

# **A Community of Adams Returning to Eden: The Puzzling Final Song of Sabbath Sacrifice**

by Jacob Rennaker

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The *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is a mysterious and fragmentary text that has practically defied definitive interpretation. In particular, the final Song in the cycle (Song 13) has proven to be problematic for scholars hoping to understand the form and function of this text. Where one would expect a heavenly ascent's climax to end at the throne of God (which actually occurs in Song 12), one instead finds a detailed description of high priestly figures. I will argue that Song 13<sup>1</sup> *does* in fact serve as a fitting climax for the *Songs* when viewed in context of the entire work and in light of other literature found at Qumran. This study suggests that the final Song may have served to reinforce the Qumran community's identity<sup>2</sup> as inheritors of Adam's high priestly glory through a ritualized return to the presence of God in the Edenic Holy of Holies.

Despite the text's fragmentary nature, one can still sketch the outlines of the *Songs'* content:<sup>3</sup> Songs 1-5 describe some sort of heavenly priesthood and its duties,<sup>4</sup> Songs 6-8 contain

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<sup>1</sup> For my own translation of Song 13, accompanied by critical notes, see Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Whether or not the Qumran community composed this text, it "functioned as an adopted or naturalized text within the sectarian perspective of the Qumran community." See Carol Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in W. H. Propp, B. Halpern & D. N. Freedman (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (Winona Lake, Eisenbraun, 1990), p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Carol Newsom divides the text into three sections, which I have adapted here. See James H. Charlesworth and Carol Newsom, eds., *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 3.

formulaic accounts of their praises and blessings,<sup>5</sup> and Songs 9-13 describe heavenly beings within a temple.<sup>6</sup> Phillip Alexander notes that a “sense of progression certainly grows stronger towards the end of the cycle as the Songs move successively from the nave of the celestial temple through the celestial curtain to the sanctuary and the Merkabah.”<sup>7</sup> This explanation that the *Songs* portray a progressive movement through the heavenly temple to enter God’s presence is able to make sense of Songs 1-12, but *not* Song 13. According to Alexander, “The description of the Merkabah forms the obvious climax, but somewhat puzzlingly this is effectively completed in Song 12. Song 13 seems to have spent much time describing the celestial high priestly garments. This is unexpected.”<sup>8</sup> The placement of Song 13, though anomalous in this particular paradigm of progression, deserves serious attention.

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<sup>5</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 3. Some have suggested that the 7<sup>th</sup> Song provided an “emphatic climactic structure” to the text, which stands at the “apex” of the Song’s two parallel halves. See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 15, 17. See also Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 84, and Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002), p. 148.

Others, however, disagree. One serious rebuttal of Newsom’s hypothesis is put forward by Fletcher-Louis: The reconstruction of a larger chiasmic structure “must be tempered by the fact that so much of the liturgy is lost.” See Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Boston: Brill, 2002), p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 3. For instance, Phillip Alexander argues that “the analogy of cognate texts, particularly the later Heikhalot literature...would suggest that [the climax] should come at the end.” Phillip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), p. 49. Despite Newsom’s emphasis on the climactic nature of the 7<sup>th</sup> Song, she also recognizes that it is possible to perceive a “development in content, mood, and style...from the beginning to the end of the work” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 14).

<sup>7</sup> Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, p. 49. Fletcher-Louis, in “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” (*SBL1998 Seminar Papers* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], p. 383), writes, “The progressive movement into the holiest regions of the sanctuary does seem deliberate, though its details are obscured by the lack of a complete text and the frequent oscillation between temple structures and...[its] attendants.”

<sup>8</sup> Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, p. 49.

One solution to the problem presented by Song 13 is voiced by Alexander: “Perhaps Song 13 formed a kind of coda to the cycle, which was added simply to make it occupy a quarter of the liturgical year.”<sup>9</sup> Along somewhat similar lines, James Davila writes, “It is reasonable to deduce that the eleventh and twelfth songs marked the climax of the work...while the thirteenth functioned as a kind of coda or denouement that described the heavenly cult of the high-priestly angels.”<sup>10</sup> The former suggestion is quite dismissive, and while the latter takes this Song more seriously, it does not adequately address the reasons *why* Song 13 would have functioned as a coda or denouement.

I believe that the high priestly imagery of Song 13 is central to understanding its placement and significance within the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*.<sup>11</sup> In order to understand how these priestly figures are functioning, we must first look to examples of how the Qumran community envisioned itself. Based on the literature recovered from Qumran, it is evident that the community saw itself as participating in the priestly tradition.<sup>12</sup> And, according to certain

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<sup>9</sup> Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, p. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> Fletcher-Louis suggests as much when, after discussing “the peculiar interest at Qumran in the ‘perfect light’ of God’s presence” and the High Priest’s vestments, he writes, “what would be a more fitting climax to a particularly Essene liturgy than the appearance of the community’s high priests dressed in their [high priestly breastpieces]” (Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 369).

<sup>12</sup> The Community Rule document, for instance, contains a number of instances where its adherents are described using priestly terminology. Referring to a specific group within the community, it states, “They will preserve the faith in the land with a firm thought and a broken spirit, and atoning (ולרצת) for sin (עוון) by working justice and suffering affliction” (1QS 8:3-4). According to this passage, instead of offering sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple to atone for the sins of the land, the actions of certain community members served to make some sort of atonement for sins. This imagery is then applied to members of the community as a whole in the following: “They will atone (לכפר) for the guilt of transgression and unfaithful acts of sin (הטאת), for the favor of the land instead of the flesh of burnt offerings or the fat of sacrifice” (1QS 9:4). Much of this same language is found in Leviticus 4-5 and outlines the conditions for sacrifices in the tabernacle that were to atone for the sins of Israel. Newsom notes that “in several important respects, including the requirements of purity and the ability to effect atonement, the life of the entire community was seen as the functional equivalent of priestly service in the temple.”<sup>12</sup> Thus, the Qumran community likely saw itself in a priestly role as providing a sort of atonement for Israel.

texts, the community also saw themselves as possessing the “glory of Adam,” or something of the original glory that God imparted to humanity. I believe that both of these ideas can be seen as working together in the *Songs*.

First, a priestly self-identity is suggested in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Song, where a figure identified as the “Instructor” poses the following questions to the community: “How will we be considered among them? And how will our priesthood [be considered] in their dwellings?” (4Q400 2:6). In addition to this explicit reference to priesthood among the community, Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes a direct correlation between the priestly language used in the Community Rule (1QS 8:3-4, 1QS 9:4) and the very first Song (4Q400 1 i 16).<sup>13</sup> Thus, at the very least there appears to be a conceptual connection between the community’s priestly self-image and the priestly figures of Song 13.

Another significant element in Qumran texts is the figure of Adam. Returning to the Community Rule, we read: “For God has chosen them [the community] for an everlasting covenant, and all the glory of Adam is theirs” (1QS 4:22-23). The curious phrase כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם also appears in one of the *Hodayot*: “And you [God] are causing them to inherit all the glory of Adam and an abundance of days” (1QH 4:15). This association between the Qumran community and Adam is further demonstrated throughout the *Hodayot*. For example, one passage reads, “I will recount your glory in the midst of the sons of Adam; and in the abundance of your goodness my soul delights” (1QH 19:6-7).<sup>14</sup> In fact, Fletcher-Louis observes that much of this collection

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<sup>13</sup> Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” p. 380.

<sup>14</sup> I have chosen to render כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם here as “sons of Adam” instead of “sons of men.” The first lines of this hymn, “I thank you, my God, for you have dealt wonderfully with dust (עֶפֶר), and in forming (וּבִיצָר) clay you have made very mighty” (1QH 19:3), allude to the imagery employed in the creation of man as recorded in Gen. 2:6-7. By analogy, the particular phraseology כּוֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם translated as “son of Adam” appears to be more appropriate than “son of man” or “human” in late Second Temple texts. Marvin Sweeney argues: “Later texts of the Second Temple period...note that

“is a sustained and extended meditation on the anthropology of Genesis 2:7,”<sup>15</sup> which describes the creation of Adam from the dust of the earth.<sup>16</sup> These examples suggest that the Qumran community considered the character of Adam as glorious, and believed that they could somehow participate in that glory.

Given this emphasis on the imagery of both priesthood and Adam, it is unsurprising that some Qumran texts combine these ideas.<sup>17</sup> For instance, the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* (in Hebrew) contains a description of Simeon the high priest, using the *exact* same language that the author used to describe Adam.<sup>18</sup> Thus, for the author of *Ben Sira*, the figure of Adam and the figure of

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the priest in the Temple represents Adam in the Garden of Eden, which may explain the appellation *ben-'adam*, ‘son of Adam’ or ‘mortal,’ that is consistently applied by YHWH to Ezekiel throughout the book. The fact that only the high priest may enter the Holy of Holies, where the Ark of the Covenant is guarded by cherubim much like the Garden of Eden, reinforces this image” (Marvin Sweeney, “Ezekiel: Zadokite Priest and Visionary Prophet of the Exile” in *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005], pp.141-142).

<sup>15</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 108.

<sup>16</sup> An excellent example of such a meditation from this collection is the following: “(God) lifts up the poor from the dust to the [eternal height,] and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature, and (he is) with the heavenly beings in the assembly of the community.” 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup> 7 ii, 8-9. Based on the translation in Esther Chazon, et. Al., eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIX: Qumran Cave 4 XX, Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 100.

<sup>17</sup> Newsom came close, but stopped just short of making such a connection. Newsom mentions a number of contemporary Second Temple texts that focus on “the details of the structure of the heavenly sanctuary, its priesthood, holy vestments, etc., [and that emphasize] the holiness and magnificence of the temple cult, past and present” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 61). She goes on to specifically mention a possible relationship to the writings of Ben Sira in the following: While there is no particular verbal similarity between these writings and the Sabbath songs, there is perhaps a relationship between the religiosity which produces Ben Sira’s exalted description of Sim[e]on the Just and that which produces the account of the heavenly high priests in the thirteenth Sabbath song” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 61).

<sup>18</sup> Simeon is described in the following: “Greatest of his brothers and **the beauty** of his people was Simeon the son of Johanan the priest; In whose generation the house was visited and in whose days the Temple was strengthened” (50:1). This priestly description is immediately preceded by the following line: “And Shem and Seth and Enosh were visited, and above every living thing is **the beauty** of Adam” (49:16). This juxtaposing of Adam and Simeon was not haphazard. Robert Hayward notes that “The description of Sim[e]on as the ‘beauty,’ *tip'eret*, of his people establishes more than a formal link with the preceding chapter (49:16), where the ‘beauty,’ *tip'eret*, of Adam is named.” See C.T.R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 44. The translation of *Ben Sira* is taken from this same volume, pp. 38-72.

the high priest were somehow interconnected. Robert Hayward articulates this relationship in the following: “His juxtaposing of the high priest with Adam...strongly suggests that ben Sira took the high priest as a latter-day representative of Adam; and that the [temple] Service, therefore, was offered for the whole world.”<sup>19</sup> Hayward goes on to explain: “Ben Sira seems to imply that the privileges granted to the first man, and thus to all mankind, are also peculiarly summed up in Israel whose representative is Sim[e]on in his function as sacrificing high priest.”<sup>20</sup>

The book of *Jubilees*<sup>21</sup> makes similar conceptual ties between Adam and the temple. In the *Jubilees* account of creation, Adam and Eve are created outside of Eden; God brings Adam to Eden 40 days later, while Eve must wait a total of 80 days.<sup>22</sup> These stipulations reflect the priestly laws governing entrance to the temple in Lev. 12, and suggest that the Garden of Eden and the temple had a similar level of sanctity. This is made explicit in *Jubilees* 8:19, where Noah is described as knowing “that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord.”<sup>23</sup> Hayward explains the significance of viewing the Garden of Eden in light of the temple:

It would appear, then, that Adam and Eve were brought into the Holy of Holies prior to their disobedience: their expulsion from Eden thus signifies their removal from the place

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<sup>19</sup> Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> Some argue that this work was viewed as authoritative at Qumran. See Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 85. Carla Sulzbach notes that there have been multiple copies of *Jubilees* found at Qumran (Carla Sulzbach, “Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven, and In-Between,” in Ian H. Henderson and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity: Presented to James H. Charlesworth on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), p., p. 179).

<sup>22</sup> Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> Translation of Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 89.

where Gods' Presence on the earth is most immediate for Israel. The high priest's entry in the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur might, then, in some manner typologically correspond to the first man's return to Eden, for a season, to be reconciled with his Maker face to face.<sup>24</sup>

Given the evidence that both *Ben Sira* and *Jubilees* were preserved at Qumran,<sup>25</sup> it is not surprising that the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* may contain imagery that associates high priestly figures with the concept of Adam and a return to the presence of God.

One such association appears with the high priestly clothing described in Song 13. In *Ben Sira*, Simeon's high priestly appearance is described in detail after equating him with Adam: "he went forth from the house of the curtain; like a star of light from among clouds...and like the rainbow that appears in the cloud...he covered himself with the garments of glory, and clothed himself in garments of beauty. When he went up to the altar there was majesty: he made honorable the court of the sanctuary" (50:5-6, 7, 11). This language is similar to that used to describe the priestly figures in Song 13: "In the midst of the glorious appearance of scarlet [are] (garments,) colors of light of a most holy spirit" (4Q405 23 ii:8), "spirits [purely] colored in the midst of the appearance of whiteness," (4Q405 23 ii:9), "the likeness of the glorious spirit is like the work of fine gold, shedding light" (4Q405 23 ii:9), and finally, "These are the chiefs of those wondrously clothed for service" (4Q405 23 ii:10).<sup>26</sup> This language is certainly suggestive of that used in *Ben Sira* to describe the appearance of the high priestly representative of Adam.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, p. 89.

<sup>25</sup> Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, pp. 39-40, 85.

<sup>26</sup> Similar language also appears in the Community Rule: "They [the faithful members of the community] will receive a crown of glory with a robe of honor, resplendent forever and ever" (1QS 4:7-8). This is followed shortly thereafter by the aforementioned statement: "For God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant, and all the glory of Adam is theirs" (1QS 4:22-23). This suggests that at Qumran, there existed some sort of association between Adam and glorious garments.

<sup>27</sup> Similarities between *Ben Sira* and Song 13 are also noted by Fletcher-Louis, "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice," pp. 397-398.

Understanding how the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* functioned is crucial to understanding what role this conceptualization of a high priestly Adam figure may have played in the text.

Alexander notes that:

The texts say little about how they were to be performed. However, they *are* liturgy and were meant to be performed. Careful analysis, coupled with a judicious use of analogy, allows us to reconstruct a plausible mystical praxis centered on the communal chanting of numinous hymns in a defined cycle, spread over a period of time and building up to a mystical climax.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the language found in the *Songs* suggests that this text was both liturgical and mystical in nature. Fletcher-Louis writes that “the mysticism of the Songs is best described...as a ‘communal mysticism’ in which all the community share the experience.”<sup>29</sup>

Elliot Wolfson argues that many analyses of the “mystical characteristics” in Qumran liturgical writings are flawed because they presuppose a “Neoplatonic ontology and epistemology: contemplation of God results in a form of union whereby the soul separates from the body and returns to its ontological source in the One.”<sup>30</sup> He goes on to explain that Jewish sources (beginning with the apocalyptic and Qumran texts) do not describe a disembodied assimilation into the Divine, but rather a sort of divinization of the human wherein he or she becomes part of the heavenly realm. Wolfson then writes, “The mystical experience in this framework involves...a closing of the gap separating human and divine, not, however, by the

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<sup>28</sup> Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, p. 11. Newsom arrived at the same conclusion, although for her the “true” climax arrived during the performance of the 7<sup>th</sup> Song. She writes: “Both the highly descriptive content and the carefully crafted rhetoric direct the worshipper who hears the songs recited toward a particular kind of religious experience, a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers. That this experience is intended as a communal experience of the human worshipping community is made clear by the first person plural forms which appear in 4Q400 2 6-8...‘our priesthood;’ ‘the offering of *our* mortal tongue;’ ‘How shall *we* be considered [among] them?’; [and] ‘let *us* exalt’ (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 17, emphasis added).

<sup>29</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 266.

<sup>30</sup> Elliot Wolfson, “Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan,” *JQR* 85 (2004), p. 186.



return of the soul to the One, but rather by the ascension of the human into the heavens.”<sup>31</sup>

According to this conceptualization of “mysticism” at Qumran, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* may have somehow allowed the human community to experience a sense of transformation and participation in the heavenly realm.

In light of this understanding of “mysticism” at Qumran, the distinction between human and divine characters present in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* may not be so simple. Perhaps thinking in terms of a *spectrum* of divinity would be more helpful. Fletcher-Louis, for instance, suggests that the *Songs* may be referring to “divine humans, not *supra*human angels.”<sup>32</sup> He demonstrates this point in the following:

In the thirteenth *Sabbath Song* the focus is, very specifically, upon the high priestly garments which the Pentateuch prescribes for Aaron in Exodus 28. It is true that there is a very old tradition of giving angels a priestly characterisation. It is also true that angels are frequently described wearing celestial garments. Yet, nowhere, to my knowledge, in Jewish angelology are angels—rather than angelomorphic humans—dressed in the garments of Exodus 28.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding this possibility of priestly attire at Qumran, Judith Newman adds that, when viewed in light of the *Temple Scroll*, “the song for the first Sabbath coincides with the week in which new priests are ordained (11Q19 XV, 3),”<sup>34</sup> and “a liturgical cycle whose calendrical beginning can be correlated with a ceremony consecrating new priests thus rightly closes as a group of priestly

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<sup>31</sup> Wolfson, “Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran,” p. 186.

<sup>32</sup> Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” p. 389.

<sup>33</sup> Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” p. 390.

<sup>34</sup> Judith Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*,” in George J. Brooke, Hinday Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 46.

figures are elevated to their proper role and prepared for service.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* may have played a role in the priestly ordination of individual community members, which could have involved the donning of sacred clothing (according to Leviticus 8).

The implications for such an interpretation of Song 13 become even more significant when paired with the idea of a community seeking after the priestly glory of Adam. Fletcher-Louis writes, “Time and again the high priest’s wearing of this clothing is symbolic of his possession of a divine, transcendent or otherworldly identity...[In the 13<sup>th</sup> Song] we do not have here angels who are given clothing otherwise reserved for humans. Rather we have human beings who are given clothing symbolic of their divine identity.”<sup>36</sup> As previously noted, this “divine identity” was described elsewhere in Qumran texts as the “glory of Adam.”<sup>37</sup> Therefore, given the probable connection between the high priest and Adam at Qumran, the high priestly garments depicted in Song 13 may have served as a physical representation of the “glory of Adam” for community members.<sup>38</sup>

Discussions of the *Songs* as a type of liturgy have generally focused on the imagery of priestly angels<sup>39</sup> or humans taking on the roles of angels,<sup>40</sup> but *not* the imagery of Adam

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<sup>35</sup> Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*,” p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” pp. 390-391.

<sup>37</sup> See above.

<sup>38</sup> This view supported by 4Q504 8 i:4 (recto): “You fashioned [Adam,] our [fa]ther, in the image of [your] glory.” In commenting upon this passage, Fletcher-Louis notes, “Here Adam occupies the position taken by the high priesthood in 4Q405 23 ii, which is unsurprising given the Adam symbolism attached to the high priestly garments.” See Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” pp. 396-397, n. 83.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. James R. Davila, “Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 443.

returning to the presence of God. While the Qumran community saw themselves as priests, they also saw themselves as inheritors of “all the glory of Adam.” These two views are joined in 4Q Florilegium (4Q174 1 i:6-7): “And he has commanded that a sanctuary of Adam<sup>41</sup> be built for him; that there they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the law.<sup>42</sup>” Michael Wise and Carla Sulzbach agree that מקדש אדם here is best translated as “sanctuary / Temple of Adam” in view of the Edenic overtones they see in this text.<sup>43</sup> In light of the previous discussion, it is possible that the community saw themselves as a conceptual sanctuary consisting of individuals who had each received the “glory of Adam,” thus becoming a “Temple of Adam.” It is *also* possible to combine this idea with the importance of a physical location to perform priestly duties at Qumran. Sulzbach suggests that, “in light of other historical precedents, it may be assumed that *Miqdash Adam* refers to a certain place, the designated *maqom*, where worship and divine service takes place (for the moment, until better times). Perhaps even the synchronized angelic-human service as described in the [*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*] could thus have taken place in the *Miqdash Adam*.”<sup>44</sup> This explanation ties together nicely both the *Song*’s

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<sup>41</sup> Some have translated מקדש אדם as “sanctuary of human beings” (e.g. John Elwolde, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Vol. 1* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], p. 125, s.v. אדם). However, if the author wanted to be explicit about the sanctuary being composed of humans, rather than referring to Adam, he or she could have used the more specific אנוש “human,” which appears frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Elwolde, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Vol. 1*, pp. 334-335, s.v. אנוש). At the very least, this statement is ambiguous enough to be alluding to Adam (see Elwolde, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Vol. 1*, pp. 124, 129, s.v. אדם I, IV).

<sup>42</sup> For this last clause, I follow the translation of Geza Vermes in *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 525.

<sup>43</sup> See Michael Wise, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam,” *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991), p. 131; Carla Sulzbach, “Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven, and In-Between,” in Ian H. Henderson and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity: Presented to James H. Charlesworth on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), p. 177.

<sup>44</sup> Sulzbach, “Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven, and In-Between,” p. 178.

mystical elements (receiving the glory of Adam) and the liturgical elements (a physical location for rituals to be performed).

If the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* were used in a communal, liturgical setting, then the 2<sup>nd</sup> Song may support the view that the community saw themselves individually as representatives of Adam. Referring to those in the heavens, the Instructor asks: “[What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (לשון עפרנו) (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods?] (4Q400 2 6-7)” This is a possible allusion to Gen. 3:19, where God says to Adam, “For you are dust (עפר), and unto dust you will return.” This passage from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Song is the only instance where humanity comes close to being viewed negatively in the *Songs*; elsewhere, the emphasis is always on glorious figures (often portrayed using priestly language). It should be remembered that by reading *Ben Sira* and *Jubilees* together, the high priest entering the Holy of Holies most likely represented Adam returning to Eden, and therefore signified a return to the presence of God.<sup>45</sup> If the Qumran community embraced this imagery in *Ben Sira* and *Jubilees*, then perhaps the community also understood the *Songs* as somehow functioning to reverse the sentence pronounced upon Adam in Gen. 3:19; instead of returning to the dust, community members would ritually receive the glory originally intended for Adam.

To further bolster this argument, in the 13<sup>th</sup> Song *multiple* figures are depicted wearing high priestly garments (11Q17 ix:6-8 and 4Q405 23 ii).<sup>46</sup> This stands in contrast to Hebrew

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<sup>45</sup> See above.

<sup>46</sup> This is recognized by Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 335, Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, and Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 358. Fletcher-Louis goes so far as to suggest that “The Qumran community believed the [high priestly] garments of Exodus 28 should be worn simultaneously by more than one priest” (*All the Glory of Adam*, p. 358). Sean Michael Ryan argues that the “The plurality of chief-priestly angels coheres with the plurality of celestial shrines (seven debarim) in this seven-fold vision of the celestial sanctuary (cf. 4Q 405 23.2. 10-12).” See Sean Michael Ryan, “*In Animate Praise: The Heavenly Temple Liturgy of the Apocalypse and The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,” *Scripture Bulletin* 62:1 (2012), p. 18. However, because the

Bible texts, which only ever depict *one* high priest at a time clothed in this manner.<sup>47</sup> And if our text does, indeed, present a “corporate, ritualised, ascent,”<sup>48</sup> it would also stand in contrast to later Heikhalot literature where a *solitary* individual ascends through the heavens.<sup>49</sup> If the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* was a text intended for communal use, then it is plausible that individual worshippers viewed themselves typologically as Adam, with the progressive nature of the Songs functioning to ritually usher each of them back into Eden—or the Holy of Holies—and the presence of God. Within the context of the *Songs*, such an ideology may ultimately have been realized by the actual donning of the high priestly garments mentioned in Song 13 by members of the community.

While the actual procedure of this mystical liturgy remains—for lack of a better term—a “mystery,” Fletcher-Louis makes the provocative suggestion that the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* may have functioned as a “kind of touring mystery play.” He speculates that “If each song is set for a different sector of the cosmos or heavenly world then the theatre can remain the same and each week the *staging* can be rearranged [from week to week]... This would allow the liturgy to be celebrated in a meeting room of the Qumran complex which shows no obvious signs of being

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exact number of the high priestly figures is never given, the possibility exists that there were more (or even less) than seven figures in Song 13.

<sup>47</sup> The plural of **כֹּהֲנִים** never occurs in the Hebrew Bible (see all references in *HALOT*, p. 77, s.v. **כֹּהֲנִים**), and only once refers to multiple ephods (1 Sam. 22:18, where those wearing the ephods are viewed negatively).

<sup>48</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 387.

<sup>49</sup> Fletcher-Louis summarizes this well: “There is a common (particularly modern) view that mysticism is a fundamentally individualistic and private affair. One sometimes encounters the assumption that ancient Jewish mysticism is also essentially *esoteric* and, therefore, outside the mainstream. Yet on both counts the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* do not fit the stereotype. This ritualised ascent is patently a corporate experience. Neither is it *esoteric*: it lies at the heart of the community's liturgical life and some of its ideas were evidently shared by an older Jerusalem Temple theology (viz Sirach).” See Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” p. 398.

a temple space.”<sup>50</sup> He then suggests that, due to the fragments of this text found at Masada, it is possible that this sort of ritual could be performed by the “Instructor” at various communities without requiring a temple and allowing local members of the community to participate.<sup>51</sup> If we consider this to be a possible model for the liturgy of the *Songs and* accept the importance of Adam at Qumran, then one can also detect some *conceptual* similarities between this type of ritual and the rituals of Freemasonry, where an initiate takes upon himself the identity of a biblical figure (including symbolic items of clothing) in order to be instructed and initiated into another order. In the case of the Qumran community, the biblical figure imitated would be Adam, the clothing would be priestly vestments, the instruction would be the text of the *Songs*, and the initiated order would be that of the priesthood. Now, I’m *not* arguing that this was some sort of proto-Masonic ritual or that there was *any* genetic relationship between the two, but rather that the ritual structure of Freemasonry may help to provide a useful paradigm for understanding how this enigmatic text might have functioned within the community.<sup>52</sup>

In any case, the acknowledgement of more than one high priestly figure functioning at a time would have set the Qumran community apart from the more common Second Temple view, where only a solitary high priest represented Adam returning to Eden. At Qumran, *multiple* individuals may have participated in a symbolic return to Eden. **Such a liturgical experience**

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<sup>50</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 393.

<sup>51</sup> He writes, “In this case the liturgy is a kind of touring mystery play in which the *maskil*, and other (lay and priestly?) leaders (?), take around the communities of Essenes. They stay in each community for only one quarter of the year and ‘perform’ (with the participation of local members?) the liturgy in a building (a place of gathering or ‘synagogue’) which can accommodate a change of liturgical staging and props each Sabbath” (Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 393).

<sup>52</sup> This approach is similar to what Michael Dick has done in using the Catholic liturgy of the Eucharist to illuminate Mesopotamian ideas of divine presence in cultic images. See Michael Dick, “The Mesopotamian Cult Statue: A Sacramental Encounter with Divinity,” in Neal Walls, ed., *Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient Near East* (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2005), pp. 43-67.

would have held a special significance for those at Qumran, who were unable to participate in the various priestly rituals at the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> In fact, by laying claim to the “glory of Adam,” it is possible to see the Qumran community as appealing to a tradition even older than the Jerusalem temple in order to justify their community’s performance of priestly functions.<sup>54</sup>

Along these lines, Sulzbach writes, “If, in searching for lost perfection and purity the Qumranites were looking to Eden, perhaps the *Miqdash Adam* of 4QFlor[ilegium] could be seen as that in the most literal sense. In the garden, humanity communed with God directly. At least in this recreated sanctum, human beings were communing in concert with the angels, the servants of God, of whom they could hope to perhaps catch a glimpse.”<sup>55</sup> In short, due to the community’s estrangement from the temple and its priesthood at Jerusalem, the necessity of such a unique liturgical experience might have served to produce an environment where realizing the glory of Adam and regaining the presence of God could become a much more personal affair, effectively democratizing the concept of the high priesthood.

When viewed in this way, the final Song indeed serves as a proper climax, providing Qumran’s priestly community with an endowment of Adam’s “glory.” Of course, due to the fragmentary nature of the text and without a detailed description of exactly how the text

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<sup>53</sup> Newsom writes: “What was specifically needed at Qumran...were not merely arguments couched in visionary form to demonstrate the authenticity of the claims of the group but rather some form of experiential validation of their claims. I would suggest that the cycle of songs in the Sabbath Shiroth was developed precisely to meet this need for experiential validation...To the extent that the worshipper experienced himself as present in the heavenly temple through the recitation of the Sabbath Shiroth, his status as a faithful and legitimate priest would have been convincingly confirmed in spite of the persistent contradiction of his claims in the world” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 71-72).

<sup>54</sup> The author of the Hebrews makes a similar rhetorical move by claiming Jesus as a priestly heir of the pre-Levitical Melchizedek (e.g. Hebrews 7).

<sup>55</sup> She continues: “In 4QFlorilegium we thus possess a text that actually may function as a bridge between the biblical texts dealing with the earthly sanctuary on which it comments, the expectations of the eschatological sanctuary, and Qumran texts such as *Shiroth 'Olat ha-Shabbat*, that deal almost exclusively with the angelic service in the heavenly sanctuary.” See Sulzbach, “Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven, and In-Between,” p. 178.

functioned, this is all speculation. However, I believe this is a reasonable attempt to make sense of several disparate strands of thought present in Qumran texts, namely, 1) the priestly identity of the Qumran community, 2) this community's expressed desire to receive "all the glory of Adam," 3) the correlation between Adam and high priests in *Ben Sira* and *Jubilees*, and 4) the appearance of multiple figures clothed with high priestly vestments in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*. Taken together, these ideas suggest that the Qumran community may have seen themselves as a *community* of "Adams" returning to Eden.

- Objections to human figures participating with the angels
  - A binary view, not necessary. In SSS, a variety of heavenly beings are present, some of which are referred to as *elohim*, suggesting a spectrum of divine beings. I don't see why humans (if the community understood themselves as being created in the image of God), couldn't fit into that spectrum somewhere and participate in the SSS. (cf. Mesopotamian literature, different degrees of divinity) → F-L says that humans replace the angels in SSS, but Moray-Jones disagrees
- Objections to Adam imagery in SSS
  - Even if SSS isn't related to the Adam imagery in, *Jubilees*, *Ben Sira*, or the *Hodayot*, it still may be related to the Adam imagery in Ezekiel
    - "ben adam" → "son of Adam," Eden imagery in Ezekiel (esp. the Temple vision)

**\*\*\* To use? Maybe in fn,**

While Weinfeld recognized the same sort of temple imagery in Genesis 1 outlined above, he extended the implications of such a temple-centered view by ultimately arguing that the *Sitz im Leben* of Genesis 1 was temple liturgy.<sup>56</sup> Along these same lines, Dexter Callender writes,

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<sup>56</sup> See Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord," p. 512. Weinfeld summarizes his logic for this in the following seven points: "1) God's dwelling in his sanctuary is considered as "rest", parallel to the concept of the sanctuary in the ancient Near East, and to the seventh day's rest in Genesis. 2) The completion of the



“When isolated from its present literary context of the Pentateuch, the repetitive nature of Gen 1:1-2:4a suggests a liturgy, for which it may, in fact, have been used at some point.”<sup>57</sup> Others have argued that the text reads as some sort of liturgical hymn.<sup>58</sup>

## APPENDIX

### Translation and Critical Notes of Song 13

With a text as fragmentary as the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, it is difficult to reconstruct with absolute certainty the order and content of a single song, let alone the entire work. In my translation of Song 13, I follow the order of reconstruction originally proposed by Carol Newsom.<sup>59</sup>

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Tabernacle is parallel to the completion of the universe in Genesis. 3) The seventh day as the day of completion appears both in the Tabernacle accounts and in the Creation stories. 4) Creation and Temple building in the Ancient Near East are associated with and tied to the notion of enthronement. 5) Creation and the Enthronement of God are interrelated in the Old Testament. 6) The Sabbath and the enthronement of God are related together in Jewish liturgy. 7) The Sitz im Leben of Gen. 1:1—2:3 is to be sought in Temple liturgy” (p. 512).

<sup>57</sup> Dexter Callender, Jr., *Adam in Myth and History: Ancient Israelite Perspectives on the Primal Human* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), p. 23. A similar view is stated in Samuel E. Balentine, *The Torah’s Vision of Worship* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), esp. p. 81 and Silviu Bunta, “The Likeness of the Image: Adamic Motifs and *šlm* Anthropology in Rabbinic Traditions about Jacob’s Image Enthroned in Heaven,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 37:1 (2006), p. 64.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. Eugene Maly, “Israel—God’s Liturgical People,” in William J. Leonard, ed., *Liturgy for the People: Essays in Honor of Gerald Ellard, S.J., 1894-1963* (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing, 1963), p. 13 and Marc Vervenne, “Genesis 1, 1-2, 4: The Compositional Texture of the Priestly Overture to the Pentateuch,” in Andre Wénin, ed., *Studies in the Book of Genesis: Literature, Redaction and History* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2001), p. 48.

<sup>59</sup> Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), p. 12. This same order was followed by James Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000) p. 157, and Phillip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), p. 42. Crispin Fletcher-Louis reconstructs Song 13 similarly, but is hesitant to explicitly order the fragments. See Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 356-357.

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1. [For the Instructor. Song of the sacrifice of the thirteenth Sabbath on the twenty-eighth of the third month.]<sup>60</sup>
2. [Praise the God of...]<sup>61</sup>
3. [ ] goodwill [offering]s<sup>62</sup> [ ] all th[eir] works
4. [ ] for the sacrifices of the holy ones [ ] the odor of their offerings [ ]
5. [ ] their [ ] and the odor of their libations for [ ]<sup>63</sup> of purity with a spirit of holi[ness]
6. [ ] eternity, with [splendor and] adornment<sup>64</sup> for [ ] wonderful, and the form of the breastplates of
7. [ ] beautiful [th]reads<sup>65</sup> [ ] many-colored like [woven]<sup>66</sup> wo[rk ] purely<sup>67</sup> blended,<sup>68</sup> the colors of<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> James H. Charlesworth and Carol Newsom, eds., *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), p. 187, restore this line on the basis of the formula preserved in Songs 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 12. See “Genre and Setting” below for a discussion of the translation of מִשְׁכִּיל as “Instructor.”

<sup>61</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 187, restore this line on the basis of the “formulaic call to praise God” preserved in Songs 2, 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>62</sup> Newsom (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371) and Davila (*Liturgical Works*, p. 158) do not reconstruct this word. However, Newsom does suggest reconstructing this word as מְנַחֵם in Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 128. This is followed by both Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 356, and F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, DJD XXIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 291.

<sup>63</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, reconstructs this gap as “according to the num[ber of...]” but does not explain how he arrives at this. The manuscript is broken, and this reconstruction does not appear to be substantiated.

<sup>64</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, translates הָדָר as “adornment.” All others (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371, Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 292, and Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 356) translate הָדָר as “majesty.” I prefer “adornment,” as it better conveys the sense of extraordinary clothing (cf. Job 40:10, where this same phrase is used metaphorically of אֱלֹהִים being clothed).

<sup>65</sup> Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371, only has “[תפ]ארת...,” but this is changed in Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 128, to “[ת]ילי תפרת” and is followed by Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 291. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, translates this phrase as “[...]ords of ornamentation,” which carries a similar sense.

<sup>66</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 128, do not reconstruct אָוֶרֶג in this lacuna (although Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371, does include this reconstruction). All others

8. [ splen]<sup>dor70</sup> [and] adornment<sup>71</sup> [ ] [ ] figures<sup>72</sup> [ ] ephod  
 9. [ ] angels<sup>73</sup> [ ] his [holi]ness<sup>74</sup>

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propose this reconstruction. This entire phrase is likely drawn from Ex. 28:32, which describes the ephod of the high priest.

<sup>67</sup> Only Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, translate טהור as “brightly” (cf. Ex. 24:10, where טהר is used of the heavens, and may suggest brightness). All others translate טהור as “purely” (a much more common usage; e.g. Lev. 12:4-6. See also Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [Brooklyn, NY: P. Shalom, 1967], p. 520, s.v. טהר).

<sup>68</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, translates מולח טהר as “purely salted.” This likely follows the common usage of מלח in the Hebrew Bible, which means “to salt” (see *HALOT*, p. 588, s.v. מלח). All others translate מולח as “blended.” The only passage that this phrase appears in the Hebrew Bible is in Ex. 30:35, which records instructions regarding the incense for the אהל מועד “tent of meeting.” Martínez, et al., note that “The use of ממלח in Sir 49:1, and the translation of Tg. Exod 30:35 מערב, show that ממלח, ‘salted,’ may also mean ‘blended,’ ‘mixed.’” See , Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 282.

<sup>69</sup> צבע can mean “color” or “dye” (see Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 1259, s.v. צבע). Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, translate this as “dyed,” Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371, translates this as “dyed garments,” and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, translates this as “dyed things.” Both Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 292, and Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 356, translate this as “colours of...” I use “colors of...” to follow the sense of רקמה “multicolored” which was used earlier in that same line.

<sup>70</sup> The manuscript shows that this word (ה[ו]ד) is written faintly and slightly above the first word of the line.

<sup>71</sup> For this phrase, see note 4.

<sup>72</sup> The translations of צורה vary. Both Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371, and Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 292, translate this as “figures.” Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, use “images,” Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, uses “forms,” and Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 356, uses “shapes.” Jastrow gives the semantic range of צורה as “form, shape, figure” (see Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 1271, s.v. צורה).

<sup>73</sup> Only Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 371 does not reconstruct מלאכי here.

<sup>74</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 158, does not reconstruct קו[ד]שו. All others propose this reconstruction.

1. ] [ ]mh[
2. ]the sacrifices [

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1. ]m the beauty<sup>76</sup> of the engravings<sup>77</sup> of [
2. they approach<sup>78</sup> the King when they serve be[fore
3. King, and He inscribed<sup>79</sup> His glory h[
4. holy,<sup>80</sup> the sanctuary of all [
5. their ephodim;<sup>81</sup> [they] spread out[
6. holy ones,<sup>82</sup> good favor [ ]°[ ]°°°[ ]°[ ]°°°[ ]°[ ]°[ ] spirits of the ho[ly ones<sup>83</sup> ] [ ]

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<sup>75</sup> Only Newsom and Alexander include this fragment (based on its reference to sacrifice, which is absent elsewhere in the Songs), but both are uncertain where it belongs within Song 13. See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 12, and Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, p. 42.

<sup>76</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, translates תפארת as “ornamentation.” Both translations fall within the semantic range suggested by *HALOT*, p. 1772, s.v. תפארת.

<sup>77</sup> This word (פתוח) is used in Ex. 28:11, 21 and Ex. 39:6, 14 to describe the engraving of the names of the בני ישראל “children of Israel” on the two stones that sat on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod worn by the high priest.

<sup>78</sup> Neither Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 332, nor Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, reconstruct קרבו here. All others follow this reconstruction.

<sup>79</sup> In Sir. 40:11, הרת is used in a similar manner as פתוח was in Ex. 28:11, 21 and Ex. 39:6, 14 to describe the engraving of the names of the tribes of Israel on stones worn by the high priest. However, הרת is also used to describe God’s writing on tablets in Ex. 32:16, and this is likely alluded to in the phrase חוק הרות in 1QS x 6, 8, and 11.

<sup>80</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, treats this as a plural noun, translating קדושי as “holy ones.”

<sup>81</sup> The plural of אפד never occurs in the Hebrew Bible (see all references in *HALOT*, p. 77, s.v. אפד), and only once refers to multiple ephods (1 Sam. 22:18, where those wearing the ephods are viewed negatively).

<sup>82</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, translates קדושי here as “of holies,” apparently viewing this as a reference to the Holy of Holies.

<sup>83</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, does not reconstruct קדושי here.

7. their holy places. *vacat* In their wondrous stations are spirits of<sup>84</sup> many colors, like woven work,<sup>85</sup> engraved<sup>86</sup> with figures<sup>87</sup> of splendor.
8. In the midst of the glorious<sup>88</sup> appearance of scarlet [are] (garments,)<sup>89</sup> colors<sup>90</sup> of light of a most holy<sup>91</sup> spirit, those who take their holy station before[
9. [K]ing, spirits [purely]<sup>92</sup> colored<sup>93</sup> in the midst of the appearance of whiteness.<sup>94</sup> And the likeness of the glorious spirit is like the work<sup>95</sup> of fine gold,<sup>96</sup> shedding[

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<sup>84</sup> Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 333 supplies “(clothed with),” inferring that רוקמה “many colors” is referring to the clothing that is described in the following words of this line. Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice,” *SBL1998 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta:Scholars Press, 1998), p. 391, argues that these spirits are to be associated with the twelve stones in the high priest’s breastplate (cf. Ex. 28:11, 21; 39:6, 14).

<sup>85</sup> See note 8.

<sup>86</sup> See note 18.

<sup>87</sup> See note 13. Here, Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, seems to suggest that צורות is playing with צור, meaning “rock” (*HALOT*, p. 1016, s.v. צור, and Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 1270, s.v. צור), alluding to the stones that were inscribed with the names of the tribes of Israel (in Ex. 28:11, 21; 39:6, 14). Thus, he translates this as “stones of splendor.”

<sup>88</sup> Only Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357 treats כבוד substantively as an epithet for deity.

<sup>89</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 97, and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, both supply “garments” as the referent of צבעי.

<sup>90</sup> See note 11.

<sup>91</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, treats קודש קדשים substantively, and not adjectivally (as do all other translations), rendering the phrase “the spirit of the Holy of Holies.”

<sup>92</sup> See note 9. Only Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 96, do not propose this reconstruction.

<sup>93</sup> See note 11.

<sup>94</sup> Only Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, reads הוד instead of הור, and translates the phrase “the appearance of majesty.” The manuscript clearly shows a final ה. Thus, I follow the reading הור.

<sup>95</sup> Geza Vermes specifies that this מעשי “work” is a “work (of art),” but does not provide any explanation of what exactly this “work (of art)” refers to. See Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 338.

<sup>96</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, translates this “workmanship of Ophir.” He recognizes that אופיריים is a plural form here, but maintains this translation based on the association of the land of Ophir with fine gold in the Hebrew

10. [lig]ht. And all their designs are purely blended,<sup>97</sup> an artistry like woven work.<sup>98</sup> These are the chiefs<sup>99</sup> of those wondrously clothed for service,[
11. the chiefs<sup>100</sup> of the kingdoms of kingdoms,<sup>101</sup> holy ones of the King of holiness in all the heights of the sanctuaries of His glorious
12. kingdom. *vacat* Among the chiefs<sup>102</sup> of elevated offerings<sup>103</sup> are tongues of knowledge;[ and] they bless the God of knowledge with all His glorious works.<sup>104</sup>
13. [ ]*qwt*<sup>105</sup> of their divisions<sup>106</sup> in all the ho[ly ]r[ ]His understanding knowledge and in His [glo]rious wisdom [

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Bible, as well as a possible relation to Dan. 10:5, where an angel is described as wearing “gold of Ophir” (reading כתם אופיר instead of the phrase כתם אופז used in the Massoretic Text).

<sup>97</sup> For this phrase, see notes 9 and 10. For some reason, Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, translates this phrase as “purely salted,” whereas he translated the same phrase earlier as “purely blended.”

<sup>98</sup> Again, Vermes suggests that this מלעשי is a “work (of art),” without any explanation. See Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, p. 338.

<sup>99</sup> Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, p. 338, translates ראשי here as “Princes.”

<sup>100</sup> Again, Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, p. 338, translates ראשי here as “Princes.”

<sup>101</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 160, suggests that this may be a dittography, but notes a similar construction in 4Q403 1i 10. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, p. 357, translates this phrase as “highest kingdom.”

<sup>102</sup> See notes 40 and 41.

<sup>103</sup> תרומות. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 334, translates this as “praise-offering” (singular [!]), and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 159, as “contributions.”

<sup>104</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 160, suggests that another possible translation could be “and they bless the God of knowledge for all the works of His glory.”

<sup>105</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 96, propose reconstructing ויהו[קו]ת “[And the stat]utes of” or “[And the boun]daries of” (English translation on p. 97). Because it is uncertain which of the two would better fit this broken context, and due to the fragmentary nature of this portion of the manuscript, I choose not to reconstruct at this point.

<sup>106</sup> Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 160, notes that מסרותם also occurs in 1QM iii:3, 12, “where it seems to mean military ‘units.’” He also notes its use in 4Q209 (1 Enoch 82:10) where it carries “the sense of celestial ‘position’ or ‘station.’”

2. [ his] gl[orious] heights [ ] his [glo]ry<sup>107</sup> in [ ]*mt*
3. his [re]co[mpe]nses, with the judgements of [ ] his compassions, with the dearness<sup>108</sup> of [ ] his [tes]timonies<sup>109</sup>
4. [and] all the blessings of [his]<sup>110</sup> peace [ the glo]ry of his works and with the lig[ht ]*lmh* and with the adornment<sup>111</sup> of
5. his praise in all the firmamen[ts of ] light and darkness, and shapes of [ ]the holiness of the king
6. of glory for all the works of [his]<sup>112</sup> truth [ ]for the angels of knowledge, in all [ ] holy upliftings<sup>113</sup>
7. for the thrones of his glory and for the footstool of [his] f[leet cha]riots of his adornment, and for [his] ho[ly] *debirs* [ ] his [ ] and for the portals of the entrances of
8. [ ] with all its exits of [ cor]ners<sup>114</sup> of its structure, and for all the d[wellings of and] for the temples<sup>115</sup> of his glory, and for the firmaments of

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<sup>107</sup> Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 128, do not reconstruct כב[ו]ר here, as do Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 374, Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 293, and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161.

<sup>108</sup> See Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 592, s.v. יקר. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 374, Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, and Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 294, translate יקר as “honor,” while Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161, translates this as “value,” both of which are within an acceptable semantic range.

<sup>109</sup> Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 374, translates ת[עו]דוֹתַי as “His [pre]ordained (events),” and Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, as “his [fi]xed times,” but both Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 294, and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161, translate this as “his [tes]timonies.” The context is too broken to tell which meaning should be preferred.

<sup>110</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161 does not reconstruct a final ן on שלום here.

<sup>111</sup> See note 6.

<sup>112</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161 does not reconstruct a final ן on אמת here.

<sup>113</sup> Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 374, translates מֵאֵשׁ קוֹדֵשׁ as “holy utterances,” and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161, as “oracles of holiness,” but both Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 129, and Martínez, et al., *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*, p. 294, translate this as “holy upliftings.”

9. [ ]for all

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<sup>114</sup> Only Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p. 161, does not reconstruct פּוֹת[פּוֹת here.

<sup>115</sup> Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 377, notes that הַיְכָל is rarely used in the Songs (e.g. 4Q400 1 i:13, where it is describing the כּוֹהֵנִי and the שָׂרֵי), but “there seems little doubt that it carries primarily the nuance of ‘temple’ rather than ‘palace.’”