

**REACH FOR THE SKY:
A TYPOLOGY OF ANGELIC DISCOURSE AND ITS LITURGICAL
IMPACT WITHIN THE YAḤAD**

by

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This work is submitted for a DPhil in the Faculty of Theology and Religion at
The University of Oxford

Hilary Term 2023

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ALD	Aramaic Levi Document
ANE	Ancient Near East
BASOR	The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	The Brown-Driver Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CD	The Damascus Document
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUP	Harvard University Press
IJS	Institute of Jewish Studies
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSJ Sup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OUP	Oxford University Press
OTL	The Old Testament Library
PUP	Princeton University Press
Rev Q	Revue de Qumran
SBJT	Southern Baptist Journal of Theology
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
Shirot	The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
SPCK	Society for the Protection of Christian Knowledge
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

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ABSTRACT

And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years...' (Genesis 1:14).

Time was created and a method for determining a calendar was invented. In creation, God gives us time and space, a separation of the heavenly and the earthly, and a Sabbath day on which to worship God. Yet God also transcends time and space, being both the beginning and the end - 'the alpha and omega' - the past, the present and the future all at once. What if humans also had that ability: a way of being connected with the past, present and future; an intellectual transcendence of the earthly into the heavenly?

This thesis uses spatial theory to analyse the angelic and priestly discourse of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Shirot)*, and its liturgical impact within the Yaḥad. Firstly, scriptural tropes and themes are investigated to show how these are later incorporated into the development of the *Shirot* and the inter-relationship between God, divine beings and humanity. Secondly, the placement of the *Shirot* within the liturgical calendar at Qumran is analysed. Thirdly, spatial theory is used to investigate the text of the *Shirot*, focussing on the heavenly hierarchy of angelic beings and their function within the priestly ministry of worship in heaven. Finally, the connection between angelic beings and the earthly community using the *Shirot* is scrutinised. The question of 'what does it mean to be a member of the Yaḥad?' is addressed, before investigating the formation or transformation of the use of communal liturgy like the *Shirot*, in order to understand to what extent liturgical worship like the *Shirot* contributed to the formation of identity and self within the Yaḥad's quest for perfection.

Second Abstract

This thesis begins by analysing the themes and tropes within certain scriptural liturgical texts which connect God, divine beings and humanity. The nature of divine and earthly fire is examined to show that fire is used as a conduit - a bridge between Heaven and Earth - that allows God and the angels to interact with humanity. This bridge enables exalted humans to connect directly with God and the heavenly. It creates a liminal space which can be accessed by humans at specific times, such as at the time of the offering of an animal sacrifice (Judges 6 and 13), when humans are perhaps more perceptive about, and receptive to, listening to God. God, on the other hand, exists outside this timeframe and so uses fire to connect with exalted humans, as and when necessary. For example, with Moses and the burning bush (Exodus. 3). Within these texts the divine beings (angels, seraphim and cherubim) all enable an interaction which invariably empowers individual humans to go and do something on God's behalf. Dreams and visions are further used to provide humans with divine knowledge. God, angels, fire and humans are prominent in scripturally liturgical, legal and covenantal texts, as well as in texts which are not technically liturgical but which focus on meeting God on Holy Ground. Angels and fire provide protection and purification for humans, enabling them to converse safely with God.

The scriptural narratives also show that the concept of a liminal space existed in relation to the offering of an animal sacrifice. This concept of a liminal space was further adapted, developed and evolved as the offering of prayer became scripturalized, in order to reassure people that they could attain the same connection with God and the heavenly. The development of prayers as they were scripturalized provides us with an example of ritual innovation, as the Yahad used scriptural themes within the *Shirot* to add a richness to, and to credence to, their theology and liturgy. This same process of ritual innovation is also evident in how the calendrical texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls establish new festivals.

For the Yahad, as Chapter 2 examines, following the correct calendar was essential. This was to ensure that the correct liturgy was used during the appropriate season of the liturgical calendar, in order to focus the direction of prayer and praise within worship. It was also important in terms of ensuring that the precise cosmologically ordained statutes were followed, since it was believed that God pre-determined the time for the festivals and the holy days. It was a necessity then for the Yahad to follow the correct, ordained calendar so that God's law could be observed at the correct times and on the correct dates. This correct understanding and following of the calendar then allowed the Yahad (through observance and reverence) access to the original relationship which God had had with Israel's ancestors, and which the Yahad believed had been lost in contemporary Second Temple practices. Observance of the correct calendar was a basic necessity; it was indeed vital in order to allow the Yahad to establish a perfect relationship with God.

The calendar, which is reconstructed within this thesis, is of a semi-lunar 364-day-per-year calendar consisting of four seasons of 13 weeks and so would need some form of intercalation if practised in reality. The calendar begins on the fourth day of the week which is when God created the sun, moon and stars, and thus a way of calculating time.

The number seven is important within the calendar: there are seven days in the week and the calendar follows a seven-year cycle similar to that in *Jubilees*.

Next, non-calendrical texts which were altered to fit this liturgical calendar are noted. Further, the fact that ritual time, covenant and law are all connected through the Jacob tradition is analysed; as is the understanding at Qumran of priestly ministry and the developing angelology which appears to be similar to the angelology in *Jubilees*.

The *Shirot* were used during the first thirteen-week cycle of the liturgical calendar, which was the start of the Yahad's year and included the festivals of Passover and Shavu'ot. The ritual aspect of using the *Shirot* at pre-arranged and specific liturgical times allowed a liminal space to be created: a space in which the worshippers and angels joined together to praise God. The third chapter uses spatial theory to show that the ritual of performing and using these texts allowed the worshippers to be neither God, angelic nor fully human, but to be temporarily transcendently changed, which enabled them to enter a thirdspace which was simultaneously real and imagined, divine and earthly, perceived and conceived. This ritual was led by the Maskil who was responsible for liturgy and for teaching the divine knowledge and mysteries of God to the Yahad. The centrality of the Maskil in worship was dependent upon the access to divine knowledge and understanding which was given to the Maskil by God. The knowledge and understanding given to the Maskil was similar in concept (though not in delivery) to the knowledge believed to have been given to Moses, David, Enoch and the Patriarchs. Indeed, from a priestly perspective, it was believed that humanity was being given the ability to be like Enoch, straddling heaven and earth within the liminal thirdspace and the collapse of spatial time. This was done through the belief that the perfect priesthood followed the teachings taught to Enoch by the angels and then passed down by each patriarch from Enoch to Levi, so that the ideal earthly priesthood was, in fact, *imitatio angelorum*. In particular, it was the two highest categories of angels which were to be imitated.

In *Jubilees* these are the angels of the presence and the angels of purification. These are synonymous with the ministers of the presence and the elim in the *Shirot*. It is these two categories of angels which function as priests in the heavenly temple and thus it is these angels which earthly priests were meant to emulate, separating themselves from the rest of humanity and putting themselves on a par with the angels who minister to God. Consequently, this thesis explores the hierarchy of the divine beings and the two main categories of angels, the angels of the presence and the elim. Thereafter, it also examines the concept of angels as priests within the *Shirot*, *Jubilees* and the writings of Philo.

The liminal space created in worship appears to have been instituted by God in the post-diluvian period following both the human and angelic fall, to encourage humanity to look heavenward rather than encouraging the angels to look earthward. It allowed access to the form of ministry offered in the Garden of Eden, and thus to the original, unique, complete and perfect relationship with God. In worship, therefore, people were able to enter a time and space which represented humanity's glory: a space before either the angelic fall or the human expulsion from the Garden of Eden: a thirdspace of unique, complete and perfect connection with God.

In the fourth chapter 1QS shows that there was a belief that it was possible for angels and humans to exist together within the Yahad, in day-to-day life, as well as within worship. This connection with angels had a significant impact on the sect's construction and self-identity. Through the belief that people could gain access to the original sanctuary of the Garden of Eden, the Yahad became a Miqdash Adam, a sanctuary set apart from the rest of humanity. This idea of being a sanctuary then provided the liturgical and sacred space which made worshipping in a thirdspace, using a liturgical text like the *Shirot*, possible. This was only possible, however, if the Yahad remained perfect, by living according to the pre-ordained laws of God, as it was believed that angels were not able to be in contact with the spiritually and physically disabled. This concept of perfection is examined in the fourth chapter in order to ascertain the perfect relationship with God that was desired by the Yahad and within the text of The Letter to the Hebrews: another text from a first-century Jewish community which focuses on priesthood and perfection.

Finally, the development of prayer (instead of animal sacrifice) as an offering and a form of thanksgiving to God is investigated, to show the connection between prayer and the First Temple, which provides more credence to the practice of prayer and connects the worshippers with the original historic Temple, instead of the Second Temple, with which the Yahad was displeased. Prayer further allows anyone to connect with God, which in the practise of animal sacrifice was reserved for either exalted humans or a priest in the Temple.

Prayer itself therefore formed a liminal space, a meeting place between the heavenly and the earthly which was derived and developed from the liminal space created by an altar fire in the offering of a sacrifice. There was a sublimation in using prayer and liturgical texts like the *Shirot*, which, led by the exemplarity of the Maskil enabled there to be more freedom in expressing thanksgiving and praise to and for God. The words used in prayer and praise were an intentional act by the individual. Prayer enabled more accountability and responsibility. It also relied more on divine knowledge - which meant trusting the gift of knowledge which God had given the Maskil. It was a cerebral means of trying to attain perfection, as was the emulation of the angels as heavenly priests.

Covenant, law, creation, calendar and priestly ministry were all intertwined and were believed by the Yahad, to be pre-determined by God. Thus, these concepts were fundamental to the Yahad's identity, to their understanding of self, to their pursuit for perfection and to the ritual and liturgy used in worship. Liturgy became for the Yahad the law of worship, the way in which worship was offered to God through the emulation and imitation of the angelic priesthood, which offered, in a similar way, the same guidance and instruction as the Law of Moses, which guided and instructed the Yahad in their moral, ethical and temporal duties.

Communal liturgy like the *Shirot* helped to shape the Yahad and to form an identity among its members. The focus and ritual of the liturgy enabled a transcendence of self and a spiritual transformation, both individually and collectively, as the Yahad transcended time and space to worship God. This transcendence and connection with God could only occur, though, if the Yahad followed the correct calendar, were pure, perfect and had the correct leadership from the Maskil.

Ultimately, the calendar, theology, liturgy and ritual were all interwoven, supporting, evolving and complementing one another, and evolving, in order to create, develop and maintain an ideological world-view that was specific to this particular sect. This then enabled the Yahad to develop a bond over a specific form of liturgy used in worship and to create an identity which contributed to the understanding of self. Liturgy like the *Shirot* allowed the Yahad to become aspatial and atemporal, breaking down the past, present and future to connect with God, the way humanity originally connected with God in the Garden of Eden.

Scripture from the past inspires the present, as God determines the future. The Yahad believed they had a unique, pure and perfect relationship with God, which provided the inspiration and motivation for their world-view and ideology, which informed their theology and philosophy, which created their ritual, which amplified their liturgy, drove their pursuit for perfection and established a communal identity and an understanding of self.

Introduction

'Jesus calls us to his table
rooted firm in time and space,
where the church in earth and heaven
finds a common meeting place.'

This is part of a verse from the hymn 'Jesus Calls Us here to Meet Him.' It depicts an interpretation of how its writers, John L. Bell and Graham Maule view the Eucharist as a 'Holy Communion' between heaven and earth, creating, liturgically, a time and a space for the two realms to meet.

The inspiration for this thesis is derived from a Eucharistic service, where, in Holy Communion, the words 'Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we proclaim your great and glorious name, for ever more praising you and saying...'¹ are routinely used. This part of the Church of England liturgy, together with my Master's degree regarding angels, builds on my previous work on the Dead Sea Scrolls. This part of the liturgy for Holy Communion sparked my curiosity and caused me to question how much we actually know about angels from the perspective of worship and liturgy. How were angels viewed in worship during the first century by Jews and the early Christians? This thesis therefore focuses on the liturgy of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Shirot)* and the Yahad. My thesis uses the concept of space to analyse the angelic and priestly discourse of the *Shirot* and its liturgical impact within the Yahad.

¹ *Common Worship Holy Communion Prayer A*, at www.churchofengland.org Accessed 12th March 2019.

The focus is on the juxtaposition of time and space in liturgy and ritual (defined by the *Shirot*) for the Yahad, from a variety of different angles. The thesis begins, in the first chapter by investigating texts within the Hebrew Bible in which God, angels and humanity interact. These texts are analysed and the concept of divine fire as both a conduit and a liminal space is investigated. Next, in the second chapter the *Shirot* are contextualised within their liturgical calendar, which is reconstructed based on the calendrical materials uncovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls. The liturgical calendar creates, stabilises and establishes a sacred liturgical time, which thus provides a sacred space for the Yahad to use liturgical documents like the *Shirot*. In the third chapter, spatial theory is used to investigate the space described within the text of the *Shirot* such as the space within the heavenly temple. How the angels were arranged and functioned in this space, according to the text of the *Shirot*, is also investigated. An analysis of the liturgical space created by the action of using the *Shirot* in worship is then undertaken. The final chapter investigates the physical space of the Yahad using social-scientific theory and socio-cultural studies to analyse the *Serek ha-Yahad* (Community Rule) and to answer the question of what it means to be a member of the Yahad? Thereafter, individual space is explored in relation to self-identity, transformation, emulation and imitation.

Whilst there have been previous studies which have focussed on the Qumran calendrical material² and on angelology³ and the community of the Yahad,⁴ this is the first project, to my knowledge, which combines all of these fields and investigates the *Shirot* and the *Serek ha-Yahad* (Community Rule) to analyse the concepts of liturgical space and what impact, if any, this space had on the Yahad. This thesis addresses the research question: How does liturgy and liturgical space affect the formation of identity and the development of a community like the Yahad?

Liturgical space offers a set, recognisable time for people to worship God. However, theologically God also transcends time and space. In God is the past, present and future. God is both atemporal and temporal: atemporal, in that God created the heavens and the earth, and thus established time, which therefore created liturgical space; temporal in that God interacts with humanity at specific time periods, such as those specified as holy days and festivals, or through the timetable of daily prayer. In creation, God established order from chaos. The Yahad created order by establishing time and space using ritual and liturgy to counteract the chaos which they perceived existed in their contemporary society. The Yahad acting in what was, to them, perfection (and following liturgy like the *Shirot*) allowed the physical acting out of the Yahad to be transcended into the invisible angelic participation within the heavenly community.

² For bibliographical details, see the footnotes in Chapter 2, but for example, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, 'The 364 Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudepigrapha,' in *Calendars and Years II: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient and Medieval World*, eds., John M. Steele (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 69-106.

³ For bibliographical details, see the footnotes in Chapter 3, but, for example, see M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and the Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSup 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

⁴ For bibliographical details, see Chapter 4 but, for example, see John J. Collins, 'Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 151-172.

Spatial and ritual theory is thus applied to the *Shirot* to examine the priestly nature of the angels and their function in the heavenly hierarchy. Further, the priestly discourse, ritual and liturgy of the Yaḥad are analysed. The individual and communal transformation caused by the formation of seeking perfection and living within a priestly, heavenly, sacred community is also examined.

At this point it is necessary to discuss the complicated and nuanced relationship between ritual and liturgy. A rite is a formal religious ceremony. Ritual, in comparison, is an act which has a specific function, or a series of actions which is performed in a specific manner. In the Second Temple period, how people offered prayers or an animal sacrifice and the way people washed themselves before worship in a particular prescribed manner are all examples of rituals. Falk has discussed the difficulty in describing a liturgical text, as there is little consensus amongst scholars as to what is meant by a liturgy.⁵ Recently, within Dead Sea Scrolls studies, rituals and liturgical texts have been categorized based on the six categories which were defined within ritual studies by Catherine Bell.⁶ The Dead Sea Scrolls provide us with a remarkable number of liturgical texts which have survived from the Second Temple period. Falk has discussed how a large number of these texts 'are

⁵ Daniel Falk. 'Liturgical Texts,' in *T& T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel. London: T&T Clark/ Bloomsbury, 2019.

⁶ These six categories are calendrical rites, rites of affliction, rites of passage, rites of feasting, fasting and festivals; political rites and rites of exchange and communion. See Catherine Bell, *Rituals: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), 91-137. For the classification of the ritual practices within the Dead Sea Scroll texts according to the categories defined by Bell, see Robert A. Kugler. 'Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran' in *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*. 33:2 (2002):131-152; Russel Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*. STDJ 60. (Leiden: Brill, 2006). For the categorization of the liturgical texts according to these six categories see Falk. 'Liturgical Texts,'425-431.

related to liturgical performance, and... involve all areas of life.⁷ Liturgy is a set and formatted process or procedure used to carry out a ritual. This can be a recognised dance, the singing of pre-determined and textualised Psalms or the verbal performance of a set text used in worship. Liturgy is a performance and whilst we do not know how the *Shirot* were performed, it is likely that they were used in a ritual, by the worshippers at Qumran, to worship God and so, the *Shirot* were, undoubtedly liturgical texts for that community.

This thesis therefore, combines a study of calendar, liturgy, priestly discourse, angelology, ritual theory, spatiality, identity, and community. It analyses the authenticity of, and the development of, the use of liturgy as a way of accessing God, for a specific group of people, prior to the destruction of the Second Temple.

I will now explain some of the terminology that is used throughout the thesis. I will also provide some introductory information on the *Shirot*, what is meant by the term Qumran community and the concept of thirdspace.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,⁸ or *Shirot* ‘Olat HaShabbat, consist of fragmentary manuscripts which contain thirteen songs: one for each of the first thirteen consecutive Sabbaths in the year.⁹ At Qumran, eight of these fragmentary manuscripts were discovered in Cave 4 (4Q400-4Q407) and one fragment was discovered in Cave 11.

⁷ Falk, 'Liturgical Texts,' 433.

⁸ Hereafter *Shirot*.

⁹ Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta Georgia: Scholars Press, 1985), 1.

(11QSS / 11Q17) A further fragmentary manuscript was recovered from Masada (MasSS / Mas1K).¹⁰

Next, the materiality of the *Shirot* needs to be discussed. The condition and size of some of the *Shirot* fragments unfortunately makes it difficult to devise a definitive structure of the *Shirot*, resulting in informed conjecture. However, the structure developed by Newsom is considered by most scholars to be authoritative. This structure follows a chiasmic format, with Song Seven at the climax.¹¹ Falk has recently undertaken a study of the material aspects of Qumran prayer texts. His findings in relation to the *Shirot* are particularly interesting since 4Q400, 4Q403 and 4Q405 vary in size, letter height and the number of lines of text per scroll. 4Q405 is the best preserved. It is reconstructed as being about 21-22cm high, with about 25 lines of text per column and Falk considers it to be 'deliberately a large and generous format.'¹² In comparison, 4Q403 is about 18cm high and contains around 50 lines of text, and is written in a very small script, with narrow lines between the text. The script appears to have been squeezed to fit the contents onto the scroll. This was possibly to prevent the need for any more parchment, either due to the expense, or a desire to ensure the portability of the text. Falk suggests that the text was used in private study, given that the text is too small to have been used with ease in a liturgical setting.¹³ Finally, 4Q400 seems to have been created with portability being the main concern: it is 12.7cm

¹⁰ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1.

¹¹ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 13-17.

¹² Measurements of 4Q400, 4Q403 and 4Q405 also taken from Daniel Falk, 'Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,' in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, eds., Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2, 363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 36-37. Quote on page 36.

¹³ The text also has many corrections which supports this theory. Falk notes that it is unusual however, being one of only six parchment scrolls to contain 50 or more lines of text. See Falk, 'Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,' 37.

high, with 21 lines of text of easy readability.¹⁴ Thus, all three texts then appear to have been created for different purposes. It is easy to consider that 4Q405 was used in a liturgical setting by the person leading the worship- perhaps the Maskil. 4Q403 appears to have been used in private study and 4Q400 could have been the equivalent of an order of service, given the easy readability and portability. Irrespective of whether this was in fact the case, it clearly could have been used in a liturgical setting. This is important for understanding how the *Shirot* may have been used by the Qumran community. It is especially interesting to consider that the text may have been studied outside of a liturgical setting.

Palaeography has indicated that 4Q400 is the oldest manuscript, dating from the Hasmonaean Period (75-50 B.C.E), whilst the manuscripts found in Cave 11 and Masada appear to be the most recent, dating from the Herodian period (approximately 20-50 C.E. and 50 C.E. respectively).¹⁵ All the other fragmentary manuscripts appear to have been composed within this timeframe.

It is challenging to define whether the *Shirot* are sectarian or non-sectarian texts. The Masada copy has naturally called into question the provenance of the *Shirot*. The difficulty in establishing the sectarianism of the *Shirot*, is evident from Carol Newsom's fluctuating opinion during the course of her work.¹⁶ In addition to the interesting question of the

¹⁴ Falk, 'Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,' 37

¹⁵ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1, 86, 126, 147, 168, 186, 249, 258, 355, 359, 363.

¹⁶ Originally, Newsom considered the *Shirot* to be sectarian (see *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1-4) before suggesting that the Songs may have been 'adopted' by the community. (Carol Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, eds., William H. Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 185). More recently, Newsom has returned to her original conclusion that the *Shirot* are, in fact, sectarian. (Carol A. Newsom, 'Religious Experience in the

fragmentary manuscript found at Masada, the reasons given for the non-sectarian provenance of the text include the use of the term אלוהים to refer to God. This divine epithet is unusual in sectarian texts. However, it is used in the *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510-4Q511), which are considered sectarian and so is not a conclusive means of judging the provenance.¹⁷ There are also strong literary similarities between the *Berakhot* and *Hodayot*, texts which are both indisputably considered to be sectarian.¹⁸ The fact that the *Shirot* begin with an introductory formula written למשכיל (a term used to refer to the role of the Maskil within sectarian literature) complicates matters. However, this term cannot be used with any certainty to clarify the provenance, as we know from the scripture of Daniel and the Psalms that this word was also used in non-sectarian and pre-sectarian literature too. Further, through the introductory formula, the *Shirot* are aligned with the preferred calendar of the sectarians. The provenance of the *Shirot* is therefore obviously an important question¹⁹ and it would be wonderful to be able to pronounce with certainty as to the sectarianism of the text. For the sake of this thesis however, I am not certain that the ambiguity is problematic. We know that *Jubilees* is pre-Qumranic and non-sectarian. Yet the number of copies found at Qumran is evidence of the importance of this text for the community. It also follows the calendar which is adopted by the sectarians, and appears to have authoritatively defined and influenced their world-view. Similarly, the number of

Dead Sea Scrolls: Two Case Studies,' in *Experientia, Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience*, eds., Colleen Shantz and Rodney Werline. E.J.L. 35 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 205 ft note 1).

¹⁷ For a recent review of the literature concerning the sectarianism of the *Shirot* see Matthew L. Walsh, *Angels Associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Angelology and Sectarian Identity at Qumran*, eds., Jörg Frey et al. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 509 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 225-226 ft note 81.

¹⁸ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 1-4; Walsh, *Angels Associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 221-274.

¹⁹ For a recent discussion see Jost, who believes that the *Shirot* represent an example of liturgical development within the Yahad: Michael R. Jost, 'The Liturgical Communion of the Yahad with the Angels: The Origin of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Reconsidered,' *DSD* 29 (2022), 52-75.

copies of the *Shirot* discovered at Qumran indicates that the theology was accepted within the community and that the liturgy was most probably used by its inhabitants. Further, it is entirely possible that a member of the Yahad visited Masada or took the text with them when Qumran was destroyed in 68 C.E. The content of the songs is so integrated into the sectarians' outlook that even if the text was not written by them, it was adopted and authoritatively used to support their views. So much so, that Newsom believes that the *Berakhot* were influenced by the *Shirot's* description of the 'heavenly realia,' rather than the other way around.²⁰

To further complicate matters, the identification of the community at Qumran is uncertain. From the earliest days of scholarship on the DSS, the community has most frequently been identified with the Essene movement. However, two different texts discovered at Qumran seem to describe two very different communities: one celibate and male, the other urban and consisting of family units. The first of these communities is the Yahad, which was originally identified by the publication of 1QS. The publication of further copies of the text discovered in Cave four (4Q255-264) and Cave 5 (5Q11) complicated the picture of this community. The second of these communities is identified as 'urban dwellers:' these were married community members (with children), who dwelt in towns and villages (*the Damascus Document [CD] 12:19*). This community is widely believed to be referred to in *CD, The Temple Scroll, the Messianic Rule (1QSa), The War Rule and MMT*.²¹

²⁰ Newsom, 'Sectually Explicit,' 181.

²¹ Timothy Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 86 & 93. Lim offers a review of the scholarship to date in Chapter 8.

Lim argues that it is widely recognised that these two communities could not have lived together at Qumran, though it is possible that there was still some connection between them.²² It is also interesting that calculations based on practical needs, such as in relation to space and water, have estimated that it would be possible to support a population of 150-200 members at the site of Qumran.²³

Comparatively, Vermes believed that the community of the Yahad in 1QS and 4QS was a monastic community which followed a strict hierarchical order and was concerned with 'holiness, piety and contemplative life.'²⁴ a priestly community which was believed to be a Zadokite priesthood, since Zadokites had become 'the sole priestly line in the Solomonic Kingdom' (1Kgs 4:2).²⁵

More recently however, another theory has been put forward: the Groningen Hypothesis, advanced by Florentino García-Martínez and Adam van der Woude, which stipulates a connection between the Essenes, the Qumran community and the Therapeutae²⁶ (another sect from Egypt). John J. Collins has opposed this view as he does not think the texts provide evidence for a break from a wider movement. He also questions whether the two

²² Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86.

²³ Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85.

²⁴ The quote is from Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86, who reviews Verme's argument in a review of the scholarship. For Verme's argument see Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* 3rd ed. (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1994), especially Chapters 4 and 5.

²⁵ Lim, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 87.

²⁶ Lim *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 98/99. For more on the Groningen Hypothesis see F. García Martínez *Qumranica Minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*. ed., Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. *STDJ* Vol.63 (Leiden: Brill, 2007) or F. García Martínez and A.S van der Woude, 'A "Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History.'" *RevQ* 14/56 (1990);521-541.

communities were connected with the Essenes, which is the traditional understanding of the sectarians at Qumran.²⁷

Identity formation further complicates the issue, as members of the Yaḥad formed 'a collective identity through various markers of self and community, which were never static.'²⁸ The term Yaḥad²⁹ means 'together' or 'togetherness' and is a term of self-designation used by the community behind the *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* which corresponds with their shared way of life, through communal meals, worship and study (1QS 6:2, 3,7 and 8). Schofield has argued that a community-as-temple theology grew and developed within the Yaḥad to be:

spatially structured along the lines of increasingly sacred space. Members themselves were ordered according to their relative degrees of holiness, with the priests in the centre, surrounded by the elders and finally the lay persons, in much the same layout as the Jerusalem Temple.³⁰

Most recently, scholars have argued that the Yaḥad represented multiple communities, not just those who lived at Qumran.³¹ It has also been argued that there was a sub-group of

²⁷ Collins also provides an overview of recent scholarly thinking on this issue see John J. Collins, 'Nature and Aims of the Sect Known from the Dead Sea Scrolls' in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, eds., Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert Tigchelaar. JSJSup 122 (Leiden, Brill, 2007), 34-35 & 52. See Collin's argument already in John J. Collins *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden, Brill, 1997), 239-260.

²⁸ Alison Schofield, 'Forms of Community,' in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 533.

²⁹ The term Yaḥad is used throughout this thesis as a collective noun. As grammar relating to collective nouns varies, I thought it would be wise to stipulate the use of this term for clarity. I therefore use a singular verb when referring to the Yaḥad as a unity (i.e. the Yaḥad is/was) and a plural verb when relating to the members of the community or referring to the people within the Yaḥad. (i.e the Yaḥad believed themselves to be...).

³⁰ Schofield, 'Forms of Community,' 535.

³¹ This is primarily argued based on 1QS 6:1-8 which mentions members meeting in more than one place, but also based on the reports of Josephus and Philo regarding the Essenes, both of whom mention Essenes living in multiple locations. For more on the argument in favour of multiple communities see discussion in E. Regev, 'The Yaḥad and the Damascus Covenant: Structure, Organization and Relationship,' *RevQ* 21, (2003), 233–62; Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); J. J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The*

leaders within the Yahad, who most likely represented the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priestly families.³²

Overall, I find the polythetic argument most convincing. According to this argument:

the Yahad represented various community formations, ones which shared shifting clusters of characteristics in discourse, authoritative texts and praxis. Yet in each of these categories we must allow for fluidity over time and individual community, wherein there was some variation in language and practices without signalling a new movement. From this perspective, the Rule traditions associated with D and S do not represent two monolithic, or polemical, communities. At its core, D represents some of the earliest sectarian material, but both traditions represent various stages in the growth of one larger movement and were preserved contemporaneously. Rather than adhering to essentialist definitions of the Yahad as a marginal community on the fringes of the Dead Sea, we may better assume that it encompassed various communities, which saw different expressions of community life over time.³³

At this point it is prudent to explain the geographical concept of thirdspace which is used in the second chapter of this thesis to develop the argument about ritual, liturgical, sacred and liminal space. Thirdspace is a concept attributed to Edward Soja, building on the earlier work of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault. Thirdspace is understood in relation to first and second space. First space is the physical, visible, material space around us. Second space is subjective and is constructed in mental or cognitive forms (i.e., thoughts,

Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010). Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), esp. 79-96.

³² S. Metso, 'Whom does the term Yahad identify?' in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, eds., C. Hempel and J. Lieu. JSJSup 111. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 213–235. See also John J. Collins, 'The Yahad and "The Qumran Community,"' in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, eds., C. Hempel and J. Lieu. JSJSup 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81-96.

³³ Schofield, 'Forms of Community,' 542.

feelings, artwork, imagination). Thirdspace is a social space which combines both first and second space in 'an othering' of space. Soja defines it as:

an-Other way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance being brought about in the rebalanced trialectics of spatiality - historicity - sociality.³⁴

It is a lived space which is both real and imagined, a space to which we give meaning.

Thirdspace is 'a radically different way of looking at, interpreting, and acting to change the embracing spatiality of human life.'³⁵

Now we have discussed the relevant terminology necessary for this thesis, I shall turn to focus on the central concepts which will be analyzed. In the first chapter the focus is on various scriptural passages from the Hebrew Bible which are analysed to highlight specific themes which link liturgical, sacrificial and covenantal texts in which God, divine beings and humanity interact. Fire is identified as a key theme within a scriptural angelology which connects God, angels and humans. It is a particular angelology in which fire can be seen as a liminal space and a key conduit between the heavenly and the earthly; a liminal space which allows the angels to function as messengers and protectors. The physical fire associated with sacrificial or thanksgiving offerings is incorporated metaphorically and symbolically into the offering of prayers. This scriptural concept of fire is included in the *Shirot*, which focus on communal worship within the heavenly realm. The scriptural concept of God, angels and humanity being interconnected through the use of fire is

³⁴ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real - and - Imagined Places* (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1996.), 10.

³⁵ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 29.

adapted and developed, to enable ritualization of prayer and to allow humanity to join with the angelic realm in the worship of God.

The second chapter then shifts the focus onto the liturgical calendar described in the calendrical texts uncovered at Qumran. The introductory formula of the *Shirot* places this liturgical text within a specific liturgical calendar. In Chapter 2, this calendar is investigated and the ritual and liturgical time provided by this calendar is explained. The liturgical space created by the festivals observed within this calendar is discussed. Next, an understanding of the liturgical time at Qumran is investigated, from the perspective of covenant, law and creation. Finally, the angelic role within the liturgical calendar is analysed.

The attention in the third chapter is on the concept of ritual and liturgical space and the relationship between the divine, the angelic and the human in the liminal meeting space. Firstly, the broader concept of ritual theory is defined and explained from the perspective of prayer. Then the interdisciplinary geographical theory of thirdspace is used and applied to the *Shirot*. Chapter 3 then concentrates on how ritual space enables an interaction between the heavenly and the earthly for the worshipping communities which used the *Shirot*. Finally, the concept of a hierarchical angelic space within the heavens is investigated, along with how the relationship between the divine and human is perceived in the *Shirot*.

The final chapter concentrates on the physical space within the community which may have used the *Shirot*. It questions what the term Yaḥad means and whether within 1QS this term was used to depict a combined angelic and earthly community. The priestly status of the Yaḥad is investigated and compared with how angels function as priests in the *Shirot* within the heavenly hierarchy, as outlined in Chapter 2. The Yaḥad's quest for perfection and perfect moral and behavioural conduct is then investigated by comparing the Yaḥad with the community described in the New Testament text the Letter to the Hebrews, which depicts another first-century community which focussed on priesthood and perfection. The perfect Yaḥad member also sought perfection of moral conduct in order to be able to access divine knowledge, to join the heavenly community and to be combined with the angels, who function as the 'perfect' priests. Chapter 4 therefore investigates what impact this formation had on the individual; the self. The psychology of formation and transformation is analysed to explain the processes involved in living in a religious community and how this affects the individual. This understanding of formation is then applied to the social-scientific understanding of self-identity and transformation. How did communal worship, using liturgy like the *Shirot*, form community? Was the individual or the community more important to the Yaḥad? To answer these questions the concept of individual space within a community is investigated. Human emulation and imitation of the angelic within the *Shirot* is also examined.

Chapter 1

'For He Will Command His Angels concerning you to Guard you in all your Ways' (Psalm 91:11)

Liturgical Angelic Discourse in the Hebrew Bible.

Throughout this chapter, the depiction of angels within the liturgical and prophetic discourse of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible will be investigated. This is to understand the scriptural motifs, themes and tropes relating to divine beings. These may or may not have directly influenced the angelology within the *Shirot*, but understanding them will help to define concepts, theologies and cultural understandings regarding divine beings. These cultural connections regarding divine beings, God and humanity would have been in circulation during the Second Temple period and so may have contributed to the understanding of the heavenly realm within the *Shirot*. The *Shirot* are not meant to be considered an authoritative representation of what the scriptural texts would have meant for the whole of Judaism at the time. Rather, the *Shirot* are indicative of, and an authoritative representation of the community/ies at Qumran which used these liturgical texts in worship. Through their use, the *Shirot* helped to form a community, which in turn reinforced and re-established the beliefs, values and traditions regarding the cosmos in the worshippers' minds.³⁶

³⁶ A theory which will be researched throughout this thesis.

To begin with, the chapter will therefore examine different types of liturgical rituals within scripture which incorporate divine beings, such as angels, seraphim or cherubim, including ritual purification ceremonies of individuals (Zech 3) and of full communities (Mal 3), the offering of sacrifices (Judges 6 and 13, 1 Kings 18), worship within the temple (Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 10) and the thanksgiving ceremony which includes the text in Psalm 18 and 2 Sam 22. We shall also focus on passages which, though not strictly liturgical, are connected with meeting God on Holy Ground, including Genesis 28/32 and Daniel 3. (Both Genesis 32 and Daniel 3 are also connected with the concept of blessing). Next, the connection between divine beings, liturgy and the law will also be investigated, as will the covenantal ceremony of Genesis 15. The relationship of the earthly and the heavenly is connected in each of these passages by the use of fire. The nature of this fire will then be analysed to highlight the *Shirot's* use of an already well-defined scriptural trope for animal sacrifices, to emphasise the connection between the earthly community and the angelic community in the worship of God through prayer.

1.1 PURIFICATION, RITUAL AND WORSHIP

When thinking about heavenly beings worshipping within a temple, the first scriptural passage which probably springs to mind is Isaiah 6: 1-8³⁷:

בְּשֵׁנֶת-מוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ עֲזִיָּהוּ וְאַרְאַה אֶת-אַדְנִי יֹשֵׁב עַל-כִּסֵּא רָם וְנִשְׂא וְשׁוּלְיוֹ מְלֵאִים אֶת-הַהִיכָל:
 שְׂרָפִים עֹמְדִים | מִמַּעַל לֹ שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפִים יָשַׁב כְּנָפִים לְאַהֲד בְּשָׂתַיִם | כִּסֵּה כְּנָפִיו וּבְשָׂתַיִם יְכַסֶּה רַגְלָיו וּבְשָׂתַיִם יַעֲרֹף:
 וְקָרָא זֶה אֶל-זֶה וְאָמַר קְדוֹשׁ | קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מְלֵא כְּלֵהָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ:
 וַיִּגְעוּ אַמּוֹת הַסָּפִים מִקּוֹל הַקּוֹרָא וְהַבֵּית יִמְלֵא עָשָׁן:

³⁷ Unless otherwise stated, all scriptural Hebrew passages are taken from BHS and all translations from NRSV. LXX passages from Rhahfs, Alfred. *Septuaginta: Editio altera. Greek Septuagint: Revised and Tagged*. Re-edited by Robert Hanhart. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006. Any Greek New Testament passages are taken from Nestle, Eberhard and Aland, Kurt. (NA 28). *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 28th edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.

וְאָמַר אֱלֹהֵי קַיִן־נִדְמִיתִי כִּי אִישׁ טְמֵא־שִׁפְתַיִם אָנֹכִי וּבְתוֹךְ־עַם־טְמֵא שִׁפְתַיִם אָנֹכִי יוֹשֵׁב כִּי אֶת־הַמְּלָכָה יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת רָאוּ יַעֲנִי:

וַיַּעַף אֱלֹהֵי אֶתְדֹ מִן־הַשָּׁרָפִים וּבִיָּדוֹ רִצְפָה בְּמַלְאָכָיו לָקַח מֵעַל הַמְּזוֹבָח:
וַיִּגַע עַל־פִּי וַיֹּאמֶר הִגְהָ נִגְעָה זֹה עַל־שִׁפְתַיִךְ וְכָר עוֹנֶה וְחַטָּאתֶךָ תִּכְפֹּר:
וְאֶשְׁמָע אֶת־קוֹל אֲדֹנָי אֲמַר אֶת־מִי אֲשַׁלַּח וּמִי יִלְוֶה־לְגוֹ וַאֲמַר הַנְּגִי שְׁלַחֲנִי

In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe filled the temple. Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew. And one called to another and said:

“Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts;
the whole earth is full of his glory.”

The pivots on the thresholds shook at the voices of those who called, and the house filled with smoke. And I said: “Woe is me! I am lost, for I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips; yet my eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts!”

Then one of the seraphs flew to me, holding a live coal that had been taken from the altar with a pair of tongs.

The seraph touched my mouth with it and said: “Now that this has touched your lips, your guilt has departed and your sin is blotted out.” Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” And I said, “Here am I; send me!”

The Qedushah ('Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of His Glory') which is the prayer that is continually recited by the seraphs, is a prayer which is still used in liturgy today in both Jewish and Christian traditions. This prayer is nevertheless often mistakenly attributed to angels, rather than to seraphim. Seraphim are distinctly different from angels (malakhim) in their scriptural appearance and description. They are described as having a total of six wings, two covering their face, two their feet (or perhaps genitals, given that feet are a well-known euphemism for reproductive organs)³⁸ and two being used to fly. When angels (malachim) appear in other scriptural accounts

³⁸ See Ben Witherington III, *Isaiah Old and New: Exegesis, Intertextuality and Hermeneutics* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2017), 59; John Goldingay *Isaiah for Everyone* (SPCK, London, 2015), 29.

where they are recognized as being angelic figures, they are always described as having the appearance of men. Further, nowhere in the Bible are angels described as having wings.³⁹ Consequently, I would argue that seraphim are not angelic beings but rather a different species of divine being. In the same way in which a cat and a dog are both mammals and animals, but are themselves different species.⁴⁰ Cherubim are likewise another species of divine, alongside the seraphim and the angels (malachim), rather than being a subset of angelic being. This means that in the heavenly hierarchy there are seraphim, cherubim, archangels and angels (malachim) but in the angelic hierarchy there are only different categories of angels (malachim).

The seraphs in the above passage from Isaiah are covering their faces to prevent them from seeing or looking directly at God, a marked contrast, then, to Isaiah, who sees God, then panics because he is a human and has seen God. Isaiah appears to panic because he has 'unclean lips,' in other words, he is not pure, but has sinned. A seraph afterwards touches Isaiah's lips with a piece of coal from the altar and declares that Isaiah's sins have been blotted out. Isaiah 6 is a vision showing Isaiah's need for penitence, his repentance and his absolution, which is provided through the 'living coal' or burning fire on the altar. This naturally relates to the offering of animals and grains in penitence and repentance, in order to ask for God's forgiveness and absolution.⁴¹ It also serves to significantly contrast the nature of humanity through the person of Isaiah with the holiness of God, which is

³⁹ There are a couple of references to angels flying (Daniel 9:21 & Revelation 14:6) but there is no description in either passage of the angels anatomically having wings.

⁴⁰ For a more detailed description of the angelic heavenly hierarchy see Chapter 3.

⁴¹ Oswalt questions whether the fire is from the incense altar or the altar of sacrifice but argues that the incense altar also had an atoning and purifying effect. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grand Rapids, 1986), 184.

emphasised by the recitation of the Trisagion by the seraphim. God's holiness is unique and beyond compare.⁴² A revelation then, within the vision, to God's holiness and humanity's sinfulness.⁴³ The coal from the altar transforms Isaiah, making him ritually clean and therefore able to converse, interact and associate with the heavenly realm. The coal also seems to enable Isaiah to hear God and to be sent out to spread God's message.

Another ritual purification ceremony which involves God, divine beings and an exalted human occurs in the fourth vision of Zechariah, where the angel⁴⁴ instructs 'those who were standing before him' (presumably other angelic or divine beings) to remove Joshua's filthy (צואים) clothes⁴⁵ and provide him with clean clothes instead. The angel states that this process removes Joshua's guilt. It also simultaneously enables the angel to give God's message to Joshua. It is a heavenly vision⁴⁶ of a liturgical act which, following the Babylonian Exile, reinstates Joshua as High Priest.⁴⁷ The 'festal apparel' (מהלצורה) is being

⁴² Goldingay, *Isaiah for Everyone*, 29.

⁴³ Witherington III, *Isaiah Old and New*, 74 and J.J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah*. ed., Peter Machinist. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: 1517 Media&Fortress Press, 2015), 95.

⁴⁴ In the ancient Syriac version of Zechariah 3:2 it is also the angel of the Lord who rebukes Satan, not God. John W. Rogerson, 'Zechariah,' in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible: Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, eds., John W. Rogerson and M. Daniel Carroll R. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grands Rapids, 2003), 42. Also, whether the personified fallen angel of Satan is meant here or the more general 'the accuser' is unclear. What is clear is that this figure was seen to be the prosecutor of Joshua within the heavenly courtroom. Smith notes the similarity between Zechariah 3 and Job 1 and 2. Ralph L. Smith, 'Zechariah,' in *Micah - Malachi: WBC 32* (Zondervan: Grands Rapids, 1984), 199.

⁴⁵ These clothes are often thought to be soiled or covered in excrement, due to the use of the Hebrew word (צוא). This word only appears in this form צואים in Zechariah but does appear as (צאה) in Deut 23:14 [Eng v.13], 2 Kgs 18:27 and Isa 28:8 where it relates to human waste. BDB, 844. The word used to emphatically state how ritually unclean Joshua is upon his return from exile and also to highlight perhaps the suffering experienced in exile.

⁴⁶ The vision seems to depict a heavenly courtroom, rather than a heavenly temple.

⁴⁷ Joshua is also mentioned in Ezra Nehemiah. There, though he is never given the title of High Priest, he is associated with the priesthood (Ezra 3:2) and as one of the first in exile to return to Jerusalem (Ezra 2); he is also identified as a son of Jozadak (Ezra 3:2), who was the last to hold the title of High Priest before the exile (2 Kings 25:18, 1 Chronicles 6:15, Jeremiah 52:24), James C. VanderKam, 'Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3,' in *CBQ* 53: 4 (1991):553.

used metaphorically to represent 'priestly renewal and reconsecration, appropriate for the rededicated temple.⁴⁸ This passage in Zechariah is symbolically using two dressing rituals associated with priests: the first being the robes for the investiture of the High Priest in Exodus 28-29 and 39 and the second being the garments worn on the Day of Atonement according to Leviticus 16.⁴⁹ Boda correctly observes that both of these texts have a connection with the removal of guilt, which is itself explicitly stated in Zechariah 3:⁵⁰ and it is this removal of guilt which allows Joshua to stand and minister before the presence of God. Joshua is described as being a [fire] 'brand plucked from the fire' אֹד מִצֵּל מֵאֵשׁ (Zechariah 3:2), an idea which also occurs in Amos 4:11, where the brand is 'snatched from the fire' כָּאוֹד מִצֵּל מִשֹּׁרֶפֶת and in Isaiah 7:4, where the 'firebrands are smouldering' הָאוֹדִים הָעֹשְׂנִים. The description of being a brand plucked from the fire is probably a metaphorical description of Joshua returning to Jerusalem as High Priest following the Babylonian Exile.⁵¹ In Zechariah 3:6-10, Joshua, after being cleaned and changed, is instructed in his role and promised that if he fulfills his duties and keeps the Lord's Commandments then he will have access to the divine beings standing around (בֵּין הָעֹמְדִים) the angel of the Lord in the heavenly courtroom. It is the angel of the Lord that gives Joshua his instructions, rather than God. This therefore shows a connection between priestly ministry, the heavenly realm and the angelic/divine beings.

⁴⁸ Rogerson, 'Zechariah,' 42.

⁴⁹ Vanderkam notes that it is an inference to these garments generically, rather than to a specific outfit.

'Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3,' 556.

⁵⁰ Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah: The New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids Michigan, 2016), 221.

⁵¹ VanderKam comments that the use of the word brand (אוֹד) is unusual in Biblical Hebrew, but:

resembles the name of the southern Babylonian city Ur from which Abram had come (Gen 11:28, 31: 15:7; Neh 9:2). In later versions of the Abram stories, this city-name, interpreted as the Hebrew word for "fire, flame"... In some later stories Joshua himself is said to have been rescued from a Babylonian furnace (C.f. Isaiah 31:9)

'Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3,' 556.

This passage in Zechariah 3 does not provide enough evidence itself to determine that priestly ministry was understood as involving fellowship with angels in worship, either prior to, or during the Second Temple period.⁵² However, fragments of Zechariah 3 were discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q80/4QXii^e) and were found in the same cave as most of the *Shirot* fragments, indicating that both texts were known to the Yahad. There is no evidence, though, to support the claim that Zechariah influenced the development of the *Shirot*. However, Zechariah 3 does signify the importance of a purified priesthood in connection with a divine community and as this thesis will show in Chapters 3 and 4, the *Shirot* focus on angels functioning as priests in a heavenly temple, while the Yahad believe that they need to be perfect in order to join in with the angels in worship. In *Jubilees* 32 Jacob puts priestly clothes on Levi and ordains him for the priesthood after Levi's dream calling him into the priesthood. Jacob also calculates (by counting backwards) that, as his tenth son, Levi is part of the tithe to be offered to God, as part of Jacob's vow to return to God a tenth of what he receives.⁵³ By contrast, in the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD), it is angels that anoint Levi in the investiture ceremony.⁵⁴ In fact, seven angels descend from heaven to earth to complete the ceremony (*ALD* 4:11-12).⁵⁵

⁵² Newsom also notes this in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 67.

⁵³ James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, JSJSup156. (Leiden; Brill 2012.), 152.

⁵⁴ It has been highly debated as to whether the text of *ALD* contains one or two visions at this point. See Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*. SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Kugel *A Walk through Jubilees*, 354-357; Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi. Early Judaism and its Literature*; No. 9. (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996.), 154-155; Cana Werman. "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period." *DSD* 4, no. 2 (1997), 211-25.

⁵⁵ For *ALD* see Greenfield, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 68, 69, 144 & 145.

Further, the purification element of Joshua as High Priest in Zechariah 3 is also

comparable with the purification of the priesthood within Malachi 3:

Malachi 3:1-3

הַנְּגִי שְׁלַח מַלְאָכִי וּפְנֵה-דָרָךְ לִפְנֵי וּפְתָאם יָבֹא אֱלֹהֵיכֶלּוּ הָאֲדֹנָן | אֲשֶׁר-אַתֶּם מְבַקְשִׁים וּמִלְאָךְ הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר-
 אַתֶּם חֹפְצִים הַנְּהַיְכָא אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
 וַיְמִי מְכַלְפֵּל אֶת-יָוִם בּוֹאוֹ וַיְמִי הָעֹמֵד בְּהַרְאוֹתָו כִּי-הוּא כָּאֵשׁ מְצַרֵּף וּכְבָרִית מְכַבְּסִים:
 וַיֵּשֶׁב מְצַרֵּף וּמְטַהֵר כְּסֹף וְטָהַר אֶת-בְּנֵי-לְוִי וְזָקַק אֹתָם כַּנְּהַב וְהָיוּ לִיהוָה מְגִישֵׁי מִנְחָה בְּצִדְקָה:

See, I am sending my messenger to prepare the way before me, and the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to his temple. The messenger of the covenant in whom you delight—indeed, he is coming, says the LORD of hosts. But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner’s fire and like fullers’ soap; he will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he will purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, until they present offerings to the LORD in righteousness.

The difficulty with Malachi 3 is the ambiguity present within the text. Who is 'the messenger which prepares the way' and is this the same being as the messenger of the covenant? Are these manifestations of the Lord or separate beings? Are these beings divine or human? Various suggestions have been made including that the messenger is the prophet Malachi himself, or an ideal figure, such as Elijah. Another suggestion for the identity of this messenger (if human) is John the Baptist.⁵⁶ If divine, the messenger is thought by some scholars to be the Messiah;⁵⁷ others believe the messenger, if divine, is actually similar to the 'angel of the Lord,' due to the similarity of the text in this passage of Malachi and the text of Exodus 23:20:⁵⁸

⁵⁶ This comparison was already made in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 11:10, Mark 1:2, Luke 7:27). See also Anthony R. Petterson, 'The Identity of "The Messenger of the Covenant" in Malachi 3:1-Lexical and Rhetorical Analyses,' *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 29, no. 3 (2019):290-293; Richard M. Blaylock, 'My Messenger, the Lord, and the Messenger of the Covenant: Malachi 3:1 Revisited,' *SBJT* 20 (2016): 84-85.

⁵⁷ Andrew S. Malone, 'Is the Messiah Announced in Malachi 3:1?' *TynBul* 57 (2006): 215-28.

⁵⁸ For an overview of the scholarship see S. D. Snyman, 'Once Again: Investigating the Three Figures Mentioned in Malachi 3:1,' *Verbum et Ecclesia* 27 (2006):1031-44; Petterson, 'The Identity of "The Messenger of the Covenant" in Malachi 3:1-Lexical and Rhetorical Analyses,' 277-93; Blaylock, 'My

הִנֵּה אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מִלְאָךְ לְפָנֶיךָ לְשָׁמְרֶךָ בַּדֶּרֶךְ וְלְהַבְרִיאָךְ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הִכְנַתִּי:

I am going to send an angel in front of you, to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place that I have prepared.

However, as this thesis will explain in Chapter 3, the 'angel of the Lord' developed from being a manifestation of the Lord into a personified, identifiable being. Given therefore, the post-exilic dating of the text of Malachi,⁵⁹ it is more likely that the 'messenger' would have been perceived to be a specific divine being, possibly even an archangel, rather than a manifestation of God, if the 'messenger' was believed to be angelic. Furthermore, if the messengers are seen as being two individuals rather than the same being with two different names ('the messenger who prepares the way' and 'the messenger of the covenant') there is no reason why one of the messengers can not be angelic and the other human, rather than them both being human or both being divine. There has also been a suggestion that all three are the same being with most scholars identifying יהוה as האדון.⁶⁰

יהוה will 'suddenly enter the Temple', a post-exilic contrast to Ezekiel 10, where the Lord's Glory leaves the Temple when Jerusalem goes into Exile. This passage in Malachi is describing a purifying ritual on the 'Sons of Levi,' to refine them like gold and silver, so that they will once again be like the Levites of Israel's past. The priesthood is being re-

Messenger, the Lord, and the Messenger of the Covenant: Malachi 3:1 Revisited,' 69-95; Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25D (London: Doubleday, 1998), 269; Karl W. Weyde, *Prophecy and Teaching: Prophetic Authority, Form Problems, and the Use of Traditions in the Book of Malachi* BZAW 288 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 284 - 291; David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9-14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1995), 209.

⁵⁹ There is a range of differing scholarly views as to the dating of the text. Mignon R. Jacobs, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 2017), 132-133.

⁶⁰ Snyman, 'Once Again,' 1033-1037.

established and divinely sanctioned, in order to enable the function of the priesthood in the Second Temple. This is just like Joshua being purified to enable him to function as High Priest in Zechariah 3. There is also a connection between God, a messenger and the purifying element of a fire; a link which will be discussed later in this chapter, but which is already clearly evident in Isaiah 6, Zechariah 3 and Malachi 3. Consequently, therefore, after focussing more on the role of seraphim and their connection with fire, this chapter will continue to investigate the connection within scriptural texts between God, divine beings and fire.

1.2 SERAPHIM AND CHERUBIM

While the messenger(s) of Malachi 3 is/are ambiguous, the divine beings in Isaiah 6 are clearly described. The word 'seraphim' is thought to derive from the word שרף which is associated with 'fire' or 'burning'.⁶¹ In other passages from Isaiah (14:29 and 30:6) the seraph are referred to as flying seraph and appear to be connected with a species of snake or serpent. (שרף מעופף). Indeed, שרף is a term which is used in connection with snakes and serpents throughout the Hebrew Bible.⁶² Depictions of serpents were a common form of iconography and serpents were associated with royalty and divinity throughout the Ancient Near East (ANE). The concept is thought to originate in Egypt, where the cobra or Uraeus was used on Pharaoh's headdress as 'a protective spirit to ward off evil'.⁶³ This, however, raises the question of why God would have winged serpents worshipping him in the Holy

⁶¹ Ross G. Murison, 'The Serpent in the Old Testament,' *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 21: 2 (1905), 121; Witherington III, *Isaiah Old and New*, 74. Roberts notes that reference to the word for burning comes from a later tradition than the comparison with a serpentine dragon. J.J.M Roberts, *First Isaiah*, ed. Peter Machinist. Hermeneia Series (1517 Media and Fortress Press, 2015), 97. *JSTOR* <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvgs0919>. Accessed 12 December 2022.

⁶² For a survey see Murison, 'The Serpent in the Old Testament,' 115-130.

⁶³ Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 96.

of Holies? After all, is the snake not synonymous with the tempter of humanity in the Garden of Eden?⁶⁴

I believe the answer may be provided by looking at ancient Mesopotamian mythology, in which a serpent-like dragon (which Van Buren terms an ophidian) was believed to serve and worship in subservience, a particular deity.⁶⁵ This dragon had the head of a snake and the body of a serpent, with the earliest versions looking like a lizard such as the Komodo Dragon rather than a snake.⁶⁶ There are הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשָּׂרָפִים 'fiery serpents' (which are under God's control) mentioned in other scriptural passages, including Numbers 21:6, Numbers 21:8 and Deuteronomy 8:15. Their fiery appearance makes them the perfect species of divine being to pluck a piece of coal from the fire and place it against Isaiah's lips. The nature of this fire will be analysed later in the chapter.

Here it is also important to mention that a second dragon depiction is described by Van Buren, this time of a winged dragon which was part lion and part bird of prey (which Van Buren terms a leonine dragon⁶⁷) and, significantly, neither of these dragons was associated with evil or thought to be malevolent towards humanity.

⁶⁴ Roberts suggests, however, that the seraph are actually protecting themselves from God's glory and divinity, rather than warding off evil spirits on God's behalf. They reinforce God's holiness and sacredness against all which is profane or unclean. Hence, the seraphim covering their faces and their feet (or genitals) See discussion above. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 97.

⁶⁵ See E. Douglas Van Buren, 'The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia' *Nova Series* 15 GBPress (1946): 2. Although now dated, this article still provides prolific archeologic data concerning the development of traditions concerning dragons in the ANE.

⁶⁶ Van Buren, 'The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia,' 13.

⁶⁷ Van Buren, 'The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia,' 9.

This second dragon is, of course, similar to the depiction of two of the heads of the four living creatures from Ezekiel, which are themselves synonymous with the cherubim (Ez. 10:15). I do not believe that it is coincidental that the seraphim are thought to resemble the ophidian dragon nor that there is a similarity between the cherubim and the leonine dragon. The seraphim are only named (in the plural) in Isaiah 6, an eighth-century text written around the time of the Assyrian invasion, whereas the cherubim are described in Ezekiel, a sixth century text written around the time of the Babylonian Exile. It is evident from Van Buren's article that while both depictions of dragons existed, the ophidian dragon was more popular in earlier time periods, the leonine dragon being more popular in and being established by, the time of the Babylonian Exile. It is, perhaps, not surprising then, that Isaiah sees seraphim flying around and worshipping God, yet Ezekiel sees cherubim in the heavenly throne room. Each prophet is speaking into the more mainstream religious symbolism of their time period.⁶⁸

Within Ancient Near Eastern mythology, it was also common in depictions on seals for God's to be seen standing on a dragon's back, or for dragons to be seen as the seat (chair) or footstool of a deity.⁶⁹ Cherubim are given this function in other scriptural passages (c.f 1 Samuel 4:4; 2 Samuel: 6:2; Psalm 80:1; Psalm 99:1). Comparatively, in other passages God is seen as being enthroned above the cherubim (c.f 2 Kings 19:15; 1Chronicles 13:6; Isaiah 37:16;) In two more passages, God is described as flying on a cherub (c.f 2 Samuel 22:11; Psalm 18:10).

⁶⁸ Roberts comments on how it was during the eighth century and the early part of the seventh century B.C.E that flying serpents were best represented in Judean Iconography. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 97.

⁶⁹ Van Buren, 'The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia,' 1-45.

Both the seraphim and cherubim are associated with fire and in each of Isaiah's and

Ezekiel's visions are mentioned in the context of burning coals and fire on an altar.

Ezekiel 10:1-7:

וַאֲרָאָה וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵי הַקִּיַּיעַ אֲשֶׁר עַל־רֹאשׁ הַכְּרֻבִים כְּאֶבֶן סַפִּיר כְּמִרְאֵה דְמוּת כֶּסֶף נִרְאָה עֲלֵיהֶם:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי אִישׁ | לִבְשׁ הַבְּדִים וַיֹּאמֶר בֹּא אֶל־בֵּינֹת לַגִּלְגָּל אֶל־תַּחַת לְכְרוֹב וּמִלֵּא חֲפָנֶיךָ גִּחְלֵי־אֵשׁ מִבֵּינֹת
 לְכְרֻבִים וְזָרַק עַל־הָעִיר וַיָּבֵא לְעֵינָי:
 וְהַכְּרֻבִים עֲמָדִים מִימֵי לַבַּיִת בָּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ וְהֵעֵגוּ מִלֵּא אֶת־הַחֲצָר הַפְּנִימִית:
 וַיֵּרָם כְּבוֹד־יְהוָה מֵעַל הַכְּרוֹב עַל מַפְתָּן הַבַּיִת וַיִּמְלֵא הַבַּיִת אֶת־הָעֵנָן וְהַחֲצָר מִלֵּא אֶת־גִּבְהַת כְּבוֹד יְהוָה:
 וְקוֹל כְּפָנֵי הַכְּרוֹבִים נִשְׁמָע עַד־הַחֲצָר הַחִיצוֹנָה כְּקוֹל אֱלֹהֵי בְדָבָרוֹ:
 וַיְהִי בְּצִוְתוֹ אֶת־הָאִישׁ לִבְשׁ־הַבְּדִים לֵאמֹר קַח אֵשׁ מִבֵּינֹת לַגִּלְגָּל מִבֵּינֹת לְכְרוֹבִים וַיָּבֵא וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶצְלֵ הָאוֹפֶן:
 וַיִּשְׁלַח הַכְּרוֹב אֶת־יָדוֹ מִבֵּינֹת לְכְרוֹבִים אֶל־הָאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר בֵּינֹת הַכְּרֻבִים וַיִּשָּׂא וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־חֲפָנֵי לִבְשׁ הַבְּדִים וַיִּקַּח
 וַיֵּצֵא:

Then I looked, and above the dome that was over the heads of the cherubim there appeared above them something like a sapphire, in form resembling a throne. He said to the man clothed in linen, "Go within the wheelwork underneath the cherubim; fill your hands with burning coals from among the cherubim, and scatter them over the city." He went in as I looked on. Now the cherubim were standing on the south side of the house when the man went in; and a cloud filled the inner court. Then the glory of the LORD rose up from the cherub to the threshold of the house; the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the glory of the LORD. The sound of the wings of the cherubim was heard as far as the outer court, like the voice of God Almighty when he speaks. When he commanded the man clothed in linen, "Take fire from within the wheelwork, from among the cherubim," he went in and stood beside a wheel. And a cherub stretched out his hand from among the cherubim to the fire that was among the cherubim, took some of it and put it into the hands of the man clothed in linen, who took it and went out.

Just as the seraphim touch Isaiah's mouth with a coal, the cherubim hand some flaming coals to a man dressed in linen. After the man leaves, God's Glory leaves the Temple (Ezekiel 10: 10-18). The Glory of God leaving the Temple in Ezekiel 10 is poignant, it is meant to be reminiscent of, and in direct opposition to, Solomon's Temple dedication ceremony in 2 Chronicles 7:1 when God's Glory entered the Temple as fire from heaven and consumed the offering on the altar. The Temple is then subsequently filled with God's

Glory. For the Glory of God to now be leaving the Temple after the coals have been removed from the altar in the book of Ezekiel is significant, since it marks the Babylonians' total and utter destruction of Jerusalem and their victory in war. This fire, then, on which burnt offerings and animal sacrifices would have been made, is clearly seen as creating a liminal space between heaven and earth. When the coals are removed, this link between humanity and the divine is lost and God (along with the cherubim), is believed to have physically left the Temple.

1.3 ANGELS, FIRE AND ANIMAL SACRIFICE

The worship and praise of God by the seraphim provide the only example of recorded liturgical words used by divine beings in scripture. However, there are two scriptural accounts which in turn, describe two separate liturgical events that include angels. Both occur in Judges and both focus on angels and the offering of a sacrifice.

Account number 1: Judges 6:11- 24

וַיֵּבֵא מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶפְרָה אֲשֶׁר לְיוֹאָשׁ אֲבִי הַעֲזָרִי וַגִּדְעוֹן בְּנוֹ חֲבֹט חֲטִימִים בַּגֹּת לְהִגִּים מִפְּנֵי מִדְּבָרֵי:
 וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהֵי מַלְאָךְ וַהֲגִה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה עֲמֹךָ גִּבּוֹר הַחַיִּל:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו גִּדְעוֹן בֶּן אֲדָנִי וַיֵּשׁ יְהוָה עִמָּנוּ וְלָמָּה מִצְּאֵתָנוּ כְּלִי-זָאת^a וְאַיִהּ כְּלִי-נִפְלְאוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר סָפְרוּ-לָנוּ אַבּוֹתֵינוּ לֵאמֹר הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם הֶעֱלָנוּ יְהוָה וְעַתָּה נִטְשָׁנוּ יְהוָה וַיִּתְּנֵנוּ^b בְּכַף-מִדְּבָרֵינוּ:
 וַיִּפֶן אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר לָךְ בְּכַחֲשֶׁךָ זֶה וְהוֹשַׁעְתָּ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכַּף מִדְּבָרֵינוּ הֲלֹא שָׁלַחְתִּיךָ:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו בֶּן אֲדָנִי בְּמָה אוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנֵּה אֵלַי הִדַּל בְּמִנְשָׁה וְאַנְכִי הִצַּעִיר בְּבֵית אֲבִי:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה כִּי אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ^a וְהִפִּיתָ אֶת-מִדְּבָרֵינוּ כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד:
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אִם-גָּא מִצְּאֵתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְעֲשִׂיתָ לִּי אוֹת שְׂאֵתָה מִדְּבַר עַמִּי: אֵל-נָא תִמַּשׁ מִזֶּה עַד-בָּאֵי אֵלָיךָ וְהִצַּאתִי אֶת-מִנְחָתִי וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֲשַׁב עַד שׁוֹבֶךָ:
 וַגִּדְעוֹן כָּאֵל וַיַּעַשׂ גְּדִיעֵזִים וְאִפְתַּקְמַח מִצּוֹת הַבָּשָׂר עִמָּם בְּסֹלֶת וְהִמְרַק עִמָּם בְּפָרֹר וַיּוֹצֵא אֵלָיו אֶל-תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּגַּשׁ:^ס
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו מַלְאָךְ הָאֵלֹהִים קַח אֶת-הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת-הַמִּצּוֹת וְהַנַּח אֶל-הַסֶּלַע הַלְזוֹ וְאֶת-הַמְרַק שְׂפֹךְ וַיַּעַשׂ כֵּן:
 וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֶת-קַמְצָה הַמְשַׁעֲנֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ וַיִּגַע בְּבָשָׂר וּבַמִּצּוֹת וַתַּעַל הָאֵשׁ מִן-הַצּוֹר וַתֹּאכַל אֶת-הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת-הַמִּצּוֹת וּמַלְאָךְ יְהוָה הִלֵּךְ מֵעֵינָיו:
 וַיִּרְא גִדְעוֹן כִּי-מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה הוּא^ס וַיֹּאמֶר גִּדְעוֹן אֶהְיֶה אֲדָנִי יְהוָה כִּי-עַל-כֵּן רָאִיתִי מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים:
 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה שְׁלוֹם לָךְ אֶל-תִּירָא לֹא תָמוּת:

וַיָּבֹרֶשׁ אֱלֹהִים גִּדְעוֹן מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה וַיִּקְרָא-לוֹ יְהוָה שְׁלֹמֹם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עוֹדֵנוּ בְּעֵפְרַת ^a אַבְי הַעֲזָרִי: פ

Now the angel of the LORD came and sat under the oak at Ophrah, which belonged to Joash the Abiezrite, as his son Gideon was beating out wheat in the wine press, to hide it from the Midianites. The angel of the LORD appeared to him and said to him, “The LORD is with you, you mighty warrior.” Gideon answered him, “But sir, if the LORD is with us, why then has all this happened to us? And where are all his wonderful deeds that our ancestors recounted to us, saying, ‘Did not the LORD bring us up from Egypt?’ But now the LORD has cast us off, and given us into the hand of Midian.” Then the LORD turned to him and said, “Go in this might of yours and deliver Israel from the hand of Midian; I hereby commission you.” He responded, “But sir, how can I deliver Israel? My clan is the weakest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my family.” The LORD said to him, “But I will be with you, and you shall strike down the Midianites, every one of them.” Then he said to him, “If now I have found favour with you, then show me a sign that it is you who speak with me. Do not depart from here until I come to you, and bring out my present, and set it before you.” And he said, “I will stay until you return.” So Gideon went into his house and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour; the meat he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot, and brought them to him under the oak and presented them. The angel of God said to him, “Take the meat and the unleavened cakes, and put them on this rock, and pour out the broth.” And he did so. Then the angel of the LORD reached out the tip of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the meat and the unleavened cakes; and fire sprang up from the rock and consumed the meat and the unleavened cakes; and the angel of the LORD vanished from his sight. Then Gideon perceived that it was the angel of the LORD; and Gideon said, “Help me, Lord GOD! For I have seen the angel of the LORD face to face.” But the LORD said to him, “Peace be to you; do not fear, you shall not die.” Then Gideon built an altar there to the LORD, and called it, The LORD is peace. To this day it still stands at Ophrah, which belongs to the Abiezrites.

Account number 2: Judges 13: 15-24

וַיֹּאמֶר מְנוּחַ אֶל-מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה בַּעֲצָרָה-גַּא אוֹתָהּ וַנַּעֲשֶׂה לְפָנֶיהָ גְדֵי עֲזִים :
 וַיֹּאמֶר מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה אֶל-מְנוּחַ אִם-תַּעֲצֹרְנִי לֹא-אֶכֶל בְּלֶחְמֶךָ וְאִם-תַּעֲשֶׂה עֲלֶיהָ לַיהוָה תַּעֲלֶנָּה כִּי לֹא-יִדַע מְנוּחַ כִּי-
 מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה הוּא :
 וַיֹּאמֶר מְנוּחַ אֶל-מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה מִי שְׁמֶךָ כִּי-יָבֵא דְבָרֶיךָ וְכַבְּדֶנּוּךָ :
 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה לְמָה זֶה תִּשְׁאַל לִשְׁמִי וְהוּא-פָלְאִי: ס
 וַיִּקַּח מְנוּחַ אֶת-גְּדֵי הָעֲזִים וְאֶת-הַמְּנִחָה וַיַּעַל עַל-הָעֹר לַיהוָה וּמִפְּלֵא לַעֲשׂוֹת וּמְנוּחַ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ רָאִים :
 וַיְהִי בַעֲלוֹת הַלַּיְלָה מַעַל הַמְּזִבֵּחַ הַשְּׂמִימָה וַיַּעַל מְלָאֲכֵי-יְהוָה בְּלֶהֱב הַמְּזִבֵּחַ וּמְנוּחַ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ רָאִים וַיִּפְּלוּ עַל-פְּנֵיהֶם
 אַרְצָה :
 וְלֹא-נִסַּף עוֹד מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה לַהֲרָאָה אֶל-מְנוּחַ וְאֶל-אִשְׁתּוֹ אַז יָדַע מְנוּחַ כִּי-מְלָאֲכֵי יְהוָה הוּא :
 וַיֹּאמֶר מְנוּחַ אֶל-אִשְׁתּוֹ מוֹת נָמוּת כִּי אֵלֵהֶם רְאִינוּ :

וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִשְׁתּוֹ לֹא תִפֶּיץ יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתָנוּ לֹא-לֶקַח מִיְדָנוּ עֲלֵה וּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הִרְאָנוּ אֶת-כָּל-אֱלֹהִים וְכַעֲת לֹא הִשְׁמִיעֵנוּ
 כָּזָאת:
 וַתֵּלֶד הָאִשָּׁה בֵּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת-שְׁמוֹ שְׁמִשׁוֹן וַיִּגְדֵּל הַנְּעָר וַיִּכְרַמְהוּ יְהוָה:

Manoah said to the angel of the LORD, “Allow us to detain you, and prepare a kid for you.”

The angel of the LORD said to Manoah, “If you detain me, I will not eat your food; but if you want to prepare a burnt offering, then offer it to the LORD.” (For Manoah did not know that he was the angel of the LORD.)

Then Manoah said to the angel of the LORD, “What is your name, so that we may honour you when your words come true?”

But the angel of the LORD said to him, “Why do you ask my name? It is too wonderful.”

So Manoah took the kid with the grain offering, and offered it on the rock to the LORD, to him who works wonders.

When the flame went up toward heaven from the altar, the angel of the LORD ascended in the flame of the altar while Manoah and his wife looked on; and they fell on their faces to the ground.

The angel of the LORD did not appear again to Manoah and his wife. Then Manoah realized that it was the angel of the LORD.

And Manoah said to his wife, “We shall surely die, for we have seen God.”

But his wife said to him, “If the LORD had meant to kill us, he would not have accepted a burnt offering and a grain offering at our hands, or shown us all these things, or now announced to us such things as these.”

The woman bore a son, and named him Samson. The boy grew, and the LORD blessed him.

These two passages from Judges are very similar and so lend themselves to comparison. In both passages the angel appears unexpectedly and neither Gideon nor Manoah realize with whom they are conversing until the angel disappears. Both Gideon and Manoah recognize the angel as a manifestation of the Lord and panic that they are going to die since they have seen God face to face. In the Gideon account, it is God himself who responds to Gideon when he cries out in fear and panic, assuring Gideon that he shall not die. Manoah also voices a similar fear, once again acknowledging the angel who has been with him as a manifestation of God. This time however, it is his wife who is the voice of reason. The understanding in both of these narratives of the angel being a representation and manifestation of God implies that it is an early text in the development and thinking

around angelology, since the figure in the text is not identified as a personified figure with a name such as Michael or Gabriel. There is also still a strong connection with the angel being 'the angel of the Lord,' in the same way as 'the angel of the Lord' went in front of the Israelites as they wandered in the desert during the Exodus from Egypt.

It is obvious from reading both of the texts above that these two accounts are extremely similar, although when we compare the narratives there is one rather large difference: Manoah and his wife act as instructed, whereas Gideon does not. In fact, Gideon puts God to the test on another two occasions (after this account), with the sign of the fleece (Judges 6:36-40). Little is said about the angel in either text. In fact, as far as I am aware, the importance of the angel in this narrative has largely been ignored or overlooked within scholarship.

I would therefore now like to focus in more detail on the angelic nature of these accounts. In the first account, Gideon is bringing food out to his visitor, both showing and sharing hospitality. The angel turns Gideon's offering of food to him into a burnt offering. The angel creates the fire to consume the food, then vanishes. In the Manoah narrative, Manoah also offers hospitality to the angel, but this time the angel refuses politely and asks instead that Manoah proffers a burnt offering to God. Manoah does so and when the flame is blazing on the altar both Manoah and his wife see the angel ascend to heaven in the flame. The Manoah narrative is more detailed and in the Gideon narrative the angel is not seen ascending to heaven but simply vanishes. In both accounts however, the angel disappears when a burnt offering is offered and the fire upon which the offering is to be made is crucial in both accounts. The fact that the angel uses the flames of the sacrifice to ascend

to heaven, supports my theory that an altar fire was believed to create a liminal space between heaven and earth: a space where angels could ascend (and also possibly descend?),⁷⁰ and where humanity and the divine could come together in worship.⁷¹

These passages in Judges suggest, however, that the idea of there being a connection between heaven and earth and between humanity and the divine, is prominent in the offering of sacrifices. The fire of the altar provides a means by which the angels could travel up to heaven after delivering a message from God. Although there is no evidence in either of these passages to suggest that angels could also use the flames of the fire to descend to earth, this is perhaps also a possibility. Unless, of course, the ascent of the flame with the sacrificial offering was considered so holy, ascending would be the only belief, as to descend would be to be going against the flame and potentially desecrating the sacrificial offering. What these passages from Judges do confirm though, is that the belief in an angelic connection when worshipping is not a new introduction or new belief when the offering of prayer is being used as a substitution for the offering of a sacrifice. Nor was it a belief solely held of the Yahad.⁷² It is a belief already founded in scripture within the context of sacrificial offering. The belief of an angelic connection in worship is therefore probably deliberately chosen by the Yahad to support the validity of prayer as a means of offering and to provide the same subconscious link in the worshipper's mind. It may also

⁷⁰ James L. Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretation of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: PUP, 2006), 9-35 esp. p.24.

⁷¹ In Chapter 4 of this thesis we will investigate the offering of a sacrifice in comparison with the offering of prayer. In fact, I would propose that this thesis as a whole, will show the importance of a liminal space, a space where humans and angels can come together and worship God.

⁷² See Chapters 3 and 4.

be a broadly political move, potentially making the use of prayer, rather than a sacrificial offering, more palatable and less problematic.⁷³

Prayer and sacrifice are connected in Daniel 9:21, in which the archangel Gabriel appears to Daniel whilst Daniel is in prayer at the time of the evening sacrifice. This verse then shows a correlation between prayer and sacrifice and supports the idea that prayer offered at the traditional times when a sacrifice would have been offered is a suitable and adequate substitute for a sacrifice.

The question of angels⁷⁴ ascending and possibly descending, naturally reminds one of Jacob's ladder in Genesis 28, in which Jacob sees angels ascending and descending on a ladder or stairway. The narrative of Jacob's ladder is important because in his vision, Jacob sees a liminal space created between heaven and earth which angels can use freely, to go between one realm and the other. This provides evidence for the idea that angels could freely travel between heaven and earth, linking God and humanity and acting as a conduit between the two.

It is often believed that it is a ladder/staircase upon which the angels are ascending and descending in Genesis 28. However, the Hebrew is unclear as to whether the angels are

⁷³ There is a complicated relationship between prayer and sacrifice. Scholarship regarding sacrifice at Qumran is also complex. For a discussion of this issue, see Chapter 4.

⁷⁴ Camilla Hélena von Heijne suggests that the מלאכי אלהים in Genesis 28:12 could be synonymous with the Sons of God mentioned in Job 1:6 and 2:1, but it is perhaps more likely that these are meant to be the same Sons of God who appear in Genesis 6 and so were actually the angels which fell alongside Satan, who in Job, also appears in the heavenly realm. See Camilla Hélena von Heijne, *The Messenger of the Lord in Early Jewish Interpretations of Genesis*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2010), 75.

ascending and descending on the ladder or upon Jacob in his dream (as the suffix $\text{נ} \text{ו}$ is used which could refer to either). As VanderKam has noted, both the Latin and Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* remove any ambiguity and use feminine suffixes, indicating that it is the ladder upon which the angels are ascending and descending.⁷⁵

The uncertainty of the Hebrew in Genesis 28 as to whether the angels are ascending and descending on the ladder or upon Jacob in his dream, is debated in Genesis Rabbah 68:12,13,14. Rabbi Abuhu discounts the fact that the angels could be ascending and descending on Jacob because 'the words of dreams do not ascend and do not descend.' Bar Kapra advances the discussion by arguing that all dreams are interpretable and that Jacob's dream can be understood in the following manner:

Bar Kapra taught: There is no dream that does not have an interpretation. Behold a ladder, this is a sheep. Placed on the earth, that is the altar (Exodus 20), Make me an altar of earth. And its head reaches the heavens, those are the offerings, whose scent rises to the heavens. And behold the angels of God, those are the High Priests. Rising and descending on it, that rise and descend with a sheep. And behold God is standing on it, (Amos 9): I have seen God standing on the altar. The rabbis interpret it as Sinai: He dreamed and behold there was a ladder, that is Sinai. Resting on the ground, (Exodus 19) and they stood at the bottom of the mountain. And its head reached the heavens, (Deuteronomy 4) And the mountain burned with fire unto the heart of heavens.....

Genesis Rabbah 68:12,13,14⁷⁶

In Genesis Rabbah then, there is a clear explanation of a belief that angels (as God's High Priests) could use the offering of an animal sacrifice to both descend from and ascend to heaven. God remains in heaven. Further, the theophany of Sinai is connected with the act

⁷⁵ VanderKam also comments that the position of God in the Hebrew could either be at the top of the ladder or over Jacob, again the Latin and Ethiopic versions of *Jubilees* clarify God's position as being at the top of the ladder. James C. VanderKam 'Jubilees 27' in *Jubilees 22-50: Hermeneia A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2018), 768.

⁷⁶ Bereishit Rabbah 68 Translation from: https://www.sefaria.org/Bereishit_Rabbah.68.13?lang=bi.

of a burnt offering on an altar and the mountain of Sinai is believed to have burned up to the heavens allowing both God and the angels of God to be present at Sinai. Thus constituting a truly liminal space; an intersection between earth and heaven. The fact that angels are believed to be ascending and descending on the ladder, which is synonymous with the sheep - the sheep itself representing a general sacrificial offering - also implies that angels were believed to be able to travel in the material substance of the altar fire when a sacrificial offering was offered, rising with the incense and descending to the coals.

James Kugel has investigated the function of the ladder in Jacob's dream⁷⁷ and the reason why the angels are descending and ascending. He has described three different theories including 'changing of the guard',⁷⁸ 'exiled angels'⁷⁹ and 'angels descending to admire Jacob'.⁸⁰ Kugel continues by analysing a short pseudepigraphal text called the *Ladder of Jacob* (Kugel notes this text is only known from the medieval Slavonic *Tolkovaya Paleya*,⁸¹ which adapts the scriptural narrative in an unusual way.) One of these adaptations however, portrays God as a face of fire; or at least the face of fire is (in this narrative) where God is in the scriptural narrative (at the top of the ladder).⁸² This text once again connects a human with fire, angels and the divine.

⁷⁷ Walters suggests that the ladder may be 'a symbol of the accessibility of God's help and presence, a theme distinctive to the Jacob stories.' See S. D. Walter, 'Jacob Narrative,' in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary III*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 602 and H elena von Heijne, *The Messenger of the Lord in Early Jewish Interpretations of Genesis*, ft note 114, p. 75.

⁷⁸ Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob*, 18-19.

⁷⁹ Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob*, 19-20.

⁸⁰ Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob*, 21-23. Of course, another possible function of the ladder or stairway in Genesis 28 is that the angels were using it to either go to or return from delivering messages to humans on behalf of God. See H elena von Heijne, *The Messenger of the Lord in Early Jewish Interpretations of Genesis*, ft note 111, p.74.

⁸¹ Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob*, 25-30.

⁸² Some versions of Genesis 28 have God standing beside Jacob as he dreams.

This depiction of fire, angels and God is also found in the text of Revelation, in which an angel is described thus: 'Then another angel came out from the altar, the angel who had authority over fire' (Revelation. 14:18). This indicates that, by the end of the first century, there was a belief that there was at least one angel who had a connection with fire. This belief was probably founded on the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament passages discussed this far, although an 'angel of fire' is not explicitly mentioned in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. As explained above however, the passages in Judges 6 and 13, Ezekiel 10 and Isaiah 6 all contain a heavenly being - be it an angel, cherub or seraph - which has some connection with fire.

The face of fire in the *Ladder of Jacob* recalls the burning bush which God uses to speak with Moses in Exodus 3.⁸³ In Exodus 3, an angel's face appears in the fire first, before God replaces the angel and speaks directly to Moses. The angel therefore acts as an intermediary between heaven and earth, between God and Moses. The angel has to enter the liminal space first, before any communication between a human (Moses or Jacob) and God can occur. The angels on the ladder/stairway provide a similar function for Jacob in Genesis 28 as the angel in the fire does for Moses in Exodus 3. If viewed from this perspective, the angel which ascends in the fire of Gideon's offering in Judges not only

⁸³ Durham labels this a theophanic fire but believes that the angel and God are believed to be the 'same and single reality.' The angel, then, is a manifestation of God like 'the angel of the Lord' motif and not a being in its own right. Durham argues the same for Gen 18 and Judges 6. I believe the angel is acting as an intermediary, as explained in the text above. See John I. Durham, *Exodus* WBC 3 (Michigan: Zondervan/Thomas Nelson, 1987), 31. Also, in Exodus 3 God identifies himself as being the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob/Israel and tells Moses to remove his sandals because he is standing on Holy Ground. Therefore, like Jacob, Moses is unaware that he is in a holy place until his encounter with the divine.

provides a liminal space and place, but actually provides the very means of opening up communication with God, who remains in the heavenly realm.

In Genesis 28, when Jacob awakens from his dream, he identifies the place where he has been sleeping not only as Bethel (the House of God) but also as *שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם* 'the Gate of Heaven',⁸⁴ recognising not only the liminality of the place but also of the space. When Jacob returns to his native land in Genesis 32 this liminality is recognised once more.

Jacob fights with a stranger, described as a man but believed to be either an angel or God in human form. Jacob wrestles with the divine. There is here another encounter with the divine world, this time a physical, active encounter after the passive, observant one-sided description of the dream in Genesis 28. Jacob wrestling this figure also neatly ends this part of the narrative, for it concludes and completes the promise God gives to Jacob in his dream in Genesis 28: *וְהָיָה אֲנֹכִי עִמָּךְ וְשָׁמַרְתִּיךָ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-תֵּלֵךְ וְהִשְׁבַּתִּיךָ אֶל-הָאָדָמָה הַזֹּאת בִּי לֹא אֶעְזָבְךָ לְךָ וְהָיָה אֲנֹכִי עִמָּךְ וְשָׁמַרְתִּיךָ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-תֵּלֵךְ וְהִשְׁבַּתִּיךָ אֶל-הָאָדָמָה הַזֹּאת בִּי לֹא אֶעְזָבְךָ לְךָ* 'Know that I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you.'⁸⁵ The angels of God are mentioned as being with Jacob in Genesis 32:1 when he sets out from Laban's land and back towards his native land. In Genesis 32, God's promise of remaining with Jacob is fulfilled, as Jacob does return to the land; a fact which causes Jacob to wrestle with the divine. This is a metaphorical expression of a

⁸⁴ According to Sarna such beliefs were popular in the ANE. See Nahum M. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary Genesis* *בראשית*: The traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation Commentary by Nahum M. Sarna (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 199. See also Hélena von Heijne, *The Messenger of the Lord in Early Jewish Interpretations of Genesis*, ft note 118, p. 75.

⁸⁵ Equally God promises to send an angel to guide, lead and protect Moses, the angel of the Lord then later goes before Moses and the Israelites during the Exodus from Egypt.

spiritual fight perhaps, but it is nonetheless a very real, physical and difficult fight for Jacob.

Tigchelaar, in a very persuasive paper, has identified the seer in the Aramaic *New Jerusalem* text (11Q18) as being most probably Jacob.⁸⁶ The tradition which developed of Jacob as a visionary is based upon Genesis 28 and the 'exegesis of the scriptural text, and in part the transformation of earlier traditions.'⁸⁷ The vision of the ladder and the angels in Genesis 28 is interpreted as referring to the future of Jacob's descendants, whereas the literature discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls and in *Jubilees* suggests that Jacob's return to his homeland provided Jacob with another (non-scriptural) vision which enabled Jacob to see the new future eschatological temple and new city.⁸⁸ If Jacob is indeed the seer in the *New Jerusalem* text then the fact that Jacob didn't build a temple nor a sanctuary at Bethel (according to *Jubilees*) means that Jacob 'may have served as an example for those who did neither serve in the temple nor dwell at Jerusalem, but awaited an eschatological temple and New Jerusalem.'⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Tigchelaar's reasoning for the identification of Jacob is thorough and is informed by a variety of interpretative and investigative research. For his detailed discussion see Eibert Tigchelaar, 'The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*,' in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, eds., Anthony Hilhurst, Emile Puech and Eibert Tigchelaar. JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 257-270.

⁸⁷ Tigchelaar, 'The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*,' 267. See also Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob*.

⁸⁸ Tigchelaar, 'The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*,' 266 and 268.

⁸⁹ Tigchelaar, 'The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*,' 270.

1.3.1 ANGELS, FIRE AND PROTECTION

Another passage which associates a divine being with fire is Daniel 3 when Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego are thrown into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship the golden statue erected by King Nebuchadnezzar.

Daniel 3:24-30:

אָדוֹן נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מִלְכָּא תְּנֵה נְקָם בְּהַתְּבַהֲלָה עֲנָה וְאָמַר לְהַדְּבָרוֹהִי הֲלֹא גְבָרִין תְּלָתָא רְמִינָא לְגֹאזֵי נְנֹרָא מְכַפְתִּין
עֲנֵנוּ וְאָמְרִין לְמִלְכָּא יְצִיבָא מִלְכָּא:
עֲנָה וְאָמַר הָאֵלֹהִים חַזָּה גְבָרִין אַרְבַּעָה שְׂרִינֵן מִהַלְכִין בְּגֹאזֵי נְנֹרָא וְחָבַל לֹא־אֵיתִי בְּהוֹן וְרוּחַ דִּי רְבִיעֵי אֵי דְמָה
לְבַר־אֱלֹהִין: ס
בְּאִרְיוֹן קָרַב נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר לְתַרְעֵי אֲתוּן נְנֹרָא נְקַדְתָּא עֲנָה וְאָמַר שְׂדֵרָה מִישָׁה וְעַבְד־נְגֹו עַבְדוֹהִי דִי־אֱלֹהָא עֲלֵנָא פְּקוּ
וְאָתוּ בְּאִרְיוֹן גְּפָלִין שְׂדֵרָה מִישָׁה וְעַבְד־נְגֹו מִדְּגֹאזֵי נְנֹרָא:
וּמְתַכְּנָשִׁין אַחַשְׁדַּרְפַּנְזָא סְגִינָא וּפְתוּתָא וְהַדְּבָרִי מִלְכָּא חֲנִינוּ לְגַבְרֵי אֱלֹהִי דִי לֹא־שָׁלַט נְנֹרָא בְּגִשְׁמָהוֹן וּשְׁעָר
רְאֻשָׁהוֹן לֹא הִתְחַרְדּוּ וְסָרְבִלִיהוֹן לֹא שָׁגְוּ נְרִיחַ נֹוֹר לֹא עָדַת בְּהוֹן:
עֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר וְאָמַר בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵהוֹן דִי־שְׂדֵרָה מִישָׁה וְעַבְד־נְגֹו דִי־שָׁלַח מִלְּאֲכָה וְשִׁיב לְעַבְדוֹהִי דִי הִתְרַחֲצוּ עֲלוֹהִי
וּמִלַּת מִלְכָּא שְׂבִיר וַיִּתְּבוּ גְּשְׁמֵיהוֹן דִּי לֹא־יִפְלְחוּן וְלֹא־יִסְגְּדוּן לְכָל־אֱלֹהִי לְהוֹן לֹאֱלֹהֵהוֹן:
וּמִנִּי־שִׁים טַעַם דִּי־כָל־עַם אֱמָה וְלִשָׁן דִי־יִאֲמַר שְׁלָהּ עַל אֱלֹהֵהוֹן דִי־שְׂדֵרָה מִישָׁה וְעַבְד־נְגֹו הַדְּמִין יִתְעַבְדּוּ וּבִתְמָה
נְגִילִי יִשְׁתַּנֵּה פְּלִי־קַבֵּל דִּי לֹא אֵיתִי אֱלֹהִי אַחֲרֵוּ דִי־יִבְּלֵ לְהַצֵּלָה פְּדָנָה:
בְּאִרְיוֹן מִלְכָּא הִצְלַח לְשְׂדֵרָה מִישָׁה וְעַבְד־נְגֹו בְּמַדִּינַת בָּבֶל: פ
נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מִלְכָּא לְכָל־עַמְמַיָּא אֲמִיָּא וְלִשְׁנַיָּא דִי־דְאַרְיוֹן בְּכָל־אַרְעָא שְׁלַמְכוּן וּשְׁגָא:
אַתִּיָּא וְתַמְהֵיָּא דִי עַבְד־עַמִּי אֱלֹהָא עֲלֵנָא שְׁפַר קַדְמִי לְהַחֲנִיָּה:
אַתוּהִי כְּמָה רַבְרָבִין וְתַמְהוֹהִי כְּמָה תְּקִיפִין מְלְכוּתֵיהֶּ מְלְכוּתֵיהֶּ עֲלֵם וְשְׁלַטְנָה עַם־דֵּר וְדָר:

Then King Nebuchadnezzar was astonished and rose up quickly. He said to his counselors, “Was it not three men that we threw bound into the fire?” They answered the king, “True, O king.” He replied, “But I see four men unbound, walking in the middle of the fire, and they are not hurt; and the fourth has the appearance of a god.”

Nebuchadnezzar then approached the door of the furnace of blazing fire and said, “Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, servants of the Most High God, come out! Come here!” So Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego came out from the fire. And the satraps, the prefects, the governors, and the king’s counselors gathered together and saw that the fire had not had any power over the bodies of those men; the hair of their heads was not singed, their tunics were not harmed, and not even the smell of fire came from them. Nebuchadnezzar said, “Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who has sent his angel and delivered his servants who trusted in him. They disobeyed the king’s command and yielded up their bodies rather than serve and worship any god except their own God. Therefore I make a decree: Any people, nation, or language that utters blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego shall be torn limb from limb, and their houses

laid in ruins; for there is no other god who is able to deliver in this way.” Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the province of Babylon.

In this account in Daniel, the three men thrown into the fire are protected from being burnt by a 'fourth man' who has 'the appearance of a God,' or literally in Biblical Aramaic, 'the appearance of a son of the gods,' *וְרוּחַ דְּנִי רַב־יַעֲרִיא דְּמָתָה לְבַר־אַלְהָיִין*. Goldingay explains that to mean 'the Son of God' in Aramaic, the more emphatic *אלהיא* or *אלהא* would be needed. He then clarifies that the Biblical Aramaic meaning of *אלהיין* is not used elsewhere in the same way as the Biblical Hebrew *אלהים*.⁹⁰ There is, then, some ambiguity as to the identification of the 'fourth man' in the fire in Daniel 3. Jewish tradition has associated this being with Gabriel, who appears in both Daniel 8 and 9.⁹¹ In fact, later in the same passage (Daniel 3:28), Nebuchadnezzar identifies this being as God's angel (*מַלְאָכָה*), before announcing his belief in the most-high God. The ambiguity within this text exists because in one verse (Daniel 3:25) the figure in the fire is being identified as God whilst in another verse (Daniel 3:28) the figure is being identified as an angel, thereby creating the same ambiguity as appears in Exodus 3. Scholars often consider the angel in Exodus 3 to be an error, or a manifestation of God (rather than a divine being in its own right), in order to explain the presence of both figures in the fire conversing with Moses;⁹² but why can the angel not appear first then be replaced in the fire by God (i.e there are two separate beings). Why should both beings have to be the same? Of course, in Daniel 3 God is not

⁹⁰ John Goldingay, *Daniel Revised Edition*, WBC 30. (Zondervan Academic: Grand Rapids Michigan, 2019), 226. Michael Segal has argued that differences and divergences in divine epithets do not provide sufficient evidence to signify multiple authors or to 'determine separate sources'. See Michael Segal, 'From Joseph to Daniel: The Literary Development of the Narrative in Daniel 2. *Vetus Testamentum* 59 (2009):130. In Chapter 3 we will explore the concept of *אלהים* and will argue that the word can be used to refer both to angelic beings or to God.

⁹¹ Goldingay, *Daniel Revised Edition*, 227.

⁹² Goldingay suggests that the *מלאך* in Daniel 3 may actually mean 'God' himself. In the same way as Yahweh's *מלאך* means God in Exodus 3. Goldingay, *Daniel Revised Edition*, 235.

actually seen, as the divine being in the fire has protected and saved the three men in the same way as Moses is protected by the angel in the fire when he converses with God in Exodus 3. However, God is 'seen' in Daniel by Nebuchadnezzar, but not in any literal sense. The 'seeing' that occurs in Daniel is in the miracle which enables Nebuchadnezzar to recognise God as 'the Most-High God' (Daniel 4:1).

Additionally, in Genesis 48: 15-16 Jacob calls on 'the God before whom my ancestors Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who has been my shepherd all my life to this day, the angel who has redeemed me from all harm' to bless Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph's sons. This implies that in this passage in Genesis 48, the angel was viewed as a manifestation of God, rather than a divine being in its own right. However, in other scriptural passages angels are also called upon by humans to bless God, such as in Psalm 103:20-21, signifying, once again, a developing angelology. Angels are themselves never blessed, but always direct any blessing and thanks towards God just as we have seen in the two passages from Judges above. The ritual of blessing God is then associated with the offering of a sacrifice.

Next, there may be a connection between the fire in Daniel 3 and Daniel 7: 9- 10, in which God is described as sitting on a throne of 'fiery flames' with wheels of 'burning fire.' Verse 10 also states that 'A stream of fire issued and flowed out from his presence. A thousand thousand served him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood attending him.' In this vision of Daniel's therefore, God, fire and other divine beings (usually presumed to be angels) are all once again connected. Those serving and attending God provide a similar function to the angel in the bush mentioned in Exodus 3: they act as an intermediary or a

shield between God and Daniel. Daniel does not just view God, but view him in relation to fire and the divine thron. The *Jewish Study Bible* comments that here 'God is described in corporeal terms in the way that El is pictured in Canaanite myth,⁹³ once again showing a connection between the scriptural understanding of the divine throne room and that of wider ANE culture. An image of God and the divine throne room is being developed and re-developed using pictorial influences from surrounding cultures, in a similar way to the way that the ophidian and leonine dragons from Assyrian and Babylonian cultures developed into the cherubim and seraphim of Ezekiel 10 and Isaiah 6.

In an interesting parallel with Daniel 7, fire is also used within the liturgy of the *Shirot*. The imagery of a 'stream of fire' is used within the *Shirot* in *Shir* 12, although in the context of *Shir* 12 it seems to refer to the 'spirits of the holiest holiness,' appearing like a stream of fire, rather than streams of fire issuing forth from God's presence. The language used is also different from Daniel 7:10. In Daniel 7:10 the phrase used is נְהַר דֵּי־נֹר נִגְדַד whereas in *Shir* 12 (4Q405 20-21-22) it is מְרֵאֵי שְׁבוּלֵי אֵשׁ בְּדַמּוֹת חֶשְׁמֵל.⁹⁴

Newsom believes there is a similarity between *Shir* 12 and Ezekiel 1:27. She also notes that the word חֶשְׁמֵל in *Shir* 12 has a meaning closer to that used in Ezekiel, and simply refers to the 'bright shining quality of the glory of God,' rather than the later more mystical esoteric interpretation of the word.⁹⁵ Whilst Ezekiel 1 and 10 both include have references

⁹³ The Jewish Study Bible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), Kindle Edition, 1660.

⁹⁴ This sentence in *Shir* 12 is harder to translate. See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 315-316. 'Wings of knowledge' is reconstructed with certainty due to overlap between 11QShirShabb 3-4 and 4Q405 20 ii 21-22. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 303. Also, for more on the use of (דממה) דממה see Newsom *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 141.

⁹⁵ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 316.

to fire, there is no mention of a 'stream of fire.' Further, the references to the 'throne of glory' in the *Shirot* appear to depend strongly on Ezekiel 1 and 10. Also, the heavenly temple described in *Shirot 9-13* is heavily reminiscent of the temple described in Ezekiel 40-48. Indeed, Newsom writes the following:

The Sabbath *Shirot* are in no sense simply a commentary on Ezekiel 40-48. Many of the interests of the *Shirot* do not coincide with those of Ezekiel. The *Shirot* are not, for instance, concerned with the dimensions of the heavenly temple, with a complete account of all its chambers, or with the details of the legal material found in Ezekiel 40-48. What does concern the Sabbath *Shirot* is a description of the angels and their praise in the heavenly temple; and it appears that the author has selected and expanded those materials in Ezekiel which lend themselves to such an account. While the broken condition of the Sabbath songs makes it difficult to specify just how closely Ezekiel 40-48 served as a structural outline for Sabbath songs nine through thirteen, there is enough evidence to indicate its crucial role.⁹⁶

There is, however, certainly more of an obvious dependence on Ezekiel than on Isaiah.

Seraphim are not mentioned in the remaining manuscripts whereas cherubim are described in the carving and general artwork of the temple and as divine beings who praise God alongside the angels. The cherubim in the *Shirot* are described as having 'wings of knowledge'⁹⁷ כנפי דעת and of offering praise in a voice of silence קול דממת (in language similar to 1 Kings 19:12 קול דממה דקה). This is a very different picture from the praise offered to God in Isaiah 6. (4Q405 20 ii-21-21: 6-8).

The idea of the spirits having an appearance like fire may itself stem from a scriptural belief that 'He makes his messengers winds, his ministers a flaming fire,'

⁹⁶ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 52. The importance of Ezekiel 1, 10, 43, and 40-48 in comparison with the *Shirot* is referenced throughout Newsom's work, but see especially pages 16, 52 and 58.

⁹⁷ 'Wings of knowledge' is reconstructed with certainty due to overlap between 11QShirShabb 3-4 and 4Q405 20 ii 21-22.

עֲשֵׂה מִלְאָכָיו רוּחֹת מְשַׁרְתָּיו אֲשֶׁר (Psalm 104: 4), with the ministering angels believed to be those in the divine throne room, or Debir.⁹⁸ In fact, Newsom notes that the *Shirot* also mentions 'streams of light' (4Q405 15 ii 2)⁹⁹ in connection with ' [the] appearance of flames of fire' (4Q405 15 ii 3). Unfortunately, this part of the text is quite fragmentary and the connection or object of the 'streams of light' and the 'flames of fire' is in the lacunae. The connection is however, also serendipitously made in another of the fragments that have been discovered. 4Q403 ii 9 states וְרוּחוֹת אֱלוֹהִים בְּדָנִי לְהַבַּת אֵשׁ סְבִיבָה 'And divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it.'¹⁰⁰

In the above passages from the *Shirot*, divine beings are being described as having the appearance of flames of fire. This is an interesting notion when looked at in comparison with the Judges 13 passage discussed above, in which the angel uses the fire of the sacrificial offering to ascend to heaven after speaking with Manoah and his wife. The text from the *Shirot* lends evidence to the interpretation that instead of disappearing, the angel in Judges is thought to become the substance of fire and is thought to use the flames of the altar to ascend to heaven; once more suggesting that the fire of an altar is perceived as creating a bridge between the divine and the earthly. Also, if divine beings such as the spirits in the *Shirot* and the angel in Judges can assume the material form of fire, then it is not surprising that Moses sees an angel in the flames of the fire of the burning bush before he heard God speak. The angel is acting as a conduit between God and Moses. God may even speak through the angel which has the material form of fire.

⁹⁸ See the discussion in Chapter 3 in reference to the *Shirot* and the angels of the presence and the elim.

⁹⁹ In DJD XI this is translated as 'rivers of fire.' See Carol Newsom 'Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat' in *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part 1*. eds., Esther Eshel et al. DJD XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 335.

¹⁰⁰ This translation is Carol Newsom's. See *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p.241.

There are, then, several passages which place a divine being (often thought to be an angel) within a theodicy concerning fire. In Judges 6 and 13, the angel is connected with the fire of the burnt offering; in Exodus 3 and Daniel 3 divine beings appear in the flames and in Isaiah, a seraph has to touch Isaiah's lips with a coal before he is able to hear the word of the Lord. In Ezekiel, the cherubim are seen first before Ezekiel can see God; the fire from the altar also needs to be removed by the man in linen before God and the cherubim leave the Temple. Given the connection of fire, divine beings and humanity amongst all of these scriptural passages, it seems prudent to analyse the nature of these fires in more detail.

1.3.2 FIRE

The nature of the material substance of the fire in each of these scriptural accounts needs investigating since it is all too easy to assume that we understand what the passages mean by fire and flames. Fire is hot, it burns, it is destructive. It is also used in the process of purifying gold and silver, in which the hottest part of the flame is used here to strip the metal of all its impurities. This purifying side of fire has already been briefly focussed upon in relation to the passage from Malachi 3. However, the substance of the other fires has not yet been discussed. I shall therefore, now turn to analyse these fires in more detail.

Firstly, within the narratives this chapter has concentrated upon there is a mixture of earthly and heavenly lit fires. The fire which the three men are thrown into in Daniel 3 is set by humans. Also, the fire lit in Judges 13 appears to be lit by Manoah, rather than the angel. Though the text is not explicit, it does state that

Manoah took the kid [goat] with the grain offering, and offered it on the rock to the LORD, to him who works wonders. When the flame went up toward

heaven from the altar, the angel of the LORD ascended in the flame of the altar while Manoah and his wife looked on.

This implies that Manoah built the fire for the offering of the goat and the grain and that the angel therefore ascends to heaven using normal, regular human fire. The fires in Judges 6 and Exodus 3 contrastingly, are formed by a heavenly being. The texts of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 10 are also usually understood as being dreams or dream visions of a heavenly temple and consequently the fires mentioned in both of these passages may then also be divine and divinely lit. The fire mentioned in Malachi is as ambiguous as the rest of the text: if the messenger is human then presumably so is the fire, whereas if the messenger is divine then the fire is likewise.

The fires in Judges 13 and Daniel 3 are, then, instantly comprehensible, as these fires are set by humans and therefore have the regular characteristics associated with fire; the fire is hot and it burns. Indeed, these attributes explain why each of the three fires is set: two of the fires are built for the purpose of ritually offering a sacrifice and one is set to execute the three men in Daniel who had gone against Nebuchadnezzar's law.

In contrast, the nature of the material substance of the heavenly lit fires¹⁰¹ is not always as immediately recognisable to us. In Isaiah the seraph uses tongs to remove the 'live coal'¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ With great thanks to Beverley Clark, who, in a private conversation during lockdown in which I was discussing my work on fire, God and angels, commented 'Who said the fire was hot?' which inspired me to explore the nature and purpose of divine fire as opposed to earthly fire.

¹⁰² BDB translates 'living coal' רִצְפָה (רִצֵּף) as 'glowing stone,' 954, which implies some heat in the stone from the altar and extends the metaphor of the divine fire within the coal. In contrast, R.B.Y. Scott believes that the altar which the stone was taken from was fireless and so the coal was not live but a 'heated flat stone.' See R.B.Y. Scott 'The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39' in *The Interpreter's Bible: The Holy Scriptures in the King James and Revised Standard Versions with General Articles and Introduction, Exegesis, Exposition for Each Book of the Bible. Vol 5 Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah.* ed., George, Arthur Buttrick (New

from the altar before flying to Isaiah and touching his lips with it. This would then naturally suggest that the 'live coal' taken from the altar was hot, as the seraph did not touch the coal directly. However, the fact that the seraph immediately touches it to Isaiah's lips raises doubts as to whether the coal is hot, for the coal does not seem to burn Isaiah: he does not exclaim in pain after the touch of the coal nor does the experience prevent him from speaking and answering God's question. There is actually no reaction to the coal at all. As such, the tongs are perhaps used specifically because of the purifying element of the coal, in other words, the tongs are used for ritual purposes and not for safety reasons.

There is also a very interesting Midrash (300-500C.E.) which incorporates both coals and an infant Moses (Shemot Rabbah 1:26). When Pharaoh plays with Moses, Moses repeatedly tries to take Pharaoh's crown and place it upon his own head. Pharaoh becomes worried that this is a sign that Moses will take his throne and overthrow Egypt, so, it is decided that Moses will be put to the test. A piece of gold and a piece of coal are put in front of Moses to see which he will choose. Moses first reaches for the gold, but the archangel Gabriel intervenes and moves Moses' hand so that he picks up the coal instead; being a baby the coal goes straight into his mouth and it is believed that this results in Moses having a speech impediment (Exodus. 4:10 'slow of speech and slow of tongue').¹⁰³ This must have meant that the coal was cool enough for Moses to touch with his hand but

York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1956), 209. Also see John Charles Hugh Laughlin 'A Study of the Motif of Holy Fire in the Old Testament.' ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975), 56.

¹⁰³ RashBam disagreed with this view, believing instead that Moses had lost his ability to speak Egyptian fluently and so was unable to debate effectively. See Jeffrey H. Tigay, "'Heavy of Mouth" and "Heavy of Tongue" on Moses' Speech Difficulty." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 231 (1978):57 Accessed April 19, 2021. doi:10.2307/1356746.

was still too hot for his mouth. The coal is presumably taken from a human fire as Moses is being tested by officials in the Egyptian court; thus the coal is hot and burns. It is possible that the coal in this story is a reference to the coal in Isaiah 6 which touched Isaiah's lips. Now, of course, Isaiah is an adult, whereas Moses in the Midrash is a baby, but Isaiah does not seem to feel any pain and his speech is not altered by the touch of the coal and one would expect a hot coal to burn both an adult and a child. The purpose of the coal in the Isaiah narrative in fact appears to be that Isaiah is given the ability to communicate with God in the divine throne room, as it is following the touch of the coal that Isaiah appears to be able to hear the voice of the Lord for the first time. Moses, of course, in Exodus has a conversation with God through the burning bush and the pillar of cloud and fire. This perhaps leads to the conjecture that the coal which Moses touched to his lips as a baby was what then enabled Moses as an adult to have these conversations with God.

If we now compare Ezekiel's vision with Isaiah 6: once again, the altar fire seems to have different characteristics from a fire set by humans. In Ezekiel 10, the cherubim appear to be able to scoop the fire up, without the need of tongs or other equipment. This fire is put into the hands of a man clothed in linen. There is no mention of the man wearing protective clothing, in fact the exact opposite is the case, as we are specifically told that the man is dressed in linen (linen of course being highly flammable). However, the fire does not seem to burn or affect the man who is given the coals to 'scatter over the city.' This would then imply that the coals are scattered over the city not in order to burn the city, but to provide humanity with access through the living coal, to God, whose Glory will no

longer be present in the Temple. The coals, of course, being transportable for a people who are now forced into exile.

The burning bush of Exodus 3 is described as a bush that is blazing, 'yet it was not consumed.' (Exodus. 3:2) In fact, it is the very fact that the bush is not burning which leads Moses to investigate the properties of the bush, not the angel's face appearing in the bush! Moses did not seem to fear the flaming bush, which is particularly surprising given the ease with which fires spread. It is the incombustibility of the bush that draws Moses towards it and towards God's conversation with him. It is the flaming bush which enables Moses to first converse with God. The fire obviously resembles a normal fire but it must have a visible difference in its nature, given Moses' lack of fear and the fact that he does not rush to put out a fire that has suddenly arisen. This fire also acts as a conduit between God and humanity.

All three of these accounts, in Isaiah, Ezekiel and Exodus suggest that divine fire can purify but it does not burn or consume. The flames may look like fire, but divine fire does not have the same destructive properties as earthly fire. If this theory is then applied to the passage of Malachi 3 it may be that the refiner's fire will purify, but not burn. Humanity's impurities will be removed by the messenger, in a similar way to that in which Isaiah's impurities are removed by the living coal presented by the seraph.

I decided to further investigate the nature of divine fire and Figure 1 provides examples of fire (שֶׁט) streaming forth from God, which I am designating as divine fire, some of which are considered to be a consuming fire and some of which are not.

Fig. 1

Divine Fire (שם) which does Consume	Divine Fire (שם) which doesn't Consume
Gen 19:24	Genesis 15:17
Exodus 24:17	Exodus 3:2
Leviticus 9:24	Exodus 9:23/24 - hail is destructive, not fire.
Leviticus 10:2	Exodus 13:21,22
Numbers 11: 1,2,3	Exodus 14:24
Numbers 16:35	Exodus 19:18
Numbers 17:11 [Heb.] 16:45 [Eng]	Exodus 40:38
Numbers 26:10 (re-cap of Num. 16:35)	Numbers 9:15,16
Numbers 26:61 (re-cap of Lev. 10:1-2)	Numbers 14:14
Deuteronomy 4:24 (metaphor)	Deuteronomy 1:33
Deuteronomy 9:3 (metaphor)	Deuteronomy 4:11,12,15
Deuteronomy 32:22 (metaphor)	Deuteronomy 4:33
	Deuteronomy 4:36
	Deuteronomy 5:4,5
Deuteronomy	5:22-26?
Judges 6:21(angel consumes meat)	Deuteronomy 9:15,16
2 Sam 22:9 (metaphor)	Deuteronomy 10:4
2 Sam 22:13 (metaphor)	2 Kings 2: 11 - Elijah
1 Kings 18:23,24,25,38	2 Kings 6:17 - Elijah
2 Kings 1:10, 12,14	Isaiah 4:5 (future vision of prophet)
Isaiah 29:6 - future hope	Isaiah 43:2
Isaiah 30:27 (metaphor)	Nehemiah 9:12
Isaiah 30: 30, 31(?) -future hope	Nehemiah 9:19
Isaiah 54:16(?) - future hope	
Isaiah 66:15,16 - future hope	
Job 1:16	
Psalms 18:8 (metaphor) - same as 2 Sam 22:9-13	
Psalms 18:12,13 (metaphor) - same as 2 Sam 22:9-13	
Jeremiah 5:14(?)(metaphor)	
2 Chronicles 7:1	
2 Chronicles 7:3	
Ezekiel 22:21-22	
Ezekiel 38:22	
1 Chronicles	21:26 - burnt offering?

Key

X - fire sent to consume burnt offering or animal sacrifice on an earthly altar.

X - Divine punishment.

X - God as pillar of cloud by day and flame of fire by night.

X - God as fire on Mount Saini

X - Passages already discussed.

Figure 1 shows that some patterns begin to emerge when we investigate the nature of divine fire. I shall start by focussing in more detail on divine fire which consumes. The passages highlighted in purple in the table above show fire coming from heaven to consume a burnt offering or sacrificial offering from an earthly altar. In these instances, it is only the meat or grain offering which is consumed, the fire itself is not destructive, it does not burn or consume the altar (except in 1 Kings 18). In the ANE, sacrifices are thought to be food for the Gods,¹⁰⁴ and in the passage from 1 Kings 18, Elijah is in a contest against the prophets of Ba'al. Two altars are constructed, one for Ba'al and one for Yahweh. Both groups offer a ritual sacrifice to their own God, and call upon their God to send fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice. Nothing happens at the altar to Ba'al. Yahweh however, sends such a fire that not only is the meat consumed but so is the altar itself, an altar which had been doused in water. Yahweh is even described as 'licking' the water, after the fire has consumed everything, even the dust! This is a passage against idolatry, a passage of conversion, ritual and worship. It also has an important covenantal aspect; God proves with fire, that he is the one true God. The fire proves God's presence.

The majority of passages which show divine fire as consuming, are passages which are related to a form of divine punishment or divine retribution. This is the fire which is often thought of as divine fire - the image of a God who smites people, being a popular cultural description of the warrior God portrayed within texts of the Hebrew Bible. For example, Leviticus 10:2 depicts God sending fire to consume Nadab and Abihu who are described as offering 'unholy fire' to God in the first place (Leviticus 10:1). The whole idea of a God

¹⁰⁴ Deena E. Grant 'Fire and the Body of Yahweh,' *JSOT* 40:2 (2015):149.

who punishes with fire is summarised in Deuteronomy 4:24: 'For the Lord your God is a devouring fire, a jealous God.' However, it is not always fire alone which is sent to destroy: Genesis 19:24 describes God sending fire and sulphur to destroy the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Geologists have disproved the notion that Genesis 19:24 may actually portray a volcanic eruption as there is no evidence of any volcanic activity in the Jordan Valley. Instead, they argue that an earthquake may be behind the destruction and annihilation of the two cities. Whilst there is no evidence for this claim either, it is a more plausible explanation given that the Jordan Valley lies on the Syrian-African rift. Sarna argues that since it is known that during an earthquake heat and gases are emitted from the earth, lightning could have ignited the sulphur and bitumen in the region and caused cataclysmic destruction, which would also explain the smoke Abraham sees rising from the land (Genesis 19:28).¹⁰⁵ Further, in Exodus 9:23-25, fire and hail are sent from God as the seventh plague against the Egyptians. However, it is the hail which destroys, rather than the fire, which is itself quite possibly lightning:

וַיִּטּ מֹשֶׁה אֶת־מִטְהוֹ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיְהִי וַיָּבֹרַח וַיִּתְהַלַּךְ אֵשׁ אֶרְצָהּ וַיִּמְטֹר יְהוָה בָּרָד עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:
 וַיְהִי בָרָד וְאֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת בְּתוֹךְ הַבָּרָד כִּבְד מְאֹד אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הָיָה כִּמְהוֹ בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מֵאִזְ הָיְתָה לְגֹי:
 וַיִּךְ הַבָּרָד בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׂדֶה מֵאֲדָם וְעַד־בְּהֵמָה וְאֵת כָּל־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה הִכָּה הַבָּרָד וְאֵת־כָּל־עֵץ הַשָּׂדֶה שִׁבַּר:

Then Moses stretched out his staff toward heaven, and the LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire came down on the earth. And the LORD rained hail on the land of Egypt; there was hail with fire flashing continually in the midst of it, such heavy hail as had never fallen in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation. The hail struck down everything that was in the open field throughout all the land of Egypt, both human and animal; the hail also struck down all the plants of the field, and shattered every tree in the field.

¹⁰⁵ Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary Genesis* בראשית, 138.

In Exodus 24:17 the Glory of the Lord is described as being 'like a devouring fire.'

However, this fire does not appear to devour or destroy. The simile seems to be used to describe the appearance of the Lord: the Glory looks like a devouring fire, perhaps there is even a fear that the fire will devour. This is the fire of/from the Lord which descends onto Mount Sinai (the passages marked in blue in the table) and it is from this fire, smoke and cloud that God converses with Moses and gives the Israelites their Commandments. The passage from Exodus 24:17 is developed by Deuteronomy 4:11-12, which states that 'the mountain was blazing up to the very heavens, shrouded in dark clouds. Then the LORD spoke to you out of the fire. You heard the sound of words but saw no form; there was only a voice.'¹⁰⁶ Again, there is no evidence of any volcanic activity, though Exodus 19:18 may be describing another earthquake: 'Now Mount Sinai was wrapped in smoke, because the Lord had descended upon it in fire; the smoke went up like the smoke of a kiln, while the whole mountain shook violently.' Sarna, however, believes that this depiction is standard poetic imagery used to 'describe the awe-inspiring impact of the event upon those who experienced it.'¹⁰⁷ Sarna also explains that this type of imagery was common in Akkadian culture and that pagan Gods were often depicted as shaking the earth, as were Assyrian warrior kings.¹⁰⁸ It is possible therefore that under the influence of other ANE cultures, this scriptural account (Exodus. 19:18) portrays the presence of God in similar terms. In fact, Psalm 18 attributes David's success in battle to God who shakes the earth, thunders from the heavens, and sends down hail and coals of fire.

¹⁰⁶ The fire here acts in a similar way to the fire of the burning bush in Exodus 3: it is a conduit which allows God to converse with the Israelites. In Deuteronomy, God's form is not in the fire, his voice just comes forth from the fire. The fire is a materialistic means, a conduit for God to interact with humanity. See also Grant, 'Fire and the Body of Yahweh,' 157-160.

¹⁰⁷ Sarna, Nahum M., *Exploring Exodus* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition), 164.

¹⁰⁸ Sarna, *Exploring Exodus*, 164.

Psalm 18:7-12 is very similar to 2 Samuel 22:8-13 and is an interesting passage which focuses on many of the aspects which this thesis is investigating.

Psa. 18:7	Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked, because he was angry.	2Sam 22:8	Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations of the heavens trembled and quaked, because he was angry.
Psa. 18:8	Smoke went up from his nostrils, and devouring fire from his mouth; glowing coals flamed forth from him.	2Sam. 22:9	Smoke went up from his nostrils, and devouring fire from his mouth; glowing coals flamed forth from him.
Psa. 18:9	He bowed the heavens, and came down; thick darkness was under his feet.	2Sam. 22:10	He bowed the heavens, and came down; thick darkness was under his feet.
Psa. 18:10	He rode on a cherub, and flew; he came swiftly upon the wings of the wind.	2Sam. 22:11	He rode on a cherub, and flew; he was seen upon the wings of the wind.
Psa. 18:11	He made darkness his covering around him, his canopy thick clouds dark with water.	2Sam. 22:12	He made darkness around him a canopy, thick clouds, a gathering of water.
Psa. 18:12	Out of the brightness before him there broke through his clouds hailstones and coals of fire.	2Sam. 22:13	Out of the brightness before him coals of fire flamed forth.

In the poetry of these passages, God is anthropomorphised to have fire coming out of his mouth and smoke coming out of his nostrils. He comes riding on a cherub, in line with the tradition of imagery which portrays cherubim as footstools for God. Grant has investigated the corporeality and anthropomorphised imagery of divine fire within scriptural narratives and has observed that

Yahweh's fire serves a variety of bodily functions that include breathing, eating, carrying, traveling and seeing. As such, divine fire can be compared to human eyes, lips and limbs. While this fire does not constitute the entirety of Yahweh's self, like the human body, it is a means by which he interacts physically with the corporeal world.¹⁰⁹

An example of this is seen in the passage above, where God's 'mouth' and 'nostrils' are associated with fire and smoke. Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22 also specify that fire goes forth from God, together with hail and thunder. This fire which goes forth from God could represent lightning or an electrical storm. The fire which God expels in his anger is believed to be the destructive fire which God uses in judgement and divine punishment and is explicitly stated as such in Ezekiel 22:20-22:

As one gathers silver, bronze, iron, lead, and tin into a smelter, to blow the fire upon them in order to melt them; so I will gather you in my anger and in my wrath, and I will put you in and melt you. I will gather you and blow upon you with the fire of my wrath, and you shall be melted within it. As silver is melted in a smelter, so you shall be melted in it; and you shall know that I the LORD have poured out my wrath upon you.

The imagery here is very similar to the idea of purification occurring within the refiner's fire in Malachi 3. However, it is more extreme and the prophet deliberately promises devastation through the means of a destructive divine fire. Grant argues that the concept of

¹⁰⁹ Grant, 'Fire and the Body of Yahweh,' 146.

divine fire being related to a deity's breath, mouth, lips etc. is informed by Mesopotamian literature.¹¹⁰ Both Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22 are connected with God delivering David 'from the hands of his enemies' and are part of a thanksgiving ceremony offered by David to God after David's victory in battle. God, then, was believed to send destructive fire as divine retribution or punishment against individuals or communities, and to accompany the righteous in battle.¹¹¹

In contrast, the majority of texts that we have not already discussed which describe a fire that does not consume are related to the Sinai theophany, with God appearing as a pillar of cloud or fire, or as God resting on Mount Sinai as a fire. Here, God uses fire to offer his protection, guidance and support to the Israelites. By giving them the Commandments, God is also helping them to form a community and an identity, after freeing them from slavery in Egypt. This is also the same fire through which God's judgement and punishment is executed against the Sons of Korah (Exodus 16) when they try to revolt against Moses and Aaron.

¹¹⁰ Grant, 'Fire and the body of Yahweh,' 149.

¹¹¹ There is one passage which does not appear to fit the above understanding of divine destructive fire, and this is the passage in Job 1:16 which reads, 'The fire of God* fell from heaven and burned up the sheep and the servants, and consumed them; I alone have escaped to tell you.' The righteous Job is being tested in his righteousness and in his faith in God. This does not follow the general motif of divine fire being sent as punishment or retribution and it may be that Satan is thought to have sent this fire rather than God, as earlier in the text God informs Satan that 'all that he [Job] has is in your power; only do not stretch out your hand against him!'" Laughlin argues that the expression 'The fire of God' must, at the time of writing, have been a recognisable and standard expression, otherwise 'the fire of Satan' would be expected. Laughlin 'A Study of the Motif of Holy Fire.' Thesis Submitted 1975, 154-156. The book of Job is often considered to be a narrative and so the author could be using rhetoric to describe the complete and total destruction of Job's servants and sheep. For more on Job see David J. A. Clines, *Job 1-20 WBC* (Zondervan: Grand Rapids, 2017).

* This is often thought to be lightning.

There are, however, two notable exceptions of divine fire which do not fit into the Sinai theophany nor into the destructive fire of retribution: these are the fire associated with Elijah's ascent to heaven (2 Kings 2:11) and with God cutting a covenant with Abraham in Genesis 15. In 2 Kings 2:11, Elijah is separated from Elisha by a chariot of fire and by horses of fire and Elijah ascends to heaven in a whirlwind. This text is another text which is slightly ambiguous, since it is not clear whether the fire is part of the whirlwind or whether the fire is simply a demarcation between Elijah and Elisha which allows God to raise Elijah to heaven. A demarcation, then, between the heavenly and the earthly, just like the fire of the burning bush and the fire surrounding God on Mount Sinai or in the pillar of fire. The fire and whirlwind of 2 Kings 2:11 also sits in contrast with Elijah's discussion with God at Mount Horeb in 1 Kings 19, where wind, earthquake and fire all come but are not unaccompanied by God's presence, before God is revealed in the sheer silence (קול דממה דקה) which follows these natural disasters. Elijah's interaction with God also comes after he has seen an angel who provides Elijah with food and drink prior to his journey to Mount Horeb; once more showing angels and fire to be connected. When Elijah arrives at Mount Horeb the word of the Lord comes to him but this seems to be a different interaction from the one Elijah has with the voice, after God's Glory has passed in front of him and Elijah has seen the wind, earthquake and fire.

In *Shir* 12, this concept of 'divine silence' is in the same passage as the holy spirits who have the appearance of fire. The sound is connected with the wings of the cherubim, which is stated to be קול דממת אלוהים. Newsom believes this connection to be due to three readings in Ezekiel (1:24, 3:13 and 10:5). Two of these readings (1:24 and 10:5) describe the sound of the wings of the cherubim as being like the sound of God (כקול-שדי). Conversely, the

passage in Ezekiel. 3:13 connects the sound of the wings of the living creatures¹¹² with the sounds of the ophanim,¹¹³ which are themselves described as sounding like a great earthquake. Newsom argues that if the sound of the movement of the wings was thought to be like the voice of God then when the wings are stilled the quiet must be reminiscent of the divine stillness.¹¹⁴

The second passage which must be discussed is the covenant ceremony in Genesis 15. Here, Abram is described as having a vision. Within this vision a deep sleep falls over Abram and whilst he is asleep he sees God as a 'smoking pot and flaming torch' passing between the cut carcasses of the animal sacrifice. This appears to be a cultic ritual of animal sacrifice as it is an unusual offering, the only scriptural similarity occurring in Jeremiah 34:18. However, here God declares and promises a punishment or curse against those who have broken His covenant, rather than offering a covenant of promise and security as he did with Abram in Genesis 15.¹¹⁵ The smoking pot and flaming torch represent God's presence with Abram and his promise to Abram's descendants of protection and security in the land associated with this covenant between God and

¹¹² Another name for the cherubim. See Ezekiel 10:15.

¹¹³ The word ophanim literally means wheels. This refers to the wheels of the divine chariot, which were thought to be living divine beings themselves rather than inanimate objects. There is a debate amongst scholars as to whether the ophanim are connected with the cherubim and/or whether they are angelic beings. If considered as beings rather than simply wheels, I would argue that they are heavenly beings like the cherubim and seraphim, but another species of divine beings and not angels. For an overview of the scholarship see Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 38-41.

¹¹⁴ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 306 & 313.

¹¹⁵ Hasel believes these two passages cannot be successfully compared given the complexity of the text in Jeremiah and does not believe that the act of God walking between the animals is a matter of divine self-imprecation. Instead, he argues that the ritual act of cutting the animals is similar to treaty ratification ceremonies. See Gerhard F. Hasel 'The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15.' *JSOT* (1981):61-78. See also G. J Wenham's response to Hasel in 'The Symbolism of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15: A Response to G. F. Hasel *JSOT* 19 (1981) 61-78,' *JSOT* (1982):134-137.

Abram.¹¹⁶ God therefore appears as fire in the swearing (lit. cutting) of a covenant and in the giving of the Commandments at Sinai, both of which are significant legal occasions.

God's presence as fire, is then, woven throughout the theophanies of scripture. God appears as fire in covenantal ceremonies, in the giving of the Commandments at Sinai, at the dedication of the Temple and at various offerings of ritual sacrifice (both pre-and post-Temple sacrifices). God appears in a flame to exalted figures such as Moses and Elijah, to kings such as Solomon (Temple dedication ceremony) and David and in visions to the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel. The fire of God can be consuming and this same consuming fire is used both for punishment and in the acceptance of sacrifices offered. However, divine fire is not always a consuming fire nor does it always appear to be hot.

God, fire and heavenly beings (like angels, cherubim or seraphim) are so interconnected within the theophanies and theologies of the Hebrew Bible that their presence together is woven into both narrative and poetry, into pre-monarchical, monarchical and post-monarchical history and into patriarchal, priestly, prophetic and monarchical history and narrative. Ritual fire is a key component of liturgical rituals in the Hebrew Bible and is present in a variety of different liturgical events including ritual purification ceremonies involving individuals (the High Priest in Zechariah 3) and communities (the entire priesthood in Malachi 3), ritual sacrifices (Judges 6 and 13), the Temple Dedication Ceremony (2 Chronicles 7:1) and thanksgiving ceremonies (Psalm 18, 2 Samuel 22), and in visions connected with the Temple and the High Altar (Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 10).

¹¹⁶ Wenham, 'The Symbolism of the animal rite in Genesis 15,' 136.

The importance and necessity of sacrificial offering is also connected with the covenantal agreement between God and Abraham in Genesis 15. Ritual sacrifice is, then, connected with a legal component. 1 Kings 18 is a text against idolatry which uses fire to prove God's presence and the importance of worshipping the one true God. The passages of Exodus 3 and Genesis 28/32 are not specifically liturgies but they are instances where people speak with God on Holy Ground. Both of these accounts also show that fire, God and heavenly beings were present at multiple sites, time periods and altars across Israel and not just present in the Temple or in connection with the perpetual flame (Leviticus. 6:1-6). Genesis 28/32 and Daniel 3 are also linked with blessing.

The very fragmentary text of 4Q286 discovered at Qumran, consists of blessings and curses¹¹⁷ and connects the scriptural themes of divine beings (in this case cherubim) and fire with following the correct calendar and observing the festivals on the correct dates. 4Q286 is considered a sectarian text and thus shows that the Yahad had a preoccupation with following the divinely ordained calendar. The liturgical calendar, the ritual and the liturgy are central to a connection between heaven and earth and essential to a liturgical space which enabled worship of God by both heavenly and earthly communities in unity. Nitzan shows that the blessings within 4Q286 begin firstly by blessing God in His heavenly sanctuary, including praising His calendrical mysteries. Secondly, the blessings focus on the angels in the heavenly sanctuary(ies). Thirdly, the blessings focus on the

¹¹⁷ For more on 4Q286 see Jutta Joikranta, 'Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot^a (4Q286),' in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, eds., Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioatã and Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 119. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 438-458.

angels who have control over nature. Fourthly, the blessings focus on the earthly realms.

Fifthly, there are blessings of God's Kingdom, which are recited by the chosen people and angels in unison.¹¹⁸ This is relevant because 4Q286 proposes a similar understanding of the heavens as that presented in *Jubilees*.¹¹⁹ It also highlights the importance of the calendar for worshipping God and the idea of a 'chosen' group of people joining in worship with the angels in unison. The importance of the liturgical calendar will be discussed in the next chapter. The idea of combined heavenly and earthly worship is central to the *Shirot* and will be discussed later in the thesis.

1.4 CONCLUSIONS

In most of the divine encounters which we have discussed, the divine beings empower an interaction with humans which enables the humans to go and do something on God's behalf. In Isaiah 6, the seraph touching Isaiah's lips with the coal enables Isaiah to converse with God and therefore to be sent forth to spread God's message to the people. The visions in Ezekiel 1 and 10 allow Ezekiel to prophesy in exile. The angelic encounter in Judges 6 leads to Gideon destroying the altar of Ba'al. Judges 13 is a birth narrative in which the angel's announcement is preceded by the birth of the proclaimed child.¹²⁰ In Exodus 3, the angel facilitates a conversation between Moses and God, which starts the journey of freeing the Israelites from slavery in Egypt. Finally, the events described in

¹¹⁸ From Table 1: structure and contents of the preserved blessings. 4QBer^a, ' in Bilhah Nitzan '4QBerakhot^{a-e} in *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part 1*, eds., Esther Eshel et al. *DJD 11* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 3.

¹¹⁹ See the section on *Jubilees* in Chapter 3.

¹²⁰ Angelic proclamations of births are found elsewhere in the HB/OT too, including Gen 16:11 and Gen 18:10, with the births of Ishmael and Isaac. Of course, this method of proclaiming a birth occurs in the New Testament as well: in the nativity narrative the Archangel Gabriel appears to Zechariah (about John the Baptist) and Mary (about Jesus).

Genesis 28 and 32 together enable Jacob to return peacefully to his father's land after Jacob has married and after he and his brother Esau have reconciled. Angels, seraphim and cherubim therefore clearly facilitate interactions between individual humans and God. They also protect humans (Daniel 3) and can purify, or absolve sin and remove guilt (Zechariah 3).

Also, the angels in the scriptural texts we have focussed on in this chapter act as intermediaries between an encounter with a human and the divine. Angels have long since been identified as messengers between humanity and God. In scriptural and other Second Temple literature, angels take messages between God and humans and vice versa. However, it appears to me that there is here a literary trope that has not been frequently recognised within scholarship. When analysing Genesis 28, Ezekiel 10 and Exodus 3 more closely, a divine being is always seen first, before the exalted human can communicate with God; either to see or hear God. This provides these divine beings with a secretarial or emissary role: one must go through the divine being before reaching God. They act as go-betweens connecting humans and God, exactly in the same way as when they act as messengers. The angels offer protection to Moses and Daniel enabling them to converse with God safely by preventing them from seeing God's glory fully, thus protecting them from death which may have been a concern (based on the belief that anyone who sees God dies, as stated in Exodus 33:20). The fact that Moses has this conversation with God in Exodus 33 after the burning bush narrative of Exodus 3 suggests that when Moses saw God in the bush he did not see the fullness of God's Glory, thereby supporting the theory

that the angel¹²¹ appearing before God in the flames was acting as a protective shield between God and Moses. In the same way that the cloud hides God's glory as it passes in front of Moses in Exodus 33.¹²² Irrespective however, of whether the fire of the burning bush or the cloud of Exodus 33 is used, a liminal space is created between the earth and heaven, a bridge which allows God to converse with Moses. Both divine beings and fire act as a conduit between God and earth, enabling access to and a connection with God during difficult times in Israel's history.¹²³ These bridges also provide a divine wormhole which allows angels to ascend and descend to earth with messages for humanity.

¹²¹ There is a belief found in later aggadic material which states that angels are made of a mixture of fire and water:

R. Abun said, "The angel himself is half water and half fire, and he has five [incongruous] features: 'and his body was like Tarshish, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes like torches of fire, and his arms and his feet, like the color of polished copper, and the sound of his words was like the noise of a multitude' (Daniel 10:6)." Talmud Yerushalmi Rosh Hashanah 2: (I:1:E)

See Jacob Neusner, *The Jerusalem Talmud: A Translation and Commentary Tractate Rosh Hashanah* based on the translation and explanation by Edward Goldman (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009)

This theory is also seen in Shir Hashirim Rabbah 3:11 where it appears in a more developed format stating that Michael is of snow and Gabriel of fire:

החיות רצוא ושוב כמראה הזקן, ולא זה מכבה זה ולא זה מכבה זה. ולא זה מכלל שר של שלג, ונגבריא אל של אש, ולא זה מכבה זה ולא זה מזיק זה. אמר רבי אבין לא סוף דבר בין מלאך למלאך, אלא אפלו בין מלאך אחד שחציו שלג וחציו אש הקדוש ברוך הוא עושה שלום ביניהן, ואית ליה חמש אפין, ואלו הן.

The idea of archangels being the substance of elements may arise from scripture as shown above with Daniel 10:6.

¹²² Fire and cloud cover are thought to be common priestly depictions to conceal the glory or presence of God as seeing God face-to-face was thought to be dangerous. Carol Meyers, 'Exodus,' in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: NRSV with the Apocrypha*, ed., Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 86, 132. John Durham states that an ancient tradition showing Yahweh's presence coming near to Moses in spatial terms is used to protect Moses from an accidental fatal sighting. Durham, *Exodus*, 452. The association of fire and cloud with God may also derive from the wilderness narrative, in which God went before the Israelites as a pillar of cloud during the day and protected them as a pillar of cloud at night. Hugh Williamson, 'Holy, Holy, Holy: The Story of a Liturgical Formula,' eds., H. G. M Williamson, and Gregor Kratz Reinhard, *Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung; Heft 1*. (Berlin; New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2008), 21.

¹²³ Grant also believes that fire acts in a similar way to the way angels' function while also providing transportation for divine beings, as evidenced by Exodus 3 and Judges 6 and 13. She states 'not only is divine fire a rhetorical sign of Yahweh's presence and power, it also performs a function similar to that of angels. Like the angels in Exodus 3 and in Judges 6 and 13, the spontaneously erupting fire in Judges 13 is a material entity that functions in the physical world to serve Yahweh's will.' See Grant, 'Fire and the Body of Yahweh,' 153-154.

There are differences between the various bridges, though, which should be noted. In Exodus 3 and Exodus 33 the wormhole is created by God, who wants to converse with Moses. In Judges 6 and 13, it is the humans Manoah and Gideon who are offering a sacrifice in thanksgiving to God. Also, when Gabriel appears to Daniel in Daniel 9:20, at the time of the evening sacrifice,¹²⁴ Daniel is engaged in prayer and his focus is on heaven. The angels appear or vanish when the human is receptive and accessible, when their focus is on the heavenly rather than the earthly, which means that the time of a sacrifice or of prayer is the epicentre of an angelic visitation or departure. Further, this appears to suggest that there are times of day when there is a 'thin space' between heaven and earth, when a wormhole is created which gives almost immediate access between the two spaces as and when necessary. However, God, as one would expect, appears to exist outside this timeframe, being able to use fire as a bridge to capture humanity's attention in order to converse with humanity (e.g., when God converses with Moses) when needed. This method of angelic communication is of course, also in contrast with the appearance of angels in dreams (Zechariah 3), or the visions of the cherubim (Ezekiel 10) or the seraphim (Isaiah 6). Instead of relaying messages or testing their hospitality, these dreams or visions are used to show exalted humans' knowledge of the divine and to provide them with heavenly information.

Additionally, it would appear that the belief in a liminal space - a meeting place - between heaven and earth existed prior to the development of personal and communal prayer. This

¹²⁴ See Chapter 3.

belief is also, as I have argued, very much a part of the offering of an animal sacrifice, at least in some places. The belief in a liminal place is not therefore introduced with the offering of prayer to suggest a closer relationship with God. It is much more likely that, as the offering of prayer (instead of the offering of an animal sacrifice) develops and becomes more the norm, there is an insistence on reassuring people that the same liminal space remains available and that it is possible to access it through the offering of prayer.

The concept and practise of prayer in the first century C.E. is still developing, growing, altering and changing as it was being defined and scripturalized.¹²⁵ Beliefs and traditions relating to one way of worshipping are being adapted and then are being transposed to another developing form of worship, to provide authority and provenance. It is, as we shall see in Chapter 2 in regard to the development of festivals, a clear example of a method of ritual innovation. The culture of communal worship and communal prayers within the Yahad would then naturally establish a new normative ritual practice, with known traditions, which echo scripture but also provide the added authoritative development of aspects from previous forms of worship. Not only does it add credence to an 'offering of the lips,' the fire symbolism found in *Shir* 12 establishes a link with the fire imagery present in divine, human and angelic encounters throughout the Hebrew Bible. The author of the *Shirot* is using a known liturgical trope to give the text a gravitas which will add to its own authority as a liturgical document. The adaptation of the idea of a liminal space that is created by an altar fire in animal sacrifices and the application of it to a text

¹²⁵ See Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999) and Nathan McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot' in *Ritual Innovation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism*, ed., Nathan McDonald (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 55-78.

promoting prayer, links a style of worship which was used for centuries beforehand and is still being used in their society within a more contemporary practice. This ritualization of prayer is being used as a substitute for the offering of animal sacrifices as humanity's connection with the divine. It developed as a way of praying to God, receiving messengers from God and keeping that connection between the earthly and heavenly communities. This practice which was particularly helpful, especially after the destruction of the Temple in 70CE.

Prior to the destruction of the Temple, for the Yahad specifically, the liturgy of the *Shirot* used an interpretation of earlier scriptural texts which, as this chapter has shown, provided and enabled the Yahad (together with the angels) a method of worshipping God. Indeed, the use of scriptural motifs, themes and tropes which are adapted and developed within the *Shirot* from the developing scriptural angelology is evidence of the ritual innovation described in the next chapter, in regard to the development of the liturgical calendar. It was not only the calendar but also the Yahad's theology and liturgy which were based on scriptural texts, and their understanding and interpretation was used to further their beliefs. This is because, combined with the deliberate focus on purity, perfection and priesthood (Chapters 3 and 4), this particular theology allowed them to join in the ultimate, original and Paradisiacal scriptural relationship of worshipping God with the angels.

Chapter 2

'For Everything there is a Season, and a Time for Every Matter Under Heaven' (Ecc.3:1)

The Liturgical Calendar and Sacred Time

A liturgical calendar provides a sacred time, set apart from the rest of the week, to worship, to give thanks and praise, to bless and to offer prayers to God. The *Shirot*, being liturgical documents, helped to create and shape this sacred time and in the process, made a safe, sacred space accessible. Moreover, liturgical texts provided a time and space within a calendrical week where people could engage with the liturgy. Liturgical calendars managed this sacred time and focussed the worshippers' minds on specific liturgical occasions. The liturgical calendars discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls show how these calendars helped to create accessibility of the divine and focussed the mind on special liturgical festivals, such as Shabbat, Passover and Shavu'ot. These festivals were all points within the timeframe of their particular liturgical calendar. An understanding of this liturgical calendar is crucial if we are to understand the framework and the focus of the *Shirot*. The use of this specific liturgical calendar provides a context for the *Shirot*, by providing a ritual and liturgical time for the use of the songs in worship.

2.1 THE CALENDAR AT QUMRAN

Texts uncovered in the Qumran caves, including the *Shirot*¹²⁶ and the Mishmarot texts, provide evidence that a semi-lunar 364-day calendar was followed by the community at

¹²⁶ Although the *Shirot* are not, themselves, a calendrical text they are placed within a specific 364-day calendar; see Figure 4 and the discussion below especially pages 93 and 122-129. The calendrical texts

Qumran, rather than the 354- day lunar calendar which was, contemporarily, widely practiced in the area.¹²⁷ Within this semi-lunar calendar the year consists of twelve months, which are divided into four seasons, each consisting of three months (30, 30 and 31 days respectively). This provides an exact 52-week calendar of four seasons, each comprising 13 weeks,¹²⁸ meaning that each date falls on exactly the same day each year.

In order to investigate the liturgical calendar at Qumran it is important to discuss and focus on the Mishmarot texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls. These texts align the full moon, new moon, Sabbaths and festivals alongside the priestly courses. 4Q320 also aligns the dates of the full moon in the lunar calendar with the equivalent date in the solar calendar.¹²⁹ An in-depth analysis of this calendrical system was undertaken relatively recently (1997), in an extremely detailed doctoral thesis.¹³⁰ The counting of days in the

focussed upon in this chapter include: 4Q319, 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q325, 4Q326, 4Q328, 4Q329 and 4Q394 1-2. 4Q394 1-2 is found on the same scroll as a copy which contains part of MMT. Whether the calendrical material formed part of MMT or was merely written on the same scroll is debated. For more information on MMT see E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V DJD X* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). See also Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English Revised Edition* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 221-230.

¹²⁷ Martin G. Abegg, Jr., 'The Calendar at Qumran,' in *Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 5 Vol.1 The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls Theory of Israel*, eds., Alan J Avery Peck, Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 145; Ben-Dov, 'The 364-Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudepigrapha,' 69- 106. This semi-lunar calendar is 'different from the lunar- solar year of the Jerusalem temple and the Hasmonean state.' See Eshbal Ratzon and Jonathan Ben-Dov, 'A Newly Reconstructed Calendrical Scroll from Qumran in Cryptic Script,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136:4 (2017):907.

¹²⁸ This is supported by 4Q328, which breaks down the year into sections corresponding to the name of the priestly course for the first week of each month over a three-month period.

¹²⁹ For more information on the moon's cycles and patterns see Abegg, 'The Calendar at Qumran,' 148.

¹³⁰ George, Snyder, Jr., 'Mishmarot Calendars from Qumran Cave 4: Congruence and Divergence' (PhD diss. Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion (Ohio), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1997). Further recent calendrical studies include Jonathan Ben-Dov and Wayne Horowitz, 'The Babylonian Lunar Three in Calendrical Scrolls from Qumran,' *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 95 (2005):104-120; James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (Routledge: London, 1998); James C. VanderKam *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature. JSJSup* 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); James C. VanderKam, 'The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394,' in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, eds., Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez and John Kampen, *STDJ* 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 179-194.

week appears, from these texts, to begin on the first day after the Sabbath (Sunday in modern terms)¹³¹ but the allocation of the priestly courses and their weeks runs from the Sabbath to the day before the Sabbath a week later (Friday). There are seven days in the week, which Gribetz notes is an identification marker of a Jewish calendar since by comparison, non-Jewish Romans divided time into 'nundinal cycles of eight days.'¹³² The observance of a Sabbath was also 'regarded as a uniquely Jewish temporal practice'¹³³ until early Christianity adopted the Jewish framework of a seven-day week, with a Sabbath day of rest.¹³⁴

The focus on the priestly courses is particularly interesting as the surviving texts appear to portray a calendar which follows a twenty-four priest-cycle over a six-year period.¹³⁵ It is fascinating that the priestly courses in 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q325, 4Q326, 4Q328 and 4Q329 follow exactly the same twenty-four divisions as those in 1 Chronicles, in precisely the

James C. VanderKam, '1 Enoch 73:5-8 and the Synchronistic Calendar,' in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, eds., Anthony Hilhorst, Emile Puech and Eibert Tigchelaar *JSJSup* 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 433-448.

¹³¹ 'On the 6th (day) in (the week of) Delaiah to the 30th (day of the lunar month which falls) on the 27th (day) in the sixth (solar month).' The lacunae are conjectured based on the formula of the other sentences regarding the full moon in 4Q320 fr.II. If this statement is compared with the calendar (see Figure 4) it is clear that the sixth day is the Friday.

¹³² Sarit Kattan Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism* (Oxford: PUP, 2020), 92.

¹³³ Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism*, 92.

¹³⁴ The early Christians sometimes observed the Sabbath on Saturdays but over time anti-Sabbath and anti-Jewish polemics, as well as the differentiation in practices between Jewish and Christian communities caused the Sabbath to be celebrated by Christian communities on Sundays instead. This became intertwined with a theology of Sundays being the 'Lord's Day', which was later firmly established in culture by the Christian Roman Empire. Some Christian communities observed both the Saturday Sabbath and the Sunday Sabbath, one being a day of feasting and celebration, the other a memorial of the Resurrection of Jesus. See Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism*, 92-93 & 100-101. Obviously, there were serious discussions occurring generally within the latter half of the first century onwards regarding liturgical calendars. A variety of approaches were being taken by communities to identify themselves with a certain theology or ritual practice, as people searched for identity and clarification. This was due to either the destruction of the Temple or the practice of following a newly emerging religion. The *DSS* show that the discussion about calendar was already starting in the first half of first century, as calendars were being aligned for either ritual or cultural practices.

¹³⁵ See Figures 2 and 4.

same chronological order; the one difference being that the texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls begin the first week of their first year with Gamul, whereas 1 Chronicles lists Jehoiarib first:¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Jonathan Ben-Dov notes Roger Beckwith's suggestion as to why there may be a difference between Qumran and 1 Chronicles. Beckwith suggests that the same list of priestly families was observed but Jehoiarib served at the Autumn New Year and Gamul at the Spring New Year, which is why Gamul begins the Qumran cycle and Jehoiarib the 1 Chronicles Cycle; see Figure 2. Also, for a discussion on the New Year see pp. 127-128 below and Ben-Dov, 'The 364-Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudepigrapha,' ft note. 63, 102. For the original argument see Beckwith Roger, T. *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 89.

Figure 2.

Week	Priestly Courses 4Q320	Priestly Courses 1 Chronicles 24:7-19
1	Gamul	Jehoiarib
2	Delaiah	Jedaiah
3	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	Harim
4	Jeiarib/Joarib	Seorim
5	Jedaiah	Malchijah
6	Harim	Mijamin
7	Seorim	Hakkoz
8	Malchijah/Malchiah	Abijah
9	Mijamin	Jeshua
10	Hakkoz	Shecaniah
11	Abijah/Abiah	Eliashib
12	Jeshua	Jakim
13	Shecaniah	Huppah
14	Eliashib	Jeshebeab
15	Jakim	Bilgah
16	Huppah	Immer
17	Jeshebeab	Hezir
18	Bilgah	Happizzez
19	Immer	Pethahiah
20	Hezir	Jehezkel
21	Pizzez	Jachin
22	Pethahiah	Gamul
23	Jehezkel	Deliaiah
24	Jachin	Maaziah

For fragment 4Q320:

The names in red are the proposed priestly courses based on the pattern in 1 Chronicles 24:7-19. The names in black are those given in the fragment.

As Figure 2 shows, the Dead Sea Scrolls texts have multiple spellings for some of the priestly courses, though it is evident that the same division is meant. When compared with the annual calendar, the text of the Mishmarot documents supports the reconstruction of the order of the priestly courses, as outlined in Figures 2 and 4. Further, these texts mention all twenty-four names, in the proposed order, at some point over the six-year period.¹³⁷

However, it is not entirely surprising that on closer inspection the priestly cycle differs from the priestly courses or divisions in 1 Chronicles 24, given the lack of textual links with Chronicles and the lack of ‘Chronicle’ material within the scrolls.¹³⁸ George Brooke recently raised the question as to whether the lack of 1 and 2 Chronicles as ‘sources for the construction of their [the Qumran Community in the First centuries B.C.E and C.E] own self-understanding’ is due to the fact of the ‘royal character’ and ‘sympathetic view of Israelite monarchy.’¹³⁹ Brooke continues by theorizing that the scripture found in Chronicles may have been more helpful to the Hasmoneans and their ideology and therefore less popular at Qumran.¹⁴⁰ I am inclined to agree with Brooke's theory, as I think the reliance within the Mishmarot on the priestly courses, which were instituted by David, can be viewed as dependent on and a link to, (what would become) the First Temple and through it the practices of the divinely appointed king, priesthood and prophets. It is a link

¹³⁷ See Figure 4 for my reconstruction of the whole six-year period.

¹³⁸ George J. Brooke, ‘The Books of Chronicles and the Scrolls from Qumran,’ in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, eds. R. Rezetko, T.H.Lim & W. B. Auke (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35-48.

¹³⁹ George J. Brooke, ‘Patterns of Priesthood, Priestliness and Priestly Functions in Some Second Temple Period Texts,’ *Judaïsme Ancien- Ancient Judaism* 4 (2016):8.

¹⁴⁰ Brooke, ‘Patterns of Priesthood,’ 18.

that was being established between the community, the original Temple and the divinely ordained law of God, perhaps above and against the contemporary Herodian Temple and monarchy. It is possible, therefore, that the Yahad did not have a problem with Israelite monarchy per se, simply with the Herodian monarchy.

2.1.1 THE LITURGICAL CALENDAR

Next, the importance of the Qumran community's obsession with following their specific liturgical calendar will be explained. The shape of this calendar will then be investigated before moving on to considering why the Dead Sea Scrolls' construction of the priestly courses matter.

The obvious answer as to why there was a preoccupation with following their calendar is that the community's liturgical calendar was, unsurprisingly, based, developed and reliant upon their seasonal annual calendar. Furthermore, as Nitzan has argued, the cosmological, historical-eschatological and sapiential works within the Dead Sea Scrolls were derived from an understanding of an omniscient God and from a theodicy of predetermination which was then explored in texts using dualism.¹⁴¹ Nitzan also argues that the 'liturgical implications of the theme of creation were manifested according to many prayers in the calendar.'¹⁴² Nitzan continues by explaining that morning and evening prayers were modelled on the luminaries and angelic liturgy and blessings, which she suggests derive from Gen 1 ('and there was evening and there was morning').¹⁴³ She further states that 'the

¹⁴¹ Bilhah Nitzan, 'The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature,' in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, eds. Henning Graf Reventlow & Yair Hoffman, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 319 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 240-264.

¹⁴² Nitzan, 'The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature,' 256.

¹⁴³ Nitzan, 'The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature,' 257-258.

cosmological principle of the renewal of the luminaries is considered “ a law engraved forever,” not merely for the daily liturgy, but also for the monthly, seasonal and annual liturgical cycles.’¹⁴⁴

I agree with Nitzan. Further, I feel that the importance of the priestly courses, as outlined above, suggests that, at least liturgically, there was a particular interest in following the cosmologically ordained statutes, as part of a pre-disposed search for truth, that involved following the ordained and pre-determined laws of God. Included within these laws was the true and divinely appointed monarchy (the Davidic line) and the true and divinely appointed priesthood from the descendants of the priestly families, which was instituted by David under God’s command, (using the drawing of lots) in 1 Chronicles. The text of 1 Chronicles also includes the reorganisation and appointment of duties for the descendants of the Levitical priesthood. The fact that the Mishmarot texts tie the liturgical calendar in with these events provides even more evidence for dissatisfaction with the priestly and monarchical powers of the Second Temple period. By attempting to align themselves with David and the Levites, these texts are trying to continue to follow God’s commands as the community has interpreted them. The importance of the calendar, monarchy and priesthood within the community is, I believe, reminiscent of Jeremiah 33: 14-26:¹⁴⁵

הַגָּה יָמִים בָּאִים בָּאִם יְהוָה וְהַקְּמֹתִי אֶת־הַדְּבָר הַטּוֹב אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל־בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל־בַּיִת יְהוּדָה:
 בְּיָמֵים הָהֵם וּבָעֵת הַהִיא אֶצְמַח לְדָוִד צֶמַח צְדָקָה וְעָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט וְצְדָקָה בְּאֶרֶץ: בְּיָמֵים הָהֵם תִּוָּשַׁע יְהוּדָה
 וִירוּשָׁלַם תִּשְׁכֹּן לְבָטָח וְגַה אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא־לָהּ יְהוָה אֶצְדַּקְנִי:
 כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־יִפְרֹת לְדָוִד אִישׁ יֹשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא בַּיִת־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

¹⁴⁴ Nitzan, ‘The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature,’ 259.

¹⁴⁵ Jeremiah 33:14-26 is a difficult passage itself. It is missing from the Septuagint, which has raised questions about its authenticity. However, given its similarity to Zechariah 12:12-13 and Malachi 1:6-2:9 and Malachi 3:1-5, a date of around the end of the fifth century B.C.E has been suggested. John B. Job, *Jeremiah’s Kings: A Study of the Monarchy in Jeremiah* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 132-133.

וְלִפְתָּנִים הַלְלוּם לֹא־יִכָּרֵת אִישׁ מִלִּפְנֵי מַעֲלָה עוֹלָה וּמִקַּטִּיר מִנְחָה וְעִשָּׂה־זֶבַח כָּל־הַיָּמִים:
 וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ לֵאמֹר:
 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱסֹפְרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־בְּרִיתִי הַלַּיְלָה וּלְבִלְתִּי הֵיטֹת יוֹמִים־וַלַּיְלָה בְּעַתָּם:
 גַּם־בְּרִיתִי תִפְרֹאֲת־דָּוִד עַבְדִּי מִהַיּוֹת־לוֹ בֶּן מַלְכּוֹ עַל־פִּסְאֹו וְאֶת־הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים מִשְׁרָתִי:
 אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִסְפָּר צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלֹא יִפְדֹּה חוֹל הַיָּם בֶּן אַרְבָּה אֶת־יָרֵעַ דָּוִד עַבְדִּי וְאֶת־הַלְוִיִּם
 מִשְׁרָתִי אֲתִי וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ לֵאמֹר: הֲלוֹא רָאִיתָ מִה־הַעַם הַזֶּה דִּבְרוּ לֵאמֹר שְׁתִּי
 הַמְשַׁפְּחוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּתַח יְהוָה בָּהֶם וַיִּמָּאֲסוּ וְאֶת־עַמִּי יִנְאַצּוּן מִהַיּוֹת עוֹד גּוֹי לִפְנֵיהֶם: כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
 אֱסֹפְרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יוֹמִים וַלַּיְלָה חֻקֹּת שָׁמַיִם וְאָרֶץ לֹא־שָׁמַתִּי: גַּם־יָרֵעַ יַעֲקֹוב וְדָוִד עַבְדִּי אֲמָאֵס מִקַּחַת מִזְרַעוֹ
 מִשְׁלֵיִם אֶל־יָרֵעַ אַבְרָהָם יִשְׁחָק וַיַּעֲקֹב כִּי־אָשׁוּב אֶת־שְׁבוּתָם וְרַחֲמַתִּים:

The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will fulfill the promise I made to the house of Israel and the house of Judah. In those days and at that time I will cause a righteous Branch to spring up for David, and he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In those days Judah will be saved, and Jerusalem will live in safety. And this is the name by which it will be called: “The Lord is our righteousness.” For thus says the Lord: David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel, and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence to offer burnt offerings, to make grain offerings, and to make sacrifices for all time. The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah: Thus says the Lord: ‘if any of you could break my covenant with the day and my covenant with the night, so that the day and night would not come at their appointed time, only then could my covenant with my servant David be broken, so that he would not have a son to reign on his throne, and my covenant with my ministers the Levites. Just as the host of heaven cannot be numbered and the sands of the sea cannot be measured, so I will increase the offspring of my servant David, and the Levites who minister to me. The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah: Have you not observed how these people say, “The two families that the Lord chose have been rejected by him,” and how they hold my people in such contempt that they no longer regard them as a nation? Thus says the Lord: Only if I had not established my covenant with day and night and the ordinances of heaven and earth would I reject the offspring of Jacob and of my servant David and not choose any of his descendants as rulers over the offspring of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For I will restore their fortunes and will have mercy upon them.

Six manuscripts containing portions of Jeremiah¹⁴⁶ were discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, including 2QJer (2Q13) and 4QJer^{a-c} (4Q70, 4Q71, 4Q72, 4Q72a, 4Q72b). 4Q72 frg.55 1-5 contains the fragmentary text of Jeremiah 33:16-20, suggesting that this passage

¹⁴⁶ A survey and study of the Jeremiah traditions and texts at Qumran has been undertaken by Kipp Davies, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and The Construction of Community Identity*, STDJ 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

of scripture was known to the Qumran community. Since only one fragment of one of the Jeremiah texts contains any of the passage from Jeremiah 33, the conclusions drawn must be tentative, but it does suggest a knowledge of the passage. This passage may have informed and contributed to the Yaḥad's following of a distinctive pre-determined calendar.¹⁴⁷ Jeremiah 33 certainly reflects the theology which can be understood from the semi-lunar calendar, as portrayed by 4Q394 1-2 and the Mishmarot texts.

It is also worth noting that the discovered Jeremiah texts represent approximately seven percent of the Masoretic text of Jeremiah and only one percent of the Septuagint text.¹⁴⁸

The covenant under discussion in this passage from Jeremiah is, of course, the 'new covenant' announced by Jeremiah in Jeremiah 31:31-34.¹⁴⁹ This concept of a new covenant, Tigchelaar argues, developed within the Dead Sea Scrolls through the exegesis of Jeremiah 31 in Ezekiel 36 and Psalm 51.¹⁵⁰ Klein furthers this argument by incorporating the Rule of the Community into this discussion and showing that the Yaḥad used the term 'new covenant' as a term of 'self-designation,' which (she believes), was in opposition to the First Covenant established in the First Temple period.¹⁵¹ I am not convinced this is the case, as this interpretation pays no heed to other covenantal traditions

¹⁴⁷ A calendar which the Yaḥad believed had been divinely instituted by God, and therefore the only calendar which they believed should be used.

¹⁴⁸ As such, it is probably not too problematic that the above passage is absent from the Septuagint. See footnote 145 above. See also Davies, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions*, 264.

¹⁴⁹ Eibert Tigchelaar notes how the 'Jeremianic concept of a new covenant or covenant renewal' is a 'continuing and expanding feature [of scriptural Jeremiah traditions] in later traditions.' See Eibert Tigchelaar, 'Jeremiah's Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition,' in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction and Transformation*, eds., Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 299-300. Tigchelaar also argues that the only explicit link between a renewed covenant and Torah in the DSS is in 4Q470, 300.

¹⁵⁰ Tigchelaar, 'Jeremiah's Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition,' 300.

¹⁵¹ Anja Klein, 'New Material or Traditions Expanded? A Response to Eibert Tigchelaar,' in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction and Transformation*, eds., Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Brill, 2016):325.

or renewals within scripture, including for example, the covenant established by God at Creation, nor those with Noah, Abraham or Moses. Why, then, would a 'new covenant' within the Yaḥad be solely against the Davidic covenantal tradition, which, it could easily be argued, was not the First Covenant anyway?

This passage from Jeremiah combines the Davidic monarchy with the Levitical priesthood and with the calendar. It centres all three of these discussions within the wider framework of creation. The passage is a promise from God that he shall not break the covenant with His people. Instead God shall have mercy on them, forgive them their sins and restore their fortune. The passage implies that God breaking his covenant is as unrealistic and as unnatural as the day and the night not coming at their appointed time. In fact, the commentaries on this passage often take it as a reassurance of the longevity of the covenant and of the unbreakable nature of God's promise.¹⁵² The above passage from Jeremiah 33:19-22 is obviously not itself a calendrical text, but it does allude to a calendar as part of reassuring the reader or hearer of the text about a continued monarchy, Levitical priesthood and most importantly, a continued covenantal relationship with God.

I believe that this passage is less assertive than it first appears, for the promise of this continued covenantal relationship appears to be conditional on humanity not breaking God's covenant with the day and/or with the night. As noted above, this is often viewed as an inconceivable probability, a suggestion so laughable that it only reinforces the strength of God's unbreakable covenant. Yet, humanity breaking the covenant is clearly a condition

¹⁵² Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Sacalise and Thomas G. Smothers, eds., *Jeremiah, WBC 27* (Columbia: Nelson Reference and Electronic), 164-175.

in the following protasis: 'if any of you (pl.) could break my covenant with the day and my covenant with the night, so that day and night would not come at their appointed time only then could my covenant with my servant David be broken, so that he would not have a son to reign on his throne, and my covenant with my ministers the Levites.'

For the Yaḥad, then, who were pre-occupied with following what they perceived to be the correct calendar, dissatisfied with ministry in the Temple and with the Herodian Monarchy, this passage in Jeremiah could have had a significant impact and been interpreted in a different manner from the mainstream contemporary interpretation.

Further, given the wider first-century discussion regarding calendars, it is possible that the conditional protasis in the text above was interpreted much more seriously by the Yaḥad and contributed to their obsession with following what they considered to be the correct calendar, which they believed was ordained and instituted by God at creation: the ramifications of not following the correct calendar would (according to this passage from Jeremiah) result in the breaking of God's covenantal promise. In order therefore, that God's covenant is not be broken either by day or night (i.e., by worshipping and celebrating at the wrong time or on the wrong date), it is imperative that God's appointed calendar is followed. This is a potentially serious issue then for such a society that is engaging in such calendrical discussions. It also explains any political or textual bias to the establishment and legitimacy of the Davidic line or Levitical priesthood. Alternatively, the Yaḥad may have felt that their contemporary monarchy and priesthood were the result of a broken covenant with God; in which case, an attempt to restore or to re-establish a covenant similar to the one mentioned in Jeremiah, through the correct practise and use of

the divinely approved calendar, would, perhaps, prevent any further oppression and/or start to heal the perceived broken covenant between humanity and God.

Indeed, until recently, it was believed that during the Second Temple period the ‘centralisation of festivals led to the calendar becoming more fixed and sacrifices more tightly prescribed.’¹⁵³ Nathan McDonald has recently shown how these festivals were still dynamic, growing, altering and changing at this time: a concept he coins ‘ritual innovation.’ By focussing on the festival of Shavu’ot, McDonald has observed how traditions regarding this one festival altered and changed culturally and textually, resulting in a ‘new’ normative ritual practice that was steeped in tradition and scripture whilst also being an authoritative development of previous festal codes.

It is the process of ritual innovation which ultimately enables new festivals to be integrated into a community: for example, the establishment of Purim. It is clear that this process of ritual innovation seems to have occurred within the Dead Sea Scrolls, as the *Temple Scroll* introduces three previously unknown festivals - the festivals of New Wheat, New Wine and New Oil.¹⁵⁴ McDonald suggests that the fifty-day counting period from the Waving of the Sheaf to Shavu’ot in Lev 23 provides the inspiration for the addition of these three festivals to the Qumranic calendar, each fifty days apart from each other.¹⁵⁵ This also, of course, ensured that every seven weeks there was a festival, a day of rest, a ‘holy convocation’ מקרא קדש.

¹⁵³ Nathan McDonald, 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu’ot,' 55.

¹⁵⁴ See McDonald, 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu’ot,' for a comprehensive study of ritual innovation in the *Temple Scroll*, 67-71.

¹⁵⁵ McDonald, 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu’ot,' 70.

The importance of the number seven in defining holy, ordained time is also evident in *Jubilees*, in which the Sabbath is declared to be holy and a ‘great sign’ which the ‘angels of the presence, the angels of sanctification¹⁵⁶ and the Israelites - more specifically, Jacob and his descendants¹⁵⁷ - are expected to keep with God ‘in heaven and on earth.’ It is for this reason that Liora Ravid believes that the calendar in *Jubilees* should be understood as a ‘Sabbath Calendar.’¹⁵⁸ The Sabbath is of a particularly important significance to *Jubilees* since it frameworks God's creation of the world within the seven day format and highlights the scriptural importance of God resting on the seventh day. The Sabbath is further explained by the angels (acting as interpreters in *Jubilees*) as being the gift of a divine blessing on a particular, chosen group of people; a mark of their covenant with God. This identity marker then separated this group of people from other communities and established a temporal link, which thus enabled some of humanity to keep the Sabbath with the heavenly angels.¹⁵⁹ Contrastingly, within the Mishmarot texts from Qumran, the Sabbath, whilst still having a prominent position in the week and its own dedicated liturgy (the *Shirot*) appears to have been viewed as a festival and one of a collection of sacred, holy days.

2.1.2 THE MISHMAROT CALENDAR

The calendrical texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the Mishmarot texts, enable us to fairly accurately reconstruct an annual calendar,¹⁶⁰ thereby helping us to

¹⁵⁶ *Jubilees* 2:2.

¹⁵⁷ *Jubilees* 2:20.

¹⁵⁸ Liora Ravid, ‘The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar- A Re-examination.’ *DSD* 10:3 (2003):391.

¹⁵⁹ See also Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism*, 106.

¹⁶⁰ See Figure 4.

clearly define a liturgical season and identify the observed festival dates. A newly reconstructed calendar, 4Q324d, has recently been published and is comprised of a list of Festivals and Sabbaths, along with the Mishmarot priestly lists in the same document.¹⁶¹ This indicates an attempt to align the two calendars into one text, which supports the hypothesis that a synchronized calendar with the Sabbaths, festivals and priestly courses was being developed. The calendrical dates given or reconstructed in the text of 4Q342d support the previously published dates in the other calendrical texts. It is interesting to note, however, that the text is written in a cryptic script. This suggests that the community behind this text wanted to keep their liturgical calendar secret, perhaps to protect these festivals and to ensure that they were protected from those outside the sect, who were considered impure and thus threatened to undermine their purity.

Figure 3 shows a liturgical calendar of the first three months of the year, based on the dates given in 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q325, 4Q326 and 4Q394 1-2.

¹⁶¹ Ratzon, 'A Newly Reconstructed Calendrical Scroll from Qumran in Cryptic Script,' 910.

Figure 3.

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Sabbath
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31	1	2	3	4

Firstly, it is obvious that the first 13 Sabbath dates given or reconstructed within the *Shirot* are identical to the Sabbath dates for the first 13 weeks of the calendar. Further, if read in conjunction with other calendrical texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, including 4Q321, 4Q326 and 4Q394 1-2, we can be fairly confident in defining the festival dates as follows: 14th of the first month- Passover;¹⁶² 15th of the first month - the Feast of Unleavened Bread (seven-day feast); 26th of the first month - the Waving of the sheaf or Feast of the Grain; 14th of the second month - Second Passover; 15th of the third month - Feast of Weeks/Shavu'ot.

¹⁶² 4Q326

Secondly, another calendrical document, known as the *Otot* text (4Q319), needs to be considered too. This text also includes the cycle of twenty-four priests and appears to follow the six-year cycle laid out in the Mishmarot texts discussed previously. The text traces the *Otot* (or signs) over six jubilee periods (i.e., 294 years). There is a sign every three years and a year of release in the seventh year. When studied in detail, however, it becomes clear that this text is in fact following a seven-year cycle and not a six-year period. If we try to match up the 'signs' with the weeks in the six-year calendrical cycle outlined in Figure 4, it is quite clear that a seven-year calendar is being incorporated within a six-year structure.

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
				1	2	3	Gamul	1
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Delaiah	2
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Jojarib	4
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jedaiah	5
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Harim	6
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Seorim	7
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Mijamin	9
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hakkoz	10
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Abijah/Abiah	11
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jeshua	12
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Shecaniah	13
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Eliashib	14
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jakim	15
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Huppah	16
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jeshebeab	17
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Bilgah	18
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Immer	19
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Hezir	20
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Petahiah	22
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jachin	24

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Gamul	1
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Delaiah	2
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jedaiah	5
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Harim	6
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Seorim	7
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Mijamin	9
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Hakkoz	10
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Abijah/Abiah	11
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jeshua	12
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Shecaniah	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Eliashib	14
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jakim	15
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Huppah	16
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jeshebeab	17
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Bilgah	18
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Immer	19
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Hezir	20
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Happizzez/ Pizzez	21
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Petahiah	22
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jachin	24
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Gamul	1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Delaiah	2

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
28	29	30	31	Year 2			Jedaiah	5
				1	2	3	Jedaiah	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Harim	6
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Seorim	7
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Mijamin	9
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Hakkoz	10
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Abijah/Abiah	11
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jeshua	12
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Shecaniah	13
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Eliashib	14
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jakim	15
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Huppah	16
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jeshebeab	17
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Bilgah	18
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Immer	19
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Hezir	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Petahiah	22
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jachin	24
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Gamul	1
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Delaiah	2
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joiarib	4
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jedaiah	5
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Harim	6
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Seorim	7
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Mijamin	9
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Hakkoz	10
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Abijah/Abiah	11
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jeshua	12
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Shecaniah	13
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Eliashib	14
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jakim	15
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Huppah	16
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jeshebeab	17
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Bilgah	18
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Immer	19
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Hezir	20
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Happizzez/ Pizzez	21
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Petahiah	22
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jachin	24
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Gamul	1
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Delaiah	2
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joiarib	4
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jedaiah	5

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Harim	6
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Seorim	7
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
28	29	30	31	Year 3			Mijamin	9
				1	2	3	Mijamin	9
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hakkoz	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Abijah/Abiah	11
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jeshua	12
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Shecaniah	13
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Eliashib	14
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jakim	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Huppah	16
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jeshebeab	17
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Bilgah	18
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Immer	19
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Hezir	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Petahiah	22
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jachin	24
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Gamul	1
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Delaiah	2
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jedaiah	5
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Harim	6

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Seorim	7
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Mijamin	9
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Hakkoz	10
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Abijah/Abiah	11
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jeshua	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Shecaniah	13
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Eliashib	14
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jakim	15
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Huppah	16
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jeshebeab	17
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Bilgah	18
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Immer	19
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hezir	20
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Petahiah	22
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Jachin	24
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Gamul	1
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Delaiah	2
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jedaiah	5
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Harim	6
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Seorim	7
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Malchijah/Malchiah	8

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mijamin	9
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Hakkoz	10
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Abijah/Abiah	11
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jeshua	12
28	29	30	31	Year 4			Shecaniah	13
				1	2	3	Shecaniah	13
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Eliashib	14
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jakim	15
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Huppah	16
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jeshebeab	17
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Bilgah	18
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Immer	19
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Hezir	20
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Happizez/Pizez	21
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Petahiah	22
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jachin (?)	24
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Gamul	1
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Delaiah	2
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jedaiah	5
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Harim	6
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Seorim	7
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Mijamin	9

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Hakkoz	10
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Abijah/Abiah	11
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jeshua	12
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Shecaniah	13
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Eliashib	14
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Jakim	15
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Huppah	16
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jeshebeab	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Bilgah	18
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Immer	19
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Hezir	20
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Petahiah	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jachin	24
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Gamul	1
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Delaiah	2
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jedaiah	5
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Harim	6
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Seorim	7
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Mijamin	9
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Hakkoz	10
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Abijah/Abiah	11

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jeshua	12
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Shecaniah	13
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Eliashib	14
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jakim	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Huppah	16
28	29	30	31	Year 5			Jeshebeab	17
				1	2	3	Jeshebeab	17
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Bilgah	18
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Immer	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Hezir	20
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Happizez/Pizez	21
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Petahiah	22
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jachin	24
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Gamul	1
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Delaiah	2
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jedaiah	5
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Harim	6
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Seorim	7
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Mijamin	9
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Hakkoz	10
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Abijah/Abiah	11
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jeshua	12

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Shecaniah	13
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Eliashib	14
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jakim	15
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Huppah	16
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jeshebeab	17
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Bilgah	18
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Immer	19
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Hezir	20
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Happizzez/Pizzesz	21
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Petahiah	22
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jachin	24
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Gamul	1
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Delaiah	2
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Jedaiah	5
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Harim	6
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Seorim	7
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Mijamin	9
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Hakkoz	10
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Abijah/Abiah	11
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Jeshua	12
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Shecaniah	13
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Eliashib	14

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jakim	15
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Huppah	16
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Jeshebeab	17
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Bilgah	18
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Immer	19
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Hezir	20
28	29	30	31	Year 6			Happizzez/ Pizzez	21
				1	2	3	Happizzez/ Pizzez	21
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Petahiah	22
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jachin	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Gamul	1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Delaiah	2
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joiarib	4
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Jedaiah	5
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Harim	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Seorim	7
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Mijamin	9
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Hakkoz	10
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Abijah/Abiah	11
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Jeshua	12
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Shecaniah	13
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Eliashib	14
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jakim	15

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Huppah	16
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Jeshebeab	17
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Bilgah	18
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Immer	19
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Hezir	20
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Happizzez/ Pizzesz	21
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Petahiah	22
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Jachin	24
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Gamul	1
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Delaiah	2
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Maaziah/Meoziah/Maoziah	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jehoiarib/Jeiarib/Joarib	4
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Jedaiah	5
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Harim	6
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Seorim	7
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Malchijah/Malchiah	8
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Mijamin	9
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Hakkoz	10
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Abijah/Abiah	11
28	29	30	31	1	2	3	Jeshua	12
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Shecaniah	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Eliashib	14
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Jakim	15
25	26	27	28	29	30	1	Huppah	16
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Jeshebeab	17

Figure 4.

Sabbath	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Priestly Courses	Number of Priestly Courses Qumran
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Bilgah	18
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Immer	19
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Hezir	20
30	1	2	3	4	5	6	Happizzez/ Pizzez	21
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Petahiah	22
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Jehezkel/Jehezekel	23
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	Jachin	24
28	29	30	31				Gamul	1

Reach for the Sky: A Typology of Angelic Discourse and its Liturgical Impact within the Yaḥad.

In the first cycle, Years 1-6 progress as expected, then Year 1 in the second cycle becomes the year of release (the seventh year) and Year 2 becomes Year 1 in the second six-year cycle - see figure 4. If this format is followed, then the 'signs' in 4Q319 match the priestly courses outlined in Figures 2 and 4. So, for example, in the first year of the first ever cycle, the fourth day of the first week is in Gamul, the first week of the fourth year is in Shecaniah, the first week of the seventh year (the year of release) is in Gamul again. Then if Year 2 becomes Year 1 in a second six-year cycle, the sign in the third year will be Shecaniah again (which was originally the first week of the fourth year in the first six-year cycle, as outlined in Figure 4) and the sign in the sixth year will be Gamul again.

Jonathan Ben-Dov has outlined that the Yaḥad followed a seven-based septenary schematic year.¹⁶³ The breakdown of the 294 years can be calculated mathematically in two ways. The first possible calculation is:

$$6 \times 7 = 42$$

$$7 \times 42 = 294$$

This indicates seven cycles of six years seven times. However, based on my understanding set out above of a seven-year calendrical cycle being incorporated into a six-year priestly course cycle, it is possible that 294 years was actually reached using the second mathematical possibility:

$$7 \times 7 = 49$$

$$6 \times 49 = 294 \text{ years}$$

¹⁶³ Jonathan Ben-Dov, 'The 364 Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudopigrapha,' 72.

Thus, each cycle of seven years occurred seven times and there were six cycles of seven x seven years. This is because, if the theory outlined above of a seven-year calendrical structure being fit into a six-year period is correct, it would take seven cycles of a seven-year calendar to complete this calendar, before a return to the start of the entire calendar again in Year 8. Six consecutive runs through of this calendar would then equal 294 years. See Figure. 5. below.

Figure 5.

	1st Cycle	2nd Cycle	3rd Cycle	4th Cycle	5th Cycle	6th Cycle	7th Cycle	8th Cycle
Year	1	release	6	5	4	3	2	1
Year	2	1	release	6	5	4	3	2
Year	3	2	1	release	6	5	4	3
Year	4	3	2	1	release	6	5	4
Year	5	4	3	2	1	release	6	5
Year	6	5	4	3	2	1	release	6

Another reason why the second calculation (rather than the first) is likely to be the correct one is because the seventh lot of 49 years had a special characteristic, like the seventh or release year in each six-year cycle; this probably links in with creation again, symbolizing the creation of the world in six days, with a day's rest on the seventh day.

Vermes hypothesizes that the 'signs' occur every three years because they refer to the years in the lunar cycle when extra days are added to supplement the 354-day cycle.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, one of the main difficulties in trying to establish a synchronic reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls calendrical material is the $1\frac{1}{4}$ days, which would be lost on an annual basis in a strict 364-day calendar. This implies that there must have been some method of intercalation to ensure the festivals and holy days occurred in the correct seasons and at the correct times of the year. It is worth noting, though, that this argument is solely based on our understanding of the exact calculation of time which it takes for the earth's trajectory around the sun, which is then anachronistically applied to Second Temple ideology. Whilst some method of intercalation must have been present, this does not mean it had to be done with the mathematical calculations we now employ. In fact, Ben-Dov has suggested that the intercalation was achieved on a more 'ad hoc basis,' as and when necessary rather than using a fixed method of adjustments. He supports his argument by citing a Roman example of this 'ad hoc' arrangement. In Rome, in 46 B.C.E, Julius Caesar intercalated three months into his altering calendar before then 'enacting an orderly correction.'¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 365.

¹⁶⁵ Ben-Dov, 'The 364 Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudopigrapha,' 86 and E.J Bickerman, *Chronology of the Anicent World* Revised Edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), 46.

Vermes has shown that an extra month every three years in the lunar calendar equated to $3 \times 354 + 30 = 1,092$ days.¹⁶⁶ The same number of days in 3×364 years ($3 \times 364 = 1,092$).

This means that each calendar has 2,184 days in a six-year period. Does this suggest that a method of re-calculation occurred in the seventh/release year? It is possible, though the evidence of the calendar and the 'signs' in 4Q319 suggest that it is also quite improbable. The alliance and inter-relationship of introducing a seven-year calendar into a six-year format is remarkable and indicates another aspect of ritual innovation during the Second Temple period.

These calculations are important because they show that, in theory, a method of intercalation must have been used by the Yaḥad. Further, if this calendar could be used in practice, then it gives more credence to the theory that the *Shirot* were being used within the worship of this calendrical framework. The *Shirot* and the calendrical documents provide an insight into the Yaḥad's world-view. They also provide a temporal framework for their theology and their search for perfection and were an essential part of their way of life. These texts provide a structure to the calendrical week and to the liturgical year. In using the *Shirot* during the first thirteen weeks of their liturgical calendar the Yaḥad was liturgically and metaphorically living the narrative of *Jubilees*, from creation through to the giving of the Torah at Sinai.

¹⁶⁶ Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 365. See also Rachel Elijor, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, trans. David Louvish (Oxford: The Litman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 84.

The theory that this six-year calendar was established at Qumran has been subject to much criticism and has most recently been rejected by Sacha Stern. Stern's scepticism regarding the calendrical structure is in part based on the 'complexity and sophistication of these cycles,'¹⁶⁷ which he argues 'far exceeds whatever had been composed and designed until then throughout the ancient world.'¹⁶⁸ In fact, Stern is sceptical about the 364-day calendar described in the Dead Sea Scrolls being used in practice, and questions whether the calendar was purely theoretical and did nothing more than offer the community an ideological ideal.¹⁶⁹ In fact, a 'possibility which deserves serious consideration,' according to Stern, is that the 364-day calendar was 'never more than a literary tradition preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls.'¹⁷⁰

If we accept Stern's conclusion, the discovery of the calendrical texts within the Dead Sea Scrolls raises questions about our knowledge of the development of calendrical material throughout the ANE, prior to, and during the Second Temple period. Otherwise, what is the point of the Mishmarot texts?¹⁷¹ Also, where did the concept and structure of this calendar derive from? It is perhaps particularly relevant here to mention that the calendar in *Jubilees* is exceedingly similar to the one outlined by the Mishmarot and other calendrical documents discovered at Qumran. Especially so, if I am correct and a seven-year calendrical cycle was being mapped onto a previous six-year calendar.

¹⁶⁷ Sacha Stern, *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*. IJS Studies in Judaica 12 (Leiden, Brill, 2011), 41.

¹⁶⁸ Stern, *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, 41.

¹⁶⁹ Stern, *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, 44-46.

¹⁷⁰ Stern, *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, 43.

¹⁷¹ Stern acknowledges that the main calendar in use in the Second Temple period was the lunar calendar which derived from Babylon and was used widely throughout the ancient near east. See Stern, *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, 41, 42, 43, 46.

The synchronic approach to calendrical material from the Dead Sea Scrolls is also disputed. This is because of the difference in festivals between the Mishmarot texts and other calendrical material, as well as the possible establishment of 'new' festivals such as the Festival of Wine etc. in the *Temple Scroll*. However, this implies that only one calendar was followed at any one time and does not allow for alterations over time or a variety of calendars within society for different reasons. For example, today's Gregorian Calendar is different from the worship and liturgical calendars of Jewish, Christian and Islamic communities. There is also an academic year, a fiscal year, etc., all of which work together generally quite well, with certain intercalations when necessary.

It is entirely possible that different calendars were followed for different reasons. This is why texts like 4Q321 go to great lengths to equate the solar and lunar calendars, so that nothing was missed or overlooked: for example, any taxes due to the Roman authorities. Stern himself, in another publication, quite unconsciously appears to support this hypothesis since he states:

from the first century CE onwards, solar calendars disappear entirely from all Jewish sources. The Jewish calendar in Philo, Josephus, Rabbinic, and Christian sources, as well as in documents and inscriptions, is only and exclusively lunar. This suggests that the lunar calendar had emerged, by the first century CE, as the only calendar in use among the Jews... It must be acknowledged that at *some* stage, the solar calendar must have disappeared completely from Jewish tradition and practice, as no trace of it is ever found again in post-Qumranic Jewish sources.¹⁷²

However, a few pages later, Stern also comments that whilst:

¹⁷² Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar Second Century BCE- Tenth Century CE* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 18.

the first century CE may have been a turning point in the history of the Jewish Calendar. It was certainly a turning-point in the history of *non-Jewish* calendars... the calendars of Asia, Egypt, and the Roman Near Eastern coastline underwent a radical transformation at the end of the first century BCE, when they effectively became, under the influence of the Julian calendar, solar.¹⁷³

Is it so strange, then, that we find documents within the Dead Sea Scrolls comparing the two calendars? Or calendars offering the dates of the new and full moon for both lunar and solar calendars? Or indeed propaganda regarding following the 'correct' calendar? It would certainly not seem so, even if Stern is correct and the Yahad did not follow a solely solar calendar, (an argument which I think is quite uncertain and conjectural). An understanding of that calendar, however, seems a necessity given the integration of it within the wider society (for the payment of Roman taxes etc., as mentioned above). Also, if the rest of the ANE was in the process of converting to a predominately solar calendar then it is incredibly unlikely that Jewish communities were not debating their calendrical system as well. After all, it is believed that the adoption of a lunar calendar was integrated into the Jewish communities from Babylonia, and became the basis of the liturgical and ritual Jewish calendar after the Jews returned from the Babylonian Exile. There is therefore no reason to believe that a similar adoption of the solar calendar could not have occurred in some Jewish sects or communities in the first century. This is especially true given that the propaganda and polemical nature of these texts predominately links the solar calendar with God and Creation and therefore asserts it as the original calendar. Indeed, Gribetz asserts that it was quite common for Jewish communities to mediate 'between their own calendar and the imperially sanctioned ones.'¹⁷⁴ In fact, Stern acknowledges that Jewish

¹⁷³ Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 42.

¹⁷⁴ Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism*, 35.

communities, wrote more than any other ANE people about their calendars from the third century B.C.E onwards¹⁷⁵ and Gribetz provides an example from a fourth century funerary inscription which includes both the Jewish lunar date of death and the Julian calendar date of death.¹⁷⁶ In my opinion, then, it is not so shocking as perhaps it has previously been perceived to be, that the Yaḥad were comparing their calendars.

Stern further suggests, however, that the calendar outlined in this thesis is an ideal, ideological, imagined and possibly even eschatological, calendar, rather than one which was actually practised. However, if the calendar was not used, why waste writing materials on texts like an imaginary calendar? Further, why try to align an imaginary calendar with a real calendar which was in use daily, if the imaginary calendar was not going to be implemented? Also, given the fact that a solar calendar was, by Stern's own admission, being adopted throughout the rest of the ANE, surely such a document (even if never used in practice by the Yaḥad) was a logical and practical text.

2.2 SABBATHS AND FESTIVALS

I believe that the understanding of the Sabbaths and festivals as consecrated, holy days that were divinely given, provides an explanation as to why only thirteen *Shirot* have been discovered, (especially since there is no evidence within the *Shirot* themselves¹⁷⁷ of any more songs for the other 39 weeks in the year): namely, that these thirteen texts were used

¹⁷⁵ Sacha Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States and Societies* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 331-332. For an overview of time during the Selucid Empire see Paul J. Kosmin, *Time and its Adversaries in the Selucid Empire* (London: The Belknap Press of HUP, 2018).

¹⁷⁶ Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism*, 36

¹⁷⁷ Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. Jonathan Chipman STDJ 12 (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1994), 284.

within one liturgical season which started with the New Year Festival on the first day of the first month and concluded on the thirty-first day of the third month. Throughout this season, the Yaḥad celebrated the New Year Festival, a Consecration Festival, Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Waving of the Sheaf, a Second Passover, Shavu'ot and the Annual Ceremony of Covenantal Renewal. This was clearly a highly liturgical and important time for the Yaḥad, which consequently implies that the *Shirot* may have been of more liturgical importance than has been previously understood. An equivalent, for example, would be the modern-day Christian act of singing Christmas carols, which is a liturgically defined tradition during a specific time period within the Christian liturgical calendar. This means that 'Away in a Manger' would not be sung by many Church congregations in July! By contrast however, 'Amazing Grace' is a more liturgically neutral hymn, which can be sung all year round - though probably not during heightened liturgical festivals like Christmas, when more specific songs such as carols like 'Away in a Manger,' are used. If, therefore, my insight is correct and the *Shirot* were viewed in this manner, then the uncovering of fragments of only thirteen songs is not as surprising as was originally believed. The *Shirot* being kept apart and used solely for the first thirteen weeks of the year makes more sense from a ritual perspective as well, since rituals have more impact on the participants if they are conducted less frequently.¹⁷⁸

The calendrically allocated date of a Second Passover 'on the fifth of Seorim' suggests that the Yaḥad may have kept a Second Passover on the fourteenth of the second month, which, given the calendar set out above, would have annually occurred on the fifth day of the

¹⁷⁸ For more on rituals and impact in relation to frequency see H. Whitehouse, *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*. (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2004).

week. This is in keeping with the instruction given to Moses in Numbers 9:11, in which the Lord commands that if for any reason one of the Israelites cannot celebrate the first Passover because they are ritually unclean or are on a long journey then

בחדש השני בארבעה עשר יום בין הערבים יעשו אתו על-מצות

They will celebrate it on the fourteenth day of the second month between the two evenings.

This implies that a similar practice may have been followed by the Yaḥad.

Interestingly, the ordained dates of the appointed times for festivals are also given in Numbers 28 and 29, as well as Leviticus 23. However, the account in Numbers primarily focuses upon the sacrificial obligations at each of these appointed times. It is, therefore, perhaps significant that the observance of a Second Passover is acknowledged within the Mishmarot texts, but these texts do not appear to be particularly concerned about the sacrificial offerings at each of these festivals. This perhaps suggests a closer association with the text from Leviticus rather than the account in Numbers, a distinction which will be analysed in more detail below.

Next, it is obvious from the Mishmarot and 4Q394 1-2 that the calendrical dates of all of the festivals were important; since observing them on the correct day was fundamental to the liturgical observance of the Yaḥad. Interestingly, Figure four clearly illustrates that the 'Counting of the Omer' was calculated from twenty-sixth of the first month, which is the Waving of the Sheaf, rather than from the First Passover on fourteenth of the first

month.¹⁷⁹ As outlined below, this actually follows one interpretation of Leviticus 23.

Indeed, if the text of Leviticus 23 is analysed, it is obvious that Leviticus 23 is being followed to the letter. The interpretation is very literal and specific; it is just a different interpretation from the Rabbinic reading which became more mainstream and prevalent and is therefore perhaps the more expected calculation. However, it would be anachronistic to attach a Rabbinic understanding to the Yahad.¹⁸⁰

To further explain the Yahad's interpretation of Leviticus and the counting of the omer, here is the text from Leviticus 23 alongside the liturgically calendrical observation of this text at Qumran:

Leviticus 23:5-7 states that

בחדש הראשון בארבעה עשר לחדש... פסח ליהוה

in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month... there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord.'

The next day there is to be a festival of Unleavened Bread which is to last seven days. So far, the calendrical observance from the Dead Sea Scrolls is obvious.

Leviticus 23:11 then states that

והניף את-העמר לפני יהוה לרצונכם ממחרת השבת יניפנו הכהן

he [Moses] shall raise the sheaf before the Lord, that you may find acceptance, on the day after the Sabbath the priest shall raise it.

¹⁷⁹ This follows the calendar in *Jubilees 15:1 and 44:4-5*. It is the dates in this calendar which the Temple Scroll uses to calculate the dates of two other first fruits festivals. See VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24, 50-51.

¹⁸⁰ 4QLev^b contains fragments of Leviticus 23, including 23:1-8, 10-24, 40. This text has been dated to the late Hasmonean period. However, like the Jeremiah fragment discussed above, any connections are only tentative given the small passage of material recovered. It does imply, though, that the text was known at Qumran.

If we calculate this, following on from the two previous Commandments, the Festival of Unleavened Bread would end seven days after the 15th of the first month, (21st). The next Sabbath would therefore be the 25th and the day after (the 26th) would be (and is) the celebration of the Waving of the Sheaf.

Leviticus 23:15-16 then states:

וספרתם לכם ממחרת השבת מיום הביאכם את-עמר התנופה שבע שבתות תמימת תהיינה עד ממחרת השבת
השביעת תספרו חמשים יום והקרבתם מנחה חדשה ליהוה

And from the day after the Sabbath, from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering, you shall count off seven weeks; they shall be complete. You shall count until the day after the seventh Sabbath, fifty days; then you shall present an offering of new grain to the Lord.

If we follow Leviticus and count seven weeks from this date (the day after the Sabbath) it is the 15th of the third month which is the day after the seventh Sabbath (from the 25th of the first month, the day before the Waving of the Sheaf and fifty days before Shavu'ot), indicating that the dates were based primarily on Leviticus 23:15 as the 15th third month is a full seven weeks from the 26th of the first month. This implies that Leviticus 23:16 could be editorial gloss, ensuring that the festival was held on the first day of the week, being therefore the day after the Sabbath, so that the two were not confused.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ The Hebrew of Leviticus 23:15-16 is ambiguous and is therefore debated and contested by scholars. It also appears to have been questioned already in ancient sources with the Temple Scroll adapting one interpretation and another being adapted during the Rabbinic period. For more on this argument specifically see Baruch A. Levine, 'The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character.' *BASOR* 232 (1978):5-23. See (in response to Levine) Jacob Milgrom, "'Sabbath" and "Temple City" in the Temple Scroll.' *BASOR* 232 (1978):25-27. See also Marvin A. Sweeney, 'Sefirah at Qumran: Aspects of the Counting Formulas for the First-Fruits Festivals in the Temple Scroll.' *BASOR* 251 (1983):61-66.

It is also probably not coincidental that this semi-lunar calendar begins on a Wednesday - the fourth day in the week - since from a cosmological and theological perspective, this corresponds to the creation of the seasons and consequently, the creation of time in Genesis 1:14.

Abegg also notes this observation and extends the argument to show that the 364-day semi-lunar calendar was so important, that in 4Q252 I ii 1-3 the text shows the Noah flood narrative occurring within this calendar.¹⁸² Even more noticeably, the day and date in the passage (the 17th day of the second month... on Sunday) on the reconstructed calendar from the Dead Sea Scrolls would be a Sunday! Therefore, it is not only the 364-day calendar they are asserting, but their own interpretation of that calendar, which starts every year on a Wednesday in the first month. Further, dating the end of the flood narrative to the 17th of the second month would be approximately half way through the first season. It would also be after Passover and the Second Passover which could indicate that this re-writing of the text was an attempt to re-work the text anachronistically, to show that Noah naturally followed the law in Leviticus 23, as given at Sinai by God.

David is also indirectly associated with the 364-day calendar in 11Q5 XXVii 2-8, which describes how he composed 364 daily Songs of Sacrifice. Abegg also notes how, in ascribing these songs to David, there is an intention to 'associate the greatest King of Israel with the "correct" position in the polemical debate over the proper calendar.'¹⁸³ It is obvious that there was a polemical, liturgical, perhaps even political discussion regarding

¹⁸² Abegg, 'The Calendar at Qumran,' 154.

¹⁸³ Abegg, 'The Calendar at Qumran,' 155.

the correct and authoritative liturgical calendar.¹⁸⁴ The correct observance of feast dates was paramount to the Yahad 's liturgical understanding, provided a direct link with David and through him the established priesthood (which was authoritative during the First Temple period) and, arguably provided a basis for their self-identification as a community.

2.2.1 The *SHIROT* ¹⁸⁵

Now it becomes necessary to focus on how Sabbath worship fits into this liturgical and calendrical framework. It is worth mentioning here that the opening passage of Leviticus 23 (analysed above) is a calendar which begins by instituting the divinely ordained weekly Sabbath as a 'holy convocation' מקרא קדש. Leviticus 23 is widely recognised as being part of the 'holiness code,' rather than the 'priestly code,' which is recognised as being Numbers 28-29. Nathan McDonald questions this assumption, arguing instead that Numbers 28-29 is actually 'a set of instructions dealing with sacrificial offerings throughout the year.'¹⁸⁶ Jeffery Stackert classifies the priestly Sabbath code as a 'reminder אור' to God, so that when God sees that the Sabbath is observed, He remembers His promise and grants agricultural blessing.¹⁸⁷ By way of contrast, Stackert further argues that the holiness code adapts the understanding of the priestly code, using ritualization or ritual innovation to explain agricultural blessing (extra harvest on the sixth day to last to after the

¹⁸⁴ VanderKam also independently reached this conclusion. See VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon*, 95,104, 113-127 and VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25,72,85.

¹⁸⁵ Strugnell offered the first insight into the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice in J. Strugnell, 'The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran- 4QSerek Siro' 'Olat HaSabbat' in *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden: Brill, 1960):318-345. The entire collection of fragments was published by Carol Newsom in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. See also Newsom, 'Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat' in *DJD XI*, 73-399.

¹⁸⁶ McDonald, 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot,' 55.

¹⁸⁷ Jeffery Stackert, 'How the Priestly Sabbaths Work: Innovation in the Pentateuchal Priestly Rule' in *Ritual Innovation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism*, ed., Nathan McDonald (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 83.

Sabbath [Exodus 16:22-25]) as facilitating the Sabbath observance. The Sabbath is a reminder for Israel to obey the Lord's commands and to keep His covenant.¹⁸⁸

Leviticus 23 (though understood from a holiness perspective) was also interpreted in a priestly manner. I think it is also apparent that there was a concern about using what was believed to be the correct liturgical calendar, given the integration of the observance of this festival calendar with the Sabbath *Shirot*. This is because the Sabbath dates given in the instruction formulae for the Maskil at the beginning of each of the *Shirot* are synonymous with the calendrical dates given in the Mishmarot calendar. Also, of course, the songs are ascribed for use on a particular Sabbath because of the obsession with observing the correct calendrical dates at the ordained and appointed times given by God. The focus, after all, was not on explaining liturgically how such services should be constructed or carried out; the *Shirot* were, in fact, an end product, a text to be used as part of Sabbath worship, rather than a manual on how to worship.

It is also significant that the Yahad underwent an Annual Ceremony of Covenantal Renewal every Shavu'ot. This ceremony, according to Newman, would have occurred between the eleventh and twelfth Sabbath songs.¹⁸⁹ Nitzan has accurately reconstructed the instruction formulae for the twelfth Sabbath song thus:

¹⁸⁸ Stackert, 'How the Priestly Sabbaths Work: Innovation in the Pentateuchal Priestly Rule,' 103-104.

¹⁸⁹ Newman bases this theory on the fact that the festival of Shavu'ot would have been held during this time period on the fifteenth day of the third month following the solar calendar in Judith Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,' in *Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, eds., George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Themes in Biblical Narrative 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 61.

By the instr[uctor. Song of the sacrifice of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of the third month.]¹⁹⁰

The date here is, of course, in the lacunae but has been calculated based on the dates given in other *Shirot* headings.¹⁹¹ If this calculation is correct (which it appears to be given the dates in the calendar – see Figures 3 and 4) then the eleventh Sabbath song would mathematically be the day before Shavu’ot. The Feast of Shavu’ot (according to the Mishmarot calendars) being celebrated on the fifteenth day of the third month and the date of the eleventh *Shirot* being observed on the fourteenth day of the third month (Figure 4).

We would perhaps expect to see Shavu’ot being observed by the Yaḥad on the sixth/seventh of the third month (the current date of Shavu’ot), which would follow the Rabbinic counting of the Omer.’ This, of course, would then make it mathematically impossible for the eleventh *Shirot* to be the day prior to Shavu’ot. As is argued above, however, the understanding of the liturgical calendar whilst still based on Leviticus 23, is calculated differently.

The instruction formulae for the *Shirot* are particularly intriguing. They all follow the same format as the one reconstructed above. Unfortunately, though, the only formulae we have in full is from the seventh Sabbath song:

¹⁹⁰Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 283.

¹⁹¹ For example, ‘the fourth of the first month’ 4Q400 I i 1 and ‘the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month.’

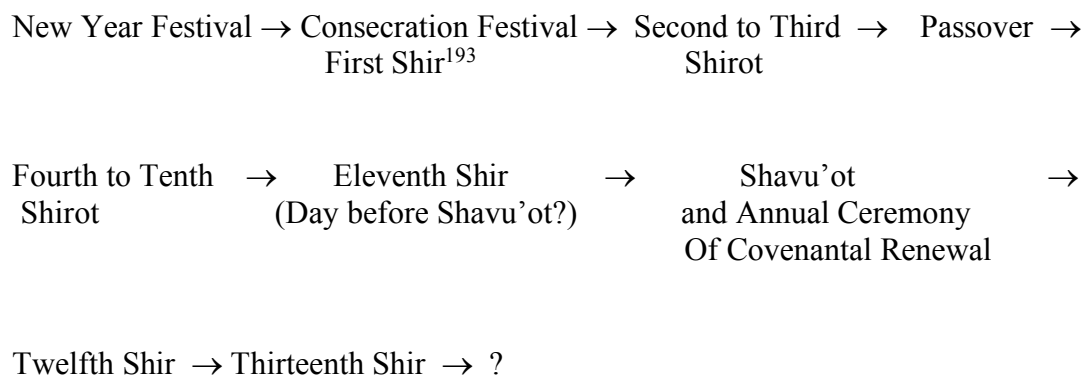
By the instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month.¹⁹²

The other formulae vary in their fragmentary nature; however, enough of the formulae remain to allow us to be fairly confident as to their reconstruction. This is based on the structure, order of words, the letters which have survived and the size of lacunae on the fragments. It is also based on the overlap between certain fragments and the reconstructed size of the columns. It is nevertheless uncertain whether the formulae actually stated which month each individual *Shir* was to be used in, since the only introductory formula which explicitly states the month is the formula for the first song 'on the fourth of the first month.' The others have all been reconstructed following a similar format and it is entirely plausible that they followed a similar pattern. The exception being the seventh Sabbath song, which we have in full (see above) and which does not mention the number of the month in which it is meant to be used. This means that the songs potentially could have been used in a cyclical format throughout the year, as the dates (apart from the first song) would match subsequent Sabbaths in the year. I have reservations about this theory however, since specifying the month of use for the first song implies that, logically, it was to be used on that date and no other, otherwise you would also expect subsequent months to be listed. Alternatively, a lack of specification, as per the other songs, would allow (in the 364-day calendar) for repeated use. Since the first song categorically states 'on the fourth of the first month' it can be assumed that this song was not re-used each season. Therefore, even if the other *Shirot* were repeated each season, there would now only be a

¹⁹² 4Q403 1 i 30

cycle of twelve for a thirteen-week season. This then raises the question of what subsequently happened on the first week of a thirteen-week cycle? Were there other seasonal songs for use on the first week of the fourth, seventh and tenth month? It is already obvious that these time periods were considered by the Yaḥad to be important given the calendrical insertion of a 'Day of Memorial' on the first day of each of these months. Even if this were the case though, it does not necessarily follow that the same cycle of angelic liturgy was used across the other twelve weeks. Rather, I believe it is more likely that the *Shirot* had a specific function for the Yaḥad, within a specific liturgical season.

A pictorial representation of Newman's understanding of the reconstructed liturgical calendar and the use of the *Shirot* is as follows:



This depiction indicates that the *Shirot* were used in the liturgical season leading up to Passover and Shavu'ot. The fact that the *Shirot* were used during this time period would

¹⁹³ The use of the first Shirot at the Consecration Festival is based on the heading of the first Sabbath Song from 4Q400 I i 1, which states '[by the Instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the] first [Sabba]th on the fourth of the first month'. This is recognised by Newsom as occurring half-way through the seven-day period of the consecration of the priesthood, which began on the first day of the first month according to 11QTS xvi-xvii. See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 27.

naturally have focussed the worship and direction of thought and praise in a specific direction and could indicate that the *Shirot* were used as 'occassion songs.' However, Newman's systematic representation of a season of the reconstructed liturgical calendar does highlight various issues. Firstly, the model starts with the New Year Festival but it is uncertain as to when the Yahad celebrated its New Year. Falk has demonstrated that there is a complexity in trying to ascertain when the New Year was celebrated. There appears to be conflicting data in different texts discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls. For example, 1QS and 4Q409 and *Jubilees* (29:16) all seem to suggest a New Year in the spring, whereas 1Q34 and 4Q407-509 suggest an autumnal New Year, thus indicating that there were two calendrical cycles operating in conjunction at Qumran.¹⁹⁴ An autumnal New Year is perhaps more likely to be expected, given the later Rabbinic understanding of celebrating Rosh Hashanah in the autumn. Beckwith has suggested that different New Years were observed for different reasons. He believes that the New Year for festivals and feasts began in the spring which he states follows the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible New Year for feasts (Exodus. 12, Leviticus 23, Numbers 28-29).¹⁹⁵ Yet he also thinks that the autumnal New Year was still observed for the priestly courses. I suppose this is possible, as different New Years can be observed within the same calendar (e.g., the tax year and the school year nowadays). The dates, priestly courses and calendar established within the Mishmarot texts (discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls) appear to me to provide more evidence for a spring New Year.¹⁹⁶ A spring New Year is especially interesting, since it is thought that this is when the New Year was considered to be during the first temple period

¹⁹⁴ Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 190-192.

¹⁹⁵ Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian*, 89.

¹⁹⁶ Ben-Dov favours a spring New Year see, Ben-Dov, 'The 364 Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudopigrapha,' 72.

(8th-6th Century B.C.E).¹⁹⁷ Newsom has argued that sectarian texts appear to depict a New Year in the Spring, thus implying that this was the New Year that was favoured and observed by the Yahad.¹⁹⁸ If the Yahad did believe in a spring New Year, the choice of choosing a spring New Year could have been a measured, deliberate political move against contemporary mainstream Judaism. It may also have been an acknowledgement of an alignment with the historic and idealised Solomonic Temple, over and above the literal and realistic Herodian Temple in Jerusalem.

Of course, the argument suggesting that the Yahad had split from the Temple in Jerusalem is not new, neither is the idea that the community moved into the wilderness in opposition to ritual, liturgical or Temple practices. Whilst the observance of the New Year in the spring may have been a political snub aimed at the authoritative institution in Jerusalem it does not, in itself, signify a direct and absolute split from the Temple, its practices and the expected payment of Temple taxes.

Secondly, the pictorial depiction leads one to question the purpose of the Consecration Festival. Was it a festival for people who were considered to have fulfilled their training requirements and were officially being inaugurated into the community? If so, then when did the initiation of new people occur? At the Consecration Festival? If we have in mind modern practices, this would be an odd concept, since today at award ceremonies and initiations we tend to keep the focus on those for whom the day is a celebration, though I

¹⁹⁷ Elon Gilad, 'The History of Rosh Hashanah, Which Wasn't Always the 'New Year,' in HAARETZ 22nd September 2014. Accessed online December 2016. See also Eilior, *The Three Temples*, 85.

¹⁹⁸ Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," 178.

suppose it is possible that new ‘candidates’ could have joined in the festivities.

Alternatively, it is possible that the induction occurred between the Consecration Festival and the first *Shir*. Again, to me this seems equally unlikely since there would presumably be some form of ritual or liturgical expectation at a seven-day festival.¹⁹⁹

The most logical suggestion for when the Consecration Festival was observed is at the Annual Covenant Renewal on Shavu’ot, as it is known that the evaluation and initiation of new members occurred during this process. An expulsion ritual is also known to have been part of the proceedings, implying that the final two *Shirot* were only used by a particular group of people within the Yahad. It is unlikely that anyone being expelled would be allowed to participate in what was obviously a solemn and special time of year, liturgically, especially given the Yahad’s prejudices regarding people with ‘blemishes.’ These were people with physical, moral or emotional conditions or differing physiognomies.²⁰⁰ If this is correct, then we must ask the question: who participated in *Shirot* one to eleven? The purpose of songs one to eleven then is also questionable; were they to teach, inspire and provide worship for the whole Yahad?

Thirdly, the pictorial depiction shows that the *Shirot* finish two weeks after Shavu’ot. This does indeed seem strange if the thirteen songs we have copies of from Qumran and Masada were a complete work. It would make much more sense if the last *Shirot* were the eleventh song recited the day before Shavu’ot, or even if it were the twelfth and concluded the festivities on the Sabbath after Shavu’ot. The thirteenth song, in the systematic timeline

¹⁹⁹ The Consecration Festival, according to 11Q19 X V 3, lasted for seven days.

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 4.

above, is a conundrum, and is the strongest substantive evidence for the possibility that there were more songs, indicating a continuing *Shir* for each Sabbath after Shavu'ot as well. As previously discussed, this does not necessarily mean a repetition of the thirteen songs of which we have copies.

11QPs^a 27²⁰¹ suggests that there were 52 songs, one for each Sabbath of the year. Only songs for the first thirteen weeks of the year have been discovered. As each season consisted of ninety-one days and thirteen Sabbaths, this particular format of 'angelic liturgy' was perhaps reserved especially for this liturgical time of year. If there were songs for other Sabbaths or other liturgical periods perhaps they were of a different format.

11QPs^a 27 also stipulates that thirty songs were composed, to be used on the first day of each month, the Day of Atonement and the festivals. Out of the thirty songs, twelve were reserved for the months and one is reserved for the Day of Atonement, leaving a total of seventeen songs to be split between the other festivals observed during the reconstructed liturgical calendar. Falk has suggested that this should be assigned as follows: 12 months, 1 Passover, 7 Unleavened Bread, 1 Pentecost, 8 Booths and 1 Day of Atonement.²⁰²

However, based on the fact that the calendar seems to have adhered to a particular interpretation of Lev 23 in assigning the calendrical dates of the festivals. I suggest however, that the Songs are split as follows:

²⁰¹ Lawrence Schiffman has suggested that the sect may have believed that David composed the angelic liturgy. This is due to observations that a number of the Psalms in the Psalm scroll fit well with the sectarian calendar and the *Shirot*. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, 'Merkavah Speculation at Qumran: the 4Q Serekh Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat,' in *Mystics, Philosophers and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann*, eds. Jehuda Reinharz and D. Swetschinski (Duke University Press, North Carolina, 1982):21-22. For more on 11QPs^a see Chapter 4.

²⁰² Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 193.

7 songs for the Festival of Passover and The Feast of Unleavened Bread

1 For Waving of the Sheaf

1 Shavu'ot

1 Day of Memorial

7 For the Festival of Booths

This allocation of songs is based on the scriptural festivals which the Yahad observed and to the number of days assigned to each festival in Leviticus 23. It does not take into account the three festivals of New Wine, New Oil and New Wood which may have been specific to the *Temple Scroll*.²⁰³

Most scholars have accepted that the passage²⁰⁴ at the end of 11QPs^a accredits authority and authorship of the Psalter, or of this scroll, to David. Eva Mroczek however, has questioned this premise and has convincingly argued instead that this passage is 'a text of praise for David's exemplary scribal activity and identity.'²⁰⁵ For how can the Psalter be attributed to David when the Psalter is still in flux and not yet fixed: indeed, when the Psalter as we understand it does not yet exist? Mroczek's argument instead is that David is the recipient of divine revelation which allows the Psalms to be written; David is a channel for God's word, the scripturalisation of divine revelation and thus is actually being

²⁰³ It is expected that these festivals were known by the Qumran Community due to references to them in The Temple Scroll, though they are not observed scriptural Festivals and may not have actually been observed by the sect in practise.

²⁰⁴ For the text see page 271 below.

²⁰⁵ Eva Mroczek, 'Moses, David and Scribal Revelation' in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, eds., Geroge J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T Stuckenbruck. Themes in Biblical Narrative 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 105.

recognized as a scribe *par excellence*.²⁰⁶ Likewise, Mroczek argues that Moses is the scribe who 'textualized and transmitted the Torah.'²⁰⁷ David, then, is the representation of divine revelation through the scripturalisation of prayer and liturgy, Moses the divine recipient responsible for the scripturalisation of the Law. Within *Jubilees* (*Jub.4:17-19*), Enoch was the first scribe to learn reading, writing, knowledge and wisdom and used it to define the calendar. Enoch, then, is the recipient of divine revelation who is responsible for scripturalizing calendrical matters.²⁰⁸ The Yaḥad, in copying, transmitting and writing liturgy and calendrical and legal texts, were continuing the traditions of Enoch, Moses and David. Their concern was not with the authorship of the materials but with the process by which Moses and David affected textualisation and scripturalization. By copying this methodology, the Yaḥad was not only connecting with and perpetrating a scriptural technique of revealing divine mysteries but was imitating Enoch, Moses and David, in order to emulate them. This emulation, then, allowed for the same connection with God, the same knowledge of divine mysteries and the same transmission of divine revelation. *Shir* 1 references this this idea of the heavenly beings drawing near to this knowledge and people being honoured by it:

דעת עמ בינות כבודי אלוהים לקרובי דעת (4Q400 fl i:6)

knowledge, the people (who possess) His glorious insight, the godlike beings who draw near to knowledge.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Mroczek, 'Moses, David and Scribal Revelation,' 106.

²⁰⁷ Mroczek, 'Moses, David and Scribal Revelation,' 107.

²⁰⁸ Mroczek, 'Moses, David and Scribal Revelation,' 98.

²⁰⁹ Text and translation from Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 89&93.

Through this practice, the Yahad was remembering and honouring the scriptural characters of Enoch, Moses and David whilst also keeping the scribal tradition alive, enabling a connection with exalted humans in the past to be brought forward into the present.

2.2.2 PASSOVER

Next, it would be remiss of me not to analyze the events at Passover at this point. If we develop Newman's observation that the eleventh *Shir* would have been used the day prior to Shavu'ot, it raises the question of whether a *Shir* was used at Passover or not. Philo states that the Passover banquet included hymns and prayers.²¹⁰ It is possible, therefore, that the Yahad used at least one of these *Shirot* as praise at the Passover Festival.

Nevertheless, it provides strong evidence for the fact that the *Shirot* would have framed Passover with the second *Shir* being sung prior to the festival and the third *Shir* being sung the Sabbath after Passover on the 15th of the first month. Likewise, the festival of Shavu'ot is framed by the eleventh and twelfth Sabbath Songs.

A natural progression is to focus on these *Shirot* in more depth. Unfortunately, none of the fragments uncovered can be assigned with any confidence to the third *Shir*.²¹¹ There is also sufficient doubt as to the assignment of fragments for the second *Shir* that a thematic link with Passover is impossible to define. By contrast, it is possible to align fragments with more confidence to the eleventh *Shir*; especially 4Q405 20-22 which is preceded in the same column with the introduction to the twelfth *Shir*. 4Q405 20-22 focuses on the

²¹⁰ (Philo, 'Special Laws 2.148' in *VII: On the Decalog: On the Special Laws I-III*) Loeb Classical Library. Available online <https://ryanfb.github.io/loebolus-data/L320.pdf> Accessed April 2017.

²¹¹ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 8.

debirim of the priests of the inner sanctum, the royal throne, holy chariots, holy cherubim and luminous ophanim. The twelfth *Shir* develops this theme and focuses particularly on the cherubim and the divine throne (merkabah). Newsom notes the similarities between the description within the twelfth *Shir* and the description within Ezekiel 1 and 10.²¹² Newsom also conjectures that 4Q405 19 is 'virtually certain[ly]' part of the eleventh *Shir* too.' This is interesting as 4Q405 19ABCD 6 contains the word ללבני²¹³ which Newsom translates as 'brickwork.'²¹⁴ This is exceedingly exciting as the word לבנה from לבנה is used in Exodus 24:10 to describe the pavement below God's feet which Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and 70 elders saw when they went up after Moses had read the ספר הברית 'Book of the Covenant' to the people, but before Moses received the stone tablets. Another word from Exodus 24:10 which only occurs in this verse of Exodus is טהר 'purity.' This word occurs several times in different forms (adjective, noun and verb) within the *Shirot*. However, it also occurs in fragment 4Q405 19 ABCD on line 4, meaning that two unique words from the same verse in Exodus are interwoven into the same fragment from the *Shirot*. This would, therefore, appear to be more than a coincidence. It suggests a deliberate choice of words in order to link this part of the *Shirot* with Exodus 24. This means that links to Exodus 24 are subtly woven into a song sung on the day before Shavu'ot; the festival which celebrates the giving of the Torah by God to the people of Israel. Newsom has noticed other thematic links within this specific time-period and has also argued for the *Shirot* being used throughout the first liturgical season at Qumran. This is specifically due to the fact that the first Sabbath song appears to be based on the 'establishment of the

²¹² Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 12.

²¹³ I am exceedingly thankful to Naphtali Meshel for suggesting this line of enquiry, given the occurrence of the word לבני and for meeting with me to discuss my research.

²¹⁴ Later in the same line 4Q405 19 ABCD 6, Newsom has reconstructed this word and again translated it as 'brickwork'

angelic priesthood' and due to the fact that 'in the Jewish calendar of the Second Temple period, the week of the consecration of the priesthood is the first week of the year.'²¹⁵

Newsom also notes that the theme of the twelfth Sabbath song which occurred on the Sabbath after Shavu'ot is linked with the divine throne chariot. In manuscripts of the Haftarat it is stated that 'the synagogue reading for Shavu'ot included all or part of Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 3:12.'²¹⁶

2.2.3 INVESTITURE OR ORDINATION?

Could the *Shirot* be part of an ordination or investiture service? There is evidence to suggest that just such a ritual was an annual occurrence, with new priests being accepted into the community every Shavu'ot.²¹⁷ However, Mizrahi argues against the priestly provenance and nature of the *Shirot* on linguistic grounds. He specifically focuses on the term *דביר קדש* and argues that this is not a term (*דביר*) or phrase found in scriptural 'P' priestly literature, but rather in the non-priestly description of the Solomonic Temple in Kings.²¹⁸ Mizrahi extends his argument to stipulate that the author of the *Shirot* is dependent upon scriptural sources that 'are non-priestly in nature.'²¹⁹ Whilst this may be the case it is, in my opinion, a belief which needs to be viewed tentatively, since the absence of priestly literature does not automatically mean a reliance or usage of scriptural non-priestly literature.

²¹⁵ Carol A. Newsom, 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, eds., John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Cambridge, 2010), 1247.

²¹⁶ Newsom, 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,' 1247.

²¹⁷ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 61.

²¹⁸ Noam Mizrahi 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Biblical Priestly Literature: A Linguistic Reconsideration' *HTR* (2001): 36 & 41.

²¹⁹ Mizrahi 'The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Biblical Priestly Literature,' 41.

Further, perhaps the word דביר was deliberately chosen to focus minds on the Solomonic Temple in Kings rather than the Herodian Temple in Second Temple Jerusalem. The frequency with which the word occurs in the *Shirot* fragments is also noteworthy.²²⁰ It implies a deliberately repeated choice to keep the Solomonic Temple at the forefront of the mind. An equally likely possibility is the fact that the word דביר was a popular ‘local’ word of the composer or copier of the text and an in-depth analysis of its’ usage within the *Shirot* is an overthinking of its importance in the wider composition. A source text or texts which is/are no longer available to us but that was/were deemed authoritative and perhaps followed another ‘priestly tradition,’ may also have been used. However, this is, of course, a highly cautious suggestion, given that it is a hypothesis based on an absence of material rather than any specific fact.

Nevertheless, there are certainly thematic priestly traditions that permeate the *Shirot*, *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch* and Ezekiel. There are also linguistic and stylistic similarities between the *Shirot* and Ezekiel. In fact, Mizrahi expands on the linguistic links between Ezekiel and the *Shirot* in another article; where he argues that the peculiar and stand-alone linguistic phrase כוהני קורב used in the *Shirot* is drawn from Ezekiel 40-48.²²¹

²²⁰ Mizrahi, ‘The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature,’ 37.

²²¹ Noam Mizrahi, ‘Priests of Qoreb: Linguistic Enigma and Social Code in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice’ (esp. section 5.2.) A pre-publication paper of a paper published in: *Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period*, eds., Eibert Tigchelaar and Pierre van Hecke. STDJ 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 37–64. www.academia.edu Accessed 31st December 2016.

There are certainly thematic links between the *Shirot* and Ezekiel. Newsom acknowledges that Ezekiel has the most ‘dominant influence on the conceptions of the Shirot.’²²² In Ezekiel, Chapters 40-48 fulfil the promise in Chapter 37:26-28 of a new ‘everlasting sanctuary in the midst of the people of Yahweh.’²²³ For the Yaḥad, the *Shirot* offer the same promise of a new everlasting sanctuary with angelic communion in heaven. In securing a place alongside angels in the worship of God, the Yaḥad is emphasising the renewed, constant and lasting eternal covenantal relationship with God. The description of the Temple whether eschatological, Solomonic or utopian and the priestly duties in Ezekiel 40-48, along with the description of the inanimate objects in the *Shirot*, the description of the temple and the *New Jerusalem*, offer both respective communities hope: hope of a safe space to worship, pray and praise God. This hope is embodied in a sacred space, real or imagined.

This idea is expanded by the angelology of the *Shirot*, which offers the Yaḥad an escape. The Temple description in the *Shirot* provides a focal point, inspiration and possibly also an aspiration, to work towards, just like the Temple description in Ezekiel did for those in exile in Babylon. It is possible that there is here the development of a ‘new expression’ of the priesthood which builds on the Yaḥad's interpretation of scripture and therefore offers them a safe environment among the social and political uncertainties of First Century Judea.

²²² For a detailed and in-depth comparison see Newsom, *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice*, 52-58, esp. 52.

²²³ Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* eds., Paul D. Hanson & Leonard Jay Greenspoon. Trans. James D. Martin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 327.

Further, in Ezekiel 43:5 the text states that ‘The Glory of the Lord fills the Temple.’²²⁴

This phrase is especially intriguing and was possibly a deliberate choice by the author or redactor, since it echoes the expressions in Exodus 40:34 and 1 Kings 8:11.²²⁵ This indicates that the Solomonic Temple formed a basis for the developed and hypothesised sdescription of the Temple in Ezekiel. It gave the Israelites in exile hope and established a covenantal link and a link to prayer in a ‘proper’ Temple during an idealised time in Israel’s history. A similar argument could be given for the Temple description in the *Shirot*, especially given Mizrahi’s linguistic observation referred to above.

Joyce comments on how the divine figures of the cherubim are used to symbolise the freedom and mobility of God in Ezekiel 8-11. Joyce understands the cherubim to be very closely associated with the Ark of the Covenant. The cherubim can indeed be viewed as providing a direct and true covenantal path to the Lord and to the newfound freedom and mobility of the Israelites in the Egyptian Exodus.²²⁶ A freedom it is easily imagined that the Israelites in the Babylonian Exile would want to remember and commemorate.

Perhaps this idea of the cherubim offering a concept of freedom and mobility, is a reason for its use in the seventh and eleventh *Shirot*, alongside the traditional interpretation of cherubim acting as ‘bouncers’ to protect God. Equally fascinating is Joyce’s observation that in Ezekiel 11:16 Yahweh becomes a *Miqdash me’at* to his people. He translates this as a ‘sanctuary in small measure or “to some extent”’ rather than ‘a sanctuary... for a little while.’²²⁷ He further argues that the temporal understanding of *me’at*, whilst possible, is

²²⁴ Paul M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 227.

²²⁵ Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 227.

²²⁶ Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 228.

²²⁷ Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 228.

unlikely, given the complete nature of the sentence and the lack of a subordinate clause.

Further, in the former translation the statement is a ‘positive... statement of divine blessing in exile.’²²⁸ This is an insightful thought given the Yahad's presentation of themselves as a Miqdash Adam.²²⁹ Is this a development of the idea of the Miqdash me’at in Ezekiel?

Does it offer the Yahad an idea of this divine blessing in their ‘exile’ in the Judean desert?

Another intriguing parallel is the use of the word נשיא ‘prince’ in Ezekiel 40-48 to

describe a:

[A] chief patron of the liturgy, responsible for supplying the materials required for the sacrificial system of worship (45:17,22; 46:12). Indeed, he might be described as a functionary of the worshipping community.²³⁰

The same word is used throughout the *Shirot* to describe the chief and deputy princes,²³¹ perhaps to provide a literary link to, and understanding of, the role of these particular divine beings within the heavenly hierarchy. If the word נשיא was understood to promote this revered position then it is perhaps not surprising that we find the term being used to define a role within the heavenly hierarchy, even if it is an unusual term to describe angelic beings.²³² The integration of references to Ezekiel, whether explicit or implied, is not unexpected, since already in scripture, prophets like Ezekiel and Jeremiah are directly associated with the priesthood.²³³

²²⁸ Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 113.

²²⁹ See Chapter 4.

²³⁰ Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 231.

²³¹ Newsom, *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice*, 26-27.

²³² Newsom states that the only other place she has been able to find the term used in relation to angels is the Sefer-Ha-Razim. Newsom, *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice*, 27.

²³³ Ezekiel 1.1 and Jeremiah 1.1. Charles Gieschen also independently makes this observation. See Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 169.

2.3 COVENANT

The fact that people composed or used ‘new’ compositions, such as the *Shirot*, ‘may in itself be an indication that there was a sense of a “new” relationship with God that had to find its own voice and channels of expression.’²³⁴ It seems quite probable that for Qumran this ‘new’ relationship was actually a re-establishing of an old covenantal promise; a promise which allowed the Yahad to return to a liturgical practice which they believed God had commanded in Leviticus, Numbers and possibly 1 Chronicles.²³⁵ A command which seems to have been supported by prophetic texts such as Jeremiah 33:19-26 and which enabled the Yahad to re-establish a link with the divinely ordained monarchy and priesthood of the First Temple period. As Schuller explains, this is done through connection with the broader community, as is evident from the number of non-sectarian manuscripts discovered at Qumran and the nearby area. There was, therefore, no attempt by the Yahad to refute all previous teaching and liturgy ‘in favour [of] “our own” way of addressing God.’²³⁶ Nor, in my opinion, was there an attempt by the Yahad to isolate themselves from their wider community. For example, the fact that 1QpHab 11:4-8 states that the High Priest from the Temple visited Qumran on ‘the Day of Atonement’ signifies, as has often been noted, that the community at Qumran was following a different calendar, otherwise the High Priest wouldn’t have travelled out to Qumran and been there on that

²³⁴ Eileen Schuller, ‘Worship Temple and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 5 Vol.1 The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Volume 1 Theory of Israel, eds., Alan J Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 129.

²³⁵ Indeed, Stephen Hultgren believes that the ‘new covenant’ referred to in The Damascus Document is based on the ‘new covenant’ in Jeremiah 31 and is not a ‘new covenant’ per se but actually ‘the new covenant is the law of Moses *correctly interpreted*.’ (italics his) For a more detailed discussion of Covenant and New Covenant see Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 66 (Leiden, Brill: 2007).

²³⁶ Schuller, ‘Worship Temple and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ 130.

date. It also shows (though this is less frequently noted) some level of integration between the two communities.²³⁷ I do not plan to focus on the level of cordiality or fellowship which may or may not have occurred during this meeting. I am, however, merely stating the fact that we know from this document that these two communities met on at least this occasion, therefore implying a link (albeit tenuous) with the Temple. Stern does not believe this text offers any proof of fundamentally differing calendars between the two communities at all. He argues that both the 'teacher' and the community could in fact have been following different lunar calendars since discrepancies between lunar calendars were common occurrences due to different sightings of a new moon.²³⁸ Stern believes the text to be polemical and an 'edifying tale,' with the main issue in the passage being the wicked priest's persecution of the teacher.²³⁹ I do not doubt that the main purpose of the account was to describe the priest's temptation and the persecution of the teacher. However, why, if there was no calendrical difference, was the priest there? If both communities celebrated the festival on the same day why was the priest not performing his sacrificial and liturgical duties in the Temple? Had the priest travelled there (on a different date) to be at Qumran for the festival and was he actually staying at the site? This would however, imply a much closer link between Qumran and the priest than is evidenced in the text and would appear to me to be an over-reading of the encounter. Also, if both believed the same date to be the Day of Atonement by tempting the teacher to be led astray, the priest is not fulfilling his oath and sacrificial duties, meaning that the polemics in the text would be much more

²³⁷ 1QpHab 11:4-8.

²³⁸ Stern, 'The Sectarian Calendar of Qumran,' 51.

²³⁹ Stern, 'The Sectarian Calendar of Qumran,' 50-51.

severe than the priest tempting the teacher - it would be that the priest was desecrating his oaths of consecration!

I believe, though this is not specified in the text, that the underlying implicit difference between the priest and the teacher is of a calendrical nature. Stern may be correct that this difference was actually a discrepancy between two different lunar calendars, but then why do so many calendrical documents found at Qumran purport a 364-day calendar? Further, why adapt texts like the Noah narrative to fit this framework, if the entire concept is ideological and the calendars are never actually used in practise? Why align a liturgical text like the *Shirot* with a fictional and ideological calendar?

As discussed previously, the reliance on texts such as Leviticus 23 for the ritual development and ritual innovation of texts used in festivals was not an uncommon practice in the Second Temple period. It could also be argued that the *Shirot* are themselves a ritual development of previous Sabbath liturgy using offerings of the tongue, alongside or in addition to sacrificial burnt offerings.²⁴⁰

Further, it should be noted here that the holiness code which Leviticus 23 is believed to be associated with - and the priestly code thought to be its antecedent - developed out of the covenantal code of Exodus 23:16, which is widely considered to be the earliest Israelite example of a festive calendar.²⁴¹ The covenantal links within the festival at Qumran then

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of prayer vis-à-vis animal sacrifice.

²⁴¹ McDonald, 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot,' 57.

are perhaps not unexpected. What is perhaps unusual, is the strength of these covenantal links within the texts to the Patriarchs, Davidic monarchy and Levitical priesthood.

We have already noted the covenantal links within the calendrical liturgical documents such as the *Shirot* with both the Davidic monarchy and the Levitical priesthood. The Levites are well-known for their sacrificial roles and responsibilities in ritual communal worship. A link, therefore, with the priesthood in the *Shirot* - even the angelic priesthood - is perhaps not a surprise given the mystery, poetry, metaphor and allusion used throughout the text. Neither perhaps is the number of discovered texts which focus on Levi.

George Brooke undertook an investigation into the texts at Qumran which focus on Levi and the Levites and noticed that these texts all 'share a remarkably coherent set of motifs,'²⁴² including the association of Levi and the Levites with the Jacob tradition and in particular Jacob at Bethel. The texts are also fundamentally concerned with the concept of covenant and the interpretation of the Law. Interestingly, Ravid notes how according to *Jubilees* 27:19, Jacob is believed to have reached Bethel on the fourth day of week.²⁴³ This ties the Jacob narrative in with creation, the creation of time and the creation of the luminaries, aligning the Joseph narrative with the Yahad's specific calendar (which as we have seen, is very similar to the calendar of *Jubilees*) and perhaps even symbolising the creation of a new covenant.

²⁴² George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005) Kindle Edition. Chapter 7 'Levi and Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.' (Loc 1398 of 4954).

²⁴³ Ravid, 'The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar- A Re-examination,' 372.

It is also evident from 5Q13 that the Jacob tradition was part of a wider covenantal series of traditions and interpretations which included the Creation, the Sons of God, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Levi, the Levites and the Israelites.²⁴⁴ Fragment 2:6 even makes a specific reference to a covenantal relationship with Jacob 'to Jacob you made known at Bethel';²⁴⁵ a relationship which Brooke notes as being present in Leviticus 26:42.²⁴⁶

Another link between creation and the Jacob narrative occurs in the *Temple Scroll*, which in Col. 29 8-10 reads:

ואקדשה את מקדשי בכבודי אשר אשכין
עליו את כבודי עד יום הבריה אשר אברא אני את מקדשי
להכינו לי כול הימים כברית אשר כרתי עם יעקוב בבית אל

I shall sanctify my temple with my glory, for I shall make my glory reside over it until the day of creation, when I shall create my temple, establishing it for myself for all days, according to the covenant which I made with Jacob at Bethel.²⁴⁷

This passage, then, clearly links (within the Jacob narrative) creation with the priesthood, time and covenant; just as this thesis has argued that the Yahad did with their liturgical texts and their Mishmarot calendars, though this link seems to have derived from an interpretation of Leviticus 23 alongside Davidic and monarchical discourse. Within the *Temple Scroll* the Levites are associated with the Feasts of The New Wine, Oil and Wood. All of these feasts appear to have been celebrated at Qumran but are not attributed or dated within the Mishmarot calendars, nor do they appear to be included in the divinely ordained

²⁴⁴ Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. Kindle Edition. Chapter 7 'Levi and Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.' (Loc 1458 of 4654 & 1468 of 4954).

²⁴⁵ Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. Kindle Edition. Chapter 7 'Levi and Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.' (Loc 1468 of 4954).

²⁴⁶ Unfortunately, no text of Leviticus 26:42 remains in the fragments discovered at Qumran or the Surrounding area. However, multiple copies of Leviticus have remained including a few specific fragments of Chapter 26 indicating that the text would have been known to the community. Brooke also notes the influence of Leviticus 26:42 behind other texts as well including CD I, 4; VI, 2; 11QT^a LIX, 4-5, 9, 13; Ps 106.45 (and in the NT Lk. 1.72-3). See Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, Loc 1468 of 4954.

²⁴⁷ Text and translation from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1250-1251.

festival songs David supposedly composed. Does this therefore suggest a development of festive traditions and observations based on differing covenantal relationships with God? Such a theory would also support the concept of ritual innovation at Qumran.

Josephus refers to the Levites as singers in *Ant. 20:216-218* which perhaps shows a development within wider Second Temple Judaism of the Levitical role around sacrificial worship which included sung praise alongside sacrificial offerings. The consanguineous priestly lineage is of particular importance in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. In the ALD, Levi is anointed at Bethel and it is promised that all of Levi's seed will be priests. Further, it is even stipulated that the future King will originate from the descendants of Levi. Jacob also reputedly gave Levi the books of Enoch.

There is at the very least definitely a concept of rethinking and re-interpreting the idea of covenant. There is also quite possibly a development of thought regarding covenantal tradition in general, and specific covenants in particular, including Jacob and the 'priestly covenant' tradition. The significance of the Torah, Law and covenantal theology within the Sinai tradition and the Dead Sea Scrolls has been subject to particular scholarly focus in recent years.²⁴⁸ This therefore suggests that a particular interpretation of scriptural covenants between God and exalted figures shaped or helped to shape the liturgical traditions, festivities and calendar of the Yahad. It also implies an understanding of

²⁴⁸ For more on covenantal theology, the Sinai tradition and Qumran see the following bibliography: George J. Brooke, 'Moving Mountains: From Sinai to Jerusalem' in *Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, eds., George Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. *Themes in Biblical Narrative*, 12: (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 73-90. Hindy Najman, 'Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority,' *DSD* 7:3 (2000):313-333. Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 29-72.

covenantal theology which embodied spatial, cosmological and temporal elements and provided authority to, and links with, the First Temple and the divinely ordained monarchy (Davidic references), the priesthood (Levitical texts which relate the priesthood not only to the First Temple period but also to the Patriarchs and even Creation itself) and the Law (Moses and the Sinai tradition.)

2.3.1 ANGELS AND COVENANT

So how do angels at Qumran fit into the concept of covenantal theology and the Yahad's liturgical calendar? Hindy Najman has written a thoroughly comprehensive article which shows the role angels played in the theophany of Sinai and Sinai traditions within the Second Temple period and the later Rabbinic understanding and interpretation of these texts.²⁴⁹ I now want to extend beyond the Sinai tradition, in order to argue that as angelic discourse evolved, so too did the role of angels in other covenantal theologies. *Jubilees* and the Enochic literature have long shown the association between angelic figures and antediluvian patriarchs such as Enoch.

Ravid shows how the basic concept of calendar and covenant are inextricably linked, since the week is an oath, a covenant with God which (as we have seen) was, for certain groups, established at Creation.²⁵⁰ Further, in order to understand the angelic role on a Sabbath, we must return to the belief that the Sabbath is a holy, consecrated, divinely ordained convocation. (A belief which we have already seen as being fundamental to the text of Leviticus 23). However, this idea is also unsurprisingly of vital importance to the text of

²⁴⁹ Najman, 'Angels at Sinai,' 313-333.

²⁵⁰ Ravid, 'The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar- A Re-examination,' 378-379.

Jubilees, which expands the concept to explain that the Sabbath is actually a covenant between God and the angels (2:17) and God and Israel (2:21). However, these Sabbath practices are actually only observed in *Jubilees* by the two highest categories of angels: the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification. This is a custom which has occurred since the first week of Creation:²⁵¹ once again, indissolubly linking covenant, Sabbath practices (and by extension the priesthood), angelic involvement and Creation. Baumgarten believes that the 'Qumran interpreters went further and considered each Sabbath of the year as possessing a unique ritual character as highlighted by its specific angelic liturgy.'²⁵² This may be overstating the case on the evidence we have available. Suffice it to say that the *Shirot* definitely played an important part in *one season* of the Yahad's worship. It also provides an insight into why the Yahad believed they joined in with the angels in praising the Lord during Sabbath worship.

In Malachi, priests are explicitly associated with the covenant of Levi and the Jacob tradition, though this is a negative correlation, as the priests are accused of 'corrupting the covenant of Levi.' (Malachi 2:8.) However, in order that God's covenant with Levi will hold, the text states that that God will 'send my messenger to prepare the way before ... the messenger of the covenant.' (Malachi 3:1) A lot of scholarly ink has been spilled over this controversial passage. How should מלאך here be interpreted? Human messenger or divine angel? I do not intend to enter here into either the theological or historical debate (which is beyond the scope of this chapter) but rather to raise the question: how was this sentence interpreted at Qumran? This text has survived

²⁵¹ For more on the Angel of the Presence see James VanderKam, 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7:3 (2000):378-393.

²⁵² Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 116.

from scroll 4Q76 *Minor Prophets*^a, meaning that there was an awareness of this passage at Qumran. It is entirely possible that for this particular community the ambiguity of the term מלאך was interpreted as angel.²⁵³

In regard to Mal 2:7:

כִּי־שִׁפְתַי כִּהְיוֹן יִשְׁמְרוּ־דְעַת וְתוֹרַהּ בְּקִשְׁוֹ מִפִּיהוּ כִּי מֵלָאךְ יִהְיֶה־צִבְאוֹת הוּא:

ὅτι χεῖλη ἱερέως φυλάσσεται γνῶσιν, καὶ νόμον ἐκζητήσουσιν ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ, διότι ἄγγελος κυρίου παντοκράτορός ἐστιν.

For the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and people should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger (מלאך or ἄγγελος) of the Lord of hosts'

Gieschen believes that this could be the textual underlying of the blessing Jacob gives Levi

in *Jubilees* 31:14:

May the Lord give you [Levi] and your descendants extremely great honour may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones.

Gieschen continues by highlighting the angelomorphic characteristics attributed to the priests and implies that the human priests are functioning as the angels of the presence.²⁵⁴

This passage, is of course, ambiguous, but I do not believe that Levi and his descendants were thought to literally become angels of the presence; rather, that they were metaphorically meant to serve 'as' the angels of the presence by emulating them.

Further, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the tradition surrounding Jacob and angelic beings is already evident in Genesis 28 and Genesis 32. In Genesis 28 and the 'naming of Bethel,' Jacob sees angels ascending and descending between heaven and earth on a ladder. Then

²⁵³ For more on this passage of Malachi see Chapter 1.

²⁵⁴ Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 169-170.

in Genesis 32, near the Jabbok river, God enters into a covenant with Jacob after he has wrestled with an angel. There is therefore certainly a textual understanding of human priests having a connection with angelic beings.²⁵⁵

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

The festivals of Passover and Shavu'ot, which have been central to the focus of this chapter, are, as festivals, all points within a timeframe of a particular liturgical calendar. The *Shirot*, as songs for use within this season of the liturgical calendar focus the direction of thought and praise within worship. This chapter has shown the necessity of using particular texts at the correct liturgical time, so that the correct cosmological ordained statutes are followed. This need to follow the correct cosmologically ordained statutes developed out of a belief that God had pre-ordained laws, which disclose the correct time of the festivals. For the Yahad this meant that *this* calendar was the only correct, specific and divinely ordained calendar which was made known to humanity by the scriptural texts of Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28-29, and supported by other scriptural texts such as Jeremiah 33. This ordained calendar goes back to creation and thus the first day of the year is the fourth day of the week, as this was when God created time. Interestingly, this did not prevent the development in respect to the ritual innovation of the festivals, neither did it prevent liturgical alterations or calendrical innovations or changes. These innovations were also based on scriptural texts. There is also a specific focus on liturgical time at festivals, such as the use of two rare words which are found in the same verse in

²⁵⁵ A subject which will be focussed on in more detail in Chapter 4.

Exodus 24 and which are included in the *Shir* sung on the day before Shavu'ot, when the Exodus text was traditionally read.

Within this calendar, the number seven is important. There are, of course, seven days in the week, and the calendar follows a seven-year cycle similar to that of the calendar in *Jubilees*. This led to the six-year priestly cycle having to be adapted into the seven-year format. It also means that a period of intercalation would have been necessary if this calendar was practised in reality.

It is evident that during the Second Temple period there was a broader discussion regarding calendar and whether a solar, lunar or solar-lunar focussed calendar should be practised. It is not therefore, surprising to find calendrical texts from Qumran. The certainty that this particular 364-day calendar was considered as the authoritative calendar is, on balance, more surprising. Non-calendrical texts were even altered to support this particular liturgical calendar, including altering the timeframe to the Noah narrative in order to clarify that Noah followed this same semi-lunar calendar. This is a clear polemical message and perhaps also a marker of self-identification for and as a group. David was also connected with this calendar by a tradition being started that he composed 52 songs for each Sabbath in the year. The use of priestly courses within the calendar also links back to David, who drew lots and chose the priests and the Levites. The use of the word *זביר* in the *Shirot* and the use of the same word in the description of the Solomonic Temple, suggests a link with the First Temple period. Indeed, there appears to be a clear focus on the Solomonic Temple within the texts discussed in this chapter. This indicates that there was a desire to form a link with this Temple and the worship and liturgical calendar of this

period, as against the contemporary Herodian Temple. This also means that links were being made with the First Temple to support the Yahad's use of this particular calendar and to emphasise the ordained provenance of the calendar, given that it was followed by Noah and David.

Through the Jacob tradition, links with ritual time, covenant and law are attributed from Creation through the Elohim, Noah, Enoch and the Patriarchs to Levi. Jacob is also connected with angels through the narratives of Genesis 28 and 32. The relationship between priests and angels within *Jubilees* will be focussed on in more detail within Chapter 3, before the angelology of the *Shirot* is examined. However, given the ritual and sacred time created and developed by the liturgical calendar, the concept of sacred space within the calendar and the *Shirot* is the first aspect that will be addressed. The adherence to a particular liturgical calendar provided the Yahad with a defined time to worship and thus contributed to the construction of the community, since it provided the times and seasons for the Sabbaths and festivals to be observed. It provided space within day-to-day life for the sect to come together and worship. The liturgical text of the *Shirot* shows (that there was a belief) that angels and humans came together in worship. This is a concept which will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 3. The time for worship also enabled the self (of an individual or a community) to be transformed, as people engaged in their prescribed rituals and rites. The opportunity for the transformation of the self will, of course, also depend on the liturgical space which is available. The development and possible transformation of the self will be focussed upon in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3

'But Will God Indeed Dwell on the Earth?' (1 Kings 8:27a)

Angels the Ritual Angle: Ritual and Liturgical Sacred Space within *Jubilees* and *The Shirot*.

In the previous chapter of this thesis, I focussed primarily on the importance and centrality of sacred time within the liturgical calendar, which included the *Shirot*. Chapter 2 also concentrated on how sacred time is pre-ordained, made accessible and managed through calendars to promote specific religious, theological or political agendas. Consequently, this caused a mutual identity to be formed as people followed a particular calendar, be it solar, lunar or solar-lunar. The liturgical calendar was then reconstructed. The positioning of the *Shirot* within this temporal framework allowed a ritual and liturgical time to be defined for the Yahad's use of the *Shirot*.

3.1 TIME AND SPACE

Time is inextricably linked with space.²⁵⁶ Therefore, having concentrated on sacred time within the previous chapter, this chapter will now move towards a focus on spatial readings of the texts. Indeed, five main distinctions of spatiality should be mentioned. Firstly, there is the spatiality within the heavens (in other words, the structure of the heavens). What does this space consist of? What does it look like? How is it composed? Here there is also the question of whether there is a temple in the heavens and, if so, how

²⁵⁶ Scott has recently published a seminal book which focuses on the relation between sacred time and sacred space in Jubilees. See James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*. JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

the sanctuary or *debir* is separated or marked as a distinct and separate space from the rest of the heavens. Also, whether there were believed to be heavenly layers or multiple heavens (i.e., first heaven, second heaven) within the *Shirot*, as is evident from other Jewish and Early Christian texts?²⁵⁷ Related to this first point is, of course, the necessity of recognising and understanding angelic space within the heavenly realm. Secondly, there is

²⁵⁷ The concept of there being seven heavens is described or acknowledged in the following Jewish and Christian texts: 3 Baruch, 3 Enoch, the Testament of Levi, the Revelation of Moses, the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypse of St. Paul, and the Apocryphon of John. 2 Enoch references a total of 10 heavens. In the New Testament Paul also refers to a third heaven (2 Cor 12:2). References to seven heavens are also known from the Talmud in the tractate of Chagigah, where seven heavens are named: - וילון Vilon, רקיע Rakia, שחקים Shehachim, זבול Zevul, מעון M'aon, מכון Makhon, ערבות Aravot. The text then continues to state that Michael the great prince is in Zbul which is where the heavenly temple and Jerusalem are perceived to be. Michael stands at the altar in the temple and submits offerings. In contrast, the ministering angels who offer praise during the night are found in Ma'on whilst celestials, seraphs and holy beings and ministering angels and the throne of glory are found in Aravot, the highest heaven. Interestingly, here Michael is named as a great prince. There is also a distinction between archangels and ministering angels and two forms of angelic beings 'holy beings and ministering angels' are found in the highest heaven. These are all themes already present in the *Shirot* with some even identifiable from *Jubilees*. See discussion below. 4Q403 ii 20-26 even suggests that there may have been an understanding of seven heavens existing in the *Shirot*, with each one perhaps ruled by one of the chief princes. Seven priesthoods are mentioned here, though they appear, as will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter, to be separate from the princes. This passage is part of song eight and describes the seven deputy princes' role within the temple. 4Q403 ii 20-26

עולמים ורוממוהו ראשי נשיאים במגה פלאיו הללו לאל אלוהים שבע כהנות קורבו
 רום שבעת גבולי פלא בחוקות מקדשיו ראשי נשיאי כהנות פלא
 כהנות שבע במקדש פלא לשבעת סודי קודש
 השר מלאכי מלך במעוני פלא ודעת בינתם לשבע
 רוש מכוהן קורב וראשי עדת המלך בקהל
 ותשבחות רומם למלך הכבוד ומגדל אלוהי
 לאל אלים מלך הטהור ותרומת לשוניהם

eternal things. And exalt Him, O chiefs of princes who rule, with His wondrous portion. Praise the God of the godlike beings, O seven priesthoods of his inner sanctum
 exalted, seven wondrous territories according to the ordinances of His sanctuaries the chiefs of the princes of the wondrous priesthoods
 seven priesthoods in the wondrous sanctuary for the seven holy councils
 the prince, the angels of the king in the wonderful dwellings. And the knowledge of their understanding of seven
 chief from the priest of the inner sanctum. And the chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly.
 and praises of exaltation for the King of glory and magnification of the God of to the God of gods, King of splendour. And the offering of their tongues...

I believe the phrase 'seven wondrous territories' may refer to an acknowledgment of the seven heavens tradition. Translation from Newsom, 'Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat,' *DJD XI*, 282.

the physical, geographical space of the Yahad, which must be considered.²⁵⁸ Thirdly, there is the liturgical space: time for worship and ritual within the day to day routine.²⁵⁹ As a consequence of this comes, fourthly, ritual space and the sacred space or worship, which also needs to be considered. Included within this distinction is, of course, also the issue of priestly space.²⁶⁰ Fifthly and finally, the 'meeting space' between heaven and earth, the liminal space created, accessed and developed through worship and ritual, which must also be taken into consideration. Whilst all of these areas of study are each worthy of and demand further research, each in their own right, they could individually all be a thesis topic. Therefore, in the interests of focus and depth, this chapter will first concentrate on the concept of ritual space, the relationship between the divine, angelic and human in the liminal 'meeting' space, and the concept of third-space and the *Shirot*. The second part of the chapter will then focus on how ritual space enabled an interaction between the heavenly and earthly for the worshipping communities which used the *Shirot*. It will also consider the angelic space developed in the heavens due to the hierarchical depiction of divine beings within the *Shirot* and how the relationship between divine and human is perceived in the *Shirot*.

²⁵⁸ For a recent bibliography on this see Alison Schofield, 'Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, vol. 1. ed., Eric F. Mason. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 153, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 469-490. See also Karen J. Wenell, 'Jesus and the Land: Constructions of Sacred and social Space in Second Temple Judaism.' PhD diss., University of Glasgow 2004. Available online at theses.gla.ac.uk Accessed 13th June 2018.

²⁵⁹ See Chapter 2 and the discussion of the liturgical calendar.

²⁶⁰ Schofield, 'Re-Placing Priestly Space,' 469-490. Florentino García Martínez, 'Priestly Functions in a Community without Temple' in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und Seines Kults in Alten Testament, Antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, eds., Beate Ego, Armin Lange, Kathrin Ehlers and Peter Pilofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 303-317.

3.1 RITUAL AND SPACE

In order to achieve the above outline for this chapter though, the concept of ritual needs to be examined through the use of ritual theory²⁶¹ to explain why rituals themselves provide an otherness of space.; a unique, transitory and fluid space which reinforces and redefines the liturgy in use. Rituals, including prayers, have long been considered as actions or performances and, as such, by their very identity they create a specific space and allow for imagination to alter real or lived space. This can be achieved by creating a utopia, heterotopia, parallel or inverted space or even a dystopia. John J. Collins states that 'rituals are widely recognized as an effective way of creating solidarity and social cohesion through common action, on the basis of implicit assumptions about how things are.'²⁶² Secondly, there is no doubt that ritual was important in regard to creating solidarity and social cohesion among the Yahad. Social cohesion is essential to the formation of sacred space due to the self-identification that is necessary for the 'otherness'²⁶³ of the space to be defined.²⁶⁴ Sacred time helps in creating this self-identification by providing time for a ritual to be defined and developed. Each ritual, then, leads to a group identifying themselves by carrying out certain actions, which then forms a common bond or a link

²⁶¹ For more on ritual theory see Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*; Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: OUP, 2009); Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Towards Theory in Ritual* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); Sondra L Hausner, *The Spirits of Crossbones Graveyard: Time, Ritual and Sexual Commerce in London* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016); Jens Kreinath, J.A.M Snoek and Michael Stausberg *Theorizing Rituals: Volume 1: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*. Numen Book Series 114/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²⁶² John J. Collins 'Prayer and the Meaning of Ritual,' in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, eds., Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 229.

²⁶³ On 'otherness' within the scrolls see collected articles in the volume Daniel C. Harlow et al., eds., *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in honour of John J. Collins*, (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011). On otherness in general see Elisabeth Arweck, *Theorizing Faith: The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Ritual* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2002).

²⁶⁴ See Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Schofield, 'Re-Placing Priestly Space,' 469-490.

between the group members. This link then provides acknowledgement, acceptance and a sense of belonging between members which, in turn, forms the social cohesion necessary for the ritual to continue.

As a liturgical document, the *Shirot* themselves would have held a ritual role within the worship and the liturgical calendar of the Yahad. However, the *Shirot* also describe a ritual, the ritual of angelic worship in a heavenly temple, thereby in fact creating a ritual wrapped within a ritual! The narrative ritual of the *Shirot* was therefore only accessible to those who were physically purified through the observed bodily rituals of the Yahad. The narrative ritual which is described and identifiable from the fragmentary manuscripts appears to detail the worship and praise of an angelic priesthood in the heavenly Debir. After the acknowledgement and wonder of the angelic priesthood is praised in *Shir* 1.²⁶⁵ *Shir* 2 compares humanity with with the angels, specifically focussing on the priesthood. *Shirot* 3-5 are fragmentary; however, they seem to concentrate on the angelic priesthood, before describing a war in the heavens. *Shirot* 6 and 8 are parrallels of one another, with

²⁶⁵ Fletcher-Louis has recently argued that there 'is no clear evidence that angels were thought of as priests' within Jewish literature from antiquity, though he does acknowledge that the matter is disputed in the *Shirot*, 11Q13 and *T. Mos* 10:2 and that occasionally priestly characteristics are attributed to angels. Overall, though he believes the concept to be a 'category mistake.' See Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, 'On Angels, Men and Priests (Ben Sira, the Qumran Sabbath Songs and the Yom Kippur Avodah,)' in *Gottesdienst und Engel im Antiken Judentum und Frühen Christentum* eds., Jörg Frey and Michael R. Jost. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zu Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 446 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 163-166. This argument is counter to the more mainstream understanding of angels functioning as priests within the *Shirot*. See Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*, (London: T&T Clark International, 2006); Carol Newsom, 'He has Established for Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath *Shirot*.' Pages 101-120 in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed., Lawrence Schiffman, (Sheffield: JSOT Sheffield University Press, 1990); Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, 18-19; Newman, "Priestly Prophets at Qumran", 46; James R. Davila, "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Phoebe Makiello, 'Is the Origin of the Concept of Angelic Priesthood at Qumran as Depicted in the Sabbath *Shirot* to be Found in Levi Tradition Texts?' Follow on paper presented at the Oxford-Princeton Research Partnership conference on Priesthood in the Ancient World, 19-22. Available online at academia.edu. Accessed 13th June 2021.

Shir 6 focussing on the seven chief princes and Shir 8 on the seven deputy princes. *Shir 7* is the central song within the 13-week cycle and within the text there appears to be a shift of focus from the angels to the temple itself. *Shirot* 9-13 appear to function as a journey leading through the imagined space of the temple to the Holy of Holies, which *Shir 12* focuses on with *Shir 13* concentrating on the angelic High Priest.²⁶⁶

3.2 PRAYERS AS RITUAL SPACE

Rituals, to the outside observer, 'the other,' can appear unusual, unique, even odd, especially with the passage of time and as rituals develop. However, a common component across all religions tends to be that of prayer, either individual or corporate. Though not often thought of as being so, prayer is, in essence, a ritual: time is set aside for a person to communicate with their God, and during this time a liminal and sacred space is created and maintained. The way in which someone prays also enables them to be identified as belonging to a certain group, sect, or religion and it enables social-cohesion and self-identity to be formed.

Indeed, John J. Collins has astutely observed that

if we view rituals, including prayers, primarily as actions, then the fact that a ritual or prayer is performed in the prescribed manner is more important than its overt content. The daily recitation of prayers at fixed times constitutes a habitus, which itself implies a religious attitude regardless of the content of the prayers.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ For more on the contents of the individual *Shirot*, see Newsom, 'He Has Established for Himself Priests,' 104-113.

²⁶⁷ John J. Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 229.

The foregoing suggests the importance of liturgical space and the repetition and standardization of having certain fixed times to pray and worship within the business of general daily life. Related to this is the transmission, innovation and renewal of prayer life through the standardization of prayer, which seems to have occurred during the Second Temple period. Judith Newman's seminal work *Praying by the Book* investigates this 'Scripturalization of Prayer,' as she terms it. This study provides ample evidence of the development, integration and re-working of scriptural texts to adapt them into a prayer format, allowing for and bringing about the re-working of scripture and the rejuvenation of well-known and identifiable texts. The mere existence of written prayers within the corpus of material discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls highlights steps towards this standardization and scripturalization of prayer, since the basic economic cost of creating such documents would (from a perspective of common sense) prevent the production of such documents if the prayer was not standardised and used on a regular basis, either individually or communally. Therefore, it is arguable that 'institutionalized prayer must be seen as part of the ritual of the Yahad.'²⁶⁸ However, the *Shirot* themselves do not provide the words used by the angelic priests in worship, focussing instead entirely on what the angels do, rather than what they say.

The question of whether the *Shirot* functioned as prayers, as well as being *Shirot*, perhaps in a format similar to the Psalms is a difficult question to answer, but it would be remiss of me not to raise it. The *Shirot* mention the importance of 'an offering of the tongue' (4Q403 1 ii 26). In fact, the chief princes are identified as offerings Psalms and blessings 'by the tongue' in 4Q403 1 i 1-29 and the 'chiefs of praise-offering' are described as having

²⁶⁸ Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism*, 232.

'tongues of knowledge...[who] bless the לאלוהי of Knowledge' (4Q405 23 ii 12). This is often translated as the God of Knowledge but in the *Shirot* could also refer to the *elohim/elim* (one of the groups of angelic beings present in the text). It is uncertain from the text whether humanity joins in with this blessing or is in any way a recipient of the praise and blessing or whether the blessing is of divine beings alone, who then themselves bless the God of Knowledge.

Further, 1QS 9 3-6 implies that (for the Yahad) prayer was of equal importance to the offering of sacrifice:²⁶⁹

בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת
 עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל הטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת
 שפתים למשפט כניחוה צדק ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצון בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי
 היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל
 ההולכים בתמים

When these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth ⁴ eternal, in order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice - the offering of ⁵ the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering - at that moment the men of ⁶ the Community shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the Community for Israel, those who walk in perfection.²⁷⁰

Given the introductory formulae for each of the *Shirot*, it is also extremely interesting that there is not really any definitive evidence of a sacrifice occurring within the narrative ritual

²⁶⁹ Esther G. Chazon, 'Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications,' *DSD* 1 (1994):265-284. Judith Newman also quotes Chazon before continuing to argue that during the Second Temple period the scripturalization of prayer developed to the point where prayer became the *sine qua non* for sacrificial offerings. See Newman, *Praying by the Book*, 209.

²⁷⁰ Text and translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol. 1*.

of the *Shirot*. In fact, for many years the consensus amongst Dead Sea Scroll scholars was that the *Shirot* were offered as prayers by the Yahad in substitution for a sacrificial offering in the temple. Interestingly, *Shir 13* mentions the sacrificial offering (לזבחי קדושים and ריה מנחותם) by what appears to be an angelic High Priest in the heavenly temple, before proceeding to describe the sacrificial vestments²⁷¹ and the breastplate worn by this angelic being. The clothing described is human in nature and possibly reminiscent of the clothing worn by the earthly High Priest in the Temple.

11Q17 9:3-7²⁷²

מנחות רצון המכול מעשיהם
 לזבחי קדושים ריה מנחותם
 לם וריה נסכיהם למסם הטוהר ברוח קודש
 עולמים בהוד והדר לפלא ותבנית חשני
 פתילי תפארת רוקמה כמעשי אורגומולח טוהר צבעי

acceptable offerings all their work
 for the sacrifices of the holy ones the aroma of their offerings
 their... and the aroma of their libations for of purity in a spirit of holiness
 eternity, with splendor and majesty for wonderful, and the form of the breastplates
 of beautiful threads multicoloured like woven work purley blended, the colours
 of

²⁷¹ Zilm has compared the fragmentary description of the vestments described in *Shir 13* with a passage from the *Testament of Job* 48:3 in which Job's daughters are able to 'sp[eak] ecstatically in the angelic dialect.' Thus, once clothed in these garments, though still on earth, they are able to participate in heavenly discourse and praise as the clothes offer a transformation whereby each daughter has 'her heart changed' (*Testament of Job* 49.1) so her focus is on heaven rather than earth. Zilm continues by suggesting that wearing specific (multi-coloured) garments was a 'viable ritual medium for summoning angels.' (p.448). See Jennifer Zilm, 'Multi-coloured like Woven Works: Gender, Ritual Clothing and Praying with the Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Testament of Job*,' in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, eds., Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner and Cecilia Wassen. STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 437-451 esp. 444-448.

²⁷² Text and translation from Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude *DJD XXIII Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-30* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 291-292.

The passage above suggests that the earthly worshippers using this text as a liturgical text within worship would figuratively speaking, join in with the angelic sacrificial ritual offering in heaven. Therefore, even if the earthly worshippers were not physically offering a sacrifice within their own physical space on earth, the Yahad, by extension, were (through the liturgy of the text they were using in worship) joining in an offering through the angelic priesthood in heaven. These offerings were made through the mystical, metaphorical language of the ritual narrative of the *Shirot* and the imagined and liminal space of integrated worship between the earthly and the heavenly. Thus, prayer was not only a substitute for sacrifice, it was also a crucial part of enabling the Yahad to engage with the angelic ritual in heaven.

If, however, sacrifices were offered at Qumran then it is also entirely possible that the Yahad offered a sacrifice on earth whilst liturgically focussing on the angelic sacrifice in heaven, so that they were copying the angelic ritual and providing authenticity to their practice. The question of whether or not sacrifices were offered at Qumran or not, is a complex issue and will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.2.1 LITURGICAL SPACE

Within the *Shirot*, the imagined physical space of the temple from the outer parts of the outer sanctuary through to the heavenly Debir, are called and entreated to praise God, alongside the angelic beings. The call for inanimate objects to offer praise is surprising, though the idea of inanimate objects being able to offer praise is a not-unknown first-century concept (καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κράξουσιν); 'He (Jesus) answered, 'I tell you, if these were silent, the stones would shout

out." (Luke 19:40). What is interesting, from a spatial perspective, is the attention given to the inanimate objects and therefore the structural space of the temple within the text. In *Shir* Seven, the pillars and corner structures are called to join in the praise to God, before the *elohim* are asked to praise the structures themselves in recognition of the firmament of the uppermost heaven.

4Q403 I i 41-43²⁷³

באלה יהללו כול יסודי קודש קודשים עמודי משא לזבול רום רומים וכול פנות מבניתו זמרו
אלוהים נורא כוח כול רוהי דעת ואור למשא יחד רקיע זו טוהר טהורים למקדש קודשו
ושבחהו רוהי אלוהים להודות עולמי עולמים רקיע רוש מרומים כול קורותו וקירותו

With these let all the foundations of the holy of holies praise, the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abode, and all the corners of its structure. Sing praise to God who is dreadful in power, all you spirits of knowledge and light in order to exalt together the splendidly shining firmament of His holy sanctuary. Give praise to *Hi|jm*, O god-like spirits, in order to praise for ever and ever the firmament of the uppermost heaven, all its beams and its walls,

This theme then continues through *Shirot* 9-13. *Shir* 9 is particularly fragmentary and is thought to exist now in only one fragment, 4Q405 14-15 ii. This fragment is particularly fascinating as it appears to describe angelic beings as carvings within the *Debirim*.

Newsom identifies these carvings as being equivalent to the carvings of cherubim, flowers and palm trees described as adorning the Solomonic Temple and in the ideal imagined temple in Ezekiel's vision.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Newsom, 'Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat,' *DJD XI*, 269-272.

²⁷⁴ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 11.

The reason why the imagined physical structure of the heavenly temple is important to those involved in the ritual of the text on earth may be found in Hebrews 8:5, which states:

οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων, καθὼς κεχρημάτισται Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνήν· ὅρα γάρ φησιν, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

They offer worship in a sanctuary that is a sketch and shadow of the heavenly one; for Moses, when he was about to erect the tent, was warned, 'See that you make everything according to the pattern that was shown you on the mountain.'

The idea of the earthly temple being a 'sketch' and 'shadow' of the heavenly temple is especially Platonic and undoubtedly relates to the actual earthly Temple. Within the *Shirot* then, it is possible that the structural elements of the heavenly temple are so specifically described because they have been made according to God's pattern. This is the true divine temple and through using the *Shirot* in worship, this space is accessible to those using the text, allowing them to simultaneously be both in heaven and upon the earth.

3.2.2 THIRDSPACE

In *On Dreams* 2,230,²⁷⁵ Philo explains that it is possible for a righteous man to be neither God nor man but in between the two, 'being connected with the mortal race by his manhood, and with the immortal race by his virtue.' Philo then continues in 2,231 to extend this theory to the High Priest when he enters the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur,²⁷⁶ and Philo interprets Leviticus 16:17 in this manner, explaining that

²⁷⁵ I am very thankful to Hillel Baitner for mentioning this reference to me in private email correspondence.

²⁷⁶ The description of the type of priestly garments which should be worn by the High Priest on Yom Kippur is discussed in *Leviticus Rabbah*; in contrast to the embroidered, dyed garment described above, it is decided

if at that time he is not a man, it is clear that he is not God either, but a minister of God, belonging as to his mortal nature to creation but as to his immortal nature to the uncreated God.

Whilst I would argue that the High Priest in the *Shirot* is an angelic being, Philo's theory could be applied to a worshipping community using the *Shirot* and to the belief in an angelic and earthly liturgical communion occurring during the time when the liturgy is in use. When ritually engaged with this text, the worshippers are neither God, angelic nor fully human: they are temporarily transcendently changed in a spiritual and liturgical space which is both divine and earthly, real and imagined, perceived and conceived.

This is a concrete example of the essence of thirdspace as explained by Edward Soja:

Everything comes in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and concrete, the real and imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, conscious and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history.²⁷⁷

Soja continues by explaining that 'anything which fragments thirdspace into separate specialised knowledge or exclusive domains – even on the pretext to handling its infinite complexity – destroys its meaning and openness.' This is an interesting thought when applied to the *Shirot*, since the bringing together of the two worlds (i.e heaven and earth) in ritual and liturgy allows for everything outlined in the above quote from Soja. Yet this is accessible by only to a select group of people, who are believed to be holy, pure and

that the priest should wear modest linen garments rather than golden garments, to atone for the people in a manner of humility instead of not pride. This indicates that golden garments were generally worn within the sanctuary. Leviticus Rabbah 21. (Again, thanks to Hillel Baitner for the reference.) This is not completely unexpected, however, since Leviticus 16:4 states that Aarron must put on sacred linen garments, after he has cleansed himself in an act of ritual purification, before entering the Holy of Holies. A man in linen also appears in the passage in Daniel 12 which links the Maskil and the archangel Michael.

²⁷⁷ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 56-57. See also Shodhganga 'Theorising Third Space and Spatial Subjectivity.' Available online at shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in Accessed 14th May 2018.

entitled to engage with those who know the mysteries of and knowledge of of God. This exclusion does not occur in the meeting place, the thirdspace, which is accessed through the practised ritual and the ritual narrative, but prior to the worship. The spatial geography also remains intact and unfragmented during worship and the time in which people are engaged in this 'other' space, which is known yet unknowable, structural yet essence, real yet imagined; a ritual thirdspace!

3.2.3 FIXED PERIODS OF SPACE

Another point which needs to be made in the discussion about liturgical space relates to the relationship between spatiality and temporality, since space and time are inextricably linked. The Books of Daniel and of Judith allude to the fact that there were fixed times for prayer to be offered,²⁷⁸ since Daniel was visited by Gabriel at 'the time of the evening sacrifice' (Daniel 9:20) and Judith prayed 'At the very time when the evening incense was being offered in the house of God in Jerusalem,' (Judith 9:1) and 'Toward the morning watch' (Judith 12:5). This also separately suggests that prayer was an official, recognised and allowable substitution for sacrifices for those who were unable to attend the Temple. Further, the fact that Daniel's interaction with Gabriel is recorded as occurring at the 'time of the evening sacrifice' implies that this was seen as a particularly holy time, when interactions between angels and humanity might occur. This is perhaps because at this time people's focus was on the divine and so they were more accessible and receptive to a visit.

²⁷⁸ This point has also been raised by Bilhah Nitzan who recognises the times given as the times which were already fixed for cultic sacrifice offerings. See Bilhah Nitzan, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Liturgy,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St Andrews in 2001*, ed., James Davilla. STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 200.

In order to pray, Judith lies prostrate on the floor, which is the same prayer practise ascribed to the Maskil in the *Hodayot*. There are also four fixed times given for when the Maskil should offer his thanksgiving and prayers, in 1QH^a 20: 7-12. Two of these are similar to those present in Judith, being the evening prayer and the midnight prayer. The symbolism of prostration on behalf of the Maskil has been researched by Judith Newman who argues that the practise of prostration is not an occasional or one-off event but is constant, regular and routine behaviour. She further puts forward the argument that this posture caused a form of (or recognition of) self-humbling²⁷⁹ action on behalf of the Maskil, who as the highest rank (or one of the highest ranks) in the Yaḥad, became low before God, which, Newsom continues, was effective in making the Maskil serve as 'a site of memory - a visual, embodied location for recalling the work of Moses²⁸⁰ - a cultural history of submissive and intercessory behaviour on the part of the leader which was then transferred to the leader of the Yaḥad.²⁸¹ Prostration should, then, perhaps be recognised as the correct bodily position to be in, in order to pray for intercession on behalf of others. Newman additionally notes that Moses also prostrates himself within *Jubilees* 1:19-21 to ask for a pure heart and pure spirit on behalf of the Israelites so that they will not be tempted by Beliar.²⁸² It is perhaps not surprising therefore, to find the Maskil practising this ritual, given the importance of *Jubilees* for the Yaḥad. In a more recent publication Newman expands her argument to state that it is through 'offering confessional psalms, prostrating and petitioning, the Maskil trains members of the Yaḥad in a particular

²⁷⁹ Here she builds on work from Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 262. See Judith Newman, 'Embodied Techniques: The Communal Formation of the Maskil's Self.' *DSD* 22 (2015):253.

²⁸⁰ When Moses lay prostrate at Sinai to offer intercession and confession, Deut 9:25-26.

²⁸¹ Newman, 'Embodied Techniques,' 266.

²⁸² Newman, 'Embodied Techniques,' 262.

embodied ethos.²⁸³ In fact, she states that it is the Maskil's humility and his embodiment of that humility which allows the whole congregation to stand together with the angels.²⁸⁴

Through this, the Maskil shapes the community by embodying the history of Moses, the Torah and the prophets with the 'esoteric knowledge of cosmic mysteries revealed to the elect.'²⁸⁵ I would like to argue however, that the Maskil doesn't just embody the history of Moses; rather, the Maskil (through the act of prostration in prayer) culturally establishes within the mind of the Yaḥad a connection with Moses at Sinai and through that symbolism, a link with the law and the commandments. The Maskil may during his liturgical role, even figuratively become Moses for members of the Yaḥad. We have already seen in this thesis how ritual and liturgy allow a thirdspace to be established, meaning that the Yaḥad can join in praise together with the angels. This physical act of prostration by the Maskil also enables the worship to be atemporal, allowing the Yaḥad to connect with God in the same way as Moses and the Israelites connected with God at Mount Sinai.

3.3 LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE LITURGICAL SPACE

The figure of the Maskil played an important leadership role within the Yaḥad and was a crucial cog within the worshipping life of the community, acting essentially as a worshipping co-ordinator. The meaning of the word 'Maskil' is unknown for certain but is thought to derive from the verb meaning 'to enlighten' and is often translated as 'Instructor.'²⁸⁶ It has been suggested by Schiffman that the term was influenced by Daniel 12, in which

²⁸³ Judith Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of the Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 138.

²⁸⁴ Newman, *Before the Bible*, 138.

²⁸⁵ Newman, *Before the Bible*, 138.

there are two occurrences of the word in verses 3 and 10.²⁸⁶ This link is intriguing, especially in comparison with the *Shirot*, as Daniel 12 occurs during the time of Michael the Great Prince and so the role of a Maskil is already mentioned in the same literary context as one of the archangels, who is termed a Great Prince. It does not, consequently, take a lot of imagination to understand the Great Prince of Daniel 12 as being one and the same as the chief princes which are active in the *Shirot*, especially since in all the attempts to try to identify the Chief Princes, Michael's role is undisputed.²⁸⁷ The *Shirot* are not the only documents discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls which are introduced as למשכיל the *Hodayot*²⁸⁸ and *Berakhot* texts are also included in this category.

Carol Newsom has argued that the Maskil is 'not only an apotheosis of sectarian selfhood but of the sect itself.'²⁸⁹ John J. Collins agrees, viewing the ideals attributed to the Maskil as representative of the ideals of the Yahad.²⁹⁰ These ideals are explained in 1QS 3:13-15:

למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור בתולדות כול בני איש
לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם ולפקודת נגועיהם עם
קצי שלומם

The Instructor should instruct and teach all the sons of light about the nature of all the sons of man, concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs, concerning their deeds in their generations, and concerning the visitation of their punishments and the times of their reward.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ Lawrence H. Schiffman, 'Maskil' in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) Available online at www.cojs.org Accessed 15th May 2018.

²⁸⁷ See discussion regarding the chief princes below.

²⁸⁸ Newman argues that the ritual act of prostration described in the *Hodayot* alongside prayer is a ritual role of the Maskil which assists the 'formation of the liturgical body in corporate worship.' This in turn, Newman continues, 'forms an integral part of communal formation and indeed transformation as the community understands itself gaining access to communal worship with the angels through his ongoing practice of prostration, repentance and forgiveness.' Newman, 'Embodied Techniques,' 250.

²⁸⁹ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 189.

²⁹⁰ Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism*, 231.

²⁹¹ Throughout this thesis all text and translations of 1QS, 1QSa and 1QSB are taken (unless otherwise stated) from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1*.

This certainly seems to align with the understanding of the Maskil in Daniel 12, though, unsurprisingly, it is written through a sectarian lens so that the Maskil's role is to only enlighten the Sons of Light, and to act as a sort of spiritual director for them in the capacity of a worship co-ordinator!

It could be argued that the entirety of 1QS 9:12 up until 11:22 depicts the status of the Maskil within the Yahad. Certainly, the passage 1QS 9:12-10:5 describes the role of the Maskil. He is to know the law and statutes of his time and determine the rank of the other members within the Yahad and he is not to enter into theological debate with 'the Sons of the Pit' but instead he must keep the divine esoteric knowledge secret and protected. He is then to teach this knowledge and wisdom to the 'Sons of Light' so each can walk in the way of perfection and live according to righteousness. He is to speak the truth and criticise the unrighteous, delight in all God has done and nothing else and bless God as creator at the divinely appointed times. In an unanticipated move, 1QS 10:6 introduces a change in person from third person ('he Shall') to first person ('I will'), whilst seemingly continuing a list of attributes and characteristics the person in this role must fulfil.

The grammar change in 1QS 10:6 interestingly centres around prayer:

תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד

With the offering of the lips I shall bless him, in accordance with the decree recorded forever.

The Maskil is described as having a teaching and leadership role. He is also linked to the sectarian calendar and has responsibility for following the correct times and days

appointed for the feasts, as well as daily prayer.²⁹² Newman also explains an interesting connection which provides the Maskil with a legal role too. This is due to the use of the phrase 'engraved statute,' which is used exclusively to refer to the Maskil, and only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible, in Exodus 32:16, to 'refer to God's own engraving of the tablets of the law at Sinai.'²⁹³ The Maskil is, then, uniquely linked with God and is understood to have divine knowledge, and thus is the highest authority in regard to teaching the ways of the Yahad. This divine knowledge is a knowledge which is not available to all, and is believed to be similar to the connection between Moses and God at Sinai. This is important for the intention behind the prayer being offered to God, for leadership with exemplarity and for the understanding and development of the teleological perfection which is to be attained in order for the Yahad to join with the angels in worship.

It is also worthwhile noting that in the text from 1QS above, the Maskil seems to imply that he will bless God. This is an unusual concept as God is normally called upon to bless other people, or the person entreating God for the blessing. In reality the fact that 1QS implies that the Maskil is blessing God appears somewhat blasphemous, unless we can deduce from this statement that prayer was perceived as a form of blessing to God similar to 'blessed be you, O God' etc. This certainly seems to be the case in the *Hodayot*, where the Maskil blesses God frequently using the phrase 'blessed are you.' Newsom has shown how this form of blessing is most often connected with knowledge as a gift, given from God, which is within the individual 'by means of an implanted spirit or spirits.'²⁹⁴ This

²⁹² See Newman, *Before the Bible*, 114 and Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 14.

²⁹³ Newman, *Before the Bible*, 114.

²⁹⁴ Carol A. Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me: Self and Agency in Ancient Israel and Second Temple Judaism* (London: Yale University Press, 2021), 145.

spirit is believed to give understanding to God's divine mysteries including God's judgement, God's forgiveness and cosmology. This is the understanding which the Maskil thanks God for in 1QH^a 20:14/15:

ואני משכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברות אשר נתתה בי

And I, The Maskil, I know you, my God, by the spirit you have given to me.²⁹⁵

The Maskil is, as Carol Newsom has written, thanking God for making him a 'perceiving, understanding being.'²⁹⁶ Throughout the *Hodayot* the spirit is presented as in tension with and is compared with, the body (spirit of flesh), which is perceived in a negative manner and is seen as a vessel, a material body of flesh, dust and clay.²⁹⁷ This builds on the scriptural themes of creation found in Genesis 2.7 in which God breathes the breath of life into the man which he has just formed out of clay from the earth. Humans are also recognised as having limited understanding and as suffering from moral lapses,²⁹⁸ an anthropology which Newsom states was seen as the baseline for humanity. It is the way God made us in order to 'underscore the miraculousness of God's transformation of a select group of persons who are then suited for fellowship with the angels.'²⁹⁹ In the Maskil's statement of confidence 'And I, the Maskil, I know you, my God, by the spirit that you have placed in me,' we see the connection which the Maskil believes he has with God through the spirit within him. It is this connection which makes the Maskil believe he is guided and instructed by God and which gives him the authority and confidence to lead

²⁹⁵ My translation.

²⁹⁶ Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me*, 145.

²⁹⁷ Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me*, 147-149.

²⁹⁸ The most recent and detailed explanation of the comparison within the *Hodayot* between body and spirit in connection with creation is found in Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me*, 143-169.

²⁹⁹ Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me*, 149.

others in worship. It gives him the ability to join with the angels, who are acknowledged within the *Shirot* as being 'spirits of knowledge.' It also gives him access to divine knowledge and divine understanding, in the same capacity (though through different methods) as Moses at Sinai, Enoch, the Patriarchs and David.

The Maskil is concerned with the temptations of the body because this could lead to a disconnect, a break in the connection with God, which is why he hopes and prays for a transformation of spirit,³⁰⁰ as this will make him *like* the angels in heaven. The Maskil's words of thanksgiving to God in worship are, as a performance, also a method of teaching the Yahad.³⁰¹ The words remind them to thank God for the gifts in their life; they remind them of their weaknesses and the possibility of temptation; they are penitential. They also seem to me to thank and bless God for giving them these struggles and temptations in order that they can prove themselves worthy of communion with the angels. In this way the Maskil's words shape both the individual and the community.

3.3.1 HIERARCHY OF HUMANKIND

Peter Schäfer believes that 1QS, the *Serek ha-Yahad* shows that the Yahad at Qumran had an 'hierarchically organised structure' which represented the 'true temple,' consisting of the:

qodesh (Sanctuary) which represented the ordinary members of the community (Israel) and the Sod qodesh qodashim (Holy of Holies) was reserved for the priests - the holiest of the Holy in the community.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Newsom, *The Spirit within me*, 147.

³⁰¹ Newman, *Before the Bible*, 108.

³⁰² Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 115.

If Schäfer's understanding here is correct then the Yaḥad formed a hierarchy which created and functioned as a ritual space. This rite of passage within the Yaḥad helped to establish the thirdspace environment which was accessed through worship. Further, Schäfer believes that any communion with angels can only be truly understood if the relationship and focus on priestly matters and Temple identification is acknowledged and comprehended.³⁰³ Members of the Yaḥad were able to communicate with the angels because they were ritually and culturally pure. This then allowed them to spiritually connect with the angels.

Schäfer also notes how this hierarchical concept of angelology is the 'exact reverse of ascent apocalypses,³⁰⁴ for instead of one just being ascending to the heavenly throne and the:

true heavenly temple; instead, the priests of the heavenly temple unite with the true priests of the true earthly temple to assist them in their fight against the force of darkness and to jointly usher in the period of salvation and eternal bliss on earth.³⁰⁵

One of the issues with Schäfer's analysis is that too much focus is placed on his belief that the Yaḥad was in direct opposition to the Temple in Jerusalem. I have already raised reservations about this hypothesis, in Chapter 2. Also, if Schäfer's theory is applied to the *Shirot* I do not find any evidence to suggest that the angels descend en-masse, or even individually, to earth. The connection between the heavenly and the earthly priests appears to be spiritual. It is a connection made accessible through ritual and liturgy and through the

³⁰³ Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 116.

³⁰⁴ Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 116.

³⁰⁵ Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 116.

transitional process of liminality and especially the transformational aspects of liminal space.

3.3.2 HIERARCHY OF DIVINE BEINGS

The hierarchical understanding of the earthly community is quite interesting, however, since, as discussed below, there appears to be a firm understanding of the heavenly hierarchical structure with the elim and the holiest of the holy, serving God as priests and ministering to Him.

1QS 5:25 also provides evidence for a hierarchical classification of the people in the Yahad, which is reviewed annually at the Covenantal Renewal Ceremony (presumably by the Maskil, who in 1QS is given the role of ascertaining each individual's spiritual level) and is seen as being pre-ordained by God.

Indeed 1QS 2:19-23 states the following:

ככה יעשו שנה בשנה כול יומי ממשלת בליעל הכוהנים יעבורו
ברשונה בסרך לפי רוחותם זה אחר זה והלויים יעבורו אחריהם
וכול העם יעבורו בשלישית בסרך זה אחר זה לאלפים ומאות
וחמשים ועשרות לדעת כול איש ישראל איש בית מעמדו ביחד אל
לעצת עולמים ולוא ישפל איש מבית מעמדו ולוא ירום ממקום גורלו.

They shall act in this way year after year, all the days of Belial's dominion. The priests shall enter in order foremost, one behind the other, according to their spirits. And the levites shall enter after them. In third place all the people shall enter in order, one after another, in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, so that each Israelite may know his standing in God's Yahad in conformity with an eternal plan. And no-one shall move down from his rank nor move up from the place of his lot.

This raises the question, therefore, of which came first: is the earthly structure imitating or emulating a (perhaps more widely understood) concept of the heavens? Or has the text been written with this structure to re-enforce and provide authority for a similar structure on earth?

In order to understand the functional application of the heavenly ritual in the *Shirot* and the spatial implications of the angelic hierarchy, it is important to study the hierarchical distinctions between the angelic beings within the *Shirot*. However, first it is necessary to focus on the ritual practices and spatial understanding of the angels in *Jubilees*, given the many similarities discussed in the previous chapter regarding the calendrical, liturgical time between *Jubilees* and the *Shirot*, in order to analyse the similarities regarding liturgical space and angelology.

3.3.3 JUBILEES

Within *Jubilees* the Sabbath is observed, kept and blessed by the two highest categories of angels: the angels of presence and the angels of holiness. The Sabbath is consecrated and observed by these two groups of angelic beings before being given to a select group of people - the Israelites - to be observed on earth. These people are then raised and 'equated in holiness'³⁰⁶ with the two angelic groups already observing the Sabbath: a ritual time and space in its very essence!

³⁰⁶ Jared C. Calaway, *The Sabbath and the Sanctuary: Access to God in the Letter to the Hebrews and its Priestly Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 91.

(*Jub 2:18-19*)

4Q216 7 8-10

כי אנחנו כל מלאכי הפנים וכל מלאכי הקודש שני
 המינים האלה אמר לנו לשבות שבת עמו בשמים ובארץ
 ויאמר לנו הנה אני מבדיל לך עם בתווך עממי ו[שבתו הם וקדשתי אתם לי לעם וברכתים והיו עמי והייתי
 לאלהיהם].

For we - all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness-]
 these [two] kinds - he to[ld us to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth.
 He said to us: 'I will now separate for myself] a people among my nations. And
 [they will keep sabbath. I will sanctify them as my people, and I will bless them.
 They will be my people and I will be their God.] (VandeerKam, from the Hebrew)

He told us — all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness (these two great kinds) — to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth. He said to us: 'I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day. I will sanctify them for myself; in this way I will bless them. They will become my people and I will become their God. (VanderKam, from the Ethiopic)

In fact, *Jubilees* offers a rare insight into the angelic perspective as the Israelites are said to 'keep the Sabbath together with us.' In *Jubilees* the 'angelic practice of observing, blessing and praising on the Sabbath preceded any human involvement.'³⁰⁷ This means that the Sabbath was not created nor instituted for humans but rather that humans are being given the privilege of being allowed access to a divine ritual (which was instituted by God) through imitation of the angels. Consequently, in *Jubilees'* ideology humans were created for the Sabbath, to join in the angelic worship and reverence. Callaway further argues, that through imitation of the angelic rite, people become angelic in holiness and blessedness, as per *Jubilees 2:28* 'Everyone who observes (it) and keeps Sabbath on it from all his work

³⁰⁷ The same observation is independently made by Calaway, *The Sabbath and the Sanctuary*, 91.

will be holy and blessed throughout all times *like* us.³⁰⁸ The humans are metaphorically therefore, *like* the angels, becoming one of them through correct Sabbath observance. Thus, through keeping the Sabbath, the humans are given the blessing which has been bestowed on these two categories of angels since creation and gain access to a state of being which has previously been reserved only for the heavenly community and the two highest categories of angels. The humans are brought into line with the angels, they are being given access to heaven by emulating on earth the angelic worship. The practise of keeping and observing the Sabbath is a form of *imitatio dei* for both the angels of purification and sanctification and humanity, as well as *imitatio angelorum* for humanity.³⁰⁹ As Scott has observed, *Jubilees* depicts Enoch (and builds on the Enochic tradition) as a 'model of eschatological priesthood, a figure who successfully straddles heaven and earth.'³¹⁰ Enoch, therefore, spatially breaks down the cosmos: he forms a liminal space, an 'other' space. He mixes with the angels and is taught by them. As previously mentioned it is the angels who are telling Moses what to write in *Jubilees* and here it is the angels teaching Enoch. These texts are therefore, in essence, *imitatio angelorum* themselves. The angels' knowledge is given by God, who has instructed the angels in regard to their interpreting and teaching roles in relation to both Enoch and Moses.

³⁰⁸ VanderKam, from the Ethiopic.

³⁰⁹ Scott independently makes this observation arguing that the Sabbath discussion in *Jubilees* starts a focus of 'on earth as in heaven.' He observes that a pattern is discernible between Sabbath worship, the Festival of Weeks and circumcision: God institutes the practice, then the angels observe it (or in the case of circumcision were created thus), then sometime later the Israelites are allowed to join the heavenly realm by receiving the law and observing these commandments. See Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 2-4.

³¹⁰ Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 9 & 56-59.

Enoch, after he has finished walking with the angels, is portrayed in a priestly manner when he is given the priestly responsibilities of 'burning the evening incense' (*Jubilees* 4:25). This suggests that Enoch is believed to have entered into priestly ministry when he was brought into the Garden of Eden. The idea of Enoch as a priest is not explicitly referred to in a text prior to *Jubilees*.³¹¹ However, Van Ruiten argues that there is a 'tradition-historical relationship between the Garden of Eden and the temple' prior to *Jubilees*.³¹² Van Ruiten furthers his argument by describing the scriptural use of the Garden of Eden motif. He shows that scripture concentrates on Eden as 'a former prosperity which has now disappeared, a loss of former glory,' or as a 'future restored situation.'³¹³ The focus on Eden as the hope of a restored future is used scripturally in Ezekiel 36:35 and Isaiah 51:3 to symbolise future prosperity and as a sign of God's forgiveness and reconciliation as people's iniquities are cleansed by God.³¹⁴ The influence of *Jubilees* within sectarian literature on the idea of Eden as a sanctuary has been questioned by Brooke.³¹⁵ He shows that this primary understanding is behind the text of

³¹¹ For more on the concept of Enoch as priest see Jacques T.A.G.M van Ruiten 'Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,' in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel; Community without a Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation der Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, Antiken Judentum und Frühen Christentum*, ed., Beate Ego, Armin Lange, Kathrin Ehlers and Peter Pilofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 220; James C. VanderKam *Jubilees 1-21 Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*. ed., Sidnie White Crawford (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 260-261. On the association of Enoch with priestly literature see Michael Edward Stone 'The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,' *CBQ* 40:4 (1978): 490. It is thought by some scholars that the authors of the Enochic literature may have been priests. For this argument see George W. E Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*. ed., Klaus Baltzer. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 67; David Suter. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 50 (1979): 115-135. On the implicit reference to Enoch as a priest in 1 Enoch see Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. (Oxford: OUP, 1993, 23-25.

³¹² van Ruiten 'Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,' 220.

³¹³ van Ruiten 'Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,' 221.

³¹⁴ van Ruiten 'Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,' 221.

³¹⁵ George J. Brooke, 'Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,' in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel; Community without a Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation der Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, Antiken Judentum und Frühen Christentum*, ed., Beate Ego, Armin Lange, Kathrin Ehlers and Peter Pilofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 285-301.

4Q265 11-17.³¹⁶ The Yaḥad could also have easily applied (to their own circumstances) the ideology from Isaiah 51:3 of Zion's wilderness being restored to be like the Garden of Eden, with the promise of a future restored and reconciled relationship with God and a relationship which humanity had with God at the beginning of creation in the Garden of Eden. This idea must have been appealing for a group of people who were living like the Israelites in the Judean wilderness.³¹⁷

In *Jubilees*, Enoch, in burning the evening incense, is actually continuing Adam's role within the Garden of Eden, since the last act attributed to Adam before he leaves the Garden is the burning of the morning incense (*Jubilees* 3:27). Enoch's teachings are also subsequently passed down from patriarch to patriarch until Levi, who is chosen to be set apart from humanity - to be a priest - like the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness (*Jub* 31:14). In other words, the ideal priesthood is that like Enoch's in the Garden of Eden: a priesthood which was originally bestowed on Adam. A priesthood which simultaneously enables access to the former glory of humanity's relationship with God and the promise of a restored, reconcilable future with God. A priesthood which enables access to paradise and collapses spatial time; thus, allowing for the ideal priesthood *imitatio angelorum* to be accessible to humanity - after the fall of both the watchers and humanity; and consequently, a priesthood which allows access to heaven whilst on earth.

It is possible, as has been argued by Scott, that the focus of 'on earth as in heaven' is opposite to the fallen angels' tradition where heaven came to earth in the form of the

³¹⁶ Brooke, 'Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,' 295.

³¹⁷ For more on the idea of the Yaḥad living in the wilderness like the Israelites see Chapter 4.

watchers who according to *Jubilees* 5:6, were sent by God to teach righteousness. Instead, there was mutual corruption, leading to the watchers fall from grace. The watchers, instead of teaching the rest of humanity like they had taught Enoch, began to have sexual relations with human women and to teach evil practises, such as weaponry, astronomy (horoscopes etc.) and even make-up!³¹⁸

This, of course, means that the watchers also breached the divide between heaven and earth creating a liminal space, though this space caused a dystopia that God needed to correct by imprisoning the watchers and sending the flood. Once the antithesis 'in heaven as on earth'³¹⁹ adopted by the watchers had been overturned, the focus of 'on earth as in heaven' was re-established and embodied by Noah and his descendants, joining once again in *imitatio angelorum* (of the righteous angels) since humanity was given permission to incorporate the (until then) angelic practice of keeping the Shavu'ot into their ritual practice and liturgical calendar.

Further, according to *Jubilees*, Enoch walked with the angels for 294 years, or six jubilees. Enoch is also the first human to receive divine knowledge from the angels of the presence. The angels teach Enoch the 'fixed' calendar including the signs of the seasons, the months of the year and the Sabbaths of a year (*Jubilees* 4:17-18). This suggests that the liturgical calendar outlined in Chapter 2 was integrating the priestly courses into a *Jubilee* system synonymous with the understanding of an Enochic priestly ministry. Of course, this may be building on scriptural tradition, since in Genesis Enoch is said to have walked with

³¹⁸ It is likely that make-up here refers to war paint for battle, rather than to foundation, concealer or lipstick!

³¹⁹ This is a phrase used by Scott and is one which I believe to be very apt in explaining the dichotomy.

האלוהים. Traditionally, Biblical commentators have translated this word as 'God' but *Jubilees* adapts this understanding to argue that Enoch actually walked with one of the highest groups of angelic beings - the *elohim* - who minister to God. To be a priest vis-à-vis Enoch is therefore, to be the ideal, worthy of ministering in the Garden of Eden itself.³²⁰ Indeed, *Jubilees* implies that Adam has priestly qualities prior to being exiled from the Garden (offering incense.) If, therefore, the human priests of the Yahad are *imitatio angelorum* through Enoch's instruction and at the divine command, then the priesthood is also *imitatio dei*, since humanity is made in the image of God,³²¹ and it would appear that this form of ministry allows humanity access to the Garden of Eden.³²² Brooke discusses the assumed connection between Eden and the temple sanctuary found in *Jubilees*, 4Q265 and 4Q421. He argues that, eschatologically the Urzeit and Endzeit would be the same, united in the belief that God's plan in Eden 'would be re-established.'³²³ He also argues that, as the community developed, the focus shifted from an Adamic eschatology to a priestly eschatology with the only acknowledgement of Eden being in the language of planting. Given the argument above, I would be more inclined to say that the connection between Eden and the sanctuary is still alive and present in the priestly

³²⁰ Fletcher-Louis has a similar argument, believing that worship allows 'a re-creation of the cosmos and a return to the conditions in Eden before the fall, the worshippers recover the original divine Glory intended for Adam (and Eve).' p.188. See Fletcher-Louis, 'Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Centre for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature 9-11 January 2005*, eds., Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru and Ruth Clements. STDJ 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 185-198.

³²¹ Hindy Najman has correctly observed that to be 'created in the image of God is to be called to imitate God, but not to be God.' In Najman, 'Imitatio Dei and the Formation of the Subject in Ancient Judaism' *JBL* 140:2 (2021):316.

³²² 4Q265 shows that the Garden of Eden had a 'cultic status akin to that of the temple.' See Brooke, 'Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,' 285-301, esp 285. See also Martha Himmelfarb, 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of Watchers, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira,' in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographies of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, eds., Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley. Contributions to the Study of Religion 30 (London: Greenwood Press, 1991), 63-78.

³²³ Brooke, 'Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,' 297.

narrative but in a more nuanced way, whereby the priests are believed to be linked through Enoch to the Garden of Eden. In Jubilees the Garden of Eden is described as the Holy of Holies (*Jubilees 8:19*). Najman has shown that there is actually a tradition of the Garden of Eden being used to represent the 'Holy of Holies' in the Temple. For example, Najman outlines how 4 Ezra 'is portraying a heavenly model of the Temple that precedes the creation of the earth and, in its reference to God's right hand... is anticipating the ultimate construction of a temple on earth by God alone, with *both of God's hands*, culminating and perfecting the work of creation.'³²⁴ The *Shirot* also focus on a similar heavenly temple and the worship of the angels within it. This temple, as discussed, has similarities with the ideal imagined temple in Ezekiel's vision. It is, for the Yahad, a perfectly divinely created temple, which they are already able to access through the imitation of the angels who worship in this heavenly temple. This temple, then, is (like in 4 Ezra) outside lineal time and space, divinely created and allows the Yahad access to the Garden of Eden, which is the Holy of Holies. The Yahad, is then, metaphorically placed in the space and time of humanity's glory. This space allows a gap to be bridged between the heavenly and the earthly, between pre and post-diluvium times, to a time before the fall (either angelic or human) and to a place of complete connection and perfect relationship with God. A space which is at the same time imagined and real, material and immaterial, physical and ethereal. It is an unequivocal thirdspace, a space which allows the Yahad access to the restored temple and thus enables them access to the same relationship God had with humanity in the Garden of Eden prior to Adam and Eve's expulsion from Eden and from

³²⁴ Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), 106.

the same intimate connection with God. Further this temple is free from any possible human corruption, control or influence.

3.3.4 ANGELS OF THE PRESENCE

The angel of the face/presence is believed to be a divinisation of the divine face/presence, a concept which it is believed originated in the ANE. The title or definition of the face of God then appears to have developed through inter-scriptural exegesis of the Second Temple period to become a figure in its own right. Olyan notes that these titles (in time) become important terms to signify the archangel Michael and/or Metatron in later writings.³²⁵ Further, it is believed that the archangel Penuel is in fact thought to be a divinised defined figure originating from and symbolising the face of God. Penuel is in fact, one of the four archangels named in 1 Enoch 40:9.³²⁶ The figure of 'the angel of presence' therefore, stops being a 'personalising substitutive attribute of a deity'³²⁷ and becomes a personified, corporealized figure. This process of personifying a divine figure and going on to name the said figure, allows this being to be placed within the heavenly sphere. This therefore, is a development not only of angelology but, more specifically, a development of angelic space within the heavens, by the conception and placing of an independent, autonomous individual within the heavenly realm.

³²⁵ Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him*, 105.

³²⁶ Whilst Michael, Gabriel and Raphael appear to be designated as three of the four archangels within the four-archangel tradition the fourth angel does not appear to have been fully fixed yet within the Second temple period. With the fourth angel changing within contemporary literature between Penuel/Phanuel (1 Enoch 40:9) Sariel (1QM IX 14-16), (1 Enoch 9:1 in Aramaic) and Uriel (1 Enoch 9:1 in Greek).

³²⁷ Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him*, 106.

What is interesting, however, given that the phrase 'angel of the presence' is used throughout *Jubilees*,³²⁸ is that the phrase does not occur in the remaining fragments of the *Shirot*. The alternative phrase 'ministers of the presence,' however, does occur twice instead. Both references are from 4Q400 1, thought to be part of *Shir* 1 and relate to the heavenly beings בדביר. These two references are משרתי פנים 'ministers of the presence' (4Q400 1 4) and 4Q400 1 8, which reads כוה[ני] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש and which Newsom translates as 'pries[ts of] the inner sanctum who serve before the King of Holiest.' In this translation, Newsom combines the כוה[ני] with the משרתי. However, given the context of this line, I believe a better translation may be 'pries[ts of] the inner sanctum, ministers of the presence, of the King of (the) Most Holy,' no doubt highlighting the significance of priestly ministry and the angelic priesthood, (as discussed below) and linking the ministers of the presence with the angels of the presence in *Jubilees*. Olyan argues that the title 'angel of the presence' is first derived from the exegesis of Isaiah 63:9, which is itself a passage that has caused great contention and is difficult to translate.³²⁹

The angels of the presence actions in heaven and on earth, as set out within *Jubilees*, have already been analysed in detail within scholarship. I have nothing new, at present, to add to

³²⁸ *Jubilees* has many theological and thematic links with the *Shirot* and, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, there are many similarities between the *Jubilee's* calendar and the calendrical documents discovered at and near Qumran.

³²⁹ Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him*, 108. See also VanderKam, 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,' 383, who explains in great length exactly why this is so. He also provides the Hebrew and Greek text of the passage in order to show how they were understood and translated differently.

Hebrew of Isaiah 63:9 -

בְּכָל־צָרָתָם | לֹא־זָרַ וּמִלְאָךְ פְּנֵי־הוֹשִׁיעֵם בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ וּבְהַמְלִיחֹהּ הוּא גְאֻלָּם וְיִנְשָׂאֵם וְיִנְשָׂאֵם כְּלִי־מִי עוֹלָם

LXX Greek of Isaiah 63:9 -

ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως. οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ φείδεσθαι αὐτῶν· αὐτὸς ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτοὺς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

this understanding and agree with the functions and duties as outlined by Dimant.³³⁰

However, a comparison of these angelic characteristics in *Jubilees* with the *Shirot* would be fruitful. Consequently, based on the understood functions of these angels in *Jubilees*, it is not surprising to find the related angels in the *Shirot* also praising God, keeping the Sabbath, or officiating as priests. It should also not be surprising to find that the *Shirot* appears to have been aligned with the Shavu'ot, because it was understood that the angels of the presence had always kept this festival, just as they had always kept the Sabbath. As we have seen, according to *Jubilees*, Shavu'ot was a festival which the angels had kept alone until the time of Noah. However, from creation, angels and humans had together been commanded to observe the Sabbath. It was only after the flood, though, that humans were also allowed to celebrate in the festival of Shavu'ot along with the angels. This timeline then provides more evidence for the theory that the *Shirot* were used in the liturgical period leading up to and surrounding Shavu'ot, rather than being used in a cyclical manner,³³¹ for the *Shirot* are the liturgical equivalent of the narrative of Jubilees, starting at the beginning of the New Year and going through to just after the festival of Shavu'ot. The *Shirot* liturgically provide a symbolic representation of time from creation through to the giving of the Torah at Sinai and the establishment of a new, legally ordered community in the wilderness. It is also a celebration of being able to join in, following the flood, with angelic festival observance.

³³⁰ מנחה לשרה in בני שמים: תורת המלאכים בספר היובלים ובכתבי עדת קומראן

eds., M. Idel, D. Dimant and S. Rosenberg; (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 97-118. VanderKam summarizes pp. 101-8 of Dimant's essay in VanderKam, 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,' 378-380 esp. 379.

³³¹ See Chapter 2.

Further, VanderKam notes an important shift in the theology of *Jubilees* pre- and post-flood. Before the flood a group of angels of the presence speak with humanity; after the flood, only one angel of the presence speaks to humans. This is interesting given that, above, it is noted that the angels (alone) kept Shavu'ot until the time of Noah, so that, once again, the flood is used as a natural distinction between angelic and human activity.

Also symbolizing, perhaps, the higher number of angelic beings descending from heaven to earth, prior to the angelic fall, which, scripturally, is believed to be pre-flood.

VanderKam explains that 'only in the story of the Exodus does the group of angels of the presence return, and only at Sinai does God himself again speak.'³³² Intriguingly, as Olyan explains, the presence/face of God is paramount to the scriptural text of Exodus 33:14-15.³³³ In effect, in *Jubilees* the angel of the presence replaces the face/presence of God in the scripture. Indeed, in *Jubilees* 1:29 it is the angel of the presence that is explicitly stated as 'going along in front of the Israelite camp,' when the angel 'took the tablets (which told) of the divisions of the years from the time the law and the testimony.' Also, God tells the angel of the presence to give Moses the Commandments, so it is the angel who retells Genesis and Exodus. In fact, in 1:27 the angel is told by God to 'dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the Creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity.'³³⁴

³³² VanderKam, 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,' 380.

³³³ Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him*, 105.

³³⁴ VanderKam, 'The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,' 380. This translation is from the Ethiopic. Part of this passage occurs in 4Q216 4 6-9:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל מְלֹאךְ הַפָּנִים לְהַכְתִּיב
לְמוֹשֶׁה מִן רֵאשִׁית הַבְּרִיאָה עַד אֲשֶׁר יִבְנֶה מִקְדָּשִׁי
בְּתוֹכְכֶם לְעוֹלָמֵי עוֹלָמִים

which VanderKam translates as:

And He told the angel of the presence to dictate to Moses from the beginning of the creation until my sanctuary is built among them for all the ages of eternity.

This distinction between pre- and post-flood appears to indicate that there was a shift, after the fall, in regard to how much trust God had in the angels. This is equivalent to the shift in God's trust in humanity after Adam and Eve ate of the tree in the Garden of Eden. From a literary perspective, it is also intriguing that a single angel is allowed to continue to speak with humanity, just as a single human (Noah) is entrusted to lead his family in righteousness, save all animal kind, and rebuild and re-establish the planet.

The morality of all angelic beings is thus called into question by God's actions after the flood. In the *Shirot*, the angels appear to be viewed as perfect examples of a priestly and worshipping community. They are pure, perfect examples for emulation. Other texts uncovered at Qumran, though, recognize that there was a wider understanding of the angelic fall. There is within these texts a recognition of moral angels who led the 'Sons of Light' and immoral angels, led by Belial who governed the 'Sons of Darkness.' It seems, then, that there was a tradition that believed that angels had not always been perfect and that they held the potential to fall. Alternatively, there was perhaps a tradition which believed that, historically, there was only one occasion when some of the angels fell from heaven due to a moral lapse. This event was responsible for bringing evil into the world and altering the cosmos into a dualistic framework for ever. This does not necessarily mean, however, that another moral lapse could not occur, a theme which could be behind Paul's comment in 1 Corinthians, where women are encouraged to cover their heads in worship 'because of the angels,'³³⁵ The perfection of the angels within the fragments of the *Shirot* is explainable, however, since the Yahad believed themselves to be the 'Sons of

³³⁵ Though the Greek here is unclear and the verse is contested in scholarship.

Light 'and that they were, therefore, themselves in contact with the moral, perfect and pure angels not the evil fallen angels.

3.3.5 ELIM

The second highest category of angels in *Jubilees*, alongside the angels of the presence, is the angels of purification/holiness. A link between the council of elim and the angels of purification is found in 4QBer^a 7 i 2-7, where it is explicitly stated that these divine beings are elim of purification:

סוד אלי טוהר עם כול ידעי

council of elim of purification with all those who have knowledge...

This suggests that the council of elim, which is also mentioned in the *Shirot*, and the elim themselves, are associated as being one and the same as the angels of purification in *Jubilees*.

In the *Shirot*, the elim are already designated as being 'among the holiest of the holy ones,' who are eternally holy and 'have become for Him priests,' as well as appearing to be ministers of the presence in the דבר, acknowledging that they have access to the inner sanctum and to the presence of God. Schwemer argues that the use of elim is a deliberate link to pre-exilic temple theology as reflected in Psalms 29 and 93.³³⁶ Tuschling, alternatively, believes this is a deliberate ploy, as the use of an archaic term would 'support

³³⁶ Anna Maria Schwemer, 'Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran,' in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, eds., Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 58-59. See also R.M.M Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study in their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 87.

the community's claim of legitimacy.³³⁷ Although this is possible, I believe that the use of an archaic term is used to place the idea of the First Temple and the Davidic Covenant with God (including the institution of the priestly courses and the order of Levitical observation within the Temple) in the mind of the worshipper. This means that some structure or hierarchy of divine beings in the heavenly realm is understood to be present and modelled within the *Shirot*. It also signifies the degree to which these angelic beings and their function as angelic priests are respected and revered. There is a recognition of the sacred space between the earthly sanctuary and the heavenly throne room, a liminal space which through liturgy and ritual, metaphorically combines the earthly and heavenly by creating a ritual thirdspace.

The seven chief princes mentioned in the *Shirot* (and presumably the seven deputy princes) appear to be synonymous with the tradition of seven archangels and the seven holy areas of the heavenly temple. Mizrahi describes the chief princes as 'the leaders of seven angelic - or angelomorphic - hosts that serve the heavenly temple.'³³⁸ Their role within the heavenly temple is described in Song 6 and focuses on a cycle of praises and a cycle of blessings.³³⁹ Each prince, in turn, offers psalms of praise before each, again in turn, offers blessings. The words spoken by the princes are not given. However, the themes of the psalms and blessings are listed

³³⁷ Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, 87.

³³⁸ Noam Mizrahi, 'Earthly Liturgy and Celestial Music: The Poetics of the *Cycle of Praises* of the Sixth Sabbath Song' in *Gottesdienst und Engel im Antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, eds., Jörg Frey and Michael R. Jost. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe* 446 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 120.

³³⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 297-307.

The themes of the psalms are as follows:

Chief Prince	Seven Psalms of Praise
1st	Not preserved (Psalms of Blessing)
2nd	Not preserved (Psalms of Magnification)
3rd	Psalms of Exaltation of Faithfulness
4th	Psalms of Praise to the Warrior Above All
5th	Psalms of Thanksgiving to God
6th	[Psalms of] Rejoicing to God
7th	Psalms of Praisesong

Whilst the themes of the first two chief princes are not preserved in the initial list, after the format of each theme for each chief prince has been introduced, the text offers a summary of the 49 Psalms and this text shows that the first seven psalms are 'Psalms of Blessings' and that the second chief prince's seven psalms are 'Psalms of Magnification.' Therefore, we can quite confidently confirm that if the manuscript was intact the first two chief princes would be ascribed 'Psalms of Blessing' and 'Psalms of Magnification' respectively.

The text preserves the style of blessing in a different format, which as Nitzan has noted,³⁴⁰ is in this formulaic description: X among the chief princes shall bless in the name of Y all A words of... and bless B with seven words of... and bless C with seven words of...

Unfortunately, the text is fragmentary and it is not always given who A, B and C are in each of the seven chief princes blessings.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 303.

³⁴¹ Håkan Ulfsgard, 'The Shirot of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Heavenly Scene of the Book of Revelation' in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003-2006*, eds., Aders Klostergaard Peterson, Torleif Elgvin, Cecilia Wassen, Hanne von Weissenberg and Mikael Winninge. STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 262-264. In this article Ulfsgard has argued that the sevenfold process of praising is also found in Revelation, where seven praises are ascribed to the Lamb in Revelation 5:12 Ἄξιόν ἐστι τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν -“Worthy is the Lamb that was slaughtered to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honour and glory and blessing!” Seven praises are also ascribed to God in Rev 7:12 Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς

The 'liturgical process'³⁴² of psalming and blessings provides the worshipper with the liturgical structure, order and format so as to be able to worship using psalms and blessings like the princes in heaven.³⁴³ Mizrahi believes that two 'theme words' used throughout the cycle of praises בָּרַךְ and קוּדֵשׁ, liturgically suggest 'the existence of an established tradition in formulating liturgical addresses to God and to a similarly established adaptation of the fundamental pattern to the context of prayers offered on the Sabbath.'³⁴⁴ He develops this argument by using linguistics and philology to provide a 'twofold construction of each stanza' of the cycle of praises where each stanza is recited antiphonally, by each chief prince (thefirst half of their stanza) and by the entire group (the second half of stanza), to provide an added dimension to the liturgical performance.³⁴⁵ It is a persuasive argument and a clever insight into a possible performative practise of the liturgy.

The chief princes³⁴⁶ also appear to be different entities from the elim which becomes apparent in 4Q400 2 1-2 and 4Q401 i 7-8, where an overlap in text across the two

αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν - "Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen."

³⁴² Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 301.

³⁴³ Newsom offers a formulaic pattern of the Psalms of the seven chief princes. See *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 249.

³⁴⁴ Mizrahi, 'Earthly Liturgy and Celestial Music,' 122.

³⁴⁵ Mizrahi, *Earthly Liturgy and Celestial Music*, 139.

³⁴⁶ Each of the psalms is introduced as being בְּלִשׁוֹן הַרְבִּיעִי which is usually translated as 'by the tongue of the fourth.' See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 193; Rachel Eilior, 'The Merkavah Tradition and the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism: From Temple to Merkavah, from Hekhal to Hekhalot, from Priestly Opposition to Gazing upon the Merkavah' in *Sino-Judaica: Jews and Chinese in Historical Dialogue: An International Colloquium, Nanjing 11-19 October 1996*, ed., Aharon Oppenheimer (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University: 1999), 101-158; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*. Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 118; Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 323. However, Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper, 1996), who translate this verse as 'will be spoken in the language of the fourth,' 369. See also John C. Porier, *The Tongues of Angels* (Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen, 2010), 117-120. Porier tentatively suggests that each of the seven chief princes could be speaking a different language. His only criticism of this theory being that there is no indication in the *Shirot* that the seven angelic princes 'belong to different

fragments makes the reconstruction of the following text fairly certain: 'together with the holiest of the Holy ones.'

4Q400 2 1-2 (Shirot of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Newsom 1985)

להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת ותשבוחות מלכותכה בקדושי קדשים
המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים ונוראים למוסדי אנשים פלא

To praise your glory wondrously with the Elim of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of your royal power together with the holiest of the holy ones. They are honoured among all the camps of godlike beings and revered by mortal councils, a wonder (Newsom)

To praise your glory wondrously with the elim of knowledge and praise of your kingdom with the holiest of the holy ones. They are distinguished in all the camps of elohim and revered by the councils of men wondrously. (My translation).

4Q401 14 i 7-8, (Shirot of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Newsom 1985)

להלל כבודכה פלא באלי דעת ותשבוחות מלכותכה בקדושי קדשים
המה נכבדים בכול מחני אלוהים ונוראים למוסדי אנשים פלא

To praise your glory wondrously with the Elim of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of your royal power together with the holiest of the holy ones. They are honoured among all the camps of angels and revered by the councils of men, a wonder... (Newsom)

My translation: as above.

ranks or orders.' My critique of this debate is that, as I have mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, there is no evidence in the remaining fragments that there was any angelic descent or any ascent from the Yahad, either within the text or within the ritual where the text was used. I would however argue that, given the hierarchical distinction evident in the discussion of different angelic beings within this thesis there is every possibility that the chief princes, (especially if they were understood to be archangels) had an hierarchical structure just like the angels and spirits.

Fletcher-Louis cautions against being confident about identifying the seven princes with the seven archangels since no angels are mentioned by name in the *Shirot*.³⁴⁷ He also argues that there is no evidence that the Yahad knew about the seven-archangel tradition, as the only numerical mention of a number of archangels is found in the *War Scroll* which only mentions four archangels.³⁴⁸ However, the identification of archangels being princes is not specific to the *Shirot* and Michael is described as being one of the chief princes in Daniel 10:13: - מִי־כָּאֵל אֶתְד הַשָּׁרִים הָרְאִשִׁים. In fact, it is very likely that this identification in Daniel has developed into the tradition evident in the sixth Sabbath song. Parts of Daniel Chapter 10 were discovered amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls in manuscript 4Q114; unfortunately, though, most of Daniel 10:13 falls within the lacunae of this fragmentary manuscript, including the sentence above. The sentence has been reconstructed based on the known scripture of Daniel, but any conclusions as to whether this verse of Daniel was known to the Yahad is purely speculative.

For our purposes however, it is the expression 'with the holy ones' בְּקְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים in the overlapping material above, which is the most important and interesting, for if the chief princes are being grouped 'with' the holiest of the holy ones then they must be separate entities and two separate groups of heavenly beings.

³⁴⁷ It is important to note here that there is a possible exception in 4Q401 II of Melchi[zedek but the fragment is exceptionally fragmentary, so we cannot be certain as to the reconstruction. Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 255.

³⁴⁸ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 255.

Once this separation and classification of divine beings has been observed, it is evident that similar category distinctions are apparent in Daniel 7:10 when God appears to Daniel in a vision

מִן־קִדְמוֹתַי אֱלֹהֵי אֲלֵפִים יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָהּ וְרַבּוֹ רַבָּן קִדְמוֹתַי קִוּמוּן

A thousand thousand served (ministered) to Him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him.

This angelology is obviously not as developed as that in the *Shirot*, but it does clearly show a distinction between two groups of heavenly beings with only one of those groups serving God. A similar distinction can be seen in 1 Enoch 14:22, where 'ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him... and the Holy ones who were near Him did not leave by night or day.'

Interestingly, the priesthood of Levi is compared with the angels of the presence and the holy ones in *Jubilees* 31:14:

May the Lord give you [Levi] and your descendants extremely great honor may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones. The descendants of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness. May he make them great throughout all ages.

This implies that the priesthood is held apart from and is held in higher regard than, the rest of humanity as they are given the responsibility, privilege and honour of serving and worshipping God in His sanctuary. For in the same way as the angels of the presence constitute one of the two highest categories of angels, Levi and his seed are equally honoured in being set apart from the rest of humanity.

Schäfer, quite helpfully notes, in passing, that the archangels are the 'immediate entourage of God, they surround him and accompany him when he leaves his throne.'³⁴⁹ This is quite beneficial as it allows us to highlight a difference: the elim are found in the divine throne room, in the holiest part of the heavens, ministering to God, whereas the archangels accompany God when He leaves this room and so function more as courtiers or protectors.

There is another angelic tradition, however, from the Second Temple period, evidenced in the Enochic *Book of Parables*, which situates four archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel) around God's throne. They are described as four presences/faces (פְּנִיּוֹת), or 'Ge' ez gass' in Ethiopic (1 Enoch 40:10).³⁵⁰ This indicates that there may be some association with the archangels and the angels of the presence. This suggests that the angelology evident in *Jubilees* and the *Shirot* is the development of an earlier tradition which is found in the *Book of Parables*. In the *Book of Parables*, the four archangels act as guides and *angelus interpres* to Enoch as they guide him through the heavenly cosmos. This highlights that these angels were allowed and were able to leave the divine throne room and therefore were themselves not constantly offering divine worship to God, but were sent to do His bidding by crossing the divide between heaven and earth.

In 4Q401 these two groups elim and chief princes, are then 'honoured among all the camps of elohim' המה נכבדים בכל מחני אלוהים suggesting that they are indeed of a higher hierarchical standing, and are separate heavenly entities. The phrase 'camps of elohim' also

³⁴⁹ Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 119.

³⁵⁰ Kelley Coblenz Bautch, 'Putting Angels in their Place: Developments in the Second Temple Angelology,' in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich*, eds., Károly Dániel Dobos and Miklós Köszeghy. Hebrew Bible Monographs 21 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 176-177.

suggests that there are multiple levels, groups or tribes of beings, which are believed to belong to this angelic divine categorization.³⁵¹

Another classification of heavenly beings mentioned throughout the *Shirot* is the spirits.

These are further distinguished as 'spirits of knowledge, spirits of understanding and spirits of righteousness,' suggesting that the spirits themselves may have had a further sub-grouped hierarchy. This is itself perhaps not particularly surprising, given that in *Jubilees* there are multiple groups of heavenly beings are reported to have been created on the first day of creation alongside the angels of presence and the angels of holiness. Indeed, *Jubilees* 2:2 mentions several classifications of angelic beings:

4Q216 5:4 -5:10

כי ביום הראשון ברא את השמים העליונים ואת הארץ
ואת המים ואת כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו מלאכי הפנים ומלאכי הקודש
ומלאכי רוחות האש ומלאכי הרוחות הנושבים ומלאכי רוחות העננים
לערפל ולאגביש ולכפור ולטל ולשלג ולברד ולקרח ומלאכי הקולות
ולמלאכי הרוחות הסערים ומלאכי הרוחות לקר ולחום ולחרף ולקיץ ולכל
רוחות בריותו אשר עשה בשמים ואשר עשה בארץ ובכל את התהומות
מאפלה ושחר ואור וערב אשר הכין בדעתו

2:2 For on the first day he created the heavens that are above, the earth, the waters, and all the spirits who serve before him, namely: the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness; the angels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the spirits of the winds; the angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, snow, hail, and frost; the angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings; and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, of winter, spring, autumn, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth, and in every (place). [There were also] the depths, darkness and light, dawn and evening which he prepared through the knowledge of his mind. (VanderKam, from the Ethiopic)
VanderKam, from the Hebrew:

For on the first day He created the] highest [heaven]s, the ear[th,]

³⁵¹ For example, there is perhaps one camp for each of the tribes of Israel.

[the waters, and all the spirits who minister before Him: the angels of] the presence; the angels of ho[liness]; the a[ngels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the winds that blo]w; the angels of the spirits of the [clouds], of dar[kness, hailstones, frost, dew, snow, hail, and i]ce; the angels of the thunde[r]; the angels of the winds; [the angels of the spirits of cold and] heat, of winter and summer; [and of all] the spirits of His creatures [which He made in heaven, which He made on ear]th, and in every place, the dept[hs], darkness, dawn, [light, and evening, which He determined by] His [know]ledge.

It is interesting that the phrase 'angels of the spirits of fire' is used, as this construct enables us to see that the angels and the spirits are in fact two separate entities, instead of being synonymous expressions used interchangeably for the same category of divine beings, in the same way as the phrase 'the son of the king of ' shows that the king and the son are two distinct people. It also indicates that there were angels who were believed to function as overseers or to act in some form of 'middle management' role. These angels were given the responsibility of managing certain sub-groups of spirits who had specific cosmological and meteorological roles within the heavens. This description and depiction of the heavenly realm appears to be at odds with column 9:10-11 of 1QH^a (one of the *Hodayot* manuscripts), in which it looks as if spirits are described as becoming angels

לכבודכה וכול הכינותה לרצונכה ורוחות עוז לחוקיהם בטרם
היותם למלאכי קודש ו ם לרוחות עולם בממשלותם מאורות לרזיהם

For Your glory and all
you determined according to your will, and powerful spirits according to their laws,
before they came to be holy angels and...m eternal spirits in their dominions;
luminaries according to their mysteries³⁵²

³⁵² Unless otherwise stated all text and translations of 1QH^a in the thesis are taken from Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a* (Atlanta: SBL, 2012).

However, in the term 'powerful spirits' here, 'spirits' may be being used to refer to as a divine entity, a category or general noun which is then broken down into holy angels and eternal spirits. For example, in the same way that the word 'man' has, in a generic sense, traditionally been used collectively to refer to both men and women and singularly to refer to the male of the species. Conversely, if the development of spirits into angels was meant, then this is a fascinating insight into the Yahad's understanding of the growth and development of a divine beings from spirits into angels.

However, the final category within *Jubilees*:

ולכל רוחות בריותו

All the spirits of his creatures...

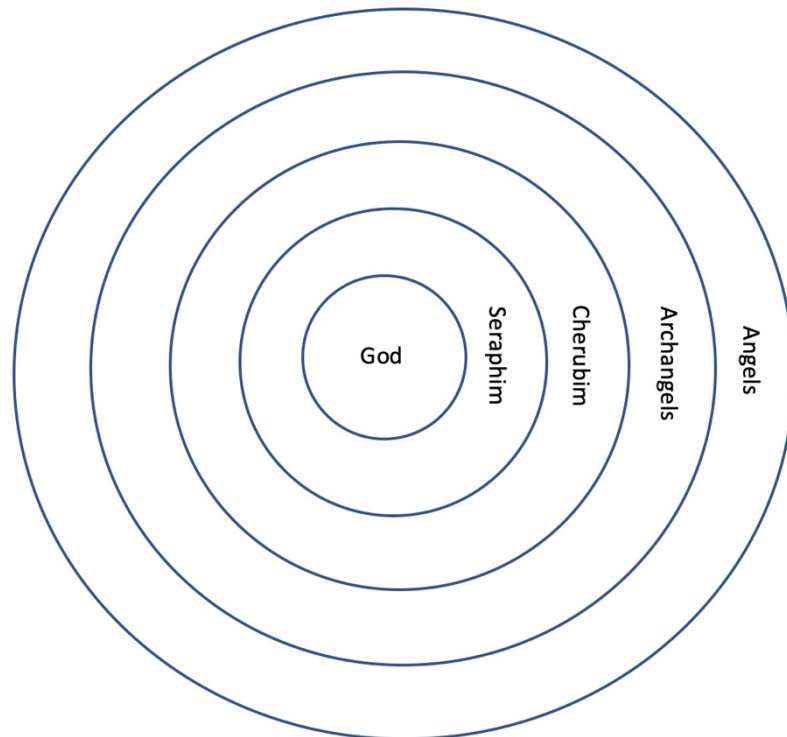
This category identifies a category of spirits which do not appear to have an 'angel' overseer, implying that they have a function in their own right and are potentially a higher category within the hierarchy of spirits. It is possible that the 'spirits of his creatures' should be read as synonymous with the cherubim, since the cherubim are identical with the 'living creatures' in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and as depicted in Ezekiel 10:15:

וַיֵּרְמוּ הַכְּרוּבִים הִיא הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי בְּנֶהְרֵי-כְּבָר.

These were the living creatures that I saw by the river Chebar

3.3.6 HIERARCHY OF DIVINE BEINGS REVISITED

Based on the scriptural passages discussed in Chapter 1. The hierarchy of divine beings could be viewed as follows:



As discussed in Chapter 1, seraphim and cherubim do not coincide in the same scriptural passages and so I debated whether to put seraphim and cherubim in the same inner circle. However, I decided on the above diagram since the seraphim do not leave the heavenly throne room, whereas cherubim are given roles on earth such as guarding the entrance to the Garden of Eden and the Ark of the Covenant. Unfortunately, the understanding of heavenly beings in the *Shirot* complicates matters when trying to explain a heavenly hierarchy, rather than helping to simplify our understanding. Seraphim are not mentioned at all. Cherubim are described, but it is unclear due to the fragmentary nature of the

manuscripts, whether the cherubim which feature in the *Shirot* are both divine beings and/or carvings or depictions within the temple (4Q405 22 7-8 c.f. 11QShirShabb 3-4 5).

It is likely that the chief princes are the same as the archangels. The deputy princes should perhaps also be included in this category, or may themselves occupy a separate sphere, between those occupied by the archangels and the angels. The category of angels can be further classified to include the two highest categories of angels: the angels of the presence/ ministers of the presence and the elim/angels of sanctification or holiness. Spirits should also be added as a category after the angels.

Nevertheless, I question whether the hierarchy of the heavenly beings is linear. Instead I believe that the hierarchy of the heavenly realm should be viewed as constituting concentric circles, with various species of divine beings given different functions and jobs within the heavenly realm. There is, of course, natural distinction within each category with the chief princes being a more senior position than the deputy princes, for example. Another example is the distinction between the two highest categories of angels and the 'other' angels. However, I am not convinced that the cherubim are more important than the archangels or that the seraphim are more important than the cherubim. I think the species are equally as important as each other, with each species having a different role and different responsibilities. Magness and Schofield have argued for an organization of the Yahad in concentric zones and I think it is entirely possible that the Yahad viewed the heavenly realm in a similar layout, with the heavens consisting of concentric zones of holiness with God at the centre. The *Shirot* appear to imply that there are seven holy areas or seven debirim along with seven divisions of angels which could be linked to the seven

chief princes and deputy princes and the offering of seven sets of psalms and blessings.

However, this does not mean that the first set of psalms or blessings, or the first group of angels, held a higher ranking than the second set.

3.3.7 HOW SHALL WE BE CONSIDERED AMONG THEM?

The only reference to earthly worshippers within the remaining *Shirot* fragments is a passage from fragment 4Q400 2 6-7³⁵³ which is thought to be a part of Song 2. This states:

מה נתחשב בם וכוהנתנו מה במעוניהם וקודשנו מה ידמה לקודש
קודשיהם מה תרומה לשון עפרנו בדעת אליהם

How shall we be considered among them? And How shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations? And our holiness -- how can it compare with their [surpassing] holiness? what is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared) with the knowledge of the elim?

The question of where humanity fits - if it does fit - within the heavenly hierarchy is not exclusive to the *Shirot*. The humility of having a genuine understanding of human frailty, weakness and the impossibility of being compared with the angelic realm is also present in wider Jewish Literature from antiquity, including 1QH^a 11:22-25a:

יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם ורוח נעוה טהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב במעמד עם
צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחוד עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות
דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רנה ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה ואני יצר
החמר מה אני מגבל במים ולמי נחשבתי ומה כוח לי.

You have formed from the dust for an eternal council. And a perverted spirit you have purified from great sin, that it might take its place with the host of the holy ones, and enter into community [or in the Yaḥad] with the congregation of the children of heaven. And you cast for a person an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge, that he might praise your name in a common rejoicing and recount your wonderful acts before all your works. But I, a vessel of

³⁵³ Text and translation Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 110-111.

clay, what am I? A thing kneaded with water. And as what am I regarded? What strength do I possess?

and Psalm 8:4-6 (3-5 NRSV)³⁵⁴

כִּי־אֲרָאָה שָׁמַיִךְ מַעֲשֵׂי אֲצַבְעֹתֶיךָ יָרַח וְכּוֹכָבִים אֲשֶׁר כּוֹנְנֹתָהּ
מִה־אֲנִישׁ כִּי־תִזְכְּרוּ וּבְךָ־אֱדַם כִּי תִפְקְדֵנִי
וּתְחַסְּרֶהוּ מֵעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים וְכְבוֹד וְהַדָּר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ

When I look at your heavens, the work of your fingers,
the moon and the stars that you have established; what are human beings that you
are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them?
Yet you have made them a little lower than God and crowned them with glory and
honour. (NRSV)

These passages show the same comparison of humanity with the heavenly, and the same question of wonder and amazement that God should be interested in humanity and our inferiority. There is a link here also between the cosmos, the divine realm and the earth - a sense of trying to determine humanity's place within the wider cosmos - as well as a recognition for the beauty, wonder and creation of His world, which leads to the praise of God.

When Psalm 8 is compared with 4Q400 2 6-7 I do wonder, however, whether Psalm 8 should actually be translated as *וּתְחַסְּרֶהוּ מֵעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים* 'You have made them a little lower than the elohim.' In other words, humans are by nature and creation, a little lower than one of the highest categories of angelic beings within the heavens. 4Q400 2 6 -7 certainly seems to develop this idea by comparing humanity with the elim but expanding the comparison to include the priestly role, holiness and prayer, or 'offering of the tongue,' into the equation.

³⁵⁴ This passage from Psalm 8 is also directly quoted in Hebrews 2:6-8, before the passage is interpreted in a Christological manner.

4Q400 2 6-7 has previously been understood as human worshippers comparing themselves with all the angels in heaven. However, I wonder whether instead of comparing themselves with the entire heavenly hierarchy the human worshippers here are actually comparing themselves with the highest level of heavenly beings; the elim or the ministers of the face/presence. The words 'priesthood' and the phrase 'knowledge of the e[lim]' may indeed suggest such a comparison. If so, then the worshippers consider themselves or their earthly priesthood to be on a par with some of the heavenly beings and are, in fact, trying to place themselves within the heavenly hierarchy. Indeed, a blessing for priests, in 1QSb [1QS28b] 4 24-26, indeed bestows the request that they [the earthly priests] 'may be like an angel of the face.'

ואתה כמלאכ פנים במעון קודש לכבוד אלוהי צבאות עם כול מלאכי אלוה סביב משרת בהיכל
מלכות ומפיל גורל עם מלאכי פנים ועצת יחד [עם קדושים] עת עולם

And may you the earthly priests be like an angel of the face in the sanctuary of holiness to the glory of the God of hosts you will serve forever and you will serve around in the Temple of the Kingdom and cast fate with the angels of the face and the council of the Yaḥad [with holy ones] forever. (My translation).

This indicates that being like an angel of the face was something to which earthly priests were meant to aspire. It also provides more evidence that an angel of the face/ presence was thought to have priestly duties and to minister to God.

The ritualistic style and function of the angels in the narrative, as the angels' worship by proffering praise to and praying to God, is therefore to be emulated by the earthly priesthood. Najman has noted that the difference between imitation and emulation in perfectionist ethics is that imitation of a thing is to be *like* it, whereas emulation is to

become identical to it.³⁵⁵ The ritual narrative is therefore, meant to be performed by the earthly priests in order that they may join with the angelic priests in heaven. This, then, goes beyond the expected performance of the liturgical text as a ritual in and of itself, to access the ritual within the ritual and to compound the mystery, knowledge and function of the angelic hierarchy and priesthood.

Fletcher-Louis believes that the *Shirot* describe an anthropologically liturgical transformation. He believes that the worship allowed the worshippers to be 'transformed [into a] 'heavenly mode.'³⁵⁶ In truth, that the human beings are angelomorphosized and become angels themselves.³⁵⁷ This is an extraordinary claim and one which I find exceedingly difficult to comprehend. There does not seem to be any support within the *Shirot* to substantiate this thesis. I do, however, believe Fletcher-Louis is correct in noting a liturgical transformation, just not the one he is arguing for. I am persuaded that the transformation, is an internal one, the emulation or imitation of the angelic community which causes individual worshippers to be transformed through prayer, worship and spirituality, thus transforming the whole worshipping community. The worshipper does not literally, physically, or spiritually become an angel. The transformation is internal to the worshipper. The worshipper is temporarily transcendently changed whilst engaged in

³⁵⁵ Najman further explains this theory by referring to the difference between metaphor and simile to clarify the point. See Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*. JSJSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 240.

³⁵⁶ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 256.

³⁵⁷ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 252-394. This is the general premise of his thesis regarding the *Shirot*. More recently, Fletcher-Louis has reviewed his thesis in *All the Glory of Adam* and confessed that he is 'less attached now to the word "angelomorphic,"' though he remains convinced of his central argument. See Fletcher-Louis, 'On Angels, Men and Priests,' 143. In this paper Fletcher-Louis uses a three-pronged argument on Temple Cosmology, Theological Anthropology and the Nature of Priesthood to re-evaluate the *Shirot* in the context of wider Jewish literature in order to clarify and defend *All the Glory of Adam*.

worship and focussed on the heavenly realm. The change which happens is within the self.

The worshipper remains firmly and geographically on earth. They are still human.

One of the arguments Fletcher-Louis uses to support his thesis is that the 'Levites are to be as angels of the presence,'³⁵⁸ in *Jubilees* 31:14-16. However, I believe that this misinterprets the metaphor. 'As' indicates that a metaphor is being employed to ascribe angelic motifs and characteristics to the earthly priesthood, thus, angelomorphosing them in a way which gives the earthly priesthood gravitas and establishes them as authoritative, rather than suggesting a literal transformation.

Devorah Dimant has presented a comparison which shows the similarities between the activities and functions ascribed to the angels and those ascribed to the Yahad. She argues that this emphasises the fact that the community were 'aimed at creating on Earth a replica of the heavenly reality.'³⁵⁹ She further argues, in stark contrast to Fletcher-Louis, that the communion between angels and humans should be viewed as an analogy.

If spatial theory is applied, however and we focus on the location created during worship, rather than on the real, lived geographical space, it is obvious that the connection between the angelic and earthly goes beyond the liminal space to develop a thirdspace environment which wholly connects the worshippers with the angelic realm and the two highest

³⁵⁸ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 285.

³⁵⁹ Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies*. *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 90. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 470.

categories of angels in particular, the angels of the presence and the elim, in the sanctified space of the heavenly Debir.

It has often been noted that there are many similarities between the *Shirot* and later Heikhalot³⁶⁰ literature.³⁶¹ There do indeed seem to be many similarities, indicating that the *Shirot* may be a forerunner of this type of Jewish mysticism. However, we need to be careful not to read later texts back, anachronistically, into the song fragments. We also need to consider whether the *Shirot* are mystical texts, or whether there is just a mystical element to the praise and prayer of the liturgy. There are certainly similar literary themes and tropes between the *Shirot* and later Heikhalot literature, including a focus on priestly service, the importance of the number seven and purification and sanctification, to name but a few. Elior correctly observes that within Heikhalot literature these

elements, and others, were transformed from the ritual, mystical, and liturgical traditions pertaining to the service of priests and Levites in the terrestrial Temple to ritual, mystical, and liturgical traditions of princes, angels and archangels ministering in seven³⁶² celestial sanctuaries.³⁶³

However, I would argue that this chapter has shown that elements of this transformation can be seen within the *Shirot*, thus indicating an earlier interpretation of priest and Levite

³⁶⁰ The dating of Heikhalot literature is contested, though it is thought to have been written around the same time as the Mishnah and Talmud when ritual sacrifice was no longer possible. See Elior, *The Three Temples*, 232.

³⁶¹ For the most comprehensive evaluation to date see Alexander, 'The Mystical Texts,' especially 121-143. Though this notion is adopted by others as well, especially Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988), 125-167 and Elior, *The Three Temples*, 232-265. However, Chazon has problematized the argument presented by both Gruenwald and Elior in Esther G. Chazon, 'Human and Angelic Prayer in light of the Scrolls' in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature 19-23 January, 2000*, eds., Esther Chazon, Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick. STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 46-47. See also Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 30 and Schiffman, 'Merkavah Speculation at Qumran' 15-47.

³⁶² The question of whether seven heavens or sanctuaries are referred to in the *Shirot* is discussed above. See Chapter 3 footnote 257.

³⁶³ Elior, *The Three Temples*, 233.

services through a ritual, mystical and liturgical lens. The scrolls (as Elijah goes on to explain) have provided scholars with a 'conceptual context for Heikhalot literature.'³⁶⁴ The *Shirot*, in particular perhaps, are an embryonic pre-runner of what developed into Heikhalot literature after the destruction of the Second Temple.

The concept of angels as priests is also present within Philo, who states that

the highest, and in the truest sense the holy, temple of God is... the whole universe, having for its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornaments the stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to His powers, unbodied souls, not compounds of rational and irrational nature, as ours are, but with the irrational eliminated, all mind through and through, pure intelligences, in the likeness of the monad. ... There is also the temple made by hands. ... But he provided that there should not be temples built either in many places or many in the same place, for he judged that since God is one, there should be also only one temple. (Spec. 1.66-67 | LCL)

This cosmological view of the temple shows that there was philosophical discussion regarding a heavenly temple as an imagined space and that angels were more widely believed to function as priests, which would mean that the concept of angelic priests was not specific only to the *Shirot*. The description of the angels is also fascinating, though it is not similar to any scriptural portrayals of angelic beings, as scriptural accounts usually depict angels as being corporeally male. These angels, however, appear to be pure essence. They are described as being non-corporeal, intelligent, rational matter who have the same qualities as the Monad, a philosophical term coined by the Pythagoreans and Platonists to describe the oneness and unity of the supreme being. Philo therefore incorporates a religious belief in angelic beings into the contemporary philosophical discussion of the cosmogony and cosmology of the universe. In order for Philo to go to this trouble,

³⁶⁴ Elijah, *The Three Temples*, 233.

especially in what appears to be a discussion regarding the one true Temple, it is safe to assume that the belief in angels as priests was either a widely held or more mainstream view about the function of angels, or a belief Philo held which he was trying to promote. It also indicates that, for Philo, angels and the temple were inextricably linked, whether angels were believed to function as priests or not, since the concept of angels within the universe does not appear to be a point which Philo is arguing, whereas their substance, or lack thereof, does.

The idea of angels ministering to the Lord is used in early Christian texts to identify and depict Jesus as God. In the Synoptic Gospels angels *δηκόνουν* (minister/serve/wait) upon Jesus after he has been tempted by the devil in the wilderness for 40 days (Mark 1:13, Matthew 4:1; Luke by contrast has *ἐνισχύων*, 'strengthened'). The recognition of angels serving Jesus within the Gospel of Mark, is particularly thought-provoking, since it is one of only five definite references to angels within the Gospel.³⁶⁵ Out of these five, four relate

³⁶⁵ Mark 1:13, *καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι δηκόνουν αὐτῷ.*

He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels waited on him.

8:38, *ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυνθῆ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται αὐτόν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων.*

Those who are ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of them the Son of Man will also be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

12:25, *ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*

For when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven.

13:27, *καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἁγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.*

Then he will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven

13:32. *Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.*

But about that day or hour no one knows, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father.

angels to God and the fifth (12:25) discusses the marital status of the resurrected and the angelic. Logically, then, the description of angels serving Jesus, is a recognition by the writers of the Gospels and the first few generations of Christians that Jesus is God. It is both a clue in the narrative for the Gospel readers and a message which uses Jewish theology from the first century to explain the figure of Christ and to place Christ within the already understood cosmology and cosmogony of the heavens.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

The ritual aspect of using the *Shirot* at pre-arranged and specific liturgical times provided the Yahad with a temporal space in which to meet; a liminal space in which the worshippers and angels joined together to praise God. The *Shirot* (*Shirot* 7, 9-13) provide evidence that through the ritual of using the texts, inanimate objects were believed to join with the humans and angels in offering their praise and blessing to God.

The ritual of performing and using these texts allowed the worshippers to be neither God, angelic nor fully human but to be temporarily transcendently changed, which enabled them to enter a thirdspace which was simultaneously real and imagined, divine and earthly, perceived and conceived. This ritual was led by the Maskil (in Daniel 12) was already connected in a literary context with Michael, one of the archangels. This is especially interesting when read in comparison with *Jubilees*, which states that humans kept the Sabbath with the angels. Thus, humanity was being allowed access to a heavenly, divine ritual. Humans were to be like Enoch, straddling heaven and earth, collapsing spatial time and as a priesthood were to follow the teachings taught to Enoch by the angels and then

passed down by each patriarch from Enoch to Levi, so that the ideal earthly priesthood was, in fact, *imitatio angelorum*.

It seems that this type of liminal space only became a possibility post- angelic fall and post- flood, to allow a connection between heaven and earth to be maintained and to encourage humans to look heavenward, rather than angels to look earthward. It allowed humans to access the form of ministry offered in the Garden of Eden and therefore during the time of the ritual allowed worshippers to enter a time and space that represented humanity's glory; a space before either the angelic or human fall, a thirdspace of unique, complete and perfect connection with God.

Within this heavenly divine space there also appears to be different groups of recognisable divine beings. Firstly, the angels of the presence in *Jubilees* appear to be one and the same as the ministers of the presence in the *Shirot*. Secondly, the angels of purification within *Jubilees* are identical to the elim in the *Shirot*. These are considered to be the two highest categories of angelic beings, who worship God continuously and serve as priests in His heavenly temple. Next, the chief princes appear to be distinguishable as the archangels who are still allowed to descend to earth and teach humanity. They are sent on divine errands and can leave the heavenly sphere. Finally, it seems that a group of divine beings named 'spirits', which were further sub-divided into groups, had their own specific functions. One of these sub-groups may be synonymous with the cherubim.

Lastly, as this chapter has shown, the concept of angels as priests does not appear to be specific to the *Shirot* but is also present within *Jubilees* and the writings of Philo, which

indicates that it was a more widespread belief within the Second Temple period rather than a belief which was specific to the Qumran community. Earthly priests were meant to function as angels of the presence, thus separating the priesthood from the rest of humanity and placing it on a par with one of the two highest categories of angels who were understood to minister to God. This concept of angels acting as priests and serving God was then used by the early Christians to show that Jesus and God are one and the same. Within Jewish literature, the *Shirot* shows themes which continued to be developed within later Heikhalot texts.

The liturgical space created by the *Shirot* and the ritual of using the *Shirot* in worship as well as the ritual narrative within the text itself, allows God, divine beings, humans and inanimate objects to join together in a liminal and thirdspace which offers a transcendental metaphysical transformation to those using the text in worship. The ability to have a perfect relationship with the Divine and - during the time of the worship - a healing of the rift between God and the angels and God and humanity, a return to a whole, complete and perfect connection with God that existed in the Garden of Eden, prior to any fall, but in the original and ideal relationship.

Chapter 4

'For the Lord does not See as Mortals See; They Look on the Outward Appearance, but the Lord Looks on the Heart.' (1 Samuel 16:7b)

Space - The Final Frontier? Self-identification and transformation within the *Yahad*.

It is clear from the first three chapters of this thesis that the concept of the priesthood was considered to be of divine origin and that the angels functioned in heaven as ideal priests, through whom the earthly priesthood was meant to emulate and imitate. The two highest categories of angels were created to worship God and to serve Him in a particular manner, by keeping the Sabbath and the festivals on the correctly ordained dates. Humans were then allowed access to the entirety (keeping Shavu'ot) of this form of worship after the flood, when the evilness of the divine watchers and the evilness of humanity had been defeated by God.³⁶⁶

Elior argues that, for the Yahad, the priesthood, although being of angelic origin, was actually a collaboration of earthly priests and heavenly angels 'in a cult based on sevens, oaths, signs and covenant.'³⁶⁷ Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis have discussed the interrelationship between the earthly and heavenly priesthood, its formation and the sacred time and space interwoven in the ritual performance of the *Shirot*. I would now like to turn

³⁶⁶ See Chapters 2 and 3.

³⁶⁷ Elior, *The Three Temples*, 173.

to the impact which using the *Shirot* in worship had on the construction of the Yaḥad as a community and on the individual self. I will start by discussing the self.

4.1 THE SELF

The 'self' is the essence of a person, the way one views oneself in comparison with other people and other objects. It is that which an individual identifies as being them, and is what allows someone to say 'I' or 'me.' The 'self' can be, and has been, discussed from a variety of scholarly perspectives, including (but not limited to) philosophy, psychology and theology. In modern psychology, the 'self' is an extremely important model and is used in research into many emotional concepts in order to understand mental health more fully.³⁶⁸ For example, self-esteem, self-identity, self-regulation. The 'self' is a complicated subject of study, having many variable parts. For instance, to identify myself as 'female' I need to understand and integrate myself within the gender spectrum. In order to know whether I am a tall, short, fat, thin or average female I then need to be able to compute and process several other factors, such as an understanding of height, of weight and of build. Following which, I need to comprehend eye colour, hair colour, skin colour, hand and foot size etc., in order to be able to place myself amongst the rest of humanity and to recognise myself as the person I am. It is not just the physical self with which one does this: the same is true of the mental self, the psychological self and the spiritual self. Further, each of us constructs a concept of the 'ideal self,' the 'self' we would like to be, rather than how we actually are. As a consequence, we are paradoxically fighting a constant battle within ourselves as well. We then try to portray and promote the 'self' we want to be, rather than

³⁶⁸ S. A McLeod. (2008). 'Self-concept.' *Simply Psychology*: <https://www.simplypsychology.org/self-concept.html> Accessed 30th March 2019.

the 'self' we actually are. It is when the gap between the true 'self' and the ideal 'self'

becomes too large that people tend to have self-esteem issues, and may suffer from mental health issues, such as anxiety and depression.

One of the main issues however, with a modern psychological understanding of 'the self,' is that there is a strong focus on the individual, the 'I'. We need therefore, to be careful when trying to understand the ancient concept of the 'self' not to impose modern understandings in an anachronistic manner. In contrast to modern concepts, Plato understood the 'self' as being the same as the immortal soul, which transcends the body.³⁶⁹

Di Vito undertook an investigation into the concept of the 'self' within the Hebrew Bible and concluded, unsurprisingly, that the concept of the 'self' was very different in Biblical times. He describes the scriptural 'self' as:

[being] (1) deeply embedded and engaged in the larger social world constituted by the family and the clan; (2) relatively de-centered and undefined with respect to its borders; (3) transparent, "fully" socialized, and locally embodied; and (4) heteronomous, obedient and explicitly dependent.³⁷⁰

In other words, the 'self' was understood in relation to hierarchy, family position and the community and context in which one lived. The 'self' had a relational aspect, rather than being about the individual 'I' or 'me.' People were known in relation to their families, to their genealogies and to their tribes. This is clearly evident from the lists of genealogies

³⁶⁹ Paul Thagard, 'What is the Self' *Psychology Today* (2014) Online at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/hot-thought/201406/what-is-the-self> Accessed 30th March 2019.

³⁷⁰ Robert A. Di Vito, 'Here One Need not be Oneself: The Concept of "Self" in the Hebrew Scriptures,' in *The Whole and Divided Self: The Bible and Theological Anthropology*, eds., David E. Aune and John McCarthy (New York: Cross Road Publishing Co., 1997), 80.

throughout the Bible and through the identification of individuals. For example, 'King Hoshea, son of Elah of Israel, Hezekiah son of King Ahaz of Judah... his mother's name was Abi, daughter of Zechariah' (2 Kings 18:1-2). This identification based on family and tribes was important to provide status and provenance within the general hierarchy of society, as well as within the local community, for social and cultural purposes. The self was shaped through prayer, fasting, following the rules of the community, the Laws of the Torah, and in the case of the Yahad, through the imitation of the angelic community in the heavens.³⁷¹ This process of defining the self and the resulting transformation which occurred through the development of the self as a recognised construct, happened alongside the questioning and rethinking of much wider categories of understanding. Categories such as prayer, ritual, liturgy and worship, were being examined, transformed, scripturalized and re-invented. For example, a cultural understanding of prayer developed as an alternative to animal sacrifice. The relationship between prayer and animal sacrifice quite naturally raises the question of how using prayer, rather than, or alongside, animal sacrifice impacted a worshipping community. How was the identity of the community redefined? How was the individual self affected?

Judith Newman has shown how at Qumran there was a communal involvement in shaping the person of the Maskil.³⁷²

³⁷¹ For more on the development and definition of the self with the Yahad see Najman, '*Imitatio Dei* and the Formation of the Subject in Ancient Judaism,' 317-322; Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, esp. 91-190.

³⁷² Newman, 'Embodied Techniques,' 249-265.

Newman's argument is:

that the formation of the leader's self through acts of prostration is also an integral part of communal formation and indeed transformation as the community through his ongoing practice of prostration, repentance and forgiveness that is deeply rooted in the cultural memory of Moses.³⁷³

The Maskil therefore strove to emulate the culturally remembered figure of Moses, thus evoking the culturally remembered figure of Moses within the Yaḥad, creating a never-ending paradox whereby the Yaḥad reinforced the Maskil's emulation and the Maskil re-informed and reinforced the Yaḥad's worship by focussing on the figure of Moses. It became a sort of chicken and egg situation: which came first, the Maskil's practice which sparked public memory, or the interpretation of the Yaḥad, which informed the Maskil's position? This practice helped to form the person of the Maskil³⁷⁴ within the Yaḥad's hierarchy, to make him identifiable. However, the process was still relational. The Maskil was only the Maskil because he did certain identifiable things within the Yaḥad, in comparison with the other members. The Maskil was, then, able to shape the Yaḥad in worship, to provide a communal transformation which aided in the process of the Yaḥad's formation. As the 'self' of the Maskil was formed, therefore, the Yaḥad was also formed, as communal practice and ideology shape the overarching hierarchy within the community. Prayer, ritual and liturgy were the main components involved in shaping both the

³⁷³ Newman 'Embodied Techniques,' 249.

³⁷⁴ In contrast Michael Jost argues that 'the person of the Maskil is not important' as Jost believes that the Maskil is a representation of the community's ideological foundation and that the dedication לַמִּשְׁכֵּל is not an indication of genre or of an author but a dedication to a figure. It is this ideological foundation which is then 'written and performed in their rules and liturgical texts.' See Michael R. Jost, 'Yaḥad, Maskil, Priests and Angels—Their Relation in the Community Rule (1QS)' in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran: Papers from the Ninth Meeting of the International Organisation from Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016*. STDJ 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 223.

individual and the communal self, as they help to shape the Yaḥad in a particular and deliberate transformational manner, by helping to create, establish, support, conform and re-enforce a particular mindset that is shared by the Yaḥad.

It is interesting that, given the focus of this thesis Newman concludes her paper by stating:

The mindful bodies of the *yaḥad*, might look to the *maskil* while feeling in their own bodies a marked concinnity with their leader, knowing as well in pre-determined certainty, their place with the angels was assured by his—and their—very presence in the gathered assembly.³⁷⁵

In order to more deeply analyse the transcendence of the Yaḥad, an understanding of the Yaḥad and its relation to the angels needs to be examined.

4.2 THE YAḤAD

The Yaḥad is a well-known term of self-identification which was used by members of the community and has been labelled for nearly 75 years of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship as a sectarian term, being used as a social and identity construction marker within known sectarian texts discovered at and near Qumran.

As explained in the introduction, the term Yaḥad means 'together' or 'togetherness.' The term Yaḥad, in the sectarian texts from Qumran, has developed over time to be understood as a term which actually reflects the 'assumed togetherness of the priests and the angels.'³⁷⁶

If this understanding is correct, then it not only supports the theory of an understood connected relationship between the earthly and heavenly, but also allows for a divine community consisting in and of both spheres. This would then allow for the development

³⁷⁵ Newman, 'Embodied Techniques,' 265.

³⁷⁶ Eilior, *The Three Temples*, 171.

of a permanently sacred space, which would expand beyond worship to be a present reality for each person within the community on a daily basis.

Is it then possible that the self-identifying title of Yaḥad meant a council of angels together with humankind? I undertook a study of the use of the term Yaḥad to investigate to what extent the use of this term (Yaḥad) could imply a council of angels and humans together. I then split all of the verses that use the term Yaḥad into three categories; 'Angels and Humans Together,' 'Humans Only' and 'Uncertain.'

Figure 6.³⁷⁷**Angels and Humans Together**

1QS 2:22-23 לדעת כול איש ישראל איש בית מעמדו ביחד אל לעצת עולמים.

1QS 2:22-23 So that each Israelite may know his standing in God's **Yahad** in conformity with an eternal plan.

1QS 3:11-12 אז ירצה בכפורי ניהוח לפני אל והיתה לו לברית יחד עולמים.

1QS 3:11-12 In this way he will be admitted by means of atonement pleasing to God, and for him it will be the covenant of an everlasting **Yahad**.³⁷⁸

1QS 5:5-6 כיאאם למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורף קשה ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית עולם

1QS 5:5-6 Instead he should circumcise in the **Yahad** the foreskin of his tendency and of his stiff neck, in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the **Yahad** of the Eternal Covenant...

1QS 8:4-5 בהיות אלה בישראל נכונה העצת היחד באמת למטעת עולם בית קודש לישראל

1QS 8:4-5 When these things exist in Israel, the council of the **Yahad** shall be founded on truth to be an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel.³⁷⁹

1QS 11:7-9 לאשר בחר אל נתנם לאוחזת עולם וינהילים בגורל קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם עם כול קץ נהיה

1QS 11:7-9 To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the Holy Ones. He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the **Yahad** and a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages.

³⁷⁷ Unless otherwise stated, in figure 6 the text and translation for 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QPHab, the 4Q equivalents of 1QS, 4Q511 and CD are taken from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1*. I have substituted the word 'Yahad' for 'Community.' The text and translation of 1QHa is taken from Schuller and Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*. I have specified the term 'elim' throughout figure 6 based on the discussion in this thesis. All other texts and translations are taken from the relevant DJD volume, unless otherwise specified.

4Q255 f2:9 יחד עולמים.³⁷⁸

4Q255 f2:9 [(1QS 3:12) an everlasting **Yahad** ...]

4Q259 2:13 c.f.³⁷⁹ בהיות אלה בישראל נכונה העצת היחד

4Q259 2:13 When these things exist in Israel, (1QS 8:5) the Council of the **Yahad** shall be founded

1QSb 4:24-26 ואתה כמלאך פנים במעון קודש לכבוד אלהי צבאות ותהיה סביב משרת בהיכל מלכות ומפיל גורל עם מלאכי פנים ועצת יחד [עם קדושים עם] לעת עולם ולכול קצי נצח³⁸⁰

1QSb 4:24-26 May you be like an angel of the face in the holy residence for the glory of the God of the Hosts ... You shall be around, serving in the temple of the kingdom, casting the lot with the angels of the face and the council of the **Yahad** [with Holy Ones] for eternal time and for all the perpetual periods.

1QHa 11:23 צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות
1QHa 11:23 the host of the holy ones, and enter into the **Yahad** with the congregation of the children of heaven. And you cast for a person an eternal lot with the spirits...

1QHa 26:28 יגביה בקומה ועם אלים בעדת יחד

1QHa 26:28 he makes him tall in stature, and (he is) with the divine beings [Elim] in the congregation of the **Yahad**.

1QHa 26:36 ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם בני שמים

1QHa 26:36 or take (its) station before you, or come into the **Yahad** with the children of heaven?³⁸¹

Humans

CD 20:31-32 והתיסרו במשפטים הראשונים אשר נשפטו במ אנשי היחיד והאזינו לקול מורה צדק

CD 20:31-32 And they are instructed in the first ordinances, in conformity with which the men of the (community) **Yahad** were judged; and they lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness;

1QS 1:1 למשכיל שים לחיו ספר סרך היחד

1QS 1:1 For the Instructor, to live according to the book of the **Yahad's** Rule.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ The text in García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1* does not have [עם קדושים עם] but the text in Qimron does. See *מהדורה משולבת, אלישע קימרון* (תל-אביב, 2021).

³⁸¹ This text parallels 4Q427 f7ii:17.

... c.f **4Q255 f1:1**³⁸² [ח]יו ספר סרכ היחד

4Q255 f1:1 [1QS 1:1] for his life, book of the Rule of the **Yahad** .

1QS 1:16 וכול הבאים בסרך היחד יאעבורו בברית אלפני אל

1QS 1:16 And all those who enter into the Rule of the **Yahad** shall establish a Covenant before God...³⁸³

1QS 5:1-3 וזה הסרך לאנשי היחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשובים על פי בני צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית ועל פי רוב אנשי היחד המחזקים בברית

1QS 5:1-3 This is the rule for the men of the **Yahad** who freely volunteer to convert from all evil and to keep themselves steadfast in all he commanded in compliance with his will. They should keep apart from the congregation of the men of injustice in order to constitute a **Yahad** in law and possessions, and acquiesce to the authority of the Sons of Zadok, the priests who safeguard the covenant and to the authority of the multitude of the men of the **Yahad**, those who persevere steadfastly in the covenant.

1QS 5:15-16 כיה ירחק ממנו בכול דבר כיה כן כתוב מכול דבר שקר תרחק ואשר לוא ישוב איש מאנשי היחד על פיהם לכול תורה ומשפט

1QS 5:15-16 He should remain at a distance from him in every task, for it is written as follows (*Exod 23:7*): 'You shall remain at a distance from every lie.' None of the men of the **Yahad** should acquiesce to their authority in any law or regulation.

1QS 6:3 ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים מעצת החיד

1QS 6:3 In every place where there are ten men of the council of the **Yahad**...³⁸⁴

1QS 6:9-10 כול העם ישבו איש בתכונו וכן ישאלו למשפט ולכול עצה ודבר אשר יהיה לרבים להשיב איש את מדעו לעצת היחד

4Q256 2:1³⁸³ וכול הבאים בסרך היחד יעבורו בברית

4Q256 2:1 (1QS 1:16) And all those who enter into the Rule of the **Yahad** Rule shall establish a Covenant...

4Q261 f2a_c:3 c.f³⁸⁴ מעצת היחד אל ימש מאתם כוהן

4Q261 f2a_c:3 from the council of the **Yahad** are gathered, there shall not be lacking among them a priest. Translation from *DJD XXVI*.

And:

4Q263 f1:4 ובכל מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים מעצת היחד אל ימש מאתם איש

4Q263 f1:4 In every place where there are ten men of the council of the **Yahad**, there shall not be lacking among them... Translation from *DJD XXVI*.

1QS 6:9-10 All the people will sit down in order of rank. And following the same system they shall be questioned with regard to judgment, all counsel and any matter referred to the Many, so that each can impart his knowledge to the council of the **Yahad**.

1QS 6:12-23 וכול איש אשר יש אתו דבר לדבר לרבים אשר לוא במעמד האיש השואל את עצת היחד ועמד האיש על רגלוהי ואמר יש אתי דבר לדבר לרבים אם יומר לו ידבר וכולה מתנדב וכול המתנדב מישראל להוסיף על עצה היחד ידורשהו האיש הפקיד ברואש הרבים לשכלו ולמעשיו ואם ישיג מוסר יביאהו בברית לשוב לאמת ולסור מכול עול והבינהו בכול משפטי היחד ואחר בכואו לעמוד לפני הרבים ונשאלו הכול על דבריו וכאשר יצא הגורל על עצה הרבים יקרב או ירחק ובקורבו לעצת היחד לוא יגע בטרת הרבים עד אשר ידרושהו לרוחו ומעשו עד מולאת לו שנה תמימה וגם הואה אל יתערב בהון הרבים ובמולאת לו שנה בתוך היחד ישאלו הרבים על דבריו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה ואם יצא לו הגורל לקרוב לסוד היחד על פי הכוהנים ורוב אנשי בריתם יקריבו גם את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש המבקר אעל מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו ועל הרבים לוא יוציאנו אל יגע במשקה הרבים עד מולאת לו שנה שנית בתוך אנשי היחד ובמולאת לו השנה השנית יפקודהו על פי הרבים ואם יצא לו הגורל לקרבו ליחד יכתובהו בסרך תכונו בתוך אחיו לתורה ולמשפט ולטוהרה ולערב את הונו ויהי עצתו ליחד ומשפטו

1QS 6:12-23 And anyone who has something to say to the Many but is not in the position of one who is asking questions to the council of the **Yahad**, that man should stand up and say: 'I have something to say to the Many.' If they tell him to, he should speak. And anyone from Israel who freely volunteers to enrol in the council of the **Yahad**, the man appointed at the head of the Many shall test him with regard to his insight and his deeds. If he suits the discipline he shall let him enter into the covenant so that he can revert to the truth and shun all injustice, and he shall teach him all the precepts of the **Yahad**. And then, when he comes in to stand in front of the Many, they shall be questioned, all of them, concerning his affairs. And depending on the outcome of the lot in the council of the Many he shall be included or excluded. When he is included in the **Yahad** council, he must not touch the pure food of the Many until they test him about his spirit and about his deeds, until he has completed a full year; neither should he share in the possession of the Many. When he has completed a year within the **Yahad**, the Many will be questioned about his affairs, concerning his insight and his deeds in connection with the law. And if the lot results in him entering the inner council of the **Yahad** according to the priests and the majority of the men of their covenant, his possessions and his earnings will also be joined at the hand of the Inspector of the earnings of the Many. And they shall credit it to his account, but they shall not use it for the Many. He must not touch the drink of the Many until he completes a second year among the men of the **Yahad**. And when this second year is complete he will be examined by command of the Many. And if the lot results in him joining the **Yahad**, they shall enter him in the order of his rank among his brothers for the law, for the judgment, for purity and for the placing of his possessions. And his advice will be for the **Yahad** as will his judgment.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ 4Q261 f3:1 ולערב את הונו ויהי עצתו ליחד משפטו

³⁸⁵ 4Q261 f3:1 and to pool his wealth; and his counsel and his judgement shall belong to the **Yahad**. Translation from *DJD XXVI*.

1QS 7:6 ואם ברעהו יתרמה ונענש שלושה חודשים ואם בהון היחד יתרמה לאבדו ושלמו

1QS 7:6 And if he is /negligent/ to his fellow he will be punished for three months. However, if he is negligent with the possessions of the **Yahad** achieving a loss, he shall replace it in full.

1QS 7:17-19 והאיש אשר ילון על יסוד היחד ישלחהו ולוא ישוב ואם על רעהו ילון אשר לוא במשפט ונענש ששה חודשים והאיש אשר תזוע רוחו מיסוד היחד לבגוד באמת וללכת בשרירות לבו אם ישוב ונענש שתי שנים ברשונה ולוא יגע בטהרת הרבים

1QS 7:17-19 And whoever complains against the foundation of the **Yahad** shall be expelled and will not return; however, if he complains against his fellow without cause he will be punished six months. The person whose spirit turns aside from the foundation of the **Yahad** to betray the truth and walk in the stubbornness of his heart, if he comes back, shall be punished for two years; during the first year he shall not approach the pure food of the Many.³⁸⁶

1QS 7:20 ובשנית לוא יגע בטהרת משקה הרבים ואחר כול אנשי היחד

1QS 7:20 And during the second (year) he shall not approach the food/drink of the many and shall sit at the back of all the men of the **Yahad**.³⁸⁷

1QS 7:22-25 כול איש אשר יהיה בעצת היחד על מלואת עשר שנים ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד ויצא מלפני הרבים ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב אל עצת היחד עוד ואיש מאנשי היחד אשר יתערב עמו בטהרתו או בהונו אשר הרבים והיה משפטו כמוהו לשלחו

1QS 7:22-25 However, anyone who has been in the council of the **Yahad** for ten full years and whose spirit reverts to betray the **Yahad** and go away from the presence of the Many in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, will never return to the council of the **Yahad**. And the person among the men of the **Yahad** who fraternizes with him with

³⁸⁶ Whilst it is obviously a man which complains, the definition of the 'teaching of the Yahad' here could refer either to a solely human community or to the teaching of a community of angels and humans, especially given the knowledge of the divine beings in the *Shirot*. However, because 7:20 obviously refers to a human community I have decided to include 7:17-19 and 22-25 in the same category. See also 4Q261 f6a-e and 4Q270 7 i 5-8 which parallel 1QS 7:15-18.

4Q259 2:3 c.f.³⁸⁷ ובשנית לוא יגע במשקה הרבים ואחר כול אנשי היחד

4Q259 2:3 And during the second (year) he shall not touch the drink of the many and shall sit behind all the men of the [(1QS 7:20)] **Yahad**. Translation from *DJD XXVI*.

regard to his purity or his goods, who the Many, and his sentence will be like his, he shall be expelled.³⁸⁸

1QS 8:10-11 בהכון אלה ביסוד היחד שנתים ימים בתמים דרך יבדלו קודש בתוך עצת אנשי היחד

1QS 8:10-11 When these have been established in the foundation of the **Yahad** for two full years in perfect behaviour they will be segregated (like) Holy Ones in the midst of the council of the men of the **Yahad**³⁸⁹

1QS 8:16-22 וכול איש מאנשי היחד ברית היחד אשר יסור מכול המצוה דבר ביד רמה אל יגע בטהרת אנשי הקודש ואל ידע בכול עצתם עד אשר יזכו מעשיו מכול עול להלך בתמים דרך וקרבהו בעצה על פי הרבים ואחר יכתב בתכונן וכמשפט הזה לכול הנוסף ליחד ואלה המשפטים אשר ילכו במ אנשי התמים קודש איש את רעהו כול הבא בעצת הקודש ההולכים בתמים דרך כאשר צוה כול איש מהמה אשר יעבר דבר מתורת מושה ביד רמה או ברמיה ישלחהו מעצת היחד

1QS 8:16-22 And anyone of the men of the **Yahad**, the covenant of the **Yahad**, who insolently shuns anything at all commanded, cannot approach the pure food of the men of holiness, and cannot know anything of their counsels until his deeds have been cleansed from every depravity, walking in perfect behaviour. Then they can include him in the council under the authority of the Many and later they will enrol him according to his rank. And (they shall apply) this regulation to all who enter the **Yahad**. These are the regulations by which the men of perfect holiness shall conduct themselves, one with another. All who enter the council of holiness of those walking in perfect behaviour as he commanded, anyone of them who breaks a word of the law of Moses impertinently or through carelessness will be banished from the council of the **Yahad**.

1QS 9:7 רק בני אהרון ימשלו במשפט ובהון ועל פיהם יצא והגורל לכול תכון אנשי היחד

1QS 9:7 Only the sons of Aaron will have authority in the matter of judgement and of goods, and their word will settle the lot of all provision for the men of the **Yahad**...

³⁸⁸ c.f. **4Q259 2:5-6** וכול איש אשר יהיה בעצת היחד עד מלאות לו עשר שנים ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד ויצא מלפני הרבים ללכת **4Q259 2:5-6** (1QS 7:22) Any who has been in the council of the **Yahad** until completion of (ten years) [(1QS 7:23) and whose spirit reverts to betray the **Yahad** and go away from the presence of the many in order to walk (1QS 7:24). 1QS 7:20-8: 10 also parallels 4Q259 f2 ii 3-18 and 4Q265 7 ii 7-9. Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1*

³⁸⁹ c.f. **4Q259 3:1-2** ביסוד היחד שנתים ימים בתמים דרך יבדלו לקדש בתוך עצת אנשי היחד

4Q259 3:1 (1QS 8:11) In the foundation of the **Yahad** for two full years in perfect behaviour they will be segregated for holiness [like holy ones] in the midst of the council of the men of the **Yahad**. Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1*.

1QS 9:9-10 ומכול עצת התורה לוא יצאו ללכת בכול שרירות לבם ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לתיסר במ

1QS 9:9-10 They should not depart from any counsel of the law in order to walk in complete stubbornness of their heart, but instead shall be ruled by the first directives which the men of the **Yahad** began to be taught...

1QS 9:18-19 להנחותם בדעה וכן להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בתוך אנשי היחד להלך תמים איש את רעהו בכול הנגלה להם ההיא עת פנות הדרך

1QS 9:18-19 He should lead them with knowledge and in this way teach them the mysteries of wonder and of truth in the midst of the men of the **Yahad**, so that they walk perfectly, one with another, in all that has been revealed to them.³⁹⁰

1Q31 f1:1 כול אנשי היחד ישבו

1Q31 f1:1 all the men of the **Yahad** shall sit...³⁹¹

4Q177 f5-6:1 ההוללים אשר יבא על אנשי היחד

4Q177 f5-6:1 The boasters who come against the men of the **Yahad**³⁹²

4Q177 f5-6:7-8 צפור כיא הנה הרשעים ידרכין קשת ויכינו חצים על יתר פשרו אשר ינודו אנשי

4Q177 f5-6:7-8 O bird: for lo, the wicked bend the bow and they have fitted arrows to the string' Its interpretation is that the men of... (*the Yahad* (?) see *4Q177 f5-6:1* above) will flee.³⁹³

4Q254 f4:4 כיא אנשי היחד המה

4Q254 f4:4 For the men of the community (**Yahad**)³⁹⁴

4Q477 f2i:1 אנשי היחד

4Q477 f2i:1 the men of the **Yahad**

³⁹⁰ 1QS 9:12-20 parallels 4Q259 f3 ii 6-19.

³⁹¹ Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition Vol 1*.

³⁹² Translation from *DJD V*.

³⁹³ Translation from *DJD V*.

³⁹⁴ As this text is a commentary on Genesis (C) the word יחד here could be being used generically of a community rather than specifically of the יחד at Qumran. However, as we have already seen, this text was altered so Noah's timeline matched the sectarian calendar and so the text could have been altered more generally, to apply specifically to Qumran. Translation from *DJD XXII*.

Uncertain

1QS 1:11-12 כול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם והונם ביחד אל לברר דעתם באמת חוקי אל

1QS 1:11-12 All those who submit freely to his truth will convey all their knowledge, their energies, and their riches to the **Yahad** of God in order to refine their knowledge in the truth of God's decrees.

1QS 2:24 כִּי־א הכול יהיו ביחד אמת וענות טוב ואהבת חסד ומחשבת צדק

1QS 2:24 So shall all together comprise a **Yahad** of truth, of proper meekness, of compassionate love and upright purpose...

1QS 2:25-26 וכול המואס לבוא בברית אל ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא יעבור ביחד אמתו כִּי־א געלה.

1QS 2:25-26 And anyone who declines to enter the covenant of God, in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, shall not enter into the **Yahad** of His truth...

1QS 3:2-3 ודעתו וכוחו והונו לוא יביאו בעצת יחד כִּי־א בסאון רשע מחרשו וגואלים בשובתו

1QS 3:2-3 His knowledge, his energy and his wealth shall not enter the council of the **Yahad** because he ploughs in the mud of wickedness and there are stains on his conversion.³⁹⁵

1QS 3:5-6 טמא טמא יהיה כול יומי מואסו במשפטי אל לבלתי התיסר ביחד עצתו

1QS 3:5-6 Defiled, defiled shall he be all the days he spurns the decrees of God, without allowing himself to be taught by the **Yahad** of His counsel.³⁹⁶

4Q257 3:3 c.f.³⁹⁵ ודעתו וכוחו והונו לוא יבואו בעצת יחד כִּי־א בסאון רשע

4Q257 3:3 (1QS 3:2) His knowledge, his energy and his wealth shall not enter the council of the **Yahad** because he (ploughs) in the mud of wickedness. Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*.

4Q257 3:8 c.f.³⁹⁶ יומי מואסו במשפטי אל לבלתי התיסר ביחד עצתו

4Q257 3:8 the days he (1QS 3:6) spurns the decrees of God, without allowing himself to be taught by the **Yahad** of His counsel. Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*.

1QS 5:7-8 להרשיע כול עוברי חוק ואלה תכון דרכיהם על כול החוקים האלה בהאספם ליחד כול הבא לעצת היחד יבוא בברית אל

1QS 5:7-8 These are the regulations of their behaviour concerning all these decrees when they are enrolled in the **Yahad**. Whoever enters the council of the **Yahad** enters the covenant of God.

1QS 7:1-2 והבדילהו ולוא ישוב עוד על עצת היחד

1QS 7:1-2 And he will be excluded and shall not go back ever to the council of the **Yahad**.³⁹⁷

1QS 8:1-2 בעצת היחד שנים עשר איש וכוהנים שלושה תמימים בכול הנגלה מכול התורה

1QS 8:1-2 In the council of the **Yahad** there shall be twelve men and three priests, perfect in everything that has been revealed from all the law...³⁹⁸

1QS 9:1-2 אך השוגג יבחן שנתיים ימים לתמים דרכו ועצתו על פי הרבים ואחר יכתוב בתכוננו ליחד קודש.

1QS 9:1-2 Only someone who sins through oversight shall be tested for two full years with respect to the perfectness of his behaviour and of his counsel according to the authority of the Many, and shall then be enrolled according to his rank in the **Yahad** of holiness.

1QS 9:5-6 בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים.

1QS 9:5-6 At that moment the men of the **Yahad** shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the **Yahad** for Israel, those who walk in perfection.

1QSa 1:1 וזה הסרך לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים בהאספם ליחד

1QSa 1:1 This is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the final Days, when they gather in **Yahad**...

³⁹⁷This probably refers to humankind but as the definition of Yahad is uncertain I have chosen to leave it in this category. See also 4Q261 f4a-b, which parallels 1QS 6:27-7:4

³⁹⁸4Q259 2:9 c.f בעצת היחד שנים עשר אנשים וכוהנים שלושה

4Q259 2:9 (1QS 8:1) In the Council of the **Yahad** there shall be twelve men and three priests... Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*.

1QSa 1:25-27 ואם תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או לעצת יחד או לתעודת מלחמה וקדשום ימים להיות כול הבא עתיד לעצה אלה³⁹⁹ (א)נשים הנקראים לעצת היחד

1QSa 1:25-27 And if there is a convocation of all the assembly for a judgement or for the **Yahad**, or for a convocation of war, they shall sanctify themselves during three days, so that everyone who comes is prepared for the council. These are the men who are to be summoned to the **Yahad** council...

1QSa 2:2 אנושי השם קוראי מועד הנועדים לעצת היחד בישראל

1QSa 2:2 The men of renown, those summoned to the assembly, those gathered for the council of the **Yahad** in Israel...

1QSa: 2:11 הוא במושב אנשי השם קוראי מועד לעצת היחד

1QSa 2:11 At the session of the men of renown, those summoned to the gathering of the council of the **Yahad**,

1QSa 2:20-22 ואחר ישלח משיח ישראל ידיו בלחם ואחר יברכו כול עדת היחד איש לפי כבודו וכחוק הזה יעש לכול מערכת כיא יועדו עד עשרא אנשים

1QSa 2:20-22 Afterwards, the Messiah of Israel shall stretch out his hands towards the bread. And afterwards, they shall bless all the congregation of the **Yahad**, each one according to his dignity. And in accordance with this precept one shall act at each meal, when at least ten men are gathered.

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1QpHab 12:3-4 כיא הלבנון הוא עצת היחד והבהמות המה פתאי יהודה

1QpHab 12:3-4 Because Lebanon is the council of the **Yahad**, and the animals are the simple folk of Judah...

1QHa 6:29 ולבלתי עשות מכול הרע בעיניך וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי לפי

1QHa 6:29 [and] not do anything evil in your sight. And thus I was brought into association (or in the **Yahad**) with all the men of my council. According to...

³⁹⁹ Here you would expect אנשים (men) rather than נשים (women). C.f 4QS^e

⁴⁰⁰ It is possible that 1Qsb 5:21 should be included in this category, but the reading is uncertain given the fragmentary nature of the text and Qimron reads the next word in this sentence as דויד instead of היהיד.

קימרון, החיבורים העבריים מקומראן: מהדורה משולבת, See

1Qsb 5:21 בריתו וברית

1Qsb 5:21 And He shall renew for him the Covenant of the... [This translation is from Qimron]

1QHa 12:25 כול הנדרשים לי הנועדים יחד לבריתכה וישומעוני ההולכים בדרך לבכה ויערוכו לכה

1QHa 12:25 all who have been examined by me, who have gathered together (or in the **Yahad**) for your covenant. Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me; they marshal themselves before You...

1Q14 f8-10:8 אל עושי התורה בעצת היחד אשר ינצלו מיום

1Q14 f8-10:8 God observing the law in the council of the **Yahad**, those who will be saved from the day...⁴⁰¹

4Q164 f1:2 אשר יסדו את עצת היחד הכוהנים והעם

4Q164 f1:2 They founded the council of the **Yahad**, the priests, and the people...

4Q171 f1-2ii:13-14 פשרו על עריצי הברית אשר בבית יהודה אשר יזומו לכלות את עושי התורה אשר בעצת היחד

4Q171 f1-2ii:13-14 Its interpretation concerns the ruthless ones of the covenant in the House of Judah who plot to obliterate those in the council of the community (**Yahad**) who carry out the law.⁴⁰²

4Q171 f3-10iv:17-19 ופושעים נשמדו יחד ואחרית רשעים נכרתה פשרו יובדו ונכרתו מתוך עדת היחד

4Q171 f3-10iv:17-19 'But the rebellious shall be destroyed together, and the posterity of the wicked shall be cut off.' Its interpretation... will perish and be cut off from the midst of the congregation of the **Yahad**.⁴⁰³

4Q174 f1-2i:17 המה בני צדוק ואנשי עצתמה ... אחריהמה לעצת היחד

4Q174 f1-2i:17 They are the Sons of Zadok, and the men of their community after them to the council of the **Yahad**.⁴⁰⁴

4Q177 f5-6:16 התורה עושי היחד

4Q177 f5-6:16 the Law, those who institute the **Yahad**

4Q177 f14:5 את עצת היחד

4Q177 f14:5 the council of the **Yahad**.

⁴⁰¹ Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*.

⁴⁰² Translation from *DJD V*.

⁴⁰³ Translation from *DJD V*.

⁴⁰⁴ Translation from *DJD V*.

4Q181 f1:1 לאשמה ביחד עם בחטאת בני אדם ולמשפטים גדולים ומחלים רעים

4Q181 f1:1 for guilt in the **Yahad** with.... in the sin of mankind and great judgements and grievous ills...⁴⁰⁵

4Q265 f4ii:3 ואיש אשר יבוא להוסיף אל עצת היחד ידורשהו הפקיד

4Q265 f4ii:3 And a man who comes to join the council of the **Yahjad** shall be examined by the one appointed.⁴⁰⁶

4Q265 f4ii:6 המבקר על היחד במעשי התורה ולא יגע במשקה הרבים

4Q265 f4ii:6 who oversees the **Yahad** shall make him understand the deeds of the Law and he shall not touch the liquids of the public [many]...⁴⁰⁷

4Q270 f3iii:19 ממשפטי היחד שלוש פעמים

⁴⁰⁸ 4Q270 f3iii:19 from the judgements of the **Ya[had]**,] three times

4Q284a f2:4 איש מאנשי היחד

⁴⁰⁹4Q284a f2:4 a man from the men of the **Yahad**

4Q286 f7ii:1 עצת היחד יומר כולמה ביחד אמן אמן

4Q286 f7ii:1 The council of the **Yahad** all of them together will say together, "Amen, Amen."⁴¹⁰

4Q286 f20:4 אנשי היחד

4Q286 f20:4 men of the **Yahad**.⁴¹¹

4Q287 f6:1 עצת היחד יומר כולמה ביחד אמן אמן

4Q287 f6:1 The council of the **Yahad** all of them will say together Amen, Amen.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁵ Translation from *DJD V*.

⁴⁰⁶ Translation from *DJD XXXV*.

⁴⁰⁷ Translation from *DJD XXXV*.

⁴⁰⁸ My translation.

⁴⁰⁹ My translation. 4Q284a f2:4, 4Q286 f20:4 and 4Q288 f1:1 all probably belong in the 'human' category but because the word 'men' is uncertain and reconstructed in very fragmentary sentences I have chosen to leave these three sentences in the 'uncertain' category.

⁴¹⁰ Translation from *DJD XI*.

⁴¹¹ My translation.

⁴¹² Translation from *DJD XI*.

4Q288 f1:1 אנשי היחד

4Q288 f1:1 men of the **Yaḥad**⁴¹³

4Q402 f4:5 ולוא יהיוים ליחד

4Q402 f4:5 and they shall not come to the **Yaḥad**⁴¹⁴

4Q408 f3+3a:3 אל ישראל הברא הוא ליחד

4Q408 f3+3a:3 the God of Israel creates together (or creates it for the **Yaḥad**)⁴¹⁵

4Q414 f7:7 יחד

4Q414 f7:7 the **Yaḥad** (or together).⁴¹⁶

4Q427 f7ii:9 ועם אלים בעדת יחד

4Q427 f7ii:9 With the Elim in the congregation of the **Yaḥad**⁴¹⁷

4Q427 f8i:9 c.f 1QHa 7:17 ואנחנו ביחד נועדנו וְעַם ידעים נוסרה לכה ונרננה

4Q427 f8i:9 and we are called together [or in the **Yaḥad**] with those who know, we allow ourselves to be instructed by You and we sing out...⁴¹⁸

4Q431 f2:8-9 ועם אלים בעדת יחד

4Q431 f2:8-9 and with the Elim in the congregation of the **Yaḥad**⁴¹⁹

4Q472 f2:3 (olim f3.) בלישנה דבי ליחד נזירי

4Q472 f2:3 (olim f3.) In the tongue of the **Yaḥad**, [those] consecrated...⁴²⁰

4Q477 f2ii:6 להעכיר את רוח היחד וגם לערב את אל

⁴¹³ My translation.

⁴¹⁴ My translation.

⁴¹⁵ My translation.

⁴¹⁶ My translation.

⁴¹⁷ My translation. This probably belongs in the angels and humans together category but is too fragmentary to be certain.

⁴¹⁸ Translation from *DJD XXIX*.

⁴¹⁹ My translation. This probably belongs in the angels and humans together category but is too fragmentary to be certain.

⁴²⁰ Translation from *DJD XXXVI*.

4Q477 f2ii:6 to disturb the spirit of the **Yahad** and also to be share with⁴²¹

תכן למועדי שנה וממשלת יחד להתהלך בגורל אליהם 4Q511 f2i:9-10

4Q511 f2i:9-10 according to the feasts of the year, [and]the communal (**Yahad**), [do]minion to walk [in] the lot of [the Elim]⁴²²

מיחד 4Q512 f84:2

4Q512 f84:2 from the **Yahad** ⁴²³

⁴²¹ Translation from *DJD XXXVI*.

⁴²² Translation from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*. This probably belongs in the angels and humans together category but is too fragmentary to be certain.

⁴²³ My translation.

It is clearly visible from Figure 6 that most passages fall into the 'Uncertain' category.

There are however, a few passages where the Yaḥad was explicitly believed to consist of a community comprising both divine beings and humanity. This is clearly shown in the figure above in the 'Angels and Humans' category. The undisputed passages include 1QS 11:7-9, 1QSb 4:24-26 and 1QH^a 11:23; 26:28; 26:36.

1QS 11:7-9 states:

לאשר בחר אל נתנם לאוחזת עולם וינחילים בגורל קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית
קודש למטעת עולם עם כול קץ נהיה

To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the Holy Ones. He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the **Yaḥad** and a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages.

1QSb 4:24-26:

ואתה כמלאך פנים במעון קודש לכבוד אלהי צבאות היה סביב משרת בהיכל מלכות ומפיל גורל עם מלאכי פנים
ועצת יחד [עם קדושים] לעת עולם ולכול קצי נצח

May you be like an angel of the face in the holy residence for the glory of the God of the Hosts ... You shall be around, serving in the temple of the kingdom, casting the lot with the angels of the face and the Council of the **Yaḥad** [with Holy ones] for eternal time and for all the perpetual periods.

and 1QH^a 11:23:

צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות

the host of the holy ones, and enter into the **Yaḥad** with the congregation of the children of heaven. And you cast for a person an eternal lot with the spirits...

Along with 1QH^a 26:28 and 26:36, these passages, all seem to interpret the phrase 'council of the Yaḥad' as a council which was constructed of united angelic and human beings. If this understanding of the council of the Yaḥad (referring to a heavenly and earthly community made up of both divine and human) is applied to the verses which do not specify an angelic component but simply contain the term 'council of the Yaḥad' in the 'Uncertain' category of phrases, then those phrases in blue in Figure 6 could be removed from the 'Uncertain' category and placed in the 'Angels and Humans Together' category.

The remaining verses (1QS 2:22-23, 1QS 3:11-12, 1QS 5:5-6 and 1QS 8:4-5) in the category of 'Angels and Humans Together' are more debatable and it is possible that these phrases should instead be in the 'Uncertain' category. However, I have decided to include them in the 'Angels and Humans Together' category because each of these phrases refers to the Yaḥad as being an everlasting or eternal covenant/society and so implies a connection with divine beings; especially since all the remaining verses are from 1QS and when read in connection with 1QS 11:7-9 it is clear that the establishment of the Yaḥad as an everlasting plantation consisted of both angels and humans.

Any sentences which specify 'men of the Yaḥad' are clearly referring to humanity and so have been placed in the 'Humans' category. Other passages, from their context, are also clearly referring to humanity and so have been included in this category too. There are incidentally a few sentences in the 'Uncertain' category which appear to be referring to humans and their actions, but none of these sentences specify the phrase 'men of the Yaḥad,' instead they simply state 'Yaḥad;' nor does the context necessarily clarify that only humans are meant (although this is most likely the case), which is why these sentences are in the 'Uncertain' category rather than the 'Humans' category.

However, the fact that in some passages there is a distinction of 'men of the Yaḥad' implies that 'men' could be isolated from the whole of the Yaḥad. Although this, of course, does not necessarily mean that the 'other' in the whole of the Yaḥad was thought to be an angelic or divine community!

John Collins has translated the phrase in 1QS 11:8 as 'Council of the Community,' explaining that ָּוּוּ in this context means 'union,' which therefore suggests that in this passage 'togetherness with the angels is constitutive of the community on earth.'⁴²⁴ I believe that the union was constituent in both forms of the word, as the angelic presence in the union of the human and angelic council provided power for the human constituent part to re-imagine itself. It enabled the Yaḥad to identify as belonging to part of a permanently divine community. This identification then allowed the space for personal transformation and formation as an individual (as well as a community) to develop.

It is clear from the *Shirot* that it was considered possible for a community of angels and humans to exist together in worship. 1QS now suggests that this was thought to be possible within day-to-day life as well. Intriguingly, 1QS is another text which is attributed to the Maskil whose job it is to teach the men of the Yaḥad the ways, laws and statutes of the Yaḥad: again, implying a spiritual link between the heavenly and the earthly through the person of the Maskil.

⁴²⁴ John J. Collins, 'The Angelic Life,' in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, eds., Seim Turid Karlsen and Økland Jorunn. Ekstasis. Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages 1 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009), 297. See also John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), especially 52-87.

Further, it is fascinating to discover that each of the explicit sentences above which acknowledge a divine and earthly combined Yaḥad council is from a liturgical text. 1QS 11:8 is part of the final hymn found at the end of some of the 1QS manuscripts; 1QSB is a text comprising of blessings which are to be used by the Maskil, presumably in worship, and 1QH^a are the *Hodayot*, or Thanksgiving Hymns which also have a connection with the Maskil. All these texts highlight the importance of the figure of the Maskil at Qumran and may go as far as to suggest that this role was crucial to the spiritual and liturgical communion of a combined heavenly and earthly Yaḥad. Unfortunately, due to the poetic nature of these texts it is entirely possible that this combined Yaḥad is believed to be present solely in worship, since, like the *Shirot*, the metaphorical language in the *Hodayot* may be symbolic of a special liturgical connection and relationship between the earthly and heavenly, coming together in a sacred space through the figure of the Maskil. There is no further evidence available to show that this special relationship was believed to be present in the day-to-day duties and responsibilities within the community.

This does not mean however, that the perceived connection with divine beings did not affect the daily lives of the earthly community. In fact, Cecilia Wassén has recently written an article which explains the centrality of angels within the sect's construction, self-identification and self-categorization from a social identity⁴²⁵ perspective.⁴²⁶ She

⁴²⁵ For more on social identity see Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*. STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013) & Jutta Jokiranta, 'Social Identity Approach: Identity-Constructing Elements on the Psalms Peshar' in *Defining Identities: We, You and the Other in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, eds., Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović. STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 85-110.

⁴²⁶ Cecilia Wassén, 'Good and Bad Angels in the Construction of Identity in the Qumran Movement,' in *Gottesdienst und Engel Im Antiken Judentum Und Fruhen Christentum*, eds., Jörg Frey and Michael Jost, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 71-97.

argues that 1QS allows humanity to be divided into two camps (good and bad) before associating the Yaḥad with the good camp. I think that 1QS is trying to associate the Yaḥad with the camp of righteous angels - which includes the two highest categories of angels - the angels of the presence and the elim, which were studied in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The good camp includes also the archangels and in particular Michael. In contrast, the bad camp is constructed of Belial and his angels, the fallen watchers. Thus, one camp is aligned against the other, which immediately enables the sect to identify as an 'us' as opposed to a 'them,' meaning that a differentiated 'other' is instantly present.

The union formed by a combined Yaḥad of angels and humanity re-balances and re-addresses the unholy union of the fallen watchers with human women, by re-establishing a relationship which humans and angels shared with God, pre-angelic or pre-human fall.

Within the text of 1QS, the Yaḥad believes itself to be a divine eternal union which therefore allows the Yaḥad access to the same original relationship with God which Adam and Eve shared with Him in the Garden of Eden. In Genesis, after Adam and Eve eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden, humanity acquires a knowledge of good and evil. However, humanity does not develop the same perfect nature as God, in whose image humanity was created.

The Yaḥad believed that through using liturgy like the *Shirot* it had access to a divine understanding of knowledge. The Yaḥad also had a developed dualistic concept of good and evil. It is perhaps predictable then that the Yaḥad began to search for perfection and to try to obtain a perfection of the self and a perfect nature. 1QS 4 23 states that the reward

for the righteous shall be 'all the glory of Adam/ וְלֵהֶם כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם.⁴²⁷ Fletcher-Louis argues that Adam was associated with the divine glory and the image of God.⁴²⁸ This understanding can be traced back to the scriptural text in Genesis 1:26 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה נְפִישָׁה וְנִצְלְמֵנוּ כְּדִמוֹתֵינוּ 'and God said 'Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness.' It is believed that God was speaking with the angels here and that humanity originally shared a likeness with the angels and possibly even shared the glory of the angels. It is further believed that humanity lost this likeness when they were expelled from the Garden of Eden. John Collins taking this into consideration, uses Genesis Rabbah 20:12 where 'Rabbi Meir read Gen 3:21 to say that God dressed Adam and Eve in "garments of light" rather than garments of skin,⁴²⁹ to support his (Collins) argument that the glory of Adam 'may coincide with the majestic raiment of light promised in 1QS 4.⁴³⁰ Alternatively, *Jubilees 8:19* 'presents the Garden of Eden as a primordial sanctuary: "And he (Noah) knew that the Garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord."⁴³¹ Further, the Temple purity laws are also applied to the Garden of Eden in the retelling of the creation of Adam and Eve.⁴³² Indeed, the themes of the Garden and temple are also interwoven within texts such as 1QS 11:8 where glory bestowed on the community is withheld by God from the rest of humanity (the sons of Adam).

⁴²⁷ The same phrase is also found in CD 3:20.

⁴²⁸ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 91-95.

⁴²⁹ Collins, 'The Angelic Life,' 295.

⁴³⁰ Collins, 'The Angelic Life,' 295.

⁴³¹ Cecilia Wassén, 'Do you have to be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple Sanctuary Metaphors and Construction of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul's Letters,' in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, eds., Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson and Eileen Schuller. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 62-63.

⁴³² Wassén, 'Do you have to be pure in a Metaphorical Temple?' 63.

This 'glory' signifies the glory of Adam which humanity lost upon expulsion from the Garden of Eden. A glory which Wassén (basing her argument on 1QS4:22-23: 'all the glory of Adam shall be theirs without deceit') believes will be regained 'in the eschatological era, including immortality and an original glorious, angel-like status.'⁴³³

Indeed this theory had already been proposed by Brooke, who argues that

the community functioned without a temple because of its eschatological self-understanding. It viewed its worship as an anticipation of what would take place in Jerusalem at the end of days and beyond, at the time of recreation of all things. At such a time there would be the realisation of no mere ideal, but the whole of God's purposes as set out in Eden would be reestablished.⁴³⁴

I would now like to expand this argument to suggest that alongside the eschatological belief of a future re-established Eden, the Yahad believed that, in the present, it already had access to this divine glory on earth, through its union with the angels in the council of the Yahad. This means, therefore, that the Yahad viewed itself as a sanctuary against the rest of humanity. The fact that it was a sanctuary like the Garden of Eden meant that the glory of Adam could be bestowed upon the community members, allowing them access to a perfect unspoilt relationship with God. It is this concept of sanctuary which enabled the heavenly and earthly spheres to meet in a sacred space, as long as the Yahad continued to live according to the laws of purity. It also implies that the Yahad thought itself to be chosen by God, set apart from the rest of humanity, as the people who were to enjoy a special and unique relationship with God, who was so pleased with them that he had re-bestowed the original divine glory given to all at creation, on that select few. This elitist interpretation is based on a scriptural understanding of God's will to bestow His glory on

⁴³³ Wassén, 'Do you have to be pure in a Metaphorical Temple?' 64.

⁴³⁴ Brooke, 'Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,' 285-301.

whomsoever he chooses. There is a tradition throughout scripture according to which God bestows his glory on righteous individuals, with the most well-known case probably being the glory which God bestowed on Moses at Sinai. It is this glory which can also be read through the lens of the *Shirot*:

In the case of the *Shirot*, the influence of Sinai is seen not in a distinct mention of the wilderness mountain nor of the covenant mediator Moses himself, but more obliquely in the priestly *kabod* tradition associated with a visual and mobile manifestation of divine glory which threads its way through the Sinai narrative emphasizing the mediating leadership of both prophet Moses and priest Aaron (inter alia Exod 16:7–10; 24:16–17).⁴³⁵

This reading therefore highlights a connection between the glory of Adam, the priestly tradition and the law and covenant of God. Indeed, in a footnote, Newman argues that the perception of being a divinely sanctified temple of people is actually rooted in Exodus 15:17-18,⁴³⁶ providing further support to the interpretation of a scriptural motif which argues that God will bestow glory on post-diluvian selected, righteous individuals. Also, through glory being bestowed on Aaron, the original priesthood was clothed in glory. The priests in the Yahad were therefore able to re-claim or re-bestow the glory that should have been theirs but was lost (in the Yahad's belief) by contemporary priestly practises within the physical Temple in Jerusalem. The Yahad believed, therefore, that by becoming a 'Miqdash Adam,' the glory given to Adam, then selectively bestowed on Moses and Aaron, was once again accessible to humanity.

⁴³⁵ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 31.

⁴³⁶ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' ft note 8, 31.

4.3 ANGELS IN THE COMMUNITY

If angels were perceived to be a part of the whole Yaḥad and therefore present in the day-to-day life of the community, instead of being present solely during liturgical worship, this raises questions about whether the angelic presence had any impact on the self-identity and self-categorization on humanity within the Yaḥad. 1QSa 2:3-10 provides evidence to support the hypothesis that angels were considered to be part of the day-to-day life. In particular, angelic beings were obviously thought to be present at meetings and congregations of the Yaḥad, as their presence was used as a reason to exclude anyone with a deformity, mental or physical disability, as well as those considered too old or too young. 1QSa 2:3b-2;9:

וכול איש מנוגע באחת מכול טמאות
 האדם אל יבוא בקהל אלה וכול איש מנוגע באלה לבלתי
 החזיק מעמד בתוכ העדה וכול מנוגע בבשרו נכאה רגלים או
 ידים פסח או עור או חרש או אלם או מום מנוגע בבשרו
 לראות עינים או איש זקן כושל לבלתי התחזק בתוך העדה
 אל יבואו אלה להתיצב בתוך עדת אנישי השם כיא מלאכי
 קודש בעדתם.

No man, defiled by any of the impurities of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and no-one who is defiled by these should be established in his office amongst the congregation: everyone who is defiled in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who cannot keep upright in the midst of the assembly; these shall not en[ter] to take their place among the congregation of the men of renown, for the angels of holiness are among their congregation.

The community were, in general, obsessed with the corporeal, and with the physical purity and perfection of a body. George Brooke has written about the community's fascination

with the human body and their corporeal requirements for joining the Yaḥad.⁴³⁷ The community's focus on the corporeal appears to have been due to the presence of angels within the Yaḥad, in either worship or battle. More significantly, this explicit angelology, and the theological explanation behind this angelology, is extremely similar to the angelology found in 1 Corinthians 11:10 διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, 'because of the angels.' The passage in Corinthians is, itself, a difficult passage to understand and it is often thought that this clause should be read together with the preceding stanza above (Corinthians 11:9), which states that the power of a wife/woman is to have her head covered (in worship), because of the angels. This is then interpreted as referring to the watcher's tradition of Genesis 6, in which where watchers saw women from heaven (i.e., the tops of their heads) and fell to earth in order to have sexual relations with these women.⁴³⁸

However, this has been questioned, since the most common understanding within New Testament scholarship is that the term ἀγγέλους means 'good' angels.⁴³⁹ In other words, it refers to the holiness of the angels, and not to the temptation of the watchers. The phrase διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, if read as 'good angels,' also provides further evidence for a first-century belief in a dualistic nature of divine beings made up of 'good angels' or 'bad angels' like the 'good camp' and the 'bad camp,' understood by the Qumran sect. The holiness of the 'good angels' was therefore obviously to be protected, to prevent a repeat of the fallen

⁴³⁷ George J. Brooke, 'Body Parts in Barkhi Nafshi and the Qualifications for Membership of the Worshipping Community' in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, eds., D. Falk, F. García-Martínez and E. Schuller. STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79–94.

⁴³⁸ This passage has then been used throughout history to subjugate women rather than to condemn 'the watcher's' or human men who may find a woman's head attractive and be distracted within worship. However, Paul himself was speaking into a particular religious practice which had arisen in Corinth and was at odds with other Christian communities. This is because there was an ancient Greek practice whereby women who were married wore veils in public but removed them for worship. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11;10,' in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., James H. Charlesworth and J. Murphy O'Connor (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 32.

⁴³⁹ Fitzmyer, 'A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11;10,' 40.

watchers, which became the 'bad angels.' This signifies that purity laws were developed as such, so that they included what the sect believed to be necessary precautions in order not to pollute the heavenly and holy quality of the 'good angels,' thus ensuring the sect's continuous glorified and special relationship with God through the Yaḥad.

If it is due to the angel's holiness that 1QSa excludes people from the Yaḥad, then Fitzmyer has noted that the same understanding of 'a bodily defect... [being]... a source of irreverence toward that which was qodes [קודש],' is present in Lev 21:17-23, which excludes any descendants of Aaron with deformities or disabilities from working as priests in the Temple.⁴⁴⁰ A similar reason כִּי מַלְאֲכֵי קֹדֶשׁ עִם צְבָאוֹתָם יֵחָד 'Holy angels are present with their army,' is given in the *War Scroll* for excluding the diseased, disabled and ritually unclean from participating in the final battle against the Sons of Darkness and Belial.⁴⁴¹ Indeed, the holiness of the angels was to be preserved at all costs and it was believed that 'great care must be exercised to prevent polluting them.'⁴⁴² This implies that there was an understanding amongst the human part of the Yaḥad that angels could not come into contact with those who were not spiritually or physically whole. The implications of this in regard to the final eschatological battle, as humans developed battle wounds, disabilities and, potentially met their deaths, is not discussed within the text of 1Q33/1QM. It is possible that, for the Yaḥad, the death of a human in battle was considered as an offering of sacrifice to God and so in order to engage in battle in the first place, the human in question needed to be (in their eyes) 'unblemished' in order to be a perfect offering. This is

⁴⁴⁰ Fitzmyer, 'A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11:10,' 43.

⁴⁴¹ See 1Q33/1QM 7 4-6.

⁴⁴² Bennie H. Reynolds III, 'A Dwelling Place of Demons: Demonology and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*, eds., Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 49.

perhaps an adaptation of the commandment in Leviticus 22:20 which refers to the offering of animal sacrifices in the Temple. This concept is so far removed from twenty-first century theology, or indeed twenty-first century thinking, that it is difficult to try to understand and explain. It may, however, be similar to the concept of *חרם* found in Joshua (1-11) and Deuteronomy. *חרם* is the horrific idea that all humans among the defeated in battle are subject to *חרם*. This means their complete and total destruction and devastation, which is itself viewed as an act of devotion to God and as an offering to God in payment for the lives of the victor's fallen. This concept appears in a passage in Numbers 21:2-3 in which the Israelites vow to destroy the Canaanites' cities if God will help them be successful in battle. The offering in this context is viewed as a sacrifice. This is a concept which, following the discovery of the Moabite Stone, appears to have culturally been a wider ANE belief. On the Moabite stone is a description known as the Mesha inscription, which describes the ninth-century B.C.E Moab King Mesha who offers to his God (Ashtar-Chemosh) the lives of the Israelites he has defeated in battle.⁴⁴³

The concept of *חרם* is found within the *War Scroll* in two passages of the manuscript

1Q33/ 1QM:

1QM 9: 6-7a

ותקעו להמה הכוהנים בחצוצרות המרדוף ונחלקו על כול האויב לרדף כלה והרכב
משיבים על ידי המלחמה עד החרם

The priests will blow for them the horns of pursuit, and they shall divide themselves, amongst all the enemy, for a pursuit of annihilation. The cavalry shall push the enemy back at the flanks (Lit.hand) of the battle until annihilation.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ For more on the concept of *חרם* see Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), esp pp.28-31. Information about Moabite Stone pp.31-32.

⁴⁴⁴ The hebrew here is taken from Qimron. See אלישע קימרון, *מהדורה משולבת, אלישע קימרון*. The English here is my translation.

and 1QM 18:1-5

בהנשא יד אל הגדולה על בליעל ועל כול חיל ממשלתו במגפת עולמים
ותרועת קדושים ברדף אשור ונפלו בני יפת לאין קום וכתיים יכתו לאין
משאת יד אל ישראל על כול המון בליעל בעת ההיא יריעו הכוהנים
בחצוצרות הזכרון ונאספו אליהם כול מערכות המלחמה ונחלקו על כול מחני כתיים
להחרימם

when the mighty hand of God is raised against Belial and against all the army of his dominion for an everlasting blow... and the call of the holy ones when they pursue Assyria; the sons of Japhet shall fall without rising; the Kittim shall be crushed without... on the day when the hand of the God of Israel is raised against the whole horde of Belial. On that moment, the priests shall blow... the trumpets of remembrance and all the battle lines shall combine against them and shall divide up against all the camps of the Kittim to eliminate them.⁴⁴⁵

החרימ is translated in both of the passages above as 'destroy,' although it is obvious from the context of each passage that it is the complete and total annihilation of the enemy which is meant. The *War Scroll* is believed to be a sectarian text and therefore represents sectarian ideology. The incorporation of the scriptural concept of החרימ within sectarian literature supports the theory that those killed in battle were seen as akin to a sacrificial offering to God. This theory is the epitome of the appalling and horrendous ideology of a holy devotional war. 1QM 9:6 even connects the priesthood with the initiation of the onslaught! The destruction of their enemies is seen as retribution, the killing of enemy men in battle is an act of vengeance and the lives of their dead are seen as being redeemed through this act of destruction.⁴⁴⁶ Niditch explains that there was a belief that God 'requires recompence. If God has been denied his due, the short fall must be replaced, even by a

⁴⁴⁵ Kittim is often thought to be used in reference to the Romans. Hebrew and Translation here from García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Ed. Vol 1*, 142-143.

⁴⁴⁶ Susan Niditch extrapolates the theory of redemption from the scriptural passage in 1 Sam 14:28-30, in which Jonathan is redeemed after breaking his father's vow. See Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 32-33.

life.⁴⁴⁷ The Yahad may therefore have believed that in order for the sacrifice to have been acceptable to God the men involved in the fighting had to be, in their eyes, ritually and physically pure. This diabolical idea of human sacrifice to a vengeful God who requires recompense and demands the destruction of other humans for the death of his faithful people is chilling.

The *War Scroll* describes a final eschatological cosmological battle between the Sons of Light (the Yahad) and the Sons of Darkness (everyone else). The dualism of the Yahad (humans and good angels), or 'Sons of Light,' fighting against an Angel of Darkness (Belial) and the 'Sons of Darkness' is not exclusive to the final eschatological battle as portrayed in 1Q33/1QM. 1QS 3:13-4:26 provides a Treatise of Two Spirits which is ascribed to the Maskil whose function it is to teach (the Yahad) 'all the Sons of Light about the nature of all the sons of man' (1QS 3:13.) According to this text, what is to occur originates from God and is pre-ordained to happen at fixed times. The Sons of Light walk with the Prince of Light⁴⁴⁸ against the Angel of Darkness, whose role it is to try and make the Sons of Light stumble from the true path. 'For God has sorted them into equal parts until the last time, and has put an everlasting loathing between their divisions.' (1QS 4:16-17). Indeed, it is within this context that the text states that God has chosen the upright to be an eternal covenant who will receive all the glory of Adam. The temptation then of the 'bad angels' is constant and persistent, so vigilance is needed to ensure that the Yahad remains pure. Other liturgical texts, such as the *Hodayot*, *4Q444* and *4QSongs of the*

⁴⁴⁷ Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 32.

⁴⁴⁸ Probably the archangel Michael.

Maskil are apotropaic in nature.⁴⁴⁹ The use of these texts in ritual observance would aid the Yahad in their fight against evil by offering spiritual support and protection.⁴⁵⁰ This would then allow the Yahad the opportunity to continue their pursuit of spiritual perfection, which made it possible for them to join with the angels in worship of the divine.

Interestingly, there is very little within the *Shirot* which focuses on the corporeal. There are only references to the mouth, to tongues, one reference to God's hand and in *Shir* 13, a reference to wings.⁴⁵¹ One reason for this may be that the corporeal perfection of the Yahad was focussed upon on a daily basis and the people who gathered for liturgical worship were believed to be corporeally perfect. Given the focus on spiritual warfare, protection and perfection described above, it is not surprising to discover that the *Shirot* are much more concerned with and concentrate more on spiritual perfection in the emulation and the imitation of the angelic priesthood than on corporeal issues. Newman believes that the songs 'reflect a transcendence of bodily concerns.'⁴⁵² This is probably due to the careful vetting procedure undertaken by the Yahad before people were allowed to join them in worship, therefore providing a freedom for the people gathered, to focus more on spiritual concerns rather than bodily concerns: a collective transformation provided by the opportunity of corporate worship, which likewise provided space for individual

⁴⁴⁹ On the performance of such texts see Andrew R. Krause, 'Protected Sects: The Apotropaic Performance and Function of 4Q Incantation and 4Q Songs of the Maskil and their Relevance for the study of the Hodayot,' in *Journal of Ancient Judaism*, 1 (2014): 25-39. From an anthropological perspective see Newman, *Before the Bible*, 116.

⁴⁵⁰ Newman notes that 'spiritual language is rife in the Hodayot. A number of psalms reflect a battle between wicked spirits that were unleashed after the fall of the Watchers.' Newman, *Before the Bible*, 116. See also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014) on 'spirits' 87-90 and on 'angels' 90-92.

⁴⁵¹ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 36.

⁴⁵² Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 37 see fuller quote on next page too.

spiritual transformation as well. This worship was led and directed by the Maskil, which further enabled a cohesive communal transformation to develop and therefore strengthened any individual transformation.

Another logical explanation for the *Shirot* not focussing on the corporeal is that when the time came within the liturgical year for the Yahad to use this particular liturgy, the emphasis was on growth in spiritual development, spiritual understanding and knowledge, rather than on physical correctness. A period of initiation, as well as a period of ‘measuring and evaluating bodies and their constituent parts’⁴⁵³ had already been undertaken. Therefore, the physical corporeal realities of the members of the congregation participating in the *Shirot* had already been questioned and (through the belief of the Yahad) been found acceptable to God. Any deemed physically, morally or ethically unsuitable had already been prevented from being allowed to participate in the worship if not entirely ostracised from the Yahad, as outlined above.

Newman explains the use of ‘incorporeal language’ as representing:

[a] transcendence of bodily concerns, presumably because those participating in the liturgy have gone beyond the concerns of the body by virtue of their ascetical discipline, at least during the length of a Sabbath, in order to ready themselves as vessels for reception of revelation.⁴⁵⁴

This is very plausible and quite accurate, but I believe the transcendence to be of an even deeper nature than that mentioned above by Newman. I believe the *Shirot* offered each individual within the community a transcendence of self, as it appears that by the time one

⁴⁵³ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 37.

⁴⁵⁴ Newman, 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran,' 37.

was allowed to participate in the *Shirot*, each individual person knew that they had no blemishes or physical issues which prevented them from being a part of the Yahad. The Yahad's focus therefore was not on the body but on transcendence of the self through inner spiritual development. There was a transformation as the community joined with the angels in praise and a clear symbolic understanding of a change within the worshipping community. There was every possibility also for the potential of personal growth, or even a transcendence of self each week, with each new song being sung. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, there was an understanding of a developing spirituality across the thirteen weeks from the start of the liturgy to its continued use after the festival of Shavu'ot. This was a formational experience which would potentially and collectively alter and shape the Qumran community by the individual spiritual growth of the 'Miqdash Adam.'

4.4 PRIESTS

The passages discussed so far provide clear evidence that the Yahad was in consistent communion with the angels, although it is important to note that there was still a distinction between the heavenly and the earthly. The humans within the Yahad did not become angels, they walked alongside them and had a duty to protect the holiness of the angelic beings.

It is unsurprising then that we discover (outlined in 1QS) a hierarchy of priestly beings within the earthly community, especially given the hierarchy of the angelic beings within the *Shirot*, as the angelic beings performed their priestly roles in heaven.

The priestly nature and function of the Yahad has been discussed and investigated by scholars from the earliest literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁵⁵ The most recent in-depth study was undertaken by Robert Kugler.⁴⁵⁶ His work disputed the previously undisputed claim that the Yahad at Qumran was formed by a group of break-away priests who were dissatisfied with the contemporary Temple:

One must admit that the oft-stated view of the community as being essentially a “priestly group” originating from a withdrawal of Zadokite priests from the temple over Hasmonean seizure of the High Priest’s office is also undetermined by the evidence.⁴⁵⁷

Instead, in his 2000 Encyclopaedia article Kugler, argues that priests within the Yahad have a leading role in community life, are responsible for the governance of the community, but are nowhere unequivocally described as community founders.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, Kugler attributes the highest authority to the Maskil, whom he believes was probably a layman (1QS 9:12). In this thesis we have already seen the responsibility given to the Maskil, and there is no doubt as to this position being one of great importance for the Yahad. The Maskil certainly has a role in the spiritual development of the members of the Yahad and whilst one would attribute some of his roles, for example, teaching, leading

⁴⁵⁵ For a recent survey on the history of priestly literature see Heinz Josef Fabry, 'Priests at Qumran - A Reassessment,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Contexts*, ed., Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 243-246.

⁴⁵⁶ Robert Kugler, 'Priesthood at Qumran,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* Vol 2. eds., P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 93–116; Robert Kugler, “The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues*, eds., D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich. STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 465–479 & Robert Kugler, 'Priests,' in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol.2. eds., L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (New York: OUP, 2000), Available online at <http://www.oxfordbiblicalstudies.com/article/opr/t264/e411>. Accessed 21st September 2021. The 2000 Encyclopaedia article is very different from the 1999 piece.

⁴⁵⁷ Kugler, 'Priesthood at Qumran,' 113. See also Fabry, 'Priests at Qumran - a Reassessment,' 245.

⁴⁵⁸ Kugler, 'Priests,' 688.

liturgy (the Shirot) and keeping the distinction between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness to a priestly role, I agree with Kugler that there is no explicit evidence of the Maskil's priestly status.

However, irrespective of whether the Yaḥad may or may not have been founded by priests, there is no question that there is a priestly role within the Yaḥad. 1QSa 1:27-2:3a, which comes immediately prior to the list of people who are to be excluded from the Yaḥad, states that

עתי לעצה אלה (א)נשים הנקראים לעצת היחד (מבן עש) כול
 חכמי העדה והגבונים והידעים תמימי הדרך ואנושי החיל עם
 שרי השבטים וכול שופטיהם ושוטריהם ושרי האלפים ושרי למאות
 ולחמשים ולעשרות והלויים בתוך מחלקות עבודתו אלה
 אנישי השם קיראי מועד הנועדים לעצת היחד בישראל
 לפני בני צדוק הכהנים

These are the men who are to be summoned to the community council from all the wise men of the congregation, the intelligent and those learned in perfect behaviour and the men of valour, together with the chiefs of the tribes and all their judges, their officials, the chiefs of thousands, the chiefs of hundreds, of fifties and of tens, and the levites, (each one) in the midst of his division of service. These are the men of renown, those summoned to the assembly, those gathered for the community council in Israel in the presence of the sons of Zadok, the priests.

This suggests that the priests were considered to have held a separate role, one that was not part of the human council of the Yaḥad and was potentially of a higher rank than the lay people and Levites who did constitute, (by holding specific commissions) the council of the Yaḥad. The reason for this could be because in the eyes of the Yaḥad the priests were considered to be above the rest of humanity, having an already established connection with the heavenly and a holiness akin to the angels in heaven. For, as Devorah Dimant has demonstrated, there are striking similarities between the activities attributed to angelic

beings within texts discovered at Qumran and to the activities attributed to the sectarian community.⁴⁵⁹ Dimant provides a list which she acknowledges 'presents an almost perfect parallelism between the heavenly and earthly priestly communities.'⁴⁶⁰

Unfortunately, it is not possible to talk of a single category of priests at Qumran. In fact, three terms are found within the Dead Sea Scrolls literature to refer to those of a priestly nature: the Sons of Aaron, the Sons of Zadok and the Levites. The function of the group of Levites is easily identified and understood, and is, in essence, an extension of their scriptural role, though this role is developed and on occasions held in a higher regard than in the scriptural texts.

In contrast, there appears to be no consensus within the literature as to the differentiation between the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok.⁴⁶¹ Most recently, Heinz Josef Fabry has surveyed the literature and use of these terms across the texts and has concluded that the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok are not synonyms for each other. He believes that the Sons of Aaron 'are associated predominantly with cultic functions [whereas the] Zadokites [are primarily associated] with official-administrative functions.'⁴⁶² Fabry also suggests that the development of the Levite tradition is an attempt to 'bridge the gap between the order of divine creation and priestly Aaronitic dogma.'⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹ Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 469-470.

⁴⁶⁰ Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 470.

⁴⁶¹ Kugler notes that there are a few occasions where 'Sons of Aaron' and Sons of Zadok' appear to be used interchangeably. However, he also notes that the term 'Sons of Aaron' usually occurs in sectarian documents and there appears to be used to differentiate the priestly group from other community members or the Levites. See Kugler, 'Priesthood at Qumran,' 100.

⁴⁶² Fabry, 'Priests at Qumran - a Reassessment,' 251.

⁴⁶³ Fabry, 'Priests at Qumran - a Reassessment,' 259.

Levi thereby transcends priestly ministry, beyond the traditions of the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok, to be an anti-polemical, anti-political predecessor. An increased focus on Levitical ministry, therefore, could be deliberate, to reinforce the transcendence of time and space to the original priesthood, which would provide provenance and authority to the priestly practises at Qumran and would link the Yahad with one of the Patriarchs and the practices of the First Temple. Kosmin believes that in order 'to speak to the present as revelation, authors had to cast themselves in the past, a textual time traveling back to the lost world where God or his angels intervened.'⁴⁶⁴ I am not sure this is completely accurate, since present and future revelations exist within first-century literature in dreams, visions and apocalypses. However, I do believe that the Yahad yearned to have the connection with God which they believed their ancestors to have had. There is a collapse of time in joining the God of their ancestors, which allows the Yahad to feel atemporal too. In the present they are going back to the past as they define their future. The textual continuity creates a link for the Yahad which challenges any perceived broken physical continuity by Exile, destruction or oppression.

However, irrespective of the type of priesthood referred to, the focus on priestly ministry across several documents discovered at or near Qumran highlights the authority of the priesthood for the Yahad. How this authority was maintained is a question which Carol Newsom and Robert Kugler, among others, have raised. Newsom argues that the authority was maintained through to the participation of the community in liturgy like the *Shirot*.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴ Kosmin, *Time and its adversaries in the Selucid Empire*, Loc 2912 of 11056. (E-Book)

⁴⁶⁵ Newsom 'He has Established for Himself Priests,' 101- 120.

Kugler also references this theory in his encyclopaedic article, stating that participation in liturgy like the *Shirot* 'reminded the community of the priesthood's ascendancy in God's plan and so provided liturgical legitimation to priestly claims of superiority at Qumran.'⁴⁶⁶ It would also help to form an earthly community with a worshipping hierarchy similar to the heavenly hierarchy which is described within the *Shirot* and which was focussed upon in the previous chapter.

4.5 PERFECTION

Esther Chazon has suggested that the *Hodayot* provided a means of 'forming one congregation' by the public recitation of communal praise;⁴⁶⁷ thereby joining the angelic and human communities together in prayer. As has already been shown in this thesis, the same is very much true for the *Shirot*. The formation of the Yahad was rooted in prayer, liturgy, sacred space, the quest for divine knowledge, perfection of conduct, the priesthood and the correct observance of the pre-ordained plan at the correct temporal time. As a consequence, the focus shall now be on the perfectionism of the Yahad and the related focus on the correct temporal time.

Hindy Najman questions what it means to be perfect: 'is it to be godlike, live in a pure or holy way, or to live in accordance with Mosaic law?... the term *perfection* signifies an end-state of moral progress, beyond which further progress is neither necessary nor possible.'⁴⁶⁸ Perfection is a teleological concept, an ideal to be upheld, a belief in a paradox. Perfection

⁴⁶⁶ Robert Kugler, 'Priests,' available online at <http://www.oxfordbiblicalstudies.com/article/opr/t264/e411>. Accessed 21st September 2021.

⁴⁶⁷ Esther Chazon, 'Lowly to Lofty: The *Hodayot's* Use of Liturgical Traditions To Shape Sectarian Identity and Religious Experience,' *RevQ* (101) 26:1 (2013):12.

⁴⁶⁸ Najman, *Past Renewals*, 237.

is desirable and humans can be perfected, but perfection is unattainable since humans are not perfect!⁴⁶⁹ Thus, perfection becomes for us a moral compass, a path which directs the way we should think and behave whilst also acknowledging that we will slip into immoral ways if we stray from this path.

In *The Self as Symbolic Space* Carol Newsom has shown already that in the introduction of 1QS the idea of perfect conduct for the Yaḥad was 'represented as an intersection of the co-ordinates of time and space,' where 'the temporal order is completely dependent on the plan of God.'⁴⁷⁰ This, then, impacted the Yaḥad's search for the knowledge of God, because if everything is pre-ordained by God and therefore pre-determined, whatever is occurring is the will of God in the correct temporal space. Therefore, as Newsom continues, whilst the

human knower is located in the temporal realm, the ultimate object of knowledge, the plan of God, is not. From the perspective of the plan past, present, and future are simultaneously available. The construction of knowledge in the *Two Spirits Treatise* is sensitive to a temporal and atemporal axis of reality but ultimately offers a transcendence of the temporal through knowledge of the plan of God.⁴⁷¹

The pursuit of divine knowledge is not, however, limited to the text of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, it is also a repeating feature within the *Shirot*. Indeed, in the first *Shir* 4Q400 1i 17 it is written that to the priests of the inner sanctum God has given knowledge and 'from their mouths issue the teachings governing all the holy ones, together with the precepts (judgements)!' Thus, in this text both the knower and the knowledge are in the heavenly realm, yet are still governed by God's plan. I have

⁴⁶⁹ Najman, *Past Renewals*, 237.

⁴⁷⁰ Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 83.

⁴⁷¹ Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 83.

already shown how the *Shirot* allowed those using it as liturgy to transcend space by creating a thirdspace within which the heavenly and earthly met and worshipped God. If we now apply Newsom's theory to the *Shirot* it could be argued that the angelic knowledge, like the knowledge of God, is equally distant from the human worshipper and, as such, the *Shirot* also offered a transcendence of the temporal. This is perhaps why the Maskil (whom it has been previously noted, was in charge of spiritual and moral conduct) was to conduct himself appropriately in respect to the correct temporal age. The Maskil therefore appeared to transcend the breakdown of heaven and earth, remaining grounded in reality, whilst simultaneously functioning as a sort of gateway between the heavenly and earthly.

Jokiranta has correctly observed that

a valued person...would be one who invested his/her time in studying (and was enlightened by the insights from God) and was thus able to follow the correct timings and take proper notice of holy space in harmony with the structure of the world. Knowledge was not to be kept to oneself but to be shared among the proper circle. (1QS 8: 11–12, 17–18).⁴⁷²

This knowledge would then allow one to transcend from the realities on earth and to attain the perfection of heaven, providing spiritual nourishment, fulfillment and peace. The pursuit of knowledge, then, was a communal activity and any knowledge discerned or learnt was to be shared amongst the Yahad so that all had access to the best possible relationship with God and the heavenly community.

⁴⁷² Jutta Jokiranta, 'Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism,' in *The Oxford Handbook of The Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds., John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 206.

It is, at first, perhaps surprising that the pursuit of knowledge was seen as being particularly God-like for the Yaḥad, since the Yaḥad would not have wished for members to be questioning their governance or rule. Maybe this was why the focus of the knowledge which was to be sought was esoteric and knowledge of the heavenly realm, rather than knowledge of earthly reality. For, as we have seen, the Yaḥad's rule was also tied-up in the perfection and imitation of the angelic realm and hierarchy, an emulation of the heavenly priestly ministry. Consequently, pursuit of this teleological divine knowledge naturally reinforced the leaders of the Yaḥad's rules, rather than undermined them.

The men of the Yaḥad were striving to be as God-like as possible in their pursuit of perfection, by emulating the angelic priesthood. Whilst obviously true that no-one could become God, the Yaḥad was trying to become God-like and have as close a relationship to God as possible. They did this by joining together in worship, which they believed reflected the angelic worship in heaven and by studying and acquiring divine knowledge.

Najman has identified, however, that perfection is not always a particular ideal form. She argues that

The discourse of *בצלם אלהים* is precisely an imitation of the human that is reflected back onto the formation of the creator in human hands. Perfection is thus no longer a divine aspiration with a particular ideal form that is achievable. Rather, it is an interior aspiration which comes to be about the formation of the self or the subject insofar as the subject is formed as it relates its own perfection. Imitation of the divine is an internal aspiration which is always incomplete but nevertheless the essence of every self.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ Najman, 'Imitatio Dei and the Formation of the Subject in Ancient Judaism,' 314.

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I reason therefore that the same may be applied to angelic imitation as well. As such, each self is undergoing a transformation in the pursuit of perfection, even if this pursuit of perfection is communal. The focus on community is evident in texts such as 1QS which focusses on communal meals and meetings. However, how the Yaḥad used liturgical texts is less certain. Indeed, our understanding of how the *Shirot* was practised is limited. It seems most probable that the *Shirot* was used for communal liturgy, rather than individual worship, either being created or adapted for the Yaḥad to worship together under the leadership of the Maskil.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the angelic priesthood is of great importance and significance within the *Shirot* and, as this chapter emphasizes, the Yaḥad was striving for the perfect priesthood, which is why perfection of conduct and morality were so important for the Yaḥad. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the 'spiritual, mystical aim'⁴⁷⁴ of the Yaḥad is to achieve 'All the glory of Adam,' a term also found in the *CD* and the *Hodayot*, as well as in the *Serek ha-Yaḥad (Community Rule 1QS)*. However, based on the understanding of Adam's priesthood (as examined in Chapter 3), not only was the quest for the perfect priesthood spiritual, it was *essential* for the Yaḥad, for whom the aim of being like Adam allowed time and space to be de-constructed, making the past and present simultaneous for the Yaḥad. It enabled the Yaḥad to access the original pre-diluvian relationship with God and the intended relationship between God and humanity, as designed at Creation. A process which allowed the Yaḥad to access the closest possible relationship with God. The relationship which was originally offered to humanity as a whole at Creation, but which

⁴⁷⁴ Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 374.

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was lost through Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden; a relationship which was communal, trusting, and was almost an equal relationship with a present and real God. Thus, providing the Yahad with not only 'a full spiritual return to God'⁴⁷⁵ but a connection and relationship which helped to promote sectarian ideology and demand perfect and correct behaviour and conduct.

Any individual member of the Yahad could therefore disturb a precious and sacred connection with God by sinning and disturbing the harmony of the community. This undoubtedly is why the *Serek ha-Yahad (Community Rule 1QS)* clearly shows that

the community takes priority over the individual. Only by a rigorous practice of submission to the hierarchical order of the community and an internalizing of its forms of speech does one receive the transformed selfhood in which one is a confidant of the counsel of God and an associate of angels.⁴⁷⁶

This connection with the righteous angels in heaven and the righteous priesthood was also probably applied in order to prevent any further desecration of the angelic priesthood, since the fallen watchers themselves were described as priests in Chapters 12-16 of the *Book of Watchers*,⁴⁷⁷ but the fallen watchers abandoned their role in heaven and came down to earth en masse. For the Yahad, in their transcendence of spatiality and time through the correct observation (as they had interpreted them) of purity rules, law and covenant, there was a correct, pure and proper relationship between the priestly angels and humanity. The angels of the presence and the elim remained in their heavenly abode⁴⁷⁸ and

⁴⁷⁵ Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 375.

⁴⁷⁶ Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 121.

⁴⁷⁷ Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 202.

⁴⁷⁸ It was the archangels who were responsible for destroying the watchers, according to the *Book of the Watchers*. Maybe therefore, this is one of the reasons why the archangels are believed to be allowed to leave heaven and descend to Earth when necessary.

practiced their priestly role with a perfection, which was attainable for the Yaḥad through their emulation of the angelic priestly ministry, as it provided a direct link with the perfect, the divine and the eternal. It also allowed the Yaḥad access to the divine knowledge shared by God with the angels, and thus access to divine wisdom. Even if the mysteries of the heavens were not explained in the text itself, following the same practise as the angels in the *Shirot* enabled the Yaḥad, in worship, to engage in heavenly mysteries which, due to humanity's limitations, they did not fully understand. This worship was an act of faith which strengthened their relationships as a community and the relationships between heaven and earth, thereby rescinding, for the Yaḥad at least, the punishment fixed upon humanity after the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and the improper relations with heavenly beings. This, in turn, allowed the Yaḥad to return to the established order as instituted by God at Creation.

The Yaḥad believed everything was pre-ordained by God, therefore their relationship was, as always promised, occurring in the correct time and divinely sanctioned. Further, Creation itself can be seen as God-like, *imatio dei*, as creation, in the seasons, plants, animals etc., offers a glimpse of God on earth. Another dimension of this idea is the calendar. God gave us time in Creation and through the passage of time, each of the seasons in a year shows God's perfect Creation in relation to agricultural life. For the Yaḥad, therefore, in order to offer true thanks and praise to God, it was believed that human life should shadow agricultural life. Thus, since humanity was likewise formed in Creation, it should also strive to be a perfect reflection of God.

Perfection of the self and perfect harmony of body, mind and soul is necessary to have this special relationship with God. Already, Hindy Najman has identified how 'Creation' narratives or texts 'position human beings, inevitably deficient and at best progressing, vis-à-vis a higher being that is perfect, eternal and insightful in ways that human beings are not,' which enables a 'compare and contrast' function and a statement of authority through assertiveness that this account is correct.⁴⁷⁹ This is also, in essence, true of the liturgical texts of the *Shirot* in which human priests are being compared with the heavenly priests. The human priests are, by comparison, then judged and found to be inadequate, which leads to the Yahad's imitation of the priestly angels and therefore to the correct and perfect way of worshipping. Liturgy therefore becomes the law of worship, the underpinning and ordering of the offering of praise and thanksgiving to God. It provides the same principles of guidance and instruction (which are understandable to humanity) as law does to moral and ethical instruction. The worship on earth is reflected, transformed and a better alternative is stipulated and emphasised.

The relationship between a combined Yahad of angels and humans also provides another marker of self-identification and allows for a marker of this community as against the rest of humanity, who, in the Yahad 's understanding, are still receiving God's punishment and inhabiting a more distant relationship.

⁴⁷⁹ Hindy Najman and Tobias Reinhardt, 'Exemplarity and its Discontents: Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom Texts and Greco-Roman Didactic Poetry' *JSJ* 50 (2019):7.

4.5.1 HEBREWS

The search for priestly perfection is not limited to the Yahad but is also a concept that is central to the Letter to the Hebrews.⁴⁸⁰ A text which focuses on contextualising Jesus as most High Priest within the understood cosmology and theology of the heavens, angelology, demonology and ultimately the spiritual battle between good and evil. Good and evil are, of course, also essential to the Yahad's pursuit of perfection. The perfection sought is that of the righteous angels who minister to God in the heavenly divine throne room. It is a relinquishing of all evil, whether it originates from humanity or through the temptation of the devil or Belial. It is a perfection that is so pursued, craved, coveted and desired that the Yahad feel it is only obtainable by them if they separate themselves from the rest of humanity, retreat to the wilderness and become introverted in their teachings and lifestyle. This basically results in the Yahad becoming an introversionist sect.

Certainly, within Hebrews it appears that the resurrected Jesus is being incorporated into a priestly hierarchy, since the Letter to the Hebrews seeks to place Jesus within an already understood and predetermined world-view of the heavens. Within the text of Hebrews, Jesus, as High Priest, is identified as being more perfect than Moses, the Levitical priesthood and the heavenly angels. The polemical focus of Hebrews is to show Jesus as Christ (Messiah), thus Jesus is clarified as being the most perfect of all. For the author of

⁴⁸⁰ Lawrence H. Schiffman compares the themes of temple sacrifice and priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hebrews. He argues that whilst both sects were interested in the same cultic questions, their interpretations were fundamentally different. For more information see Schiffman, 'Temple, Sacrifice and Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed., Florentino García Martínez. STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 165-177. See also Adelbert Denaux, 'Jesus Christ, High Priest and Sacrifice according to the Epistle to the Hebrews' in *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*, eds., Alberdina Houtman et al. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 107-122.

Hebrews, it is through this level of perfection that Jesus is able to mediate a new covenant and to provide eternal salvation for all.

Indeed, Simsi believes that:

For the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the eschatological revelation of the perfected Christ means the final and complete access to God for the believers, because Christ as the leader of their sanctification has been perfected in order to lead them to their true and eschatological τελείωσις "perfection" or complete access to God.⁴⁸¹

Both the Yahad and the author of Hebrews are using perfection to try to attain a closer relationship with God. It is also true that Hebrews criticises the Levitical priesthood (Hebrews 7:11, 19). This indicates that, for the author, there was some level of dissatisfaction with the contemporary priesthood. Hebrews 7:11 certainly shows that for the author of Hebrews perfection was considered impossible through the Levitical priesthood:

Εἰ μὲν οὖν τελείωσις διὰ τῆς Λευϊτικῆς ἱερωσύνης ἦν (ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νομοθετήσθη), τίς ἔτι χρεία, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ ἕτερον ἀνίστασθαι ἱερέα, καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν λέγεσθαι;

Now if perfection had been attainable through the Levitical priesthood—for the people received the law under this priesthood—what further need would there have been to speak of another priest arising according to the order of Melchizedek, rather than one according to the order of Aaron?

In Hebrews, Jesus is shown to be the ultimate High Priest who has perfected the present earthly priesthood. Jesus is thus being incorporated into an existing and established priesthood and is being incorporated by his earliest believers into their theology.

⁴⁸¹ Seth M. Simisi, *Pursuit of Perfection: Significance of the Perfection Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016), 126-127.

Jesus is also being inserted into an already established heavenly hierarchy. Hebrews 1 explicitly, deliberately and clearly explains Jesus' position within the heavens. Jesus sits at God's right hand and is far superior to the angels (Hebrews. 1:4). Hebrews 1 further supports this assertion by itself quoting from earlier scripture. This is important as it means that Jesus is being viewed differently from angels and other previously known divine beings. Jesus, for the author of Hebrews, is not seen as a conduit to God in the same way as the Yahad see their connection with God through the angels. In other words, Jesus is not just a means or method of reaching the divine. The connection is not through a messenger. Instead, Jesus, alongside God, is to be worshipped by the angels because Jesus is the Messiah. For the author of Hebrews, Jesus is the Son of God (Hebrews 1:5-14).

It is also noteworthy that Hebrews 9:9 states 'this is a symbol of the present time, during which gifts and sacrifices are offered that cannot perfect the conscience of the worshiper.' This is interesting because it reads as if the Temple is still standing when the Letter of Hebrews is written. Jesus, therefore, is not being portrayed as a link to God for a community that is dealing with the destruction and loss of the Temple. Therefore, the author of Hebrews is not simply trying to find a connection to God after the destruction of the Temple. Najman has already very clearly explained the relationship between the earthly and heavenly temple in relation to Eden and perfection in texts like 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch which were written by communities dealing with the grief, shock and the loss of the Second Temple on earth. Najman compares 2 Baruch with Hebrews to show the

similarities of the earthly Temple acting as a copy of the heavenly temple⁴⁸² whereas in 4 Ezra, it is stated that the heavenly temple was created when God created Eden.⁴⁸³ This is a similar idea to the Yahad believing themselves to be a Miqdash Adam, with access to the relationship which God had with humanity in the Garden of Eden. The ability to join in with heavenly worship, through liturgy like the *Shirot*, guides the worshipper through a heavenly temple towards the Holy of Holies as the liturgy develops and progresses across the liturgical season. This, then, enables the Yahad to access the divine temple whilst the earthly Temple is still in existence. This implies that an already established belief was taken and re-invented or re-innovated as necessary, by communities who were forced to re-evaluate and redevelop their religious practices and rituals, as they redefined themselves, following the destruction of their holiest place on earth. The process was intensified and revitalised through the use of radical hope, as the focus shifted from 'Temple to Torah'.⁴⁸⁴ The difference, of course, being that the Yahad has chosen to isolate themselves in the wilderness. Their liturgy therefore anticipates a theology which will develop following the destruction of the Temple but it does not anticipate the grief, the lamentation, the loss, the impact on people's mental health and the questioning undertaken by people searching for an identity, following such an horrific and traumatic crisis. The Yahad can, consequently, focus on the quest for perfection whereas the quest for the post-70 C.E. worshipper is a quest for understanding, for clarity, for connection with God and for identity. The identity of what it means to be a worshipper in a world with no Temple.

⁴⁸² There is one big difference however, which Najman identifies Hebrews does not believe that an earthly temple is necessary any longer whereas 4 Ezra believes the Temple on Earth will be divinely restored. Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 120.

⁴⁸³ Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 119-120.

⁴⁸⁴ Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, Chapter 5 esp. p.122 & p.125.

Similarly, and interestingly, prior to the destruction of the Temple, in the scripture of Hebrews, Jesus is being clarified as being great High Priest by a Jewish community in a similar way to the way in which the angels are being glorified and honoured by the Yahad. There is one major difference, however: the Yahad did not worship the angels but join in worship with them. Hebrews' Christology explicitly states that God has ordered the angels to worship Jesus (Hebrews 1:6). Hebrews 1:1 deliberately places Jesus within scriptural history, linking him with the ancient prophets. The Yahad, as we have already seen, were likewise building on the Enochic tradition of the past to provide authority and gravitas to the present.⁴⁸⁵ Both communities, then, are searching for a perfected way of connecting with God in the present, after questioning and debating the status quo. There is clearly a dynamic growth of beliefs, religions and rituals being undertaken generally with Second Temple culture.

Another interesting comparison between the Yahad and the community behind the text of Hebrews relates to the question of whether the practice of animal sacrifice took place within either of these two communities. It is quite clear from the text of Hebrews that the offering of an animal sacrifice is criticised, since the text claims that God has never 'desired nor taken pleasure' in such an activity (Hebrews 10: 1-10). Psalm 40 6-8 is quoted to support this declaration:

Masoretic:

רבות עשית | אתה | יהוה אלהי^a | נפלאותיך ומחשבותיך אלינו^b | אין | ערך אליך אגידה ואדברה | עֲצָמוּ מִסֵּפֶר:
 זבח ומנחה | לא־תִפְצֹת אֲזַנִּים כְּרִית לִי עֹלָה וְחִטָּאָה^a | לא־שאלת:
 אֲזַ אֲמַרְתִּי הִנֵּה־בָאתִי בְמִגֵּלֶת־סֵפֶר כְּתוּב עָלַי:

⁴⁸⁵ I am thankful to Hindy Najman for sharing her unpublished paper with me on Hebrews, prophecy, new covenant, perfection and time, which really helped develop my thinking in this area. Hindy Najman, 'Prophecy in Hebrews,' *SBL 2012* (unpublished).

LXX:

οἱ ἐχθροί μου εἶπαν κακά μοι
 Πότε ἀποθανεῖται καὶ ἀπολεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ;
 καὶ εἰ εἰσεπορεύετο τοῦ ἰδεῖν, μάτην ἐλάλει·
 ἢ καρδία αὐτοῦ συνήγαγεν ἀνομίαν ἑαυτοῦ,
 ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω καὶ ἐλάλει
 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ.
 ἐπιθύριζον πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί μου
 κατ' ἐμοῦ· ἐλογίζοντο κακά μοι·

Sacrifice and offering you do not desire,
 but you have given me an open ear.
 Burnt offering and sin offering
 you have not required.
 Then I said, "Here I am;
 in the scroll of the book it is written of me.
 I delight to do your will, O my God;
 your law is within my heart."

Further, Psalm 40 is labelled as 'למנצח לדוד מזמור' 'To The Leader of David a Psalm' and is therefore placed in the Davidic collection of Psalms within the Psalter. Interestingly, there are a couple of other Psalms which are attributed to David in their title, which also imply that God was displeased with traditional burnt offerings and animal sacrifices.

Ps 51:16

הַצִּילֵנִי מִדְּמַיִם | אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי תְשׁוּעָתִי תִרְגַּן לְשׁוֹנֵי צְדָקָתְךָ:

For you have no delight in sacrifice; if I were to give a burnt offering, you would not be pleased.

and Psalm 141:2

תְּכוּן תְּפִלָּתִי קְטֹרֶת לְפָנֶיךָ מִשְׁאֵת כֹּפֵי מִנְחַת-עֶרֶב:

Let my prayer be counted as incense before you, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice.

This indicates that prior to the destruction of the Temple there was already a scriptural tradition which was promoting prayer as an offering to God, in preference to animal sacrifice. The association of this practice with David means that prayer as a sacrifice is being identified as a traditional method of worshipping God in order to emphasise the importance of this practice. This association also provides the act of prayer as a sacrifice with a longevity which moves the focus away from contemporary temple practises and provides greater credibility to the practice of prayer as sacrifice.

Jodi Magness has recently changed her opinion about whether the ritual of animal sacrifice was practised at Qumran. She offers a compelling argument which calls into question the idea that prayer was used as a replacement for sacrifice by the Yahad. A lack of archaeological evidence had previously led scholars to argue that animal sacrifice at Qumran was improbable and impossible. After reviewing the archaeological evidence however, Magness asserts that animal deposits of sheep, goats and cattle along with charred and calcined bones, actually support the argument for animal sacrifice at Qumran. She explains how the type of bone deposits found 'parallels sacrificial refuse from other ancient sanctuaries including Tel Dan...[and] suggests that all or part of the site of Qumran functioned as a sacred precinct in which animal sacrifices were offered and consumed.'⁴⁸⁶

Further, Magness describes how the bone deposits were buried between potsherds or inside pottery, which suggests that the burial was intentional.⁴⁸⁷ The bone deposits were also

⁴⁸⁶ Jodi Magness, 'Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran? The Animal Bone Deposits Reconsidered,' *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 7:1 (2016), 19.

⁴⁸⁷ Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2nd ed.(Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2021), 250.

mixed with ash and found in horizontal layers. This is an indication that the findings were formed over a period of time and were not the result of a fire caused by the earthquake in 31 B.C.E., as previously thought.⁴⁸⁸ To date, no altar has been found at Qumran but Magness argues that it could simply have been removed, destroyed or located outside De Vaux's area of excavation.⁴⁸⁹

The scrolls themselves are not helpful in answering the question of whether animal sacrifice, as the findings are inconclusive and have been used to both support and deny the existence of the ritual. However, finding literature which supports both prayer and animal sacrifice is already present in scripture. As shown in Chapter 1, animal sacrifice is a key ritual within ancient Judaism which enabled divine beings to interact with humanity of God's behalf. The ritual of offering prayers to God instead of a sacrifice is, of course, a well-known method of worship following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE.⁴⁹⁰ However, as noted above, there are already scriptural references to prayer rather than sacrifice and to the displeasure of a sacrifice for God. Another passage not quoted above is Isaiah 1: 11-15:

MT

Is. 1:11 לְמַה־לִּי רַב־זִבְחֵיכֶם יֹאמַר יְהוָה שְׂבַעֲתִי עֲלוֹת אֵילִים וַחֲלֵב מְרִיאִים וְדָם פְּרִים וּכְבָשִׂים וְעֲתוּדִים לֹא חִפְצָתִי:

Is. 1:12 כִּי תִבְאוּ לְרֵאוֹת פְּגִי מִי־בִקֶּשׁ נָא ת מִדְּבַרְכֶם רֵמֶס חֲצָרִי:

Is. 1:13 לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הִבִּיא מִנְחַת־שְׁוֹא קִטְוֹרַת תּוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי הַדָּשׁ וְשִׁבְתִּי קִרְיָא מְקַרְיָא לֹא־אוּכַל אֲנִי וְעֲצָרָה:

Is. 1:14 חֲדָשֵׁיכֶם וּמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם שָׁנְאָה נִפְשֵׁי הֵיוּ עָלַי לְטָרַח גִּלְאִיתִי גִשָׂא:

⁴⁸⁸ Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2nd ed., 239 and Magness, 'Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran?' 6 & 15.

⁴⁸⁹ Magness, 'Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran?' 22.

⁴⁹⁰ There is also evidence to suggest that the practice of daily prayer was common across parts of Judea and the diaspora prior to the destruction of the Temple. On the format and importance of daily prayers at Qumran see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. See also Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 25. Further Newman explores the importance of daily prayer for shaping the self, 26-39.

וּבְפִרְשֵׁיכֶם פְּפִיכֶם אֵעָלִים עֵינַי מִכֶּם גַּם כִּי־תִרְבּוּ תִפְלֵה אֵינֶנִּי שֹׁמֵעַ יְדִיכֶם דְּמַיִם מִלֵּאִי: **Is. 1:15**

NRSV

- Is. 1:11** What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices?
says the LORD;
I have had enough of burnt offerings of rams
and the fat of fed beasts;
I do not delight in the blood of bulls,
or of lambs, or of goats.
- Is. 1:12** When you come to appear before me,
who asked this from your hand?
Trample my courts no more;
Is. 1:13 bringing offerings is futile;
incense is an abomination to me.
New moon and sabbath and calling of convocation—
I cannot endure solemn assemblies with iniquity.
- Is. 1:14** Your new moons and your appointed festivals
my soul hates;
they have become a burden to me,
I am weary of bearing them.
- Is. 1:15** When you stretch out your hands,
I will hide my eyes from you;
even though you make many prayers,
I will not listen;
your hands are full of blood.

This passage from Isaiah is quite explicit in explaining God's horror at the thought of more burnt offerings, incense and the sacrifice of animals being linked with the Sabbath and New Moon festivals. In fact, the passage states that God will not listen to the prayers of people who have offered sacrifices as they have blood on their hands. This perhaps reflects a worry that those who were offering these animals as a sacrifice were usurping God by taking on God's role in deciding which animal should live and which should die.

The tradition of prayer as sacrifice, or instead of sacrifice, was, of course, in contrast with the more traditional belief of animal sacrifice being the correct way to offer oblation to

God.⁴⁹¹ Interestingly, it could be argued, that the scriptural figure of David was associated with both traditions within the same text. In *11QPs^a* David offers prayer (in the form of Psalms) alongside sacrifice. Within *11QPs^a*⁴⁹² David is depicted as following the 364-day calendar and is cited as 'being perfect (תמם) before God and men' (*11QPs^a* 27:3). He is then described as writing Psalms for different days within the Yahad's liturgical year:

ויתן
 לו יהוה רוח נבונה ואורה ויכתוב תהלים
 שלושת אלפים ושש מאות ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח על עולת
 התמיד לכול יום ויום לכול ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש
 מאות ולקורבן השבתות שנים וחמשים שיר ולקורבן ראשי
 החודשים ולכול ימי המועדות ולים הכפורים שלושים שיר
 ויהי כול השיר אשר דבר ששה ואבעים וארבע מאות ושיר
 לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה. ויהי הכול ארבעת אלפים וחמשים
 כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון

The LORD gave him a discerning and enlightened spirit, And he wrote: three thousand six hundred psalms;⁴⁹³ and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all the days of the year, three hundred and sixty-four; and for the *qorban* of the Sabbaths, fifty-two songs; and for the *qorban* of the new moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, thirty songs. and all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050. All these he spoke through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.

There is however, no manuscript or alternative archaeological evidence for the claims in this passage, apart from perhaps the 13 *Shirot* we have for the first thirteen Sabbaths

⁴⁹¹ For more on the relationship between animal sacrifice and prayer in relation to sacrifice at Qumran see Lawrence H. Schiffman 'Sacrifice in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*. ed., Alberdina Houtman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 89 - 106., Joseph M. Baumgarten 'Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarrians of the Dead Sea (Qumrân) Scrolls' *HTR* vol.46 no.3 (July 1953) pp. 141-159.

⁴⁹² Text and translation from J. A. Sanders, *DJD IV The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 91-93.

⁴⁹³ Eva Mroczek translates this passage as 'and he wrote psalms, three thousand six hundred.' She argues that the lack of a definite article means that the scroll is not asserting that David wrote *these* Psalms - simply psalms - and therefore is not an authorial note or colophon depicting authorship. See Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 72-76, esp. p.74.

within the calendrical year at Qumran.⁴⁹⁴ Evidence against the sacrifice of animals at Qumran is apparent in 4QFlor 1-2 i 6-7, which states 'He commanded that a sanctuary of Adam be built for himself that there they may send up, like smoke of incense, the works of the law.' This again suggests that the Yahad was a sanctuary, which, by following the law perfectly was pure and glorious like Adam in the Garden of Eden. Based on Magness' reconsidered archeological argument and the ambiguity within various of the scrolls including the *Shirot* and *11QPs^a*, I wonder whether prayer was viewed for the Yahad as a substitution for sacrifice, rather than as a replacement for sacrifice, since it is entirely plausible that both rituals were practised alongside each other. It does not have to have been an either/or situation. For when the Yahad was engaged in prayer by an 'offering of the tongue,' rather than by an animal sacrifice, there was still a connection with the practices which were believed to have been defined by David, through his writing and the performance of the Psalms. Consequently, the Yahad was still using a legitimate, authoritative, scriptural form of worshipping God. Thus, the ritual of prayer itself becomes perfection, a model of exemplarity which the Yahad was to emulate. There was a focus and intention behind the prayer which allowed for thanksgiving and praise to issue forth from an individual for themselves or on behalf of others. The 'offering of the tongue' and the singing of psalms allowed a freedom to worship which was not possible when a priest had to sacrifice an animal on another person's behalf. It allowed for a more intimate relationship with God, a freedom of expression and a greater opportunity for each individual to be accountable and to take responsibility for their actions. In leading the

⁴⁹⁴ For more on the archaeological evidence at Qumran see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002).

prayers and praise the Maskil took on the leadership role, to guide people through with exemplarity.

Additionally, Magness believes that the Yahad at Qumran observed the scriptural laws of the wilderness camp, with the tabernacle in its midst. In doing so, they emulated the Israelites in the Exodus from Egypt, rather than trying to establish an alternative or substitutive Temple.

This is particularly interesting given my earlier argument that the *Shirot* used in worship are a liturgical representation of the narrative of *Jubilees*, which is itself a retelling of Genesis and Exodus up until the giving of the Torah at Sinai. Magness believes that the geographical space at Qumran seems to parallel the concept of space found in the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT. She explains how the 'western part of each half of the settlement contains the rooms with the greatest degree of purity.'⁴⁹⁵ These spaces, Magness believes, parallel the 'Temple' or 'Tabernacle,' whereas the eastern part of each half of the settlement contains workshops and a toilet. These spaces therefore parallel the 'wilderness camp.'

Magness argues that

the plan of the temple as conceived of in the *Temple Scroll* created a compound of concentric zones of holiness emanating from the Divine Presence in the center. As the holiness radiated outward, the the levels of purity progress inward.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁵ Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. 262.

⁴⁹⁶ Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. 263.

Schofield agrees that the sectarian scrolls provide evidence that the Yahad 'created a virtual wilderness camp'.⁴⁹⁷ If the Yahad did model their physical space on this concept, then this is only likely to have been the case after a return to the site following the earthquake in 31 B.C.E., at which time the toilet was not rebuilt in this area. Schofield uses Magness' article as a basis to further develop the idea of the conceptual, concentric space theory of the wilderness camp. Schofield believes that the Yahad's lived or symbolic space of Qumran (the thirdspace) is highly delimited and hierarchized. She argues that:

at the symbolic level, they [the sectarians] created new, highly restrictive spaces that moved directionally from pure - and possibly cultic - areas to impure areas, ending at the cemetery.⁴⁹⁸

I likewise find Magness' suggestion extremely plausible, especially when we consider that the text of the *Shirot* takes us on a journey through the temple complex to the Holy of Holies in *Shir* 13. The worshipper advances closer towards the divine presence, progressing in levels of purity and holiness as they move through the temple. If the Yahad did reorganise their physical space and to try to live out their imagined, textually based, ideal space, then it strengthens the argument that they may have tried to live out their ideal calendar also. For the Yahad, this ideal space was evidently the perfect spatial layout for a connection and a relationship with God.

The Yahad embodied a space-view which derived from and supported their world-view. Their organisation of space and hierarchy was based on their understanding of the heavens and their withdrawal to the wilderness. The Yahad inhabited a space physically,

⁴⁹⁷ Alison Schofield, 'An Altar in the Desert? A Response to Jodi Magness, "Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran"' *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 7:1 (2016), 127,

⁴⁹⁸ Schofield, 'An Altar in the Desert?' 130.

metaphorically and conceptually as they 'prepare[d] the way for the Lord' (Isaiah 40:3) and awaited the arrival of the promised land, the new Jerusalem and the new Temple.

As Schofield also notes, we can not know for certain how the symbolic space was conceived or embodied in inhabited practice. However, as well as being supported by sectarian texts, this suggestion of inhabited space is also supported by the authoritative nature of *Jubilees* and the world-view it describes. The Yahad appears to have lived symbolically as the Israelites in the wilderness, demarcating space for day-to-day living, whilst also using the *Shirot* in worship. The liturgy of the *Shirot* embodies the progression in time from creation to the establishment of a community (after the giving of the Torah at Sinai) and the progression in space from the profane to the holy.

When they met to worship using liturgy like the *Shirot* then, the Yahad were following the perfect calendar,⁴⁹⁹ considered themselves as the perfect version of humanity, met in the perfect physical space, were connected with the perfect angelic priesthood and were using a form of perfect liturgy. All of this striving for perfection was perceived as being necessary in order to have a perfect relationship with God. The relationship which humanity was meant to have; the relationship all were privileged to enjoy prior to the humanic and angelic falls.

If the Yahad did offer animal sacrifices, then, there was no need for such sacrifices to be used as the sole penitential act to ask for forgiveness for sins committed. This is especially

⁴⁹⁹ In *11QPs^a* this calendar is also associated with David as he is credited with composing 364 prayers one for each day of their calendrical year. See page 271 above.

true for the Yaḥad, who had not, in their understanding, sinned, but were living as per God's original plan for and gift to, humanity. However, as mentioned earlier, there is no criticism, nor any concrete acceptance or rejection of animal sacrifice within the *Shirot*. For the Yaḥad, prayer provided the same level of atonement which had long been considered possible by animal sacrifice. It is through prayer and liturgy like the *Shirot* that the Yaḥad were able to form a connection with God, join the angels in worship and access the heavenly temple.

Najman has analysed the connection between revelatory prayer and the Yaḥad's withdrawal into the wilderness, a concept which she highlights is also evident in Philo's description of the prayers of the Therapeutae being compared with the hymns of praise sung by Moses and Miriam at the Red Sea, which 'reflect the perfection they have recovered in the wilderness.'⁵⁰⁰ The wilderness, then, offers the chance for atonement, for renewal and for reconnection with God. It offers a removal from temptation and from the influences of others. It also allows for the imitation of the divine and for a symbolic progression through space to the divine presence. For Philo it is the imitation of an exemplary figure that is enough to remove imperfection, or living by the law of Moses, which for him is akin to the law of nature.⁵⁰¹ If, then, the Yaḥad organised themselves following the laws of the wilderness camp and using the *Shirot* to imitate the divine, they were living out Philo's view of perfection.

⁵⁰⁰ Najman, *Past Renewals*, 157.

⁵⁰¹ Najman, *Past Renewals*, 158 & 87-118.

In addition, 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), which (as already mentioned) is thought to be against the offering of animal sacrifice, is a collection of texts from 2 Samuel and the Psalms combined with other scripture.⁵⁰² The text of 4Q174 promises an eternal sanctuary, a combined sanctuary of angels and humans. This community is, then, linked with the Davidic monarchy and the First Temple to become God's true sanctuary. In 4Q174 f1-2 i 10-11,⁵⁰³ scripture from 2 Samuel 7: 11-14 is cited

והגיד לכה יהוה כיא בית יבנה לכה והקימותי את זרעכה אחריכה והכינותי את כסא ממלכתו
לעולם אני אהיה לוא לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן

And Yahweh tells you that he will build a house for you, and I shall set up your seed after you, and I shall establish his royal throne for ever. I shall be to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son. (2Samuel 7:11c, 12b, 13b–14a).

4Q174 continues by interpreting this passage from 2 Samuel in an eschatological manner (c.f Psalm 2:7) whereby the community functions as the First Temple's replacement. The belief of a community functioning as a temple is also present in 2 Corinthians 6:18 where the temple is understood metaphorically as the people of God; in this case, any Jews or Gentiles in the first-century who were willing to accept Jesus as Messiah.

In comparison, Hebrews uses scripture from Psalm 2:7 to portray Jesus as the true Davidic heir and to place him hierarchically above the angels. Further, Jesus is described not only as having 'the reflection of God's glory' but also 'the exact imprint of God's very being'

⁵⁰² Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 525.

⁵⁰³ Text and translation from John M. Allegro and A.A. Anderson. *DJD V, Qumran Cave 4, I (4Q158-4Q186)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 53-54.

(Hebrews 1:3), thus, placing Him higher than 'the glory of Adam.' The author of Hebrews continues to portray Jesus like Adam⁵⁰⁴ in Hebrews 1:6: 'And again, when he brings the firstborn into the world, he says "Let all God's angels worship him."' This is, once again, placing Jesus within the understood heavenly hierarchy and alludes to a belief that the angels (except Satan) worshipped Adam when he was first created. This belief is explored in *The Life of Adam and Eve*,⁵⁰⁵ when Satan (who is identified as an angel of God)⁵⁰⁶ informs Adam that Satan and his followers lost their glory amongst God's heavenly angels, and were exiled to the earth when they refused to worship Adam (at the archangel Michael's command) after God had created him. Therefore, in jealousy and envy, Satan pursues Eve until he can manipulate and manufacture a way for both Adam and Eve to also lose their glory and God's favour. This is a loss which elsewhere in *The Life of Adam and Eve* Adam acknowledges as a loss of 'spiritual joy' (*Life of Adam and Eve* 10:4).⁵⁰⁷ It is this spiritual joy which the Yahad, in their self- construction as a temple of priestly people were trying to access through their communal worship.

⁵⁰⁴ This is not to infer either the Pauline or the later Christian interpretation of Jesus as a new or second Adam but merely to state that the glory bestowed upon Adam by God at creation is understood by the author of Hebrews to have also been bestowed upon Jesus.

⁵⁰⁵ Marie Isaacs also makes the connection with the *Life of Adam and Eve* see Marie E. Isaacs, *Sacred Space: An Approach to the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 168.

⁵⁰⁶ This text has, in my opinion, an interesting portrayal of Satan. Satan is seen as a personified figure, yet he is still a divine angelic being who resides in God's heavens amongst all the other angelic beings until he refuses to worship Adam. He is then exiled but his status as angel remains. Satan does not become a demonic figure but remains an angel of Yahweh. This means that the text has a basic or underdeveloped demonology in contrast with other texts like the book of Job. Ryan E. Stokes has recently released a fascinating book on the figure of the Satan. He shows that there was a developing demonology co-existed alongside a developing angelology. He also comments on how in Numbers 22 it is 'The Angel of Yahweh' which is the Satan - thus being an extension of the divine - rather than a personified figure who is simultaneously part of the heavenly hierarchy and apart from it. See Ryan E. Stokes, *The Satan: How God's Executioner Became the Enemy* (Grand Rapids Michigan, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2019).

⁵⁰⁷ *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. Volume Two. ed., James H. Charlesworth (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2016 - 5th edition).

The glory of God is also central in *The life of Adam and Eve*, for it is the loss of God's glory which provokes Satan's anger against Adam and causes Satan's vendetta against Adam and Eve. This text provides therefore, an opportunity for the expulsion from the Garden of Eden to be contrasted with the expulsion of angels from heaven to earth and both are acknowledged as being caused by an angelic being. Eve however, is still blamed for giving in to Satan's temptations, but it is Satan who causes both exiles to occur.

Returning to Hebrews, though, it is the portrayal of Jesus being God's firstborn which Isaacs thinks illustrates Jesus' Davidic ancestry and his place within the heavenly hierarchy, as the word 'firstborn' in the Hebrew Bible is used to refer to Israel (Jeremiah 31:9) and David (Ps 88 [MT 89]: 29).⁵⁰⁸ By placing Jesus within the heavenly hierarchy, Hebrews is, then, also alluding to the creation of Adam, when the heavenly hierarchy was disrupted and contested by Satan and his followers. No-one, by contrast, is contesting Jesus who was successful in not giving in to Satan's temptations in the wilderness and Jesus whom Hebrews is calling the angels to worship.

There are, then, two very different first-century Jewish communities which use the concept of perfection and a heavenly hierarchy to claim that they have the proper relationship with God. Both are able to form a community and create a sect through their polemic against the status quo and the practices of the contemporary Temple. They are both dissatisfied with the Levitical priesthood. Further, both communities focus on spiritual perfection and use historical links to transcend spatial and temporal reality, to worship God with the

⁵⁰⁸ Isaacs, *Sacred Space*, 168.

heavenly beings in a liturgical space which simultaneously allows access to the past, present and future.

The polemic of each community allows *each* community to create an identity and community within each respective sect. It provides individuals within these two respective communities to form an identity in respect to an 'other' and therefore to form a bond between other members and believers.

The communality and collectiveness of the recitation of the *Shirot* and the unity this provides both to the liturgical form of the text and to the Yahad themselves, is well attested by Nitzan.⁵⁰⁹ Also, Nitzan⁵¹⁰ correctly emphasises that the main focus of the *Shirot* is the 'praise offered by the angels,' meaning that the majority of the content within the *Shirot* is on the description of the angelic worship within the heavenly temple. I do not mean to suggest that the main aim of the *Shirot* is to allow transformation within the Yahad, nor to celebrate and encourage individuality, nor an understanding of an individual relationship with the angels, the holy spirit or God. Rather, that by using and participating in the *Shirot* on the Sabbaths, the communal unity and lack of interest in corporeality during worship, plus the focus being on divine beings and the sacred and holy, allows such a transformation to occur. Nitzan has previously suggested that the 'cycle as a whole portrays a progressive ascent from one Sabbath to the next in the level of those reciting the

⁵⁰⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 278.

⁵¹⁰ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 293.

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song.⁵¹¹ Whilst this ascent has been seen as both metaphorically and literally representing the Yaḥad joining in with the angelic worship, the ascent can also be viewed spiritually.

Joanna Collicutt, is a scholar who focuses on modern Christian spirituality and psychology and states that:

[in a] Social science context, spirituality is understood to refer to certain aspects of human life: a concern with self-transcendence, a search for meaning and a sense of the sacred⁵¹²

In the field of Christian spirituality, Collicutt believes that Willard correctly identifies the relationship between God and humanity and ‘rightly emphasizes the physicality of this relationship by describing it as one in which *embodied* human beings are alive to God in the *material* world *here and now*.⁵¹³ This is an interesting concept if applied to the Yaḥad. Since the primary aim of the *Shirot* was for the Yaḥad to join the divine beings in worship of God, this has often been seen as an ascent on the part of the earthly community, as discussed in the previous chapter. This belief is also evident in other apocryphal texts such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. However, given Collicutt and Willard’s insights into Paul’s writings, it is also possible (tentatively) to suggest that the Yaḥad believed themselves to be being fed spiritually through God as ‘embodied humans’ in the ‘material’ world. This could also provide another reason for the anxiety regarding physical and mental perfection within the Yaḥad for its members. Even if this interpretation is a little too unusual, the fact

⁵¹¹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 295.

⁵¹² Joanna Collicutt, 'Posttraumatic Growth, Spirituality, and Acquired Brain Imagery' in *Brain Impairment* 12 (2011):82-92; Joanna Collicutt *The Psychology of Christian Character Formation* (London: SCM Press, 2015), 5.

⁵¹³ For the original argument see Dallas Willard, *The Spirit of the Disciplines: Understanding how God changes Lives* (New York, Harper Collins, 1988), 31. Quote from Collicutt, *The Psychology of Christian Character Formation*, 5.

that Paul was wrestling with how to interpret God's Spirit indicates that questions surrounding spirituality, the heavenly realm and the place of humanity within this sphere, were very much at the forefront of first-century thinking. The *Shirot*, therefore, are most likely part of the Yahad's answer to the question of spirituality in a liturgical context. Collicott extends her argument to explain that 'formation means freedom,' and that this freedom or liberation can only occur through 'cooperation.'⁵¹⁴ The *Shirot* are a form of liturgy consisting of songs of praise for the worshipping community at Qumran. We assume that the *Shirot* were used communally. If so, this makes their use in liturgy and indeed the very performance of the *Shirot* the 'cooperation' for the Yahad. This cooperation would then naturally provide the space for self-transcendence and more importantly spiritual freedom to occur.⁵¹⁵ The structure of the liturgy, the content of the *Shirot* and their description of how the heavenly angels worship the Lord thus provide a framework for this transcendence to occur in a safe environment. This means that nobody could freely re-interpret Qumran's values or understanding of liturgy. It also means that the worship stays focussed on the Lord and not on what the worshipping people could take or gain from it.

⁵¹⁴ Collicott, *The Psychology of Christian Character Formation*, 5-6.

⁵¹⁵ I am keen to stress that I have no intention of anachronistically reading today's Christian interpretation and understanding of 'formation' back into these first century texts but there is an important aspect of formation as a principle to consider, that of the act of forming one thing into something else. And the Yahad is trying to form a community based on a strict hierarchy and strict rules and observances and on particular religious beliefs.

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

1QS implies that the Yahad believed it was possible for a community of humans and angels to exist together in day-to-day life as well as in worship (*Shirot*). The centrality of angels in the sect's construction and self-identification had an important impact on the formation of the Yahad, by stipulating who could and could not join, based on physical appearance, fitness and disability etc.,

A combined Yahad of angels and humans allowed for a re-establishment of a 'proper' relationship with God. The relationship which God originally intended for all humanity, but which was lost after the angelic fall of the priestly watchers and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. This relationship with God therefore provided the Yahad with the perfect primordial relationship which had previously remained the privilege of Adam and Eve within the Garden of Eden: the *original* Sanctuary. The Yahad, therefore, became a sanctuary against the rest of humanity and a temple of people, a Miqdash Adam.

This idea of being a sanctuary then provided the liturgical and sacred space which made worshipping in a thirdspace, using a liturgical text like the *Shirot* possible. But only if the Yahad remained perfect by living according to the pre-ordained laws of God, as it was believed that angels were not able to be in contact with the spiritually and physically disabled.

The idea that perfection can lead to a 'perfect' relationship with God was not limited to the Yahad and the text of 1QS but is also prevalent in Hebrews suggesting a wider first-

century Jewish belief regarding perfection and purity providing a closer relationship with God.

There is also evidence of prayer being used as either a substitution for sacrifice or alongside animal sacrifice as an offering of thanksgiving to God. The use of prayer is attributed to King David and the First Temple which provided a link with the glorified historical Temple and separated the Yahad further from the Second Temple and the Levitical priesthood, with which both the Yahad and the author of Hebrews were displeased.

Communal worship and shared beliefs regarding purity laws, prayers, liturgy etc., allowed an identity between Yahad members to be constructed. When these members then next meet to worship, the focus was on the divine and the heavenly, allowing a self-transcendence and spiritual transformation both individually and corporately, as the members of the Yahad also transcended time and space to worship God.

Conclusions

The practice of following the correct calendar was vital to the Yahad as it ensured that liturgical texts were used within the correct liturgical time period and thus the true, correct and ordained calendar sanctioned by God was being followed. The question of the calendar was clearly being widely debated within the first-century and the documents discovered at Qumran were therefore polemically used and were anachronistically ascribed to the scriptural figures of Noah, David and Jacob in order to promote a specific and deliberate calendar. This, then, created a ritual and sacred time, which, in turn, was developed and re-established by the liturgical calendar and which provided the demarcation for sacred, as opposed to ordinary time, ensuring a paradox was established and a 'chicken and egg' situation occurred, since it is unclear whether the calendar was created for the sacred time or whether the sacred time was observed because of the calendar. What is entirely clear however, is that the liturgical calendar created and observed at Qumran was formed on the basis of calendrical dates within the much earlier scriptural narratives of Genesis, Leviticus and Numbers. There were also textual links with the First Temple period and, through King David, the divinely appointed priesthood.

The calendar which is evident from the Mishmarot texts at Qumran was a semi-lunar calendar which covered a seven-year period which occurred seven times, with six cycles of seven x seven years. This calendar was associated with creation beginning on the fourth day of the week.

The formation of the cohesive liturgical *Shirot* for worship at a specific time of the year was integrated into this calendar, as evidenced by the introductory formulae present at the beginning of each of the *Shirot*. This positioning of the *Shirot* defined a ritual and liturgical time. The withdrawal into the desert provided a liturgical place, a holy place to be built which enabled the community to join in with the angelic worship and through this connection enter into communion with God. The ritual use of the *Shirot* at pre-arranged and specific liturgical times also allowed a liminal space to be created, a space which enabled the humans and angels to join together to worship God, during which time the worshippers were neither human, God nor angelic but temporarily transcendentally changed which enabled them to enter a thirdspace that was simultaneously real and imagined, divine and earthly, perceived and conceived. The liminal space created by using the *Shirot* in worship allowed humanity, during the time of the ritual, to enter a time and space which represented humanity's glory, prior to the angelic fall and prior to humanity's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, a thirdspace which offered a unique, perfect and complete connection with God.

The ritual was led by the Maskil and humans were believed to be like Enoch straddling heaven and earth, collapsing spatial time. The Yaḥad was to follow the teachings of the priesthood taught to Enoch by the angels, then passed down through the generations to Levi, so that the earthly community would be *imitatio angelorum*. Humans were, through this connection, allowed access to the form of Ministry believed to have been offered within the Garden of Eden, which enabled them to access therefore, a pre-diluvian practice dating from before either the angelic fall or humanity's expulsion from the Garden of Eden and thus to access the original, unique, complete and perfect connection with God. This

sanctification empowered a transcendental transformation for those using the *Shirot* in worship. It also enabled the people using the text in worship to become a sanctuary set apart from the rest of humanity and a temple of people.

The priesthood was set apart, placing it on the same level as the two highest categories of angels, as earthly priests were meant to function as angels of the presence. The *Shirot* however, enabled all worshippers to access the heavenly temple and the angelic priesthood, albeit following the leadership of the Maskil, who may or may not have been ordained.

The figure of the Maskil was formed and defined by sectarian documents like the *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* and the *Hodayot*. As Judith Newman has argued, the Maskil was shaped through a cultural memory of Moses. However, more than this, the connection with God which was enabled by the ritual use of liturgy like the *Shirot* allowed the Yaḥad to be in the presence of God, in a similar manner to the community of the Israelites at Sinai. In contrast, the temple imagery used is reminiscent of Solomon's Temple in the First Temple period, again linking the Yaḥad with God at a time of glory and moments of unashamed connectivity between God, the divine and humanity.

The divine origin of the priesthood and the angelic function of the two highest categories of angels, as ideal heavenly priests, were to be emulated and imitated by the Yaḥad. This connection formed by the joint community of humanity and divine beings is not just evident in the liturgical text of the *Shirot*. 1QS also implies that the Yaḥad believed it was possible for a community of humans and angels to exist together in day-to-day life as well. Angels were fundamental to the Yaḥad's construction and self-identification and as such

had a vital and pivotal role in shaping and defining the formation of the community. Any group, like the Yahad, which worshipped together would form a communal identity, which would, in turn, create an opportunity for self-transcendence and spiritual transformation.

The scriptural texts themselves showed the adaptation and incorporation of other ANE world-views in the development of scripture, including the similarities between the seraphim in Isaiah and the ophidian dragon and between the cherubim in Ezekiel and the leonine dragon from Mesopotamian culture, as both Isaiah and Ezekiel used symbolism and views from the religious beliefs of their respective time periods.

The encounters discussed in this thesis between God, the divine and humanity enabled us to see a developing theophany, theology and angelology within scripture. The divine beings empowered an interaction with humanity which then allowed humans to do something on behalf of God. Angels within scriptural texts acted as intermediaries in an encounter between a human and God. The human had to go through the angel in order to reach God.

Fire and cloud (two easily recognisable features of God) were used to describe a liminal space which was created within scriptural texts. Fire and cloud both enabled a bridge between heaven and earth to be formed. Indeed, both divine beings and fire acted as a conduit between God and earth, enabling accessibility and connectivity. There did, however, appear to be specific times, such as at 'the time of the evening sacrifice,' when

angels appeared to humans, usually when the human's focus was on the heavenly and they were open and receptive to a divine message.

God, fire and animal sacrifice were connected very clearly by scriptural tropes. The connection between the altar fire and the accessibility and connectivity with God occurred at the time of animal sacrifice. Prayer was used at Qumran as either a substitute for sacrifice or alongside animal sacrifice at Qumran. Prayer was connected with the times observed by sacrifice in the Temple, but appeared to be an acceptable alternative. Prayer was being promoted as a means which enabled the same contact and close relationship with God as sacrifice. Prayer offered a closer connection with God for individuals and communities, a connection which in animal sacrifice was only available to exalted humans in scriptural texts and to the priest in the Temple. Prayer therefore formed a liminal space, a meeting place between the heavenly and the earthly which is derived and developed from the liminal space created by an altar fire in the offering of a sacrifice. The 'offering of the tongue' was intentional by the individual in its praise and it enabled more accountability and responsibility on the part of the person engaged in prayer. It also relied more on divine knowledge, trusting the gift of knowledge which God had placed on the Maskil. It was a cerebral means of trying to attain perfection, as was the emulation of the angels as heavenly priests, following the calendar which the Yaḥad believed to have been divinely ordained. Further, the creation of a thirdspace worshipping space enabled the Yaḥad to become, liturgically, atemporal and aspatial; as the past, present and future combined to allow the Yaḥad access to the pre-diluvian Garden of Eden and the promised divinely built future temple.

The concept and practice of prayer was being scrutinised, it was alive and was developing, growing, being altered and changing as it was defined and scripturalized. Beliefs and traditions related to one way of worshipping were being adapted and transposed into another developing way of worshipping. The ritual innovation of liturgy and worship was occurring alongside the ritual innovation of festivals.

As a liturgical text, the *Shirot* used and developed scriptural themes and tropes which influenced the worshipping community that used the text. It transported the worshippers on a heavenly journey through a heavenly temple, by ritually providing them with an opportunity to enter into a thirdspace. In doing so it provided a perfect connection with God, which was rivalled only by the connection humanity had enjoyed with God in Paradise. For the Yahad though, this connection was only possible if the correct calendar was observed, if they were pure, perfect and had the correct leadership in the Maskil.

The calendar, theology, liturgy and ritual were all interlinked, supporting, developing and adding to one another in order to create, evolve and sustain an ideological world-view that was specific to this particular sect. This then enabled a community to form and bond over a specific form of ritual and worship, creating an identity and contributing to the understanding of self. The religious beliefs of this community then fed back into their ritual and worship and helped to support their specific world-view. The Yahad were liturgically living out the narrative of *Jubilees*, starting at Creation and progressing through the first thirteen weeks of their calendrical year until the giving of the Torah at Sinai and the formation of a community. The Yahad's liturgy was its law of worship.

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