

THEME AND GENRE IN 4Q177 AND ITS SCRIPTURAL SELECTIONS

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4Q177¹ has conventionally been classified as a “thematic pesher,”² or, more recently as “thematic commentary,”³ or “eschatological midrash.”⁴ It is one of a group of Qumranic compositions in which the author cites and interprets biblical texts, applying them to the contemporary experience of his community, which he understands to be living in the eschatological era. Unlike the continuous pesharim, thematic pesharim are not structured as sequential commentaries on a particular

¹ John M. Allegro first pieced together the thirty fragments that he identified as comprising 4Q177, which he labeled 4QCatena A. Cf. John M. Allegro and Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 67–74, Pls. XXIV–XXV. John Strugnell subsequently added four additional fragments, and suggested improvements to Allegro’s readings and reconstructions (“Notes en marge,” 236–48). Annette Steudel re-worked the order of the material in 4Q174 and 4Q177, and argued that the two manuscripts should be regarded as parts of a single composition, which she termed 4QMidrEschat. See George J. Brooke, “From Florilegium or Midrash to Commentary: The Problem of Re/Naming an Adopted Manuscript,” in this volume. Cf. Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (‘Florilegium’) und 4Q177 (‘Catena’) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994). The current discussion will touch upon the relationship between 4Q177 and 4Q174 but is primarily concerned with the composition of 4Q177 itself.

² The term was introduced by Jean Carmignac, “Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisedek,” *RevQ* 7/27 (1969–1971): 343–78. For this classification of 4Q177, see John G. Campbell, “4QCatena A–B (4Q177, 182),” in *The Exegetical Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 45–55, esp. 47–49.

³ See George J. Brooke, “Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 134–57.

⁴ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*. On the general question of taxonomy and nomenclature, see the paper by Brooke in this volume. See also Steudel, “4QMidrEschat—‘A Midrash on Eschatology’ (4Q174 + 4Q177),” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress; Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, March 1991* (Vol. 2; ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 531–41; “Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4QCatena),” *RevQ* 14/55 (1990): 437–81.

biblical text.⁵ Rather, they cite eclectically from a number of texts, purportedly in order to convey a particular theme. In this study, we suggest that the key to identifying the unifying theme of 4Q177 lies in the investigation of the criteria for the selection of biblical verses cited in the text.⁶

In continuous pesher, the biblical feature that influences, or guides, the pesherist in structuring his composition is the structure of the biblical work being interpreted. In thematic pesher, and similar works, there is no single biblical composition exerting such direct control upon the commentator. But might there be an analogous process in which non-continuous exegetical works are shaped by the structure of their biblical base-texts? Certainly an important step in seeking to discern a unifying theme in such a composition is the attempt to identify shared features among the biblical verses cited in the text, and particularly the framing texts.⁷

Standard descriptions of the base-texts in 4Q177 include the observations that the framing texts are taken from Psalms, with subordinate citations deriving from diverse prophetic works and, in one case, from Deuteronomy.⁸ The verses quoted from Psalms in the extant portion of the manuscript can be found listed in the table below. The verses

⁵ On the continuous pesharim, see *inter alia* Maurya P. Horgan 1979, *Pesharim*; Shani L. Berrin, "Pesharim," *EDSS* (2000), 2.644–47; Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

⁶ Hanan Eshel observed that analysis of 11QMelch and 4Q252 proceeded along a similar model, of isolating the cited biblical texts and then seeking their commonalities (personal communication, 2 November 2008). George Brooke discussed the necessity for determining the selection criteria in 4Q177 in his review of Steudel's monograph, "Review: Annette Steudel. *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ('Florilegium') und 4Q177 ('Catena') repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*," *JSJ* 26 (1995): 380–84.

⁷ This is an adaptation of the approach to pesher interpretation advocated in Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004). We aim to be both "holistic and detail-oriented," (cf. *ibid.*, p. 306) and sensitive to "lemma-pesher correspondence," i.e., to attend to the relationship between pesher and its base-text, both at the level of individual lemma-pesher units and on the larger-scale of compositional structure.

⁸ Thus, Brooke, "Thematic Commentaries," 149; *idem*, "Catena," in *EDSS* 1.121–22; Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 60; Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 51.

Table of Primary and Subordinate Citations⁹

4Q177	PSALMS	Non-Psalms
col. a *4Q174 frags. 13–14 ¹⁰	Ps 5:3	
Col. I frags. 5, 6, 8 (= Steudel's Col. VIII)	[Ps 10: ?3] Ps 11:1–2 Ps 12:1	Isa 37:30; Isa 32:7 Micah 2:11 (probable) Isa 27:11 (probable) Isa 22:13 Zech 3:9
Col. II frags. 7, 9, 10, 11, 20, 26 (= Steudel's Col. IX)	Ps 12:7 Ps 13:2–3 Ps 13:5a	Ezek 25:8
Col. III frags. 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 24, 31 (= Steudel's Col. X)	Ps 16:3 Ps 17:1	Deut 7:15; Joel 2:2; Nah 2:11 Hos 5:8
Col. IV frags. 12–13 col. 1 (= Steudel's Col. XI)	Subordinate citation: Ps 6:2–3 Ps 6:4,5	Jer 18:18; Joel 2:20 (Isa 29:23; 35:10/51:11)

quoted from other works, in the subordinate citations, appear in the right-hand column of the table.

Looking at the cited verses from Psalms, it is clear that we are not dealing with a running verse-by-verse pesher. Thus, as stated by Jonathan Campbell, “4QCatena A is unlikely to be a Continuous Pesher on the Psalms in the way that 4QPsalms^a appears to be.”¹¹ It is worth noting, however, that even while 4Q177 differs from 4QPsalms^a (4Q171) in that it does not cite any whole psalm, but only quotes snippets, or even just an initial verse or superscription (similar to the treatment of Psalms 1 and 2 in 4Q174),¹² it is actually more faithfully “consecutive” than 4Q171. In the latter pesher, classified as a continuous pesher, the commentary on Psalm 37 is followed by citation of Psalm 45:1–2, and

⁹ The column numbers follow those found in the edition of Florentino García Martínez, DSSSE 1.362–68; *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 209–11. Steudel's numbering presumes continuity of 4Q177 with 4Q174; cf. n. 1 above.

¹⁰ We propose that the fragmentary citation and interpretation of Psalm 5, currently designated 4Q174 frags. 13–14 may in fact belong to 4Q177, as discussed below.

¹¹ Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 47, following Brooke, “Catena,” 121; Geza Vermes, “Catena A or Midrash on the Psalms (4Q177)” in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. English version, ed. Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986) 3.1:448–49.

¹² 4Q174 III, 14, 18.

the next extant citation is from Psalm 60. In 4Q177, there are successive excerpts from Psalms 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17; it is also likely that a pesher interpretation of Psalm 10 is preserved directly prior to the citation of Psalm 11.¹³

The exploration of the continuity and non-continuity of these and related works is an important enterprise, but one that is beyond our immediate scope. For now, we are interested in the structural unity of 4Q177, through the choice of the above-mentioned psalms, in terms of both sequence and genre. Specifically, we propose that the extant portion of 4Q177 stands together as a commentary on the prayers that are clustered in the initial section of the book of Psalms (according to the arrangements of the Psalms as found in the MT).¹⁴

It is not necessary to enter into intricate form-critical analysis in order to characterize Psalms 3–17. Taking Limburg's entry on Psalms in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* as a representative indicator of general scholarly assessment, we may note that he categorizes the following as individual laments: Psalms 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 17.¹⁵ Psalms 11

¹³ In the first line of col. I. See Brooke, "Catena," 121; Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 49. The composition also includes citations from Psalm 6. Steudel has demonstrated that these citations must come later in the manuscript than the previous columns (on the basis of the physical damage patterns of the extant leather, using the "Stegemann method"); but she has also shown, on the basis of the use of citation formulas, that the quotations from Psalm 6 are subordinate rather than framing texts. Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 142. Devorah Dimant accepts Steudel's characterization of these quotations as subordinate, in her review of Steudel's monograph. Cf. D. Dimant, "Review: Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrange-meinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})*; *Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*," *DSD* 10 (2003): 305–9. Although this explanation of the significance of the citation formula is persuasive, it is worth noting that the specific formula used in the citation of the excerpts from Psalm 6 (in 4Q177 IV, 7), אֲשֶׁר אָמַר, without a conjunctive *waw*, is not common enough to justify definitive conclusions. It could plausibly be used as an introduction to a new primary text, rather than as a segue to a supporting citation. Steudel further believes that 4Q177 contains a quotation of Ps 5:10, between the citations of Psalm 12 and 13, in col. II, 5 (= Steudel's IX, 5), but the words אֵין כִּי do not require this restoration.

¹⁴ There is no evidence from Qumran for any difference in sequence in this section of Psalms. See Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4: XI; Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, "Psalms, Book of," *EDSS* 2.702–10. It has been similarly observed of 4Q179, that "the sequence of the quotations seems to be given by the order of the biblical books (Ex., Num., Dt., and Jos.);" (A. Steudel, "Testimonia," *EDSS* 2.936. See also Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Has-monean State* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 66–67.

¹⁵ James Limburg, "Psalms, Book of," in *ABD* 5.522–36.

and 12 are similar pleas to God for salvation against enemies, and Psalm 16 is considered a “song of confidence,” which resembles the lament and plea in form and content. Of this group, psalms [10],¹⁶ 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17 are represented in 4Q177 in the order in which they appear in Scripture. We further propose to add to this list, by relocating the fragments currently labeled frags. 13 and 14 of 4Q174, and placing them in 4Q177.¹⁷ It is most likely that the three columns we have labeled 1 through 3 are consecutive, as reconstructed by Strugnell,¹⁸ and followed by Annette Steudel,¹⁹ so that Psalms 14 and 15 would not have been represented in the composition.²⁰ This would support the suggestion that the represented psalms are those in which an individual addresses God in the belief that God will hear his prayer and save him from his wicked enemies.

To summarize our evaluation of the use and placement of Psalms in our composition, we have observed that the framing texts of 4Q177 are excerpts from a series of individual prayer psalms, taken from some of Psalms 5 through 17 of the traditional psalter, in the traditional order. The inclusion of Psalm 5 is somewhat speculative. Psalm 6 is cited as well, but out of order, and as a subordinate citation rather than a primary one, as noted above. Our proposal about genre as a selection criterion for the framing texts can stand regardless of the placement of these citations of Psalm 6 in frags. 12–13. It would, however, be smoother for our overall thesis if these fragments could be positioned in accordance with the order of the biblical psalter, or if these subordinate citations could be viewed as secondary re-citations of material that had been cited earlier in the composition. Strugnell had stated that “without doubt” frags. 12–13 belonged earlier in the manuscript, in

¹⁶ See above, n. 13.

¹⁷ See the first row of our table above. Cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 127. The text of these fragments was reconstructed by Strugnell as containing a citation of Ps 5:3 along with eschatological comment. Brooke (241 n. 141), noted that Strugnell (“Notes en marge,” 237), may have already had this placement in mind.

¹⁸ “Notes en marge,” 236–46.

¹⁹ *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 57–80 (though she labels these cols. IX to XI).

²⁰ Psalm 14 is a communal lament and Psalm 15 is a Torah psalm pertaining to Temple liturgy. As such, they would have been out of place, according to our proposed schema. Psalms 7, 9, and 10 could have appeared prior to the extant col. I, which begins with the apparent interpretation of Ps 10:3 and proceeds to a citation from Psalm 11 (Psalm 8, a thanksgiving hymn, is unlikely to have been included.)

keeping with the sequence of Psalms.²¹ Steudel, however, has ruled out this possibility on the basis of the methodology of material reconstruction, firmly placing frags. 12–13 in the final column of the preserved sections of the composition.²² Despite the puzzling placement of the Psalm 6 material, its inclusion in the list of quoted Psalms contributes to the evidence for the use of individual prayers in 4Q177.²³

Sensitivity to the genre of these framing texts, as prayers for salvation from one's enemies, sharpens our understanding of 4Q177 in three ways. It offers insight into (a) the overall structure of the composition, (b) the selection of subordinate citations, and (c) the comments on the individual lemmas. The primary focus of our investigation below is the structure of columns I–III, but we shall also examine column IV, and conclude with some observations about subordinate citations and individual lemma/pesher sections.

²¹ "Avec leur citation de l'incipit du Psaume 6, ils venaient sans doute avant les fragments 5–6" (Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 245). Thus, Edward Cook presents the fragments in sequential order according to the numbering of the biblical psalms, beginning with the citations from Psalm 6 (in Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* [San Francisco: Harper, 1996], 234–7).

²² James C. VanderKam objects to her conclusion in "Review: Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^a,^b): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena^a") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden," CBQ 57 (1995): 576–7.*

After the publication of Steudel's reconstruction in her monograph, Émile Puech suggested an alternative reconstruction for this column, removing Fragment 19 (which contained the lines labeled 1–6) from 4Q177, and placing this fragment in 4Q525 Beatitudes instead. Cf. Émile Puech, "4QBéatitudes," in *Qumran Grotte 4 XVIII* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 115–78, Pl. IX, XIII.

Even with the removal of frag. 19, the damage patterns of the manuscript do not justify a configuration of frags. 12 and 13 that would permit placing these pieces earlier in the manuscript (Steudel, personal communication, 18 June, 2009). The placement of the Psalm 6 material in the composition remains somewhat of a conundrum.

²³ Note that among the fragments of 4QPsalms^a (4Q83), the only preserved text up until ch. 25 is from Ps 5:9–6:4. In his entry on "Catena" in *EDSS* (p. 121), Brooke notes that these fragments appear after Ps 31; however, the subsequent publication of the official edition of this manuscript does not offer any indication of the placement of Pss 5–6 out of sequence, and the fragment containing this text is labeled "frag. 1." There is other material in this manuscript that differs from the sequence of MT, but this concerns later chapters of the Psalms. Cf. "4QPs^a," in DJD XVI, 7–22; Pl. I–II; esp. p. 8. Of the other Psalms manuscripts from Qumran, Psalm 6 appears only in 4QPs^d. This manuscript contains only Ps 5:8–6:1 (ibid. 153–64; Pl. XIX.)

STRUCTURE

The sectarian exegesis of 4Q177 is conveyed in a form that is modeled on the psalms of David used in its composition.²⁴ Examination of the texts cited in 4Q177 indicates that the author saw many similarities between the (then) current situation of his community and the situation ascribed to David in several of the psalms explicated in this text. The central theme of the work can thus be identified more precisely than the usual designation of “eschatological salvation.”²⁵ The theme and the unifying structural focus is trust in divine salvation from persecution, in the manner of an Individual Lament or “Psalm of Confidence” in the Masoretic Psalms. More specifically, there is a discernible sequence in the extant portion of 4Q177 that corresponds to the elements of the individual lament isolated by modern form-critics,²⁶ as follows:

1. ADDRESS (PRAISE) TO GOD / CRY OF DISTRESS
2. COMPLAINT / LAMENT (at times with protestation of innocence)
3. EXPRESSION OF TRUST.
4. REASONS why God should help the one(s) praying (protestation of innocence/acknowledgment of sin accompanied by repentance)
5. [oracle of salvation]
6. VOW to offer PRAISE or SACRIFICE when the petition is heard.
7. [Grateful PRAISE to God.]

²⁴ Compare Flint's proposal that that ascription of Davidic authorship was a primary force in the structure of 11QPs^a. See Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 174, 176, and 193–4.

²⁵ See the characterizations of the content in Brooke, “Catena,” 122; Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie, passim*; Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 45; 51–4; Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 233–4; Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (5th ed.; New York: Penguin, 1998), 504; Jacob Milgrom with Lydia Novakovic, “Catena A (4Q177 = 4QCat^a),” in PTSDSSP 6B.286–303 (the relevant description is on p. 285).

²⁶ Cf. Limburg, “Psalms, Book of,” 531–2; Hermann Gunkel, *Introduction to the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 152–86; Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 176–94; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1, With an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (FOTL 14; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 229–35.

The extant material in 4Q177 follows a sequence that matches the logical formal succession outlined above. Progression in the text has already been noted in previous studies. Thus, Brooke observed that the composition offers “a description of the sequence of events in the last days.”²⁷ He stated that “the running narrative within the interpretation covers the flight of a persecuted community, description of various participants in the last days, a statement of the sure blessings that will be given to the Sons of Light, and the defeat of Belial and the end of his lot.”²⁸ Cook too traced a progression, from a “sketch... [of] the ‘Last Days’ in general terms,” to particular descriptions of the persecution and flight of the righteous, through the perceptions of the author about the time of testing during the flourishing of the wicked, and the assertion that the faithful will ultimately be vindicated in the Last Days.²⁹

The development which these scholars recognized, and which they explained in terms of narrative sequence, is even more effectively understood in formal terms. The author of 4Q177 moves through the conventional elements of the lament, from the Address to God, through descriptive Complaints about the trials of the Community, and their persecution and frustrations, into Expressions of Faith and, probably, Praise.³⁰ Before turning to the text to illustrate this point, it is necessary to clarify two basic premises in our approach. (1) Although we will point out the significance of the specific cited verses, in each case, the Psalm in its entirety is relevant to the adaptation. Our discussion is thus informed by the principle that the original biblical context must be used to understand the new composition, with regard to both the framing-texts and the citations of texts other than Psalms.³¹ (2) The claim

²⁷ “Catena,” 122.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 233–7.

³⁰ Once again, recall that Cook placed frags. 12 and 13, with the citation of Psalm 6, at the start of the preserved section of the manuscript (see n. 6 above). As in the case of the selection criteria for the base-texts, our observations about the structure of 4Q177 would be highly effective with Cook’s arrangement, but they can also stand securely if this material is understood as reflecting subordinate citation later in the composition.

³¹ Esther G. Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85–96; eadem, “Scripture and Prayer in ‘The Words of the Luminaries,’” in *Prayers That Cite Scripture* (ed. James L. Kugel; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Center for Jewish Studies], 2007, 25–41). On evaluating the significance of the larger context of biblical citations and allusions in Qumran texts, see also Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions: Exegesis*

for the adoption of the form of the individual lament pre-supposes a typological adaptation of the biblical base-texts such that the biblical prayers of individual leaders are taken to reflect the experience of the Community.³²

Turning to the text, we begin our survey with the proposed column “a”.³³ The restored citation from Ps 5:3 reflects an **ADDRESS**; a persecuted individual cries out to God.³⁴

in the *Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden. Brill, 2006), 41–55; H. Eshel on 4Q175 (4QTestimonia) in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 80–3. Devorah Dimant proposed succinctly that an implicit quotation “may be defined as a phrase of at least three words, which stems from a specific recognizable context,” (“Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *Mikra; Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* [CRINT II/1], ed. Martin J. Mulder [Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988], 401).

³² On the identification of messianic biblical references as pertaining to the Community, see, for example, CD VII, 16–17, in which the “king” of Amos 5:26 is interpreted as the “congregation”; and 4Q174 I, 19, in which the “anointed one” of Ps 2:2 is interpreted as the plural “chosen ones.” See Joseph Angel, “The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: The Scholarly Contributions of NYU Faculty and Alumni* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See further, John J. Collins, “The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 216–7. In Collins’ view, these examples indicate that the biblical verse is taken “non-messianically”; this is technically accurate, but the appropriations strengthen the Community’s self-perception as the eschatological Elect. Compare Gunkel’s objection that modern scholars tended to misconstrue individual laments as collective, and “universally related the ‘I’ of the complaint songs to the ‘community’,” (*Introduction to the Psalms*, 122).

³³ Our transcription and translation generally follow the versions found in Accordance 8 (roughly corresponding to that of E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 234–37, with some rough adaptations, primarily on the basis of Steudel’s edition and translation (*Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 71–80). The text is provided for utilitarian purposes; no attempt has been made to create an accurate new edition. The official re-edition of the text is under preparation by Annette Steudel and George Brooke.

The Psalms citations are marked by *underlining* in the Hebrew and **bold italics** in the English. Citations from scripture other than psalms are indicated by *italics* in the English.

³⁴ It is possible that Psalms 3 and/or 4 would have been cited as well. Neither of these two psalms are represented in any of the ancient Psalms manuscripts found in the Dead Sea region. Of Psalms 1–89, Flint counts 19 psalms as not being found in these manuscripts. Another five psalms from 90–150 are not represented. (Cf. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 48 n. 139 and 142 n. 21.) Flint surmises that “all or most of the twenty-four ‘missing’ Psalms were most likely included, but these are now lost due to the fragmentary state of most of the scrolls” (idem, 48).

*col. "a" (currently 4Q174 frags. 13–14)
Persecuted individual cries out to God

ADDRESS

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| | יְהוָה | 1 |
| | הַקְשִׁיבָה לְקוֹל שׁוֹעֵי מַלְכִּי וְאֱלֹהֵי כִּיָּא אֵלֵיכָה אֶתְפַּלֵּל... | 2 |
| | הַדְּבַר לְאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים | 3 |
| | ...כִּיָּא הֵמָּה] | 4 |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | °°rw° |
| 2 | <i>He[e]d the sou[nd of my cry, my king and God, for I pray to you</i>
(Ps 5:3) |
| 3 | the word for the end of d[ays] |
| 4 | for they |

In column I, the citations are from the opening verses of Psalm 11 and Psalm 12, as we move to COMPLAINT and expression of TRUST:

*Col. I 4Q177 frags. 5, 6, 8 (= Steudel col. VIII) comment to Ps 10:[3];
 Ps 11:1–2; Ps 12:1*

*Arrogant Speakers of Falsehood oppress the humble ones,
 but they will be destroyed.*

COMPLAINT; Comments: Expression of TRUST

- | | | |
|--|--|----|
| | ...הַהוֹלָלִים אֲשֶׁר יִּ [...] בָּא עַל אַנְשֵׁי הָיְ[חַד] | 1 |
| | ...הַנְּבִיא אֲכֹל הַשְּׁנָה שֶׁפִּיחַ וּבִשְׁנָה הַשְּׁנִית שְׁחִים vac ואֲשֶׁר אִמְרַ | 2 |
| | הַשְּׁפִיחַ הוּא] | |
| | ...הָיָה עַד עַת הַמִּצְרָה [...] אַחֲרֵי כֵן יַעֲמֹד] | 3 |
| | ...כִּיָּא כֹלָם יִלְדִים [...] אֲמָרוּ הַהוֹלָלִים] | 4 |
| | ... כְּתוּב] עֲלֵיהֶם בְּסֵפֶר יִ [שְׁעִיָּה [...] יָא תוֹרַת הָהוּא] | 5 |
| | ...קָרָא לָהֶם כְּאֲשֶׁר [...] הוּא זֶ] מוֹת יַעֲזֹ לַח [בֶּל עֲנוּיִם | 6 |
| | -- בְּאִמְרֵי שְׁקֵר [...] הִלְצוּן אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל. לְמִנְצַחַת לְדוּיד בִּיהוּנָה] חֲסִיתִי | 7 |
| | כִּי הִנֵּה הַרְשָׁעִים יִדְרֹכֹן קֶשֶׁת וַיְכִי <נ> חֲצִים עַ [ל יֵתֵר לִירוֹת בְּמוֹ | 8 |
| | אֶפְל לִישְׂרָי לֵב פִּשְׁרוֹ אֶ] שֶׁר יִנּוּדוֹ אֲנִי] | |
| | ...כֶּצֶ] פֹּר מִמִּקְוָמוֹ וְגַלְ] הַ ... עֲלֵיהֶם] בְּסֵפֶר הַ] | 9 |
| | ... [עַל הָאִשׁ הַלֵּךְ רִיָּה [...] °° °° הִיאָ] | 10 |
| | ... [אֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב עֲלֵיהֶם בְּסֵפֶר [...] חֵד עֲרוּמִי °] | 11 |
| | ... [דְּ [{ר} } אִוְּ] לְמִנְצַחַת עַל הַ [שְׁמִינִית [...] כִּיָּא לֹא עִם °] | 12 |
| | ... [הֵמָּה הָעוֹנָה הַשְּׁמִינִית [...] | 13 |
| | ... [אֶ] שְׁלוֹם אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה דוֹ [...] °] | 14 |
| | ... [הָרוּג בְּקֶר וּשְׁחוּט צוֹאֵן אֶ] כֹּל בֶּשֶׂר וְשִׁתּוֹת יִין | 15 |
| | ... [תִּתְּ הַתּוֹרָה עוֹשֵׂי הַיָּחַד סִיָּה] | 16 |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | ... the <i>boasters</i> who [...] against the men of the Com[munity]... |
| 2 | as it is written in the book of Isaiah the p[rophet], <i>This year eat what grows [by itself, and next year the aftergrowth</i> (Isaiah 37:30)...sa]ys "what grows by itself" is [...] |
| 3 | ... up to the time of refi[ning...] and afterwards shall appear [...] |
| 4 | ... for all of them are children [...] said the boaste[rs]... |

- 5 ...that is written] about them in the book of I[saiah the prophet...for]
the Law of the hw[
- 6 ...]calls them, as [... *He thinks up p]lots to [destroy the humble with
lying words*] (Isa 32:7)
- 7 ...] of scoffing Israe[... *For the leader.] Of David. In the Lord [I take
refuge; how can You say to me, 'Flee to your mountain, bird.' For see
the wicked bend]*
- 8 *bow.] they set their arrow on [the string to shoot from the shadows
at the upright of heart* (Psalm 11:1–2) ...th[at the me[n...] will flee.
- 9 ...like] a bird from its place and th[ey] will be exil[ed...written
about] in the book of the[...]
- 10 ...]it belongs to a man who walks in w[indy, baseless falsehoods.
(Micah 2:10?–11)...
- 11 ...] as is written about them in the book of [... ???
- 12 ...] *For the leader. On the [eighth. A psalm of David* ... (Psalm 12:1)
for it is not a nation of [discernment... (Isa 27:11)
- 13 ...]h^mh the eighth season [...]
- 14 ...there is n[o peace (Jer 6:14; 8:11; Ezek 13:10), that they dw[...]
- 15 ...] *killing cattle and slaughtering sheep, ea[ting meat and drinking
wine ...]* (Isaiah 22:13)....]
- 16 ...]ot of the Law, the doers of the Community so[....]

As noted above, we follow Brooke's suggestion that the initial lines of this column reflect a commentary on Psalm 10, specifically verse 3, which contains the root הלל, found in the first line of this column in the word הוללים.³⁵ In the citations from Psalms 10 and 11, the composition moves to **COMPLAINT**. The citation from Psalm 12 seems to be comprised of the incipit alone. This affords the commentator the opportunity to elaborate upon the Expression of **TRUST**.

At the beginning of this column, we encounter the sort of theological give-and-take that is characteristic of the classic lament, but with a noticeably Qumran twist. In the list of formal elements above, we noted that "protestations of innocence" are often incorporated into the Complaint. Here, in place of that element, which would challenge the justification for his suffering, the author puts forth the theodicy of "the period of refinement," apparently asserting the belief that the suffering itself is an expression of God's intervention on behalf of His Elect.³⁶

³⁵ Ps 10: 3 *בִּי-הֵלֵל רָשָׁע עַל-תְּאֻזּוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ* 3, "The wicked one *boasts* about his unbridled lust." Cf. n. 13 above; Brooke, "Catena," 121; Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 49. The term הוללים appears in line 4 as well.

³⁶ Steudel points to the phrase על (ה) המצרף הבא (ע) as unique to 4QFlor and 4Q177 (*Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 149), but the term מצרף for a period of eschatological testing is found also, e.g., in CD XX, 27 (ימי מצרפותיו) and in 1QS I, 17; VIII, 4.

In the final section of this column, the commentator atomizes the word “eight” from Ps 12:1 to express his own message, which is best understood as an affirmation of trust.³⁷ The term “eight” has a purely technical sense and function in the biblical text, presumably indicating a musical notation (שמינית). The author of 4Q177 apparently takes this word as signaling the anticipated arrival of the final era of Judgment.³⁸ The words העונה השמינית are best understood in light of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*:

After this there will arise an *eighth week* of righteousness, in which a sword will be given to all the righteous to execute righteous judgment on all the wicked, and they will be delivered into their hands. And at its conclusion, they will acquire possessions in righteousness, and the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory for all the generations of eternity.³⁹

At this juncture, our author has taken up the element of Affirmation of Confidence, which is typically at the center of a psalm of individual lament. Atomization enables the author to use Psalm 12:1 to suit his literary purpose, even though it is the opening verse of the psalm. He uses the word “eight” as a springboard for introducing the idea of an eighth week, in which the Elect will triumph over their enemies.

Column II continues the Affirmation of **TRUST**.

4Q177 col. II frags. 7, 9, 10, 11, 20, 26 (= Steudel col. IX)

Ps 12:7; Ps 13: 2–3, 5

A divinely inspired leader will overcome the sophists; faith despite delay; mockery of the wicked

TRUST; REASONS for divine intervention

³⁷ The term “atomization” here denotes interpretation of a word in a manner that is incompatible with its original biblical context. Although atomization ought not be viewed as a fundamental hermeneutic in pesher, it is certainly one of the implements in the exegete’s toolbox. See Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll*, 12–3, 28, 131–3, 140–1, 157.

³⁸ In her commentary on the words העונה השמינית, Steudel notes with a question mark the possible relevance of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, as an alternative to Milik’s association of the use of this phrase here with priestly courses (*Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 88 n. 2; cf. Józef T. Milik, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-resha dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 [1972]: 132–3).

³⁹ 1 Enoch 93:12–13 (= ch. 91) (transl. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: a Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* [Hermenia: a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001], 434). On the significance of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in works found at Qumran, and for bibliography on the eighth week as the beginning of a “meta-historical cycle” in this schema, see Hanan Eshel, “Dibre Hame’orot and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, et al.; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 149–54, esp. 149–50.

- 1 אמרות יהוה אמרות טהרות כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ מזק
שבעתים כאשר כתוב
 2 ...על אבן אחת שבעת עיניים מפ[תחת פתוחה נואם יהוה אשר
 3 ...א]שר עליהם כתוב ורפאתי את
 4 ...כ[...ל אנשי בליעל וכול האספסוף
 5 ...המה דורש התורה כיא אין
 6 ...איש על מצורו בעומדם
 7 ...ם[...המכשילים את בני האור
 8 ...עד אנה יהו[ה] תשכח[ני נצח עד אנה תסת]יר פניכה ממני עד
אנה אשיתה
 9 עצות[בנפשי יגון בלבב י]ומם עד אנה יר[ום אויבי עלי] פשר
הדבר [ע]ל נצח לב אנשי
 10 ...ה[...ת[...ה באחרית הימים כיא[...לבוהנם ולצורפם
 11 ...יהם ברוח וברורים ומזוקק[ים...א]מר פן יאמר אויב
 12 יבלתי...]המה עדת דורשי ח[ל]קות המ[...ד אשר יבקשו לחבל
 13 ...בקנאתמה ובמשטמ[ה...ל פש[...כאשר כתוב בספר יחזקאל
 הנ]ביא
 14 ...]היודה ככול העמ[י]ם[...הימים אשר יקבצו עליה]ם
 15 ...עם צדיק ורשע אויל ופת[י...י] האנשים אשר עבדו אל[הים
 16 ...הם[...רו ערלות לב] [ב]שרם בדור הא[חרון...ו] [וכו]ל אשר
 להמה טמא ול[...]

- 1 *The words of the Lord are pure words, silver refined in an earthen crucible, purged sevenfold.* (Ps 12:7), as it is written,
 2 ...upon a single stone are seven eyes. I am engraving an inscription, declares the Lord (Zech 3:9) that
 3 ...wh]ich it is written concerning them, And I shall heal the
 4 ...a]ll the men of Belial and all the rabble
 5 ...]h^mh the Interpreter of the Torah, for there is no
 6 ...] each man on his watch-tower when they stand
 7 ...]m [...] who causes the Sons of Light to stumble
 8 ... *How long, O Lor[d? Will You forget [me forever? How long will You hi]de Your face from me? How long will I set*
 9 *cares] on my soul, [grief on my] heart [all day]? How long [shall my enemy exult over me?* (Psalm 13:2–3)] The interpretation of the statement concerns the eternity of heart(s) of the men of
 10 in the last days, for [...] to test them and to refine them
 11 [...] their [...] with spirit, and pure and refin[ed...] *Let the enemy say*
 12 *‘I have overcome him...’* (Psalm 13:5)] they are the congregation of the Seekers After Smooth Things *hm*[...] seek to destroy
 13 ...] in their zeal and in th[eir] hatred [...]a]s is written in the book of Ezekiel the pro[phet]...
 14 *Because Moab has said, ‘Behold, the house of] Judah is like all the nations’* (Ezek 25:8). [...]to the Last] Days, when [the...] will gather together against [them ..
 15 ...] with the righteous, but the wicked, foolish and simpl[e...] of the men who have served Go[d...
 16 ...] who have removed the *foreskins of their heart* of flesh in the in the la[st] generation [...] and all that is theirs is unclean and n[ot]...

In col. II, the lemma comes from the end of the psalm, Ps 12:7, which is well-suited to the affirmation of TRUST. The citations from Psalm 13 return to the complaint, and move forward to offer **REASONS**, both for the current suffering and for the anticipated divine salvation. The rationale for the suffering as a time of testing is repeated, and incorporates a statement about the fidelity of the righteous in lines 9 to 11.⁴⁰ In its original context, the reference to the exultation of the enemies in Ps 13:5 (“Lest the enemy say ‘I have overcome him...’”) probably functions as an elaboration of the individual’s plea—the psalmist’s fear that his situation will worsen even further in the absence of divine intervention (continuing the thread in the previous verse, “lest I sleep the sleep of death”). 4Q177 does not seem to adopt this tone of near-despair; lines 11–14 may perhaps adapt the phrase as a statement of incentive, suggesting that one reason for God to save His Community is to prevent the wicked from denying the truth regarding God and the Community, as they are wont to do in their arrogance.⁴¹

Column III appears to offer closure.

4Q177 col. III frags. 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 24, 31 (= Steudel col. X) [13:6?];

Ps 16:3; Ps 17:1

Vow to offer PRAISE; ADDRESS (inclusio?)

... כו? ל דבריהם [...]	1
... וְהִסִּיר יְהוָה מִמֶּנּוּ כָּל חֵלִי לְקִדּוֹ שִׁים אֲשֶׁר בָּא רָץ הָמָה	2
וְאֵינִי כֹל חַפְצִי בָם	3
... נִהַי כְּמוֹהוּ [ולב נמו ו] פִּיק [ב רכים וחלחלה בכול מתנ]	3
... ים]	

⁴⁰ In the biblical psalm, vv. 2 and 3 comprise the address and complaint: “How long, O Lord...?” The author of 4Q177 uses these words to reflect upon the rationale for the prolonged time of trial, to perfect the Community and prove its faithfulness. Cf. 1QpHab VII, 5–14.

⁴¹ Cf. Deut 9:28, “else the country from which you freed us will say (פֶּן יֹאמְרוּ), ‘It was because the Lord was powerless to bring them into the land that He had promised unto them’;” Deut 32:27, “But for fear of the taunts of the foe, their enemies who might misjudge and say (פֶּן יֹאמְרוּ), ‘Our own hand has prevailed; none of this was wrought by the Lord’.” See also Num 14:15–16. There may even be a sort of *gezera shava* in operation in the use of this expression, since פֶּן + יֹאמְרוּ (ו) occurs in only one other verse in the HB besides Ps 13:5, Deut 9:28, and Deut 32:27. See Elieser Slomovic, “Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 7/25 (1969–1971): 5–10, and sources cited there, p. 6 n. 16. The subsequent verses in Deuteronomy 32 read “for they are a folk void of sense, lacking in all discernment; were they wise, they would think about this, gain insight into their future (אַחֲרֵיהֶם)” (vv. 28–29). In CD V, 17, Deut 32:28 is applied to the enemies of the community. Note the similarity of וְאֵין בָּהֶם תְּבוּנָה in Deut 32:28 to Isa 27:11 הוּא בִּינוֹת הוּא, probably cited in 4Q177 I, 2, as a subordinate citation in a comment to Ps 12:1.

- 11 ...] their fathers, according to the number of [their] names, specified by names, for each man o [...] their [y]ears and the period of their position, an[d...]y their tongue [...]
- 12 ...] the descendants of Judah. [And] now, behold, all is written on the tablets that [...] God, and He told him the number of [...]o^t and he will cause them to i[n]herit...
- 13 ...] and to his offspring forever. And he arose from there to go [from Aram]. *Blow the horn in Gibeah* (Hosea 5:8). The “horn” is the [...] book of [the Law...]
- 14 ...] is the book of the second Law that [...] men of his council rejected, and they spoke rebelliously against him and th[ey] sen[t...]
- 15 ...] great [si]gns upon the [...] and Jacob is to stand on the wine-presses and he will rejoice over their downfall[...]
- 16 ...] chosen [...] the men of his council. They are “the sword.” And that which said [...]

It is not clear why Strugnell reconstructed line 1 of this column as pertaining to songs of praise,⁴² but this certainly suits the schema we have been tracing. The final essential element in the individual lament is the Vow to offer **PRAISE** or sacrifice when the petition is heard. Strugnell most likely considered this text to reflect Ps 13:6, the concluding verse of the Psalm:

I, in Your lovingkindness I have trusted; My heart shall rejoice in Your salvation. I will sing to the Lord, for He has dealt bountifully with me

(וְאֲנִי בְחַסְדְּךָ בְּטַחְתִּי יְגַל לְבִי בִישׁוּעָתֶךָ אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה כִּי גָמַל עָלַי)

This song of **PRAISE**, especially if dependent upon 13:6 “I will sing,” as a Vow of Praise, is precisely in place for the conclusion of a lament or song of confidence. The subsequent citation, Ps 16:3, is somewhat obscure; it does not seem to be followed by any direct commentary, but only by two subordinate citations. The function of this text (“To the ho[ly] ones that are] in the la[nd] and the mighty ones in [whom] is all my delight”) seems to be to emphasize the sectarian belief that the exclusive beneficiaries of the anticipated salvation, when God heeds the plea inherent in the lament form, will be the deserving Elect, i.e. the Community. The subsequent citation, Ps 17:1, is once again an **ADDRESS** to God, selected from the beginning of the psalm, “Hear, [O Lord, justice.] Listen to my cry, give ear to [my prayer.]” If our above proposal is correct, and the cycle of Psalms citation and comments that we have surveyed here originally began with Psalm 5, then Psalm 17 pro-

⁴² “Notes en marge,” 237–8; 240.

vides effective closure, in that it echoes the opening words of Psalm 5.⁴³ The cycle does seem to end in this column; after the citation of Ps 17:1, there are no more citations of psalms in this column. The Community has been brought to salvation, and there is a discernible shift in tone from pleas and affirmations to descriptive language.

Although column III completes the cycle we have traced—the creative use of excerpts of individual lament psalms from Psalms 5–17 to construct a commentary with a literary structure based on the form of such a lament—this column is not the end of the manuscript. It is important here to bear in mind observations such as those of Jesper Høgenhaven on 4QTanḥumim and of Moshe Bernstein and Eileen Schuller on 4Q371–373, regarding the need to attenuate our expectations of homogeneity for Qumran compositions.⁴⁴ With this in mind, if the lengthy citation from Psalm 6 in “col. IV” is correctly placed after the citation of Psalm 17, and is indeed a subordinate citation, then it is not integral to creating the structure and framework outlined in the previous columns. Its precise relationship to the preceding material is not entirely clear, but it is noteworthy that col. IV incorporates all the essential elements of the lament:

col. IV 4Q177 frags. 12, 13⁴⁵

persecuted individual cries out to God

ADDRESS; COMPLAINT. Comments: Expression of Trust

- | | |
|---|----|
| [...][תורה מִכֹּחַ] [וְהוּן וְעֵצָה מִחֶכֶם וּדְבָר] מִנְבִּיא | 6 |
| [...][לְאַחֲרִיתָּהּ] [יָמִים] אֲשֶׁר אָמַר דָּוִד יְהוָה אֱל בְּאַפְכָּה | 7 |
| תָּוִן[כִּיחֲנִי] ... [כִּי] אֲמַלְלָא אֲנִי | |
| [...][וְנַפְשִׁי נִבְהַלָּה מֵאֲדָה וְעַתָּה יְהוָה עַד מָתִי חֲוַנְנִי חֲלָצָה | 8 |
| נַפְשִׁי[...][מִיָּמִים עַל] | |
| [...][בִּלְעֵל לְהֵאבִידָמָה בַּחֲרוֹנוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יוֹתִיר לִי] ...[חֲוָה לְבִלְעֵל] | 9 |
| [...][הֵם עַד עֲשָׂרָה צְדִיקִים בְּעִיר כִּיָּא רוּחַ אֲמַתָּה] ...[כִּי] אֵין | 10 |
| [...][מָה וְאַחִיהֶמָּה בַּמַּחֲשָׁבָל בְּלִיעֵל וְיַחֲזֹק עֲלֵיוֹ] ...[חֲוָה] | 11 |

⁴³ If Psalms 3 and 4 were part of this commentary on Psalms, it would be less simple to account for the citation of Psalm 17. It would presumably function as a summary of the preceding Plea for Deliverance even without an inclusio.

⁴⁴ Jesper Høgenhaven, “The Literary Character of 4QTanḥumim,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 99–123, and idem, “4QTanḥumim (4Q176): Between Exegesis and Treatise?” in this volume. Eileen Schuller and Moshe J. Bernstein, “4Q371–373. 4QNarrative and Poetic. Composition a–c” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII. Miscellanea, Part 2* (ed. E. Schuller et al. DJD XXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 151–4.

⁴⁵ The line numbering begins with line 6, to maintain the conventional numbering found in previous publications, before Puech moved frag. 19 to 4QBéatitudes (see above n. 22).

- 12 [...]מלאך אמתו יעזור לכול בני אור מיד בליעל [...] 12
 13 ידיהם[...]...[...ולפזר]ם בארץ ציה ושמה^x היא עת ענות
 המ... 13
 14 כיא ה[...]תמד ידוד ה...[.]° ויד אל הגדולה עמהמה לעוזרם מכול
 רוחו] 14
 15 [...]°אז אל יקדישו שמו ובאו ציון בסמחה וירושלים] 15
 16 [...]ב[ל]יעל לכול אנשי גורלו ו[.]° לעד ונאספו כול בני א[.]°-ור... 16
- 6 [...] *Instruction [shall not fail] from the pr[iest, nor counsel from the sage, nor oracle] from the prophet* (Jer 18:18).
 7 [...] for the Last Days, as David said, **O Lord, do not pu[nish me] in Your anger [...fo]r I languish.**
 8 **Heal me, O Lord, for my bones shake with terror], my soul is stricken with terror. And now, O Lord. How long? Have mercy upon me. Rescue my soul.** (Psalm 6:2–5) [...Latter D]ays about
 9 ...Be]lial to destroy them in his wrath, that he will not leave °[...]^o to Belial
 10 ...Abra]ham up to ten men in the city (cf. Gen 18:32) for the spirit of truth °[...fo]r there is no
 11 [...] and their brothers by the wiles of Belial, and he will strengthen [...
 12 [...] the angel of His truth will help all the children of light from the hand of Belial [...
 13 [...] and to scatter [them] in a dry and desolate land (Joel 2:20). This is the time of (tribulation/response?) hm[...
 14 [...]tmd the °[...]^o will flee and the great hand of God is with them to help them from all spirit[s]....
 15 [...]°of God will sanctify his name (Isa 29:23), and they shall enter Zion with joy (Isa 35:10/51:11) and Jerusalem [...
 16 ...B]el[ia]l and all the men of his lot, [...] forever and all the sons of li[ght] will be gathered [...

The citation in this column includes an ascription of Davidic authorship for the biblical psalm, but his words are taken to reflect the emotions and experience of the Community. The quotation in line 7 again begins with an **ADDRESS** (“O Lord”) from Psalm 6:2, and then moves on to the **COMPLAINT**, including the words “how long.” As in the exegesis of Ps 13:2 in col. ii, these words offer a **REASON** for the suffering, and a rationale for why the community is deserving of redemption. In the text following the citation, the author of 4Q177 moves beyond the complaint to express his **TRUST** in divine salvation and justice.

SUBORDINATE CITATIONS

To this point, we have focused on the Psalms citations as framing-texts for the extant material in 4Q177. Any analysis of the citation of biblical works other than Psalms in this composition must be considered tentative, due to the imperfect state of preservation of the manuscript. The fragmentary state of the document interferes with identification of biblical citations and their functions, and systematic treatment of this material will best be undertaken after the new edition of the text has been produced. Nonetheless, some preliminary remarks are appropriate here, particularly with respect to the function of the non-Psalms citations in light of our proposal that the structure of the work is modeled on individual laments. The use of biblical language is pervasive in this text, as is typical of Qumran compositions, and it is often unclear whether a particular biblical expression should be viewed as simply reflecting the allusive idiom of the commentator, or whether it serves a more formal role as a subordinate citation, or prooftext.⁴⁶ There are, moreover, a number of instances where citation formulas introduce words or phrases that simply cannot be identified with any known biblical text (e.g., col. II, line 3, "...written concerning them, *And I shall heal the...*"). With the above caveats, we have nonetheless produced a preliminary list of cases identified as citations, as found in the table at the beginning of this paper. There is room for some debate, but basically, the criteria for inclusion in this table were either (a) the presence of a quotation formula or identification formula accompanying the biblical expression,⁴⁷ or (b) the length of the expression and the distinctiveness of its terminology.⁴⁸

The texts we will focus upon briefly here are Isa 37:30, Jer 18:18, and Joel 2:20. In col. 1, apparently within a comment on Psalm 10, there is an excerpt from Isa 37:30. This verse is a response to Hezekiah's prayer

⁴⁶ See the sources cited in n. 29, above.

⁴⁷ On the formulas used in 4Q177 to introduce biblical quotations and to introduce interpretive identifications, see Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 129–31.

⁴⁸ Thus we have included Joel 2:20, **בָּאָרֶץ צִיָּה וְשִׁמְמָה** from line 13 of col. IV in the table, even though the verb in 4Q177, **וּלְפִזֹּרָם**, reflects a paraphrase of MT **וְהִדְחִתִּי** rather than a direct quote, since **בָּאָרֶץ צִיָּה וְשִׁמְמָה** is a distinctive collocation and it is followed by the identifying formula **"הִיא"** in **עֲנוּת**.

earlier in the chapter;⁴⁹ it describes the sign given by Isaiah to Hezekiah when Hezekiah receives word from the Rabshakeh that the Assyrians will destroy Jerusalem.⁵⁰ In spite of Hezekiah's record as a good king, he came under the threat of an enemy army. In this situation, Hezekiah acted righteously and turned to the Lord for help and God gave good news to Hezekiah through Isaiah. The introduction to Isaiah's words, in verse 21, reads, "Thus said the Lord, the God of Israel to whom you have prayed..." Thus, the original context of the cited text is a positive divine response to the prayer of a leader.

The citations from Jer 18:18 and Joel 2:20 likewise derive from contexts in which God responds to the prayers of victims of persecution. Jeremiah's prayer begins "Listen to me, O Lord, and take note of what my enemies say" (vs. 19; יריבי...הקשיבה ה' אלי ושמע לקול). This would create an effective inclusio with Psalm 5:3 הקשיב לקול שועי which we have posited as having been cited at the beginning of this section of 4Q177.⁵¹

Joel 2:20 is not the lament of a leader, like David or Jeremiah. It is, however, an excerpt from God's response to the prayer of the nation earlier in the chapter, that was intended as part of a penitential program to obtain God's mercy from before the Gentiles. The response is introduced in verse 19, "In response to His people, the Lord declared" (ויען ה'). I therefore suggest that the phrase עת ענות in line 13, following the phrase from Joel 2:20, may not be related to the time of fasting in 4Q171, as proposed by Strugnell (with the root ענה as affliction),⁵² but rather may be the time of God's response (ענה as response.).⁵³

⁴⁹ On the prayers of Hezekiah and Isaiah, see Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "4Q448, Psalms 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa," *JBL* 119 (2000): 649–50.

⁵⁰ The author of 4Q177 may have attributed particular significance to the "sign" in the biblical context, for this transitional section where the tone shifts to expressions of confidence. Zech 3:9, cited in the comments to Psalm 12 in the following column of 4Q177, also speaks of a sign of the fulfillment of the word of the Lord, in this case about eschatological salvation.

For an analysis of psychological and formal considerations in the transition from lament to hope in biblical psalms, see Yair Hoffman, "The Transition from Despair to Hope in the Individual-Lament Psalms," *Tarbiz* 45:2 (1986): 161–72 (Heb.).

⁵¹ If frags. 12 and 13 were located earlier in the composition, then the connection between the uses of קש"ב in Jeremiah 18 and Psalm 5 would be one of contiguity rather than inclusion.

⁵² 4Q171pPs^a II, 9; III, 3; Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 246.

⁵³ Although it is not a citation, line 5 in frags. 12–13 seems to be an allusion to Abraham's prayer on behalf of the inhabitants of Sodom (Genesis 18). Strugnell had proposed that a common thread in 4Q177 might be its concern with "événements de

The above examples offer an indication of how the subordinate citations in 4Q177 contribute to the flow of the composition as a prayer, particularly that of an “individual” as standing in for the Community. A more comprehensive analysis of the individual citation/interpretation components must await the forthcoming publication of this manuscript in the reworked DJD, as we suggested above. The primary aim of this study has been to demonstrate that 4Q177 reflects a systematic use of biblical psalms as generic models, and that the citations function as formal building blocks in a literary structure, as well as lemmas for interpretation. Like 4Q176 *Tanhumim*, as it has been characterized by Høgenhaven, 4Q177 is not only an exegetical work, but it also has a literary identity of its own. It is more than a catena or commentary, and whether the work as a whole is designated as an eschatological midrash or a thematic pesher (or any mix of the above), cols. I–III ought also be acknowledged as an adaptation of a lament. In these columns, and perhaps in col. IV, the text progresses from Address, through Complaint, and onto affirmation of Trust, and Praise, adapting prayers attributed to historical leaders and applying them to the Community’s perceptions of its experience as situated in the End of Days.

l’histoire plus ancienne,” pointing to references to Abraham (12–13, line 5), Joshua (22), Jacob (frags. 1–4) (“Notes en marge,” 236). The reference to Jacob seems to refer to the nation rather than the patriarch, and the relevance of the reference to Joshua in frag. 22 to this portion of the text is unknown. However, Abraham’s prayer does seem to be directly relevant, as it is a prayer by a leader intending to avert catastrophic retribution, though the context (and God’s response) differ from the other examples here. Adapting Strugnell’s observation, Abraham’s prayer may be added to the evidence of the other biblical texts addressed in this composition, concerning pleas for deliverance, especially prayers by individuals on behalf of the collective.

