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Reading the *Songs of the Sage* in Sequence: Preliminary Observations and Questions

1 Introduction

The collection of hymns for protection from demonic harm known as the *Songs of the Sage* is represented in two Qumran manuscripts (4Q510–511), both of which date to around the turn of the era.¹ 4Q510 consists of just one larger fragment, containing a single column of nine consecutive lines, and eleven smaller fragments. The remains of 4Q511 are far more extensive. There are well over two hundred fragments preserving portions of at least sixteen columns. Since the two manuscripts contain several lines of parallel, nearly identical text,² scholars generally have assumed that they represent copies of the same work. However, the relatively small writing block of 4Q510 suggests that this manuscript was originally much shorter than 4Q511.³ A third Herodian manuscript, 4QIncantation (4Q444), appears to be relevant to the discussion. The DJD editor of 4Q444, Esther Chazon, observes an impressive constellation of terminological and thematic parallels between this text and the *Songs of the Sage*.⁴ Although she concludes that it represents a separate composition, it may well derive from the same hymnic collection. In any case, the main focus of this essay will be 4Q511, by far the best preserved exemplar of the *Songs of the Sage*. Until this point in time scholarly

1 The *editio princeps* is by Maurice Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 215–262. For his brief comments on the dating of the manuscripts, see pp. 215, 219.

2 See 4Q510 1 5–9 and 4Q511 10 1–8.

3 4Q510 1 exhibits a column that is about 10.5 cm tall. With the recent material reconstruction of 4Q511, it can now be determined that the columns of this manuscript contained at least 25 lines, yielding a minimum column height of about 18 cm. See Joseph L. Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511),” *RevQ* 105 (2015): 25–82. For observations regarding the relationship between the size of a scroll’s writing block and its length, see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 74–90.

4 Esther Chazon, in Esther Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 370–371.

Article Note: The research for this article was facilitated by the generous support of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

DOI 10.1515/9783110449266-011

discussion of the *Songs of the Sage* has proceeded without an appreciation for the overall sequence and scope of the original composition.⁵ However, a new opportunity has arisen with the recent material reconstruction of 4Q511, according to which some ninety percent of the extant textual material has been positioned in its original order within sixteen reconstructed columns (see Appendixes 1 and 2).⁶ The present study represents an initial attempt to read the text in its original sequence with an eye toward how this reconstruction enriches our understanding of the composition. Here I am concerned with delineating basic issues of scope, form, and content. In addition, as a more tangible window into the nature of the composition, I will anchor my discussion with specific comments on various passages, the value of which for illuminating the nature of the work do not depend entirely on assumptions revolving around the reconstruction. In order to set this discussion within its proper context and appreciate what has been gained from the new evidence, it will be helpful to begin with a brief overview of previous scholarship on the *Songs* and an evaluation of some of this work.

2 Previous Scholarship

Even without knowledge of the sequence and scope of the composition, scholars have been able to determine quite a lot about the *Songs of the Sage*. When the fragments are taken together, it emerges from the repetitive language and themes that it is likely a collection of hymns for protection against demonic harm during

⁵ In his edition of 4Q511, Baillet does not attempt to determine the positioning of the fragments within the context of the original scroll, and even acknowledges that the order in which he presents them is “arbitrary” (Baillet, DJD 7, 219). He does, however, observe that frgs. 63–64 come from the end of the scroll and suggests that frg. 10 comes from the beginning. Moreover, since frg. 8 contains the beginning of the second song in the collection, he argues that it should come from a position in the scroll just after frg. 10. In some cases, such as when certain fragments were discovered adhering to one another (e.g., frgs. 28–30 and 44–62), Baillet attempts to position them in proper relation to one another. However, he does so without offering an opinion as to where they could have been positioned within the original scroll. Shortly after the publication of DJD 7, Hartmut Stegemann recognized that the material remains of 4Q511 allow for the arrangement of many of the major fragments in their original position. He published some initial observations in 1990, but never completed the reconstruction. See Hartmut Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 203.

⁶ See Angel, “The Material Reconstruction.”

the pre-determined period of evil just before the day of judgement, which would witness the final elimination of the forces of evil.⁷ Throughout the fragments, a consistent first person voice, likely that of the *maskil*, offers praises and thanksgiving, and proclaims the power of his words to frighten various wicked spirits. References to “the congregation of the bastards” (4Q511 2ii 3) and “the bastard spirits” (4Q511 10 1; 35 7; 4Q510 1 5) reflect the Enochic demonological perspective adopted by the Qumran community, according to which the wicked spirits originated from the bodies of the giants who were drowned in the great flood.⁸

Apparently, this work was not simply meant for the private reading and personal protection of the *maskil* alone. There are several indications that the *Songs* were recited aloud as part of a communal ritual. The text abounds with references to open mouths, active tongues, flowing lips, and raised voices.⁹ Scattered plural imperative calls to praise, such as “sing for joy O righteous ones” (4Q510 1 8) and “exalt him, all those who know []” (4Q511 2i 2; see also 10 8; 35 5) suggest the presence and participation of community members in the ritual. This assertion is supported by the fortuitously preserved ending of the composition: “Let them bless all your works always, and blessed be your name for ever and ever. Amen, amen” (4Q511 63iv 1–3). The word “amen” appears to imply a communal response. Moreover, the hymns seem to have been numbered, as may be inferred from the tantalizing reference to “the second [s]ong” (שיר שני) (4Q511 8 4). Such numbering may indicate a liturgical sequence, though other explanations of this phenomenon are conceivable.¹⁰

7 See the foundational studies of Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. Jonathan Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 227–272; eadem, “Hymns from Qumran: 4Q510–511,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53–63; eadem, “שירי שבח מקומראן 'לפחד ולבהל' רוחות רשע,” *Tarbiz* 55 (1986): 19–46. See also Joseph L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

8 On the identification of the demons mentioned in the *Songs* in relation to those mentioned in other Second Temple period texts, see Nitzan, “שירי שבח מקומראן,” 19–46, esp. 22–29; Giovanni Ibba, “The Evil Spirits in Jubilees and the Spirit of the Bastards in 4Q510 with Some Remarks on Other Qumran Manuscripts,” *Hen* 31 (2009): 111–116; Philip S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26/ Roehampton Institute London Papers 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–337, esp. pp. 319–324.

9 See, e.g., 4Q511 10 9; 18ii 5; 48–51 2; 63–64ii 4; 63iii 1,5; 75 2.

10 See Mika Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*, JAJSup 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 72.

At one point, apparently referring to the Qumran calendar, the *maskil* announces that “during my appointed times I shall recount your wonders” (4Q511 63–64ii 2), but there is no clear evidence pointing to the designated time of the ritual performance. Since the *Songs* are intended to protect all of the sons of light, Bilhah Nitzan suggests that they were sung in times of “general danger of supernatural origin,” such as the four epagomenal days added at the end of each quarter of the solar calendar year, during which the sectarians would have perceived themselves as particularly vulnerable to attack.¹¹ Alternatively, Esther Eshel proposes that the hymns were performed at the annual covenant ceremony in addition to the liturgical blessings and curses recited then, which included a curse of Belial and his lot (see 1QS 2:5–9).¹² The issue remains unresolved, but the weight of the evidence does support Jeremy Penner’s conclusion that the community “likely instituted regular apotropaic prayers,” and that the *Songs* represent a part of this fixed activity.¹³

One of the most intriguing aspects of the composition is the way in which it combines two ordinarily distinct literary elements. On the one hand, it contains what may be described as typical Qumranite hymnic material, characterized by “conventional formal structures, eschatological and apocalyptic contents,” and an array of scriptural quotations, allusions, and idioms.¹⁴ Indeed, the *maskil*’s words seem indistinguishable at times from those of the *Hodayot*: “And as for m[e, I will thank yo]u, for on account of your glory, yo[pl]aced knowledge in my foundation of dust so that I might p[raise you]” (4Q511 28–29 2–3). On the other hand, the text contains several passages resembling magical incantations, in which the *maskil* expresses his power to frighten different types of demons, for example, “I am God’s agent of terror (...) I have spoken [to frighten] by his strength all the spirits of the bastards” (4Q511 35 6–7).

Nitzan has done the most significant work to determine the literary nature of the composition. She distinguishes three central building blocks repeating throughout the extant fragments: incantation, thanksgiving, and praise. Given the recurring appearance of these elements in differing orders and combinations,

¹¹ See 1En. 75:1–2; 82:4–6. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238.

¹² Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000*, ed. Esther Chazon, Ruth Clements, and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 83–84.

¹³ Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 190.

¹⁴ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 236.

she suggests that each song is a “mosaic” in which sections of these three types are either “separated from one another by a blank line (*vacat*), or interwoven with one another.”¹⁵ However, she is quick to note that due to the damaged state of the manuscript, most of the time “one cannot tell which sections were combined together into one song, and whether there was any system in this matter.”¹⁶ While Nitzan’s tripartite categorization surely touches on fundamental aspects of the *Songs*, there is room for alternative classification. For example, elsewhere I have emphasized the importance of certain prosaic passages portraying the election of the righteous community and its participation with the angels in or as the embodiment of the cosmic temple.¹⁷ In my view, these passages do not fit neatly within Nitzan’s schematization, and I shall return to them below.

At any rate, the intertwining of the elements of praise and thanksgiving with the statements of apotropaic function has been regarded as fundamental to the understanding of the overall purpose of the work. In this connection, scholars have focused their attention, perhaps too much of it, on the purported account of the text’s purpose appearing in the following lines:

And I, Maskil, declare his glorious splendor in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilit, howlers and [...] and those who strike without warning to lead (people) astray (from) the spirit of understanding and to make their heart desolate. (4Q510 1 4–6 par. 4Q511 10 1–3)

According to this passage, which has been described as a sort of “methodological statement,” it is precisely the *maskil*’s vocalization of God’s praise that serves as the essential weapon against the evil spirits.¹⁸ When the demons are reminded of God’s overwhelming glory and power, they are terrified and cease to threaten. It is often noted that the text’s employment of praise as “words of power” differs strikingly from customary Jewish magical practice, known mostly from later texts, which directly appeal to God and divine names for protection.¹⁹ Moreover,

¹⁵ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 243. With respect to form, she classifies the statements of thanksgiving and praise as poetry, and the incantation-like statements of the *maskil* as prose, or “rhythmic prose.”

¹⁶ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 243.

¹⁷ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience.”

¹⁸ See Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Divination and Magic,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 431.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 87; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 244–252. Cf. Lange, “The Essene Position,” 432–433.

Eshel suggests that whereas magical incantations, such as 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11), are characterized by direct addresses and adjurations of the demons, the *Songs* refer to evil forces in the third person, and thus should be categorized as an apotropaic prayer.²⁰

While there is undeniably a dimension of truth in this standard characterization of how the *Songs* were thought to bring about protection, I would caution that there may, in fact, be direct addresses to the demons in this composition. Consider, for example, the following passage: “Your [abomin]ations (תוע[בו]תיכם) and the[n ... the ti]mes of its wickedness and [...] the strengths. And as the wise[...] and you have no [p]eace (ש[ל] לום) [ואין לכם] [...]his habitation. And all [...] shall fear [...heave]ns and earth shall shatter” (4Q511 3 2–7). Contextually the most likely candidates for the second person plural address are the wicked spirits. This seems to be supported by the declaration in line 5, “you have no [p]eace.” Note that the same expression is mentioned numerous times as a catch phrase in *1Enoch*.²¹ In the *Book of Watchers* Enoch tells this to the watchers and to Asael several times (12:5; 13:1; 16:4). In the *Epistle* Enoch announces this same formula to the spirits of dead sinners (103:8; cf. 94:6). All of this squares well, of course, with the references in the *Songs of the Sage* to “the bastard spirits,” which, as I have noted, reflect the Enochic demonological framework. Another tantalizing piece of evidence is 4Q511 60, which apparently contains a vocative address to the spirits in line 2, “All of you are spirit[s ...]” (כולכם רוח[ים]). In the following line appears a word beginning]כלא. If this is some form of the word בלא,²² then we have here a reference to prison or confinement after a second person plural address to spirits. This would appear to connect to the Enochic notion of the imprisonment of the wicked spirits (e.g., *Jubilees* 10). Moreover, the concept of trapping or imprisoning demons is a fundamental element of later Jewish magical praxis. Such fragments are consistently ignored by scholars, but they show that the *Songs* may have included adjurations directly addressed to demons, making the distinction between apotropaic prayer and incantation even blurrier than it already is. Given how much of the scroll is missing, it is best not to insist on such a narrow classification.

²⁰ Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 87–88.

²¹ Cf. 1QS 2:9.

²² Alternative possibilities, such as בלאים, cannot be excluded.

3 Reading 4Q511 in Sequence: Preliminary Observations and Questions

Before turning to the contents of 4Q511, it is fitting to begin with some comments about the material reconstruction. The most important results may be summarized as follows:²³

- (1) 4Q511 was at least two meters long and contained at least sixteen columns of writing.
- (2) Fragments representing material from fifteen out of the sixteen reconstructed columns can be arranged in their original order. Significantly, this represents some ninety percent of the extant textual material.
- (3) Columns contained at least 25 lines of writing, yielding a minimum column height of about 18 centimeters.
- (4) The composition contained in 4Q511 is not simply identical to the one preserved in 4Q510. It is more likely that they represent differing recensions of the same work or two different works, one of which depended on the other, or both of which have depended on a common source.

The reconstructed scroll is laid out in Appendix 1. A couple of explanatory remarks about this image are in order. First, the numbering of columns presented here begins from the first *reconstructed* column. Since the beginning of the composition could not be identified, “column 1” may not have been the first column of the original manuscript. The scroll could have been longer. Second, not all fragments have been positioned with the same degree of certainty. For example, the final ten columns of the reconstruction (7–16) are classified as confidently placed fragments, whereas the first six columns (1–6) are comprised of fragments whose locations are not as certain but are still defensible on material grounds. Third and finally, while the reconstructed scroll contains the great majority of the extant text, there are also roughly 180 fragments, mostly tiny scraps containing little or no text but also some small pieces with numerous words or remnants of words, which I have been unable to place. There is little doubt that future study will allow for the placement of many more fragments.

What can be learned from reading the fragments in their original sequence? Admittedly, the results are rather modest. The reconstruction has yielded just one case where continuous text from separate fragments has been restored.²⁴

²³ For the detailed arguments, see Angel, “The Material Reconstruction.”

²⁴ That is, from the bottom of column 8, represented by frg. 30, to the top of column 9, represented by frgs. 44–47. This case is treated in detail in Joseph L. Angel, “A Newly Discovered Interpretation of Isaiah 40:12–13 in the *Songs of the Sage*” (forthcoming).

One major question that unfortunately could not be resolved is how many songs the collection originally contained. Some clues have emerged, however. There are two extant superscriptions to different songs. One appears in the first reconstructed column, and reads “For the Maskil, [] song[]” ([] לְמַשְׁכִּיל שִׁיר־ [] 4Q511 2i 1). Unfortunately, the ordinal number which may have followed these words is no longer extant. The other, as I have noted above, appears in 4Q511 8, which contains part of the superscription of the second song of the collection ([שִׁיר שֵׁנִי]). The correct placement of the latter fragment would potentially clarify the original scope of the composition and the length of its individual songs. Unfortunately, my efforts to place it have been fruitless.²⁵

If the first reconstructed column, represented by 4Q511 2i, is the original first column of the scroll, then the superscription at the top of this fragment likely marks the beginning of the first song, and fragment 8 would belong somewhere to the left. However, if this is indeed the first song, it raises the question of what could have preceded it in the fifteen or more lines above it. This layout would differ, for example, from the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, which preserves the superscription of the first song of the composition, most probably a very similar *maskil* formula, at the top of the first column.²⁶ Perhaps such a space contained some sort of introductory prayer or other type of introductory material. Alternatively, it is possible that what I have called column 1 is not the first of the scroll. In this case, it must preserve the beginning of the third or a later song in the collection, and there must have been room for at least two more songs to the right, including the one that begins in fragment 8.

Another important consideration is the textual overlap with 4Q510 1. From the very wide margin on the right side of this fragment, scholars have assumed that this represents the beginning of the composition.²⁷ If this fragment indeed comes from the beginning of 4Q510, then it is likely that this represents a third distinct song. Interestingly, the material reconstruction reveals that in 4Q511, this same song, represented by fragment 10, is located close to the end of the scroll, in the middle of column 11, rather than at the beginning.²⁸ It thus seems plausible to conclude that 4Q511 contained at least three songs, one beginning in column 1,

²⁵ This has been particularly frustrating since frg. 8 exhibits some unique characteristics that could possibly assist in the matter, most notably, the distinctive pattern of the height of consecutive lines in ll. 3–5. While l. 3 measures about 1 cm tall, l. 4 is only about half of this height. Line 5 is taller, measuring about 9 cm. Unfortunately, comparison with the patterns of line height displayed on other fragments has not yielded a match.

²⁶ See 4Q400 1i 1.

²⁷ See DJD 7, pl. LV.

²⁸ See Angel, “The Material Reconstruction,” 48–52.

one in column 11, and one in fragment 8. Moreover, if it is posited that the individual songs were somewhat similar in length, it would stand to reason that the collection contained at least another song or two. Thus there were most likely at least four songs in the collection, and perhaps many more.

What happens when a consideration of content is introduced into the discussion? Are there discernible sequences of themes or forms that can help distinguish between different kinds of songs or otherwise illuminate the nature of the composition? Since so much is missing, this line of questioning is hazardous. Thus, I will attempt to ground my discussion with specific comments on various passages, the value of which for illuminating the text do not entirely depend on the reconstruction.

As I have noted, the repetition in the fragments of references to demons, especially to frightening them away, and the first person praises of the *maskil* have led scholars to conclude that this is a collection of hymns of a similar type and with a unified apotropaic purpose. I do not oppose this general assessment. It can be confirmed now, for example, that the objective of terrifying wicked spirits and the removal of their power to harm through songs of praise is widely distributed, appearing in at least three separate songs, and represented in columns 3,5,10, and 11, as well as in the unplaced fragment 8.

Col. 3, ll. 23–24

Wicked spirits do not circulate among them for the glory of the God of knowledge has shone forth. (4Q511 1 6–7)

Col. 5, ll. 6–7

For the exaltation of the name [I have] spoken, [to frighten] by his strength al[l] the spirits of the bastards to subdue them. (4Q511 35 6–7)

Col. 10, ll. 2–3

And by my mouth he frightens [all the spirits] of the bastards to subjugate [] impurity. (4Q511 48–51 2–3)

Col. 11, ll. 13–14

And I, Maskil, declare his glorious splendor in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits. (4Q510 1 4–5)

4Q511 8 4

[For the Maskil,] the second [so]ng so as to frighten those who terrify.

It can also be noted that the *maskil* is mentioned in each of the three songs identified – in columns 1 (4Q511 2i 1) and 11 (4Q510 1 4), and in fragment 8 (although the latter is a textual reconstruction) – so the earlier assumption that each song was ascribed to the *maskil* seems to be correct. But now there is an opportunity to be more specific. Beginning from the end of the scroll, it may be observed that demons are not mentioned at all in the final three columns (see Appendix 2). A quick glance at the final column (col. 16 = 63iv) reveals that it represents an

appropriate formulaic conclusion to the entire collection, while columns 14 (63–64ii) and 15 (63iii) are mainly comprised of first person praises espousing well-documented sectarian ideals. For example, with his declaration in column 14, lines 3–4 (63–64ii 3–4) that “The beginning of every intention of the heart is knowledge, and the offering of the utterance of righteous lips, and being ready for every service of truth,” the *maskil* seems to suggest that his words and deeds are akin to sacrifice and infused with cosmic cultic significance. Indeed, the phrase “offering of the utterance of righteous lips” (תרומת מזל שפתי צדק) resembles 1QS 9:4–5, and implies that his verbal praises are analogous to sacrifice. The words “service of truth” (עבודת אמת) appear to be in contradistinction to the contemporary cultic service practiced in the Jerusalem temple.²⁹ In column 15, lines 1–2 (63iii 1–2) one reads: “You placed on my lips a fountain of praise and on my heart the secret of the origin of all human actions.” Here one encounters the familiar sectarian tropes of election and participation in divine wisdom. While there are no explicit references to demons in this passage, it is interesting to note that the language of lines 4–5 parallels the language used in an explicitly demonological context earlier in the composition.

Col. 15, ll. 4–5

You placed on my lips a fountain ... to declare peace (להשמיע שלום) to all the men of the covenant and to raise a voice of frightening glory (וליה[ר]ים בקול פחד) against all who violate it (לכול מפרייה) (הוד) (4Q511 63iii 4–5)

Col. 11, ll. 13–14

And I, Maskil, declare his glorious splendor (משמיע הוד תפארתו) in order to frighten (לפחד) and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels ... (4Q510 14–5)

Note that in both passages the *hiph'il* form משמיע־להשמיע is followed by forms of the words פחד and הוד.³⁰ However, there is a striking difference with regard to the intended objects of terror. In column 11, as elsewhere in the composition, it is explicitly the ravaging angels and bastard spirits who should fear, whereas at the end of the composition, in column 15, it is the violators of the covenant. These violators are most likely to be identified as human beings, and specifically as non-sectarian Jews, since in the Dead Sea Scrolls the various iterations of the phrase “to violate the covenant” (פרר + ברית) always refer to wayward Jews (or to God’s response to the acts of wayward Jews) and never to wicked spirits or

²⁹ See Baillet, DJD 7, 248.

³⁰ Baillet, DJD 7, 248, reads הוי rather than הוד in 4Q511 63iii 5. However, the angle of the top right portion of the third letter is far more consistent with *dalet*. See Elisha Qimron, *מגילות מדבר* (Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi, 2013), 329.

demons.³¹ Thus, both stylistic continuity and an ironic shift in perspective are detected as one moves from columns 11 to 15. Whereas in the earlier passage the potentially frightening demons are terrified by the words of the *maskil*, in the later passage the words of the *maskil* function as a source of terror for wayward Jews, who are implicitly associated with the demons.³² It is striking that this shift in perspective, the counterpoising of the liturgical community with accursed outsiders who are linked with the wicked spirits appears only at the end of the scroll, and may well reflect a distinctive feature of the concluding hymn of the composition. In connection with this point it is intriguing to consider the above-mentioned proposal of Eshel that these hymns were performed at the annual covenant ceremony in addition to the liturgical blessings and curses recited then, which included a curse on outsiders, conceived as the lot of Belial (see 1QS 2:5–9).³³ In such a context, the concluding hymn would strike the expected notes and represent a powerful affirmation of the covenantal boundaries drawn by the community in terms of its core demonological beliefs.

In stark contrast with the final columns of the scroll, the first four and a half columns refer to a number of nefarious supernatural beings, but contain no first person speech whatsoever. A perusal of these columns reveals a somewhat different world of discourse (see Appendix 2). The first column (4Q511 2i) is apparently comprised of a hymn of praise for the establishment of the elect community, heavily laden with scriptural allusions and espousing the ideal of communion with the angels in cosmic worship of the creator. After the superscription, in lines 17–18 (frg. 2i 2–3), there is a call to praise, “Exalt him all those who know [...],” followed by a report that someone has made the mysterious “chief of dominions” (רוש ממשלות) stop a certain activity. I suggest that in this context the term “dominions” refers to the demonic realms of evil and impurity and that the “chief of dominions” be identified with the Angel of Darkness or some similar figure (see, e.g., 1QS 3:21).³⁴ Perhaps it is God who has put a stop to its evil acts once and for all. This interpretation would sit well with the mention of eternal life and illumination in the following line (1. 19 = frg. 2i 4). These should be understood as referring to the eschatological rewards granted to the elect community,

³¹ See, e.g., 4Q381 69 8; 4Q390 2i 6; 4Q504 1–2v 8; 1–2vi 7–8; 11QT 59:8.

³² This association is reminiscent particularly of 4Q390 2i 4–7, where the violators of the covenant are given over to be ruled by the angels of destruction during the predetermined period of evil.

³³ See Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 83–84.

³⁴ Cf. 4Q503 33i + 34 19, which refers to [רוש ממשלת] ח[ושך], and 4Q401 14i 6, which mentions a class of angels (presumably good ones) called ראשי ממשלות. See also the ממשלות in 4Q286 3 5.

underscoring their near angelic status, reminiscent of “the enlightened ones” (המשכלים) of Daniel 12:3. The remaining lines (ll. 20–25 = frg. 2i 5–10) describe God’s election of his chosen ones in the distant past couched in unmistakable scriptural language and utilizing perfect verbal forms, which are relatively infrequent in the rest of the composition. The beginning of line 20 (2i 5) reads “his [l]ot is the best part in Jacob” (ג[ו]רלו רשית ביעקוב). Elisha Qimron, following the suggestion of Menahem Kister that Deuteronomy 32:9 (כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב) (חבל נחלתו), which refers to God’s primordial election of Israel, is in view, reconstructs the rest of the line to read [ח]לק[ו]ן] בישראל[ל].³⁵ The theme of election apparently continues in line 22 (frg. 2i 7), which describes how God, in his discerning wisdom, placed Israel in twelve holy camps. This detail, referring to the tribal divisions represented in the book of Numbers, seems puzzling at first glance, but it is readily understandable in the light of the astral imagery in the following lines, which draws upon the description of the creation of the heavenly bodies in Genesis 1 while underscoring the homology between elect humanity and the angels. Through his establishment of twelve divisions in Israel, God structured the chosen people in attunement with the twelve months of the year – the cosmic order reflected by the angelic luminaries as well.³⁶ He thus established the “communal [do]minion” (מ[מ] משלת יחד) of angels and men to serve him in cosmic harmony at the appointed times of the year (ll. 24–25 = frg. 2i 9–10). While the interpretation of this dense passage requires fuller discussion,³⁷ for my present purpose it suffices to note that this text seems somewhat distant from the realm of magic, as it is the recounting of God’s primordial acts – his election of Israel and his establishment of the chosen community in harmony with the cosmic order – that takes center stage, and there are no first person incantations declaring the power of the *maskil*’s words.

The scant remains of column 2 (frg. 2ii) similarly contain no hint of first person speech. In line 18 (frg. 2ii 3) there is a reference to “the congregation of bastards” (עדת ממזרים), likely the giants, the offspring of the illicit union between the fallen angels and human women. The following line (l. 19 = frg. 2ii 4) might be understood as referring to their fathers, the watchers.³⁸ Lines 20–22 (frg. 2ii 5–7) refer to

³⁵ See Qimron, כרך שני – החיבורים העבריים – כרך שני, 318.

³⁶ Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 174–175.

³⁷ See further Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 18–22.

³⁸ Assuming the restoration “according to the number of [their] father[s]” (למספר אב[ותם]) at the end of the line. Baillet, DJD 7, 223, cites 2Chr 26:12 for comparison. Cf. *1En.* 6:6–8, where it is reported that two hundred watchers descended to earth in the days of Jared, and the names of their decarchs are listed.

the powerful acts of God, apparently in the primordial past. In this context, the phrase “the God of strengths appointed them” (אלוהי גבורות יעדים) suggests that the ones being appointed are the wicked spirits. The notion that God appoints such spirits to lead peoples astray appears also in *Jubilees* 15:31. The mention of the “upright ones” and “Israel” in the final lines (ll. 24–25 = frg. 2ii 9–10) perhaps relates the story of the proliferation of demons in the world to the struggle of the elect ones against these harmful forces.

It is tempting to suggest that columns 1 and 2 constitute part of the same hymn. Most significantly, they both deal with events in the distant past and employ verbs in the perfect form. This combination of elements appears only in these two places. It may also be significant that the term “Israel” is utilized in these two columns and nowhere else (except for frg. 76, which cannot be placed with any certainty). Allowing a degree of speculation, one could imagine a natural progression in this hymn from the story of the establishment of the elect community, and its enjoyment of “communal dominion” with the angels (who are linked to the heavenly luminaries of Genesis 1) in column 1, to the introduction of the story of the punishment of the watchers and their progeny, the resulting proliferation of demons in the world, and the struggle of the “upright ones” against them in column 2. Such a “historical” review would be a fitting introduction to a collection of hymns for protection if this is in fact the first song of the collection.

Turning to the remains of column 3 (4Q511 1), the discourse seems to have shifted. This text consists of a call to various elements of the natural order to offer praise to God. According to line 22 (1 5), they should rejoice in “jubil[at]ions of salvation” (ברני[ות] [ישועות]). The reason for this celebration is stated explicitly in the remaining lines: The glory of God has shone forth, eliminating destroyers and wicked spirits from the world. The portrait is reminiscent of *Jubilees* 23, where the disappearance of “any evil destroyer” indicates the dawn of the blissful eschatological age. There is a notable overlap with the concepts and language found later in the composition and particularly in column 11.

Col. 3, ll. 21–24

And let all their creatures
declare [the glo]ry of splen-
dor (ישמעון [הו]י תפארת)...
for there is no destroyer
within their borders and
wicked spirits do not circu-
late among them. (4Q511 1
4–7)

Col. 11, ll. 13–14

And I, Maskil, declare his
glorious splendor (משמיע
הוד תפארתו) in order to
frighten and terr[ify] all
the spirits of the ravaging
angels...
(4Q510 1 4–5)

Col. 15, ll. 4–5

You placed on my lips a
fountain... to declare peace
(להשמיע שלום) to all the men
of the covenant and to raise
a voice of frightening glory
(ולה[ר]ים בקול פחד הוד)
against all who violate it.
(4Q511 63iii 4–5)

If the restoration of the word הוֹד [הוֹ] in column 3 is correct,³⁹ then the text is stating that the creatures of the sea should “declare the glory of (God’s) splendor.” As I have noted above, in column 11 the *maskil* claims to perform the same act. In that context, however, the express purpose of this act is to frighten the wicked spirits and prevent them from inflicting harm *in the present*. By contrast, in column 3 it seems that it is the already achieved absence of the threat of demonic harm that is envisioned as the catalyst of the act. In this sense, the protection effectuated by the *maskil*’s performance of praise in the present depicted in column 11 anticipates the world as it will be after the final punishment of the forces of darkness, depicted in column 3. The statement about the nullification of demonic power in column 3 could represent a fitting ending to the hymn attested in the previous two columns, bringing us from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*, but this remains no more than a guess. In any case, the observation that the declaration of “glory” (הוֹד) or “glorious splendor” (הוֹד תפארת) repeats in columns 3, 11, and 15 is surely significant. Not only does it illustrate a stylistic continuity throughout the scroll, it also shows how the composer of the hymns redeployed this *leitmotif* creatively in different contexts. This contributes to the sense that 4Q511 is a unified collection of hymns with a unified purpose, outlook, and authorship or redaction.

Moving to column 4 (4Q511 37), only a few words are preserved, including the phrases “the earth shall tremble” (ותחול הארץ) and “they shall be terrified and panic” (יבהלו ויחפזו). It is reasonable to suggest that this part of the text deals with the events of the eschatological day of judgement, which will witness the disappearance of demonic evil. This impression is bolstered by the imperfect verbal forms, as well as the close parallels with the vocabulary and motifs of 1QH^a 11:20–37, a psalm describing the cataclysmic events associated with the “time of wrath (coming upon) all devilishness” (1QH^a 11:29).⁴⁰ The image of the earth trembling is associated with eschatological judgement throughout early Jewish tradition.⁴¹ It may be that the subjects of the plural verbs “panic” and “fear” are the demons, since these same verbs are applied to them elsewhere in the composition.⁴²

The subject matter at the bottom of column 4 flows nicely into the violent eschatological imagery at the top of column 5, which refers to a “judgement of vengeance to exterminate evil” (משפט נקמות לכלות רשעה) and the “wrath of God” (אפי אלוהים) in lines 1–2 (frg. 35 1–2). The continuation of the text through line 5 is

39 See Qimron, *מגילות מדבר יהודה: החיבורים העבריים* – כך שני, 318.

40 Note esp. 1QH^a 11:34, וכול מחשביה ירועו, in relation to l. 23 (37 4).

41 See, e.g., Hag 2:6,21; 1En. 1:4–7; 102:2; As. Mos. 10:4; Heb 12:26; 1QH^a 11:33–35; cf. 4Q370 li 3–4.

42 See 4Q510 1 3–4.

terse. It describes how in the end time God will sanctify for himself as an eternal temple the members of two groups, the “seven times refined” and the “holy ones.” Apparently, these represent the elect human community and the angels respectively.⁴³ The language of lines 1–3 (fig. 35 1–3), which refers to “[t]urning back] the wrath of God” (ולש[וב] אפי אלוהים) and God’s sanctification of an eternal sanctuary (יקדי[ש] אלוהים לו למקדש עולמים), appears to rework 2Chronicles 30:8, which also speaks of turning back divine wrath (וישב מכם חרון אפו) and God’s sanctuary (למקדשו), which he has consecrated eternally (אשר הקדיש לעולם). Line 4 (fig. 35 4) offers a list of epithets, apparently designating the constituents of the eternal temple, “priests, his righteous people, his host, and ministers, the angels of his glory” (כוהנים עם צדקו וצבאו ומשרתים מלאכי כבודו). While the syntax is open to interpretation, the context suggests that these refer to the unified group of earthly and heavenly worshipers, a temple-community comprised of priests, humans, and angels offering praises of “awe-inspiring wonders” (fig. 35 5).⁴⁴

Like the other texts surveyed from columns 1–4, this passage lacks the first person language of the *maskil*. It seems distant from the realm of magical incantation since it envisions the elect community’s participation in the eschatological reward of communion with the angels as the embodiment of the eternal temple. In this sense it recalls the temple centered liturgical exaltation expressed in other texts known from Qumran, such as the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 1QSb 3–4, and the *Self-Glorification Hymn*. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the form and subject matter here are strikingly similar to column 1.

Col. 5, ll. 1–5

Wrath [] against all flesh and a judgement of vengeance to eradicate evil and to [turn back] the wrath of God. Some of those who are seven times refined and some of the holy ones God shall sancti[fy] for himself as an eternal sanctuary, and (there shall be) purity among the pure ones. And they shall be priests, his righteous people, his host, and ministers, the angels of his glory. They shall praise him with awe-inspiring wonders. (4Q511 35 1–5)

Col. 1, ll. 21–25

[C]lear the path of God and his [h]oly trai[l] for the holy ones of his people. In the discerning knowle[dge of [Go]d, he placed [I]srael [in t]welve h[oly] camps [...] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] the luminaries of his glory. In his name the p[ra]ise of their [...] he established for the appointed times of the year, [and] the communal [do]minion to walk [in] the lot [...] according to [his] glory [and] to serve him in the lot of the people of his host. (4Q511 2i 6–10)

⁴³ For discussion, see Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 22–25.

⁴⁴ See further Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” 22–25.

Both passages portray God's providential election of the chosen community and express this election through the device of scriptural allusion. Both claim that there is a homology or parallelism between elect humanity and the angels, and both extol the ideal of joint human and angelic participation in perfect cosmic worship of God. To be sure, the accents of each passage are quite different. Most notably, column 1 portrays the election of all Israel in the ancient past whereas column 5 portrays the sanctification of the "seven times refined," perhaps referring to a more limited remnant, at the end time.⁴⁵ Also, column 1 conceptualizes cosmic praise through the employment of imagery related to Genesis and the celestial bodies, whereas column 5 explicitly utilizes temple imagery. Nevertheless, the similarities speak to a sustained interest in the notions of election and communion with the angels, at least in this first part of the scroll. They also raise the question of how such evidently fundamental notions might relate to the apotropaic purpose of the collection as a whole, to which I will return in the concluding section of this study.

Returning to column 5, one observes that line 5 (frg. 35 5) concludes with a *vacat*, and line 6 (frg. 35 6) abruptly shifts to the first person speech of the *maskil*, who proclaims the power of his words to subdue the spirits of the bastards. After a gap of several lines, we find that the *maskil* is still speaking, but now, at the bottom of the column (frg. 18ii), the concern is not the wondrous effects of his praise, but rather his qualifications to unleash such power. In lines 20–25 (frg. 18ii 5–10), the *maskil* reminds his audience that he embodies the appropriate qualities – his words lack foolishness, he has been infused with the light of divine knowledge, he hates impurity and has corrected his sins – and thus solidifies his authority. It is sensible that the *maskil's* claim to possess great power at the top of the column should be followed up with an announcement of the qualities that establish his unique authority.

While the contents of columns 6–11 cannot be treated in detail here, it is interesting to note that beginning from the middle of column 5, first person speech, whether in the form of praise, thanksgiving, or incantation, can be found in all of the remaining columns that possess strings of legible words. This is true also of the unplaced fragment 8, which contains the beginning of the second song meant "to frighten those who terrify." This makes the complete absence of first person speech in the first four plus columns all the more striking. At the same time, the abrupt introduction of first person speech in the middle of column 5 (frg. 35 7) cautions against drawing too sharp of a divide along these lines.

⁴⁵ The phrase derives from Ps 12:7. Cf. 1QH^a 13:18, which describes the member of the elect community as "like purified silver in the furnace of the smiths to be refined seven times" (ובכסף ומזוקק בכור נופחים לטהר שבעתים).

4 Conclusions

The time has come to review what has been learned about the *Songs of the Sage* and to raise a few questions. First, the issue of exactly how many songs were included could not be resolved. Three songs, beginning in columns 1, 11, and fragment 8, have been identified. The composition most probably contained at least four songs. The beginning of the scroll, however, has not been located and there may have been many more. Since the goal of preventing wicked spirits from inflicting harm is widely distributed, appearing in at least three separate songs, and since the *maskil* is mentioned in each of the three songs identified, it still seems appropriate to categorize this work as a collection of anti-demonic hymns ascribed to the *maskil*. But the question of the exact sense in which these hymns are anti-demonic now seems more complicated. Scholars have been too quick to categorize the *Songs* as apotropaic prayers, focusing only on the best preserved passages, which employ praise as “words of power” and address evil spirits indirectly. In fact, the evidence of the smaller fragments suggests that the *Songs* may also have included adjurations directly addressed to demons, blurring the distinction between apotropaic prayer and incantation, and complicating the classification of the composition.

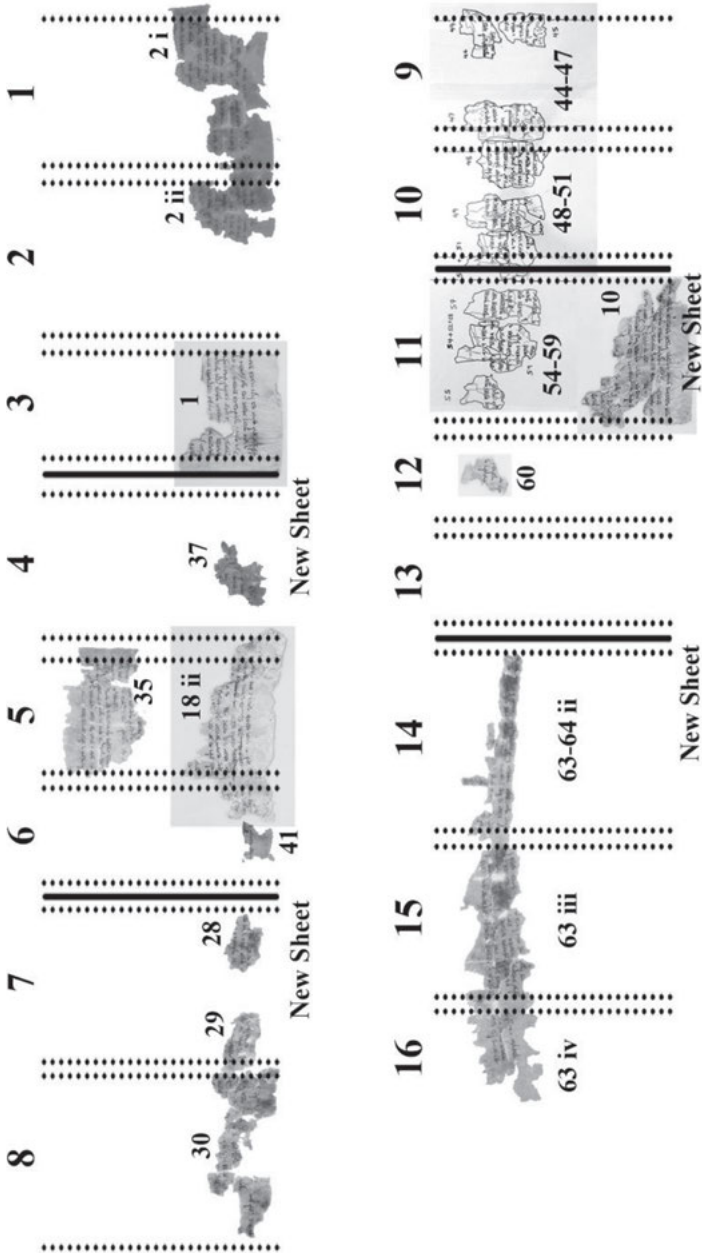
Nitzan’s view of the *Songs* as mosaics constructed out of sections of the three different elements of praise, thanksgiving, and incantation is a helpful start for understanding the literary nature of the composition, but it appears that certain passages do not fit neatly within this scheme. In particular, I have emphasized the importance of the extended quasi-mystical passages in columns 1 and 5. As has been noted, the primary concern of these texts is not the employment of praise as protective words of power, but rather the portrayal of the election of the righteous community and the participation of this community with the angels in cosmic worship. If, as scholars have assumed, the *Songs* are meant for protection in the present “age of wickedness,” before the imminent day of judgement, how are these passages, which display different temporal perspectives and no overt concern with wicked spirits, to be understood? One possibility is that the *Songs* are adapting the familiar *topoi* of participation with the angels and embodiment of the temple. While elsewhere in Qumran literature these features are to be understood as priestly expressions of the community’s achievement of the apex of human potential, within the framework of the anti-demonic ritual the proclamation of the proleptic availability of these rewards may be seen as bridging the gap between the future and the present – guaranteeing protection to the sons of light from the forces of darkness, which have already been judged and punished by God. Thus, the protection from the demons offered by the *Songs* would not be so much the result of “magic” as it would be a natural outcome of the perceived

attainment of these ideals – a sort of realized eschatology, brought to fruition through the liturgical performance of the *Songs* itself.

But perhaps it is wrong to assume that all of the *Songs*, or at least that all portions of them, were authored with the explicit purpose of offering protection from wicked spirits. Indeed, a sequential reading of the fragments has revealed some interesting contrasts in the progression of contents within the composition and aroused some interesting questions. As I have noted, unlike the rest of the scroll, the first four and a half columns contain no first person praises. Moreover, there are no incantations expressing the *maskil*'s power to frighten the demons. The final three columns of the scroll do employ first person language, but do not include any incantations or even references to evil spirits. Rather, they are conventional words of praise and thanksgiving, strongly reminiscent of core sectarian compositions. Interestingly, all extant incantation-like expressions of the *maskil* are clustered in the middle of the scroll, beginning with the abrupt shift to the first person in column 5, line 7 (frg. 35 7), and with further examples in column 10, lines 2–3 (frgs. 48–51 2–3) and column 11, lines 13–14 (4Q510 1 4–5).

It is tempting to view these distinctions as meaningful, perhaps more meaningful than they actually are. For example, one could suggest a certain logic in the flow of contents, even if it cannot always be delineated where specific hymns begin and end. The remnants of the first two columns focus on the primordial past, God's election of Israel and his appointment of the demons to torment humanity, while columns three and four and the top of five appear to shift perspectives to the eschatological future, when the world is free of demonic evil, and the natural phenomena as well as the eternal temple of angels and men may finally engage in uninterrupted blissful praise of the creator. These columns thus set the stage for ritual participants to properly understand the epic battle between light and darkness currently under way. The jarring shift to the first person in column 5 suddenly takes us back to the present age of evil, the task of the *maskil* to prevent demonic harm, and the *maskil*'s lengthy proclamations of his alignment with God, praise, and thanksgiving, which serve to underscore his power and authority. The perspective seems to shift again in the final few columns (14–16), which contain no incantations and no overt reference to wicked spirits. These columns appear to bring the collection to a close with blessings, praises, and words of encouragement for ritual participants, contrasting the blessing of the elect ones with the curse of violators of the covenant, who are ontologically linked with the wicked spirits. But here we have approached the limits of healthy speculation and must be brought back to the humble reality that the majority of the text is lost. Even with this lack, and despite the speculative nature of this discussion, I hope that a better grasp of the complex nature of this composition has been achieved.

Appendix 1: The Sixteen Reconstructed Columns of 4Q511



Appendix 2: Transcription and Translation of the Sixteen Reconstructed Columns of 4Q511⁴⁶

Column 1 (ll. 16–25 = frg. 2i 1–10)

	למשכיל שירִי]י[	16
	קודשו ורוממוהו כול יודעי]	17
שמחת	זרוש ממשלֹותִ הַשְּׁבִית לַאֲיִן]	18
	זלמים וחי נצח לאיר אור]	19
	ג]זלרו רשית ביעקוב ונחלת אל[והי]ם [] לֵאמֹר־ל]	20
	זי דרך אלוהים ומסל[ת ק]ודשו לקדושי עמו בדע[ת	21
	אלוה]ים הנבונה שם [י]שראל [בש]נים עשר מחנות קֹדֶשׁ]	22
	גורל אלוהים עם מלאָ[כי] מאורות כְּבוֹדוֹ בְּשֵׁמוֹתָ]	23
	הם תכן למועדי שנה [ומ]משלת יחד להתהלך [ב]גורל	24
	לָפִי כְבוֹדִי וְלִשְׂרָתוֹ בְּגוֹרָל עִם צְבָאוֹ כִּי־אֱלֹהֵי	25

bottom margin

Translation

16 For the Maskil, [] song [] **17** his holy [], Exalt him, all those who know [] **18** and he made the chief of dominions stop, not to [] **19** [e]ternal [joy] and everlasting life, shining light [] **20** his [l]ot is the best part in Jacob, and the inheritance of G[o]d [] [Israel] [] **21** [c]lear the path of God and his [h]oly trai[l] for the holy ones of his people. In the discerning knowle[dge of ...] **22** [Go]d, he placed [I]srael [in t]welve h[oly] camps [] **23** [] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] the luminaries of his glory. In his name the p[ri]aise of **24** their [] he established for the appointed times of the year, [and] the communal [do]minion to walk [in] the lot **25** [of God] according to [his] glory [and] to serve him in the lot of the people of his host. For the God of

Column 2 (ll. 16–25 = frg. 2ii 1–10)

	]ו[]ו[]ו[]ו[]	16
	ודרושו למו כִּי	17
	ועדת ממזרים כִּי]ו[ל]ו	18
	ובושת פנים למספר אב]	19
	א]ל[ו]הים האד[י]י] בכוח]	20
	רז]י אלוהים מִיֵּא ידע]	21
	אלוהי גבורות יעדס ל]	22
	כמוהם וְנִטְ[מ]אים כנרתם]	23

⁴⁶ The transcription presented here is my own. Notes could not be included here and will be published on a separate occasion. The translation generally follows (with many modifications) that of Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, in Donald Parry and Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 6: *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 172–210. Detailed explanation of the arrangement of fragments within the reconstructed columns appears in Angel, “The Material Reconstruction.”

יודע יושׁר ישרים בישׁ[ראל] 24
 ובישראל מן]רים ב[]ל[25
bottom margin

Translation

17 and search for them [] 18 and the congregation of bastards a[1] [] 19 and disgrace according to the number of [] 20 [G]od has acted ma[j]estically with power[] 21 Who has known the [mysterie]s of God? [] 22 The God of strengths has appointed them to [] 23 like them, and they are defiled according to their impurity [] 24 knows the uprightness of the upright in Is[rael ...] 25 and in Israel []

Column 3 (ll. 18–25 = frg. 1 1–8)

מ]משלותם] 18
 בא]רץ ובכול] 19
 רוחות ממשלתה תמיד יב[רכו]הו בקציהם 20
 הימים וכול חיתם ישמעון]הו[תפארת 21
 כולם יגילו לאלוהי צדק ברנ[ות]]ישועות 22
 כיא א[ין] משחית בגבוליהם ורוחי רשע 23
 לו יתהלכו במ כיא הופיע כבוד אלוהי 24
 דעות באמתו וכול בני עולה לוא יתכלכלו 25
bottom margin

Translation

18 []their [d]ominions 19 [] and al[1 ... on the ea]rth and on all 20 the spirits of its dominion continuously. Let the seas b[less] him in their epochs, 21 and let all of their creatures call out [the glor]y of splendor. 22 Let all of them rejoice before the God of righteousness in jubil[at]ions of salvation, 23 for there is n[o] destroyer within their borders, and wicked spirits 24 do not circulate among them. For the glory of the God of knowledge has shone forth 25 in its truth, and none of the sons of injustice shall be able

Column 4 (ll. 20–22 = frg. 37 1–3; ll. 23–25 = frgs. 37 4–6; 18i 8–10 [underlined])

[] 20
 [] 21
 [] 22
]י[רועו כול מ'חשביה וכו]ל] 23
]י[חפזו ויחפזו] 24
]ה[תהום] 25
bottom margin

Translation

21 [] in the place [] 22 [] their [foun]dations [shall totter] and the earth shall tremble[] 23 [] all of its structures shall be shattered and al[1 ...] 24 [] they shall be terrified and pani[c ...] 25 [] the deep []

Column 6 (ll. 21–23 = frg. 18iii 6–8; ll. 24–25 = frgs. 18iii 9–10 + 41 1–2 [underlined])

[	]	בְּמַלְאָכָי	21
[	]	וְאֵלֹהֵי	22
[	]	מִשְׁפַּחַת	23
[	]	בְּמִרְמֵי רֹם מְעֹן שָׁמַיִם	24
[	]	כְּנָפֵי אֱלֹהִים	25

bottom margin

Translation

22 [and] God[] **23** [and] judgmen[t ...] **24** and with my stumbling[] in the lofty heights the dwelling of [] **25** the wings of [] for the holy cherubim[]

Column 7 (ll. 21–24 = frgs. 28 1–4 + 29 1–4; l. 25 = frgs. 28 6 + 29 6)

פְּדוּיִים	]	כֹּה בִּי	21
	[	וְהִגִּילוּ בְּאֱלֹהִים רְנָה וְאִי אֹדֶכְהָ כִּי אֵינִי לְמַעַן כְּבוֹדָהּ	22
	[	שְׁמַתָּה דַעַת בְּסוֹד עֶפְרַי לְהַלְלָהּ וְאֵינִי מִצִּירֹק יֵצֵר	23
	[	חֲמֵר קֹרְצָתִי וּמְחוֹשֵׁךְ מִגִּבְּרֵי לִי הִיא עֹלָה בְּתַכְמֵי בְשָׂרִי	24
	[	לִלְלוֹת וְאֵתָהּ	25

Translation

21 [] O redeemed ones **22** [and re]joice in God with jubilation and a[s for me, I thank yo]u that for the sake of your glory **23** you have [p]laced knowledge in the my foundation of dust in order that I might p[raise you.] And I was formed of spittle. **24** I was molded [of clay] and [my] format[i]on was in darkness [] Injustice is in the filth of my flesh. **25** [] knowledge[] and you[]

Column 8 (ll. 20–25 = frg. 30 1–6)

[	]	אֲרֵץ	חַתְמֹתָהּ	20
[	]	שָׁמַיִם וְתַהוֹמוֹת וּמַחֲ	וְיַעֲמִקוּן	21
[	]	אֶתְּךָ אֵלֶיךָ חַתְמֹתָהּ בְּעֵד כּוֹלֵם וְאֵינִי פּוֹתַח וְלֹא שֹׁרֵץ		22
[	]	הַיַּמִּים בְּשׁוֹעַל אַנְשִׁים מִי רַבָּה זֹאֵם בּוֹרֵת [יִתְכֵן אִישׁ שָׁמַיִם וּבְשָׁלִישׁ		23
[	]	יָכוֹל עֵפֶר הָאָרֶץ וְיִשְׁקֶן [וְ] לְבַפְלֹס הַיָּם וְגִבְעוֹת בְּמִזְוָנִים		24
[	]	אֵת אֱלֹהִים לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה [אֲדָם] יִזְכֹּל אִישׁ לְתַכֵּן אֶת רוּחַ [אֱלֹהִים]		25

bottom margin

Translation

20 You sealed[] e[arth] [] **21** And they are profound[]heavens and the deeps [] **22** You, my God, sealed up all of them and there is no one who may open (them). And to who[m ...] **23** May the great waters be measured with the hollow of a human's hand? And with a span [may a person measure the heavens? And with a measure] **24** may one mete the dust of the earth, or we[igh] mountains with a scale and hills with a balanc[e? ...] **25** Human beings did not make these things. []Can a person measure the spirit[of God?]

Column 11 (l. 1 = frgs. 57 1 + 58 1 + 52 1 + 54 1 + 55 1; l. 2 = frgs. 57 2 + 58 2 + 52 2 + 54 2 + 59 1 + 55 2; l. 3 = frgs. 57 3 + 59 2 + 52 3 + 54 3 + 55 3; ll. 4–8 = frgs. 57 4–8 + 59 3–6; ll. 8–14a = 4Q510 1–5 [underlined]; ll. 14b–25 = frgs. 10 1–12 [+ 4Q510 5–9] [underlined])

top margin

- [וחונן] זארוך אפים רב החסד יסוד הא [] אִתָּם ואתה אלי [] 1
 [מ] קור הטוהר מקוי הכבוד גדול הצד [ק] ◦ לאדם ולבנ [יו] 2
 [] משפטים למעשי כול ומשיב ברכות [] לעשה ל [◦] 3
 [] הֵאֵלִי מֶלֶךְ הַכֶּבֶד [ו] כִּיָּא מֵאֲתָכָה מִשְׁפָּט [] 4
 [] רָיִים וּמֵאֲתָכָה סוֹד לְכוּל יִרְאִיכָה בְּ [] 5
 [בר] וּכִים ל [] ◦ [המה] 6
 [] מגערתכה י [] ברוב [] 7
 [] ל [] ל [] תשובות בר [כות למ] לך 8
 הכבוד דברי הודות בתהלי [] לאלוהי דעות תפארת 9
 ג [בור] את אל אלים אדון לכול קדושים וממש [לתו] על 10
 כול גבורי כוח ומכוח גבור [תו] יבהלו יתפזרו כול ויחפזו 11
 מהר [מען] כבוד מלכותו 12
 ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתי לפחד ולב [הל] כול 13
 רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים [לילי] ת 14
 אחים ו [ציים] והפוגעים פתע פתאום ל [תעות רוח] 15
 בינה ולהשם לבבם ועצתם ב [קצ ממשלת רשעה] 16
 ותעודות תעניות בני או [ר] באשמ [ת קצי נגועי] 17
 עוונות ולוא לכלת עול [ם ◦ הוֹק] [כי אם לקצ] 18
 תעניות פשע *vacat* 19
 רננו צדיקים [באלוהי פלא ולישרים תהלי כבודו] 20
 ה [הל] רוממוהו כול תמימי דרך בכנור ישועות 21
 ופת [חו פה לרחמי אל ודרושו למנו] [הושיעה אלוה [ים] 22
 [] 23 [כי באמת לכול מעשיו ושופט בצדק הווי עד]
 [] ◦ [נהי עולמים בסוד אילים ואנשים ישפוט] 24
 ברום שמים תוכחתו ובכול מוסדי ארצ משפטי יוד 25

bottom margin

Translation

1 [and gracious,] slow to anger, abounding in steadfast love, the foundation of [] And you, my God [] 2 [... s]ource of purity, the reservoirs of glory, great in righteou[sness ...] for Adam and for [his] son[s ...] 3 [] judgements for the works of all and giving blessings in return [] do for [] 4 [Blessed are yo]u my God, the glorious king, for from you judgement [] 5 [] and from you is the foundation for all who fear you in [] 6 [... bles]sed [] they [] 7 [] because of your rebuke [] in the abundance of [] 8 [] praises. Ble[ssings to the k]ing 9 of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of [] to the God of knowledge, splendor of 10 s[treng]th, the God of gods, Lord of all the holy ones. And [his] domini[on] is over 11 all the mighty strong ones, and by the power of his streng[th] all will be dismayed and scattered, running hurriedly 12 from the majesty of the dwe[lling] of his royal glory. *vacat* 13 And I, Maskil, declare his glorious splendor in order to frighten and terr[ify] all 14 the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lili[th], 15 howlers and [] and those who strake without warning to lead (people) astray (from) the spirit of 16 understanding and to make their heart and their counsel desolate during the present age of the dominion of wickedness 17 and predetermined time of humiliations for the sons of ligh[t],

by the guilt of the ages of those smitten **18** by iniquity – not for eternal destruction [] but for an era **19** of humiliations for transgression. *vacat* **20** Sing for joy, O righteous ones, for the God of wonder. For the upright ones are the psalms of his glory. **21** [] Exalt him, all those who are perfect of way, with the lyre of salvation. **22** Open (your) mouth for God's compassion and seek his manna [] Save (me), O Go[d], **23** [] in truth for all his works and judges in righteousness those who exist forever **24** [] eternity. He shall judge in the council of divine beings and men. **25** In the height of heaven is his rebuke, and in all the foundations of the earth, the judgements of the Lord

Column 12 (ll. 1–4 = frg. 60 1–4)

top margin

[	ם ולישרים]	]	1
[	] כולכם רוח	]	2
[	] חי כלא	]	3
[	] אה	]	4

Translation

1 [] and for the upright ones[] **2** [] all of you are spirit[s ...] **3** [] prison[]

Column 13

This is the only one of the sixteen reconstructed columns that is not represented by any material remains.

Column 14 (ll. 1–5 = frgs. 63–64ii 1–5)

top margin

	מ עשי אלוהי פדותי	]	1
	זבכול מהל	]	2
	נפלאותיכה ואחורתם חוקי הודות כבודכה ברישית כול מחשבת לבב	]	3
	דעת ותרומת מזל שפתי צדק ובהנכון לכול עבודת אמת ועם כול	]	4
	ש לימי בתוה אד	]	5

Translation

1 [... w]orks of the God of my redemption [] in the foundations of **2** [] and in everything [] I will bless your name. And in my appointed times I shall relate **3** your wonders. And I shall engrave them, the statutes of thanksgiving for your glory. The beginning of every intention of the heart **4** is knowledge, and the offering of the utterance of righteous lips, and in being prepared for every service of truth. And with all **5** [] my [p]eace is in thanksgiving [] work and in all

Column 15 (ll. 1–6 = frg. 63iii 1–6)

top margin

אָני תרנן לשוני צדקכה כיא פתחתה ובשפתי שמתה מקור	1
תהלה ובלבי סוד רישית כול מעשי איש ומולות פעולות	2
צדיק דרך ומשפטים לכול עבודת מעשיהם להצדיק	3
צדיק באמתכה ולהרשיע רשע באשמתו להשמיע שלום	4
לכול אנשי ברית ולה[ר]ים בקול פחד הוד לכול מפריה	5
[] ש[] [] ל[] ל[] ל[] ל[] א[] ות ח[]	6

Translation

1 And as for me, my tongue shall sing out your righteousness, for you set it free. You placed on my lips a fountain **2** of praise and on my heart the secret of the origin of all human actions and the fulfillment of the deeds **3** of the perfect of way, and judgements for all the toil of their works, in order to justify **4** the righteous one in your truth and to condemn the wicked one in his guilt, to proclaim peace **5** to all the men of the covenant and to raise a voice of frightening glory against all who violate it.

Column 16 (ll. 1–3 = frg. 63iv 1–3)

Top margin

יברכו כול מעשיכה	1
תמיד וברוך שמכה	2
לעולמי עד אמן אמן	3

end of

composition

Translation

1 Let them bless all your works **2** continually, and blessed be your name **3** for ever and ever. Amen, amen.