in the Ugaritic texts as the name of the high god, El. It is the standard word for God in the QL, far more common than Elshih. In the HB it can be applied to God (e.g., Gen 49:25; Exod 15:2; Mal 2:10) and to pagan gods (Exod 15:11; 34:14; Ps 81:10; Mal 2:11) and perhaps angels (Ps 29:1). In the QL the plural refers to angels (e.g., 1QM i:10; 1QH* viii:8; 4Q511 10:11; and often in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). In this commentary I translate the singular form as "God" (thus not distinguishing it from Elshih) and the plural as "gods."
LITURGICAL WORKS

IQM xii:3; 4Q511 63-64(iii:3). Compare the idea of the heavenly tablets in 1 Enoch 81:1-2; 93:1-3; 106:19; Jub. 3:8-14.

Line 6. The context of this line is lost, which makes its interpretation difficult. The phrase "a people of understanding" echoes Isa 27:11 ("it is a people lacking understanding"). The latter phrase is applied to the sect's opponents in CD v:16 and IQH* v:19, so it is reasonable to take it to refer to the sect's opponents in the present passage as well, especially since there is no clear case of the word "people" being applied to angels in Second Temple literature (or the HL). However, it does not follow that most of the beings encountered in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are really members of the sectarian community who have assumed themselves a divine or angelic identity, as has been argued by Crispin Fletcher-Louis ("Heavenly Ascent"). Although he maintains that some of the terms in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are used for human beings, many of these terms are unambiguously applied to angels in the HL, and the comments about the lowly human priesthood in II 4Q400 2:1-8 seem to distinguish it from the angelic priesthood. Yet the human community is sometimes alluded to in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, perhaps more often than has been recognized in the past.

Line 7. The word "sanctuary" is used in the HB of the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 25:8); the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., Isa 63:18; 1 Chron 22:19) and its attendant holy places (e.g., Jer 51:51); and Ezekiel's imagined temple (e.g., Ezek 43:21; 44:1), but not of the heavenly temple. In the QL the word can mean the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., CD i:3; IQM ii:i; 4QMMT B 5); the eschatological temple (e.g., 11Q19 iii:11 and frequently in the Temple Scroll); or the celestial temple (e.g., 4Q511 35:3). The word always has this last meaning in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, which refers to multiple sanctuaries, as here, but also to a single sanctuary of God (e.g., VII 4Q403 ii:42). The HL uses the word for the earthly sanctuary (Hebrei Rabba 123) and a vision of the heavenly sanctuary seen by the fathers before the Second Temple was built in Jerusalem (Sar To-Ra 979:98).

Line 12. The word "prince, officer" (אָחָר) is also found in VII 4Q403 iii:23 and possibly in the phrase "officers of holiness" in 4Q401 6:4. It is generally applied to human officers and military leaders in the HB, but it is also used of angelic beings (e.g., Josh 5:4; 15; Dan 8:11). In the HL it refers often to human beings, but sometimes to angels (e.g., IQS iii:20; CD v:18; IQH xi:10, 14), and to God in IQH viii:8. It is the normal term for an angelic "prince" in the HL, rather than the term translated "prince" in this chapter (אָחָר), which is never used in the HL with this meaning (see the commentary to I 4Q400 iii:14).

Line 13. In the HB the word "palace" (בִּלְבּוֹן) can refer either to a royal palace (e.g., 1 Kgs 21:1) or more frequently to the temple (e.g., Isa 6:1) or the nave of the temple (e.g., 1 Kgs 6:3), and sometimes to the celestial temple or palace of God (2 Sam 7:27; Ps 80:1; Ps 114:9; 29:9). Elsewhere in the QL it is used of palaces, the temple or nave, and the heavenly temple (e.g., IQM xi:12; // xi:13 // 4Q92 1:5; 4Q287 2:11). The Hehalot texts are the literature that describe the heavenly "temples" or "palaces" (מֵרְאוֹת) and how to ascend to them in mystical visions.

Line 14. It appears from IQS ii:3b-9a and IQM vii:3b-6 that good angels cannot endure the presence of cultic impurity. Compare the "pure ones" in lines 15 and VI 4Q403 i:13, and the "gods of purity" in 4Q286 7.16. Belial and his minions are impure (IQS iv:10, 21-22; CD iv:15-18; IQM xi:5; cf. 4Q511 48-51:3; 11Q19 iii:15). Demons are called "unclean spirits" in the NT (e.g., Matt 10:1; Mark 3:11). The book of Revelation emphasizes the purity of the one hundred forty-four thousand human beings who sing before the throne of God (14:4-5), and we are also told that nothing unclean enters the new Jerusalem that descends from heaven (21:27).

Angels are called "pure ones" in the HL (SH-L 188); angels who come to earth can be made impure from contact with human beings, and they must be purified by immersion in rivers of fire (SH-L 181-82; cf. 3 Enoch 36:1-2). A human being ascending through the seven palaces can be banished back to earth by the least hint of impurity (Hebrei Rabba 1:27). Sopher HaRazim stresses the importance of maintaining cultic purity when adorning angels for magical purposes.

Line 16. The phrase "who repent of transgression," from Isa 59:20, is frequently applied to the sectarian community in the QL (e.g., IQS x:20; CD ii:5; IQH vi:24; 9:9; xiv:6), and thus we may take it to refer to human beings here as well (although the possibility of angelic repentance may be entertained in XII 4Q405 23:12 and 4Q280 2:3-4). For angels as intercessors for human beings, see T. Levi 3:5-6; Jos. Asen. 15:7-8. Note also that according to CD ii:5-9, angels of destruction pursue those who refuse to repent.

4Q400 11i:1-21

A fragment describing the angelic praise

TOP MARGIN

'the height of [Your] kingdom [...] the heights and [...] ornamentation of Your kingdom [...] in the gates of the exalted heights' [...] in [...] [...] [...]

102

103
Commentary

Line 9. The expression "in the council of the gods" is also found in 4Q511 10:11.

Line 11. Unfortunately the noun after "seven paths [of]" is lost, but presumably the reference is to some element of the heavenly architecture. Paths of heaven used by the angels are mentioned in Ma’aseh Merkavah §§545-45.

Line 14. The word translated "prince" (槟奴) is the normal term for a high angel in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. In the HB it refers commonly to leaders and chiefains (and to the Davidic prince in Ezekiel), but never to angels. In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice it corresponds to the word "officer, prince" (כע) in the HL. The latter appears only two or three times in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (see the commentary to 1 4Q400 11:12), while the former is used rarely in the HL and only of human beings (e.g., Hechalot Rabbati §93), although the angelic "princes of glory" appear in Sepher HaRaazim V 4. Elsewhere in the QL the word "prince" refers to a human leader, often in an eschatological context (e.g., 1Q5b v:20; 1QM iii:3, 14, 15; 11Q19 xxiv:6; xlii:14; lvii:12). The messianic leader Shimon ben Kosiba (Bar Kokhba) took this word as a title during the revolt he led in 132-135 CE (e.g., Mur 24 B:3, 9).
LITURGICAL WORKS

4Q400 3ii:1-7 + 5

A fragment that mentions secondary princes

TOP MARGIN

¹His holy melodies [...] ²to the secondary princes [...] ³His truth. Forms⁴ of [...] ⁴and seven words of [...] ⁵to bless the knowers of [...] seven] ⁶wondrous words [...] BLANK ⁴BLANK [...] BLANK

Note

This word is applied frequently to elements of the heavenly temple in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and also in Sur Torah §297. It is used to describe the faces of the living creatures in Hekhalot Rabbati §246.

Song II

(4Q400 3ii:8-10 + 5, 2 [+ 4Q401 14])

After the opening call of the angels to psalm God, this song praises him for the glorious chief angels, who psalm him more wondrously than do the other divinities or the lowly human councils and priesthood.

4Q400 3ii:8-10 + 5

Title and opening call to praise

⁴For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the second Sabbath⁵ on the eleventh of the first month. Psalm] the God of] the glorified [ores ...] ⁶[]...]

Note

The second Sabbath of the year would have been on the eleventh day of the first month, seven days after the first Sabbath.
LITURGICAL WORKS

4Q400 2 + 4Q401 14ii:7-8

The angelic priesthood

TOP MARGIN

1 [to] psalm Your glory wondrously among gods of knowledge and the praises of Your kingdom among the most holy of the [holy ones.] 2 They are glorified in all the camps of the divinities and are fearsome to the human councils. More wondrously] 3 than divinities and human beings, they recount the effigence of His kingdom according to their knowledge and they exalt, [ ... ] the heavens of His kingdom and in all the exalted heights wondrous psalms according to all. 4 [the glory of the King of divinities they recount in the dwellings of their station. BLANK And [ ... ] 5 [How shall we be reckoned [among] them? And our priesthood, how in their dwellings? And [our] holiness, bow. ... 7 their [holy of] holiness! [How] the contribution of our tongue of dust with the knowledge of god(s) ... ] 8 ... to our chant[ing], let us exalt the God of knowledge[.] ... ] 9 ...[h]oliness and His understanding more than all who know[w] ... 10[ ... ] holiness. Holiness of the fire[ ... ] 11[ ... ] of glory[ ... ] 12[ ... ] of glory[ ... ] 13[ ... ] of glory[ ... ] 14[ ... ] of glory[ ... ] 15[ ... ] .

Commentary

Line 1. The phrase "gods of knowledge" is also found in VII 4Q403 1ii:31, 38; XII 4Q405 23ii:8. Compare "the gods of purity with all eternal knowing ones" in 4Q286 7ii:6. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice refers frequently to the knowledge of the gods or angels.

Line 2. The phrase "camps of the divinities" (also XII 4Q405 20i:21-22i:13) is inspired by "a camp of divinities" or "a camp of God" in Gen 32:3, the context of which (32:2) refers to "the angels of God." The mention of angelic encampments is uncommon in the QL, although the Hildyot hymnist complains that "mighty ones have encamped against me" in 1QH vi:25, and the inscription "peace of God in the camps of His holy ones" on the clavicles of the camps in 1QM iii:5 may allude to the idea. Angelic camps mentioned in the HL include "the camps of the attending angels" in 3 Enoch 36:1; "the camps of the holy ones" in Hekhalot Rabbati §277; and in Sepher HaRazim the seven "camps of the angels" in 1 5; the "princes of the camps" in IV 23; and the "chiefs of the camps" in VI 30.

Line 3. Compare "the effigence of His kingdom" to Dan 11:21; 1 Chron 29:25 as well as the expressions "kingdom of effigence and adornment" in Hekhalot Rabbati §251 // §260; "effigence of kingdom" in Massekhet Hekhalot §15.2.

Line 5. The term "dwelling" appears eight times in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, always referring to the heavenly realm. In the HB the word can be a general term for a dwelling (e.g., the "lair" of jackals in Jer 9:10), but it also refers to the dwelling of God in heaven (e.g., Deut 26:15) and in the temple (e.g., Ps 26:8). In the QL it can refer to the Community as temple (1QSeg viii:8), or to God's heavenly dwelling (1QS x:3; 1QM xii:2; 4Q287 2:13; 4Q491 1:13; 4Q510 1:3; 4Q511 41:1). In Jewish esoteric literature, Dwelling is the name of one of the seven firmaments (e.g., Zeven Rabbai di Bereishit §§40-41 [SFL §7720-22]).

Lines 6-7. The human priesthood is compared unfavorably to the angelic priesthoods, mentioned in VIII 4Q403 1ii:20-22. For similarly self-deprecating questions, see 1QH viii:25-26; xii:23-25; 4Q511 30:4-6. For human praise as a sacrifice to God, see Heb 13:15.

According to the HL, angels are ressential of human beings who ascend to their realm, and they challenge the right of those humans to be there, sometimes objecting to their smell (e.g., 3 Enoch 2:1-4; 46:9; 61:3). The angels also object to God's revealing the secret of the prince of Torah to human beings, since it will allow them to have spontaneous knowledge of the Torah like that of the angels (Sar Torah §292).

Line 8. The phrase "the God of knowledge" also appears in V 4Q402 4:12; XII 4Q405 23ii:12; 4Q401 11i:2 (cf. 1QH vi:26). Compare the similar title, literally, "the God of knowledges" (e.g., 1QS iii:15; 1QH xxii:4-15; 4Q510 1:2; 4Q511 1:7-8).

Line 11. "Tongues of knowledge" are also mentioned in 4QS3 7-9:4.

4Q401 14ii:1-8

[ ... ][ ... ][ ... ] [mystery]s of His wondrous act[s] ... 2 [a voice of chant[s] ... ] 3 cannot[ ... ] 4 [G]od makes mighty ... 5 [princes of ... ] 6 [They proclaim secret things ... ] 7 at the issue of the lips of the King ... ]

BOTTOM MARGIN
LITURGICAL WORKS

Commentary

Line 2. Compare the "mystery of His wondrous acts" to "the mysteries of Your wondrous acts" in 1QM xiv:14. See the commentary to VIII 4Q403 ii:27 for similar expressions.

Line 7. In the sectarian literature the "secret things" are the hidden teachings revealed to the members of the sect (e.g., 1QS vi:11; CD iii:13-14).

Song III

No certain or probable fragments survive.*

Note

*No fragments from any manuscript can be placed with certainty or even high probability in Song III. It would have been sung on the third Sabbath of the first month, so its beginning probably read as follows:

[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the third Sabbath on the eighteenth of the first month. Psalm the God of . . . ]

Song IV

(4Q401 1-2; 4Q402 1)

May have mentioned an eschatological conflict between the angels and the forces of evil

4Q401 1-2

Title and opening call to praise

TOP MARGIN

1For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the fourth Sabbath on the] twenty-sixth in the [first] month.] 2Psalm the God of . . . . .[. . . .] and . . . . they stand before[. . . .] the [king]dom . . . . all the chi[es of . . .] 3King of the divi[nities . . . .] 4[. . . .][. . . .][. . . .]

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

4Q402 1

A heavenly procession or eschatological visitation?

1[. . . .] at the entrance of . . . .] 2[. . . .] when they come with the God[s of . . . .] 3[. . . .] together for all Yo[ur] set periods 4[. . . .] their [mighty] to mighty ones of power 5[. . . .] to all the councils of transgression 1[. . . .] their . . . . 7[. . . .].

Commentary

Line 1. In BH the word translated "entrance" can mean a portal (e.g., Ezek 43:11, of Ezekiel's imagined temple) or the arrival of a person or persons (e.g., 2 Sam 3:25). The word is also used in IX 4Q405 14:45:4:5 and XII 4Q405 23:8-10 in both senses.

Line 2. Given the broken context, the word translated "God" could also be translated "divinities." The line may describe a procession into the heavenly temple or a future eschatological visitation.

Line 3. Given the broken context, the word translated "together" (תוי) could also be translated "the Community" (see the commentary to 4Q286 iii:11). In BH the word translated "set period" (תויו) is understood to be derived from the root "to witness, testify" (תויו) and is taken to mean "testimony" (cf. 4Q216 ii:5 [Jub. 1:8]; vii:17 [Jub. 2:24]). However, in QH the word usually seems to mean a set period of time, as though derived from the root "to appoint, designate, meet" (תויו).

Line 4. Compare the "mighty ones of power" to "mighty ones of strength" in 1QH xi:21; xviii:34-35 as well as to "mighty ones of valor" in CD ii:17; 1QM xc. The Hebrew word translated "mighty one" is also found in VI 4Q403 ii:2 (applied to God); VI 4Q403 ii:21; VII 4Q405 13:5 ("mighty ones of insight"). In the HB it usually refers to human warriors (e.g., 1 Sam 16:18; 2 Sam 23:22; 2 Kgs 24:16), although it is used of angels in Ps 103:20-22.

In QH angels are called "mighty ones" in 1QH xv:14; xiv:1: 1QH xi:35; xi:21; xvi:11; xviii:34-35, although the term can also be used of human beings (e.g., 1QMM xi:10; 4Q168 8:10-14, 6). Angels are often called "mighty ones" in the HL.

Line 5. The word translated "councils of" can also mean "foundations of" (HDSS 108-9). Given the broken context either meaning is possible.
Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

Song V

(4Q402 2, 3; 4Q402 4 + Mas1k i:1-7)

Describes a war in heaven and praises God for his past and future works. This song may have linked the chief angel Melchizedek and the investiture of the angelic battle with the eschatological battle.

4Q402 2 + 3i

Descriptions of beings in the celestial realm

\[ 1, \ldots, 2, 3, 4, \ldots, 6 \] God of [ ] glory \[ 4, \ldots, G \] of [ ] wondrous [ ] of [ ] shapes \[ 4, \ldots, G \] of [ ] wondrous [ ] of [ ] shapes \[ 4, \ldots, G \] of [ ] wondrous [ ] of [ ] shapes \[ 4, \ldots, G \] of [ ] wondrous [ ] of [ ] shapes \[ 4, \ldots, G \] of [ ] wondrous [ ] of [ ] shapes

Notes

\* The beginning of the fifth song is lost, but it may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence as follows:

\[ [\text{The song of the holocaust offering of the fifth Sabbath on the second month. Psalm the God of . . . }] \]

\* The word "shape" (םָזָה) is not attested in BH. It is common in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but outside it appears only in the phrase "colorful shapes" in 1Q20 v6, 9. Compare the parallel phrase "colorful form" in 1Q20 v14.

\* The noun "colorful stuff" (םָשָׁפֶל) is the equivalent of the BH noun נָשָׁפֶל (cf. HDSS 200,26).

Commentary

Line 7. The noun "colorful stuff" appears often in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as well as in 1Q20 v6, 9, 14; vii:11; 4Q161 8-10; 19; 4Q287 2; 5; 4Q462 1-5. It seems to mean multicolored, variegated, or embroidered material (I cannot explain the use of the word in 4Q270 7:14). Compare the phrase "colorful work" in the account of the building of the tabernacle (Exod 26:36, etc.).

The root "to be colorful" appears in a number of celestial or cosmological contexts in the HL. In 3 Enoch 22:12 we are told that the angel KRWBYL YWY "makes colorful the loveliness of their (the cherubim's) brightness." According to the Heikhalot Rabbati, the mystic who succeeds in navigating the dangers of the celestial ascent arrives before the throne of glory and breaks into song. One phrase in this song refers to God as "the One adored with colorful song" (§252 // §261 // §974). In Seder Rabbai di Bereshit §3 (SHL 5834), God says "I made colorful" or "I used colorful materials" as one of his six acts of artisanship in creating heaven and earth.

4Q402 3ii:1-13


Notes

*Qimron suggests that this fragment preserves the beginning of lines 4-13 in V 402 4 ("Review Article," 360-61), but Newcom points out that the overlap with Masik in lines 12-13 of frag. 4 seems to rule this out (unless the text of 4Q402 and Masik was somewhat different at this point). Therefore I take frag. 3ii to preserve material from the middle of Song V.

Commentary

Line 11. In the absence of any context, the word translated "divinities" could also be taken as a singular form and translated "God."

4Q402 4 + Mas1k i:1-7

A celestial war in heaven

1[... ] 2[... ] 3[... ] 4[... ] 5[... ] 6He divides up knowledge[... ] 7[... according to] His understanding He engraved [ ... ] 8[ ... ] his being impure[ ... ] and not[ ... ] 9[ ... ] 10[ ... ] and [ ... ] shall not be[ ... ] for the Community[ ... ] 11[ ... ] sustainer[s] of [ ... ] his thought and knowledge of holiness[ ... ] 12[ ... ]their[ ... ] the war of God in [ ... ] 13[ ... ] for to the God of gods belong [ ... ]
Comments

Line 4. Perhaps a reference to Belial, who is described as impure in other Qumran texts (cf. the commentary to 1 Q400 ii:14).

Line 5. This is the only possible direct mention of the sectarian community in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but given the broken context the translation is open to debate. See note a above.

Lines 7-10. An eschatological battle is also envisioned in 1QM xiii:10-16; xvii:4-9, with the "luminous prince" and Michael as protagonist and Belial and the "prince of the realm of wickedness" as the enemy. Given the widespread association of the warrior angel with the eschatological war in heaven, it may be that frags. 4Q401 11, 22 belonged in this song. See "Unplaced Fragments" and the "Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition" at the end of this chapter.

Song VI

(Masik i:8-21; Masik ii:1-6a; 4Q405 3i; 4Q403 ii:1-29 + Masik ii:6b-26 + 4Q404 1-2 + 4Q405 3ii)

Describes the seven sevenfold psalms of the seven chief princes and summarizes the blessings of seven words uttered by each chief prince, followed by a concluding benediction

Masik i:8-21

Title and opening call to praise

[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the sixth Sabbath on the ninth of the (second) month. Psalm the G]od of gods, O dwellers in the exalted heights [.. . .] o]st holy ones and exalt His glory [.. . ] owledge of the
eternal gods 12[... elect ones] of the highest heights 13[... in all holiness 14[... 15[... 16[... 17[... 18[... 19[... 20[... 21[... 

Notes
κυρία This word comes from Num 1:16 (κυρία); 162 (κυρία); and 26:9 (κυρία), which refer to leaders chosen for various godly or nefarious purposes during the wilderness journey. It also appears in 4Q403 2:2 and 4Q407 1:4. The terms “princes” and “chiefs,” angelic titles in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, are also applied to these leaders in the same verses.

Commentary
Line 9. The expression “God of gods” appears often in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as does a similar phrase (with El rather than Elohim), translated the same way. The latter phrase is also found in 1QM xiv:16; 4Q510 1:2; and in the HL (e.g., SH-L §§497, 511).

Mas2k xi:1-6a
The sevenfold psalms of the seven chief princes

[Psalm of blessing by the tongue of the first chief prince] to the [eternal] God [with its seven wondrous blessings. And he will bless the King of all the eternal holy ones seven times with seven] words of [wondrous blessings].

Psalm of greatness by the tongue of the second to the King of faithfulness and [righteousness with its seven wondrous great things and he declares great the God of all divinities appointed for righteousness seven times with seven words of] wondrous [great things.]

Note
Although the psalms and blessings of the chief princes in Song VI are fragmentary, fortunately we have four partially overlapping copies, and the text is very repetitive and formulaic. The summary of the psalms in VI 4Q403 11:7-10 (and parallels) and the fragment of the blessings of the fourth through seventh secondary princes in Song VIII (4Q405 13) also aid the reconstruction. Overall the text of Song VI can be recovered almost completely. For details of the reconstruction, see DJD 11: 246-50, 261-63.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

Commentary
The speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q427 7:13b-23) exalts the angels to praise God using terminology similar to that of the angels in Songs VI and VIII. The number seven is a structuring element in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice on many levels, just as it is in the book of Revelation and the HL (see the introduction to this chapter). Newsom notes a number of parallels to the sevenfold blessings and praises in Songs VI and VIII, including 1 Chron 29:11-12; Rev 5:12; 7:12; and the seven benedictions of the Sabbath Amidah in the traditional Jewish liturgy (DJD 11: 247-48).

4Q405 3i (cf. Mas2k ii:3-7; 4Q403 1i:1-22)
A fragment that mentions the chief princes

[Psalm of exaltation by the tongue of] the third of the chief princes. An exaltation of His faithfulness to the seven chief princes with seven and they [exalt the God of seven times with seven] (with seven as of might)

Notes
This fragment corresponds to the psalms of the second and third chief princes, although its text is somewhat different from the other two fragmentary versions (one of which, 4Q403, appears to be defective, and it cannot be reconstructed to agree with either of them.

b-believe Note the similar phrase תִּהְיֶה הָדוֹר. הַיָּדוֹר אֶלֶּה. "and he exalts the God of them," reconstructed below in Mas2k 3ii:8 // 4Q403 1i:1.

Commentary
See the commentary to 4Q403 1i:1-2 below.

4Q403 1i:1-29 + Mas2k ii:6b-26 + 4Q404 1-2 (ital.) + 4Q405 3i
[Psalm of exaltation by the tongue of] the third of the chief princes. An exaltation of His faithfulness for the King of angels with its seven wondrous exaltations and he exalts the God of the angels of exaltation seven times with seven words of wondrous exaltations.
LITURGICAL WORKS

Psalm of praise by the tongue of the four(th) to the Mighty One over all [divinities] with its seven wondrous mighty acts. And He praises the God of mighty acts seven times with seven[n] words of [wondrous] praises.

[Ps]alm of the [th]an[k]sgivings by the tongue of the [fit]h to the [K]ing[g] of glory with its seven wondrous than[k]sgivings. He shall give thanks to the God of glory seven times with seven words of wondrous thanksgivings.

Psalm of chanting seven times with the sixth to the [the] good God with its seven wondrous chants. And he chants to the good King[s] seven times with seven words of wondrous chanting. BLANK

Psalm of melody by the tongue of the seventh of the [chief] princes, powerful melody to the God of holiness, with its seven words of the melodies. And he makes melody to the holy King[s] seven times with seven words of wondrous melody.

Summary of the seven psalms of the chief princes

Seven psalms of His blessings seven psalms of the greatness of His righteousness; seven psalms of the exaltation of His kingdom seven psalms of the praises of His glory; seven psalms of the thanksgivings of His wonders; seven psalms of the chancelings of His power; seven psalms of the melodies of His holiness; generations of of of exaltation shall bless seven times with seven wondrous words, words of exaltation.

The sevenfold blessings of the seven chief princes

The first[th] of the chief princes shall bless the name of the God of God to all . . . seven wondrous words shall bless all the chief [council]s in the sanctuary of His holiness with seven wondrous words. And He blesses eternal knowing ones.

The second among the chief princes shall bless in His faithful name all their stations with seven wondrous words. And He blesses with seven wondrous words and He blesses all who exalt the King with the seven words of the all[ory of His wonders] all the eternally pure ones.

The third among the chief princes shall bless in the name of His exalted kingdom all the exalted ones of knowledge with seven exalted words, and all the gods of BLANK His faithful knowledge He shall bless with seven wondrous words. And He blesses all the ones [appointed] for righteousness with seven wondrous words.

The fourth among the chief princes shall bless in the name of the

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

the effu[gen]ce of the King[s] who walk uprightly with seven words of effulgence and He blesses the establish[s] of effulgence with seven wondrous words. And He blesses all the god[s] near to His faith[ful] knowledge with seven words of righteousness for His [glorious] mercies.

The fit[h] among the chief [prin[c]ces shall bless in the name of the effulgence of His wonders [a]ll who know the [mysteries of . . . ] of purity with seven words of His exalted faithfulness and He blesses all who rush after His favor with seven wondrous words. And He blesses all who give thanks to Him with seven words of effulgence for wondrous effulgence.

The sixth among the chief princes shall bless in the name of His mighty acts of gods all mighty ones of insight with seven words of His wondrous mighty acts. And He blesses all whose way is sound with seven wondrous words as a [lo]nternal sacrifice with all coming to [a]l[ges]e[s] and He blesses all who wait for Him with seven wondrous words for a [res]urrection of His merciful acts of kindness.

The seventh among the chief princes shall bless in His holy name all holy ones who establish knowledge with seven words of His wondrous holiness. And He blesses all who exalt His judgments with seven wondrous words for shields of power. And He blesses all who are appointed for righteousness, who psalm the kingdom of His glory . . . everlasting 26 with seven wondrous words for eternal peace.

Summary of the seven blessings of the chief princes

And all the [chief] princes shall bless together the [God of gods in His holy name with all] their sevenfold [ventions and they bless those appointed for righteousness and all the blessed . . . blessed for . . . ] to them.

Concluding benediction

Blessed be the Lo[r]d, King[g] of all, above all blessing and praise. And He blesses all holy ones who bless Him and declare Him righteous in His glorious name, and [He] blesses all the eternally blessed.

Notes

This phrase is missing from the uncorrected text of 4Q403 (11), but the rest of the manuscript does not correspond to the structure of the psalms of the other six chief princes and is too short to fill the lacuna in Masb 11:7. I followNewton's schematic reconstruction of the phrase (DID 11: 251). The original text must have been something along these lines.
LITURGICAL WORKS

This is the correct reading of Mas'ik ii.8. Newson reads [א"ה] [א"ו], "he 
shall give thanks" or "they shall confess." [א"ה] Mas'ik ii.13 reads ר'ד, "they shall give thanks" or "they shall confess.

The reconstruction of the end of line 9 and the beginning of line 10 is difficult, even with the help of Mas'ik ii.12-22. Newson reconstructs [ה"ט] [ר"ט] as [כ"ט], which might be possible palaeographically but is problematic in context. Although the word [כ"ט] is translated "generations" in English Bibles, its meaning in the HB and the QL is closer to "a genealogical listing" or "an account of a generation's actions in genealogical order" (e.g., Gen 5:1; 36:1; Ruth 4:18; 1 Chron 5:1). The word is out of place in the context Newson proposes since angels are immortal and are not begotten in successive generations.

This word is missing in 4Q403 10:10, although there is room for it in the lacuna of Mas'ik ii.23. I have accepted Newson's suggestion that it was lost by mistake in 4Q403. For the phrase [ז"ט], "of the chief princes," cf. lines 1 and 6 above.

This word is reconstructed on the basis of the context. Mas'ik ii.26 and 4Q405 3ii.1 appear to have the corrupt reading [ז"ט].

This phrase is unexpected, given the pattern of the other blessings of the chief princes. It may be a dittography (an accidental double copying), but it is also found in 4Q405 3ii.2, so it may be a deliberate variation, as Newson suggests.

Although line 15 is blank, it clearly does not mark a division in the text.

This word is missing in 4Q404 2.3 reads [ז"ט], "mighty acts of His wonders.

The phrase [כ"ט] 4Q405 3ii.15 reads [כ"ט], "His merciful kindness."

Commentary

Line 1. There are seven "chief princes" in this song who correspond to the seven secondary princes in Song VIII. Presumably the inspiration for them is the seven angels in Ezek 9:1-2 and perhaps the seven archangels in later tradition (e.g., Tob 12:15; 1 Ennoch 20:1-7 in Greek; T. Levi 8:2; Orig. World III 2, 5 104:18-19; 105:10). The book of Revelation mentions "the seven angels who stand before God" (the angels of the seven trumpets) in the heavenly temple (2:2-3, 6-13; 9:1; 13:1; 15:15). Later in the book, seven angels go out from the heavenly temple to pour out the seven bowls of the wrath of God (15:1, 5-7; 16:1-21). According to Massekhet Hekhalot 59.4, seven great princes are located in the divine throne room.

In both the HB and the QL the word "chief" can be used as the title of a leader, either by itself (e.g., Exod 18:25; Num 1:16; Judg 10:18; Mic 3:1; IQM 11:11).

Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice

roman:

11:11; 11:13; 4Q164 1:7; cf. 11Q19 xic:16; 11Q14) or combined with another term, such as "chief priests" (e.g., 2 Kgs 25:18; 1QM ii.11; 4Q194 xi.11). The title "chief" is also used of angels in the HB (e.g., Hekhalot Rabbati §§219-22, where the chief of the gates of the first five heavenly palaces figure in the narrative), and the "chief of the camps" appear in Sepher HaRazim VI 30. The phrase "chief prince" is from Ezek 38:2-3 and 39:1, where it is a title of Gog. The titles "chiefs," "princes," and "elect ones" also appear together in Numbers 1, and "chiefs," "princes," and "officers" in IQM ii.12-14 and 11Q19 xi.14-15. Perhaps in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice the seven chief princes and seven secondary princes preside together over the seven priesthoods (VII 4Q403 ii.20, 22) in the sevensanctuaries (VII 4Q405 7:7), although the reconstructions in the last three references are not certain.

The word "angel" has the basic meaning "messenger," but it is used frequently in the HB, the QL, and the HL to indicate a divine messenger. Angels are also mentioned in VIII 4Q403 i.23 ("the angels of the King"); IX 4Q405 17:4 ("angels of glory"); 5 ("angels of ornamentation"); XI 4Q405 19:7; XII 4Q405 20:1-22:9; XII 4Q405 23:6; 4Q407 1:3 ("angels of holiness"); XIII 11Q17 1c:9; 4Q405 49:3 ("angels of . . ."); XIII 11Q17 2c ("angels of knowledge"); 4Q405 81:2 ("angels of the abode of . . .").

Line 2. The title "Mighty One" is also applied to God in the HB (e.g., Deut 10:17; Isa 10:21; Jer 32:18; Ps 24:8), the QL (e.g., IQM xii.9), and postbiblical literature (e.g., 4 Ezra 6:32; 2 Apoc. Bar. 47:1), and the HL (e.g., Hekhalot Rabbati §§268, 271, 272).

Line 3. The phrase "the King of glory" (used often in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice) comes from Ps 24:7-10 and is found both in the QL (1QM xi.8; xic:1; 4Q510 1:1-4; 4Q511 52-59iiii:4) and in the HL (e.g., 1 Ennoch 2:12; Hekhalot Rabbati §189; Hekhalot Zutarii §42; Massekhet Hekhalot §3.6-7).

Line 4. The various permutations of the word "thanksgiving" in this line could also be translated as analogous permutations of the word "confession." The phrase "the God of glory" comes from Ps 29:3.

Line 5. God's goodness is mentioned in the Hūddāyēt (e.g., 1IQH xvi.16) and also in the Self-Infantification Hymn (4Q247 7:23).

Line 6. The word translated "thanksgivings" could also be translated "confessions."

Line 11. The phrase "eternal knowing ones" is also found in 4Q286 7:6 and Songs VIII 4Q403 ii.19-20 // 4Q405 6-9:3-4.

Line 20. Compare "all who rush after His favor" with "those who rush after righteousness" in 1IQH xii.21-22. The word translated "who give thanks" could also be translated "who confess."

Line 22. With small variations, the phrase "those whose way is sound" ap-
pears often in the QL (1QS ii.2; iii.9-10; iv.22; vii.10, 18; 21; ix.2, 5, 9; CD ii.15-16; IQM xiv-17; 4Q491 8-10:5; 1QH ii.36; 4Q510 1-5; 4Q511 10-8; 4Q511 63iii:3), almost referring to human beings, especially the sectarianists. Presumably it applies to human beings here as well.

The word translated "continual sacrifice" is used as a sacrificial term unmodified in Dan 8:11, 12; 13:11; 12:11 (cf., e.g., Exod 29:42; Ezek 46:15). Since other sacrificial terms are used in XIII 11Q17 inc4-5, this may be the correct meaning here. Alternatively, the word could be used adverbially to mean simply "continually."

Lines 22-23. The phrase translated "with all coming [al[g(e)s]" (cf. CD ii.9-10) could also be taken in a personal sense; "with all eternals ones," that is, the angels.

Line 23. Echoes Isa 30:18 (cf. Dan 12:12). Line 25. The phrase "the kingdom of His glory" is found in Esther 1:4 and XIII 4Q405 23ii:11-12. Note the similar expressions in II 4Q401 14-16; VII 4Q403 ii.32; XII 4Q405 23ii:3. It is unclear whether any text has been lost in the lacuna immediately after the phrase. Compare Matt 6:33 and the phrase "blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom forever and ever" in SH-L §394 // §471 // §731. Line 26. The translation "the [God] of gods" is more to be expected given the context, but, as Newsom notes, if this phrase is meant to be parallel to the phrase "[and] they bless those appointed for righteousness" in line 27, it should be translated "the [divine]ties of the gods."

Song VII

(4Q403 1:30-11:17 + 4Q404 3:6 + 4Q405 4:7 + 11Q17i)

Exhorts the various classes of divinities to praise God, then calls on the architectural elements of the heavenly temple to do the same. Describes the movements of the fiery divinities in the vicinity of the tabernacle and the praise offered by the temple furnishings, the inner chambers, and the cherubim and ophanim.

49For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month. Psalm in the God of exaltations, O exalted ones among all gods of knowledge.

Invocations of various groups of angels

Let the holy ones of the divinities declare great(!) the King of glory who declares holy in His holiness(1) all His holy ones, O chiefs of the praises of all divinities, praise the God [of] effulgent [praises], for in the adornment of praises is the glory of His kingdom — in it are the praises of all divinities along with the adornment of [His] whole kingdom — and exalt His exaltation on high, O divinities of the gods of exaltation, and the godhood of His glory above all exalted heights, for He is [God of gods] to all the chiefs of exaltations and King of kings(7) to all eternal councils. (by the favor of 15His knowledge) At the words of His mouth all [gods of exaltation] come into being, at the issue of His lips all eternal spirits, [by the favor] of or His knowledge all His works in their actions. Chant, O chanters of [knowledge, with] chanting among wondrous divinities, and recount His glory with the tongue of all recoupers of knowledge, His wondrous chants in the mouth of all who recount [Him, for He is] God to all eternal chanters of [knowledge] and Judge in His might to all spirits of understanding. Declare effulgent all gods of effulgence, the King of effulgence, for all the gods of knowledge confess His glory and all spirits of righteousness confess His faithfulness. And they make their knowledge pleasing by the judgments of His mouth, and their confessions by the return of His mighty hand for requiring judgments. Make melody to the God of power with the best portion of spirit for a melody, with the happiness of God and joy among all holy ones for wondrous melodies with eternal happiness.

Invocation of the celestial architecture and other spirits

44With these let all the foundations of the most holy (place) psalm the load-bearing pillars of the most exalted abode and all the corners of its construction. Make me(ody to) God, for [some of] strength, all spirits of knowledge and light to lift up together the most <crad> pure< crad> firmament of His holy sanctuary. 45And praise Him, O spirits of God(d) for confession as
forever and ever of the chief firmament on high, all [its] [heavens] and its walls, all [its] construction, the works of [its] structure. Most holy spirit, living divinities, are all holy above all holy of holies, the entire holy ones. . . . wonderful of wonderfulness and adoration. And wondrous is the God of glory in the light of perfect light! on knowledge! . . . in all wondrous sanctuaries. The spirits of God surround the dwelling of the king of faithfulness and righteousness. All . . . in the holy of holies, light . . . structure . . .

Notes

(1) The orthography of this word is defective; the plural form would normally be spelled יִשְׂרָאֵל. Nevertheless, given the context the meaning is not in doubt. Compare the spelling יִשְׂרָאֵל for יְשַׁרְיָאֵל in XII 4Q405 263 21-227.

(2) The feminine singular of pronoun suffix refers back to יִשְׂרָאֵל, “His kingdom.”

Although the root יֵשׁוּר has the meaning “to send,” Newsom suggests that this word may be equivalent to the phrase יָדִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “to anoint (literally, ‘sending out’ of their hands).” I translate accordingly, but it should be noted that הָיְשַׁרְיָאֵל, “mission,” is found in BH (Pv 7:8-9) and RH (latter, written for יִשְׂרָאֵל in 4Q303 51 155). I follow Newsom’s emendation to יִשְׁרֵי.

In line 30, the phrase “the glory of His kingdom” also occurs in QPAS 1:4. Compare “in the glory of Your kingdom” (1Q37 xi:7) and “blessed be the name of His kingdom forever and ever” (SHL 5394 // 547 // 5731). For similar expressions, see the commentary on VI 4Q403 1:25.

Line 34. The title “King of kings” is found in 1 Tim 6:16; Rev 17:14; 19:16; 1 Enoch 5:4; 4Q581 76-77; perhaps 4Q581 8:10-13 // 1QMM 16:16; and in the HL (e.g., 3 Enoch 22:15; G8 1a:18-19; G23 1a:3, 9, 18; b4:4). The most common title in the HL is “the King of kings of kings” (e.g., Hekhalot Rabbi 3:21; Ma‘aseh Merkavah 555b; Sohar Panim 663b; Merkavah Rabbi 667b).

Line 35. The creation of the angels on the first day is described in Job 2:1-3. Newsom correctly notes that “works” in this context refers to created beings, since their actions are mentioned in the next line.

Line 37. According to 1QPH viii:35 and 1 Enoch 90:20-25, God is judge of the angels.

Lines 38, 39, 43. The word translated “confess” (line 38) could also be translated “give thanks to;” likewise, “confessions” (lines 39, 43) could be translated “thanksgivings.”