

Damascus Document without the Tetragrammaton, with a different word for the "righteous," and with the sacrificial nature of prayer emphasized (CD xi.20–21). The two manuscripts of *Proverbs* from Qumran preserve relatively little of the text, but nevertheless help to illustrate the kinds of variants that could develop as the text was transmitted.

The darkened fragments of Proverbs^a (4Q102) contain thirty-nine words or portions of words from Proverbs 1.27–2.1. The fragments of Proverbs^b (4Q103) are better preserved, and contain a total of 125 words or portions of words from *Proverbs* 9.16 (or possibly 9.4), 13.6–9, 14.6–13, 14.27–28(?), 14.31–15.8, and 15.19–31. Patrick Skehan did not make a distinction between the two manuscripts in his preliminary publication and dated them as "relatively late" (1956). Proverbs^a is written in an early Herodian script (ca. 30–1 BCE), while Proverbs^b is written in a late Herodian script (ca. 50 CE).

One of the characteristic differences between the recensions of *Proverbs* is the addition or omission of complete cola. Such variations would have been promoted both by the genre of the work, as Richard Clifford has noted (1997), and by the tendency of the scribes to arrange the text by cola. The columns in the scrolls are generally of a width allowing for two complete cola in each line. A relatively large number of cola in Proverbs^b, however, are split between two lines, so some variation of form was tolerated.

Wilhelm Nebe (1994) reconstructs two variants consisting of omitted cola in 14.7–9. A more convincing reconstruction of the two fragments preserving portions of 14.6–13, however, which takes into account the indications of right and left margins on the fragments, suggests that they came from a wider column averaging approximately three cola per line, and thus originally included all the cola in the Masoretic Text. Nevertheless, Nebe's reconstruction draws attention to the possibility that entire cola could be involved in scribal additions or omissions in texts arranged by cola.

Both manuscripts together yield six variants from the Masoretic Text. Two are merely orthographic (15.27), one concerns the absence of a copula (1.31), and one appears to have come from transposing two letters of an orthographic variant (15.19). A more significant variant is the omission of a word (*yehgeh*, "meditate," in 15.28). The most significant variant (*mwshkt-moshekhet*, "cord," for *meshuvat*, "apostasy," in 1.32) may have come from a combination of transposing two letters and then mistakenly copying a *kaf* for the similar-looking *beit*, or it may have come from the influence of the second colon of *Job* 38.31 (so Nebe). Despite the significance of the last two variants, both manuscripts are more closely related to the Masoretic recension than to that of the Septuagint, which

exhibits numerous additions, changes, and even sequential differences in these verses.

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PSALMS, BOOK OF. [This article comprises two parts: Biblical Text and Apocryphal Psalms.]

Biblical Text

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls the *Book of Psalms* is represented more frequently than any other work, which is indicative of the importance of the Psalter for the Qumran community. This article is divided into three sections: the Psalms scrolls and the observations that arise from them; the main issues that emerge from analysis of these manuscripts; and conclusions.

The Psalms Scrolls and Observations That Arise.

The Dead Sea Scrolls include thirty-nine scrolls or manuscripts that incorporate psalms (see Appendix). Thirty-six were found at Qumran: three in Cave 1; one in each of the Minor Caves—Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8; twenty-three in Cave 4; and five in Cave 11. Three more scrolls were discovered further south: two at Masada and one at Nahal Hever (part of the latter was previously thought to be from Wadi Seiyal). Analysis uncovers several features that are relevant to our understanding of the *Book of Psalms* in the scrolls.

In decreasing order, the manuscripts with the greatest number of verses preserved (whether wholly or in part) are the Great Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11Q5), followed by Hev/Se 4, 4Q83, 4Q84, 4Q85, and 4Q87. While almost all the Psalms scrolls are very fragmentary, some originally contained only a few compositions or part of a Psalter (e.g., 4Q89, 4Q90, 5Q5 probably contained only

Ps. 119). Only five manuscripts (1Q10, 4Q87, 4Q88, 11Q6, 11Q8) now preserve material from both Psalms 1–89 and 90–150, which suggests that some may have originally contained material from the earlier part of the *Book of Psalms*, while others comprised material from the later part. Of the 150 Psalms found in the Masoretic Text (i.e., the Received Text), 126 are represented in the 39 Psalms scrolls or other relevant manuscripts such as the *pe-sharim*. The remaining twenty-four psalms were most likely included, but are now lost due to deterioration and damage. Of Psalms 1–89, nineteen no longer survive (3–4, 20–21, 32, 41, 46, 55, 58, 61, 64–65, 70, 72–75, 80, 87), but of Psalms 90–150 only five are not represented (90, 108?, 110, 111, 117), since the beginnings of scrolls are usually on the outside and are thus more prone to deterioration. At least fifteen apocryphal psalms or compositions are also distributed among five manuscripts (11Q5, 4Q88, 4Q522 [Work with Place Names], 11Q6, 11Q11). Six were previously familiar to scholars: 151A, 151B, 154, 155, David's Last Words (= 2 Sm. 23.1–7), and *Ben Sira* 51.13–30. Nine were unknown prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Apostrophe to Judah, Apostrophe to Zion, David's Compositions, Eschatological Hymn, Hymn to the Creator, Plea for Deliverance, and three Songs Against Demons.

Format of the Psalms scrolls. At least ten of the *Psalms* manuscripts are arranged stichometrically (1Q10, 3Q2, 4Q84, 4Q85, 4Q89, 4Q90, 4Q93, 5Q5, 8Q2, Mas1e), and twenty-one in prose format (1Q11, 1Q12, 2Q14, 4Q83, 4Q87, 4Q88, 4Q91, 4Q92, 4Q94, 4Q95–98a, 4QPs^w, 4Q522, 6Q5, 11Q6, 11Q7, 11Q8). At least one scroll, Psalms^a (11Q5) is arranged in a prose format with one psalm, the acrostic Psalm 119, arranged stichometrically. In comparison with the Masoretic Text, the preserved superscriptions reveal little variation. Two exceptions are Psalm 123 (“A Song of Ascents. Of David”; cf. Masoretic Text “A Song of Ascents”) and Psalm 145 (“A Prayer. Of David” cf. Masoretic Text “A Song of Praise. Of David”) in Psalms^a (11Q5). At least thirteen manuscripts were copied before the Common Era. The oldest two, 4Q83 and 4QPs^w, date from the second century BCE, while the remaining eleven were copied in first century BCE (1Q10, 4Q84, 4Q86, 4Q88, 4Q92, 4Q93, 4Q95, 4Q96, 4Q98d, 4Q522, Mas1f). Six scrolls are generally classified as Herodian (1Q12, 2Q14, 4Q90, 4Q94, 4Q97, 4Q98^e), and four are assigned to the first century CE (1Q11, 3Q2, 5Q5, 8Q2). More specifically, ten others date from the early to mid-first century CE (4Q87, 4Q89, 4Q91, 4Q98, 4Q98c, 11Q5, 11Q6, 11Q7, 11Q8, Mas1e), and four from the mid-first century CE onward (4Q85, 4Q98b, 11Q11, XHev/Se 4).

In comparison with the Masoretic Text, twelve scrolls contain major disagreements or “macro-variants.” Differ-

ences in the order of psalms appear in seven scrolls from Cave 4 (4Q83, 4Q84, 4Q86, 4Q87, 4Q92, 4Q95, 4Q98). For example, Psalm 31 is followed immediately by Psalm 33 in 4Q83 and 4Q98. Variations in content (the inclusion of compositions not found in the Masoretic Text) occur in two scrolls from Cave 4 and another from Cave 11 (4Q88, 4Q522, 11Q8), for example, the “Apostrophe to Judah” in 4Q88. Differences in both order and content are present in two manuscripts from Cave 11 (11Q5 and 11Q6). The Psalms scrolls contain hundreds of variant readings (not counting orthography) that often involve single words but sometimes extend to entire verses. Many are relatively minor, but several are significant to our understanding of the text of the Psalter, for example, the *nun*-verse of the acrostic Psalm 145.13 (11Q5 xvii.2–3), which is not found in the Received Text. This, the largest of all the extant Psalms manuscripts, features prominently in discussions concerning the *Book of Psalms* at Qumran. Copied in approximately 50 CE, the manuscript preserves forty-nine compositions (with Psalm 120 now lost but originally included) in the following arrangement:

Psalm 101 → 102 → 103; 109; 118 → 104 → 147 → 105 → 146 → 148 [+ 120] → 121 → 122 → 123 → 124 → 125 → 126 → 127 → 128 → 129 → 130 → 131 → 132 → 119 → 135 → 136 (with Catena) → 145 (with postscript) → 154 → Plea for Deliverance → 139 → 137 → 138 → Sirach 51 → Apostrophe to Zion → Psalm 93 → 141 → 133 → 144 → 155 → 142 → 143 → 149 → 150 → Hymn to the Creator → David's Last Words → David's Compositions → Psalm 140 → 134 → 151A → 151B → blank column [end]

Addressing the Main Issues. Differing arrangements and contents of the Psalms scrolls require a reassessment of terminology that is used with respect to the Psalter. Although the Masoretic Text is used as the basis for comparison with the various Psalms scrolls, the Masoretic Psalter cannot be viewed as normative and all others as aberrant. Thus the terms *Masoretic*, *biblical*, *canonical*, and *noncanonical* should not be employed with reference to the Qumran era, since they presuppose the closure of the Hebrew canon, which took place later. Terms such as *Scripture*, *MT-150 Psalter* (the received Masoretic Text), and *11QPs^a-Psalter* (the Psalter represented by 11Q5) are more neutral and better suited for describing the material under discussion.

James Sanders's “Qumran Psalms Hypothesis.” The first *Psalms* manuscripts to be discovered did not generate great excitement among scholars since they were very fragmentary and seemed to be close to the Masoretic Psalter in both content and arrangement. But James Sanders's edition of Psalms^a (11Q5; hereafter called 11QPsalms^a) in 1965 showed how this manuscript diverges radically from the Masoretic Psalter in the order-

PSALMS, BOOK OF: Biblical Text. TABLE 1. *Agreements and Conflicts with the Masoretic Text in Arrangement.*

BOOKS (PSALMS)	CONSECUTIVE JOINS	AGREEMENTS WITH MT	CONFLICTS WITH MT
I (1-41)	20	18 or 90%	2 or 10%
II (42-72)	13	12 or 92%	1 or 8%
III (73-89)	6	6 or 100%	0
IV (90-106)	18	7 or 39%	11 or 61%
V (107-150)	62	24 or 39%	38 or 61%

ing of contents and in the presence of additional compositions. In a series of articles commencing in 1966, Sanders reached conclusions that challenged traditional views of the text and canonization of the *Book of Psalms*: for instance, that 11QPsalms^a is part of the "Qumran Psalter," an earlier form of the Hebrew Psalter prior to its finalization and viewed by the community at Qumran as a true Davidic Psalter. According to Sanders, the Qumran Psalter was regarded by those who used it as "canonical" (since it incorporated Psalms 1-89, which had been finalized), yet also as "open" (able to admit additional contents or arrangements, since Psalm 90 and onward were still fluid). He maintained that the process of stabilization was arrested when the founders of the Qumran community left Jerusalem, at a time when Psalms 1-89 had reached finalization. The gathering of Psalm 90 and beyond then developed independently in two directions. This resulted in two collections or editions, having Psalms 1-89 in common but differing from Psalm 90 onward. These are what Sanders termed the "Qumran Psalter," of which almost all the second half is represented by 11QPsalms^a, and the Psalter found in the Received Text whose second half comprises Psalms 90-150. Subsequent discussion surrounding the Psalms scrolls concerns four central theses that were articulated by Sanders, and which constitute what Peter Flint terms the "Qumran Psalms Hypothesis."

Stabilization of the Psalter. The first thesis states that 11QPsalms^a witnesses to a Psalter that was being gradually stabilized from beginning to end. It is evident that diverse groupings of Psalms are present in 11QPsalms^a, other Psalms scrolls, and the Masoretic Psalter. Agreements between the Masoretic Text and the scrolls may be regarded as indicative of stability (e.g., Ps. 5-6 in 4Q83), while disagreements in order or content provide evidence of fluidity (e.g., Ps. 147 → 104 in 4Q86 and Psalm 150 → Hymn to the Creator in 11Q5) (see tables 1 and 2). Using the criteria of order and content, two bases for comparison between Psalms 1-89 and Psalms 90-150 emerge: the proportion of agreements and conflicts with the order of the Masoretic Text (Table 1) and the overall number of

times that specific Psalms are joined to non-Masoretic compositions (Table 2). These results provide a firm basis for comparing the stability and fluidity of Psalms 1-89 and 90-150 in relation to each other.

With respect to arrangement, the small number of disagreements with the Masoretic Psalter for Books I-III contrasts markedly with the high incidence of variation for Books IV-V: thirty-six (92 percent of the total) in the same arrangement as in the Masoretic Text, as opposed to only three (8 percent) in a conflicting order. For Books IV-V, only thirty-one psalms support the masoretic arrangement (39 percent), while forty-nine are in a conflicting order (61 percent).

The second correlation involves content, namely, the presence or absence of compositions that are not found in the Masoretic Psalter. These additional pieces are never joined with any of Psalms 1-89, but are linked eleven times with compositions that appear in Psalms 90-150 of the Masoretic Text. Thus the order and content of Psalms 1-89 vary little from those of the Masoretic Text, but from Psalm 90 and beyond many divergences are evident. This supports Sanders's proposal that during the Qumran period Books I-III were stabilized but Books IV-V remained fluid, although the precise cutoff point is not certain. Comparison of the older and later Psalms scrolls shows that this stabilization did not take place gradually, but in two distinct stages: Psalms 1-89 (or so) prior to the first century BCE, and Psalm 90 onward toward the end of the first century CE.

PSALMS, BOOK OF: Biblical Text. TABLE 2. *Conflicts with the Masoretic Text in Content.*

BOOKS (PSALMS)	"APOCRYPHAL" PSALMS
I (1-41)	0
II (42-72)	0
III (73-89)	0
IV (90-106)	2
V (107-150)	11

Two or more editions of the Psalter. Sanders's second thesis holds that the Psalms scrolls attest not to a single, finalized Psalter, but to more than one edition of the *Book of Psalms*: the "11Q5 Psalter," the "Masoretic Text-150 collection," and possibly others (e.g., in 4Q88). With a literary edition defined as "an intentional reworking of an older form of the book for specific purposes or according to identifiable editorial purposes" (Ulrich, 1992, p. 32), the identification of different literary editions largely depends upon an assessment of individual variant readings. In the Psalms scrolls and the Masoretic Psalter two types of variation are prominent: differences in the order of adjoining psalms, and the presence or absence of entire compositions. A comparative analysis suggests the existence of three major collections: an early Psalter comprising Psalms 1–89 (or thereabouts); the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter; and the 11Q5-Psalter.

An early Psalter. The Psalms scrolls bear witness to an early collection of Psalms whose arrangement was largely stabilized well before the second century BCE, which represents one milestone in the formation of the *Book of Psalms*. It is not exactly clear where the cutoff point between the largely stabilized collection and the fluid part of the Psalter is (probably Ps. 89, but Ps. 72 is also possible). While several of the thirty-six Qumran Psalms scrolls support the general arrangement of Psalms 1–89, it is remarkable that none unambiguously confirms the longer order of the received Masoretic Text (Psalms 1–150) against 11QPsalms^a. Firm evidence for this second collection among the Psalms scrolls is found only at Masada, where Mas1f^b clearly supports the masoretic structure (since it represents a Psalter ending with Ps. 150). Some smaller scrolls (1Q11, 4Q93) may have supported the Masoretic Psalter when they were fully extant, but several of these equally support the structure of 11Q-Psalms^a (e.g., Ps. 126 → 127 → 128 in 1Q11). While none of the Qumran manuscripts supports the masoretic arrangement against 11QPsalms^a on the macro-level, it may be possible to demonstrate the affinity of some Psalms scrolls with the Masoretic Text on the basis of key individual variants (e.g., 4Q85 and XHev/Se 4, although neither preserves material beyond Book II of the Psalter). Containing both Psalms 1–89 and the arrangement found in 11QPsalms^a, this 11Q5-Psalter is found in at least three manuscripts: 11QPsalms^a, 11Q6 (contains the Catena, Plea, Apostrophe to Zion, the sequence Psalms 141 → 133 → 144, other variants), and 4Q87 (the sequence 118 → 104 → [147] → 105 → 146, other variants). While the earlier part of this Psalter is not found in 11QPsalms^a, both 4Q87 and 11Q6 preserve material from Psalms 1–89 as well as the later part. Additional arrangements of Psalms at Qumran are evident in several manuscripts, such as 4Q84 (includes Ps. 103 → 112, with 104–111 lacking),

4Q88 (107 [+108?] + 109 and several "apocryphal" compositions), and 11Q11 (three "apocryphal" compositions followed directly by Ps. 91).

Secondary collections and three editions. Some of the Psalms scrolls contain secondary collections (compositions selected from a fixed scriptural collection and then rearranged, e.g., 11Q11, which includes Ps. 91). But the phenomenon of multiple literary editions of other biblical books at Qumran or in the Septuagint (e.g., *Exodus*, *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*) supports the existence of variant editions of the Psalter. The three main Psalms groupings may be classified as Edition I (containing Ps. 1 or 2 to 89), Edition IIa (the 11Q5-Psalter or Edition I plus the arrangement found in 11QPsalms^a), and Edition IIb (the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter or Edition I plus Ps. 90–150 as found in the Masoretic Text). Both IIa and IIb seem to have been completed prior to the Qumran period; it seems impossible to decide which was earlier. The existence of yet further editions of the Psalter among the Psalms scrolls cannot be ruled out (e.g., as represented by 4Q88), but this seems impossible to prove owing to the fragmentary state of the manuscript evidence.

Provenance of the 11Q5-Psalter. The third thesis of the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis is that 11QPsalms^a was compiled at Qumran and thus may be termed the *Qumran Psalter*. Possible evidence for this theory includes its occurrence in at least three manuscripts (4Q87, 11Q5, and 11Q6); the 364-day solar calendar evident in David's Compositions (col. xxvii of 11Q5) is clearly indicated in other writings that are undoubtedly of Qumranic origin (e.g., 4QMMT); and 11QPsalms^a displays what Emanuel Tov (1992, pp. 108–109) terms expanded "Qumran orthography" or the "Qumran practice," which for some scholars is indicative of Qumran provenance. While these arguments admit the possibility that the 11Q5-Psalter was assembled by the Qumran covenanters, they do not prove this to be so. Other factors make it more likely that the collection was compiled and used by wider Jewish circles—including those at Qumran—who advocated the solar calendar: the individual compositions in 11QPsalms^a all predate the Qumran period; the absence of explicit Qumranic references (e.g., to the Teacher of Righteousness) suggests that none of the pieces was actually composed there; expanded orthography is not a sure indicator of Qumran provenance (cf. Ulrich, 1992, pp. 31–32); and the 364-day solar calendar evident in this collection is attested in other Jewish writings that arose before the founding of the community (*1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Temple Scroll [11Q19–20]).

The clear implication is that the 11Q5-Psalter as a collection originated before the Qumran period. More recently, Sanders has stated that 11QPsalms^a did not originate at Qumran but was brought there from outside,

possibly as the *hon* offered as surety by a novice on entering the community (1993, pp. 301–302, esp. n. 22). The notion of an 11Q5-Psalter that was used not only at Qumran, but also among other Jewish circles advocating the solar calendar, attests to a widespread type of Judaism, which possibly included the Sadducees. This is in marked contrast to the Pharisees and Rabbis with their 354-day lunar calendar, and cannot be viewed as sectarian (cf. Flint, 1997, pp. 198–201). But as regards the production of individual scrolls, it is possible one or more of the representatives of the 11Q5-Psalter (4Q87, 11QPsalms^a, 11Q6) was copied at Qumran in view of the popularity of this Psalter among the covenanters and because scrolls were produced at the site.

11QPsalms^a as Part of a Scriptural Psalter. The final thesis of the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis concerns the status of 11QPsalms^a: that it contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter, and is not a secondary collection dependent upon Psalms 1–150 as found in the Received Text. Not surprisingly, reactions to such a proposal have been sharp and numerous. In 1966, Shemaryahu Talmon (1966, pp. 11–21) and M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (1966, pp. 22–33) asserted that 11QPsalms^a is not part of a true scriptural Psalter at all, but is instead a secondary, liturgical or nonbiblical collection. For instance, Goshen-Gottstein argued that “David’s Compositions” (col. xxvii) is incompatible with a scriptural Psalter, while Talmon proposed that 11QPsalms^a contains material that is supplementary to scripture. In a series of articles from 1973 to 1980, Patrick Skehan adopted a similar position concerning the secondary status of 11QPsalms^a. He sought to demonstrate that the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter is chronologically prior to 11QPsalms^a, which he classified as a “library edition,” an “instruction book” containing the supposed works of David, or “an instruction book for budding Levite choristers” at the Temple in about 200 BCE. In more recent times, Ben Zion Wacholder has also supported the view that 11QPsalms^a contains a rearrangement or supplementation of the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter (1988).

Discussion advanced with a series of articles and a Yale dissertation (1985) by Gerald H. Wilson, who took into consideration 11Q5–8 and most of the Cave 4 scrolls, thus expanding the entire Psalms debate. Wilson’s conclusions support several elements of the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis. By investigating the consecutive arrangement of Psalms in the scrolls, he reinforced the thesis that these manuscripts attest to overall stability for Psalms 1–89 and to general fluidity for Psalm 90 onward; and with respect to the scriptural status of 11QPsalms^a, he demonstrated that this collection was organized in accordance with principles similar to those found in Books IV and V in the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter.

The most thorough analysis is that of Peter Flint (1997), who has examined the issues with recourse to all thirty-nine Psalms scrolls from Qumran and other Judean Desert sites. Flint begins by emphasizing the existence of both different editions of scriptural books and secondary liturgical compilations in antiquity: for example, two Jewish editions of *Exodus* (found in 4Q22 and the Masoretic Text), and two forms of *Jeremiah* (the shorter form in 4Q71 and the Septuagint, the longer in the Masoretic Text, 2Q13, 4Q70, and 4Q72). Conversely, secondary liturgical compilations are represented by the phylacteries found at Qumran and manuscripts such as 4Q37, which contains a liturgical reordering of previously finalized poetic texts from *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*. With respect to the *Psalms* as “scripture” at Qumran, Flint draws attention to formal indications of scriptural status for the Psalter. For instance, the halakhic text 4QMMT^d (4Q397) suggests that the *Psalms* (under David’s name) form the most prominent component in the third part of the Jewish “canon,” which was still in the process of formation (“[And] we have [also written] to you that you should examine the book of Moses [and] the book [of the Pr]ophets and Davi[d]” frgs. 14–21 C, lines 9–10 [cf. *Lk.* 24.44]). Another pertinent text is the War Scroll^a (4Q491), which specifically refers to the “Book of Psalms” (17.4). But while it seems clear that the “Psalter” or “Book of Psalms” was viewed as scripture at Qumran, it is difficult to determine which specific form(s) of the Psalter was regarded as such. For Flint, attempts by earlier scholars to show that 11QPsalms^a is not a true scriptural Psalter but a secondary liturgical compilation prove to be unconvincing because all presume that the arrangement of the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter, or even its textual form, had been finalized and was accepted by virtually all Jews as the “Book of Psalms” well before the second century BCE. He concludes that the 11Q5-collection (Edition IIa) qualifies as a true scriptural Psalter on three main grounds: the attribution to David, structural principles, and usage (i.e., quotations and allusions). “David’s Compositions” implies that all the pieces in 11QPsalms^a originated with David by asserting that 4,050 pieces—which surely included those in Psalms^a—were spoken by David “through prophecy” (xxvii.11). The Davidic character of 11QPsalms^a is reinforced by its arrangement of compositions, which forms clusters dominated by Psalms with Davidic titles. Flint also endorses Wilson’s view that similar organizing principles lie behind these clusters in this Psalms scroll and behind the compilation of the latter part of the Masoretic Text-150 Psalter, but regards this as only one of several pillars that support the thesis of scriptural status for the collection.

When the full panoply of thirty-nine Psalms scrolls is taken into consideration, the following items seem clear:

the Psalter is very well attested among the scrolls; this material is significant for our understanding of early prose and stichometry; the superscriptions are uniformly present from the earliest scroll (4Q83, c.150 BCE) onward; several manuscripts contain material and/or arrangements that conflict with the Masoretic Text; the arrangement of Psalms 90-150 as found in the Received Text is not clearly confirmed by any Qumran scroll but by one from Masada; and the 11Q5 Psalter is attested by at least three scrolls (4Q87, 11Q5, 11Q6). These data emphasize the need for appropriate nomenclature in relation to "biblical" texts, the "Psalms," and other terms in the Second Temple period.

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Apocryphal Psalms

When fully extant, the Dead Sea Scrolls contained all or almost all the 150 psalms found in the received Masoretic ("MT-150") Psalter. But several scrolls also preserve other psalms; some known previously, some completely new to modern readers. These compositions can be grouped in various ways (e.g., by theme or content), but in this article are presented in two sections: previously known compositions, and previously unknown compositions not grouped with psalms that became canonical (see table 1).

It would be helpful first to define what is meant by apocryphal psalms. The term *apocrypha* is used for "quasi-scriptural" or "noncanonical" books of doubtful authorship and authority. It originally denoted hidden or secret writings to be read only by initiates into a given Christian sect, but was eventually used for works that were similar to biblical books in content, form, or title, but not accepted into the canon. In the present context and by extension, the term can also denote individual compositions (in this case psalms) that were not accepted into books included in the canon of scripture (i.e., the Book of 150 Psalms used by Jews and almost all Christians). As the above title indicates, an alternative designation for these apocryphal pieces is "noncanonical psalms." It should be emphasized that both "apocryphal" and "noncanonical" are terms that describe the status of these psalms in later Judaism or Christianity, not necessarily among their ancient readers at Qumran and elsewhere.

Previously Known Compositions. The Psalms scrolls include six pieces that were previously familiar to scholars, all of which are grouped with psalms now found in the MT-150 Psalter (see table 1).

David's Last Words (= 2 Sm. 23.1-7) were originally in columns xxvi-xxvii in the Psalms^a scroll from Cave 11 at Qumran (hereafter, 11QPsalms^a, 11Q5) although only the last six Hebrew words of verse 7 are extant in the scroll. Together with David's Compositions, which follows it, this piece serves to affirm the Davidic authority and authorship of the 11QPsalms^a-Psalter. Like those of patri-

archs such as Jacob, David's final words carried special authority: the opening words ("These are the last words of David") are not a superscription but seem to have a similar function. The passage also refers to "the oracle of David," (v. 1) through whom speaks the spirit of the Lord, the God of Israel (vv. 2-3).

Psalm 151 is the final composition in the Septuagint Psalter and is accepted as canonical by the Orthodox churches. Before the discovery of 11QPsalms^a, this psalm was considered a single composition as in its Greek, Syriac, and Latin translations. The existence of two Hebrew compositions in the Qumran scroll (each with its own Davidic superscription) shows that the Greek and other versions represent a transformation of two separate psalms into a single piece. Psalm 151A deals with God's selection of David the shepherd boy (v. 1) and musician (v. 2), and his anointing by Samuel (v. 5) to be the leader of his people and ruler over the sons of the covenant (v. 7). Little more than two verses of Psalm 151B survive, but this is sufficient to denote the overall theme: "At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him. Then I [saw] a Philistine uttering defiance from the r[anks of the enemy]." This is the final composition in the 11QPsalms^a-Psalter (col. xxviii).

Scholars of Syriac are familiar with the "Five Syriac Apocryphal Psalms" (151-155) included in some manuscripts of the Syriac Psalter. Psalms 152 and 153 (dealing with David's prowess as a shepherd, protecting his flock and fighting animals of prey) are not found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but Psalms 154 and 155 feature in 11QPsalms^a, which preserves the underlying Hebrew text of the Syriac translations. Psalm 154, most of which is preserved (cols. xvii-xviii), is a wisdom composition that calls the faithful to glorify God by gathering to proclaim his greatness (vv. 1-3) and to instruct the ignorant (vv. 4-8). It goes on to describe the nature and characteristics of Wisdom (vv. 12-15), and to affirm God's protection over the godly, humble, and pure (vv. 16-20). Psalm 155 (mostly preserved in cols. xxiv-xxv) is a Psalm of Thanksgiving that incorporates a Plea for Deliverance and is reminiscent of Psalms 22 and 51. The Psalmist pleads

PSALMS, BOOK OF: Apocryphal Psalms. TABLE 1. *Previously Known Compositions.*

NAME OF COMPOSITION	SCROLL(S)	WHERE KNOWN	SUPERSCRPTION
David's Last Words	11Q5	2 <i>Samuel</i> 23.1-7	equivalent (Davidic)
Psalm 151A	11Q5	Greek, Syriac, Latin	yes (Davidic)
Psalm 151B	11Q5	Greek, Syriac, Latin	yes (Davidic)
Psalm 154	11Q5	Syriac	yes
Psalm 155	11Q5	Syriac	yes
Sira 51.13-30	11Q5	Greek, Syriac, Latin	no

with God to hear his request and not to abandon him to the wicked (vv. 1–6). “O Lord, judge me not according to my sins; for no one living is righteous before you,” he admits (v. 8), acknowledging the sins of his youth (v. 12), but then appealing to God to edify his soul and renew his life (v. 5), and to grant him understanding in God’s Law and to teach him his ordinances (v. 9). The last preserved verses affirm the Psalmist’s trust and confidence in God’s deliverance (vv. 15–19).

Sira 51.13–30 is the second canticle of the Wisdom of *Ben Sira* (also known as *Ecclesiasticus* or *Sirach*), which is part of the Old Testament in Roman Catholic and Orthodox Bibles and one of the Apocrypha for Protestants. Like *Psalms 151*, *Ben Sira* was previously known in Greek, Syriac, and Latin translations, but early Hebrew fragments were found in Cave 2 and a partially preserved scroll was found at Masada. Fragments of a medieval Hebrew text had been discovered in the Cairo Genizah in 1897. Our Qumran text is distinct from the other Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, all of which represent the same recension of this canticle. The poem is an alphabetic acrostic, each verse beginning with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. It describes how a celibate young man is able, through discipline, to devote his bodily passions and appetites to the pursuit of Wisdom instead of sexual pleasure (a theme found earlier in *Genesis*, *Proverbs*, and the *Song of Songs*). The version in 11QPsalms^a is more erotic than the others, which suggests that provocative portions of the original Hebrew version were modified by a later editor (compare the Septuagint: “I stretched my hands on high and perceived her secrets” with 11QPsalms^a: “I spread my hand [or, penis] and discerned [or, pierced] her unseen parts [or, nakedness]”). It appears that this piece was originally an independent poem, which was both incorporated into the 11QPsalms^a-Psalter and appended to *Ben Sira*. [See *Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers*.]

Previously Unknown Compositions. The Dead Sea Scrolls include many psalms or songs that are not grouped with psalms now found in the canonical *Book of Psalms*. Two important manuscripts are Noncanonical Psalms A (4Q380) and Noncanonical Psalms B (4Q381), which are probably from different parts of a single collection, although two different collections cannot be ruled out since there are no overlapping texts. Seven fragments of Noncanonical Psalms A remain, containing portions of at least three distinct psalms, while the approximately one hundred fragments of Noncanonical Psalms B preserve parts of at least twelve psalms. The original collection or collections were certainly larger.

The psalms in these two scrolls are very similar to biblical psalms in vocabulary, style, theme, and content. One such theme is Zion, as in Noncanonical Psalms A, fragment 1: “[For the na]me of Yahweh is invoked upon it (=

Zion), [and his glory] is seen upon Jerusalem” (lines 5–6). Other psalms deal with creation, for example, Noncanonical Psalms B, fragment 1: “He, by an oath, made (the) heavens and the earth, and by the word of his mouth [. . .] and watercourses. He shut up its rivers, pools and every eddy, and he . . . night, and st[ar]s and constellations” (lines 3–5; see also 4Q380 7.ii). Penitential psalms or lamentations are also evident, as in Noncanonical Psalms B fragments 33+35: “For (my) transgressions are too many for me, and [. . .]. But you, my God, will send your spir[it] and [you will give your compassions] to the son of your handmaiden, and your mercies to the servant near to you” (lines 4–5. See also frags. 15, 24, 31, 45).

Several of these psalms contain superscriptions, none of them connected with David, which serve to attribute the psalms involved to biblical figures. One such heading reads: “Praise of the Man of G[o]d” (381 24.4), another has “[Prayer of . . . ki]ng of Judah (4Q381 31.4), another “Prayer of Manasseh, king of Judah” (4Q381 33.8), and another “Praise of Obadiah” (4Q380 1.ii.8). The term *selah*, found at the end of many biblical psalms, is preserved at the end of two psalms (in Noncanonical Psalms B 4Q381 24.3; 33.6), and most likely appeared at the end of five more.

Precisely when these psalms, all written in Hebrew, were composed is difficult to determine, since they contain virtually no historical references or special themes (4Q380 and 4Q381 were both copied in mid- to late-Hasmonaean times, c.100–30 BCE). Like several biblical psalms, the general linguistic features are characteristic of Late Biblical and Qumranic Hebrew, suggesting a date in the Persian or early Hellenistic periods. The complete absence of references to the afterlife—which is so prominent in several later texts—suggests a relatively early date of composition. There is no real evidence that these psalms were composed within the Qumran community, since virtually no special terminology or themes specifically associated with Qumran are evident. They are rather to be viewed as compositions characteristic of Second Temple Judaism in general.

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PSALMS, HYMNS, AND PRAYERS. Hundreds of psalms, hymns, and prayers are found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. More than one hundred biblical psalms have been preserved in nearly forty manuscripts from Qumran, two from Masada and one from Naḥal Ḥever/Wadi Seiyal. [See Hebrews, Letters to the; Psalms, Book of; and Scriptures.] In addition, well over two hundred extrabiblical prayers, most of them previously unknown, may be counted among the scrolls discovered at Qumran (Caves 1–11). Besides the single manuscript of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Masada (attested at Qumran in nine copies), only three more nonbiblical prayers have been found at the other Judean Desert sites: a fragmentary papyrus manuscript from Masada which mentions Mount Gerizim and two prayers from the Bar Kokhba cache at Naḥal Ḥever, one of which is a communal thanksgiving which speaks of seeking refuge in God.

The corpus of prayers, hymns, and psalms from Qumran may be classified according to seven major categories:

- Liturgies for fixed prayer times
- Ceremonial liturgies
- Eschatological prayers
- Magical incantations
- Psalmic collections
- Hodayot* (thanksgiving) hymns
- Prayers embedded in narratives.

Prayers in the last category are in Hebrew or Aramaic, depending on the language of the work in which they are embedded. The other prayer texts are in Hebrew. Major works from each category are surveyed below (the survey is not a complete listing).

Liturgies for Fixed Prayer Times. The Qumran corpus preserves several collections of communal prayers for recitation at fixed times of the day, week, and year. Each collection contains prayers of similar form, content, and liturgical function. The corpus includes other communal prayers whose time of recitation is not explicitly stated (for example, the communal confession in liturgical work 4Q393 and the lamentation in Apocryphal Lamentations B, 4Q501).

Daily prayers (4Q503). These are evening and morning blessings for each day of the month. They praise God for the renewal of the heavenly lights at sunset and sunrise, and with each daily change in the moon's phases. Praise in unison with heavenly beings is also mentioned. This liturgy is similar to the rabbinic Blessing on the Lights and *Qedushat Yotser*. References to a festival in the middle of the month indicate the liturgy is for *Nisan* or *Tishrei*. On Sabbaths, special themes (rest, delight, holiness, election) are added. Daily Prayers is written in a Hasmonean hand (c.100–75) and plausibly is non-Qumranic in origin. See sapiential work 4Q408, another liturgy of morning and evening blessings, which praises God's creation and daily renewal of light and darkness.

Words of the Luminaries (4Q504–506). These are communal prayers for the days of the week, ending with the Sabbath. All six weekday prayers open with a historical review and then petition for physical deliverance (Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday) or spiritual fortitude: knowledge of the Law, turning from sin and forgiveness (Sunday, Thursday; the Monday petition is lost). Each petition is followed by a concluding blessing and Amen, Amen response. The Sabbath prayer is different: it consists of doxological hymns. The title *Divrei Ha-me'orot* (Words of the Luminaries) is written on the back of the oldest copy, 4Q504 (c.150 BCE) and seems to refer to its liturgical function in daily prayer. The early date of Words of the Luminaries^a (4Q504) indicates this liturgy was probably composed before the Qumran settlement was founded (for the historical issues and parallels with the later synagogue liturgy see the separate entry on this document). [See Words of the Luminaries.]

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407, 11Q17, Maslk). These are songs by a sage (*maskil*) for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. The dated titles presume a solar calendar of 364 days. This is an earthly liturgy in which human worshipers invite the angels to praise God and describe angelic worship in the heavenly Temple. Song 12 portrays the divine chariot-throne (*merkavah*)

with its attendant angels while the angelic high priests are depicted offering sacrifices in the final song. Possible functions are: substitute for the earthly sacrifice, liturgical accompaniment to the angelic offering, communion with the angels and experiencing the heavenly Temple. Nine copies from Qumran, dating from the late Hasmonean to late Herodian periods indicate this liturgy's importance for that community, however, the Masada manuscript suggests a nonsectarian origin or use. [See Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.]

Festival prayers (1Q34-34^{bis}, 4Q507-509). These are prayers for the annual festivals beginning with the New Year in *Tishrei* (this calendric arrangement may indicate non-Qumranic origin). Each prayer opens with the words "Remember, Lord" and then formulates reminiscences and petitions connected with the special aspects of the festival before concluding with a blessing and Amen, Amen response. The Prayer for the Day of Atonement (the title is preserved) thus opens with a petition asking God to remember the time of his compassion, refers to the divine law establishing this day as "an appointed time of fasting," and has a confession of sin. See liturgy 4Q409, a hymn calling for praise on the festivals.

Ceremonial Liturgies. The Qumran sect held numerous communal ceremonies on fixed occasions as well as on an *ad hoc* basis, as circumstances required (for example, ritual purification). Liturgies comprised mainly of blessings and/or curses accompanied such ceremonies.

Covenant renewal ceremony, Rule of the Community (1QS i.16-ii.25). The Rule of the Community enjoins all members to participate in an annual ceremony in which they reaffirm their commitment to the divine commandments. This ceremony apparently was held on the Festival of Shavu'ot (Weeks and Oaths/Covenants; see *Jubilees* 6 and below, Expulsion Ceremony). The heart of the ceremony is the blessing of God's lot by the priests and the curse of Belial's lot by the Levites (for the content of both, compare the priestly blessing in *Numbers* 6.22-27). The ceremony is modeled upon the covenant in Moab and the recitation of blessings and curses on Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (*Dt.* 27-29, *Jos.* 8.30-35). Unlike the biblical model, the sectarian blessings are extended only to the Qumran Covenanters (God's Lot) while the curses automatically attach to their opponents (Belial's lot). See the different form of the covenant renewal ceremony in 4QBerakhot which prefaces the blessing and curse with praise of the *merkavah*-throne, heavenly abode, and divine mysteries, rather than with the review of divine salvation and confession of Israel's sins found in 1QS Rule of the Community, i.16-ii.1.

Expulsion Ceremony, Damascus Document (4Q266). A ritual for the expulsion of those who reject the community's laws follows the penal code in the last section of the

Damascus Document. The priest recites a blessing that praises God for choosing "our forefathers" while causing the other nations to "stray in chaos." The blessing states that God curses those who transgress. No curse occurs in the expulsion ritual *per se*. The text does mention the curse pronounced by the Levites in the third month in what appears to be a reference to the annual covenant ceremony held on the Shavu'ot festival (see above). The expulsion ritual may have been conducted on the same occasion.

Ritual of Marriage (4Q502). This is a ritual for a public ceremony held on a joyous occasion. The entire assembly as well as certain individuals recite blessings offering praise and thanks, particularly for human fertility. The text mentions men and women of different ages (young, mature, old). References to human seed, fruit of the womb, men and women in their prime, and a married couple (perhaps Adam and Eve) prompted the designation *Ritual of Marriage*. The alternate theory of a Golden Age Ritual is based on the blessings for longevity and the prominence of elders in the text. Although the precise function is not certain, this ritual clearly challenges conventional views of the Qumran community as an all-male, celibate order (its sectarian origin is confirmed by a quote from the Rule of the Community).

Ritual of Purification (4Q512). This sectarian text is written on the back of the Daily Prayers (4Q503). It gives instructions and blessings for ritual purification from different types of impurities (sexual impurity, leprosy, corpse contamination) and on holy days. The blessings connect the cleansing of the body during ritual immersion with spiritual cleansing through repentance and atonement (impurity is associated with sin). Confession of sin and thanksgiving for purification are prominent themes. Compare the Baptismal Liturgy (4Q414) that overlaps but is not identical with Ritual of Purification (4Q512).

Eschatological Prayers. The Qumran sectarians prepared for the *eschaton* ("end of days"), which they believed was imminent. Their preparations included setting forth prayers to be recited during the final war and ensuing messianic era. The Qumran corpus also contains prayers which are not eschatological in function but which request or depict messianic redemption (e.g., the Apostrophe to Zion in 11QPsalms^a and the hymns in prayer 4Q457 and Messianic Apocalypse, 4Q521 2).

War Scroll (1QM, 4QM^{a-f,g?}). This operative plan for the eschatological War between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness prescribes prayers for several stages of the campaign. The prayer before battle (1QM x.8-xii.18, xviii.5-xix.8) appeals to prophecies of salvation and divine deliverance of Israel in the past while petitioning God to crush the nations and redeem His elect, holy peo-

ple in the upcoming battle. Immediately after the battle, the priests, Levites, and elders are to bless God and his angels, curse Belial and all evil spirits, and offer praise for the victory of the Sons of Light over the forces of darkness (1QM xiii.1–xiv.1; compare xix.9–12). Upon their return to the camp, the troops are to recite a hymn and, after cleansing themselves the next morning, they are supposed to return to the place of arrayal for a thanksgiving ceremony (1QM xiv.2–xv.2; the parallel passage in the second part of the War Scroll has not survived but it probably included a thanksgiving ceremony for the final victory over the *Kittim*; see War Rule). The War Scroll appears to have utilized older, originally independent prayers.

War Rule (4Q285) and Berakhot (11Q14). The overlapping portion of these scrolls is a blessing for Israel and the angels which reflects the sect's belief in its communion with angels. This blessing for rain, produce, and physical well-being is based on deuteronomic covenant blessings and curses (*Dt.* 11.14; 28.12, 21–22; 31.20). The biblical priestly blessing (*Nm.* 6.24) supplies the opening framework. Parallels between the War Rule and the War Scroll suggest this blessing was to be said by the high priest during the final stages of the eschatological war and may come from the War Scroll's lost, concluding section.

Rule of the Blessings (1QSb). This rule contains blessings recited by a sage (*maskil*) for all "up-holders of the covenant" as well as for dignitaries: Zadokite priests, the Prince of the Congregation, and, probably, an eschatological high priest are mentioned. The priestly blessing in *Numbers* 6.24–26 serves as a paradigm for all the blessings except the last which is based on *Isaiah* 11.1–5 and so identifies the one blessed (the Prince of the Congregation) with the Davidic Messiah. This eschatological blessing ceremony, which lacks curses since evil would already have been expunged, was apparently designed to supplant the covenant renewal ceremony prescribed in the Rule of the Community (1QSb and 1QSa, the Rule of the Congregation for "the end of days," are appended to 1QS, the Rule of the Community).

Magical Incantations. The Qumran corpus contains hymns to God which were used to dispel demons and thus functioned as incantations. These may be contrasted with magical formulae which address the demons exclusively and, therefore, are not prayers.

Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511). These are doxological hymns pronounced by a sage (*maskil*) "to frighten and terrify" evil spirits. This prophylactic function as well as the hymns' form and content, including the citation of *Psalms* 91 and naming of demons (related to the Fallen Angels of *Gn.* 6.1–4) qualify them as incantations. They are distinctive, however, (1) in their address to God rather than to the demons, (2) in their use of hymnic

praise as words of power, (3) in their communal dimension as protection for all sons of light and, possibly, as a liturgy for a public ceremony (note the calls to praise and the concluding blessing with its Amen, Amen, response). The terminology and ideas (*dualism, determinism, eschatology, "dominion of Wickedness," "Sons of Light,"* and *yahad*) point to Qumranic authorship. See the similar hymn of prayer 4Q444.

Apocryphal Psalms^a (11Q11). This prophylactic ritual consists of three apocryphal psalms followed by Psalm 91. The second psalm praises God but also speaks about demons, their judgment, and banishment to the underworld. The third psalm purports to be an incantation addressed to Belial, which also announces his imprisonment in Sheol. The formula *Amen Amen Sela* closes each psalm. All four psalms are attributed to David and may be the "four songs for making music over the stricken" in the Psalms Scroll's list of Davidic Compositions (see 11Q11 and compare the equivalent rabbinic term for Ps. 91 in B.T. *Shebu.* 15b, J.T. *'Erub.* 10, 26c).

Magic formula (4Q560). This text names male and female demons, lists illnesses caused by demon possession, and adjures the demon(s) addressed. The fragment may be from a book of magic recipes (there are no signs it was an amulet). This Aramaic magic formula bridges the gap between ancient Near Eastern traditions and later Palestinian Jewish magic while underscoring the distinctiveness of the other incantations from Qumran, all of which are hymns written in Hebrew.

Psalmic Collections. More than thirty scrolls of biblical psalms have been preserved at Qumran. Seven of these (Psalms^{a,b,d,e,k,n,q}) differ from the Masoretic Text in the order of the psalms and may represent different recensions of the biblical psalter or secondary arrangements for various purposes. Of the four scrolls which juxtapose biblical and apocryphal psalms, Apocryphal Psalm^a is a prophylactic ritual while the large Psalms^a Scroll (11Q5) appears to be a liturgical arrangement (11Q6 and 4Q88 are similar to 11Q5). There are also several psalmic collections without any biblical psalms, for example, the apocryphal Barkhi Nafshi hymns (4Q435–438), the noncanonical psalms (4Q380–381) and 4Q448, a scroll containing part of Psalm 154 and a prayer for King Jonathan, who is to be identified with Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE). The extrabiblical psalms do not bear the marks of Qumranic authorship.

The Psalms Scroll (11Q5). This is the best preserved psalmic collection from Qumran. Despite the Davidic attribution given in the prose insert known as David's Compositions, this scroll does not appear to be a scriptural book of psalms but rather an arrangement for liturgical purposes (note especially the refrain added to Psalm 145). About forty biblical psalms are interspersed with seven

psalms not found in the Hebrew scriptures, four of which are attested in other sources: *Ben Sira* 51.13–30, Septuagint *Psalms 151*, Syriac Psalms 154 and 155. The three previously unknown psalms are: Plea for Deliverance, Apostrophe to Zion, and Hymn to the Creator. The Plea for Deliverance is an individual thanksgiving for salvation from near death which incorporates a tripartite petition for forgiveness, knowledge, and protection from Satan and the evil inclination (also in 11Q6). The Apostrophe to Zion is an alphabetic acrostic poem addressed to Zion (compare *Is.* 54, 60, 62) which assures Zion that she is remembered and that the prayers for her redemption and prophecies of her future glory (especially *Is.* 66.10–11) will be fulfilled (also in 4Q88). The “Hymn to the Creator” praises God for His creation of light and darkness and heaven and earth. It stresses God’s creation with knowledge and granting of knowledge to the angels who then ring praise. This hymn has been likened to the *Qedushat Yotser* in the rabbinic Blessing on the Lights (see 4Q503).

Hodayot Hymns. These are thanksgiving hymns which often open with the characteristic formula “I thank you, Lord” (*’odekhah, ’Adonai*). The speaker offers thanks for his election by God’s grace and for his endowment with the divine gifts of speech and knowledge. Qumranic terminology and ideas are employed throughout. Two types of hymns have been recognized in the *Hodayot* collections: Hymns of the Teacher and Hymns of the Community (see below). Comparison between the eight *Hodayot* manuscripts indicates that different types of collections circulated at Qumran: some were longer, others shorter; some apparently had only Hymns of the Teacher (4QH^c), others only Hymns of the Community (4QH^a), while still others included both types (1QH^a, 4QH^b). The divergent collections shed new light on the ongoing debate over the function of these hymns in private devotion or public liturgy.

Hymns of the Teacher. These occur in *Hodayot*^b, 4QH^{b,c,d,f} and *en bloc* in the middle of the large *Hodayot* manuscript from Cave 1 (1QH^a x–xix = [ii–ix]). The Hymns of the Teacher give expression to the personal encounters, thoughts, and feelings experienced by a leading member of the Qumran community, sometimes identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. His main themes are his own suffering, persecution, and mockery by his enemies, as well as testing in the crucible, reliance on divine salvation, justice, and annihilation of evil. The speaker thanks God repeatedly for protecting him from the “men of Belial,” for saving his soul from the “snares of the pit,” and for granting him the gift of knowledge and the task of “enlightening the many” (that is, the Qumran community).

Hymns of the Community. These are found at the beginning and end of 1QHodayot^a as well as in 4QH^{a,b,c}. The Hymns of the Community introduce “we” language and

stress less personal themes: the human condition, communal affiliation, congregational praise, and communion with angels. They use the opening blessing formula “Blessed are you, Lord” more often than the highly personal “I thank you, Lord,” which typifies the Hymns of the Teacher. They also express thanks for personal salvation, election, and spiritual gifts (especially knowledge) which constitute an essential component of the Hodayot hymns.

Prayers Embedded in Narratives. Prayers pseudographically attributed to hoary figures are often incorporated in the narrative framework of a “parabiblical” work (i.e., a nonbiblical work based in some way upon a biblical text). These literary prayers bear a resemblance to prayers in actual use and reflect current religious practice. Besides the prayers in previously known works such as *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *Tobit*, the Qumran corpus brings to light much new material of this type, including Noah’s and Abraham’s prayers in the Genesis Apocryphon, the Prayer of Enosh in a work by that name (4Q369), Levi’s prayer in the Aramaic Levi Document, Joseph’s prayer in the apocryphon named after him, the Song of Miriam in Reworked Pentateuch^c, and songs of praise in the Psalms of Joshua (4Q378, 379).

Aramaic Levi^d. The Aramaic Levi Document (approximately late third century BCE) preserves a prayer attributed to Levi also found in one manuscript of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This Greek manuscript juxtaposes the prayer with Levi’s report that he grieved over human unrighteousness and prayed to be saved (*Testament of Levi* 2.3–4, see also 4.2). The context may be different in Aramaic Levi where the prayer is preceded by Levi’s purification. Levi petitions God for spiritual support: for the wisdom, knowledge, and strength (see *Is.* 11.2) to do God’s bidding, for protection from every Satan and evil, for purification of his heart from every impurity. Levi also asks that he be drawn near to God to serve Him, particularly as teacher and judge (see *Dt.* 33.10). This prayer displays features of two related prayer types: the tripartite petitions for knowledge, repentance, forgiveness (see Ps. 51, Ps. 155, 4Q504 4.6–15, 1–2. ii.7–18, B.T. Ber. 29a, *b. Meg.* 17b) and apotropaic prayers which counterpose pleas for protection from evil and sin with requests for knowledge and purification (see 11QPs^a, 11Q5 13–16, *Mt.* 6.13, B.T. Ber. 16b, 60b). Also noteworthy are Levi’s posture in prayer (he lifts his eyes to heaven and stretches forth his hands) and his silent prayer following the verbal prayer.

Apocryphon of Joseph (4Q372 1, 4Q371). This Hebrew text contains polemics against the Samaritans’ claim to descend from Joseph and their Temple on Mount Gerizim (second century BCE). The first part (4Q372 1.1–15) is a historical review in the Sin-Exile-Return pattern which

culminates with a critique of those who make "a high place upon a high mountain" and "revile against the tent of Zion." It stresses that Joseph, identified, here with the Northern Tribes, is still in exile among foreigners. Joseph's prayer is then introduced (11.15-16). Joseph pleads for deliverance from the nations' hands, laments the hostile people dwelling on the land, and expresses confidence that they will be destroyed (11.16-22). As is typical of individual laments, Joseph's prayer ends with a promise to worship God as well as to teach God's laws to sinners (11.23-31). Two features important for Jewish and Christian liturgical history are: the invocation to God as "my father" (see *Sir.* 23.1, 4; *3 Mc.* 6.3, 8; *Mt.* 6.9; *Lk.* 11.2; *Mk.* 14.36) and the expanded list of divine epithets (see Psalm 99.3, the "Hymn to the Creator," the non-canonical psalm in 4Q381 76-77.14, B.T. Ber. 33b, and the 'Amidah prayer).

The Role of Prayer at Qumran. Prayer played a major role in the life of the Qumran community. In the wake of the sect's succession from the Jerusalem Temple, prayer served as a substitute for sacrifice. [See Sacrifice.] It was considered the preferred means of worship and instrument for atonement as long as the Temple service continued to be conducted in impurity. Sectarian works thus regularly refer to prayer in sacrificial terms, as in, "An offering of the lips for judgment is like the sweet fragrance (offered by) the righteous" (1QS ix.5).

Prayer's function at Qumran as a substitute for sacrifice fostered its development there as a communal, religious institution. The Rule of the Community refers to congregational prayer (1QS vi.8, x.14), as well as to praise at regular intervals of the day and of the year ("times ordained by God", 1QS x.1-8). The Qumran sect, like the rabbis in the aftermath of the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.), apparently instituted communal prayer at fixed times corresponding to the hours of Temple sacrifice (twice daily, early morning, and late afternoon, toward sunset, and on Sabbaths and festivals). The daily, weekly, Sabbath, and festival liturgies discovered at Qumran were evidently adopted and used by the Qumran community in its own worship although they may have originated elsewhere.

As the primary mode of service to and contact with God, prayer flourished at Qumran as a multifaceted religious phenomenon. Besides providing steady worship, offering constant praise, and furnishing petitions for physical and spiritual needs, prayer became a medium for a quasi-mystical experience of the heavenly realm (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice), a part of preparations for the "end of days" (War Scroll), and a means of affirming commitment to the divine Law as revealed to the Qumran covenanters (covenant renewal ceremony). Some of the prayers in the Qumran corpus were probably not com-

posed for liturgical use but for other purposes, such as private devotion or religious expression (the Hodayot and certain psalms).

Origins of Prayers Found at Qumran and Jewish Liturgy. The presence of many biblical texts, including biblical psalms, among the Qumran finds proves that much of the corpus was not authored by the Qumran covenanters but merely adopted by them. Non-Qumranic provenance has been demonstrated quite conclusively for most non-canonical psalms and prayers embedded in narratives; a strong case has also been made for the liturgies for fixed prayer times.

The prayers of non-Qumranic origin open a window onto religious practice among different Jewish groups during the Second Temple period. Significantly, they provide the first direct evidence of fixed public prayer outside of Qumran in this early period. This finding is extremely important for the issue of the origins of Jewish liturgy. Rabbinic sources speak of the establishment of fixed, obligatory liturgy by the Sages of Yavneh soon after, and in response to, the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. The virtual absence of sources for regular public prayer during the Second Temple period has generally supported the view that Jewish liturgy was created *de novo* at Yavneh. The prayers from Qumran, particularly the liturgies for fixed prayer times, may lend credence to the opposing view that Yavneh marked the institutionalization of a liturgy which emerged gradually during the Second Temple period. In any case, despite the difficulties posed by the late date of the comparable Jewish sources (rabbinic prayer texts and medieval prayerbooks) and the question of how representative the prayers of non-Qumranic origin are, it would seem that the numerous, striking parallels with the later Jewish liturgy bear witness to a shared liturgical tradition and probably also to some fixed public worship during the two centuries prior to the destruction of the Second Temple.

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ESTHER CHAZON

PSALMS SCROLL. The large Psalms Scroll, found in Qumran Cave 11 in February 1956, was unrolled in Jerusalem in November 1961. The scroll covers five sheets of leather, still sewn together at unrolling, and five independent fragments (frgs. A–E). Four separable leaves at the beginning of the scroll formed a part of the first sheet; the five independent fragments probably formed part of a sheet of leather that preceded the first extant sheet. There is a total length of 4.253 meters (approximately 14.5 feet) of extant leather, probably goat or ibex skin. The last column of the scroll was left blank, which is not uncommon at Qumran (see also Psalms^b from Masada). The bottom third of the scroll had decomposed over time in the cave so that the height of each column measures only 15 to 18 centimeters of an original 25 to 26 centime-

ters (about 10 inches); hence, approximately the bottom third of each column is lacking. The fragments contain six partial columns of text and the rest of the scroll twenty-eight columns.

There are forty proto-masoretic psalms in the extant scroll, including the "Last Words of David" from 2 Samuel 23. Except for the latter and Psalm 93, they are all from the last third of the Masoretic Psalter, but in a different order, plus eight nonmasoretic psalms and a prose composition (col. xxvii). The protomasoretic psalms basically agree textually with the received Masoretic Text but with many interesting variants and additions in the text. The nine nonmasoretic compositions include four psalms known heretofore from ancient translations, four previously unknown psalms (including the Psalm 118 catena in col. xvi), and the prose insert. Two previously known psalms (154 and 155 on cols. xviii and xxiv) are very close textually to their later ancient Syriac translations, while the two others, *Psalm 151* (col. xxviii) and the second canticle previously known from *Ben Sira* 51 (cols. xxi–xxii), are significantly different from their later ancient Greek translations (and from the Syriac Psalm 151, paralleled by the Septuagint's *Psalm 151*).

All of the scroll is in biblical style Hebrew, in contrast, for example, to the Hebrew of the Hodayot. The square Hebrew script is Herodian and the scroll itself dates to about the middle of the first century CE. Like other biblical and nonbiblical scrolls from Qumran, however, the Tetragrammaton (YHVH) is in Paleo-Hebrew script. The scroll probably contained approximately the final third of the Psalter at Qumran, beginning with Psalms 101–103, followed by Psalms 109 (alone on frg. D), 118, 104, 147, 105 (in sequence on frg. E), 146–148, etc. Thirteen of the so-called *Psalms of Ascent* (120–132) are grouped together in accordance with their order in the Masoretic Text in columns ii–vi, while the other two, Psalms 133 and 134, are scattered among other psalms later in the scroll. Psalm 119, occupying eight columns of the scroll, follows directly after the *Ascent Psalms* 120–132. The nonmasoretic psalms are found scattered among the masoretic ones on columns xvi, xviii, xix, xxi–xxii, xxiv, and xxvi–xxviii. The "Apostrophe to Zion" (col. xxii) is also found in the 4Q Psalms (4Q88), and the "Plea for Deliverance" (col. xix) is also found in the 11Q Psalms^b (11Q6).

Some, especially Patrick W. Skehan, have argued that the Psalms Scroll is a secondary liturgical collection. The editor's position, that the scroll represents a relatively late stage in the canonical process of stabilization of the pre-Masoretic Psalter, and was functionally canonical at Qumran, is supported by two recent dissertations: Gerald H. Wilson (Yale) and Peter W. Flint (Notre Dame). At latest count, there are thirty-six manuscripts of Psalms found in Qumran Caves, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, and 11, of which

twenty-one are from Cave 4, and five (six, if 11Q11 is included) from Cave 11. Of these, the 11QPsalms^b appears to be a copy of 11Psalms^a, with the 4QPsalms^f similar to them in having a mix of proto-masoretic and nonmasoretic psalms. Many containing only proto-masoretic psalms nonetheless have an order different from the collection of 150 psalms found in the Masoretic Text. At least one scroll with three nonmasoretic psalms and a variant form of Psalm 91 (11Q11) may possibly have been part of an original scroll having a mix of proto-masoretic and nonmasoretic psalms. It would appear that the first two-thirds of the proto-Masoretic Psalter was more or less stable, with the last third still open-ended, at least at Qumran (Flint).

The Psalms Scroll (11Q5) presents itself as a Davidic Psalter. Exactly when in early Judaism the whole of a Psalter was attributed to David is not known. It would probably have been within the Hellenistic time frame, under growing Greek influence, that the need arose to attach an individual author's name to a community's collection of literature, as in the cases of attribution of everything in the Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Song of Songs* to Solomon, or the entire Pentateuch to Moses. Columns xxvi–xxviii of the Psalms Scroll make a fairly clear statement of the view that David was responsible for all the psalms in the scroll, and even perhaps for all psalms, despite their earlier attribution to others. The last lines of column xxvi originally contained the first six and a half verses of 2 *Samuel* 23.1–7, which conclude with the last six words of 23.7 in the first line of column xxvii. While there is not enough space in the missing portions of the scroll to have contained 2 *Samuel* 22.1–51, David's Song of Thanksgiving, that psalm, with variants, appears as Psalm 18, a doublet in the Masoretic Text, and was probably in the first third of Psalters found at Qumran (present in 4Q85, 8Q2, and 11Q7) anyway. 2 *Samuel* 23.1–7 has a masoretic superscription describing it as "The Last Words of David." In the Qumran Psalter, it would have formed a doublet with 2 *Samuel* 23, just as Psalm 18 in the Masoretic Psalter does with 2 *Samuel* 22.

This composition is followed on column xxvii by the ten-line prose insert which claims that David composed 4,050 psalms and songs, 3,600 psalms and 460 songs. The songs are categorized as follows: 364 to be sung before the altar over the whole burnt perpetual offering every day; fifty-two for the Sabbath *qorbanot* ("sacrifices"), thirty for New Moons, all the Solemn Assemblies, and the Day of Atonement, plus four for making music over the stricken. All of the psalms in the Scroll have superscriptions with attributions to David everywhere the Masoretic Text does, except Psalm 144, but that may well have been an oversight, since it follows closely on Psalm 133 which has the Davidic attribution. None of the nine nonmaso-

retic compositions in the Scroll is attributed to David, or to any author, just as there are forty psalms in the Masoretic Psalter unattributed to anyone, that is, without superscription (all in Books Four and Five, Pss. 90–150).

The traditional claim that the entire Masoretic Psalter is to be attributed to David is contradicted in the Masoretic Psalter itself by attributions to others. Of these, the greatest number refers to "Asaph" (twelve) and to the "Korahites" (eight); all of these are found in Books Two and Three (Pss. 42–89), but are absent from the extant Scroll. Two psalms are attributed to Solomon (Pss. 72 and 127). One of these is in the Psalms Scroll (Ps. 127), and is so attributed. Yet another is attributed to Ethan the Ezrahite (Ps. 89), but is not found in the extant Scroll. It is clear, however, that columns xxvi–xxviii of the Psalms Scroll, and, especially, the prose composition in column xxvii, lend support to a belief which had developed by the mid-first century of the common era—namely, that the Psalter was a Davidic Psalter, no matter the individual attributions. Not only so, but with the claim that David had composed 4,050 psalms and songs, the conservative attitude at Qumran would have been that a Davidic Psalter, whatever exactly that meant, ought to include as many of the psalms David supposedly composed as could be found!

Clearly, it would be difficult to assume that the Psalter was already limited to 150 psalms; or, at least, such a tradition apparently provided no constraint at Qumran, nor presumably from wherever the Psalms Scroll came to be a part of the Qumran library. Not only so, but some later Syriac Psalters contained up to 200 psalms. The theory, appealing to some scholars, about the Psalms Scroll's having been a secondary liturgical collection (Skehan), in itself lacks a firm basis in the available evidence (Flint). Presumably, the Masoretic Psalter is itself also a liturgical collection (Wilson).

Two of the nonmasoretic psalms appear in other Qumran Psalter manuscripts. The Apostrophe to Zion (col. xxii) is found in 4QPsalms^f, and the Plea for Deliverance (col. xix) is in 11QPsalms^b, where Psalm 133 follows Psalm 141, just as in the Psalms Scroll (11QPsalms^a). 4QPsalms^f has six psalms on the extant leather; three of these are proto-masoretic, and three are nonmasoretic psalms—the Apostrophe to Zion, the Eschatological Hymn, and the Apostrophe to Judah. In addition, Psalm 154:17–20 is paralleled in the 4Q Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448).

Two of the more interesting nonmasoretic psalms in the large Psalms Scroll, *Psalm 151* and the second canticle in *Ben Sira* 51, are significantly different textually from their later translation, which had been known all along in Septuagint manuscripts; *Psalm 151* is also found in some Syriac Psalters. In both instances, the Greek ap-

pears to be based on edited *Vorlagen* or models, that is, on Hebrew texts quite different from those in the Psalms Scroll. Though it is possible that the editing was done in the course of translation, this seems less probable. In the case of *Psalm 151*, the editing was apparently done because of resignified echoes of certain aspects of Greek culture in the original Hebrew (of the scroll). In the case of *Ben Sira 51* (col. xxi, 11ff.) the editing was apparently done as a result of rather patent ambiguities in the poetry, suggesting erotic overtones—not unlike such overtones as are found in biblical literature itself. Scholars who have attempted to deny these as the reasons for the editing which resulted in the later Greek translations have so far failed to offer plausible theses to account for the differences between the Hebrew texts in the Scroll and their later translations. These cases suggest that some Hellenized, Greek-speaking Jews may have been more “conservative” in certain ways than their Hebrew-speaking (or reading) counterparts. On the other hand, that which was viewed as conservative then, as opposed to now, or in the two cultures then, may have been quite different.

All early Jewish literature was composed more or less scripturally, that is, in the phrases and paraphrases of earlier biblical literature. The psalm in *1 Chronicles 16*, for instance, is made up of pastiches of earlier biblical poetry, and so are the nonmasoretic psalms in the scroll, some more than others. The Hymn to the Creator (col. xxvi) is largely composed of phrases from biblical wisdom literature. Even where there is more originality, as in the Apostrophe to Zion (col. xxii), the author nevertheless clearly drew on biblical phrases, tones, and cadences. It is because of this dominant characteristic of early Jewish literature that small fragments of works heretofore unknown can be pieced together at all, a tedious, painstaking process.

The Psalms Scroll is a major reason for the recent concern with the canonical process in Judaism and Christianity, and the launch of the subdiscipline of canonical criticism. Those who disagree have attempted to bracket Psalter manuscripts at Qumran as secondary liturgical collections; those who agree have seen the necessity of reviewing the older theories of canonization, due to their being inadequate in accounting for the massive amount of data now available because of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The two studies that have probed most deeply into the question of the structure of Psalters and Psalms collections, including the Psalms Scroll, support the need for the review (Wilson and Flint).

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PSEUDEPIGRAPHA. See Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE LITERATURE. A pseudonymous account of Clement of Rome’s associations with Peter, an apostle of Jesus, the Pseudo-Clementine literature is in the form of an ancient novel with extensive dialogues. Clement relates how he became a Christian under Peter’s tutelage, what he heard and saw when Peter debated with Simon Magus, and how he recovered his long-lost family. The historical significance of the Pseudo-Clementine literature is, above all, that it contains rare traditions of ancient Syrian Jewish Christianity, illuminating also for the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Constituent Writings. The chief components of the Pseudo-Clementine literature are the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*. These two compositions run verbatim in parallel in large sections. There is a consensus that each derives independently from an original novel called the *Basic Writing* (original title: *Periodoi Petrou, Circuits of Peter*).

While the *Homilies* (with their prefaced writings: *Letter of Peter, Adjuration, and Letter of Clement*) survive in the original Greek, the Greek *Recognitions* have not yet been found. They are preserved primarily through a Latin translation (c.406 CE) by Tyrannius Rufinus and through a Syriac translation (pre-373 CE) of *Recognitions 1–4.1*.

Attention to Christological remarks allows the *Homilies*