

4Q280 3

A fragment that mentions a paradigmatic sin^a

¹[...][...][...] ²[... those who] move the boun[dary marker ...]

BOTTOM MARGIN

Notes

^aBaumgarten 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 PAM 43.327 and Milik mentions a third fragment of 4Q280 ("Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša," 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 cursing liturgy 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.

^bBaumgarten reads [וְיָהוּ] [א] [וְיָהוּ], "[and] [his] [br]oth[er]," 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 Platonist philosophy and its intellectual progeny, but the idea is far more ancient than Plato. For example, the Mesopotamian creation myth (the *Enuma Elish*) treats the earthly 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. *Enuma 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; 59:4. 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 CE in the *Celestial Hierarchy*, a Neoplatonist work by an unknown author generally known as Pseudo-Dionysius today.

terminology known from the later book of Revelation in the New Testament and the still later Jewish mystical literature.

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 floor 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, ophannim, 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 20ii-21-22:2-5; XIII 11Q17 x:7), 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 1ii:10), perhaps the angelic priest and warrior angel Melchizedek, who sits on a seat like the throne of God's kingdom (XI 4Q405 20ii-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-

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 good deal of confidence.³ Allowing some reasonable assumptions, Carol Newsom estimates that 4Q405 contained a total of twenty to twenty-one columns of twenty-five lines each.⁴ 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.

3. Newsom, "He Has Established for Himself Priests," 101-2; Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls."

4. DJD 11: 311.

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 Sage" (למשכיל), 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 "Psalm 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 1i: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 VI 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

5. Newsom, *Critical Edition*, 16-17; "He Has Established for Himself Priests," 102-3, 107-10.

6. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within," 417-20.

7. The genre "apocalypse," whose basic structure involves heavenly revelations to a human visionary, is surveyed in detail in Collins, *Apocalypse*. For this type of apocalypse, see Collins's "Introduction," p. 15.

does not have a clear answer.⁸ 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 *Hôdâyôt*. As an example, we may lay out XII 4Q405 23i:6b-11a in poetic couplets as follows:

Divinit[ie]s psalm Him when they [be]gin to stand,
and all the s[pirits of] the firma[men]ts of ⁷purity 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 ⁸with 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,
⁹the portals of His entrance and the gates of exit proclaim the glory
of the King,
blessing and psalming all spirits of ¹⁰divinities in exiting and
in entering by gat[e]s of holiness.
And there is none among them who oversteps a law,
nor against the words of ¹¹the King do they set themselves at all.

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 23ii: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 Heze-

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

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 11QP^s xxvii: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 (^{יחיד}) 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" (^{משכיל}) 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" (^{גורל}); "turners from transgression" (^{שבי פשע}); "those sound of way" (^{תמימי דרך}); and "set period" (^{תעודה}). There are also numerous parallels with the description of the heavenly realm in the sectarian *Berakhot*.

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 *Berakhot* 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 exorcism hymns that shows a vital interest in angels and the heavenly realm, so it may be 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.⁹

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

9. Newsom has at different times argued for and against this view. See *Critical Edition*, 59-72, 81-83, and "Sectually Explicit Literature," 179-85.

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 explaining why it covers only the first quarter of the year. David Halperin has demonstrated 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 revelation at Sinai. He has also shown that by the third century CE, these two passages figured in the liturgy of the Festival of Weeks, which celebrated the giving of the Torah at Sinai.¹⁰ Newsom in turn notes that both scriptural texts have influenced 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 ceremony.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 probably 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 63:9-14; Ps 24:7-10; 68:17-20; 104:1-4; and 1 Chronicles 28-29.¹²

10. Halperin, "Merkabah Midrash"; *Faces of the Chariot*, esp. chaps. 4 and 8.

11. Newsom, "Merkabah Exegesis," 29. See also Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within," 417-20; Fletcher-Louis, "Heavenly Ascent," esp. 382-99; and the introduction to the *Berakhot* in this volume.

12. I do not exclude the very real possibility that the composers had access to

Two sectarian texts from Qumran have strong thematic parallels with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510-511) is a collection of hymns of exorcism that prefigure elements of later Jewish magic and theurgy. The *Berakhot* (4Q286-290, 280?) is a liturgy for the covenant renewal ceremony during the Festival of Weeks. Both works share with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* its interest in the heavenly temple and its angelic attendants, frequently making use of some of the same scriptural passages mentioned in the previous paragraph. It is difficult to establish dependence in any direction among these three works, and they may draw independently on a fund of already existing esoteric traditions.

Outside the Qumran library, the book of Revelation shares many themes and ideas with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. There is a similar emphasis on the scene around God's throne (chaps. 4-5) and the heavenly temple and its angelic attendants, including a tradition about an eschatological war in heaven between the warrior angel and the forces of evil (12:7-9). The descriptions of the heavenly realm also incorporate numerous "merkavah hymns" (see the introduction to the *Berakhot*). As with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the number seven permeates the book of Revelation as a structuring element: the seven golden lampstands represent the seven churches, and the seven stars the seven spirits of the churches through whom Christ sends his messages; Christ the Lamb has seven eyes and opens the seven seals; seven angels blow the seven trumpets and later pour out the seven bowls of the wrath of God, and so on. Revelation too quotes no scripture directly, although much of its content consists of a tissue of biblical allusions, including some of the same passages from Ezekiel. John's vision is explicitly set "on the Lord's day" (2:10), the Christian analogue to the Sabbath (cf. *Barn.* 15:1-9).

There are also significant differences. Revelation is a Christian work whose hero is Jesus, the Christ who will return at the last judgment. In form it is an apocalypse with cosmic and political eschatology that lacks a historical review or otherworldly journey. Its view of the heavenly realm is also informed by Isa 6:1-3, a passage that is never alluded to directly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *Songs of the Sage*, or the *Berakhot*.

The Christian Gnostic corpus from late antiquity also has connections with the cosmology of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. According to the Gnostics, the true God dwells in the highest heaven in unapproachable light,

nonbiblical royal, sapiential, 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 discussion 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 botched abortion 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 (יהוה צבאות). 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 archontic 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.)

García Martínez, Florentino, et al. “11QShirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat.” In *Qumran Cave 11. II, 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, 259–304, plates xxx–xxxiv, liii. DJD 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Newsom, Carol. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.

———. “Shirot 'Olat Hashabbat.” In *Qumran Cave 4. VI, Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I*, edited by Esther Eshel et al., 173–401, plates xvi–xxxi. DJD 11. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Strugnell, J. “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân — 4Q Serek Širôt 'Olat Haššabbāt.” In *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959*, 318–45. VTSup 7. Leiden: Brill, 1960.

II. Studies

Baumgarten, Joseph M. “The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and Rabbinic Merkabah Traditions.” *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988) 199–213.

- Davila, James R. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Merkavah Mysticism." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, edited by Timothy H. Lim et al., 249-64. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*." *SBLSP* 37. Vol. 1, 367-99. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
- Franzman, M. "The Use of the Terms 'King' and 'Kingdom' in a Selection of Gnostic Writings in Comparison with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." *Muséon* 104 (1991) 221-34.
- Murray-Jones, C. R. A. "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and Its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources." *SBLSP* 37. Vol. 1, 400-431. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
- Newsom, Carol A. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot." *JJS* 38 (1987) 11-30.
- . "He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot." In *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, 101-20. JSPSS 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990.
- Puech, Emile. "Notes sur le manuscrit des Cantiques du Sacrifice du Sabbat trouvé à Masada." *RevQ* 12/48 (1987) 575-83.
- Qimron, Elisha. "A Review Article of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition*, by Carol Newsom." *HTR* 79 (1986) 349-71.
- Schiffman, L. "Merkavah Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q^{Serekh Shirot} 'Olat ha-Shabbat.'" In *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann*, edited by J. Reinharz et al., 15-47. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1982.
- Segert, Stanislav. "Observations on Poetic Structures in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." *RevQ* 13/49-52 (1988) 215-23.
- Smith, Mark S. "Biblical and Canaanite Notes to the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* from Qumran." *RevQ* 12/48 (1987) 581-88.
- Tigheelaar, Eibert J. C. "Reconstructing 11Q17 *Shirot* 'Olat Ha-Shabbat.'" In *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, 171-85. STDJ 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

III. The Figure of Melchizedek

- Davila, James R. "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven." *SBLSP* 35, 259-72. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.
- . "Melchizedek: King, Priest, and God." In *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth:*

- Challenge or Response?* edited by S. Daniel Breslauer, 217-34. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "'Now This Melchizedek . . .' (Heb 7:1)." In *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, 221-43. SBLSPS 5. N.p.: Scholars Press, 1974.
- Horton, Fred L., Jr. *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews*. SNTSMS 30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Kobelski, Paul J. *Melchizedek and Melchireša*. CBQMS 10. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981.
- Milik, J. T. "4Q Visions de 'Amram et un citation d'Origène." *RB* 79 (1972) 77-97.
- Pearson, Birger A. "The Figure of Melchizedek in Gnostic Literature." In *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, 108-23. Studies in Antiquity and Christianity 5. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.
- Pearson, Birger A., et al. "IX, 1: Melchizedek." In *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, 19-85. NHS 15. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Pearson, Birger A., and Søren Giverson. "Melchizedek (IX, 1)." In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3rd ed., edited by James M. Robinson, 438-44. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- Puech, Emile. "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11Q^{Melchisedeq}." *RevQ* 12/48 (1987) 483-513.
- Robinson, S. E. "The Apocryphal Story of Melchizedek." *JSJ* 18 (1987) 26-39.
- Schmidt, Carl, and Violet Macdermot, eds. *Pistis Sophia*, 68-75, 383-93, 573-83, 645-53, 665-73, 703-705. NHS 9. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- . *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, 142-49. NHS 13. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Van Der Woude, A. S. "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI." *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965) 354-73.

IV. Related Studies and Texts

- Barker, Margaret. *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem*. London: SPCK, 1991.
- Collins, John J., ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. *Semeia* 14 (1979).
- . *Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- Dan, Joseph. "Anaphiel, Metatron, and the Creator" (in Hebrew). *Tarbiz* 52 (1982-83) 447-57.
- Davidson, Maxwell J. *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*. JSPSup 11. Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.
- Davila, James R. "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

- after *Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2:461-85. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- De Conick, April D. "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, edited by James R. Davila et al., 308-41. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Dimant, D., and J. Strugnell. "The Merkabah Vision in *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385 4)." *RevQ* 14/55 (1990) 331-48.
- Eshel, Esther. "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn." *RevQ* 17/65-68 (1996) 175-203.
- Falk, Daniel. *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Glessmer, Uwe. "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2:213-78. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Halperin, David J. "Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint." *JBL* 101 (1982) 351-63.
- . *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988.
- Kittel, Bonnie. *The Hymns of Qumran*. SBLDS 50. N.p.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1981.
- Lee, Desmond. *Plato: Timaeus and Critias*. Rev. ed. New York and London: Penguin, 1977.
- Levey, Samson H. "The Targum to Ezekiel." *HUCA* 46 (1975) 139-58.
- Luibheid, Colm, et al. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist, 1987.
- Naveh, Joseph, and Shaul Shaked. *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987.
- Newman, Carey C. *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric*. NovTSup 69. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Newsom, Carol A. "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran." In *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, edited by William Henry Propp et al., 167-87. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Nitzan, Bilhah. *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*. STDJ 12. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Robinson, James M., ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. 3rd ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- Schiffman, L. "Sifrut Ha-Hekhalot ve-Kitve Qumran" ("The Hekhalot Literature and the Qumran Writings"). *Mehqere Yerushalayim Be-Mahshevet Yisra'el* 6 (1987) 121-38.
- Scholem, Gershom G. *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*. 2nd ed. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965.

- Segal, Alan. *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Stegemann, Hartmut. "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments." In *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, 189-220. JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2. Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.

SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

(4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1k)

Song I

(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

^{1a}[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of]^a the first [Sabba]th on the fourth of the first month. Psalm ²[the God of . . .]. O divinities of all the most holy ones, and in His godhood ³[. . .] most holy ones among the holy ones of eternity. And they have become to Him priests of ⁴[. . .] attendants of the Presence in the inner chamber of His glory, in the assembly belonging to all the gods of ⁵[. . .] divinities. He engraved His laws for all spiritual works and judgments of ⁶[. . .] knowledge, a people of understanding, glorified^b by God. For those who draw near to knowledge ⁷[. . .] eternal [. . .] and from the source of

of the Presence of the King of the [most] holy ones ⁹[. . .] His glory and law upon law they confirm^d to the seven ¹⁰[. . . H]e founded them [for] Himself, for the [most] ho[ly] ones . . . in the ho[ly] of holies ¹¹[. . .]they became great^e among them according to the council of[. . .] from knowledge of ¹²[. . .] holy of holies, pri[ests] . . . th[ey] are officers of ¹³[. . . sta]tioned in the palaces of the King [. . .] f[or] in their border and in their territory^f ¹⁴[. . .] they do not endure any who are perv[erted] of way and there is nothing impure in their holy (places) ¹⁵[and] He engraved for them [laws of ho]liness; by them all the eternal holy ones are sanctified. And He purifies the pure ones of ¹⁶[. . .]for all who are perverted of way. ⁸And they propitiate His favor^g on behalf of all who repent of transgression. BLANK ¹⁷[. . .] knowledge among the priests of the interior and from their mouths are teachings of all holy ones with judgments of ¹⁸[. . .] His [acts of ki]ndness for eternally merciful acts of forgiveness. But with His zealous vengeance ¹⁹[. . .] He established for Himself priests of the interior, most holy ones ²⁰[. . .] gods, priests of ^hexalted heights^h who a[ppr]oach ²¹[. . .] raises of

BOTTOM MARGIN

Notes

^{a-a}[למשכיל שיר עולת] This heading is restored on the basis of the beginnings of Songs II, IV, VI-VIII, and XII.

^bכבודי With Qimron I take כבודי as an (otherwise unattested) passive participle ("Review Article," 358-59). This is a linguistically difficult solution, but if the phrase is taken as "a people of His glorious understanding" (reading כבודי), the word "God" does not fit well syntactically with the rest of the line.

^cקרב This word is the Qumran equivalent of a BH noun (קרב) (cf. HDSS 200.26; 11Q13 1ii:10) 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 made explicit in IX 4Q405 14-15i: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 is sending his angel before them and that they should obey this angel, "for My name is in his midst" (כי שמי בקרבו). The composers of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* may have taken this phrase to mean "for My name is in his (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 1ii:21; and "Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition" at the end of this chapter.

^dI take the word "they confirm" (יגברו) as a Piel imperfect. An alternate translation would be "they strengthen, sustain" (cf. Zech 10:6, 12; Eccles 10:10; 1QSb v:28; RH [Jastrow, 208b]). The Hiphil has the meaning "to confirm" in Dan 9:27.

רבו One could also read "they have [dra]wn near" (רבו) with Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 419.

^fגבולות ובנחלתם This phrase is difficult, since angels are not normally associated with borders or territories. Qimron suggests that it echoes the original text of Deut. 32:8 (cf. 4QDeut¹ xii:13-14 and the LXX), which says that God gave the nations their territory (using the same verbal root, נחל) and established the borders (גבולות) of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God, that is, the angels ("Review Article," 359). In other words, the various angels are each assigned a human territory to look after, and presumably these are the borders and territories mentioned in this line. There is also a reference to the "inheritance" or "territory" of Melchizedek in 11Q13 ii:5. Seven most holy borders are mentioned in VIII 4Q403 1ii:27; 4Q405 44:1; and seven wondrous territories in VIII 4Q403 1ii:21, but these are more difficult to connect with Deut 32:8.

^gויכפרו רצונם An unusual expression, since the verb normally means "to atone," not "to seek atonement." But the similar expressions "atonements of favor" (כפורי) and "atonement[s of] Yo[ur] favor" (כפורי רצונך) occur in 4Q513 13:2 and 4Q512 4-6:6, respectively.

^{h-h}מרומי רוב A common term for the heavenly realm in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The closest analogue in the HL is "heights of height" (מרומי מרם) in G8 1a:11.

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 Pss 32, 42, 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 office. The word translated "Sage" appears in the HB nineteen times. The most interesting passages for our purposes are (1) Dan 1:4; 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 who will be resurrected in glory at the eschaton (cf. 1 Enoch 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" (1QM 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., 1QS iii:13; 1QH^a v:1; 4Q511 2i: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 (*Elohim*) 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; 138:1). The QL tends to avoid this word, although the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 and 4Q511) uses it freely, as does the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. In both the word can refer either to God (e.g., 4Q510 1:2, 8; 4Q511 2ii:6; 1 4Q400 1i:6), in which case I have translated it "God," or to angels (e.g., 4Q511 8:12; Songs I 4Q400 1i: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, 1 *Enoch* 1:9 (cf. Jude 14); 14:23; 61:8; 106:19; *T. Job* 33:2; *Jub.* 31:14; *Pss. Sol.* 17:49; and frequently in the QL (e.g., 1QS xi:7-8; 1QM x:12; 1QH^a xi:22; 4Q510 1:2; 11Q13 ii:9; and often in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*), although it is applied to human beings in Tob 8:15; 1 *Enoch* 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 proleptically glorified 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.* i:66). For Michael as the heavenly high priest, see the commentary to XII 4Q405 23i:5-6.

Line 4. The phrase "attendants of the Presence" is also found in I 4Q400 1i:8, and the term "His Presence" in X 4Q405 15ii-16:4; XI 11Q17 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 73:2; the eschatological high priest is likened to the angel of the Presence in 1QSB iv:24-25; and the angel or angels of the Presence appear in 1QH^a xiv:13; 1QSB iv: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" (*Sar Panim* §§623-39).

The "inner chamber" is the central room or holy of holies in Solomon's temple (e.g., 1 Kgs 6:5-31; 7:49; 8:6, 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 "in the assembly of God" in Ps 82:1; 11Q13 ii:10; 4Q427 7i:14 and "the assembly of the gods" in 1QM i:10; 1Q22 iv:1; 4Q491^c 1:5.

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 *Elohim*. 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^a xviii: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 *Elohim*) and the plural as "gods."

Line 5. In BH the verb "to engrave" occurs only once, in Exod 32:16, of the engraving of the Ten Commandments on the stone tablets by God. In the QL the root always refers to inscribed writing (e.g., 1QS x:6, 8, 11; 1QH^a ix:24;

1QM xii:3; 4Q511 63-64ii: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 1QH^a x:19, so it is reasonable to take it to refer to human beings 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 assigned 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* refer elsewhere only to 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; 1QM ii:3; 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 1i:42). The HL uses the word for the earthly sanctuary (*Hekhalot Rabbati* §123) and a vision of the heavenly sanctuary seen by the fathers before the Second Temple was built in Jerusalem (*Sar Torah* §§297-98).

Line 12. The word “prince, officer” (שר) is also found in VIII 4Q403 1ii: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 5:14, 15; Dan 8:11). In the QL it refers often to human beings, but sometimes to angels (e.g., 1QS iii:20; CD v:18; 1QM xiii:10, 14), and to God in 1QH^a xviii:8. It is the normal term for an angelic “prince” in the HL, rather than the term translated “prince” in this chapter (נשיא), which is never used in the HL with this meaning (see the commentary to I 4Q400 1ii:14).

Line 13. In the HB the word “palace” (היכל) 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 22:7 // Ps 18:7; Ps 11:4; 29:9). Elsewhere in the QL it is used of palaces, the temple or nave, and the heavenly temple (e.g., 1QM xii:12? // xix:5 // 4Q492 1:5; 4Q287 2:11). The Hekhalot texts are the literature that describe the heavenly “temples” or “palaces” (היכלות) and how to ascend to them in mystical visions.

Line 14. It appears from 1QSa ii:3b-9a and 1QM vii:3b-6 that good angels cannot endure the presence of cultic impurity. Compare the “pure ones” in line 15 and VI 4Q403 1i:13, and the “gods of purity” in 4Q286 7i:6. Belial and his minions are impure (1QS iv:10, 21-22; CD iv:15-18; 1QM xiii:5; cf. 4Q511 48-51ii:3; 11QPs^a xix:15). Demons are called “unclean spirits” in the NT (e.g., Matt 10:1; Mark 3:11; Luke 4:36; Acts 5:16; Rev 16:13). 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 (*Hekhalot Rabbati* §§226-27). *Sepher HaRazim* stresses the importance of maintaining cultic purity when adjuring 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., 1QS x:20; CD ii:5; 1QH^a vi:24; x: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 23i: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:5-7, angels of destruction pursue those who refuse to repent.

4Q400 1ii:1-21

A fragment describing the angelic praise

TOP MARGIN

¹the height of [Your] kingdom [. . .] ²heights and ..[. . .] ³ornamentation of Your kingdom[. . .] ⁴in ^athe gates of the exalted heights^a[. . .] ⁵in [. . .].[. . .].

spirit of all ..[...] ⁶holie[st of] holy ones [...] ⁷King of divinities for seven ..[...] ⁸glory of the King BLANK ..[...] ⁹His glory in the council of the god[s ..] ¹⁰to the seven paths [of ..] ¹¹for quiet judgments ..[...] ¹²eternal [...] BLANK [...] ¹³and they exalt His glory .[. . .] ¹⁴King of princes of [...] ¹⁵holy ones[. . .] ¹⁶holy ones[. . .] ¹⁷gods ..[...] ¹⁸righteousness BLANK [...] ¹⁹priesthood[s ..] ²⁰Go[d's] acts of kindness [...] ²¹to be sanctified by [..]

BOTTOM MARGIN

Note

^aשערי מרום רום Compare the "gates of the height" (שערי המרום) in 4Q253 2:5 (line 4 of this fragment refers to a holocaust offering) and "the gate of the holy height" (שער מרום הקודש) in 4Q500 1:4.

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* §§545-46.

Line 14. The word translated "prince" (נשיא) is the normal term for a high angel in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. In the HB it refers commonly to leaders and chieftains (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" (שר) in the HL. The latter appears only two or three times in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (see the commentary to I 4Q400 1i:12), while the former is used rarely in the HL and only of human beings (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §93), although the angelic "princes of glory" appear in *Sepher HaRazim* V 4. Elsewhere in the QL the word "prince" refers to a human leader, often in an eschatological context (e.g., 1QSb v:20; 1QM iii:3, 14, 15; 11Q19 xxi:5; 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).

4Q400 3i:1-12

A fragment describing the angelic praise^a

TOP MARGIN

¹[...] on behalf of the wondrous height ²[...] the tongue of purity ³[...] divinities. Seven ⁴[...] ⁵[...] g]reat things ⁶[...] ⁷[...] ⁸[...] ⁹[...] with seven ¹⁰[...] ¹¹[...] ¹²[... se]ven

Note

^aThe small amount of text preserved on this fragment shows similarities to the praises of the chief princes in Song VI and of the secondary princes in Song VIII.

Commentary

Line 3. In the absence of any context, the word translated "divinities" could also be taken as a singular form and translated "God."

4Q400 4i:1-5

A fragment that mentions divinities or God

¹[...] ²[...] ³... divinities ⁴[...] ⁵[...]

Commentary

Line 3. In the absence of any context, the word translated "divinities" could also be translated "God."

4Q400 3ii:1-7 + 5

A fragment that mentions secondary princes

TOP MARGIN

¹His holy melodies [...] ²to the secondary princes [...] ³His truth. Forms^a of
 ..[...] ⁴and seven words of[...] ⁵to bless the knowers of [...]. sev[en]
⁶wondrous words [...] BLANK ⁷BLANK [...] BLANK

Note

^aצורות This word is applied frequently to elements of the heavenly temple in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and also in *Sar 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

⁸For the Sage. The s[ong of the holocaust offering of the second Sabbath^a on the eleventh of the first month. Psalm] the God of ⁹the glorified [ones . . .]
¹⁰[. . .]

Note

^aThe second Sabbath of the year would have been on the eleventh day of the first month, seven days after the first Sabbath.

Commentary

Line 9. The term "glorified ones" (נכבדים) is applied to angels in II 4Q400 2:2; 1QH^a xviii:8; 1Q19 3:3; this usage is common in the HL (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §244, referring to the angel Anaphiel).

4Q401 14i:1-6

A fragment describing the angelic praise

¹[. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . .] ⁴[. . .] its exaltation is exalted above[...] ⁵[. . .] for You are glorified among [...] gods of gods to [...] ⁶for the chiefs of the realms [...] heavens of the kingdom of Your glo[ry]

Commentary

Line 6. The phrase "chiefs of the realms" also appears in VII 4Q403 1ii:3 and in the singular, "chief of realms," in 4Q511 2i:3 (cf. 1QM x:12 and 1QH^a ix:11). The overall content of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* would tend to indicate that these are heavenly realms, although according to Deut 32:8-9 and Dan 10:13-14, 20 (cf. Sir 17:17; T. Adam 4:6-7; Jub. 15:31-32; Orig. *World* NHC II, 5 105:13-16), each nation was given its own angelic ruler, and it is possible that these realms are meant. Compare 4Q511 1:3, which refers to "the spirits of her [the earth's?] realms."

In the HL the idea of the angels of the nations is made explicit in 3 *Enoch* 30:1-2; in the *Hekhalot Rabbati* there is a reference to the angel Sammael, prince of Rome, who is to be hurled down from heaven along with "all the princes of the kingdoms on high," apparently the angels of the other nations (*Hekhalot Rabbati* §108). In addition, an Aramaic magic bowl mentions the benevolent demon Bagdana Aziza, "the great one of the gods, and the king, the chief of sixty kingdoms" (Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, Bowl 13:3, pp. 198-99, 205-6).

The common word "heavens" (שמים) is rare in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, appearing only here and in II 4Q400 2:4.

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

The angelic priesthood

TOP MARGIN

¹to psalm Your glory wondrously among gods of knowledge and the praises of Your kingdom among the most holy of the h[oly ones.] ²They are glorified in all the camps of the divinities and are fearsome to the human councils. More wo[ndrously] ³than divinities and human beings, they recount the effulgence of His kingdom according to their knowledge and they exalt[. . .] ⁴the heavens of His kingdom and in all the exalted heights wondrous psalms according to all[. . .] ⁵the glory of the King of divinities they recount in the dwellings of their station. BLANK And [. . .] ⁶How shall we be reckoned [among] them? And our priesthood, how in their dwellings? And [our] ho[liness, how . . .] ⁷their [holy of] holies? [How] the contribution of our tongue of dust with the knowledge of god[s . . .] ⁸[. . .] to our [ch]anting, let us exalt the God of knowledge[. . .] ⁹[. . .] ho[liness and His understanding more than all who kno[w . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] holiness. Holiness of the fir[st . . .] ¹¹[. . .] ton[gues of] knowledge .. law [. . .] ¹²[. . .] of glor[y . . .] ¹³[. . .]...[. . .] ¹⁴[. . .]..[. . .]

Commentary

Line 1. The phrase “gods of knowledge” is also found in VII 4Q403 1i:31, 38; XII 4Q405 23i:8. Compare the “gods of purity with all eternal knowing ones” in 4Q286 7i: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 20ii-21-22:13) 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 *Hôdāyôt* hymnist complains that “mighty ones have encamped against me” in 1QH^a x:25, and the inscription “peace of God in the camps of His holy ones” on the clarions 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 I 5; the “princes of the camps” in IV 23; and the “chiefs of the camps” in VI 30.

Line 3. Compare “the effulgence of His kingdom” to Dan 11:21; 1 Chron

29:25 as well as the expressions “kingdom of effulgence and adornment” in *Hekhalot Rabbati* §251 // §260; “effulgence 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 (1QS viii:8), or to God’s heavenly dwelling (1QS x:3; 1QM xii:2; 4Q287 2:13; 4Q491^c 1:13; 4Q510 1:3; 4Q511 41:1). In Jewish esoteric literature, Dwelling is the name of one of the seven firmaments (e.g., *Seder Rabba di Bereshit* §§40-41 [*SH-L* §§720-22]).

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^a ix:25-26; xi:23-25; 4Q511 30:4-6. For human praise as a sacrifice to God, see Heb 13:15.

According to the HL, angels are resentful 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; 4:6-9; 6:1-3). 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; XIII 4Q405 23ii:12; 4Q401 11:2 (cf. 1QH^a ix:26). Compare the similar title, literally, “the God of knowledges” (e.g., 1QS iii:15; 1QH^a xxii:4:15; 4Q510 1:2; 4Q511 1:7-8).

Line 11. “Tongues of knowledge” are also mentioned in 4Q503 7-9:4.

4Q401 14ii:1-8

¹[. . .]...[. . .] ²myster[ies of] His wondrous acts[. . .] ³a voice of chants[. . .] ⁴cannot[. . .] ⁵G[od] makes mighty [. . .] ⁶princes of [. . .] ⁷They proclaim secret things [. . .] ⁸at the issue of the lips of the King [. . .]

BOTTOM MARGIN

Commentary

Line 2. Compare the "myster[ies of] His wondrous acts" to "the mysteries of Your wondrous acts" in 1QM xiv:14. See the commentary to VIII 4Q403 iii: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 v:11; CD iii:13-14).

Song III

No certain or probable fragments survive.^a

Note

^aNo 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 s[ong of the holocaust offering of the fourth Sabbath on the] twenty-[fifth] in the [first] m[onth.] ²Psalm the G[od of . . .] ..[. . .] ³and ..[. . .] they stand before[. . .] ⁴king[dom . . .]. all the chi[efs of . . .] ⁵King of the divi[nities . . .] ⁶[. . .].[. . .].[. . .]

4Q402 1

A heavenly procession or eschatological visitation?

¹[. . .].. at the entr[ance of . . .] ²[. . .] when they come with the Go[d of . . .]
³[. . .] together for all Yo[ur] set periods ⁴[. . .] their [mig]ht to mighty ones of
power ⁵[. . .]. to all the councils of transgression ⁶[. . .] 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 14-15i:4-5 and XII 4Q405 23i: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" (יחד) could also be translated "the Community" (see the commentary to 4Q286 7ii:1). In BH the word translated "set period" (תעודה) is understood to be derived from the root "to witness, testify" (עוד) 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" (יעד).

Line 4. Compare the "mighty ones of power" to "mighty ones of strength" in 1QH^a xvi:11; xviii:34-35 as well as to "mighty ones of valor" in CD ii:17; 1QM x:6. The Hebrew word translated "mighty one" is also found in VI 4Q403 1i:2 (applied to God); VI 4Q403 1i:21; VIII 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 1QM xv:14; xix:1; 1QH^a xi:35; xiii:21; xvi:11; xviii:34-35, although the term can also be used of human beings (e.g., 1QM xix:10; 4Q161 8-10:4, 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.

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 priests with the eschatological battle.

4Q402 2 + 3i

Descriptions of beings in the celestial realm^a

¹[...] ²[...] God of ³[...] glory ⁴[... G]od of ⁵wo[nde]r and [...] shapes^b of ⁶wonder of w[onders ...]divinities ⁷[like] workmanship of colorful s[tuff]^c [...] ⁸in the inner chamber of the King [...] ⁹[...] ¹⁰[...]

Notes

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

[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the fifth Sabbath on the second of the second month. Psalm the God of ...]

^bThe word "shape" (בדן) 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 1QM v:6, 9. Compare the parallel phrase "colorful form" in 1QM v:14.

^cThe noun "colorful stuff" (ריקמה) is the equivalent of the BH noun רקם (cf. HDSS 200.26).

Commentary

Line 7. The noun "colorful stuff" appears often in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, as well as in 1QM v:6, 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 7i: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 KRWBY'L YWY "makes colorful the loveliness of their (the cherubim's) brightness." According

to the *Hekhalot 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 adorned with colorful song" (§252 // §261 // §974). In *Seder Rabba di Bereshit* §3 (SH-L §834), 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

A fragment that refers to judgment^a

¹[...] ²[...] ³[...] ⁴[...] ⁵He will judge[...] ⁶without ..[...] ⁷light and understa[nding ...] ⁸who removes ..[...] ⁹on high and has divi[ded up ...] ¹⁰His might [...] ¹¹divinities [...] ¹²to the King of the divinitie[s ...] ¹³[His] glorious purpose [...]

Notes

^aQimron suggests that this fragment preserves the beginning of lines 4-13 in V 402 4 ("Review Article," 360-61), but Newsom points out that the overlap with Mas1k in lines 12-13 of frag. 4 seems to rule this join out (unless the text of 4Q402 and Mas1k 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[...] and He divides up knowledge[...] ³[... according to] His understanding He engraved l[aws ...] ⁴[...] his being impure[...] and not ...[...] ⁵[...] and [they] shall not be [...] for the Community^a [...] ⁶[... sus]tainers of [His] thought and knowledge of holi[ness ...] ⁷[...] their [...] the war of God in h[oly ...] ⁸[...] for to the God of gods belong [the

ap]ons of wa[r]fa[re...] ⁹[...]divinities run to His muster and the sound of
mu[lt...] ¹⁰[...]divinities in a war of heavenly clouds and there was^b[...] ¹¹
[...] wondr[ous] new acts. All these things He has done wondr[ously accord-
g to His kind purpose. Not] ¹²[... all words of knowledge.] 'For from the God
knowledge^c came into being all [eternally existing things. And from His
knowledge] ¹³[and from His purposes have come about all etern]al [set peri-
s.] He does the fir[st thi]ngs [in their times and the latter things] ¹⁴[in their
pointed times, and there are none among those who know wondrous revela-
ns] who understand before [He] a[cts. And when He acts, no divinities]
have insight into what He purposes. For t]hey are [of His glorious works.]
fore [they existed, they were from His thoughts. BLANK]

Notes

^aלִיחָדִי I translate "for the Community" (cf. 1QS v:5-6; 4Q181 1:2), but the word could also be construed as a Piel infinitive construct of the verb ^aלִיחָד, "to unite" (cf. Ps 86:11; 1QS iii:7 // 4Q255 2:1; 1QSa i:9). It could also be construed as something like "for unity" (cf. 1 Chron 12:18). It is translated as "together" by Newsom, but this meaning is not well attested with the preposition *lamed*. It may be found in 4Q416 2iv:5, but in that broken context the sense could also be "to be united with" (cf. Isa 14:20). I am grateful to Martin Abegg for drawing the passage in 4Q416 to my attention.

^bוְהִיתָהּ This verb could also be taken as *waw*-conversive and translated "and there will be." The subject is a feminine singular noun, perhaps מלחמה, "war" (cf. Rev 12:7).

^cThis phrase is missing in Mas1k i:2. Perhaps a scribe's eye skipped from the first appearance in line 12 of the word "knowledge" to the second, accidentally dropping the phrase in between.

Commentary

Line 4. Perhaps a reference to Belial, who is described as impure in other mran texts (cf. the commentary to I 4Q400 1i: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; i:4-9, with the "luminary prince" and Michael as protagonist and Belial and "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 "Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition" at the end of this chapter.

Line 7. The phrase "the war of God" could also be translated "a war of divinities." The unambiguous phrase "war of God" is found in 1QM iv:12; ix:5; xv:12, but note also "a war of mighty ones of heaven" in 1QH^a xi:35-36.

Line 10. In the absence of a clear context, the word translated "divinities" could also be taken as a singular form and translated "God." The "war of heavenly clouds" corresponds to the "war in heaven" fought by Michael and his angels against the great dragon (the devil or Satan) in Rev 12:7; the war between Melchizedek (Jesus Christ, the heavenly high priest and commander in chief of the All) and the evil archons in the *Melchizedek Tractate* from Nag Hammadi (NHC IX, 1xxvi:1-14); the rescue of Sabaoth by Sophia's seven archangels when the archons "made a great war in the seven heavens" (*Orig. World* NHC II, 5 104:6-25); and the battle between the angelic "great prince" and Leviathan in a liturgical poem by Qalliri (Davila, "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven"). Compare also *Sib. Or.* 3:805-8; 5:211-13, 512-31.

Lines 10-13. These lines echo numerous passages in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., Isa 42:9; 44:6; 45:7; 66:2).

Line 14. The word translated "in their appointed times" could also be translated as "for their festivals," but the parallelism seems to indicate the more general sense of the word.

Song VI

(Mas1k i:8-21; Mas1k ii:1-6a; 4Q405 3i;
4Q403 1i:1-29 + Mas1k 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

Mas1k i:8-21

Title and opening call to praise

⁸[For the Sage. The son]g of the holocaust offering of the sixth Sabbath on the ninth of the [second] ⁹month. [Psalm the G]o[d] of gods, O dwellers in the exalted heights ¹⁰[... m]ost holy ones and exalt His glory ¹¹[... kn]owledge of the

eternal gods ¹²[...]elect ones^a of the highest heights ¹³[...]in all holiness ¹⁴[...] ¹⁵[...] ¹⁶[...] ¹⁷[...]..^b ¹⁸[...] ¹⁹[...] ²⁰[...] ²¹[...].

Notes

^aקְרִיאִי This word comes from Num 1:16 (*ketiv* קְרִיאִי); 16:2 (*ketiv* קְרִיאִי); and 26:9 (*qere* קְרִיאִי), 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).

Mas1k ii:1-6a

The sevenfold psalms of the seven chief princes^a

Psalm of blessing by the tongue of the first chief prince] ¹to the [eternal] God with its seven wondrous blessings. And he will bless ²the Kin[g of all the eternal holy ones seven times with seven] ³words 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] ⁵all div[inities appointed for righteousness seven times with seven words of] ⁶[wondrous] great [things.]

Note

^aAlthough 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 1i: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.

Commentary

The speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q427 7i:13b-23) exhorts 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. Mas1k ii:3-7; 4Q403 1i:1-2?)

A fragment that mentions the chief princes^a

¹⁰[...]greatness ¹¹[...]and he declares great ¹²[...] An exaltation of His faithfulness <[t]o the chief princes> ¹³[...] with seven ¹⁴[...] ^band] they [ex]alt the God of ^b ¹⁵[...] se]ven times with seven ¹⁶[...] <[with sev]en ac[ts of might]>

Notes

^aThis 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.

^bוְרוֹמֵם אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה [וְרוֹמֵם אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה] Note the similar phrase וְרוֹמֵם אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה, “and he exalts the God of,” reconstructed below in Mas1k 3ii:8 // 4Q403 1i:1.

Commentary

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

4Q403 1i:1-29 + Mas1k ii:6b-26 + 4Q404 1-2 (ital.) + 4Q405 3ii

[Psalm of exaltation by the tongue of] ¹the third of the chief princes. An exaltation of ^aHis faithfulness for the King of angels with its seven wondrous exaltations and he exalts^{ab} the God of the [a]ngels of exaltation seven times with seven words of wondrous exaltations.

²Psalms 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 ³mighty acts seven times with seven words of [wondrous] praises.

[Psalm of] [th]anksgivings by the tongue of the fift[h] to the [K]in[g] of glory ⁴with its seven wondrous than[ksg]ivings. He shall give thanks^c to the God of glory seven times with seven words of wondrous thanksgivings.

[Psalm of] chanting ⁵by the tongue of the sixth to [the] good God with [its] seven [wondrous] chants. [And] he chants to [the] good K[ing] seven times with seven words of wondrous ⁶chanting. BLANK

Psalm of [melody by the tongue of the seventh of the [chief] pri[n]ces, powerful melody [to the Go]d of hol[iness], with [its] seven wo[n]de[r]ful [melodies.] [And] he makes melody [to the h]oly Kin[g] seven times with [seven words of wondrous] mel[ody].

Summary of the seven psalms of the chief princes

[Seven] psalms of His blessings; seven ⁸[psalm]s of the greatness of [His righteousness; seven psalms of] the exaltation of [His] kingd[om]; seven psalms of [the praises of His glory; seven] p[salms of the thanksgivings of] ⁹[His wonders; seven psalms of the] ch[an]t[ing]s of His power; seven [psalms of the melodi]es of His holiness, ^dge[n]erations of . . . of exalta[tion]^d [shall bless] ¹⁰[seven times with seven wondrous words, words of exalta]tion.

The sevenfold blessings of the seven chief princes

The first(!)^e of the c[hief] princes [shall bless] in the name of the g[lo]ry of God to [all . . .] ... [with seven wondrous] ¹¹[words to bless all th]eir [council]s in the sanctuary of [His holiness with seven] wondr[ous] word[s]. [And he blesses]^f etern[al] kno[w]ing ones.

[The second] ¹²[among the chief princes shall bless in] His faithful [name] all [their] sta[tions] with seven wondrous word[s]. [And he blesses] ^gwith seven [wondrous] words ¹³and he blesses^g all who exalt the King with the seven w[ords of] the g[lo]ry of His w[onders], all the eternally pure ones.

The th[ird] ¹⁴[among the chief princes shall bless in the name of] His exalted kingdom [all the exal]ted ones of [kno]wledge with s[even] exal[t]ed [w]ords, and all the [gods of] ¹⁵BLANK^h ¹⁶[His faithfu]l knowledge He shall bless with sev[en] wondrous words. And he blesses all the ones [appointed] for righteousness [with seven] wondrous [w]ords.

[The fourth] ¹⁷among [the chief prin]ces shall bless in the na[me] of

the effulge[n]ce of the Ki[n]g a[ll] who wal[k uprig]htly with [se]ven words of effulgence and] he blesses the establish[er]s of effulgence with sev[en] ¹⁸[wondrous] word[s]. And] he blesses all the go[ds] drawing ne[ar] to [His] faith[ful] knowledge [with seven] words of righteousness for [His] [gl]or[ious] mercies.

The fift[h] ¹⁹among [the chief] prin[ces] shall bless in the name of the [effulgence] of His wonders [all] who know the [mysteries of . . .] of purity with seven w[ords of] [His] exalted ²⁰faithfulness [and he blesses] all who rush after His favor with seven [wondrous words. And he bl]es[ses] all who give thanks to Him with seven [wor]ds of effulgence ²¹[for wondrous] effulgences.

The sixth among the chief princes shall bless in the name of [mighty acts of] gods all mighty ones of ⁱinsight with seven ²²[wo]rds of His wondrous mighty acts. And he blesses all whose way is sound with [s]even wondrous words as a [co]ntinual sacrifice with all coming ²³[a]g[e]s and he blesses all who wait for Him with seven wondrous word[s] for a [res]toration of His mer[ciful] acts of kindness.^k

[The sev]enth among the chief princes ²⁴shall bless in His holy name all holy ones who establish kno[w]ledge with sev[en] words of [His] wondrous holiness. [And he blesses] all who exalt ²⁵His judgments with sev[en] wondrous [wo]rds for shields of power. And he blesses all who are appoi[n]ted for] righteous[ness, who ps]alm the kingdom of His glory [. . .] everlastingly ²⁶with seven [wondrous] w[ords for] eternal peace.

Summary of the seven blessings of the chief princes

And all the [chief] princes [shall bless togeth]er the [G]od of gods in [His holy name with] all ²⁷[their] sevenfold te[stim]onies and] they bless those appointed for righteousness and all the blessed [. . .] bles[sed fo]r[ev]er . . . ²⁸to them.

Concluding benediction

Blessed be [the] Lo[r]d, Kin[g of] all, above all blessing and p[raises]. And He blesses all holy ones who bless [Him] and declare Him righ[teous] ²⁹in His glorious name, and [He bl]esses all the eternally blessed.

Notes

^aאמתו למלך מלאכים בשבעה רומי פלאה ורומם This phrase is missing from the undamaged text of 4Q403 1i:1, but the text of that 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 Mas1k ii:7. I follow Newsom's schematic reconstruction of the phrase (DJD 11: 251). The original text must have been something along these lines.

^bוְרוֹמָם This is the correct reading of Mas1k ii:8. Newsom reads [רוֹמָם], “exal[ts],” in both editions, although Qimron corrected the reading in “Review Article,” 363. Note also that 4Q405 3i:14 reads “[and] they [ex]alt” (וְרוֹמָם), although the subject should be the third chief prince.

^cוְיִדְדוּ Mas1k ii:13 reads “וְיִדְדוּ,” “they shall give thanks” or “they shall confess.”

^{d-d}The reconstruction of the end of line 9 and the beginning of line 10 is difficult, even with the help of Mas1k 1ii:22-23. Newsom reconstructs “ge[nerations of chiefs of exalta]tion” (תְּוִלְדוֹת רֹאשֵׁי רִין), which may be possible paleographically but is problematic in context. Although the word תְּוִלְדוֹת 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; CD iv:5; 1QM iii:14), which clearly does not fit here. But even if it is taken as a synonym of דְּוִרֹת, the normal word for “generations” (cf. 1 Chron 5:7?), the word is out of place in the context Newsom proposes since angels are immortal and are not begotten in successive generations.

^eהַרְאִישׁוֹר This word is missing in 4Q403 1i:10, although there is room for it in the lacuna of Mas1k ii:23. I have adopted Newsom’s suggestion that it was lost by mistake in 4Q403. For the phrase לְנִשְׂאֵי רֹאשׁ, “of the chief princes,” cf. lines 1 and 6 above.

^f[וְיִבְרַךְ] This word is reconstructed on the basis of the context. Mas1k ii:26 and 4Q405 3ii:1 appear to have the corrupt reading וְיִבְרַךְ.

^{g-g}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 Newsom suggests.

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

ⁱ4Q405 3ii:12 has a blank line after this word, for reasons that are obscure.

^jפְּלִאֵי 4Q404 2:3 reads “פְּלִאֵי,” “mighty acts of His wonders.”

^kחֲסִידוֹ 4Q405 3ii:15 reads “חֲסִידוֹ,” “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 Enoch 20:1-7 in Greek; T. Levi 8:2; Orig. World NHC II, 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 (8:2-3, 6-13; 9:1, 13; 11:15). 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* §9.4, 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; 1QM

ii:1; iii:13; 4Q164 1:7; cf. 11Q19 xix:16; xlii:14) or combined with another term, such as “chief priest” (e.g., 2 Kgs 25:18; 1QM ii:1; xv:4; xvi:11). The title “chief” is also used of angels in the HL (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §§219-22, where the chiefs of the gates of the first five heavenly palaces figure in the narrative), and the “chiefs 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 1QM iii:12-14 and 11Q19 xlii:14-15. Perhaps in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the seven chief princes and seven secondary princes preside together over the seven priesthoods (VIII 4Q403 1ii:20, 22) in the seven sanctuaries (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 1ii:23 (“the angels of the King”); IX 4Q405 17:4 (“angels of glory”), 5 (“angels of ornamentation”); XI 4Q405 19:7; XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9; XII 4Q405 23i:8; 4Q407 1:3 (“angels of holiness”); XIII 11Q17 ix:9; 4Q405 49:3 (“angels of [. . .]”); XIII 11Q17 x:6 (“angels of knowledge”); 4Q405 81:2 (“angels of the ab[ode 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., 1QM xii:9), 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 xii:8; xix:1; 4Q510 1:1; 4Q511 52-59iii:4) and in the HL (e.g., 3 Enoch 2:12; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §189; *Hekhalot Zutarti* §421; *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 *Hôdāyôt* (e.g., 1QH^a xviii:16) and also in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q427 7i:23).

Line 8. The word translated “thanksgivings” could also be translated “confessions.”

Line 11. The phrase “eternal knowing ones” is also found in 4Q286 7i:6 and Songs VIII 4Q403 1ii:19-20 // 4Q405 8-9:3-4.

Line 20. Compare “all who rush after His favor” with “those who rush after righteousness” in 1QH^a xiii: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; viii:10, 18, 21; ix:2, 5, 9; CD ii:15-16; 1QM xiv:7 // 4Q491 8-10i:5; 1QH^a ix:36; 4Q510 1:9 // 4Q511 10:8; 4Q511 63iii:3), always referring to human beings, especially the sectarians. 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; 11:31; 12:11 (cf., e.g., Exod 29:42; Ezek 46:15). Since other sacrificial terms are used in XIII 11Q17 ix:4-6, 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 [a]g[e]s" (cf. CD ii:9-10) could also be taken in a personal sense: "with all eternal 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 14i:6; VII 4Q403 1i:32; XII 4Q405 23i:3. It is unclear whether any text has been lost in the lacuna immediately after the phrase. Compare Matt 6:13b 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 [G]od 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 [div]in[it]ies of the gods."

Song VII

(4Q403 1i:30-ii: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.

4Q403 1i:30-47 + 4Q404 3-5 (ital.) + 4Q405 4-5, 6:1-8

Title and opening call to praise

³⁰For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth^a of the month. Psalm the God of exaltations, O exalted ones among all

³¹gods of knowledge.

Invocations of various groups of angels

Let the holy ones of the divinities declare great(!)^b the King of glory who declares holy in His holiness(!)^c all His holy ones.^d O chiefs of the praises of ³²all divinities, praise the God [of] effulgent [pr]aises, for in the adornment of praises is the glory of His kingdom — in it^e are the praises of all ³³divinities along with the adornment of [His] whole king[dom — and] exalt His exaltation on high, O divinities of the gods of exaltation, and the godhood of His glory above ³⁴all exalted heights, for He is [God of gods] to all the chiefs of exaltations and King of king[s] to all eternal councils. <<by the favor of ³⁵His knowledge>> At the words of His mouth a[ll] gods of exaltation *come into* being, at the issue of His lips all eternal spirits, [by the fav]or of His knowledge all His works ³⁶in their actions.^f *Chant*, O chanters of [knowledge, with] chanting among wondrous divinities, and recount His glory with the tongue of all recounters of knowledge, His wondrous chants ³⁷in 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. ³⁸*Declare effulgent,*^g 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. ³⁹And they make their knowledge pleasing by the judgments of His mouth, and their confessions by the return of His mighty hand for *requiting*^h judgments. Make melody to the God of power ⁴⁰with the best portion of spirit for [a melo]dy, with the happiness of God and joy among all holy ones for wondrous melodies with eter[nal] happiness.

Invocation of the celestial architecture and other spirits

⁴¹With these let all the fo[undations of] the most [hol]y (place) psalm the ⁱload-bearing pillarsⁱ of the most exalted abode and all the corners of its construction.^j Make mel[ody to] ⁴²G[od, fe]arsome of strength, [all spirits of knowledge and light] to [lift] up together the most ^k<<radi>> pure^k firmament of His holy sanctuary. ⁴³[And praise H]im, O spirits of Go[d,] for confessio[n]s

forever and e[ver of the chief¹ firmament on high, all [its] b[eams] and its walls, a[l]l⁴⁴ its [constr]uction, the works of [its] struc[tur]e.^m Most hol[y spi]rits,ⁿ living divinities, [ete]rnal holy [spi]rits above⁴⁵ all the hol[y ones . . . of^o wonder, wonderful of effulgence and adornment. And wondrous is the God of gl[ory in the light of perfect light⁽¹⁾ of knowle[dge] ⁴⁶[. . . in all wondrous sanctuaries. The spirits of God surround the dwelling of the K]in[g^a of faithfulness and righteousness. All] ⁴⁷[its walls . . . in the holy of holies . . . light . . . structure . . .]

Notes

^aבשש עשר One would expect the masculine form בשש עשר.

^bיקדילו I follow Qimron's emendation of this meaningless word to "Re-view Article," 368). Newsom originally proposed the emendation יקדישו, "let them sanctify," but in DJD 11 she adopts Qimron's suggestion. Both emendations are possible, but Qimron's is more likely given the phonetic similarity of *qop* to *gimel*. Compare דקלי, written for דגלי in 4Q503 51-55:8.

^cבקודש I follow Newsom's emendation to בקודש.

^dקדושו The orthography of this word is defective; the plural form would normally be spelled קדושי. Nevertheless, given the context the meaning is not in doubt. Compare the spelling לפניו לפני in XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:7.

^eבה The feminine singular pronominal suffix refers back to מלכותו, "His kingdom."

^fבמשלח Although the root שלח has the meaning "to send," Newsom suggests that this word may be equivalent to the phrase משלח ידיהם, "the undertaking (literally, 'sending out') of their hands." I translate accordingly, but it should be noted that the feminine word משלחת, "mission," is found in BH (Ps 78:49) and RH (Jastrow, 855b), and interpreting the masculine word משלח here as a biform of it also yields good sense.

^gהודו My translation takes this word as an otherwise unattested neologism derived from the root הודו, "to be effulgent." It could also be translated "give thanks to" or "confess," from the root הדה, but this meaning does not fit the context as well.

^hשלומים 4Q404 4:9 reads ש[ל]ומם, "judgments of their [we]ll-being."

ⁱעמודי משא The meaning of this phrase is far from clear. The word משא comes from a root whose basic meaning is "to lift" (נשא), and the noun can mean "burden," "tribute," "that which lifts," or "oracle" in BH. Another possible translation is "oracle pillars."

^jמבנית This word, derived from the root "to build" (בנה), does not appear in BH but is found in QH (e.g., 4Q511 111:8). Compare the biblical word "structure" (תבנית) from the same root, also found in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

^kטוהר The scribe wrote the first two letters of the word "radiant" (טוהר), then marked them for deletion and wrote "most pure" (טהורים) instead. 4Q405 6:4 reads ר[א]שי, "[ch]iefs of the."

^mתבנית Derived from the root "to build" (בנה), this word is used in BH to mean a copy (Josh 22:28) or pattern (Exod 25:9; 1 Chron 28:11, 18) or form (Deut 4:16-18;

Ezek 8:3). In 1QM x:14 it refers to the construction of Adam by God, and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* it refers to structures in the celestial realm.

ⁿרוח The reading is established by 4Q405 6:5 (רוחי), but note that 4Q404 5:1 reads רוח, "spirit."

^oTwo readings of the lost word are attested in other manuscripts, although neither is completely preserved. 4Q404 5:3 probably read ר[ק]י ע פלא, "[firmame]nt of wonder," but 4Q405 6:6 seems to read ר[ק]יע פלא, "[firmame]nts of wonder." The immediately preceding word seems not to be preserved.

^pאורות The reading in 4Q404 5:4 is אורותם. Presumably both are misspellings (or variant spellings) of אורתום, "perfect light" (see note a to VII 4Q403 1ii:1). Compare the similar expression לאור אורתום, "to light of perfect light," in 1QH^a xxi:14.

^qמלך Reading with Newsom's text (p. 269) rather than her notes (p. 271), which erroneously reconstruct מל[כ], "[al]," on consideration of space.

Commentary

Line 30. The seventh Sabbath falls on the sixteenth day of the second month. Note that the number of the month is not included in 4Q403 (the parallel in 4Q404 3:2 is too fragmentary for us to tell if it included a number after the word "month"). Where the other headings are preserved or reconstructable (Songs I, IV, XII), they always include the number of the month, so the word "second" may have been accidentally omitted in 4Q403.

Line 32. The phrase "the glory of His kingdom" also occurs in 4Q510 1:4. Compare "in the glory of Your kingdom" (1QM xii:7) and "blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom forever and ever" (SH-L §394 // §471 // §731). For similar expressions, see the commentary to VI 4Q403 1i:25.

Line 34. The title "King of kings" is found in 1 Tim 6:16; Rev 17:14; 19:16; 1 Enoch 9:4; 4Q381 76-77:7; perhaps 4Q491 8-10:13 // 1QM xiv:16; and in the HL (e.g., 3 Enoch 22:15; G8 1a:18-19; G23 1a:3, 9, 18; 1b:4, 7). The more common title in the HL is "the King of kings of kings" (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §217; *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §558; *Sar Panim* §631; *Merkavah Rabba* §675).

Line 35. The creation of the angels on the first day is described in *Jub.* 2:2-3. 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 1QH^a xviii: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."

Line 39. Echoes Ps 105:5 and Exod 15:2.