

# WITH THE COMING LIGHT, AT THE APPOINTED TIME OF NIGHT: DAILY PRAYER AND ITS IMPORTANCE AT QUMRAN

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## QUMRAN COMMUNITY: PRAYERS SUBSTITUTED FOR SACRIFICES

When scholars attempt to explain new and innovative religious practices within Jewish antiquity, they often point to catastrophic events in history as the catalyst. Of these catastrophes, the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the abrupt end to its sacrificial service is often favored as an event responsible for the creation of a multitude of new religious institutions and practices.<sup>1</sup> The religious impulse once fulfilled by the temple was replaced in part by the synagogue,<sup>2</sup> and its cultic services replaced by prayers. As Rabbi Joshua ben Levi reports in the Talmud, **“prayers replaced the daily sacrifices”** (*b. Ber.* 26b: תפלות כנגד תמידין תקנום). In modern historical-critical scholarship some scholars have affirmed this statement as the underlining reason why fixed daily prayer developed in rabbinic Judaism.<sup>3</sup> The discovery of four collections of liturgical texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (*Daily Prayers* [4Q503]; *Words of the Luminaries* [4Q504, 4Q506];<sup>4</sup> *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* [4Q400–407, 11Q17]; and *Festival Prayers* [1Q34, 34<sup>bis</sup>, 4Q505, 507–509]), however, **indicate that fixed communal prayer was performed at regular times throughout the day,**

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<sup>1</sup> For a fascinating discussion about the end of sacrifice and its religious implications, see G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> See especially Steven Fine, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue During the Greco-Roman Period* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); see also L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2d ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); A. Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001); S. Cohen, “The Temple and Synagogue,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume 3, The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999);

<sup>3</sup> See especially, S. Zeitlin, “The Shemone Esreh: An Historical Study of the First Canonization of the Hebrew Liturgy,” *JQR* 54 (1963–64): 208–249, esp. 236–237; Ezra Fleischer, “On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer,” *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 397–441 (Hebrew); idem, “On the Origins of the ‘Amidah: A Response to Ruth Langer,” *Prooftexts* 20 (2000): 380–387. There are, however, varying and sometimes contradictory opinions within rabbinic literature regarding the origins of fixed prayer and its purpose. For a nuanced discussion of these issues, see Reuven Kimelman, “Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume 4, The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S. T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 573–608, esp. 587–591; also helpful is Stephen Reif’s discussion in the section, “Was Prayer the heir apparent of Sacrifice in early Judaism?” in his article “Prayer in Early Judaism,” in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran: Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria, 5–9 July 2003* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 456–458 and Michael Fishbane, “Substitutes for Sacrifice in Judaism,” in *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 123–135.

<sup>4</sup> The *Words of the Luminaries* is found on two manuscripts, 4Q504 and 4Q506, with the possibility of a third, 4Q505. In his review of DJD VII, Florentino García Martínez argued that 4Q505 is not a copy of *Words of the Luminaries* and should be read together with 4Q509 as a single of copy of *Festival Prayers* (F. García Martínez, review of *Qumran grotte 4, III [4Q482–4Q520]*, by M. Baillet, in *JSJ* 15 [1984]: 157–164, esp. 161–162. See also Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 60–61.

week, and year already centuries before the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the provenance of at least *Words of the Luminaries* and *Festival Prayers* is likely non-sectarian,<sup>6</sup> indicating that fixed prayer must have developed as an expression of piety in ‘mainstream’ forms of Judaism alongside temple sacrifice. Thus, while fixed prayer in rabbinic Judaism may have been promoted as a replacement to sacrifice, in the Second Temple it developed for other reasons. To what extent and why prayer developed alongside temple worship is debated.<sup>7</sup> Eyal Regev, for example, is so convinced that daily

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<sup>5</sup> Standard summaries of these liturgical documents can be found in Esther Chazon, “Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Volume I* (ed. Peter Flint and James VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 244–270; eadem, “Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers,” in vol. 2 of *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman and James VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 710–714; D. Falk, “Prayer in the Qumran Texts,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume Three, The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 852–876; Eileen Schuller, “Prayer at Qumran,” in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran*, 411–428; eadem, “Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 153–171.

<sup>6</sup> For the provenance of *Words of the Luminaries*, see Esther Chazon, “Is *Divrei ha-me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17; for *Festival Prayers*, see Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 156–157. The provenance of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* has been the subject of much debate, see Carol Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. Freedman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187. Newsom is now of the opinion the document is non-sectarian. *Daily Prayers* contains a number of affinities with other sectarian scrolls, and some scholars have tentatively put forward a sectarian provenance, see esp. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 21–29; see more recently, Devorah Dimant, “The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts,” in *Qumran und die Archäologie* (ed. Jörg Frey, Carsten Clau, Nadine Kessler; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 389–390. For broader discussions of the impact that the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has had on the relationship between prayer and sacrifice and on Jewish liturgy in general, see Esther Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–284; Daniel Falk, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts From Qumran* (ed. Daniel Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–126; idem, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 617–651; Eileen Schuller, “Worship, Temple, and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part 5, The Judaism of Qumran. A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, and B. Chilton; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125–143; eadem, “Prayers and Psalms From the Pre-Maccabean Period,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 306–318; Eyal Regev, “Temple Prayer as the Cradle of the Fixed Prayer: On the Evolution of Prayer during the Second Temple Period,” *Zion* 70 (2005): 5–29; Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism* (Brill: Leiden: 2012 [forthcoming]).

<sup>7</sup> The increased interest in prayer in the Second Temple period is commonly noted and various hypotheses have been put forward. Many years ago I. Elbogen already stated that the impetus for fixed prayer was due to a fundamental change in the religious ethos of the people that took place during the Babylonian exile. This new spiritual outlook emphasized “personal piety and the participation of every individual in religious life (*Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* [3d ed.; Frankfurt: Kaufman, 1931]; repr. of *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* [trans. R. P. Scheindlin; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993], 190). M. Greenberg argued that this increased interest in prayer was because of the “consummation of the egalitarian tendency of Scripture in spiritual matters” (*Biblical Prose Prayer As a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983], 53; cf. also Menahem Haran, “Cult and Prayer,” in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* [ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985], 87–91, esp. 89–91; Samuel Balentine, *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 45–6; Shaye Cohen, “The Temple and Synagogue,” in *Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume 3*, 306–307). Joseph Blenkinsopp attributes the popularity of prayer at this time to a “crisis of confidence in the priesthood” (J. Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995], 97).

prayers were intricately integrated with cultic sacrifice, he claims that after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE, the unique contribution of R. Gamliel at Yavneh was **not the formulation of the *Amidah* as stated in *b. Ber. 28b*, but rather the successful separation of prayer from sacrificial worship.**<sup>8</sup> Others such as Esther Chazon have been more cautious, suggesting the possibility of social locations other than the temple.<sup>9</sup>

While the general impetus for praying daily at fixed times in ‘mainstream’ Second Temple period circles could not have been one of replacement for temple sacrifice, the same may not necessarily be true for the sectarian community at Qumran. This community strongly believed that the Jerusalem temple was defiled and its services rendered ineffective, and consequently at some stage in its development the community discontinued patronage of the Jerusalem temple (cf. 4QMMT, CD V 6, VI 11–14, XI 19–20, XX 23, 1QS VIII 1–16, 1QpHab IX 4, XII 9).<sup>10</sup> Because of this self imposed withdrawal from temple participation, scholars often argue that the community reconstituted the theological import of their fixed prayers as a functional substitute for sacrifice, a purpose somewhat analogous to fixed prayer in rabbinic Judaism. This is the argument made popular by the pioneering work of Shemaryahu Talmon, who stated already in the 1959 that because the Qumran community saw the temple sacrifices as devoid, they were “obliged to anticipate the development that later occurred on a national scale and to institute prayers to take the place of the sacrifice in the divine service.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Regev, “Temple Prayer as the Cradle,” 19. Falk concluded in his book length study on prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls that priestly and levitical circles were responsible for the creation and development of the liturgical traditions of the Second Temple period (Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 253–255).

<sup>9</sup> Esther Chazon, “Shifting Perspectives on Liturgy at Qumran in the Second Temple Judaism,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, M. Weigold; 2 vols.; Brill: Leiden: 2011), 2:513–531, esp. 520–523.

<sup>10</sup> Reading for history in the Dead Sea Scrolls is no easy task, but this hypothesis has been common in Qumran scholarship. Cf. e.g., B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), passim; Lawrence Schiffman, “Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community’s Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults in Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beato Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 267–284. Recently Martin Goodman has expressed skepticism towards this argument in “The Qumran Sectarials And The Temple In Jerusalem,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 263–273; idem, “Constructing Ancient Judaism from the Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 81–91.

<sup>11</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon “The ‘Manual of Benedictions’ of the Sect of the Judean Desert,” *Revue de Qumran* 2 (1959–60): 476; in a later article he writes: “As in rabbinic Judaism, so apparently in the community from the Judean Desert, prayer (times) derived from the daily sacrifices (*b. Ber. 26b*)” (“The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature,” in *Qumran: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* [ed. M. Delcor; Paris: Leuven University Press, 1978], 265–84, esp. 274, and the expanded version of this article in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989], 200–243). Many scholars reiterate this same argument. For later discussions, see, e.g., Esther Chazon, who writes: “Indeed,

In addition to noting similar conditions for the development of fixed prayer in these two communities, i.e. the absence of a temple, Talmon was keen to suggest that they both shared broad lines of continuity in terms of both set prayer times and prayer content;<sup>12</sup> but he also noted important differences between the religious makeup of the Qumran community and that of the rabbis, **particularly their different sociological environments and the place and function of prayer within these communities**. While still claiming that both communities configured their prayers as a sacrificial substitute, **Talmon noted that at Qumran the “propagation of institutionalized prayer” cannot be explained solely from the disassociation from the temple, and he highlights the group’s “commune-ideology” as a factor** (i.e. 1QS VI 2–3: **The community “shall eat together, bless together, and deliberate together”** [יחד יואכלו ויחד ייעצו]).<sup>13</sup> This, he contrasts with certain concerns found in rabbinic Judaism, in which fixed prayer developed more organically, not out of prescribed communal living as we have at Qumran, but out of preexisting concerns for nation and family.<sup>14</sup>

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these sectarians in the wake of their split with the Jerusalem Temple, cultivated prayer as a substitute for sacrificial worship. The sect’s manifesto and laws not only apply sacrificial language to prayer but also explicitly make prayer the functional equivalent of sacrifice—an alternate, and even preferred instrument for atonement and service to God as long as worship in the Temple continued to be conducted in impurity” (“Prayers From Qumran and Their Historical Implications” *DSD* 1 [1994]: 265); eadem, “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. Lawrence Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 217; Bilha Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 99–116; Esther Eshel, “Prayer in Qumran and the Synagogue,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel, Community Without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer; Tübingen: Mohr Seibek, 1999), 323–334, esp. 324; Richard Sarason, “Communal Prayer Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties,” 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; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 154.

<sup>12</sup> Talmon claimed that some of the scrolls contained references to early versions of such prayers as the *Yotzer ‘Or*, the Shema, the *Amidah*, and others (cf. “The ‘Manual of Benedictions’;” “The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer”). For other scholars that have suggested a link between the scrolls and rabbinic prayers, cf., e.g., Lawrence Schiffman, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee Levine; Philadelphia, PA: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 33–48; M. Weinfeld, “Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–258; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer; Falk, Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*; idem, “Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy,” in *The Ancient Synagogue From Its Origins Until 200 C.E.* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 404–434.

<sup>13</sup> Also cf. 1QS VII 7–8: “the many are to be on watch together...to read the book, to explain the regulation, and to bless together.”

<sup>14</sup> In “Emergence,” (1989), Talmon writes the following provocative statement: “Despite the significant common ground, no definite historical interdependence can be established between the emergence of institutionalized prayer at Qumran and in mainstream Judaism. Jewish prayer developed with the framework of preexisting, ascriptive social entities, the family and the nation, and cannot be linked with elective groupings that have no roots in the natural structure of society. In contrast to this, one could posit a historical connection between institutionalized prayer of the Covenanters and the institutionalized prayer of early Christians, which developed initially in the monastic movement” (p. 243).

Talmon's differentiation between the social makeup of rabbinic and Qumran communities raises a question worth further inquiry: If the sociological configuration of the Qumran community and its concerns were unique, or at least different from that of the rabbis, is it possible that their motives and their understanding of the importance of prayer might also have been different, more akin with their theological concerns and communally organized life? To be sure, the sacrificial language they employed to describe prayer and its effectiveness was not an empty metaphor. But it is clear from such passages as 1QS IX 3–5 **that atonement was affected through the totality of the community's prescribed life and not just through replacing the daily *tamid* sacrifice** (cf. also 4Q265 7 ii 9). Moreover, when we take into consideration other statements in the scrolls the community made about prayer, and some of the unique features found in the prayers themselves, the "prayer replaces sacrifice" paradigm becomes somewhat simplistic—additional, more dynamic ways of understanding the importance of daily prayer in the Qumran **community emerge that have otherwise been overshadowed by the hypothesis that the temple cult must somehow be replaced to maintain the divine-human relationship.**<sup>15</sup> Below a number of passages will be examined that are often presented as evidence that prayer replaced sacrifice at Qumran; I will attempt to demonstrate that these texts can be read differently—in a way that is still amenable to the community's self-understanding—yet challenges us to think more critically about the "prayer replaced sacrifice" argument. In the final section of the article I will examine other possible motives for the community's daily prayer practices and highlight their concern to pray together with the angels as a means of cultivating and fostering their own sense of exaltation, predetermined chosenness, and realized eschatology.

## "GIFT OF THE LIPS/TONGUE"

### PRAYER REPLACES SACRIFICE

When sacrificial language is used in the scrolls to describe prayer it is often formulated as a "gift of the lips" (תרומת שפתים) or "gift of the tongue" (תרומת לשון), sometimes with added variations (see below); the phrase occurs most frequently in the *Community Rule* (1QS 9–10), and refers to the act of praying in a more general system that includes daily prayer.<sup>16</sup> In 1QS IX 4–5 we read:

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<sup>15</sup> Other scholars have also showed some reservation regarding the replacement of sacrifice with prayer and have sought other explanations. For recent studies, see R. Arnold, "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness," *JQR* 95 (2005): 509–529, esp. 511; P. Heger, "Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran," *RevQ* 22 (2005): 213–233.

<sup>16</sup> See also the recent linguistic study of the terms תרומה and מנה by Francesco Zanella in "The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts from Qumran: Analysis of a Semantic Development," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead*

3 בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת  
4 עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת  
5 שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצון...

3 When these exist in Israel in accordance with all these rules as a foundation of the spirit of holiness in eternal truth,  
4 to make expiation for the guilt of transgression and the unfaithfulness of sin, and that the land may be accepted without the flesh of burnt-offerings and without the fat of sacrifice – and the gift  
5 of the lips according to the decree is like a soothing (odor) of righteousness and the perfection of way like an acceptable freewill offering...<sup>17</sup>

The phrase appears again in the poetic material at the end of 1QS in a section that describes times for prayer according to the natural divisions of the day: **1QS IX 26 [reconstructed]: “[...with a gift] of the lips he will bless;” then at 10:6: “With a gift of the lips I will bless him;” and finally X 14: “I will bless him with a gift that goes forth from my lips.”** Outside the *Community Rule* the phrase is found in the apotropaic psalms scroll *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q511 63–64 ii 4: “the gift of the utterance of righteous lips”), and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, although here the phrase differs slightly (תרומת לשון) and describes both human and angelic worship (4Q400 2 7: “the gift of the tongue;” 4Q403 1 ii 26: “a gift of their tongues;” 4Q405 23 ii 12: “gifts of the tongues of knowledge”). Since תרומה often occurs in a cultic context in the Hebrew Bible, and is linked with sacrificial aroma (ניחוח) in 1QS IX 4–5, the phrase ותרומת צדק can be interpreted as a statement that the group offered up fixed prayers as a means of atoning for guilt and transgression.

There are three features of this text worth commenting on for the purposes of this article:

1) The meaning of תרומה. In the HB, the word תרומה, derived from the verb רום (‘to lift,’ or ‘to raise’), has a variety of technical meanings usually related to the cultic sphere, such as the “heave offering” (the right shoulder or thigh separated for the priest) and obligatory taxes paid to the priests (cf. Neh 13:5; Num 18:11–13; Deut 18:4). Consequently it is often translated as “offering” in the context of 1QS IX 4–5. Yet, as Jacob Milgrom has suggested, the term clearly has a broader semantic range that includes all voluntary gifts set apart for sacred use.<sup>18</sup> It is equally clear that these gifts never involve blood manipulation and are never used

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*Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1:159–176.

<sup>17</sup> The translation with slight adaption is from Michael Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 138.

<sup>18</sup> Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Terminology* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 159, writes: “The following things are called תרומה: the right thigh of the priestly consecration and the well-being offering (Ex 29:27–28; Lev 7:32, 34; 10:14–15; Num 6:20), the breast of the well-being offering (Ex 29:27), the materials for the construction of the tabernacle (Ex 25:2–3; 35:5, 21, 24; 36:3, 6),

to affect appeasement or atonement (cf., e.g., Exod 25:2). If prayer was conceived as a functional replacement for sacrifice we might expect to find comparisons with more conventional sacrificial terminology, such as זבח and especially עולה (Num 28:6).<sup>19</sup>

*6 It is the regular burnt offering, the same as was offered on Mount Sinai to give a fragrant aroma, an offering made by fire for Adonai.- Numbers 28:6*

On its own, there is nothing about the phrase תרומת שפתים that connotes sacrificial replacement. Given the primary meaning of תרומה as a sacred gift, it is possible to suggest that fixed prayer was not understood as obligatory in the same way that the daily sacrifices were. “Lips” in this instance, were thought of as an instrument of the group’s voluntary praise and served to heighten the group’s sense of piety; the group dedicated not only their physical possessions to the community (cf. 1QS I 11–12; IX 7–8) and ultimately to God, but also their body.<sup>20</sup> Along this same line of thinking, E. Qimron has suggested that the translation “exaltation of the lips” better captures the meaning of the phrase, further diminishing the sacrificial context.<sup>21</sup> **Understanding prayer as a voluntary gift, rather than an obligatory sacrifice, fits better with the basic self-image of the group as a voluntary association, who on their own accord set themselves apart from those ruled by evil (cf. 1QS V 1, 6, 8, 10, 21).** This idea comes through even stronger in the 4QS<sup>d</sup> recension (VII 5), in which the noun נדבה (“voluntariness”/“free-will offering”) was added to further qualify the phrase “gift of the lips” (ותרומות ונדבת שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק). And as Devorah Dimant has recently demonstrated, this concept of “volunteering” in its nominal and verbal forms is often used in sectarian documents to designate the members of the Qumran community.<sup>22</sup>

2) The allusion to CD XI 21. The phrase in 1QS IX 5 “the perfection of way is like an acceptable freewill offering” (ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצון) implicitly recalls a similar statement made in CD XI 21: “the

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*the census silver (Ex 30:13–15), the bread of the thank offering (Lev 7:14), the first of the dough (Num 15:19–21), the tithe, and the tithe of the tithe (Num 18:24–29), a percentage of the war spoils for the sanctuary (Num 31:29, 41, 52), the tribute of half a shekel (Ex 30:13; 38:26) sacred gifts in general (Num 5:9), and minor sacred gifts in particular (Lev 22:12, 15; Num 18:11–19).” Milgrom’s word study of תרומה clearly indicates that it is a term for all sacred gifts given to God, and that these gifts must be moved, or set aside from their source (p. 161). The gifts of the Persian court carried by Ezra to Jerusalem are also designated by תרומה (Ezra 8:25), as are the fine bullocks and other sacrificial animals given for special occasions by the king and the princes (2 Chron 30:24, 35:7–9).*

<sup>19</sup> עולה is always given priority without exception in the Hebrew Bible, partly because it was standard convention, but also because of its, ritual, theological and symbolic importance. Cf. James W. Watts, “Olah: The Rhetoric of Burnt Offerings,” VT 56 (2006): 125–137.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. George Brooke, “Body Parts in Barkhi Nafshi and the Qualifications for Membership of the Worshipping Community,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts From Qumran* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79–94.

<sup>21</sup> E. Qimron, “A Review Article of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition*, by Carol Newsom,” HTR 79 (1986): 356–357.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Devorah Dimant, “The Volunteers in the Rule of the Community: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” RevQ 23 (2007): 43–61.

sacrifice of the wicked ones is an abomination, but the prayer of the just ones is like an acceptable offering” (ותפלת ישרים רצונו). The latter is also a clear reference to Prov 15:8 (ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצונו).

1QS IX 5	זבח ותרומת שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצונו...
CD XI 21	זבח רשעים תועבה ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצונו
Prov 15:8	זבח רשעים תועבת יה ותפלת ישרים רצונו

#### SATISFYING PRAYERS TO ABBA ARE FROM PURE HEARTS

A comparison between these texts demonstrates that 1QS has expanded on the statement found in CD. Whereas in CD, the prayers of the righteous ones (תפלת צדקם)<sup>23</sup> are an acceptable sacrifice, in 1QS the redactor has added a statement that **prayer is a “gift of the lips” and likened to “a soothing (odor) of righteousness” (ותרומת שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק)**. The effect of this addition is that it emphasizes the community’s “perfection of way” as an acceptable sacrifice, not its prayers. While prayer in 1QS was no doubt included in sum total of its practices that make up the “perfection of way,” the emphasis on prayer in these two texts changes slightly.<sup>24</sup> The author of CD interprets the wicked referred to in Prov 15:8 as an impure intermediary in charge of bringing a sacrifice to the altar. That is, when faced with the possibility that the one bringing a sacrifice to the temple is impure and would pollute the altar, the prayers of the righteous are preferred to sacrifice. The situation is somewhat similar in 1QS, but the previous columns make clear that 1QS the community itself, not the altar, is understood to be subject to the dangers of defilement. By recalling CD XI 21 (together with Prov 15:8), the author of 1QS IX 4-5 can justify the community withdrawal from the Jerusalem temple because of the effectiveness of their prayers in conjunction with the disciplined life for which they freely volunteered—the “the perfection of way” as it is termed in this passage and throughout the *Rule* (1QS I 8; II 2; III 9; VIII 18, 21; IX 5, 19; cf. also 11Q5 XXVII 3). In other words, in CD prayer is acceptable when pollution threatens the sanctity of the temple altar, but in 1QS it is the “perfection of way”

<sup>23</sup> Arnold has argued that Qumran prayer should be understood “as a communal act of righteousness governed by divine laws regarding its times and its language” (p. 512); its impetus was not derived “as a means of communicating with the divine, or as a way of filling the void left because of the community’s alienation from the sacrificial cult” (ibid.). He makes this argument by emphasizing the community’s heightened sensitivity to holiness and the “perfection of way,” as well as an adherence to a deterministic world view. In “Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness.”

<sup>24</sup> This is also highlighted by the fact that the D tradition knows the “perfection of way” tradition, but chose not to use it in this context (cf. CD I 21; II 15 VII 5).



that becomes an acceptable sacrifice in which. Prayer plays only one part within an entire system, the goal of which is to achieve atonement through correct purity, correct interpretation and obedience of Torah, and communal idealism (cf. 4Q265 7 ii 9).

3) The Metaphors/Similes כניחוח צדק and כנדבת מנחת רצון. The use of these metaphors/similes in 1QS IX 5 further indicates that prayer was not conceived of as a functional replacement for daily sacrifice: a *minhah* (מנחה) offering was performed daily with the whole burnt offering (עולה), and while both were considered a “soothing odour” (ריח ניחוח) before God (Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18; Lev 1:9, 13), the *minhah* had an elevated status.<sup>25</sup> Leviticus repeatedly states that the *minhah* was considered “a most holy part of the offerings made to the Lord by fire,” a statement not made regarding the whole burnt offering (Lev 2:3, 6:14–17, esp. v. 17). Moreover, it could be offered by anyone independent of animal sacrifice (Leviticus 2) for any number of personal reasons.<sup>26</sup>

The *minhah* (minchah: a gift, tribute, offering) sacrifice was also regarded as the ‘memorial portion’ of the offering and was pleasing to God (Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 5:12; 6:8 [15]), but unlike the whole burnt offering, the blood of which functioned to atone for the sins of the community, **the *minhah* was thought of as a response in anticipation of divine favor.** God granted atonement through the blood of the burnt offering (cf. Leviticus 1; *Jub.* 6:14) and the worshipper responded by giving to God some of his or her produce represented by the cereal offering. Further, the configuration of the sacrificial language in 1QS IX 5 gives the impression that **the community’s prayers were viewed as the aromatic portion (כניחוח) of the *minhah*, the incense that ascends to the heavens and has the effect of generating divine goodwill.**

*Romans 12:1 I appeal to you therefore, brothers, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.*

## II. WERE DAILY PRAYERS PERFORMED AT THE TIME OF THE TAMID SACRIFICE?

Another argument often used in the hypothesis that **“prayer replaced sacrifice” is that daily prayers at Qumran were intentionally correlated with the times of the daily *tamid* sacrifices.** It is undeniable that within the Second Temple period, times of sacrifice were considered propitious also for prayer, adding

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<sup>25</sup> The word *minhah* can mean generally gift, tribute, or offering. In Leviticus 2, however, the *minhah* offering has a more technical designation, and consisted of a mixture of cereal, oil, and incense (לבונה), and was included in the daily whole burnt offering (Exod 29:38–42; Leviticus 2; 6:7–23; Num 15:1–10; 28:1–8).

<sup>26</sup> *Ben Sira* (Sir 38:11), for example, counsels his audience to pray and offer a *minhah* sacrifice when they become ill.

gravity to the words of the one praying and probably also clarifying the meaning or intention of the sacrifice; this is most noticeable within the post-exilic biblical books where we find descriptions of prayers offered both privately (e.g. Ezra 9:5, Dan 9:21, Jdt 9:1; Act 10:1–4, 10:30) and publically (e.g. 1 Chron 23:30–31; 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 27:4–8; Jdt 4:11–15; 2 Macc 14:31–36; Sir 50:16–21; Luke 1:10, Acts 3:1), **performed at the time of sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple**. The practice was part of a broad cultural milieu not limited to exclusive or sectarian groups. Daniel Falk has argued that the impetus for fixed prayer within this broader setting came from groups associated with the temple and that these prayers **developed *analogously* alongside temple sacrifices as a model for pious religious life;**<sup>27</sup> sacrificial times were popular times for prayer because of their association with existing rituals in “the Temple cult, and not because of a need to provide a replacement for the sacrificial system.”<sup>28</sup>

Times for prayer within the Qumran community, however, are always clearly established in connection with movements of celestial bodies. We see this clearly in a number of sectarian documents, particularly 1QS IX 26–X 6 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 7–14, where the *Maskil* (a hedge) is instructed regarding the appropriate times for blessings and prayers during the day, night, and year according to the solar calendar (cf. esp. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 8: prayers are to be recited “according to the law of the great luminary”). Another example of a liturgical text that exhibits a clear connection between prayer and the daily cycle of the sun is 4Q503 (see below for further discussion). In a recent article Esther Chazon has argued that daily times of prayer indeed follow an astronomical or natural pattern of time that is separate from sacrifice, but she adds that in reality, **“sacrificial time was designed to correspond with natural time.”**<sup>29</sup> That is, times for worship, whether prayer or sacrifice, were performed at the same efficacious hours of the day that were marked by natural time.

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<sup>27</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 239–251, *idem*, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts From Qumran* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 125.

<sup>28</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 254. It is worth noting that Fredrick Heiler statement on the matter in his phenomenological study of prayer: “The factors conditioning or favorable to this process of petrification are the frequent recurrence of the occasions for prayer as well as their close connection with definite ritual acts” (*Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* [trans. S. McComb. London: Oxford University Press, 1938], 66).

<sup>29</sup> Esther Chazon, “‘When Did They Pray?’ Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Randal A. Argal, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 51.

In Second Temple period Judaism there is one example in *Jub.* 3:27 where Adam offers an incense sacrifice at dawn while the sun is rising,<sup>30</sup> but when one looks at the sacrificial system as a whole, movements of celestial bodies are rarely emphasized as pertinent to the timing and effectiveness of the sacrifices. If anything, sacrifice at sunrise was probably avoided to prevent the appearance of sun worship, at least when sacrifices were performed by the official cult. The evening sacrifices, too, seem to be dislodged from the diurnal cycle of sunrise and sunset, as it took place around the 9<sup>th</sup> hour, i.e. 3 pm, well before sunset (see *Jub.* 49:10; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.65).

Moreover, it is likely that the Qumran community had a daily prayer schedule that was more extensive than the diurnal pattern of morning and evening. While the poem at 1QS IX 29–X 6 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 7–14 describing times of prayer is typically read as referring to prayer at sunrise and sunset, there is a strong minority that reads this poem as describing the natural tripartite division of the day/night (i.e. sunrise, midday, evening, midnight)<sup>31</sup>—a ubiquitous phenomenon in the ancient world<sup>32</sup>—and that their daily prayer calendar was more extensive than a pattern of prayer at sunrise and sunset. While there is always a danger in

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<sup>30</sup> Enoch instituted the evening incense sacrifice on the mountain of Qater (4:25). For a recent discussion, see James VanderKam, “Adam’s Incense Offering (Jubilees 3:37),” *Megillot* 5–6 (2008): 141–156.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Jacob Licht translates תְּקוּפָה as the “circuit of time” (זְמַן הַסּוּבָב) between sunrise and sunset (cf. *The Thanksgiving Scroll* [Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute], 1957, 173 n. 6). In his commentary on 1QS, Licht translates תְּקוּפָה more specifically as “middle of the day” (אֲמִצְעֵיַת הַיּוֹם). See J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965), 208. See also the translation in DJD XL, 259, in which Newsom translates יוֹם בְּתִקּוּפוֹת as “midpoints of the day,” and בְּתִקּוּפָתוֹ לַיְלָה לְמוֹעֵד as “at the appointed time of night; at its midpoint.” For others that read תְּקוּפָה as a midpoint between sunrise and sunset, see, e.g., J. van der Ploeg, “Quelques traductions du ‘Manuel de discipline’ des manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 9 (1952): 130; *idem*, “Le ‘Manuel de discipline’ des Rouleaux de la Mer Morte,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8 (1951): 124. Van der Ploeg translates תְּקוּפָה as “le milieu” (the middle), but it is unclear whether he understands this passage to refer to three different times of prayer described twice, or six times of prayer within a 24 hour period; Talmon, “The ‘Manual of Benedictions,’” 481–483; *idem*, “Emergence,” 214; Richard Sarason, “Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis,” in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 222–223; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 190; J. Maier, “Shîrê ‘Ólat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendrical Implications and on their Style,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:549–50; Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer* (forthcoming).

<sup>32</sup> Cf., e.g., *Judg* 7:19; *Exod* 14:24; *1 Sam* 11:11; *Dan* 6:11; *Ps* 55:18; *Jub.* 49:10, 12; 1QS VI 6–8, and also in the broader ancient Greco-roman world (meridies=midday, ante merideim [am], post meridiem [pm]). In rabbinic literature too we see this division: in *m. Ber.* 4:1; *j. Ber.* 4.1; *Lam. R.* 2:29. For secondary literature see, J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I-II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 489; S. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3–28; R. Hannah, *Time in Antiquity (Sciences of Antiquity)* (London: Routledge, 2009), 136ff.; A. Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (trans. A. Winnard; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1–15; S. Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 53; J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 143ff; J.-A. Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 128.

conflating historical reconstructions by collecting together evidence from a variety of disparate sources, we know from other sectarian documents that in reality, the community prayed together also at night during their regular vigils and around noon during their daily communal meal (cf. 1QS VI 6; X 15; if we can trust Josephus' account of the Essenes, see also *War* 2.128–32). These additional times of daily prayer can also be understood to be in connection daily astronomical phenomena, and further suggest that for the Qumran community there were other motives for fixing daily prayers more complex than the argument “prayer replaces sacrifice.”

### III. COSMOLOGY AND ANGELS

Up until this point I have highlighted some of the weaknesses found in the argument that at Qumran prayer replaced sacrifice. For the remainder of the article I will discuss other possible motives and reasons for praying at fixed daily times. I would like to start with the suggestion that, while praying at sunrise and sunset may have been a non-exclusive, or non-sectarian, practice, for the Qumran community, these times of prayer were strongly influenced by their sense of anthropological and cosmic dualism. The community defined themselves as “sons of light” (e.g. 1QM *passim*; 1QS I 9, III 13) and “sons of the dawn” (cf. CD XIII 14–15; 4Q298 I 1) whereas **Belial** and those principalities under his dominion were called “sons of darkness,” and because their worldview was deeply dichotomized by the realms of light and darkness, the incorporation of language describing the daily cosmological changes from darkness to light into their daily worship routine further fostered this belief and experience.

In 1QS I 17 we read that **the dominion of Belial causes fear, terror (פחד ואימה), and affliction, all of which are symptomatic of darkness.** While the metaphorical use of darkness to describe negative human experiences always lies just beneath the literary surface, in some instances in the HB fear and terror (פחד ואימה) are used to describe actual physical darkness.<sup>33</sup> It is also possible that the Qumran community considered nighttime to be spiritually and also physically dangerous, conditioned by fear and dread, **as there are a number of incantations found among the Dead Sea Scrolls that describe demonic attack specifically at night (e.g. 4Q560 1 i 5; 11Q11 V 4–5),<sup>34</sup> and that sunrise at dawn was experienced as the**

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<sup>33</sup> See *Prov* 3:24, *Song of Songs* 3:8, *Deut* 28:67, *Isa* 21:4, *Exod* 15:16. Cf. also *T. Adam* 1:6: “The sixth hour is the construction of the clouds and of the great fear which comes in the middle of the night.”

<sup>34</sup> Also of note is the incantation 8Q5; it refers to heavenly constellations (1 4) within an adjuration against demons, although there is no mention of night in the surviving fragments. Nighttime was often thought of as particularly dangerous for demonic

**coming of divine justice**, as 1QMysteries (1Q27 1 5) states: “as darkness disappears before the light, so will evil vanish forever, justice will be revealed like the sun.”<sup>35</sup> The danger of the night is hinted at in 1QS X 2 where evening prayer takes place at the beginning of the watches of darkness (אשמורי חושך), and in 1QS X 15–16 the **Maskil declares he will bless God at the beginning of the time of “terror and dread, and in the abode of affliction and distress.”**

The dualistic day/night framework of daily prayer is **further seen if we keep in mind whom the community prayed with, and whom they prayed against.** Here I am referring to the assumption inherent in the apocalyptic worldview that the upper and lower worlds, including their inhabitants, are joined and related. In her article on this issue, Devorah Dimant has argued that this relationship between heavenly and earthly realms at Qumran was one in **which the community mirrored their own practices on what they perceived to be happening in the heavenly realm, thus blurring the boundary between heavenly and earthly realms.**<sup>36</sup> This desire to imitate the angelic world may shed some light on the motivations for some

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*attack, both in ancient Jewish society (e.g. 1QapGen XX 12–16; Jub. 12:16–27; Ps-Philo, L.A.B. 60:1–3; see ch. 5 in Penner, Patterns of Daily Prayer [forthcoming]) and the broader ANE and Greco-Roman world (e.g., A. L. Oppenheim, “A New Prayer to the ‘Gods of the Night’,” Analecta Biblica [Studia Biblica et Orientalia 3] 12 [1959]: 282–301; Erica Reiner, “Plague Amulets and House Blessings,” JNES 19 [1960]: 148–155; eadem, “Dead of Night,” AS 16 [1965]: 247–251; eadem, Astral Magic in Babylonia [Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1995]; Alice Mouton, “‘Dead of Night’ in Anatolia: Hittite Night Rituals,” Religion Compass 1 [2007]: 1–17; Manfred Hutter, “Demons and Benevolent Spirits in the Ancient Near East: A Phenomenological Overview,” in The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception [ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, Karin Schöpflin; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007], 21–34, esp. 29; Barbara Spaeth, “The Terror that Comes in the Night: The Night Hag and Supernatural Assault in Latin Literature,” in Sub Imagine Somni: Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture [ed. Emma Scioli and Christine Walde; Pisa: ETS, 2010], 231–258).*

<sup>35</sup> See the interesting language in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 6–7, where the speaker declares that he will “seek God, and God appears as an enduring dawn, at first light” (לאורתיים). Some prefer to translate the word לאורתיים as “perfect light.” See the discussion in DJD XL, 160–161. See also a similar theme in 4Q301 2b 4–7; only a few words appear on the fragment, but they include “seeking the face of light,” “angels,” and “praising.” The association between the rising sun and the coming of justice is a common trope in the ANE; it is often highlighted in apocalyptic literature, and it was certainly featured at Qumran. Cf. J. Baumgarten, “The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of S $\square$ edeq in Jewish Apocalyptic,” ANRW 2.19.1 (1979): 219–39. See also J. W. McKay, “Psalms of Vigil.” ZAW 91 (1979): 229–247, esp. 229; J. Glen Taylor, Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), ch. 3; Mark Smith, “‘Seeing God’ in the Psalms: The Background of the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible,” CBQ 50 (1988): 171–183; idem, “The Near Eastern Background of Solar Language for Yahweh,” JBL 109 (1990): 29–39; N. Sarna, “Psalm XIX and the Near Eastern Sun-God Literature,” Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, 1967): 1:171–175.

<sup>36</sup> Devorah Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East (ed. Adele Berlin; Baltimore: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103. See also, Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Leiden: Brill, 2002); idem, Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005 (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 185–198, esp. 188; Eileen Schuller, “Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Liturgical Perspectives, 188–189; P. S. Alexander, The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts (CQS7; LSTS 61; London: T & T Clark International, 2006), 110–119; Esther Chazon, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,” in Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts From Cave 1 Sixty

of the community's more peculiar practices, such as the "sharing of property, some form of celibacy, strict hierarchy, exclusivity,"<sup>37</sup> and, I would argue, their times for daily prayer.<sup>38</sup>

It may be that some of these peculiar practices are simply a projection of the Qumran community's own system of Judaism onto the heavenly realm, presented as the "way of perfection" (see above). It is possible, however, that the community's desire to mirror the angelic life helped create new religious practices, or at least helped to reconfigure known practices in new ways. It is here that I would argue that the **desire to mimic the angelic world provided a motive for daily prayer that moves beyond the equation of prayer and sacrifice.** The Qumran community identified certain changes in the heavenly skies as times of **angelic worship in the heavenly realm and aligned their own worship schedule to coincide with it.**<sup>39</sup>

There are many examples of concerted human-angelic worship in the Dead Sea scrolls (cf. note 36), although there are fewer explicit examples that such worship was deliberately coordinated at specific times.

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*Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana (ed. Daniel Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald Parry, and Eibert Tichelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–149; eadem, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Liturgical Perspectives, 35–47; eadem, "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 (ed. Daniel Falk and Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105; J. Collins, Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Routledge, 1997), 115–129; idem, "Powers in Heaven: God, Gods, and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. John Collins and Robert Kugler; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 9–28; idem, "The Angelic Life," in Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity (ed. T. Karlsen Seim and J. Økland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 291–310; Björn Frennesson, In a Common Rejoicing: Liturgical Communion with Angels at Qumran (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1999); Peter Schäfer, "Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism," in Mystical Approaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Munich: Verlag, 2006), 37–65, esp. p. 39.*

<sup>37</sup> Dimant, "Men as Angels," 100–101. The emulation of angelic worship is also a concern in Jubilees, although Jubilees does not describe daily prayer. In Jub. 6:18–19, for example, angels celebrate the Festival of Weeks; they have also kept the Sabbath since the creation of the world (Jub. 2:17–33). Cf. Henry W. Morisada Rietz, "Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community," in Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111–118.

<sup>38</sup> See also J. Baumgarten, "Some 'Qumranic' Observations on the Aramaic Levi Document," in Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume; Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 397–9, who argues that in this document Levi attempts to emulate the posture of angels in prayer with the raising of his hands and the straightening of his feet.

<sup>39</sup> The link between times of angelic worship with astronomical phenomena was not unique to the Qumran community, and there are many texts that demonstrate that sunrise was a prominent time for angelic praise. Job makes reference to the "morning stars singing together" (38:7; see also the LXX), and Ben Sira mentions the angels standing and recounting God's glory as the sun rises (Sir 42:16–17). In Jub. 2:2–3 (cf. also the Hymn to the Creator, 11QPsa XXVI 11–12), after their creation on the first day, every angel is assigned a task, some of which are to serve unceasingly before the Divine Throne through the singing of the praises to God at sunrise (cf. also 4Q88 X 5–6). In Ps-Philo's L.A.B. 18:6, the angel with whom Jacob wrestled was the leader of angelic worship. Although not explicitly stated in Ps-Philo, it is assumed in the Greek L.A.E. 7:2, 17:1–2 and in rabbinic literature (cf. Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 32:27, Gen. Rab. 78:2; b. Hul. 91b). See also Apoc. Mos. 7:2; 17:1. For a general survey, see M. Philonenko, "Prière au soleil et liturgie angélique," in La littérature intertestamentaire (ed. A. Caquot; Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 221–228.

One document where this is well-attested is 4Q503;<sup>40</sup> the earthly congregation frequently mentions in the body of the prayers that they are “praising” and “witnessing” together with angels in conjunction with certain changes in astronomical phenomena (the language of עמנו “with us”<sup>41</sup> is frequently used: cf. 11 4; 37–38 21; 64 5; 65 3; 66 1; 78 2; 98 1).<sup>42</sup> Most of the preserved references to praise alongside angels are found in morning prayers in which the angels are referred to as ‘witnesses,’ ‘holy ones,’ ‘heavenly hosts,’ or ‘troops of light’:<sup>43</sup>

- 7–9 3–4: <sup>44</sup>אור-גלי עם כול דגלי [אור] (“[We] the sons of your covenant will prais[e your name] with all the troops of [light]”).  
 10 2: עם דגלי אור (“With the troops of light”).  
 15 2: <sup>45</sup>קודשים במרומים (“[Ho]ly ones on high”).  
 15 5: <sup>46</sup>ועדים לנו בקוד קודשים (“And witnesses for us in the holy of holies”).  
 29–32 10: ועמנ[ו] ברות כבודכ (“And with us in the rejoicing of your glory”).  
 48–50 8: [אל כול צבאות אל]ים אשר [עם בני צדק] (“[God of all the hosts of an]gels who are[ wi]th the sons of righteousness”).  
 65 2: [צבאות אלים] (“Hosts of angels”).  
 65 3: אור ועדים עמנו (“light, and witnesses with [us]”).  
 66 1: עמנו ה[י]ום (“With us today”).

For the Sabbath there are references to human-angelic praise for the morning and the evening:

<sup>40</sup> Another example may be 4Q408, but it is impossible to determine to whom the ambiguous plural pronouns in the document refer: “you have created them to bless Your holy name ...” (3 + 3a 9). A. Steudel suggests they refer to human blessings (“4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer—Preliminary Edition.” *RevQ* 16 (1994): 313–334, esp. 234), which seems correct in the context. A joint human-angelic worship may be implied, however, in line 11 which states that humans respond with blessing when “when they see that the light is good” (3 + 3a 11), a response typical of angels after witnessing the first sunrise of creation (e.g. *Jub.* 2:2 and the *Hymn to the Creator*; also see J. Baumgarten, “Some Notes on 4Q408.” *RevQ* 18 [1997]: 143–144).

<sup>41</sup> P. Schäfer writes, “The preposition ‘im is typical of the Qumran concept of the communion of angels and humans. The same is true from the word *goral*, which appears frequently in texts mentioning this communion” (in P. Schäfer, “Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism,” in *Mystical Approaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. P. Schäfer [Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006], 39). See also *Jub.* 2:17–22, and H. Morisada Rietz, “Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids Eerdmans, 2005), 111–118.

<sup>42</sup> The belief that stars are celestial beings is pervasive, particularly in apocalyptic literature (1 *En.* 18:15, 21:6, 41:7, 82:9–20, 86:1–4, 88:1, 90:24). The creation hymn at 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX 2–15 presents an account establishing this connection. For a discussion of this phenomena in the broader ANE, see F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 185ff.; S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler, eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

<sup>43</sup> For further discussion see Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer* (forthcoming).

<sup>44</sup> See also Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*, 69; E. Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran,” 283, n. 71; eadem, “Liturgical Communion,” 95–105. Both scholars reconstruct “flags/troops of light” and suggest that the phrase refers to angels.

<sup>45</sup> Baillet reconstructed this line: קודש קודשים במרומים (“...saint des sa]ints dans les hauteur[s]... (DJD VII, 110).

<sup>46</sup> Baillet suggests that בקוד is a mistake and should be read as שבקוד (DJD VII, 110).

37–38 3 (evening): אלוהי כול קודשנים (“God of all the holy ones”).

37–38 21 (morning): [מ]הללים עמנו ] (“Praising with us”).

40–41 7 (morning): קודשים [ כול קדושים]...holy ones”).

### Two extant references imply joint human-angelic praise in the evening during the week:

11 4: אנו ועדים עמנו במעמד יומם (“Us and those witnessing with us in the daily station”).

64 5: <sup>מהללים</sup> [ לילה להיות עמנו] (“A night to be praising with us”).

Placed against the background of human-angelic worship in the Second Temple period, a number of salient features in 4Q503 emerge.<sup>47</sup> **In sources mentioning angelic worship at sunrise certain themes are usually present, such as praise (or joy; רגן) for the glory of God’s creation and for celestial renewal.** In 4Q503 the themes of renewal and glory are mentioned in the morning prayer for the fourteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the month: “Blessed be the Go[d of Israel...]. [...]. And this day He re[ne]wed [...]” (1–3 2); “[We pra]ise your name, God of Lights, in that you have renewed. [...]. [...] gates of light. And with us in rejoicing (רנות) of your glory [...]” (29–30 9–10); “[Blessed are you, God, who] has renewed our happiness with light[...]” (33 ii + 35 1–2). Frg. 29–30 9–10 explicitly links renewal, rejoicing, and praise, all pivotal themes within angelic praise with to human praise as well. Thus, just as sources outside 4Q503 relate these themes *only* to the time of sunrise, 4Q503 continues in this tradition as joy and renewal are only mentioned in the morning.<sup>48</sup>

A liturgical feature that is unique to 4Q503 is the occurrence of daily angelic-human praise specifically in the evening.<sup>49</sup> We see this in particular in a phrase found in an evening prayer, which states:

<sup>47</sup> Those that have studied this phenomenon have concluded, generally, that while angelic praise is found in the Hebrew Bible, human-angelic praise appears concretely only in the Second Temple period (cf. Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*; K. Sullivan, *Wrestling With Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*. [Leiden: Brill, 2004]). The concept of human-angelic worship is rooted in the idea that temples on earth correspond to heavenly archetypes. An excellent example of this is most clearly demonstrated with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400 2–7), where angels take on priestly roles (cf. J. Davila, “The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *DSD* 9 [2002]: 1–19), but the idea was certainly pervasive in older literature of the Mediterranean world.

<sup>48</sup> For other examples, see *Jub.* 2:2 and *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XI 22–24. See also the hymn in *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XXVI, esp. line 23 “Light appears, and joy pours forth,” and line 41, “Declare and say: Blessed be God most high who stretches out the heavens by his might and establishes all their structures by his strength...” (*DJD XL*, 308–309).

<sup>49</sup> Two exceptions may be found in the *Apostrophe to Judah* (4Q88 X 5–6) and *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XXV 32–33. Both texts mention the ‘stars of twilight’ praising God for the judgment of Belial, but the context is not explicitly of daily prayer. 4Q88 X 5–6: “Let then the heavens and the earth give praise together, let all the stars of twilight give praises”; *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XXV 32–33: “I spoke in the assemble of your holy ones...with a [strong] voice [from twilight to...]”. The performance of angelic liturgy in the evening developed in early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, but aside from 4Q503 we do not yet find it in Second Temple Judaism. For Christian sources, see, e.g., *Testament of Abraham* (recension B) 4:4–5, *Apocalypse of Paul* (Latin recension 7). For Jewish sources, see *Tg. Ps.-J. to Gen 27:1*, where we find that the angels sing praises on the night of Passover. *Gen 27:1* (*Ps.-J.*) also records angelic



“...us and those witnessing with us in the daily station” (א, frg. 11 4). In a number of other passages in the scrolls we see further that angels **take up their position in God’s heavenly abode, which accordingly, is revealed when the stars appear.** For instance, the luminaries are stationed in the holy habitation (i.e. heaven) in 1QS X 3 (למעון כבוד) at night, the same cosmographical location of the angels (cf. 1QM XII 1–2: במעון קודשכה). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXVI 10//4Q427 7 i 14–15 the connection between angels and heavenly luminaries is made more explicit, as is the motif of human-angelic worship: **“Rejoice in the congregation of God! Cry gladly in the tents of salvation (באהלי ישועה)!<sup>50</sup> Give praise in the holy dwelling! (במעון קודש), extol together (רוממו יחד) among the eternal hosts.”**

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII 1, after recalling that God established (תעמד) the luminaries in the sky the hymnist declares: “...the reports of your wonder to shine out before the eyes of those that hear you.” The ability of the luminaries to report God’s “wonder” visually, in conjunction with the hearing of God suggests worship of both angels and humans together, and indeed, further on in the psalm the speaker declares (frg. 2 i 10) “the sons of God to be in communion with the sons of heaven.” Further in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXVI 36 (frg. 7 ii 11) **we read that both the speaker and the angels come together (ביחד) to stand before God without a mediator.** The word יחד is of course a self-identifying term for the Qumran group, and given the analogous relationship between humans and angels, here it seems to be used as an extension of that community to include members of the heavenly realm.<sup>51</sup>

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*praise on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Nisan in the evening. There is a tradition in later rabbinic literature in which angels recite the Qedushah at night: “What is meant by, ‘And one approached not the other all night?’ (Exod 14:20) In that hour the ministering angels wished to utter the song before the Holy One, blessed be He (the song is the Qedushah from Isa 6:3: And one (angel) called unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, etc)” (cf. Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 14:20; b. Meg. 10b; b. San. 39b).*

<sup>50</sup> *The parallel between באהלי ישועה and במעון [קודש] is intriguing. In a discussion of Israelite cosmology, Baruch Halpern has argued that the sky was thought of as the fabric of a tent that had been “pitched” (cf. Ps 19:5; 104:2; Is 40:22). Given the close connection between באהלי ישועה and במעון [קודש] in this text, one wonders if somehow the “tents of salvation” are related to the heavens. See B. Halpern, “Late Israelite Astronomies and the Early Greeks,” in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and their Neighbors—From the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (ed. W. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 325. See also 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 5–6 which parallels “holy dwelling” (במעון קודש; although קודש was corrected to ש[לום], again a reference to the heavens, with “tents of glory” (באהלי כבוד):*

5. [ h ]with rejoicing and [joy. And I will dwell]l securely in a ho[ly] dwelling in a [pea[ceful]] dwelling [in] quiet and ease,

6. [in peac]e and blessing in the tents of glory and deliverance. I will praise your name in the midst of those who fear you. (DJD XL, 259)

<sup>51</sup> Collins agrees: “Togetherness with angels is constitutive of the community on earth” (“The Angelic Life,” 297).

Many scholars argue that prayer is prescribed in 4Q503 according to a diurnal pattern of sunrise (ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ) and in the evening (בערב). Throughout the liturgy, however, reference to nighttime (לילה)<sup>52</sup> occurs surprisingly frequent, and the phrase “**at all appointed times of the night**” (בכול לילה) appears in a number of fragments (33 i+34 21; 40 ii-41 3; 51–55 10) that may hint at a more extensive prayer schedule than just at “sunrise” and “in the evening.”<sup>53</sup> In scholarly discussions the phrase is usually either ignored or interpreted as a reference to the prayers to be recited in the evening (בערב) in favor of a more typical diurnal pattern of daily prayer at sunrise and sunset. It may be, however, that evening and night were understood as two separate periods of time. In *Jub.* 2:2, for example, we find such a distinction (cf. 4Q216 V 10: ...מאפלה ושחר ונאור וערב), and in 4Q503 33i + 34 19 evening is understood as “the beginning of the dominion of darkness”; perhaps the line “at all appointed times of the night” (4Q503 f33i + 34 21) that appears almost immediately after further signifies times during the night set aside for worship. This argument is admittedly quite speculative, but if the community sought to model their actions after the angelic life, it is likely that they fostered other related qualities innate to this existence, such as sleeplessness, watching, perpetual praise, and illumination, some of which can only take place at night.<sup>54</sup> We know from other texts like 1QS VI 6 **that the community cultivated nocturnal religious practices, and it is possible that 4Q503 may have a daily prayer schedule that was more extensive than the diurnal pattern and reflects these interests.**

**It should also be mentioned here that angelic worship never included the blood of sacrifices.**<sup>55</sup>

While these angels indeed took their place within the heavenly temple to worship God, this sanctuary was

<sup>52</sup> *לילה* appears many times in 4Q503: 1–6 iii 7, 15, 19; 11 3; 18 1; 15–16 9; 29–32 4, 11, 19, 23; 33i +34 7, 19; 42–44 2, 5, 6; 48–50 5; 56 i-58 5; 61 2; 64 4, 5; 67 3; 76 3; 86 4; 136 2; 218 4.

<sup>53</sup> Paul Heger argues that ערב is “clearly defined” as לילה (night), meaning that prayer reference to nighttime and the prescript to recite blessings in the evening refer to the same period of time, i.e. not before sundown. The purpose of Heger’s argument is to distinguish times of prayer at Qumran from times of sacrifice (he cites as evidence frags. 1–3 6–7; 29–32 2–4, 22–23; 33–35 i 18–19; 48–50 3–5; 51–55 6–10; 64 1–4; cf. P. Heger, “Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran,” *RevQ* 22 [2005]: 219).

<sup>54</sup> For these characteristics of angelic life, see 1 En. 14:23; 39:12–13; 40:2; 61:12; 71:7; cf. also 2 En. 17. See also Mark 13:32–5; Matt 24:36–44. The references to angels in these passages implies their participation in the vigil. See also Rev 4:8 and 7:17, two verses in which angels are imagined to worship in heavenly continually through the day and night. See P. Alexander, “Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts. Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9-11 January, 2005* (ed. Esther Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 215-35 esp. 232

<sup>55</sup> Incense, however, is offered in some accounts of heavenly worship: T. Levi 3:6 Rev 5:8, 8:3; and Greek Life of Adam and Eve 33:1–5.

conceived of as a place of worship in which **the praise of God was the primary focus.**<sup>56</sup> Given this difference in cultic focus between the earthly and heavenly temples, it is plausible that the community's desire to mimic angelic life, coupled with their disassociation from the temple, **strengthened their cosmologically based pattern of daily prayer against a cultic based pattern of daily sacrifice derived from the Jerusalem temple.**

The discussion this far has highlighted joint human-angelic worship and the community's desire to praise God together with angels. The presence of apotropaic scrolls at Qumran is telling of their **interest in protecting themselves against evil spirits and demons through regular prayer** (cf. 4Q444, 4Q510-511, 6Q18).<sup>57</sup> In commenting on the *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510-511) Philip Alexander has argued that the Maskil probably recited apotropaic prayers on an *ad hoc* basis as a kind of psychological preventive. This text, however, may allude to a more regular schedule, as we read in frg. 63 ii 2–5: “in my appointed periods I will recount your wonders” (ובמועדי תעודותי אספרה נפלאותיכה). The phrase תעודותי likely refers to their calendar, and as we have seen in above, the phrase תרומת שפתים in line 4 connotes a context of their established prayer routine.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, **Lilith, a night demon, is specifically mentioned in a list of demonic enemies in Songs of the Maskil (4Q510 I 5), again demonstrating that nighttime was understood as a time of danger and required prayers of protection.**

The danger of nighttime is also highlighted in a number of incantations found among the scrolls, although unlike apotropaic prayers these texts would have been used in response to a specific and perceived affliction. The incantation in 11Q11 V 4–5 addresses a demon, “When ]he comes to you in the nig[ht,]” (יבוא

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<sup>56</sup> P. Alexander offers a similar explanation for the emphasis of human-angelic praise and the lack of sacrifice at Qumran (*The Mystical Texts*, 100). Regarding the bloodless sacrifices offered by angels, see also Dimant, “Men as Angels,” 100–1; M. Himmelfarb, “Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Incense: The Law of the Priesthood in Aramaic Levi and Jubilees,” in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. R. Boustán and A. Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121. Himmelfarb writes: “Although a few texts refer explicitly to sacrifice in heaven, I do not know of any that mentions animals, blood, or fat” (p. 121).

<sup>57</sup> For other examples of such prayers and a broader discussion and bibliography, see Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 69–88.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra has made the observation that apotropaic prayers “are rites subordinate to and part of complex and reoccurring rituals (“When the Bell Rings: The Qumran Rites of Affliction in Context,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:538; see also Joseph Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

אליך בלילה),<sup>59</sup> and an incantation found in 4Q560 contains an adjuration against male and female demons who could potentially attack someone during sleep (4Q560 1 i 5).<sup>60</sup> Much of this material is riddled with lacunae, but the reference to sleep and demonic attack is clear enough: את[ה בשנא פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא ...מחתא (est ven]u(e) pendant (le) sommeil un broyeur/une idole male, et la broyeurse/l'idole femelle, celle qui frappe...)).<sup>61</sup>

Finally, a psalm found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXV<sup>62</sup> not only describes human afflictions and pain, symptoms caused by darkness, but it also **describes praising God for judging the fallen angels and evils spirits specifically at the time of twilight (נשף) (line 33; cf. cf. DJD XL, 278), a time when the heavenly stars also praise God (see also 4Q88 X 5–6: “Let then the heavens and the earth give praise together, let all the stars of twilight (נשפי) give praises...For Belial is no longer in your midst”).** This psalm exhibits clearly an apocalyptic cosmology in which **humans are praising God together with angels in proleptic anticipation of God’s final judgment when the world will be rid of evil spirits (XXIV 16, 26: ממזרים; XXV 6: רוחות רשעה).** It is unfortunate that the reference to praising God from twilight onwards text breaks off precisely at this point (1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 30–33) and we can only speculate about the duration of the praise. נשף, however, is usually interpreted as “**evening twilight,**” in which case the word would have to refer to the beginning of night after darkness had already fallen.<sup>63</sup> Given the strong anthropological and cosmological duality of this community, I would argue that not only the timing of their daily prayers fostered

<sup>59</sup> Puech has argued that the word should be reconstructed as בל'נעל (“viendra à toi Béli[al]”). The reconstruction לילה is preferred. In apocalyptic literature such as 1 Enoch, it is the offspring of watchers that torment humans. See also DJD XXIII, 198–200; Mika Pajunen, “The Function of 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> as a Ritual,” in *Text and Ritual: Papers Presented at the Symposium Text and Ritual in Copenhagen in November 2008* (ed. A. Katrine Gudme; Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2009), 52; M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 454; Eibert Tigchelaar, “Catalogue of Spirit, Liturgical Manuscript with Angelological Content, Incantation? Reflections on the Character of a Fragment from Qumran (4Q230 1), with Appendix: Edition of the Fragments of IAA #114,” in *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment* (ed. M. Labahn and B. Peerbolte; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 141.

<sup>60</sup> 4Q560 was initially published by D. Penny and M. Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560),” *JBL* 113 (1994): 627–650. The scroll was published in DJD series by É. Puech: *Qumran Cave 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575, 580–582* (DJD XXXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

<sup>61</sup> For a similar translation, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1117; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 168; Penny and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 642. J. Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book From Qumran,” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 257, 260.

<sup>62</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the psalm that begins at XXIII 1 continues to XXV 33 (cf. DJD XL, 278).

<sup>63</sup> The noun נשף is derived from the root נשף “to blow.” In 1 Sam 30:17 the Greek translator interpreted נשף as ἑσπέρως (“dawn”) but generally נשף was interpreted as evening twilight or darkness (cf. 2 Kg 7:5-7 [נשף = σκοτός; Jer 13:16; Job 24:15; Is 5:11; 21:4; 59:10; Prov 7:9; Job 3:9; Ps 119:147-8). In LXX Job 3:9, כוכבי נשפו is translated as τὰ ἄστρα τῆς νυκτός (“the stars of the night”). See B. Kedar-Kopfstein, “nešp,” in *TDOT*, 10:71.

this ontological outlook, but also the notion of whom they were praying with and whom they were praying against.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

“Prayer replaced sacrifice” remains a popular explanation to account for the recitation of fixed prayers in the Qumran community. I have attempted to demonstrate in this article that the sacrificial language used to describe prayer, particularly in 1QS, indicates that **daily prayer was not conceived of as a functional replacement for daily sacrifices. The timing of daily prayers according to the movements of heavenly luminaries also diminishes the connection to the sacrificial cult. Instead, I argued that daily prayer was influenced by and also fostered their sense of anthropological and cosmic dualism. They saw themselves as intimately connected to a celestial realm that was inhabited by a hierarchy of angels and demons.** The Qumran community sought to mimic their angelic counterpart; they perceived these angels to be praying at specific times of the day and night based on certain astronomical phenomena and fixed their own services **to achieve worship in unison.** At the same time, praying at these times was perceived as a preventative measure against the sons of darkness. As the “sons of light” and “children of the dawn,” they were able to join their angelic counterpart who could be seen from the skies above, and in praising God for his glorious wonders and strong hand they protected themselves against perceived spiritual and physical threats.

#### ADDENDUM TO ARTICLE TO ADD VERSES OF INTEREST

- Luke 15:10 In the same way, I tell you, there is rejoicing in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner who repents.
- Hebrews 1:14 Are not all angels ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit salvation?
- Psalms 91:11 For he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways;
- Revelation 4:8 Each of the four living creatures had six wings and was covered with eyes all around, even under its wings. Day and night they never stop saying: “ ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty, ’”who was, and is, and is to come.

#### JEANNETTE DALRYMPLE NOTE:

*I would encourage any future readers to not get lost in the way this report is worded. It in no way implies a worship of angels but rather a ONENESS with angels. I can understand this because all of Creation, whether Heavenly or Earthly, join together to praise Abba. I've read other authors like Dinah Dye and she describes that Hebrew understanding is that the Milky Way represents a veil as the one that was ripped in the Temple. Beyond that veil is the Heavenly Throne Room.*

*I remember in the 80's and 90's, maybe prior, there was a real movement to worship angels – This is a false teaching that has led many astray. I do not think that this article is implying that but rather that we recognize there is a harmony between Heavenly angels and mankind, or at least there should be, in that we can join in harmony to praise Abba. It argues that the Essenes recognized this and that it was possible, maybe eventually required. But man has the unique position of being made in the IMAGE of Abba. A long time ago I remember Mark Bilitz did an episode where he showed that heavenly harmonics are observable. I didn't think it strange then, but rather evidence in how we are wonderfully made!*

FOR STUDY ONLY