

SECTARIAN PSALMS FROM THE DEAD SEA

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JUST FIVE years ago the sensational discovery of Hebrew scrolls in a cave near the Dead Sea aroused new interest in the so-called Intertestamental Period. Since the discovery, numerous studies have been made on the text, language, thought, and background of the documents. Though some scholars still refuse to accept the antiquity of the scrolls, and though there are numerous points, especially of detail, which still await definitive treatment, we are at present in a much better position to evaluate the language and content, and to understand the general purpose of the manuscripts, than were the first editors and commentators. Our position will be still further improved if and when the remainder of the original Dead Sea find is published, and when the recent discoveries of the past year are made available to scholars.

It will not be at all necessary once more to recount the details of the famous discovery.¹ About half of the discovered scrolls were purchased by the Hebrew University and partially published by Prof. E. L. Sukenik.² His two volumes include, together with fragments, part of second Isaiah, a work called for the time being "The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness," and five hymns or psalms (*Hôdayôt*).³ It is with this last group of texts that the present study will be chiefly concerned.

Since most earlier translations were made from the texts provided in Sukenik's first volume, and since in his second publication the editor not only added new material, but also made significant corrections,

¹ See, for example, A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, trans. Margaret Rowley (Oxford, 1952), pp. 11-17.

² *Megillot Genuzot*, I (Jerusalem, 1948); *Megillot Genuzot*, II (Jerusalem, 1950).

³ In referring to these works, the following abbreviations are used: DS1b (Hebrew Univ. Isaiah MS); DSW ("War" scroll); DST (Psalms).

In referring to the scrolls in the possession of the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan and published for the American Schools of Oriental Research by Millar Burrows, the following abbreviations are used: DS1a (Isaiah scroll); DSD (Manual of Discipline); DSH (*Pesher* on Habakkuk).

this new study will not be fruitless.⁴ In lieu of plates or a Hebrew copy of the texts, a transcription into English characters is given.⁵ In making this transcription, the present writer has worked directly from the plates published in the *editio princeps*. Naturally, the interpretations of the learned editor have been consulted as well as the *Vorlage* supposed by previous translators.⁶ It should be exceedingly useful to scholars to have the text, even in transcription, since the work of Sukenik, initially published in a limited edition, is now unavailable for purchase.

At first sight, the *Hodayot* appear to be a mosaic of biblical phrases and quotations. Though the sectaries, among whom these hymns were produced, were steeped in knowledge of the Old Testament and its language, it would not be at all correct to think that the author (or authors) simply paged through their Bibles to cull appropriate phrases. There are, without doubt, quotations or near quotations from the biblical texts; the language, generally speaking, conforms very well to biblical usage; in short, we have a mosaic of biblical reminiscences. The writers were conversant with Hebrew—possibly even as a spoken language within a limited milieu. There are sufficient indications to show that the Hebrew they knew best was in a late stage.

Certain peculiarities in the language and style of the psalms are noteworthy. There is an extensive use of the preposition *le* in a variety of meanings.⁷ There is a wide use of hitpael forms, though in all cases they can be supported from the Bible. Though there are few words

⁴ Among the more important translations, cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Newly Discovered Scrolls in the Hebrew University Museum," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XII (1949), 43-46; R. J. Tournay, O.P., "Les anciens manuscrits hébreux récemment découverts," *RB*, LVI (1949), 218-27; G. Lambert, S.J., "Un 'psaume' découvert dans le désert de Juda," *NRT*, LXXI (1949), 621-37; J. T. Milik, "Duo cantica ex volumine hymnorum nuper invento ad Mare Mortuum," *VD*, XXVIII (1950), 362-71; A. Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-78; M. Wallenstein, *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls* (Manchester, 1950).

All translations, except those of Milik and Dupont-Sommer, are from the earlier publication of Sukenik.

⁵ I have not attempted to indicate the spirants; § stands for both *sin* and *shin* in the transcription and in the discussion of words from the psalms.

⁶ Dots are used to indicate lacunae in the texts as well as those places where the reading was not clear and the proposals did not appear to be absolutely assured. My transcription differs from Sukenik's in some points; all divergences will be carefully noted in the commentary.

⁷ The same tendency may be seen in DSH and DSD.

which cannot be found in the Bible, new combinations—grammatical and semantic—have been formed; some words which were in the Hebrew language from the beginning appear to be used in meanings they acquired at a later stage. There is a constant tendency to join the 3rd person plural masculine suffix to feminine plural nouns in the form *-ām* (*mīlh^amōtām*).⁸ At times the gender of nouns appears to differ from that attested in the Bible or supposed by the lexicons. As is true of the rest of the Dead Sea scrolls, these psalms show an abundance of *scriptio plena*.

The psalms contain many striking similes, some of extended length and powerful imagery. The word order is often peculiar, so that occasionally we are left in doubt as to the exact connection between phrases and clauses. There is a fair amount of chiasmus; parallelism, either to repeat the same idea or to introduce a contrast, is abundant.⁹ There are no examples of the old Canaanite verse forms so well known from the oldest canonical psalms and from the poems embedded in the narrative sections of the Bible; nor is there anything in later biblical poetry with a meter as irregular as that of the Dead Sea psalms.

Not all the pages containing the *Hōdayōt* were written by the same hand. This is very clear not only from the formation of the letters, but also from certain orthographic peculiarities. There is, for example, in Psalm IV an almost complete correction of the form *ky* to *ky'*, perhaps by some second hand. Occasionally words have been inserted above the line either by the original scribe or by a corrector. These differences, however, cannot indicate any drastic chronological difference between the various psalms.

It is not to our purpose again to rehearse the arguments for the antiquity of the whole corpus of Dead Sea literature.¹⁰ Suffice it to say that the present writer is firmly convinced of its antiquity, and,

⁸ For this type of form in the Hebrew Bible, cf. Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* (Halle, 1918–1922), p. 591.

⁹ There is no rime or conscious meter in these psalms such as can be found in later Hebrew poetry of the Middle Ages. There was, probably, some rhythmic beat.

¹⁰ The evidence from palaeography, archaeology, and radio carbon has been presented many times. All the documents must date from before the beginning of the Christian Era. According to W. F. Albright, the *Hōdayōt* were composed not later than the second century B.C.; cf. "The Old Testament and the Archaeology of Palestine," in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), p. 25. The scrolls themselves, however, may be as late as the time of Christ.

therefore, of its relevance for the immediate Jewish background of Christianity. It is very difficult to decide just where the *Hodayôt* fit into the chronological picture of the whole collection; the question, however, is of secondary importance.

Even a casual perusal of the corpus of Dead Sea literature will be sufficient to convince the reader of its homogeneity. Certain passages of the psalms, for instance, find their echo in the *Pesher* on Habakkuk or in the Manual of Discipline; some passages appear as developments of a thought or phrase contained in the other works. If we except the so-called Zadokite Work,¹¹ points of contact with the rest of the Old Testament pseudepigrapha are not too abundant. Where we might expect a considerable amount of similarity, *sc.*, in the Psalms of Solomon, the present writer has obtained practically nothing but negative results. There appears to be much more hope of finding contact in the poems scattered through some of the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament.

The *Hodayôt* may be characterized as personal, though in differing degrees. Psalm V, for example, does not approach the personal tone of Psalms I and II. It is neither possible nor necessary to identify in detail the characters or events that appear in the psalms; in general, the author (or someone in whose name the author writes) stands on the side of God against the powers of evil and a hostile group of wicked men. It is not always very clear whether the author intends to recount actual conflicts of an external nature or the spiritual battle within the soul of the man whom God saves. The "I" may refer to the Master of Justice, and the adversaries to the wicked men well known from the *Pesher* on Habakkuk.

The general doctrine of the psalms is biblical, though there is great stress laid on the dualistic opposition between truth and falsehood, God and Belial.¹² While the just man is destined for immortality, the lot of the wicked is not clearly determined. The role of divine providence in guiding both the good and the wicked is emphasized, and there is more than a hint of the doctrine of predestination. God and

¹¹ This document from the genizah in Cairo was discovered by S. Schechter and published by him in 1910. The abbreviation for this work will be CDC.

¹² On the introduction of this dualistic tendency into Judaism, cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2nd ed.; Baltimore, 1946), pp. 278-79.

his covenant (probably the new covenant of the sect) are the saving causes; through them, the just man may hope for triumph over the enemy. Because of his faithfulness to the covenant and to his service of God, the soul of the righteous is tormented and persecuted, and he becomes an object of scorn and hate.

There are, however, some very significant omissions in the psalms. There is not a word about Jerusalem, the Temple, or the Messiah. In this, the psalms show a marked contrast to the Psalms of Solomon. It may be that the sectarians had so cut themselves off from the main stream of Judaism that the objects most sacred to the Jew had become of little or no moment.¹⁸

¹⁸ In DSH, XII, 7-10, there is mention of both Jerusalem and the Temple which have been defiled by the "wicked priest." In CDC, there is clear reference to the Messiah who is to come "from Aaron and Israel." In DSD, IX, 11, there is reference to the coming of a "Prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel"; these are apparently the Messiah and his followers (cf. W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, in *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, nos. 10-12 [New Haven, 1951], pp. 35, 50).

PLATE VII

Psalm I

- 1 'wdkh 'dny ky śmth npśy bśrwr h̄yym
- 2 wtśwk b'dy mkwl mwqśy śht 'ryśym bqśw npśy btwmky
- 3 bbrytkh whmh swd św' w'dt bly'l l' yd'w ky' m'tkh m'mdy
- 4 wb̄sdykh twśy' npśy ky' m'tkh mś'dy whmh m'tkh grw
- 5 'l npśy b'bwr hkbdkh bms̄pt rś'ym whgbyrkh by ngd bny
- 6 'dm ky' b̄sdkh 'mdy w'ny 'mrty h̄nw 'ly gbwrym sbbwm bkl
- 7 kly ml̄hmwtm wyprw h̄sym l'yn mrp' wlhwb h̄nyt k's 'wklt 'sym
- 8 wkhmwn mym rbym ś'wn qwlm npś zrm lh̄śyt rbym lmzwrwt
ybq'w
- 9 'p'h wśw' bhtrwmm glyhm w'ny bmws lby kmym wthzq npśy
bbrytk
- 10 .hm r̄st prśw ly tlkwd rglm wph̄ym t̄mnw lnpśy nplw bm
wrgly 'mdh bmyśwr
- 11 .mqhlm 'brkh śmkh

Psalm II

- 12 'wdkh 'dwny ky' 'ynkh ' npśy wtśylny mqn't mlyśy
kzb
- 13 wm'dt dwrśy h̄lqwt pdyt. npś 'bywn 'śr h̄śbw lhtm dmw

PLATE VII

Psalm I

- 1 I praise thee, O my Lord, for thou hast put me in
the bundle of life¹
- 2 and thou hast fenced² me about with protection from all the snares
of the pit. Ruthless men³ sought my life while I clung⁴
- 3 to thy covenant.⁵ But they are a worthless band and an assembly
of Belial; they do not know that it is through thee that I stand,⁶
- 4 and that through thy kindness⁷ thou wilt save me, for⁸ my foot-
steps⁹ are guided by thee. And they, likewise through thee,¹⁰
have stirred up strife¹¹
- 5 against me that thou mayst be glorified¹² by thy condemnation of
the wicked, and through me mayst demonstrate thy might before
the sons
- 6 of man;¹³ for it is by thy kindness that I stand. And I said: Warriors
encamped against me; they surrounded me¹⁴ with all
- 7 their instruments of war;¹⁵ their arrows bore fruit¹⁶ till there was
no cure.¹⁷ And the flashing spear¹⁸ was like a fire consuming
trees,
- 8 and like the tumult of many waters was the din of their shout¹⁹—a
cloudburst²⁰ to destroy many. Up to the stars burst
- 9 wickedness and iniquity²¹ when their waves leaped up.²² But as
for me, while my heart melted²³ like water, then didst thou
strengthen²⁴ my soul by thy covenant.
- 10 They²⁵ spread a net for me which ensnared their own foot,²⁶ and
they set traps for my soul into which they themselves fell.²⁷ But
my foot stood on level ground.
- 11 In the assemblies²⁸ will I bless thy name.

Psalm II

- 12 I praise thee, O my Lord, for thine eye
my soul, and thou hast rescued me from the envy of the interpre-
ters of lies³⁰
- 13 and from the company of those who practice delusions.³¹ Thou
hast ransomed³² the soul of the poor man³³ whom they plotted to
destroy, and whose blood³⁴

- 14 lšpwk 'l 'bwdtkh 'ps ky 'w ky m'tk mš'dy
wyšymwny lbwz
- 15 wħrph bpy kl dwršy rmyh w'th 'ly 'zrth npš 'ny wrš
- 16 myd ħzq mmnw wtpd npšy myd 'dyrym wbgdpwtm l' ħħwtwny
- 17 l'zwb 'bwdtkh mphađ hwwt rš'ym wlhmyr bhwlł yšr smwk 'šr
- 18 ħwqym wbt'wdwt nktbw lhwdy'
- 19 ħt lkwl š's'yh
- 20 blmwdykh

PLATE VIII

Psalm III

- 2 'wdkh 'dwny ky pdyth npšy mšħt wms'wl 'bdwn
- 3 h'lytny lrwm 'wlm w'thłkh bmyšwr l'yn ħqr w'd'h ky' yš mqwh
l'šr
- 4 yšrth m'pr lswd 'wlm wrwħ n'wh ħrth mps' rb lhtyšb bm'md 'm
- 5 šb' qdwsym wlbw' by. . 'm 'dt bny šmym wtpl l'yš gwrl 'wlm 'm
rwħwt
- 6 d't lhll šmkh byħd wlspr npl'wtykh lngd kwł m'šykh
w'ny yšr
- 7 ħħmr mh 'ny mgbl bmy. lmy nħšbty wmh kwħ ly ky' htysbty
bgbwł rš'h

- 14 they thought to shed³⁵ because he served thee. But they did not know³⁶ that my³⁷ footsteps are guided by thee. They set me up as an object of shame
- 15 and reproach³⁸ in the mouth of all who seek after deceit.³⁹ But thou, O my God, hast helped the poor and afflicted soul
- 16 against⁴⁰ the power of one stronger than he. Thou hast rescued me from the hand of the mighty,⁴¹ and in the midst of their revilings⁴² thou didst not leave me despondent⁴³
- 17 so as to abandon thy service through fear of the threats of wicked men,⁴⁴ and to exchange⁴⁵ a steadfast purpose⁴⁶ for madness⁴⁷ . . .
- 18 the statutes; and in the testimonies, they have been written to instruct⁴⁸
- 19 for all its offspring⁴⁹
- 20 among thy disciples.

PLATE VIII

Psalm III

- 2 I praise thee, O my Lord, for thou hast delivered my soul from the pit, and from Sheol of Abaddon¹
- 3 thou hast made me mount to an eternal height² so that I walk³ on a plain⁴ unsearchable⁵ and know that there is hope⁶ for him whom
- 4 thou hast fashioned from dry clay⁷ for the eternal assembly.⁸ For a perverted spirit thou hast purified from much sin⁹ to stand in attendance¹⁰ with
- 5 the host of the holy¹¹ and enter into community¹² with the council of the sons of heaven.¹³ To each thou hast allotted an eternal destiny¹⁴ with the spirits
- 6 of knowledge¹⁵ to praise thy name in community¹⁶ and to recount thy wonders in the presence of thy works. But I—a vessel
- 7 of clay¹⁷—what am I? Kneaded¹⁸ in water¹⁹—for what am I accounted?²⁰ And what strength do I have? Verily I found myself in the realm of wickedness

- 8 w'm hlk'ym bgwrl wtgwr npś 'bywn 'm mhwmwt rbh whwwt mdhbh 'm mś'dy
- 9 bhpth kl phy śht wyprśw kwł mśwdwt rś'h wmkmrt hlk'ym 'l pny mym
- 10 bht'wpp kwł hśy śht l'yn hśb wyprw l'yn tqwh bapwl qw 'l mśpł wgwrl 'p
- 11 'l n'zbym wmtk hmh 'l n'lmy m wqś hrwn lkwl bly'l wħbly mwt 'ppw l'yn plł
- 12 wykww nhly bly'l 'l kwł 'gpy yym 'ś 'wkłt bkwl św'byhm lhtm kwł 'ś lh
- 13 wybś mplgyhm wtśwt bśbyby lhwb 'd 'ps kwł śwtyhm b'wsy ħmr t'wkl
- 14 wbrqw' ybśh yswdy hrym lśrph wśwrśy ħlmyś lnħly zpt wt'wkl 'd thwm
- 15 rbh wybq'w l'bdwn nhly bly'l wyhww mħśky thwm bhmwn gwdsy rpś w'rś
- 16 tśrh 'l hhwwh hn..h btbl wkwl mħśkyh yrw'w wythwllw kwł 'śr 'lyh
- 17 wytmwwgw bhwwh g..lh ky' yr'm 'l bhmwn kwħw wyhm zbwl qwdśw b'mt
- 18 kbwdw wśb' hśmym ytnw bqwl m .tmwwgw wyr'dw 'wśy 'wlm wmlħmt gbwry
- 19 śmym tśwt btbl wl' tśwb 'd klh wnħrśh l'd w'ps kmwh

- 8 and with the wretched²¹ because of destiny;²² the soul of the poor man dwelt²³ with discord abounding,²⁴ and deeds²⁵ of terror²⁶ dogged my steps.
- 9 When the traps of the pit were opened,²⁷ then were spread out all the snares of wickedness and the nets of the wretched upon the waters;²⁸
- 10 when all the arrows of the pit flew without returning,²⁹ then did they bear fruit³⁰ till there was no hope. When the line falls upon judgment,³¹ and the lot of anger
- 11 upon the abandoned, and the outpouring³² of wrath on the dissemblers,³³ and the appointed time³⁴ of burning anger is allotted³⁵ to all Belial, then will the cords of death³⁶ bind so that there is no escape.
- 12 And the torrents of Belial³⁷ will overflow all the banks of the waters³⁸—a fire³⁹ consuming all who draw from them—to destroy every fresh tree
- 13 and every dry tree in its course;⁴⁰ and it will wander about scourging⁴¹ with flames of fire⁴² till there are no more⁴³ drinkers. On the buttresses⁴⁴ of pitch⁴⁵ it will feed,
- 14 and on the expanse⁴⁶ of dry land; the foundations of the mountains⁴⁷ will be for burning, and the roots of flint rock⁴⁸ will be turned into rivers of pitch.⁴⁹ And it will eat down into the great abyss,
- 15 and the torrents of Belial will burst into Abaddon;⁵⁰ and the recesses⁵¹ of the abyss will seethe with the abundance of the clumps of mud.⁵² And the earth
- 16 will groan because of the destruction which will come⁵³ upon the world; and all its depths⁵⁴ will break asunder,⁵⁵ and all who are on it will act like mad men
- 17 and melt away because of the great⁵⁶ destruction. For God will thunder⁵⁷ with the crash of his strength, and his holy dwelling⁵⁸ will roar with the truth
- 18 of his might,⁵⁹ and the host of the heavens⁶⁰ will give forth its voice;⁶¹ then will melt⁶² and quake the eternal foundations. And the host⁶³ of the warriors
- 19 of heaven⁶⁴ will roam about the world and will not return till the destruction is complete and decisive⁶⁵—eternal,⁶⁶ and there is nothing⁶⁷ like it.

PLATE IX

Psalm IV

- 1 'wdkh 'dwny ky' h'y'rwth pny lbrytkh wm.
- 2 'dwrśkh wkśhr nkwn l'w. . . . hwp'th ly whmh 'm. .
- 3rym hḥlyqw lmw wmlyšy rmyh . . .m wylbṭw bl' bnyh
ky.
- 4 bhwl m'syhm ky nm'sy lmw wl' yḥśbwny bhgbyrkh by ky'
ydyḥny m'ršy
- 5 kšpwr mqnh wkwl r'y wmw'd'y ndḥw mmny wyḥśbwny lkly 'wbd
whmh mlyšy
- 6 kzb wḥwzy rmyh zmmw 'ly bly'l lhmyr twrtkh 'śr śnntḥ blbby
bhḥqwt
- 7 l'mkh wy'swrrw mśqh d't mšm'y m wšm'm yśqwm ḥwmš lm' hbṭ 'l
- 8 t'wtm lhthwl bmw'dyhm lhṭpś bmswdwtm ky 'th 'l tn'š kl mḥśbt
- 9 bly'l w'štkh hy' tqwm wḥśbt lbkh tkwn lnšḥ whmh n'lmym
wmwt bly'l
- 10 yḥśwbw wydrśwkh blb wlb wl' nkwnw b'mtkh śwrś pwrh rwś
wl'nh bmḥśbwtm
- 11 w'm śryrwt lbm ytwrrw wydrśwkh bglwlym wmkśwl 'wwnm śmw
lngd pnyhm wyb'w
- 12 ldwrśkh mpy nby'y kzb mpyḥy t'wt whm. . . .g śph wšwn
'ḥrt ydbrw l'mk
- 13 lhwl brmyh kwl m'syhm ky l'h wl' h'zynw ldbrkh ky
'mrw

PLATE IX

Psalm IV

- 1 I praise thee, O my Lord, for thou hast illumined
my face with a view to thy covenant¹.
- 2 I seek thee,² and like the dawn firmly established³
. . . .⁴ thou dost shine forth for me. But they
- 3⁵ they deceived them,⁶ and the interpreters of deceit made
them err,⁷ and they went to ruin without understanding, for⁸
- 4 in the madness⁹ of their works. But I was despised¹⁰ by them,
and they discounted me though thou didst manifest thy power
through me. Verily they drove me¹¹ from my land
- 5 like a bird from the nest, and all my companions and acquaintances
were driven from me;¹² they accounted me a useless thing. And
they, interpreters
- 6 of lies and prophets of deceit, plotted Belial¹³ against me, that
I might exchange thy teaching, which thou hast inscribed on my
heart, for flattery
- 7 of thy people.¹⁴ And they kept back the draught of knowledge¹⁵
from the thirsty, and in their thirst they made them drink vinegar,
in order to¹⁶ gaze upon¹⁷
- 8 their error, in order that they might go mad at their feasts¹⁸ and
be trapped in their nets.¹⁹ Verily²⁰ thou, O God, dost contemn all
the devices
- 9 of Belial; but thine is the plan that shall stand,²¹ and the purpose
of thy heart shall abide unto victory.²² But they are dissemblers;²³
death (and) Belial²⁴
- 10 do they plot; they seek thee with a double heart²⁵ and they have
not remained faithful to thy truth;²⁶ a root bearing gall and worm-
wood²⁷ is in their thoughts.
- 11 In the stubbornness of their hearts²⁸ they explore and seek thee
among the idols;²⁹ the stumbling block of their sin they have set
in front of them;³⁰ they come
- 12 to seek thee from the mouth of false prophets who propagate
error.³¹ And they, with barbarous³² lips and a foreign tongue,
speak to thy people³³
- 13 that by deceit they may make vain all their works. For³⁴
nor have they given ear to thy word; for they have said

- 14 lḥzwn d't l' nkwn wldrck lbkh l' hw'h ky 'th 'l t'nh lhm lśwptm
- 15 bgbwrckh .glwlyhm wkrwb ps'yhm lm'n ytpśw bmqśbwtm 'sr
nzwrw mbrytkh
- 16 wtkrt b. ḥ kwl 'nśy mrmh wḥwzy t'wt l' yms'w 'wd ky 'yn
hwll bkwl m'syk
- 17 wl' rmyh .mzmt lbkh w'sr knpśkh y'mwdw lpnykh l'd whwky
bdrk lbkh
- 18 ykwnw lnḥ ny btwmky bkh 't'wrrh w'qwmh 'l mn'sy wydy 'l
kwl bwzy ky'
- 19 l' yḥśbw r hgbyrkh by wtp' ly bkwhkh l'wrtwm wl'
ḥḥth bbwśt pny
- 20 kwl hndr. ly hnw'dym yḥd lbrytkh wyswm'wny hhwlym
bdrk lbkh wy'rwkw lkh
- 21 bswd qdwsym wtwś' lnḥ mśptm wlmysym 'mt wl' tt'm byd
ḥk'ym
- 22 kzwmw lmw wttm mwr'm 'l 'mkh wmpś lkwl 'my h'rśwt lhkryt
bmśpt kwl
- 23 'wbry pykh wby h'ywrth pny rbym wtgbr 'd l'yn mspr ky hwd'tny
brzy
- 24 pl'kh wbswd pl'kh hgbrth 'mdy whpl' lngd rbym b'bwr kbwdkh
whwdy'
- 25 lkwl ḥhyym gbwrwtykh my bśr kz't wmh ysḥ ḥmr lhgdyl pl'wt
whw' b'wnw
- 26 mrḥm w'd śbh b'smt m'l w'ny yd'ty ky lw' l'nwś śdqh wlv' lbn
'dm twm

- 14 concerning the vision of knowledge: it is not true;³⁵ and of the way of thy heart: it is not.³⁶ Surely thou, O God, wilt answer them, punishing them
- 15 by thy might according to their abominations³⁷ and the multitude of their sins that they may be ensnared in their own designs³⁸ who have strayed from thy covenant.³⁹
- 16 And thou wilt cut off by thy judgment⁴⁰ all the men of deceit, and the false prophets⁴¹ will no longer be found. For in all thy works there is no folly,
- 17 nor deceit in the plans⁴² of thy heart. Those who are according to thy desire will stand before thee forever,⁴³ and those who walk in the way of thy heart
- 18 will abide (victoriously) forever.⁴⁴ And I⁴⁵—by clinging to thee, may I rise⁴⁶ and oppose those who despise me, and may my hand be upon all who scorn me; for
- 19 they do not realize that⁴⁷ through me thou hast shown thy might, and that thou hast shone upon me with thy strength⁴⁸ and that thou hast not covered with shame the face
- 20 of any who dedicate themselves⁴⁹ to me and who unite⁵⁰ in thy covenant. Those who walk in the way of thy heart listen to me⁵¹ and arrange (a table)⁵² to thee
- 21 in the council of the holy.⁵³ Thou wilt bring their cause to victory⁵⁴ and their fidelity to success.⁵⁵ Thou wilt not let them stray into the power of the wretched⁵⁶
- 22 when they plot⁵⁷ against them; but thou wilt put the fear of them upon thy people⁵⁸ and (like) a war club (shall they be) to all the peoples of the earth to cut off by judgment⁵⁹ all
- 23 who transgress thy command. Through me thou hast enlightened the face of many⁶⁰ and thou hast shown thy power immeasurably. For thou hast instructed me in thy marvelous mysteries,⁶¹
- 24 and by thy wonderful counsel⁶² thou hast strengthened my position; and thou hast worked marvels⁶³ in the sight of many⁶⁴ for the sake of thy glory and to make known
- 25 thy might to all living creatures.⁶⁵ What⁶⁶ is flesh like this, and what is a vessel of clay⁶⁷ to exalt thy wondrous deeds? He is in sin from his mother's womb,⁶⁸ and even to old age⁶⁹ he is guilty of treachery. I know, indeed, that man has no justice, and the son of man no perfect

- 27 drk l'l 'lywn kwl m'sy şdqh wdrk 'nwš l' tkwn ky 'm brwh yşr 'l lw
- 28 lhtm drk lbny 'dm lm'n yd'w kwl m'syw bkwh gbwrw wrwb
rhmwy 'l kwl bny
- 29 rşwnw w'ny wkwl grmy yrw'w wymş lbby kdwnş
mpny 'š wykwl brky
- 30 kmym mwgrym bmwrđ ky zkrty 'şmwty 'm m'l 'bwty bqwş rš'ym
'l brytk
- 31 whlk'ym 'l .brkh w'ny 'mrty bpš'y n'zbtý mbrytkh wbwzkry
kwh ydkh 'm
- 32 hmwn rhmkyh ht'wrty w'qwmh wrwhý hşzyqh bm'mđ lpny ng'
ky nš'n. . .
- 33 bşdykh wbmwn rhmkyh ky tkpr 'wnw š m'smh
bşdqtkh
- 34 wl' l'dm 'syth ky 'th br'th şdyq wrš'
- 35 'thzqh bbrytkh 'd
- 36 ykh ky 'mt 'th wş.

PLATE X

Psalm V

- 1 wblw' rşwnkh l' yhyh wl' ytbwnn kwl bh.
- 2 ykh l' ybyť kwl wmh 'phw 'dm w'dmh hw'
- 3 qwrş wl'pr tşwbtw ky tşkylny bnpl'wt k'lh wbswd
- 4 twdy'ny w'ny 'pr w'pr mh 'zwm blw' hşpth wmh 'hšb
- 5 b'yn rşwnkh mh 'thzq bl' h'mdtny w'ykh 'kşyl bl' yşrth

- 27 way. To God Most High belong all the works of justice; the way
of man shall not stand except through the spirit which God has
formed⁷⁰ for him
- 28 to perfect a way for the sons of men that they may know all that
he has done through the power of his might, and the abundance
of his mercy upon all the sons
- 29 of his good pleasure. But I—trembling and terror have seized me,⁷¹
and all my bones break; and my heart melts like wax before a
fire, and my knees relax
- 30 like water running down a slope.⁷² For I remember my guilt and
the treachery of my fathers⁷³ when the wicked opposed thy
covenant,
- 31 and the wretched⁷⁴ thy word.⁷⁵ Then I said: Because of my sin I
have been abandoned by thy covenant.⁷⁶ But when I remembered
the might of thy hand and⁷⁷
- 32 the abundance of thy mercy, I bestirred myself⁷⁸ to rise, and I
stood firm⁷⁹ before the blows,⁸⁰ for I was supported⁸¹
- 33 by thy kindness and the abundance of thy mercy. For thou dost
pardon guilt⁸² from sin through thy righteousness.
- 34 Not for man⁸³ thou hast done. For thou hast created
the just man and the impious⁸⁴
- 35 let me strengthen myself⁸⁵ by thy covenant till
- 36 for faithful art thou and⁸⁶

PLATE X

Psalm V

- 1 and apart from thy will,¹ it shall not be, and no
one will understand.²
- 2 no one attends. What, indeed, is he³—man and dry
clay;⁴ from clay⁵
- 3 was he nipped off⁶ and to dry clay does he return⁷—that⁸ thou
shouldst instruct me in such marvels, and concerning the
secret⁹.¹⁰
- 4 thou shouldst teach me? But I am dry clay and ashes.¹¹ What can
I purpose, unless thou desire it; what plans can I lay,
- 5 without thy good pleasure?¹² What strength can I gather, if thou
dost not support me; how can I be wise,¹³ unless thou dost fashion¹⁴
(widsom) .

- 6 ly wmh 'dbr bl' pthth py w'ykh 'syb blw' hskltny
- 7 hnh 'th śr 'lym wmlk nkbwym w'dwn lkwl rwḥ wmwśl bkl m'śh
- 8 wmbldykh l' y'śh kwł wl' ywd' blw' ršwnkh w'yn zwłtk
- 9 w'yn 'mkh bkwh w'yn lngd kbwdkh wlgbwrtkh 'yn mḥyr
wmy
- 10 bkwl m'śy pl'kh hgdwlym y'šwr kwḥ lhtyšb lpny kbwdkh
- 11 wmh 'phw' śbl'prw ky y'šwr rḡ lkbwdkh 'śyth kwł 'lh

FRAGMENTS

PLATE VIII

- 1 wysgrw dlty śht b'd hrwt 'wl wbryḥy 'wlm b'd kwł rwḥy 'p'h
- 20 'wdkh 'dwny ky' hyyth ly lḥwmt 'wz
- 21 l mśhytym wkwł r tstyrny mhwwwt
- 22 kl yby'

PLATE XII (*Megillot Genuzot*, I)

- 1 śmth .l.by lptwh mqwr d't ..l mbynym wymyrwm b'rwł śph
- 2 wlśwn .ḥrt l'm l' bynwt lh... bmsḡtm

- 6 for me?¹⁵ How can I speak, if thou dost not open my mouth; how can I reply, unless thou dost instruct me?
- 7 Behold, thou art the chief of the gods,¹⁶ the king of the mighty,¹⁷ the lord of every spirit,¹⁸ and the master over every work!¹⁹
- 8 Apart from thee, nothing is made;²⁰ there is no knowledge without thy good pleasure. There is nothing except thee;
- 9 thou hast no equal in power; nothing can compare with thy might;²¹ thy strength is beyond all estimation. And who,
- 10 among all thy great marvels, is able²² to oppose thy might?
- 11 What, indeed,²³ is he who returns²⁴ to his dry clay, that he should have power?²⁵ For thine own glory alone hast thou made all these things.

FRAGMENTS

PLATE VIII

- 1 And they have shut¹ up the gates of the pit² upon those pregnant³ with wickedness,⁴ and the bars of eternity⁵ upon all the spirits⁶ of iniquity.⁷
- 20 I praise thee, O my Lord, for thou hast been to me a strong wall⁸
- 21 destroyers and all thou wilt hide me from disasters.⁹
- 22 everyone will bring.

PLATE XII (*Megillot Genuzot*, I)

- 1 Thou didst put it in my heart¹⁰ to open the spring of knowledge¹¹ to all¹² with understanding. And they have bartered¹³ them for uncircumcised lips
- 2 and (for) an alien tongue¹⁴ of a people without understanding¹⁵. . . in their error.¹⁶

COMMENTARY

PLATE VII

¹ For this expression, cf. I Sam 25:29; Ben Sira 6:16 (but compare LXX).

² The verb may be derived with Sukenik from the root *škk* (*škk*), or better from *šwk*. For the various forms, cf. Job 1:10; 3:23; Ex 33:22; Hos 2:8.

³ Sukenik supplies a *w* which is missing from the text.

⁴ Lambert translates: "Parmi ceux qui s'appuient." Such a construction is possible by contamination; cf. *yδš^ebē b^eereš* (Is 9:1).

⁵ In the ms, the *k* has the form of a final letter.

⁶ Literally "my standing"; cf. Ps 69:3.

⁷ This word figures prominently in DST and throughout the rest of the literature. For the idea and the difficulties in translating the word, cf. J. Guillet, *Thèmes bibliques* (Paris, 1951), pp. 43-46.

⁸ I take *ky'* here, as well as in line 6, to be causal, rather than the continuation of *ky'* in line 3.

⁹ Cf. Ps 37:23; Prov 20:24; Dan 11:43.

¹⁰ Even the power of the enemy is from God. For God's universal dominion over the good and the wicked, cf. Psalm IV, 34.

¹¹ The form may be either piel from *grh* or qal from *gwr*. In Ps 94:21, read *yāgārā* for *yāgōdā*; the thought is exactly the same; cf. Ps 59:4.

¹² The form may be read either as a nifal or a hifil; the former is more likely since the hifil would probably be written fully.

¹³ The author is the instrument that God uses to display his might; the same thought appears in slightly different form in Psalm IV, 4, 19, 23.

¹⁴ Correct *sbbwm* to *sbbwny*; the final *m* may have arisen by confusion from a ligature of *ny* (so Sukenik).

¹⁵ Note the form of the 3rd plur. masc. suffix with fem. plur. noun.

¹⁶ In *Megillot Genuzot*, I, Sukenik read *wyryn* (from *yrh*, "to hurl, shoot") here and in Psalm III, 10. In the second volume, the reading was corrected to *wyprw*, which Sukenik derives from *pr*, "to break, frustrate," referring to Job 16:12. But the same form may be derived from *prh*, "to be fruitful"; the idea is that the arrows hit their mark so effectively that there was no cure for the destruction they wrought.

¹⁷ The same phrase and spelling is found in II Ch 21:18; 36:16; in CDC, VIII, 4, we find the same spelling.

¹⁸ For the expression, cf. Job 39:23. In DST, *lhwb* is the form constantly found. This spelling, which indicates a different vocalization from Masoretic *lahab*, may reflect a Phoenician pronunciation. The word was borrowed from Semitic by Egyptian, and appears in Coptic as *elhob* (from Egyptian

rhb, with the determinative of a smoking brazier). Its meaning is "smoke, fire." The translation of Tournay, "la flamme de la lance," is most apt.

¹⁹ Cf. Jer 51:55; Ps 65-8.

²⁰ The hendiadys in Is 30:30 is here expressed by a construct chain; for a similar construction against biblical usage, cf. Psalm III, 2. The whole image should be compared with the Isaiah text.

²¹ This phrase, which appears to be related to Is 59:5, is one of the most difficult in DST. My proposal is quite tentative. Cross has not translated it; Tournay's version, which makes reference to Jer 30:13 and Hos 5:13, is: "Ils éclatent en choses pourries, rien et néant, tandis que s'élèvent leurs flots"; Dupont-Sommer, who separates the phrase from the following *bhtrwmn glyhm*, renders: "In their brooding they will hatch the asp and worthlessness."

A comparison between DST and the Isaiah texts of TM, LXX, and DS1a, reveals significant differences:

TM: w^hhazzûreh tîbbâqa' 'ep'eh

DS1a: wh'zwrh tbq' 'p'

LXX: kai ho mellôn tôn ðiôn autôn phagein suntripsas ourion heuren
kai en autôi basiliskos

It is by no means certain that DST intends to quote Isaiah; hence each word of the DST text should be examined in itself.

mzurwt: In Job 38:32, we find the word *mazzârôt*, which the LXX transliterates *mazourôt*, used in parallelism with the names of constellations; again, in II K 23:5, LXX uses the same word to translate TM *lammazzâlôt*, which also appears in a series of constellations. For the derivations of *mazzâlôt*, the lexicons of Brown-Driver-Briggs and Gesenius-Buhl may be consulted; in connection with the meaning "fortune" (Greek: *tuchê*), we may note an interesting passage from the Ugaritic Keret epic (lines 99-100): 'wr mzl ymzl, which C. Virolleaud (*La légende de Keret* [Paris, 1936], p. 39) translates: "The blind man tells fortunes." The Ugaritic texts are not too early for the practice of astrology. But the most important point for us is that the LXX has a reading which can square perfectly with DST; hence we come to the meaning "stars" or "constellations," which fits in very well with the context of surging waves.

ybq'w: This word means "to cleave, break open"; the usual translation of it in Is 59:5, sc., "hatch," comes from the connection with eggs. In Psalm III, 15, the same word is used of Belial's flood breaking into Abaddon; while the Bible generally uses the preposition *b'*, DST has in both cases *l'*. Hence, the translation "break into" or "break up to."

šw': Besides the form *šāw'*, the TM of Ps 35:17 attests a form *šō'êhem*,

which seems to imply a singular $\text{š}\delta'$. The LXX has translated this word as *kakourgia*, "wickedness, malice." The editors have made various attempts to emend the text. I suggest that if we read DST as $\text{š}\delta w'$, we should retain the meaning of the LXX version of Ps 35:17; however, DST may have understood $\text{š}\bar{a}w'$, "vanity, emptiness."

' $p'h$: This word or, at least, the same group of consonants appears in Is 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16, and is translated "viper." While DSIa has the reading ' $p'h$ ' in Is 30:6, in 59:5 the reading is ' p' '. The same group of consonants, *sc.*, ' p' ' is found in Is 41:24, and the editors emend to ' ps '. The following are the texts of Is 41:24:

TM: hēn 'attem mē'ayin ūpo'olkem mē'āpa'

DSIa: hnh 'tmh m'yn wpw'lkmh

LXX: hoti pothen este humeis kai pothen hē ergasia humōn

The text of DSIa has omitted ' p' '; the LXX has understood *mē'ayin* to be derived from '*ayin*', "where." Most translators (and this is the reason for the emendation) take *mē'ayin* to mean "from nothingness." Since there is an obvious parallel, it is quite possible that '*āpa*' means "vanity," even though it is a *hapax*. If so, it is also possible that ' $p'h$ ' of DST is to be understood as "vanity," and that it is simply a feminine form corresponding to TM masculine form; such changes of gender are by no means rare in the Dead Sea texts. If this is correct, then $\text{š}w'$ of DST should be read $\text{š}\bar{a}w'$ and translated "emptiness."

However, there is still another possibility. Is 41:29 offers an interesting parallel; the texts are:

TM: hēn kullām 'āwen 'epes ma'asēhēm

DSIa: hnh kwlm 'yn w'ps m'syhmh

LXX: eisin gar hoi poiountes humas kai matēn hoi planōntes humas

If it is possible that *mē'ayin* (v. 24) and '*āwen*' (v. 29) have been confused together with the parallel words, then '*āpa*' may be parallel to '*āwen*', "evil, wickedness." Supposing, then, that ' $p'h$ ' and ' p' ' are really the same word, I should read $\text{š}w'$ of DST as "evil, wickedness, villainy" (LXX: *kakourgia*), without insisting on the vocalization of TM in Ps 35:17. Though all of this is quite tentative, it does illustrate the possibility of using these scrolls for the textual criticism of the Bible. Cf. further discussion on Fragments, Plate VIII, 1.

²² Most translators and commentators join these words with the preceding; grammatically it is certainly better to do so, and the sense is much smoother.

²³ In Is 10:18, a supposed infinitive construct of *masas* has the form *m'sōs*; this is the only example of a *qal* form.

²⁴ I follow Cross and Tournay in reading *hifil*; Dupont-Sommer reads *qal* ("be strong") and makes "my soul" subject. It may also be possible to read *qal* and translate "my soul devoted itself (or: held firmly) to thy covenant"; cf. II Ch 31:4.

²⁵ Sukenik fills the lacuna with a *w*.

²⁶ Cf. Ps 9:16; 35:8.

²⁷ Cf. Jer 18:22; Ps 140:6.

²⁸ Sukenik fills the lacuna with a *b*. We should, probably, emend to *bmqlhlym*; so Cross, following Ps 26:12. The same idea occurs in Ps 68:27; here the anomalous *mqlhwot* should be read *b'md q'hillot* (cf. W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIII, I [1950-1951], 30).

²⁹ Sukenik restores 'l immediately before *npsy*; though an ' of the preceding word is visible, it is not possible to make any restoration.

³⁰ This phrase, or its equivalent, appears again in Psalm IV, 3, 5-6; cf. also DSH, II, 1-2; V, 11; X, 9. In the Bible, the root *lyš* is found in *hifil* with the meanings "to deride" (Ps 119:51; Job 16:20) and "to interpret" (Gen 42:23; Job 33:23). From comparison with the passages in DSH, the word has clearly to do with false prophets, false interpreters, false intermediaries.

³¹ Or "who seek (for themselves) flattery," i.e., who look for praise which they do not deserve. I think the parallelism requires the idea of practicing deliberate delusion upon the people (cf. Psalm IV, 6-7).

³² Sukenik fills the lacuna with a *h*.

³³ Cf. DSH, XII, 3, 6-7, 10; Jer 20:13. The idea of the poor man rescued by God is very common in the Bible. The poor man here is the humble man, the friend of God, who is oppressed by the strong.

³⁴ Sukenik transcribes *dmw*, but wishes to emend to *dmy*; this is entirely unnecessary. Lambert makes *dmy*, which he understands to be the same as life, the object of *lhim*; however, his text stopped before line 14.

³⁵ Dupont-Sommer makes the poor man the subject. Despite the word order, I believe that adversaries are the subject of *lspwk*, and that *dmw* is the object.

³⁶ Sukenik restores *lw' yd'*; cf. Psalm I, 3.

³⁷ This shift from the first person to the third is found again in Psalm III, 7-8. It would be possible to read *w* for *y*, but still in the next sentence the shift occurs.

³⁸ These two words are connected in Ps 119:22; Prov 18:3.

³⁹ Same idea as in line 13; cf. note 31 above.

⁴⁰ For this idiomatic meaning of *min*, cf. Ezra 8:22.

⁴¹ The word means properly "majestic," "lordly"; it is used of chieftains and nobles. There may here be a veiled reference to the upper classes in Judaism, who would probably be associated with the Sadducees.

⁴² In TM we find two different forms for this word: *g°dūpāh* (Ez 5:15) and *giddupāh* (Is 51:7; in DSIa *wmgdḫwtm*). The orthography here points to the vocalization found in Isaiah; but cf. *gdwḫpym* in DSD IV, 11; CDC V, 11.

⁴³ This word, from the root *ḥtt*, is found in hifil in Is 9:3, with the meaning "shatter, break," and again in Jer 49:37, with the meaning "dismay, discomfit."

⁴⁴ The phrase is in Prov 10:3. For *hawwāh*, the lexicons give the following meanings: desire, chasm, destruction (Brown-Driver-Briggs); Unfall, was Verderben bringt, Begehren (Gesenius-Buhl). It is often exceedingly difficult to make these meanings fit a text. For example, in Ps 38:13, the word is found in parallel with *mirmōt* as the object of *dibb'ru*; cf. the same type of context in Ps 52:4. In Ps 55:11-12, it is in parallel with 'āwen, 'āmāl, and *mirmāh*. These passages clearly indicate that the word should have something to do with deeds and words; it may also have reference to desires, which are unexpressed words and deeds. In Ugaritic, we find the root *ḥwt* (its vocalization is not absolutely certain), a feminine noun meaning both word and deed (cf. Hebrew *dābār*). It seems practically certain that this is the meaning which ought to be given to *hawwāh* in the places cited; it will also immeasurably improve the sense of Ps 5:10; 52:7.

As for the present passage, deeds and words that cause fear are at least threats. The word will appear again for discussion below. Incidentally, because of the *scriptio plena* of DST, it is apparent that the writer distinguished *hawwāh* from another Masoretic word *hōwāh*; cf. Fragments, Plate VIII, 21, and also DSD IV, 14; DSIa 47:12. I owe these hints to W. F. Albright.

⁴⁵ Same idea again in Psalm IV, 6; Fragments, Plate XII, 1-2.

⁴⁶ The same phrase is found in Is 26:3; DSD IV, 5; VIII, 3.

⁴⁷ In Ec 1:17, a form *hōlēlōt* is found; the word appears several times in Ecclesiastes, but only as a feminine plural, for which Brown-Driver-Briggs construct a feminine singular. As happens in Hebrew, a noun which is masc. sing. may have a plur. of the fem. form. Hence, *ḥull* may be the singular, or it may be a different word with the same meaning. The masculine form appears again in DST, v.g., in Psalm IV, 4.

⁴⁸ This line possibly refers to DSD.

⁴⁹ The same word is found in Is 34:1. Sukenik calls attention to an error of omission in his transcription.

PLATE VIII

¹ This precise combination is not found in the Bible; the two words are used in parallelism in Job 26:6 and in very close connection in Prov 15:11. It very likely indicates the lowest part of Sheol; if it is not equivalent to *'imqê še'ôl* (Prov 9:18), it should be considered in close connection with this idea. The Greek equivalent of *'bdwn* is *apōleia*, and the destroying angel of the Apocalypse, in Greek *Apolluōn*, is named in Hebrew *Abaddōn* (Apoc 9:11). In the Psalms of Solomon (2:31), the proud are brought down to *apōleia aiōnos*. In the Book of Enoch (ch. 22), there is an elaborate description of Sheol, which is divided into a number of hollow places; though no names are mentioned, it is possible that the place where "souls are slain" is Abaddon. Note that in this psalm (line 15) Abaddon is used alone as the terminus for the bursting torrents of Belial.

² In DSD X, 12, God himself is called *rw̄m kbwd*. The use of *'wlm* in the Bible and in these psalms does not imply any strict philosophic idea; it most probably denotes long, enduring existence which began in a remote period and continues in stability into the future. Cf. Lambert, *art. cit.*, pp. 625-26; J. Pedersen, *Israel*, I (Copenhagen, 1926), 491.

³ This form is cohortative (cf. also *w'd'h*) and should imply result or purpose; if the *waw* is merely conjunctive, then a wish or strong assertion, almost the equivalent of a wish, is implied.

⁴ The word means "level place," "table land." The idea is that of an unobstructed land where one is assured of safe, comfortable existence (cf. Ps 26:12; 27:11).

⁵ This expression is found in parallelism with *'ēn mispār* (Job 5:9). It indicates an object which cannot be measured, numbered, searched out. The total picture seems to be that this plain is without limits or obstructions, so that one can roam about "in complete freedom" (Cross).

⁶ The reason for this hope can probably be found in DSD XI, 7-8. To those whom God has chosen, he has given an eternal possession.

⁷ For the meaning of *'pr*, cf. J. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament*, in *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, nos. 5-6 (New Haven, 1948), p. 4.

⁸ Cf. again DSD XI, 8. Another possible translation, based on DSD II, 23 (*l'št 'wlmym*), would be "in accordance with the eternal counsel (plan)." It is not entirely clear whether the psalmist is referring to his actual entrance into the earthly community or to the future life with the blessed. The two passages, noted above, should be compared. It is quite possible that for him there was such close connection between the community on earth and

the community in its heavenly existence, that he could describe one in terms of the other.

⁹ For the idea, cf. Prov 12:8; Ps 51:12.

¹⁰ The word *m'md*, in the sense of "office," "service" is found in the Bible (v.g., I Chron 23:28; II Chron 35:15; Is 22:19) and is very frequent in DSD (v.g., II, 22, 23). To take a stand in one's office or function would be about the equivalent of standing in attendance upon a master or one's fellows.

¹¹ Cross and Dupont-Sommer refer this expression to the angels; Lambert sees in it a designation of those purified from sin. If the passage refers to the present community, then Lambert is right; however, if it is related to DSD XI, 8, then it should be about the equivalent of "sons of heaven," which is found both in this psalm and in DSD, and must mean the dwellers in heaven or the angelic host.

¹² Sukenik restores *byhd*. Perhaps we should translate: "Into the community," i.e., into the sect. The word *yhd* is very frequent in DSD to designate the community of the new covenant.

¹³ Cf. note 11 above.

¹⁴ Cf. DSD XI, 7-8. This image, of course, is drawn from the practice of casting lots. The transition to the meaning of "destiny," controlled, of course, by God, is quite simple.

¹⁵ In Is 11:2, the "spirit of knowledge" is one of the spirits which will come upon the Messiah. I believe, however, that here the connection is with DSD III, 13-IV, 26. Each man has two spirits; one, the spirit of truth (III, 19), guides man to good works.

¹⁶ Or: "In the community"; cf. Psalm I, 11.

¹⁷ Cf. Kelso, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. Note the use of the article here, and its absence from the same phrase in Psalm IV, 25.

¹⁸ The word, probably hofal participle, is not found in the Bible. It is, however, found in Mishnaic Hebrew in the meaning "to knead," and in Syriac and Arabic in the sense of "fashion."

¹⁹ Sukenik restores *m*.

²⁰ Dupont-Sommer translates: "For whom have I worth?"

²¹ The word is found twice in Ps 10; the usual meaning given is "hapless." Because of the parallel with "realm of wickedness" and with "nets of wickedness" (line 9), the reference seems to be to those who are hapless because of evil. The word occurs again in Psalm IV, 21, and clearly denotes the enemies of God's friends. Cf. Lambert's discussion (*art. cit.*, p. 628).

²² The destiny assigned by God.

²³ I take *wgwr* as imperfect of *gwr*, "to dwell." Dupont-Sommer translates: "Thou didst stir the soul of the poor in the midst of"; this seems to be based

on Sukenik's previous reading *wtgws* (*Megillot Genuzot*, I), which certainly formed the basis for the versions of Tournay and Lambert. In his second volume, Sukenik corrected the reading to *wtgwr* and referred to Prov 21:7; this reference, however, is not apt since *y^ogôrēm* means "he will sweep them away."

²⁴ Cf. Ez 22:5. If *rbh* is not a mistake for *rbwt*, then it can be construed as an adverbial accusative.

²⁵ Cf. Plate VII, note 44; it is, of course, possible that we should vocalize *hōwat*, "destruction."

²⁶ The word occurs in Is 14:4, but all commentators emend to *mrhbh*, following the LXX (no epispoudastēs). While the root *rhb* is Semitic and is found in the Bible, I have been unable to find any root *dhb*. Since there is great similarity in the Dead Sea scrolls between *r* and *d*, it may well be that we should read *mrhbh*; on the other hand, since the poem in Is 14 is known to contain Canaanite references, the TM may be perfectly correct in preserving an old word whose meaning escapes us. We shall have to wait for further texts from the Canaanite literature.

²⁷ The questions of time and proper division are difficult. I consider the infinitives to introduce different ideas. Since the first two are followed by an imperfect with *waw* conversive, I refer the time to the past.

²⁸ For the image, cf. Is 19:8.

²⁹ Lambert joins this phrase to "pit," and refers to the Babylonian "land of no return"; cf. the descent of Ishtar to the lower world. The suggestion is very tempting, especially in view of Enoch's description of the fate of souls in hell, "nor shall they be raised from thence." However, I think that the phrase modifies the verb as does the expression immediately following, *sc.*, *l'yn tqwh*.

³⁰ Cf. Plate VII, note 16.

³¹ This phrase is difficult. In Is 28:17, *mišpāt* is set up as the measuring line. Lambert translates: "en vertu du jugement"; he explains judgment as the norm of discrimination. It may be that *mišpāt* here means "condemnation"; the sense would be: When, by letting the cord fall, the time has come for condemnation.

³² The word is not in the Bible; it appears to be related to the root *nik*, "to pour out."

³³ Literally, "those who conceal themselves" (cf. Ps 26:4). Possibly we should take it passively as a synonym for "abandoned," *sc.*, those who are buried and concealed in Sheol. Compare the whole passage with Enoch XXII, 11, 13.

³⁴ The word occurs frequently in DSH and DSD. It need not necessarily

have an eschatological meaning; it generally denotes, at least in this literature, any time appointed or determined by God. The same phrase occurs in CDC I, 5, where the sense has been somewhat obscured.

⁸⁵ I agree with Lambert that there is question of a time of wrath given to Belial to use for destruction. Cf. DSD I, 18, which predicts a time of trial for the members of the sect during the dominion of Belial.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ps 18:6; 116:3.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ps 18:5.

⁸⁸ Sukenik supplies *m* with *ym*. In the Bible, ^a*gappim* is found only in Ezechiel with the meaning "band, army." In later Hebrew, the word is found in the sense of "bank of a river" (Ben Sira 40:16); Sukenik cites two passages from the Talmud. However, it is probably not necessary to have recourse to later Hebrew for this meaning. Besides the fact that Accadian has the word *agappu*, "wing," "sides of a throne," it is possible that the *aleph* is prosthetic and that the root is *gp* or *gpp* (cf. Dan 7:4, 6). If this etymology is correct, then we may already have the word, used with reference to the sea, in Ugaritic; in text 52:30, we find the phrase *gp ym*, which Gordon translates "shore of the deep," and in text 51:VII:36-37, we read *gpt gr* which both Gordon and Ginsberg understand as sides of the mountain. For the texts, cf. C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome, 1947); for the translations, cf. C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949), pp. 59, 36; H. L. Ginsberg in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), p. 135. Cf. the discussion of W. F. Albright, "The North-Canaanite Poems of Al'êyân Ba'al," *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 134, note 175.

⁸⁹ For the connection of fire with water, cf. Psalm I, 7-8; for biblical references, cf. Ps 62:12; Is 43:2.

⁴⁰ The word *plg* means "channel, course of a river"; in the Bible, as here, it is generally plural.

⁴¹ In *Megillot Genuzot*, I, Sukenik read *ytswbw*; in *Megillot Genuzot*, II, he corrected this to the reading given here. The earlier translations of Lambert and Tournay were based on the first reading. In the Bible, the root *swl* means "to roam about, move about quickly"; there is also a nominal form meaning "a scourge, whip." I have tried to combine both meanings here since both fit very well into the context.

⁴² Cf. Plate VII, note 18.

⁴³ Cf. Prov 26:20 for a similar usage which clarifies the meaning.

⁴⁴ The word is not found in the Hebrew Bible, but in the Aramaic sections of Ezra (4:12; 5:16; 6:3). It is probably a loan word into Aramaic from Accadian *ussu*, "foundation."

⁴⁵ On this word, cf. the excellent discussion of Kelso, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 35, 38.

In building the tower of Babel, *hēmār*, "bitumen" was used for *hōmer*, "mortar."

⁴⁶ This form is found in Num 17:3; we may as easily read *rgy'*, used of the vault of heaven, but meaning something spread out, stamped out.

⁴⁷ Cf. Deut 32:22.

⁴⁸ It is probably to be understood as the roots of the mountains; cf. Job 28:9.

⁴⁹ In Is 34:9, the rivers of Edom are to be turned into pitch.

⁵⁰ Cf. Plate VII, note 21. Here, Abaddon is used without Sheol; it must stand for the lowest depths.

⁵¹ In *Megillot Genuzot*, I, Sukenik read *mḥšky*, which in the later volume he corrected to *mḥšby*. Though the manuscript seems clearly to support it, the new reading is unintelligible. Dupont-Sommer translated it: "the creatures . . . endowed with reason" (participle piel of *ḥšb*); but this does not fit the context. In view of Ps 74:20 and DSD IV, 13, I propose to return to the original reading; there may well have been a scribal error.

⁵² In this phrase, *p* of *ršp* is written above the line. Sukenik read *gwršy* and cited as a parallel Job 7:5; Is 57:20, however, would have been a much better parallel. I suggest that we read *gwdšy* and vocalize *gudšē*. The noun is not found in Hebrew, though it is attested in Aramaic with the meaning "clump" (of mud). It belongs to the root *gdš*, "to heap up," from which a nominal form is found in Hebrew, *sc.*, *gadšš*, "a heap, stack." The text in Is would then read: "But the wicked are stacked up like the sea, for it cannot rest; and its waves stack up filth and mire." The image is derived from the effects of earthquake on the waters which pile up debris and mud along the shore.

⁵³ Sukenik supplies *hy*. The form would be nifal participle of *hyh*, a rather unusual form, but one well attested in DSD. According to Brownlee, following Ginsberg, it denotes future time; this could well be the key to our understanding of the whole section of the psalm. Cf. Brownlee's remarks on the nifal participle (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-55).

⁵⁴ Cf. note 51 above.

⁵⁵ I take this to be qal of *r'*; Dupont-Sommer, in keeping with his understanding of *mḥšby* as intelligent creatures, reads *yrw*, hifil of *rw'*, "shout."

⁵⁶ Sukenik restores *dw*.

⁵⁷ For this word used of God, cf. v.g., Ps 18:14.

⁵⁸ Cf. Is 63:15.

⁵⁹ Or: "glorious truth." For *kbwd* meaning "might," cf. Plate X, note 21.

⁶⁰ This may refer to the angels or it may refer to the stars, etc., of the heavens (cf. Gen 2:1).

⁶¹ For the idiom, cf. Jer 12:8. The "voice" is that of thunder.

⁶² Sukenik supplies *w*.

⁶³ The usual phrase for "host" is *šb' mlḥmt*; in II Ch 13:3, we find *gibbôrê mlḥāmāh*.

⁶⁴ These must be the angels; the description here resembles that of the angels in the Apocalypse.

⁶⁵ The phrase is found in Daniel (9:27) and Isaiah (10:23; 28:22); cf. DSD IV, 20. The hendiadys stands for "the completion of what is decreed."

⁶⁶ Equivalent to *l'ôlām*; cf. Ps 19:10.

⁶⁷ Denying the existence of anything similar; this is the proper meaning of *'ps*.

PLATE IX

¹ The translators understand that God has enlightened the face of the psalmist by means of his covenant; however, in the Bible, the instrument is always expressed by the preposition *b̄*. I take *l̄* to mean "in view of, for the purpose of," understanding that God has illumined the psalmist so that he enters the covenant.

² Note the orthography. If this is not a mistake for *'drwškh*, then it may be a poel form, like the Arabic 3rd form. Against this is the fact that in the Bible, *drš* is found only in qal and nifal; cf. also lines 10 and 11, and the spelling *wyšwm'wny* (line 20), which certainly should not be poel.

³ Cf. Hos 6:3, which is generally emended by the commentators.

⁴ Sukenik fills in *l'wrtwm*; cf. line 19 below.

⁵ Sukenik reads: *'mkh mtypy kzb 'mrym*.

⁶ In the Bible, the prepositions used are *'el* (Ps 36:3) and *'al* (Prov 29:5); but in this psalm there is very free use of *l̄*; cf. *l̄* in DSH.

⁷ Sukenik supplies *ht'w*.

⁸ Sukenik fills the lacuna with *rq*.

⁹ Cf. Plate VII, note 47.

¹⁰ Sukenik corrects to *nm'sty*.

¹¹ For the absence of full writing here, cf. DSD V, 11. For the incident, cf. DSH XI, 6.

¹² Milik's translation, "omnes amici . . . fugerunt a me," implies that they separated of their own accord; but *ndḥ* in nifal means "be banished, be driven away."

¹³ If in other places Belial is represented as a personified adversary or as a place, here it seems to mean "destruction," the effects of the workings of Belial. On the activity of the false prophets, cf. Ez 13:1-16.

¹⁴ The syntax is somewhat difficult. The use of the preposition may be due either to the fact that *hlqwt* is to be taken as indefinite, or to an idiomatic extension of it from the verbal construction (cf. line 3 above).

¹⁵ Knowledge played an important role in the life of the community. It is not a question of esoteric learning, but of the truth as opposed to lies and deceit. It is not at all correct to take this tendency as an indication that the sect was gnostic.

¹⁶ A *n* has been omitted; read *lm'n*.

¹⁷ Milik and Dupont-Sommer understand 'l to mean God; I take it as the preposition. Those who have given vinegar to the thirsty now watch them fall into error.

¹⁸ Cf. DSH XI, 4–8. The TM of Hab 2:15 reads *m^eôrêhem*, which the LXX translates as *spêlaia*. The Hebrew word is a *hapax*, and the only reference for the meaning “private parts,” given by Liddell and Scott in their Greek lexicon, is this passage of the LXX. The passage from DSH which comments on this text of Habakkuk certainly understood a reading *mw'dyhm*.

¹⁹ In order that the people be trapped in the nets of the false teachers.

²⁰ Milik and Dupont-Sommer take this as causal.

²¹ Cf. Prov 19:21.

²² Or: “will stand forever.” For the meaning of *nsh*, cf. note 54 below.

²³ Cf. Plate VIII, note 33.

²⁴ Sukenik transcribes *wm[ty] bly'l*, and interprets it as “the men of Belial.” But the photograph plainly shows the reading *wmwł* or *wmył*. Either supply *w* or understand “death such as Belial brings.”

²⁵ Cf. Ps 12:3. It is an expression for hypocrisy.

²⁶ The adversaries in the psalm may possibly be backsliders such as are described in DSD II, 12–17. In the following lines, they are described in the same terms as the “backsliders.”

²⁷ The phrase is found in Deut 29:17; for the spelling *rwš*, cf. Deut 32:32.

²⁸ The phrase is in DSD II, 14.

²⁹ Or: “with idols.” Cf. DSD II, 12, 17.

³⁰ Cf. the same reference to DSD.

³¹ The spelling, here and in line 8, indicates a singular *t'h*. In Is 32:6; Neh 4:2, the TM has the form *tô'âh*.

³² Sukenik reads *blw'g*, and refers to Is 28:11. I do not know why he read the *w*, since in the TM pointing the word is *la'ag*. For a variation on this idea, cf. Fragments Plate XII, 1.

³³ Cf. Is 28:11.

³⁴ Sukenik supplies *šm'w bqwłk*.

³⁵ Literally: "it is not stable, firm, secure." This is nifal participle of *kwn*. This and the following phrase may express in more emphatic terms the "traitor to the truth" of DSD VII, 18.

³⁶ Sukenik reads *hy'h*; but *derek* is generally masculine. For the construction, cf. Jer 5:12. This is the only example of this spelling for the 3rd personal pronoun that we find in these psalms; it is very frequent in DSIA, and it is also found in DSD.

³⁷ Sukenik supplies *k* with *ghwlyhm*. This is the same word which was translated above as "idols."

³⁸ Note the form of the suffix.

³⁹ For the vengeance of God upon the backsliders, cf. DSD II, 14-16; for the curse upon "all the men of Belial's lot," cf. DSD II, 5-9.

⁴⁰ Sukenik supplies *mšp*.

⁴¹ Literally: "who see error." The verb is used of prophetic vision (Is 1:1).

⁴² Sukenik supplies *b*.

⁴³ Cf. Plate VIII, note 66.

⁴⁴ Cf. note 54 below.

⁴⁵ Sukenik supplies *w*.

⁴⁶ For Sukenik's *'t'wddh*, I accept Milik's reading *'t'wrrh*. This and the following form are cohortative.

⁴⁷ Sukenik supplies *dbr*, which as Milik remarks, is not fitted to the context. Milik's own suggestion, *yšsbwny 'sr* is good. I prefer to take *'sr* as introducing *oratio obliqua*.

⁴⁸ This word is extremely difficult. Sukenik believes that it is the singular form of the usual *Urim* and *Tummim*; Dupont-Sommer accepts this and translates it "Destiny," referring to Greek *heimarmenē*. Milik thinks that it may be a dual form *'wrtym* (like *šohorayim* and *'arbayim*) and may mean morning light (cf. Ps 139:12; Est 8:16; Is 26:18); he translates the whole phrase: "et manifestaberis mihi in fortitudine tua mane." Brownlee (*op. cit.*, p. 9) thinks that it may be *'ōrōlēm* for *'ōrōlēm*; but it is hard to see any antecedent of the pronoun in this context. Tournay suggests that the word be divided into *'wr* and *twm* which would mean "perfect light." My own suggestion would be based on Tournay's; taking *l* to be directional (cf. note 1 above), I would translate "toward perfect light." Since, however, all these suggestions are so unconvincing, I have left the word untranslated.

⁴⁹ Sukenik supplies *šym*. This nifal of *dāraš* makes no sense to me; I read *hndrym*, nifal of *nādar*.

⁵⁰ For the phrase cf. Neh 6:2, 11.

⁵¹ Probably a mistake for *wyšmw'wny*. Cf. note 2 above.

⁵² The same word is used absolutely in Ps 5:4, where the sense is difficult.

I have supplied *šulhān* from DSD 4; the covenanters are instructed to invoke God's blessing whenever the table is set. It may be that this table is set up to God within the community in opposition to a table set up by those outside the community, and especially by the particular adversaries who appear in this psalm.

⁵⁸ If this is the heavenly assembly, then the *qdwsym* are the angels; otherwise, they are the members of the new covenant.

⁵⁴ Here *lnšh* is parallel to *lmysrym*, which, as shall be seen below, means "to succeed." In Phoenician, the verb *nšh* is found in the meaning "prevails over." The LXX of II Sam 2:26 translates *lānešah* by *eis to nikos*. The phrase occurs many times in the Bible and is usually rendered "forever." But there are places where the sense is vastly improved by understanding *nšh* as "victory." For example, in Hab 1:4, *w'ld' yēšē' lānešah mišpāt*, does not mean, "judgment never goes forth," but rather "judgment does not emerge victorious." For *nšh* in DSD and a discussion of its meaning, cf. Brownlee, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁵ This word, found in the Bible only in the plural, means "smoothness." It is used in Prov 23:31; Cant 7:10 of the smooth flow of wine, and in Is 26:7 to describe the path of the just man. The smooth path, free from obstacles, is the successful path. In Prov 11:5, the verb *yāšar* is used to describe the path of the righteous man as opposed to that of the wicked, who "will fall because of his wickedness." Compare also Is 40:3; 45:2, 13. It is against the background of these texts that I derive the meaning "success."

⁵⁶ Here the *hkk'ym* are identified with the enemy, who plot against the covenanters.

⁵⁷ Though there is much confusion in the Bible on the infinitive *qal* of *zmm*, the form here is perfectly normal.

⁵⁸ In DSH V, 3-5, God will not destroy his people through the nations, but will give the judgment of all the nations to his elect.

⁵⁹ Or: "in the course of the judgment," "in the course of the chastisement"; cf. DSH V, 4-5.

⁶⁰ These may be the "Many," who figure so prominently in DSD; there it is a term for the members of the community.

⁶¹ This word is found also in DSD IX, 18; XI, 3; DSH VII, 5; CDC III, 18 (where it was misread by Charles and Schechter). It is the equivalent of the Greek *mustērion* (cf. I C 4:1, and many texts in Paul).

⁶² Dupont-Sommer takes *swd* to mean "assembly." I agree with Milik in translating it "secret, counsel."

⁶³ Sukenik corrects *hpl'*, which is unintelligible, to *tpl'*.

⁶⁴ Cf. note 60 above.

⁶⁵ The same idea is found in Psalm I, 5–6.

⁶⁶ It is rare to find *my* used to refer to things; it does, however, when persons are understood or implied.

⁶⁷ Cf. Plate VIII, note 17.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ps 51:7; 58:4.

⁶⁹ We would expect full writing here, *sc.*, *šybh*, if the word is pronounced as Masoretic *šēbāh*.

⁷⁰ I take *yšr* as a verb; Milik takes it as a noun meaning “indolis divinae.” For the use of *yšr* with *rwḥ*, cf. Zech 12:1. I would relate the idea to Ps 51:10. This whole passage is very close to the Christian doctrine of sin and grace. Cf. also DSD II, 6.

⁷¹ The photograph is very difficult to read; Sukenik supplies *r'd wrt* *'hzwny*. Cf. Hos 13:1.

⁷² Cf. Mich 1:4.

⁷³ Cf. DSD I, 25 (restored by Brownlee after CDC XX, 28–29). For this whole passage, cf. DSD I, 21—II, 4.

⁷⁴ Note the parallelism with “wicked.”

⁷⁵ Sukenik supplies *d*.

⁷⁶ For the construction, cf. Lev 26:43.

⁷⁷ This use of *'m* is also found in DSD.

⁷⁸ Sukenik reads *ht'wddy*; for my reading, cf. note 46 above.

⁷⁹ In *hifil*, *hṣq* means “to strengthen”; it is often followed by *b*, in the sense of “take hold,” “sustain.” I would vocalize *m'md* as *mo'omād* (cf. Ps 69:2), and understand it as “standing ground.” Cf. Psalm I, 3.

⁸⁰ Cf. the ordeal under the dominion of Belial in DSD I, 17–18.

⁸¹ Sukenik supplies *ty*.

⁸² Sukenik supplies *wṭḥr 'nw*.

⁸³ Sukenik supplies *lkbwdkh*; cf. Psalm V, 11.

⁸⁴ Not only the universal dominion of God in ruling the world, but also God as the universal cause. This is a flat denial of any exaggerated dualism which would make evil be the creature of some other principle existing apart from God. The psalmist does not attribute evil to God, but he does say that the man, who is evil, comes from God.

⁸⁵ In *hitpael*, *hṣq* means “strengthen oneself,” “use one’s strength.”

⁸⁶ Sukenik supplies *wšdq*.

PLATE X

¹ Cf. DSD XI, 17. The whole psalm bears a striking resemblance to DSD XI, 17–22; cf. Brownlee, *op. cit.*, p. 46; on p. 52, he gives a translation of this psalm.

² The photograph seems to indicate *bḥw.*; Milik's translation supposes *bḥwn.*

³ In the Bible, 'ēpō or 'ēpō', "then," is used especially in interrogative sentences. I think that we have here a confusion of 'p and hw'. For the construction, cf. Ps 24:10.

⁴ There appears to be a play on words. For the meaning of 'dāmāh, cf. Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 4. My translation agrees with Milik's; Brownlee and Dupont-Sommer make different connections.

⁵ Sukenik restores *m'pr*; Brownlee reads *ḥmr* (following DSD XI, 22). I prefer to read *mḥmr*, following Job 33:6.

⁶ I take this as qal perfect passive; the form in Job should be understood in the same way rather than as pual (cf. the lexicons). Brownlee's discussion (*op. cit.*, p. 46, note 39) is entirely beside the point. The verb is well known from Accadian (*tīta iktariš*, "He nipped off clay") and Ugaritic (cf. C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* [Rome, 1947], p. 268). It is a technical term in the Hebrew ceramic vocabulary (cf. Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

⁷ DSD XI, 22 has *tšwqtw.*

⁸ This use of *ky* after a question is found not only in the Bible (v.g., Ps 8:5), but also in the Lachish Letters (II, V). Dupont-Sommer's translation has not taken this into account.

⁹ It is often hard to determine whether *swd* should be translated as "council" or as "counsel, secret." This line is fairly well paralleled in Psalm IV, 23-24.

¹⁰ Sukenik conjectures *gwdlk*; Milik believes that *gburwtkykh* would better fill the space.

¹¹ Cf. Gen 18:27; Ec 3:20.

¹² Cf. DSD XI, 10-11.

¹³ Obviously 'kšyl is a mistake for 'škyl, as all have recognized.

¹⁴ This word, derived from the ceramic vocabulary, is used of God's action in forming man (Gen 2:7), and of the divine activity in framing or pre-ordaining a plan (Is 22:11).

¹⁵ Possibly we should read *lby* or else understand *lb* as the object of *yšrth*. There is abundant biblical support for the use of "heart" as the equivalent of knowledge.

¹⁶ This combination is new. As Brownlee has remarked, *sr* may mean "captain" as well as "prince." In I Ch 24:5, *sārē hā'elōhīm* is parallel to *sārē qōdeš*, and denotes a class of priests; it cannot have direct bearing on our passage. I do not believe that in this psalm the phrase expresses any more than the biblical formulae: 'el 'elām (Dan 11:36); 'elōhē hā'elōhīm (Deut 10:17; Ps 136:2); 'elāh 'elāhīm (Dan 2:47). There is not the slightest

hint of polytheism in the expression. Not only would such an idea be entirely out of place at this stage of Jewish history, but, as W. F. Albright has constantly insisted, even the most polytheistic sounding expressions of the canonical psalms are simply fine literary devices to denote God's supremacy.

In the Sibylline Oracles (I, 17), God is called Prince of the world; in Dan 8:25, he is called *sar sārīm*, and in 8:11, *sar haṣṣābā'* may refer to him. In any case, there is no compelling reason for considering the phrase in this psalm as referring to the angels.

¹⁷ Though in the Bible God is called king and even *melek hakkābōd*, this combination is again new. For the translation "mighty," cf. note 21 below.

¹⁸ The phrase is non-biblical, though it is very close to the expression "God of the spirits of all flesh (Num 16:22). In II Macc 3:24, God is called *ho tōn pneumatōn kai pasēs exousias dunastēs*; we find also that in the pseud-epigraphical Book of Enoch, the phrase "Lord of spirits" is extremely frequent (104 times, according to Charles). It is quite possible that in this psalm we simply have reference to the fact that God has assigned man two spirits, *sc.*, of truth and of perversion, and that he rules over them (cf. DSD III, 13—IV, 26).

¹⁹ This is simply a very apt expression for God's universal dominion; as this psalm and DSD both express it, without God nothing can be accomplished and he is the master of all creation.

²⁰ I take this as nifal; cf. also *ywd'*.

²¹ Instead of the usual translation of the root *kbd* and its derivatives as "glory," I suggest that the word often means "power," "might," "strength." The parallelism in this passage seems to indicate it; in the poem in DSW, we find a like parallel: *qwmh gbwr sbh sbykh 'ys kbwd*. Cf. the discussion of E. Yalon, "Llšwn hmgylwt hgnwzwt," *Sinai*, XIII (1950), p. 284.

²² This idiom is late and confined to Chronicles.

²³ In his Hebrew transcription of the photograph, Sukenik has '*phw*'. It does not appear to me, however, that the *aleph* is any more separated from the *waw* than in the other places where this combination occurs. I believe that we have again a mistake for '*p hw*'; cf. note 3 above. It is also possible that here and in line 2 the author intended '*pw hw*'; cf. Gen 27:33.

²⁴ We should undoubtedly separate *sb* from what follows.

²⁵ Sukenik fills the lacuna with *kwḥ*; for the phrase '*sr kwḥ*' used absolutely, cf. v.g., Dan 10:8.

FRAGMENTS

¹ This form is most probably *qal*, though it might be nifal since *dlt* may be masculine in Neh 13:19. Tournay's translation has not taken account of

the common biblical phrase *sgr b'd*. Since the context of these two lines has not yet been published, we can only make conjectures as to their meaning. They are the conclusion of a psalm which immediately preceded Psalm I on the same page. The lines seem to refer to the final judgment on the forces of evil as described, for example, in the Book of Enoch X, 14-15.

² This phrase is not attested in the Bible nor, as far as I know, in the pseudepigrapha; however, we do find *ša'arē š'ōl* (Is 38:10), probably referring to death. Cf. also Job 38:17; Ps 9:14; 107:18.

³ The reading is certainly *hrwt*. While the word may refer to some preceding feminine noun, I suggest that it refers to female demons just as, in the next line, *kwl rwḥ 'p'h* may refer to male demons. Female demons play an important part in Rabbinical literature, and chief among them is Lilith, known because of popular etymology as the "night hag." In Is 34:14, Lilith is mentioned in connection with satyrs, etc. of the desert. She was almost certainly borrowed from the Babylonians during the Jewish exile; belief in her lasted to a late date among the Mesopotamian Jews. From the description of Lilith in Rabbinical literature, she would appear as a most likely candidate for the title "pregnant with evil." In this Psalm-fragment, we may be on the threshold of the later demonology which developed in Judaism.

⁴ The word occurs frequently in DSD; cf. III, 19 (twice); IV, 9 (*'wlh*).

⁵ For the phrase, cf. Jonah 2:7; it is extremely interesting to find it in parallelism with "gates of the pit."

⁶ Masculine plural forms of *rwḥ* are found in DSD IV, 12 (*rwḥym*); DSD III, 24 (*rwḥy*). If these are male demons, then the masculine form would be quite proper.

⁷ Here *'p'h* is in the clearest parallelism with "evil, perversion." It is hardly possible to separate the phrase from *rwḥ 'wlh* (DSD IV, 9; etc.). Cf. the discussion of this word in Plate VII, note 21. We may add that there would be no difficulty in finding the same word with the meanings "viper" and "evil." In Genesis, the serpent is the power of evil; in Ps 58:5; 140:4, the wickedness of evil doers is compared with the activity of the *nāḥāš*. In the partly mutilated text III Aqht VI:14 from Ugarit (cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 183), the heart of the girl *pḡt* is compared to *btn*, "the serpent," because it is "full of fury."

⁸ For the idea, cf. Mich 5:3; Is 49:5; Ps 81:2; 84:6.

⁹ Note the orthography; the word should be related to Masoretic *hōwāh*. Cf. Plate VII, note 44.

¹⁰ Tournay's restoration *blbby* is very probable.

¹¹ Note again the stress on knowledge, of which the psalmist is the intermediary.

¹² Tournay restores *lkl*.

¹³ Cf. Plate VII, note 45.

¹⁴ The phrase is very close to Psalm IV, 12; cf. Ex 6:12, 30.

¹⁵ This phrase is slightly altered from Is 27:11; the preposition *l* may have been used because the nomen regens is indefinite. After *lh*, there seem to be traces of *s* and *t*, but I am unable to offer any restoration.

¹⁶ This word appears in CDC III, 5, but as masculine (*mšgyhm*); it is also found as masculine in Gen 43:12.