

THE ORIGIN OF THE LIST OF DAVID'S SONGS IN "DAVID'S COMPOSITIONS"

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Near the end of the Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs a, XXVII) there appears an exceptional paragraph written in prose that deals with the praises of King David and lists the number of psalms and songs he wrote.¹ This paragraph, known as 'David's Compositions', has been discussed at length in the scholarly literature because of its twofold importance: (a) many scholars have viewed it as a key to the understanding of the origin, the arrangement and the status of the Psalms Scroll in general;² (b) it clearly reflects the solar calendar used by its compilers.³

The list of songs (unlike the number of "psalms": "Psalms three thousand and six hundred" mentioned separately before) which David wrote "to sing before the altar" on the days of the year and on festi-

¹ J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) col. XXVII, 48, 91–93; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) 86–87, 134–135.

² For a bibliography and review of the development of research of this point, see P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 172–201; U. Dahmen, *Psalm- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum* (STDJ 49; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 12–24. I am indebted to Prof. Hanan Eshel for some of the bibliography and for some very useful remarks.

³ For the ramifications regarding the calendar see W. H. Brownlee, "The Significance of 'David's Compositions'," *RevQ* 5 (1964–66) 569–574; B. Z. Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter 11Q Psalms a," *HUCA* 59 (1988) 36–39; D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 193–194; R. T. Beckwith, "The Courses of the Levites and the Eccentric Psalms Scrolls from Qumran," *RevQ* 11 (1982) 504–508; idem, "The Temple Scroll and its Calendar: Their Character and Purpose," *RevQ* 18 (1997) 19; J. A. VanderKam, "Studies on 'David's Compositions' (11QPs a 27:2–11)," *Eretz-Israel* 26 (1999) 212*–220*; S. Talmon, "The Covenanters' Calendar of Holy Seasons According to the List of King David's Compositions in the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs a XXVII)," *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research. Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht* (ed. G. Brin, B. Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2001) 204–219 (Heb.); Dahmen, "Psalmen," 256–257.

vals is that which explicitly links the works of King David and the solar calendar:

[. . .] ויכתוב ההלים שלושה אלפים ושש מאות
 ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח על עולת התמיד לכלול יום ויום לכלול
 ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש מאות; ולקורבן השבתות שנים
 וחמשים שיר; ולקורבן ראשי החודשים ולכול ימי המועדות
 וליום הכפורים שלושים שיר. ויהי כול השיר אשר דבר ששה
 וא[ר]בעים וארבע מאות. ושיר לנגן על הפנעים ארבעה.
 ויהי הכול ארבעת אלפים וחמשים [. . .]

[. . .] And he wrote three thousand six hundred psalms.

And songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all

the days of the year, three hundred sixty-four; and for the *qorban* of the Sabbaths, fifty

two songs; and for the *qorban* of the New Months and for all the Solemn Assemblies

and for the Day of Atonement, thirty songs. And all the songs that he spoke were four

hundred forty-six, and songs for making music over the stricken, four.

And the total was four thousand fifty [. . .]⁴

The fixed, precise number of the days of the year—364, and of the weeks—52, are, as all the scholars dealing with this passage have noted, the unmistakable signs of the solar calendar, with which we are familiar from the *Book of Jubilees*, from the *Book of Heavenly Luminaries* (1 Enoch 72–82) and from indications scattered throughout various Qumran writings.⁵ Since the Psalms Scroll was first published, scholars have disagreed as to the origin of the scroll in general,⁶ and of the “David’s Songs” paragraph in particular. Some have felt that the scroll was initiated within the Qumran *Yahad* sect, while others assumed that it originated in a period prior to the creation of this sect, in broader Jewish circles, who also relied on the solar calendar.⁷ However,

⁴ The translation was done by Sanders, “The Psalms Scroll,” 92. For details of the commentary on the passage in light of the solar calendar and for the nature of the “stricken,” see the literature adduced in the notes above. The number of New Months, of festive days and the Day of Atonement will be discussed below.

⁵ For a general summary and for a bibliography relating to this calendar and its sources, see S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, “Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot,” in S. Talmon, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001) 1–36.

⁶ There exists a basic disagreement concerning the nature and purpose of the Scroll as well: a canonical volume or a liturgical anthology; see note 2 above, but this discussion goes beyond the limits of my present study.

⁷ For a detailed review of the various opinions, see mainly Flint, “Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls.”

it was generally accepted that the compiler of “David’s Compositions” was an adherent of the solar calendar and that a significant motive for the initial compilation of the list of “songs” included in “David’s Compositions” was a desire to attribute this calendar to King David himself, and perhaps even to God, for “all these [David] spoke through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.”⁸ Accordingly, in discussing the composition of the list of dates on which these songs were sung before the altar—the days of the year, Sabbaths, New Months, Solemn Assemblies and the Day of Atonement—scholars proposed explanations and pointed out parallels from works based on the solar calendar, mainly from the literature of Qumran. Shemaryahu Talmon compared our list with a fragmented Qumran text from the *Book of Jubilees*: [על הארץ] לימי [ים] . . . [ויתן השמש לאות נד] ול [שבתות ולחדשים ולמועדים . . .] [. . . He appointed the sun as a gre]at [sign above the earth] for day[s], for [Sa]bbaths, for [months,] [for Festivals . . .]” (*Jub.* 2:9, 4Q216 VI 7–8).⁹ This passage, however, does not deal either with liturgy or with worship, but rather with the creation of the luminaries, and is clearly modeled after the language of the Bible in Genesis 1:14. The verse from the *Book of Jubilees* goes on to mention “Sabbaths” (i.e., seven-year cycles) and jubilees, thus distancing it even more from the present context. The separate mention of the Day of Atonement in the list of songs was also interpreted by Talmon in light of the special importance of this day in the life of the sect, as expressed in their calendar dispute with “the evil priest” and his men.¹⁰ Most scholars have also attempted to interpret the number “thirty” following the list of the New Months, the Solemn Assemblies and the Day of Atonement on the basis of the solar calendar of the Temple Scroll¹¹ with its additional dates, such as the Days of Ordination (*Milu'im*) and the festivals of new wine and fresh oil.¹² Simple arithmetic shows, however, that if we subtract from the total of “thirty” the twelve New Months and the Day of Atonement,

⁸ Sanders, “The Psalms Scroll,” 92, line 11. See VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David’s Compositions’” 214*.

⁹ Talmon, “The Covenanters’ Calendar,” 211–212. The translation according to J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, “216. 4QJubilees a,” in H. Attridge, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 17.

¹⁰ Talmon, “The Covenanters’ Calendar,” 208–209.

¹¹ Some also made use of other calendrical fragments from Qumran.

¹² Thus Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter;” Beckwith, “The Courses of the Levites;” Talmon, “The Covenanters’ Calendar,” and see also below.

the seventeen festive days remaining do not suffice to include all the Biblical and non-Biblical festivals listed in the Temple Scroll and in other passages originating in Qumran.¹³ Though there are differences between the lists of Solemn Assemblies proposed by Shemaryahu Talmon and Roger Beckwith, these two scholars arrived at their solution by assuming, *inter alia*, that the Interim Days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread and of the Festival of Tabernacles, listed in the Temple Scroll, were not included in the festive days of the list of David's songs.¹⁴ Furthermore, Talmon assumed, without providing a reasoned explanation, that the Festival of the Wood Offering, which was offered up for six days, and the annual Days of Ordination, lasting seven days, were included in the present list as only a single day each.¹⁵ In contrast, Beckwith included in his list the six days of the Wood Offering and the dates of the Wine and Oil Festivals listed in the Temple Scroll, while omitting entirely the Days of Ordination appearing there. Ben Zion Wacholder allocated a single sacrifice to all the New Months, and to this he added another sacrifice for the first day of the first month, the springtime New Year of the sect.¹⁶ It is apparent that none of these lists is really satisfactory, all being based on arbitrary selection and omission. William Brownlee and Daniel Falk have proposed identical lists including only Biblical dates.¹⁷

¹³ According to VanderKam's calculation (VanderKam, "Studies on 'David's Compositions'," 218*), the complete list of festivals in the Temple Scroll includes 48 days!

¹⁴ Beckwith, "The Temple Scroll and its Calendar" (yet it should be noted that in his earlier article ["The Courses of the Levites," 505] he presented a different list, one that included Biblical dates only); Talmon, "The Covenanters' Calendar," 204 note 4, and he also omits the eighth day of solemn assembly (the day following the seventh day of the Festival of Tabernacles).

¹⁵ Talmon, "The Covenanters' Calendar," 213–214.

¹⁶ Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter" 39. For a comprehensive review of the various systems proposed see VanderKam, "Studies on 'David's Compositions,'" and Talmon, "The Covenanters' Calendar."

¹⁷ Brownlee, "The Significance of 'David's Compositions,'" Falk, "Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers," 193. Beckwith, "The Courses of the Levites," 505, too, included in his list only biblical dates, but he counted the seven days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread and omitted the Festival of Passover, instead of which he counts the New Year. But, as noted above, he changed his mind later on (see note 14). A similar position was held also by Safrai and Flusser, D. Flusser and S. Safrai, "A Fragment of the Songs of David and Qumran" (Hebrew), *Te'uda* 2 (1982) 101, note 6 (= D. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period, Qumran and Apocalypticism* [ed. S. Ruzer; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2002] 225, note 6 [Heb.]).

12 songs for the twelve New Months;
 1 song for the Passover sacrifice;
 7 songs for the days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread;
 1 song for the Festival of Pentecost;
 8 songs for the days of the Festival of Tabernacles;
 1 song for the Day of Atonement

Total: 30 songs

This list is less artificial than its predecessors, and was termed “appealing” by VanderKam.¹⁸ Its deficiency, however, lies in the fact that it includes Biblical dates only, thus omitting the dates characterizing the sectarian solar calendar, which seem imperative in light of the 364 days of the year and the 52 Sabbaths noted so explicitly beforehand. Yet another difficulty, as noted by Talmon, is the omission of the Day of Remembrance, the first day of the seventh month, from the proposed list.¹⁹ In this situation it would seem that VanderKam’s conclusion should be adopted:

The varied lists show that there is insufficient information in ‘David’s Compositions’ to identify the thirty festivals. While it is understandable that scholars have tried to associate the total with biblical festivals and with the new ones from the Temple Scroll, no one has identified a convincing set of them.²⁰

The purpose of this article is to introduce a new possible solution to the problem of the list of festivals. Moreover, this proposal appears to illuminate in a fresh way the general question regarding the sources upon which the compiler of the list of “David’s Songs” relied. In order to do this we shall begin with a review of the history of the singing of songs in the Temple.

The singing of psalms accompanied by the playing of various instruments in the Temple is an ancient custom, already mentioned in the Bible. The Book of Chronicles describes this singing and playing of music while the Ark of the Covenant was being brought into Jerusalem in the days of King David:

He appointed Levites to minister before the Ark of the Lord, to invoke, to praise, and to extol the Lord God of Israel: [. . .] with harps and lyres, and Asaph sounding the cymbals, and Benaiah and Jahaziel the priests, with trumpets, regularly before the Ark of the Covenant of God. Then, on that day, David first commissioned Asaph and his kinsmen to give praise to the Lord: Praise the Lord, call on His name; proclaim His deeds among the peoples . . . (1 Chr. 16:4–8)²¹

¹⁸ VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David’s Compositions’,” 218*.

¹⁹ Talmon, “The Covenanters’ Calendar,” 211.

²⁰ VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David’s Compositions’,” 218*.

²¹ Bible translations are according to the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh* (Philadelphia: the Jewish Publication Society, 1999), with slight alterations.

The function of the Levites was “to invoke, to praise, and to extol.” The nature of this praise is explained in verses 8–36 of the chapter, which constitute a psalm paralleling a number of psalms in the Book of Psalms. The singing of these psalms was accompanied by the Levites playing on harps, lyres and cymbals, while the priests blew trumpets. From the end of the chapter it would seem that David ordered the Levites to continue “to minister before the Ark regularly, as each day required” (16:37) and to continue singing songs of praise to the Lord and to play their instruments while the Priests were offering up the *tamid* burnt-offering (verses 39–42).²²

In the narrative of the dedication of the Temple in the days of Solomon, as well (2 Chr. 5), the Levites are described as playing on cymbals, on harps and on lyres all together (קול אחד — “in unison”, verse 5:13), with the priests, who blew trumpets. This polyphonic music accompanied the Levites’ recital of certain Psalms, here called הלל ליהוה, “praise of the Lord.” The verse הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו, “Praise the Lord, for He is good, His steadfast love is eternal,” is cited thereafter in part from those psalms. Similar descriptions are to be found in the celebration of the purification of the Temple by Hezekiah (2 Chr. 29:25–30) and in the celebration of the laying of the foundation of the Second Temple (Ezra 3:10–11). The singing of the Levites is mentioned together with the trumpet blowing by the priests in the description of the offering-up of the *tamid* in the Temple in the Book of Ben Sira,²³ and a similar description appears in an early *mishnah*:

Whenever the High Priest wanted to burn a sacrifice he would go up on the ramp [. . .] They would give him wine to pour as a libation. The deputy would stand on the horn with the cloths in his hand, and two priests would stand on the table of the fats with two silver trumpets in their hands. They would blow a long blast, then short blasts and then another long blast, and then come and stand alongside Ben Arza, one on his right and the other on his left. [The High Priest] would bend over to pour [the libation], the deputy would wave the cloths, and Ben Arza would strike the cymbals and the Levites would speak out in song [. . .] (*m. Tamid* 7:3)

According to the Mishnah, the Levites used to sing immediately after the priests blew the trumpets. Both these acts took place while the *tamid* offering was being sacrificed on the altar. Another *mishnah* defines precisely the number of musical instruments and the number of Levites that used to play them.²⁴ However, the ancient, entrenched

²² See also 1 Chr. 15:16–21; 25:1–7.

²³ Ben Sira 50:16–18; see below.

²⁴ *M. Arak.* 2:3–6; see also *m. Mid.* 2:6; *m. Šeqal.* 5:1.

custom of singing and playing music over a sacrifice has no basis in the Pentateuch. The Torah ordains the blowing of trumpets only:

וביום שמחתכם ובמועדיכם ובראשי חדשיכם ותקעתם
בחצצרת על עלתיכם ועל זבחי שלמיכם והיו לכם לזכרון לפני אלהיכם אני ייוד
אלהיכם

And on your joyous occasions—your fixed festivals and new moon days—you shall sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and your sacrifices of well-being. They shall be a reminder of you before your God: I, the Lord, am your God (Num. 10:10).

However, neither in this verse nor in any other place in the Five Books of Moses is there mention of playing other musical instruments or singing during the sacrificial process; furthermore, this role is not listed in the Pentateuch as one of the functions of the Levites. This fact was well known to the compiler of the Book of Chronicles when he described the celebration of the purification of the Temple in the days of Hezekiah:

“He stationed the Levites in the House of the Lord with cymbals and harps and lyres, as David and Gad the king’s seer and Nathan the prophet had ordained, for the ordinance was by the Lord through His prophets. And the Levites were in place with the instruments of David, and the priests with their trumpets” (2 Chr. 29:25–26).

From these verses one can detect a sharp awareness of the fact that while the blowing of trumpet indeed had a source in the Torah, the playing of musical instruments by the Levites was based on a commandment of David and the prophets, and had no source in the Pentateuch. Moreover, the trumpets were to be blown by the priests, while the musical instruments, known as “the instruments of David” were to be played by the Levites. This distinction is maintained by the Sages as well. The trumpets were blown by the priests (*m. Tamid* 7:3), while the musical instruments were played by the Levites (*m. Mid.* 2:6) and perhaps even by Israelites or the servants of the priests (*m. ‘Arak.* 2:4).²⁵ In the book of Ben Sira, too, the custom of playing music

²⁵ According to the Mishnah (*m. ‘Arak.* 2:6), the sages disagreed as to whether the players of the instruments were only Levites, Israelite nobility or even the slaves of priests. The commentators wonder whether the Mishnah meant that the playing of all the instruments—lyres, harps and cymbals—while the sacrifice was being offered up was permitted to non-Levites as well, or whether the dispute referred to “the flute of sacrifice,” a flute added to the other instruments on only twelve days each year; cf. C. Albeck, *סדר קדשים*, ששה סדרי משנה, סדר קדשים (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1959) 401.

before the altar is attributed to a ruling by David and not to a commandment in the Torah: "Music of stringed instruments he ordained before the altar, and set the singing of psalms to harps, he gave comeliness to the feasts and set in order the seasons throughout the year" (Ben Sira 47:9–10).²⁶

The link created by the author of "David's Compositions" between King David and the custom of singing before the altar becomes quite lucid against this background.²⁷ The lack of an explicit source for the singing of the Levites is especially prominent in light of the artificial effort made by the Sages to locate just such a source. The midrashic attempts made by *tannaim* and *amoraim* reveal something of the exegetical distress felt regarding the lack of pentateuchal verses dealing with the liturgical role of the Levites:

"They shall discharge their duties to you and to the Tent as a whole [but they must not have any contact with the furnishings of the Shrine or with the altar, lest both they and you die]" (Numbers 18:3)—[. . .] R. Nathan says: from this verse there is an indication of the song from the Torah [i.e. the words of the verse: "both they and you" teach that the Torah here gives the command concerning the function of the Levites, just as it gives the order concerning the function of the priests. The priests should serve in the Sanctuary, whereas the Levites should sing],²⁸ but it was clarified by Ezra [in the days of Ezra, the "Levites, sons of Asaf, with cymbals, were stationed to give praise to the Lord"²⁹]. R. Hananiah, son of the brother of R. Yehoshua, says: There is no need to interpret it in this way, for it has already been said: "As Moses spoke, God answered him in thunder [literally: "בְּקוֹל" . . . in a voice]" (Exodus 19:19)—from this verse there is an indication of the song [i.e. the obligation to sing before the altar] from the Torah". [R. Hananiah interprets the words: "God answered him in a voice" as implying that God commanded Moses that the voice of singing should be heard in the Temple] (Sifre Num. 116)³⁰

²⁶ Translation according to R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Volume 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 496, with slight alterations.

²⁷ See S. Talmon, "Hebrew Apocryphal Psalms from Qumran," *Tarbiz* 35 (1966) 216 note 10 (Heb.).

²⁸ This homily is adduced in the name of the *amora* R. Yonathan in *b. Arak*. 11b in the following way: "'lest both they and you die'—just as you at the service of the altar, so they, too, at the service of the altar." In other words, this verse indicates that the role of the Levites—singing—is considered to be "service of the altar," exactly like the role of the priests.

²⁹ See Ezra 3:10.

³⁰ (ed. H. S. Horowitz; Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1996, 132). In *b. Arak*. 11b the version of Hananiah, son of the brother of R. Yehoshua is as follows: "God answered him in a voice"—[God spoke to Moses] of matters concerning voice.

“He may serve in the name of the Lord” (Deut. 18:7)—What service is in the name of the Lord?—This is song. From this verse we learn that the Levites used to recite song over the sacrifices (Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 18:7.)³¹

In summary: this short review shows that the reciting of psalms while offering up burnt offerings in the Temple is indeed an ancient custom, rooted in the biblical period. This recital was accompanied by the playing of lyres, harps and cymbals. The Levites recited the psalms and played their musical instruments immediately after the blowing of the trumpets by the priests. However, while the trumpet blowing is prescribed explicitly in the Bible, the psalm recital and musical accompaniment on the other instruments lack a Torah source, and thus were ascribed from early times to a ruling by King David, to whom the authorship of the psalms themselves is also attributed. Nevertheless, in the writings of the Sages there was clearly exerted a creative effort to attribute the song of the Levites to Torah verses as well, in various ways.

It appears reasonable to assume that the biblical verse most desired to serve as a source for this song is the verse that commands the trumpets to be sounded, the trumpet blowing so close in substance and in time to the song of the Levites: “And on your joyous occasions—your fixed festivals and new moon days—you shall sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and your sacrifices of well-being. They shall be a reminder of you before your God: I, the Lord, am your God” (Numbers 10:10). It is indeed possible to show that the Qumran sect itself did in fact attribute the singing and the playing of musical instruments in the Temple to this verse. A fragmented *halakhic* passage dealing with *Shabbat* prohibitions reads:

אל יקה איש [לשנרר ב] גם הכוהנים בני
 על השגלות והזבחים אשר []³²

³¹ (ed. D. Z. Hoffmann; Berlin: 1908–1909, 109). This homily, too, has a parallel in *b. Arak.* 11a–b. This whole discussion in the Talmud reflects some doubt as to the status of the Levite’s singing, whether it is to be considered a ritual like the altar ritual and whether it is a *sine qua non* for offering up the sacrifice. The *sugya* contains no less than ten separate attempts to anchor the singing of the Levites in some biblical source.

³² This passage is adduced and translated, and the completion suggested, in accordance with the new reading proposed by Elisha Qimron and Vered Noam (see below). The passage results from combining 4Q264a (cf. J. Baumgarten, “264a. 4Qhalakha B” in J. M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* [DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999] 54) with 4Q421 8+2+13 (cf. T. Elgvin, “421 4Q Ways of Righteousness b” in T. Elgvin et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part I* [DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997] 194, 200). The 4Q421 fragment was first misin-

Let no man take [*vacat*] to play on [*vacat*] also the priests, the sons of [*vacat*] over the burnt-offerings and the sacrifices, which [*vacat*].

The preservation of this *halakha* is indeed only partial, yet the parts that survive suffice for our purposes. The subject of the section containing this *halakha* is Sabbath restrictions. The restriction affecting the “man” is thus shown to relate to Sabbath. The restriction is expressed in the words אַל יִקַּח “let no man take,” and the infinitive accompanying it is לְשׂוֹרֵר “to play (music).” Thus, the first lacuna should be completed by כּוֹל כְּלֵי שִׁיר “any musical instrument” or the like. It follows logically from the use of the word גַּם “also” before dealing with the priests, that they, too, were forbidden “to take” musical instruments “to play on them” on Sabbath.³³ The restriction affecting the priests, however, does not involve playing music in one’s private domain, but rather ritual music in the Temple “over the burnt-offerings and the sacrifices.” The musical instruments intended here are undoubtedly the lyres, the harps and the cymbals, and not the trumpets, for the writer of the passage uses the root שִׁיר. This root in the Bible relates exclusively to the singers and players of lyres, harps and cymbals (מְשׂוֹרְרִים), while the users of the trumpets are always described as “blowers”, “trumpeters”—מְחַצְרִים—מְרִיעִים, תּוֹקְעִים.³⁴ Thus, for example:

terpreted as a fragment of a sapiential composition and the connection between its three fragments (2, 8, 13), like its paralleling fragment 264a that deals with laws of Sabbath, was not recognized. For the combining and re-reading of the two fragments as parallel fragments dealing with the laws of Sabbath, see L. Doering, *Schabbat, Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (TSAJ 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) 217–18; and also E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “Sabbath Halakha and Worship in 4QWays of Righteousness: 4Q421 11 and 13+2+8 par 4Q264a 1–2,” *RevQ* 18 (1998) 359–72. Baumgarten, “264a. 4Qhalakha B”, in publishing the parallel fragment 264a, accepted most of the emendations of Tigchelaar, with slight changes. For Tigchelaar’s reservations on Baumgarten’s reconstruction of fragment 264a, see E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “More on 4Q264a (4Qhalakha A or 4Qways of Righteousness?),” *RevQ* 19 (2000) 453–56. For his proposed reconstruction see there, 454. For a new reconstruction of the entire passage and its interpretation, see V. Noam and E. Qimron, “New Shabbat Laws from Qumran and the Study of Ancient Halakha” (Hebrew), forthcoming.

³³ Similar uses of אַל are commonplace in the Bible and in the Scrolls. See for example Ex. 19:10, followed by 19:22; Lev. 25:45; Joel 3:1–2; Zech. 13:2; CD 16:13–14. I am indebted to Prof. Elisha Qimron for this note.

³⁴ The fact that this passage does not deal with trumpets but rather with other musical instruments is clear, too, from the very *halakha* that it expresses. Here the playing of instruments over sacrifices was forbidden on the Sabbath day; however, when dealing with trumpets, blowing them on the Sabbath day is permitted—according

והלויים המשררים [...] במצלותים ובנבלים וכנרות עמדים מזרח
למזבה ועמדם כהנים למאה ועשרים מחצרים בחצצרות. ויהי
כאחד למחצרים למשררים להשמיע קול אחד להלל ולהדות
לידוד

The Levite singers [...] holding cymbals, harps, and lyres, were standing to the east of the altar, and with them were a hundred and twenty priests who blew trumpets—The trumpeters and the singers joined in unison to praise and extol the Lord (2 Chr. 5:12–13).

וכל עם הארץ שמה ותוקע בחצצרות והמשררים בכלי השיר
ומודיעים להלל

... and all the people of the land rejoicing, and blowing trumpets; and the singers with musical instruments leading the hymns (2 Chr. 23:13).

Now, the words על העולות והזבחים and the sacrifices,” attested in both copies of the Qumran Sabbath passage, undoubtedly rely on the trumpets verse in Numbers 10:10: ותקעתם and בהצצרת על עלהיכם ועל זבחי שלמיכם, “And on your joyous occasions—your fixed festivals and new moon days—you shall sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and your sacrifices of well-being.” It thus seems that in the Qumran writings the playing of other musical instruments in the Temple is seen as stemming from the verse prescribing the blowing of the trumpets. It is interesting to note that Maimonides, too, combined the list of occasions when the priests blow the trumpets and the Levites sing and drew both of these from Numbers 10:10, the verse that mentions trumpets:

On all the days of festivities and on new months the priests would blow the trumpets while the offering was being sacrificed, and the Levites would sing, in accordance with the verse: “And on your joyous occasions—your fixed festivals and new moon days—you shall sound the trumpets. . . .”³⁵

The verse requires the blowing of trumpets “on all the days of festivities and on new months,” but goes into no further detail. A tannaitic *midrash halakha* relating to this verse elaborates on this comprehen-

to the halakhic system of the Qumran sect! In the fragments of the War Scroll discovered in Cave 4 (4Q493) mention is made of the הצצרות השבתות “the Sabbath trumpets” in the context of the *tamid* and burnt-offerings. See M. Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 49–53; J. Baumgarten, “The Sabbath Trumpets in 4Q493 Mc,” *RevQ* 12 (1987) 555–59. The distinction proposed in this paper between trumpets and other musical instruments resolves Baumgarten’s puzzlement (Baumgarten, “264a. 4Qhalakha B,” 54–55) and renders his interpretation of the halakhic passage unnecessary.

³⁵ Laws of the Temple Vessels 3:5.

sive definition, and lists all the days on which the blowing of trumpets over the sacrifices was obligatory:

ביום, זה יום טוב, וביום, זה יום השבת, וביום, זה יום הכפורים.
 שמוחכם, אלו הרגלים, מועדיכם, אלו התמידים. כשאמר:
 "ומועדיכם", רבה כל תמיד ותמיד. ובראשי חדשיכם, אלו
 ראשי חדשים. וראשי חדשיכם, רבה ראש השנה

"On your joyous occasions" (literally: "And on the day of your gladness").

"The day"—refers to a festive day,

"And on the day"—this means the day of Sabbath;

"And on the day"—this refers to the Day of Atonement;

"Of your gladness"—these are the days of pilgrim-festivals;

"On your fixed festivals" (literally: "and on your fixed festivals")—these are the *tamid* burnt-offerings.

When the Torah says: "and on your fixed festivals" it includes every single *tamid*.

"And new moon days"—these are the New Months;

"And new moon days"—to include Rosh Ha-Shana³⁶

The *midrash* expands the short list in the verse, and for this purpose makes use of a technique characteristic of the school of R. Akiva, to which it belongs, a system that views the *waw conjunctive* and the prepositional letters as hinting at the expanded application of the *halakha*. The exegetist learns from the *beth* and the *waw conjunctive* of the word **וביום** that the trumpets are blown on Sabbath and on the Day of Atonement, applications of the *halakha* not expressed explicitly in the verse. Since he has already explained that the word **שמוחכם** indicates the three pilgrim festivals, he was able to relate the word **ובמועדיכם** to the weekday *tamid* burnt-offerings. This is clearly an expansion of the plain meaning of the verse, which deals only with "fixed festivals" and New Months. The added *waw* at the beginning of the word **ובמועדיכם** is used to incorporate "each and every *tamid*." The intention of the writer of the *midrash* seems to have been to include the Sabbath *tamid* for trumpet blowing as well. But for our purposes the most important of all these is the irrepressible similarity between the Qumran "list of David's songs" and this homily. The following table compares the list of days requiring song from the Psalms Scroll with that of the homily from Sifri Zuta, not according to the original order.

³⁶ *Sifre Num. Zuta* 10:10 (ed. H. S. Horovitz; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1996, 262). For a parallel, less detailed homily, see *Sifre Num.* 77 (ibid., 71).

Sifri Zuta to Numbers 10:10

"The List of David's Songs"

וביום שמחתכם ובמועדיכם ובראשי חדשיכם
ותקעתם בחצצרות על עולותיכם ועל זבחי
שלמיכם

מועדיכם—אלו התמידים
כשאמר: "ומועדיכם", רבה כל תמיד ותמיד
ביום—זה יום השבת
ובראשי חדשיכם—אלו ראשי החדשים
ביום—זה יום טוב [שמחתכם, אלו הרגלים]
וביום—זה יום הכפורים
וראשי חדשיכם—רבה ראש השנה

ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח

על עולת התמיד
לכול יום ויום לכול ימי השנה. . .
ולקורבן השבתות. . .
ולקורבן ראשי החודשים
ולכול ימי המועדות
וליום הכפורים. . .

"And on your joyous occasions, your fixed festivals and new moon days"

"On your fixed festivals"—these are the *tamid* burnt-offerings.

When the Torah says: "*and* on your fixed festivals" it includes every single *tamid*.

"*And on the day*"—this means the day of Sabbath;

"*And new moon days*"—these are the New Months;

"*The day*"—refers to a festive day, ["Of your gladness"—these are the days of pilgrim-festivals;]

"*And on the day*"—this refers to the Day of Atonement;

"*And new moon days*"—to include Rosh Ha-Shana

And songs to sing before the altar . . .

over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering

every day, for all the days of the year . . .

and for the *qorban* of the Sabbaths . . .

and for the *qorban* of the New Months

and for all the Solemn Assemblies

and for the Day of Atonement

The lists are surprisingly similar, with two differences: (a) the *midrash* links itself to the biblical verse, and the order of days in it depends upon the order in which they appear in the verse, while the Qumran list is arranged in accordance with the principle that "the more frequent the occasion, the earlier in the list it appears:"³⁷ the daily *tamid*, the Sabbaths, the new months, festive occasions, the Day of Atonement; (b) the *midrash* also refers to *Rosh Ha-Shana*, the new year, which does not occur in "David's Songs".

As we have already seen, the *midrash halakha* "inserts" into the verse, forcibly, sacrifices and occasions not referred to in it at all. In other words: the *midrash* was striving to adapt to the verse from

³⁷ See, for example, *b. Ber.* 51b and parallels.

Numbers an existing list of days and occasions already in use, a list independent of the simple interpretation of this verse, and perhaps actually contradictory to it. It would seem that this list of days is an ancient Temple regulation denoting the days on which the priests would blow their trumpets. Anyone aware of the sacrificial rituals in the Temple knew, automatically, that together with the trumpet-blowing, psalms were sung to the accompaniment of other musical instruments:

Then the sons of Aaron sounded
 With the trumpets of beaten work
 They sounded and caused a mighty blast to be heard
 For a remembrance before the Most High.
 All flesh hasted together
 And fell upon their faces to the earth
 To worship before the Most High,
 Before the Holy One of Israel
 And the sound of the song was heard
 And over the multitude they made sweet melody (Ben Sira 50:16–18).³⁸

Accordingly, this list denotes also the days over whose sacrifices psalms are sung in the Temple. The list has been linked with the verse in Numbers 10:10, as we learn from the *midrash halakha*. Yet it may have existed separately as well, as an independent list, under the heading of the days on which the sacrifices offered up on them require both blowing (trumpets) and singing.³⁹ It probably included all daily *tamid* offerings, the Sabbath offerings, and a group of festive days. This list was not originally compiled within the context of a solar calendar, but merely reflected the biblical dates. Thus the number “thirty” in the supposed original list had reflected perfectly the festive days according to the biblical calendar: the New Months (12), the New

³⁸ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, 510. See, too, *m. Tamid* 7:3 cited above.

³⁹ This is the place for a bold hypothesis. Maimonides' words cited *supra*, בִּימֵי הַמּוֹעֲדוֹת כּוֹלָם וּבְרֵאשֵׁי הַדְּשִׁים הָיוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים הוֹקְעִים בַּחֲצוֹצְרוֹת בְּשֶׁתַּת הַקְּבִירִין וְהַלּוּיִם אוֹמְרִין שִׁירָה, הַמּוֹעֲדוֹת כּוֹלָם וּבְרֵאשֵׁי הַדְּשִׁים הָיוּ שְׂמֹחִים וּבְמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם וּבְרֵאשֵׁי הַדְּשִׁים וְהִקְעַתֶּם בַּחֲצוֹצְרוֹת, have no clear source. It somewhat resembles the homilies in *Sifre* and in *Sifre Zuta*, but is not identical to them. In known tannaitic or amoraic literature there is no explicit attempt made to link the singing of the Levites with the verses mentioning the trumpets, but rather with other verses. The unique expression בִּימֵי הַמּוֹעֲדוֹת כּוֹלָם, “on all the days of festivities,” too, has no identifiable source in this literature, and it is exceptional with regard to the language of Maimonides himself. Yet it is surprisingly similar to the wording of “The List of David’s Songs”: וְלִכְלֵל יְמֵי הַמּוֹעֲדוֹת—“and for all the Solemn Assemblies”—is it then possible that Maimonides preserves here an ancient, lost *midrash halakha* with which he was familiar and which also is reflected in the wording of the List of David’s Songs?

Year (1), the Day of Atonement (1), the festival of Unleavened Bread (7), the festival of Pentecost (1) and the festival of Tabernacles (8), quite similarly to Brownlee and Falk's theory concerning the Qumranic List of David's Songs. Needless to say that this *halakhic* passage was never intended to serve as a summary of the literary works of King David, but rather as a practical ruling concerning Temple ritual. The writer of "David's Compositions," an enthusiastic adherent of the solar calendar and an equally enthusiastic admirer of King David, strove to aggrandize the number of David's works and at the same time to bring evidence from them in favor of the solar calendar which he himself followed. He was aware, as were the compilers of the Book of Chronicles and of the Book of Ben Sira, that the Psalms themselves, as well as the ruling to recite them over the sacrifices in the Temple, were ascribed to King David. He thus made use of the ancient list of days on which the sacrifices offered up were to be accompanied by singing in the Temple, and transformed it into a component of the enormous, imaginary number of David's compositions. To the days of the year and the Sabbath days mentioned in this ancient *halakha* he added their number according to the solar calendar (364 and 52, respectively). Yet it would seem that the original number of festive occasions and of New Months, which was perhaps noted in the original list, was preserved, and so it still reflects the biblical list of festive occasions. This list was copied by the sectarian author with but a single change. The ancient list included "Rosh Ha-Shana". The compiler of "David's Songs," in whose system the first of the seventh month did not denote the New Year, but was rather designated only as "a memorial proclaimed with blast of trumpets," after Lev. 23:24, preferred not to mention it separately, but rather to include it amongst the New Months.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See the Temple Scroll 25:2–10; of the spring New Year according to this calendar cf. 14:9–18. We do not know when exactly the First of Tishri was initially nominated also the New Year, Rosh Ha-Shana, and whether it was designated so in the original list. For the First of Tishri as the opening of the agricultural year and as a day of judgment and enthronement in biblical times see S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 1.106–92; L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (Lund: Gleerups, 1979), 101–24. For the significance of the festival in several Qumran literary units see Elgvin's assumption, T. Elgvin, "Qumran and the Roots of the Rosh Hashanah Liturgy," *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden. Boston: Brill, 1997) 49–67.

This hypothesis solves another difficulty in the “David’s Compositions” as well, a difficulty clearly expressed by Ben-Zion Wacholder: “The separation of the *shirim* from the 3,600 *tehillim* implies that they were distinct from the compositions that made up the so-called *tehillim rab-bati*. The reason for this distinction is unclear. [. . .]. Does this imply that psalms from the *tehillim* could not be used in the liturgy? One hardly thinks so [. . .].”⁴¹ The current paper suggests a simple solution: the separation between all the psalms and the “List of David’s Songs” stems from the simple fact that the compiler made use of an existing, separate list whose purpose was halakhic-ritual, and which was never linked originally in any way with the number of David’s compositions.

If this hypothesis is correct, we have become familiar with yet another type of source which served the author of “David’s Compositions,” as well as the way in which it was processed and integrated into the new context he had created.⁴² Furthermore, it contributes evidence to the existence of an ancient joint treasure from which both tannaitic *halakha* and sectarian works used to draw.

⁴¹ Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 36. See his proposal to solve this problem, and the literature adduced in note 52.

⁴² May this conclusion also serve as an additional consideration in favor of the proto-Qumranic origin of the Psalms Scroll in general?