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GRACE AFTER MEALS IN QUMRAN

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The so-called *Bārāki napšī* hymns, found in the fourth cave of Qumran, to be published soon in the DJD series, consist of six scrolls: 4Q434 to 439. Usually they open with the phrase *bārāki napšī*, “Bless, O my soul,” and they contain praises to God for the salvation of the pious and for giving them a pure heart that will keep them away from temptation and enable them to understand the divine secrets. Compare, for example, 4Q434: “Bless, O my [soul], the Lord, for all his wonders . . . , and let his name be blessed because he saved the poor . . . and did not forget the trouble of the needy . . . he opened their eyes to see his ways . . . and circumcised the foreskins of their heart . . . and revealed to them the message of peace and truth. . . .”

ברכי [נפשי] את אדוני על כל נפלאותיו . . .
וכרוך שמו כי הציל נפש אביון . . .
ולא שכח צרת דלים . . .
ויפקח עיניהם לראות את דרכיו . . .
וימול עורלות לבם . . .
ויגל להם תורות שלום ואמת

Among the fragments ascribed to 4Q434 material was found (frag. 2 [PAM 43.513]) that has nothing to do with hymns and in fact, as we shall see, constitutes a blessing after the meal at the mourner's house. The existence of such a liturgical practice at Qumran has been suggested by me on a previous occasion in an analysis of a passage from 4QDeutⁿ (the so-called All Souls scroll)¹ containing Deut 8:5–10, which mentions blessing God after eating from the bounty of the good land. The appearance of this passage as a separate unit next to Deut 5:1–6:1—that is, the Decalogue and its frame, so often copied at Qumran—has not found any explanation. It seems therefore

¹ See S. A. White, “A Critical Edition of seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDt^a; 4QDt^b; 4QDt^c; 4QDt^d; 4QDt^e; 4QDt^f; 4QDt^g; 4QDt^h and 4QDtⁿ” (diss., Harvard University, 1990; see also her article “4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins, Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* [ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; New York/London: University Press of America, 1990] 13–20).

that the function of this passage, like the function of the Decalogue next to it, is liturgical, since it serves as the basis for the grace after meals in Judaism. What we have, then, in 4QDeutⁿ is a scroll for a liturgical purpose: the recital of the Decalogue, next to the blessing after meals.

The affinity of the Decalogue (and *Shema*) with the blessing after meals may be explained by the common meal (*agapē*) which followed the prayer.² This custom is reflected in the epistle of Pliny the Younger to Trajan (10.96) about the group of Christians who used to get up before dawn (like the Essenes; see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.8.5 §128–29); after their singing of hymns (a kind of *pēsūkê de-Zimrâ*),³ they recited a *sacramentum* (that is, the pledge of the Decalogue) not to steal, not to commit adultery, and so on, and then assembled to partake of food.⁴ At any rate, the morning prayer, which contains the Decalogue with the *Shema* and the blessing after meals, represents the liturgical order of the day, and this is reflected in the All Souls Scroll (4QDeutⁿ).

Another scroll of the same nature is 4QDeut^j, recently investigated by J. Duncan.⁵ There we find material from Deuteronomy 5–6 (= Decalogue and *Shema*); 11; Exodus 12–13; Deut 8:5–10; and Deuteronomy 32. Now, all this material belongs to Jewish liturgical practice. The phylacteries found at Qumran⁶ contain the Decalogue (Deuteronomy 5), the *Shema* (Deut 6:4–9), *wēhāyâ 'im šāmōa'* (Deut 11:13–21), sections that contain injunctions about educating children, and the phylacteries in Exodus 13—the so-called *parashiyot* of *Qaddesh* (vv. 1–10) and *wēhāyâ kî yēbî'ākā* (vv. 11–16).⁷ Deut 8:5–10 reflects, as shown above, the grace after meals, whereas Deuteronomy 32 is known as a liturgical text used to be recited by the Levites in the Temple on the sabbath (*b. Roš Haš.* 31a; *y. Meg.* 3:6, 74b). Deuteronomy 32 was also recited at the Temple service of the *Ma'amādôt*.⁸ The so-called *ma'amād*

² For the connection of *agapē* with the communal religious meals in Pharisaic Judaism, see G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History: In the Times of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud* (Israel: Hakibutz Hameuchad, 1957) 1. 288 (Hebrew).

³ The recital of Psalms in the morning prayers can be traced back to Ben Sira and the Qumran sect; see M. Weinfeld, "Traces of *Kedushat Yošer* and *Pesukei de-Zimrah* in Qumran Literature," *Tarbiz* 45 (1976) 16–26.

⁴ See M. Weinfeld, "The Uniqueness of the Decalogue and its Place in Jewish Tradition," in *The Ten Commandments in History and Tradition* (ed. B. Z. Segal and G. Levi; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1990) 31–32.

⁵ J. Duncan, "A Critical Edition of Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Qumran Cave IV: 4QDt^b, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^h, 4QDtⁱ, 4QDt^k, 4QDt^l" (diss., Harvard University, 1989).

⁶ See J. T. Milik, *Qumran Grotte 4: II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums 4Q128–4Q157* (DJD 6/2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 48–85; see also Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran: (XQ Phyl 1–4)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Shrine of the Book, 1970) 44, pl. XX.

⁷ See *Mechilta D'Rabbi Ismael: Peshā* (ed. H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin; Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1970) 66 sec. 17; *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (ed. L. Finkelstein; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969) 63 sec. 35.

⁸ See E. E. Urbach, "*Mishmarot* and *Ma'amadot*," *Tarbiz* 42 (1973) 304–27. The Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 was divided into seven sections for the seven days of the week. These

constituted a group of representatives designated to accompany the daily services of the Temple with prayers.

For our purpose it is now clear that Deut 8:5–10 stands out as an autonomous text in two scrolls of Qumran, 4QDeutⁿ and 4QDeut^j, undoubtedly because of its liturgical function: the blessing after meals. That Deut 8:5–10 served a liturgical function may be learned from the vacant line between v. 8 and v. 9 in 4QDeutⁿ. H. Stegemann, who first edited this text, was surprised by the *vacat* between the two verses (see photo appended here) and did not know how to explain it.⁹ An explanation can now be given in the light of rabbinic divergences concerning the duty of the blessing after meals based on the reading of these verses.

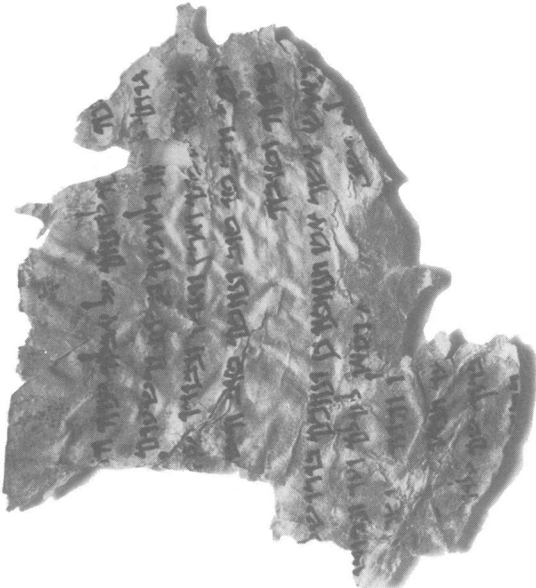
There existed a division of opinion among the Tannaim whether one should recite the three mandatory benedictions after food (for the food, for the land, and for Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty) only after eating bread, or whether it was necessary to recite the benedictions also after eating the fruits with which the land of Israel was blessed (*m. Ber.* 6:8). According to R. Gamaliel, the commandment “and you shall eat and be satisfied and you shall bless” (*w'klt wšb't wbrkt* (Deut 8:10) refers to all of the seven species of the blessed land mentioned prior to it in 8:8 and not only to “bread” (*lhm*) mentioned in v. 9. But according to the sages, the word “land” (*'rš*) in v. 9 interrupts the sequence (*hypsqq h'nyn*), and therefore the benediction mentioned in v. 10 refers only to the word “land,” which is connected to “bread” in v. 9 (cf. *b. Ber.* 44a). Now the space of one line between the words “a land of wheat and barley, of vines etc.” (v. 8) and the verse “a land where you may eat bread without stint” (v. 9) can be explained only against the background of this difference of opinion among the sages. The scribe of this scroll wished to make it known that the blessing in v. 10 belonged to the section in which bread is mentioned and not to the fruits mentioned in v. 8. According to the conventional halakah, after wine and the other fruits of the land one has to bless God with a short blessing (*m'yn šlš*) but is not obliged to recite the full blessings as after the meal containing bread.

But the discovery of fragment 4Q434, frag. 2 (PAM 43.513) adduces clear evidence about the existence of the grace after meals at Qumran, not only in general cases but even in the specific case at the house of the mourner.

As is well known, the blessings after meals were supplemented with special liturgies in both cases: the mourner's house (*b. Ber.* 46b) and the bridegroom's house (*b. Ketub.* 8ab). Indeed, in frag. 2 of 4Q434 we find not only the elements of the grace after meals that according to the rabbis are

formed an acrostic—*hzyw lk* = “the glory is yours”: *h'zynw* (v. 1), *zkr* (v. 7), *yrkbhw* (v. 13), *wyr'* (v. 19), *lw* (v. 29), *ky* (v. 40).

⁹ H. Stegemann, “Weitere Stücke von 4Q Psalm 37, von 4Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus Deuteronomium,” *RevQ* 6 (1967) 193–227.



Transcription

[	1	[כהן]	זֶה לַחֲנָם עַל אֲכֵלָה עֲנִיָּה הִ']	1
[חדיש	2		נִיִּים לְשִׁחַת וְלֹאֻמִּים יִכְרִי' וְרִשְׁעִים]	2
	3	כַּעַד אֲשֶׁר מִחֶם	מַעֲשֵׂי שָׁמַיִם וְאָרֶץ וַיִּנְיֹלוּ וַיִּכְבְּדוּ מִלֹּאן כָּל הָאָרֶץ	3
[ם לאכול	4		יִכְפַּר רֹבֵב { מו' } טוֹב יִנְחָמֶם טוֹב הַשֶּׁ']	4
<i>vacat</i>]	5		פְּרִיָּה וְטוֹבָה <i>vacat</i>	5
	6	כַּחֲתָן]	כִּיֹּא כִסָּא לְעוֹלָם יַעֲד וַיִּכְבְּדוּ]	6
[וכל גוים	7		לְעוֹלָם יִשְׁכְּוֹן	7
[יִם יְוָ]	8		] ]	8
[יִ אֲבִרְכָה אֹתָ	9		] ]	9
<i>vacat</i>]	10		] ]	10
[חסוד עלי	11		] ]	11
[לחורה הכנותה	12		] ]	12
[יִ סִכְר חִיקִיד	13		] ]	13

Translation

1. []°kh[]kh to be comforted for the poor in mourning h°[]
2. to [de]stroy peoples and cut down nations and wicked °[] renew
3. the works of heaven and earth and let them rejoice, and his glory to fill[all the earth] to atone [for] their [guil]t.
4. And the one abounding in goodness (God) will comfort. Goodness hš°[]°m to eat
5. its fruit and goodness. *vacat*
6. as a mother comforts her son, so will he comfort them with Jerusa[em as a bridegroom] on a bride
7. will dwell[forever]er [fo]r his throne forever and until his glory y°[] and all peoples
8. []lw and it was bw šb[]ym and their desirable []and
9. []'d glor[y] s[]d I will bless
10. []Blessed be the name of the highe[st] vacat
11. [] Bless[]your grace upon me
12. []for the Torah you established
13. []k the book of your laws

mandatory but even the specific formulas applying to the mourner. The text is fragmentary, but sufficient phrases were preserved in order to identify its nature.

Notes to the Text

Line 1. להנחם על אכלה עניה. Cf. Isa 54:11; 'nyh . . . l' nḥmh. The term 'blh applied to Jerusalem, not found in the Bible, is attested in the prayers of mourning for the ninth of Ab in *y. Ber.* 4:3.8a: rḥm . . . 'l yrwšlym . . . w'l h'yr h'blh, "have mercy . . . upon Jerusalem . . . upon the city in mourning."

Line 2. For the parallel of gwym and l'mym, see Isa 34:4; 43:9; Ps 2:1; 44:3, 15; 149:7.

Line 3. כי הנני בורא חדש מעשי שמים וארץ ויגילו. Cf. Isa 65:17-18: כי הנני בורא חדש מעשי שמים וארץ חדשה . . . ויגילו עדי עד "for behold, I am creating a new heaven and a new earth . . . rejoice forever."

Lines 3-4. [בעד אשמתם יכפר]. Cf. 1QS 9:4: לכפר על אשמת פשע; 1QM frag. 2:13: לכפר אשמה.

Line 4. ורב טוב ינחמם. The word rb in the expression רב טוב appears in the Bible as an attribute of טוב = vast bounty (Isa 63:7; Ps 31:20; 145:7; Neh 9:35). Here, however, it is applied to God, the possessor of bounty: "great in goodness," like רב חסד, "great in kindness" (Exod 34:6; Num 14:18; and parallels).

Lines 4-5. לאכול פריה וטובה. Cf. Jer 2:7; Neh 9:36.

Line 6. על כלה [בחתן]. Cf. Isa 62:5; cf. 61:10.

Lines 6-7. עליה [לעולם ישכון]. Cf. Deut 33:12: ydyd YHWH yškn lbth 'lyw, "beloved of the Lord, he dwells securely on him"; other instances have: "dwell in" (škn b . . . l'wlm, Ezek 43:9; 1 Chr 23:25, wyškn byrwšlm l'wlm).

Line 7. כסאו לעולם ועד. Cf. 2 Sam 7:16; Ps 45:7; Prov 29:14; 1 Chr 17:14 in reference to the king; cf. Ps 93:2; Lam 5:19 in reference to God.

Line 10. ברוך שם עליון. Cf. šm 'l 'lywn in 11QBer 1-2; see A. S. van der Woude, "Ein neuer Segensspruch aus Qumran (11QBer)," in *Bibel und Qumran* (ed. S. Wagner; Berlin: Evangelische Haupt Bibelgesellschaft, 1968) 252-58. See the review by J. Strugnell in *RB* 77 (1970) 267-68.

Line 12. לחורה הכינוחה. The verb hkyn in Qumran literature implies creation; see 1QH 1:14, 20; 1QS 3:15-16.

The text opens with consolation of the poor mourner (להנחם על אכלה . . . עניה), having in mind Jerusalem in its mourning. The most important common element in the Qumran fragment and in the conventional Jewish grace after meals in the mourner's house is the verse from Isa 66:13: "as a mother comforts her son so I will comfort Jerusalem." This verse appears both in the conventional Jewish blessings¹⁰ after meals at the mourner's

¹⁰ See *Seder R. Amram Gaon* (ed. D. S. Goldschmidt; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1971) 187-88 par. 158 (Hebrew).

house and in the Qumran passage discussed here. In the Qumran text the consolation of Jerusalem is juxtaposed with the joy of the bridegroom with his bride. Similarly in the Jewish conventional liturgy, the Benediction of Jerusalem at Blessings of Marriage overlaps the Benediction at the Blessing of the Mourner's House. In both cases the conclusion of the third blessing was "Blessed be YHWH . . . who consoles his people in his city."¹¹ This is rooted in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah (49:19–21; 61:2–3; 62:4–5; 65:19–20; 66:10–11).

The next line (2) in the fragment of 4Q434, which mentions the destructions of peoples and nations (גֵּוִים לְ[ש]חַח וְלְאֻמִּים יִכְרִית), also belongs to the pattern of grace after meals. It seems to be associated with the land taken away by the Lord from other nations and given to Israel. This may be reflected in the Palestinian Talmud (*y. Ber.* 1:9, 3d) in connection with land and Torah, which are to be mentioned in the second benediction of the grace after meals. There we read: "Rabbi Simon said in name of Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levy: 'Whoever did not mention Torah in the Benediction for land has to read [the Benediction] again. What is the reason for this? (it is written) "he gave them the lands of nations (*wytn lhm 'rswt gwym*), they inherited the wealth of peoples (*w'ml l'mym yyršw*) that they might keep his laws (*hgyw*) and observe his teachings (*wtwrtyw*)"' (Ps 105:44)." Indeed both *huqqim* and Torah are mentioned explicitly in the fragment from Qumran (lines 12–13; see below).

However, since the next sentence speaks about the renewal of creation (lines 2–3), there is a possibility that the destruction of peoples and nations and the wicked is to be associated here not with the inheritance of the land but with the messianic future, when peoples and the wicked will be judged and punished.

The next sentence in the Qumran fragment (line 3) brings up the idea of the renewal of creation, an idea that is widespread in the Second Temple period, beginning with Isa 65:18¹² (cf. 66:22) and continuing with *1 Enoch* 45:4; 91:16; *Jub.* 1:29; 1QH 13:11–12; 11QTemple 29:8–10; 2 Cor 5:17; Rev 21:1; etc. Messianic expectations are included in the third benediction of the grace after meals (see especially the phrase "the kingdom of the house of David, your Messiah" and the wish "that Elijah, the prophet and the Messiah come soon")¹³ but are also mentioned at the end of the grace after meals, where all kinds of personal wishes occur:

¹¹ See S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1955) 1. 52.

¹² Note the juxtaposition of rejoicing (*gyl*) with the new creation in Isa 65:17–18 and in the Qumran fragment under discussion (lines 2–3).

¹³ See *Seder R. Amram Gaon*, 45; see also E. D. Goldschmidt, *On Jewish Liturgy* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978) 161 (Hebrew).

May the merciful send us Elijah, the prophet, . . .
 who shall bring us good tidings, salvation and consolation . . .
 May the merciful make us worthy of the days of the
 Messiah and of the life of the world to come.¹⁴

This is to be compared with the *Didache* (*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) chap. 10 in connection with the grace after meals: "Gather it [the church] together . . . to your kingdom which you prepared for it. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the God of David."¹⁵

The next phrase in the Qumran fragment (lines 3–4) is **בְּעַר אִשְׁמוֹתָם יְכַפֵּר**, "he will forgive for their guilt." This undoubtedly refers to the deceased, whose sins are expiated by their death. This is also reflected in the Jewish blessing after meals for mourners: "Blessed be YHWH our God . . . the God of truth, who judges truly . . . and takes away souls in justice" (*dyyn 'mt . . . lwqh npšwt bmspt*) (*b. Ber.* 46b). This actually constitutes an acknowledgment of divine justice (*šiddūq haddīn*), which is recited at the Jewish burial service and whenever one sees graves (see *b. Ber.* 58b; *t. Ber.* 7:6).

A salient motif of the conventional grace after meals is the goodness of God (*tūbō*) by providing food to all his creatures: "who feeds the world with his goodness" (*hzn 't h'wlm . . . b'twbw*). Actually a separate benediction was established for God "who is good and does good" (*htwb whmytyb*) with all, and as has been shown by C. Albeck and A. Büchler this is an old blessing from before the destruction of the Temple.¹⁶ There were, however, disputes among the Tannaim whether this benediction should be said in the mourner's house. Only after the great disaster at Bethar (in Bar Kokhba's time), when the very possibility of burying the dead was considered a miracle, it was decided by all to preserve this blessing even at the mourner's house. *Haṭṭōb wēhammēṭīb* was then interpreted: *haṭṭōb* ("is good") that the bodies of the slain were not decomposed, and *hammēṭīb* ("does good") that they were given for burial. *Haṭṭōb wēhammēṭīb* occurs also in the short blessing after eating fruits of the seven species (*b. Ber.* 44a).

This formula, *haṭṭōb wēhammēṭīb*, is actually reflected in the Qumran fragment discussed here. Thus in line 4 we read "and the one great in goodness (**וְרַב טוֹב**) will console them . . . the good one" (**טוֹב . . . הַשֵּׁן**).¹⁷ The motif of goodness in connection with the land is actually mentioned in the prayer of Nehemiah: "they ate and were satiated . . . by your great goodness (*bētūbēkā haggādōl*, Neh 9:25); "And with your great goodness (*bētūbēkā*

¹⁴ *The Standard Prayer Book* (ed. Rev. S. Singer; New York: Block, 1943) 429–30.

¹⁵ K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1977) I. 325.

¹⁶ C. Albeck, "Die vierte Eulogie des Tischgebets," *MGWJ* n.F. 42 (1943) 430–37; A. Büchler, "The History of the Benediction *Haṭṭōb we-hameytyb* in the Grace after meals," in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an H. P. Chajes* (Vienna: A. Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1933) 137–67 (Hebrew).

¹⁷ The *tūb hš* . . . in line 4 may reflect the formula of *haṭṭōb wēhammēṭīb*.

hārāb) that you gave them, and the ample and rich land (*'eres hārēhābā wēhaššēmēnā*) that you put at their disposal" (9:35). There we also find the phrase "to eat its fruit and goodness" (*le'ēkōl 'et piryāh wē'et tūbāh*, 9:36), which occurs in the Qumran fragment (lines 4–5) as well as in the conventional shortened blessing after eating the fruits of the land of the seven species (Deut 8:8); see *b. Ber.* 44a.

The words in line 7 *ועד וכבודו ועד לעולם יושבין* . . . [לעולם ישכין], "dwell forever . . . his throne forever and his glory" refer either to David's throne or to God's throne. In fact both should be taken into account here, as stated in *b. Ber.* 49a: "since he mentioned David's kingdom it is inappropriate not to mention the kingdom of heaven." Indeed, the kingdom of God is mentioned thrice in the fourth blessing: *mlk h'wlm, mlknw, hmlk htwb*. The messianic element is indispensable in the grace after meals, as stated in *b. Ber.* 48b: "Whoever did not mention the Kingdom of David in the Benediction over Jerusalem did not fulfil his obligation."

Another element that must be mentioned in the grace after meals is *'rṣ hmdh twbh wrḥbh* (*b. Ber.* 48b), "the pleasant, good, and ample land." This is reflected in the Qumran fragment in line 8: *[אר]צם חמורה*, "their pleasant land." The same applies to the obligation to cite *bērīt* and *tôrā*, "covenant and Torah," mentioned in *b. Ber.* 49a. This is found in lines 12–13 of our fragment: *לתורה הכינותה*, "You have established for the Torah" and *ספר חוקיך*, "the book of your laws." The laws and the Torah are mentioned in the passage from *y. Ber.* 1:9, 3d, quoted above.

We find then in the Qumran fragment all the elements of the blessings after meals practiced in Judaism, although not in the conventional order, that is: (1) food for all creatures, (2) the land, (3) Jerusalem and the messianic line, (4) the good one who does good. The fixed order of these blessings is apparently of later times. This may be deduced from the grace after meals in early Christianity. In the *Didache* (second century BCE) we read about the prayer after meals (chap. 10)¹⁸ (I do not quote the christological material inserted into this prayer):

1. "We give thanks to you . . . for the knowledge¹⁹ and faith . . . etc." (land is omitted). This parallels the blessing for Torah and covenant in the conventional Jewish blessing.

2. "You created everything . . . and gave food to men . . . and blessed them with spiritual food and drink and eternal light." This parallels the first blessing.

3. "Remember, Lord, your community (*ekklesia*) to deliver it from all evil . . . and gather it together from all the corners of the earth to your

¹⁸ See Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* 1. 286–91.

¹⁹ On *d't* = "knowledge" in the sense of divine instruction (*twrh*), see my article "The Prayers for Knowledge, Repentance and Forgiveness in the Eighteen Benedictions," *Tarbiz* 48 (1979) 186–200.

Kingdom. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosannah to the God of David." This overlaps the mention of Zion and the Davidic-messianic kingdom in the conventional grace after meals (see above). The "kingdom of God" mentioned here is actually prescribed in *b. Ber.* 49a as a mandatory element in the grace after meals. "The God of David" mentioned here is prominent in the Palestinian form of the third blessing in the grace after meals (see *y. Ber.* 4:5.8c; *y. Roš Haš.* 4:6.59c).²⁰

The Qumran fragment contains all of the basic elements of the grace after meals that were also common in rabbinic Pharisaic Judaism. Although we do not find in the Qumran fragment the common liturgical-hymnic formulas such as *brwk 'th YHWH* found at the end of each blessing in the conventional Jewish benedictions after meals, there are traces of them here. Thrice we find in the fragment the root *brk*: "I will bless" (אברכה, line 9); "Blessed be the name of the most high" (ברוך שם עליון, line 10); "Bless, O [my soul]" (ברכי [נפשי]), line 11). The second phrase, ברוך שם עליון, is close in form to the conventional Jewish formula *brwk ('th) YHWH*. Furthermore, the blessing of the "Name" in the Qumran fragment is a characteristic feature of postexilic biblical prayers as well as of the Qumran prayers.²¹ The same applies to the epithet *'lywn*, which was introduced in postbiblical prayers.²²

The difference between the two traditions is in two things: (1) the order of the blessings and the lack of formal rigidity in the Qumran fragment and (2) that the Pharisaic benedictions were not permitted to be written (*b. Šab.* 115b) whereas the Qumran benedictions exist in a written form. This applies, of course, to the notion of *oral Torah*, which has not been adopted by the non-Pharisaic tradition.²³

²⁰ Cf. *Seder 'Abodat Israel* Rödelheim 1868 (ed. S. Baer; Tel Aviv: Or Torah, 1957) 96–97 (Hebrew).

²¹ See A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972) 97–100 (Hebrew).

²² See A. Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm from Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1965) 225–32.

²³ This study has been prepared at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem during my stay as a member of the Qumran Research group in 1989–1990. I am indebted to the Institute for the help given to me for the preparation of this study. I am thankful to Professor John Strugnell (also a member of the group at the Institute) for making available to me the photocopies and the transliteration of the manuscript discussed here.

Appendix

Grace after Meals in the Mourner's House
The Jewish Tradition and Rabbinic Sources

ברוך מנחם אכלים שאכלנו משלו וכטובו חיינו.

Blessed be (our God) who comforts the mourners, he of whose bounty we have partaken and through whose goodness we live

סדר ברכת המזון:

ברכת הזן (ובטובו, וכטובו הגדול, מטיב לכל).

(who feeds) with his goodness . . . with his great goodness, who does good to everybody . . .

ברכת הארץ: (על שהנחלת לאבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה; על כריתך . . . על תורתך שלמדתנו)

(we thank you) . . . for you gave us an inheritance to our fathers a good, a desirable and ample land as well as for the covenant . . . and for the Torah which you taught us

כל מי שלא הזכיר תורה בכרכת הארץ מחזירים אותו, שנאמר: "ויתן להם ארצות גוים ועמל לאמים יירשו. בעבור ישמרו חקיו ותורתו ינצרו" (תה" קה, מה).

whoever did not mention Torah in the Benediction for land has to read (the Benediction) again, for it is written: "he gave them lands of nations, they inherited the wealth of peoples that they might keep his laws (*hgyw*) and observe his teachings (*twrwtw*)" (Ps 105:44; *y. Ber.* 1:9, 3d).

בונה ירושלים: (על ציון משכן כבודך) ועל מלכות בית דוד משיחך.

give grace . . . to Israel . . . Jerusalem, Zion the abode of your glory, and the kingdom of David your anointed

כל שלא אמר ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה בכרכת הארץ ומלכות בית דוד בבונה ירושלים לא יצא ידי חובתו (ברכות מח ע"ב).

whoever did not mention "the good desirable and ample land" in the Blessing for the land nor the Kingdom of David in the Blessing for building Jerusalem did not fulfill his obligation (*b. Ber.* 48b).

כל שלא אמר ברית ותורה בכרכת הארץ לא יצא ידי חובתו (ברכות מט ע"א).

whoever did not mention covenant and Torah in the Blessing for the land did not fulfill his obligation (*b. Ber.* 49a).

כבית האכל: נחם ה' אלהינו את אכלי ירושלים ואת האכלים המתאכלים כאכל הזה. נחמם מאכלם . . . כאמור: "כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו כן אנכי אנחמכם וכירושלים תנחמו." (ישע)

In the mourner's house: Comfort you, Y. our God, the mourners of Jerusalem and the mourners who mourn this mourning, console them . . . as it is written: "as a mother comforts her son so I will comfort you, you shall find comfort in Jerusalem" (Isa 66:13).

ברוך אתה ה' . . . המלך החי, הטוב והמיטיב, אל אמת, דיין אמת . . . ולוקח נפשות כמשפט . . . (ברכות מו ע"ב).

Blessed be you Y. our God . . . the living God, the good, who does good . . . the God of truth, who judges truly . . . and takes away souls in justice . . . (*b. Ber.* 46b)

ברכה לאחר שבעה מינים: ועל ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה שהנחלת לאבותינו לאכול מפריה ולשבוע מטובה—רחם ה' אלהינו . . . על ירושלים עירך ועל ציון משכן כבודך . . . כי אתה טוב ומיטיב לכל (ברכות מד ע"א).

Grace after wine and fruits of the seven species (Deut 8:8): Blessed be . . . for the good desirable and ample land which you gave as an inheritance to our fathers to eat of its fruits and to be satiated with its goodness. Give grace . . . to Jerusalem and Zion the abode of your glory because you are good and do good for all . . . (*b. Ber.* 44a).

Synopsis of Grace after Meals at Mourner's House

Pharisaic-Rabbinic

Qumran (4Q434 frag. 2)

בער אשנמתם יכפר (lines 3–4)

ורב טוב ... טוב (line 4)

[ארצם חמדה (line 8)]

לחורה ... ספר חוקך (lines 12–13)

כיןא כסאו לעולם ועד וכבודו (line 7)

להנחם על אכלה עניה (line 1)

כאיש אשר אמו תנחמו (line 6)

כן ינחמו כירושלים
(Isa 66:13)ניים ... ולאומים יכרוח
(line 2; cf. Ps 105:44)

לאכול פריה וטובה (lines 4–5)

ולקח נפשות כמשפט (ברכות מו ע"ב)

סדר ברכת המזון:

ברכת הוין: (כטובו, ובטובו הנדול, מטיב לכל)
הטוב והמוטיב (הוא הטוב, הוא מטיב הוא ייטיב לנו)

ברכת הארץ (ארץ): חמדה טובה ורחבה; על בריחך ...

על חורחך שלמהתנו)

בונה ירושלים: (על ציון משכן כבודך ועל מלכות בית דוד
משיחך).בכית האבל: נחמם מאבלם ... כאמור: כאיש אשר אמו תנחמו כן אנכי אנהמכם וכירושלים
תנחמו

ברכה לאחר שכעה מינים: ועל ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה שהתחלת לאבותינו

לאכול מפריה ולשבע משובה-רחם ה' אלהינו ... על
ירושלים עורך כי אחת טוב ומוטיב לכל (ברכות מד ע"א)