A Literary Analysis of 1QH 10-17:36

by
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have composed this thesis and that the work contained herein is my own.

Bobby Kwok-Yuen Chum

1st June, 2000
Articles and monographs devoted to Qumran studies continue to pour forth without any sign of abating. I have been able to interact to a limited extent with more recent literature. Douglas’ dissertation came to my attention after I was well into my research. Although this dissertation is in some ways similar to his, our findings are quite different. An attempt has been made to discuss in detail where our approaches differ. The recent publication of Eileen Schuller’s editio princeps arrived too late for full consideration.

Anyone who has written a dissertation knows that its completion is made possible by a number of factors. I was financially supported by the Faculty of Divinity Scholarship. The Gunning Foundation also allowed me to attend a Modern Hebrew course at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1997. I record my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Timothy Lim, for his steady encouragement, careful advice, and ready accessibility. Under his direction I first studied the Dead Sea Scrolls in Hebrew. His meticulous reading and knowledge of Hebrew saved me from a number of errors.

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### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>The Anchor Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>Anchor Bible Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Archeologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bib</td>
<td>Biblica</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJRL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</td>
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<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>Biblical Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBQ</td>
<td>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRINT</td>
<td>Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCH</td>
<td>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJD</td>
<td>Discoveries in the Judean Desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKC</td>
<td>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, 2nd English Edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSM</td>
<td>Harvard Semitic Monographs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSS</td>
<td>Harvard Semitic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>HTS</td>
<td>Harvard Theological Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td>Hebrew Union College Annual</td>
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<tr>
<td>IEJ</td>
<td>Israel Exploration Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JJS</td>
<td>Journal of Jewish Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOT</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOTSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td>Masoretic Text</td>
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<td>NTS</td>
<td>New Testament Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEQ</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique</td>
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<tr>
<td>RevQ</td>
<td>Revue de Qumran</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBLDS</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBLMS</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Scripta Hierosolymitana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Studia theologica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STDJ</td>
<td>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUNT</td>
<td>Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDOT</td>
<td>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Theological Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLZ</td>
<td>Theologische Literaturzeitung</td>
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<tr>
<td>TWAT</td>
<td>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>WBC</td>
<td>Word Biblical Commentary</td>
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ABSTRACT

The relationship of the Hodayot collection (1QH) to the Teacher of Righteousness has been of considerable interest ever since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Using form-critical and linguistic analyses, a few German scholars, among whom Jeremias and Stegemann may be mentioned, have attributed a subset of the Hodayot to the Teacher. All “Teacher Hymns” identified by various scholars surprisingly fall within 1QH 10-17:36. This dissertation makes use of a different literary approach and attempts to determine whether the hymns in 1QH 10-17:36 might have come from one author or several, whether literary sources have been used, and whether one of the authors was the Teacher of Righteousness. An overview of the criteria previous scholarship has used to isolate the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns” is presented in Chapter Two. The interrelationship of the “Teacher Hymns” and their relationships to the “Community Hymns” are analysed. Two groups of Hodayot in the “Teacher Hymns” are identified, each with its distinctive traits of style, content, and vocabulary. Chapter Three and Four are dedicated to the discussion of Group I and Group II, respectively. Chapter Five discusses the relationship between these two groups of hymns and explores the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36. Chapter Six addresses the issue of authorship. An attempt is made to determine whether either Group I or Group II or both might have been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Chapter Seven provides a summary of the findings of this dissertation.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Among the first seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1 at Qumran is the Hodayot (תדוריות) collection, or Thanksgiving Scroll, a title given by the late Professor Sukenik, so called after the introductory words of many of the psalms. Scholars have repeatedly drawn upon the Hodayot collection (1QH [strictly 1QH²]) to illuminate the religious ideas of the Qumran community, and in particular, the life and experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness. There are a few who have made an attempt to uncover the structure of its poetry. This opening chapter presents a survey of what has been done in the Hodayot study and provides an orientation to the scholarly debate on the issue of authorship.

1.1 The History of Scholarship

Nothing is more appropriate than to start our journey from the first editor Sukenik, whose impression of the Hodayot has in several important respects set the agenda for much of the discussion that follows:

The Thanksgiving Scroll is a collection of songs expressing the views and feelings of one of the members of the sect whose writings were discovered in the Dead Sea genizah. Imitating the style of the Psalms, the songs express thanks for the acts of kindness God has performed for their author. . . . A possible inference is that the author was the Teacher of Righteousness often mentioned in these scrolls as well as in the “Zadokite Document” of the Damascus Covenanters. His complaint over being compelled to leave his country — “he thrusts me out of my land like a bird from its nest” (col. 4, 1.9) — corresponds to the statement in the Habakkuk Commentary that the “Wicked Priest” forced the Righteous Teacher into exile from the country (col. 11, 1.6).

Implicit in Sukenik’s statements is that the Hodayot collection is a literary unity and all the hymns are the product of a single author. Even more important is his suggestion that the author was the Teacher of Righteousness. These hymns are believed to have been recounting in detail the depths of his convictions and the sufferings he endured as a result of his faithfulness to God’s calling.

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1 Sukenik (1955: 39).
The possibility of the Teacher’s authorship has received considerable interest and discussion. Dupont-Sommer, though accepting that the hymns could have been written by one of the disciples of the Teacher, avers that “the collection is at least to be considered as an ancient work of the sect, authentically and profoundly stamped with the personality and doctrine of the Teacher.” By reconstructing the original order of the columns, Carmignac claims to have traced the historical context out of which the Teacher might have written the hymns. He even states that the rearrangement of the columns in the Hodayot collection has helped detect the changes in the life of the Teacher. So, a possibility has turned out to be a hypothesis, one being held by early scholars.

However, this is not unanimous among the translators of the Hodayot. Licht observes that there is a certain tension existing between the author and his fellow members in some of the hymns. His observation leads him to conclude that the author must have been an important leader of the sect. He considers the Teacher to be a plausible candidate but prefers to attribute the hymns to either a מנהיג “overseer” or a מורה “teacher.” Bardtke believes that the “I” of the Hodayot is really an individual but the personal experiences of this individual “I” do not necessarily refer to the Teacher of Righteousness and might well apply to any member of the sect, just as he writes, “A supposer que le Maître de Justice ait été l’auteur, même alors ce qu’il rapporte de ses propres expériences n’aurait pu trouver place dans les Hodayoth qu’à condition d’être également applicable à tout membre de la Secte.” Gaster, interpreting the hymns more or less as a product of mystical experience, argues: “What the text is describing is the normal and typical frustration of the mystic - the experience of every man who believes that he has seen God and that he is burning a small candle in the darkness of a world unredeemed.”

2 Dupont-Sommer (1957: 10-20, 1961: 200). Similarly, Russell (1967: 294) comments, “even if they [the thanksgiving hymns] do not owe their origin to the Teacher, they bear the stamp of his teaching and the mark of his personality.”


5 Licht (1957: 25).

6 Licht (1957: 23-4). Likewise, Gevaryahu (1973: 56) suggests that the author “may represent the outstanding personality of the sect. The description could just as well fit the founder and first leader of the sect, and those who succeeded him.”

7 Bardtke (1956a: 232), see also his discussion in Bardtke (1956-7: 93-104).

8 Gaster (1957: 120).
vigorously contends that too little information exists to argue for the authorship of the Teacher.9

Moreover, scholarship has recognized the *Hodayot* to be an important source for the study of the theological concepts of the Qumran community. According to Licht, “DST [the Thanksgiving Scroll] is the work of one man developing what is almost a single theme in a long series of variations.”10 Without much concern about identifying the author, he claims that an understanding of the author’s doctrines provides a key to the analysis of each psalm.11 He moves on to give a systematic treatment of the author’s doctrines, interpreting the *Hodayot* in the light of the two spirits’ passage (1QS 3:13-4:26). But how can one understand the author’s doctrines without first grappling with each psalm? It would appear that Licht has taken for granted the single author hypothesis and the uniformity of the *Hodayot* collection. Even more, by fitting the *Hodayot* into the two spirits’ doctrine, he has failed to do justice to some of the hymns.12

Two other scholars have provided similar treatments of the doctrines of the *Hodayot*: Mansoor and Holm-Nielsen.13 Their works are quite different from that of Licht in many respects. They both have tried to do full justice to the *Hodayot*, formulating the doctrines on the basis of their analysis on each psalm. Holm-Nielsen’s work is worth mentioning here. He discusses at great length the question of authorship as well as the problem of *Sitz im Leben*. Another remarkable feature of his work is his detailed treatment of the use of the Old Testament in the *Hodayot*. As a result of his analysis, he concludes that the *Hodayot* collection is not homogeneous and can be classified into two categories: thanksgiving psalms and hymns.14

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10 Licht (1956: 2). The unity of the *Hodayot* is affirmed in his book (Licht 1957: 22-23). Similarly, Hyatt (1955-56: 276) states that the *Hodayot* collection seems to be “the product of a single author, whose experiences and feelings they vividly reflect.”
11 Licht (1956: 2).
12 For instance, his interpretation of 1QH 4:38 is questionable (Licht 1956: 5-6). In 1QH 4:38 it says, “thou hast created the righteous and the wicked.” He takes this verse as somehow related to 1QS 3:17-19, where God is said to have placed into man two spirits: the spirits of truth and injustice. The author of the *Hodayot*, according to Licht, seems to know all about the cosmic battle between the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, an idea which does not appear in the text. What’s more, this verse, as he claims, teaches about divine predestination. Attractive as it may seem, this conclusion is quite inconclusive.
14 Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 320) aptly discerns, “The more one busies oneself with the *Hodayot*, the more their apparent uniformity disappears. In the treatment of the individual psalms, I have attempted to demonstrate that, on the basis of their content, they can be divided into two large groups, of which
group of thanksgiving psalms concerns 2:2-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-3:2(?), 3:3-18, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25 and 8:4-9:36. Even more, he puts a weighty argument against the Teacher’s authorship and argues for the liturgical use of the hymns in the prayer of the Qumran community. He warns that the considerable degree of dependence upon the Old Testament both in content and in style should make one cautious in identifying the “I” of the Hodayot, let alone applying a concrete historical interpretation. He is much inclined to consider the author as a “collective I,” in that any member of the community might have composed the hymns.

There are a number of scholars whose interest lies in the study of a specific doctrine, such as eschatology, human nature, immortality, messianism, predestination, and suffering. Merril’s work on predestination must be mentioned for his approach to the study of the Hodayot. First, he interprets the Hodayot in the light of other Qumran documents, such as the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, and the Damascus Document (CD). Merrill believes that the author of the Hodayot and the Teacher are the same. He then claims: “The Teacher removed himself from normative Judaism in early Maccabean times (ca. 150 B.C.), founded a

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the one is concerned in a more technical way with the conditions of the community, while the other expresses, on the basis of this same community, the view of the surrounding world based upon its relationship to God. This division I have further confirmed on the basis of style, since the group which is more closely linked to the community can be described, on the basis of the Old Testament examples, as hymns, while the other group belongs to the category of psalms of thanksgiving, even if they are strongly influenced by the psalms of complaint. Moreover, it would appear from a treatment of the use of Scripture in the Hodayot that, in this respect as well, there is recognisable difference, the psalms of thanksgiving being far more fitly described as a ‘mosaic of Scriptures’ than the hymns are.”

15 Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 348) comments, “the Hodayot must be understood as examples of the Qumran community’s liturgical prayers and songs of praise. They are an expression of the faith of the community, but they are not poems for instruction in dogmatics. They rest upon the existence of the community and upon its history, but they will not in themselves recount the history. They are phrased in the words of the individual to portray his assurance of salvation and fear of perdition in an existence where the battle lies between the power of God and the powers of Belial, but the individual is not any one definite historical person.”

16 In agreement with Holm-Nieslen, Hopkins (1979-81: 335-6) asserts that “the claims for one author writing a uniform 1QH psalm collection infused with his own personal experiences do not stand up under scrutiny. ... We must conclude that 1 QH is a varied collection of rhythmic prose authored by different people at different times and that none of the 1QH material demands Teacher authorship.” Kittel (1981: 10) is also skeptical about any attempt at attributing the hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness, “Because of the eschatological and apocalyptic viewpoint of the scrolls, no identification of the Teacher as the author of the Hodayot is possible. He may have been the author of some or all of the psalms, but it is just as possible that another, or several others of the sect, could have composed them. One thing must be admitted; a collection of psalms, composed in the biblical pattern, all belonging to one literary category, is unusual and may point to an author or redactor with a highly original viewpoint.”

community of likeminded Essenes at Qumran, and produced the Thanksgiving Hymns sometime before he met his apparently violent death.” On this basis, he opts for the didactic use of all the hymns and confidently states that the Hodayot must have been the official or orthodox Qumranian dogma. For Merrill, the Teacher’s authorship forms the basis not only for his evaluation of the problem of divine predestination and human freedom, but also for the reconstruction of the history of the community.

Not only does the Hodayot collection offer considerable religious value, but also provides good material for literary analysis. The Hodayot are frequently considered to be inferior to the biblical psalms, falling short of the Old Testament standard in terms of originality. Licht remarks that the Hodayot collection is “on the whole rather humdrum, and does not seem to possess any high degree of literary merit. It is also very repetitive, to the point of monotony.” A few scholars simply regard it as “rhythmic prose.” Johnson even states that the Hodayot “do not appear to be of any great literary merit.”

Scholars have tried to fit the Hodayot into the structures already discerned in the biblical psalms. Kraft is a case in point. He sets out to analyse a number of psalms using the three aspects of Hebrew poetry: parallelism, meter, and strophic structure. He encounters too many poetic irregularities that he simply does not know what to make of them. He decides to leave them for further investigation. A similar treatment is taken up by Thiering. At the outset Thiering claims that it is necessary to discover the poetic structures of the Hodayot. She believes that the principle of “chiasmus,” which can be found in the biblical psalms, is the key to unlocking the poetry of the Hodayot, but she finds it difficult to fit one or two thanksgiving psalms into the chiastic structure. By and large, Kraft and Thiering have both failed to let the Hodayot speak for themselves in structural matters, as will be shown.

According to Frank Cross, the Hodayot collection is a product of the post-exilic period and is thus of high literary value:

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18 Merrill (1975: 10).
19 Merrill (1975: 57).
22 Johnson (1951: 165).
23 Kraft (1957).
24 Thiering (1963).
Analysis of the literary types, the prosody, and the language and theological motifs of these documents [the Thanksgiving Hymns] will greatly expand our knowledge of the development of late Old Testament psalmody on the one hand, and will illuminate on the other hand difficult problems in the study of the literary types and prosodic canons of New Testament psalms (especially in the prologue of Luke) and poetry.25

Ehlen’s dissertation is a step forward in this area of study.26 He makes an attempt to unearth the structure of the psalmody of the Second Temple period. His purpose is to trace the evolution of the post-exilic psalmody and demonstrate the prosodic effect using three linguistic elements, namely auditory, grammatical, and semantic. Unfortunately, his study is limited to the analysis of a single thanksgiving hymn from the Hodayot, and does not contribute enough to our knowledge of late Old Testament psalmody.

A significant advance in the study of the poetry of the Hodayot is made by Bonnie Kittel.27 It is her contention that a thorough study of the poetry of the Hodayot is the groundwork for a better understanding of their theology. She examines eight thanksgiving hymns in great detail and attempts to explore their poetic conventions. She discovers many features peculiar to the Hodayot, such as longer cola, frequent use of the infinitive, lists, envelope parallelism, and longer line length.28 Her analysis in some ways offers insight into the theological themes of the hymns. Here is an invaluable work that integrates poetry with theology.

In an analysis different from Kittel’s, Horgan and Kobelski have taken up the task as set out by Cross.29 They briefly examine the Hodayot and the two New Testament (NT) hymns, namely the Magnificat (Luke 1:47-55) and the Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79). The literary features compared are themes, structure, use of biblical language, parallelism, and grammatical phenomena. The many similarities between the Hodayot and the two Lucan hymns have brought the two scholars to the conclusion that the Hodayot can indeed form a poetic bridge between the poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures and poetic passages in the NT.

A particular poetic feature of the Hodayot has been investigated in a recent dissertation by Williams.30 Williams attempts to trace any possible patterns of

27 Kittel (1981).
diachronic development in the use of parallelism from early biblical poetry to the poetry of the Second Temple Period. He sets out to analyse the parallelism in the Hodayot and compares it with the data obtained from similar studies in early biblical poetry, Isaiah 1-18 and Isaiah 40-45. As a result of his analysis, Williams discovers seventeen similarities among the four corpora, suggesting that the texts in question belong to the same prosodic tradition. At the same time there are significant differences between the Hodayot and the other three corpora. The following are just a few distinguishing characteristics of the Hodayot: smaller ratio of couplets to triplets, fewer lines of 3 grammatical units, more triplets with a 2:2:2 grammatical unit count, more semantic parallelism.32

In general, the Hodayot are similar to one of the Gattungen identified by Gunkel, the “thank offering songs.” Most of the hymns contain more or less the traditional elements of the biblical thanksgiving psalms: the introduction, the narrative with its three points (i.e. the poet’s distress, his cry for help, and his deliverance), and the confession before the congregation. A few hymns are also mixed with elements of the lament or complaint. A detailed formgeschichtliche examination of the Hodayot has been undertaken by Morawe. In Morawe’s opinion, the Hodayot collection consists of two Gattungen: “individuelle Danklieder” and “hymnische Bekenntnislieder.” He points out that some of the Gattungselemente from the Danklieder, e.g., distress reports, do not appear in the other group, which tends to have more hymnic elements. Morawe’s list of individuelle Danklieder includes: 2:3-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 3:19-36, 3:37-4:4, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-36(?), 6:1-36, 7:1-5; 7:6-25; 8:4-9:36. Surprisingly, Holm-Nielsen and Morawe, though using different approaches, have divided the Hodayot into “individual thanksgiving songs” and “hymns.” Remarkable is the fact that they have come up with almost the same list of hymns for both categories. Their seminal studies have called into question the homogeneity of the Hodayot collection and the single author hypothesis. Had the Hodayot been penned by the same author one would have expected a higher degree of uniformity in its form and structure.

Jeremias’ monumental work on Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit has opened a new

31 Williams has obtained his data from Geller (1979), Worgul (1986), Elliot-Hogg (1986).
32 For details, see Williams (1991: 821-8).
35 Morawe (1961).
scholarly debate on the relationship of the *Hodayot* to the Teacher of Righteousness.\textsuperscript{36} From the outset Jeremias questions the literary unity of the *Hodayot* collection. He classifies the *Hodayot* into three genres: hymns, didactic psalms, and thanksgiving songs. He observes that "Das 'Ich', das in diesen Psalmen [Danklieder] redet, unterscheidet sich so deutlich von dem 'Ich' in den anderen Psalmen-Gruppen, daß schon dieser Tatbestand gegen die literarische Einheitlichkeit der Hodajot spricht."\textsuperscript{37} To the group of Danklieder Jeremias assigns the following: 2:1-20, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. He points out that the 'I' of these Danklieder played a special role in the Qumran community and claimed to be a "salvation bringer." Such an unusual claim of authority in the community leads Jeremias to the conclusion that the Teacher of Righteousness was the author of these Danklieder. This group of Danklieder is then designated the "Teacher Hymns."

Jeremias' list of "Teacher Hymns" has been subsequently modified by Becker and Kuhn. Becker, in his book *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament*, discerns that the hymns among themselves show difference in style and content.\textsuperscript{38} His search for "Teacher Hymns" starts with a basic core, which he selects on the basis of the nature of the individual "I." He then includes other hymns through lexical links. The final list of hymns he has attributed to the Teacher includes: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 3:37-4:4, 4:5-29a, 5:5-19, 5:20-39, 6:1-36, 7:1-5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. In his analysis of Morawe's list of *hymnische Bekenntnislieder*, Kuhn argues that das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers is an important criterion by which the "Teacher Hymns" can be distinguished from the rest of the *Hodayot*, which he designates Gemeindelieder.\textsuperscript{39} On this basis, he classifies six *Hodayot* as the "Teacher Hymns": 2:1(?)-19, 4:5-5:4 (with 4:29-5:4 as a secondary addition), 5:5-19, 5:20-6:36(?), 7:6-25, 8:4-40.

Another two German scholars agree with Jeremias that a subset of the *Hodayot* was composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. Schulz, whose approach is similar to that of Jeremias, sets out to examine one particular aspect of the Teacher, that is, his claim to authority in the community.\textsuperscript{40} Through form-critical and linguistic

\textsuperscript{36} Jeremias (1963).
\textsuperscript{37} Jeremias (1963: 170).
\textsuperscript{38} Becker (1963: 50-6).
\textsuperscript{39} Kuhn (1966: 21-6).
\textsuperscript{40} Schulz (1974).
analyses, he distinguishes a group of psalms from the rest of the *Hodayot*. He ascribes the authorship of these eight thanksgiving psalms to the Teacher: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. In his examination of the origin of the Qumran community, Stegemann firmly believes that some of the *Hodayot* have revealed to us the life of the Teacher.\(^{41}\) He accepts most of “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias, with the exception of 3:1-18, 7:6-25 and 8:4-40. To Jeremias’ list Stegemann adds 2:20-30 and 7:34-8:3 on the ground that the terms or concepts employed in describing the author’s enemies are similar to those found in the Pesharim and CD. His list of “Teacher Hymns” is: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3. In his recent book, Stegemann has expanded his list up to seventeen hymns, all falling within columns 1-11 in Sukenik’s numbering.\(^{42}\)

As a result of the work of these German scholars, two conceptual terms, “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns,” have been introduced into *Hodayot* scholarship.\(^{43}\) The hypothesis that a number of hymns within columns 2-9 in Sukenik’s numbering were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness has received scholarly support.\(^{44}\) In her study of the rhetorical strategies in 1QH 5:20-7:5, Newsom provides the following list of “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 4:5-4:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-9:36, 14:8-22.\(^{45}\) She simply states, “I am persuaded that there is good reason for concluding that the Qumran community read the compositions listed above (with the possible exception of 14:8-22 [P. 6:19-33]) as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness.”\(^{46}\) John Collins finds the distinction of a group of “Teacher Hymns”

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\(^{41}\) Stegemann (1971).


\(^{44}\) Schweitzer (1991), Gluskina (1991), Charlesworth (1992a, 1992b). This is not to claim that the hypothesis has received no criticisms. For instance, Vermes (1981: 27) criticises, “Some German scholars, in particular Gert Jeremias and Hartmut Stegemann, have attempted to bridge further gaps in the Maccabaean historical canvas. Subjecting some of the Hymns to a form-critical analysis, and assuming furthermore that the Teacher of Righteousness was their author, they have deduced from vague poetic hints a whole detailed story of an internal struggle among the sectaries. But I am afraid that the matter is far too conjectural for any serious consideration.”

\(^{45}\) Newsom (1990a: 122).

\(^{46}\) Newsom (1990a: 123). Newsom has introduced a new approach to the study of the *Hodayot*. Whether the Teacher actually composed the hymn, as far as Newsom is concerned, is not of great significance. What is important is that the Qumran community read the hymn as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness. Apparently, Newsom has regarded the Teacher as the implied author. Besides, she has drawn our attention to the rhetorical dimensions of the *Hodayot*. In another article, Newsom (1990b: 172-79) suggests that the use of content/rhetoric is one of the three criteria by which
quite commendable. 47

Tanzer has espoused the distinction between “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns” in her dissertation, “Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot.” 48 In addition to Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns,” she includes four more: 2:20-30, 3:19-36, 3:37-4:4, 7:34-8:3. 49 Tanzer also introduces a group of “hybrid” hymns in the Hodayot. 50 For instance, she takes 3:19-36 as a “Teacher Hymn” and recognizes that it is a “hybrid,” making use of materials adapted from the Hymns of the Community and an unidentified apocalyptic source in 20b-24a and 24b-36, respectively. Tanzer’s suggestion that there is a complex process of redaction in the Hodayot collection should merit serious consideration.

Unlike other scholars, Davies proposes that the Hodayot should be used as a source for the interpretation of the data in other Qumran commentaries. 51 He asserts that the Hodayot are “autobiographical” compositions. 52 He grounds his hypothesis on the evidence that many biblical psalms have been attributed to a historical figure with a concrete historical setting. He seems to have forgotten Burrows’ sober warning: “[S]uch fanciful inferences remind one forcibly of the traditional titles attached to the Psalms of the Old Testament, which attempt to connect each Psalm with an event in the life of David.” 53 As critical as he claims to be, Davies too finds the Teacher’s authorship indispensable in his interpretation. 54 It is quite understandable that, without such an assumption, he has no means of comparing the

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47 Collins (1992b: 94).
48 Tanzer (1986).
49 Tanzer (1986: 136-41). While Jeremias takes 8:4-9:36 as two separate hymns, Tanzer considers it to be one hymn.
50 A table listing all the “hybrids” is given in her dissertation (Tanzer 1986: 135).
52 See Flusser (1984: 562). Flusser has called our attention to “a special autobiographical poetical genre” in the Second Temple period. Interestingly, King David seems to have been a prominent figure in those psalms.
54 From the outset Davies (1987: 89-90) says: “For very many modern scholars have either argued, or taken for granted, that the Qumran Hymns were composed by the ‘Teacher of Righteousness,’ and therefore that he experienced what their contents describe. This view is not unanimous, of course, and I would prefer to remain entirely sceptical of such attribute. But I would certainly take it for granted that within the Qumran community these hymns - and at the very least the autobiographical ones - were understood to be compositions of the ‘Teacher’.” [italics mine]
historical data in the Hodayot with those in the commentaries.

In determining whether the Hodayot offers useful information for historical reconstruction, Callaway has undertaken an analysis on the “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias and Stegemann.55 He compares the language about the “I” and the enemies with the similar language in the Pesharim and CD and concludes, “One has the impression that the speaker is not referring to specific, historical enemies, since there is no concern with detailing their activities. ... Thus these psalms are not useful as independent pieces of evidence concerning persons involved in the history of the Qumran community.”56 Knibb is of the same opinion:

... It is difficult to interpret the Qumran Hymns as referring to the concrete experiences of a specific individual. It is impossible to say whether the ‘Hymns of the Teacher’, much less the collection as a whole, were composed by the teacher or not, but they cannot be used to reconstruct details of the career and character of the teacher – any more than the confession of Jeremiah can be used to do the same for Jeremiah. Nor do I find any evidence for the suggestion made by Philip Davies that, whoever wrote the Hymns “within the Qumran community these hymns – and at the very least the autobiographical ones – were understood to be compositions of the ‘Teacher’.”57

So far no scholarly theory has commanded a consensus on the issue of authorship. In his chapter on “The Judean Desert,” Murphy-O’Connor proposes that the hymns of Kuhn’s list (2:1-19, 4:5-29, 5:5-19, 5:20-6:36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40) should be attributed to a single historic figure.58 He then calls for a consensus: “Given what we now know of the history of the sect, a refusal to identify this figure with the Teacher of Righteousness smacks of pedantic prudence.”59 In a recent article, he makes a definitive answer to the question of authorship:

Despite certain hypercritical reserves, it is certain that these hymns are the work of a single author and the radical nature of his claims to be the ultimate religious authority (1QH 2:13; 5:22-23; 7:12; cf. CD 20:1) makes the Teacher the only plausible candidate. Attempts have been made to use the hymns to fill out the career of the Teacher, but all specific biographical inferences are excluded by the fact that the texts are a tissue of OT citations and allusions. At most the hymns reveal the inner life of the Teacher. [italics mine]60

Despite the bold assertion of Murphy-O’Connor, some scholars remain

58 Murphy-O’Connor (1986: 130-31).
59 Murphy-O’Connor (1986: 131).
60 Murphy-O’Connor (1992: 341).
unconvinced. Vermes, in the latest edition of his book, expresses reservation about the Teacher’s authorship. In his recent book on *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, Maier has the same reservation. In a recent article on the history of the Qumran community, Ulfgard declines to use the *Hodayot* as a source of information for reconstructing the life of the Teacher, as he comments:

As to the *Hodayot* Psalms (1QH), whose author often speaks in the first person, it has been suggested that they were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. I do not, however, want to discuss them at all, since their authorship is very much debated, and — above all — since they do not contribute greatly to the specific questions about the person of the Teacher and about Qumran origins and history. In these texts, the author identifies himself and his situation to a large extent by using and referring to Scripture, which means that it is often difficult to say when the author is speaking about his own personal experience and when he is merely using pre-existing concepts. The reconstruction of Qumranic history from allusions in the *Hodayot* Psalms is even more uncertain. Thus, I find it better not to bring any of these texts into this investigation.

Ulfgard’s statement has brought us to the end of our survey. That a single author might have written a uniform psalm collection, as suggested first by Sukenik, no longer receives scholarly support. It is now believed that there are hymns which might have been composed by the Teacher of Righteousness on the one hand; on the other, there are hymns which might have reflected the outlook and views of any member of the Qumran community. The former is designated the “Teacher Hymns” whereas the latter the “Community Hymns.” While the “Teacher Hymns” was intended for didactic use within the community, the “Community Hymns” was used liturgically in cult ceremonies at Qumran. After fifty years of research, most scholars go no further than the position that the aforementioned group of hymns is the work of the Teacher, but a few, among whom Stegemann and Davies may be mentioned, have attempted to interpret this group of hymns as giving factual information about the career of the Teacher.

1.2 The Issue of Authorship

The matter of great interest in the study of the *Hodayot* is the issue of authorship. Jeremias and others have argued on literary grounds that a subset of the *Hodayot* was

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written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Their arguments are primarily deduced from the content of the hymns. However, it is surprising that their literary analyses of the “Teacher Hymns” are not in any way detailed and comprehensive. The literary evidence Becker and Kuhn have amassed to argue for the uniformity of the “Teacher Hymns” comprise only twelve pages. It is quite understandable that they did not provide a detailed treatment of the literary features of the “Teacher Hymns,” for it was not the focus of their works. But Jeremias and Schulz, whose primary objective is to explore the life of the Teacher using the data derived from the Hodayot, have only allotted eleven pages of their books to the literary studies of the “Teacher Hymns.”

Worth noting is the fact that Jeremias and others have attributed a number of hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness without first proving on literary grounds that these hymns are the work of a single author. They have come to the question of authorship by asking which of the Hodayot might have been written by the Teacher. Their approach has made them focus solely on those aspects of the text pertinent to their understanding of the life of the Teacher. This significantly affects the criteria they have used to isolate the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns.” For instance, Kuhn has distinguished “Teacher Hymns” from “Community Hymns” on the basis of the criterion of the Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers. In so doing, they have failed to do full justice to each of the hymns. They have also overlooked the interrelationship of the “Teacher Hymns” and their relationship to the “Community Hymns,” an area which is worth pursuing for further research.

The issue of authorship is an historical as well as an hermeneutical problem. By attributing a hymn to the Teacher of Righteousness, we can bring in other Qumran documents and explore the religious ideas of the community, whose founder is believed to be none other than the Teacher. This approach affects to a large extent our interpretation of the Hodayot. It is quite justifiable, as far as the present writer is concerned, that we draw upon other documents to interpret the Hodayot, especially if the text of the hymn itself is not clear. It is, however, another matter of forcing the text to fit into a predetermined schema, for example, the two spirits’ doctrine. By so doing, we restrict ourselves from gaining new insights from the hymns. The crux of the problem is not whether we come to the text with any preconceived notions, but whether we would allow the text to challenge all our presuppositions. It is then the

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contention of the present writer that our duty is to take the *Hodayot* as it stands. In other words, we must try our best to let the hymns speak for themselves before dealing with the question of authorship.

Furthermore, previous scholarship has usually taken each of the *Hodayot* as a literary unity. Tanzer’s suggestion of a group of “hybrid” hymns has broken a new ground in *Hodayot* scholarship. According to Tanzer, some of the “Teacher Hymns” contain language and motifs associated with the “Community Hymns.” In her analysis of 1QH 7:26-33, she comments that the introductory formula typical of the “Teacher Hymn,” אֲרוֹבַּה אַרְוָּיָה, is used in order that the hymn could be put among the group of “Teacher Hymns.” She then states that “a later editor has adapted material from the Hymns of the Community into the Hymns of the Teacher. ... One can conclude that while the Hymns of the Teacher may have originated as the response of a righteous leader to persecution, they have since been adapted to the wider context of the Hymns of the Community in which they are found.”

Whether the “Community Hymns” were later than the “Teacher Hymns” is a moot point. Tanzer’s observation complicates further the classificaton of the *Hodayot* just as Schuller aptly discerns in her study of fragment 7 of 4Q428: “They [Kuhn and Becker] solved the problem (of the hymn 4:5-5:4) by considering this section [4:29-5:4] ‘sekundärer Zusatz.’ However this solution does not work so neatly in our hymn where lines 2-4 cannot so easily be lifted out and declared secondary. This ‘hybrid’ hymn raises questions about how strictly we can separate the categories identified with Hymns of the Teacher versus Hymns of the Community.”

Surprisingly, Tanzer’s “hybrid” hymns all fall within columns 2-9 in Sukenik’s numbering. A detailed analysis of the redactional shape of the “Teacher Hymns” is then deemed necessary. Unfortunately, scholarship has largely overlooked the importance and richness of this unexplored area.

1.3 Present Tasks

1.3.1 Purpose and Significance

The major purpose of this dissertation is to carry out a comprehensive literary analysis of all the presumed Hymns of the Teacher in order to determine whether

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67 Tanzer (1986: 138). Like the German scholars, Tanzer assumes that the “Teacher Hymns” antedated the “Community Hymns” but has not given any evidence to support this assumption.

those hymns might have come from one author or several, whether literary sources have been used, and whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that one of the authors was the Teacher of Righteousness. Little has been done on the relationship of the presumed Hymns of the Teacher to one another. It is to be hoped that by examining the literary phenomena of these hymns, this study will contribute towards a better understanding of the redactional shape of the “Teacher Hymns.” Even more, Jeremias and others have put forward a number of hymns as the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. Using a different literary approach, this study purports to provide a better means by which we may deal with the question of authorship.

A literary approach to the authorship problem of the Hodayot has recently been carried out by Douglas in his dissertation, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14.”69 He refutes the opposing arguments of Holm-Nielsen that the “I” of the Hodayot represents the views of any member of the Qumran community. In agreement with Jeremias, Becker, Kuhn, and Schulz, he argues that a subset of the Hodayot may be identified as having been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. According to Douglas, the Hodayot collection is not only an expression of the author’s praise to God but also about power. He vigorously contends that the “Teacher Hymns” make extraordinary claims of authority and are intended to establish the authority of the Teacher of Righteousness. Besides, his dissertation offers a discussion on the redactional history of the Hodayot. On orthographical grounds, he puts forward the view that the Hodayot collection comprises three sources: 1. cols 1:1-8:42; 2. cols 9:1-20:6; 3. cols 20:7-27:42 (28:42). He takes cols. 9:1-20:6 as the Teacher’s book, where cols. 10-17:36 are the “Teacher Hymns” with col. 9 being the introduction, cols. 17:38-18:14 the conclusion, and possibly cols. 18:16-20:6 the appendix.

Douglas addresses the question of authorship by first determining whether the “Teacher Hymns” were in fact by a single author. He classifies the hymns within 1QH 10-17 into three blocks. Block A comprises 10:5-22, 10:23-33, 10:34-11:6, 12:7-31a, 13:7-21, 13:22-14:6b + 15:1-7, 15:8-17. On literary grounds, he demonstrates that these hymns were written by the same author. Block B concerns 11:7-20, 11:21-38, 11:39-12:6, 14:6c-end of column and 16:4-17:36. Among these hymns, 16:4-17:36 has the strongest link to the hymns of block A and is of the greatest possibility of having been by the same author as block A. It is probable that 11:7-20 and 14:6c-end were also written by the author of block A. Block C consists

of 15:28-35, 15:36-16:3 and 12:31b-13:6, and it is merely possible that these hymns were the work of the author of block A. Douglas then draws a number of close parallels between the claims of authority that may be recovered from block A and those concerning the Teacher in the Pesharim and the CD. Using Victor Turner's model of social conflict, he argues that the historical context of block A is one of social conflict and corresponds to the earliest period in the Teacher's movement as represented in 1QS and CD. In conclusion, he states that "the implied author of the 'Teacher Hymns' refers to the authoritative figure who is designated 'the Teacher of Righteousness'." 70

Independently, Douglas and I discern that the literary studies of Jeremias and other German scholars are not comprehensive and detailed enough. Although Douglas' dissertation and the present one both make use of a detailed literary analysis to tackle the issue of authorship in the "Teacher Hymns," our approaches are quite different. The following are a few significant points of divergence. First, Douglas, standing in the tradition of Jeremias and other German scholars, comes to the text of the Hodayot with a focus setting on those aspects pertinent to the claims of authority of the Teacher of Righteousness. This has a significant bearing on the criteria he has used and the lexical items he has drawn from the "Teacher Hymns." He has overlooked some of the expressions that occur frequently in and are distinctive to the "Teacher Hymns." By so doing, he too has failed to do full justice to the text of the Hodayot. Second, the purpose of his dissertation is to determine whether the "Teacher Hymns" were the work of a single author while the present one leaves room for more than one author (or redactor). Third, this dissertation also attempts to explore the relationship of the "Teacher Hymns" to the "Community Hymns," a task not taken up in his dissertation. Finally, Douglas presents the redactional history of the Hodayot on the basis of his study of the orthography of the entire collection, whereas this dissertation focuses primarily on the redactional shape of the "Teacher Hymns" and bases its results on a purely literary analysis.

1.3.2 Scope and Limitations

Although the list of hymns attributed to the Teacher varies among scholars, all "Teacher Hymns" surprisingly fall within 1QH 10-17:36. This study is then a selective investigation in that it focuses upon the hymns of 1QH 10-17:36. It would be helpful to examine the redactional history of the entire Hodayot collection. As

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tempting as it may be, we resist such temptations within the limits of a dissertation.

A few words must be said about the Hodayot collection and the arrangement of its columns. 1QH, the Hodayot collection from Cave 1, consists of three sheets and a crumpled mass of fragments. In Sukenik’s edition, the three sheets, each with four columns, are placed as the first twelve columns of the scroll. Six additional columns, columns 13-18, are pieced together from among the fragments. Altogether there are eighteen columns and sixty-six numbered fragments. There are six other manuscripts of the same collection discovered in Cave 4, 4Q427-432, which help reconstruct part of the text in 1QH. In 1963, Stegemann, in his dissertation “Rekonstruktion der Hodajot. Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran,” has reconstructed the original order of the Hodayot scroll. His restoration has been independently confirmed by Emile Puech. As a result of the work of these two scholars, recent publications have followed their reconstruction of 1QH. It is now believed that the original scroll contained seven sheets of four columns each, making up a total of twenty eight columns. The following table summarizes the correspondence between Sukenik’s numbering and the numbering system of 1QH, the system used in this dissertation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1QH</th>
<th>Sukenik’s Numbering</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Col. 1 - 2</td>
<td>Missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 3</td>
<td>frgs. 16, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 4</td>
<td>Col. 17 + frg. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 5</td>
<td>Col. 13 + frgs. 15i, 17, 20, 31, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 6</td>
<td>Col. 14 + frgs. 15ii, 18, 19, 22, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 7</td>
<td>Col. 15 + frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 8</td>
<td>Col. 16 + frg. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 9</td>
<td>Col. 1 + frg. 24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. 10</td>
<td>Col. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. 11</td>
<td>Col. 3 + frg. 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col. 12</td>
<td>Col. 4 + frg. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 13</td>
<td>Col. 5 + frg. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 14</td>
<td>Col. 6 + frg. 26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 Stegemann (1963). Stegemann’s dissertation is not published but a brief summary of his findings is given in his article (Stegemann 1990: 200, 204). Early attempts have been made by Carmignac (1958, 1958-59).
73 Puech (1988b).
75 I owe a special note of thanks to Dr. Lim who has provided me with a list of correspondences for the Hodayot numbering offered on the Orion discussion group.
The text of 1QH is based on my reading of the photographic plates in Sukenik’s *editio princeps* as well as the digitalized images of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library,*\(^76\) The purpose of this dissertation, however, is not to produce new editions of 1QH but to provide the raw data and discussions of readings for my detailed literary analyses.

1.3.3 The Methodology

This study begins with an examination of the criteria previous scholarship has used to isolate the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns,” which provides the basis for a detailed analysis of the literary phenomena of the “Teacher Hymns.” Their criteria are summarised and presented in Chapter 2. In the next three chapters, I attempt to demonstrate the literary features of 1QH 10-17:36. First of all, a statistical analysis is undertaken to determine whether the “Teacher Hymns” are distinguishable from the rest of the Hodayot. The statistics are derived from the linguistic usage of the hymns presented both in Chapters 3 and 4 and in the appendix.\(^77\) The findings, which are given at the beginning of Chapter 3, make evident the linguistic peculiarity of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36.

Furthermore, I shall identify repeated words and phrases within 1QH 10-17:36. All repetitions are counted as well as weighed. I compare the linguistic usages of these repetitions with those that may be found in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the Dead Sea Scroll (DSS) corpus. My focus is primarily on those lexical items that are distinctive to 1QH 10-17:36. A repetition is considered as significant if it is shared


\(^{77}\) Using a computer system, I have counted the number of occurrence of all lexical items that have been drawn from the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 as well as from those presented in the appendix.
by the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 and does not occur in the rest of the Hodayot or anywhere else in the DSS corpus. The rarer the shared lexical item, the more significant the repetition. I have selected lexical items as highly significant if they occur only in a subset of “Teacher Hymns” and are found rarely in the Bible. It is to be noted that drawing out lexical items from 1QH 10-17:36 is just the starting point of the analysis. I also explore structural patterns, verbal sequences, and other literary (and rhetorical) devices such as antithesis, chiasm, climax, inclusio, and so on. Other affinities, such as syntactic and thematic parallels, will be taken into consideration.

An attempt will be made to discover how close lexically the hymns in 1QH 10-17:36 are to one another. It is worth examining whether two hymns are closer to each other than either one to the rest of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. The relationship of the “Teacher Hymns” to the “Community Hymns” is also analysed. This would help discern whether a hymn, though classified as a “Teacher Hymn” by previous scholars, shows more lexical features characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” The more the number of lexical and syntactic units any two hymns share, the higher the probability that they belong together and are to be taken as a group. Hymns sharing the same series of words and phrases would suggest that they might have been composed by the same author. As a result of the literary analysis, the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 can be further classified into two groups. Each group has its own set of lexical items and shows quite a different stylistic features. Group I focuses on the author and his relationship with the enemies while Group II shifts the focus to the suffering as well as the victory of the author. Chapters 3 and 4 are dedicated to the discussion of Group I and Group II, respectively. In Chapter 5, I discuss the relationship between Group I and Group II, and attempt to demonstrate the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36. Chapter 6 addresses the issue of authorship. An attempt is made to determine whether either Group I or Group II or both might have been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Finally, a conclusion summarizes the findings of the dissertation. A complete text and translation of the “Community Hymns,” including 15:29-36 and all the hymns outside 1QH 10-17:36, is given in the Appendix.

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78 I have consulted the concordances by Kuhn (1960) and Charlesworth (1991).

79 A few scholars have made an attempt to study different verbal forms of the Hodayot. See deVries (1964-66), Montaner (1992, 1994), Muraoka (1997).
CHAPTER TWO
DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE "TEACHER HYMNS"

The relationship of the Hodayot to the Teacher of Righteousness has been of considerable interest ever since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Many scholars are inclined to take the Hodayot as composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. By so doing, they can make use of the Hodayot to confirm the data about the Teacher as gathered from the Pesharim, and particularly from the Habakkuk pesher. The contents of the hymns to some extent will shed new light on the life and experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness, who is believed to have been the founder of the Qumran community. For some scholars, the Hodayot could also be used as a source for reconstructing the history of the community. But how can one know with certainty that the Hodayot collection, some if not all, stemmed from the Teacher of Righteousness? Our main problem lies in the fact that the writers of the Hodayot did not explicitly assert authorship; as a result, the identity of the author has to be deduced from internal and external criteria. What criteria have scholars used to bolster their arguments for the Teacher’s authorship? Are there any distinctive features in the so-called “Teacher Hymns”?

2.1 The Categories of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen

Before I discuss the criteria employed by the German scholars, two scholars must be mentioned for their contributions to the division of the Hodayot collection. Morawe’s book is the first and the only one discussing in detail the different genres of the Hodayot. Using the categories given by Gunkel, Morawe sets out to identify and explicate the Gattungselemente in the Hodayot. He discovers that the Hodayot can be classified into two groups. Two elements, Notberichte and Rettungsberichte, stand out in a group of hymns, which he designates individuelle

1 Morawe (1961).


3 Morawe (1961: 54-59) gives a list of passages having this element: 2:1-10a, 2:13b-15, 2:34b-
Danklieder. The individuelle Danklieder comprise the hymns in 2:3-7:25 and 8:4-9:36. In another group of hymns, which he calls hymnische Bekenntnislieder, he discerns the following elements: hymnische Stücke and Reflexion. The hymnische Bekenntnislieder are found in columns 1, 7:26-8:3 and 10-18.4 With the exception of 7:26-8:3, Morawe’s “individual thanksgiving songs” fall within 2:3-9:36 in Sukenik’s numbering.

In an analysis quite different from Morawe’s, Holm-Nielsen has taken up the task of examining the use of the Old Testament in the Hodayot.5 He provides a systematic treatment of the biblical texts which are extensively quoted by, or alluded to, in the hymns. He observes that there is a recognizable difference among the various psalms over how they make use of Scripture. Of great significance is the group of psalms that are quite similar in their use of Scripture. This concerns 2:3-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-3:2, 3:3-18, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-9:36. In these psalms the quotations or allusions are taken predominantly from Isaiah and Psalms.6 Surprisingly, this group of psalms, with the exception of 3:37-4:4, is in complete agreement with Morawe’s category of “individual thanksgiving songs.”

2.2 The Categories of Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn

The task of grappling with the problem of authorship has been carried out by Gert Jeremias.7 From the outset Jeremias states that the other 6 manuscripts from Cave 4 and the different order of the psalms make it quite evident that the Hodayot could not uniformly come from the same author. The Hodayot, according to Jeremias, could be classified into three groups: hymns, didactic psalms, and thanksgiving songs. Except the didactic psalms, the other two groups are similar to the findings provided by Holm-Nielsen and Morawe. His observation is based on the message of these psalms as well as their linguistic peculiarity. In distinguishing the thanksgiving psalms from the Old Testament thanksgiving psalms, he discerns:

Hier spricht eine sehr profilierte Persönlichkeit, die sich von allen anderen Menschen durchaus unterscheidet. Das ‚Ich‘, das in dieser Gruppe von Psalmen redet, ist nicht austauschbar. Hier spricht nicht mehr ein Mann, der aus tödlicher Krankheit genesen ist oder der Unrecht und Leid von bösen Mitmenschen


4 Morawe (1961: 169). His findings are summed up in a number of tables, see Morawe (1961: 133-35, 159-61).

5 Holm-Nielsen (1960a).


7 Jeremias (1963).
erfahren hat und daraus befreit worden ist, sondern in diesen Psalmen redet ein 'Ich', das um seiner Botschaft willen schweren Verfolgungen ausgesetzt ist, unter denen auch seine Anhänger leiden. Diese Botschaft ist eine Offenbarung wunderbarer Geheimnisse.

Here Jeremias propounds that in the Danklieder one would find the author speaking of his struggles against his enemies. The author of the Hodayot claims that he has received revelation of wonderful mysteries from God himself and is under severe persecution for the sake of his message. More importantly, all these descriptions are not present in the other groups of hymns. With certainty he assigns the following hymns to this “distinctive personality”: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40.

On the one hand, this group of hymns has strong speech-images not found in other hymns. For example, the images of lion and plantation are found in 5:5-19 and 8:4-40, respectively. On the other hand, stereotyped expressions, such as אָלֹי רוֹפֵאֵים, אָלֹי תֹּאֲלָה רַדְשַׁת, do not occur in the Danklieder. Jeremias’ major argument lies in his discerning the different linguistic usage among these groups of hymns. He provides a list of concepts which appear exclusively or predominantly in his group of thanksgiving songs but not in the remaining hymns. Likewise, the majority of the concepts encountered in the other two groups are not found in the thanksgiving songs. This distinctive feature has led him to conclude: “Es findet sich unter den Psalmen von Qumran eine Gruppe, die der Sprachgebrauch als zusammengehörig erweist und in denen eine erkennbare Einzelpersönlichkeit spricht.”

The question remains is whether this group of hymns was written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Jeremias points out that the distinctly personal tone of these psalms is quite evident and there is an individual “I” speaking to a collective “they” behind these hymns. Even more important is the fact that the “I” of these hymns occupies a peculiar and authoritative position in relation to the community, to which he has brought the salvation. Not only does the author lead and teach the community, but he claims to have founded the community. Besides, the author claims to be the Heilbringer for the community, in that God has entrusted to him the divine mysteries and the valid interpretation of the Torah. This unusual claim of authority in the community makes the Teacher the author of this group of hymns a very likely one. In the Danklieder, the author mentions about the dispute and strife he has experienced in the community. Even more, the author is said to have been

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8 Jeremias (1963: 170).
9 Jeremias (1963: 172-3).
persecuted by his enemies and has even been forced into exile. Jeremias argues that for all these descriptions one would find the parallel from the Pesharim (e.g. 1QpHab 7:5, 11:2-8). In conclusion, he identifies this “distinctive personality” with the founder of the community, that is, the Teacher of Righteousness.

Using a similar approach, Becker observes that some hymns, and not all, might have come from the Teacher of Righteousness. He uses a number of criteria to determine which hymns might have been written by the Teacher. The most important criterion is the nature of the exceptional “I,” as he avers:


According to Becker, the hymns written by the Teacher must have the structure of the individual “I.” Another characteristic of the “Teacher Hymns” would be statements about the enemies and the distresses that the psalmist has experienced. Finally, the “Teacher Hymns” would have statements about the psalmist speaking of his relationship to the community, in that he has founded the community, and especially those statements that give a discernible difference between the individual “I” and the community. Using these criteria, Becker comes up with the following list of “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-39, 6:1-36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. It should be pointed out that Becker only selects hymns with statements which would point to a unique historical situation. This assumption leads him to reject the following hymns: 1:1-39, 3:19-36, 7:26-33, 7:34-8:3, 9:1-36, 9:37-10:12, 10:14-18. He writes: “Keine Aussage läßt eine historisch-konkrete Anspielung vermuten, vielmehr sind die Aussagen so gehalten, daß sie für den Beter theologisch allgemeingültig formuliert sind und abgesehen von jeder historisch zufälligen Situation Geltung haben sollen.”

Becker attributes four more hymns to the Teacher: 2:20-30; 3:1-18; 3:37-44; 7:1-5. His selection is on the basis that their style and content are quite similar to the basic core he has discovered using the aforementioned criteria. His argument is

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11 Becker (1963: 50-6).
12 Becker (1963: 51).
13 Becker cites the following to support his arguments: 2:8f; 2:32f; 4:23f; 5:9; 5:23f; 6:19; 7:10; 8:21-26.
primarily established through lexical links.\textsuperscript{15} For instance, the expression סדרה של אים in 2:22 has the parallel (8) של אים in 6:5. The picture of the strong wall in 3:37 is also found in his basic core of “Teacher Hymns,” e.g., 5:37; 7:8. The verb נבלי is used in 3:5 as well as in 2:31; 5:13; 7:17. Moreover, בָּלַיְלָה is found exclusively in the “Teacher Hymns” (2:16, 22; 4:10, 13×2; 5:26, 39; 6:21; 7:3). Most significant is the fact that in these hymns the individual “I” stands in a special position in relation to the “they” of the community. Becker comes to the conclusion that all these point to a greater degree of uniformity among these hymns and the individual “I” behind the hymns must have been none other than the Teacher of Righteousness.

While Jeremias has performed a comprehensive study of the hymns attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn has taken on the task of analysing and examining in detail Morawe’s list of hymnische Bekenntnislieder, which he calls Gemeindelieder, Hymns of the Community.\textsuperscript{16} Kuhn’s criteria in isolating “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns” are primarily individuellen Notbericht and das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers.\textsuperscript{17} His selection is quite similar to Morawe’s category of Not- and Rettungsbericht.\textsuperscript{18} Kuhn considers das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers to be an important criterion, by which one would be able to distinguish the individual “I” from the community. This motif can be found in 2:8-10, 13-15; 4:24, 27; 5:9; 5:22-25; 6:19; 7:20f; 8:16, 21-24. On this basis, he selects the following as the “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 4:5-5:4 (with 4:29-5:4 as a secondary addition), 5:5-19, 5:20-6:36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. He contends that Jeremias’ criterion of a Heilbringer is too general and fails to point to the unique position of the Teacher in the community. His rejection of Becker’s selection of 2:20-30 as a “Teacher Hymn” is likewise on the ground that das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers is lacking in the hymn.

Furthermore, Kuhn identifies three specific Gattungselemente of the “Community Hymns.” The first Gattungselement is the soteriologische Bekenntnis, which is always introduced by the formula אני ראה את выполנו כ "And as for me, I know that” or אני ראה את выполנו כ “And I know that”, and followed by the confession of God’s act of salvation.\textsuperscript{19} The next two are closely related: Niedrigkeitsdoxologie and

\textsuperscript{15} See Becker (1963: 53-54).
\textsuperscript{16} Kuhn (1966).
\textsuperscript{17} Kuhn (1966: 22-4).
\textsuperscript{18} Morawe (1961: 133-35).
\textsuperscript{19} Kuhn (1966: 26-27). According to Kuhn, the Soteriologische Bekenntnis can be found in 14:12b-13a, 3:20b-23a, 11:7a-14, 11:17b-18, and is less completely preserved in 17:21b-22(?), 13:18b-21(?), 15:12a-26(?), 16:4(?)-5.
Elendsbetrachtung. The Niedrigkeitsdoxologie contrasts the creaturely lowliness of sinful humanity with almighty God and his righteousness while the Elendsbetrachtung only contains reflection on the sinfulness, lowliness and misery of mankind. Characteristic of these two Gattungselemente are sections beginning with the interrogative pronouns מה אלי “what”, מיהו “how”, and מי “who.”

2.3 The Categories of Schulz and Stegemann

Another contribution to the issue of authorship in the Hodayot is made by Paul Schulz. Schulz’s approach is again similar to that of Jeremias but his focus is on a particular aspect of the Teacher of Righteousness, that is, his claim to authority in the Qumran community. He asserts that the Hodayot help cast new light on our understanding of the authority of the Teacher. His first task is to distinguish the “Teacher Hymns” from the other Hodayot. His arguments are established through form-critical and linguistic analyses, which are based on the works of Morawe, Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn. Like his predecessors, Schulz has the same impression that “sich in diesen Dankliedern ein ‘individuelles Ich’ stark abhebt von einem ‘kollektiven Ich’ in den übrigen Qumranpsalmen.”

The following is the approach Schulz has taken to recover the list of “Teacher Hymns.” First of all, he suggests that there are three different Gattungen in the Hodayot: Danklieder, hymnische Bekenntnislieder, and Lehrpsalmen. These three forms distinguish from one another in style and content that the homogeneity of the Hodayot could not be accepted. Second, the form structure of the thanksgiving psalms are quite different from that of the other hymns. The distress and salvation reports as well as the description of the enemies stand out starkly in the Danklieder. Third, the Motiv des Offenbarungsmittelers is distinctive of the Danklieder. Fourth, the Danklieder distinguish from the other psalms by their richness of images. Finally, the Danklieder contain many concepts not used in the other two groups. By these criteria eight Danklieder emerge with a higher degree of uniformity in comparison to the other psalms: 2:1-19; 2:31-39; 3:1-18; 4:5-5:4; 5:5-19; 5:20-7:5; 7:6-25; 8:4-40.

Schulz propounds that the “I” of these eight Danklieder be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. This is made evident by the statements found in these

22 Schulz (1974: 3).
Danklieder: 1) the statements about his experience of a special revelation; 2) the statements about his struggles for the validity of the Torah; 3) the statements about his special relationship to the community. All these statements reveal a claim of authority which could only be spoken by the Teacher of Righteousness, as given by the other Qumran literature, for example, the Habakkuk pesher and the CD. In Schulz’s opinion, the Teacher’s claim of authority lies in the fact that he was not only from the prophetic tradition but also from the priestly tradition.

One of the leading proponents of Teacher’s authorship of the Hodayot is Hartmut Stegemann. In addition to his contribution to the reconstruction of the Hodayot scroll,23 Stegemann has written a number of books and articles on the relationship of the Teacher of Righteousness to the Qumran community. His reconstruction of the Teacher’s life is grounded on the assumption that the Teacher was the author of most of the Hodayot.24

In his examination of the origin of the Qumran community, Stegemann asserts that the hymns of the Hodayot have revealed the character of the Teacher, his teaching and his claim of authority.25 While many scholars have studied extensively the statements about the self-understanding of the author himself, Stegemann has focused his attention on the statements about the author’s adversaries. He writes: “Nur die Terminologie wirklicher Gegneraussagen ist jedoch im vorliegenden Zusammenhang von Interesse.”26 He believes that there must have been a relationship between the enemies of the author of some of the Hodayot and the personal opponents of the Teacher described in other Qumran literature. Of Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns,” Stegemann rejects 3:1-18; 7:6-25 and 8:4-40. His arguments against the inclusion of these hymns are primarily based on the fact that statements about the author’s enemies are lacking or not specific enough as is compatible with those found in the Pesharim and the CD. He takes 2:20-30 and 7:34-8:3 as “Teacher Hymns” on the basis that they contain terms or concepts designating the author’s enemies, for example, מַרְאֵה נָאֵלָמוֹת in 2:21 and נוֹרָרִים in 7:34. Using this criterion, he attributes seven hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3. Stegemann points out that in these hymns one frequently encounters statements about

the false teaching of the enemies, which correspond quite well to the descriptions of the “Man of Lie” in the CD and the Pesharim.

In his article on the Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus, Stegemann draws upon the Hodayot to illuminate various aspects of the Teacher. In agreement with Schulz, he contends that the Teacher was a high priest as evident by the hymns he had composed in columns 2-8.27 He cites a few expressions in support of his arguments, just as he claims: “The Hodayot give expression to the self-image of their high priestly author, for example, by phrases such as rz hbth by, ‘the secret that thou hast concealed within me’ (5.25) or twrkh hbth by, ‘the Torah which thou hast concealed within me’ (5.11), which designate the Teacher as the only and central authority in Israel for the correct interpretation of the Mosaic Law.”28 On this basis, Stegemann derives some of the historical details of the Teacher. In another article, he takes 1QH 5:5-19 as referring to the Teacher’s experiences in 153-152 B.C.E.29

It is often believed that the Teacher of Righteousness was the founder of the Qumran community as described by 4QpPs 3.15-17. This view, according to Stegemann, is in accord with the self-image of the Teacher in the Hodayot:

God himself granted the Teacher special authority, making him the founder of this community, and ‘guided him to his truth’ in the sense that all further decisions of that Teacher proved to be right. This account was obviously formulated by members of the Teacher’s community at a later date; but it agrees with the references to those events in Hodayot composed by the Teacher himself — including the statements that God had installed him in his office, and that God saved him and guided him through all the difficulties and the rebellions against him or against his special demands.30

The Teacher is also believed to have been a leading authority in the interpretation of the Torah. Stegemann puts forward the view that the exegetical method of the Teacher could be seen in the Hodayot: “The Teacher’s understanding was clearly recognized in the hermeneutical approach of his Hodayot.”31 In point of fact, Holm-Nielsen’s analysis has already pointed to a group of hymns with a similar use of Scripture, most of which happen to be the “Teacher Hymns.” It may be suggested that the use of Scripture in the Hodayot is another means by which the “Teacher Hymns” is distinguished from the “Community Hymns” (see Excursus).

It is worth noting that in his early studies Stegemann accepted seven hymns as composed by the Teacher, but in his recent book he includes many more hymns: “The seventeen hymns of the middle part of this manuscript – columns 1-11 in the editors’ numbering – were composed by and large by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. These reflect his personal destiny, his claim to be the only legitimate high priest one day in the future, and they praise God for his goodness and fidelity in all that occurs.”

It is uncertain as to whether he has changed the criteria for isolating the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns.”

2.4 The Categories of Tanzer and Douglas

In her study of the Wisdom influence on the *Hodayot*, Tanzer has identified many more hymns as composed by the Teacher. With the exception of 7:34-8:3, Tanzer’s list of “Teacher Hymns” is exactly the same as Morawe’s category of “individual thanksgiving songs.” According to Tanzer, a feature common to these hymns is that they open with the formula אֶל ה' אַבֵּדנִי אָבִּדֵנִי "I give you thanks, Lord, for..." and express thanksgiving to God for deliverance. As she observes:

If one looks at these twelve Hymns of the Teacher as a group, it is striking that all of them are found between cols 2 and 9. Indeed, if one adds to this group of the Hymns of the Teacher, the Hymn of the Community in 7:26-33, which appears to have been redacted in order to fit in with the Hymns of the Teacher, then the Hymns of the Teacher form an uninterrupted block of *Hodayot* extending from 2:3-9:36. They are preceded and followed by the Hymns of the Community.

Tanzer, through her redactional analysis, introduces a group of “hybrid” hymns in the *Hodayot*. Tanzer’s observation on the use of wisdom elements is worth noting here. There is extensive use of wisdom elements in the Hymns of the Community. Of the twelve “Teacher Hymns,” six show a limited presence of wisdom while the other six do not have any wisdom elements. Interestingly, the six hymns exhibiting a limited presence of wisdom are all “hybrids”: 2:3-19, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3, 8:4-9:36. In these hymns the wisdom elements are all located in the sections with material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” One may then

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33 Tanzer (1986).
35 Tanzer mentions a few lexical and thematic links that these hymns have in common with Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns,” see Tanzer (1986: 61-62, 68-71, 84, 106-107, 126).
conclude that lack of wisdom elements is a distinctive feature of the “Teacher Hymns.”

A significant contribution to the issue of authorship in the *Hodayot* is made in a recent dissertation by Douglas.37 Douglas, though standing in the tradition of Jeremias, Becker, Kuhn, and Schluz, carries out a more comprehensive literary analysis of the *Hodayot* than those performed by his predecessors. The most important criterion he employs to categorize the “Teacher Hymns” is the expression רְדֵּנָהוֹת מַעַרְכֵּה. He writes: “Through the process of reading and re-reading the text, I became convinced of the political nature of the ‘Teacher Hymns.’ The Teacher’s compositions are about power. This theme is emphasized in one of the most important and frequently repeated phrases in the Teacher’s Book: ‘רְדֵּנָהוֹת מַעַרְכֵּה (when You [God] exercise Your power through me).’”38

Douglas calls רְדֵּנָהוֹת מַעַרְכֵּה a “signature phrase” and uses it to select his basic core, that is, a list of hymns with the greatest possibility of having been by the same author, just as he avers:

The “signature phrase” provides an Archimedean point of entry for doing a literary criticism of the *Hodayot*. The linguistic character, style and content of the four compositions containing this phrase form a central block of material with multiple interconnecting lines of affinity. This block [C15 (10:23-33), C20b (12:7-31a), C21 (13:7-21), C22a (13:22-14:6 + 15:3-7)] forms a homogeneous core in cols 10-17, which I call Block A. Other compositions that do not contain the signature phrase nevertheless have multiple strong linguistic affinities with this core. These compositions can be added to this core according to the associative principle.39

He expands his basic core through lexical links and includes the following: 10:5-22, 10:34-11:6, 15:8-27. For instance, the faithless exchange motif, that is, the use of מָכַר, is found in 10:21 and 10:39 as well as in the basic core. In his literary analysis, he identifies two other blocks of hymns within 10-17:36. Block B comprises 11:7-20, 11:21-38, 11:39-12:6, 14:6c-end of column and 16:4-17:36 while block C consists of 15:28-35, 15:36-16:3 and 12:31b-13:6. According to Douglas, 16:4-17:36 has a significant number of lexical links to block A and it is thus highly probable that this hymn might have come from the same author as block A.

Moreover, Douglas demonstrates that there is a close correspondence between the statements about the Teacher in the Pesharim and the CD, and those mentioned in block A. Of special significance are the statements about the author’s claims of

authority, status and significance. He utilizes a model of social conflict to argue that the social context of block A fits the social context of the earliest days of the Teacher’s movement. He then reaches the following conclusion:

The logical conclusion that derives from these propositions is that the “I” in the “Teacher Hymns” (Block A + authentic Block B) refers to the representative leader of the movement whom the Pesharim and CD designate as the Teacher of Righteousness. The purpose of the Teacher’s Book was not so much to narrate the details of his story, but to confirm the foundational status and continuing significance of the Teacher for the movement that he engendered.

2.5 **Excursus: The Use of Scripture in the Hodayot**

Almost all the scholars who have occupied themselves with the *Hodayot* collection have recognized its extensive use of the Hebrew Scriptures. This feature is clearly expressed by Dupont-Sommer: “[T]he psalmist’s spirit has been nourished and saturated with reading the sacred books, and the quotations shine out at every moment like so many precious stones drawn lavishly from the treasure of inspired Scriptures.” A few scholars go as far as to characterize some of the hymns as “a mosaic of biblical phrases and quotations.” In his detailed analysis of late Jewish psalmody, Holm-Nielsen writes: “No exhaustive study of Late Jewish, non-canonical literature is needed to establish to what extent it is dependent on the Old Testaments books, and indeed this fact is generally recognized as a downright criterion of the late books.”

In the *Hodayot* direct quotation of a biblical verse is extremely rare. More often than not, an echo of biblical words and motifs could be found. There are many instances where it would appear that the author(s), governed by certain theological presuppositions, have the tendency to use the biblical text in a new context. It is

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41 Douglas (1998: 334-46) employs Victor Turner’s model of social conflict, which consists of the following four stages: 1. breach; 2. escalation of crisis; 3. redressive action; 4. reintegration or irreparable schism.
42 Douglas (1998: 347). His use of the term ‘authentic’ is to distinguish the pseudo-Teacher Hymns from the hymns that were actually written by the Teacher of Righteousness.
44 Dupont-Sommer (1952: 69).
46 Holm-Nielsen (1960b: 14).
uncertain whether there is a deliberate use of Scripture in the Hodayot, just as Holm-Nielsen says: “It is often difficult to decide to how great an extent it is a question of the individual author himself extracting texts from the Old Testament in his composition, and to how great an extent he is just employing a terminology, current in the community, which was originally drawn from the Old Testament.”

Fishbane’s observation may be helpful at this point: “[T]here is a strong presumptive likelihood that what appear to be biblical allusions or phrases in the Hodayot-Psalms, for example, are in fact anthologized reuses of the vast biblical thesaurus, and not just terms picked from the spoken environment.”

A comment made by Andrew Chester seems to have implied that the Hodayot’s use of Scripture is more than simply employing stereotyped expressions or customary terminology. As he observes:

The ‘anthological’ style is above all characteristic of 1QH, which draws on Scripture even more extensively than any other of the Qumran texts considered here [CD, 1QS, 1QM, 11Q Temple], but also does so even more allusively. ... while it is often difficult to be sure whether there is a deliberate scriptural citation or whether the hymn merely reflects more general biblical usage. ... At the same time, it is frequently apparent that allusion to a scriptural verse is conscious and intentional. [italics mine]”

Furthermore, it is generally assumed that the Hodayot draw on Scripture without regard to the historical context of the biblical texts. In his recent monograph, Swanson compares the Temple Scroll with the Hodayot and simply states: “[T]he Temple Scroll allusions are different in kind. The Hodayot do breathe the atmosphere of the biblical psalms, but there is no sense of an attempt to allude to specific psalms in the use of biblical language. The allusions of the Scroll, when traced, do provide information which assists in understanding the Scroll, and which makes contextual sense.”

However, Kittel’s observation is worth mentioning here:

The author of the Hodayot composed his work almost entirely with biblical vocabulary. ... While the poet obviously knew the OT well enough to use its most unusual words and idioms, these are usually employed in contexts or with meanings slightly different from the OT. This indicates some facility to compose poetry in Hebrew, rather than mere awkward combination of biblical expressions. This conclusion is further reinforced by the intricate structures of the poems, which are not copied directly from the OT.

47 Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 303).
49 Chester (1988: 146-7).
51 Kittel (1981: 52).
A significant contribution to this area of study has been made by Daniel Patte. He discovers that the use of Scripture designated as anthological is largely characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” He also asserts that a special group of hymns (IQH 3:3-18; 5:5-19; 5:20-7:5; 8:4-9:36) presents a structural use of Scripture, employing “typology” and an exegetical method akin to that of midrash. His analysis confirms his own assumption that there is a conscious use of Scripture in these hymns. It is to be noted that these hymns have been attributed to the Teacher.

Brooke’s essay offers another insight into how one of the Hodayot has made use of the Hebrew Scriptures. At the outset he posits that “implicit biblical interpretation is particularly a feature of poetic and liturgical texts.” He then shows how Isaiah 53 is deliberately used in the hymn in IQH 4, which happens to be one of the hymns attributed to the Teacher. According to Brooke, the author of the hymn identified himself with the suffering servant of Isaiah in his personal struggles. In short, the hymn is modelled on the Isaiah passage and does not attest to the use of biblical language out of context.

In summary, recent scholars have reached the conclusion that there is a deliberate use of Scripture in some of the Hodayot. If Patte’s and Brooke’s analyses are correct, there are significant differences in the use of Scripture between the “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns.” Attention must then be given to the use of Scripture in the hymns of IQH 10-17:36.

2.6 Conclusion

The Hodayot collection is not as uniform as it might at first appear to be. It is now widely accepted that the Hodayot can be classified into two categories: “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns.” The list of hymns attributed to the Teacher varies among scholars. Individual scholars themselves might have changed their own list of “Teacher Hymns” for one reason or other. For example, Stegemann started with seven “Teacher Hymns” in his dissertation and now goes as far as to accept seventeen hymns from columns 1 to 11 in his recent book. The following is a summary of the hymns attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness. The highlighted hymns are the ones accepted by all the aforementioned scholars as “Teacher Hymns.” The hymn that has been unanimously accepted by the scholars as a

54 Brooke (1990a: 168).
Arguments for the Teacher’s authorship of these hymns are deduced from internal and external criteria. The internal criteria many scholars have used are primarily form-critical and linguistic analyses, assuming that writings by the same author would tend to bear distinctive traits of content, vocabulary, and style. As for external criteria, the majority of scholars assert that the author’s account of his distress and sufferings correspond quite well to the information mentioned in the other Qumram literature, and particularly in the Pesharim and the CD. They have thus concluded that since the Teacher of Righteousness is described as suffering from persecution, and the author of these hymns also speaks of his own suffering, the two must be the same.

The following is a summary of the features characteristic of the “Teacher Hymns” as proposed by the aforementioned scholars. A few comments are appropriate here. Although Morawe, Holm-Nielsen, Tanzer have analysed and examined the Hodayot not for the problem of authorship, their findings have brought out some salient features of the “Teacher Hymns.” Their approaches to the study of the Hodayot may

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Jeremias</th>
<th>Becker</th>
<th>Kuhn</th>
<th>Stegemann</th>
<th>Schulz</th>
<th>Tanzer</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
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</table>

55 The numberings used by the scholars have been converted to agree with the numbering used in this dissertation.

offer further criteria for distinguishing “Teacher Hymns” from “Community Hymns.”

**Distinctive Features of the “Teacher Hymns”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Proposed by Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Similar Form and Structure</td>
<td>Morawe, Becker, Schulz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Extensive/Similar Use of Biblical Language</td>
<td>Holm-Nielsen, Stegemann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Individual ‘I’ vs Collective ‘they’</td>
<td>Becker, Schulz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Linguistic Peculiarity</td>
<td>Jeremias, Becker, Schulz, Douglas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Motif of “Salvation Bringer”</td>
<td>Jeremias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Abundance of Strong Images</td>
<td>Jeremias, Schulz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Distress Reports</td>
<td>Jeremias, Becker, Kuhn, Schulz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Motif of “Mediator of Revelation”</td>
<td>Kuhn, Schulz</td>
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<tr>
<td>- experience of special revelation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Unusual Claims of Authority, Status and Significance</td>
<td>Jeremias, Schulz, Stegemann, Douglas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Interpreter of the Torah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Founder of the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Commonly Used Designations for the Enemies</td>
<td>Schulz, Stegemann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lack of Wisdom Elements</td>
<td>Tanzer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Signature Phrase θ</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
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</table>

Many scholars have employed linguistic usage as a means of showing the uniformity of the “Teacher Hymns.” Jeremias is a major proponent of this approach. He argues that a list of words or concepts appear almost exclusively in his
“thanksgiving psalms.” The list gives further evidence to his hypothesis that these hymns should belong together and comprise the “Teacher Hymns.” However, his tables are in some ways misleading. As one looks meticulously at his list of concepts and the hymns in which those concepts are found, one would be surprised to discover that those concepts are not uniformly distributed among his list of “Teacher Hymns,” as outlined in the following table:

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<td>10</td>
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For example, יְשׁ is cited as occurring six times in the “Teacher Hymns” while it appears only twice in the remaining hymns. But all the occurrences of יְשׁ are found only in one “Teacher Hymn,” that is, 16:5-41. The only word that appears in all the “Teacher Hymns” is the verb יְשׁ, which is commonly used in the rest of the Hadayot as well as in the Hebrew Scriptures. More importantly, the lexical items Jeremias has listed are only counted but not weighed. In other words, Jeremias’ tables only give ‘quantity’ and not ‘quality.’

Furthermore, the interrelationship of the “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias is not so uniform either, as shown below.

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<td>2 5 17 4</td>
<td>13 17</td>
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</table>

Using Jeremias’ list of words, the above table shows the number of lexical affinities among the “Teacher Hymns.” For instance, 10:1-21 shows 3 cases of lexical similarity with 10:33-41, 5 with 11:1-19, 5 with 12:6-13:6, 3 with 13:7-21, 6 with 13:22-15:8, 1 with 15:9-28, 3 with 16:5-41. 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-41, two of the longest hymns in the Hadayot, have 17 cases of linguistic correspondence and are the only two hymns that show a higher degree of lexical affinity whereas 11:1-19 has only 1 word (i.e. the verb יְשׁ) in common with 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6 and 15:9-28. In short, Jeremias’ criterion of the linguistic pecularity of the “Teacher Hymns,” as just briefly shown, does not stand on as firm ground as it appears to do.

It must be said that there is no internal evidence which can establish beyond question the authorship of the hymns. In stark contrast to the Pesharim and the War Scroll, there are no contemporary historical references in these hymns. Drawing out historical details from these hymns we must then be very cautious. This much may be said, that the author might have been a person of influence within the Qumran community, a man on whom the eyes of both friends and enemies were focused. He also claimed to be the mediator of revelation, the one to whom God has revealed his mysteries. The miseries and troubles described in the hymns fit well with the persecutions described in the Habakkuk pesher. This points to authorship by a prominent leader of the Qumran community. All these make the Teacher a likely candidate. However, an answer can only be given on the basis of a much detailed analysis of the hymns of 1QH 10-17:36.
CHAPTER THREE
THE “I” OF 1QH 10-17:36 AND THE ENEMIES

Having examined the criteria for distinguishing the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns,” attention must now turn to the interrelationship of the hymns within columns 10-17:36 of 1QH. An extensive lexical analysis of the Hodayot must be carried out in order to determine whether all the presumed Hymns of the Teacher, that is, hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, are indeed so different from the “Community Hymns.” The statistics are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Teacher Hymns”</th>
<th>Total Lexical Items</th>
<th>Lexical Items unique to the hymn</th>
<th>Use of Lexical Items only in 1QH 10-17:36</th>
<th>Use of Lexical Items outside of 1QH 10-17:36</th>
<th>Common Stock of Lexical Items</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:1-21</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>68% (27, 32, 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:22-32</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>66% (38, 20, 8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:33-41</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>72% (39, 30, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:1-19</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>52% (27, 22, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20-37</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>67% (29, 32, 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:38-12:5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>76% (38, 29, 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:6-13:6</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>73% (23, 47, 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:7-21</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>61% (32, 23, 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:22-15:8</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>63% (22, 34, 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:9-28</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>74% (26, 38, 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:29-36</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>90% (24, 62, 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:37-16:4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>87% (39, 48, 0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:5-17:36</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>64% (22, 38, 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few comments are in line here. All reconstructed texts are excluded from the above calculation. There are three more percentages in the last column, showing whether the common stock of lexical items used in the hymn occurs more often within or outside of 1QH 10-17:36. For instance, 10:22-32 consists of 107 lexical items and 71 of them (66%) occur in other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 as well as in the hymns outside of it. Out of these 71 lexical items, 41 (38%) occur more often in other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 than those hymns outside of it\(^1\) while 21 (20%) occur more often in the hymns outside of 1QH 10-17:36 than in other hymns within

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\(^1\) E.g., אֵז occurs 6 times in 10:22-32, 26 times in other hymns within 10-17:36 and only 9 times outside of it.
it,\textsuperscript{2} and 9 lexical items (8\%) have the same number of occurrences in the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 and outside of it. These statistics would suggest that 10:22-32 is closer to other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 than to the hymns outside of it.

With the exception of 15:29-36, each “Teacher Hymn” seems to be employing more lexical items with other “Teacher Hymns” than with the “Community Hymns.” Not only does 15:29-36 show fewer lexical items common to the “Teacher Hymns” (only 2\%), but also uses items occurring more often in the “Community Hymns” than in other “Teacher Hymns” (62\% vs 24\%), suggesting that 15:29-36 is more of a “Community Hymn.” This confirms the impression expressed by many scholars.

As indicated in the fourth column of the table, the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 indeed appear to share a common set of lexical items. As will be shown in this Chapter and the next one, two groups of hymns can be identified in 1QH 10-17:36. Group I consists of 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6, 13:7-21 while Group II comprises 11:1-19, 11:20-37, 11:38-12:5, 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, 15:37-16:4, 16:5-17:36. The first set of hymns all falls within columns 10 and 13, except that the hymns in column 11 belong to the second group. The hymns of Group I share a number of lexical and syntactic features, and bear distinctive traits of vocabulary, content, and style. The focus of the hymns is on the author and his relationships to his enemies.

A few words must be said about the division of the hymns. Two structural markers can be discerned in the \textit{Hodayot}: independent pronouns and \textit{vacats}. Carmignac places strong emphasis on these devices in his study of the poetic conventions of the \textit{Hodayot}.\textsuperscript{3} Kittel however argues,

Unfortunately, the use of spaces by the copyists is not as clear as Carmignac would have readers believe. Marginal fitting was practiced by Qumran scribes, and has been observed in this scroll. However, it is not automatically possible to ascribe a space left in the scroll either to marginal fitting or else to strophic arrangement, as Carmignac suggests. His comments on the strategic use of independent pronouns are greatly to the point, and indeed these are one of the most valuable indicators of division between strophes or stanzas.\textsuperscript{4}

Kittel’s comment has its merit but the use of \textit{vacats} in some cases does indicate a division. Therefore, it seems unwise to ignore this device completely. In the determination of the stanza units, Kittel places much more weight on the structure than on the content, just as she says, “Certainly, theme development is tied to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} E.g., \textit{יוֹנָה} occurs twice in 10:22-32, 17 times in the hymns outside of 10-17:36 and only 8 times within it.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Carmignac (1959-60b: 515-32).
\item \textsuperscript{4} Kittel (1981: 17; see also Martin 1958: 110-11).
\end{itemize}
structure, but unfortunately, themes themselves provide little help in elucidating structure. ... Instead, it is usually a solid understanding of the poem’s structure which elucidates the poem’s theme and solves problems. But how can one understand the structure of the text without also taking into consideration its contents and themes? It must be emphasized that structure and content are inseparable. What the text says (i.e. its content) and how it says (i.e. its structure) are interwoven so as to give meaning. The structure and content of the hymn should then be borne in mind while attempting to divide it into sections.

3.1 1QH 10:1-21

3.1.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 2:1-19 (plate 36); SHR 190413
1QH 10:5-9 = 4Q432 frg. 3:1-5
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 160-2

| [1] | 1 |
| [2] | 2 |
| [3] | 3 |
| [4] | 4 |
| [5] | 5 |
| [6] | 6 |
| [7] | 7 |

פועסל שָׁלֹה לֶכְלָי הָוָה שֶׁמֶנֶּהodule=200 | הקוד המֶּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּּם


6 The lacunae are shown schematically by lines enclosed with square brackets and any letters that have been erased are enclosed by curly brackets.

7 בינו is an interlinear insertion above the word אֲמָה which is singled out for deletion by means of dots above and below it. This is confirmed by 4Q432 frg. 3:2.

8 Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 122) have taken הָוָה as having the meaning “threat”; “hanwāḥ as usually translated by ‘destruction, evil desire.’ W. F. Albright points out that in Ugaritic the root hwāt means ‘deed’ or word’ like Hebrew dabār. This meaning would greatly improve the sense of a number of biblical passages in which הָוָה is used with verbs of speech (cf. Ps 38 13, 52 4). In 1QH 36.36 [= 10:38] we find מָפְרָד הָוָה רַמַּס, which suggests the meaning ‘threats’” (see also Glanzman 1952: 510), the translation taken up here. Sukenik transcribed שָׁמֵעָה but the present writer fails to see these letters on the photographic plate.
14. Delcor reads שֶׁמֶנֶּה יְהִי הָאָדָם לְעַצָּמָיו 9 יְהִי בְּחַדָּא נְשָׁמָּה פֶּן עָנָי לֹא לְהַקִּפֵּץ אֶלָּה. 15. This restores the present and ְכּוּרְבָּם צְרָא עַד עִדּוּ הַלֶּאֱוַּדַּיִילָה לֵיהַ בְּחָיָי לָא יְבִיא פֶּן מַלָּכָה.

[ ] 16. This legitimizes אָמַת הָלָהָדָא אֵלָה אֵשׁ בְּרֵי תְלָלַיָא תַּמָּא מִלַּיָא מַלָּכָה 17. אִם הַמַּלֵּךְ וְרָבָּה מִלַּיָא אֶתָּה לָךְ קַמָּא הַנְּפֶלֶנֶּה מֵהַרְשׁוּת הַלֶּאֱוַּדַּיִילָה 18. אֵאָנָא רָשָׁא עַל יִדְּקִי הִמְּשׁה מִתְּנֵי וְרָבָּה מֵהַרְשׁוּת בֶּלִילַיָא 19. מֶשׁפֶּה בַּלְּאָבָא 10 מבְּרֵי לָךְ מִלַּיָא מִלַּיָא מַלָּכָה. 20. The versions differ here regarding whether the text should be שֶׁמֶנֶּה or מִלַּיָא מַלָּכָה.

1.  ]
2.  ]
3. [ ] cbv [ 4. ] 'a' 6[ 5. ] You have made straight in my heart all the deeds of injustice 6. [ and You] placed [truth before my eyes and the reprovers of righteousness in all h][ 7. [ ] crushed by [flows of the comforters of[... ] and proclaimers of joy for the mourning of [my so]row,
8. [proclaiming pe][ace to all threat[... ] the strong, to dissolve my heart,
9. and those who make firm [strength ] (9) before [affliction].
And you have given a reply of the tongue to my uncircumcised lips,
10. and you have supported my soul by strengthening (my) loins (10) and making firm (my) strength,
and you have made my footsteps stand firm in the border of wickedness.

I have become a snare for the transgressors,
11. but a healing for all (11) those who turn from transgression,
prudence for the simple, and a steadfast purpose for all the anxious at heart.

12. And you have made me a reproach (12) and a derision for traitors,

9 הנשאיל is not found in the Hebrew Bible but used in the Rabbinic literature, see Jastrow (1926: 897).
11 Various readings on this line have been suggested. Bardtke (1956b: 590), Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 124), Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar (1997: 162), Licht (1957: 68), Lohse (1971: 116) and Maier (1960: 75) supply a ו and read רבְּרָי, and understand it as having a third person singular suffix rather than a first person suffix. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 32) also reads רבְּרָי but takes the ו from הַלֶּאֱוַּדַּיִילָה. He further takes the second ו to go with the following word and proposes to read: רבְּרָי תְלָלַיָא. He appears to have understood תְלָלַיָא to be an equivalent to וְלָמָּטֵר. Carmignac (1961: 187), Jeremias (1963: 194) and Tanzer (1986: 108) have the same reading. Two reasons speak against this reading. First, the use of וְלָמֵר in Hiphil with the complement introduced by בְּרָי is not attested in the Bible. Second, תְלָלַיָא, the defective writing of the noun תְלָלַיָא, is not found elsewhere in the Hodayot nor in the Bible.

The above readings are engendered by the assumption that רבְּרָי, the man just mentioned, is the author himself and a third person singular suffix is required to agree with its antecedent. This is not necessary if one takes רבְּרָי as referring not to the author but to the one whom God has instructed by the author. Therefore, I retain the original reading רבְּרָי. So is Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 32) who renders: "and they cast into the pit the life of the man, whom Thou hast established through my mouth" (see also Delcor 1962: 98; Williams 1991: 117; Wise-Abegg-Cook 1996: 92; Douglas 1998: 113).

12 Sukenik transcribed רבְּרָי but the final letter could be a (see Delcor 1962: 98; Tanzer 1986: 108; Douglas 1998: 113).
(but) a counsel of truth and understanding for the upright of way.
And on account of the iniquity of the wicked,
13. I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men,
scorners gnash (their) teeth.
And I have become a taunt-song for the transgressors,
14. and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the seas
when their waves rush forth,
15. mire (15) and mud they cast up.
And you have made me a banner to the chosen of righteousness,
and an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries,
16. to test (16) [ ] truth and to try those who love discipline.
And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error,
17. [ ] Jwm to all those who see right things.
And I have become a zealous spirit against all those who seek sm[ooth things]
18. and the plots of Belial13 [ ] (19) their thoughts.
And they have cast to the pit the life of the man
whom you have established through my mouth, and taught.
20. And you have placed understanding in my heart
to open a fountain of knowledge to all those who understand;
21. but they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip (21) and foreign tongue of a people
without understanding, ruined in their mistake. vacat

3.1.2 Structure and Content

This hymn undoubtedly ends at line 21 as the line is completed some distance
before the left-hand margin and the introductory formula of the following hymn, אד והא דאדי
appears at line 22, but the top of column 10 is so mutilated that one
cannot say with certainty where the hymn begins. The hymn shows a difference of
style and content from the one in the previous column and is thus unlikely to be the
continuation of the previous hymn.14 More likely, the hymn has its beginning in one
of the first few lines of this column.15

The recurring verbal form of רת ה (10, 12, 13, 16, 17) and שד (11, 15, 20) stands
out and the following structure emerges:

A. 1(?)-10a : Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.

13 The expression מותק ממלכת כדיל can also be translated as “worthless plots.” The word
may refer to the proper name “Belial” or the noun “worthlessness.” The author may have been
intended to use the word with a double meaning, suggesting that Belial stands behind all worthless
plots and deeds.


Stegemann’s reconstruction and places the introductory formula רת ה אד וה אדוה כ דאדי before
in line 5. Gaster (1957: 135) supplies the formula in line 4.
B. 10b-19d: Main section in which the author describes his relationship to both the wicked and the righteous using the following structural patterns:
- סָפָר (10)
- בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (11), בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (12)
- בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (13)
- בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (15), בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (16)
- בּוִינֵי הָרָעָה (17)

C. 19e-21: The conclusion opens with בְּשָׁמַיָּהו וּבְשָׁמַיָּהו and describes the unfaithfulness of the wicked and their subsequent downfall.

The hymn opens with a lengthy description of the author's relationship with God and speaks about how the author has been strengthened by God even in face of affliction. The gracious dealing of God towards the author is mentioned in order to give grounds for thanksgiving in this opening section of the hymn.

From line 8 onwards, the focus falls upon the author himself. This section is clearly structured around a comparison between the role which the author is to play for the righteous and that which he is for the wicked. The first paragraph, 10b-11c, places the emphasis on the author's positive relationship with the righteous while the next two, 11d-15a and 15b-19d, stress his negative relationship with the wicked. Noteworthy is the use of numerous names in designating the wicked: מְשָׁפְעָה “transgressors” (10c, 13d), מְסִרָיו “traitors” (12a), נְעַרְבּא “ruthless men” (13a), מְפַרְצֹת “assembly of the wicked” (14a), מְלַטְצֹת “interpreters of error” (16d), נְבָנֶג “those who seek smooth things” (17d), מְנַעַר “men of deceit” (18a). In stark contrast to the description of the wicked, the righteous are described as: שֶׁבֶר מָשֶׁחַ “those who turn from transgression” (11a), מְהַלְּחִי הָלָב “the simple” (11b), מְאָרָיו לָבָב “the anxious at heart” (11c), מְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר “the upright of way” (12b), מְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר “those who love discipline” (16b), מְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר “those who see right things” (17b). Furthermore, the use of מְשָׁרֵי with first person singular suffix underscores the fact that it is God who has made the author a reproach and a banner at the same time. Paragraphs 11d-15a and 15b-19d both end with a detailed portrayal of the attack of the wicked and are closely tied together by repeating the following similar structure:

10:14 מְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the seas

10:18 מְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר וּמְשָׁרֵי חַדָּר
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me
[m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters

The final section begins with another בְּשָׁמַיָּהו, emphasizing again that the author is the instrument of God for opening the fountain of knowledge to the people. Echoing the
terms ‘lips’ and ‘tongue’, the last line of the section makes an inclusio with the introduction:

10:9   חותנ מнятие כלשין אל-으רה סמה
and you have given a reply of the tongue to my uncircumcised lips

10:20-21  רמייהה במודטל שמה עשוה אוחרת
but they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip and foreign tongue

The use of Scripture in this hymn is evident. The phrase "strengthening (my) loins and making firm (my) strength" at 10:9 draws on the language of Nah 2:2, where the same is found, חותנ מнятие אמן הב כאור. Even more, the attack of the wicked described in 10:14-15 is an allusion to Isa 57:20:

10:14-15 アルיל קוקלך ישמש והרגת ידוע מגימל לים
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me, and they roar like the storms of the sea when their waves rush forth, mire and mud they cast up.

Isa 57:20  וודסיטו לכ נגש כי הדקפס לא יוכל
But the wicked are like the tossing sea, for it cannot rest, and its waters cast up mire and mud.

Remarkable is the use of Isa 28:11 and Hos 4:14 in portraying the unfaithfulness of the wicked, as depicted below:

10:20-21  רמייהה במודטל שמה עשוה אוחרת לא בכרת חלובים צמיתה
But they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip and foreign tongue of a people without understanding, ruined in their mistake

Isa 28:11  רכ בלווהת שמה בלוש אחור רבר אלו חטם ווה
for, with stammering lip and with foreign tongue he will speak to this people.

Hos 4:14c  שמ לא-ירבדן כלב
and a people without understanding comes to ruin.

It is almost certain that the motif of foreign tongue is an allusion to Isa 28:11 and the motif of stumbling without understanding is taken from Hos 4:14.

3.1.3 Literary Affinity

Among the hymns that show lexical similarities with this hymn, 10:1-21 has a much closer affinity with 12:6-13:6. The hiphil participle of מָלֵין, מִלֵּין), occurs nine times in the Hodayot. The word occurs four times in the Bible. It is usually translated ‘interpreter’ in Gen 42:23, where the passage describes how Joseph fools his brothers and communicates with them by means of an interpreter (מַלֵּין). The plural form of מִלֵּין in Is 43:27 seems to be referring to the authoritative figures of
Israel. They might have been God's priests and prophets, those speaking to the people on God's behalf. The mediatorial role of מִלְּלֵי can be discerned in Job 33:23, where Elihu speaks of an angel or a messenger מִלְּלֵי, and at the same time a מִלְּלֵי, who shows man what is right and speaks to God on man's behalf. The last occurrence of מִלְּלֵי is in 2 Chr 32:31, where the word represents ambassadors or envoys sent by the rulers of Babylon. In all four cases, מִלְּלֵי is used in a non-pejorative sense. Very striking is the use of מִלְּלֵי in construct form and with pejorative noun in designating the enemies of the author in these hymns:

10:16 וְזָקַנְתִּי אֲשֶׁר רָאָתי לְעַלֵּסְתֵּכֶם אֲשֶׁר כָּאָמָרָה לְעַלֵּסְתֵּכֶם.
And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error

12:8 וַעֲבֹדֵי מִלְּלֵי מָעַרְתִּי [מַעֲרַתָּו] And interpreters of deceit [have led them astray]

12:10-11 וַעֲבֹדֵי מִלְּלֵי בְּנֵי נַחֲלָה רָמָה And they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit

12:21 וְעָבֹדֵי מִלְּלֵי לא יִמְסָרֵּא שָׁם And seers of error will be found no more

Worth noting is that מִלְּלֵי, occurring four times in the Hadayot, is found in this hymn (10:16) as well as in 12:6-13:6 (ll. 12:13, 17, 21). The verbal form of מִלְּלֵי is used only in these two hymns as well (10:17; 12:11, 21).

The motifs of stumbling without understanding and of foreign tongue, which are used in describing the enemies of the author, are distinctive to 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6. The use of מְרָד in describing the opponents' unfaithfulness is also found in these two hymns.

10:20-21 וְהָעֲבֹדֵי מַעֲרַת וְזָקַנְתִּי אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לִבְּאֵרְךָ לִבְּאֵרְךָ נַעֲמָהָם בְּאֵרְךָ בֲּעַלָּבִית בְּאֵרְךָ בַּעֲשָׁרְךָ מְרָדָם But they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip and foreign tongue of a people without understanding, ruined in their mistake

12:8 וַעֲבֹדֵי מַעֲרַת בֵּיתָם and they have come to ruin without understanding

12:11-12 וַעֲבֹדֵי מַעֲרַת וְזָקַנְתִּי אֲשֶׁר חָקַשְׁתִּי בְּאֵרְךָ בְּאֵרְךָ בַּעֲשָׁרְךָ מְרָדָם to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart, for the smooth things to your people

12:17 וְזָקַנְתִּי אֲשֶׁר הֲקָנָה אֲשֶׁר יָזַרְתִּיевичוּלָם לִבְּאֵרְךָ מְרָדָם And they, [with stammering lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people

As shown above, these two motifs are allusions to Isa 28:11 and Hos 4:14. They are used only in these two hymns and not attested elsewhere in the DSS corpus. Their similar use of Scripture makes it even likely that there is literary dependence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6.
Another similarity is the use of "מוֹהֵם בְּלִילָתְךָ, מַחְשָׁבָה בְּלִילָתְךָ" in portraying the wicked plans of Belial. Remarkably, the word "מַחְשָׁבָה בְּלִילָתְךָ" occurs only within columns 10-15 and the motif of the plots of Belial is found only in these two hymns.

10:18 and the plots of Belial ...
12:13-14 For you, O God, despise every plan of Belial
12:14-15 But they are dissemblers, the devices of Belial they plan

A final correspondence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 is the author’s same declaration of having received wonderful mysteries. In both cases, the emphasis is placed on the fact that it is God who has caused the author to know His mysteries:

10:15 "וַתֻּמֶּשׁנִי כְּבָד הַיָּמִם וְאָדַם מְשַׁפְּרָם אֵלֶּה בֵּית בֵּית" And you have made me a banner to the chosen of righteousness, and an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries
12:28-9 "כִּי רָדֹדְתָּני בְּבַרְבּוֹתֵי סַלָּמֲאָה" For you have caused me to know the mysteries of your wonders

In summary, there are seven cases of significant correspondence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6: 1. "מַחְשָׁבָה בְּלִילָתְךָ" + pejorative noun; 2. מְשַׁפְּרָם, a word distinctive to these two hymns and unattested in the Hebrew Bible; 3. the motif of stumbling without understanding; 4. the motif of foreign tongue; 5. מָרָר; 6. the plots of Belial; 7. the motif of receiving wonderful mysteries. Their linguistic and thematic similarities would point to literary dependence or the same authorship as a strong possibility.

3.2 1QH 10:22-32

3.2.1 Hebrew Text and Translation
Sukenik Col. 2:20-30 (plate 36); SHR 190413
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 162

16 Sukenik’s transcription of מַכַּפְּרָם has made it difficult to interpret this line. Commentators tend to treat it as a scribal error and emend the text to כָּפְּרָם (Bardtke 1956b: 591; Delcor 1962: 105; Douglas 1998: 119; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 34; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 40; Knibb 1988: 168; Licht 1957: 71; Lohse 1971: 118; Wallenstein 1950: 5). However, without emending the text, one can take...
22. I give you thanks, O Lord,
for you have placed my soul in the pouch of the living
23. and you have fenced me off from all the snares of the pit.18
[for] ruthless men sought my soul
24. when I held fast (24) to your covenant.

And they are a council of worthlessness and a congregation of Belial,
they do not know that from you is my stand
25. and that by your lovingkindness you save my soul, for from you is my step.
26. And they, it is from you that they have assailed (26) my soul
so that you may be honoured by the judgement of the wicked
and that you might manifest your power through me
27. before the sons of (27) man, for in your lovingkindness is my stand.

And I said, mighty men have encamped against me,
28. surrounding with all (28) their weapons of war.
And arrows have burst forth without cure
and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees.
29. And like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice,
cloudburst and thunderstorm to destroy many.
30. To the stars19 burst out (30) wickedness and worthlessness when their waves splash up.

it as a Qal participle, כְּבָלָם since ו and י are almost written identically in the Hodayot, the same reading proposed by other scholars (see Carmignac 1961: 189; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 162; Kittel 1981: 40; Lohfink 1990: 49; Tanzer 1986: 60).

17 Sukenik and Garcia Martínez transcribed דָּרָשׁ but it can be seen that a ו was written immediately before דָּרָשׁ. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 34), Wallenstein (1950: 9), Lohse (1971: 118) and Kittel (1980: 34) have the same reading. The occurrence of this phrase in Isa 30:30 makes this even more likely.

18 Here the majority of scholars translate דָּרָשׁ as “pit.” Murphy (1958a: 61-66) argues vigorously that דָּרָשׁ should connote something more than “Pit.” The Qumran writers, as he points out, might have borrowed the biblical concept of דָּרָשׁ but adapted it for their particular usage, even pouring new meaning into the term. He then proposes that the term should be taken in the sense of moral corruption at Qumran. Murphy is commendable for drawing our attention to the fact that in some cases the context speaks more in favor of this meaning. Whether the idea of “moral corruption” should be applied to all the occurrences of דָּרָשׁ, however, is highly questionable. Even more, his analysis does show that the idea of death and the nether world is still very much intact at Qumran.

In point of fact, other scholars, among whom Tromp and Wächter may be mentioned, suggest that the usage of דָּרָשׁ in Qumran literature corresponds somewhat to the OT usage, and that it is used in the senses “Pit” and “corruption” (Tromp 1969: 69; Wächter 1993: 1248). Thus it seems necessary to determine the meaning of דָּרָשׁ from its context. Of special significance is the use of דָּרָשׁ here. In light of the whole context, דָּרָשׁ is to be taken as a parallel to the preceding line. The context points to the traditional idea of “pit” as most probable.

19 Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 40) renders, “By repeated crushings,” on the basis of Isa 59:5, where it says, תְּמוּנָת תְּמוּנָת מַרְדֹּאָה. So are Kittel (1981: 35) and Williams (1991: 140). Although this line draws on the language of Isa 59:5, the word מַרְדֹּאָה apparently has a close connection to מַרְדֹּאָה “constellations” at Job 38:32 and this meaning seems to fit the context better here (see Garcia...
And I, when my heart dissolves like water, my soul holds fast to your covenant.

31. But they, the net which they spread for me has captured their feet, and the snares which they set up secretly for my soul have fallen upon them. But my foot stands on level ground,

32. from their assembly I will bless your name. vacat

3.2.2 Structure and Content

This is one of the most complete and well preserved hymns in the Hodayot. Both the beginning and the end of the hymn can be clearly ascertained. The standard introductory formula, אֲדֹנָי אֲדֹנָי is indented to the middle of line 22 and the rest of line 32 is left blank after the word ובשע. There is only one small lacuna in the middle of line 23, and many scholars suggest to restore כ.20

This hymn is well structured and characterised by the use of independent pronouns and its structure is as follows:

B. 24b-30: Main section in which the author is set in opposition to his enemies and the contrast is achieved through the changing of independent pronouns and זה (24, 25) and הוא (27, 30).
C. 31-32: The conclusion describes the author’s victory over his enemies.

The opening line of the hymn has a pattern characteristic of the majority of the Hodayot within columns 10-17: אֲדֹנָי אֲדֹנָי + כ + אֲדֹנָי אֲדֹנָי + a second masculine singular perfect verb. The author offers thanks to God for His protection, giving a statement of intent to praise God. Remarkable is the frequent use of תּוֹמָשַׁי (II. 22, 23, 25, 30, 31) as a circumlocution for the author himself.

The main section begins with זה at line 24 and sets the focus on the enemies. Specific names for the wicked, for example,erot הַכְּנֹשְׁתָּל “congregation of Belial,” are used. The enemies are mentioned but only as a means of emphasizing the author’s relationship with God. On three occasions, the author uses כ with a nominal clause (II. 24, 25, 26) and states that despite the presence of his enemies, it is God who has made him stand firm. The second half of the section is balanced by two paragraphs. The fierce attacks of the enemies are portrayed vividly in apocalyptic terms, such as the battle imagery and the image of the destructive waters. The section ends with the author’s declaration of his trust in God’s covenant. The


strategic use of הרָדָה at the end of the section (10:30) echoes the introductory lines where the author declares his holding fast to the covenant of God (10:23d-24a).

The final section is marked by the use of בָּשָׂמֶה and describes the enemies’ vain attempt to set a trap against the author. The hymn is rounded off by the author’s vow to praise God.

The dense use of biblical language is quite evident in this hymn. The sentence “ruthless men sought my soul” at 10:23 is taken either from Ps 54:5 or from Ps 86:14. Remarkable is the skilful use of Isa 30:30 and Jer 51:55 in 10:28-29, as depicted below:

10:28-29
וְלִגְלַחְתּ בְּחֵם בָּשָׂמֶה וְרָסָמֶה שָׂאָמֶךָ בֶּלֶם
נִפְסָק וְחָפִים לְחַשָּׂתָךְ רָבָּים
and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees.
And like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice, cloudburst and thunderstorm to destroy many.

Jer 51:55
כְּרָשָׁרָה יְהוָה אֶתְרוֹבֵּל אֶבָּאָר מַחְצַת חִלָּת דָּוִיד
וְהָרָה נִלְתָּחָה חָטָא בְּדִינֵי שָׂאָמֶךָ מַלֵּךְ
For the LORD is laying Babylon waste, and stilling her mighty voice.
Their waves roar like many waters, the din of their voice is raised.

Isa 30:30
וְהָמְסַמֵּר יְהוָה אֶתְרוֹבֵּל כֹּלָּה נַחֵה הָרְוָט יְרָאָה
בּוֹטֵחַ אֵל מִלְחֶם אֵין אֶבֶרֶךָ מַפְתַּח חַלְחֲלָה מַגַּר
And the LORD will cause his majestic voice to be heard
and the descending blow of his arm to be seen,
in furious anger and a flame of devouring fire,
with a cloudburst and tempest and hailstones.

The point to be emphasized is that the first line of 10:28-29 draws on the language of Isa 30:30, the second line alludes to Jer 51:55, and the third is again based on Isa 30:30. This ‘inclusio’ use of Scripture is all the more striking. Finally, the last line of the hymn is a clear citation from Ps 26:12:

10:31a-32
רוֹבֵלַת מֵעָדַר בִּמְשַׁהְמָרֵךְ אַבְרָךְ שָׁמְךָ
But my foot stands on level ground, from their assembly I will bless your name.

Ps 26:12
רוֹבֵלַת מֵעָדַר בִּמְשַׁהְמָרֵךְ אַבְרָךְ יְהוָה
My foot stands on level ground; in the great congregation I will bless the LORD.

3.2.3 Literary Affinity

10:22-32 has a few similarities with 10:1-21. רָשִׂימִים, occurring twice in the Hadayot, is found only in these two hymns and used to describe the enemies of the author:

10:12-13
וָאֲרֵיהַ עַל עֵינֵי רָשִׂים רֹדָּה בָּשָׂמֶה רָשִׂים
And on account of the iniquity of the wicked,
I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men

Ruthless men sought my soul

Another affinity between these two hymns is the same motif of dissolving heart:

And I, when my heart dissolves like water, my soul holds fast to your covenant.

There are two syntactic parallels between 10:1-21 and 10:22-32.

The first parallel is the use of ב + infinitive + לָלַיְדוּתָם while the second one is the use of chaotic water imagery to describe the fierce attack of the enemies. דְּמֹר “roar, tumult, abundance” is used negatively and positively in the Hodayot. It is used to describe the abundance of God’s mercy on the one hand; on the other, it is used to describe the chaos of destructive waters. The use of דְּמֹר in the pejorative sense is found only in columns 10-14. More importantly, these constructions occur only in these two hymns and are not attested elsewhere in the DSS corpus.

Moreover, this hymn shows a number of similarities with 12:6-13:6. The most notable affinity between these two hymns is their prominent use of independent pronouns (10: 24, 25, 27, 30, 31; 12:7, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 31, 34, 36, 39, 41). Very striking is the use of דָּמָּה with a pejorative noun in these two hymns. More importantly, the word דָּמָּה, unattested outside columns 10-15, is used in conjunction with דָּמָּה. The following structural pattern is unique to 10:22-32 and 12:6-13:6:

דָּמָּה + Pejorative noun + Verb:

And they are a council of worthlessness and a congregation of Belial, they do not know

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21 Cf. 1QH 7:19; 12:37, 38; 14:12; 15:33, 38; 17:8, 34; possibly 13:4

22 Cf. 1QH 10:18, 29; 11:14, 15, 17; 11: 33, 35; 14:10.
12:10-11 And they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit, they have planned against me with Belial

12:14-15 But they are dissemblers, the devices of Belial they plan

The motif of dissolving heart is found in these two hymns:

10:30 when my heart dissolves like water

12:34 And my heart has dissolved like wax

A final strong correspondence between these two hymns is their use of the expression הָדַ֣בְדוּתֵי", underscoring the author's role and significance, as Douglas has shown. The author is God's instrument, a channel through whom God manifests his power before the sons of man.

10:26-7 and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man

12:9 and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me

12:24 they do not esteem me even as you manifest your power through me

In short, 10:22-32 has four linguistic affinities with 10:1-21: 1. חֶרְצִים; 2. the motif of dissolving heart; 3. נָהָרָה + infinitive + נָהָרָה; 4. נַפְלָלָה + נַפְלָלָה + נַפְלָלָה. This hymn also has four significant correspondences with 12:6-13:6: 1. the use of independent pronouns (אֵין, אָדָם, אָדָם); 2. נַפְלָלָה + perjorative noun + verb; 3. the motif of dissolving heart; 4. הָדַ֣בְדוּתֵי. All these thematic and structural similarities would suggest that there is literary dependence among these three hymns and they might have been the work of the same author.

3.3 IQH 10:33-41

3.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 2:31-39 (plate 36); SHR 190413
1QH 10:35-41 = 4Q428 frg. 20:1-9
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 162-4

ךָנַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי נַפְלָלָה בַּיְדֵי

35 לָשׁוֹם רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶپֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים אֵין רֶפֶם נִבְטָחֵהִים A final strong correspondence between these two hymns is their use of the expression הָדַ֣בְדוּתֵי", underscoring the author's role and significance, as Douglas has shown. The author is God's instrument, a channel through whom God manifests his power before the sons of man.
33. I give you thanks, O Lord, for your eye is focused upon my soul and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things.

[You] have ransomed the soul of the poor which they considered removing, by pouring his blood out upon your service; only that they [do not know] that from you is my step.

36. And they have made me a contempt and a reproach in the mouth of all those who seek deceitfulness. And you, my God, have helped the soul of the afflicted and the destitute against the hand of one stronger than he. And you have ransomed my soul from the hand of majestic ones and with their taunt you have not made me dismayed, so as to abandon your service for fear of destructions and to exchange a steadfast purpose for folly which

39. h[ ] new statutes and by testimonies given to (their) ears
40. [ ]ht to all [their] offspring
41. [ ] among your disciples

3.3.2 Structure and Content

Without the usual indentation, the opening formula of the hymn is set at the right-hand margin of line 33. The last few lines of this column and the first five lines of the next column are full of gaps, making it difficult to determine the end of the hymn. It is possible that this hymn does not end in column 10 but extends to 11:19. The majority of the scholars however take 10:33-41 as one hymn because the structure and content of this hymn is so different from those of column 11. The structure of the hymn is outlined as follows:

A. 33-34a: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
B. 34b-41: Main section in which the author describes how God has not only delivered his life from the enemies but also kept him from
falling away. The last few lines of the column are so fragmentary that nothing certain can be made out of them.

3.3.3 Literary Affinity

Similar to the last two hymns, 10:33-41 has a number of lexical affinities with 12:6-13:6. More occurrences three times in the Hodayot and all its occurrences are found in these two hymns. Even more, the phrase מְלִיצֵי כּוֹב “interpreters of falsehood” occurs exclusively in these two hymns.

10:33

תָּצִירֵי מְלִיצֵי כּוֹב
and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood

12:10-11

רֹמָה מְלִיצֵי כּוֹב וֹתְרִי רִפָּה
and they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit

12:16-17

רֹבִיא לְרֹאשָׁהָ מֶרֶס בְּנֵי בּוּבֶל מֶמְשֵׁחַ וּתְהוֹת
and they have come to the one who seek you from the mouth of lying prophets, persuaded by error

There are two other words distinctive to these two hymns: הָשָׁלָל and הָלַךְ. The verbal form of מְרַד in describing the unfaithfulness of the author’s enemies is also used.

10:34

מֵעֶרֶד מְרַד הָלַךְ
and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things

10:38

הלָּחֶם בְּהָלָל יָרֵר סְמוֹךְ
and to exchange a steadfast purpose for folly

12:11-12

לְהָמָר הָרִיתָה אָשֶׁר שָׁנַה בָּלָבָב בָּהלָּכָה בָּלָבָב לַעֲמַדָּה
to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart, for the smooth things to your people

12:9

בְּהָלָל מְשִׁיתָה
in folly are their deeds

This hymn shows a few affinities with 10:1-21. מְרַד, occurring twice in the Hodayot, is distinctive to these two hymns. It should be noted that the use of מִשָּׁה with first person singular suffix is restricted to columns 10-15.

10:11-12

תֶּשֶׁמְמִין מְרַד הָלָּכָה לָבּוֹנִי
dead and you have made me a reproach and a derision for traitors

10:18

מִשָּׁה דְּמַי מְרַד הָלָּכָה מִי יָרֵר מֵאִז [68]
[68]: men of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters

10:35-36

תֶּשֶׁמְמִין לְוִלֵּד הָלָּכָה מִי יָרֵר מִי
dead and they have made me a contempt and a reproach in the mouth of all those who seek deceitfulness.

The use of מְלִיצֵי וּמְרַד with pejorative noun is also a feature characteristic of these two hymns. If מְלִיצֵי is the word at the end of line 17, another close parallel between these hymns is the expression מְרַד הָלָּכָה.
and I have become a zealous spirit against all those whose seek smooth things.

and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things

And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error

and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood

The use of קוב in this short hymn is worth mentioning. It is a feature so characteristic of the hymn 10:22-32, in which קוב is used six times (11.22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31). The following close correspondence between 10:1-21 and 10:22-32 should not go unnoticed because the prepositional phrase ממאראב={<4} is unique to them in the Hodayot:

for from you is my step

that from you is my step

In conclusion, 10:33-41 has four linguistic affinities with 12:6-13:6: 1. מלפיזב כוב; 2. וחלקה; 3. מודר; 4. והחלקה. It also has four cases of linguistic parallel to 10:1-21: 1. הוהד; 2. מיש + first person singular suffix; 3. והחלקה; 4. מודר + pejorative noun. There are two cases of correspondence between this short hymn and 10:22-32: the use of כמאראב and ממאראב. All these correspondences establish a literary link between these four hymns and the most probable explanation is to posit literary dependence.

3.4 IQH 12:6-13:6

3.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 4:5-5:4 (plate 38 & 39); frg. 43; SHR 190416, 4260A
1QH 12:14-20 = 4Q430 frg. 1:1-7
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 166-70

26 This word, occurring again in line 24 and 1QH 21:14, is not found in the Bible. Bardtke (1956b: 589) renders "zu ihrer Erleuchtung", taking it as a dual form of "ז" with an irregular third person plural suffix. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 42; similarly Carmignac 1961: 205; Deleor 1962: 138) reads א" with a dual form of "ז". Most scholars are probably right in taking it as a collocation of ה and מ and translate "perfect light" (cf. DeVries 1964-66: 392; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 1997: 166; Holm-Neilsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 204; Laurin 1958: 352; see also Vermes 1995:
the letter. followed by the 1956b: (Bardtke 4Q303).

This feature is uncommon in the Dead Sea Scrolls as Dr. Lim has pointed out (cf. DJD22 4Q303).

27 Sukenik transcribed רמאמה. Most scholars read רמאמה, believing that the writer omitted the נ (Bardtke 1956b: 595; Licht 1957: 92; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 42; Sonne 1950-51: 295; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 204; Maier 1960: 81; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 166), a reading followed by the present writer.

28 נ has been erased from the text and is singled out for deletion by means of dot above and below the letter.
6. I give you thanks, O Lord, for you have enlightened my face by your covenant and m[ ]
7. [ ] I shall seek you and as sure as dawn you have appeared to me as [perfect li]ght.

And they, your people [8. [ they have flattered them and interpreters of deceit [have led them astray]
and they have come to ruin without understanding, for [9. in folly are their deeds,
for I have been despised by them and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me.
10. For they have driven me away from my land like a bird from its nest, and all my friends and acquaintances have been driven away from me and they have regarded me as a broken vessel.

11. And they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit, they have planned against me with Belial, so as to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart,

12. for the smooth things to your people. And they have withheld the drink of knowledge from the thirsty, and for their thirst they have given them vinegar to drink,

13. in order to gaze upon their error, that they may behave madly at their feasts, that they may be caught in their nets.

14. For you, O God, despise every plan of Belial, and your counsel prevails and the purpose of your heart is established forever.

But they are dissemblers,

15. the devices of Belial they plan and they seek you with a double heart and they are not established in your truth.

A root producing poison and wormwood is in their thoughts

16. and with stubbornness of their heart they search, and they seek you among the idols, and the stumbling-block of their iniquity they set before their faces

17. and they have come (17) to the one who seek you from the mouth of lying prophets,

29 Most scholars have translated “they have driven me away,” taking this verb רצדו as a collective singular (Carmignac 1961: 206; deVries 1964-66: 392; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 169; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 205; Lohse 1971: 125; Sonne 1950-51: 295; Wise-Abegg-Cook 1996: 95). The immediate context, using verbs with plural subjects and giving a portrayal of the enemies, seems to suggest this reading. It is probable that there is a scribal error here and it should read רצדו. It is also possible that we have a defective writing here. However, this particular use is unattested elsewhere in the Hodayot. It may be an exception here. On balance, it seems better to take this as a collective singular.

30 Most scholars take לִשָּׁבֵשׁ as an infinitive with second person singular suffix, rendering “to seek you” (Carmignac 1961: 206; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 43; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997:
persuaded by error.

And they, [with stammering lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people,

18. in order to turn all their deeds to folly with deceit.  
For they have not chosen [י]kh  
and they do not give ear to your word.

19. For they said (19) of the vision of knowledge, ‘it is not sure!’,  
and of the way of your heart, ‘it is not that!’

20. But you, O God, will answer them by judging them (20) with your power  
[according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions,  
that they may be caught in their own plans,  
those who are estranged from your covenant.

21. And you will cut off all men of deceit by judgment  
and seers of error will be found no more.  
For there is no folly in all your deeds,  
22. and no deceit [in] the intention of your heart.  
And those who are in accordance with you shall stand before you forever,

23. and those who walk in the way of your heart (23) shall be established forever.

[As for me], when I hold fast to you,  
I stand upright and rise against those who despise me  
and my hands are against all those who scorn me;

24. for they do (24) not esteem [מ]e ven as you manifest your power through me  
and you appear to me in your strength as perfect light.

25. And you do not besmear with shame, the faces (25) of all [those who are] sought by me,  
those who are gathered together for your covenant.  
And those who walk in the way of your heart have listened to me.

26. And they arraigned before you (26) in the council of the holy ones.  
And you will bring forth their justice to victory and truth to uprightness.  
And you will not let them wander at the hand of the scoundrels

27. as they plot against them.  
And you will put the fear of them upon your people  
and a shattering for all the peoples of the lands,

28. to destroy by judgment all (28) those who trangress your word.  
But by me you have enlightened the faces of the Many,  
and have brought mighty witnesses without number.

29. For you have caused me to know the mysteries (29) of your wonders,  
and by your wonderful counsel you have strengthened my standing,  
and to do wonderful acts before the Many for the sake of your glory

30. and to make known (30) to all living things your mighty deeds.

What is flesh? Like this?  
and what is a creature of clay to do wonderful things?

31. and he is in iniquity (31) from womb and until old age in guilt of treachery.  
And I know that to man does not belong righteousness

32. nor to a son of man perfect (32) way.  
To God Most High belong all the deeds of righteousness,  
and the way of man is not established except by spirit has God formed him,

33. to perfect the way of the sons of man,  
in order that all his works may know the power of his might

34. and the abundance of his compassion upon all the sons of (34) his pleasure.

And I, dread and trembling have gripped me,  
and all my bones have broken,

Vermes 1995: 200). However, יִנְנָה should be the participle of יִנְנַה.
and my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire,
35. and my knees have gone (35) like water rushing down the slope.
   For I have remembered my guilt together with the treachery of my fathers,
36. and the scoundrels against your covenant
   when the wicked rose against your covenant

Then I said, in my transgression I have been abandoned from your covenant,
37. and when I remembered the power of your hand together
   with the abundance of your compassion, I stood upright and rose up,
   and my spirit strengthened (my) position against affliction.
38. For [I] relied (38) on your loving-kindness and the multitude of your compassion.
   For you shall atone iniquity and if] $s$ from guilt by your righteousness
39. and not for man [ ] you made,
   for you created the righteous and the wicked [ ]
40. [ ] I will hold fast to your covenant until [ ]
41. [ ] ykh for you are truth and righteousness are all [ ]
   to the day [ ]

your forgiveness and the ab]undance

1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]
5. [ ]
6. in accordance with your will, and in your ha[nd] is the judgement of them all. vacat

3.4.2 Structure and Content

The standard introductory formula, אָוֹדֵרַה אֵזוֹדָרָן, is slightly indented from the right-hand margin on line 6, and the same formula appears again at 13:7. Another introductory formula might have lost in the lacuna of 12:40 or 12:41; however, this would make a hymn of 7 or 8 lines and so short a hymn is not attested elsewhere in the Hodayot. More likely, the hymn ends at 13:6.31

Once again, the repetitive use of independent pronouns offers a good structural marker in the hymn. There are four דֵּתָה דְּמָה דָּהֶדֶפֶנ paragraphs in the first half of the hymn, which are then balanced by four אָזְנַע in the second half.32 The structure of the hymn is outlined as follows:

A. 6-7b: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.

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31 There is a space of 0.6mm, which is unusually long for separating two consecutive words. It may then be suggested that רָאָדֶן is the last word of line 6 and thus ends the line with a black space.

32 Douglas (1998: 101) claims that he is able to read a אַזָּנַע before רָאָדֶן on line 40. This reading would support his argument that the first אַזָּנַע introduces the climax of the hymn and the next four אַזָּנַע paragraphs balance the first four דֵּתָה דְּמָה דָּהֶדֶפֶנ, thereby giving a sense of unity to the hymn. He (1998: 106) writes: “If we allow for the climactic position of the first "אַזָּנַע, and label it E, then the structure of the composition is a pyramid, with this section as the apex: ABCD^E DCBA (אַזָּנַע) stands antithetically to ABCD (דֵּתָה דְּמָה דָּהֶדֶפֶנ).” The present writer has checked carefully the photographic plate in Sukenik’s editio princeps and magnified the digitalized image of line 40 using The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, and still fails to see a אַזָּנַע. The latest Study Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170) does not speak in favour of his reading either. Suffice it to say that the four אַזָּנַע paragraphs already make an inclusio with the four דֵּתָה דְּמָה דָּהֶדֶפֶנ.
B. 7c-23a: Description of the enemies and their relationship with God. Remarkable is the use of four רדהו with two intervening ל (7), (10), (13), (17). Remarkable is the use of four רדהו with two intervening ל (7), (10), (13), (17).

C. 23b-30a: Description of the author and his relationship with God, beginning with ה. The section highlights the author’s role and his relation with his followers.


The hymn opens with the standard formula, followed by נס with a second person masculine singular perfect verb. God’s mighty work of giving the new light of revelation is stated as the occasion for the author’s praise. The motif of light is often associated with God’s theophany to Moses. In Ex 33-34, God appears to Moses, making His glory pass before him and mediating the covenant to him. Here God has made the author no less than Moses, causing his face to shine.

The first major section is marked by נס, referring pointedly to the author’s enemies. Descriptive names of the enemies are given. They are מילאש רדוי “interpreters of deceit,” מילאש רדוי “interpreters of falsehood,” מילאש רדוי “interpreters of deceit,” and מילאש רדוי “dissemblers.” The first half of the section describes the relationship of the wicked to the author. The wicked have despised the author and even driven him away from his land. The second half of the section, 14c-23a, no longer talks about the enemies’ attack on the author but sets the focus on the wicked and their relationship to God. They seek God among the idols and with a double heart, thereby setting a stumbling block before themselves. The section ends with the contrasting theme of divine judgement.

The next section, 23b-30a, is introduced by the change of independent pronoun to נס and the focus shifts to the author. The opening lines of this section make use of key expressions reminiscent of the beginning of the hymn:

12:24 אל תרשעשנ יתוה יניבים לא תרשעשנ יתוה יניבים
they do not esteem me even as you manifest your power through me and you appear to me in your strength as perfect light

12:7 וברר תיך יאלאהוסה לא יאלאהוסה
and as sure as dawn you have appeared to me as [perfect light]

12:9 ולא תרשעשנ יתוה יניבים
and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me

It further links to the previous section by repeating the key phrase of line 22b-23a:

12:25 וברר תיך יאלאהוסה לא יאלאהוסה
and those who walk in the way of your heart have listened to me
This technique of beginning a new section by repeating key expressions from the previous sections is a feature characteristic of this group of hymns. Despite the attacks of the wicked, the author rises to a glowing declaration of confidence. He states how important a role he has played for the righteous. The special revelatory knowledge about divine mysteries has enabled the author to bring illumination to many.

The change of mood and the use of rhetorical statements call for a new section at line 30. This section sets the creaturely lowliness of sinful humanity in sharp contrast with the righteousness of almighty God. It opens with two rhetorical questions, followed by three "को" paragraphs (ll. 31, 34, 36). In the first "को" paragraph, the author confesses that righteousness belongs to God alone and it is God who can perfect the way of man. There is a sudden shift of addressing God from second person to third person in this paragraph. This change may be accounted for by the fact that this paragraph is a soteriological confession. Remembering his own guilt has made the author dread and trembling in the second "को" paragraph. In the third paragraph, the author makes a declaration that he will rely on God's mercy and hold fast to His covenant. These three paragraphs in some ways give a response to the questions raised in the beginning of the section. For instance, the use of येसमा in conjunction with मन्तु recalls the opening line of the section:

12:35 येसमा अस्माते तु मुझे अमृत
for I have remembered my guilt together with the treachery of my fathers

12:30-31 रोहा बृहत् मर्मद तर शर्ष अस्माते मुख
and he is in iniquity from womb and until old age in guilt of treachery

This hymn makes extensive use of Scripture. Much attention is given to the lexical linkages between this hymn and the biblical passages under consideration. Close parallels can be drawn between 12:8 and Hos 14:4, and between 12:16 and Isa 28:11:

12:8 आलबम्बू बलात बनां
and they have come to ruin without understanding

Hos 4:14c तुम् आलबम्बू ललबम्ब
and a people without understanding comes to ruin

12:17 र्द्रू (बांलक्षण् शम्ह ललबम्ब अचार्य र्द्रव्य ललबम्ब)
And they, [with stammering lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people

33 Cf. Kuhn (1966: 26) claims that the soteriologischen Bekenntnisse are always introduced by the formula को.

34 The same combination of आस्माते and मन्तु is found in 19:11.
for, with stammering lip and with foreign tongue he will speak to this people.

Very striking is the reworking of Pr 27:8 and Ps 31:12-13 in 12:9-10. The expression כמשה ממקה at 12:9-10 seems to be taken from Pr 27:8 and the next two lines are clear allusions to Ps 31:12-13.

A more remarkable use of Scripture can be found in 12:15-17, as depicted below:

And you have seen their detestable things, their idols of wood and stone, of silver and gold, which were among them. Beware, lest there be among you a man or woman or family or tribe, whose heart turns away this day from the LORD our God to go and serve the gods of those nations, lest there be among you a root producing poison and wormwood, when he hears the words of this sworn covenant, he blesses himself in his heart, saying, “I shall be safe, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart. This would lead to the sweeping away of moist and dry alike.
For any one of the house of Israel, or of the strangers who sojourn in Israel, who separates himself from me, taking his idols into his heart and putting the stumbling block of his iniquity before his face, and yet comes to a prophet to inquire for himself of me, I the LORD will answer him myself.

12:15 is a clear citation from Dt 29:16-18 whose context is the renewal of the covenant, a passage which is often used in other Qumran documents (e.g., 1QS 2:12-14 and CD 3:11-12). In Ezekiel, God rebukes the idolatry of the elders. The chapter focuses on the theme of idolatry. Lexically and thematically, there are marked similarities between these two texts. The word פִּילְלִים “idols,” a favourite term in Ezekiel (38 occurrences), appears sparingly nine times outside of Ezekiel. Interestingly, one of these nine occurrences is found in Dt 29:16. This makes it even more likely that Ezekiel 14:7 and Dt 29:16-18 could be the sources of the text here.

3.4.3 Literary Affinity

12:6-13:6 shows a number of similarities with 13:7-21. Both hymns exhibit the stylistic use of הָרִיחָה אֲלוֹ (12:13, 19; 13:13, 16, 20). The use of הָרִיחָה is unique to these two hymns. The similar idea of placing God’s Torah into the author’s heart is found:

12:11-12 לָיְםָה הָרִיחָה אֲשֶׁר שָנַנְתָּה בַּלֹּא כָּרָה בְּעַלְפָּה לְעַמָּהּ

to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart,

13:13-14 וַתַּרְחִיחָה הָרוֹקָה מְזָר עַקְט אָבְרָהָם לְעַמָּהּ

And your Torah you have hidden in [me until] the time when your salvation is revealed to me.

A significant correspondence between these two hymns is the use of the expression הָרִיחָה בַּ־

12:9 לֹא הָרִיחָה בַּ־ טָבָבָה בָּבֶךָ בַּ־

and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me

12:24 לֹא הָרִיחָה נָחָר בַּ־ טָבָבָה בַּ־

they do not esteem [me e]ven as you manifest your power through me

13:17 לֹא הָרִיחָה בַּ־ טָבָבָה בַּ־ נָדָר בַּ־ אָבֶד

and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man

In short, there are three cases of significant correspondence between 12:6-13:6 and 13:7-21: 1. the stylistic use of הָרִיחָה אֲלוֹ; 2. הָרִיחָה; 3. הָרִיחָה בַּ־. These correspondences have one point in common, all emphasizing the author’s special relationship to God. This explains why the author can stand firm even in the midst of the fierce attack of his enemies.
3.5 1QH 13:7-21

3.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 5:5-19 (plate 39); SHR 190405
1QH 13:9-12 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. I: 1-3
1QH 13:17-20 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. II: 1-5
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 170-2

There are two other possible meanings for the verb הדר: “to stir up strife” or “to dread.” However, אחר, followed by the preposition ב, is often taken in the sense of “to sojourn” in the Bible (e.g. Lev 20:2, Ezek 14:7; see also Clines 1995: 336). A few scholars have taken this as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness who was believed to have been persecuted by the Wicked Priest in the residence of his exile (1QpHab 11:4-7), see Wallenstein (1955: 279) and Jeremias (1963: 224).

The noun ידה is often found as referring to “created human being” in the Hodayot (e.g. 1QH 9:21, 11:24, 12:30, etc.). In late Jewish literature, the noun could denote “the evil inclination, worldly desires.” (cf. Jastrow 1926: 590). In Qumran corpus, it frequently appears in the context of human sinfulness (see Ozzen 1975: 265; Murphy 1958b: 342). It is not unlikely that the author, attempting to convey the idea of evil inclination, might have deliberately employed the term ידה, which according to BDB, always carries a bad connotation. The preposition ב, as Mansoor suggests, may be taken as having a causative function.

Sukenik’s transcription of מַדְרֶך is very difficult. Wallenstein (1955: 280), assuming an Aramaic influence and the syncopation of the guttural, takes מַדְרֶך as equivalent to מדריך, and translates “water of wells.” Nowhere is מדריך used in the Hodayot (only in CD, e.g. 6:3). Burrows (1956: 408), Vermes (1995: 203) and Wise-Abegg-Cook (1996: 97) offer a similar translation, “water of the covenant.” Habermann (1960: 203) reads מַדְרֶך, “and who?”, thereby taking it as a question. Similarly, Bardtke (1956b: 597) understands it as a question, מַדְרֶך? ’Kittel (1981: 90) interprets it as a תָּב with a pronoun, “from it.” The majority of scholars see מַדְרֶך as a possible reading of the text (Delcor 1966: 157; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 47; Jeremias 1963: 219; Lohse 1971: 130; Maier 1960: 84; Mansoor 1961: 133; Martin 1958: 489; Movinckel 1956: 266; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170). Comparing the second and third letters of this word with the first two letters of המדריך in the following lines seems to speak in favour of this rendering. A question, however, does not fit the context well here. Most likely, the word means “from this.” It still leaves us with the difficulty of determining what “this” is referring to!

A few of the early translators take the first interpretation (Bardtke 1956b: 597; Burrows 1956: 408; Habermann 1960: 203; Wallenstein 1955: 281) while the majority opt for the second one (Carmignac 1961: 142; Deelor 1962: 158; DeVries 1964-66: 400; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 215; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 171; Gaster 1957: 151; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 91, 94-5 n. 21; Jeremias 1963: 219; Lohse 1971: 131; Maier 1960: 84; Mansoor 1961: 133; Vermes 1995: 204). Kittel (1981: 91) is the only one who has put forward the third interpretation. It is to be noted that מדריך is frequently employed for verbal combat in the Bible. The occurrence of this single sentence is odd enough. Even worse, this is the only occurrence in the Hodayot, which leaves us without any comparison. Suffice it to say that the last two interpretations fit the context well.
7. I give you thanks, O Lord,
for you did not abandon me when I sojourned among a people [1]
and you did not abandon me to the plans of my inclination,
but you have protected my life from the pit.

Lions that break the bone of majestic ones,
and drink the blood of the mighty.

9. And you set me (10) in a dwelling with many fishermen,
those who spread a net on the face of the waters,
and hunters for the sons of injustice.

10. And there for judgement (11) have you established me,
and a counsel of truth have you confirmed in my heart,
and from this (12) a covenant for those who seek it.
And you shut the mouth of the young lions.

11. whose teeth are like a sword,
and whose fangs are like a sharp spear,
the venom of vipers is all their plan to seize.
And they lie in wait,

39 Most scholars interpret הָדָּד as a second person singular perfect derived from יָדַד (Bardtke 1956b: 597; Maier 1960: 85; Mansoor 1961: 133; Delcor 1962: 159; Jeremias 1963: 219-20; see also Burrows 1956: 408; Lohse 1971: 131). It is worth noting that generally all verbs in the second perfect (without suffix) have the longer ending, הָדָּד. This does not rule out the possibility that we have an exception here, which would be the only one in this hymn. Another problem is that immediately followed by a second person perfect is a rare phenomenon in the Hodayot (see Montaner 1992: 280-1). Finally, two verbs followed by a single noun breaks the parallelism. Alternatively, it seems possible to take הָדָּד as a construct noun here. This interpretation is not without difficulty. What does הָדָּד as a noun mean? Wallenstein (1955: 281) resorts to a word of Aramaic origin, meaning of which is “jar,” and he renders, “the cup of my affliction.” In resolving this problem, some scholars read a יָד rather than a הָדָּד (DeVries 1964-66: 400; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 215; Carmignac 1961: 143; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 95). The facsimile, however, clearly shows a הָדָּד instead. This can be verified by comparing the top part of this letter with that of the other יָד in this hymn. The problem remains unresolved. It is likely that this noun is somehow related to the verb יָדַד, meaning “to judge, mete out justice, plead the cause, contend.” Kittel (1981: 92) suggested that הָדָּד might be related to the noun יָדַד, “strife, contention” (see also Vermes 1995: 204; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170-71). This seems to be the best solution offered so far. Furthermore, יָדַד can be derived from either יָד or הָדָּד. The verb יָדַד, which sometimes carries the nuance of regarding someone with favor, gives a better parallel to the preceding lines.

40 Sukenik suggested 1 for the second letter in his transcription; however, this restoration is taken from Q429 frg col 2.

41 כָּפַנְתָּה has been erased from the text.
13. but they did not open their mouth against me.
   For you, my God, concealed me before the sons of man,
   and your Torah you have hidden in [me]
14. [until the time (14) when your salvation is revealed to me.
   For in the distress of my soul you did not abandon me,
   and my cry you heard in the bitterness of my soul
15. and the contention of my sorrow you regarded in my groaning.
   And you saved the soul of the afflicted in the den of lions,
   which sharpened their tongue like a sword.
16. And you, my God, shut their teeth,
   lest they tear apart the soul of the afflicted and the destitute,
   and their tongue has been drawn back (17) like a sword to its sheath by the soul of your servant,
   And that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man.
17. You have dealt wondrously (18) with the poor,
   and you put him into the crucible like gold in the works of fire,
   and like silver refined in the furnace of the smith,
   to be purified seven times.
18. And the wicked of the peoples rush against me with their afflictions,
   and all the day they crush my soul,
   and their tongue has been drawn back like a sword to its sheath by the soul of your servant,
   And that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man.
19. But you, my God, turn a tempest to stillness,
   and the soul of the poor you have delivered
20. prey from the power of (21) lions.

3.5.2 Structure and Content

This hymn begins with the standard introductory formula, אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵי יָדֹתִי, which is slightly indented from the right-hand margin. A few scholars believe that the hymn ends with the phrase רָצוֹן אֵלַי, which appears in the interlinear space between lines 21 and 22. The “blessing,” as Mowinckel suggests, is the finale of the hymn, echoing the introductory words of thanks.42 In fact, מְבֻנָה אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵי יָדֹתִי is another introductory formula employed in the Hodayot (e.g. 18:14). A close look at the facsimile points to a correction made by another scribe.43 The first word in line 22, יָדֹתִי is singled out for deletion, by means of dots marked above and below it, and with the phrase יָדֹתִי מְבֻנָה אֲדֹנָי written above it. Hence מְבֻנָה should be the final word of the hymn, appearing in line 21 with the rest of the line blank.

This hymn, though having only fifteen lines, is replete with poetic imagery. No one could possibly miss the frequent occurrence of the word “lions” in this hymn. The lion motif pervades throughout the entire hymn; no wonder Licht gives "

42 Mowinckel (1956: 268), see also Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 195).
43 The script of יָדֹתִי is obviously different from those appeared in this column. In fact, three scribal hands can be discerned in the Hodayot (e.g. comparing their ל from lines 20 to 30 in column 19). For a detailed discussion on the script of the Hodayot, see Avigad (1958: 75-77), Birnbaum (1952: 94-103), Martin (1958: 59-64).
“ הרותיה" as a title for the hymn. All other images, for example, fishers and hunters, make only one appearance, and are obviously subordinated to the lion imagery by which the entire hymn is unified. All these images are unique to this hymn and do not appear again in the rest of the Hodayot.

A. 7-8c: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.

B. 8d-19: Main section in which God’s gracious dealings towards the author and the poor are described. The section consists of two paragraphs: the first paragraph, 8d-15a, opens with מָאָשָׁרַת and focuses on the relationship of God with the author while the second, 15b-19, begins with מְאָשָׁרַת and describes the relationship of God with the poor.

C. 20-21: The conclusion opens with אלהים אֶרֶץ אֲדָמָה and makes a declaration of divine deliverance.

In the opening lines of the hymn, the author states his reasons for thanksgiving. He offers thanks to God not for his saving acts, but for his faithfulness. In so doing, he has placed the emphasis not so much on divine deliverance as on divine presence. It is only in the last line of the introduction that divine deliverance is slightly touched upon. Perhaps, this line refers to the author’s preservation from the lions subsequently described, providing a thematic link to the sections that follow.

The main section starts with a second person imperfect verb מָאָשָׁרַת, followed by three participles. Here the roaring lions make their first appearance. The first participle gives their purpose while the next two, which are in contract form, describe their destructive actions. The lions are the instruments of God for punishing the wicked. Next come the fishers and hunters. It is almost certain that these fishers and hunters, whose images are borrowed from Jeremiah 16:16, are the divine agents of punishment. God, though placing the author among the lions and the hunters, has ordained him to pass judgement upon the wicked. The section moves on to describe the author's rescue from the ferocious lions. Although the lions are cruel and merciless, they are unable to harm the author because God has shut their mouth. With the expression דָּאָשָׁר אל אֶרֶץ יְדִי כ (13:13), the author declares the reason for his immunity to outside attack. He describes his close relationship with God and how God did not abandon him even in his distress. Towards the end of the section, the salvific action of God is emphasized. The next paragraph, 15b-19, draws our attention to the wondrous acts of God on behalf of the poor and needy, a theme which carries on till the end of the hymn. Perhaps the author is one of the poor and needy! This paragraph mentions how God manifests his power through the author before the sons of men (לַעֲנֹת בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה, 13:17) making an echo to the previous

44 Licht (1957: 99).
paragraph, where God has concealed the author before the sons of men (נְדָע בַּר אָדָם, 13:13). The depiction of silver and gold refinement is given in the next few lines. The thought shifts to reflection on the purpose of the tribulation of the poor. It is for the sake of purification that the poor suffer.

The final section opens with a vocative address, יִלֵּד אֶלֶף, with the exception that an imperfect, rather than a perfect, is used here. It is quite likely that this imperfect expresses a durative action. In the midst of danger and suffering, the author feels sure that God does, and will, turn the storm to a calm. His final note of assurance rounds off the thanksgiving. The final phrase רְפָאֵית לָהֶם recapitulates the theme of the ferocious lion and thus ties the hymn together.

The lion imagery, which unifies the hymn, stands out and draws our attention to the story of Daniel. Some scholars have put forward this story as a background to this hymn. Patte goes as far as to suggest that the hymn is “structured on Dan 6:17-24 (used in lines, 7, 9, 11, 13-14, 19). This basic biblical passage is combined and interpreted by means of many other biblical passages in a manner similar to that which we found in 1QH 3:6-18 [= 11:7-19]. This time the typology identifies the author with Daniel and his enemies with the lions.” Sadly, he does not go into detail how the text of Daniel is related to and interpreted by other biblical texts. The major problem is that the account of Daniel in the den of lions is recorded in Aramaic. Therefore, it is almost, if not completely, impossible to carry out a lexical comparison of that account to other biblical texts.

On the one hand, this hymn is in some ways similar to the story of Daniel. Daniel is in exile, dwelling among foreign people. So is the author of this hymn. Of special importance is the reference to the lions in these two texts. Both texts also mention that God has shut the mouths of the lions. Both the psalmist and Daniel have been rescued from the power of the lions. As a result, God has manifested his might through them before the sons of men. On the other hand, there are a few dissimilarities between the two accounts. Daniel claims that the lions cannot hurt him because he is found innocent in God’s sight. The psalmist never attributes his rescue to his innocence; in fact, he from the outset mentions his own guilt. Daniel does not feel being abandoned by God nor show any distress while the psalmist does

46 Patte (1975: 266). What he meant by “the structural use of scripture” is that “the hymn expositis this (these) passage(s) with the help of other biblical passages or phrases which are related to it (or them). Here Scripture is at the center of the hymn. The process of 'uncovering' revelation is still present, although the focus is already on its result.” (Patte 1975: 264)
47 Although it is uncertain whether the author dwells among “foreign” people, the verb יֵדוֹת does indicate that he is away from his homeland.
in this hymn. Therefore, it is inconclusive as to whether there is a structural use of Dan. 6:17-24 in this hymn.48

This hymn makes extensive allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures. 13:9-11 is a good case in point. It draws on the language of Hab 1:12, 14-15, Isa 19:8, and Jer 16:16, as shown below:

13:9-11  המ払い בצפורות ובעלי דגנים רבים
והם פורשים מפרפרות על הפנים
והם מביאים לנהל הים
והם מסתכלים במצוקה
And you set me in a dwelling with many fishermen, those who spread a net on the face of the waters, and hunters for the sons of injustice. And there for judgement have you established me.

Hab 1:12  האם אתה מפקד וחי אראיה קורש לא מת
וירח מחליפה שמחת ו湎 דקדוקי ידך
Are you not from of old, O LORD my God, my Holy One? You shall not die. O LORD, you have ordained them for judgment; and you, O Rock, have established them for chastisement.

Hab 1:14-15  התפש צפורה זאב כל שלוש אלפים
והם מותרים מהтоп קמים שנים
רואים ענקים רבים על pok ירש וירשים
You have made people like the fish of the sea, like crawling things that have no ruler. He brings all of them up with a hook; he drags them out with his net, he gathers them in his seine; so he rejoices and exults.

Isa 19:8  יאָהוֹ יְהוָה יָאָרֶךָ בַּקָּרֶת בַּקָּרֶת בַּקָּרֶת
וַיִּקְרָא בִּבְחָנָה בְּבְחָנָה בְּבְחָנָה
The fishermen will mourn and lament, all who cast hook in the Nile, and those who spread nets on the water will languish.

Jer 16:16  הנה שאלת לפגוע בנו נאשורייתך רוחם
והרי עיניך אושלות לרכי בניות עוזה משל כלע
ומֶלָּח כָּל גָּבֶה מִקְלוֹקֵלִים
Behold, I am sending for many fishermen, says the LORD, and they shall catch them; and afterward I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the rocks.

The Isaiah passage describes the judgement of God on Egypt. In Jer 16:16, God announces his judgement that he would send many fishermen and hunters to punish Israelites. God sends the Israelites into exile not because He has forsaken them but because they have forsaken him and have not kept his law (cf. 16:11). In a related vein, the Habakkuk passage is about God’s judgement on the Israelites. The judgement motif is used in all three passages. The fishing imagery is found in these passages as well. This makes the use of Scripture in 13:9-11 all the more striking.

48 Of course, the dissimilarity between the two accounts cannot speak against this claim. The author of the hymn might have used the story of Daniel in a new and transformed way!
Another example can be found in 13:17d-18, which may be taken from Ps 12:6-7, Pr 17:3, and Mal 3:2-3:

13:17d-18

תפלתת באבונא
יתכראהוָ בְּמַעֲרָת הַצְּדָקָה בֵּיתֵךְ בְּמֶנֶשׁ אָכָל
המשCriterion בּוֹלֵב נְפֶשׁ לְאָוֶדֶר שְׁפֵטֵיכָה.
You have dealt wondrously with the poor,
and you put him into the crucible like gold] in the works of fire,
and like silver refined in the furnace of the smith.

Ps 12:6-7

משר עטירא מענקא אֶבָּנֶנָא תַּחַת אַחֲרֵי
אמרת יָהֵה אָסְרָא בּוֹשׁ פֶּרֶח לְךָ
אמרה יָהֵה אָסְרָא בּוֹשׁ פֶּרֶח לְךָ בֶּינַי יָשַׁל לְךָ מַסק פְּשִיטְתָה "Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up," says the LORD; "I will place them in the safety for which he longs."
The promises of the LORD are promises that are pure, silver refined in a furnace on the ground, purified seven times.

Pr 17:3

פַּחַתָה לְכָכָא בּוֹרָה דְּחַמָּת רְחַמָּת לְגַזְזֵה יָדָה
The crucible is for silver, and the furnace is for gold,
but the LORD tests the heart.

Mal 3:2-3

ומְמַמְלַכַּת אֲדָמָּה בֵּואָר מֵי גֶּזֶר בֵּיהֶרֶת
cדִּכְהוּת לְאַחַר מַצְּרָתָה בֵּיתֵךְ מִפְּשִיטְתָה
ירש פַּשִיטְתָה וַאֲשָׁר מַצְּרָתָה בֵּיתֵךְ אֵילְבִּירוּל
תַּחְתָּא אֶלֶיךָ בֵּי בְּשָׁמ יָשֶׁבֶת
וַאֲשֶׁר לְיָהֵה מְמַשְּׂרָתָה בֵּיתֵךְ
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.

3.5.3 Literary Affinity

This hymn shows a number of lexical similarities with 10:33-41. Both hymns employ the stylistic use of בַּאֲדוּר (10:36; 13:13, 16, 20). Besides, they use the same set of words for the poor and needy: דִּבְרָיִן, שֵׁלָם, וְכִלָּה. These terms appear all in the context where the gracious dealings of God towards the poor are emphasized.

13:18

תָּפָלְתָה באבונא
you have dealt wondrously with the poor

13:20

נִמְפָּת אָבִנָא פְּלַשְׁתָּה
and the soul of the poor you have delivered

10:34

פְּרִירַת (ד) נִמְפָּת באבונא
you have ransomed the soul of the poor

13:16

נִפְּרִיר נִמְפָּת דִּבְרָיִן
lest they tear apart the soul of the afflicted and the destitute

10:36

נִפְּרוּת נִמְפָּת דִּבְרָיִן
you have helped the soul of the afflicted and the destitute
Although אבירים, נביאים, and נביאי אביר are biblical terms and occur frequently in the Bible (e.g. Dt 15:11, Prv 31:9, Ps 82:3), their use with the term נביא אביר, such as "falsehood", "interpreters of falsehood", "traitors", "interpreters of errors", "those who seek smooth things", "seers of deceit" etc. They are further portrayed as those having exchanged the truth for folly (רוהים) and smooth things (חלשים; as a result, they have stumbled in errors. More importantly, the affinity among these hymns lies not just in single words but in significant expressions. All the linguistic features shared by the hymns of Group I are summarised in the following table.

3.6 Conclusion

The hymns of Group I have a number of shared lexical and syntactic features. 10:1-21 and 10:33-41 have much in common with 12:6-13:6 while 13:7-21 and 10:22-32 share some lexical units with 10:33-41 and 10:1-21, respectively. All of them have one major point in common, that is, their descriptions of the opponents of the author. Of special importance are the common designations and expressions this group of hymns have employed in reference to the author’s enemies. The hymns are filled with biblical terminology. The enemies are characterised as "ruthless men", "majestic ones", "traitors", "interpreters of falsehood", "interpreters of errors", "those who seek smooth things", "seers of deceit" etc. They are further portrayed as those having exchanged the truth for folly (רוהים) and smooth things (חלשים); as a result, they have stumbled in errors. More importantly, the affinity among these hymns lies not just in single words but in significant expressions. All the linguistic features shared by the hymns of Group I are summarised in the following table.
With the exception of 10:33-41, the hymns of Group 1 make extensive use of Scripture. The biblical phrases appear to have been woven into the very texture of the composition. Although there are not many clear biblical citations, echoes of biblical phrases and motifs can be discerned. Drawing on the language of the Hebrew Scriptures, the hymns weave together various strands of topic in a new unity. In a few cases they combine a number of biblical texts which are thematically or lexically related.

In conclusion, these five hymns have many features in common. They focus primarily on the negative relationship of the author to his enemies and describe how God has graciously dealt with the author and delivered him from the threats posed by the enemies. In these hymns the self-confidence of the author before God stands out in relation to the glaring errors of the enemies. Furthermore, numerous designations have been used to refer to the author’s adversaries. It is in these designations that one can discern the common lexical items among this group of hymns. In stark contrast to the second group, these hymns are not replete with strong images, with the exception of 13:7-21 where the lion imagery is employed to portray the fierce
attack of the enemies. These five hymns are closely tied to one another as they all describe the author's enemies in many ways that are distinctive to them. Their similar use of Scripture and their many linguistic and thematic similarities would suggest that literary dependence to a large extent exists among these hymns or they might have been the work of the same author.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUFFERING AND VICTORIOUS “I” OF 1QH 10-17:36

This group of hymns is quite different from Group I in terms of vocabulary, style and content. The lexical items these hymns have in common no longer refer to the author’s enemies. Their contents are fraught with strong images and eschatological representation of the defeat of the power of evil in the battle of God. With the exception of 15:9-28 and the two fragmentary hymns 11:38-12:5 and 15:37-16:4, each of the hymns of Group II contains at least one section where the author expresses his distress and describes his suffering. Among the hymns in this group, 13:22-15:8 stands out as the one having the largest number of shared lexical units with the other six hymns. 11:1-19 is one of the hymns that shows a number of notable similarities to 13:22-15:8, and to this we now turn.

4.1 1QH 11:1-19

4.1.1. Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 3:1-18 (plate 37); SHR 190403
1QH 11:12-13 = 4Q428 frg. 2:1-2
1QH 11:14-19 = 4Q432 frg. 4 col. 1:1-7
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 164

[1]
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7]
[8]
[9]

1 Sukenik transcribed ב but the photographic plate clearly shows a ב.
3 There are two possible meanings for the word בָּבר. It can be derived from the root בָּב, meaning “first-born.” It can also be taken as בָּב + בָּבר, literally “in the furnace.” Chamberlain (1955a:
1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]Hy you have enlightened my face [ ]
5. [ ]to you, with eternal glory together with all [ ]
6. [ ]your mouth and you have delivered me m[ ] and m[ ]

7. [ ]Now, [my] soul [ ] they have esteemed me
and they have made [my] soul like a ship in the [dep]ths of the [sea],
and like a fortified city before
I have been in distress, like a woman in labour giving birth to her firstborn,
for [her] pangs (9) and grievous pain come upon the mouth of her womb
to bring anguish in the womb of her that is pregnant,
for children have come to the waves of death
and she that is pregnant with the man suffers anguish in her pangs,
for in the waves of death she gives birth to a male,
and in the pangs of Sheol there bursts forth
from the womb of her that is pregnant a wonderful counsellor with his might,
and the man is delivered from the waves.

12. At his conception all wombs feel pain (12) and grievous pains at their birth
and terror to those conceiving them,
and at his birth all pangs come suddenly (13) in the womb of her that is pregnant
and she that is pregnant with a vicer (is destined) for grievous pain,
and the waves of the pit for all the works of terror.

14. And the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound
and those who dwell on the dust are (15) like those going down to the seas,
terrified by the roar of the waters;

10. ויריהו זכרא ת מצדבת כתלעה כ אמשרפי ימ תמליח תכר ובתחליל דא לייה
11. המרכ יִּרְחָה פָּלָה יָתִכָּה וְנַבּוֹתּוֹ וּפָלָה כְּכָלָה בֵּית לוֹד הָרוּחַ חַיָּה מִלָּה
12. מַשִּׁבְּרִים בָּתַלְתּוֹ מִרְכָּבַת מִשְׁמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה
13. בָּבַרְזָה וְרֹאְשָׁה אֲשֶׁר הָאֵשֶׁר בָּתוֹלָה כְּכָלָה מָשַׁמְרִים מְשַׁמְרִים מְשַׁמְרִים מְשַׁמְרִים מְשַׁמְרִים
14. אֲשֶׁר קָרָא בָּאֲנָא לָךְ מִלְּמֹר זָרָה שְׁחַקְיָה בַּחֲלָקִים פַּךְיָה וּרְצָנִים פרַר
15. בְּחָדָא וְרָאְשָׁה מִשְׁמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה
16. כְּכָלָה מַשִּׁבְרִים הָרָהָה מִשְׁמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה
17. מַשִּׁבְרִים מִרְכָּבַת מִשְׁמַרְיָה הָרָהָה מִסְמַרְיָה הָרָהָה
18. יָמַי מַשִּׁבְרִים לִחְוָה וְשַמְּתִי בַּחֲלָקִים פַּךְיָה פָּרָא. (רָאָא
19. וְיָמַי מַשִּׁבְרִים לִחְוָה וְשַמְּתִי בַּחֲלָקִים פַּךְיָה פָּרָא. (רָאָא

35) and Silberman (1956: 101-3) prefer the former interpretation. Some scholars accept the latter one,
taking it as a metaphor for “womb” on the basis of the form הָרָהָה in the Rabbinic literature (cf.
Jastrow 1926: 625; see Baumgarten and Mansoor 1955: 190; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 54-55; Knibb

4 ובשָׁבֵית, literally “place of breach,” could be used to refer to the mouth of the womb (cf.
Isa 37:3). The plural could also have the meaning “breakers, waves” (cf. 2 Sam 22:5). It would appear
that there is a play on the double meaning of ובשָׁבֵית in the hymn.

5 Sukenik transcribed ר כ above the space between מ and ל, but looking carefully at the scribal
correction would suggest a final מ instead (see Carmignac 1961: 196; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 38;

6 According to BDB, עז means “hasten, come quickly” but in the Rabbinic literature it could
have the meaning “feel pain” (Jastrow 1926: 441), which fits the context better here.
and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps,
16. for swallowed up is (16) all their wisdom in the roaring of the seas,
when the deeps boil over the springs of the waters
[and they [rush for]th to lift up waves
17. and breakers of waters with the roaring of their noise,
and when they rush forth, they open all the arrows of the pit,
18. with their steps, to the deep they make their voice heard,
and the gates of [Sheol] open [ ] the works of the viper,
19. and the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice,
and the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.

4.1.2 Structure and Content

While this hymn clearly ends at 11:19, one cannot discern at all where the hymn begins because the first few lines of column 11 are strongly mutilated. It is probable that 11:1ff is the continuation of 10:33-41, where the divine deliverance of the author from the interpreters of falsehood is described. However, columns 10 and 11 are quite different both in style and in their use of vocabulary.7 There is also a possibility that a new hymn begins in one of the first five lines of column 11.8

This hymn is perhaps the most difficult one of all preserved Qumran hymns. The use of strong images throughout the hymn makes it difficult to understand the intention of the author. Besides, there is no clear structural marker seen in the hymn. One has to resort to theme development and the use of repeated words and phrases in order to discern the structure of the hymn.

A. 1(?)-6: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
B. 7-13d: Description of distress in which the author compares his suffering to a ship in the stormy sea (7), to a fortified city (8a) as well as to a woman in travail (8b-13d).
C. 13e-19: An extended metaphor of the ship in the stormy sea.

Section 7-13d opens with the metaphors of a ship and a fortified city, followed by an extensive image of the birth pangs. Worth noting is the frequent use of various theme words in describing the woman giving birth: דרשו (II. 9, 10x2, 12, 13), דרשור

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8 Douglas (1998: 172) and Tanzer (1986: 72), in agreement with Stegemann’s reconstruction, restore the beginning of the hymn on line 5, and suggest to read αἰρετὴν οἱ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Φιλαδέλφην τοῦ Ωδήτωνος. This is on the basis that the preceding and following hymns (10:33-34 and 11:20-21) begin with a verb of deliverance + double mem phrases. This is plausible but the restoration, איראום [ serviceProvider mem], is not without problem. The first weakness of this reconstruction is that this phrase is based on its occurrence in 19:3-14, a “Community Hymn,” in which it says יָשָׁב יִמְצָא לָא אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים אֵשׁ תִּשָּׁב (19:7). More importantly, the opening thanksgiving formula without a perfect verb is not attested elsewhere in the Ḥodayot. These make the present writer hesitant to follow Stegemann’s reconstruction. Probable is the suggestion of Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 52) who comments that the introductory formula might have lost just before אִיראום in the beginning of line 4 because the same expression appears in the introductory line of 12:6-13:6.
The phrase רכז וירש המצות המברך, often taken as an allusion to the Messianic title in Isa 9:5, is unique to this hymn. If it is correct to interpret 11:11 as the birth of the messiah, it appears that the author here attempts to make sense of his own sufferings by associating them with those of the messianic birth that would inaugurate the new age. The birth imagery draws heavily on the language of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In addition to the use of Isa 9:5 in 11:8, the expression "like a woman in labour giving birth to her firstborn" is likely to be taken from Jer 13:21, where it says, "Will not pangs seize you, like those of a woman in labour?" A remarkable use of Scripture is found in 11:9, where the author says, "for children have come to the waves of death." The same statement, "יכיר את בני נוע המתברך", is found in Isa 37:3 (or 2 Kgs 19:3).

The final section begins with הרではありません קדש כמותמה and strategically recalls the statement "they have made my soul like a ship" in the opening lines of the previous section (11:7). No longer is the author referred to as the one in the deeps (11:7, המברך). Instead, it is the city dwellers, and in particular, their wise men, who are like sailors in the deeps (11:15, המברך). The distress seems to have fallen upon those pregnant with injustice. The ship imagery appears to be an allusion to Ps 107. The expression "swallowed up is all their wisdom" in 11:15c-16a is likely to be taken from Ps 107:27 where the same idea is found, "came the waves to the land." In this section, a completely different set of vocabulary is introduced: מי (II. 14, 15, 16x2, 17), כותב (II. 14, 16, 17), תומך (II. 14, 15, 17). The section ends with a number of key words echoing the last line of the previous section, thereby binding the hymn together:

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9 There have been much debate as to whether a Messianic interpretation could be applied to this hymn. Chamberlain (1955a: 32-41), Dupont-Sommer (1957: 174-88) and Licht (1957: 76) interpret this passage as a picture of a messianic birth. Silberman (1956: 96-106), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 61-4), Hinson (1960: 183-203) reject this Messianic interpretation and take it as an extended simile for the distress and suffering of the author. Burrows (1958: 317-321), Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 188-95), do not espouse the Messianic interpretation nor consider it to be impossible. While taking it messianically, Betz (1956-57: 314-26) and Schulz (1974: 161-66) interpret the mother as the author and the "wonderful counsellor" as the community. Douglas (1998: 177-8) follows this line of interpretation but believes that the "wonderful counsellor" need not be interpreted collectively. The "wonderful counsellor" may as well stand for an individual messianic figure coming out of the remnant community. It is almost certain that the expression פלאי יתומים אלה נברכים "a wonderful counsellor with his might" is an allusion to Isa 9:5. One cannot avoid but think that it carries an overtone of a messianic birth. Nevertheless, one must be cautious about drawing every details from the hymn and attributing them to any historical figures.

11:19

וַתֵּשֶׁם בָּשָׂם עַל הַחֲצַת נְפֹל
וְבַרְחֵי סֶלֶם כֹּלֵל רֹוחֵי אָשָׁר
And the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice
and the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.

11:13

ותָּרְדוּ אִשָּׁת לֵבָל מִנְרִים וַתְּגָר יַרְדֵּן לְךָ שָׁמֶש פֶּמֶש פֶּמֶש
And she that is pregnant with a viper (is destined) to grievous pain,
and the waves of the pit for all the works of terror.

4.1.3 Literary Affinity

The close affinity between 11:1-19 and 13:22-15:6 is quite notable. Lexically,
these two hymns share 9 lexical items unique to them in the Hodayot: אַנָּאָה, שָׁוָא, רָדָה, בּוֹרָה, רְאִיָּה, מְפֹר, מִלְּחַ, מִלְּחַ.

It should be mentioned that 8 out of 9 lexical items come from column 14.

11:11-12

בָּשָׂם כַּלֵּי מְסָבָרִים
At his conception all wombs feel pain

14:32

אָהָה תָּרְדוּ הַרְבָּה אֶל בּוֹקֵן מַסּוֹת
Then the sword of God shall hasten at the time of judgement

11:7

רָשָׁם נַמְשׁ כַּמָּזֶּר פַּרְעֹה (לָו)
And they have made (my) soul like a ship in the [dep]ths of the [sea]

11:13-14

וַתָּרְדוּ אִשָּׁה זַרְבְּלָה כִּיָּלָנָה טֵל מַמְעַמְּס
And the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters

11:15

וַתִּמְסַר לִשְׁמוֹ הַמַּמְלָחוֹת
and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps

14:25-26

וַדְּרָתָה בַּמַּמָּלָךְ בַּאֲבֵדְתָהּ מִמָּעָה
[And] I have become like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas

15:7

וַתִּמָּשַׁךְ עַל מְסָבָרִים בְּאִלָּחְתָּו
and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of the storm

11:8

וַתִּתְגָּמְשֶׁךְ מִמְּגָּמְשֶׁךְ...
and like a fortified city

14:27-28

וְאָרַח כַּכָּה בִּנְעֵי מִזוֹבָר
And I am as one who enters a fortified city

14:38

גָּרָבָר שָׁמַש שִׁשָּׁה בִּלְּהָו בֵּית בֵּית
and he who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress

11:12-13

נָפָלָם דַּיְמָךְ כִּיְמָךְ בֵּית רָדָה
and at his birth all pangs come suddenly in the womb of her that is pregnant

13:32-33

וְבָלוֹסִים בְּבוֹסִים יְלָדוֹתָה
and pains like the pangs of one giving birth

11:18

(וַתַּרְדוּ הָאָמָל)
and the gates of [Sheol] open

14:27

בַּמַּעַשְׁ הַרְגָּרָה וְנַרְגָּרָה מָעָה
and [my soul comes near] to the gates of death

14:34

וְנַפְשֵׁנִי הִוָּלִית לֶדוֹרִיָּהּ נֶפֶשֶׁנִי מַלְמֶשְׁנִי
and the gates of eternity to bring out the weapons of war
All the images of 11:1-19 can be found in 13:22-15:8. In these two hymns, the author compares himself to a ship in a stormy sea. Althougharmoured doors which have no entrance
and strong bolts which cannot be broken

and the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice, and the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.
20. I give you thanks, O Lord, for you have redeemed my soul from the pit.
21. And from Sheol Abaddon (21) you have lifted me up to an everlasting height,
   and I walk on level ground that is unsearchable,
   and I know that there is hope for the one whom
   you have formed from dust into an eternal council.

   And the perverted spirit you have purified from great transgression,
   that he might station himself in position with (23) the host of the holy ones
   and that he might enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven.
   And you have cast for man an eternal lot together with the spirits of (24) knowledge,
   that he might praise your name in the community of rejoicing,
   and that he might recount your wonders before all your creatures.

25. And I, a creature of (25) clay, what am I? One kneaded with water,
   and for whom shall I be reckoned?
   and what is my strength?
   For I have stationed myself in the border of wickedness
   and with the scoundrels in lot.

   And the soul of the poor dwells amidst great tumults
   and the disasters of raging are with my steps.
   when all the snares of the pit open
   and all the nets of wickedness
   and the net of the scoundrels are spread out upon the face of the waters,
   when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
   and they burst forth without hope,
   When the measuring line falls upon judgement
   and the lot of wrath (29) upon the forsaken
   and the outpouring of wrath against the dissemblers
   and the time of burning anger for all worthlessness
   and the cords of death surround without escape

26. And the torrents of Belial flow over all the high river banks,
   like fire consuming all their watering places,
   to destroy every tree, green (31) and dry, from their channels.

12 There is a variant on 4Q32 frg. 4 col. II. The second word reads תִּשְׁמָא instead of תִּשְׁמִא. It is inconclusive as to whether תִּשְׁמָא or תִּשְׁמִא is the original reading (see Schuller 1999: 221).
13 The noun סינַת is unattested in the Bible. Licht (1957: 87) takes it as a parallel to סינַתם and WALLSTEIN (1950: 20-1) interprets it as derived from a seghalote noun and renders "their wells," so are Lohse (1971: 122) and Kittel (1981: 59). De Menasce (1958-59: 133) suggests that it is derived from the Persian word "śināh," i.e., "swimming," thus having the meaning of river or irrigation canal. CARMIGNAC (1961: 201-2), PUECH (1993: 367) and DOUGLAS (1998: 180-1) have followed this line of interpretation.
And it roves about with flames of fierce burning
until there is none left of all those who drink them.

32. It consumes the foundations of clay (32) and the surface of the dry land.
The foundations of the mountains are for burning
and the roots of flint for torrents of pitch,
and it shall consume as far as the great deep.

33. And the torrents of Belial break into Abaddon
and the devices of the deep roar with the din of those casting out mud.

34. And (the) earth (34) cries out at the disaster which is about to come upon the world
and all its devices scream,
and all who are upon it turn to madness

35. And they melt away at the great disaster.

For God will thunder with the roar of his power

36. and his holy abode shall roar with the truth of (36) his glory
and the heavenly hosts shall send forth their voice,
and the eternal foundations shall melt and tremble.

37. And the war of the mighty ones (37) of heaven shall rove about the world,
and shall not withdraw until complete destruction
and it has been determined for eternity and there is nothing like unto it.

4.2.2 Structure and Content

11:20-37 is a well preserved hymn, with both the beginning and the end clearly marked by the introductory formula, אֲדֹנָי אֲדֹנִי. With the exception of the independent pronoun יִאָרֵי in 11:24d, no other structural markers can be discerned in this hymn. The following division of the hymn relies heavily on its theme development:

A. 20-22a: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
B. 22b-24c: God’s gracious dealing with sinful humanity.
C. 24d-26a: Personal reflection in which the author meditates on the creaturely lowliness.
D. 26b-29: Description of distress and the impending judgement.
E. 30-35a: Detailed portrayal of the fiery judgement.
F. 35b-37: The conclusion describes the complete destruction brought about by God’s heavenly army.

The opening line of this hymn takes essentially the same form as is found in other hymns within 1QH 10-17. It consists of the standard introductory formula, followed by a + a second masculine singular perfect verb with a reference to the author himself, that is, מָשָׁה. Distinctive to this introduction is the following structural pattern, perfect verb + מָשָׁה + noun + ל + noun:

11:20-21 מָשָׁה מְשָׁרֵי מְשָׁרֵי 갖ָרִים עַל עַל וְעַל אַלֶּלֶּרֶת עַל מִלָּא שָׁעָן העֲלָא שָׁעָן עַל מִלָּא שָׁעָן
you have redeemed my soul from the pit and
from Sheol Abaddon you have lifted me up to an everlasting height

11:21-22 יִשְׁמַח לְאָם מְשָׁרֵי מְשָׁרֵי לְאָם מְשָׁרֵי
there is hope for the one whom you have formed
from dust to an eternal council

The last phrase of the section echoes, making an inclusio within the introduction.

Section B has a similar structure but with a series of infinitive clauses introduced by ב. Chiastic inclusio is achieved by the double use of ביו in the middle of the section:

11:22-23

that he might station himself in position with the host of the holy ones and that he might enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven

11:24

that he might praise your name in the community of rejoicing and that he might recount your wonders before all your creatures

The author turns to a series of personal introspection in Section C. In stark contrast to the previous section, where God has enabled the perverted spirit to stand in position (לאחרת) with the host of the holy ones and has cast for man an eternal lot (מליה עלים), the author here states that he has stationed himself in the border of wickedness and with the scoundrels in lot (בichever). By means of repeated words, sections B and C are joined together.

Section D is characterised by a series of infinitives in temporal or circumstantial clauses. The expressions ב topo מمقا מכרמ"ת ("the nets of wickedness and the net of the scoundrels") in 11:27b echoes "in the border of wickedness and with the scoundrels in lot" in 11:25d-26a, thus linking this section to the previous one. An obvious use of Scripture is found in 11:28. The expression בב תחת ועל מַעָט "when the measuring line falls upon judgement" is likely to be taken from Isa 28:17, where it says, וַיְהִי מַעָט לַמַּעָט "and I will make justice the line, and righteousness the plummet." Another use of Scripture is found in 11:27:

11:27

and all the nets of wickedness and the net of the scoundrels are spread out upon the face of the waters

Isa 19:8

The fishermen will mourn; all who cast hook in the Nile will lament, and those who spread nets on the water will languish.

Section 11:30-35a introduces the fiery judgement. A new set of vocabulary is used: בִּינָה (II. 30, 33), הָרָה (II. 32, 33), מְדֻרָת (II. 33, 34), וַיֶּלֶד (II. 34, 35), אֶל (II. 30, 31, 32). Very striking is the repetitive use of בָּרוֹל, by means of which the ultimate and complete destruction of the judgement are emphasized. It is possible
that the expressions נחלי בְּלִיָּתי in 11:29 and הובלי מִת in 11:30 are allusions to Ps 18:5-6.

The final section continues to describe the eschatological warfare and the world’s devastation but the focus shifts to the heavenly army of God. It may be suggested that the author sees his own problem resolved in the light of the eschatological victory of God’s army. Many key words are recapitulated here: נחלות (11. 21, 22, 23, 36), מַעֲשָׂר (11. 31, 37), בָּלִיָּתי (11. 34, 37), מְסָרִים (11. 35, 36), בַּלִיָּתי (11. 33, 35), סָּרָה (11. 23, 36), שְׁמֵים (11. 23, 36), וּמִרְכַּס (11. 23, 35).14

4.2.3 Literary Affinity

This hymn has five lexical items in common with 16:5-17:36, all of them occurring only in these two hymns: הלֶמֶץ, בָּש, בּ, גּוּל, מְזָחָר.

11:28 בבשותה לכל זכר שנה לץ תעב when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
16:32 יִדְמָשָׂר [על] מְסָרִים and breakers rush [against me]
11:30 רֶלֶמֶץ בְּלִיָּתי על אֶמֶר רֹם and the torrents of Belial flow over all the high river banks
11:32 וכָּשְׁרָשָׂר לֶמֶץ לֶמֶץ And the roots of flint for torrents of pitch
11:33 וּכָּשְׁרָשָׂר מְסָרִים And the torrents of Belial break into Abaddon
16:18 ... וַיַּרְדוּ לֶמֶץ שָׁמַךְ and they become an overflowing torrent ...
17:5 וַיַּדְמָשְׁרוּ לוֹ מִמֶּMUX and my tears like torrents of water
16:24 וַיִּשְׁרָשְׂרוּ לוֹ הַלֶּמֶץ its root strike into the flintstone
11:30-31 להיטו הכל על הָלְבָאִים מָסְלִים to destroy every tree, green and dry, from their channels.
16:20 להו הָלְבָאִים מָסְלִים לוֹדֵי היה green and dry, the deep for every animal

הלֶמֶץ “flint” occurs five times in the Bible but is never used in conjunction with

14 Douglas (1998: 184) suggests that there are twelve expressions repeating twice in his last section, i.e., 28c-37, as he writes: “If one wants to read anything into this strange pattern, I would point out that it is fitting that the number of the months and zodiac is used in this cosmological piece.” Douglas (1998: 180) reads פ instead of פ on line 29, apparently on the basis of the variant on 4Q429 frg. 4 col II:3.
Another similarity between the two hymns is the combination of $E_7B$ and $E_n$. In 11:33, it says, “and the devices of the deep will roar with the din of those casting out mud”. A similar use of $E_7B$ and $En$ is found in 16:16, where it says, “for they have cast up their mire over me.” A more striking parallel is found in 11:21-22 and 17:14:

11:21-22

וארתכש בזא יש מקה לארש ירחפה矿泉水 יזרע הלך
and I know that there is hope for the one
whom you have formed from dust into an eternal council

17:14

וארתכש בזא יש מקה בזא מעריכש
and I know th[at] there is hope in your [mercy]

Moreover, this hymn shows a few lexical similarities with 13:22-15:8. בּוֹדֵי is a word distinctive to the hymns within 1QH 10-15 but its frequent use in these two hymns should not go unnoticed (11:26, 34, 35; 13:27, 28; 14:6, 24; 15:8). The use of וּסָמוֹ in conjunction with מַסָּמֶה is found only in these hymns. Two lexical items are distinctive to the hymns: אָבֶבָ and פָּסָר. The formula אָבֶבָ “I know that there is hope” is also found in 14:9.

11:31

ותסמא בּזָסְרָבָה לָדוֹר נַפְּלָא מַסָּמֶה
and it roves about with flames of fierce burning
until there is none left of all those who drink them

14:21

בּזָסְרָבָא נַפְּלַד מַסָּמֶה כָּל בּוֹדֵי יִעְלוֹד
in its blazing flames all the [sons of injustice] shall burn

11:29

ותבּולימ אָפֶסָה מַסָמֶה לַאֵאֵר פִּלֶּט
and the cords of death surround without escape

11:31-32

It consumes the foundations of clay and the surface of the dry land

11:36

[And the eternal foundations shall melt and tremble]

15 Cf. Dt 8:15, 32:13; Ps 114:8; Jb 28:9; Isa 50:7.
11:13-14

and the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters

4.3 1QH 11:38-12:5

4.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 3:37-4:4; frg. 25; SHR 190403

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 166

40. [ ] you hide me from tumultuous disaster [ ]
41. [ ] around it, lest [ ]
38. I give you thanks, Lord, for you have become a strong wall for me
39. [ ]/destroyers and all [ ]
1. ]
2. ]
3. ]
4. [ ]my feet upon rock [ ]
5. [ ]eternal way and on the paths which you have chosen [ ]

4.3.2 Literary Affinity

There is not much that one can make out with certainty the relationship of this fragmentary hymn to the other hymns of 1QH 10-17. However, there are a few lexical affinities between 11:38-12:5 and 13:22-15:8. In 11:38, the author thanks God for being a strong wall (הָּרְדָּמֶה חָיָה כָּל דֹּלְחֵת) for him. The same phrase הָּרְדָּמֶה חָיָה כָּל דֹּלְחֵת is used in 13:39. The expression לָם בְּאֶרֶץ בְּנָכָה is found only in these two hymns (11:40; 14:31, 38). Finally, these two hymns make use of the phrase לָם כָּלִים (12:4; 14:29).

It is worth noting that all these lexical units occur only in Group II. חָיָה כָּלִים is found five times in the Hodayot, once in this hymn and twice each in 13:22-15:8 and 15:9-28. The combination of אֲדָמָה בְּכָלִים occurs only in these two hymns. Even more, the adverb בְּכָלִים is used eight times in the Hodayot and is found only in Group II (11:40; 14:24, 30, 31, 38; 15:10; 16:13, 14). כָּלִים occurs four times in the Hodayot and is found in this hymn as well as in 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, and 16:5-17:36. All these
would point to a literary relationship of this hymn to the other hymns of Group II and especially to 13:22-15:8.

4.4 1QH 13:22-15:8

4.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 5:20-7:5; frgs. 29, 26; SHR 19405, 190418, 190409
1QH 13:22-23 = 4Q428 frg. 4:1-3
1QH 13:27-30 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. III:7-12
1QH 13:31-40 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. IV:1-12
1QH 14:17-20 = 4Q428 frg. 5:1-5
1QH 14:20-25 = 4Q429 frg. 2 col. I:4-12
1QH 14:26-32 = 4Q429 frg. 2 col. II:2-12

Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 172-6


16 ר"ב is an interlinear insertion above the word ד"כמrah which is singled out for deletion by means of dots above and below it.

17 After רמ"ב the scribe has erased the letters מזח, perhaps intending to write מзамרא תורכמ rather under the influence of the preceding phrase ש"כמרא תורכמ. He then wrote מзамרא and left no space (see Martin 1958, II, 479).


19 י in the Qal or Hiphil means "to turn aside, to depart." In the Rabbinic literature, it has the meaning "to talk about, sneer, talk disrespectfully" (Jastrow 1926: 696), which fits the context well here.

20 Habermann (1960: 120) suggests מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא while some scholars restore מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא (Bardtke 1956b: 598; Jeremias 1963: 227; Lohse 1971: 130; Maier 1960: 86). Licht (1957: 105) and Wallenstein (1955-56: 243) propose מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא. Douglas (1998: 131) has taken this restoration and said to have strong palaeographic argument in favor of his reading מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא. He claims to have been able to see clearly the first four letters מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא by magnifying the word in The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library. This restoration is significant as far as his major argument is concerned (Douglas 1998: 89-91): "I have given a special significance to the expression מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא מזרזא ... This 'signature phrase' provides an Archimedian point of entry for doing a literary criticism of the Hodayot." According to Douglas, the signature phrase is a major criterion in determining whether a hymn is related to the other authentic 'Teacher Hymns.' As a result, the hymn in question is related
Some are related; distinctive parts."

This fits the Library but is electronic on word to the other three scholars have followed this line of interpretation (Carmignac 1961: 218; De Vries 1964-66: 404; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 172; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 99; Jeremias 1963: 228; Maier 1960: 86).

Sukenik mistakenly transcribed this word as רבעכ, which is too long. A few scholars restore נֵרֶף הדּירֶה (Carmignac 1961: 216; De Vries 1964-66: 403; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 49; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 172). This is a plausible restoration.

Strangely, רぬ rather than רָנָה is used here. This usage of a feminine form to address God is distinctive to this hymn and unattested in the rest of the Hodayot.

ması is not found elsewhere in the Hodayot. Although it never occurs in the OT, it seems to be related to the verb רָנָה "be black." Building on parallelism, one may take רָנָה as a parallel to הלֵגֶל. Some prefer to read רָנָה, with reference to Dan 10:8 (see Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 110 n. 59; Licht 1957: 107).

1 is an interlinear insertion between ר and ש.
Sukenik transcribed רבדי but the facsimile clearly shows a ב and ו for the first and last letters of the word, respectively. Although it is difficult to distinguish between ר and ו, the third letter looks more like ו in this case (see Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 174).

Wallenstein’s restoration (1955-56: 248), is too long. So are Dupont-Sommer’s restoration (1957: 54), .Topic 3א and Lohse’s (1971: 136), 3א and 3א is has been suggested that the first word is something like בורשיד (Bardtke 1956b: 60; Carmignac 1961: 222; Licht 1957: 115; Mansoor 1961: 144) or (Delcor 1962: 178; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 102; Jeremiah 1963: 234; see also Gaster 1957: 157). Were it correct to take the first two lines as an allusion to Isa 48:17, one would expect a verbal form of לוח instead of לוח. This is confirmed by 4Q429 frg. 219. Puech (1993: 353) has the same reading.

A letter has been erased after the first letter ו. It looks like a ב, as Sukenik suggested, but is quite uncertain.

Read ב, here is a case of ditography.
22. Blessed are you, O Lord,
for you have not forsaken the orphan,
and you have not despised the destitute.
For your strength []

23. and your glory is (23) without measure
and the wonderful mighty are your ministers
and with the humble in the mud\(^{29}\) at [your] feet [ ]

24. with those who are swift to execute (24) righteousness,
to bring up together from the uproar all the merciful poor.

25. And I, I have become \(^{1}\) day strife (25) and contention to my friends,
jealousy and anger to those who enter my covenant,
and grumbling and murmuring to all my colleagues.

26. Even those who eat: of my bread (26) have lifted up the heel against me
and they have sneered at me with lips of injustice,
all those who have committed themselves to my council.

27. and the men [of my counsel] are rebellious (27) and murmur round about.
And concerning the mystery you have hidden in me,
they go about as slanderers to the sons of destruction,
and for the sake of h\(^{29}\) my

28. and on account of (28) their guilt
you have concealed the fountain of understanding and the counsel of truth.
And as for them, they devise destruction in their heart,

29. [and the words of Be\(^{29}\)lial have opened (29) a lying tongue,
as the venom of vipers, which breaks forth from time to time,
and like crawling things of the dust they aim

30. to [seize the smiles of] asp (30) which cannot be charmed.
And it has become an incurable pain
and a malignant wound in the bowels of your servant,
causing [the spirit] to stumble

31. and making an end of (31) strength
so that he could not hold firm to the place of standing.
And they have overtaken me in narrow places,
where there was no escape and nor bhh\(^{2}\) [ ] ph\(^{2}\) w

32. and they have roared forth (32) complaint against me with the lyre,
and with mocking songs in unison their murmuring
together with devastation and desolation.

\(^{29}\) הדרי is a hapax in the OT (cf. Jon 4:8).

\(^{39}\) The interpretation of \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\) is difficult. Mansoor (1961: 135) prefers to read \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\). He proposes that the word is somehow related to Arabic \(\text{تُمَجِّد إِلَى} \) “to trample” and \(\text{should be understood as a Polpal participle meaning “trampled.”} \) Wallenstein (1955-56: 251) takes it as a construct plural noun from \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\) and translates “those that cleanse.” There are a few who take it as a verb. Lohse (1971: 131; similarly Maier 1960: 85) translates, “wenn [ihre] Füße versinken (?)” Dupont-Sommer (1957: 49) reads \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\) and takes it as derived from \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\), translating “dans les balayures” (see also Carmignac 1961: 216; Delcor 1962: 162; DeVries 1964-66: 404). In the OT, \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\) occurs only in Isa 14:23, where it has the meaning “to sweep.” It has been suggested that \(\text{מָּטַמְתַּים}\) is related to the noun \(\text{מַמַּמְתּוּ} \), “mud, mire” (cf. Bardtke 1960a: 597; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 99; Jeremias 1963: 226; see also Garcia Martinez and Tsigchelaar 1997: 173; Gaster 1957: 152; Vermes 1995: 205), which seems to fit the context better here.
Hot indignation [has seized me]  
33. and pains like the pangs of one (33) giving birth 
and my heart has roared against me. 
I am dressed in black (garments) 
and my tongue cleaves to the roof of (my) mouth, 
[for they have surrounded with destruction] in their heart 
34. And their inclination (34) appeared to me as bitterness 
and the light of my countenance has been dimmed into darkness 
and my glory has changed into gloom. 
35. And you, my God, (35) has opened a wide space in my heart 
but they have increased it to distress 
and they have shut me up in deep darkness 
and I eat the bread of sighing 
36. and my drink is tears without end; 
for my eyes have wasted away because of grief, 
and my soul by the bitterness of the day. 
37. [Sighing] and sorrow (37) surround me, 
and shame is on (my) faces, 
and my [bread] has turned for me into strife, 
and my drink into contention. 
And it has entered into [my bones] 
38. causing the spirit to fail 
and making an end of strength 
according to the mysteries of sin, 
those who have changed the works of God by their guilt. 
39. For [I am] bound with cords (38) that cannot be torn apart, 
and fetters that cannot be broken; 
and a [strong] wall [ ] 
[and] iron bolts and [bronze] gates [that cannot be opened.] 
40. My [prison is reckoned with] the deep without ] 
41. [Torrents of Be]lial encompass my soul [ ]

Column 14
1. ]
2. ]
3. ]
4. ]
5. my heart bn [ ]
6. and disaster that is unsearchable, destruction without [ 
7. you have opened my ears [ ] those who rebuke with righteousness [ 
8. from the congregation of [worthlessness] and from the council of violence, 
and you have brought me into the counsel of [ ] guilt 
9. And I know that there is hope for those who turn from transgression 
and forsake sin bh[ ] walk 
10. in the way of your heart without injustice. 
And I will take comfort above the roar of the people 
and above the din of [king]doms 
when they gather themselves together [ ] 'thy 
11. that you will raise up a few survivors among your people 
and a remnant among your inheritance. 
And you will refine them, that they may be purified from guilt 
12. For all (12) their deeds are (found out) in your truth 
and in your lovingkindness you judge them 
with the abundance of compassion 
and the multitude of forgiveness, 
and according to your commandment, teaching them,
and according to the uprightness of your truth, establishing them in your counsel for your glory.

And for your own sake [you have] worked to [magnify] the law and [ ]

the men of your counsel among the sons of man, to declare your wonders to eternal generation

and on [your] mighty deeds they meditate ceaselessly, and all nations shall acknowledge your truth, and all peoples your glory.

For you have brought [walkh] to all the men of your counsel, and in the lot together with the angels of the face and there is not any mediator between lq[ ]

17. Its fruit, for [ ]hh
And they shall return at your glorious command, and they shall be your princes in the [lot of ]

18. it springs up like a flower of the field forever, to make a shoot grow into branches of an eternal plantation, and it will cast shade over all the [world ]

19. up to the el[woods], [and] its roots as far as the deep; and all the streams of Eden [will water] its [branches]

20. and it shall become [seas that are not] (20) searchable [ ] over the world without end, and as far as to Sheol [ ]

21. [And] the spring of light shall become (21) an eternal fountain, inexhaustible, in its blazing flames all the sons of injustice shall burn, [and it shall become] a fire that consumes all the men of guilt unto destruction

22. And they, the ones who have committed themselves to my witness, have been seduced by bm[ ] in the service of righteousness.

23. And you, O God, have commanded them to profit from their ways on the path of [holiness in which they will walk] and the uncircumcised, and the unclean,

24. and the violent man (24) do not pass over but they have stumbled from the way of your heart, and in calamity [ ] they languish.

25. And Belial is the counselor (25) of their heart, [ ] thoughts of wickedness they wallow in guilt

26. [And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging (26) of the seas, their waves and all their breakers have roared over me, a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul,

27. nor any (27) path to straighten a way upon the surface of the waters. And the depths roar to my sighing and [my soul comes near] to the gates of death.

28. And I am (28) as one who enters a fortified city and seeks refuge in a high wall until deliverance; and [ ] your truth, O my God,

29. for (29) you set the foundation upon a rock, and the framework on the line of justice, and the plumbline of truth [ ]

30. tried stones for (30) strong [ ] that shall not be shaken, and all those who enter it shall not stumble, for a stranger cannot enter its [gates],

31. armoured doors which have no (31) entrance and strong bolts that cannot be broken.
A troop cannot enter in with its weapons of war,
32. though all the [swords] of (32) the wars of wickedness be destroyed.

Then the sword of God shall hasten at the time of judgement
33. and all the sons of his [truth] shall arise [l] (33) wickedness
and all the sons of guilt shall be no more.
And the mighty one shall bend his bow,
he shall break the siege
34. to broaden the space without end,
and the gates of eternity to bring out the weapons of war,
and they shall be mighty from one end to [the other]
35. salvation for a guilty inclination.
To destruction they are trampled and there is no hope in the greatness
36. and for all the mighty ones of wars there is no escape.

For to God Most High is
37. And those who lie in the dust shall raise the ensign,
and the worm of the dead shall lift up the standard.
38. In the wars of the insolent
and He who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress
39. for plaster and as a girder

Column 15
1. ]
2. ]
3. ]
4. [ I am dumb [ ]
5. [ (my) arm] is broken from its joint,
and my feet sink in the mire,
6. my eyes are blind from seeing (6) evil,
my ears from hearing of bloodshed,
my heart is appalled at the thought of evil;
for Belial is the manifestation of their destructive inclination,
7. and all the foundations of my building are shattered,
and my bones are out of joint,
8. and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of (8) the storm,
and my heart is distraught to destruction,
and a whirlwind engulfs me because of the destruction of their transgression

4.4.2 Structure and Content

Instead of using the standard introductory formula, ‏אָדַרְבָּךְ אֶרֵּנִי‏, this hymn opens with ‏בֹּרְךָ אֶלָּה אֶרֵּנִי‏, a formula occurring three more times in the Hodayot, all outside 1QH 10-17 (1QH 8:16, 18:14, 19:32). It should be pointed out that the first word of the hymn was originally ‏אָדַרְבָּךְ אֶרֵּנִי‏ but a correction was made by another scribe. The introductory word, ‏בֹּרְךָ אֶלָּה אֶרֵּנִי‏, was replaced with ‏אָדַרְבָּךְ אֶרֵּנִי‏. If ‏אָדַרְבָּךְ אֶרֵּנִי‏ is the introductory formula of the “Teacher hymns,” such a scribal correction would imply that this hymn, from the point of view of the second scribe, seems less of a “Teacher Hymn” than the first scribe perceived.

This long hymn is badly mutilated and suffers from numerous lacunae. The text in column 14 is marred by large holes. The upper and lower margins of the column
are poorly preserved. This makes it difficult to determine whether 13:22-15:8 contains more than one hymn. Most scholars take 13:22-15:8 as a single unit.\textsuperscript{31} Some scholars have divided 13:22-15:8 into three hymns: 13:22-end of column 13, 14:1-end of column 14, and 15:1-8\textsuperscript{32} while a few have taken 13:22 to the end of column 14 as one composition and 15:1-8 as another hymn.\textsuperscript{33}

There is some literary evidence speaking in favour of the unity of 13:22-15:8. Columns 13 and 14 contain a number of shared lexical units such as נאמה, רודה, אהוב, etc. Worth noting is that three lexical items are distinctive to these two columns and unattested in the rest of the Hodayot:

- 13:39 הַכְּסֵפָה לְנַחֲנֵנִי and strong bolts that cannot be broken

More importantly, the language of lament begins at 13:28b and apparently extends to 14:8. For instance, the key word רודה occurs six times in 13:22-15:8 and is found in the beginning of the lament (13:28) as well as towards the end (14:6). The same word is used again in the lament of 15:1-8 (15:7, 8). Moreover, a striking parallel can be drawn between 14:25-26 and 15:7-8:

- 14:25-26 רָדִּיהָ נֶפֶשֶׁה בְּצִנַּת בְּצִנַּת שָׁיֶרֶת מִזְרַח וּמִזְרַח מִזְרַח [And] I have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas, their waves and all their breakers have roared over me, a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul.

- 15:7-8 רָדִּיהָ נֶפֶשֶׁה בְּצִנַּת בְּצִנַּת שָׁיֶרֶת מִזְרַח וּמִזְרַח מִזְרַח מִזְרַח and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of the storm,


\textsuperscript{33} Dupont-Sommer (1957: 48), Kuhn (1966: 23).
and my heart is distraught to destruction
and a whirlwind engulfs me because of the destruction of their transgression.

The use of רדת נפש and רדת פנים in describing the distress of the author is attested only in 14:25-26 and 15:7-8. Therefore, one may well take 13:22-15:8 as one hymn on the basis of content and its use of vocabulary.

Once again, the prominent use of independent pronouns helps discern the structure of the hymn: אב (13:24, 15:4), רודים/ichage (13:28; 14:17, 22), פרנסות/מאחר (13:34, 14:23, 28). The structure is as follows:

B. 13:24c-28a Self-description of the author beginning with אב
C. 13:28b-14:8 Description of the enemies and the author’s distress beginning with רודים.
D. 14:9-17a Soteriological confession about the remnant beginning with המוהו. The formula "I know that there is hope ...".
E. 14:17b-22a Eschatological discourse about the remnant beginning with רודים.
F. 14:22b-25b Description of the enemies beginning with רודים.
G. 14:25c-27d Description of the author’s distress.
H. 14:27e-32a Declaration of Deliverance.
J. 15:1-8 Lament begins with אב.

The introduction has two negative statements, a feature quite similar to the preceding hymn (1QH 13:7-21). On the one hand, the opening lines of these two hymns have לא be and the verb נבך; on the other, the first person singular suffix is not used in this opening line. This introductory section is loaded with terms reminiscent of the preceding hymn: רודים, אשר, וסיק, נבך. In the OT, the poor and the fatherless often appear in the individual psalms of lament (e.g. Ps 12, 35, 72, 86, etc.). It is God who hears their prayers, who protects them, and who provides for their basic needs. Interestingly, these terms do not reappear in the rest of the hymn. In sharp contrast to the lowliness of man, another set of terms is used to describe the attributes of God (e.g. מבט, גוררים). Perhaps, it serves as a point of reference for the following complaints and laments, and anchors the author’s faith with regard to his expectation for the future. It is to be noted that the author never mentions himself in this introductory section. Newsom may be right in pointing out:

Although the introductory lines do not contain the pronoun “I”, there is no doubt that the speaker is claiming for himself a traditional identity within a well-known moral language. He himself is to be seen as the “orphan” and “the poor one.” By the second century BCE these were terms that not only drew on
the ancient paternalistic ethos of the Near East but also on a specifically religious reinterpretation of those terms as labels of rectitude and piety.34

The author makes his first appearance in the next section, 24c-28a. Section B primarily shows the antagonism between the author and his enemies. The author uses a number of terms to introduce his enemies. They are “his friends,” “those who have entered into his covenant,” “his colleagues.” They are the ones who are close to him and yet become slanderers. It is only in the last few lines that he mentions about the special revelation he has received from God. Knowledge of God’s secrets is limited to the author and is an important key to salvation.

With an emphatic change of reference, רדומ, the author’s enemies come on the scene. The section, 13:28b-14:8, gives a gloomy picture, describing vividly the verbal attack of the enemies. The opening few lines depict the enemies’ slander as the attack of poisonous venom. The emotional response of the author completes the rest of the picture. Here the author makes use of the traditional imagery and terminology from the psalms of complaint in order to describe his distress.

With the formula ויהי עלי ואני (“And I know that,” the next section, 14:9-17a, makes a sudden shift in theme. The author makes a soteriological confession and expresses his confidence in God. The thematic concern seems to be the hope for those who turn away from transgression and are purified. The focus is then set on “the few survivors” and “the remnant” whom God will raise from among His people. The same theme is carried on to the next section, 14:17b-22a. Section E presents an account of God’s gracious dealing with the remnant. The destruction of the wicked is briefly mentioned towards the end of the section.

The hymn returns to the author’s enemies in Section F, 14:22b-25b, which begins again with רדומ. Here it highlights the fault of his enemies as defection. They are: “those who were pledged to my witness” and “stumbled from the way of your heart.” The author’s emotional response to this wickedness is given in Section G, 14:25c-27d. His distress and struggles are described using the image of a sailor in a raging sea.

A new imagery comes into play in the next section, 27e-32a. The depiction of a fortified city is given here. It is a city with firm foundation and armoured doors that the troop, even with its weapons of war, cannot enter. In other words, it is in that secure and fortified city that the author finds deliverance. Section H is the climax of the hymn, in that the eschatological judgement is described in strong apocalyptic imagery with the use of military idiom.

34 Newsom (1990a: 129).
The final section, 15:1-8, does not end with a note of thanksgiving nor with a declaration of confidence. Instead, the author goes in greater detail to describe his own suffering. Very striking is the use of bodily language in portraying the distress of the author. This section is a summary of the author's distress given in the preceding sections.

13:22-15:8 makes extensive use of Scripture, primarily of Psalms and Isaiah. In 13:25, the phrase "הָֽרַעְשָׁיָּהּ לְהֵלָּהּ נָעָרִי" is reminiscent of the wilderness traditions. The combination of the paired terms "הָֽרַעְשָׁיָּהּ נָעָרִי" and "הֵלָּהּ נָעָרִי" never occurs in the OT; nor is it found elsewhere in the Hodayot. "נתנ" appears only as a verb in the OT (Dt 1:27; Isa 29:24; Ps 106:25; Pr 16:28, 18:8, 26:20, 22). "פִּי" in Niphal participle form does function as a noun in Proverbs where the reader is reminded of its inimical effect. For instance, it says in Pr 16:28, “A perverse man spreads strife, and a whisperer (פִּי) separates close friends.” In two occasions (Dt 1:27 and Ps 106:25), the biblical writers emphasize the fact that the Israelites murmured (מִרְעָר) in their tents and did not obey the voice of Yahweh. Of paramount importance is the word "הֵלָּהּ", which does not occur frequently in the OT except in Exodus (16:7, 8, 9, 12) and Numbers (14:27, 17:20, 25). "סֵפָר" as a plural construct noun is used in the OT exclusively in reference to the murmuring of Israel against Yahweh in the wilderness traditions. Another word that deserves consideration is "רֹאָב" in the Niphal is often used for God’s meeting Israel at the sanctuary (e.g., Ex 25:22; 30:6, 36). In some occasions, it is used to refer to Israel’s assembling against Yahweh in rebellion (e.g., Num 14:35; 16:11). More often than not, the murmuring was against the leaders whom Yahweh had commissioned. The congregation of Israel assembled together and murmured against Moses and Aaron (e.g., Ex 16:2; Num 14:2, 16:11). They doubted Yahweh and cast aspersion on his goodness and power. The author appears to stress that the murmuring of his associates is an act of rebellion and disbelief to Yahweh as well as to his appointed leaders. The significance of this evidence is that it demonstrates a close dependence on biblical vocabulary from texts concerned with Israel’s murmuring against Yahweh in the wilderness traditions.

Furthermore, the following statement is almost a citation from Ps 41:10:

13:25-26 Even those who eat of my bread have lifted up the heel against me.

Ps 41:10 Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted the heel against me.
Psalm 41 is often considered as a psalm of sickness. At the outset, the psalmist states with an assurance that God’s favor will fall upon the one who considers the poor. He then portrays himself as suffering in an utterly wretched condition. In his sickness he receives no comfort, but the attack of his enemies. The enemies slander his good name and perhaps attribute his sickness to the sin he has committed. It is then in verse 10 that the psalmist describes the greatest sense of betrayal: even his close friend, the one who has shared his bread, has become traitor. But the psalm ends with a note of confidence in that the psalmist expresses his gratitude to God for the answering of his prayer. The same correspondence in language and situation is found in our hymn. Here the writer is also confronted by the verbal attack of his enemies although no mention is made of his sickness. The situation in which the psalmist finds himself is quite similar to that described in our hymn. What’s more, the emphasis on the sense of betrayal coincides well with the distress expressed by the writer.

13:28-29 offers an enticing possibility that the author incorporates two biblical texts into his composition. By drawing its vocabulary from Ps 52:4, the first line describes the evil scheming of the enemies, while the second line, excerpting its phraseology from Ps 109:2, gives a portrayal of their verbal attack. In both instances, the author extracts elements from the respective texts and makes them into a combined description of the attack of his enemies, as illustrated below:

13:28-29

וְהֵמָּה צִמְיָת לֶבֶן חֵשֶׁב ֨
[וַהֲבֵרִיִּי בְּלִי-לְבֵדָה לֶשֶׁת שֶׁקָּק]
And as for them, they devise destruction in their heart [and the words of Bēliāl have opened a lying tongue.]

Ps 52:4

וּהְמַה תְּמוֹשֵׁת לְשׁוֹנֵּךְ חָסָר מַלְשָׁם שֶׁשֶׁר רְצוּהַ ֨
You plots destruction, your tongue is like a sharpened razor, you who practice deceitfulness.

Ps 109:2

כִּי מַפְּעַת מִרְמָה עֵלָי מַחְתַּת רְבוֹר וּרְבּוֹר לְשַׁנְתָּן שֶׁקָּק
For wicked and deceitful mouths are opened against me, they have spoken against me with a lying tongue.

The biblical texts give a vivid depiction of the wicked. It is significant to note that there is a transition from “plotting” to “lying” in Ps 52:4. Even more important is that the following key elements are also found in vv 5-6: רְבוֹר, לָשֶׁן. In stark contrast to Ps 109:2, the portrayal described in Ps 52:5-6 is more of descriptive nature. In Ps 109:2, the verbal attack of the wicked is couched in personal terms. לָשֶׁן appears to provide a lexical link between these two passages.

The following lines provide an example of how the author subtly draws on the motifs of the OT prophetic traditions. A comparison of the respective texts demonstrates the consummate skill of the author.

13:32-33

Hot indignation [has seized me] and pains like the pangs of one giving birth

Ps 119:53

Hot indignation has seized me because of the wicked, those who forsake your Torah.

Isa 21:3

Therefore, my loins are filled with anguish, pangs have seized me like the pangs of one giving birth
I am bowed down by what I hear,
I am dismayed by what I see.

Isa 13:8

Pangs and agony will seize them like one giving birth in travail
They will look aghast at one another; their faces will be aflame.

The statement "ונלערה [אַהֲוָהָ] מְרָשְׁעִיםׁ הוא מְדֹרְשׁוֹר" is an allusion to Ps 119:53 in which the psalmist expresses his fury in reaction to the wicked who abandon the Torah. The author also brings in the birth imagery, which is characteristic of the two Isaiah passages. The judgement motif is also prominent in the Isaiah passages. In Isa 13, the Babylonians writhe in bitter pain like a woman in travail because the day of Yahweh is near. In Isa 21, the prophet is moved by the downfall of Babylon. The seeing of the vision brings upon him painful anguish. It would appear that the prophet experiences deep emotion not only over his own people, but even over his enemies. The expressions and are likely to be taken from Isa 13:8 and Isa 21:3 respectively. More importantly, the verb appears in all these passages. By means of key words and distinctive allusions, the author has drawn upon the motifs of the OT traditions. The birth imagery is simply adapted to suit the purpose of this section, albeit in an entirely different context.

Moreover, the ship imagery is apparently built on the first two chapters of the book of Jonah. In 14:25-26 the author, drawing on the language of Jon 1:5, 15, says, "[And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas." The next line, "their waves and all their breakers have roared over me," borrows the vocabulary from Jonah 2:4. It would appear that the author draws on a familiar tradition from the OT, that is, the story of Jonah, for the depiction of his agony. In 14:28-29, the author describes the foundation being laid by God. The same theme is found in Isa 28:16-17, from which
the following key terms come: רוח, מתים, מוסקפת, כה, מדבר, בוכק, אנס, מוסקפת, מעבר, ק, מדבר, נב. It should be noted that the expression מַעֲבֶרָה it at 14:38 is an allusion to Isa 28:15. Finally, 15:5-6 is an allusion to Isa 33:15. Although the context demands a change from third person to first person, the lexical and structural similarities between the two texts are quite evident:

15:5-6 שמי עיניים מראות ר文化传媒 משמועה דמע
My eyes are blind from seeing evil
my ears from hearing of bloodshed

Isa 33:15 הַנַּחַל מִרְדָּכָא רֹדֵב מִרְדָּכָא מִסְכַּנְתָּה
נֶשֶׁר כֶּפֶר מַסְכָּנָה בָּשָׁדָּה
איס מַגֵּר מַסְכַּנְתָּה דָּמֵם וּמַגֵּר מַסְכָּנָה בָּשָׁדָּה
He who walks righteously and speaks uprightly,
who despises the gain of oppression,
who waves away a bribe instead of accepting it
who stops his ears from hearing of bloodshed
and shuts his eyes from looking on evil.

4.4.3 Literary Affinity

As shown above, 13:22-15:8 shares many lexical similarities with the hymns in column 11. In fact, 13:22-15:8 has a much closer affinity with the hymn 16:5-17:36. There are 15 lexical units they both have in common: בָּכָה, מַסְכָּנָה, צוּר, בֵּית, מֶרֶח, קְפֶר, מַסְכָּנָה, נַחַל, מַסְכָּנָה, כּוֹס, רַמִּית, מְשָׁאָה, מְשָׁא, מְשָׁא, כּוֹס, אָנָש. All these words are distinctive to these two hymns and not attested anywhere else in the Hodayot. Remarkably, these lexical items are clustered primarily in the following two sections: 13:28b-14:8 and 14:9-22a.

The first set of lexical items appear in the sections where the author describes his own distress and suffering. These hymns are filled with biblical terminology. The expressions שֶׁאָה מְשָׁאא “an incurable pain” and מְשָׁא מְשָׁאא “devastation and desolation” are found in Isa 17:11 and Zep 1:15. These terms are used in the context where the impending judgement of God, and particularly, the Day of the Lord, is emphasized. Applying these terms to the author’s suffering is distinctive to 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36:

13:30 רֹאֵה לְפַלָּא אֲנָשׁ נַגֵּי נַמּוֹר נַמּוֹר עַבֵּרָה
and it has become an incurable pain and a malignant wound in the bowels of your servant

16:28-29 כְּפִּרְחָה מִפְּתְנֵה לְפַלָּא אֲנָשׁ נַמּוֹר
for my [plague breaks] forth to bitterness and an incurable pain without restraint

13:32 שְׁאָה מְשָׁאא [לְעַמְּפָּה] שָׁמָא [לְעַמְּמָא]
together with devastation and desolation, hot indignation [has seized me]
and pains like the pangs of one giving birth
and as for me, from devastation to desolation causing [the spirit] to stumble and making an end of strength so that he could not hold firm to the place of standing

making an end of strength by periods and my drink is tears without end and my tears like rivers of water [I am] bound with cords that cannot be torn apart and fetters that cannot be broken

with fetters of stumbling block

with fetters of judgement ...

as the venom of vipers, which breaks forth from time to time for my [plague breaks] forth to bitterness [ (my) arm] is broken from its joint

and my arm is broken from its joint

Other lexical items occur in the section where the author describes the remnant and their flourishing in apocalyptic terms. Very striking is the image of the shoot growing into an eternal plantation. The expressions משתה שלמה is not attested in the Bible. The plant is watered by the streams of Eden in 14:19 while the plantation is associated with a glorious Eden in 16:21.

it springs up like a flower of the field forever to make a shoot grow into branches of an eternal plantation

and they shall make a shoot grow to eternal plantation, taking root before they sprout

and he who makes the holy shoot grow into a plantation of truth

the spring of light shall become an eternal fountain, inexhaustible

and it becomes an eternal fountain

The spring of light shall become an eternal fountain, inexhaustible
and all the streams of Eden [will water] its [branches]

16:15 דִּרְכָּתָ֣י תִּכְּרֵ֣א נָצַ֗ר וּכְמַנּׁ֙שֶׁ֔ים
I have become the [mock]ery of streaming rivers

14:21-22andy [and it shall become] a fire that consumes all the men of guilt unto destruction

14:38mezr'ah ולֶאַשֵּׁמַ֖ת גְּלִיפֵּ֑ים
and he who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress

15:9-10and all the sons of his [truth] shall arise

17:3ומֶשֶׁ֥תֹא לַשּׁוֹרָ֖ה שָׁפֵ֑א in anger it arouses jealousy

16:16וַאֲנֵ֑יהוּ לֹ֥א לַעֲשֹׂ֖רָה נְבֶלִֽים
and I have become the [mock]ery of streaming rivers

16:18...דִּרְכָּתָ֣י תִּכְּרֵ֣א נָצַ֗ר וּכְמַנּׁ֙שֶׁ֔ים
and they become a stream which overflows...

13:31רַמָּה יִנְטָלְמָ֖ר אַלּוּ מֵמָֽעַד
and they have overtaken me in narrow places where there was no escape

14:36ולֹא יִנְטַלְמָה מַלְטָמִ֖תַּא אֶלֶ֑מֶס
and for all the mighty ones of wars there is no escape

17:28מעָ֖שֶׁב מַשְׂכָּרוֹת צָרֵ֣י נוֹחֵ֖ם יְתוִ֑יר
my refuge, my sure defense, the rock of my strength and my fortress

14:29ותִּשְׁמֹר עִלְּיָ֖ה כָּלֶ֣מֶס תָּבָ֑שׂ יַעֲשֶׂ֥בֶת מַשָּׁמֶ֖לֶת אֲמוֹרִֽים
you set the foundation upon a rock, and the framework on the line of justice and the plumbline of truth

16:22-23לְמָֽשָׁתְּתָ֖הוּ עַל נְגַם מְשָׂמֶֽלֶת עַל מַשָּׁמֶ֖לֶת הַשָּׁמֶֽשׁ
to turn against the established line and a plantation of their trees to the plumbline of the sun

As shown above, 14:17b-22a and 16:5-16 have a number of lexical affinities. Even more, they share the same motifs and images. These striking parallels would suggest that there is a relation of literary dependence between the two sections or they might have been written by the same author.

4.5 1QH 15:9-28

4.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation
Sukenik col. 7:6-25; SHR 190409
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 176-8
9. I give you thanks, O Lord,
   for you have supported me with your strength,
10. and the spirit of your holiness (10) you have spread over me that I will not stumble
   and you have strengthened me before the wars of wickedness
11. and in all their destructions (11) you have [not] made me dismayed at your covenant,
   and you have set me as a strong tower, as a high wall,
   and you have founded my building upon a rock
12. and eternal foundation as my base,
   and all my walls are like a tested wall that cannot be shaken.

13. [And] you, my God, have made for the weary a council of holiness,
   and [I] your covenant,
   and my tongue as your disciples
14. And there is no word for the spirit of destruction,
   nor a reply of the tongue for all the [so]ns of guilt,

36 The ה between י and י has been erased and is singled out for deletion with a dot above it. Another ה has been inserted above and in between י and י, and thus the word should read יחרטמ. The same form also occurs in IQS 8:8. The immediate context of both occurrences would suggest that it may be derived from the root יחרטמ “tremble, shake violently.”


38 rooting referring to the third person is difficult to interpret. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 58), Bardtke (1956b: 601) and Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 129) retain this reading and refer the suffix back to the preceding unit. Some scholars have proposed to emend it to יִּגְּנָנְס (Licht 1957: 124; Jeremias 1963: 181; Lohse 1971: 138; Kittel 1981: 123; Garcia Martinez and Tigheelaar 1997: 178; Douglas 1998: 136). I have followed the emendation which is justified in the immediate context.

39 Here is a case of ditography.
15. for all those who attack me you condemn at the judgement, to separate through me between the righteous and the wicked.

16. For you know the inclination of every deed, and every reply of the tongue you have discerned, and you have established my heart [ ]
17. [ ] and according to your truth, to straighten my steps on the paths of righteousness, to walk before you
18. in the border of ( ) [ ] to ways of glory and peace without [ ] to cease forever.

19. And you know the inclination of your servant, for not [ ] to lift up [ ]
20. [and] to seek refuge in strength and the shelter of the flesh without [ ] there are no righteous deeds [ ] to be saved [ ]

21. [ ] forgiveness. And I lean [ ] your mercy I await, to blossom
22. [ ] to make a shoot grow, to seek refuge in strength
23. and [ ] your righteousness you have made me stand (23) for your covenant and I have held firmly to your truth, and [ ] and you have made me a father for the sons of mercy,
24. and as a guardian to the men of portent, and they have opened (their) mouth as a child [ ]
25. and as a child delighting in the bosom of (25) its guardian. And you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me, and [ ] the men of my warfare
26. and the lords of (26) my strife are like chaff before the wind and my dominion over [ ] you have protected my soul,
27. and you have exalted my horn (27) on high, and I shine with sevenfold light, [ ] for your glory.

28. For you are an eternal light to me and you have established my foot [ ]

4.5.2 Structure and Content

The usual paragraph indentations clearly mark off this hymn from the others in column 15. The standard introductory formula is indented to the middle of line 9 and the next one appears in line 29. The hymn is very well structured and the repetitive use of independent pronouns offers a good structural marker in the hymn. The independent pronoun אָדָם occurs once in 15:21 while the pronoun אָדָם is found four times at the right-hand margin: בָּעַר אַדָּם (13), אַדָּם אָבֶּה (16), אַדָּם אָלוֹ (19), אַדָּם אָלוֹ (28). Douglas restores two אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָּם אָדָם אָדָּם אָדָם אָדָּם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָם אָדָּם אָדָּמ. 40 His reconstructions would fit perfectly well

into the inclusio structure he argues for: \text{AAA}^B \text{AAA}, where A is the paragraphs (II. 13, 16, 19, 23, 26, 28) and B is the paragraph (21). Douglas usually gives reasons for his restorations but strangely he restores the two paragraphs without giving any reasons this time. It would appear that Douglas, governed by the assumption of the use of inclusio in the “Teacher Hymns,” reads \text{AAA}^B \text{AAA} into the text!

A. 9-12: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
B. 13-21a: God’s gracious dealing with the author consisting of three paragraphs (II. 13, 16, 19).
C. 21b-23a: Declaration of trust in God beginning with (אֶזְכַּר).
D. 23b-27: God’s gracious dealing with the author in which the author is made a father to the righteous and is exalted above his enemies.
E. 28: The conclusion in which the author declares his complete trust in God.

Very striking is the use of inclusio in the hymn. In Section B, the phrase “reply of the tongue” (בִּלְשֹׁן) in the first paragraph is echoed in the second, where it says “every reply of the tongue” (בִּלְשֹׁן) in 15:16. Likewise, the statement “you know the inclination of every deed” (מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל) in the second paragraph is echoed in the third by a similar statement, “you know the inclination of your servant” (דָּאָה דָּאָה דָּאָה דָּאָה דָּאָה). The use of repeated words and expressions tightly bind this section together. The same technique is employed to link sections B and C. The phrase “to seek refuge in strength” in 15:22 recalls the same phrase in 15:20. Finally, there is an internal inclusio within section D. In 15:25b, it says, “you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me” (הַרְכָּבָה יָפָה לִפְנֵי מְלָוֹתֵי) and the same idea is found in 15:26d, “you have exalted my horn on high” (הַרְכָּבָה יָפָה לִפְנֵי מְלָוֹתֵי).

There are a few uses of Scripture in the hymn. The combination of “a strong tower” (רָכָב) and “a high wall” (וּרְחָב תַּנָּתָה) in 15:11 is possibly taken from Pr 18:10-11, where the same combination is used. The statement “silent are lips of falsehood” (בָּשָׁם שָׁפֶךְ) in 15:14-15 is likely to be taken from Ps 31:19 where the same statement is found. Finally, the expression “like chaff before the wind” (נַחֲלָבָה לִפְנֵי הַרְכָּבָה) in 15:26 is an allusion to Ps 35:5.

4.5.3 Literary Affinity

Likewise, this hymn has a number of lexical similarities with 13:22-15:8. Worth noting are the frequent use of in the two hymns (13:27, 28; 14:6, 24; 15:8, 10,

\footnote{Douglas (1998: 139).}
and the military idioms they employ (14:31, 32, 34, 36, 38; 15:10, 25). The following words and phrases are found to be distinctive to these two hymns: סיר, מרט, דוסר, נזר, מברחת, וו, סנט, ומברחת. This expression occurs only twice in the Hodayot and is found in these two hymns. Another significant linguistic correspondence between the two hymns is the use of the expression יִלְדוּל נֶצֶר. This expression occurs only in these two hymns and is not attested in the Bible nor elsewhere in the Hodayot.

More importantly, the introductory section of this hymn has many significant parallels to 13:22-15:8, and particularly to section 14:27e-32a, as depicted below:

These striking parallels between 15:10-12 and 14:27e-32a demonstrate that a relationship of literary dependence exists between these two sections. Likely, they might have been the work of the same author.
4.6.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 7:34-8:3; SHR 190409

IQH 15:37-39 = 4Q428 frg. 7:1-3

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 180

37. [I give you thanks], O Lord,
for you have not cast my lot in the congregation of worthlessness,
and in the council of the dissemblers you have not placed my prescribed portion.

38. [But you have] called me to your lovingkindness
and to [your] forgiveness
and in the abundance of your compassion for all the judgements of [

39. [I have been cast in guilt of unfaithfulness] injustice, and in the bosom

1. ]
2. ]
3. [ ] your righteousness is established forever, for not [
4. [ ways of ]

4.6.2 Literary Affinity

Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, one cannot make too much of this hymn nor discern whether there is any relationship between this hymn and the other hymns within IQH 10-17. There are only a few points this hymn may have in common with the hymns of Group II.

This hymn has two cases of correspondence with 11:20-37. In the opening line of the hymn, the author says, הנך ובו תנך נבך לש יְהוָה הנֶבֶר וּבִּיתוֹ: “for you have not cast my lot in the congregation of worthlessness”. The same combination of הבטח and יהוה is found in 11:23. Another correspondence between the two hymns is the use of the word נבך in 15:37; 11:29. There is one linguistic correspondence between 15:37-16:4 and 13:22-15:8. The expression הנך ובו תנך “the congregation of worthlessness” in 15:37 is found in 14:8. Finally, the phrase הנך ובו “in the bosom” occurs only four times in Group II (15:39; 15:24; 17:11, 36) and is unattested in the rest of the Hodayot.

42 This restoration is based on 4Q428 frg. 7:10.
4.7 1QH 16:5-17:36

4.7.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 8:4-9:36; SHR 190414, 190402
1QH 16:5-6 = 4Q428 frg. 7-11-12
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 180-4

The restoration of the introductory formula is based on 4Q428 frg. 7:11.


Sukenik mistakenly transcribed here.


A few scholars interpret it as “terror, horror” (Bardtke 1956b: 717; Lohse 1971: 145; Jeremias 1963: 253; Maier 1960: 95; Wallenstein 1957a: 13).
Sukenik suggested Є for the first letter but it looks more like a 3 (see also Lohse 1971: 144; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 182). Sukenik transcribed a final Є but the letter appears to be more like a Є if one compares it with the final Є of '37232' on the following line. This context also speaks in favour of this reading (see also Dupont-Sommer 1957: 70; Delcor 1962: 214; Lohse 1971: 146; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar 1997: 183).
5. I [give you thanks, O Lord],
   [for you have] set me in the fountain of streams in a dry land,
   and a spring of waters in a parched land,
6. and irrigation of (6) garden.
   [ ] a plantation of cypress and elm with box-tree together for your glory.

7. Trees of (7) life at the spring of mystery,
   hidden in the midst of all the trees of waters
   and they shall make a shoot grow to eternal plantation,
8. taking root before they sprout,
   and their roots stretch out to the stream,
   and its stump opens to the living waters,
9. and it becomes an eternal fountain,
   and on the sprouting of its foliage graze all [the animals] of the forest,
10. and its stump is a trampling-place for all those who pass over (10) the path,
   and its foliage for all winged birds,
   and all the [trees] of waters tower over it,
   for in their planting they grow tall
11. although they do not stretch (their) root to the stream.
   And he who makes the holly shoot grow into a plantation of truth,
12. hidden, not (12) esteemed, and that the seal of its mystery shall not be known. vacat
   And you, O God, have hedged in its fruit with the mystery of mighty warriors
13. and spirits of holiness and the blazing flame of fire will not...
14. and with everlasting trees (14) it will not drink waters of holiness,
   its fruit does not flourish with [ ] the clouds,
   for it sees, without recognizing
15. and it reckons without putting faith in the fountain of life,
   and it gives [ ].../e eternal
   But I have become the [mockery of overflowing streams,
16. for they have cast up their mire over me. vacat
17. And you, my God, you have put in my mouth
   as showers of early rain for all [ ]
   and a spring of living waters
   and the heaven will not deceive about opening up,
18. they do not depart but become an overflowing torrent [ ] waters
   and to seas without [ ].
19. Suddenly they spring forth from the hiding places in secret,
   [ ] and they shall become [ ]
20. green and dry, the deep for every animal
   and [ ] lead in mighty waters
21. [ ] fire and they are dried up,
   And a plantation of fruit [ ]r eternal, to a glorious Eden and pr[ ].
22. And by my hand you have opened their spring with channels, to turn against the established line.

23. and a plantation of their trees to the plumbline of the sun to a glorious bough. When I stretch (my) hand to dig out its channels,

24. its roots strike into the flintstone and its stump into the earth.

25. and in the time of heat it retains its strength and when I withdraw (my) hand, it becomes like nettles in a salty ground.

26. and its channels shall cause thorn and thistles to grow, into a thorn thicket and a thorn-bushes, they are turned as stinking trees.

27. before the heat its foliage withers and it does not open itself with m[ ] unto the seas the flame consumes,

28. with plagues.

29. for my [plague breaks forth to bitterness and an incurable pain without restraint, inf] over me as those who descend to Sheol,

30. and among the dead my spirit searches, for they reach to the pit h[ ]

31. my soul languishes day and night without rest, and it breaks forth as a burning fire shut b[ ]

32. making an end of strength by periods, and destroying flesh until the appointed times.

33. And my soul is cast down within me to destruction, for my strength ceases from my body, and my heart pours out like water,

34. and my flesh dissolves like wax, and the strength of my loins is turned into dismay and my arm is broken from its joint,

35. I am caught in shackles, and my knee gives way like water, and it is not possible to take a step and there is no step to the sound of my feet,

36. with fetters of stumbling-block and my tongue you have made strong in my mouth without being restrained, and it is not possible to [ ]

37. voice in my instruction to give life to the spirit of those who stumble, and to support the weary with a word.

38. Silent are all the lips of with fetters of judgement in bitterness lbb...rym dominion

39. the world [ ]

40. they have been made dumb as nought

41. man l[ ]

Column 17

1. [ ] p[ ]

2. [ ] slumber at night [ ]

3. [ ] without compassion.
In anger it arouses jealousy,

4. and to destruction [ ] (4) breakers of death
and Sheol is upon the couch of my bed,
in lament you lift [ ] in voice of groaning;

5. my eyes are like a moth in a kiln
and my tears like torrents of water,
my eyes fail to rest,

6. [ ] stands (6) a distance from me
and my life is on one side.

And as for me, from devastation to desolation,
and from pain to plague,

7. and from pangs (7) to breakers,
my soul meditates upon your wonders,
and you have not rejected me in your lovingkindness,

8. [from] time (8) to time my soul rejoices in the abundance of your compassion.
and I will give a reply to those who engulf me,

9. and a reproof to those who are casting me down.
And I condemn my own judgement,
but your judgement I declare righteous,

10. for I know (10) your truth.
And I have chosen my judgement
and in my affliction I have found pleasure
for I wait for your mercy.

11. And you have given (11) a plea for favour in the mouth of your servant,
and you have not rebuked my life,
and my well-being you have not spurned

12. and you have not forsaken (12) my hope
but in the face of affliction you have made my spirit stand.

For you have established my spirit
and you know my thought

13. and in my distress you have comforted me,
and I delight in forgiveness,
and I repent over past transgression,

14. and I know that there is hope in your [mercy],
and expectation in the abundance of your strength.

15. For none is justified (15) in your judgement and not your Righteous One,
one man is more righteous than another man,
and a man wiser than [ ],

16. and flesh is more honoured than one formed [of clay],
and one spirit more stronger than the other,
and knowing [ ]

17. there is none (17) in power,
and for your glory there is none [ ],
for your wisdom there is no measure,
and not [ ]

18. and for everyone who has been forsaken from it [ ]

---

But I, in you, shall
19. my place of standing and not h[aɪ][aɪ][aɪ]
20. and as one who has devised against me f[ ]
    and when for shame of face kw[ ]
21. for me and you h[aɪ][aɪ][aɪ] my enemy against me to stumbling-block f[ ]
22. men of mlhm[ ]st faces and insult for those who slander me. vacat

23. For you, my God, lm[ ]
    you contend my case.
    For with the mystery of your wisdom you rebuke me
24. and you have concealed the truth lq[ ] its appointed time
    and your reproof has become to me joy and gladness,
25. and my plague to healing [ ]nsh
    and the contempt of my enemy to a glorious ornament for me,
    and my stumbling to eternal strength.
26. For h[aɪ][aɪ][aɪ]
    and by your glory my light shines forth,
27. for light out of darkness (27) you have caused to shine for [me ]s my blow,
    and for my stumbling a wonderful strength,
28. and an eternal [expans]e (28) in the distress of rpi[ ]
    my refuge, my sure defense, the rock of my strength and my fortress.
29. In you (29) I seek refuge from all m[ ] to deliverance for me forever. vacat
30. For you, since my father, (30) have known me,
    and from the womb [ ] my mother you have dealt bountifully toward me,
    and from the breast of the one who conceived me
31. your compassion has been (31) upon me,
    and in the bosom of my guardian [ ]
    and from my youth you have revealed yourself to me in the insight of your righteousness,
32. and with certain truth you have sustained me.
    and by the spirit of your holiness you have made me glad
    and until this day [ ]
33. and the reproof of your righteousness is with [ ]wty
    and your complete protection for the deliverance of my soul,
34. and with my step is (34) the abundance of forgiveness
    and the abundance of [com]passion when you judge me,
    and until old age you sustain me
35. for (35) my father did not know me
    and my mother has abandoned me to you,
    for you are a father to all [the sons of] your truth
36. and you rejoice (36) over them like a mother over her child,
    and like a guardian you sustain all your creatures in (your) bosom.

4.7.2 Structure and Content

As to whether 16:5-17:36 is one long hymn, scholars are not unanimous. While most scholars consider it as a single block of material, others take columns 16 and 17 as two compositions. The bottom margin of column 16 and the top margin of column 17 are poorly preserved and it is possible that the introduction to the hymn in


column 17 might have been lost in 16:39-17:2, where the lacunae are large enough for an opening formula. It has also been suggested that columns 16 and 17 are different in content. Column 16 primarily focuses on the image of plantation whereas column 17 gives a portrayal of the author's misery.

There is some literary evidence in support of the unity of 16:5-17:36. One should not overlook the shift in theme already taken place at the beginning of 16:28, in which the author starts to describe his own misery. There are a number of key words that would link these two columns together. The word כנ數 “affliction” occurs twice in 16:28 and in 17:6, 10, 12, 25. The word רם “breakers” appears in 16:32 and then in 17:4, 7. Similarly, ינקנלא “Sheol” occurs in 16:29 and again in 17:4. On literary grounds there is nothing to prevent column 17 continuing column 16.

There are two good structural markers in this hymn. One fairly obvious marker is the use of פָּסָכִים to end a unit and introduce a new one. For instance, at line 16:16, the line is completed some distance before the left-hand margin. It seems logical to assume that a new unit begins at 16:17. Another structural device is the use of independent pronouns which occur frequently in the hymn and are set off by spacing. The structure of the hymn is as follows:

A. 5-6d: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
C. 17-28a: Plantation Imagery — Rain, Gardener, beginning with אֲנַחַת עַזָּה
D. 28b-17:6a: Description of the author’s distress beginning with אֲנַחַת רָעָה
E. 17:6b-18a: Description of the author’s trust in God beginning with אֲנַחַת
F. 17:18b-29b: Description of the author’s victory over his enemies beginning with אֲנַחַת
G. 17:29c-36: God’s gracious dealing with the author beginning with אֲנַחַת

The first major section consists of a number of images and key words: מים ‘waters’ (II. 5, 7, 8, 10, 14), מָשָׂא ‘plantation’ (II. 6, 7, 10, 11), עץ ‘tree’ (II. 6, 7, 10, 13), קְדֵם ‘life’ (II. 7, 8, 13, 15), מַקְוַה ‘fountain’ (II. 5, 9, 15), מַעְחַל ‘shoot’ (II. 7, 9, 11), זָר ‘sprouting’ (II. 7, 8, 11), שע ‘stem’ (II. 8, 9), מַעְרֵי ‘fruit’ (II. 12, 14). Very striking is the use of different words for the source of waters: מָשָׂא, מַקְוַה, מַעְחַל, מַעְרֵי. Jeremias is certainly right in pointing out that “source” and “planting” are the key concepts in this hymn.54

A new section begins at 16:17 and is marked off by the paragraph spacing and the phrase יִנְצָה אֲנַחַת. This section continues to use the water imagery and links to the

54 See Jeremias (1963: 256).
preceding section by repeating the following key terms: מְרַגְּשֵׁה (II. 17, 18, 20), מְשַׁמְּרָה (II. 21, 22), מְנַשָּׁשְׁבָּה (II. 23, 26), מַעֲנִי (II. 23, 25). It also describes the water as a spring of living water, echoing the expression מְרַגְּשֵׁה in the introduction. Similarly, the phrase מְרַגְּשֵׁה in 16:15d-16a is echoed in 16:18b, הָעַלֶּנֶכְּל הָשְׁלוֹם “an overflowing torrent.” The motif of hiddenness appears at line 19, where it says “Suddenly those hidden in secret will spring forth”, recalling the same motif in 16:7, “the mystery hidden in the midst of all the trees of waters” and 16:11, “he who makes the holy shoot grow into a plantation of truth, hidden.”

From line 28 onwards, the plantation imagery is no longer used and the portrayal of the author’s suffering comes to the fore. This shift in theme gives an indication of a new unit. It is possible that an independent pronoun יִרְאָה may have lost in the lacuna on line 27. If this is the case, the new section would begin at the middle of line 27. This section is characterised by the use of bodily language such as heart, flesh, knee, arm, tongue, eye, etc.

Section E begins with יָרָע at 17:6. In stark contrast to the previous section, this one strikes a note of rejoicing because the author knows that God has not forsaken him. The author has placed his trust in God even in the midst of distress and misery. This section contains a soteriological confession introduced by the formula יִרְאָה at line 14, where the author describes the incomparable knowledge of God.

With another יִרְאָה, section F shifts the focus to the author and his relationship with the enemies. A completely different set of vocabulary is used: לְבֵירָה “my enemy,” מְשַׁמְּרָה “shame,” מְלַמִּית “insult,” רְבֵיה “contempt.” Interestingly, the final section introduces another new set of vocabulary: אֲשֶׁר “father,” אֶת “mother,” בָּשֶׁם “guardian,” נְשָׁל “child,” נָשֶׁל “sustain.” It is to be noted that none of these terms is used in the preceding sections.

4.7.3 Literary Affinity

Besides its close affinity with 11:20-37 and 13:22-15:8, this hymn has a number of correspondences with 11:1-19.

16:20 נְשָׁלָה לְכָל הָאָנָנָי
the deep for every animal

11:15 נְשָׁלָה לְפָנִי בְּמֵית בְּמֵיתוֹ
and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps

17:4 נְשָׁלָה לְפָנִי אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים יָשָׁשׁ
breakers of death and Sheol is upon the couch of my bed

11:9 for children have come to the waves of death
11:10 for in the waves of death she gives birth to a male
17:30-31 and from the breast of the one who conceived me your compassion has been upon me
11:12 and terror to those conceiving them.
17:6-7 and as for me, from devastation to desolation, and from pain to plague, and from pang to breakers
11:10 and she that is pregnant with the man suffers anguish in her pangs

Finally, 16:5-17:36 shows a few shared lexical units with 15:9-28.

16:37 ... Silent are all the lips of ... 
15:14-15 for silent are the lips of falsehood
17:10 for I wait for your mercy
15:21 your mercy I await
17:31 and in the bosom of my guardian
17:36 and like a guardian you sustain all your creatures in (your) bosom
15:24 and as a guardian to the men of portent
15:24-25 and as a child delighting in the bosom of its guardian

4.8 Conclusion

Among the hymns in this group, 13:22-15:8 is the one that has numerous lexical similarities with all the other hymns. The lexical units these hymns have in common are quite different from those found in the other group. In these hymns the enemies of the author disappear and are no longer in the picture. A new set of terms and phrases are used, referring not to persons but to things, such as ship, city, plant, etc. Prominent among these hymns is the distress motif. All lexical and syntactic units shared by and distinctive to these hymns are summarized in the following table.
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A few comments are appropriate here. The fragmentary nature of the text in 11:38-12:5 and 15:37-16:4 makes it quite difficult to draw any definite conclusion as to how close these two hymns are to the other five hymns of Group II. Suffice it to say that they show a small number of similarities with 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36.

In addition to the lexical units mentioned in the table, these hymns make use of a number of terms so characteristic of the "Community Hymns": אַלִּים, occurring 67 times in the Hodayot, is found in four of the hymns here: 4 times in 11:20-37; 18 times in 13:22-15:8; 4 times in 15:9-28; 11 times in 16:5-17:36. Likewise, the preposition בְּ occurs 63 times in the Hodayot and is found 6 times in 11:20-37 and 9 times each in 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36. טָבָלָה, occurring 55 times in the Hodayot but never appears in Group I, is found in six of the hymns here: 2 times in 11:1-19; 4 times in 11:20-37; once in 11:38-12:5; 5 times in 13:22-15:8; 2 times in 15:9-28; 8 times in 16:5-17:36. בָּשָׁם occurs 23 times in the Hodayot, 18 of which appear outside of columns 10-17. It is found once in 15:9-28 and three times in 16:5-17:36. Similarly, לָשׁוֹנִי occurs 9 times in the Hodayot and is found once in 15:9-28 and twice in 16:5-17:36. רִמָּמָה, occurring 29 times in the Hodayot but never in Group I, is found once each in 11:1-19 and 11:20-37 and twice in 13:22-15:8. הדָּמָר occurs 10 times in the Hodayot and is found twice in 11:20-37. Finally, הָרַמָּה occurs 16 times in the Hodayot and is found once in 11:20-37 and 13:22-15:8.

As mentioned before, the correction made on the introductory formula would suggest that 13:22-15:8, as far as the second scribe is concerned, is less of a "Teacher Hymn." 13:22-15:8 does contain lexical and stylistic features characteristic of the "Community Hymns;" nonetheless, one cannot so neatly separate this long hymn into sections and identify a section as having materials adapted from "Community Hymns." It would appear that the numerous lexical elements 13:22-15:8 shares with
the other hymns are clustered around 13:30-14:8 and 14:25-15:8. These are the sections where the distress of the author is vividly portrayed. This is also the case with 16:5-17:36. The distress motif takes place towards the end of column 16, and surprisingly, this is where the shared lexical units surface. Furthermore, the hymns of Group II, with the exception of 15:9-28 and the two fragmentary hymns, contain strong apocalyptic imagery which emphasizes the destruction of the wicked and the reward for the righteous. It is quite true that earthly suffering will make one look for heavenly hope. Notable among the hymns of Group II is that the distress motif and the apocalyptic imagery are closely tied together. These two features clearly stand out in Group II and make it distinguished from the hymns of Group I.

That Group I shows a lack of use of these lexical elements should not go unmentioned. Is it then a coincident that these lexical units are found in Group II? On the one hand, it gives further evidence that the hymns of Group II are closely tied together as they share to a certain extent a few common stylistic features; on the other, it raises the question as to how close the hymns of Group II are to Group I.

56 The eschatological material in Group II may be designated “apocalyptic eschatology”. Collin’s observation (1992a: 281) is elucidating at this point: “Common to both [prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic eschatology] is the belief that, in accordance with divine plan, the adverse conditions of the present world would end in judgment of the wicked and vindication of the righteous, thereby ushering in a new era of prosperity and peace.”
CHAPTER FIVE
THE REDACTIONAL SHAPE OF 1QH 10-17:36

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, 1QH 10-17:36 can be further classified into two major groups, each with its own distinctive traits of vocabulary, style, and content. Group I consists of 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6, and 13:7-21 while Group II comprises 11:1-19, 11:20-37, 11:38-12:5, 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, 15:37-16:4, and 16:5-17:36. Although Group I and II employ different sets of lexical units, these are not mutually exclusive. The hymns do have a number of points in common. Before discussing the redactional shape of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, the relationship of Group I to Group II must be explored. The following will outline any linguistic parallels each of the hymns of Group I has to the hymns of Group II.

5.1 Relationship between Group I and II

5.1.1 1QH 10:1-21

10:1-21 has a few lexical similarities with 11:1-19. These two hymns make use of the following theme words: בד, פָּנָן, פָּנָה, עָלֵי, מַעֲשֵׂה, מַעֲשֵׂי, מַעַּשִּׁים, פָּנָה, פָּנָה, מַעֲשֵׂי, מַעַּשִּׁים.

10:14 עָלֵי קֹהֲלַת רַעַשִּׁים מַעֲשֵׂי הָאָדָם מַעֲשֵׂי יוֹצֵאם מַעֲשֵׂי מִלּוּא הָאָדָם
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me, and they roar like the storms of the seas when their waves rush forth

10:18 [מַעַּשִּׁים] רָמָה עָלֵי דַעַם בֱּסָכָל מַעֲשֵׂי מִלּוּא הָאָדָם
[men of deceit] roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters.

11:14 יִרְשָׁבֶּר עָלֵי-מַעֲשֵׂי וְקָנָה מַעֲשֵׂי מִלְּבָנָה, וְקָנָה מַעֲשֵׂי מִלְּבָנָה
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound and those who dwell on the dust are like those going down to the seas, terrified by the roar of the waters.

11:16-17 [מַעַּשִּׁים] לִדְרוֹת בָּלָם מֵסָבַרְתָּי מַעֲשֵׂי מִלְּבָנָה וְנַבְּהָה צִבְיָה
and they [rush forth] to lift up waves and breakers of waters with the roaring of their noise, and when they rush forth

It is worth mentioning that the verb פָּנָה is distinctive to these two hymns, occurring only three times in the Hodayot, twice in 10:1-21 and once in 11:1-19. Most important is the fact that their shared lexical units are all clustered in the sections where the imagery of chaotic water is used. There is however a marked
difference between the two. The chaotic water imagery is used to describe the attack of the enemies in 10:1-21 while in 11:1-19 the imagery is likely to do with the eschatological judgement of the wicked.

10:1-21 has a close linguistic affinity with 11:20-37. The use of רמש and the verbal form ידוחה is found in these two hymns:

10:14-15 דוחה מהטהרולו מים בחררשו גלזרו רמש ומשי וורמה
and they roar like the storms of the seas
when their waves rush forth,
mire and mud they cast up

11:33 דוחה מהטהרולו תוס ידוחה והמסר רמש והמש
and the devices of the deep roar with the din of those casting out mud

A linguistic parallel can be drawn between 10:1-21 and 13:22-15:8. It is also found in their use of the terminology of the chaotic water imagery. In 10:14 the author says, “and they roar like the storms of the seas when their waves rush forth” (דוחה מהטהרולו מים בחררשו גלזרו). The same idea appears in 14:26, “their waves and all their breakers have roared against me” (בל人員 מים משבריו על tạo). In 10:1-21 and 15:9-28, drawing on the language of Pr 16:1, both employ the expression ממעה שלש “reply of the tongue” (10:9; 15:14, 16). There is a linguistic and thematic correspondence between 10:1-21 and 16:5-17:36. In 10:14d-15 it says, “mire and mud they cast up” (כמש ומשר ידוחה). A similar use of רמש and ידוחה is found in 16:16, “for they have cast up their mire over me” (כמש ומשר ידוחה). In short, 10:1-21 has a few parallels to Group II, primarily in the section where the chaotic water imagery is used.

5.1.2 IQH 10:22-32

10:22-32 and 11:1-19 share a lexical unit distinctive to them. The word אפקה “viper, wickedness” occurs 4 times in the Hodayot and is found only in these two hymns (10:30; 11:13, 18, 19). Again, the chaotic water imagery is used in the hymns:

10:29a, 30b חתפתו ידוח שפשוף סמל הלגוס בחררשו גלזרו
and like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice...
when their waves splash up

11:14 ידוחה מהטהרולו בחררשו אפק
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound
and those who dwell on the dust are like those going down to the seas, terrified by the roar of the waters.

11:16-17 ידרש[ה]ו לדורו בילם משבר ידוחה והמשכין
[and] they [rush forth] to lift up waves and breakers with the roaring of their noise, and when they rush forth
10:22-32 and 11:20-37 have three lexical units distinctive to them: חלֹה (10:28; 11:31), כַּפַת (10:29; 11:33), and מֹשֶר (10:31; 11:21). The firing of arrows, a motif occurred in 11:1-19 and 11:20-37, is also found in 10:28. Notable is the striking parallel between 10:28 and 11:28, 30:

10:28

*וְחֵפָר הָצַאֵת לְאָנָן מִרְמָאֹל הָדָרָב חָצִיר בֵּאָמֹא אֲבֶלֶת עַֽשִּׁיּَוֹת*

and arrows have burst forth without cure
and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees

11:28

*וְכָהַתְמוּם כָּלַֽהְתָּמַם שִׁלָּחָה לֵאָן הָשִׁם עֲמַרְמַי לְאָן חָצִיר*

when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
and they burst forth without hope

11:30

*כְּאָשָׁם אֲבֶלֶתָה כָּבָּשׁ פָּאָרָאָוֹרָה לָחַתִי אֶלַּוּ עַז*

like fire consuming all their watering places, to destroy every tree

10:22-32 has two close linguistic affinities with 13:22-15:8. In 10:28, the author uses the expression “weapons of war” (כִּילֵי מַלְצַחָה), which is also found in 14:31 and 14:34. Their contexts, however, are slightly different. The expression is used to portray the fierce attack of the enemies in 10:28 whereas in 14:31 and 14:34 it is placed in the context where the eschatological warfare is described. Another close parallel between these two hymns is the use of שָׁאָר and שָׁאָם. The collocation of these two words is found only in these two hymns.

10:29

*כְּהַמֶּלֶךְ מִי רָבִּים שָׁאָם קָרָֽלָם*

and like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice

14:10

*ואַלֹהָמָה עַלְּהָמָה נַעְרוּ שָׁאָם סַמְלִי בָּאָבִיָּה*

and I will take comfort above the roar of the people
and above the din of [king]doms.

The most notable affinity between 10:22-32 and 13:22-15:8 is the prominent use of independent pronouns: בַּאֲרִ (10:27, 30; 13:24, 15:4) and דַּמֶּה (10:24, 25; 13:28, 14:22). 13:22-15:8 has a feature characteristic of Group I, that is, the use of דַּמֶּה in describing the author’s enemies. In 13:28, the author says, “and as for them, they devise destruction in their heart, [and the words of Be]lial have opened a lying tongue” (דַּמֶּה חוֹתֵם לְמָה תִּשְׁמַר [רֹבֲרִי [לִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי דַּמֶּה פָּ֣רָה]). Another occurrence is in 14:22, where it says “And they, the ones who were pledged to my witness, have been seduced” (דַּמֶּה נְצַמְרִי תַּעַרְבֵּר פָּרָה). In sum, 10:22-32 has close correspondences to Group II in the section where the military motif and the chaotic water imagery are used.

5.1.3 *IQH* 10:33-41

Using biblical terminology, 10:33-41 and 11:20-37 have the phrase נֵֽסָּם אֱבִיָּהוּ.
A significant correspondence can be drawn between 10:33-41 and 15:9-28. In 10:37-38 the author says, “with their taunt you have not made me dismayed, so as to abandon your service for fear of destructions” (רְצוֹנָם לָךְ הָתַחֲתַתּ לְעַמּוֹת שַׁעַר הָתַחֲתַתּ מָשָׁר תַּזְהַד). A similar statement is found in 15:10-11 where it says, “and in all their destructions you have [not] made me dismayed at your covenant” (בַּעֲבוֹר חֲתַתּ לָךְ הָתַחֲתַתּ מָשָׁר תַּזְהַד).

5.1.4 IQH 12:6-13:6

A significant correspondence between 12:6-13:6 and 11:1-19 is “you have enlightened my face” (12:6; 11:4). 12:6-13:6 has three lexical similarities with 11:20-37. “dissemblers,” occurring only three times in the Hodayot, is found in 12:14 and 11:29. The same word is used in 15:37. Another correspondence between these two hymns is the word הלל “scoundrels”, which occurs only in 12:26, 36 and 11:26, 27, and is unattested in other DSS. A further linguistic similarity is the use of the noun מְדַלְדָּל “nets,” which is found only in these two hymns, 12:13 and 11:27. The expression יָרוּ בָּרוֹ אָרְךָ “creature of clay” also appears in the hymns, 12:30 and 11:24e-25a.

12:6-13:6 and 13:22-15:8 have two linguistic correspondences. The expression דְּרֶךְ לְבָּךְ “the way of your heart” occurs five times in the Hodayot and is found only in these two hymns (12:19, 22, 25; 14:10, 27). Another affinity between these two hymns is the phrase עִם הַמֶּלֶךְ “God Most High” (12:32; 14:36). This stereotyped expression is rarely used in columns 10-17:36 but found in the “Community Hymns.” As will be shown later, 12:30b-13:6 does contain motifs and language characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” A significant correspondence between these two hymns is the prominent use of independent pronouns: את (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 13:24, 15:4) and לפני (12:7, 10, 14, 17; 13:28, 14:22).

12:6-13:6 has a striking parallel to 15:9-28. In 12:23, the author claims, “I stand upright and rise against those who despise me” (אֲנִי גָּאַה וְגָאַה לְפָנֶיךָ). The same idea occurs in 15:25, where the author says, “and you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me” (וְהָרָה כַּרְיָה עָלֶיךָ בִּלְבָּד לְפָנֶיךָ). Another correspondence between these two hymns is the use of independent pronouns: את (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 15:21) and לפני (12:13, 19; 15:13, 16, 19, 28).

There are two significant correspondences between 12:6-13:6 and 16:5-17:36. Remarkable is their use of independent pronouns: את (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 17:6, 18) and לפני (12:13, 19; 16:17, 24, 30). Significant parallels can be drawn between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35:

“the soul of the poor” (10:34; 11:26).
And my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire,
and my knees have gone like water rushing down the slope.

And my heart pours out like water and my flesh dissolves like wax
And my knees give way like water

These two sections describe the suffering and distress of the author. Although they employ the same set of vocabulary, there is a subtle difference between them. In 1QH 10-17:36, the phrase is rarely placed between the verb and the subject. The following pattern is often found: verb + subject + כ + noun. It is only in 16:33-35 that the pattern, verb + כ + noun + subject, is used. This makes it less likely that there is a direct copying or deliberate imitation here. Such a close correspondence would suggest that a literary relationship exists between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35 or they might have been the work of the same author. It is also possible that the authors of these two sections might have made use of secondary sources.

5.1.5 1QH 13:7-21

13:7-21 shares a number of lexical and thematic similarities with 13:22-15:8. The word שמחה נמס “calm, stillness” is distinctive to these two hymns. In 13:20, the author believes that God “will turn a tempest to stillness” (שתחפosa תימנה מלאכ). But in his distress, the author says in 14:26, “a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul (חרד ונעיסא [ל家长] תימנה מלאכ ממיא). A significant parallel is found in their description of the enemies. In 13:12, the author says, “the venom of vipers is all their plan to seize” (חפושה הנצחיים כל מפונות עניבת ומיא). In 13:29, the attack of the enemies is described “as the venom of vipers” (חפושה הנצחיים). The author also uses the verbal form התחפה further down the line (13:29d). Another linguistic correspondence can be found in 13:13 where the author claims, “your Torah you have hidden in [me]” (הוורדה חפשה בך). The same idea occurs in 13:27, where it says, “and concerning the mystery you have hidden in me” (חפשה חפשה בך). Finally, 13:7-21 has a striking parallel to 15:9-28 and 16:5-17:36. The use of the independent pronoun היא is prominent among these hymns (13:13, 15, 20; 15:13, 16, 19, 28; 16:17, 24, 30).

5.1.6 Summary

There are a few lexical and thematic links between Group I and II. The majority of the lexical units shared by these two groups are clustered around the sections where the military motif or the chaotic water imagery is used. In a few cases their
similarities are found in the description of the enemies. The following matrix summarises the relationship between these two major groups of hymns.

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<td>אָסְף, רֹנֶה, כְּלָיָה, רוּפָא</td>
<td>אַרְבָּאָר</td>
<td>אָסְף, רֹנֶה, כְּלָיָה, רוּפָא</td>
<td>אַרְבָּאָר</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:20-37</td>
<td>בַּכִּית, וֹאֵש, מֶשָּׁה, רוּפָא</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה וֹאֵש, מֶשָּׁה, רוּפָא</td>
<td>לֵוְיָה</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה וֹאֵש, מֶשָּׁה, רוּפָא</td>
<td>לֵוְיָה</td>
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<td>13:22-15:8</td>
<td>נְבֵלָה</td>
<td>נְבֵלָה</td>
<td>נְבֵלָה</td>
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<td>נְבֵלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:9-28</td>
<td>מִסְיָנָה לָשָׁן</td>
<td>דְוֹד + לֵוְיָה, דְוֹד + לֵוְיָה, דְוֹד + לֵוְיָה, דְוֹד + לֵוְיָה</td>
<td>מְפֹרֶה</td>
<td>מְפֹרֶה</td>
<td>מְפֹרֶה</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:37-16:4</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה</td>
<td>נַעֲלֵה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:5-17:36</td>
<td>רֹפֶה + הֶדֶן</td>
<td>רֹפֶה + הֶדֶן</td>
<td>רֹפֶה + הֶדֶן</td>
<td>רֹפֶה + הֶדֶן</td>
<td>רֹפֶה + הֶדֶן</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the hymns of Group I, 12:6-13:6 is the one that shows some significant parallels to Group II. 13:22-15:8 is the hymn of Group II that exhibits a number of similarities with Group I. Worth noting is the fact that Group II, besides its lexical dissimilarities from Group I, shows a number of features characteristic of the “Community Hymns,” something that Group I does not offer. Even more, Group I as a whole is significantly different from Group II in terms of theme. Thematically, the hymns of Group I are pure and simple in that they focus primarily on the enemies of the author. In point of fact, this theme usually pervades throughout the entire hymn. On the contrary, the hymns of Group II are much more complex and usually contain more than one theme. They are too complicated to the extent that one might suspect there are secondary sources used in the hymns. This would point to the enticing possibility that these hymns might have been the work of later redactors. Habel’s observation on the use of secondary sources is helpful at elucidating this point: “The presence of a second literary hand is sometimes evident in a distinctive way of thinking or theological stance. Where a definite change in theological approach is accompanied by other indications of a different literary hand the likelihood of a second literary is greatly increased.”

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2 Habel (1971: 15).
The first scholar to question the literary unity of each of the Hodayot is Sarah Tanzer. Tanzer discerns that the motifs and vocabulary characteristic of the “Community Hymns” are present in some of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. She designates the hymns with features of both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns” as “hybrids.” In her analysis she has identified eight “hybrids”: 10:5-21, 11:6-19, 11:20-37, 12:6-13:6, 13:22-15:8, 15:29-36, 15:37-16:4, 16:5-17:36. She proposes that a later editor has adapted material from the “Community Hymns” into the “Teacher Hymns.” Tanzer’s suggestion is just one possible explanation for this literary phenomena. Another possibility is that the phenomena can be attributed to later authorship. Later author(s), having been influenced by both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns,” wrote the “hybrids.” It is also probable that the same author wrote both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns,” thus responsible for the mixture of styles in the “hybrids.” Whether secondary sources have been used must then be decided on the basis of the examination of each of the Hodayot.

Tanzer’s “hybrids” all fall within 1QH 10-17:36. Of the eight “hybrids,” two are in our Group I and five in Group II. A few words must be said about Tanzer’s inclusion of 15:29-36 and 15:37-16:4 as “hybrids.” Tanzer takes 15:29-36 as a “hybrid” because the hymn opens with אָדָרְבַּה אָדָרְבַּה יִנֵּז, the introductory formula characteristic of the other “Teacher Hymns.” Whether one may take 15:29-36 as a “hybrid” simply on the basis of its introductory formula is questionable. In her analysis of 13:22-15:8, Tanzer considers the hymn to be a “hybrid” because of the section of “soteriological confessions” in 14:9-22. Interestingly, she never questions the introductory formula of the hymn, which is rather than אָדָרְבַּה אָדָרְבַּה יִנֵּז. In point of fact, there is not enough evidence to associate 15:29-36 with the other “Teacher Hymns.” As already shown in Chapter 3, the statistics speak in favour of placing 15:29-36 along with the other “Community Hymns.” Tanzer considers 15:37-16:4 to be a “hybrid” on the basis of Stegemann’s reconstruction. However, the hymn is so fragmentary that one cannot determine with much certainty whether or not it is a “hybrid.”

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5.2.1 1QH 10:1-21

According to Tanzer, 10:1-21 includes a block of material adapted from the “Community Hymns,” as she writes: “In the example of 2:3-19 [10:5-21], the material adapted from the Hymns of the Community is found in the third stanza, which does not follow the same dualistic pattern which was noted in the first two stanzas. Although the literary seams are not readily apparent, in terms of its linguistic features 2:14b-19 [10:16b-21] reads like a Hymn of the Community.”

Tanzer does not provide any linguistic features of 10:16b-21 in support of her argument that this particular section reads like a “Community Hymn.”

There is some literary evidence arguing for the unity of the hymn. As already shown in Chapter 3, section 10:16b-21 has features reminiscent of the preceding sections, that is, 10:1-16a. The use of הָרְדָּס (II. 10, 12, 16, 17) is a good case in point. The chaotic water imagery in describing the author’s enemies is found in 10:14 as well as in 10:18. The combination of נֵר ובֵית and יִנְסֹא in 10:20-21 makes a perfect echo to 10:9 where the phrase נֵר ובֵית יִנְסֹא לֶאֹרֶץ is found. 12:8-17 has a number of striking parallels to 10:16b-21 but Tanzer does not take this section as having material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” In sum, 10:16b-21 is closely tied to 10:1-16a and also exhibits features characteristic of the hymns of Group I. Tanzer’s suggestion that 10:16b-21 contains material from the “Community Hymns” is questionable. The unity of the hymn is still intact and 10:1-21 does not appear to have made use of secondary sources.

5.2.2 1QH 11:1-19

Mention must be made of Tanzer’s interpretation of this hymn because she considers it to be a “hybrid” with 11:10b-19 as secondary material from an unidentified apocalyptic source. Tanzer observes that the hymn “presents a brief thanksgiving framework that has been somewhat abruptly attached to a Bosch-like vision of the damnation of wicked creatures (beginning in line 9 [= 11:10]). This damnation of the wicked is presented to us in vivid cosmic imagery.” The use of cosmic imagery leads her to posit that “the author of the Hymns of the Teacher composed only the beginning of this composition which has been connected with a cosmic struggle scenario taken from elsewhere.”

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7 Tanzer (1986: 73-4).
8 Tanzer (1986: 74).
9 Tanzer (1986: 74).
However, Tanzer’s argument for the division of the hymn into two sources does not account for the lexical and structural similarities shown within the hymn. She has overlooked the repetitive use of theme words such as והרוא and מסכנת throughout the entire hymn as well as the similar use of ship imagery in 11:7d and 11:14a. More importantly, the structure of the hymn speaks in favour of its unity:

A. Ship Imagery (7b-8a)
B. Woman in Travail (8b-13d)
A. Ship Imagery (13e-18)
B. Woman in Travail (19)

Section 7-13d opens with a short description of ship imagery and is followed by a lengthy description of a woman in travail whereas section 13e-19 begins with a lengthy description of ship imagery and ends with a brief description of another woman in travail. By means of this ABAB structure, sections 7-13d and 13e-19 are closely tied together. If the hymn is composed of two sources, the author or the redactor has skilfully sewn these sources together in order to give a sense of unity to the hymn.

5.2.3 1QH 11:20-37

Like 11:1-19, Tanzer takes this hymn as a “hybrid” with material adapted from the “Community Hymns” in 11:21b-25a as well as from an unidentified apocalyptic source in 11:25b-37. Undoubtedly, section 11:21-25 contains language and motifs associated with the “Community Hymns.” The phrase “creature of clay” (מוֹרֶחַ) in 11:24-25 and the introductory formula of the soteriological confession אָדָם הַמֵּרֵא “I know that” in 11:21 are features characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” Another good case in point is the use of rhetorical questions in 11:25. More importantly, the section has a number of significant parallels to 19:3-14, and particularly to 19:10-14, as depicted below:

11:22-23 וּרְאָתָה נַעַת שֶׁרַרָהּ מַטַּשְׁתָה לְחֹרִיתֶךָ, מַטַּשְׁתָּהּ עִמָּךְ חֹרִיותָהּ and the perverted spirit you have purified from great transgression, that he might station himself in position with the host of the holy ones

19:10 לעמה בֹּדֶרְכָּךְ בֹּדֶרְכֹּתָהּ אַלֵּשׁ מַטַּשָּׁתָהּ And for the sake of your glory you have cleansed man from transgression

19:13-14 וּרְאָתָה נַעַת בְּלֶשֶׂת[ךָ] לְחֹרִיתֶךָ מַטַּשְׁתָּהּ עִמָּךְ לְחֹרִיותָהּ and from perverted spirit to [your] understanding and that he may station himself in position before you with an eternal host

Moreover, the phrase יְדִידָה רַחֲבָה “in the community of rejoicing” occurs in 11:24 as well as in 19:14. If the restoration of 19:12 is correct, there is another parallel between them. In 11:21d-22a, it says, “there is hope for those you have formed from dust into an eternal council” (יְדִידָה רַחֲבָה מְשַׁמֶּר חֶלֶם לְךָ). Similarly, the author in 19:12 says, “to raise up from dust the worms of the dead to an [eternal] council” (יְדִידָה מְשַׁמֶּר חֶלֶם מֵתָמִית חֶלֶם). All these lexical and syntactical parallels point to a relation of literary dependence between 11:21-25 and 19:10-14.

Attention must be given to the eschatological nature of the judgment theme in 11:30-37. The use of cosmic imagery in judgement motif without any bearing on the author’s enemies makes this section significantly different from the other eschatological discourses in 1QH 10-17:36. This distinctive feature would suggest that this section might have come from another eschatological tradition. Besides, this section employs a set of vocabulary different from the preceding sections, and especially the section (i.e. 11:26b-29) which has significant affinity with the other hymns of Group II. All these seems to be arguing against the unity of the hymn. Three possible conclusions can be made here. First, it may be suggested that a later redactor carefully and skilfully composed this hymn by incorporating material from the “Community Hymns” and an eschatological tradition. Second, it is possible that the author of Group II wrote the eschatological section but adapted material from the “Community Hymns.” This would imply that the text of Group II was later than the “Community Hymns.” Third, one cannot rule out the possibility that the author of Group II wrote the entire hymn, including both the eschatological section and the material characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” The technique of inclusio and the skilful use of repeated theme words in the hymn make the present writer hesitate to go for the first conclusion while the striking parallels between 11:21-25 and 19:10-14 make the third conclusion less likely. It is worth noting that Group II contains all eschatological discourses in the Hodayot. All else being considered, the second conclusion seems to be the most probable explanation.

5.2.4 1QH 12:6-13:6

Most scholars take 12:30b-13:6 as a secondary addition to 12:6-30a.11 On the one hand, there is some literary evidence arguing for the unity of 12:6-13:6. From the outset, the author states his relationship with God through the covenant. This theme

of God’s covenant pervades throughout the entire hymn. The word בֵּרֵיתָהוּ/בריתוּ “your covenant” occurs three times in 12:6-30a (II. 6, 20, 25) and the same word is found exactly three more times in 12:30b-13:6 (II. 35, 36, 40). Similarly, the word רָאוּ/רוא “way” appears three times in 12:6-30a (II. 19, 22, 25) and again three times in 12:30b-13:6 (II. 32, 32, 33). Finally, הָעַשְׁדִּירֵיהַ אֱלֹהִים “I stood upright and rose up” at 12:37 echoes נִשְׂדִּירֵיהַ אֱלֹהִים at 12:23, and the word פַּסְדּוּל “scoundrels,” a term describing the enemies of the author, is used in 12:26 and 12:36.

On the other hand, 12:30b-13:6 does exhibit many linguistic features of the “Community Hymns.” The use of rhetorical questions is a good case in point. בַּל occurs four times in columns 10-17 but twenty nine times in the rest of the Hodayot.12 The verb אֲשֶׁר “create” appears only once in 12:39 and its seven other occurrences are found outside columns 10-17.13 The noun רָצוֹה “pleasure” occurs twice in the hymn (12:34, 13:6) but fourteen times in the rest of the Hodayot.14 The phrase אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹה רַגְלָיו “a creature of clay” in 12:30 appears six other times outside columns 10-17.15 Remarkably, the following close correspondences between 12:30a-13:6 and the “Community Hymns” are found:

12:31 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And I know that to man does not belong righteousness

7:15 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And I know by your insight, for it is not by a hand of flesh

7:25-26 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And I know that no wealth is comparable with your truth.

13:6 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And in your hand is the judgement of them all

8:4 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And in your hand is the judgement of them all

12:33-34 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And the abundance of his compassion upon all the sons of his pleasure

19:9 אֲשֶׁר רָצוֹהַ בְּבָא לַאֲרֵי נֶפֶשׁ
And your compassion for all the sons of your pleasure

It has been suggested that 12:30b-41 contains material from an eschatological tradition and has striking parallels to the Enochic text (1 Enoch 1-5) as well as to the

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12 Cf. 1QH 5:20; 7:3, 24; 8:5; 9:23, 25x2, 26; 18:3, 5x2, 6, 7, 12; 19:3; 20:27, 28, 31, 32x2, 33; 21:6 (top); 21:12 (bottom); 22:15 (top); 22:10, 11 (bottom); 23:4, 7 (bottom); 26:10 (bottom)
14 Cf. 1QH 4:23, 6:10, 13; 7:18; 8:20; 9:8, 10, 15; 18:2, 6, 9; 19:9; 23:8; 24:9
Micah text (1:3-4). Significant correspondence can be drawn between 12:34-35 and Mic 1:4:

12:34-35

וֹצֵק לְבָבוֹס יִמְצָא אֶל רִ ילִּבְיָ מַעֲרָתָן בּוֹמֵר
And my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire,
and my knees have gone like water rushing down the slope.

Mic 1:4

הַמָּרָת הַהוֹרֹר וַתִּבָּרְקֵה וַתִּפְרֹב שֵׁם
The mountains melt beneath him and the valleys split apart,
like wax before the fire, like water rushing down the slope.

There is a scribal correction from מְלָאכִי to מְלַאכָּה on line 34. This subtle change may speak in favour of its use of the Micah text here. The author of 12:34-35 uses Micah’s language about the cosmic reaction to God’s judgement in order to describe his bodily and emotional response caused by the knowledge of his own sinfulness. The possibility that the author makes use of an eschatological tradition similar to the Micah text cannot be dismissed completely. Worth mentioning is that the author’s use of judgement motif in describing his own distress is a feature characteristic of the hymns of Group II. This may be ascribed to the author’s skilful use of the Micah text rather than his use of an eschatological tradition.

In conclusion, this accumulation of similarities points to the secondary nature of 12:30b-13:6 as the most probable explanation for its distinctive linguistic features. Three possible conclusions can be drawn here. First, it may be suggested that a later redactor had before him the text of 12:6-30a and the material from the “Community Hymns” as well as from an eschatological tradition, put them together and composed 12:6-13:6. If this is the case, the redactor has carefully and skilfully put the three sources together. Another possible conclusion is that the author of the “Community Hymns” put together the text of 12:6-30a and the material from an eschatological tradition and incorporated his own material into the hymn. This is based on the assumption that the “Community Hymns” was later than the text of 12:6-30a. Finally, one may conclude that the author of 12:6-30a, influenced by an eschatological tradition and the “Community Hymns,” composed the entire hymn. In this case, the text of 12:6-30a is assumed to be later than the “Community Hymns.” Although 12:30b-13:6 makes use of words and expressions characteristic of the “Community Hymns,” it is interrupted by a small eschatological section, i.e., 12:34b-35a, where the author expresses his own distress. As demonstrated in the preceding section, there seems to be a literary dependence between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35. 16:33-35 occurs in a section where the lengthy description of the author’s

distress is given. If these two small sections were from the hand of the same author, the author of 12:6-30a could not have written the entire hymn unless he also wrote the sections about the author’s distress in Group II. This would point to the first conclusion as the most likely one.

5.2.5 *IQH* 13:22-15:8

Although 13:22-15:8 is one long hymn as it now stands, it might not be the case originally. There are traces of evidence suggesting the secondary nature of 14:9-22a. Section 14:9-22a, giving a description of the remnant, seems to introduce a break between the two sections where the enemies and the author’s distress are vividly portrayed, as shown in the following structure:

A. Description of the enemies and the author’s distress (13:28b-14:8)  
B. Soteriological confession about the remnant (14:9-17a)  
C. Eschatological discourse about the remnant (14:17b-22a)  
A. Description of the enemies and the author’s distress (14:22b-27d)

Section 13:28b-14:8 begins with הָדֹם and is followed by a description of the enemies. The section ends with a lengthy description of the author’s distress. The same pattern is found in section 14:22b-27, which also begins with הָדֹם and is followed by a description of the enemies and the author’s distress. According to the descriptions given in these two sections, the הָדֹם in 13:28 and 14:22 appears to be referring to the same group of people, that is, the apostates.

Furthermore, the theological outlook of the section is quite different from the sections preceding and following it. In the midst of the description of the author’s distress, section 14:9-17a opens with a soteriological confession, וַיֹּאמֶר לְיִהוּדָהָא תָּרֹפֶה “I know that there is hope,” a feature characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” The section moves on to give a portrayal of the remnant. It is quite surprising that the hymn makes a sudden shift and returns to the description of the enemies. Section 14:9-22a, standing between 13:28b-14:8 and 14:22b-27, seems to be strange and perhaps out of place. Worth mentioning is that the eschatological section on the remnant is distinctive to the hymn and unattested in the rest of the Hodayot.

As shown in Section 5.1, 13:22-15:8 has a number of parallels to the hymns of Group I. Significant correspondences are clustered around the two sections where the relationship of the author to his enemies is described. The use of the independent pronoun הָדֹם for introducing the author’s opponents is a feature of the hymns of Group I. In addition, 13:22-15:8 makes extensive use of Scripture (see Section 4.4.2). The hymn uses not only biblical words and phrases, but chains of biblical expressions. In some cases the author skilfully combines biblical texts and
incorporates them into the hymn. This use of Scripture is similar to those discerned in the hymns of Group I. This makes the affinity between Group I and 13:22-15:8 all the more striking. It is quite possible that the sections concerning the author’s relationship to his adversaries might have come from the work of the author of Group I. On the whole, 13:22-15:8 is too complex to have been written by a single author. More likely, the author was a redactor who had incorporated into the hymn material adapted from an eschatological tradition and the “Community Hymns” as well as from the work of the author of Group I.

5.2.6 IQH 16:5-17:36

The fact that 16:5-17:36 is a single composition, as shown in Chapter 4, does not mean that it was always so. The first two major sections, 16:6e-16 and 16:17-28a, are imbued with strong apocalyptic imagery. Without giving any reasons, the author laments in 16:28 that he is like a forsaken man. From then onwards, he sets out to describe his own distress and suffering. Remarkably, a new set of vocabulary, which is quite different from the previous two sections, is employed in 16:28b-17:6a. More importantly, this is the section where a great number of linguistic affinity with the other hymns of Group II is found. The next section, 17:6b-18a, describes how the author puts his trust and confidence in God. In the middle of the section, the author makes a soteriological confession with the formula אֲנִי זֶה מָצַךְ אָנִי which “I know that there is hope.” As mentioned before, this formula is a feature of the “Community Hymns.” In point of fact, this section contains motifs and language associated with the “Community Hymns.” 17:18b-29b returns to the description of the relationship of the author to his enemies. It then describes how God has enabled the author to stand firm despite the contempt of the enemies. Again, this section frequently uses words and phrases that have not occurred in the previous sections. The final section, 17:29c-36, clearly stands out and employs another set of vocabulary. This set of vocabulary is found only in 15:23c-24 and is not attested anywhere else in the Hodayot.

The frequent change of vocabulary and the shift in theme would suggest that 16:5-17:36 has been redacted in some ways. The sections that show a literary relationship with the other hymns of Group II are 16:6e-16, 16:28b-17:6a, and 17:29c-36. Of the three sections, 16:28b-17:6a is the only one having close correspondence with the other hymns of Group II. 16:6e-16 exhibits a literary relationship with 14:17b-22a while 17:29c-36 shows a few affinities with 15:23c-24. Although 16:28b-17:6a has the strongest affinity with the other hymns of Group II, it seems awkward that the theme of the author's distress is placed after two eschatological discourses. The
distress motif is usually located before an eschatological discourse in other hymns, for example, 11:20-37. If the author of Group II only composed the section exhibiting the distress motif as well as the apocalyptic imagery outlining the destruction of the wicked, he could not have been the author of 16:5-17:36. Of course, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that the author of Group II wrote the entire hymn of 16:5-17:36. In short, it may be suggested that the author of 16:5-17:36 was a redactor who had made use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns” as well as from other apocalyptic sources.

5.3 Conclusion

The hymns within IQH 10-17:36 seem to have been incorporated with other literary sources. Among the hymns of Group I, 12:6-13:6 is the only one that has a section with material adapted from the “Community Hymns” and possibly from an eschatological tradition. Three hymns of Group II contain material adapted from other literary sources. Most scholars usually consider 11:20-37 to be a “Community Hymn.” One section of the hymn, 11:21-25, exhibits striking parallels to the “Community Hymns.” In fact, the lexical units this hymn has in common with other hymns of Group II are concentrated in 11:26-33. It is then more likely that the author of Group II incorporated into the hymn material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36, the two longest hymns in the Hodayot, have one section making use of motifs and language characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” In addition to their use of the “Community Hymns,” they have adapted material from other apocalyptic sources. 13:22-15:8 is the only hymn of Group II which shows striking parallels to the hymns of Group I. The sections concerning the author’s relationship to his enemies are likely to be taken from the work of the author of Group I.

Although 12:6-13:6 might have been the work of a later redactor, 12:6-30a is the section having strong affinity with the other hymns of Group I. 12:6-30a is thus likely to have been written by the author of Group I. Group II is very complicated and contains various themes. The most prominent themes are the distress motif and the destruction of the wicked. More likely, the author of Group II composed these themes and later redactor(s) incorporated into the hymns material adapted from the “Community Hymns” and other apocalyptic sources.

It seems unwise to exclude the possibility that the same author might have composed these two groups of hymns, however different the style of writing and the use of vocabulary might appear to be. It is not surprising that different genres would
demand a different set of vocabularies and perhaps different styles in achieving different ends. As mentioned before, strong apocalyptic imagery is found in the hymns of Group II. This would explain why Group II exhibits so different a set of lexical units. In this case, all the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, with the exception of 15:29-36, should be taken as having been from the same author. If the hymns in Group II are so closely tied to one another as the data shown in Chapter 4, it is thus not justifiable to select a few hymns from Group II, for example, 13:22-15:8 and 15:9-28, place them along with Group I, and classify them as the “Teacher Hymns” at the same time excluding the rest of Group II, as put forward by some scholars.
So far we have identified on literary grounds two sets of hymns, each with the greatest possibility of having been written by the same author. The question must now be raised as to whether either or both of these groups of hymns might have been from the Teacher of Righteousness. Of special significance is to first determine whether the Hodayot scroll is a composition of the Qumran community itself or a pre-Qumran composition copied and preserved at Qumran. The fact that many scholars have attributed a number of hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness makes the question especially important for the present inquiry. Next, I summarise our current understanding of the Teacher as given in the DSS corpus. Finally, I will attempt to undertake a literary comparison between 1QH 10-17:36 and other Qumran literature about the Teacher.

6.1 The Date and Provenance of the Hodayot Scroll

The approximate date of the scroll can be determined from archaeological and palaeographical evidence. The archaeological remains at Qumran apparently point to the period between 150 B.C.E. and 68 C.E. The cloths in which the Qumran scrolls were wrapped were subjected to carbon-14 test, which gives a date of 33 C.E., with a margin of error plus or minor 200 years. Recently, AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry), a more refined form of carbon-14 testing, has been introduced. As a result of this test, the Hodayot scroll is dated between 21 B.C.E. to 61 C.E.

Palaeographical studies by Avigad and Cross have also helped in determining the date at which the scroll was written. Palaeographically, the Qumran scrolls fall into three categories: pre-Hasmonaean (225 to 150 B.C.E.), Hasmonaean (150-30 B.C.E.) and Herodian (30 B.C.E.-70 C.E.). The Hodayot scroll belongs to the third of these

1 Tov (1988: 8), see also Vaux (1973).
groups, that is, the Herodian. On the whole, the scroll is to be dated from the middle of the first century B.C.E. to early decades of the first century C.E. This evidence does not tell when the text of the scroll originated; however, it does set the latest possible date of composition.

In an article on Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert, Emanuel Tov has outlined a number of criteria for distinguishing sectarian from nonsectarian compositions. He has drawn a dividing line primarily on scribal grounds. According to Tov, the sectarian compositions are written only in the special 'Qumran system.' There are four major criteria. The first criterion refers to orthography and language. The following are some of the orthographical features of the Qumran system: 1) one of the most conspicuous features of the Qumran orthography is the use of the scriptio plena, e.g. בֶּן, אִשָּׁה; 2) the verbal suffix for the second person singular perfect is commonly written with a final ה, e.g. וַיָּדִיעֵהוּ, וַיִּפְלְגֶּהוּ; 3) another feature is the full spelling of the second person pronominal suffix, e.g. הָלוֹךְ, and so on. For instance, מִמְּלֹךְ with a final ה is a distinctive feature, one that is frequently used in the Hodayot. The use of scribal marks is another characteristic of the texts written in the 'Qumran System.' Supralinear correction is a good case in point. There is an instance of cancellation dots in column 13. As mentioned before, the first word at line 22, אֲדֹני הָוָא, is singled out for deletion, by means of dots marked above and below it, and with the phrase בֵּרָא אָדָם written above it. A further characteristic of the texts using the 'Qumran system' pertains to the use of initial-medial letters in a final position, for example, בִּשְׁמַר הָיוֹם (1QH 12:12). The final criterion refers to the writing of the divine names in palaeo-Hebrew characters. There are four occurrences in the Hodayot (7:28; 9:26; 10:36; in a fragment).

Furthermore, the theology of the Hodayot appears to be the same as that of the other Qumran sectarian documents. The same great eschatological theme of warfare between the preordained forces of good and evil in the final judgement by God is present in the Hodayot as it is in 1QS and 1QM. There is no internal evidence which can establish beyond question the provenance of the Hodayot scroll. Nonetheless, strong points of textual similarity with other sectarian documents (e.g. 1QpHab, 1QS, CD) and its particular theological ideas may be adequate to support the working hypothesis that the Hodayot scroll is a product of the Qumran community.

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4 Tov (1988).
The Teacher is often thought to have been a contemporary of the Wicked Priest, who has been identified with Jonathan (160-142 B.C.E.) or Simon (142-135 B.C.E.). It has been suggested that the Teacher had been an acting high priest during the intersacerdotium of seven years between the death of Alcimus and the accession of Jonathan, that is, 159-152 B.C.E. Identifying the Wicked Priest with a single individual has been challenged. Moreover, a few scholars have taken the title 'the Teacher of Righteousness' as denoting an office which might have been filled by different historical figures at different successive times. According to the dates obtained from archaeological and paleographical evidence, one cannot rule out the possibility that the Hodayot might have been composed by the Teacher. Various attempts have been made at identifying the Teacher of Righteousness with a historical person such as Onias III, Jose ben Joezer, Eleazar the Pharisee, a critic of John Hyrcanus I, Judah the Essene, John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth, and Menahem. All identifications of the Teacher after the middle of the first century, however, can be dismissed on palaeography grounds.

6.2 The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts

A few words must be said about the phrase הוביח הושיע, from which our title "The Teacher of Righteousness" is derived. In the phrase הוביח הושיע can be

5 The majority of the scholars have identified the Wicked Priest with Jonathan (Milik 1959: 85-7; Jeremias 1963: 36-78; Stegemann 1971: 198-207; Murphy-O’Connor 1992: 340-41; Sanders 1992: 24; Vermes 1994: 135; see also Charlesworth 1980: 218-22; Collins 1989b: 159-72) while Cross (1995: 100-20) prefers his brother Simon. This position is not universally accepted among scholars, for example, Dupont-Sommer (1961: 351-57) has argued for Hyrcanus II (63-40 B.C.E.) as the Wicked Priest.


7 Van der Woude (1982: 349-59, 1996), García Martínez and Van der Woude (1989-90: 521-41). Van der Woude suggests that the designation "Wicked Priest" in 1QpHab 8-12 is referred to six Hasmonean High Priests in the following chronological order: Judas Maccabeus (8:8-13), Alcimus (8:16-9:2), Jonathan (9:9-12), Simon (9:16-10:5), John Hyrcanus I (11:4-8), and Alexander Janneus (11:12-12:10). This hypothesis has been criticised by Lim (1993). In a recent article, Van der Woude (1996) attempts to deal with Lim’s criticism.


11 The term is usually taken as having a biblical background in Hos 10:12 and Joel 2:23. Gaster (1957: 15) and Cross (1995: 114) also suggest Deut 33:9-10 as its background. Attempts have been
interpreted either as an objective genitive, “he who teaches righteousness” or “the Teacher of Righteousness,” or as a subjective genitive, “the Righteous/Legitimate Teacher.” The former translation emphasizes the didactic functions of the Teacher whereas the latter his personal character or the legitimacy of his role. It seems wise to keep both meanings in mind although the traditional translation, that is, “the Teacher of Righteousness,” is taken up here.

Among the Qumran texts, the term מְדִירָה הָדֶרֶךְ is found only in the Damascus Document (CD) and the Pesher on Habakkuk (1QpHab), Micah (1Q14) and Psalms (4Q171 and 4Q173). Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, little can be made of the following references: 1Q14 10:6, 4Q171 3:19, 4Q173 1:4, 2:2. According to the Psalms Pesher, the Teacher was a priest and the founder of the community. In 4Q171 3:15b-16, it says, “The interpretation of it concerns the Priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness, whom] God [ch]ose as the pillar. F[or] he established him to build for him a congregation of [his chosen ones in truth;]” The Teacher was also a scribe, as mentioned in 4Q171 4:26b-27: “And my tongue is the pen of [a skilled scribe. The interpretation of it] concerns the Teacher of [Righteousness, who be]fore God with purposeful speech.”

The Teacher is referred to not only as a priest but also an authoritative interpreter of prophecy. In 1QpHab 2:1-2, the traitors (תבושריה) and the Man of the Lie (שליה) are mentioned as those who “did not believe the words of the Teacher of Righteousness” and then in 1QpHab 2:6-10a, the traitors are described as “the ruthless [ones of the covenant] and the Teacher of [Righteousness, whom] God put [understanding] to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets by [whose] hand God enumerated all that is going to come upon his people and upon his congregation.” The tension between the Teacher and the Man of the Lie is described in 1QpHab 5:9b-12a, “The interpretation of it concerns the House of Absalom and their partisans, who were silent at the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness and did not support him against the Man of the Lie – who rejected the Law in the midst of all their council.” The Teacher is also likely to be the one referred to as “the interpreter of knowledge” (מלים דעת) in 4Q171 1:26b-27, where made to define it using the opposite term מְדִירָה שֶׁפֶךְ “teacher of falsehood” in Isa 9:14 and Hab 2:18 (see Jeremias 1963: 313).


13 There are other conjectures such as the two restorations made in 1Q14 11:4 and 4Q165 1-2, 3 by Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar (1997: 9, 328).

14 The following text and translation of the Pesharim are based on the work of Horgan (1979).
the Man of the Lie (משיח הולך) is also mentioned: “[The interpretation] of it concerns the Man of the Lie, who led many astray with deceitful words, for they chose empty words and did not listen to the Interpreter of Knowledge.” Furthermore, in 1QpHab 7:4-5a it says, “the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.” The salvific role of the Teacher is emphasized in 1QpHab 8:1-3a where it says, “The interpretation of it concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their fidelity to the Teacher of Righteousness.”

Two passages mention the Teacher in relation to the Wicked Priest. 1QpHab 9:9-12a highlights God’s judgement on the Wicked Priest: “The interpretation of it concerns the Wicked Priest, whom – because of wrong done to the Teacher of Righteousness and his partisans – God gave into the hand of his enemies to humble him with disease for annihilation in despair, because he had acted wickedly against his chosen ones.” The persecution of the Teacher by the Wicked Priest is stated in 1QpHab 11:4-8a, “The interpretation of it concerns the Wicked Priest, who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness – to swallow him up with his poisonous vexation – to his place of exile. And at the end of the feast, (during) the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath.”

The complete title בְּרִית רְשׁוּת מִדְבָּר occurs twice in the CD, interestingly at both the beginning and the end of the document. The first occurrence is found in CD 1:11, where the relationship of the Teacher of the Righteousness to the so-called “Damascus movement” is described. In CD 1:3-11, it says:

For in their unfaithfulness that they forsook him, he hid his face from Israel and His sanctuary and gave them over to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant of the forefathers, he left a remnant for Israel and did not give them over to destruction. In the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after having given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, he visited them and caused to sprout from Israel and Aaron a shoot of plantation to inherit his land, and to grow fat on the good things of his earth. And they perceived their iniquity and knew that they were guilty men. And they were like blind men and like those groping for the way for twenty years. And God observed their deeds, that with a whole heart they sought him, and raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to direct them in the way of his heart. [trans. mine]

In this introduction to the CD, the Teacher is described as one who was raised by God to lead a group of remnant in “the way of His heart” (ברית לבר), an expression frequently used in 1QH 12:6-13:6 (ll. 19, 22, 25). The second explicit reference to the Teacher of Righteousness is found in CD 20:32, where it describes the faithful
ones as those who listen to the voice of the Teacher. Two other possible references to the Teacher are found in CD 20:1 and 20:14. The first one warns against those “who have entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus, but again betrayed and departed from the well of living waters” (CD 19:33b-34). The apostates will not be reckoned from the day of the gathering in of ‘the unique teacher’ (מרדיה רוחיה). The second reference in the same way mentions about the gathering in of the ‘the teacher of the community’ (מרדיה רוחיה). Finally, two possible references to the Teacher are found in CD 6:11, where it refers to “the Interpreter of the law” (דרוש תדהר) in 6:7 is also referred to the Teacher. The above are all the references to the Teacher of Righteousness in the DSS corpus.

6.3 A Literary Comparison between 1QH 10-17:36
and other DSS texts about the Teacher

Group I has strong linguistic affinity to the Pesharim and the CD. The following two passages show a few striking parallels:

1QH 10:11-13
ויסחתי תעדה יתבר ולא יזהר אלא אדם בקעת י럼
And you have made me a reproach and a derision for traitors,
(_but)_ a counsel of truth and understanding for the upright of way.
And on account of the iniquity of the wicked
I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men,
sorners gnash (their) teeth.

4Q171 2:13-15
ומימemente נטרקל נכבד עיניו סנט יזרע ישמח
The wicked plots against the righteous and gnashes [his teeth] at [him.]
Yahweh laughs at him, for he sees that his day has come.
The interpretation of it concerns the ruthless ones of the covenant
who are in the house of Judah: they will plot to destroy completely
those who observe the Law,
who are in the council of the community.

Most scholars would see this as an allusion to the death of the Teacher of Righteousness (see Fitzmyer 1992: 223-8).

Davies (1988) has taken מראתו עביד and מראתו דרודה as two different figures, the former referring to the founder of the ‘Damascus movement’ and the latter to the Teacher of Righteousness (similarly Murphy-O’Connor 1985: 241-3). Knibb (1990: 56-60) has argued that the two terms should be considered as referring to the same person, that is, the Teacher of Righteousness. Ulfgard (1998: 321-6) has followed Davies’ proposal but preferred to interpret ‘the end of days’ as referring to the present experience of the Qumran community. In other words, the arrival of the Teacher was indeed part of the events of “the end of days.”
In 4Q171, Ps 37:12-13 is first cited in 2:13-14a and then followed by its interpretation in 2:14b-15. The wicked in Ps 37:12 are interpreted as "the ruthless ones of the covenant." They are those who plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth. The same motif is used in a similar fashion in 1QH 10:11-13. Apart from the lexical similarities shown above, the following two expressions are used in the immediate context of both 4Q171 and 1QH passages: מַלֵּי יָתָה (4Q171 1:27, 1QH 10:15) and מַלֵּי יָתָה (4Q171 1:17, 1QH 10:12). All these point to a literary relationship between 4Q171 and 1QH passages.

Furthermore, the word מַלֵּי יָתָה appears sparingly in the DSS corpus. Its use in conjunction with מַלֵּי יָתָה is found here as well as in 4Q171 3:12, and perhaps in 4Q171 4:1 and 1QpHab 2:6. It also occurs in the phrase מַלֵּי יָתָה that is usually taken as referring to "a violent faction within the Qumran community." The internal dispute and schism within the community can be seen in 1QpHab 2:1-10, where מַלֵּי יָתָה are in fact referred to as the traitors. In addition to its three occurrences in 1QpHab 2, the term מַלֵּי יָתָה is found in CD 1:12, 8:5, 19:17. The last two references warn against those who have entered into the covenant and yet have not left the path of traitors (מַלֵּי יָתָה). Of great importance is the use of מַלֵּי יָתָה in the well-known account of the 'Damascus movement' in CD 1, where it tells how God 'raised up' a Teacher of Righteousness (or Legitimate Teacher) to direct the members of the community in the way of His heart. It is in this immediate context that מַלֵּי יָתָה "the congregation of traitors" is found (CD 1:12). They are the ones who have strayed from the path, and to them Hos 4:16 is applied in a lengthy description of their unfaithfulness to God's covenant (CD 1:13-2.1). In CD 1:18, they are described as those who sought smooth things (דְּרָשׁוּ בַּהֲלוֹכָהּ). A similar idea can be found in 1QH 10:17, 34; 12:11. The same expression appears in 4Q169 frgs. 3+4 1:2, 7; 2:2, 4; 3:3, 7.

Worth noting is the fact that the last occurrence of מַלֵּי יָתָה is found in the 1QH passage quoted above (10:12). The 1QpHab passage has another significant parallel to 4Q171, in that they both place מַלֵּי יָתָה in relation to מַלֵּי יָתָה "the priest." 1QpHab 2:6-9 states that the ruthless ones of the covenant do not believe the words of the priest "into [whose heart] God put [understanding] to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets" whereas 4Q171 2:18-19 mentions that the wicked ones "will seek to lay their hands on the priest and on his partisans in the time of testing

17 Horgan (1979: 210).
that is coming upon them.” It may then be suggested that there is a link between the Teacher and the ruthless ones of the covenant.

Another significant correspondence can be drawn between 1QH 12:12-13 and 1QpHab 11:2-3:

1QH 12:12-13

יריעאוור רעשח רע שמאו ויצאש ישפוך חם
למשנ(ו) הבוא אל חותם לחרות האל אחדי רעשח לחרות

And the have withheld the drink of knowledge from the thirsty, and for their thirst they have given them vinegar to drink, in order to gaze upon their error, that they may behave madly at their feasts, that they may be caught in their nets.

1QpHab 11:2-3

ריי יושב רעשח רעשח והמהר אוח שכר לעишь חכמים אל מפריע

Woe to him who gives his neighbors to drink mixing in his poison, indeed, making (them) drunk in order that they might look upon their feasts.

Hab 2:15

ריי יושב רעשח רעשח והמהר אוח שכר לעишь חכמיםналפת

Woe to him who gives his neighbors to drink, pouring out your wrath until they are drunk in order to gaze upon their nakedness.

The MT of Hab 2:15 is given above to highlight how close a relationship the 1QH 12:12-13 is with 1QpHab 11:2-3. In 1QpHab 11:2-3, the pesherist cites the text of Hab 2:15. It is quite obvious that 1QpHab 11:2-3 is slightly different from the MT of Hab 2:15. First, the noun הניה is with a third person singular suffix in 1QpHab while it is with a second person singular suffix in the MT. Second, the hiphil form of הניה is written defectively, that is, without a יוד, in 1QpHab. Third, the MT has the preposition על while 1QpHab uses a different preposition carrying the same meaning, יא. Most significantly, the MT has the word מפריע at the end of the sentence whereas 1QpHab uses a word with a completely different meaning, מפריע. It is possible that the author of 1QpHab made use of a textual tradition different from the MT. It has been demonstrated, however, that alteration of scriptural text is not uncommon in 1QpHab.18 The biblical lemma in 1QpHab 11:4-8 does in fact point out that the pesherist might have altered the word from מפריע to פערימ “their nakedness” to מפריע “their feasts” for the sake of interpretation. In 1QpHab 11:4-8, the Teacher of Righteousness is said to have been persecuted by the Wicked Priest at the end of the feast (11:6, פערימ מניע).

Having considered the difference between the MT and 1QpHab, attention must be given to 1QH 12:12-13. Lexically, the 1QH text is much more closer to 1QpHab than to the MT. Thematically, both texts mention the activities of ‘drinking’ and

'gazing', which is quite distinctive to them in the DSS corpus. However, there are differences between these two passages. In 1QH 12:12-13, it is the vinegar (ירחם) they drink and their errors (טעות) the enemies gaze upon. Scholars have pointed out a significant difference between these two passages. The 1QH passage uses plural subject and keeps referring to a group of people whereas the 1QpHab passage only makes reference to the activities of a single individual, that is, the Wicked Priest. This makes it difficult to determine whether both passages are referring to the same incident, that is, the persecution of the Teacher by the Wicked Priest. Two observations can be made here. First, it seems almost, if not completely, impossible to imagine that the Wicked Priest all by himself could have persecuted the Teacher and his followers. Of course, it is assumed that the Teacher was with his followers during the rest of the day of Atonement. It seems logical to consider that the Wicked Priest as the leader of the opposition group pursued the Teacher with his own followers. Second, the author of 1QpHab might have set his focus on the Wicked Priest, the leader of the opposition group, as evident by the frequent use of this sobriquet in the Pesharim. The author of the 1QH passage seems to have been concerned primarily with expressing his own personal feelings against the opposition group. This aim is achieved by setting a single individual in opposition to a group of people. The effect that the author purported to produce is that he, though a leader, was alone and attacked not simply by a single individual but by a group of enemies. This may explain why the 1QH and 1QpHab passages show a difference in their ways of referring to the enemies. On the whole, the close lexical and thematic parallels between 1QH 12:12-13 and 1QpHab 11:2-3 points to a relation of literary dependence between the two. It is not decisive as to whether the 1QH text depends on the 1QpHab passage or whether it should be the other way around.

As already shown in Chapter 3, 10:1-21 has a much closer affinity with 12:6-13:6 than with the other hymns of Group I. This coincides well with the lexical comparison shown above. 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 are the hymns that have close parallels to the other DSS texts about the Teacher of Righteousness. Both 4Q171 and 1QpHab passages set the focus on the relationship of the Teacher to his opponents. They vividly portray the attacks of the enemies upon the Teacher. The same theme is found in the hymns of Group I.

Moreover, the Pesharim and CD have used a number of designations for the Teacher's opponents: הֵרֹמֶר הַקָּדָשׁ, אָתָא הָבוֹא, בֵּרְאוֹת, וֹרְפִּים וֹבְרִים. These are the terms the author of Group I uses to designate his adversaries. The word וֹרְפִּים

occurs not only in 10:1-21 but also in 10:22-32. In 10:23 the author says, “ruthless men sought my soul” (הָרְעָוִים מָצְאָנָּה לָבֶן). These are the only two occurrences of הָרְעָוִים in the Hodayot. The word occurs sparingly in the Hodayot, once in 10:33-41 and twice in 12:6-13:6. In 10:33, the author thanks God for delivering him from the “interpreters of falsehood” (מָלָאךְ מַוֶּה). In 12:10-11, the author describes his opponents as “interpreters of falsehood” and “seers of deceit” (זָרַה רֶמֶדֶד). The expression “seekers of smooth things” (רֹוְרָים תֵּלֶלֵיִים) is found in 10:1-21 (l. 17) and 10:33-41 (l. 34). It would appear that falsehood and deceitfulness are the matter at issue in these hymns.

In 4Q171, the author frequently uses the expression “the congregation of the poor” (תַּנְדָה הָאָבָרִים). In 4Q171 2:15-19, the poor and humble (תַּנְדָה אָבָרִים) are interpreted as the Priest and the members of his council, whom God will deliver from the hands of the wicked. Worth mentioning is that the terms לְהַבָּרָה and לְתוֹאֵבָה are also found in the same context where the deliverance of God is emphasized in 10:33-41 and 13:7-21. Finally, in 10:15 the author claims to be “an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries” (מָלָאךְ רְשַׁע וְרֶמֶדֶד פָּלִיא). The designation מָלָאךְ רְשַׁע וְרֶמֶדֶד is associated with the Teacher in 4Q171. Through lexical and thematic links, 10:22-32 and 10:33-41 are in some ways related to the other DSS texts concerning the Teacher. If 13:7-21 is closely tied to the other hymns of Group I, as shown in Chapter 3, it is also probable that there exists to a limited extent a relation between the texts concerning the Teacher and 13:7-21.

No significant correspondences can be drawn between the hymns of Group II and other DSS texts about the Teacher. Neither is there any thematic parallels between them. In short, it is only in Group I that one can discern a few significant parallels between the hymns and the other DSS texts about the Teacher.

6.4 Conclusion

According to the Pesharim and CD, the Teacher of Righteousness is said to have been a priest, a scribe, an authoritative interpreter of prophecy and the founder of the Qumran community. No explicit mention of these statements about the Teacher can be found in the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. There is, however, a possible reference to the Teacher’s role as an interpreter of prophecy in 10:1-21. In 10:15 the author claims to be “an interpreter of knowledge” (מָלָאךְ רְשַׁע). Worth mentioning is the consummate skill of the author’s use of Scripture in the hymns of Group I. Very remarkable is the manner in which the author incorporates biblical texts, and especially those from the prophetic traditions (e.g. Isaiah), into his composition.
This feature may be the very proof that the author of Group I was an interpreter of prophecy.

Of the hymns within 1QH 10:17:36, 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 stand out as having a number of significant parallels to the other Qumran texts about the relationship of the Teacher to his adversaries. Not only do these two hymns share a number of lexical affinities with the Pesharim and CD, the content of the hymns are to a certain extent similar to the information given about the Teacher. Worth noting is the fact that all these lexical parallels are always found in the context where the Teacher of Righteousness is also in the picture. This would suggest that the author of 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 might have been the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, these two hymns have many significant parallels to the other hymns of Group I. In particular, they share the same designations for the author’s enemies. They also describe the attacks of the enemies in many ways similar to those given in the Pesharim and CD. It is thus possible that the other three hymns of Group I might also have been written by the Teacher. Finally, there is not enough literary evidence to prove that the hymns of Group II were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the present study an attempt has been made to give a more solid basis for addressing the issue of authorship in the Hodayot. By no means is there a claim that all problems have been solved. Several questions have been left unanswered. For instance, it is still uncertain as to whether the “Community Hymns” antedated the “Teacher Hymns,” as has been assumed by previous scholarship. Whether it was the other way around is a moot point and cannot be proved either. Even so, this study clearly points to the fact that there are at least two major groups of hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, the block of hymns which have been usually classified as the “Teacher Hymns.” Each group has its distinctive traits of style, content, and vocabulary, and each has the greatest possibility of having been written by the same author.

The first of the two groups, Group I, comprises the following five hymns: 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6 and 13:7-21. These five hymns share a set of terms designated for persons, and particularly, for the enemies of the author. The focus is on the negative relationship of the author to his enemies. The unfaithfulness of the enemies, that is, their turning away from God’s covenant and their denying the leadership of the author, is often emphasized. Their fierce attack, be it verbal or political, is also in full view in these hymns. The self confidence of the author in God and his gratitude to divine deliverance are often highlighted at the beginning as well as towards the end of the hymns. Almost all lexical and structural similarities they have in common are concentrated in the sections where the attack of the enemy is described. Worth noting is the fact that the affinity among these hymns lies not only in single words but in significant expressions. These hymns, with the exception of 10:33-41, make extensive use of Scripture. Remarkable is the consummate skill of the author in blending a number of biblical texts into his composition. This makes their affinity all the more striking. All these shared lexical, thematic, structural parallels among this group of hymns would point to a relationship of literary dependence or the same authorship.

II shares a different set of terms in reference to persons but to things, for example, ship, building, fortified city, etc. All these terms come from the prominent use of strong images in these hymns. These hymns no longer place their emphasis on the author's enemies. Rather, the theme is shifted from external attacks to inner distress. The majority of the lexical elements they have in common are clustered around the sections where the distress motif is extensively emphasized. The distress motif is located in the following sections: 11:7-13d, 11:26b-29, 13:28b-14:8, 14:25c-27d, 16:28b-17:6a. Surprisingly, the divine deliverance from distress is only touched upon in these hymns. Some of the hymns even end abruptly with the distress motif. 13:22-15:8 is a good case in point. 15:9-28 stands out as the only hymn that emphasizes the author's victory over his enemies. Another striking feature of these hymns is the use of strong apocalyptic imagery. It is also in the section with strong images that the hymns share a few similarities. For example, 13:22-15:8 has a few lexical parallels to 16:5-17:36 and the affinity is found in their eschatological sections, that is, 14:17b-22a and 16:5-16. Even more, these hymns make frequent use of the terms and carry stylistic features associated with the "Community Hymns." This dramatic shift in vocabulary, content and structure makes this group of hymns distinguishable from Group I. From the point of view of content and vocabulary, these hymns are closely tied to one another and should be put together as a group. All these would suggest that there exists a literary relationship among the hymns of Group II. Likely, they might have been the work of the same author.

There are interrelationships among the two groups of hymns. While Group I does not exhibit too many striking parallels to Group II, the hymns of Group II do show a few similarities with Group I. The technique of inclusio and the use of independent pronouns are the features that can also be found in some of the hymns of Group II, for example, 15:9-28. 13:22-15:8 stands out as the one having significant parallels to the hymns of Group I. The hymn has two sections portraying the author's enemies. It makes use of the independent pronoun נָא to introduce the enemies, a feature so characteristic of the hymns of Group I. The hymn also makes extensive use of Scripture, another feature characteristic of Group I. As has been suggested, the sections concerning the relationship of the author to his adversaries might have been the work of the author of Group I. However, when all the similarities are counted and weighed, all the hymns of Group II are much closer to each other than to Group I.

An attempt has been made to recover as much as possible the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36 by exploring the relationship between the "Teacher Hymns" and the "Community Hymns." Rarely do the hymns of Group I contain motifs and language
associated with the “Community Hymns.” 12:6-13:6 is an exception. The final section of the hymn, 12:30b-13:6, has made use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” An eschatological tradition similar to the Micah text might have been used in 12:34-35 as well. Of the hymns of Group II, three have been identified as having material adapted from other literary sources: 11:20-37, 13:22-15:8, 16:5-17:36. One of the literary sources they have used is the “Community Hymns.” It is possible that they also make use of other apocalyptic sources from common eschatological tradition. Of course, one cannot dismiss the possibility that the author of Group II might also have composed those eschatological sections. Nevertheless, the evidence points to the work of later redactor(s) as the most probable explanation for the complexity of these hymns. What has been discussed in this dissertation could be used as a point of departure for examining the redactional shape of the entire Hodayot collection.

Taking the Hodayot collection as a continuum, the interrelationship of the hymns can be depicted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Community Hymns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:1-21</td>
<td>11:1-19</td>
<td>15:29-36 and all the hymns outside of 1QH 10-17:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:22-32</td>
<td>11:20-37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:33-41</td>
<td>11:38-12:5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:7-21</td>
<td>15:9-28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:37-16:4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16:5-17:36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group I stands on one side and the “Community Hymns” on the other side because the hymns of Group I do not have any significant parallels to the “Community Hymns.” 12:6-13:6, marked with “=>”, has a section with material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” Group II stands in the middle of the continuum as it shares a few affinities with Group I and exhibits striking similarities with the “Community Hymns.” Of the hymns of Group II, 13:22-15:8 is the one with a number of significant parallels to the hymns of Group I and is thus marked with “<=”. Three hymns of Group II are marked with “=>”, for they make use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” Group II also has material that neither of the other two have, for example, the eschatological sections.

Of the two groups of hymns, Group I shows a number of significant literary correspondences with the Pesharim and CD. In particular, 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 have more striking similarities with the Pesher on Habakkuk and Psalms. The
thematic parallels between these two hymns and the information given by CD 1, 4Q171, 1QpHab, make their relationship all the more striking. On literary grounds, it seems justified, with such limited information we have about the Teacher, to propose that 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 have the greatest possibility of having been authored by the Teacher of Righteousness. Since the other three hymns of Group I have close affinity with 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6, it is possible that they too might have been the work of the Teacher.

Although the result of this dissertation is in some ways similar to those obtained by my predecessors, the approach undertaken here is significantly different. As has been shown in previous chapters, the present writer, using a purely literary analysis, has attempted to determine first whether the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 might have been from one author or several, without asking whether the author was the Teacher of Righteousness. In so doing, no particular criteria like the Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers has been imposed on the hymns. As a result, there are more expressions and themes that have been recovered from within 1QH 10-17:36. The distress motif and the chaotic water imagery are good cases in point. Chapter Four and Five have brought out other salient features of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 that have not been discussed and have been overlooked by previous scholarship. The aim of this dissertation is to do full justice to the text in question. It is to be hoped that the present approach to the study of the Hodayot will contribute towards a better understanding of the hymns and their relationship to one another, while at the same time trying to tackle the historical question of authorship. Only when we are sensitive to the approach and the preconceived notions we have brought to the text can we start to grasp its meaning and gain new insights from the text.
APPENDIX

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE "COMMUNITY HYMNS"

Column 3:1-8 (Top)
Sukenik frg. 16
SHR 4260A
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 146

1. [ ] mrwt[
2. [ ] op]pressed [
3. [ ] his] compassion upon the poor [
4. [ ] h and who can measure [
5. [ ] and who can measure the strength [
6. [ ] eternal. Who hws[
7. [ ] of antiquity [
8. [ ] wrkh [

Column 3:1-10 (Bottom)
Sukenik frg. 11
SHR 190406
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 146

1. [ ] מְרִית [ ]
2. [ ] טִפָּוֹת[ ]
3. [ ] הַחֲסִים עֲלֵי אֲבוֹנוֹנִים[ ]
4. [ ] הָיוּ מִסְפָּר[ ]
5. [ ] וּמָתָנָה בּוֹמָר[ ]
6. [ ] טוֹלוּ הַמִּר[ ]
7. [ ] קָדֶם[ ]
8. [ ] הַרַּחֵם[ ]

1. [ ] מְרִית [ ]
2. [ ] טִפָּוֹת[ ]
3. [ ] הַחֲסִים עֲלֵי אֲבוֹנוֹנִים[ ]
4. [ ] הָיוּ מִסְפָּר[ ]
5. [ ] וּמָתָנָה בּוֹמָר[ ]
6. [ ] טוֹלוּ הַמִּר[ ]
7. [ ] קָדֶם[ ]
8. [ ] הַרַּחֵם[ ]

1. [ ] מְרִית [ ]
2. [ ] טִפָּוֹת[ ]
3. [ ] הַחֲסִים עֲלֵי אֲבוֹנוֹנִים[ ]
4. [ ] הָיוּ מִסְפָּר[ ]
5. [ ] וּמָתָנָה בּוֹמָר[ ]
6. [ ] טוֹלוּ הַמִּר[ ]
7. [ ] קָדֶם[ ]
8. [ ] הַרַּחֵם[ ]
9. [ ] לָמַךְ בְּהַב[ ]
10. [ ] בְּנֵי[ ]

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2. [ ]mdh for all the years of ‘w[ 
3. [ ]m.r all seal [ 
4. [ ][wtn]m the sons of man according to his insight h[ 
5. [ ]his kingdom. Who has made all these [ 
6. [ ]lm and for you the kindness, and in righteousness you will place [ 
7. [ ]before you [ ]thm and the creature h[ 
8. [ ]he will answer, you are honoured above all [ 
9. [ ]holiness and according to your desire [ 
10. [ ]for your name. th[ ] in the congregation [ 

Column 4:1-28
Sukenik col. 17:1-28; frg. 14
SHR 190404, 4299, 190406
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 148

Sukenik transcribed and could not make out what the second letter was. Looking carefully at the facsimile would suggest a פ between ב and ד.
1. a low measure 
2. mgw\(h\) without judgement\(\text{nts}\) by the spirit
3. ym one that consumes \(y\) without 
4. on dry land and \(\text{mks}\) without judgement\(\text{nt}\)
5. striking suddenly \(\text{pt}\) as \(\text{wa}[\text{x}]\)
6. judgement from the spirit \(\text{dwr}\)
7. tr\(mh \text{b}\) mgw\(h\) from the spirit \(\text{kw}\)
8. by the blows of \(b\)
9. from hidden things which which they have not overaken them \(bm\)
10. and from the judgement \(h[\text{f}]\) your servant from all his transgressions 
11. your compassion
12. by the hand of Moses \(\text{iniquity and sin and to atone for \(b[\text{f}]\) and unfaithfulness}
13. the foundations of the mountains, and the fire \(\text{h}\) in the lowest Sheol 
14. for those who serve you faithfully \(\text{not their seed before you all the days}
and there \(\text{f}\) you have raised
15. and to cast away all \(m\) and to give them an inheritance in all the glory of man \(\text{abundance of days}.
16. from the spirits which you have given me
I will \(\text{find}\) the reply of the tongue, in order to declare your righteousness and forbearance
17. and the deeds of your strong right hand \(\text{wt upon my former transgressions,}
and to \(h[\text{f}]\) \(\text{f}\) and to seek favour on 
18. my deeds and the perversity of \(\text{my heart}, \text{for in impurity I have wallowed}
and from the council \(\text{by and I have not \(m[\text{f}]\)}
19. To you is the righteousness and to your name belongs blessing fore\(\text{ver},
\text{your righteousness, and deliver}
20. \(\text{umw\ the wicked. But I understand that the one whom you have chosen \(\text{his path}
\text{and by the insight \(22\)} \(\text{kh\v from sinning against you}
\text{and \(h\) to him his humility by your chastenings, and by \(ns\) \(h\) his heart
21. your servant from sinning against you, and from stumbling over all the words of your pleasure,
\text{strengthen \(m[\text{f}] \text{\(d\) over spirits}
22. to walk in all that you love, and to abhor all that \(\text{you hate,}
\text{and to do} what is good in your eyes.
23. \(\text{um in my bowels, for a spirit\( b\}) your servant.
\text{you have spread the spirit of \(your\) holiness over your servant \(\text{or \(m\) his heart
\text{and I will consider every human covenant \(h\) they find it
24. \(\text{bg\y and those who love it \(\text{for ever and ever.}

Column 5:1-28
Sukenik col. 13:1-21, frgs. 13i, 17, 20, 31, 33
SHR 190406, 3425, 4277, 4278, 190406, 4260A
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 150
1. ] and to make the simple understand ] by eternal
2. ] and to make man of flesh understand and the council of spirits ] if they walked
3. ] if all insight and ] and the mysteries of the plan and r[ ] you have established.
4. ] if breadth ] in the strength of your might
5. ] if with the abundance of [ your ] goodness ] your wrath
and the zeal of misp[ ] searchable all
6. ] if all insight and ] and the mysteries of the plan and r[ ] you have established.
7. ] if holiness from of old [ ] for ever and ever. You are [ ] holy ones
8. ] and in the mysteries of your wonder [ ] wth your glory
and in the depth [ ] your insight not
9. ] if you have revealed drk[ ] deeds of evil, wisdom, and folly ] righteousness
10. ] if their deeds, truth [ ] and yf][
11. ] if and eternal mercy for all [ ] for peace, and ruin [ 
12. ] if eternal glory [ ] eternal gladness for the deed [ 
13. ] if
And it is these that hkh[ ]
14. to judge through them (14) all your works, before you created them
together with the host of your spirits and the congregation of [ ] in the expanse of your holiness
15. its hosts, together with the earth and all sp[ ] ] in the seas and in the deeps [ ] all your plans for all the eternal periods
16. and eternal visitation.
For you have established them from everlasting,
and the deed ] th in them, in order that
17. they might declare your glory through all your dominion,
for you have made them see what [ ] not ] if from of old
18. and to create (18) new things, to break down ancient things

—[Sukenik mistakenly transcribed יד] which should be read as דוד]—

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and I [γνῶμης] that which exists for ever, for [τὸ αἰώνιον] forever and ever.

And by the mysteries of your insight ρήματος [ὅτι] all these to make known your glory [τὸ σώμα] spirit of flesh

20. to understand (20) all these and to gain insight ῥήματος [ὡς] great [οὐ] flesh

and what is the one born of a woman in all the terrifying [οὐ] flesh

21. and He is (21) but one built of dust, and kneaded with water, [ὅτι] his foundation is shame of disgrace [τὸ ἔθιμον] flesh

22. and a perverted spirit rules (22) in him.

and if he acts wickedly, he shall be [οὕτως] of eternity, and a portent of generations [ὁ πόρος] flesh

23. Only by your goodness (23) can a man be made righteous, and by the abundance of [ὑπὸ] compassions [τὴν] by your majesty you glorify him with delight.

24. and if he acts wickedly, he shall be [οὕτως] of eternity, and a portent of generations [ὁ πόρος] flesh

25. And I, your servant, know (25) by the spirit which you have given me [οὕτως] and righteousness are all your deeds, and [ὑπὸ] word does not withdraw [τὸ ῥῆμα] flesh

26. your times ὃς [ἐν] for their matters and I know [τὸ ῥῆμα] flesh

27. and the wicked στὶς [οὕτως] that he may gain understanding [τὸ ῥῆμα] flesh

28. your [σπíρτος] flesh

Column 6:1-30
Sukenik col. 14:1-28, frgs. 15ii, 18, 19, 22, 44
SHR 4261, 4260A, 4278, 190440
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 152-4
Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," 53-4
1. [ ] in your people and h[  
2. [ ] our ears [ ] men of truth and h[  
3. prudence and those seeking understanding [ ] by compassion and the poor in spirit,  
4. those purified by (4) poverty and those purified in the crucible [ ]  
   those who restrain themselves until [ ] your judgement  
5. and those who keep watch for your salvation. [ ]  
   and you have strengthened your statutes [ ]  
6. to make (6) [judgement] on the world  
   and to give as an inheritance to all [ ] holiness for eternal generations  
7. and all (7) [ their de]eds with v'n[ ] men of your vision.  
8. [ ] Lord, who gives insight in the heart of [your] servant,  
9. [ ] all these and h[ ] and to restrain oneself against [ ] wickedness,  
10. and to bless (10) [ ] your will [ ] you love  
   and to abhor all that (11) [you hate [brk] man, for according to the spirits [ ] wlm  
12. between (12) good and evil [ ] their works. And I know your insight,  
13. for in your pleasure b' [ the spirit] of your holiness,  
   and thus you bring me near your understanding,  
14. and as (14) I come near, I am zealous against all who practice wickedness and men of deceit,  
   for all who are near you are not rebellious against your commandments,  
15. and all who know you do not change your words.  
   For you are righteous, and truth are all your chosen ones  
16. and all iniquity (16) [ ] you wipe out forever,  
   and your righteousness is revealed to the eyes of all your creatures.  
17. [And] I know the abundance of your goodness,  
   and with an oath I have bound myself upon my life,  
18. not to sin against you (18) [and not] to do any of all that is evil in your eyes,  
   and thus I have been brought into the community of all the men of my council,  
19. in accordance with (19) [ ] I will bring him near,  
   and according to the abundance of his inheritance I will love him,  
   and I will not lift my face to evil and s[ ] I will not consider  
20. [and] I will [not] exchange your truth for wealth,  
   and for bribery all your judgements; on the contrary, h[ ]  
21. l'm and as you place him afar, so shall I abhor him,  
   and I will not bring into the council [ ]  
22. yik  
23. [k O Lord, according to your great strength and the abundance of your wonders  
   from everlasting to everlasting [ ]m and great  
24. [ ]m who forgives those who turn from transgression,  
   and punishes the iniquity of the wicked [ ] freely  
25. [ ] and you hate injustice forever.  
   And I, your servant, you have shown favour with the spirit of knowledge [ ]mt  
26. [ ] and to abhor every way of injustice,  
   and I love you voluntarily and with all heart [ ]  
27. [ ] your insight, for from your hand this will come to pass and without [ ]  
28. [kh flesh will rule [ ]s and  
29. [ ] he, and he will build with help [ ]
expanse upon the wings of the wind and γ

Column 7:1-31
Sukenik col. 15:1-26, frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42
SHR 190408, 4328, 4260A
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 154-6

1. [ ]
2. [ ]nhk I have [in]sight [ ]
3. [ ]k'he What shall we reply for you have dealt (kindly) with us and [ ]ply'[
4. [ ]they will not retain strength to know your glory [ ] r [your] wonder[s
5. [ ]h'lyh according to their understanding and in accordance with [their] knowledge
[by] [your] glory
6. [ ] without h'sf [ ] to period they will proclaim and m'y[
7. [ ] and we are gathered in the community and with those who know [ ] h' to you and m'r[

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8. [your] compassion [ ] b’ with your mighty men
and wondrously we will recount together [ ] and till [ ]
9. b’ad [ ] and our offspring hwd [ ] sons of man in the midst [ ] Adam [ ]
10. for [ ] pl’ exceedingly [ ]
11. b [ ] b understanding bns [ ] ringing cry [ ]
12. [ ] hsw you all the days w [ ]
13. m [ ] and I love you voluntarily and with all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I purify [ ]
14. hq [ ] swr from all that you have commanded, and I will prevail over many m [ ]
15. [ ] abandon all your statutes.
And I know your insight,
for it is not by the hand of a flesh [ ] man [ ]
16. his way and a man is not able to establish his step,
and I know that by your hand is every spirit formed [ ] w [ ]
17. you have established before you created it,
and how can anyone change your words?
Only you [ ] lh [ ]
18. the righteous, and from the womb you have ordained him for the appointed time of approval,
to keep your covenant and to walk (uprightly) in all things w [ ] upon him [ ]
19. with the abundance of your compassion,
and to relieve all the distress of his soul
unto eternal salvation and everlasting peace and without need.
20. And you have raised (20) his glory above flesh,
and the wicked you have created wnk [ ]
and from the womb you have set them apart for the day of slaughter,
21. for they walk in a way that is not good,
and they reject bh [ ] k their soul abhors [ ]
22. and they have no delight in all that (22) you have commanded
and they have chosen that which you hate.
23. before the eyes of all your creatures,
and to be a sign [ ] eternal [ ]
that [all] may know your glory and your great power.
24. And what then is flesh that he can have insight [ ] dust
how can he establish his step?
25. You have formed the spirit and its work [you] have established [ ]
and from you is the way of every living thing,
26. And I know that (26) no wealth is comparable with your truth,
wyf [ ] your [ho]liness.
And I know that you have chosen them above all things,
27. and forever they will serve you and not tgi [ ]
you will not take a ransom for the deeds of wickedness.
28. For (28) God of truth are you, and all injustice [ ]
[ ] will not exist in your presence.
29. I know that (29) to you [ ] ld [ ] he does w [ ] [ ]
30. your holiness [ ]
31. because [ ]

Column 8:1-28
Sukenik col. 16:1-20, frg. 13
SHR 19048, 190441
Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, 156-8
1. all [ ]
2. 3łu he brings in the number
3. 3lw in heaven and on earth
4. 3arty and in your hand is the judgement of all of them
5. đk and what will he consider [ ]
6. 3hwy and nothing is done
7. ] and according to your counsel he visited [ ]
8. ] with [ ]
9. ]
10. by the spirit of [your] holi[ness ]h[ ] and not 3wkl[ ]
11. the spirit of [your] holi[ness ]the fulness h[ ] earth [ ] your [g]lory, the fulness h[ ]
12. and I know that b3sw[ ] toward mankind you have multiplied [ ]d your truth in all [ ]
13. and the place of righteousness [ ]
14. which you have deposited upon him p[ ] 3v stumble in all m[ ]
15. when I know all these, [I] will f[ind] the reply of the tongue,
   to [prostrate myself ]/my transgression, and to seek [ ] spirit [ ]
16. to strengthen myself by the spirit of [your] holi[ness]
   and to cling to the truth of your covenant,
   and to [ ] in truth and perfect heart,

Sukenik transcribed two דעיה; however, the facsimile shows a word of five letters. There is a letter immediately before ד but unfortunately one cannot make out with certainty what it is. The third letter, whose traces are barely visible, is ד while the fourth letter appears to be an . Therefore, דעיה is a possible reading of the text.
16. Blessed are you, O Lord, [ • ] deed that all things are your works.
   Behold, you have determined [ • ]
17. lovingkindness and you have shown me favour by the spirit of your compassion,
   and [ • w] your glory,
   To you belongs the righteousness,
   for you have done [ • ]
18. And as I know that you have noted the spirit of the righteous,
   And I have chosen to cleanse my hands in accordance with [your] will,
19. and the soul of your servant [ • ] every (19) work of injustice
   and I know that none is righteous apart from you,
20. and the soul of your servant [ • ]
21. to complete (20) [ • d] with [ • ] to cleanse me by the spirit of your holiness,
   and to bring me near by your will according to your great lovingkindness [ • b]
22. in your presence [ • m • ] to have fellowship with the spirit of your servant
   and with all m • [ • ]
23. [ • ]h [ • ]w and not [ • ] in his presence all affliction,
   a stumbling from the statutes of your covenant [ • ]
24. [ • ] and [ • ] and compassionate [ • jk ] mercy and truth,
   and who forgives transgression
25. and who has compassion on [ • ],
   and those who keep [ • ] to you in faithfulness and perfect heart [ • ]
26. to serve you [ • ] good in your eyes.
   Do not turn away from the face of your servant, [ • ] son of truth[ • ]
27. I, according to your words, gr[ • ]
28. ]

Column 9:1-39
Sukenik col. 1:1-39; frg. 24
4Q432 frg. 2; SHR 190415
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 158-60

[ 1
[ 2
[ 쉬나 [ 3
[ 올림 [ 4
[ 볼 산 [ 5
[ 올림 [ 6
[ 볼 산 [ 7
[ 볼 산 [ 8
[ 볼 산 [ 9
[ 볼 산 [ 10
[ 볼 산 [ 11
[ 볼 산 [ 12
[ 볼 산 [ 13
[ 볼 산 [ 14
[ 볼 산 [ 15

The word 볼 산 is marked with dots above and below the line.
5 Here is a case of ditography.
6 Sukenik transcribed סדר but it can be clearly seen on the facsimile that the first two letters כ were corrected to ב.
7 Sukenik simply transcribed חיד but the facsimile clearly shows א before כ.
8 Sukenik transcribed ידה but there is no א before כ.

1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. eternal [ ]
4. in them and made [ ] for [ ] and from there [ ]
5. and spring great counsel [ ] without number and [your] zeal
6. before [ ] and slow to anger in judgment [ ] you are righteous in all your deeds.
7. And in [your] wisdom [ ] eternal [ ] and before you created them,
8. you have already known their deeds (8) forever and ever [ ] all is done, and nothing is known without your will.
9. You have formed (9) every spirit [ ]

and judgement for all their deeds.
10. And you have stretched out the heavens to (10) your glory,

all [ ] according to your will, and strong spirits according to their ordinances,
11. before (11) they became angels of [ ]
to eternal spirits in their dominions, luminaries according to their mysteries,
12. stars according to [their] courses,  
[   ] according to their work,  
lightnings and thunders according to their service,  
13. and storehouses (13) designed according to [their] purposes,  
[   ] according to their mysteries.  
You have created the earth by your power,  
14. seas and deeps [   ] by my name you have established by your wisdom,  
15. and all that is in them (15) you have ordained according to [your] will,  
[   ] for the spirit of man which you have formed upon the earth for all the days of eternity  
16. and the generations of eternity [   ]  
in their ordained seasons you have allotted their work in all their generations  
17. and judgment (17) at its appointed times [   ] to generation and generation  
18. and the visitation of their retribution with (18) all their afflictions [   ]  
you have allotted to all their offspring according to the number of endless generations  
19. and for all the years of eternity [   ]  
and by the wisdom of your knowledge you have established their testimony  
20. before (20) they came into existence, and according to [   ] all and  
and apart from you nothing happens.  
21. These I know from your insight, for you have opened my ears to wonderful mysteries  
even though I am a creature of clay, and kneaded with water,  
22. a foundation of shame and a fountain of impurity,  
a furnace of iniquity and a structure of sin, a spirit of error,  
23. and perverted without (23) understanding and terrified by the judgements of righteousness.  
What can I say that is not known, and proclaim that is not told?  
24. Everything (24) is engraved before you with the ink of remembrance for all periods of eternity,  
and the courses of the number of everlasting years at all their appointed times.  
25. And they are not hidden, nor are they lacking from before you.  
And how shall a man give an account of [his] sin,  
and how shall he defend his iniquities,  
26. and how shall an unjust give a reply to a righteous judgement?  
27. To you, God of knowledge, belong all the deeds of righteousness (27) and true counsel  
but to the sons of man belongs the service of iniquity and the deeds of deceit.  
28. You have created (28) breath for the tongue, and you know its words,  
and you have established the fruits of the lips before they came into being,  
and you have put words by a measuring line  
29. and the utterance of the breath of the lips by measure,  
you bring forth the measuring lines according to their mysteries,  
and (the utterances of breath) according to their purpose,  
30. in order to make known (30) your glory  
and to recount your wonders in all the deeds of your truth [   ] your righteousness  
31. and to praise your name (31) with the mouth of all.  
And they know you in accordance with their insight and bless you forever [   ]  
32. and you, in your compassion (32) and your great mercy,  
you have strengthened the spirit of man against affliction [   ] from the abundance of iniquity,  
33. to recount your wonders before all your creatures [   ] the judgements of my afflictions,  
34. and to the sons of man all your wonders which you have done mightily [   ]  
35. Listen, (35) O wise men, and [you who meditate upon knowledge and the anxious],  
and be of steadfast mind [   ] increase prudence.  
36. O righteous men, make an end of injustice,  
and all those of perfect way, strengthen [   ] the poor  
37. Be patient (37) and do not reject [   ] [by] heart they do not understand  
38. these things [   ] 'm[  
39. [   ] yhrw]  

Column 15:29-36  
Sucenik col. 7:26-33; SHR 190409  
4Q428 frg. 6
29. I [give you thanks, O Lord],
   for you have given me insight into your truth,
   and your mercy to a man [ ]
   with the abundance of your compassion to the perverted heart.

30. And the mysteries of your wonder you have made known to me
   and your mercy to a man [ ]
   with the abundance of your compassion to the perverted heart.

31. [Who is like you among the gods, O Lord?] and who is like your truth?
   and who is righteous before you when he is judged.

32. And no (29) host of spirit can answer your reproach,
   and none can stand before your anger.

33. And all the sons of (30) your truth you will bring before you in forgiveness,
   [to purify] them from their transgressions by the greatness of your goodness,
   and by the abundance of your compassion,

34. to make them stand before you forever and ever.

   For you are an eternal God
   and all your ways are established forever and ever.

35. And there is none apart from you.
   And what is the man of worthlessness and the lord of nothingness,

36. that he should understand your wonderful (33) [great] deeds?

Column 17:38-17:41
Sukenik col. 9:38-41; SHR 190402
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 184-6

38. [ you have increased without number]
39. [ your name by doing wonderful things]
40. [ unceasingly]
41. [ kwh and praise]

Column 18:1-12
Sukenik col. 10:1-12; SHR 190417
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 186
1. [the plan of your heart]  
2. [if and without your will it shall not be. And none understand bhw]  
3. [why none looks upon. What then is man? He is but earth.]  
4. he is formed and to dust he shall return. But you give him insight into wonders like these  
5. and in the counsel [5] (5) you make known to him. And I am dust and ashes, what can I plan unless you take delight in?  
6. And what can I plan (6) without your will? How can I show myself strong unless you make me stand,  
7. and how can I gain insight unless you mould (7) me. and what can I speak unless you open my mouth? and how can I reply unless you give me insight?  
8. Behold, you are the prince of gods and the king of the glorious ones, and lord over every spirit and ruler over every creature.  
9. And apart from you nothing can happen, and nothing is revealed without your will and there is none beside you  
10. and there is none with you in power, and there is none in comparison to your glory, and for your might there is no price.  
11. And who (11) among all the great works of your wonder can retain strength, so as to stand before your glory?  
12. And what then is he who returns to his dust, that he could retain [strength]? Only for your glory have you done all these.

Column 18:14-19:2  
Sukenik col. 10:14-11:2; SHR 190417  
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 186-8

9 This word is read as ḫmōlī.  
10 Sukenik mistakenly transcribed as ṭēberōth.
14. Blessed are you, O Lord, God of compassion, [ ] mercy, for you have made known [ ]
15. your wonderful deeds, and do not keep silence day and [ ]
16. for your mercy, in your great goodness and [ ]
17. for I have leaned on your truth [ ]
18. your will and without [ ] your rebuke there is no stumbling [ ]
19. an affliction that you do not know [ ]
20. And I, in accordance with what I know of b'm[ ]
21. and when I consider your glory,
22. I will recount (21) your wonderful deeds,
23. and when I understand [ ] the abundance of your compassion,
24. and for your forgiveness (22) I hope that you have formed [ ] nkh you have established me.
25. And you have not placed (23) my support upon unjust gain and bh [ ] by
26. and the inclination of the flesh you have not set for me as a refuge.
27. The strength of the mighty is on the abundance of [ ] wb, corn, wine, and oil
28. And they have exalted themselves [with] possession and property,
29. and to multiply branches, for bh [ ] mankind, and to make all grow fat from the earth,
30. and to the sons of your truth you have given [ ] everlasting,
31. and in accordance with their knowledge honoured [ ]
32. the one more than the other.
And thus to the son [ ] you have increased his inheritance
33. and in accordance with his knowledge w[ ]
30. your servants abhors [ 31. and unjust gain nor in the height of luxuries [ ]
   my heart rejoices in your covenant,
   and [your] truth (31) my soul delights.  
   And I flourish [ 32. and my support is in the refuge from above and [ ] mischief
   and it withers like flower before [ 
   33. And my heart goes mad in anxiety,
   and my loins in trembling,
   and my groaning reaches to the deeps
   34. and searches even into the chamber of Sheol,
   and I am terrified when I hear your judgment against the mighty warriors,
   35. and your case against the host of your holy ones (35)
   36. and judgement over all your creatures and justice 
   37. [ ]
   38. [ ]
   39. [ ]

1. in terror mischief from my eyes and grief
2. through the meditation of my heart.

Column 19:3-14
Sukenik col. 11:3-14; SHR 190419
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 188

3. I give you thanks, my God,
   for you have done wonderful things with dust,
   and with the creature of clay you have strengthened exceedingly.
   and what am I?
4. For (4) [ ]my in the counsel of your truth,
   and you have given me insight into your wonderful deeds,
   and you have put into my mouth praises
   and into my tongue
5. [ ] and my uncircumcised lips in a place of rejoicing,
   and I will sing of your lovingkindness,
   and on your strength I will meditate all the day,
6. continually I will bless your name.
   and I will recount your glory among the sons of man
7. and in the greatness of your goodness (7) my soul will delight.
   And I know that truth is in your mouth,
and in your hand is righteousness,

8. and in your thought all knowledge,
and in your power all might,
and all glory is with you.

In your wrath are all the judgments of affliction

9. but in your goodness is great forgiveness,
and your compassion for all the sons of your pleasure,
for you have caused them to know the counsel of your truth,

and into your wonderful mysteries you have given them insight.

And for the sake of your glory you have cleansed man from transgression,

10. and into your wondrous mysteries you have given them insight.

And for the sake of your glory you have cleansed man from transgression,

11. that he may sanctify himself (11) for you

from all abominations of impurity and guilt of unfaithfulness,
to be united [with] the sons of your truth,

12. and in all (12) your holy ones,
to raise up from dust the worms of the dead to an [eternal] council,
and from perverted spirit to [your] understanding

13. and that he may station himself in position before you
with an eternal host and spirits of [ ]

14. to be renewed with all (14) that is

and with those who know in the community of rejoicing.
15. I give you thanks, my God; I exalt you, my rock, and in doing wonders []

16. [ ]ky you have caused me to know the counsel of truth [ ]

17. [yo]ur [wonderful deeds] is you have revealed to me, and I contemplate [ ]v mercy,

18. and I know (18) [that] to you belong the righteousness, and in your mercy [ ]h and destruction without your compassion.

19. And I, a source of bitter sorrow was opened to me, [ ] mischief was not hidden from my eyes.

20. When I knew the inclination of man and the reply of mankind [I understand]
And they have entered into my heart and penetrated into [my] bones [ ]ym

22. and to moan sighing (22a) and groaning with the lyre of lamentation for every mourning of an[guish], (22) and bitter wailing until iniquity ceases and [ ] and there is no plague to cause weakness.

23. And then (23) I will sing with the lyre of salvation and the zither Sm[ ]h and the flute of praise unceasingly

24. And who among all your creatures can declare [ ]kh with the mouth of them all is your name praised

25. forever and ever they will bless you according to Sh[ ]ym

26. they will proclaim together (26) with the voice of rejoicing and there is no anguish nor groaning, and injustice [will not be found forever],

27. and your truth you will shine forth (27) for endless glory and eternal peace.

Blessed are yo[u] sr you have given /

28. the insight of knowledge to understand your wonderful deeds [ ]spr through the abundance of your mercy.

29. Blessed are you, God of compassion and grace, bgdv[ ]wh and the greatness of your truth,

30. and the abundanceof(y) your mercy towards all your creatures.

Gladden the soul of your servant with your truth,

31. and cleanse me (31) with your righteousness as I wait for your goodness and for your mercy I hope

32. and by [your] forgiveness (32) you have relieved my breakdown and in my grief you have comforted me, for I have leaned on your compassion.

33. Blessed are yo[u], (33) O Lord, for you have done these things, and you put in the mouth of your servant [ ]

34. and a supplication and a reply of the tongue and you have established for me [ ]w/]

35. and ‘isw[

---

14 Read as בשנמצא due to the assimilation of ב.
36. And you [ 37. 'm [ 38. and [ 

Column 20:1-37
Sukenik col. 12:1-37; frgs. 54, 60
4Q427 frg. 2, 3 col. II, 4; 4Q428 frg. 8 col. II
SHR 190411, 190407, 4328
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 190-2

[This restoration is taken from 4Q427 frg. 3 ii 4.]

[This restoration is taken from 4Q427 frg. 3 ii 5 and 4Q428 frg. 8 ii 10.]

[A letter has been erased from the text.]
1. safely in the dwelling q[ in quiet]ness and at ease
2. with eternal spirits ] his tent b[ ] and salvation
3. and I will praise your name among those who fear you.
4. To the instructor, praises and prayer,
to prostrate myself and seek favour always,
at the coming of the light,
5. through the course of the day in its order
in accordance with the laws of the great luminary,
6. at the turn of the evening and the departure of (6) light,
at the beginning of the dominion of darkness,
at the appointed time of the night according to its course,
to the turn of the morning
7. and at the time (7) when it withdraws to its dwelling before the light,
at the departure of the night and the coming of the day continuously,
8. at all the births of time, the foundations of the period,
and the course of the seasons in their order
9. by their signs for all (9) their dominion,
in the order established from God's mouth and the testimony of existence,
10. and this shall be (10) and there is no more.
And besides it there has not been, nor will there ever be.
For God of knowledge has established it
11. and there is none besides him.
And I, the Instructor, have known you, my God,
12. by the spirit (12) which you have given me,
and faithfully I have listened to the counsel of your wonder by the spirit of your holiness.
13. You have opened knowledge to my innermost parts
by the mystery of your insight and the spring of [your] strength [ ]
14. to the abundance of mercy and the zeal for destruction and hsb[
15. the majesty of your glory to light [ ]
16. wickedness and there is no deceit [ ]
17. dy ruin, for there is no [ ]
18. there is [no] more raging, because before [your] anger [ ]
19. And there is none righteous with you [ ]
20. to gain insight into all your mysteries and to return a word [ ]
21. for your reproach and for your goodness they watch, for in [your] mercy
22. and they know you and in the time of your glory they will rejoice,
and in accordance with [ ]
23. according to their insight (23) you will bring them near
and in accordance with their dominion they will serve you [ ]
24. not to transgress your word.
And I, from dust lq[ ] to a source of impurity and shame of disgrace,
a pile of dust and mgb[ ] and a dwelling of darkness.
25. And the return to dust for the creature of clay at the time [ ] in the dust
26. to the place from which it is taken,
and what can the dust reply and [ ] byyn,
27. how can he station himself before the one who reproaches bw[ ]
28. eternal, and collections of glory and spring of knowledge and gbw[ ]
29. '}
30. [ ] to recount all your glory and to station himself before your anger,
31. and there is none to give a reply (31) to your reproach,
   for you are righteous and there is none before you,
   and what then is the one who returns to his dust,
32. and I am dumb and what can I say about this?
   In accordance with my knowledge I have spoken, 
maydq, a creature of clay.
33. and what (33) can I say unless you open my mouth,
   and how can I understand unless you give me insight,
34. and what [w] (34) except that you open my heart?
   and how can I tread the straight path unless hkw[...
35. stands prf [ ...] with strength,
   and how can I raise myself [...
36. and kwf[ ]w with whom ...]

Column 21:1-18 (Top)
Sukenik col. 18:16-33; SHR 4302
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 192-4
Puech, 51-2
11. and I am a creature (11) [ ] and a heart of stone.
To what should I be reckoned until this?
12. For (12) [ ] th to the ear of dust,
and you have inscribed what is to happen forever in the heart.
13. [ ] you have put an end, to bring into the covenant with you, and to stand
on the fixed place of eternity, to the light of perfect light forever and [ ] darkness
14. [ ] end and times of peace without [i]
15. [ ] and I am a creature of dust [ ]
16. [ ] I open [ ]
17. [ ]
18. [ ]

Column 21:1-18 (Bottom)
Sukenik frg 3; SHR 4305
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 194
Puech, 51-2

1. [ ]
2. [ ] the path is open [ ]
3. [ ] the tracks of peace, and with flesh to do wonders [ ]
4. [ ] and my steps over those who hide its traps and who spread [ ]
5. [ ] I will keep the one formed from dust from being scattered, and from among wax [ ]
6. [ ] heap of ash, how can I stand before the wind sw [ ]
7. [ ] and he protects him for the mysteries of his pleasure, for he knows /m/ [ ]
8. [ ] r destruction. And they have hidden trap upon trap, the snares of wickedness [ ]
9. [ ] w in injustice. And every creature of deceit will come to an end, for not [ ]
10. [ ] /yn And there will be no more inclination of injustice nor works of deceit [ ]
11. [ ] And I, creature of /i/
12. [ ] how can he be strong before you? You are the God [ ]
13. [ ] You have made them and without you not [ ]
14. [ ] the dust, I know by the spirit which you have given me [ ]
15. [ ] mh[ ] /i/ injustice and deceit will be driven out, and insolence will cease [ ]
16. [ ] 'y impurity to sickness and judgements of affliction and destruction [ ]
17. to you is wrath and zeal mv{
18. creature [}

Column 22:1-18 (Top)
Sukenik frgs. 1, 52; SHR 4321, 4277
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 194-6
Puex, 51-2

Column 22:1-5 (Middle)
Sukenik frg. 47; SHR 4260B
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 196
1. I will rejoice [ ]
2. the volunteers do not [ ]
3. for me from the time when I was established [ ]
4. he will not enter, for [ ]
5. like my structure, and [my] entrails [

Column 22:1-20 (Bottom)
Sukenik frg. 4; SHR 4307
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 196
Puech, 51-2

[ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]
5. [ ]
6. [ ]
7. [ ]
8. [ ]
9. [ ]
10. [ ]
11. [ ]
12. [ ]
13. [ ]
14. [ ]
15. [ ]
16. [ ]
17. [ ]
18. [ ]
19. [ ]
20. [ ]

1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]
5. [ ]
6. [ ]
7. [ ]

Puech, 51-2
8. men, and the covenant of him who has been seduced by them and ybw []
9. khwt before you and I was in dread at your judgement []
10. ykh and who is pure in your judgement? And what ‘ph []
11. ny in the judgement? And he who returns to his dust, what []
12. you have opened my heart to your insight, and you have opened [my ca]rs []
13. to lean on your goodness. But my heart is perturbed []
14. and my heart dissolves like wax because of transgression and sin.
15. jymh Blessed are you, God of knowledge, who have established
16. and this happens to your servant for your sake, for I know
17. jkh I hope with all my being and you name I will bless always
18. idkh Do not forsake me in times of []
19. ] upon [

Column 23:1-16 (Top)
Sukenik col. 18:1-15; SHR 4303, 190412
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 196-8
Puech, 51-2

1. your light and you have set up m’[
2. your light without ceas[se
3. for with you is light l/
4. and you have opened the ear of dust [ ] and hw/[]
5. the plan which hw[ ] his anger [ ]k and you have established ba[ [ ]
6. your servant forever [ ] mw ‘et of your wonder,
7. to reveal yourself (7) to the eyes of all those who hear [ ]
by the right (hand) of your strength lnhl[
8. by the power of your strength [ ] for your name,
and you show yourself great bkhw[
9. Do not withdraw your hand [ that he might] be the one who holds fast to your covenant,
10. and who stands in your presence [ ] wfr
you have opened the mouth of your servant,
11. and on his tongue (11) you have inscribed upon qwv [ to pro]claim to a creature his insight,
12. and to be a mediator in these things (12) to dust such as myself,
and you have opened mq[ ] to reprove the creature of clay of his way,
13. and the guilt of one born of (13) a woman according to his deeds,
and to open m[ ] your truth to the creature whom you have supported by your power,
14. [ ] according to your truth, bearing good tidings [ ] your goodness,
to preach to the poor the abundance of your compassion
15. [ ]' from the spring [ ]'y spirit, and mourning to eternal joy.

Column 23:1-18 (Bottom)
Sukenik frg. 2, SHR 4304
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 198
Puech, 31-2

[ 1 ]
[ 2 ]
[ 3 ]
[ 4 ]
[ 5 ]
[ 6 ]
[ 7 ]
[ 8 ]
[ 9 ]
[ 10 ]
[ 11 ]
[ 12 ]
[ 13 ]
[ 14 ]
[ 15 ]
[ 16 ]
[ 17 ]
[ 18 ]

1. ]
2. ]
3. ] and in your land and among sons of gods and bbn[
4. ][lk]h and to declare all your glory. And what am I? For from dust I have been taken and [ [wkh you have made all these,
5. ] continually unto deliverance,
6. ] according to the abundance of your mercy give the guarading of your righteousness
7. ] for what is dust? b[ ]sh ashes in their hand. They are nothing. But you
8. ] clay and msw[ ]' your will; and upon the stones (?) you have tested me
9. ][gw wklh[ ]'ry and upon dust you have stretched out the spirit
10. ] gods to unite with the sons of heaven
11. ]wm and there is no return of darkness. For
12. ] and light you have revealed, but not to make return
13. ]swh you have stretched out to atone for guilt
14. ]rym with your host, and those who wander
15. ]bw from before you, for they are established in your truth
16. ] you have done these wonderfully for your glory. And mswdwq
17. ] the injustice of the abominable creature
18. ] abominable [creature.
1. creature of flesh
2. who will summon you
3. at his judgement to the angels of
4. and mysteries of transgression, to change
5. flesh b and above it will fly
6. all (7) the angels of m as the cords of the spirit, and you have humbled
7. the gods from the foundation ykh in the dwelling of your glory, and you
8. man upon I withdraw until the time of your acceptance
9. and to send [ ] power and the abundance of flesh to condemn
10. bq to establish in council with you
11. the bastards, all
12. 4gd
2. ]'b to the pit in time of [his] iniquities [ 
3. ]m every adversary and destroyer [ 
4. ] their acts of expulsion and to send them away, a people [ 
5. ] man of insolence in the greatness of unfaithfulness w[ 
6. ]bym with contempt, for all the spirits [ 
7. ] they have acted wickedly during their lives [ 
8. ][]
1. [righteousness [  
2. ] disperse them from the place of standing [  
3. ] met together with the congregation of your holy ones by doing wonders [  
4. ] forever. And the spirits of wickedness tbyt m [  
5. ] they shall no longer be, and you destroy the place r[ all  
6. ] spirits of iniquity which have been devastated to mourning [  
7. ] and pleasure for eternal generations, and when wickedness arises lm [  
8. ] great, I will let them grow to destruction and in the face of all your deeds [  
9. ] your mercy, and to know all things in your glory and lp [ ]  
10. ] of the judgement of your truth, and the ear of flesh you have opened and [  
11. ] and in the inhabitants of the land upon the land and also [  
12. ] darkness. You will contend fsw [ ] dwq and lhr [  
13. ] and not to scatter [  

Column 25:1-13 (Bottom)
Sukenik frgs. 8, 71; SHR 190407, 4310, 3425
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 200
Puech, 51-2
1. ]
2. ]
3. and you exalt [ 
4. counsel and [ 
5. those who serve [ 
6. and they regard them [ 
7. and to praise [ ]
8. I have declared and [ ]
9. God of (9) knowledge [ 
10. For the instructor, [ 
11. for [ ] kings of old 
12. ]mtw 
13. ]hwmb

Column 26:6-16 (Top)
Sukenik frgs. 46 II, 55 II, 56 II; SHR 190407, 4260B
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 200-2
Puech, 51-2

6. ]
7. ] he will come [ 
8. and glory [ 
9. on me and [ 
10. smh 
11. exalt [ 
12. ]
13. ]
14. in the community [ 
15. ]ym and to reveal hidden things [ 
16. ]pyl the exalted meetings g ]

Column 26:1-13 (Bottom)
Sukenik frgs. 7 II; SHR 190401, 4310, 3425, 4328
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 202
Puech, 51-2

177
1. yet [ 1
2. height without a remnant and y[ 2
3. and high in height and with [ 3
4. eternal, and those who stumble upon the land and [ 4
5. and everlasting joy bmkwrn[ 5
6. {to declare strength} [ 6
7. that they may know the covenant of mercy [ 7
8. God of righteousness and hikl] 8
9. by the strength of might and h[ 9
10. what is flesh to these? and [ 10
11. and to station himself bm'm[ 11
12. to give a reply h[ 12
13. h[ 13

4Q427 frg.1 1-7
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 254
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 892-4

[יתד [לך ראבימ] ] 1
[/kernel בלת רחובות רוזנינ] 2
[בר ותר ] 3
[ארנש אמברוגנ(ד) ואברירה ول] 3
[תר ותר ] 4
[אבריד המר ] 4
[ל럴 אנ] 5
[שורות נבל] 5
[ך וכימה ] 6
[לך שמבר[ 6
[לך ] 7

1. [ ]th [to] me and I have considered [ 1
2. [ ]wkh without your compassion and I [ 2
3. [ ]br and l[ ] man, I consider diligently and I pay attention and l[ 3
4. [ ]rmeditation yq[ sighing with lyre q[ ] for all 'b[ 4
5. [ ]salvation and the harp [ 5
6. [ ]y all of them [ ]ll [your] name [ 6
7. [ ]ll[ 7

4Q427 frg.2, 3 col. II 3-15
3. ]h in the dwelling place of peace
4. with spirits ]w ]w h and I will praise [your] name [}
5. For the instructor, give thanks [}
6. the coming of the light to dominion [}
7. light at the beginning of the dominions ]h [}
8. to its inhabitation before the light ]m [}
9. and the course of appointed seasons [}
10. what is. And this [}
11. knowledge ]h [}
12. and ]m [}
13. by the spirit [}
14. ]w [}
15. 'w [}

4Q427 frg. 3 col. 11-15
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 255
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 896
1. [ ] and in accordance with their knowledge by your glory [  
2. [ ] they proclaim and from appointed time to appointed time [  
3. [ ] with those who know we are chastened by you and we give a ringing cry  
4. [ ] wondrously we will recount together the knowledge of God and with  
5. [ ] you have made known together with the sons of man  
   in the midst of the sons of Adam  
6. [ ] a loud ringing cry to those who make wonders  
7. [ ] yw  
8. [ ] yh man  
9. [ ] b'l light, dominion  
10. [ ] for he purifies  
11. [ ] forever and luminary of blessing  
12. [ ] with those who know  
13. [ ] we are chastened by you  
14. [ ] we give a ringing cry  
15. [ ] yhnth

4Q427 frg. 5 1-4  
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257

1. [ ] t in accordance with r[  
2. [ ] lmy [I] shall be reckoned [  
3. [ ] m you have inscribed into the heart [  
4. [ ] the [u]dgements of the cities b[

4Q427 frg. 6 1-4  
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257

1. [ ] flesh [  
2. [ ] he who spread a net and [  
3. [ ] g when it dissolves before the fire [  
4. [ ] and as for me, he will establish me b[

4Q427 frg. 7 col. 1 6-23  
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257-8  
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 896

180
6. [J] among the gods
7. [J] 't`
8. [ ] with a tongue he will testify (?) me
9. [ ] evil to the holy ones and will not come [ ]
10. [ ] is not comparable [to] my [glory, f[or] l, with gods is [my] place
11. [and glory or hon]our, not with pure gold 'k[ ] for me,
and gold or precious metal (Ophir?) not
12. [ ] will not be reckoned for me.

Sing, O beloved ones, sing to the King of [glory]

14. [rejoice in the con]gregation of God,
ring out a cry of joy in the tents of salvation,
praise in the [holo] habitation.

15. [exalt together with the eternal host,
ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our King.

16. [sanctify his name with strong lips and powerful tongue,

17. proclaim the sound of a ringing cry? of joy,
rejoice with eternal joy

18. and unceasingly bow down together in the congregation,
bless the one who does majestic wonders and who makes known the strength of his hand,

19. [to] seal up mysteries and to reveal hidden things,
to raise up those who stumble and those of whom he fall.

20. [to bring ba]ck the way of those who wait for knowledge,
and to humiliate the exalted meetings of the eternal proud.

21. [to make perfect mysteries of maj]esty
and to establish glorious [won]ders,
the one who judges with destructive wrath

22. [ ] with lovingkindness, righteousness and with the abundance of compassion, favour
23. [ ] compassion for those who make ineffectual his great goodness, and a fountain [
and there are no perversity without knowledge, light appears, and if
5. mourning, and groaning flees, peace appears, terror ceases, a fountain is opened
6. and healing at all times of eternity, iniquity ends, plague ceases as there will be no sick
7. pro)claim and say: great
8. for he humbles the haughty spirit that there will be no remnant, and he lifts up from the dust the poor / ch
9. and up to the clouds he makes himself great in stature, and with gods in the congregation of the community and rp
10. wrath for eternal destruction. And those who stumble on earth he lifts up without price and gb
11. their step and eternal joy in their dwellings, everlasting glory and unceasingly
12. They say: Blessed be God h ift majesty and who magnifies himself by showing strength
13. with knowledge to all his creatures and goodness upon their faces, that they may know the abundance hs
14. his compassion to all the sons of his truth. We have known you, God of righteousness, and we have gained insight
15. glory, for we have seen your zeal in the power of your might and we have recognised m
16. your compassion and wonderful forgiveness. What is flesh to these things? and what yh
17. to recount these things from time to time, and to take a stand in place
18. the sons of heavens and there is no mediator to bring back

4. [ ] and there are no perversity without knowledge, light appears, and if
5. mourning, and groaning flees, peace appears, terror ceases, a fountain is opened
6. and healing at all times of eternity, iniquity ends, plague ceases as there will be no sick
7. pro)claim and say: great
8. for he humbles the haughty spirit that there will be no remnant, and he lifts up from the dust the poor / ch
9. and up to the clouds he makes himself great in stature, and with gods in the congregation of the community and rp
10. wrath for eternal destruction. And those who stumble on earth he lifts up without price and gb
11. their step and eternal joy in their dwellings, everlasting glory and unceasingly
12. They say: Blessed be God h ift majesty and who magnifies himself by showing strength
13. with knowledge to all his creatures and goodness upon their faces, that they may know the abundance hs
14. his compassion to all the sons of his truth. We have known you, God of righteousness, and we have gained insight
15. glory, for we have seen your zeal in the power of your might and we have recognised m
16. your compassion and wonderful forgiveness. What is flesh to these things? and what yh
17. to recount these things from time to time, and to take a stand in place
18. the sons of heavens and there is no mediator to bring back

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19. to you, for you have made me stand [ ]

20. strength to hear wonderful things (to bring back to you) [ ]

21. we have spoken to you and not to an intermediary [ ]

22. an ear to the utterance of our lips. Proclaim [ ]

23. the heavens by his power and all their plans [ ] the earth by [his] strength [ ]

4Q427 frg. 8 1-4
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 259
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 898

4Q427 frg. 14 1-6
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 261

4Q428 frg. 1 1-2
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 262

4Q428 frg. 7 1-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 264
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 898-900

183
1. my prescribed statutes, and you have called me [ ]
2. and in the abundance of your compassion k[ ]
3. I have been cast in guilt of treachery [ ]
4. with the abundance of impurity, and from my youth b[ ]
5. My God, you have established my feet in the path [ ]
6. my ear and my heart to understand [your] truth [ ]
7. ear at your teaching until [ ]
8. knowledge you have established in my bowels and k[ ]
9. to him more for the stumbling-block of iniquity, for tg[ ]
10. forever, for not [ ] in ways of k[ ]
11. I [g]ive you thanks, O Lord, for [ ]
12. in a dry land and a sp[rong] of waters in a land [ ]

4Q428 frg.8 1-5
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 264
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 900

1. smk[
2. they proclaim [to]gether [with vo]ice of ringing cry and there is none [ ]
3. be found [ ] k[h] will be shined forth for eternal glory and peace [ ]
4. L]ord, that you have given [ ]
5. ]

4Q429 frg.1 col I 1-3
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 265
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 900
1. [ ] ryrm and you have set me in a dwelling
2. [ ] on the [face] of the waters and hunters
3. [ ] Jmt you have confirmed

4Q429 frg.1 col II 1-5
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 265
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 900

1. through me [ 1
2. into the crucible like [ 2
3. the smiths, to be purified [ 3
4. peoples with their afflictions [ 4
5. [my G]od, [you] turn the tempest ! [ 5

4Q429 frg.1 col III 7-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 266
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 900-2

7. [ ] nh [ 7
8. they devise, and the words of b[ 8
9. like the venom of vipers which breaks forth from time to time and like [ 9
10. the dust they aim to seize the smiles of asps 10
11. which cannot be [charmed]. And it becomes an incurable pain and a malignant wound 11
12. [in the bowels of] your servant, causing the spirit to stumble, and making an end of' 12

4Q429 frg.1 col IV 1-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 266-7
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 902
1. [strength so that] he could not hold firm to m
2. [ ] and they have roared forth complaint against me with the lyre [ ]
3. [Hot in]dignation has seized me and pains like the pangs of [ ]
4. [and] my tongue has cleaved to the roof of (my) mouth, for they have surrounded me bil
5. [and] the light of my countenance [has been dimmed] into darkness and my glory [ ]
6. you have [op]ened a wide space in my heart and they have increased it to swf
7. [the] bread of sighing, and my drink is tears [ ]
8. [by the bitter]ness of the day. Sighing and sorrow [ ]
9. [my bread into strife] and my drink into contention [ ]
10. [strength, according to the mysteries of transgression, those who have changed] the works of [ ]
11. [that cannot be torn apart and fetters llw[ ]
12. [ that cannot] be opened [ ]

4Q429 frg.2 col I 4-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 267
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 902

4. [wr eternal l]
5. [my w]
6.
7.
8. [you have com]manded them [ ] their way
9. [they will] walk [ ] the uncircumcised, and the unclean [ ]
10. [and] they have stumbled from the way of your heart [ ]
11. [they languish. And Belial is the counsellor of] [their] heart [ ]
12. [wickedness [they walk]ow in their guilt.

4Q429 frg.2 col II 1-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 267-8
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 902-4
and all their m[ ]
and it roared [ ]
my foundation [ ]
plumbline [ ]
strong lhw[ ]
stumble for [ ]
and strong bolts [ ]
with its weapons of w[s]r until all [ ] be destroyed.

4Q430.frq.1 1-7
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 279
Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, 904

[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]

and wormwood [in their] thoughts [ ]
and the stumbling-block of their iniquity they set before [their] faces [ ]
falseness, persuaded by error. And they, b[ ]
their deeds, for [ ]
y[they] said [of] the vision of knowledge [ ]
you will answer [th]em

4Q431.frq.1 1-9
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 280
1. And wickedness comes to an end [ ]
2. in it oppression ceases with indignation [ ]
3. wickedness without knowledge, light will shine forth and gladness [ ]
4. [ ] peace will [shine forth], terror will cease, the fountain will be opened to eternal blessing [ ]
5. [ ] eternal, iniquity will end, plague will cease without sickness removed [ ]
6. [ ] will be [no] more. Proclaim and say, Great is the God who works [ ]
7. [ ] haughtiness without a remnant and he raises from dust the poor [ ]
8. [ ] the clouds and high in height and together with gods in the congregation [ ]
9. [ ] to eternal destruction and those who stumble on earth.

4Q432 frg.1 1-4
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 281
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 906

1. [ ] watch the mighty men in joining (?) [ ]
2. [ ] w6w [ ] lest he shoots gb[ ]
3. [ ] l, their strength and they fall [ ]
4. [ ] Ian and I btheme[ ]

4Q432 frg.2 1-2
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 281

1. [ ] šr you have done mightily [ ]
2. [ ] the knowledge and the anxious [ ]

4Q432 frg.3 1-5
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 282
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 906
1. you have made straight in my heart all [ ]
2. my [so]row, proclaiming peace [ ]
3. crushed by blows of the comforters of kw[ ]
4. to dissolve my heart and m[ ]

4Q432 frg.4 col. I, 1-7
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 282
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 906

1. [and those who dwell on the du]st are like those go[ing down to the s]eas,
terrified by the roar of the waters; and [their] wi[se men]
2. [are like sailors in the] deep[s for] swallowed up is all their wisdom in the ro[aring of the seas]
3. [when] the de[eps boil over the springs of water]s
and they [ra]sh forth to lift [up waves and breakers]
4. with the roaring of [their] noi[se and when they rush forth, they open s ] /
5. [all the arrows of (5) the p]it, with their step, [to the deep they make their voice heard]
6. [and the gates of] open
7. [and the bars of eternity be[hind all the spirits of the v]iper]

4Q432 frg.4 col. II 1-6
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 283
Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, 906-8

1. [and the net of ] scoundrels [upon] the face of the waters,
when [all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning]
2. [and they burst forth without] hope, when the measuring line falls upon judgment
[and the lot of wrath upon the forsaken]
3. [and the outpouring of (3) wrath against] the dissemblers
   and the measuring line of burning anger for all [worthlessness]
4. [and the cords of death surround (4) without escape.]
   [And the torrents of Belial flow] over all [the high river banks, like fire which consumes
5. [their watering places] to destroy [every tree, green and dry, from their channels.]
6. [and it roves about with flames of (6) fierce burning until there is none left of] all [
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