THE USE OF THE BIBLE AS A KEY TO MEANING IN PSALMS FROM QUMRAN[1]

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In recent years we have seen an increasing sophistication in discussions of the use of the Bible in the psalms and prayers discovered at Qumran, which now number more than 200 previously unknown texts.[2] We have advanced from early characterizations of the anthological, mosaic style,[3] to systematic studies beginning in the 1980's that distinguish between and define different types of biblical use.[4] Two forthcoming articles, one by myself and the other by Adele Berlin,[5] focus on the compositional techniques used to mold the biblical text into new poetical works, and illustrate how these techniques convey the new compositions' meaning and purpose.

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[1] I am honored to dedicate this article to my teacher, colleague and Scrolls Editor-in-Chief, Prof. Emanuel Tov, and to wish him many more fruitful years in good health, "120 עד." This article is based on the paper I delivered at the fourth meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, August 2001, at which Prof. Tov participated. I thank Adele Berlin and Adele Reinhartz for their insightful comments on this paper.

[2] A catalogue of the texts appears in Esther G. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 244–270.

[3] For a succinct history of the early research see Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 10–11 and the literature cited there, especially Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus, Universitatsforlaget, 1960).

[4] Bonnie Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS 50; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 48–55; Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 32–38; Michael Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT 2,1; ed. Martin Jan Mulder; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 339–77; Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," Ibid., 379–419; Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLEJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

[5] Adele Berlin, "Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 19–23 January 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon with Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick; STDJ series; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). Esther G. Chazon, "Scripture and Prayer in 'The Words of the Luminaries,'" *Scripture and Prayer* (ed. James Kugel; Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, forthcoming).

The present study is offered as a further contribution to the theoretical and empirical treatment of this topic. The theoretical question that I wish to pursue emerges from Berlin's aforementioned article. Berlin advocates an interpretive strategy that takes seriously the biblical contexts of the allusions. She grounds this approach in her observation that, "In poetry, as in Midrash, allusive words do not lose their contexts or their connotations . . . These allusions act somewhat like a vehicle and a tenor . . . pulling meaning from one context and inserting it into another."[6] I adopt a similar interpretive strategy in this study while aiming to further assess the transference of biblical context by allusion. I will pose the specific question: How much of the biblical context does a biblical allusion pull into the new work and under what conditions? This question is crucial for evaluating the use of the Bible in the creation of new compositions, and it will be a focal point of my case studies. I will examine the use of the Bible as a key to the meaning and purpose of two psalms, and then explore what light the results shed on the nature of the two collections in which they are found. The two examples are the *Tehillah of the Man of God* in Non-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381) and the *Hymn to the Creator* in the large Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs[a]).

Our first example is the psalm entitled *Tehillah of the Man of God* (4Q381 24 4–12). In this example, we shall see how paying close attention to the psalm's use of the Bible, and in particular to its transference of biblical context, provides valuable clues for resolving outstanding interpretive issues. I provide here the transcription and translation prepared by Eileen Schuller for *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* XI; however, as Schuller acknowledges, the tenses of the verbs are open to interpretation:[7]

4 תהלה לאיש האל[הי]ם יהוה אלהי[ם
5 גאל ליהודה מכל צר ומאפרים .[
6 דור ויהללהו בחנו ויאמרו קום א[לוהי
7 שמך ישעי סלעי ומצודתי ומפלט[י
8 אקרא ליהוה ויענני אלהי עזרתי[
9 כי[ ]הצ . . .[ ]לעם ואני ש[
10 וקו[לי מהיכלו ישמע ות[רעש הארץ [ותנעש
11 [באפ[ו עשן].[. . .כל]]ם השכיל ושכל
12 [*VACAT*

[ ]אנ[
]ביום א[ידי
]שנאי ויאמר [
שועתי ל[פניו באזניו תבוא
]ת בי חרה לו עלה

4. A Tehillah of the Man of G[o]d. YHWH God[
5. He redeemed Judah from all distress, and from Ephraim .[
6. generation. And his tested ones praise him and say, 'Rise up [my] G[od
7. your name (is) my salvation. My rock, my fortress, and [my] deliverer [ ] On the day of [my] dis[tress]
8. I call to YHWH, and my God answers me. My help[ ]those who hate me. And he will say [
9. that[ ]*hṣ*.[ ]*l'm*. And I [my cry be]fore him comes to his ears.
10. And [my] voi[ce from his temple he will hear. And] the earth reeled [and rocked].*t* for he was angry. There went up
11. in [his] nostrils [smoke]. [ ] . . . *kl* [ ]*m* he taught and instruction
12. [ ] *vacat*

Three of the many issues addressed by Schuller are critical for understanding the complete psalm and its pseudepigraphic attribution. Schuller asks: 1) Who is the Man of God referred to in the title, and what does his identity tell us about the nature of this collection? 2) Is the first verb we encounter in this psalm (line 5) the imperative "Redeem," or a perfect form meaning "He redeemed," or a participle perhaps referring to the "Redeemer"? 3) What are the tenses of the subsequent verbs, particularly the imperfect forms with *waw* in line 6, and do these describe future or past actions? The last two questions impact directly upon the issue of genre. I will deal with them first, before treating the separate matter of the pseudepigraphic heading.

I begin with Schuller's observation that the Tehillah of the Man of God "draws extensively upon a single biblical psalm" namely, Psalm 18 = 2 Samuel 22.[8] The extensive and apparently exclusive quotation from Psalm 18 makes the biblical reference point easily recognizable to the informed audience, ancient as well as modern. It also suggests that the later author is pulling the original biblical context into his own composition.

[6] Berlin, "Laments."

[7] Eileen Schuller, "381. 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B," in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (*DJD* XI; ed. Esther Eshel et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 109–12. The term "non-canonical" is used here merely as a convention for indicating that these psalms are not included in the Masoretic or Greek psalters.

[8] Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 121–2; a chart of the parallels is given on page 35. All references below to Psalm 18 apply equally to 2 Samuel 22.

A look at the way our new psalm appropriates Psalm 18 will reveal what biblical information it accesses and for what purpose while, at the same time, help us answer the two grammatical questions that bear on the issue of genre. Schuller already observed that lines 7–11 of the new psalm contain a sustained quotation of Ps 18:3, 7–9 and an allusion to Ps 18:19 in the reconstructed phrase, "On the day of [my] dis[tress], [ביום אי[רי]" (line 7). In addition, the new psalm's reference to "those who hate me" (שנאי in l. 8) might correspond to the biblical psalmist's enemies (אויבי) perhaps alluding to Ps 18:4 or better yet to Ps 18:18, where אויבי and שנאי occur in synonymous parallelism. What is the author's strategy here? By assimilating similar phrases in verses 3–19 and by working allusions to verses 18–19 into the citation of verses 7–9, the new psalm effectively telescopes the entire first section of Psalm 18 and sharpens the focus on the biblical psalmist's cry for deliverance and God's positive response. This message is reinforced by the freely composed lines added in between the biblical quotations, "and my God answers me, . . . And he will say [" (line 8).[9]

In a similar but more dramatic shift, the author places the extensive revised quotation of Psalm 18 into the framework of a petition opening with the imperative, "Rise up" (קום). He thereby turns the biblical royal psalm of thanksgiving into a prayer that now shares affinities with the genre of laments of the individual. Tellingly, the royal aspects of the biblical psalm are not alluded to. The new petition, which incorporates the reworked biblical psalm, is put into the mouths of the tested ones as depicted in line 6, "ויהללהו בחיניו ויאמרו, And his tested ones praise him and say."

We may draw several pertinent conclusions from this reworking of Psalm 18 into a petition to God to rise up and deliver, and as the reported speech of the tested ones, who are probably to be identified with Judah mentioned in the previous line.[10] First, the petitionary discourse opening with the imperative "Rise up" in line 6

[9] My working assumption is that the third person singular subject of both verbs in line 8 is the same, namely, God (ויענני אלוהי עוזרתי . . . ויאמר).

[10] On the relationship between Judah and Ephraim in line 5 see Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 117 and "4QNon-Canonical" (*DJD* XI), 112. As Schuller notes, the *lacuna* precludes determining if Judah and Ephraim stand in synonymous parallelism or if they are contrasted and, therefore, convey either the idea that, unlike Judah, Ephraim is not to be redeemed or the idea that Judah is to be redeemed from Ephraim as from "כל צר."

strongly suggests that the verb in line 5 is also an imperative, "Redeem, גאל." The similarity, indeed continuity, in the redemption theme between the two parts of the psalm, the introduction in lines 4–6 and the reported speech in lines 6–11, is consistent with this first conclusion. Second, the entire composition may now be understood as a communal lament, which petitions for Judah's deliverance from all trouble and commits God's tested ones to recite—evidently in the future—a prayer that is a reworked version of Psalm 18.[11] Appealing to the biblical psalmist's experience of and thanksgiving for God's answer to his cry in distress thus not only lends authority and depth to the new psalm but also serves to motivate the petition for national redemption carefully crafted by the later psalmist.

This brings us to the question of the title's attribution of the new psalm to the Man of God. Whoever attached the title, whether the psalmist himself or the editor of the collection, evidently recognized the references to Psalm 18 = 2 Samuel 22, knew of that biblical psalm's ascription to David on the occasion of his deliverance from all his enemies, and exploited these connections to attribute the new psalm to the Davidic Man of God (cf. Neh 12:24, 2 Chr 8:14). The choice of this epithet highlights David's role as an inspired poet of prophetic stature, whose work is quoted in and serves as a model for the new psalm. If the Man of God in this title indeed refers to David, then, as Schuller has pointed out, the entire collection of pseudepigraphic psalms in 4Q381, which also features psalms of other kings, might be a royal collection.[12]

[11] Based on this understanding, I take the imperfect forms of the verb with *waw* in line 6 to be unconverted forms referring to the tested ones' liturgical recitation in the, perhaps immediate, future. The use of the root *hallel*, 'praise,' both in line 6 and in the psalm's title to designate a petition for deliverance is in character with the word's broad application as a general term for prayer during the Second Temple period. In this period *tehillah* is virtually interchangeable with *tefillah*, a term regularly associated with laments. The juxtaposition of lament elements in the thanksgiving song of Psalm 18 might have influenced the choice of *hallel/Tehillah* in our new psalm. See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 26–27 and Eileen M. Schuller, "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions," *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996* (STDJ 28; eds. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 207–22.

[12] The pseudepigraphic attributions of at least two other psalms survive: a psalm of a King of Judah, whose personal name was not preserved (4Q381 31 4) and

Our second example is the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPs[a] XXVI, 9–15). In this case, scholarly debate has focused not on the Hymn's meaning but rather on the issue of its liturgical function and the implications for the function of the whole scroll, on the one hand, and for the history of Jewish liturgy, on the other. Specifically, Moshe Weinfeld has made a famous claim that the Hymn alludes to Isaiah's threefold proclamation of divine holiness (Isa 6:3) and also reflects an ancient form of the *Qedushah* liturgy, the centerpiece of which is that Isaianic verse.[13] I will return to this issue at the end of the discussion, and consider first the Hymn's single, sustained biblical quotation taken from the poem found in Jer 10:12–13 (51:15–16). The Hymn's adaptation of these biblical verses serves as a valuable indicator of the work's message and function. The transcription and versified translation provided below are from the *DJD* edition by James Sanders:[14]

9 [1]גדול וקדוש יהוה קדוש קדושים לדור ודור [2]לפניו הדר
10 ילך ואחריו המון מים רבים [3]חסד ואמת סביב פניו אמה
11 ומשפט וצדק מכון כסאו [4]מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת
12 לבו [5]אז[ר]או כול מלאכיו וירננו כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו
13 [6]מעטר הרים תנובות אוכל טוב לכול חי [7]ברוך עושה
14 ארץ בכוחו מכין תבל בחוכמתו [8]בתבונתו נטה שמים ויוצא
15 [רוח] מא[צרותיו [9]ברקים למט]ר עשה ויעל נשיא[ים מ]קצה
16 [ארץ]

1. [9] Great and holy is the Lord,
the holiest unto every generation.
2. [9–10] Majesty precedes him,
and following him is the rush of many waters.
3. [10–11] Grace and truth surround his presence;
truth and justice and righteousness are
the foundation of his throne.

the Prayer (*Tefillah*) of Manasseh, King of Judah (4Q381 33a,b+35 8). For alternative identifications of the Man of God in our psalm (e.g., with Moses or another prophetic figure such as Elijah) see Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 27–32.

[13] Moshe Weinfeld, "Traces of *Kedushat Yozer* and *Pesukey De-Zimra* in the Qumran Literature and in Ben-Sira," *Tarbiẓ* 45 (1975–1976), 15–26 (Hebrew); "The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (STDJ 16; ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 131–57.

[14] James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])* (DJDJ IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 47, 89–91. Sanders notes most of the biblical parallels and variant readings there. The raised numbers in the transcription represent the verses; in the versified translation, they represent the lines of the manuscript.

4. [11–12] Separating light from deep darkness
by the knowledge of his mind he established the dawn.
5. [12] When all his angels witnessed it they sang aloud,
for he showed them what they had not known:
6. [13] Crowning the hills with fruit,
good food for every living being.
7. [13–14] Blessed be he who makes the earth by his power,
establishing the world in his wisdom.
8. [14–15] By his understanding he stretched out the heavens,
and brought forth [wind] from his st[orehouses].
9. [15] He made [lightning for the rai]n,
and caused mist[s] to rise [from] the end of [16][the earth].

In a subtle yet significant shift, the Hymn turns the Jeremiah verses into a doxological blessing simply by prefacing them with the word *barukh*. Moreover, the Hymn appears to end with this blessing, which now stands in the position of a closing benediction.[15] This striking, benedictory adaptation is no mere stylistic imitation of the blessings that close the books of the canonical psalter[16] but rather is a sign of liturgical reworking to be viewed against the background of the increased use of formal opening and closing benedictions during the Second Temple period. Tobit's hymn (13:19), the Psalms of Solomon (2:37, 5:19, 6:6) as well as the daily, weekly, and festival liturgies from Qumran offer some examples.[17] This liturgical development ultimately resulted in talmudic laws governing the use of the formal, liturgical benediction in the statutory Jewish liturgy.[18]

The Hymn's doxological application of the cited biblical verses in effect severs them from and breaks the continuity with their original biblical context in Jeremiah's prophecies of doom against Israel

[15] The last word of the quotation from Jer 10:13 (51:16) would have extended onto line 16 of col. XXVI (line 15 is the last extant line of the column). It seems that the Hymn ended on line 16 and that the rest of this column contained the psalm in 2 Sam 23:1–7, whose final six words appear at the top of col. XXVII. See James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 10–11, 134 and Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and The Book of Psalms* (STDJ XVII; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 190, 191, n. 101.

[16] Pss 41:14, 72:18–20, 89:53, 106:48. Cf. Pss 68:20, 36 and 135:21.

[17] See Eileen M. Schuller, "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran," *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (College Theology Resources in Religion 5; eds. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins and Thomas H. Tobin; Lanham: MD: University Press of America, 1990), 133–43; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer & Religious Poetry* (STDJ XII; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 69–80.

[18] Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (trans. Richard S. Sarason; Studia Judaica 9; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 77–103.

(chapter 10) and against Babylon (chapter 51). This last observation rests upon the plausible assumption that our text quotes the verses directly from the Book of Jeremiah rather than from an unknown "floating" piece of religious poetry.[19] Indeed, with the exception of the newly added blessing formula, the Hymn's penultimate line is identical with Jer 10:12 = 51:15 while its final line has the last three cola in Jer 10:13 = 51:16 but in a chiastic order that now depicts the bringing down of rain from heaven to earth. The story of what our author did with the first colon, Jer 10:13a = 51:16a, is bound up with the meaning, message and purpose of this beautiful psalm.

Both in the context of Jeremiah's prophecies of doom and the Hymn's concluding doxology, Jer 10:12–13 form a statement about God as creator of the world and provider of rain. The only major exegetical crux lies in the words לקול תתו (literally, "at the sound of His giving")[20] in Jer 10:13a = 51:16a. This entire colon is missing from the verse's otherwise full quotation both in Ps 135:7 and in the *Hymn to the Creator*'s concluding doxology. Both psalms seem to be skirting the exegetical problem by eliminating the difficult words![21]

In the case of our Hymn, however, the author appears to deploy the rest of this colon elsewhere—that is, in the opening stanza's depiction of the heavenly waters. Such a double reference to the same source in the Hymn's opening and closing stanzas would form a nice *inclusio*. I surmise that our author began his use of Jer 10:12–13 in the first stanza by severing off the difficult colon in v. 13 and identifying its reference to "the rush of heavenly waters" with the similar sound accompanying God's appearance on His celestial throne (compare Ezek 1:24–25, 3:12–13, 43:2). The Hymn's second verse may even entail a conflation of Jer 10:13a's המון מים בשמים with Ezek 1:24's קול מים רבים to produce ואחדיו המון מים רבים. Whether or not

[19] Sanders (*Dead Sea Psalms*, 129; *Psalms Scroll* [DJDJ IV], 89) suggested that the Hymn, the Book of Jeremiah and Psalm 135 made use of such a "floating" piece of liturgical poetry that was "easily quotable and frequently used." For a similar approach to the poems in Jeremiah see John Bright, *Jeremiah* (AB 21; 2d ed.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 79–80, 359–60. Jer 10:12–13 are partially preserved in several manuscripts from Qumran including the oldest copy, 4QJer[a]. Consult Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X The Prophets* (*DJD* XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

[20] Bright (*Jeremiah*, 77–78) offers the plausible interpretation that the phrase in Jeremiah "describes God's voice as the thunder that accompanies the storm."

[21] The Septuagint and perhaps also 4QJer[c] omit this phrase in Jer 10:13. See Ulrich, *Prophets* [*DJD* XV], 158, 187. The phrase does occur in LXX Jer 28 = MT 51:16.

this particular Ezekiel verse is quoted directly, the prophet's *merkabah* vision seems to lie behind the Hymn's opening portrayal of God on His heavenly throne surrounded by splendor, the tumult of many waters, and the angels.[22] It is in this context that I entertain below the possibility of the opening line's allusion to Isa 6:3. But first, I would like to suggest a comprehensive interpretation of the Hymn that accords with its biblical re-use as well as with its literary form and content.

The Hymn's opening description of the transcendent God in heaven stands in contrast to the closing praise of God as creator of the earth and provider of its sustenance. This contrast serves to heighten the worshippers' appreciation of and praise for that sustenance. The use of Jer 10:13 as an *inclusio* would tie the two ends together and reinforce this message stylistically and exegetically. In the middle stanza, the setting moves from heaven to earth and the gap between them is bridged when the angels burst into song at light's creation and at seeing earth's produce. Here, motifs of the divine throne and angelic song are subsumed into and made to serve the Hymn's praise of the Creator and Sustainer of the universe.

We now consider the proposal that the Hymn alludes to Isa 6:3 and, in addition, also attests the *Qedushah* liturgy which is built upon that verse. The angels' threefold proclamation of God's holiness in Isa 6:3 does seem to resonate in the Hymn's threefold repetition of the word "holy" in its opening line., "Great and *holy* is the Lord, the *holiest* of *holy* ones for every generation."[23] Significantly, as in Isa 6:3, the Hymn also depicts the angelic entourage (in the "holiest of holy ones" epithet), the divine throne (in v. 3), and the angelic song (in v. 5). I propose, therefore, that not only does the Hymn allude to Isa 6:3 but it also accesses and carries over the immediate context of Isaiah's throne vision. Furthermore, as suggested above, the very next verse evokes Ezekiel's *merkabah* vision, perhaps through an allusion to Ezek 1:24. The Hymn thus seems to be juxtaposing and essentially harmonizing the two prophetic throne visions in a manner typical of *merkabah* exegesis and the *Qedushah* liturgy.[24]

[22] Verse 3 might also allude to Pss 89:15, 97:2.

[23] I quote here from Sander's later translation in *Dead Sea Psalms*, 131, which reflects the original Hebrew's threefold repetition of "holy."

[24] For this type of *merkabah* exegesis beginning with its earliest manifestations see David Halperin, "Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint," *JBL* 101 (1982): 351–63. The *Qedushah* is discussed below.

Is the Hymn to the Creator, then, an ancient form or attestation of the traditional *Qedushah* liturgy, in which the earthly congregation joins the angels in reciting Isa 6:3's *trishagion* as well as the blessing of God's glory recorded in Ezek 3:12? The parallels with the later *Qedushah* texts simply do not prove that specific claim about the Hymn.[25] Rather, the evidence before us seems to point to some shared exegetical and liturgical traditions as well as to a common religious phenomenon that I call "praying with the angels."[26] The Hymn's appropriation of Isa 6:3's angelic *trishagion* and its description of the angelic song imply that by reciting this Hymn, the human worshippers were joining the angels in praising God. It may well be the case that the Hymn, like the angelic song, was recited at dawn (vv. 4–5, cf. Job 38:7). In fact, the phenomenon of joint human-angelic praise at sunrise (and sunset) is now amply documented in Second Temple sources.[27]

For the purposes of the present study, it suffices to note that our appreciation of the Hymn's potential as joint praise fits in nicely with our earlier conclusion for its liturgical function. Active liturgical use could also account for the Hymn's popularity[28] apparently attested by its citation in *Jubilees* 2:2–3 and the *Admonition on the Flood*.[29] The Hymn's liturgical function would be another piece of evidence in favor of taking the entire Cave 11 Psalms Scroll as a liturgical collection.[30]

[25] For that claim see Weinfeld, "Traces" and "Angelic Song." Note, however, that the Hymn only paraphrases Isa 6:3, does not even allude to Ezek 3:12, and lacks distinctive, precise parallels with the *Qedushah* texts cited by Weinfeld, which are hundreds of years later than the Hymn.

[26] On this phenomenon see Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives*. Examples of shared traditions are the harmonization of the prophets' throne visions discussed above and the early morning human-angelic praise discussed below.

[27] See, for example, the sources cited in Weinfeld, "Angelic Song" and Esther G. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 217–25.

[28] Alternatively, authoritative, scriptural status (see n. 30 below) could explain this popularity.

[29] See Carol A. Newsom, "370. 4QAdmonition on the Flood," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (*DJD* XIX; ed. Magen Broshi et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 85–94; Patrick W. Skehan, "*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 343–7 and Flint, *Psalms Scrolls*, 222–4. The Hebrew of *Jub* 2:2–3 is partially preserved in 4Q216 II, 10–11.

[30] This conclusion does not preclude the possibility that the entire collection or individual psalms acquired authoritative status. By analogy, psalms in what became the canonical Masoretic psalter had a liturgical function from the earliest times on. For a summary of the debate over the liturgical versus canonical character of 11QPs[a] see Flint, *Psalms Scrolls*, 202–27.

In conclusion, I shall draw out the implications from our two case studies for the theoretical question posed at the beginning of this paper: How much of the biblical context do biblical allusions carry along with them into the new literary work, and under what conditions? Admittedly, answers to this type of question will invariably entail a certain degree of subjectivity and will also be somewhat dependent upon assumptions about the author's and the audience's knowledge of Scripture. Nevertheless, we are now in a position to establish criteria that can guide us in tackling this issue. Based on my case studies, I recognize four criteria that can help us gauge when the biblical context is being accessed and to what extent.[31]

First, on the most basic level, there must be a clearly identifiable quotation from or allusion to a specific biblical passage that establishes the link between the two texts. Second, there should be an additional marker that flags that particular passage and makes it virtually impossible for the biblically acquainted reader/listener to ignore. The markers may be quantitative, for example, long quotations and sustained allusions extending over several biblical verses—such as Ps 18:7–9 in the *Tehillah of the Man of God* and Jer 10:12–13 in the *Hymn to the Creator*. Or, they may be qualitative, for example, rare words or unique expressions like Isa 6:3's thrice-holy or *'m hdrk(ym)* taken from Ezek 21:26 to make a critical point in the prelude to Joseph's prayer in Narrative and Poetic Compositions[a] (4Q372 1 9).[32] Occasionally, the author will even name a biblical figure, location, or episode such as the explicit references to the covenant at Horeb and to Moses' atonement for Israel's sin found in "The Words of the Luminaries" (4Q504 3 ii 13, 1–2 ii 9–10). A third factor is the totality of the intertextual allusions. When a work draws exclusively upon one biblical passage, as in the case of the *Tehillah of the Man of God*, then that single source tends to stand out prominently. By

[31] My first, second, and fourth criteria bear similarities with the four stages in "actualizing a literary allusion" delineated by Ziva Ben-Porat ("The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature*, 1 [1976], 105–28) and analyzed by Benjamin D. Sommer in his fine study, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–56* (Stanford, CA: Standford University Press, 1998), 6–31.

[32] Eileen Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text About Joseph," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 349–76.

contrast, a mosaic of diverse allusions might obscure its different sources.

The fourth and perhaps decisive criterion is the degree of similarity, indeed continuity, between the new work and its biblical source in matters of content, genre and context. Continuity—whether of identity or, as Adele Berlin has shown, of dissonance[33]—engages the biblical context and imports it into the new composition. Discontinuity, that is, severing the quotation or allusion from its biblical context and completely recontextualizing it, tends to deflect or inhibit transference of biblical images, connotations, and context. Continuity and discontinuity represent opposite ends of a spectrum. From our case studies we can see the use of Psalm 18 by the *Tehillah of the Man of God* as a case of continuity. Here, the later author continues Psalm 18's motifs of crying out in distress for divine deliverance throughout the new psalm, even in the freely composed lines that precede the biblical citation. An example of discontinuity would be the Hymn to the Creator's severance of Jer 10:12–13 from the context of prophecies of doom and its double recontextualization of those verses: one colon (10:13a) in the opening celestial throne description and the remaining cola in the concluding benediction. Other allusions in the Hymn (e.g., to Gen 1:14 in v. 4, and to Job 38:7 in v. 5) might fall in the middle range of our spectrum, carrying over their original contexts in different ways and to varying degrees.

The theoretical question examined in this study and the methodological path that I have charted here are applicable not only to ancient religious poetry but to all works of all genres and all ages that look to Scripture as a source of inspiration. It is my hope that this study will both advance our understanding of the ways the Bible is used to create new works and enhance our ability to apply those new insights as a key to unlocking the new meanings, messages, and functions of our literary treasures.

[33] Berlin, "Laments."

FORMS OF COMMUNITY IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

John J. Collins

The idea that the Dead Sea Scrolls derive from a quasi-monastic community at the site of Qumran is widespread and deeply rooted.[1] It arose, in the first case, from the impression made by the Community Rule (*Serek ha-Yaḥad*), which was one of the first scrolls discovered, and was described in a press release in April 1948 as "a manual of discipline of some comparatively little-known sect or monastic order, possibly the Essenes."[2] The *Serek* described a tightly organized, hierarchical community, that emphasized its separation from the rest of Judaism. We are told that this community, or some of its members, were to "go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of Him" (1QS VIII,13) in accordance with the oracle of the prophet: "Prepare in the wilderness the way of the Lord" (Isa 40:3), an injunction that fitted very nicely with the site of Qumran. From a very early point, this community was identified as an Essene settlement.[3] There were numerous parallels, in manner of organization and in beliefs and ideology, between the Community Rule and the descriptions of the Essenes by Josephus and Philo.[4] Pliny the Elder had written of an Essene settlement on the western shore of the Dead Sea.[5] The view

[1] For recent discussions see M. Broshi, "Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery?" in *Caves of Enlightenment. Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–97)* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, Tex.: Bibal, 1998), 19–37; J. L. Magness, "Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran," in *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism* (ed. S. McNally; British Archaeological Reports International Series 942; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 15–27, especially 15–16.

[2] The release was written by Millar Burrows of Yale, and appeared in the Times of London on April 12, 1948. See J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 6.

[3] E. L. Sukenik had already proposed the Essene identification even before Burrows' press release. See N. A. Silberman, "Sukenik, Eleazar L.," in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford, 2000), 903; H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (eds. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1.84.

[4] For the sources, see G. Vermes and M. Goodman, eds. *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).

[5] Pliny, *Natural History* 5.17.4 (73).