HUMAN AND ANGELIC PRAYER IN LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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This study will explore the intersection between human and angelic prayer, which takes place when human beings join the angels in praising God.[1] The Dead Sea Scrolls now offer nearly a score of previously unknown texts and testimonies reflecting joint human-angelic praise. With the final publication of some of the major works in the last two years—the Cave 4 *Hodayot* manuscripts, *Berakhot*, and *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*[2]—the time is ripe to take stock of the Scrolls' contribution to understanding this interesting religious phenomenon and its varied manifestations in different cultural, social, and historical matrices.

With this goal in mind, I set out to discern the diverse modes of joint human-angelic praise, and to pose the important question of a correlation between a particular mode and a particular religious outlook or social reality. The extant sources from the late biblical through the early medieval periods represent, in my estimation, three fundamental patterns of joint prayer, corresponding to three distinct types of religious experience:

A) Many voices: harmonizing with the universe;
B) Two choirs: praying like the angels;
C) One congregation: joining the angels.

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[2] E. Schuller, "Hodayot," *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E. G. Chazon et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69–232; B. Nitzan, "Berakhot," *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–74; C. Newsom, "Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat," ibid., 173–401; F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude, "11QShirot 'Olat HaShabbat," *Qumran Cave 11.II (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 259–304.

In isolating these categories, my principle criteria were liturgical function and the kind of religious experience engendered. Other aspects of phenomenology as well as content and literary form were factors in determining a text's function and in identifying different facets or subcategories of each main type.

Before examining each of the three categories outlined above, we should note the typology proposed by Bilhah Nitzan in her seminal article, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgic Writings from Qumran."[3] As the title of her article indicates, Nitzan distinguishes between two types of human-angelic praise: a cosmological approach characterized by "an experience of harmony with the entire universe," and a mystical approach characterized by "an experience of mystic communion" between the human and angelic worshippers. While I basically accept this dichotomy, I perceive additional types, classify several texts differently, and usually refrain from applying the term 'mystical' to these ancient Jewish texts.[4]

A. *Many Voices: Harmonizing with the Universe*

In this pattern, all of God's creatures, including the angels, are invited by human worshippers to praise God. This category corresponds to the cosmological approach outlined by Nitzan. As Nitzan observes, "the praises invoked from all the cosmos express in harmony the . . . majesty of God, the creator of the whole universe."[5] The religious experience engendered by this pattern of joint praise is, then, that of singing in harmony with all God's creatures and being at one with them; in short, harmonizing with the universe. The harmony achieved is of a particular kind—it is one of multiple voices, each emanating from a separate and distinctive group of created entities, from the heavens above to those under the seas. In fact, what distinguishes this pattern of joint praise from the others is the human worshippers' distance from the angels. Here they do not emulate angelic praise, nor elevate themselves to angelic status, nor otherwise lay claim to a special association with the angels or their praise.

[3] B. Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgic Writings from Qumran," *JQR* 85 (1994): 163–83.

[4] On the latter point see E. R. Wolfson, "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan," *JQR* 85 (1994): 185–202.

[5] "Harmonic and Mystical," 166.

The paradigmatic example of this pattern is Psalm 148, which invokes praise by all creatures, class by class, first in the heavens and then on earth, including creatures of the ocean depths. Psalm 148 may have served as a model for other hymns of this type, such as the Song of the Three Young Men in LXX Daniel 3:51–90 and the Sabbath prayer in the weekly liturgy of *Dibre Hame'orot* (4QDibHam[a] 1–2 vii 4–12 and *verso* ll. 1–10). Like Psalm 148, these two songs are structured as a series of invocations to praise, using second person plural imperative verbs: הללו in Psalm 148, ברכו in the Song of the Three Young Men,[6] and הודו in *Dibre Hame'orot*.[7] In all three hymns, the list of invitees is divided into two main parts, those in heaven and those on earth, each part containing a general call to all in that particular realm, followed by invitations to specific creatures residing therein. The universality of this cosmic praise is emphasized through repetition of the word 'all' (כל). These three cosmological songs overlap considerably in their detailing of the specific invitees; for instance, the waters above and below the firmament, as well as the angels, are found in all three. Yet, each text has elements not found in either of the other two. Thus, Psalm 148 and LXX Daniel each list different groups of human beings, whereas *Dibre Hame'orot* emphasizes the depths of the earth, mentioning Abaddon and probably the Great Abyss (תהום רבה).

To illustrate these generic similarities as well as the special bent of our example from Qumran, I quote below the first section of the Sabbath prayer in *Dibre Hame'orot* and its closest parallels in the Song of the Three Young Men:

[6] The Septuagint has *eulogeite*, evidently translating ברכו. This is the primary verb in the song's long series of invocations, opening almost every verse. On the Aramaic version of this song in the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel*, and on the question of the song's original language (Hebrew or Aramaic), see J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia Series; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 199, 202 and the literature cited there.

[7] הודו is the first call to praise in the Sabbath prayer and one which may have been repeated in subsequent lines (note the prayer's title, which employs the same root, הודות שיר ביום השבת). With the exception of הרננו in line 11, none of the other imperative calls to praise have been preserved. Compare ירוממו in line 2 on the *verso* of this fragment, which contains the final lines of the Sabbath prayer and of the whole scroll. See my edition in E. G. Chazon, "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991), 298–314 (Hebrew); the text was previously published by M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 150–52. The translation is my own.

Give thanks [to the Lord forever, Praise] His holy name continually.	All the works of the Lord, bless the Lord; Laud and highly exalt him forever.
In the hea[vens]/ Pro[claim . . .][8]	Angels of the Lord, bless the Lord, laud . . .
All angels of the holy firmament,	Heavens, bless the Lord; laud . . .
And [all waters above] the heavens;	All the waters above the heaven, bless . . .
The earth and all its depths,	Let the earth bless the Lord, Let it laud . . .
[All the fountains of the] great [deep]	Rivers and springs, bless the Lord, laud . . .
and Abaddon,	Seas and rivers, bless the Lord; laud . . .
and the waters and all that is [in them].	Sea monsters and all that move in the waters, bless the Lord; laud. . . .
[Give thanks to the Lord] all his created ones continually, forever and ever.	
(4QDibHam[a] 1–2 vii 4–9)	(LXX Dan 3: 57–60, 74, 77–79)[9]

Finally, it is important to note that the title of the cosmological song in *Dibre Hame'orot*, "Thanksgiving Song on the Sabbath Day," clearly indicates its liturgical function as a prayer for recitation on the Sabbath. Like the prayers for the other days of the week in the same document, this Sabbath song would have been recited on a weekly basis. Furthermore, the plural language throughout *Dibre Hame'orot*—that is, the 'we' language in the weekday prayers and the second person plural calls to praise God in the Sabbath song—strongly suggest that this was a liturgy recited in a communal context. Similarly, a liturgical or cultic setting has been suggested as the original *Sitz im Leben* of the song incorporated into the Septuagint version of Daniel.[10] Both texts apparently predate the foundation of the Qumran community.[11]

[8] The most plausible reconstructions are בש[מים or בש[רו החלתיו (cf. Isa 60:6, Ps 96:2). For the proposed schematic reconstruction of these lines, see Chazon, "Liturgical Document," 304–10 and, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1992–93): 1–21.

[9] The translation is from Collins, *Daniel*, 196–97.

[10] Ibid., 207.

[11] E. G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), 3–17. For the date of the Song in LXX Daniel 3:51–91 see Collins, *Daniel*, 207.

B. *Two Choirs: Praying Like the Angels*

This pattern differs from the first in two respects: 1) human beings pray exclusively (or primarily) with the angels rather than with the whole universe; and 2) they offer praise which is similar to that of the angels in content or in form and language. The result is that the human worshippers not only pray *with* the angels but also come to pray *like* them. This type of joint praise would have engendered an experience of human-angelic liturgical communion and fostered a sense of a special association with the angels on high. Nevertheless, here the choirs remain separate, their voices are distinct; despite their similarities, human and angelic praise are not identical. In this case, the human worshippers never quite reach the level of their angelic counterparts.

Our first example of 'praying like the angels' is 4Q503 *Daily Prayers*, a text often overlooked in treatments of angelic liturgy. These blessings for every evening and morning of the month praise God both for sunrise and sunset, and for the daily changes in lunar light as the moon waxes and wanes during the course of the month.[12] A description of the worshippers' praise in conjunction with the heavenly hosts is an essential feature of each blessing. The most complete reference to joint human-angelic praise is found in the morning prayer for the sixth day of the month (frgs. 8–9 1–5): "[We] the sons of your covenant shall praise [. . .] with all troops of [light]" (ואנו [בני בריתכה נהלל[. . . עם כול דגלי [אור]).[13] The construction "troops of [light]" evidently serves here as an epithet for the angels associated with the heavenly lights. Other blessings refer to the heavenly beings engaged in joint praise as "hosts of angels" (frg. 65), "those

[12] Each day's blessings (recited "in the evening" and "when the sun goes forth to shine on the earth") count the incremental changes in the fourteen portions ("lots") of lunar light and darkness on that day of the month. The system and terms are explained in J. M. Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *RevQ* 12 (1986): 399–406. See further E. G. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; exec. ed. G. Marquis; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 217–25.

[13] The text was published by M. Baillet, "503 Prières Quotidiennes" (DJD 7.105–136). The English translation is my own.

who testify with us" (frgs. 11, 15, 65), and "those praising with us" (frgs. 38, 64).

The content of the joint praise is discernable in frg. 30: "[We] praise your name, God of lights, in that you have renewed [. . .] gates of light and with u[s] in praises of your glory" (מהל]לים שמכה אל אור[י]ם אשר חדשתה . . . שערי אור ועמנ[ו] ברנות כבודכה . . .). These words, together with the astronomically charged angelic epithet "troops of light," demonstrate that the joint praise, like the rest of the blessing, extols God for the regular renewal of the heavenly lights. In this daily liturgy, then, the human blessings and the angelic praise are alike in content.

In our next two examples, the earthly congregation imitates angelic praise, and even echoes some of the angels' words. The sectarian covenant ceremony in *4QBerakhot* opens with blessings which praise God's attributes and describe the heavenly Temple, the divine chariot-throne, and various classes of angels. The section concludes with a well-preserved liturgical rubric which indicates that "the council of the community" is the group instructed to recite these covenant blessings (עצת היחד יומרו כולמה ביחד אמן אמן, 4QBer[a] 7 ii 1).

Joint praise is not explicitly mentioned in *4QBerakhot*, but it is implied by the juxtaposition of angelic praise with human praise. For instance, 4QBer[a] 7 i 2–7 first describes praise by human "elect ones [. . .] and all those who have [k]nowledge" and then immediately describes the praise by the "c]ouncil of *elim* (angels) of purification with all those who have eternal knowledge."[14] These analogous portrayals of elite human and angelic worshippers reflect one important aspect of the joint praise in *4QBerakhot*; that is, the correspondence between human and angelic praise in form, language, and manner of recitation. The following selections illustrate that the praises offered in each realm were formulated similarly as blessings to be recited together (ביחד) by all (כולמה) the worshippers belonging to that realm.[15]

In the earthly realm:

(1) ויבר]וכה כול בריאות הבשר כולמה אשר בראנ]ה

And] all the creatures of flesh, all those [You] created, [will ble]ss You.

(4QBer[b] 3 2)

[14] The text and translation are from Nitzan, "Berakhot," DJD 11.25–26, but I have translated the epithet *elim* as 'angels.'

[15] Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical," 174–75.

(2) ויברכ]וכה ביח[ד] כולמה אמן אנ]מן

and] all of them [will bless] You togeth[er]. Amen. A[men.

(4QBer[b] 5 11)

In the heavenly realm:

(3) יברכו בי]חד כולמה את שם קודשכה

All [will bless toge]ther Your holy name. (4QBer[a] 2 4)

(4) ולבר]ך את שם כבודכה בכול [קצי עו]ל[מים

and to bles]s Your glorious name in all [ever]la[sting ages.

(4QBer[a] 7 i 7)

These parallel phrases reveal two additional aspects of this liturgy's joint praise: 1) the angelic praise has special elements; and 2) these elements, which are not recited by the earthly beings, are blessings of God's holy and glorious name (שם קודשכה and שם כבודכה). The latter may allude to the angelic words in Isa 6:3 (the *trishagion*) and Ezek 3:12 (the blessing of God's glory). Such allusions would imply that the angels indeed recite these verses, but that the human congregation refrains from repeating them *verbatim*. In any event, whether or not *4QBerakhot* actually alludes to these two verses, it is clear that by referring *in*directly to the angelic blessings of God's holy and glorious name, the human worshippers are echoing this heavenly speech, taking what may be called a point/counterpoint approach.[16]

A similar approach is taken by the *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat* from Qumran and Masada. These songs for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year are an earthly liturgy recited by human worshippers, who invite the angels to praise God and describe angelic worship in the heavenly Temple. Not only do the invitations to the angels and the description of their praise imply that the human congregation is joining them in prayer, but such joint praise is mentioned explicitly in one passage (4Q400 2 1–7): "to praise Your glory wondrously with

[16] On this approach see also E. G. Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105. Note that in Nitzan's different classification ("Harmonic and Mystical"), she categorizes *4QBerakhot* as cosmological whereas she characterizes the *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat* (discussed below) as mystical.

the gods of knowledge (אלי דעה) and the praiseworthiness of Your kingship with the holiest of the h[oly ones] . . . how shall we be considered [among] them? . . . [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods (דעה אל[ים)?"[17]

The self-effacing remarks by the human worshippers in this passage uncover a qualitative distinction between angelic praise and human praise, which may provide a clue to the *Shirot*'s puzzling omission of the angels' words in general, and of Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12 in particular. Although these two verses are not quoted *verbatim* in this liturgy, some of the songs do allude to them. The beginnings of Songs 7 and 12 are good examples. Song 7's invocation to the holy angels to praise God for His holiness repeatedly employs the root קדש, 'holy,' thereby calling to mind the threefold angelic proclamation of God's holiness in Isa 6:3 (קדוש, קדוש, קדוש): "Let the holiest of the god-like beings magnify the King of glory who sanctifies by His holiness all His holy ones," (יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד המקדיש בקודעו לכול קדושו, 4Q403 1 i 31).[18]

Song 12's use of Ezek 3:12 becomes apparent once we recognize its underlying interpretation of that verse. This interpretation associates the blessing of God's glory with the sound produced by the *ḥayyot*'s wings (Ezek 3:13, 1:19–24), perhaps by recourse to a "double reading" of *barukh* ('blessed') as *berom* ('lifting up') in Ezek 3:12.[19] It also identifies the angels pronouncing the blessing as the *cherubim* (cf. Ezek 10:5), and specifies the place of God's glory (ממקומו in Ezek 3:12) as "His glorious seat" (cf. Ezek 1:26–28):

יפול[ו] לפניו ה[כרו]בים וב[ר]כו בהרומם . . . והמון רנה ברים כנפיהם קול[ן]
דממ[ו]ת אלוהים
הבנית כסא מרכבה מברכים . . . [והו]ד רקיע האור ירננו מ[מ]תחת מושב כבודו

[17] The translation basically follows Newsom, "Shirot," DJD 11.187–88. The Hebrew text cited below is taken from this edition.

[18] The translation reflects the understanding of יקדילו as a phonetic misspelling of ינדילו and of בקודעו as a scribal error for בקודשו (see Newsom, "Shirot," 269–71). The emphasis is my own and highlights the three closely juxtaposed words derived from the root קדש ('holy') that call to mind the *trishagion* of Isa 6:3. On the last point compare A. M. Schwemer, "Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran," *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult in Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991), 97–98; and D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 139–45.

[19] See C. A. Newsom, "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," *JJS* 38 (1987): 11–30.

. . . the *cheru[bim]* fall before Him; and they bl[es]s as they lift themselves up. . . . and there is a tumult of jubilation at the lifting up of their wings, a sound of divine [stillnes]s. The image of the chariot throne do they bless . . . [And the splend]our of the luminous platform do they sing (which is) beneath His glorious seat. (4Q405 20 ii-21–22 7–10)[20]

The invitations to angelic praise, which allude to Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12, imply that the angels recite the *trishagion* and the blessing of God's glory recorded in these verses. The human worshippers who extend these invitations, however, merely describe and paraphrase the angels' words, without quoting them precisely. Thus, by echoing some but not all of the angels' words, these human beings pray like the angels to a certain, but not a full, extent. They approximate angelic praise while maintaining the proper distinction between the two choirs, the one human and the other angelic.

C. *One Congregation: Joining the Angels*

This mode of joint praise is characterized by the union with the angels attained by human worshippers. The distinction between human and angelic praise is dropped, the veil between the realms is removed, and the human worshippers conceive of themselves as actually present with the angels, apparently experiencing a sense of elevation to angelic heights. The meeting ground between the human worshippers and their angelic counterparts is in some cases a single, united congregation whereas in others it is the heavenly throne room. These two arenas are discussed separately below.

We encounter this mode of prayer quite frequently in the *Hodayot*. The 'I' speaker in these hymns expresses the conviction that both he personally and his entire community share a common lot and a common station with the holy ones in heaven. The activity of praising God together is singled out as the goal of the union with the angels, and is also the way this union is concretized. The word ביחד ('together,' 'in union') is used repeatedly for both the joint praise and the shared station, מעמד (compare 1Chr 23:28, 35:15, where this term refers to the Levites' duty and post in the Temple). One

[20] The emphasis is my own and indicates the words alluding to Ezek 3:12, including the double reading of ברוך ('blessed') and ברום ('at the lifting up').

illustration from a Hymn of the Community shall suffice to demonstrate the *Hodayot*'s approach:

> [13]For the sake of your glory you have purified man from transgression . . .
> [14]To become united [with] the sons of your truth
> And in the lot with your [15]holy ones . . .
> [16]So that he can take his stand in your presence
> With the perpetual host and the spirits [. . .]
> To be renewed with everything [17]that will exist
> And with the knowledgeable in a union of jubilation.
>
> ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע . . .[13]
> ולהיחד [עם] בני אמתך ובגורל עם [15]קדושיכה . . .[14]
> ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד ורוחו[ת . . .][16]
> להתחדש עם כול [17]נהיה ועם ידעים ביחד רנה
>
> (1QH[a] 19:13–17 = Sukenik 11:10–14).[21]

In his classic commentary on this passage and its parallel in another hymn (1QH[a] 11 = Sukenik 3:19–23), Jacob Licht suggested that the comparable phrase in the latter hymn, "to take (his) stand in a station with the host of holy ones" (להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים), refers to a position around the divine throne as in *1En.* 60:2.[22] This interpretation may gain some support from the so-called *Self-Glorification Hymn*, which occurs in three *Hodayot* manuscripts, all representing the same recension of this hymn (1QH[a] 26:6–38, 4QH[a] 7 i–ii, and 4QH[c] 1–2 = 4Q471b).[23]

The 'I' speaker in the *Self-Glorification Hymn* boldly asks, "Who is like me among the heavenly beings?" (מי כמוני באלים; 4QH[a] 7 i 8+4QH[c] 1:4). He then declares that he is a beloved of the king (ידיד המלך) and a companion to the angels (רע לקדושים), with whom

[21] The text and translation basically follow F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1.188–89. For the reconstruction and renumbering of 1QH[a] and the corresponding column numbers in the old (Sukenik) edition consult Hartmut Stegemann's articles, "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot," *Fifty Years After*, 272–84, and in the present volume, "The Number of Psalms in *1QHodayot*[a] and Some of Their Sections." In the latter contribution, Stegemann also discusses the distinction between Hymns of the Community and Teacher Hymns as well as their distribution in the *Hodayot* manuscripts.

[22] Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 84, 163 (Hebrew).

[23] E. Eshel, "471b. 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn (= 4QH[a] frg. 1?)" (DJD 29.421–32), and Schuller, "Hodayot," 96–108 and 199–208 (note the bibliography listed on page 79 as "Previous discussion of frg. 7"). For the second recension of the *Hymn* see 4Q491 11 i.

he claims to be stationed (אני עם אלים מעמד[ו]; 4QH[a] 7 i 10–11+4QH[c] 1:6). This station with the angels who praise God, as well as the speaker's gifted speech and subsequent invocations to the 'beloved ones' (ידידים) to sing praise (4QH[a] 7 i 13–23), imply that the speaker, too, praises God, and that he does so together with the angels and on a par with them. This text leaves little doubt about the speaker's elevation to angelic status. Moreover, as Eileen Schuller has pointed out, "in the recension of this psalm that is found in the *Hodayot* manuscripts, the 'I' is to be understood in relationship to the 'I' voice we hear speaking in the other psalms, particularly the other Hymns of the Community."[24] These observations lead to the conclusion that the author(s) of some of the *Hodayot* claimed to be in the company of angels and to be reckoned as one of them.

Furthermore, if Schuller is correct that the 'beloved ones' called upon to praise the king, evidently by the 'beloved of the king,' are human beings rather than angels, then the speaker would appear to be making a similar claim for all members of his community.[25] Indeed, this section of the hymn depicts the 'beloved ones' as praising together with the eternal heavenly hosts, and even places these beloved ones in God's holy abode, according to Schuller's reconstruction of the text (הללו במעון [קודש]; 4QH[a] 7 i 14–15). In addition, like the angels alone in *4QBerakhot* and the *Shirot*, the 'beloved ones' appear to sanctify God's holy name (הקדי[ש שמו]) and display eternal qualities (4QH[a] 7 i 16–18). It is not impossible that the speaker, whether the Teacher of Righteousness or a similarly exalted leader of the *Yaḥad*, projected his own spiritual, perhaps even mystical, experience onto all members of his community or conversely, that the *Yaḥad* projected onto itself the Teacher's achievements and experiences.

Conclusion

This study has isolated three basic patterns of joint human-angelic prayer, corresponding to three types of religious experience and three different levels of association with the angels. They are: all created

[24] Schuller, "Hodayot," 102. Contrast Eshel, "Self-Glorification," 422–27, and the other views cited by both editors.

[25] Schuller, "Hodayot," 103. See the interesting perspective in D. Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," *Religion and Politics in The Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Bethesda: Univ. Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103.

beings harmonizing together; the human choir praying like the angels; humans and angels joined together in one choir of praise. We have seen that a single group, in this case the Qumran Community, engaged in various types and levels of joint praise on different occasions and for different purposes.

The full publication of *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*[26] fifteen years ago gave rise to an interesting theory linking the whole phenomenon of joint human-angelic praise with a particular religious outlook and social context. Specifically, this text's striking similarities with the *Hekhalot* literature, and their shared interests in such matters as the heavenly Temple and the angelic priesthood led Itamar Gruenwald, Rachel Elior, and other scholars to propose a common priestly origin and a historical trajectory from the Qumran Community and its precursors to the *merkabah* mystics.[27] This proposal has much to commend it. I would, however, suggest that the picture is more complex, involving other groups.

First, we should recall that not all of the texts of human-angelic praise discovered at Qumran were produced by members of the Qumran community or by its forerunners. Thus, a non-Qumranic origin has been proposed for *Dibre Hame'orot*, the *Daily Prayers* in 4Q503, and even for *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*.[28] Second, this religious phenomenon as a whole is broader both synchronically and diachronically than apocalyptic, Qumranic, and mystic circles. Its vitality among other segments of the population is attested by LXX Daniel, *Dibre Hame'orot*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Books 7–8), and the later *Qedushah* liturgy. Thus, in the arena of religious *praxis*, the theory of a historical trajectory from the Qumran Community to the *merkabah* mystics may ultimately apply only to the highest level of joint praise,

[26] C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

[27] I. Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988), 125–67, and R. Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrine: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions," *JSQ* 4 (1997): 217–67.

[28] E. G. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–85, especially pages 271–73 (for *Dibre Hame'orot, Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*, and the criteria of provenance) and page 282, n. 68 (for 4Q503). See also note 11 above. For the *Shirot* and a seminal discussion of the entire issue see C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman; Biblical and Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87.

that which unites human beings to the angels most closely, elevating them to angelic heights. Other modes of joint praise may prove to be common religious practices shared by diverse groups living under different circumstances. In light of the new texts from Qumran, a more nuanced model appears to be emerging, one that more fully reflects the multi-faceted character of this special dimension of religious life—the phenomenon of praying with the angels.