

A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls from the Qumran Caves

Manuscripts, Language, and Scribal Practices



DANIEL MACHIELA

BRILL

A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls from the Qumran Caves

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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VOLUME 140

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By

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Machiela, Daniel A., author.

Title: A handbook of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves : manuscripts, language, and scribal practices / by Daniel Machiela.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2023] | Series: Studies on the texts of the desert of Judah, 0169–9962 ; volume 140 | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022018256 (print) | LCCN 2022018257 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004513785 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004513815 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Dead Sea scrolls. | Manuscripts, Aramaic.

Classification: LCC BM487 .M175 2023 (print) | LCC BM487 (ebook) | DDC 296.1/55—dc23/eng/20220608

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022018256>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022018257>



Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-9962

ISBN 978-90-04-51378-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-51381-5 (e-book)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*Dedicated to my parents
Sharon and Ken Machiela
with gratitude for a lifetime of love and support*



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Acknowledgements

When I first envisioned this project, I naively thought that I could finish it in a few years. Alas, it has now been nearly a dozen since I first sat down in a sunny courtyard to discuss the project with Mattie Kuiper and Suzanne Mekking from Brill, at the 2010 International Organization for Study of the Old Testament Congress in Helsinki. Mattie and Suzanne's early, enthusiastic support of the project has continued unabated through the years since then, bolstered especially by the generous, expert guidance of George Brooke, editor of the Brill *STDJ* series in which this book is published. Another Brill house editor, Marjolein van Zuylen, has also been of great assistance with various aspects of producing this volume in its middle and later stages. The two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for publication in the *STDJ* series gave excellent feedback, which led to a markedly better final, published version.

Thanks are also due to the Israel Antiquities Authority, and specifically to those working on the Dead Sea Scrolls Digitization Project. The openness, collegiality, and responsiveness of Joe Uziel, Head of the IAA's Dead Sea Scrolls Projects, and Beatriz Riestra, Curator in the same area, resulted in clear improvements to numerous manuscript profiles at the core of this book. This was realized especially through the permission to use IAA digital images when they were not available as part of Brill's Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library. The IAA's collaboration led to a higher-quality, more consistent final product, and I gladly acknowledge their contributions here.

I am deeply grateful that several organizations in addition to Brill and the IAA supported my research. My home in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University provided an ideal context in which to do the research and writing for this book. This included a University Scholar award, which allowed me to fund several research assistants. An Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Postdoctoral Researcher grant made it possible to spend an extended period of research at the Theological Faculty of the Georg August University of Göttingen, in 2011–12, and a shorter stint at the Theological Faculty of the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich in 2014. I extend my sincere thanks to my generous academic hosts, Reinhard Kratz in Göttingen and Loren Stuckenbruck in Munich, who made my stays productive and rewarding both professionally and personally. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of

Canada (SSHRC) awarded me a Standard Research Grant, which helped tremendously in getting the project off the ground by travelling to international conferences, buying the necessary equipment, and hiring graduate student research assistants at an early stage. Important periods of research were also supported by a Lydie T. Shufro Summer Research Fellowship at the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem, and two research fellowships at the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, sponsored by the Canadian Friends of the École Biblique. Each of the grants and fellowships mentioned above contributed in important ways to completing this book.

Without the outstanding, diligent work of a very impressive team of research assistants – all of them doctoral students at McMaster – this book would still be little more than an exciting project proposal. Andy Perrin helped over the first few years with problem-solving and building platforms for core components of the manuscript profiles, especially the sample images and script samples. He also served as an excellent dialogue partner in developing the language section of the profiles. Rob Jones assisted in many of the same ways, and over an even longer period of time. He did important work contributing to the content synopses and bibliographies of the manuscript profiles, assisted me in their language sections, and helped to edit and improve drafts of the chapter on language. John Van Maaren assisted Rob in a number of his tasks, and did essential work on the bibliography and the chapter on scribal practices. Especially useful was his work on the figures, tables, and charts for that chapter. Finally, Kyle Schofield has been a jack-of-all-trades in the later stages of completing the book, doing a variety of tasks on almost every part of the book with eagerness, patience, skill, and good cheer. Andy, Rob, John, and Kyle, a profound “thank you” to you all.

My family is a constant source of support and encouragement, and my deepest debt of gratitude is to them. In the first instance this includes my wife, Jody, and my children, Micah, Sophia, and Gabe. However, an even longer commitment of love and support belongs to my parents, Sharon and Ken Machiela, who have given so much to put me in a position to write a book like this one. It is to them that I humbly and gratefully dedicate this book.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for most periodicals, reference works, series, and texts follow *The SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014. Abbreviations not found in the *SBL Handbook* are listed below.

- AAB** Drawnel, Henryk. *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011
- ABE** Drawnel, Henryk. *Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch: 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019
- ALD** Aramaic Levi Document, as published in Greenfield, Jonas C., Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel. *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*. SVTP 19. Leiden: Brill, 2004
- ANET** Pritchard, James B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969
- ATM¹** Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus des Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Band 1*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984
- ATM^E** Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus des Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994
- ATM²** Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus des Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Band 2*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004
- BA** Biblical Aramaic
- BE** Milik, Józef T. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976
- CPA** Christian Palestinian Aramaic
- DARI¹** Schwiderski, Dirk, ed. *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. Band 1: Konkordanz*. FSBP 4. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008
- DARI²** Schwiderski, Dirk, ed. *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. Band 2: Texte und Bibliographie*. FSBP 2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004
- DJA** Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 2003
- DJBA** Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic from the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 2002
- DJD** Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
- DJPA** Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic from the Byzantine Period*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 1990
- DQA** Cook, Edward M. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2015
- DSGA** Machiela, Daniel A. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. STDJ 79. Leiden: Brill, 2009
- DSSSE** García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1997
- DTM** Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1903
- EDSS** L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000
- GQA** Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 38. Leuven: Peeters, 2011
- JPA** Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
- MT** Masoretic Text
- QA** Qumran Aramaic
- STDJ** Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
- TAD** Porten, Bezalel and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University. vol. 1 (1986), vol. 2 (1989), vol. 3 (1993), vol. 4 (1999)
- WAC** Wise, Michael O., Martin G. Abegg Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperOne, 2005

Introduction: The Aramaic Scrolls from the Qumran Caves and the Parameters of This Study

Of the manuscripts found in the eleven caves near the site of Qumran, approximately 130 – just over 14 percent – are written in the Aramaic language.¹ To date, between thirty and forty different compositions have been detected among these manuscripts.² Among the original seven scrolls to be discovered in Qumran Cave 1 by the now-legendary Bedouin herdsman, only one was composed in Aramaic. At first, this manuscript was called simply “the Fourth Scroll,” since it could not be unrolled due to its layers of skin being stuck firmly together from millennia of storage. The Fourth Scroll was eventually, painstakingly opened to reveal the longest of all the Aramaic scrolls, the so-called Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). However, this step occurred nearly a decade after the six Hebrew scrolls had been opened, during which time intensive study of the Hebrew scrolls had commenced with great vigor and international acclaim. If the Genesis Apocryphon was a bit late to the party, the same could be said for study of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves more generally, the large majority of which were published by Émile Puech in 2001 (DJD 31) and 2009 (DJD 37). The overwhelming bulk of research on the Qumran scrolls to date has been dedicated to study of the Hebrew texts, and to two distinctive sub-groups in particular: the books contained in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament – often referred to as the “biblical” scrolls – and a group of distinctive “sectarian” writings presumably associated with an Essene movement, or movements, at least part of which settled at Qumran beginning sometime during the late second or

early first century BCE.³ While this focus on the Hebrew texts is not surprising, it has resulted in study of the Aramaic scrolls languishing by comparison.

Despite the imbalance between past treatment of the Hebrew and Aramaic Qumran scrolls, much may be lauded about the excellent work done on the latter group since the 1950s by scholars such as Józef Milik, Joseph Fitzmyer, Klaus Beyer, Émile Puech, Devorah Dimant, and many others. These scholars have made significant, lasting contributions to our understanding of the Qumran Aramaic literature, much of which was unknown before its discovery in the Judean Desert in the mid-twentieth century. The vast majority of these contributions have been in the areas of text editions, studies of individual manuscripts, texts, or text-groups (e.g., the Enoch scrolls or the Aramaic Levi Document), and the contribution of these scrolls to our knowledge of the Aramaic language. Those occasional comments that have been made on broader literary or thematic aspects of these works have provided glimpses of their distinctive voice within early Judaism and their rich, multi-faceted connections to the subsequently canonized (primarily Hebrew) Jewish scriptures. Moreover, the secondary tools for those who wish to study in detail the Aramaic literature kept at Qumran have flourished of late, most notably with the concordance and dictionary of Edward Cook, and the grammars of Ursula Schattner-Rieser and Takamitsu Muraoka. These resources will serve generations of students and scholars as the Aramaic scrolls become better known and more widely studied.⁴

This book is intended to extend the study of these scrolls in a new direction, providing a comprehensive assessment of their manuscript features, language, and scribal practices in order to encourage and facilitate comparison both across the Qumran Aramaic corpus and with other ancient textual corpora. As a result, the book may serve as an advanced introduction to many aspects of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves. A set of nearly

1 This is not counting the roughly seventy Aramaic or Hebrew-Aramaic documents found at other locations in the Judean Desert, like Nahal Hever and Wadi Murabba'at. For further details see Machiela, *Library*. Calculations of other scholars have been gathered by Perrin, *Dynamics*, 24, n. 3. Of the scholars cited there, Dimant counts 121 manuscripts at approximately 13 percent of the total corpus, Berthelot and Stöckl Ben Ezra have 129 manuscripts, of which 87 contain material sufficient for comment (10 percent of the corpus), García Martínez has 120 manuscripts and 29 distinctive compositions, and Tigchelaar counts approximately 12 percent of the 930 Qumran scrolls as Aramaic.

2 The number varies depending on how one counts; e.g., whether one combines certain manuscripts that do not overlap, or divides up the various books of 1 Enoch into independent literary works. See the literature cited in the preceding note.

3 For an up-to-date and even-handed assessment of the question of the sectarian texts and who wrote them see Collins, *Beyond*.

4 Cook's concordance is found in Abegg et al., *Concordance*; Cook, *Dictionary*; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*; Muraoka, *Grammar*.

ninety profiles – one for each significant manuscript – forms the core of this book, the layout and contents of which will be discussed further below in this introduction. In two thematic chapters, following the profiles, I make broader observations about the corpus, derived from the profiles. The first treats the Aramaic language of the scrolls, aimed primarily at assessing the question of dialectical coherence across the corpus. The second looks at the physical features of the profiled manuscripts and the scribal practices found in them, offering a synthetic overview of the scope and types of features found.

A basic, guiding question throughout my work on this project has been: In what ways do the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves constitute a textual “corpus,” as physical objects produced by Jewish artisans and scribes? To this question many others may be added. Are scribal practices, such as corrections, consistent across the corpus? Is the Aramaic language of a similar style and register? Are there patterns, for example, in the palaeographic dating and contents of the scrolls? Why was Aramaic used as the language of composition or translation, rather than Hebrew or another language? I hope to have provided here some of the information necessary to better answer questions like these.

This book is intended to be a resource for those studying the Aramaic Qumran literature from a variety of angles, but for me it has one, overarching purpose: To serve as the prolegomenon to a subsequent study on the contents and literary character of this literature, considered as a corpus. Such a study must inevitably deal with questions of dating, social background, and coherence of linguistic dialect, but questions like these are difficult to answer convincingly without the kind of detailed, extended analysis provided in this book. The value of such a corpus-wide view in studying these texts can be illustrated by taking stock of some major trends in previous scholarship. Such an overview also serves as a good starting point for study of the corpus by those unfamiliar with it.

1 The Current State of Research: The Aramaic Scrolls in the Context of the Qumran Library and Second Temple Judaism

Although only a few scholars have sought to elaborate what distinguishes the Aramaic texts as a group from the other, non-Aramaic texts at Qumran, a measure of agreement has coalesced around a few basic points. First, some have judged that the Aramaic scrolls generally lack the sectarian ideology and language that marks a significant

portion of the non-biblical, Hebrew literature.⁵ The origins of the Aramaic texts should, therefore, be located outside the Essene communities that produced the sectarian texts. It has now grown quite common for scholars to assume that the Aramaic scrolls are “non-sectarian,” which usually implies that they were “non-Qumranic” in origin, and perhaps (though not necessarily) “non-Essene” as well. Second, some go a step further by maintaining that the Aramaic literature also *predates* the Hebrew sectarian writings; that is, it is deemed “pre-sectarian,” “pre-Qumranic,” or “pre-Essene,” with each of these designations having slightly different nuances and implications.

An opinion along these lines was offered already in 1957 by Milik, who was originally responsible for editing many of the Qumran Aramaic texts. Assuming the Qumran sectarians to be Essenes, he wrote,

The discovery of the Qumrân library fills in this gap [i.e., of our knowledge of Greco-Roman period Jewish literature] in a fairly substantial way; it provides us not only with strictly Essene writings, but also with a selection of other books that they copied, works composed before and during the time of the community’s occupation of Qumrân. The works that were written before the community came to Qumrân were mainly pseudepigraphical, (with themes especially of priestly interest and usually written in Aramaic) liturgical and sapiential. Some works, such as Tobit, the *Description of the New Jerusalem* and an astrological book, survive in both Hebrew and Aramaic copies. This can be explained, if we consider it as part of the literary and national renaissance which was mentioned above; works that had earlier been composed in Aramaic were later translated into Hebrew.⁶

This paragraph is packed with early insights into the Aramaic literature from Qumran, many of which would be echoed in later scholarship. Milik clearly considered

5 A summary of some of the main characteristics of the sectarian writings can be found, for example, in Dimant, “Sectarian”; Dimant, “Significance” (see esp. 27–29, 37–45); and Newsom, “Sectually Explicit.” The rubric “sectarian literature” should not, however, be viewed as representing a static, monolithic category, since recent studies have increasingly shown the various shades of nuance and development in different parts of this group of texts. See, e.g., Schofield, *New Paradigm*; Collins, *Beyond*.

6 This quotation comes from the revised and translated English edition of Milik, *Ten Years*, 139. For the original French see Milik, *Dix ans*, 95–96. The “literary and national renaissance” mentioned refers to the period of the Maccabees (see *Ten Years*, 130).

a number of Aramaic texts from Qumran to be specially marked by a “pseudepigraphic” style and “themes of priestly interest,” though he does not say that this applies to all the Aramaic works. He also took them to be part of the books copied, but not composed, by those who wrote the “strictly Essene writings.” Finally, he suggested that at least some of the Aramaic writings belonged to “the period before the community came to Qumrân,” an arrival that Milik thought occurred sometime during the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE).⁷

In a later article, published in 1978, Milik wrote more specifically about a number of Qumran Aramaic texts focused on the patriarchal figures of Enoch, Noah, Levi, Judah, Joseph, Jacob, and Abraham, the bulk of which he considered to be “écrits préésséniens.”⁸

Les pseudépigraphes passés en revue ont tous été, à mon avis, composés en langue araméenne; on ne manqué pas cependant de les traduire en hébreu. Une bonne partie d'entre eux est d'origine samaritaine; on ne néglige point d'en faire une version judéenne. Par conséquent, à l'époque perse, et probablement bien avant, existait déjà une riche littérature juive, véhiculée par la *lingua franca* des empires successifs: assyrien, chaldéen, perse, grec.⁹

Though Milik's notion of Samaritan authorship has been widely rejected, he described a time in the Persian and Hellenistic eras during which “a rich Jewish literature already existed,” composed and transmitted in Aramaic. According to Milik, it is this literature that we find preserved fragmentarily in the Qumran caves. It is worth noting that Milik's comments seem to assume a general, chronological priority for the Aramaic literature compared with the Hebrew non-biblical texts.

Another early voice for separating the Aramaic Scrolls from the Hebrew ones, on more than linguistic grounds alone, was the Czech scholar of Semitic languages Stanislav Segert. In 1963, writing primarily on the topic of the languages of the Qumran scrolls, Segert remarked that

Diese Verteilung der Qumrānschriften nach der Sprache könnte auch für Erwägungen über die Herkunft einzelner in der Qumrānhöhlen gefundener Schriften herangezogen werden. Bei den hebräischen außerbiblichen Schriften wird es sich,

soweit kein Gegenbeweis vorliegt, um essäische Erzeugnisse handeln, während die Schriften fremden Ursprungs eher unter den aramäischen gesucht werden können.¹⁰

Here the Aramaic writings are identified with “works of foreign origin” as opposed to the “Essene products,” a sentiment expressed again some years later in a review of Joseph Fitzmyer's 1966 commentary on the Genesis Apocryphon,

Fitzmyer's well-founded statement that there is no certain indication for the Essene origin of the Genesis Apocryphon (cf. pp. 10–11) can be supported by the fact that the book is written in Aramaic. All the Qumran writings of certain Essene origin published as yet are in Hebrew, which was the official language of the Qumran community...; therefore for these Aramaic texts an external origin is very probable indeed.¹¹

Segert said nothing about the chronological situation of the two groups of texts, but clearly held the Aramaic texts to be cut from a different cloth than the Essene Hebrew literature. It has now become quite common for scholars to note the “non-sectarian” and/or “pre-sectarian” character of the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran.¹²

Both Milik and Segert discerned fundamental differences between the non-biblical Aramaic and Hebrew literatures from the Qumran caves, but what may be said of the unity of the Aramaic corpus in its own right? Does an external, non-sectarian origin for the composition of the Aramaic works also imply that they constitute what Ben-Zion Wacholder called “a single class of literature”?¹³ I noted above Milik's comments on the literature's pseudepigraphic and priestly traits, though he never claimed that this characterized all of the Aramaic works. A certain level of group coherence also seems to be implied in Klaus Beyer's brief introduction to his collection of “alttestamentlichen Apokryphen,” which comprised only literary Aramaic texts from Qumran.¹⁴ The title of Florentino García Martínez's 1992 monograph *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, which is a collection of independent

7 Milik, *Ten Years*, 51.

8 Milik, “Écrits.”

9 Milik, “Écrits,” 106.

10 Segert, “Sprachenfragen,” 322.

11 Segert, “Review,” 82.

12 To cite one further example, Jonas Greenfield (“Dialects,” 367) observed that “none of the Aramaic material from Qumran is of necessity Essene (or Essenoid) in origin.”

13 Wacholder, “Judaean-Aramaic,” 259.

14 See Beyer, *ATM*¹, 157–61.

studies on Aramaic works from Qumran, also hints at the apocalyptic character of a number of these texts, even if there was little extended reflection there on the corpus as a whole.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, Devorah Dimant likewise stressed that “most of the texts which can be termed apocalypses or which involve related themes and styles are written in Aramaic rather than in Hebrew.”¹⁶

It was in 1990, however, that Wacholder made the first explicit and comprehensive attempt at articulating the interrelationship of Jewish Aramaic writings from roughly 500 BCE (Jer 10:11) to around 165 BCE (the final form of Daniel), including but not limited to the Qumran materials. He gathered his discussion around four loosely-defined themes: Texts and Traditions from Mesopotamia and Syria, Targums, Amplifications of Genesis and Exodus, and Judaism Confronts Paganism. Also discussed were some additional “leading ideational and aesthetic components of the pre-Qumranic Aramaic literature” (heptadal numerology, dream interpretation, an especially “didactic flavor,” and an eschatological focus).¹⁷ Wacholder advocated a “hypothesis of interrelationship” for the “pre-Qumranic Judaeo-Aramaic literature,” which presupposed “the existence of a scribal culture almost certainly international in scope.”¹⁸ Like Milik, Wacholder held that this distinctive, Aramaic literary tradition waned with the national awakening of the Hasmonean period, at which time a renewed effort to compose literature in Hebrew emerged.¹⁹ In his opinion, Aramaic was chosen as the language of composition because it allowed the authors of these works “to disseminate what they perceived to be the distinctive message of the Jewish religion as broadly as possible.”²⁰

The past decade has seen increased interest in what distinguishes the Qumran Aramaic works from their Hebrew counterparts, most notably with the ongoing work of Dimant, García Martínez, and Eibert Tigchelaar. Dimant has embraced the non-sectarian character of the Aramaic texts for decades, and in a 2007 article sought to delineate further what sets them apart as a distinct group within the Qumran library.²¹ She organized the various Aramaic works into six categories: 1.) Works about the

Period of the Flood; 2.) Works dealing with the History of the Patriarchs; 3.) Visionary Compositions; 4.) Legendary Narratives and Court-Tales; 5.) Astronomy and Magic; and 6.) Varia. Dimant concluded that these headings capture some of the prominent thematic affinities of the Aramaic literature kept and copied at Qumran, and that we should consider it a specific group, “segments of an unknown Jewish Aramaic literature from Second Temple times.”²² These views were further elaborated in the published proceedings of the first academic conference dedicated exclusively to the Aramaic texts from Qumran, held in Aix-en-Provence, France, in 2008.²³ In the same volume, García Martínez drew attention again to the apocalyptic character of “a disproportionately large number” of Aramaic texts from Qumran when compared with other groups of Jewish writings from around this period, a point also made by Lorenzo DiTommaso at the Aix conference.²⁴ Tigchelaar contributed further to this discussion with a pair of studies. In the first, devoted primarily to identifying the lost literary figure associated with the Aramaic New Jerusalem text, he observed that “[t]he vast majority of the Aramaic narrative texts found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls belong to two main categories, namely: 1.) texts related or ascribed to pre-Mosaic figures (Enoch, Noah?, Abraham, Jacob, Judah?, Levi, Qahat, Amram), or 2.) narratives that have an Eastern Diaspora setting (Tobit, proto-Esther, Nabonidus, Daniel).”²⁵ In a second article, Tigchelaar articulated a fundamental difference of approach in how the Aramaic and non-biblical Hebrew texts at Qumran handled earlier Jewish scriptural books: while the Aramaic texts engage in freely rewriting and building upon received authoritative writings, the Hebrew sectarian texts usually interact more explicitly with the received traditions through quotation or direct allusion.²⁶

Several scholars have attempted to explain why Aramaic was chosen to compose the works from Qumran written in that language, and their proposals should ideally be coordinated with the points raised above. Both Bickerman and Wacholder thought that these works were composed in Aramaic in order to make them widely available to Jews living throughout the diaspora, and to give them a cosmopolitan aura grounded in the reality of Aramaic as an international prestige language through the Persian and Hellenistic periods.²⁷ That is to say, the choice of language

15 García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*.

16 Dimant, “Apocalyptic.” See now also Machiela, “Growth”; Machiela, “Witnesses.”

17 Wacholder, “Judaeo-Aramaic,” 269–70.

18 Wacholder, “Judaeo-Aramaic,” 273.

19 Similar views are espoused by Bickerman, *Jews*, and Wise, *Thunder*, 117.

20 Wise, *Thunder*, 117.

21 Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic.” For Dimant’s earlier statements about the non-Sectarian character of the Aramaic scrolls see “Apocalyptic,” 34–35; “Library,” 175.

22 Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic,” 200.

23 Dimant, “Themes.”

24 García Martínez, “Aramaica,” 437. DiTommaso, “Apocalypticism,” 456–57.

25 Tigchelaar, “Visionary.”

26 Tigchelaar, “Aramaic Texts.”

27 Bickerman, *Jews*, 51; Wacholder, “Judaeo-Aramaic,” 273.

depended largely on the intended audience of this body of literature, and on a certain intellectual cachet that accompanied Aramaic. An explanation linked more closely to the genre or literary characterization of a particular work was advocated by Dimant, and later extended by Jonathan Ben-Dov.²⁸ Both argue that language choice coordinates with Tigchelaar's observation that the Aramaic texts from Qumran cluster around the historical eras of the patriarchs and matriarchs on the one hand, and the exilic era on the other. Aramaic is held to better reflect these two historical periods in the eyes of whoever wrote these texts, so that the choice of Aramaic lends them a certain historical verisimilitude. While this is an area deserving of further study, I find the explanations of Bickerman and Wacholder to be more convincing.²⁹

This brief, preliminary sketch of the growing discussion about the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran, as a corpus, may be summarized in the following three points:

1. The Aramaic scrolls are largely or wholly non-sectarian, non-Essene, or non-Qumranic, insofar as they do not exhibit the concerns or literary styles present in the Essene sectarian writings (which comprise a significant percentage of the Hebrew, non-biblical Qumran texts). This implies that the Aramaic literature came to the Qumran library from outside the community responsible for writing the sectarian literature. In keeping with this position, Collins judged that "it was probably a segment of popular Jewish literature from the Hellenistic period."³⁰
2. The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls are largely or wholly pre-sectarian, pre-Essene, or pre-Qumran in their composition, insofar as they belong to a generally earlier period of Jewish history and literature than the Essene sectarian writings. As such, the earlier Aramaic literature may have influenced the later sectarian authors, but the opposite should not be expected. Related to this point, the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew is often associated by scholars with the era of the Hasmonean revolt (mid-second cent. BCE) and a return to or revivification of the Hebrew language.³¹
3. At least some of the Aramaic texts from the Qumran caves display features that warrant their study as a distinctive corpus of interrelated literature,

presumably issuing from a shared historical and social location for their composition.

If all three of these points were to be adopted, they lead to the important realization that we have in the Aramaic literature from Qumran a relatively extensive collection of pre-Hasmonean Jewish writings, the breadth and content of which far exceeds what we possessed prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Consequently, these texts open a window onto a dynamic period of Jewish history for which we have few written sources and many lingering questions.

However, it is not yet clear that all of the points listed above are correct. Some doubts and complications have been voiced with regard to each one, and these must not be passed over unacknowledged. The greatest consensus has been reached for the first point, the non-sectarian character of the Aramaic texts. Yet even this has recently been questioned by García Martínez, who suggested that scholars should not be too quick to consider the Aramaic texts non-Essene or non-Qumranic, since even the latter categories are still being negotiated.³² Nonetheless, wide scholarly consensus on this point remains, for good reason, and García Martínez fails to provide any compelling evidence for reversing the current opinion. The pre-sectarian classification of the Aramaic texts, while often accepted, has run into greater opposition. This resistance has typically centered on the Aramaic dialect of the texts, following in the wake of an influential 1958 study on the language of the Genesis Apocryphon by Yehezkel Kutscher.³³ Kutscher chose a limited set of linguistic traits and, through a careful comparison of texts, judged the Genesis Apocryphon to date to the first century BCE or first century CE. This dating has been followed by a number of scholars – most notably Joseph Fitzmyer – and would place one of our longest, best-preserved Aramaic scrolls after the "pre-Qumran" period and the Hasmonean period Hebrew shift advocated by Milik and Wacholder. Other scholars have argued that the Aramaic linguistic profiles of different Qumran texts suggest geographical variation, such as Muraoka's proposal that the Job translation from Cave 11 preserves a more eastern dialect.³⁴ The dating of the Aramaic of different texts to distinct periods or locales would not necessarily affect point one above, but it could pose serious problems for points two and three. This topic will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3, on language, though it may be said here that the factor of the Aramaic dialect(s) of the Qumran scrolls has now

²⁸ Dimant, "Qumran Aramaic," 203; Ben-Dov, "Hebrew and Aramaic." See also Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic," 1013–14, for a similar explanation.

²⁹ For further discussion of this topic, see Machiela, "Language."

³⁰ Collins, "Conclusions," 561.

³¹ On the idea of a revival of Hebrew during the Hasmonean period, see Machiela and Jones, "Revival."

³² García Martínez, "Aramaica."

³³ Kutscher, "Genesis Apocryphon."

³⁴ Muraoka, "Aramaic." See also Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*.

become closely intertwined with questions of dating and compositional origin, and is, therefore, very important for any comprehensive assessment of them. A major goal of the present study is to gather the data necessary to evaluate the issues surveyed above.

2 Delineating the Corpus

Some of the greatest difficulties in writing this book have concerned the foundational decisions of which texts to include, and what factors to measure for eventual comparison. It is obvious that, to a great extent, such decisions predetermine the results of the study, and at its core reflect my own interests and questions. These interests and questions are primarily social, historical, and theological in nature: Who wrote these texts, and to whom? Can we discern distinctive streams of thought among them? Are there indicators of where and when they were written? Which religious beliefs and convictions do they reflect? What sorts of social practices are advocated in them? For what purposes were they written? All of these questions contribute in some way to the more fundamental question of where these texts fit within the broader landscape of Second Temple period Judaism.

An initial task, then, is to delineate the group of texts that will comprise the focus of my study. The group chosen for specific treatment includes all Aramaic literary texts found in the eleven caves associated by most scholars with Khirbet Qumran, and well-preserved enough to give us some sense of their contents, language, and scribal character. This, of course, excludes a number of fragments that are unidentified or provide little insight for an introductory study of this sort. Occasionally, one of these fragments may be mentioned in connection with better-preserved manuscripts, and a full list of the Aramaic manuscripts, including these small fragments, is provided in Tov, *Revised Lists* (though mixed among non-Aramaic manuscripts).

The translations of Job from Caves 11 (11Q10) and 4 (4Q157) are special cases, since unlike all other texts examined here they are known to have been composed originally *not* in Aramaic, but in Hebrew. Nevertheless, the fact that Job was translated into Aramaic at some place and time during the Second Temple period is significant, and these scrolls will therefore be included in my study, primarily for material and linguistic analysis. One may also include here the so-called Leviticus Targum from Cave 4 (4Q156), though Fitzmyer and others have expressed some reservation over pronouncing this manuscript a translation

(or targum) of the book of Leviticus based on the small amount of text preserved.³⁵

Another special case is the cache of documentary texts – such as land deeds, bills of sale, loan receipts, and other contracts – originally attributed to Cave 4.³⁶ These are of a decidedly different character than the literary compositions, and are comparable to a number of other documents found in various locations throughout the Judean Wilderness (e.g., Nahal Hever, Nahal Seelim [i.e., Wadi Seiyal], and Wadi Murabbaat).³⁷ Many of these documentary texts, including those allegedly from Cave 4, were not unearthed in controlled archaeological excavations, but were delivered to Bethlehem or Jerusalem by members of the Bedouin tribe during the 1950s (as were many of the Qumran Scrolls more generally). Since then, the provenance of the Cave 4 documentary texts has been disputed, and based on convincing evidence it doubtful that they should be attributed to that cave, or to the site of Qumran.³⁸ Instead, they seem to have come from other sites in the Judean Desert. Consequently, those documents will not be included in this volume.

Finally, a few words should be said about the place of the Aramaic portions of the Book of Daniel (2:4b–7:28) in this project. In previous scholarship Daniel has typically been treated as one of the “biblical” texts from Qumran, and not as one of the Aramaic scrolls (in the rare event that they are discussed as a corpus). As evidence of this we need look no further than the lengthy edition of *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* by Klaus Beyer, in which Daniel found no place, or the distinguished official editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls published by Oxford, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, where Daniel is justifiably treated in the volumes dedicated to Biblical Texts (and not in those dedicated to the Aramaic Texts). It is easy to see why this separation has taken place, since Daniel has secured an important place in the Jewish and Christian canons. Yet, there is a sense in which this distinguishes between texts that are quite naturally and strikingly related if we think outside of (or better, prior to) the boundaries of canon that, at least in the case of Daniel, were not as clearly defined in the second to first centuries BCE as they would be four or five centuries later. For this reason I have chosen to consider

35 Fitzmyer, “Targum.” See also Stuckenbruck and Freedman, “Fragments.”

36 The relevant manuscripts are listed further below. They are published in DJD 27:283–317.

37 On the confusion over the actual findspots of the manuscripts from these locations, see the discussion of Cotton and Yardeni in DJD 27:1–6.

38 For evidence supporting this view, see DJD 27:283–84.

those manuscripts containing the Aramaic portions of Daniel among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls in hopes of gaining a better appreciation for Daniel's place among these texts. A further decision in the case of Daniel is whether to include manuscripts currently containing only Hebrew text from Dan 1:1–2:4a or 8–12, since we might reasonably assume that they once contained Aramaic as well. For reasons of economy, and because we cannot be entirely sure of the missing contents of the Hebrew-only manuscripts (4QDan^{c, e}, 6QpapDan), I have chosen not to include them in the following manuscript profiles.

The single, fragmentary manuscript of Ezra found in Cave 4 (4Q117) has been included for purposes of comparison, although it is of a different compositional nature than Daniel, and in my opinion somewhat less closely associated with the main corpus of Aramaic writings kept and copied at Qumran. The issues of composition and coherence in Daniel and Ezra is discussed against the backdrop of the broader Qumran Aramaic corpus in the section on language (Chapter 3). While Daniel and Ezra are included in this study, the very brief snatches of Aramaic found in Gen 31:47 and Jer 10:11 are not. No copy with the relevant verse of Genesis has been found at Qumran, though a few words of Jer 10:11 are found in 4QJer^a 51.3–4 and 4QJer^b 7. The brief appearance of Aramaic at these points is interesting, but these are very short passages in Hebrew books, which do not comprise substantial Aramaic compositions in their own rights. As a result, I consider them to be of a different nature than the Aramaic texts treated below.

In light of the above discussion, the manuscripts included in this volume are:³⁹

From Enoch through Abram

1. 4Q201 (Enoch^a)
2. 4Q202 (Enoch^b)
3. 4Q204 (Enoch^c)
4. 4Q205 (Enoch^d)
5. 4Q206/4Q206a (Enoch^e/Book of Giants^f)
6. 4Q207 (Enoch^f)
7. 4Q208 (Astronomical Enoch^a)
8. 4Q209 (Astronomical Enoch^b)
9. 4Q210 (Astronomical Enoch^c)
10. 4Q211 (Astronomical Enoch^d)
11. 4Q212 (Enoch^g)
12. 1Q23 (Book of Giants^a)

13. 1Q24 (Book of Giants^b)
14. 2Q26 (Book of Giants)
15. 4Q203 (Book of Giants^a)
16. 4Q530 (Book of Giants^b)
17. 4Q531 (Book of Giants^c)
18. 4Q532 (Book of Giants^d)
19. 4Q533 (Book of Giants^e)
20. 6Q8 (papBook of Giants)
21. 4Q529 (Words of Michael)
22. 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a)
23. 6Q23 (papWords of Michael)
24. 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a)
25. 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b)
26. 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c)
27. 1Q20 (Genesis Apocryphon)

From Jacob through Aaron and His Family

28. 4Q537 (Testament of Jacob?)
29. 1Q32 (New Jerusalem?)
30. 2Q24 (New Jerusalem)
31. 4Q554 (New Jerusalem^a)
32. 4Q554a (New Jerusalem^b)
33. 4Q555 (New Jerusalem^c)
34. 5Q15 (New Jerusalem)
35. 11Q18 (New Jerusalem)
36. 4Q538 (Testament of Judah/Words of Benjamin)
37. 4Q539 (Testament of Joseph)
38. 1Q21 (Levi)
39. 4Q213 (Levi^a)
40. 4Q213a (Levi^b)
41. 4Q213b (Levi^c)
42. 4Q214 (Levi^d)
43. 4Q214a (Levi^e)
44. 4Q214b (Levi^f)
45. 4Q540 (Apocryphon of Levi^a?)
46. 4Q541 (Apocryphon of Levi^b?)
47. 4Q542 (Testament of Qahat)
48. 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a)
49. 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b)
50. 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c)
51. 4Q546 (Visions of Amram^d)
52. 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e)
53. 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f)
54. 4Q549 (Visions of Amram^g?)

The Assyrian to Persian Exiles

55. 4Q196 (papTobit^a)
56. 4Q197 (Tobit^b)
57. 4Q198 (Tobit^c)
58. 4Q199 (Tobit^d)

39 Specific codicological issues, such as the relationship between 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) and 4Q204 (En^c) or the sub-division of 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), will be dealt with in the relevant manuscript profiles.

59. 1Q71 (Daniel^a)
60. 1Q72 (Daniel^b)
61. 4Q112 (Daniel^a)
62. 4Q113 (Daniel^b)
63. 4Q115 (Daniel^d)
64. 4Q243 (Pseudo-Daniel^a)
65. 4Q244 (Pseudo-Daniel^b)
66. 4Q245 (Pseudo-Daniel^c)
67. 4Q246 (Apocryphon of Daniel)
68. 4Q242 (Prayer of Nabonidus)
69. 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a)
70. 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b)
71. 4Q553a (Four Kingdoms^c)
72. 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court)
73. 4Q117 (Ezra)

Translations or Possible Translations

74. 4Q156 (Leviticus?)
75. 4Q157 (Job Translation)
76. 11Q10 (Job Translation)

Miscellaneous Texts

77. 3Q14, 4 (Tobit?)
78. 4Q318 (Zodiology and Brontology)
79. 4Q339 (List of False Prophets)
80. 4Q551 (Narrative)
81. 4Q556 (Prophecy^a)
82. 4Q556a (Prophecy^b)
83. 4Q557 (Vision^a)
84. 4Q558 (papVision^b)
85. 4Q559 (papBiblical Chronology)
86. 4Q560 (Magic Booklet)
87. 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope)
88. 4Q569 (Proverbs)
89. 6Q14 (Apocalypse)

There are many ways in which the presentation of the manuscript profiles could be ordered. For the majority of the manuscripts, I have opted for what I consider to be an intuitive ordering that follows the narrative, historical arc of the Hebrew Bible, beginning with the Pentateuch and ending with Israel's periods of exile. In its essence, this ordering principle follows the earlier insights of Dimant and Tigchelaar discussed above. Over seventy of the texts can be arranged in this way, which tells us something significant about the contents of the corpus. Within this chronological ordering I have distinguished three main sub-groupings, aimed primarily at conceptual ease for readers. The first focuses on the earliest ancestors of Israel, beginning with the monumental figure of Enoch

and ending with the generation of Abram. One could easily argue that the distinction between this grouping and the one that follows, beginning with the figure of Jacob, is arbitrary, and I do not intend the distinction to imply a break readily discernable in the literature or intended by the ancient authors; it is simply heuristic. Moreover, not all of the compositions included in the sub-groupings can be identified with certainty, the New Jerusalem text being a good example of this. Several scholars (most notably Tigchelaar) have identified the protagonist of the New Jerusalem as Jacob, though it is impossible to be sure if this is correct based on the extant text. Nevertheless, I have placed the copies of this text in my arrangement as if they concern a vision given to Jacob, discussing this identification in the relevant manuscript profiles. The third sub-grouping has a better basis for standing on its own, since it seems that, alongside the era of Israel's early patriarchs and matriarchs up until the time of the Exodus, the exilic period was of major interest to the authors of the Aramaic literature kept and copied at Qumran. Works extant in more than one copy are presented according to the numbering of the caves, beginning with Cave 1 and ending with Cave 11. Within an individual cave, I list multiple texts in order according to their catalogue numbers.

The last two groups are not coordinated with the history of Israel as presented in the Hebrew Bible, but are instead arranged topically. Three manuscripts are – or might be – Aramaic translations of earlier Hebrew writings, and these are grouped together.⁴⁰ The last group is a very interesting mix of “other” texts, which do not fit neatly into the preceding groups. Here we find what seem to be scholarly reference texts, magical or omen texts, and visionary texts. Many are badly damaged, and it is likely that some would be placed into the main, chronologically-arranged groupings were we to have more of their contents preserved. Still, as scrolls from which we may glean some useful information, and which were evidently composed in Aramaic or translated into that language, I have included them in my study.

As already noted above, Aramaic documentary texts and other Aramaic manuscripts from which we can collect little or no useful information due to their poor preservation are not included in the profiles. They are:

⁴⁰ For a discussion of these texts and how they should be treated relative to the later rabbinic targums, see Machiela, “Translation,” 227–37.

*Documentary Texts Not Securely Associated with the Qumran Caves (Deeds, Loans, etc.)*⁴¹

1. 4Q342 (Letter?)
2. 4Q343 (Letter nab)⁴²
3. 4Q344 (Debt acknowledgement)
4. 4Q345 (Deed A)
5. 4Q346 (Deed of sale)
6. 4Q351 (Account of cereal)

*Other fragmentary texts*⁴³

1. 1Q63–68 (Unclassified fragments)
2. 3Q12–13 (Unclassified fragments)
3. 4Q360a (papUnidentified fragments B)
4. 4Q488 (papApocryphon)
5. 4Q489 (papApocalypse)
6. 4Q490 (papFragments)
7. 4Q558a (papUnidentified)
8. 4Q562 (Unidentified text A)
9. 4Q563 (Wisdom writing)
10. 4Q564 (Unidentified B)
11. 4Q565 (Vision^{c?})
12. 4Q566 (Prophecy^{c?})
13. 4Q567 (Unidentified C)
14. 4Q568 (Prophecy^d)
15. 4Q570 (Unidentified D)⁴⁴
16. 4Q572 (Unidentified E)
17. 4Q573 (Unidentified F)
18. 4Q574 (Unidentified G)
19. 4Q575 (Vision^d)
20. 4Q580 (Testament^{a?})
21. 4Q581 (Testament^{b?})
22. 4Q582 (Testament^{c?})
23. 4Q583 (Prophecy^e)
24. 4Q584a–x (Varia)
25. 4Q585a–z (Varia)
26. 4Q586a–n (Varia)
27. 4Q587 (Testament^d)⁴⁵

41 I list here only the manuscripts composed with a high probability in Aramaic. It is sometimes difficult to assess the language of composition due to the very fragmentary remains.

42 This manuscript is written in a Nabatean script. See DJD 27:286.

43 Most of these fragments are published by Puech in DJD 37, though some are scattered through other DJD volumes (for which, see the catalogue in Tov, *Revised Lists*). A few additional fragments were originally identified by Milik, but can no longer be located. The numbers assigned to them are 4Q309 (Cursive work) and 4Q310 (papText).

44 Puech identified 46 fragments as part of this manuscript, though its contents remain difficult to discern. It most certainly deals with events from Israel's past, as seen in frags. 1–2.

45 The two fragments of this manuscript are currently part of the collection of Martin Schøyen (MS 4612/3), and Esther Eshel has

28. 5Q24 (Unclassified fragment)
29. 6Q19 (Text related to Genesis)
30. 11Q24 (Unidentified text)

Fragments that Are Most Likely Modern Forgeries

Finally, I decided not to include a small group of Aramaic fragments of potential relevance, due to their dubious provenance and the suspicion that they are modern forgeries. The first is a papyrus fragment once assumed to be from a Qumran scroll of Tobit, which is now part of the collection of Martin Schøyen (MS 5234). This fragment was labelled by some scholars as 4Q196a, based on its erroneous connection with 4Q196 (papTobit^a).⁴⁶ However, questions linger over the provenance of the fragment, and some have now argued that it is a forgery.⁴⁷ The second fragment – also papyrus – contains text from the Book of Watchers (1 En. 8:4–9:3) and was first published by Hanan and Esther Eshel.⁴⁸ The fragment was owned by the Kando family at the time of its publication, but now belongs to the Schøyen Collection (MS 4612/12). It was labelled by the Eshels as “XQpapEnoch,” because the cave in which it was discovered could no longer be identified. Like the Schøyen Tobit fragment, serious evidence has been provided arguing that the Kando Enoch fragment is a forgery.⁴⁹ An additional two fragments containing 1 En. 7:1–5 and 1 En. 106:19–107:1 were eventually added to the mix, both also originating with the Kando family and then being sold to Schøyen in 2009.⁵⁰ The fragment with the text of 1 En. 7:1–5 is part of a scroll made of skin, while the other, containing 1 En. 106:19–107:1, is papyrus.⁵¹ Both are now justifiably considered to be modern forgeries.⁵² Finally, there are several unpublished

argued in Elgvin, Langlois, and Davis, *Gleanings*, 295–98, that they should instead be assigned to Cave 11 (11Q[?] Eschatological Fragment). See also the discussion by Tigchelaar in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 252.

46 Hallermayer and Elgvin, “Tobit-Fragment.” See also Tov, *Revised List*, 35. The fragment cannot belong to 4Q196 (papTobit^a), since it overlaps with 4Q196 18.16 (compare 4Q198 [Tobit^c] 1.2). The two copies also have clearly different scribal hands.

47 On the provenance of the fragment, see Justnes, “Fake,” 246–51. For the assertion that it is a forgery, see Davis et al., “Dubious,” 220–21. As noted by Justnes, a second fragment of this copy containing part of Tob 7:1–3, held in a different private collection, has been reported for some years.

48 Eshel and Eshel, “New Fragments,” 146–57. The fragment had been previously published in Eshel and Eshel, “Watchers.”

49 Justnes, “Fake,” 251–54. Davis et al., “Dubious,” 216–20.

50 It was at this time that Schøyen also bought the fragment containing 1 En. 8:4–9:3. See Justnes, “Fake,” 255–56.

51 Esther Eshel once proposed that the skin fragment belonged to 4Q204 (Enoch^c), but that identification was later shown to be incorrect.

52 Justnes, “Fake,” 254–57. Davis et al., “Dubious,” 209–16.

fragments of Daniel that should be mentioned alongside those of Tobit and 1 Enoch.⁵³ While the Daniel fragments have not undergone the scientific scrutiny of the Tobit and 1 Enoch fragments, there is good reason to be suspicious of their provenance and authenticity. The first was purchased by Azusa Pacific University in 2009 and contains Dan 5:13–16. It has yet to be officially published, though high-quality images are available on the university website, and efforts to publish the fragment are apparently ongoing. The other two fragments were purchased from William Kando by the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in early 2010. Since that time, there has been intense questioning of their authenticity, including by faculty members and administrators at the seminary. While it remains possible that one or more of the fragments discussed above is authentic, it is more likely that all of them are modern forgeries produced for the antiquities market with commercial intent. With such serious questions of authenticity still under discussion by scholars, I deemed it best to exclude these fragments from my study.

3 Introduction to the Manuscripts Profiles

A major goal of this book is to provide an introduction to the material features, scribal practices, and language (or writing style) of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves, resulting in a repertoire of individual manuscript profiles. While it is hoped that the profiles will be a useful starting point for those researching individual manuscripts, the ultimate goal in compiling them is to facilitate broader comparison between individual, and groups of, manuscripts. My own interests in doing such comparison concern whether we should view the Aramaic scrolls as a corpus and, if so, what we mean by the word “corpus.”

In addition to their literary contents, each manuscript bears its own, distinctive physical, scribal, and linguistic features – what I like to think of as a manuscript’s “fingerprint.” The individual manuscript profiles are aimed at providing a snapshot of these features, and thereby supplying students and scholars with a useful entry point for studying these scrolls. In criminal investigations involving fingerprints there are typically some that are well-preserved, and which therefore provide a better source of information for the investigator, while others are smudged, damaged, or barely discernable. A similar situation obtains with our scroll fragments. In some cases, such as the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) or the Cave 11 Job

translation (11Q10), we can achieve a fairly good appraisal of the physical, scribal, and linguistic character of a manuscript. In many other cases, however, the evidence is badly damaged, and we must always be wary of how much stock we place in any one, fragmentary artifact. Another important factor to bear in mind is that of micro-generic units and literary artistry. It has become clear to me that different portions of many Qumran Aramaic scrolls engage with different linguistic and lexical registers, often within a single text. There are parts of the Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, Aramaic Levi Document, 1 Enoch, and other texts that break into a more poetic, elevated literary style for a time. In other cases, a “scientific” section, such as the geographic description in Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) 16–17 or the lists and computational sections of 1 Enoch, may skew linguistic data in a particular direction, or give a small fragment a distinct linguistic feel that may not necessarily represent the now-missing larger work.

I must stress that the profiles are biased toward my own interests and questions, which concern the literary coherence of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls as a corpus. The profiles should therefore be viewed as merely one starting point for research on individual (or groups of) manuscripts. The following survey explains the rationale, parameters, and nuances of each characteristic recorded in the profiles. As a general rule, only those features that are extant in, or apply to, a given manuscript will be included in its profile; the absence of a feature means it is not present or applicable for that manuscript. While in the majority of profiles there is a certain amount of overlap with the very useful introductions of Puech in DJD 31 and 37 (or other major editions), the profiles are intended to be complementary to those volumes.

3.1 *Title Line*

Each profile has a heading that supplies a manuscript’s commonly-used catalogue number and, in most cases, the name assigned to it by the editors of its official publication. Most often this will be the French volumes of Émile Puech in the DJD series (volumes 31 and 37), but since some scrolls were published in the most widely-used editions outside of the DJD series – e.g., Milik’s edition of the Enoch texts – I will occasionally draw on other major editions in the title line.⁵⁴ Alternative editions of parts or all of a scroll will be included in the “Select bibliography” section, discussed below. On occasion a manuscript has been the subject of a major reedition or supplementation, such as with some of the Enoch manuscripts originally

53 Justnes, “Fake,” 257–66.

54 All French titles are translated into English for the sake of consistency.

published by Milik, now reedited by Henryk Drawnel. In such cases, references to two or more editions may be provided. In a few instances (e.g., with the Job and Leviticus translations), I have provided my own, alternative titles because those assigned by the original editors are potentially misleading. For Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) image numbers and museum inventory numbers, the reader is referred to the more extensive catalogues in DJD 39 and Tov's further updated *Revised Lists*. The excellent newer images taken under the auspices of the IAA (the "B-images") can be found as part of the online Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/>.

3.2 *Content Synopsis and Significance*

The profiles are not intended to serve as comprehensive introductions to the contents and scholarly treatment of manuscripts or the literary works they represent. However, it seemed beneficial to provide for each manuscript a brief overview of its literary contents, the ways in which it relates to the broader composition that it represents (if it is one of multiple copies, or is related to an otherwise-known work), and some of the major ways in which the manuscript contributes to our knowledge of Second Temple period literature. Since coherence among the Aramaic literature of Qumran is of special interest for my study, this section of the profiles will pay attention to thematic or conceptual affinities among texts within the Aramaic corpus. For more well-known texts, like Daniel and the various booklets of 1 Enoch, this section will assume some basic familiarity with the broader work under discussion. For lesser-known works, a fuller description will typically be given. I intend this part of the profiles to serve primarily as a basic introduction, a gateway to more in-depth study.

3.3 *Material Remains*

A brief overview of the extant physical remains of a manuscript is provided in this section. Here I also notify readers of any discrepancies in the numbering of fragments among scholarly treatments of a scroll, differences over the inclusion or exclusion of pieces or fragments, and proposed overlaps with other Qumran manuscripts.

3.4 *Notes on Provenance*

In view of credible allegations of forgery for some fragments that have surfaced since the early 2000s, students of the scrolls have understandably given increasing attention to the provenances and acquisition histories of the Qumran manuscripts. For this reason, the profiles include a section dedicated to summarizing what we know about

the discovery and acquisition of each scroll, although in many cases this is not as well-documented as we would like.

The very large majority of scrolls from Cave 4 has a similar provenance narrative, and so, to avoid excessive repetition in the profiles, a general account is provided below. Any notes on provenance for Cave 4 texts will assume and be related to this account.

The scroll fragments from Cave 4 were initially photographed at the Palestine Archaeological Museum (abbreviated as PAM, sometimes called the Rockefeller Museum) by Najib Albina in batches called "plates" because of their placement between two plates of glass for storage and preservation. As work on the scrolls advanced, a particular fragment might have been photographed on multiple plates at different times. The PAM plates were numbered, and John Strugnell ("Photographing," 124, 131–32) reported that two series of early images, taken in 1953, were securely linked to specific lines of provenance. The first was associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 conducted from September 22 to September 29, 1952, under the direction of Roland De Vaux, G. Lancaster Harding, and Józef T. Milik (DJD 6:3–4). This set of plates, called the "E series," was arranged by Frank Moore Cross on PAM 40.962–985, and the fragments on this set are most securely associated with Cave 4. Eibert Tigchelaar has now made a comprehensive list of the fragments included on the E series plates. The list is currently being prepared for publication, and I thank Prof. Tigchelaar for allowing me access to a pre-publication copy for my research on this section of the profiles.⁵⁵ The second series is PAM 40.575–40.637, 40.986–40.990, referred to as the "G series" because they were part of the fragments purchased by the Jordanian government. These fragments were reportedly excavated from Cave 4 by Bedouin, who then sold them to the Palestine Archaeological Museum either directly or through the Bethlehem antiquities dealer Khalil Iskandar ("Kando") Shahin. Although the excavation of fragments in the G series was not documented, their origins in Cave 4 are widely accepted and assumed to be secure. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that some fragments found by the Bedouin were later identified as belonging to the same scroll as fragments from De Vaux's excavations, allowing a small portion of the Bedouin fragments to be confidently linked to Cave 4 (see Ulrich's comments in DJD 16:2). For fragments not found on the E series or G series plates, discovery by the Bedouin should be assumed. As with those in the G series,

55 The list is currently publicly accessible on Zenodo, at <https://zenodo.org/record/5115828#.YPa95SoZMIU>.

these fragments are generally accepted as genuine and as originating in Cave 4. Following the Six-Day War in 1967, the Israel Antiquities Authority took over conservation of the scrolls kept at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, eventually moving them to their current location, at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Notes on the current location of various manuscripts are regularly provided in *Tov, Revised Lists*.

IAA Image Number	
4Q205	B-358523
4Q207	B-358541
4Q208	B-284658, B-298884, B-366648, B-366718
4Q210	B-284661
4Q211	B-284660
1Q23	B-277258, B-278283, B-277253
1Q24	B-278226
4Q530	B-283986
4Q531	B-283985 (used for main sample image only)
4Q533	B-284602
6Q8	B-284840
4Q571	B-285379
6Q23	B-280160
1Q32	B-278240
4Q539	B-363295
1Q21	B-278276
4Q214a	B-280387
4Q540	B-358679
4Q541	B-370755, B-285363
4Q544	B-284599
4Q196	B-285525, B-285526, B-285527, B-513168, B-484996, B-485064
4Q198	B-359920
4Q112	B-284885, B-284882
4Q115	B-284285
4Q156	B-284476
4Q157	B-284476
11Q10	B-285218, B-285228, B-285236, B-285235
4Q339	B-361433
4Q556	B-285378
4Q569	B-285370
6Q14	B-482250, B-482254

3.5 Sample Image

An accurate visual impression of each manuscript is a crucial part of assessing its character, especially relative to the broader corpus. For this reason the available images for each have been carefully sifted, and one to several of the best preserved fragments (or, in some rare

cases, an entire column or more) have been chosen as a representative sample of its physical state and scribal characteristics. At times it was most helpful to place two or more fragments next to each other, in order to give a fuller impression of the manuscript. However, it should not be assumed that such arrangements indicate a proposed reconstruction of the text, or that they reflect the original placement of the fragments in the editions. Any sample image that does not follow scholarly reconstructions or the arrangement of the editions will include the parenthetical statement “(not a proposed reconstruction).” It must also be stressed that none of the images accurately represent the actual scale of the original manuscript, for which the reader should consult the major editions or the online Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il>), maintained by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA).

The majority of images used for the profiles are from the electronic versions available in Brill’s *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*. The remaining images – most of which either were not available or were of poor quality in the Brill set – were very kindly made available by the IAA. All IAA images can be identified by an adjoining note of credit under the image. For convenience, I have included a list of all images provided by the IAA according scroll number and as ordered in the profiles (see opposite column).

3.6 Profile of Physical Layout

Each profile includes a section at the left side of the page in which a number of the measurable traits for each manuscript are presented in a condensed format. Only those traits that can be adequately ascertained will be provided, and all measurements use the metric system of millimeters (mm), centimeters (cm), and in rare cases meters (m). Occasionally, I include scholarly reconstructions (duly noted as such) that have a reasonable probability of being correct, such as the average number of lines in a column, or of letters in a line. As a general rule, all counts and measurements have been done independently of the published editions, and are not simply taken over from them. If any of the traits listed below are not included in the “Profile of physical layout,” it may be assumed that the trait cannot be measured meaningfully for that manuscript. The full list of traits is as follows:

3.6.1 Scroll Dimensions

We have no complete scroll preserved among the Aramaic texts, but in a few cases (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 11Q10 [Job]) enough remains to get an idea of one or more of a manuscript’s overall dimensions. When this is the case I have provided whatever information is available.

3.6.2 Margins

The size of a scroll's margins is one indicator of its quality, since large margins equate to more empty space and, presumably, to higher expense. The upper, lower, and inter-columnar margins (i.e., those between columns of text) are measured where extant, though it should be stressed that in some cases it is not clear whether an *entire* margin is preserved (e.g., the upper margin of 4Q197 [Tob^b]). In such a case the measurement is followed by "(?)." Upper margins are measured to the top of the first line of writing, and lower margins to the bottom of a typical medial letter in the final line of a column (not to the top of the final line, as Ulrich does for the Daniel manuscripts in DJD 16). Inter-columnar margins typically include a certain amount of variation, since the ends of lines differ in length depending on word size and other factors. A special sub-category of inter-columnar margins is used where two columns are joined by stitching, especially since there are numerous cases where we have only one side of such a margin preserved (e.g., 4Q208 [Enastr^a]). In the latter situation, I supply a measurement from the column of writing to the stitched joint, parenthetically indicating the nature of the margin.

3.6.3 Column Dimensions

Writing in rectangular "columns" of text was standard scribal practice for writing on scrolls in antiquity, and where the dimensions of these columns can be calculated I include them in the profiles. Measurement of height is from the top of the first line of writing to the bottom of a typical medial letter in the final line of the column (not the top of the final line, as Ulrich does for Daniel in DJD 16). In the case where two vertical column lines are inscribed during the manuscript preparation, the width equals the measurement between these lines. Where such lines are not present, an estimated average is made from the right margin to the ends of the lines of writing, which typically vary at the left side of the column. Sometimes only one of the two dimensions is preserved, most often the column width (e.g., 4Q534 [Birth of Noah^a], 4Q554 [NJ^a]).

3.6.4 Lines per Column

Related to the column height is the number of lines in each column. In rare cases, we have all the lines in a column preserved (e.g., 4Q246 [apocrDan], 4Q542 [TQahat]), and in other cases a reconstruction may be reasonably ventured (see many of the Enoch manuscripts edited by Milik, re-edited by Drawnel). Where either situation is the case I provide this information, with the important caveat that reportage of reconstructions does not necessarily equate to a full endorsement.

3.6.5 Letters per Line

In many cases the number of letters per line, related to column width, is preserved or may be estimated with an acceptable level of plausibility. Like Milik, I count here only actual letters, and not all letter spaces (including blank spaces between words), as do, e.g., Tigchelaar and García Martínez in DJD 23. The above statement about reconstructed numbers of lines per column applies for letters per line as well: I list these as a matter of course, but do not intend this as an endorsement of the reconstruction.

3.6.6 Scribal Guidelines

Artisans of scrolls in antiquity (and still today) regularly used a sharp instrument and straight edge to lay out sheets of parchment for writing in advance, impressing lines into the leather to be followed by scribes. This could include vertical lines to indicate the width of columns and/or horizontal lines from which to "hang" the letters. Without consulting the actual manuscripts by autopsy, it can be difficult to determine whether scribal guidelines were used, since the lines can sometimes be impressed very lightly. However, where guidelines are clear from the photographs, or are mentioned in the editions, I note this feature. In some cases, the scribe preparing the manuscript employed dots of ink or punctures along the right and left edges of a parchment sheet (e.g., 4Q213a [Levi^b], 1Q20 [apGen]) to serve as a guide for inscribing the horizontal script lines. I mention when such dots are preserved.

3.6.7 Average Medial Letter Height

The scribes of our scrolls employed varying handwriting styles and preferences, which included the size and consistency of their scripts. For each manuscript I have determined a range of standard height for medial letters, particularly those which are "medium" sized (e.g., ב, ד, ה, ו, and ת; but not י, ל, ז, and ק). Providing a range gives an impression not only of the size of a scribe's handwriting, but also of writing consistency, thereby aiding in the comparison of scribal hands.

3.6.8 Space between Lines

Like margins, the empty space left between lines (connected to scribal guidelines, where present, and letter size) is an indication of the quality of a manuscript. It is important to specify that my measurements are made between the *top* of one line and the *top* of the following one (i.e., between the two horizontal script guidelines, where they exist; this is also called leading), and not the empty space between the bottom of letters in one line of writing and the top of the line below it.

3.6.9 Space between Words

Empty space left between words (i.e., kerning) can be more compact or more open, depending upon the scribe. In an effort to compare scribal practices, I have included an average range of such spacing in the profile for each scroll.

3.6.10 Vacats

An open space typically left between literary units in scrolls is conventionally called a vacat in research on the Qumran manuscripts (from the Latin for “lack” or “empty”). Vacats represent an important scribal feature of the texts studied here, most often indicating a perceived sense division in the composition (or much less often a flaw in the manuscript over which the scribe chose not to write). I do my best in the profiles to distinguish whether a vacat signals a “major” sense division (e.g., indicating a new “tablet” in 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 8.2, or the introduction of the Noah booklet in 1Q20 [apGen] 5.29) or a “minor” sense division (e.g., between various observations on the moon’s phases in the calendar of 4Q209 [Enastr^b], separate scenes from a single vision of Enoch in 4Q206 [En^c] 1xxii, or a shift in scene and plot development from Hannah’s weeping to Tobiah’s departure in 4Q197 [Tob^b] 4i.4–5). Of course, I readily acknowledge that judging a vacat to indicate a “minor” or “major” sense division is a matter of opinion, and each literary pause has its own character. As a way to help readers gauge the size of vacats, I also categorize them as “small” (up to 10 mm), “medium” (11–30 mm), and “large” (over 30 mm). By doing so, I do not mean to imply that the scribes writing our scrolls knew of such a system, or that a method for using vacats was applied in any consistent way across the corpus. My choice of size breaks between the categories is inductive, based on observation of the preferences of the ancient scribes who wrote these scrolls, and is meant to be a heuristic tool for comparison of scribal practices across the corpus.

3.7 Material

The two materials used for the manuscripts studied in this book are sheets made from either papyrus plants or prepared animal skins. I simply use the term “papyrus” for the former, and “skin” to indicate the latter, although some prefer alternatively to call skin “leather,” “parchment,” or “vellum” (the different terms are often taken to imply varied manners of preparation). It is clear that varying qualities of both materials were used for the Qumran scrolls.⁵⁶ However, because the profiles are not

⁵⁶ For a description of the process for preparing leather, which accounts for the majority of our manuscripts, see Bar-Ilan,

based on first-hand physical inspection I deemed it best to refrain from detailed descriptions of the materials, as are found in the occasionally florid reports of color, texture, thickness, and other physical features in the DJD series or similar editions.⁵⁷

3.8 Script and Proposed Palaeographic Date

In these two sections I provide a script classification and the palaeographic date associated with it, based on epigraphic study. In the large majority of cases this information was provided by the original editor(s) of a manuscript, which I typically cite without substantial change. (My intention is not to offer a fresh palaeographic assessment of each scroll, but to include information on the assessment of others who specialize in this area.) However, occasionally the editor of a scroll did not give an evaluation, and in such cases I offer my own based on comparison with other, previously-studied scripts. This tends to occur only for small fragments that were included in the earliest DJD volumes (e.g., 1Q23 [EnGiants^a], 3Q14 [Tob?] 4, 5Q15 [NJ]). Where I relate the opinions of previous epigraphers for script analysis and palaeographic dating, I always include their name(s) in parentheses, with the necessary bibliographic information to be found in either the title line or the “select bibliography” section (see below). Scholars working in this area know well the inconsistencies in terminology across the work of various scholars, and sometimes even within the work of a single scholar. This is especially true for palaeographic terms such as formal, semi-formal, semi-cursive, and cursive, which are often left undefined and ambiguous. Chronological terms like Hasmonean and Herodian can also vary from scholar to scholar. My goal in this book is not to arbitrate or solve these inconsistencies, but simply to give the reader a sense of previous opinions associated with a given scroll.

The palaeographic study and identification of Jewish scripts has become a staple of dating the Qumran manuscripts since the extremely influential work of F.M. Cross, augmented significantly by that of J.T. Milik.⁵⁸ Although the discipline has occasionally been criticized as claiming to offer more precision than the evidence allows, and of being placed on uncertain foundations, palaeography

“Writing”; Tov, *Qumran*, 107–27. The topic is also treated in Part 4 (Scribal Practices) of this book.

⁵⁷ Rabin, “Archaeometry,” provides a helpful discussion of the factors involved in assessing the character of skin for the Qumran scrolls.

⁵⁸ Cross, “Development”; Cross, “Palaeography.” A recent overview and assessment of the method’s application to the Qumran scrolls is found in Tigchelaar, “Seventy Years.”

remains a widely-accepted indicator of a given copy's date and scribal character.⁵⁹ Most scholars consider the method to be generally confirmed by radiocarbon dating (see below), which itself deals in probabilities, not certainties. In recent years, scholars have begun to advance new approaches for studying the handwriting of the Qumran scrolls, growing especially out of a large-scale project based at the University of Groningen. These studies explore the development of digital palaeography and more rigorous investigations of formality and informality (the latter labelled by Cross as "cursive") in scribal hands, with both topics addressing issues of scribal variation and the identification of scribes.⁶⁰

Those studying the Aramaic Qumran texts are fortunate to have the majority of scribal hands assessed by one of the world's most skilled and respected epigraphers, Émile Puech of the *École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem*. Scribal hands are typically grouped under the chronological rubrics of either the Hasmonean period (roughly the early second to mid first centuries BCE) or the Herodian period (roughly mid first century BCE through first century CE), and a stylistic spectrum of categories moving from formal to cursive, with semi-formal and semi-cursive as intermediate designations. Scholars have used slightly varied systems of classification when discussing scripts and their dates, and an effort has been made to standardize this variety for the sake of the comparative charts later in this volume. For example, some scholars use quite firm dates in making a palaeographic assessment (e.g., Puech's "la première moitié du premier s. av. J.-C., de préférence c.-75 ou le premier quart" for 4Q532 [EnGiants^d]) while others use more open-ended descriptions (e.g., Collins' and Flint's "early first century CE" for 4Q243 [psDan^a]). I have typically assigned these varied descriptions a date using quarter-century (or occasionally third-century) durations, so that the "early first century CE" assessment just mentioned would be given as 1–25 CE in the profiles and following chapters. This method may admittedly lose some of the nuance or intentional ambiguity of the original description, and so the source should always be consulted. What is gained is the ability to facilitate comparison between manuscripts. Emanuel Tov and others consider scribes who wrote in a formal hand and used other specialized practices (varied spacing and layout techniques, corrections, etc.) to have

been part of a class of skilled professionals.⁶¹ It stands to reason that formal scripts penned by highly-trained scribes were reserved for writings considered "special" in some way, perhaps for communal or public use. Cursive scripts, by contrast, were often used for the matters of everyday life belonging to the private domain, such as notes, bills of sale, personal letters, legal contracts of various sorts, and personal or private copies of literary texts. By no means does this dichotomy hold absolutely, but as a general rule it is reflected in the evidence currently available, even if not all of the evidence derives from the same time and place, or occurs on the same media (skin, papyrus, pottery, stone). It may also be observed that a higher percentage of papyrus manuscripts are associated with cursive writing and the related genres mentioned above than those made of skin.

3.9 Radiocarbon Date

Some of the Qumran manuscripts have been dated using Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon dating technology, providing a means of dating scrolls independent of palaeography. When this is the case for one of the Aramaic manuscripts treated in the profiles, I will include the proposed radiocarbon date, as found in one of the two following studies.⁶²

Bonani, Georges, Susan Ivy, Willy Wölfl, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell. "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 34.3 (1992): 843–49.⁶³

Jull, Timothy A.J., Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov. "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert." *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 11–19.⁶⁴

For the sake of consistency, I provide the dates as listed in the recent treatment of van der Schoor, along with the fragment(s) from which the dating sample was taken when available.⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that Doudna offered slightly altered date ranges for some scrolls based

61 See, e.g., Tov, "Scribes," in *EDSS*, 2:830–31.

62 See further the additional studies of Doudna, "Radiocarbon" and van der Schoor, "Radiocarbon," the latter providing important information on the fragments sampled. Subsequent debate about the initial results may be found in Doudna, "Radiocarbon"; Rasmussen, van der Plicht, Cryer, Doudna, Cross, and Strugnell, "Effects"; Atwill and Braunheim, "Redating"; Rasmussen, van der Plicht, Doudna, Nielsen, Stenby, and Pedersen, "Contamination"; van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon"; and van der Plicht and Rasmussen, "Dating."

63 See also Bonani, Broshi, Carmi, Ivy, Strugnell, and Wölfl, "Radiocarbon."

64 See also Jull, Donahue, Broshi, and Tov, "Radiocarbon."

65 van der Schoor, "Radiocarbon."

59 For some of the voices urging caution with using palaeographic dating, see Doudna, "Dating," 244; Wise, "Dating," 55–59.

60 See, e.g., Popović, Dhali, and Schomaker, "Artificial"; Longacre, "Formality"; van der Schoor, "Variation"; and the relevant discussion in Part 4 (Scribal Practices).

on a newer calibration curve.⁶⁶ All date ranges listed in the profiles are at 1- σ calibration, though the 2- σ calibrations for some scrolls are also available in the relevant publications.

The studies listed above are the results of two batches of fragments being dated. The first batch (fourteen manuscripts, including eight from Qumran) was tested in 1990 at the ETH Zürich, and the second (eighteen manuscripts with two pieces of linen, including fifteen scrolls from Qumran) in 1994 at the Arizona AMS Facility in Tucson. Of the first batch, three scrolls were written in Aramaic (4Q542 [TQahat], 4Q213 [Levi^a], and 1Q20 [apGen]), while the only Aramaic manuscript from the second batch was 4Q208 (Enastr^a). Five additional scrolls from the Judean Desert were carbon dated in the 2000s, though none of them were from among the Qumran Aramaic corpus. There is currently another dating project underway, organized by the University of Groningen, though the results have yet to be published.⁶⁷

3.10 *Special Traits and General Comments*

In this section I provide an overall assessment of the physical features and scribal practices of each manuscript. Since what remains of individual scrolls varies widely across the corpus, aiming at consistency of presentation in this section was undesirable. I have rather let each manuscript dictate what should be included, unavoidably guided, to some degree, by my own interests. In some cases, the physical features of the manuscript are of greater interest, while in others – often those with a significant amount of text preserved – the scribal practices or linguistic features demand greater attention. The basic aim of this section is to summarize and sift through information provided elsewhere in the profile, in an effort to allow readers a quick overview of some of the more prominent features of a manuscript, including its writing and language. This section also provides space to address issues otherwise not included in the profile, and to compare a manuscript with others across the corpus.

3.11 *Original Manuscript Quality*

A study of the manuscripts from Qumran helps one to appreciate the wide variety of production qualities represented among them. This may be seen, for example, in the overall size of the manuscript (when it can be ascertained), formality of the script, and empty space left on the sheets of papyrus or leather, margins, line spacing,

and vacats. In order to facilitate the comparison of manuscripts, I have kept in mind the five grades of manuscript quality described below, which are occasionally combined to offer further specificity in gradation (e.g., “Fair–good,” or “Very good–excellent”). While there are some indications that papyrus manuscripts were considered to be of lower quality than those written on skin in Palestine during the Second Temple period, I have not factored this into my appraisals of overall manuscript quality. I have tried to be as objective as possible in making my assessments, though it must be admitted that we lack full knowledge of ancient aesthetic norms. As a result, I have had to reckon partly by my own, inescapably anachronistic sense of what would have represented quality to ancient readers. Of course, the very poor physical state of many scrolls often impairs the task of assessing their quality, and as a rule of thumb the less remains of a scroll, the more tentative its quality grade should be considered.

Excellent: My exemplars for this category are what I consider to be the very best manuscripts of the corpus in terms of the formality, carefulness, and consistency of script, manuscript preparation and quality of skin/papyrus, regulation and size of spacing, and number and length of vacats. These exemplars include 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q203 (EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), 4Q544 (VisAmram^b), and 11Q10 (Job). I rate all of these manuscripts as “Excellent” or “Excellent–very good,” with each appearing to have been written by a highly trained scribe and exhibiting the highest level of care and labor in its construction. These scrolls were presumably very valuable. The highest quality of them (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen]) generally correspond to what Tov has called *de Luxe* editions.⁶⁸

Very good: These are manuscripts that possess many of the qualities of those listed above, under the “Excellent” heading, but in one or two ways fall short of the highest rating in what remains for us to evaluate. Examples of “Very good” manuscripts are 4Q529 (Words of Michael), 5Q15 (NJ), and 4Q112 (Dan^a).

Good: In this category the spacing is measurably tighter or more erratic than in the categories above, with the writing typically being less even and practiced, often manifest in a more informal script with some cursive features.⁶⁹ (This does not necessarily imply that a given scribe could not write in a more formal, easier-to-read script, but simply

66 Doudna, “Radiocarbon.”

67 On the five scrolls already dated, see Monger, “4Q216,” 44–45 and 103–5.

68 Tov, *Scribal Habits*, 125–29.

69 A useful, recent discussion of the complexity of these matters is found in Longacre, “Formality.”

that he chose not to do so.) There tends to be a higher number of scribal mistakes, and fewer or smaller vacats to facilitate reading. Examples of “Good” scrolls include 4Q196 (papTob^a), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), and 4Q213 (Levi^a). Together, the “Good” and “Very good” categories represent the bulk of scrolls considered in the profiles, with a high number being categorized as “Good–very good,” i.e., in the upper middle section of the quality scale.

Fair: 4Q201 (En^a) is a relatively sizable example of what I consider to be a “Fair” manuscript. That copy of Enoch is closely and irregularly spaced, the margins are quite narrow, few or no vacats are used, the script is relatively erratic, and scribal corrections are fairly frequent. Other examples of this quality level are 4Q557 (Vision^a) and 4Q212 (En^g). These are serviceable copies, but of a noticeably different quality level than “Very good” or “Excellent” scrolls.

Poor: For the purposes of this study, the “Poor” quality category is merely hypothetical, with none of the manuscripts in the profiles being deemed “Poor” or “Poor-fair.” I considered giving manuscripts such as 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (VisAmram^e) a “Poor-fair” rating, but in the end thought it best to reserve “Poor” as an unused category at the lowest end of the quality spectrum, in recognition of a well-attested group of manuscripts poorer in quality than any of those included in this book. Here I am thinking especially of the (mainly papyrus) documentary texts found elsewhere in the Judean Desert. Examples of such manuscripts include Mur 18 (Acknowledgement of Debt) and Mur 20 (Marriage Contract), which are obviously of an altogether different quality level than the literary texts included in the profiles, likely because of their more personal intended function.

3.12 *Select Bibliography*

The purpose of this section is not to give an extensive, or even a representative, list of secondary literature on the text under discussion. Rather, it is intentionally restricted to studies that deal primarily with the physical manuscript treated in a profile, including its decipherment and transcription, scribal traits, and language (this is in addition, of course, to the major edition[s] listed in the title line). In short, the bibliography is oriented toward the specific questions addressed by the profiles. I typically limit entries to a few of the most important or recent studies, which readers may use as a starting point for further research. More general studies that do not fall under

the purview of the “Select bibliography” section are often mentioned in the “Content synopsis and significance” section, at the beginning of each profile.

3.13 *Script Sample*

An important characteristic of any manuscript is the handwriting of the scribe(s) who copied it. Providing a sample of each scribal hand facilitates epigraphic and palaeographic comparison across the corpus. Each script sample has been constructed from the available images of the manuscript using Photoshop CS5, though they are not presented at the actual scale of the manuscript. All letters legible on the images are provided in a given script sample, with two different samples of each letter included when possible. (The absence of a letter means that it is either not present or is too badly damaged to reproduce.) When a scribe wrote two different forms of a letter, an effort is made to provide both forms in the sample.

It must be stressed that this section of the profiles is intended only to provide an impressionistic *sample* of a scroll's script, not an exhaustive catalogue of every letter form. Those wishing to pursue detailed epigraphic or palaeographic study should always consult the available images of the fragments.

3.14 *Corrections and Scribal Features*

Another way of comparing scribes and manuscripts across the corpus is to pay attention to how corrections and emendations are made, or how scribal marks are employed to assist in the process of production or ongoing use. This section aims to gather together these features in an easily accessible format. In a manuscript where a scribal practice occurs multiple times, such as the addition of supralinear letters in 1Q20 (apGen), only a representative sample will be provided. In such cases the words “representative sample” will be added to the section heading.

3.15 *Language*

The language of the Aramaic Qumran texts has been an ongoing source of scholarly research, and may even comprise the greatest single topic of interest in these scrolls to date. Much focus and excitement has rightly been directed to where the dialect of these Aramaic texts fits in the wider historical spectrum of the Aramaic language, since the Qumran texts are a boon for our understanding of what Joseph Fitzmyer labeled Middle Aramaic. The question of the Aramaic dialect of the Qumran texts also has something to contribute to the question of whether they constitute a distinctive cluster of Jewish writings.

Moreover, language has been the most widely-used tool for dating the original composition of several Aramaic texts from Qumran.

In an effort to capture some of the dialectal features of what is often called Qumran Aramaic, with the ultimate goal of broader comparison across the corpus, I decided to build a linguistic profile for each manuscript. It must be stated emphatically that these profiles do not aim at completeness, something that for reasons of time and space is untenable in a study such as this one. Rather, I have chosen linguistic traits that would begin to give researchers a sense of the texture and level of coherency of the Aramaic dialect(s) in these texts, starting from the level of the individual manuscripts. Deciding which traits to catalogue has been a difficult task of trial and error, and I am certain that some readers would have included traits other than those selected here. This cannot be avoided, and, if nothing else, I hope that my choices will serve to push the conversation further along.

The linguistic profiles aim to combine a variety of linguistic features: syntactic, morphological, orthographic, and lexical. In general, they are chosen either because they have been included in earlier discussions of language in these scrolls (e.g., by Kutscher, Beyer, Fitzmyer, Cook, and Muraoka), or because I deemed them worthy of inclusion on other grounds, such as the distinctive use of an idiom or linguistic construction.

The overall goal of this entire section is to gain a general impression of how each text “communicates,” as judged by its extant copies. Implicit in this goal is the recognition that, within any given language, an author is faced with numerous choices about how to get his or her ideas across in writing. The combined effect of these choices may give a text its own profile, and the comparison of such profiles may lead to the discernment of a common, shared way of communicating. For example, we may assume with relative certainty that scribes writing in Aramaic during the late Persian to early Roman periods knew that they could use either a *haphel* or *aphel* form of the causative verb in writing (whatever its relation to pronunciation), or that they had the option of either marking a direct object with a *lamed* or leaving it unmarked. Similarly, one could mark the genitive (or possessive) state in one of several ways. When we find a convergence of such choices, it stands to tell us something about the coherence of the group, and it is hoped that this section will help to discern such coherencies. As noted above, a cumulative overview of language, incorporating the data of the profiles, can be found in Chapter 3 of this book.

All numbering of fragments and lines in the profiles are taken from the major editions, which sometimes involve

the reconstruction of groups of fragments. In most cases, this will be the DJD volumes of Puech and others, but for some texts (e.g., the Enoch manuscripts or the Genesis Apocryphon) these are not available, and other editions are used as listed in the title line of the profile. Detailed discussions of most of the linguistic features discussed below can now be found in Muraoka, *Grammar*.

3.15.1 Syntax

In dealing with verbal syntax, I have limited myself to tracking placement of the verb in a clause and, primarily, its relation to the clause subject. This assumes that the objects (direct and indirect) are placed later in a sentence or clause, which is the general rule both in these texts and in Aramaic dialects of this period more broadly. When an object is drawn to the front of the sentence or clause, this is typically for poetic reasons, or to place greater emphasis on the object. In order that these cases are not missed, a category for them has been included below (“Early use of the object”). For all of the syntactical categories, a parenthetical question mark (“?”) will follow uncertain cases, often where a verb or subject is partially or fully reconstructed. Since participles are technically a linguistic category of their own, when they act as verbs in a clause I will include them with the notation “(part.)” In many places, the text is too poorly preserved to determine the relative syntactic placement of an extant verb and/or subject, and in these cases no entry will be made. Imperatives and infinitives are not included in the assessment of verbs.

3.15.1.1 *Verb Early in Clause: Verb-Subject/Subject-Verb/Subject Implied*

Under the category of “verb early in clause” I include cases where the main verb is *at or near* the beginning of a clause or sentence. If a main verb is preceded by a simple modifier, such as a particle, conjunction, or adverb (e.g., וּבְאֲדִין or וּכְדִי), it is still considered as “verb early in clause.” However, if the main verb is preceded by a longer conjunctive or adverbial phrase involving a noun, such as אֲרֵוּ אֲבִי בִיּוֹמֵי יָרֵד אֲבִי “Now in the days of Jared, my father ...” (1Q20 [apGen] 3.3) or אֲבִי בִיּוֹמֵי יָרֵד אֲבִי “[And] during ni[ght fifteen ...” (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 2ii.7), I count it as “verb later in clause” (see below). Occasionally, two or more verbs are used together without an intervening non-verbal word aside from minimal conjunctions like וְ “and,” as in the standard idiom עָנָה וְאָמַר “He answered and said ...” (e.g., 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 6+6a–c.8). Such verb bunches will be counted as one item, since they act as a single entity syntactically. In the quite frequent case of uncertain readings, a parenthetical question mark will be used (e.g., “וּבְאֲדִין?”), and when a participle functions as the

main verb in a clause, the entry will be directly followed by the notation “(part.)”

Of course, trying to categorize neatly a verbal system often feels like an exercise in futility, since there are many nuances to how an author may construct a sentence or phrase. The categories adopted here do not always do justice to these nuances. In fact, one could often provide an extended discussion at the sentence or clause level, something impossible to include in a study of this type. Nevertheless, I hope that this necessarily imprecise treatment of syntax may give the interested researcher a rough, preliminary indication of the syntactic preferences reflected in a text or manuscript.

When both verb and subject are present in a clause, there is flexibility in the order that may be chosen by the author, hence the two profile categories of “Verb-subject” and “Subject-verb.” When the subject has been previously identified and continues to be the focus of ongoing discussion, a verb may – and often is – used without a stated subject. In these cases the subject is implied, or carried over, from earlier in the text, and is therefore placed in the “Subject implied” category.

3.15.1.2 *Verb Later in Clause: Verb-Subject/Subject-Verb/Subject Implied*

This category is, admittedly, somewhat ambiguous, and amounts to a catch-all for instances where main verbs are not found at or near the beginning of a sentence or clause (hence my use of the comparative “later,” rather than the absolute “late”). There is a variety of ways in which this may be done by an author, but they share the basic trait that the verb is shifted to a point later than is typical for Aramaic prose during this period. In many cases, the “verb later in clause” category will coincide with entries in the following “object early in clause” section.

The three sub-sections of this category operate in the same way as they do for “verb early in clause” category, on which see above.

3.15.1.3 *Verbless Clause*

Verbless clauses are fairly common in Aramaic (as in Hebrew), in which the verb “to be” (הוֹיָה) is implied, but not graphically represented. Examples are **ב[מא] ריקי לה** “H[ow] soft (is) the hair of her head” (1Q20 [apGen] 20.3), **הוֹיָה מרא עלמא** “our great Lord, he (is) the Everlasting Lord” (4Q202 [En^b] iii.14), and **וכוֹ-להוֹן כוכבין** “and all of them (are) stars” (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 23.5). Note the reflexive pronouns in the first two examples (left untranslated in the first), something that is found quite often in verbless clauses among the Aramaic Qumran texts.

3.15.1.4 *Object Early in Clause*

Cases where the object is fronted, or placed before the verb (see “Verb early in clause,” above), are recorded under this heading.

3.15.1.5 *Direct Object Marker (If Present): –ל or ית*

The way in which an ancient Aramaic text marked the direct object of a clause or sentence has often figured into discussions of geographic dialects and linguistic dating. In the Qumran manuscripts, we find that an author or scribe could: 1.) leave the direct object unmarked, or 2.) mark it with either a.) the prefix –ל or b.) the particle ית. Much has been written on these two ways of marking the direct object in Jewish Aramaic, and the potential connections of both methods with earlier or contemporaneous Hebrew practices (one language either influencing, or being influenced by, the other). These discussions will factor into the chapter on language (Chapter 3), but the inclusion of this category in the profiles is primarily for gauging consistency/variance across the Qumran Aramaic corpus.

3.15.1.6 *Uses of the Relative Pronoun יד to Mark the Genitive Relationship or Introduce Direct Quotation*

The Aramaic word יד/י or its shortened, prefix form –ד, like post-Classical Hebrew אֲשֶׁר/–ש, is remarkably plastic in its service to the language. Two of its distinctive uses are: 1.) to mark the genitive/possessive relationship between two nouns (e.g., חזיון דרגוֹ “vision of wrath”; 4Q204 [En^c] iv.5), and 2.) to indicate that what follows is a quotation (e.g., וְאָמַר לָהּ דִּי יְחֻאֵ [ל]בָּהּ פִּי [ש] חַלְמִיָּא “And he said to him ‘He will tell[you] the int[erpre]tation of the dreams’”; 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12(?).23). Both functions are optional, and so their use or non-use tells us something about the stylistic preferences of the authors of the Aramaic literature at Qumran, or those scribes who copied it.

3.15.1.7 *Double כול Construction*

A notable syntactic construction in some Qumran Aramaic texts is the use of כול “all, every” twice with reference to a single noun, presumably to emphasize the totality of the object under discussion. The second instance of כול in such expressions typically has a possessive suffix, as in the following examples: כול ארע צפונא כולהא “all of the land of the north in its entirety” (1Q20 [apGen] 16.10), כל יממא דן כלה “all of this day in its entirety” (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 2ii.5). Since this is a distinctive, and presumably optional stylistic form of emphasis in Aramaic, I felt it merited inclusion in the profiles. Greenfield and Qimron suggested that this may be a Hebraism, based on the construction’s appearance in Biblical Hebrew (e.g., Ezek 11:15 and 35:15,

and perhaps at Isa 14:18).⁷⁰ Fitzmyer and Stadel rightly rejected this idea, and I would add that it is more likely an Aramaism in Biblical Hebrew, with almost all occurrences being found in Ezekiel.⁷¹ The construction also appears in a broad cross-section of Aramaic, though in some corpora only very rarely or not at all. It is found regularly in Palmyrene Aramaic, and occasionally in Nabatean, Hatran, and the Aramaic of the documents found elsewhere in the Judean Desert (e.g., 5/6Hev 8 [= pYadin 8]). An especially common phrase in these dialects seems to have been כּל אִנּוּשׁ כּלָּה “every single person.”

3.15.1.8 Verbs of Movement

Several scholars have observed that Official (or Imperial) Aramaic has special rules governing verbs of physical movement when there is a point of destination in view.⁷² While these rules are not followed absolutely by ancient scribes, such verbs tend heavily to take the preposition עַל when the destination (i.e., recipient) is an animate being, such as a person, while inanimate destinations such as a house or city are preceded instead by the preposition לְ, if they take a preposition at all.⁷³ The rules seem to hold for Daniel and Ezra (which are essentially Official Aramaic), though the preposition קִדַּם acts as a substitute for עַל in limited situations where the recipient is a deity or a king.⁷⁴ In later Aramaic, alternate practices are developed, such as use of the preposition לִית for complements that are living beings in the targums. Since this dialectical feature is characteristic of Official (and Biblical) Aramaic, tracking it in the Qumran texts may allow us to see whether they follow the same pattern.

3.15.1.9 Copula Pronoun

There is no evidence in Old Aramaic for use of the third-person pronoun as a third linguistic element in a verbless clause. However, we do occasionally find such a usage in Official Aramaic compositions, such as Daniel and the Ahiqar narrative.⁷⁵ Since this use of the pronoun as a “copula” emerges as a linguistic feature in Official Aramaic, it

seemed worthwhile to determine the extent to which the feature occurs in the Aramaic writings from Qumran.

3.15.1.10 Periphrastic Construction

A regular morphosyntactic feature of Official and Biblical Aramaic is the periphrastic construction, in which a finite form of the verb הוֹרִי is combined with a participle to express durative action (e.g., אֲדִין סֹרְכִיָּא וְאַחַדְרַפְנִיָּא הוּוּ ... בְּעִין “Then the presidents and satraps were seeking ...” Dan 6:5).⁷⁶ The typical syntactic structure of a periphrastic phrase is a form of הוֹרִי followed by an active participle, referring to a durative action in the past, though a number of other constructions are possible. The periphrastic structures endure into later dialects, and a full catalogue of such constructions in the Qumran scrolls will facilitate comparison both across the Qumran Aramaic corpus and with other Aramaic dialects. For the sake of completeness, I make a basic distinction between different syntactic arrangements: *Finite form of הוֹרִי + participle*, or *Participle + finite form of הוֹרִי*.

3.15.2 Lexical Items

Under this heading I have catalogued a variety of words that I find of interest for discerning the scribal, linguistic, or compositional character of the scroll under discussion. Some of the words are focused on the lexical manifestation of morphological, orthographic, or phonological variation across the corpus, as with the different forms of the particle דִּי/דִי/זִי, the similarly-functioning אֲדִין/בְּאֲדִין, or the alternate forms תִּמְנָן and תִּמְנָה. Others are markers of discourse, and help to give a sense of the narrative style used by an author or scribe, examples being בְּעֵין, כְּדִי, לְהֵן, and אֲדִין/בְּאֲדִין. Yet others are useful markers of dialect like בְּרֵא (מֵן), which seems to have been used primarily in Achaemenid period Aramaic as attested in the Aramaic literature from Elephantine and North Saqqara. Occasionally, lexical items from this part of the language profile are taken up for further discussion in the “Special traits and general comments” section. I am well aware that other scholars may wonder at certain words being included in my list of lexical items, or would add to my list in valuable ways. I can only say that the words chosen assist in my own diagnostic approach to the Aramaic Qumran literature, which seeks to gain a general impression of the linguistic, compositional, and scribal signatures of a given scroll. I hope that some of the lexical items will also prove useful for other researchers.

70 Greenfield and Qimron, “Col. XII,” 75.

71 Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 139–40; Stadel, *Hebraismen*, 24–25.

72 See Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 589–621; Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 268–70. Verbs of motion where there is no point of destination in view (e.g., 4Q210 [Enastr^c] iii.4ff) are not counted.

73 I note here that the verb עָלַל “to enter” at times forms a special idiom with the prepositional phrase בְּ/לְגִוּוֹ (א) “into the midst (of).” While this idiom provides a point of contact between Qumran texts like the Genesis Apocryphon (14.16–17), Tobit (4Q197 4i.15, 4iii.1), and the New Jerusalem (4Q554 2ii.12, 2iii.16; 5Q15 ii.18, iii.6), it is not counted in the profiles.

74 For further discussion, see Chapter 3.

75 For more information, see Holmstedt and Jones, “Pronoun,” 72.

76 For fuller discussions of this grammatical feature, with bibliography, see the treatments of Gzella, *Tempus*, 245–54; and Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 205–8.

3.15.3 Morphology

3.15.3.1 *Causative and Passive/Reflexive Verb Stem Prefixes*

One of the most recognizable features of Aramaic verb morphology during the second temple period is the presence of two possible prefixes for certain forms of the causative (אפעל/הפעל) and passive/reflexive (אתפעל/התפעל) conjugations. This feature has often figured into discussions of Aramaic dialectology and the dating of Aramaic texts, with both the *aleph* and the *he* verbal prefixes occurring in the Qumran scrolls. Because of the previous attention given to these alternative verb forms, I track their variation in the profiles.

3.15.3.2 *Object Suffixes on Verbs*

Scribes composing Aramaic during the second temple period had two main options for presenting the previously introduced object of a verb, either separated from the verb (e.g., ושאלת אנון “and I asked them”; 4Q197 [Tob^b] 4iii.5) or attached directly to the verb as a suffix (e.g., ושאלתה “and I asked it” 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b] 6ii.4). Since this aspect of verb morphology seems likely to reveal unconscious or semi-conscious compositional preference on the part of scribes, and may therefore help to identify patterns of scribal practice across the Qumran manuscripts, I document occurrences of it in the profiles.

3.15.3.3 *Assimilation and Dissimilation of Nun (Nasalization) and Other Letters*

There are certain grammatical situations in which an etymologically expected *nun* may be either graphically present (i.e., non-assimilated) or missing (i.e., assimilated). Such fluctuation in the Qumran texts may be seen, for example, in the noun מדינה “city” (במדינתא at 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1.13, and וּמְדִינָא at 4Q214a [Levi^e] 2–3ii.1) or the verbal stem נתן “to give” (ותנתנון at 4Q542 [TQahat] 11.10, and תנתנון at 4Q213 [Levi^a] 1–2ii.10). Occasionally, *nun* is also used as a phonological or orthographic augment, such as an infix, when it is not part of the base noun or verbal root. This process of inserting a *nun* is sometimes called dissimilation, nasalization, or nunation, and can be seen, for example, in the common spelling ינדע for the prefix conjugation of the verb ידע “to know” (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 2.20, 4Q542 [TQahat] 11.1). A few words have consonants other than *nun* which may assimilate under certain conditions, such as the letter *lamed* in the verbal root סל”ק “to come up” (1Q20 [apGen] 21.20, 4Q214 [Levi^d] 1.6, 4Q214b [Levi^f] 2–6.3, 4Q537 [T]Jacob?] 12.1, and 11Q18 [NJ] 13.4) or the letter *he* in suffixes where it might be expected (אחוי rather than אחוהי at 1Q20 [apGen] 21.34, and למדינתון rather than למדינתהון at 1Q20 [apGen] 22.4).

Variations of this sort are often treated as evidence of dialectal variation or diachronic linguistic change (and, as a result, the dates of texts), and so it seemed worthwhile to document them in the profiles.

3.15.4 Orthography and Phonology

Orthographic and phonological features are often interconnected with morphology. However, in the profiles I have included a section in the profiles focused specifically on several features that seem to reflect writing and speaking practices indicative of the Aramaic used for at least some of the Qumran texts and bordering dialects. As with many features included in the language section of the profiles, those below could arguably be categorized as morphological in addition to orthographic or phonological. In fact, they could justifiably be identified with any of these descriptors.

3.15.4.1 *Long 2nd Person Masculine Singular Verbal Affix תא/תה*

A distinctive trait of the Qumran texts is their occasional use of a longer ending for the 2nd person masculine singular suffix-conjugation verb in lieu of the more expected short form (e.g., חזיתא “you saw” in 1Q20 [apGen] 14.14 versus חזית in 4Q112 [Dan^a] 3ii+4–6.12). I have not included in the profiles use of the long 2nd person masculine singular pronoun אנתה, which occurs at Qumran consistently in a long form that is often compared with the long verb suffix noted above (the more widely used standard pronoun is אנה). It is worth noting, however, that this long form of the pronoun is found only in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic. Both features are widely acknowledged as dialectal markers of the type of Aramaic used in the Qumran texts.

3.15.4.2 *2nd Person Masculine Singular and Plural (Pro)Nominal Suffixes כה/כא and כם*

Another peculiar orthographic (and perhaps phonological) feature of the Qumran texts is use of a long (pro)noun suffix for the 2nd person masculine forms. The long forms are used rarely, but they have been discussed repeatedly in treatments of Qumran Aramaic as either the graphic representation of a genuine – but typically hidden – feature of Aramaic more generally, or as the result of Hebrew influence. In the latter case, these long endings would be distinctive to Jewish Aramaic. The singular suffix כה/כא (instead of כ) has a distribution across a number of Qumran scrolls, though the plural form כם (instead of כן or כון) is found only twice in 1Q20 (apGen) and may be either a reflex of the older Aramaic form as found in Official Aramaic and Ezra, or a Hebraism. Another feature

that is often treated as analogous to כה/כא is the long form of the 3rd person feminine singular suffix ה/הה (typically ה), also discussed as potentially a native Aramaic feature or a Hebraism. I have not catalogued this feature in the profiles, but the ending is found in a distribution similar to כה/כא, occurring in 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q197 (Tob^b), 4Q549 (Visions of Amram^{g?}), and 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}), as well as the Cairo Geniza copy of the Aramaic Levi Document.

3.15.4.3 *ש* or *ס* for Etymological /s/

In certain words that use the sound /s/ there is an observable shift in some dialects from an original etymological *sin* (ש) to the letter *samek* (ס). It seems this shift had something to do with changing phonics of these two letters. It presumably was intended, at least in part, to avoid confusion between ש and ש, with ס being a phonically similar and graphically distinguished substitute for ש in some scenarios (thereby leaving ש to represent only the /š/ sound). The Qumran scrolls present significant variation between the two letters for the following words, attesting that the scrolls were copied at a time when both options were available.⁷⁷

בשר (flesh)
 גלגלמיש (Gilgamesh)
 הובביש (Hobbabish)
 הנש"א (to lift up)
 שב (elder)
 ש"ב (to expect)
 שב"ע (to satiate)
 שג"ה (to become many)
 שגי/שגיא (great, many)
 שהר (moon)
 שט"ה (to turn aside, go astray)
 ש"ם (to set, place)
 שכ"ל (to understand)
 שכ"ר (to shut up)
 שג"ה (to hate)
 שפה (lip)
 עשאל (Asael)
 עשירי (tenth)
 עשר, עשרה (ten)

3.15.5 Other Notable Features

A few compositional or scribal traits related to language do not fall naturally into the standard linguistic categories discussed above. As a result, I have gathered them

together under a miscellaneous heading at the end of the profiles. In general, these are features that have potential to tell us something of the compositional background and preferences of the authors who wrote these texts or, perhaps, the scribes who copied them.

3.15.5.1 *Use of Negative Particle לֹא (+ Prefix-Tense Finite Verb)*

Scribes had several possibilities to signal negation in a clause. This included use of the negative particle לֹא, which is always followed directly by the prefix conjugation of a verb. I document such usage in the profiles as a way of gauging how often, and in which contexts, this type of negation is employed.

3.15.5.2 *Proposed Hebraisms*

A widespread feature of the Aramaic texts preserved at Qumran is the occasional use of Hebrew words, phrases, or constructions. This has been noted by many scholars in various places, but was pursued most comprehensively in the published Magisterarbeit of Christian Stadel, as well as in his subsequent work.⁷⁸ The mixture of these two languages is not surprising in Jewish works, and Stadel has observed that much of the Hebrew influence in our Aramaic texts appears to be of a literary nature, deriving from Biblical, rather than contemporary or colloquial, Hebrew.⁷⁹ Stadel's categorization of Hebraisms is adopted in the profiles, and his work serves as the main – though not only – source for items included in this section. For probable, though less than certain, Hebraisms, Stadel employed the siglum [h], while for assured Hebraisms he used [H].⁸⁰ Whenever one of these sigla are not found following a proposed Hebraism in the profiles, it is because either I disagree with Stadel (and therefore chose not to use his siglum), or the Hebraism has not been suggested previously. To determine which of these two options is the case, the reader should consult Stadel, *Hebraismen*. The avoidance of using Stadel's sigla in cases of disagreement is intended to avoid confusion over whether the proposed Hebraism is to be attributed to Stadel or those upon whom he drew in his work (e.g., Kutscher, Fitzmyer, Beyer, Fassberg, and Puech).

77 Although it represents a different sort of linguistic shift, note also the variation in the name ישחק/יצחק (Isaac). The spelling יצחק is found at 1Q21 (Levi) 5.1, and ישחק at 4Q542 (TQahat) 1.11 and 4Q559 (papBibChronology) 1.1, 2.3.

78 Stadel, *Hebraismen*; Stadel, "Influences."

79 Stadel, "Influences."

80 The rest of his system, not used in this book, is as follows: [A] = certainly Aramaic; [a] = probably, though not certainly, Aramaic; [Ø] = a false reading or indecisive evidence.

3.15.5.3 *Words Previously Unattested in Aramaic*

Whenever I have encountered a word not previously attested in Aramaic, I have included it under this section heading in the profiles. I used no definite method for identifying such words – some of them have been noted by other scholars in the relevant literature, and occasionally I stumbled upon a word that is not clearly attested in older or contemporaneous or Aramaic textual corpora. I must stress that I did not endeavor to make an exhaustive search for such words, but merely note them as they have arisen in my study of these scrolls.

3.15.5.4 *Use of בּתַר for a List*

Several texts use the temporal preposition בּתַר “after” (etymologically, a contraction of בּ+אַתַר “in place [of]”) in a chain sequence to indicate a successive list of items or actions with a narrative function. Good examples of this usage are found in the geographic division of the earth among Noah’s sons in column 17 of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), what remains of the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks in 4Q212 (En^g) iiv, and the dream-vision report of Dan 7:6–7. Since narrative lists of this sort are not common in ancient Aramaic literature, it is difficult to tell the extent to which such use of בּתַר was distinctive to Qumran Aramaic and bordering dialects, or was something more widely employed in ancient Aramaic. However we might answer this question, it seemed worthwhile to document בּתַר in the creation of such lists, given my goal of comparing compositional style across the Qumran Aramaic corpus.

3.15.5.5 *Poetic Doublets and Triplets*

The literary use of parallelistic doublets and, especially, triplets in Aramaic to emphasize a concept was noted already decades ago in passing by Jonas Greenfield.⁸¹ Of

⁸¹ Greenfield, “Poetry,” 170.

course, parallelism was already a very well-known (though much debated) literary poetic feature of Hebrew and cognate literatures, and so we might not be surprised to find it also used in Aramaic compositions. The use of poetic, parallelistic triplets is particularly noteworthy in the Jewish Aramaic literature kept and copied at Qumran, illustrated by the following examples:

וּלֹא מִן כּוֹל זֶר וּלֹא מִן כּוֹל עִירִין וּלֹא מִן כּוֹל בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִן

and not from any stranger, nor from any of the Watchers, nor from any of the sons of Hea[ven ...

1Q20 [apGen] 2.16

לְמִשְׁטָא וּלְמִטְעָא וּלְמַהֲדָךְ בְּאַרְחַת טַעוּ

to] err and to stray and to go in the ways of error

4Q537 [T]Jacob? 5.2

הוּא אֱלֹהֵי עֲלָמֵיהּ וּמְרָא כּוֹל סַעְבְּדִיא וּשְׁלִיט בְּכוּלָא

he is the God of the ages, and Lord of everything that is done, and ruler of all people

4Q542 [T]Qahat ii.2–3

Comparable examples are found in Daniel, and would presumably once have been present in the Qumran copies:

הוּא אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִין וּמְרָא מְלַכִּין וּגְלָה רִזִין

he is the God of gods, and Lord of kings, and revealer of mysteries

Dan 2:47; cf. 4Q112 [Dan^a] 7.1

For the purposes of comparison and future study, I have catalogued in the profiles where structures of this kind are found.

Manuscript Profiles

1 From Enoch through Abram

4Q201, Enoch^a (En^a)/4Q338, Genealogical List?

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 139–63; Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36:3–7 (frags. 2–8); Drawnel, *ABE*, 59–142]¹

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserves portions of the Enochic Book of Watchers, in which the story of the descent of the Watchers from heaven and its consequences is recounted (cf. Gen 6:1–8). Along with the other copies of Enoch from Qumran, of which 4Q201 is apparently the earliest, this scroll is by far the oldest physical witness to the book. It also shows clearly that at least most of Ethiopic 1 Enoch was first composed in Aramaic. 4Q201 ii–v and Stuckenbruck's frags. 4–7 contain material corresponding to chapters 1–9 in the later Ethiopic version: Enoch's introductory words and description of the constancy of the created order, parts of the list of wayward angels, an account of the angels' offenses, and notice of their resulting condemnation. In addition, 4Q201 iv–vi and Stuckenbruck's frags. 2–3 and 8 preserve text that does not seem to correspond to other known versions of 1 Enoch, suggesting that the Aramaic Book of Watchers may have contained material not found in later versions of the book. Drawnel (*ABE*, 68) raises the alternative possibility that these fragments may belong to another manuscript. As part of the literature focused on Enoch, 4Q201 attests to the active development of Enoch's very important role as a primordial wisdom figure during the Second Temple period, a role that continued to exert influence through a variety of later Jewish and Christian writings. The myth of the Watchers, their transgressions, and their judgment, also became popular subjects in subsequent literature (e.g., Jubilees and the Damascus Document). Among the Aramaic literature from Qumran, the story of the Watchers figures prominently in the Book of Giants and the Genesis Apocryphon, both of which were almost certainly influenced directly by the Book of Watchers.

Material remains: Combining the materials published by Milik and Stuckenbruck, Drawnel counts twenty-four fragments of 4Q201 in total. The largest fragment by far is labeled by Milik as 4QEn^a iiic and iiic, and by Drawnel as 4Q201 3i and 3ii (pictured below). This fragment, though badly damaged, preserves significant portions of two columns and a considerable amount of text. The first of its columns contains parts of seventeen lines, some of which are over thirty letters in length, and the second contains parts of twenty-three lines. Milik concluded that 4Q201 preserved parts of six consecutive columns, three on one sheet and three on another (*BE*, 139), though this is based heavily on his extensive reconstructions. A few of the remaining fragments are nearly the size of a standard playing card, though most are much smaller than this. 4Q201 overlaps directly with other copies of the Book of Watchers (4Q202 [En^b] and 4Q204 [En^c]) at the following locations: 4Q201 iii.1–2//4Q202 iii.6–7, 4Q201 iii.10–15//4Q202 iii.15–19, 4Q201 iv.1–7//4Q202 iii.1–8, 4Q201 iv.10–11//4Q202 iii.10–11, 4Q201 iii.1–3//4Q204 ii.20–22, and 4Q201 iii.5–11//4Q204 ii.24–30. While the recto side of 4Q201 contains the Book of Watchers, the manuscript is an opisthograph, and the otherwise unknown text of the verso was designated by Tov as 4Q338 (Genealogical List?).

Notes on provenance: Milik mentioned in several publications that some of the Enoch fragments were discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin in 1952, while others were excavated by him and de Vaux as part of the official excavations of Cave 4 in the same year (Milik, "Hénoch," 70; Milik, *BE*, vi; Mébarki and Grenache, "Milik," 132). Unfortunately, in most cases it can no longer be determined to which of these groups a manuscript should be assigned. At least the large frag. 2 of 4Q201 was recovered in the official excavations, being included on PAM 40.985 in the "E series" plates.

1 The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik's original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel's updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q201, see Drawnel, *ABE*, 59.



Sample image: 4Q201 ii-iii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 23 cm h. (Milik's reconstruction)

Margins:

Upper: Approx. 1.1–1.5 cm (with considerable variation where preserved)

Lower: Approx. 2 cm (frag. 2)

Intercolumnar: 1.4–1.7 cm; 7–8 mm between vertical column lines on frag. 2

Column dimensions:

Approx. 12.5–13.5 cm w.

Lines per column: Approx. 27

Letters per line: Approx. 37–48

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column (see esp. frag. 2)

Average medial letter height:

2–4 mm

Space between lines: 6–10 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1.5 mm (though see the wider spacing in frags. 1h and 1l)

Vacats: No indisputable cases (though see Milik on 1b; Drawnel proposes several possible vacats)

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonian semi-cursive (Milik) or semi-formal (Langlois); several affinities with semi-cursive 'Idumaeen' bookhand (Drawnel)

Proposed palaeographic date: 200–150 BCE (Milik, who speculated this copy was made from an exemplar dating to the third cent. BCE); ca. 225–175 BCE (Drawnel)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript stands out for its relatively low levels of quality and scribal execution when compared to other Qumran copies. It is also the only opisthograph identified among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, with the Book of Watchers written on what remains of the recto (hair side of the skin) and another, poorly-preserved Hebrew text on the verso (flesh side of the skin), designated 4Q338 (Genealogical List?). It is virtually certain that 4Q201 was the text first written on the manuscript, to which 4Q338 was later added. As in other Qumran opisthographs, 4Q338 was written as if the manuscript was flipped toward the reader from top to bottom, so that the top margin and beginning of the text on 4Q338 are located where the bottom margin of 4Q201 is located on the recto (Milik *BE*, 139; Tov DJD 36:290). Little of the text on 4Q338 is now legible, but the word הוֹלִיד suggests that it was at least in part genealogical, with Milik and Tov entertaining whether this might have been a list affiliated with the patriarchs of Genesis, and so tangentially related to the Book of Watchers. The evidence is, unfortunately, too meager to have any confidence in this idea. The scribe of 4Q201 was competent, but the spacing between words and lines is tight and erratic, often giving the visual impression of being written *scripta continua*, an unusual trait among the Qumran scrolls. The scribal hand is untidy, and there is no clear use of vacats to indicate sense divisions in the extant text. Medial and final letter forms are occasionally exchanged. One may also note the many mistakes and confused readings, discussed by Milik and Drawnel, such as the initial writing of אסר (corrected to עסר) in iii.10, giving the impression that the care and expense invested in this manuscript do not match that of many others from Qumran. It is notable that this is considered among the earliest scribal hands for the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, if we accept Milik's and Drawnel's early second cent. BCE date, and that the text could therefore have been written at a different location (social and/or geographical) than the later manuscripts (note, for example, the absence of horizontal scribal lines). Also of importance is the fact that the verso side of at least part of the manuscript was later reused to copy another text, and was badly blotted with ink. This manuscript was apparently not handled with the greatest of care as it aged.

There are several scribal habits that set this manuscript yet farther apart from most others at Qumran. Milik had already noted the general tendency to assimilate the *aleph* in words such as למכל (iii.21) and טמתכן (iii.13). *Samek* is regularly preferred over *sin* for etymological /s/, though the words "moon" שֶהַר (iv.4) and "flesh" בֶּשֶׂר (iii.21) retain the *sin*. This scribe had an unusual, heavy preference for marking the emphatic state with *he*, rather than the more expected *aleph*, while *aleph* was often used for final /e/ vowels. (It should be noted, however, that Milik's reading of ית for the direct object marker in iv.5 [יתֶה] is probably incorrect.) The spelling is markedly

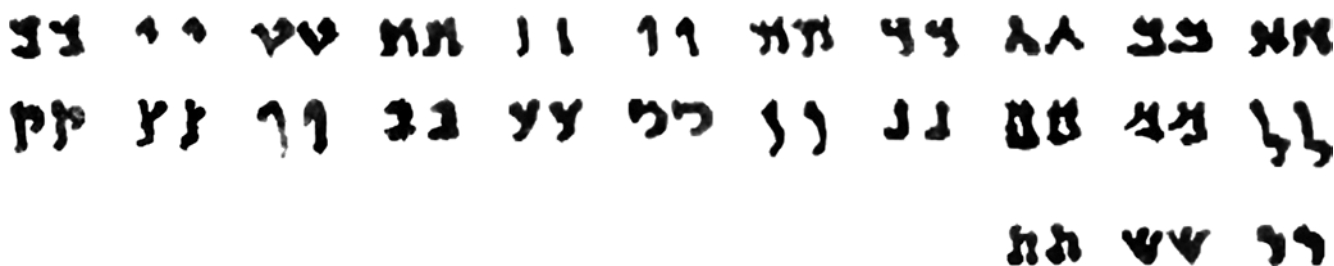
more defective than the norm in Qumran manuscripts, illustrated poignantly by לֹחַ for לֹא אִיתִי in iii.14, a spelling otherwise known only from later manuscripts. The percentage of the relative pronoun in the shortened, prefixed form –ד (rather than דִי) is very high in comparison with the rest of the Qumran Aramaic corpus. According to Milik, this scribe used an idiosyncratic method for marking insertions, placing a vertical strike below, and perhaps also above, the line at the point of an addition (iiii.13). However, the method is not as clearly discerned as Milik suggests (*BE*, 140, 150, n. c) and Langlois and Drawnel have read these marks instead as letters. This seems the more plausible option, since such marks were not used

elsewhere for insertions. The above factors led Milik to propose that this manuscript was copied from an earlier one, “dating from the third century at the very least” (*BE*, 141). One wonders, however, whether some of the above factors are better attributed to the lower quality and more shoddy execution of the manuscript, which seems to be written in a relatively condensed and cost-efficient manner. Whatever the case, this manuscript is somewhat conspicuous among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls, and may well derive from a different scribal setting than most others. Milik thought that it may be “a school-exercise, copied by a young scribe from the master’s dictation” (*BE*, 141), though this is sheer speculation.

Original manuscript quality: Fair

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 225–58; Langlois, *Le Premier*; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 44–47.

Script sample:

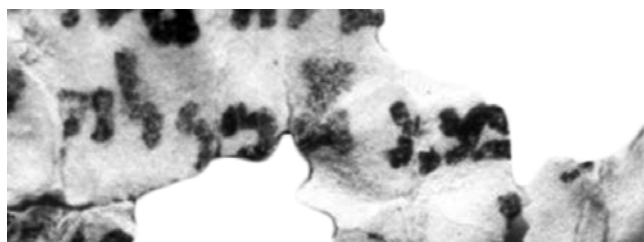


Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

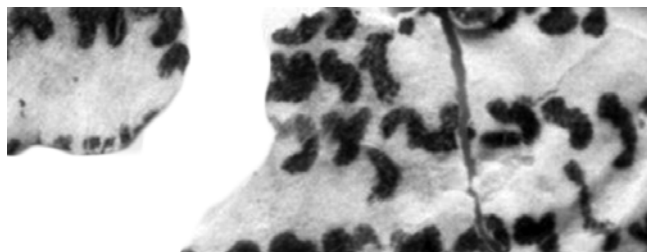
(a) Supralinear insertion (1ii.1): בעבדה



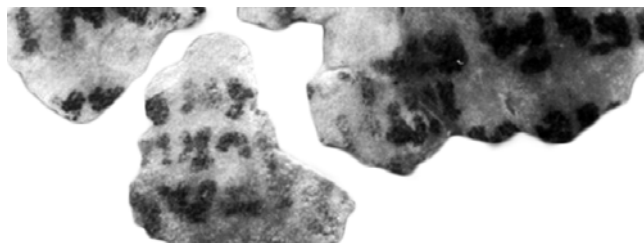
(b) Supralinear *ayin* added to correct אסר to עסר (1iii.10)



(c) Supralinear insertion with what Milik considered sublinear and supralinear scribal marks indicating placement of corrected content (1iii.13): רבני רבני^{ני} עס:]



(d) Supralinear insertion (1iii.21): וב[שמייה ונניימה ולמכל:



Language

Syntax:

- Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*
iii.7[SOV], iii.11, iii.12, iv.1, iv.4, iv.8
- Subject-verb (verb later in clause):*
ii.4
- Subject implied (verb early in clause):*
ii.6, iii.1, iii.2, iii.6, iii.13
- Subject implied (verb later in clause):*
iii.8
- Verbless clause:*
iii.13
- Direct object marker (if present):*
-ל: iii.1(?), iii.2, iii.6, iii.16, iii.19
- Use of ם to mark genitive relationship:*
iii.11
- Double כול construction:*
iii.4, iii.9(?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

- Finite form of הוה + participle:*
iii.16, iii.17

Lexical items:

- אדין: iii.14
ברא (מן): iii.5(?)

- די: iii.5, iii.14, iv.8, iv.11
-ד: iii.4, iii.5, iii.6, iii.11, 6.1
כחדא: iii.3
להן: ii.4
לת: iii.14
קבל: iv.5

Morphology:

- אפעל form:*
iii.3, iv.6
- אהפעל form:*
iiiv.8
- Dissimilated nun/nasalization:*
ii.5

Orthography/Phonology:

- ס for /s/:*
ii.5, iii.15, iii.9(3x), iii.10(2x), iii.11(2x), iii.12,
iii.13, iv.7, 2.2
- ש for /s/:*
iii.11, iii.21, iv.4

Other notable features:

- Proposed Hebraisms:*
ויפֿע (lexical; ii.6) [H]

4Q202, Enoch^b (En^b)

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 164–78; Drawnel, *ABE*, 143–93]²

Content synopsis and significance: Like 4Q201 (En^a), the fragments of this manuscript preserve parts of the Enochic Book of Watchers corresponding to some verses of 1 Enoch 5–10, 14, and 22. These chapters include Enoch's notification of the errant Watchers' deeds, a list of the Watchers' names, the reaction of the four archangels, the Lord's subsequent instructions to them, and Enoch's angelically-guided tour of the cosmos. Milik extensively reconstructed portions of five columns, though his reconstruction is often based on very scanty remains. Nevertheless, the general identification of the contents is not in doubt. Along with 4Q201 (En^a), this

Hasmonean-period manuscript provides our earliest attestation of the Book of Watchers, and proves that it was composed in Aramaic.

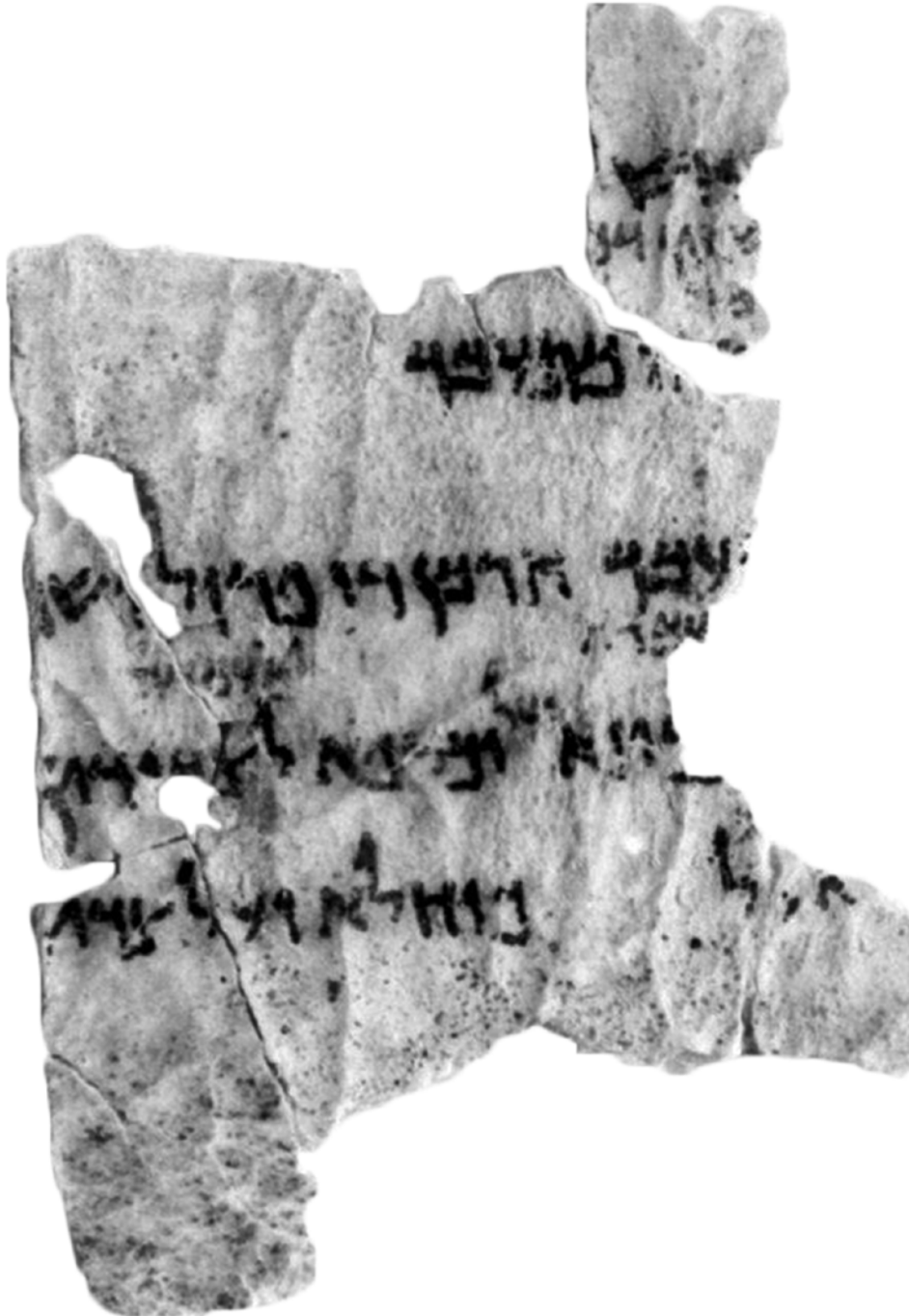
Material remains: This badly damaged manuscript comprises thirty-one small fragments. The largest ones (e.g., iii.a, iiid, iiik, iiiip, and iiiiw) preserve between four and eight lines, but even these do not contain much running text. Most of the fragments are tiny scraps with only partial words or phrases remaining. There does appear to be evidence of horizontal and vertical ruling, as both Milik (*BE*, 164) and Drawnel (*ABE*, 145) observed. However, as Milik noted, these lines are now “barely visible” (*BE*, 164). A few of the fragments preserve intercolumnar and lower margins, but the manuscript's poor state of preservation prevents us from saying anything with confidence about the original size of the scroll or its columns (see also Drawnel, *ABE*, 146). Milik attempted an extensive reconstruction, though his proposals are often hypothetical

² The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik's original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel's updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q202, see Drawnel *ABE*, 143–44.

and quite speculative. 4Q202 overlaps directly with other copies of the Book of Watchers (4Q201 [En^a] and 4Q204 [En^c]) at the following locations: 4Q202 iii.6–7//4Q201 (En^a) iii.1–2, 4Q202 iii.15–19//4Q201 (En^a) iii.10–15, 4Q202 iii.1–8//4Q201 (En^a) iv.1–7, 4Q202 iii.10–11//4Q201 (En^a) iv.10–11, and 4Q202 iv.9//4Q204 (En^c) iv.16.

Notes on provenance: At least two fragments of 4Q202 are included on the “E series” plate PAM 40.967 (Milik’s frags. 1u and ii’; Drawnel’s frags. 32–33), with Tigchelaar identifying

a possible third fragment on PAM 40.970 (not identified by Milik or Drawnel). One fragment (the right piece of Milik’s 1w; Drawnel’s frag. 20) was also photographed as part of the “G series” plate PAM 40.613, showing that fragments of this scroll were found by both the Bedouin and those conducting the official excavations in 1952. The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q202 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q202 iii j, k

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 30 cm h. (Milik's reconstruction)

Margins:

Lower: 1.7–2 cm

Intercolumnar: At least 1.4 cm (frags. 1a, c)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 26.5 cm h. × 9.5–13 cm w. (Milik's reconstruction)

Lines per column: Approx. 28 (Milik's reconstruction)

Letters per line: 43–52 (Milik's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column (frags. 1a, k)

Average medial letter height: 3 mm

Space between lines: 7–10 mm (lines somewhat more tightly spaced in Milik's col. ii)

Space between words: 0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium (1k.2 [2.1 cm]; minor sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Hasmonean semi-cursive (Milik); archaic or early Hasmonean semi-formal (Drawnel)

Proposed palaeographic date: 200–150 BCE (Milik); 175–100 BCE (Drawnel)

Special traits and general comments: This scroll is written in a well-trained, steady scribal hand, and its layout (relatively large margins and spacing between lines, vacats, etc.) indicates considerable care and high quality. It is, therefore, surprising to find a high number of corrections: eleven supralinear additions in only thirty-five fragments, at one point with a rare two lines of supralinear text (see below). Milik described the manuscript as “rather careless, unless it is a question of a defective archetype” (BE, 165). Additionally, the scribe did not distinguish between medial and final forms of the letters *kaph* and *pe*. The script and technical execution itself, however, is far from careless, and it may well be that the manuscript was compared with a better archetype after copying, as Milik (followed by Drawnel) suggested. Milik noted that the corrections were made in the same hand as the main text, which appears to be correct, meaning that the corrections were made in relatively close chronological proximity to the original copying.

Despite Milik's extensive reconstructions, very little actually remains of the text, limiting our ability to gain an accurate sense of its linguistic contours. *Aleph*-prefix forms in the causative and reflexive-passive stems seem to have been preferred, and *aleph* is also used for the definite article and other endings, as expected. An exception is found with the *pael* infinitive לגלייה (iii.5). A unique orthography may be used in 4Q202 for the compound form of the number ten (עשרי; cf. iii.15–17 [Drawnel's frag. 5], though the context is very fragmentary and a full occurrence of the word is not preserved). Syntactic arrangements may often be guessed at, but remain obscure in most cases.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

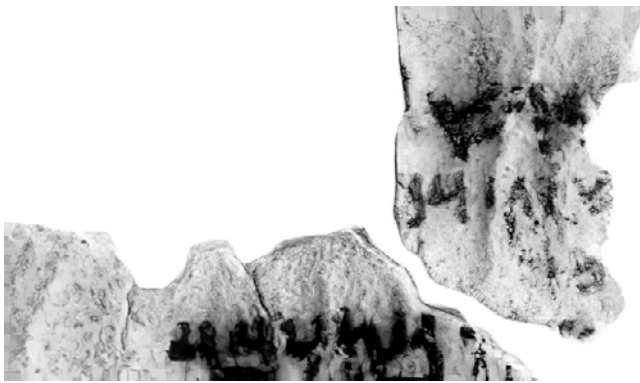
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 225–58; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 47.

Script sample:

אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא
 אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא
 אא

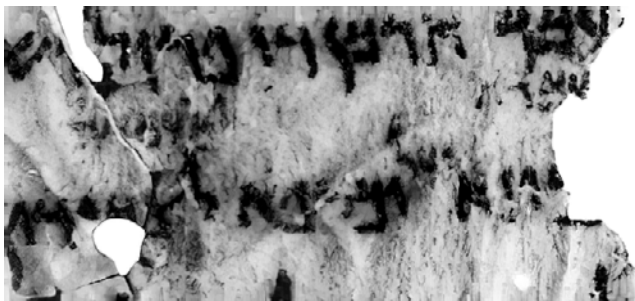
Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Excerpt of two added lines of supralinear text (iii.25a–25b):



ור[חשׁו]א	24
[שתין דמ]א	25a
מא	25b
[בֵּה מתעבד	25

(b) Supralinear additions (iii.2): [מִכּוּנָא ועל {ו} כספא למעבדיה לצמידין]



(c) Supralinear addition and probable erasure by scraping (iii.15): יקרד לכל {ל}דר



Language**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

iii.6(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iii.4, iii.5

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

iii.25(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii.2, iii.7(?), iii.8(?), iii.18(?), iii.26–27(?)

Verbless clause:

iii.16, iii.17, iii.18(?), i.iii.14, iii.15

Use of ׀ to mark genitive relationship:

iii.26(2x?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

iii.1(?)

Lexical items:

ד: iii.26(2x?), iii.15, iv.9, vi.8

כד: iii.2(?)

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

iv.8(?)

אהפעל form:

iii.4, iv.9

Object suffix on verb:

iii.27(2x)

Other noteworthy features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

תכונא (lexical; iii.27, cautiously following Beyer's reading) [H]

לצמדין (morphological; iii.27) [H]

4Q204, Enoch^c (En^c)[ed. Milik, *BE*, 178–217; Drawnel, *ABE*, 194–308]³

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript contains portions of the Enochic Book of Watchers, Book of Dreams, Epistle of Enoch, and the Birth of Noah appendix. The fragments of 4Q204 correspond to chapters from across Ethiopic 1 Enoch, including 1–3, 6, 10, 12–15, 18, 30, 35, 89, and 104–106. This wide variety of chapters from the later Ethiopic book is significant, since it suggests that 4Q204 contained a large number – if not all – of the major sections of the later 1 Enoch. Milik proposed that 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) belongs to the same scroll as 4Q204, which, if accepted (it is rejected by Drawnel, *ABE*, 3, 196), would mean that the Book of Giants was also included with the portions of 1 Enoch listed above. Milik further suggested that, along with the Astronomical Book, the contents of 4Q203/204 may have formed what Milik deemed an “Enochic Pentateuch” (with the Book of Giants later being displaced by the Parables/Similitudes), though this hypothesis is speculative and has not gained wide acceptance. From the Book of Watchers, 4Q204 preserves parts of the initial description of creation and its majestic

constancy, the list of names for the leaders of the fallen Watchers, the announced doom of the Watchers, the promise of a renewed, abundant creation, and a dream-vision in which Enoch is told the fate of the Watchers after they had petitioned the Lord for mercy. Parts of Enoch's cosmic journey in the latter section of the Book of Watchers are also extant. From the Book of Dreams we find remains of the Animal Apocalypse, which symbolically recounts and foretells human history through vibrant animal imagery. Finally, a very small portion of the Epistle's conclusion is preserved, followed by parts of the story of Noah's birth as preserved in 1 En. 106–7. The latter is found in an alternate, probably earlier form in 1Q20 (apGen) 2–5. It may also be echoed in other Aramaic Qumran texts (4Q534–536 [Birth of Noah^{a-c}]) and the Hebrew text 1Q19 (Noah).

Material remains: 4Q204 is the most extensively preserved of the Qumran Enoch manuscripts. It comprises twenty-nine fragments, some of which can give us a sense of the manuscript's original dimensions, and those of its columns. Outside dimensions of the largest fragments (e.g., 1g, n, 5b) exceed those of a standard playing card, while roughly half of the fragments are about the size of small coins. Milik's reasonable placement of frags. 1g, 1h, and 1i imply that 4Q204 contained columns of at least thirty lines. On the basis of this reconstruction, he concluded that the written columns were about 20 cm in height, and

3 The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik's original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel's updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q204, see Drawnel *ABE*, 194.

the entire scroll around 24 cm in height (Milik, *BE*, 182; so too Drawnel, *ABE*, 196). Milik's frag. 5b, the widest preserved, has lines of over forty letters. Drawnel estimates that the column in this fragment originally contained lines of over fifty letters, and was roughly 11 cm wide (*ABE*, 196). Nevertheless, 4Q204 is still a relatively poorly-preserved manuscript with few segments of sustained, running text. Several fragments preserve parts of two columns (e.g., 1c, 1g, 1i, 1m, and 1n) and some contain the remnants of seven or more lines, but most fragments are very badly damaged. The reconstructions of Milik, Drawnel, and others rely on parallels with the Ethiopic Enoch manuscripts. 4Q204 overlaps directly with four other Qumran copies of Enoch (4Q201 [En^a], 4Q202 [En^b], 4Q205 [En^d], and 4Q206 [En^e]) at the following locations: 4Q204 ii.20–22//4Q201 (En^a) iii.1–3, 4Q204 ii.24–30//4Q201 (En^a) iii.5–11, 4Q204 iii.24–29//4Q201 (En^a) iii.5–11, 4Q204 ivi.16//4Q202 (En^b)

ivi.9, 4Q204 ixii.28–30//4Q206 (En^e) 1xxvi.14–17, and 4Q204 4.1//4Q205 (En^d) 2ii.30

Notes on provenance: 4Q204 is one of several copies of Enoch that can confidently be assigned to the group of fragments excavated by de Vaux's team in 1952. This can be seen in Milik's first-hand accounts (see Milik, "Hénoch," 70; Milik, *BE*, vi; Mébarki and Grenache, "Milik," 132), and especially by the fact that many fragments of 4Q204 were photographed as part of the "E series" plates on PAM 40.963 (5g), 40.965 (1g, 1i, and 1n), 40.975 (1d, 1g, and 1h), 40.978 (1g), 40.979 (1g and 5h), and 40.982 (1c and 1e). While some of the fragments coming from the Bedouin discoveries cannot be ruled out absolutely, it is clear that a significant portion of the scroll was recovered in the official excavations.



Sample image: 4Q204 ixii–xiii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions:

Approx. 24 cm h. × at least
1.75 m l. (Milik; longer if
considered with 4Q203
[EnGiants^a])

Margins:

Upper: Approx. 1.6–1.8 cm (frags.
1f, 1g)

Lower: Approx. 2.3 cm (frag. 1n)

Intercolumnar: 1–1.2 cm

Column dimensions: At least
16.5 cm h. (approx. 20 cm
originally, per Milik) ×
approx. 12–13 cm w. (for
Milik's 5ii)

Lines per column: At least 24
(Milik, approx. 30)

Letters per line: 47–66 (Milik)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frags. 1h, 1n,
5b)

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; from small and
medium (1c.2–6, 1d.1–2 [3–11
mm], 1n.3 [1.7 cm], 1g.2–9 [up
to 3.9 cm]) to perhaps one
full line or more (1n.7 [*contra*
Milik], 5.5–6)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian, the same scribe as 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) (Milik); early Herodian formal, with some early Herodian round semiformal features (Drawnel)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Milik); 33–1 BCE (Drawnel; “toward the end of that period, the turn of the century,” ABE, 200)

Special traits and general comments: The scribe who wrote this manuscript was highly trained and relatively consistent, using, as Milik observed, a somewhat “broken” form of early Herodian period script recalling styles known from Syria and Palmyra. Though the script itself is petite, the layout and execution of the manuscript is very generous in terms of margins, spacing, and the frequent, sometimes capacious use of vacats. Milik drew attention to a very interesting distinguishing feature of this scribe: the practice of “justifying” the left-hand margin of columns, occasionally causing the last word of a line to be separated from the preceding one by more than the expected distance (see frags. 1g.5–8, 1n.2–8, 5a.4). This also appears to take place in 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 7ib.3–5, and Milik noted the same practice in other epigraphic sources from outside of Qumran. There are very few corrections in this manuscript, and those present are limited to the supra-linear addition of single letters by the original scribe. Milik's proposal of a crossed-out and corrected *aleph* in 1i.24 (אֵלֶּף אֵלֶּף) appears tenuous based on the available photographs. I also see no grounds for his suggested “scraping out of a word” at 5ii.26 (BE, 179). In its overall quality, this manuscript comes close to that of 1Q20 (apGen), though it was probably slightly smaller than that Cave 1 scroll. Except for the left-margin justification in 4Q204 (and 4Q203 [EnGiants^a]), the manuscript preparation and scribal practices are very similar in this scroll, 1Q20 (apGen), and similarly-executed manuscripts like 4Q537 (TJacob?). In Milik's “fairly definite conclusion,” this copy “was made from an old manuscript, doubtless belonging to the last quarter of the second century BC” (BE, 183).

The orthography of the scribe is fairly full and somewhat varied, with a tendency to retain or insert etymological and non-etymological *alephs* for marking vowels that are to be pronounced at the middles or ends of words (e.g., אֵלֶּף אֵלֶּף). On two occasions, *he* marks the definite article (both in 5ii.28), but these are exceptions. *He* is also used to mark endings of perfect verbs with a weak third radical, derived infinitives, and the feminine noun endings. In most other cases, *aleph* is preferred, such as in the causative and reflexive-passive verb forms. Milik detected a tendency to use the shortened form of the relative pronoun (–ד) before nouns. The “heavy” 3ms pronoun form הוּאָה is used once (5ii.30), alongside which we should note the longer 2ms pronominal suffix כִּה– used in 4Q203 (EnGiants^a). For further discussion of the relationship between 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) and 4Q204 see the detailed examination of Tigchelaar, cited in the bibliography below.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

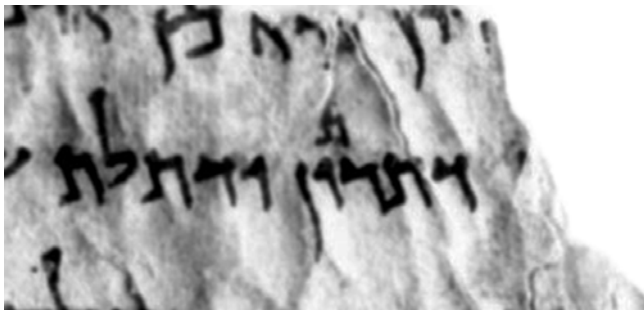
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 225–58; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 47–51; Tigchelaar, “Notes.”

Script sample:

אא בב גג דד חח וו זז טט קק
 צצ ןן סס עע פפ ףף
 ךך שש תת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (1i.25): דתריין



(b) Vacat in list of names (1iii.26): לה עשא[ל]



(c) Vacat (5ii.29) and supralinear letter added (5ii.30):

עליהון 29 ובען אזל נא עד
 די עלימא דן ברה הואה בקשוט ולא בידבין] 30



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

5ii.26(part.)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iv.5, iv.6, ivi.10(?), 4.1, 4.3, 4.4(2x), 5i.22, 5ii.26,
5ii.27, 5ii.28(2x)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

iv.5(?), ivi.19, 4.10

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.20(2x), iv.2, iv.5, ivi.5, ivi.7, ivi.12, ivi.27, ixii.23,
ixii.26, ixii.27, ixii.30, ixiii.25, ixiii.27(?), 4.3,
4.5(2x), 4.7, 4.10(2x), 5ii.27

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

5ii.27

Verbless clause:

iii.24, iii.24–25, iii.25, iii.26(4x?), iii.27(2x), iii.28,
ivi.6, 5ii.30

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: ii.18, ii.20, ivi.4, 4.8

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

ivi.5, ixii.24

Double כול construction:

ii.28

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

4.5

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

ixiii.25, 4.3, 4.8

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

ivi.17–18(?), 4.1

Participle + finite form of הוה:

5ii.2(?)

Lexical items:

אדין: iv.2(?)

באדין: ixiii.24, ixiii.30

ברא (מן): ii.24

די: ii.19, ii.22, ii.24, ii.30, iv.1, ivi.2, ivi.3(?), ivi.10,

ivi.11(?), ivi.13, ivi.14, ivi.16, ivi.19, ivi.23(?),

ivii.1(?), ixii.24(2x), ixii.26, 4.2, 5ii.21, 5ii.27, 5ii.30

–ד: ii.25(2x)

כדי: ixii.29

כחדא: ivi.6

כען: 5ii.29

קובל: ivi.13, ivi.17, 4.2

תמן: iviii.2, ixiii.25

Morphology:

אפעל form:

iv.3, ivi.21, ivi.23, ivi.29, ixii.23, ixiii.25, 4.5, 4.8, 4.9

אהפעל form:

4.10

Object suffix on verb:

ivi.21(2x), 5ii.26(2x)

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

ivi.12

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא: See 4Q203

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

ואכרת (lexical; iv.3) [H]

כלצפון (lexical; ixii.30) [H]

לדרום (lexical; ixiii.25) [H]

דרומא (lexical; ixiii.26) [H]

ישמחון (lexical; 5i.20) [H]

הואה (orthographic/phonological; 5ii.30) [H]

4Q205, Enoch^d (En^d)

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 217–25; Drawnel, *ABE*, 309–39]⁴

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserves small portions of Enoch's cosmic journey in the latter part of the Book of Watchers, and the Animal

Apocalypse from the Book of Dreams. The fragments of 4Q205 correspond to verses from Ethiopic 1 Enoch 22–23, 25, and 89. In the extant passages from the Book of Watchers, Enoch is transported to different parts of the earth, where he is shown incredible aspects of creation, attesting to the Lord's power, order, and justice. In the Book of Dreams Enoch recounts for his son, Methuselah, a dream-vision premised on animal symbolism, which reveals what has been and what is yet to come in human (and specifically Israel's) history. Symbolic dream-visions

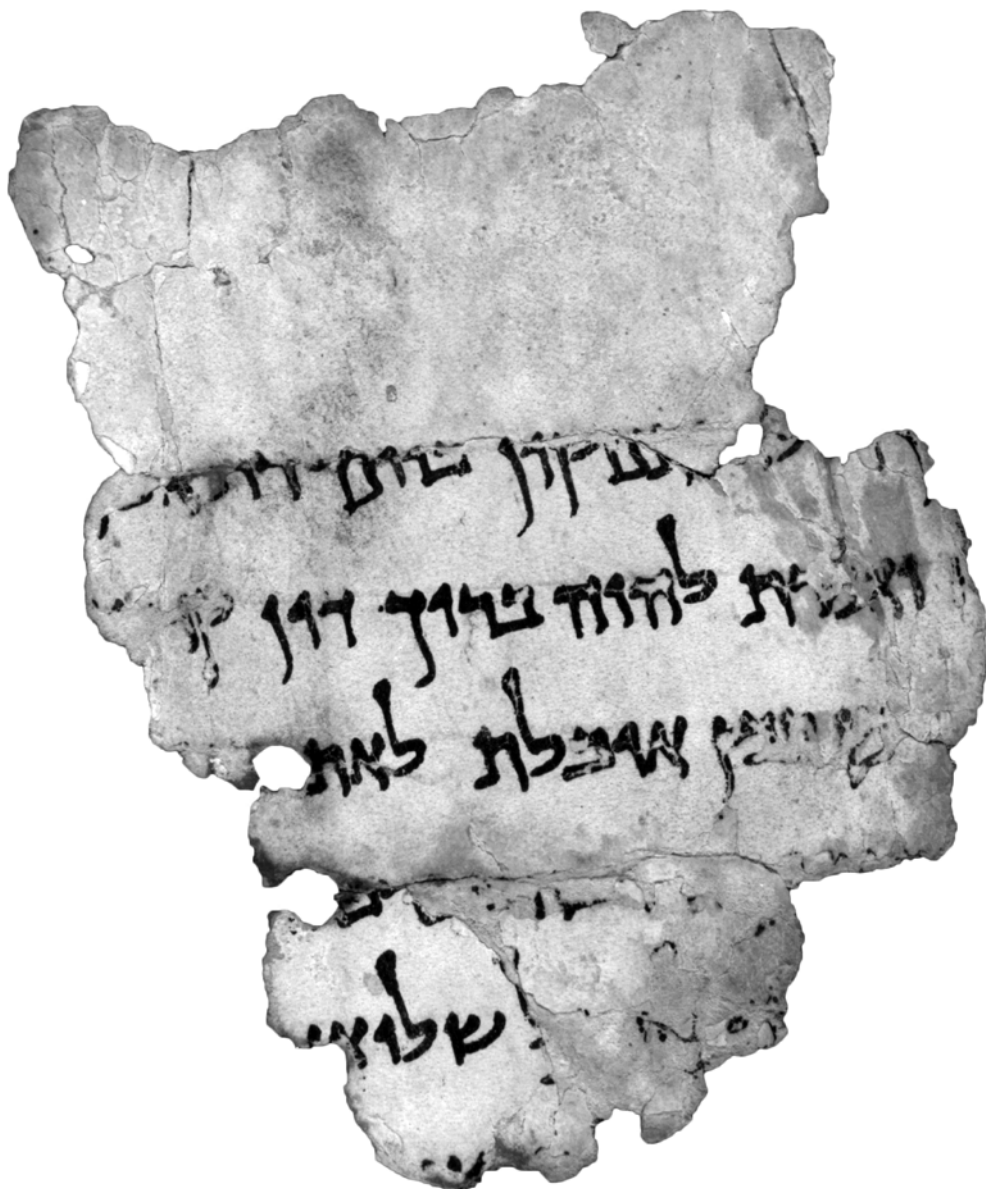
⁴ The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik's original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel's updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q205, see Drawnel *ABE*, 309.

as a mode of revelation are quite common in the Aramaic Qumran texts, also being found, for example, in the Book of Giants, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Daniel court-tales, and Four Kingdoms. For some thematic affinities between the Animal Apocalypse and 4Q245 (psDan^c), see the profile for the latter scroll.

Material remains: Only eight small fragments remain of this manuscript, none preserving more than nine partial lines of text. Drawnel recently suggested that some of the fragments originally belonged to columns with more than fifty letters per line (ABE, 310), but little else can be said about the original size of the manuscript or its columns.

There are clear traces of horizontal script guidelines, along with a vertical column guideline preserved on 2a. Some of the fragments have upper and intercolumnar margins (1a, 1d, and 2a). A few direct textual overlaps occur between 4Q205 and other copies of Enoch (4Q204 [En^c] and 4Q206 [En^e]): 4Q205 2ii.30//4Q204 (En^c) 4.1, 4Q205 2i.26–29//4Q206 (En^e) 4ii.12–16, and 4Q205 2ii.27–29//4Q206 (En^e) 4iii.19–21.

Notes on provenance: Fragment 1a of 4Q205 is found on an early PAM “G series” photograph (PAM 40.624), meaning that it was among the many fragments discovered by the Bedouin in 1952 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32).



Sample image: 4Q205 1xi

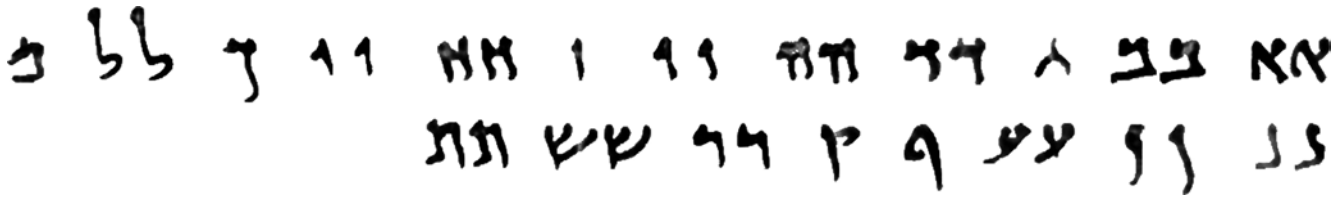
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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 2–2.3 cm*Intercolumnar:* At least
1.1–1.4 cm (frag. 2a)**Lines per column:** Approx. 30
(Milik's reconstruction)**Letters per line:** Approx. 52–57
(Milik's reconstruction; see
also Drawnel, *ABE*, 310)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes
(frag. 2a)**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 8 mm**Space between words:**
Approx. 1 mm**Vacats:** Yes; medium (2a i.27
[2.3 cm]; minor sense division) and large (see 1e xii.4,
2b ii.2, 2c iii.30 [from half
to full lines?]; minor sense
divisions)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Early Herodian (Milik; “fairly similar to that of En^c [4Q204]); early Herodian formal, with some letters having early Herodian round semiformal features (Drawnel; “the hand is similar to the one used in 4Q204”)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 33–1 BCE (Milik)*Special traits and general comments:* Though there is little left of this manuscript, it is obvious that it was of very high quality, both materially and in terms of its scribal execution. It has upper and intercolumnar margin sizes comparable with 1Q20 (apGen), though the lines of 4Q205 are spaced more closely together than in that manuscript. The hand is exceptionally uniform and meticulous, whatever one makes of Milik's somewhat disparaging remark (*BE*, 217) that it is “less assured and less firm” than the scribal hand of 4Q203 (EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c). Milik considered the scripts of these manuscripts to be closely related, as did Drawnel. Of further note are the well-regulated line spacing of the columns, the absence of mistakes in the available fragments, and the liberal use of vacats. If Milik's reconstructed vacats are even approximately correct, this scribe employed remarkably large blank spaces between relatively minor sense divisions within literary units (e.g., within the same dream-vision). Based on most other manuscripts, we would instead expect vacats of this size to indicate a major transition (e.g., between two completely different dream-visions, or different Enochic works). This also speaks to the care and expense invested in this copy.The orthography and language of 4Q205 is similar to that of 4Q203 (EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), as already observed by Milik. *Aleph* is preferred to *he* in the usual cases of variation, and is used in full spellings such as םאָר (zii.27) and ך]יאַׁשׁ (ziii.28). Etymological *sin* is retained in the few occurrences left to us. I also note in passing the many probable subject-verb syntactic constructions of the Animal Apocalypse fragments.*Original manuscript quality:* Excellent*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 225–58; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 117; Beyer, *ATTM*² 153; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 51.

Script sample:



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1xi.2

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2i.25–26(?), 2i.28–29(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1xi.1, 1xi.2, 1xi.3, 1xii.8

Verbless clause:

1xi.5–6(?), 1xii.5, 2ii.29

Use of ܕܝܟ to mark genitive relationship:

2i.26, 2iii.29

Verb of movement + ܠ + inanimate object:

1xi.3

Lexical items:

אִתִּי: 1xi.5(?)

דִּי: 1xii.1, 1xii.2, 2i.26, 2iii.29

קִיבֹּל: 1xii.1(?), 2ii.29(?)

תָּמֹן: 1xi.3

תִּנְהָ: 1xi.1(?)

Morphology:

אפעל form:

1xi.3

Orthography/Phonology:

ܫ for /s/:

2i.27, 2i.29(?), 2iii.28

4Q206, Enoch^e (En^e)/4Q206a, Enoch Giants^f (EnGiants^f)

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 225–44; Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36:42–48; Puech, *DJD* 37:509–10; Drawnel, *ABE*, 340–94]⁵

Content synopsis and significance: Milik considered 4Q206 to be a scroll (along with 4Q203 [EnGiants^a]/4Q204 [En^c]) that contained both an early form of parts of 1 Enoch and the Book of Giants, thus forming the basis of his argument that the Book of Giants originally constituted part of an “Enochic Pentateuch.” Stuckenbruck observed that 4Q206 2–3 (Milik’s suggested Book of Giants fragments) cannot be placed definitely with the rest of the manuscript, though he deemed such a connection plausible based on their very limited contents, including a direct mention of Enoch in 2.2. Because of the uncertainty of associating frags. 2–3 with the rest of the 4Q206 fragments, the former are often designated as 4Q206a in recent publications

(e.g., Tigchelaar, “Notes”). Puech considered frags. 2–3 to belong instead to 4Q533 (EnGiants^e; *DJD* 31:111–13), Tigchelaar expressed similar doubts about their association with 4Q206 (“Notes,” 191–92), and Drawnel does not include them in his re-edition of 4Q206 (see *ABE*, 341). Based on the cautiousness of these scholars, it seems best to treat Milik’s 4Q206 2–3 as not belonging with the remaining fragments of this scroll.

Aside from frags. 2–3, which do not have any unambiguous, direct parallels with other copies of the Book of Giants (though see Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36:46–48), 4Q206 contains fragmentary portions of the Book of Watchers and the Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dreams. Most of the material from the Book of Watchers comes from Enoch’s tour of the cosmos in the Book’s latter part, after the account of the Watchers’ rebellion and the Lord’s judgment. These fragments correspond to various verses of 1 En. 21–22, 28–29, and 31–33, though one fragment appears to contain a few words from the throne room vision in 1 En. 14. The majority of the extant text comes

⁵ The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik’s original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel’s updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q206, see Drawnel *ABE*, 340.

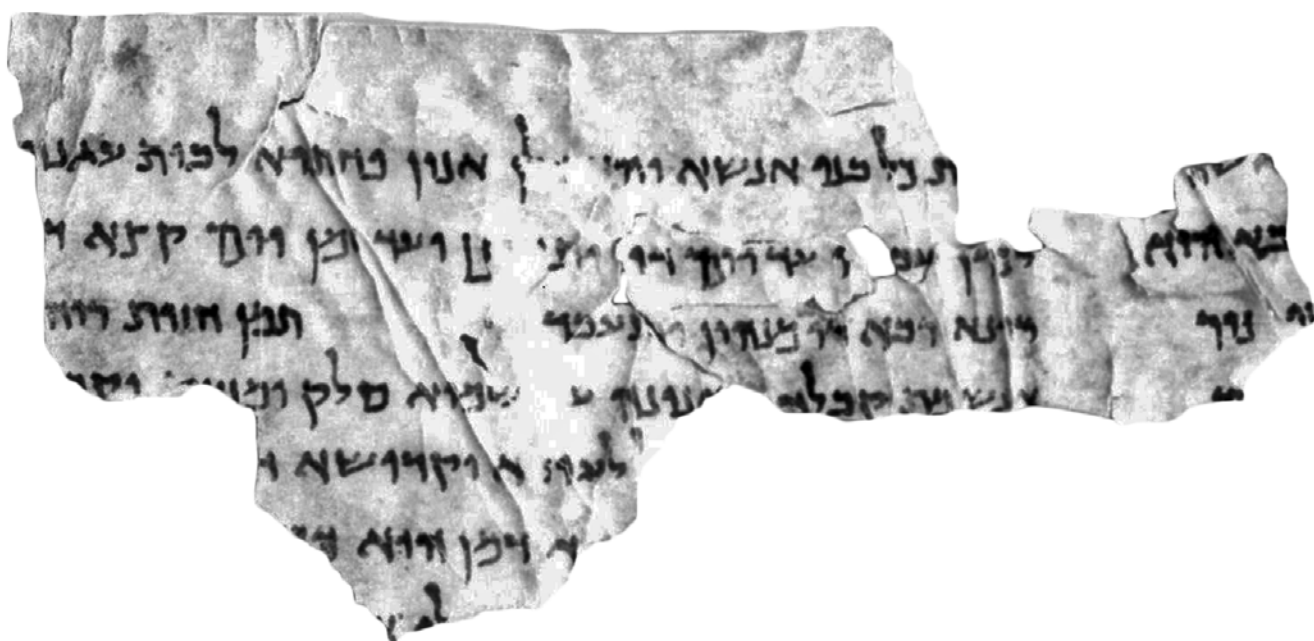
from the Animal Apocalypse, the best representative of this part of 1 Enoch among the Qumran manuscripts. We find portions of the Apocalypse that tell symbolically of Noah and the great flood, and the generations of Joseph and Moses. In general, the visionary genre of these parts of the Enochic corpus in 4Q206 invites comparison with many other Aramaic compositions from Qumran, on which see Perrin, *Dynamics*. More detailed connections with other Aramaic works also exist, such as the mention of שמוקא [מא] (“the Red Sea”; 1xxvi.20), also found, with the same spelling, at 1Q20 (apGen) 21.17–18.

On PAM 43.204, among the other fragments considered by Milik belong to 4Q206 (which he at that time labelled “Hénoch^d”), are two small fragments that he did not include in his later edition. Drawnel included these in his re-edition of the scroll as possibly, but not certainly, belonging to it. However, he does not seem aware of Tigchelaar’s earlier treatment (Tigchelaar, “Notes,” 198–99), in which Tigchelaar proposed that Drawnel’s frag. 15 belongs instead to 4Q59 (Isa^e).

Material remains: If we included all of the fragments that have, at various times, been associated with 4Q206, they would total eighteen (for an overview that does not include Milik’s frags. 2–3, see the helpful chart in Drawnel, *ABE*, 340). However, it seems best to remove from this list at least frags. 2–3, the fragment identified by Tigchelaar as belonging to 4Q59 (Drawnel’s frag. 15), and perhaps Milik’s frag. 1a, based on Tigchelaar’s reasoning. This leaves us with

fourteen fragments belonging to 4Q206 with a reasonably high degree of confidence. The two largest fragments are 1b and 4a–b, each containing significant portions of multiple lines of text. Roughly half of the fragments are much smaller and preserve only a few words or broken phrases, including the three fragments not present in Milik’s edition (Drawnel’s frags. 14–16; Drawnel’s frag. 16 is Puech’s 4Q206 frag. 5). Fragment 4a–b preserves parts of two columns with traces of horizontal script lines, and there are upper, lower, and intercolumnar margins on several fragments. A few textual overlaps occur between fragments proposed to belong to 4Q206 and other copies of Enoch (4Q204 [En^c] and 4Q205 [En^d]) or the Book of Giants (4Q533/4Q556 [EnGiants^e/Prophecy^a]): 4Q206 1xxvi.14–17//4Q204 (En^c) 1xii.28–30, 4Q206 4ii.12–16//4Q205 (En^d) 2i.26–29, 4Q206 4iii.19–21//4Q205 (En^d) 2ii.27–29, and perhaps 4Q206 3i.5–6//4Q533/4Q556 (EnGiants^e/Prophecy^a) 4.1–2.

Provenance: A large piece of Milik’s frag. 4b is found in an early PAM “G series” photograph (PAM 40.602), meaning that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified another part of frag. 4b and frag. 4f on the “E series” PAM image 40.978, connected with the official excavation of Cave 4 led by de Vaux in 1952. As a result, we can see that some fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, and others by the official excavation team.



Sample image: 4Q206 1 xxi–xxii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.2 cm*Lower:* 5–10 mm (see frags. 1d, 1g, 4b; though note also frag. 3 [1.4 cm])*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 1cm (with significant variation by line)**Column dimensions:**

9–10 cm w.

Lines per column: Approx. 21

(Milik's reconstruction)

Letters per line: Approx. 30–40

(Milik's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:*Horizontal script lines:* Yes (see frags. 1a, 1g, 4b)*Vertical column lines:* Yes? (see frag. 3 [if deemed part of the scroll])**Average medial letter height:**

2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

(1d and 4a–b spaced more compactly, ca. 3–4 mm)

Space between words:

Approx. 1.5 mm (though considerably larger in frags. 2–3)

Vacats: Yes; medium (1b.3

[2.2 cm], 1d.5 [1.1 cm]; minor sense division) and large (4b.12 [approx. half-line]; minor sense division?)

Material: Skin**Script:** Late Hasmonean semi-cursive (Milik, Stuckenbruck); late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal bookhand (Drawnel)**Proposed palaeographic date:** 100–50 BCE (Milik, Stuckenbruck); 75–25 BCE (Drawnel)**Special traits and general comments:** Milik's initial identification of the fragments belonging to this scroll has been repeatedly scrutinized, most notably by Stuckenbruck, Puech (DJD 31:12, 16, 111–12), Tigchelaar, and Drawnel. Based on the combined results of their enquiries, we should now consider frags. 2–3 to belong to a different manuscript, designated by Puech and others as 4Q206a (all those after Milik also reversed the order of the fragments). Tigchelaar further argued that even these two fragments exhibit differences, and may not belong together. He also made the plausible claim that Milik's frag. 1a should be distinguished from the main group. All of this leaves us with 4Q206 1b–g, 4a–d as part of a single manuscript. Of course, this discussion should be kept in mind when using the "Profile of physical layout" section for this profile, since some of the variation there is, in fact, likely due to differing manuscripts.

As noted by Milik, the layout and dimensions of this manuscript appear aimed at economy, and are not as lavish as some of the other manuscripts in the Aramaic Qumran corpus. He observed that the lines in columns became "progressively more closely crammed together" (BE, 225), though it is clear that for the fragments where this appears to be case, the leather has become shrunken and puckered. It seems that this physical degradation better accounts for the apparently tight spacing than scribal dereliction. The scribal execution is, in fact, of quite high quality, and Milik probably made too little of the preserved vacats (so too Drawnel, ABE, 341), which are relatively generous for the minor nature of the sense divisions that they mark.

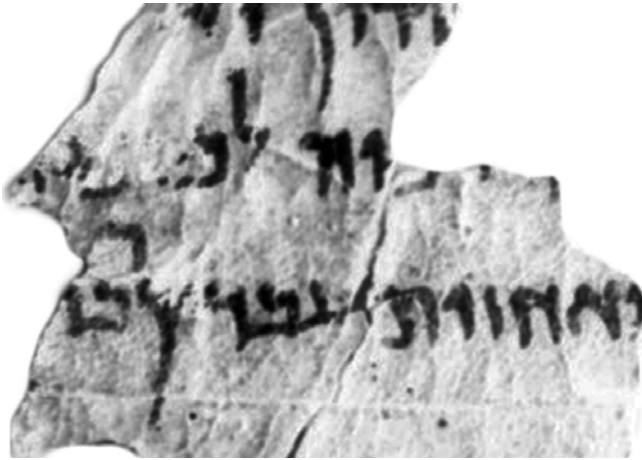
The script is slightly less meticulous than in the best Aramaic manuscripts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q529 [Words of Michael], 4Q537 [TJacob?]), and average in terms of neatness and consistency. Some letters are formed with a more "rounded" Hasmonean style. It is noteworthy that both the earlier 𐤓 and later, prefixed 𐤓 are present in this manuscript, something not found often in the Qumran Aramaic texts. This probably represents some vacillation between preservation (or oversight) of older spellings and updating on the part of the scribe making this copy, or those on which it depended. When the subject of a clause is supplied, it regularly precedes the verb, which is somewhat unusual, and may be a compositional characteristic of the Animal Apocalypse. The *aleph*-prefix causative verb is typically used, though the single preserved occurrence of the passive-reflexive is a 𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤏 form. On the expression 𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤏 in 1xxvi.20 and 4i.20, see the profile for 2Q26 (EnGiants), and the relevant section of Chapter 3, on language.**Original manuscript quality:** Good–very good**Select bibliography:** Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 225–58; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 191–96; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 51–52; Tigchelaar, "Notes."

Script sample:

אא כב גג דד חח וו חח טט יי ננ
 ך לל צצ סס ןן ןן ןן
 ך לל צצ סס ןן ןן ןן

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letters added on two successive lines
 (1xxvii.20–21): [למזמני]הון / יבר[בין]



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

4ii.3(?), 4ii.16, 4ii.21(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

3i.20, 4i.18, 4i.20, 4i.21, 4ii.2, 4ii.15, 4ii.18(?), 4iii.15,
 4iii.17

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1xxii.3, 1xxii.4

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1xxii.3, 1xxvi.18, 1xxvi.19, 1xxvi.20(2x), 1xxvi.21,
 1xxvii.1, 1xxvii.21, 4i.12, 4i.13, 4i.17(2x), 4iii.18

Verbless clause:

1xxii.1, 1xxii.6, 4i.16, 4i.18, 4i.19, 4iii.14

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 4ii.18, 4iii.14

Use of ל to mark genitive relationship:

1xxii.1

Use of די to mark genitive relationship:

1xxii.2, 4ii.13(?; זי)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

3i.21, 3i.22, 4i.16(?), 4i.18

Lexical items:

די: 1xxii.2(2x), 1xxii.3, 1xxii.5

זי: 4ii.13, 4iii.16(?)

–ד: 1xxii.6(2x)

ת(א)ל: 4ii.17

תמן: 1xxii.3, 1xxvi.18

Morphology:

אפעל form:

1xxvi.19, 1xxvi.20(2x), 1xxvi.21, 1xxvii.1, 1xxvii.21

הפעל form:

1xxvi.18(*hofal*)

התפעל form:

4ii.17(?), 4iii.17

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:1xxvii.20 (supralinear *nun*)**Orthography/Phonology:****ש for /s/:**

1xxvi.20(שמוקא), 4i.11, 4ii.2

Other notable features:**Proposed Hebraisms:**

לִיד (semantic; 1xxvi.21) [h]

חדרין (lexical; 4i.17) [H]

חדריא (lexical; 4ii.2) [H]

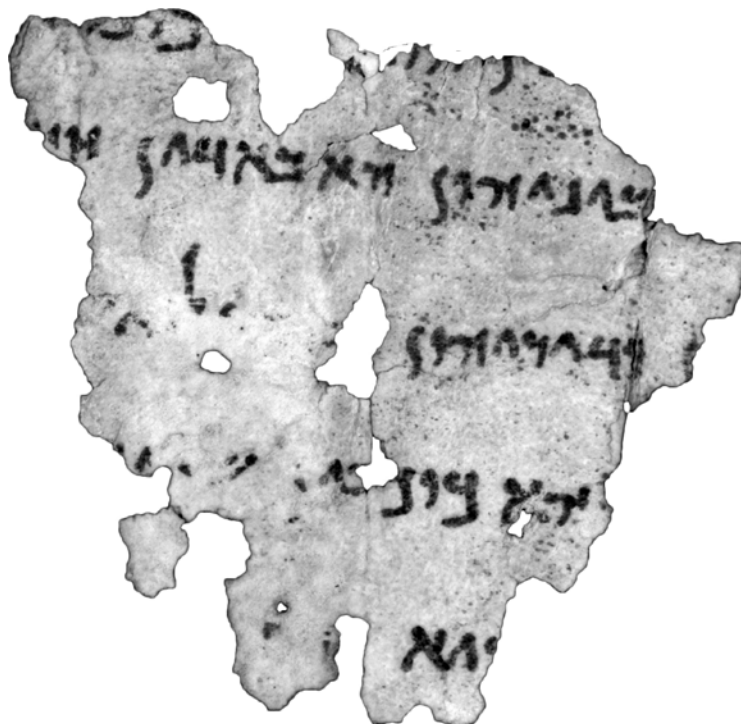
נת]ר (semantic; 4ii.20) [H]

4Q207, Enoch^f (En^f)[ed. Milik, *BE*, 244–45; Drawnel, *ABE*, 395–401]

Content synopsis and significance: The single fragment of 4Q207 preserves just over a dozen words identifiable as part of the Animal Apocalypse, from the Enochic Book of Dreams. The fragment corresponds to portions of the later Ethiopic 1 En. 86:1–3, which recounts the fall of the heavenly Watchers using symbolic astral and animal imagery. This is one of four copies of the Animal Apocalypse from Qumran, making it one of the best-attested portions of 1 Enoch among the Qumran scrolls (the Book of Watchers is also preserved in four copies). Of special note in 4Q207 is the common dream-vision idiom “Behold, then [I] saw[...” (הא באדין חזי]ת) (line 2), found much more widely among the Aramaic writings from Qumran (see Perrin, *Dynamics*, 102–3).

Material remains: Only one small fragment remains of this scroll, containing segments of five lines from which some of the writing has flaked off. The fragment comes from the right edge of a column of text, with a small part of the intercolumnar margin preserved. According to Milik’s and Drawnel’s reconstructions, the lines would once have been between fifty and fifty-five letters long (*ABE*, 395).

Notes on provenance: The single fragment of 4Q207 is not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While its discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q207 1

Image B-358541

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Letters per line: Approx. 50–55
(Milik's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 8–10 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Early Hasmonean (Milik, Drawnel); Milik (*BE*, 244) suggested that the same scribe wrote 4Q214a–b (his 4QTestLevi^b)

Proposed palaeographic date: 150–125 BCE (Milik, Drawnel)

Special traits and general comments: Though there is not much remaining text by which to judge this fragment, it is clear that the scribal execution was of high quality, with small, consistent letters and generous spacing between lines. Nevertheless, where we might expect a small vacat in other manuscripts (midway through line 2, before רִבְּאֵה), we find none in 4Q207. Milik notes the “fairly archaic” script in this manuscript, which according to his proposed date makes it one of our earliest preserved Aramaic scrolls at Qumran. He also asserted (*BE*, 5, 244) that the scribe who wrote this scroll also wrote what he called 4QTestLevi^b, by which he meant 4Q214a–b (“Fragment,” 95, n. 2). Stone and Greenfield (see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 4) later complicated the situation by dividing this Levi manuscript into three, based on palaeographic analysis and what they saw as minor overlaps between the fragments' contents: 4Q214 (Levi^d), 4Q214a (Levi^e), and 4Q214b (Levi^f). Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom*, 21) agreed with this division, but noted that one could dispute the division of 4Q214a and 4Q214b (*Aramaic Wisdom*, 27; see also the profiles for 4Q214a [Levi^e] and 4Q214b [Levi^f]). Despite the small amount of writing preserved on 4Q207, the striking similarity of the preserved letters with the forms in 4Q214a–b confirms Milik's original opinion, whether we consider 4Q214a–b (Levi^{e–f}) one or two manuscripts. If it is the latter, it seems to me likely that they all were written by the same scribe. The script of 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}) also bears a strong resemblance to 4Q207 and 4Q214a–b (Levi^{e–f}), though the orthography of 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}) varies in some slight ways from the other two manuscripts. In my opinion, there is a high likelihood that 4Q207 and 4Q214a–b (Levi^{e–f}) were written by the same scribe, with a possibility that 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}) should be added to the list.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 52.

Script sample:

Language

Lexical items:

רִבְּאֵה : 1.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ψ for /s/:

1.4

4Q208, *Astronomical Enoch^a* (Enastr^a)[ed. Tigchelaar and García Martínez, DJD 36:104–131; Drawnel, *AAB*, 71–133]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserved a highly formulaic computational treatise on the waxing and waning of the moon in its various phases, reckoned according to a system of “sevenths” (שבִּיעַ) and “gates” (תרע). The treatise is both temporal and spatial, specifying the timing of the moon’s different phases, with its attending location on the horizon (see the excellent explanation in Ratzon, “Reconstruction”). A few references to the sun (e.g., frag. 10a) led Milik to include the manuscript as part of what he called a 364-day “synchronistic calendar,” coordinating the movements of the sun and moon over the course of “full” (30-day) and “hollow” (29-day) months. Drawnel, however, stressed the predominantly lunar character of what remains of this text, and so objected to the label “synchronistic calendar” as a misnomer (*AAB*, 32). Scholars have repeatedly drawn attention to a strong affinity between the contents of 4Q208 and 4Q209 (Enastr^b), with the latter scroll also preserving parts of a calendar that works on the same basic principles as the former. There are no direct textual overlaps between 4Q208 and 4Q209 (Enastr^b), though we do find shared formulaic phrases such as *לשבִּיעַ יעינ* (4Q208 15.2) and *ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשא* (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 7ii.6). Ratzon (“Reconstruction”) argued, based on very detailed comparative analysis of the two scrolls, that 4Q208 represents a slightly earlier stage in the development of the “synchronistic calendar” than 4Q209 (Enastr^b) does, with the latter scroll incorporating some innovations based on observation of the calendar in actual practice. Nevertheless, Ratzon (“Reconstruction,” 109) maintained that the two scrolls are slightly different editions of “one and the same composition.” Although little text actually remains of 4Q208 – which must once have been a large scroll – significant portions of its contents can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of confidence, based on how repetitive and formulaic the extant fragments are. Given the size of the scroll that would have been required for the “synchronistic calendar” represented by 4Q208, scholars have typically assumed that the Aramaic *Astronomical Book of Enoch* must have originally circulated independently of other Enochic writings (i.e., on its own, separate scroll), such as the *Book of Watchers* and the *Epistle of Enoch*.

Beginning with Milik, 4Q208 was closely associated with the astronomical chapters of Ethiopic 1 *Enoch* (72–82), a section often called the *Astronomical Book* or the *Book of the Luminaries*. The fragments of 4Q208 actually attest to a fuller, much more detailed calendar

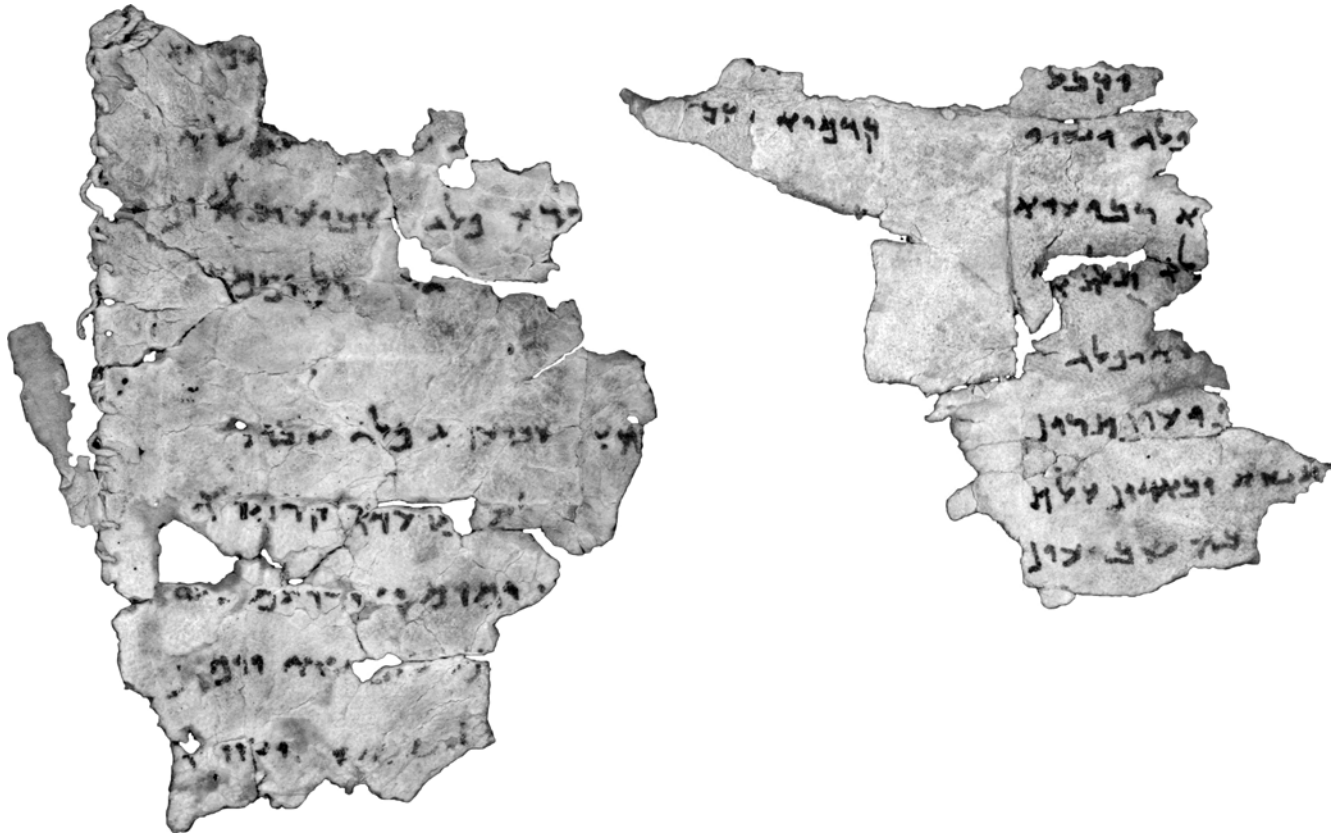
than is found anywhere in 1 *Enoch*, though 1 *En.* 73:4–8 and 78:6–17 have extremely truncated, essentialized extractions that use terminology clearly dependent on a calendar like that in 4Q208 (e.g., 1 *En.* 73:4–8 has both “sevenths” and “gates”). VanderKam (1 *Enoch* 2, 357) observed that, “[t]here is no doubt that something drastic happened between the Aramaic and the Ethiopic form of the Enochic astronomical work.” Unlike the related 4Q209 (Enastr^b), all of the extant fragments of 4Q208 belong only to the “synchronistic calendar,” with no other parts of the later Ethiopic astronomical work attested. Based on the size of the scroll presumably required for the calendar of 4Q208 and the absence of any non-calendrical material in the scroll analogous to other parts of 1 *Enoch* 72–82, Tigchelaar expressed serious doubt about the strength of the relationship first suggested by Milik. In Tigchelaar’s opinion (“Remarks,” 145), “4Q208 was not a copy of the *Astronomical Enoch*, but only a *Synchronistic Calendar*.” Most others have taken a more restrained view, noting that Tigchelaar makes an argument from silence, and that the balance of probability favors some sort of literary relationship between 2Q208 and the later 1 *Enoch* (see, e.g., Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, 342).

Whatever the precise relationship of 4Q208 to the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, the scroll attests to Jewish calendrical interests during the Second Temple period, and to the promulgation of a 364-day calendar. As many scholars have noted, rival Jewish calendars seem to have been a cause of serious social divisions among Jews at that time.

Material remains: Thirty-seven fragments have been assigned to 4Q208 (Ratzon, “Reconstruction,” counts thirty-six fragments), of which the majority are very small, containing only a handful of words and phrases on three or fewer broken lines of text (e.g., frags. 2–4, 6–9, 10b–13, 20–22). A few of the larger fragments preserve parts of five to ten lines, but even these are very badly damaged and contain little running text (e.g., frags. 10a, 15–17, 19, 24). The largest fragments are 10a and 24, the outside measurements of which are slightly smaller than a standard playing card. Fragments 10a, 14, 24, and 35 have intercolumnar margins, and there is a lower margin on frag. 35. Evidence of stitching can be found on frags. 10a, 31, and 35. There are no signs of vertical or horizontal scribal guidelines. Drawnel has suggested that the manuscript’s poor state of preservation makes it difficult to

reconstruct the original size of the manuscript or its columns (*Astronomical*, 71–72), though see now the extensive discussion of Ratzon (“Reconstruction”) on this topic.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q208 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q208 10a, 24 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Images [right to left] B-366648 and B-366718

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 14–15 cm h. (based on Tigchelaar and García Martínez's reconstruction); Approx. 23–24 cm h. (based on Ratzon's reconstruction)

Margins:

Lower: 2.2 cm (frag. 35)

Intercolumnar: 1.5–1.6 cm (frags. 14, 24), 7–9 mm (frags. 10a, 35, to seam between sheets)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 10.5 cm h. × 8–10 cm w. (based on Tigchelaar and García Martínez's reconstruction); approx. 19–20 cm h. × 12.5–15.5 cm w. (based on Ratzon's reconstruction)

Lines per column: 15 (Tigchelaar and García Martínez's and Drawnel's reconstructions); 28–29 (Ratzon's reconstruction)

Letters per line: Approx. 35–40 (Tigchelaar and García Martínez's reconstruction); approx. 35–55 (Ratzon's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height: 2–3 mm (1–1.5 mm in frag. 33)

Space between lines: 6–12.5 mm

Space between words: 1–4 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (11.1 [4 mm]; minor sense division); large? (10a.5 [3.8 cm]; presence and context of this vacat is not assured)

Material: Skin

Script: Archaic Hasmonean semi-formal (Milik, García Martínez and Tigchelaar, and Drawnel)

Proposed palaeographic date: Ca. 225–175 BCE (Milik, García Martínez and Tigchelaar, and Drawnel)

Radiocarbon date (1-sigma calibration): 166–102 BCE (see Van der Schoor, "Radiocarbon")

Special traits and general comments: There are several noteworthy attributes of this manuscript. The scribe used only medial letters, including in final positions, and exhibits an unusual variation in the spacing of both lines and words, eliciting Milik's remark that the "orthography is extremely variable and unusual" (*BE*, 273). He noted the striking variation in spelling the word "day" (יֹמָם, יֹמָמָא, יֹמָמָ, and יֹמִימָא) to which we could add "night" (לַיְלִיָּהּ, לַיְלִיאַ, and לַיְלִיאַ[לִּי]). There are several corrections that seem due to scribal mistakes at the point of copying, rather than later additions or variation in the available versions. Fragment 33 has considerably smaller script than in other fragments, despite a general correspondence in the type of content. One of the lines (33.2) appears to be supralinear. The shorter form of the demonstrative pronoun (יָד) is always used in the extant fragments. Two basic frameworks for reconstruction have been proposed, of which Ratzon's ("Reconstruction") seems more likely based only on the size and shape of her columns compared to the broader corpus of scrolls found in the Qumran caves.

It is somewhat difficult to compare the syntax and general style of this manuscript with other Aramaic texts (apart from 4Q209–211 [Enastr^{b-d}]) because the list-like content entails a highly repetitive, formulaic recurrence of syntactic structures. The presumed subject of all verbs is the moon or its light, but the subject is almost always implied, not stated explicitly (though in a great many cases we have the verb directly preceding a break in the text). The one exception to this, based not only on 4Q208 but also 4Q209 (Enastr^b), is the verb שׁוּי, which regularly takes the noun נְהוּר ("light") as its subject (cf. 4Q208 19.5, 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 1i.6). For this reason, I have included all occurrences of שׁוּי under "Verb-subject (verb early in clause)" in the syntax section below, even when the text is fragmentary and the subject not physically preserved. A similar rule applies for the verb בִּסְחָ, which, judging from 4Q209 (Enastr^b; e.g., 2ii.7, 6.7), belongs to a set phrase where the verb is typically placed later in the clause. The word בְּאֲדִינִי (never אֲדִינִי) is repeatedly used to begin a new thought expression, or progression in the computation. Of the nine places where we seem to have בְּאֲדִינִי beginning a new sub-section, only one appears to be preceded by a small vacat of 4 mm. This contrasts with what appears to be a more frequent use of vacats in the comparable lists of 4Q209–211 (Enastr^{b-d}).

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 273–78; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 57–59; Ben-Dov, *Astronomy*, 69–108; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 339–42; Jacobus, “Reconstructing”; Ratzon, “Reconstruction.”

Script sample:

אז אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב
 אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Medial nun in final position and tav written over another letter, possibly nun (so Drawnel; 5.2): תריג

(b) Mem written over another letter, possibly qoph (so Drawnel; 15.4): בימימא

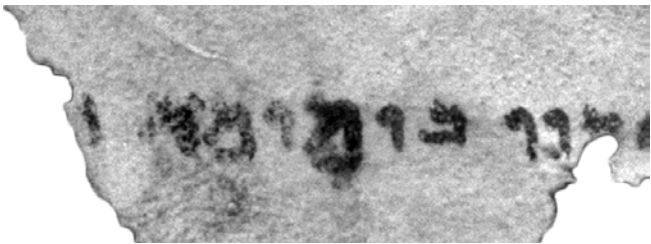
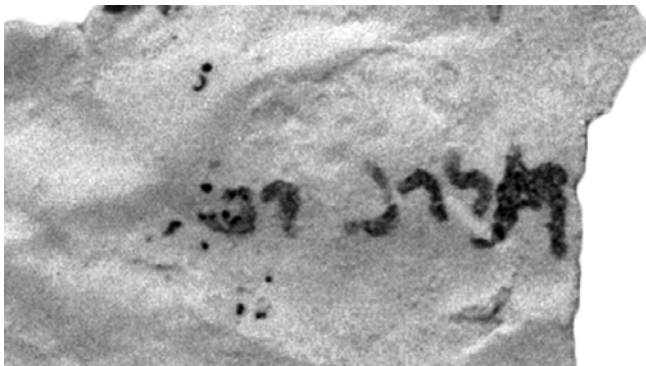


Image B-284658
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(c) Cancellation dot (16.4): ופלג

(d) Cancellation dots above letters (18.2): תן

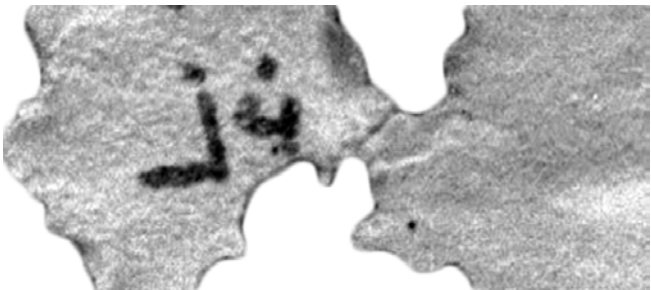
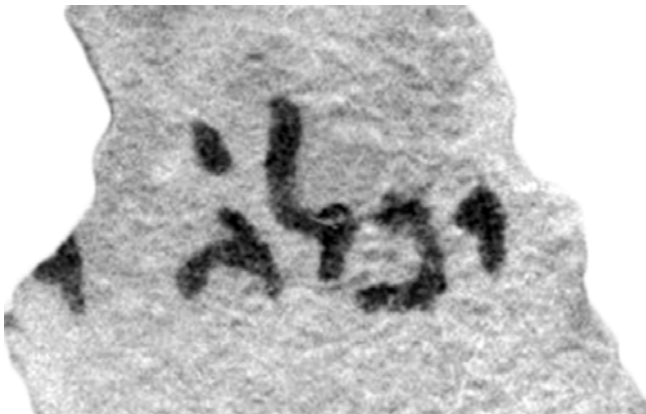


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(e) Supraliner letter added (20.2): חַ עֶשֶׂר

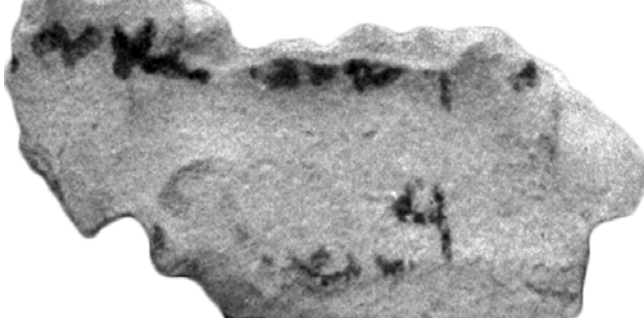


Image B-298884

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Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

3.1(?), 10a.10(?), 19.1(?), 19.5, 24i.2(?), 26.2(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.2, 1.4, 5.1, 5.5(?), 8.1(?), 8.2, 11.3(?), 14i.2(?), 15.2,
15.3(?), 15.4, 17.5, 18.2(?), 20.1, 21.1(?), 23.3, 24i.1(?),
24i.7(?), 24ii.2(?), 24ii.3, 25.3(?), 28.1(?), 32.2(?),
33.2(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

8.3(?), 13.1(?), 15.6(?)

Lexical items:

בַּאֲדָרִין: 2.2(?), 5.2(?), 8.2, 10a.3, 11.1, 13.2, 14ii.4(?), 16.5,
18.3(?), 19.3, 22.3, 24i.7, 25.2, 28.2, 29.2(?)

Morphology:

אפעל form:

1.2, 5.3, 15.3, 18.2, 23.3, 28.1(?)

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

20.2, 23.1

4Q209, *Astronomical Enoch^b* (Enastr^b)

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 273–97; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, *DJD* 36:132–171; Drawnel, *AAB*, 134–208]

Content synopsis and significance: Like 4Q208 (Enastr^a), 4Q209 is a scroll apparently dealing mainly with lunar calendrical computations, forming what Milik and many after him called a “synchronistic calendar” that coordinates lunar phases with a 364-day solar scheme using a system of “sevenths” (שביע) and “gates” (תרע). 4Q209 is better preserved than 4Q208 (Enastr^a), and so contains a larger sample of the calendar. For more on the Aramaic “synchronistic calendar” in these scrolls and its relation to the later Ethiopic *Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch*, see the profile for 4Q208 (Enastr^a). There is no directly overlapping text of 4Q209 and 4Q208 (Enastr^a), but the two scrolls very clearly contain the same type of calendar, as seen in their use of virtually identical formulaic phrases like *ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשא* (4Q209 7ii.6) and *ובציר מנהורה לשב[יעין]* (4Q208 [Enastr^a] 15.2). In the opinion of Ratzon (“Reconstruction”), 4Q209 is a copy of the

same literary composition as 4Q208 (Enastr^a). However, she argued that 4Q209 is a somewhat updated version of the calendar, with revisions based on a refinement of the astronomical calculations perhaps based on observation of the calendar in practice (“Reconstruction,” 102–4). While the extant fragments of 4Q208 (Enastr^a) attest only to the “synchronistic calendar,” an important feature of 4Q209 is that frag. 23 also contains non-computational material clearly related to 1 En. 76:13–77:4, part of which is paralleled in 4Q210 (Enastr^c) frag. 1. In these verses of the *Ethiopic Astronomical Book*, we find the end of a treatise on the twelve gates with their winds, each of which is associated with various meteorological and other phenomena (1 En. 76:1–14), and the first part of a discourse on the four cardinal directions and their associated phenomena (1 En. 77:1–8). An especially significant detail comes in the fragmentary 23.2, at the end of the section on the

twelve gates: אַחַד זַיִת [“]the sky in their completeness, and their division [I] have sh[own ...” These words correspond to 1 En. 68:14, “The twelve gates of the four quarters of the sky are completed. All their laws and all their punishment and prosperity – I have shown you everything, my son Methuselah.” The word אַחַד זַיִת signals that the Aramaic Astronomical Book of 4Q209 had a visionary narrative framework in which Enoch is the speaker and his son Methuselah the recipient, as we find in the later Ethiopic version. This narrative framework is also evident in frags. 25–26, the latter of which contains the phrase “And now I am showing you, my son ...” (cf. 1 En. 79:1). 4Q209 23–26 provide clear evidence that, in this scroll, the “synchronistic calendar” was combined with other parts of the Aramaic Astronomical Book that stand in a clear literary relationship to the later Ethiopic version. The same fragments show that the calendar in the Enochic Astronomical Book was once the extensive “synchronistic” one found in the Aramaic copies from Qumran – 4Q208 (Enastr^a) and 4Q209 – but that this calendar was abridged (and became somewhat confused) at a later stage of transmission, leading to the form now found in Ethiopic 1 Enoch.

Material remains: 4Q209 comprises forty-one numbered fragments, though a significant portion of them are actually made up of multiple pieces (e.g., frags. 1–3, 6, 7). The largest fragment by far is 7, the outside dimensions of which are nearly those of a small, quarto-sized book. This

fragment has parts of three separate columns preserved, though almost nothing remains of the first column. However, significant sections remain of the second and third columns, which along with frag. 23 (approximately the size of a playing card) give an impression of the overall manuscript quality. Seven lines from the second column of frag. 7 are completely (or almost completely) intact, providing us with a sense of the width of the scroll’s columns. There is a handful of smaller, but still relatively well-preserved fragments with between six and ten fragmentary lines of text (e.g., frags. 1a, 2, 6, 23, and 26). Over half of the scroll’s fragments are nothing more than tiny scraps, containing only a few words or phrases (frags. 1b, 10, 11–22, 24–25, 27, 29–41). We find evidence of stitching on frag. 23, and fully or partially preserved column margins on frags. 1a, 1b, 2, 7, 12, and 23. The only direct overlap with another Qumran manuscript is at 4Q209 23.5–8//4Q210 (Enastr^c) iia+b+c.15–18, corresponding to 1 En. 77:2–3.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q209 (23, and portions of 2ii, 6 and 7) were photographed as part of the PAM “G series,” the relevant plates being PAM 40.581 (various pieces of frag. 2), 40.586 (the left, lower piece of frag. 6), 40.614 (the main piece of frag. 7), and 40.622 (frag. 23). The fragments in this series of images are said to have been discovered in 1952 by the Bedouin in Cave 4 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32), prior to de Vaux’s official excavations of Cave 4 from September 22 to 29, 1952.



Sample image: 4Q209 23

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 2.3–2.7 cm (frag. 7)*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 1.7 cm
(1.5 cm to sewn sheet seam
on frag. 23)**Column dimensions:**Approx. 10 cm w. × 26 cm
h. (height based on line
estimates of Milik and
Tigchelaar and García
Martínez)**Lines per column:**Approx. 40 (Milik's and
Tigchelaar and García
Martínez's reconstructions)**Letters per line:** Approx. 52–80
(Milik's reconstruction)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes**Average medial letter height:**
2 mm**Space between lines:** 6–7 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–1 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (e.g., 2ii.9
[9 mm], 7ii.11 [9 mm]) and
medium (e.g., 2ii.4 [1.3 cm],
7ii.8 [1.9 cm]), all minor
sense divisions; 15 preserved
in total*Material:* Skin*Script:* Early Herodian formal (Milik, Drawnel)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 25 BCE–25 CE (Milik, Drawnel)

Special traits and general comments: 4Q209 is a very high-quality copy, comparable in most respects to the best manuscripts such as 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q529 (Words of Michael). The scribe wrote in an impeccable, small print that is remarkably consistent in size and shape. Generous empty space is left on the copy, though slightly less than in 1Q20 (apGen). Milik (*BE*, 273) observed that 4Q209 was “written in the same beautiful Herodian script as 1QIsa^b, 1QM, 1QGenAp, and the original hand of 1QH,” though it is unclear whether he thought that the scripts were simply of a very similar style, or that all of these scrolls were penned by the same scribe. In contrast to 4Q208 (Enastr^a), with which the content of 4Q209 is similar, in 4Q209 there are many vacats used to indicate minor breaks in thought, and the spelling is far more consistent. For example, where 4Q208 has four different spellings for the word יממא “day,” 4Q209 has יממא alone in twenty-three fully (or nearly-fully) extant occurrences of the word. A large vacat may have been employed on frag. 2i, though it is no longer possible to judge its size or whether it marked a major sense division. What is left of the manuscript is remarkably free of errors and corrections, though in 23.4 the scribe seems to have mistakenly written an *aleph* instead of *ayin* for the word מערבא. He then immediately fixed it by erasing the first two letters and starting the word over again. Drawnel claims to find another corrected mistake in the מערבא of 23.5, though this was noticed neither by Milik nor Tigchelaar and García Martínez. In fact, what Drawnel claims is the long down-stroke of a *qoph* is actually a crack in the leather, while the regular downstroke of a *resh* is preserved and unaltered. At certain junctures this scribe shows a penchant for full spellings using *aleph* (e.g., דאר at 23.3 and באתר at 39.1) as also found in numerous other Aramaic Qumran texts – for example, 1Q20 (apGen), 2Q24 (NJ), 4Q205 (En^d), and 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court).

A surprising practice of the scribe (or his exemplar) is the habit of collapsing the preposition מן into its prefixed form as part of the phrase מנהורה (“from the light”), thus assimilating the *nun* of מן into the noun נהורה. Such a prefixed form of מן is extremely rare in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the only other possible occurrences being at 4Q157 (Job) iii.2, 4Q246 (apocrDan) ii.2(?), 4Q318 (Zodiology and Brontology) viii.9, 4Q339 (List of False Prophets) 3, 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b) 8ii.3(?), and several times in 11Q10 (Job). It is worth noting that most of these texts are of a different literary character than the bulk of the Aramaic works from Qumran, being translations, physiognomic treatises, lists of names, etc. It is also interesting that the expression מנהורה is found, spelled fully, in an analogous context in the older 4Q208 (Enastr^a) 15.2: לשב[יעין] מן נהורה (compare to 4Q209 7ii.6, ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשא). Here we see that 4Q209 also does not carry over the *lamed* as marker of the direct object, as is the case in 4Q208 (Enastr^a). 4Q209 presumably attests to a later, slightly altered version of the expression, which would complement Ratzon's proposal (“Reconstruction”) that the calendar of 4Q209 has been updated from the version present in 4Q208 (Enastr^a). Another notable linguistic feature is the double use of

the adjective/noun כל in the expressions כל יממא דן כלה (“all of this day, all of it”) and כל ליליא דן כלה (“all of this night, all of it”; cf. 6.8 for an example without the second כל). This same construction is known from several other Qumran Aramaic texts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q212 [En^g]). Like 4Q208 (Enastr^a) and most other Aramaic texts from Qumran, the scribe of 4Q209 preferred דן to דנה for the demonstrative pronoun. On the reason for placing the verbs שוי and כסה in the “Verb-subject (verb early in clause)” and “Subject implied (verb later in clause)” categories of the language section, below, even when the phrases are incomplete, see the profile for 4Q208 (Enastr^a). As is often the case for our scribes, etymological *sin* (עשר) and *samek* (כסה) are correctly distinguished from each other, though something curious happens with the participle מתכנסין in 23.6 (see also 4Q210 [Enastr^c] 112a.17). This is the well-known Hebrew root for “to gather, assemble,” for which Aramaic – including a number of Qumran texts – uses the root כנש, historically with an etymological *shin* (as in Babylonian). Consequently, the form used in 4Q209 and 4Q210 (Enastr^c) with a *samek* is most likely a lexical Hebraism. Still, it is worth asking whether, at the time and place in which these texts were written and/or copied, the *shin* of Aramaic כנש had shifted to being pronounced instead as *sin*, thereby producing the confusion witnessed in our Aramaic texts. As Milik noted (*BE*, 291) Hebrew influence may also be at work in the unexpected form of the word מאין (“whence”; this is the Biblical Hebrew form), for which we would expect something more like מנאן in Aramaic, as in 4Q197 (Tobit^b) 4iii.5 (מנן in later Jewish and Christian Aramaic dialects). Adding to the intrigue is 4Q210 (Enastr^c), which makes a fair mess of the word when correcting a form similar to 4Q209 back into a form with *nun* (see the profile for 4Q210 [Enastr^c]). The participle זרחין (23.7) is a more clear-cut Hebraism, since

the Aramaic form דנה is attested (with *dalet*, not *zayin*) already in the fifth century BCE, not to mention earlier in this same line and elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic texts. The scribe of 4Q210 (Enastr^c) also tried to clear this up, with limited success. In any event, it is obvious that the author used the Hebrew root to make the etymological link with the direction מזרח (“east”), under discussion here in 4Q209, and so knowingly avoided the Aramaic form.

In frags. 23–28 it is clear that the whole register of the Aramaic idiom shifts from the quasi-scientific account preceding it (reflected again in frags. 29–41) to a more narrative style. This change is reflected in a perusal of the language section below, with alternative syntactic arrangements and transition words (בען, בדי, בען) including the heavy use of participles to suspend the narrative in a way different than we find in the computational treatise. Several words and phrases warrant brief comment: חשבון (“calculation”) is a *Leitwort* in this section (3x in frags. 25–27), and is spelled as in 1Q20 (apGen) 6.9 and other Qumran texts (e.g., 4Q204 [En^c] 1xiii.24; 4Q534 [Birth of Noah^a] 1i.9; 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 3.4). In these and other cases the connection seems to be thematic in addition to lexical. Another word is the adverb בלחודי (26.6), which is spelled (and presumably pronounced) the same as in an array of other Qumran Aramaic texts (1Q20 [apGen] 19.15; 4Q213a [Levi^b] 1.11; 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 11i.4; 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^a] 8i.1; and 11Q10 [Job] 25.7). It is not known in earlier dialects, though continues on in later Palestinian forms of the language. Finally, the clause וכען מחוה אנה לך ברי (26.6) is strikingly similar to a statement in 1Q20 (apGen) 5.20 (וכען לך מחוה אנה ברי) and also resembles 4Q548 [Visions of Amram^f] 11i–2.9 (וכען לך מחוה אנה ברי); cf. 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 1a–c.2).

Original manuscript quality: Excellent

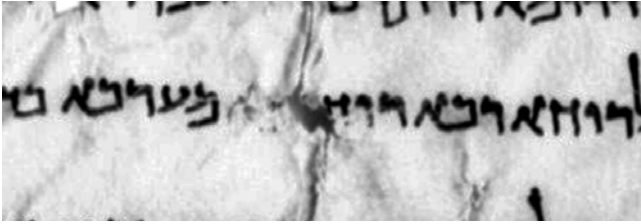
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 251–58; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 57–59; Ben-Dov, *Astronomy*, 69–108; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 339–42; Jacobus, “Reconstructing”; Ratzon, “Reconstruction.”

Script sample:

אא פב גג דד חח וו זז חח טט רר ננ
 ד לל פפ ס סס עע פפ ק קק
 דד שש תת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Characters erased (23.4): רוח {מא} מערבא



(b) Supralinear letter added (2ii.2): [תרעשר]

No image available

Language**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

1ai.2(?), 1ai.5(?), 1ai.6, 1b.2, 2ii.1(?), 2ii.3(?), 3.3(?),
6.9(2x), 7iii.1, 7iii.5, 7iii.7, 8.1, 23.10(?), 25.3(?),
26.6(part.), 35.2(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

7iii.2-3(?), 7iii.6, 34.2

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

23.3(part.), 23.6(part.), 23.7(part.)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

26.4(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1ai.1(?), 1ai.4(?), 1ai.6, 1ai.7, 2ii.4, 2ii.5, 2ii.6, 2ii.7,
2ii.8, 2ii.10, 2ii.11, 3.7, 4.3(?), 5.3(?), 5.5, 5.6(?), 6.4,
6.5(?), 6.6(?), 6.7, 6.8(2x), 7ii.3, 7ii.4(2x), 7ii.5,
7ii.6, 7ii.7(2x), 7ii.8(2x), 7ii.9, 7ii.10(3x), 7ii.11,
7ii.12, 7ii.13, 7iii.1, 7iii.2(part.), 7iii.3, 7iii.4(2x?),
7iii.5, 7iii.6, 7iii.7, 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 12.2(?), 13.1, 14.2(?),
16.4(?), 19.1(?), 22.2(?), 23.3(part.), 23.5(part.),
23.6(2x, both part.)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

2ii.7, 5.4, 6.5, 6.7, 7ii.3, 7ii.6, 7ii.9, 7ii.12, 16.3(?),
18.1(?), 23.2(?), 23.7, 25.3, 37.2(?)

Verbless clause:

23.4, 23.5, 26.4, 26.5

Object early in clause:

23.2(?), 23.4, 25.3

Direct object marker (if present):

ל-: 23.3, 23.4

Double כול construction:

2ii.5, 8.2

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

23.6

Lexical items:

באדין: 1ai.1, 2ii.10, 5.2, 5.3, 6.6, 6.8, 7ii.4, 7ii.5, 7ii.7,
7ii.8, 7ii.10, 7ii.11, 7iii.1, 7iii.5, 7iii.6, 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4,
17.1, 33.3, 36.2(?)

בדי: 23.4, 23.5 (בדכּוּן), 23.6, 23.7(2x), 26.2(?)

דיל (ב): 23.3

די: 25.3

כדי: 26.4

כען: 26.6

תמון: 23.3, 23.4, 23.7

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

1ai.5, 1ai.7, 2ii.4, 2ii.6, 2ii.10, 5.5, 7ii.4, 7ii.7, 7iii.1,
7iii.4, 12.2, 13.1, 16.4, 39.1

הפעל form:

26.4(?)

Assimilated nun:

6.5, 6.7, 7ii.3, 7ii.6, 7ii.9, 7ii.12, 7iii.2, 14.2, 23.5(2x?),
23.7(?)

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

1b.1, 2ii.2, 2ii.6, 2ii.7, 5.4, 6.7, 7ii.6, 7ii.9, 8.3, 16.3

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

מתכנסין (lexical; 23.6)

מאין (lexical/morphological; 23.5, 7)

זרחין/מזרח (lexical; 23.7) [H]

לחדשיהון (lexical; 28.1) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

כנ"ס (verbal root; 23.6)

מאין (adverb; 23.5, 7)

4Q210, Astronomical Enoch^c (Enastr^c)[ed. Milik, *BE*, 273–97; Drawnel, *AAB*, 209–26]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript contains portions of the Enochic Astronomical Book now found in the later, and somewhat altered, Ethiopic 1 Enoch 72–82. The extant text of 4Q210 corresponds to various portions of 1 Enoch 76–78. In 1 Enoch 76–77 (cf. 4Q210 ii–ii), we learn about the division of the sky into twelve “gates” (תרעיא), three for each of the four cardinal directions or quarters. Each gate (or quarter) is closely associated with its “winds” (רוחיא), various other meteorological phenomena, and qualitative effects such as healing and devastation. While the Aramaic text of 4Q210 is not identical to the later Ethiopic Astronomical Book, the two versions are so similar that a clear literary relationship is beyond doubt; we have here earlier and later versions of the same composition. Judging by the Ethiopic Astronomical Book and the overlap of 4Q210 with part of 4Q209 (Enastr^b), it is evident that the contents of 4Q210 are part of an angelic tour of the wonders of the created order given by Uriel to Enoch, which Enoch is in turn relating to his son Methuselah (cf. 1 En. 72:1, 74:2, 75:4, 76:14, 78:10, 79:1; 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 26.6). As noted in many of the other profiles, such apocalyptic revelations are a regular feature of the Aramaic literature found at Qumran (see Perrin, *Dynamics*).

Material remains: 4Q210 comprises five fragments. The first and largest fragment (ii–iii; approximately the size of a standard playing card) preserves parts of two columns on two separate sheets, with the stitching still intact for what remains of the seam, using plant-based thread. No text from the first column remains, but nine partial lines from the second column have survived. Ink dots for making the horizontal script guidelines are clearly visible on the right side of the seam, and also on the left side of the sheet seam on frag. iia2a. Three fragments (iia2a, iia2b, and iia2c) also belong to the second column of frag. ii–iii, according to the reconstructions of Milik (*BE*, 287) and Drawnel (*AAB*, 209). They consider the final fragment (iia3) to preserve material from a third, successive column. The only direct overlap with another Qumran manuscript is at 4Q210 iia+b+c.15–18//4Q209 (Enastr^b) 23.5–8, corresponding to 1 En. 77:2–3.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q210 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q210 ii–iii 1

Image B-284661

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.8 cm*Intercolumnar:* At least 2 cm
(including stitched seam on frag. ii–ii; 8 mm to seam on iii)**Column dimensions:**

Approx. 16–17 cm w. (based on Milik's and Drawnel's reconstructions)

Letters per line: Approx. 76–87
(Milik's and Drawnel's reconstructions)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes, with marginal guide dots for ruling (partially stitched into the seam at some points)*Vertical column lines:* Yes**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 6–9 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–1 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (iii.1 [at least 9 mm], iii.10 [?], iii.2c.1 [at least 2 mm]) and medium (iii.2 [1.8 cm]), all minor sense divisions*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean (Milik, Drawnel [comparable to the script of 4QSam^a])*Proposed palaeographic date:* 75–25 BCE (Milik, Drawnel)*Special traits and general comments:* Some of the material features of this manuscript indicate a level of professional care and expense that might be placed in the “Good–very good” category for quality. The scribe left generous vacats between minor breaks in the narrative, and in general the spacing and consistency of the script is quite even. At the same time, however, the scribe made many mistakes – or at least what were perceived to be mistakes – in the meager amount of text preserved. There are at least nine errors, depending upon how one counts (Milik and Drawnel count more), in twenty-one very fragmentary lines. These include starting to write one letter and changing it to another, writing letters that do not make sense in the context, adding supralinear words that had been missed during the initial writing process, and going back to change letters and words once they had been written – often with poor results. We are fortunate to have a parallel to parts of the text in 4Q209 (Enastr^b), and this allows us to guess what the scribe may have been thinking while emending (corrections in 4Q210 appear to be in the same hand as the original). For example, 4Q209 (Enastr^b) has what looks to be the Hebrew word מֵאֵין (“whence”) rather than the expected Aramaic מִנְאֵן in 23.5 and 7 (as in, e.g., 4Q197 [Tobit^b] 4iii.5). The scribe of 4Q210 had also written this form originally, or something close to it (both מֵאֵין and מִאֵין), then apparently had second thoughts and decided to convert them to a form closer to מִנְאֵן (מִנְאֵן and מִנְאֵן). In iii.2a.16 the scribe wrote מִנְאֵן two words after the corrected מֵאֵין. In general, the scribe corrected forms with an assimilated *nun* into dissimilated forms (though he did not do so for מִתְכַּנֵּן in iii.2a.17). The Hebrew word זֶרְחִין (“shining”) was used in 4Q209 (Enastr^b) 23.7 to forge a connection with the (also Hebrew) cardinal direction מְזֻרְחָה, though we may assume that for etymological reasons the scribe/author of 4Q209 (Enastr^b) or of its exemplar diverged purposefully from the analogous Aramaic דְּנַחֵן and מְדַנָּה, since both of those words are also used elsewhere in his text. The scribe of 4Q210, on the other hand, changed halfway back to the Aramaic by converting the *zayin* of זֶרְחִין to *dalet* – actually, twice (both through overwriting and supralinear addition) just for good measure. This both obscured the etymological link present in 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and created a word that works in neither language, as noted by Beyer (*ATTM*¹; it might be thought that changing the letter was a historicizing move, on analogy with the older זֶי and younger דֵי, but in fact our earliest examples of דְּנַחֵן and מְדַנָּה in the fifth century BCE are with *dalet*).The use of וּ[בְּתֵרָה] (“[And] after it”; iii.9; 1 En. 76:10) is of potential significance, for there the phrase (a conflation of the preposition בְּ, the noun אֶשֶׁר/אֶתֶר [“place”], and a pronominal suffix הֶ-; lit. “in its place”) is used prepositionally to indicate spatial or chronological succession. When we look at the Ethiopic version, it appears that a similar expression was also employed at the beginning of 1 En. 76:7 and 12 as a repetitive literary transition between each set of three gates under discussion in this section. The Aramaic text uses a singular suffix (“after *it*”), referring back either to the

last individual gate mentioned, or collectively the previous three gates. In the Ethiopic version, however, this has justifiably been adjusted to the plural “after *these*,” specifying the three previous gates. The significance of this observation lies in a resulting parallel with other Qumran Aramaic works, such as Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). In Dan 7:6–7, during one of the prophet’s visions, the introductory phrase באתר דנה (“after this”) is used twice in succession to indicate a list-like narrative movement between symbolic beasts. In col. 17 of the Genesis Apocryphon the word בתרה (“after him”) is used similarly, though more extensively (at least six times), to mark movement from one of Noah’s sons to the next

in a catalogue of their geographic allotments (cf. 4Q246 [apocrDan] 2ii.1). Together, these texts attest to a common idiom used to signify repeated succession. While this use is well known from later dialects, such as Syriac, it is not common – perhaps not even attested – in earlier forms of the language.⁶

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 251–58; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 57–59; Ben-Dov, *Astronomy*, 69–108; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 339–42.

Script sample:

אא גב גג גה גח גי גכ גל
 ככ כד כה כו כז כח כט כפ כק
 לל לז לט לך לץ לט
 סס סז סח סט ספ סק
 תת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(b) Supralinear letters added and erasure (11i2a.16): שמיא
 מאי{י}אין

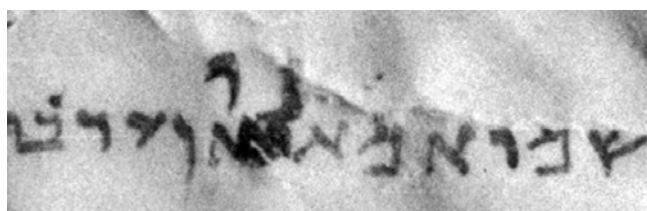


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(b) Supralinear letter added and letter conversion (?)
 (11i2a.18): די מאיין {ז} <ד> רחין



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6 While one fifth–fourth century BCE graffito from Sardinia may preserve a single attestation of the prepositional use of the word, the meaning remains somewhat uncertain. For the Sardinia text and other early uses of בתר (which tend to stay more strictly with the nominal sense of “place” for אתר/אשר), see Schwiderski, *DARI*¹, 364; *DARI*², 94.

Language (Numbering Follows Drawnel, AAB)**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

iii.9, iii2a.14

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

iii.4, iii.5, iii.7(?), iii2a.17(part.), iii2a.18(part.)

*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*iii.2(?), iii.8(part.), iii2a.15(part.), iii.5(part.),
iii.6*Verbless clause:*

iii.1, iii.6, iii2a.15

Direct object marker (if present):

-ל: iii.8, iii2a.15

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

iii2a-b.17(?)

Lexical items:

בדי: iii2a.15

דיל(ב): iii2b.16

בתר: iii.1, iii.9

די: iii.1, iii.3(2x), iii.4, iii.6, iii.8, iii2a.18

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

iii.2

אתפעל form:

iii2b.18, iii.3

התפעל form:

iii2a.18

Object suffix on verb:

iii.2(2x; inf.)

Assimilated nun:

iii2a.17

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

iii2a.16(2x, one corrected)

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

iii.4, iii.5, iii.8

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

שמאל (lexical; iii.1) [h]

לרפיא (lexical; iii.2) [H]

קדים (lexical; iii.4, 5) [h]

נגבה (lexical; iii.8) [H]

לדרומא דרום (lexical; iii2a.15) [H]

מיאן/מיאן ([original hand] lexical; iii2a.16, 18)

מתכ{נ}סין (lexical; iii2a.17)

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

כנ"ס (verbal root, with assimilated nun; iii2a.17)

4Q211, Astronomical Enoch^d (Enastr^d)[ed. Milik, *BE*, 273–97; Drawnel, *AAB*, 227–34]

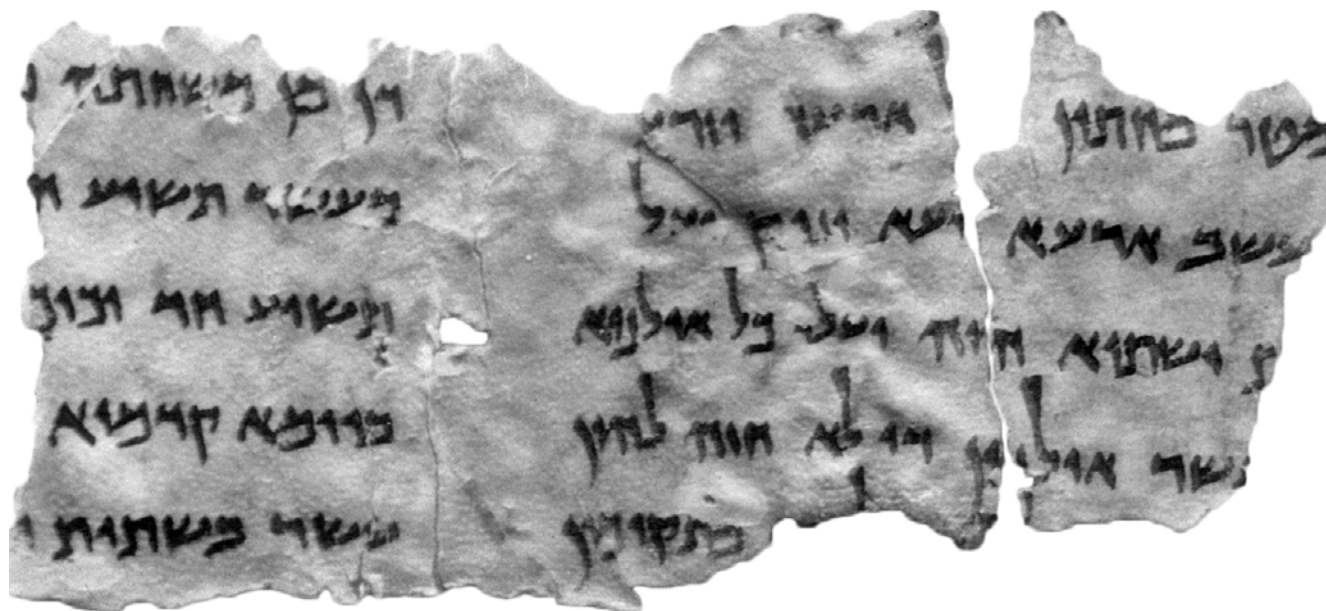
Content synopsis and significance: Though relatively small in terms of its preserved text, 4Q211 is of interest for the study of 1 Enoch because it contains a portion of the Aramaic Astronomical Book that scholars assume was lost in later Greek or Ethiopic transmission. 1 En. 82:15–20, the concluding section of the Ethiopic Astronomical Book, has descriptions of the spring and summer seasons, but no corresponding descriptions of fall and winter. In the first column of 4Q211 (frag. ii), we find a description of winter that matches fairly well those of spring and summer in the Ethiopic version, including an account of the trees during that season, and other associated natural phenomena such as rain and dew. These correspondences have led some scholars to posit that the description of winter belongs at or near the end of the Aramaic version of the Astronomical Book (note, however, the cautionary comments of VanderKam in Nickelsburg and VanderKam,

1 Enoch 2, 566). In the second and third columns, after the description of winter, we find astral calculations generally reminiscent of the kinds of calendrical computation present in 4Q208–210 (Enastr^{a-c}), on which see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 Enoch 2, 567. The calculations of 4Q211, however, have no direct parallels in 1 Enoch or the extant parts of the other Qumran copies of the Aramaic Astronomical Book. This suggests that the Aramaic version may have had yet other, now-lost sections of the Enochic Astronomical Book that did not survive the chain of transmission to the Ethiopic version. Along with the “synchronistic calendar” of 4Q208 (Enastr^a), and especially 4Q209 (Enastr^b), 4Q211 provides evidence that the early Aramaic Astronomical Book was significantly more extensive than the later, Ethiopic version, the latter having been abbreviated and reorganized over centuries of transmission through Greek and into Ethiopic.

Material remains: This manuscript preserves the remnants of three consecutive columns, skillfully arranged by Milik in “two composite fragments” (Drawnel, *AAB*, 227; see Milik, *BE*, 296). The first composite fragment (frag. ii) was produced by joining two smaller pieces, and the second (frag. iii–iiii) is also made up of two separate pieces. The material joins are certain, in the studied opinion Drawnel (*AAB*, 227), and as a result the manuscript is typically numbered as a single fragment (frag. 1) with three columns, despite its composite character. Arranged thus,

4Q211 is approximately the length of a quarto-sized book (ca. 22 cm), though it is only a few centimeters high at its tallest point. Its shape resembles that of a measuring ruler.

Notes on provenance: A large piece of the right-most “composite fragment” of 4Q211 ii–ii is found on an early PAM “G series” photographic plate (PAM 40.619), meaning that this fragment, at least, was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32).



Sample image: 4Q211 ii–ii

Image B-284660

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Intercolumnar:* 1–1.5 cm**Letters per line:** Approx. 40
(based on two reconstructed lines from Drawnel)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* None visible**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 6 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (iii.6 [1 cm]; minor sense division), and large (iiii.6 [at least 4 cm]; minor sense division?)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean to early Herodian (Milik); late Hasmonean formal (Drawnel)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–1 BCE (Milik)*Special traits and general comments:* This manuscript, while not very well-preserved, exhibits tidiness and economy of layout, neat handwriting, few mistakes or corrections, and the clear use of vacats, some of significant length. The columns, margins, and line spacing are narrower than in 4Q209 (Enastr^b) or 4Q210 (Enastr^c), though the scribal execution is otherwise excellent. The language and orthography of 4Q211 fit well the overall profile of most Qumran manuscripts, though one may note the repeated use of the subject to head a clause in the description of winter, and the correct use of etymological *sin* in words such as עשב, שתוא, and עשר, the last of which exhibits some variation (with *samek*) across the Qumran corpus. This was clearly a meticulous, well-trained scribe producing a high-quality manuscript. On the phrase מא בימ' ובאותה in iii.4, where Milik apparently understands the first word to be a Hebraism, see the comments of Stadel (*Hebraismen*, 95) and Drawnel (*AAB*, 419).*Original manuscript quality:* Very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*¹, 251–58; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 57–59; Ben-Dov, *Astronomy*, 69–108; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 339–42.*Script sample:*

וְיָבֹא אֵלָיו וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹל הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹל הַיָּם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹל הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹל הַיָּם

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (iii.5): ותניניא



Image B-284660
 COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
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Language**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

ii.3(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

ii.2(?), ii.4, ii.4–5(?), ii.6(?; part.), iii.4

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii.4(?)

Verbless clause:

ii.5

Verb of movement + על + inanimate object: ii.2(?)**Lexical items:**

ד: ii.5

Morphology:*Assimilated nun:*

ii.2

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

ii.5, iii.3, iii.5, iii.6, iii.6

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraism:*

ובאורתה (lexical/morphological; iii.4) [H]

4Q212, Enoch^g (En^g)[ed. Milik, *BE*, 245–72; Drawnel, *ABE*, 402–47]⁷

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is the only one at Qumran to preserve segments of the Epistle of Enoch with its narrative introduction (= 1 En. 91–105), including the Apocalypse of Weeks (= 1 En. 93:1–10, 91:11–17). 4Q212 makes a major contribution to the study of 1 Enoch by showing that the original Aramaic Epistle was altered considerably by the time it reached its current form in the Ethiopic versions. Some sections of the

Aramaic copy require a text longer than in the Ethiopic 1 Enoch, sometimes much longer. At other points we find that the Aramaic version is shorter than the Ethiopic. The Qumran scroll also confirmed the opinion of scholars that the ordering of verses in the Ethiopic versions of the Epistle had at some point during transmission become confused, with 4Q212 seeming to preserve a more original, intelligible arrangement of the text. According to Milik's placement of the fragments, which has been debated (see Drawnel, *ABE*, 402–3), the extant text begins with Enoch's wisdom exhortation, commanding his sons to follow the ways of righteousness and spurn the paths of the wicked (iii). This is followed by the narration of a dream-vision (the Apocalypse of Weeks), in which Enoch relates future events according to a scheme of ten “weeks,” culminating

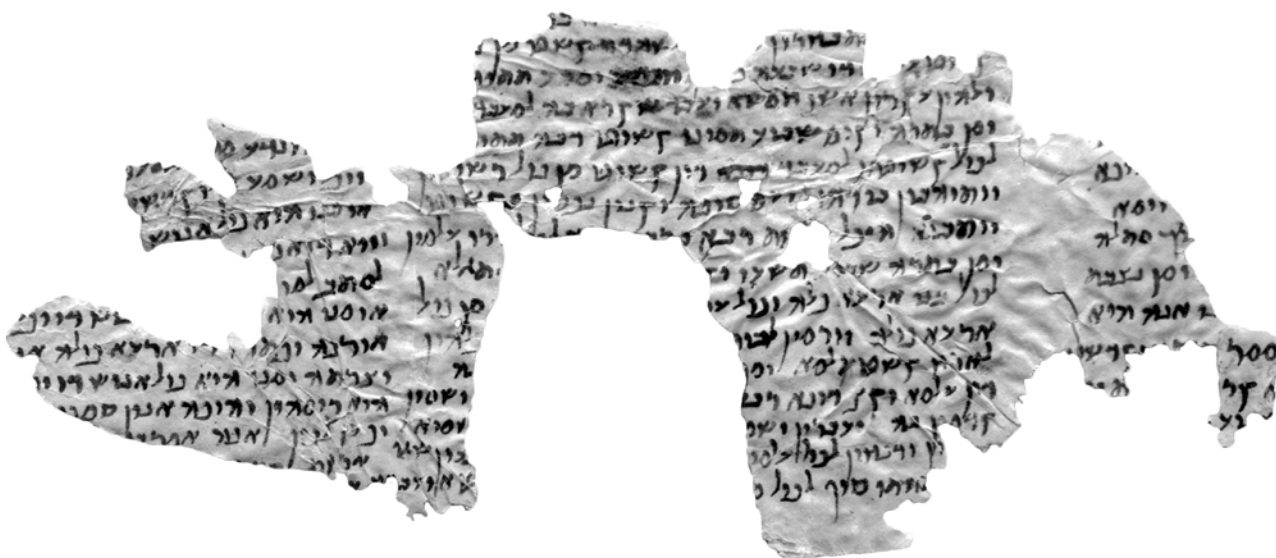
⁷ The various editors of this manuscript have numbered the fragments differently. This and the other profiles for the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts were created using Milik's original numbering system, which is based heavily on reconstruction. Nevertheless, Drawnel's updated numbering system is very useful, and should form the basis of future discussion. For a helpful chart comparing the different numbering systems for 4Q212, see Drawnel *ABE*, 402.

in eschatological judgment (iiii–iv). In Milik's last column (iv), we find a fragmentary meditation on the preceding vision, which leads to instruction on the two, opposed paths of righteousness and wickedness. 4Q212 attests to the early date of the Epistle of Enoch, including the Apocalypse of Weeks, and to their composition in Aramaic. The wisdom sections of the Epistle build on biblical exemplars such as Proverbs and Psalms, recasting them in a new mold and placing them in the mouth of one of Israel's most venerable ancestors. Very similar episodes of wisdom teaching are found in a significant number of other Aramaic works at Qumran (Machiela, "Wisdom"). Something similar can be said about the literary mode and contents of the dream-vision in the Apocalypse of Weeks. Drawing on some possible antecedents in the ancestral Hebrew literature of Israel, a surprising number of the Aramaic texts at Qumran share the visionary framework employed in the Apocalypse of Weeks for transmitting heavenly knowledge to humans (see Perrin, *Dynamics*).

Material remains: Both Milik and Drawnel counted three fairly large fragments of this manuscript, and two or three very small ones (Milik counts two, and Drawnel three;

see Drawnel, *ABE*, 402). The largest fragment, 1c, actually comprises several separate pieces, which together preserve three partial columns of text. The best-preserved, central column is incomplete, but contains parts of sixteen lines and a bottom margin. The outer dimensions of frag. 1c are roughly the size of a standard quarto book page. Fragment 1b evidently contains the bottom, right-hand corner of the first (right-most) column of 1c, confirming that the fragments belong to the same manuscript (Drawnel, *ABE*, 403). Fragment 1a has the remnants of two columns, though only two letters are preserved of the first column. Intercolumnar margins are preserved on frags. 1a, 1b, and 1c, along with fully in-tact lower margins on frags. 1b and 1c. There are no traces of horizontal or vertical scribal guidelines (Drawnel, *ABE*, 403).

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q212 were photographed as part of the PAM "G series" on plates 40.604 (frag. 1b), 40.624 (part of the first two columns of frag. 1c), and 40.610 (part of the last column of frag. 1c). The fragments in this series of images are said to have been discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 (Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32).



Sample image: 4Q212 iii–v

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.2–1.4 cm*Intercolumnar:* 0.1–2.4 cm**Column dimensions:**Approx. 16 cm h. × 13.5 cm w.
(height based on Milik's
reconstruction)**Lines per column:** 25–26 (Milik;
16 preserved); 16 (Tigchelaar);
see Drawnel, *ABE*, 430–31**Average medial letter height:**

3–4 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm
(regularly 3–4 mm)**Letters per line:** Approx. 35
(based on iv)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* No*Vertical column lines:* No**Space between words:** 1–6 mm
(typically 1–2 mm)**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Herodian semi-cursive (Cross, Milik); late Hasmonean with cursive features (Drawnel)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–1 BCE (Cross); 75–25 BCE (Milik)

Special traits and general comments: This is an interesting copy, written in the first century BCE (if the standard dating is correct), but clearly based on an earlier manuscript judging by the archaisms and the uncharacteristically defective orthography, in comparison with the Aramaic Qumran scrolls more generally. The letters are relatively large, but the overall layout of the text compact, with large fluctuations in intercolumnar margins and spacing between lines and words. The script itself must have been written in greater haste, with less precision, or by a less expert scribe than that of finer manuscripts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q544 [Visions of Amram^b], and 4Q205 [En^d]). The scribal hand of 4Q212 is fluid, but quite untidy; note especially the formation of final *mem* and *tsade*. Other letters with strong cursive characteristics are medial *mem*, *shin*, and *tav*. These features indicate that 4Q212 is a second-tier, or “reading” copy, a relatively unusual occurrence among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. There are a number of “cover-up” corrections evident in the manuscript, which seem likely to have been carried out by the original scribe (see below). The same practice is found in other manuscripts, such as 4Q210 (Enastr^c). Most interesting is the correction of the more archaic form of the relative pronoun וי to די. Milik suggests that there is a distinction by the scribe between use of the relative pronominal forms די and –די (the former being used before verbs, and the latter before nouns), but this does not appear to hold true. The combination of all of these forms by one scribe is remarkable, and illustrates well the intentional scribal intervention in morphological features often used for dating compositions. There does seem to be a relatively consistent delineation of *aleph* (e.g., marker of emphatic state) and *he* (e.g., 3ms suffix, feminine nominal ending) according to the expected conventions, in contrast with their freer mixture in some Qumran copies. Note, however, the preference to use *aleph* for verbal roots with a weak final letter (iv.18, 19; Milik [BE, 246] suggested a distinction between “ah” [ה] and “eh” [א] sounds). The typical distinction between ש and ס for /s/ is maintained in 4Q212. Finally, mention should be made of the rare locution ארעא כלה (iv.20, iv.21), which is also common in 1Q20 (apGen; 3.9, 10.13, 11.12, 16.10, 19.10). The spelling here is likely a defective form of the 3fs suffix אה–, or perhaps the suffix on כל reflects ארעא being taken as a masc. noun.

On the repeated use of ומן בתרה in iv to indicate a list-like succession of narrative movement, see the profile for 4Q210 (Enastr^c). For the doubled use of כול in iv.20–21, see the profile for 4Q209 (Enastr^b).

Overall manuscript quality: Fair*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*¹, 225–58; Olson, “Recovering”; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 53–54; Tigchelaar, “Evaluating.”

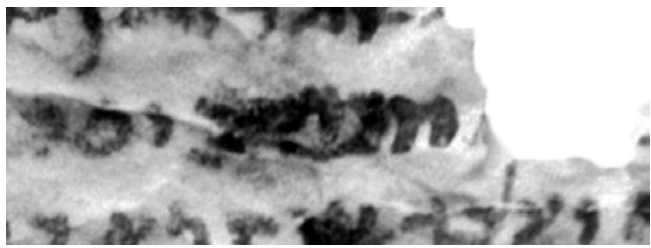
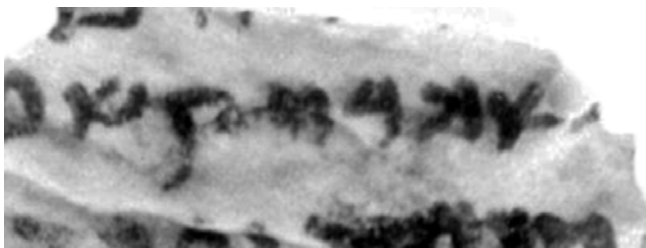
Script sample:

אה כב גג הו הו וו חח טט יו יו
 יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו
 יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו יו

Corrections and scribal features:

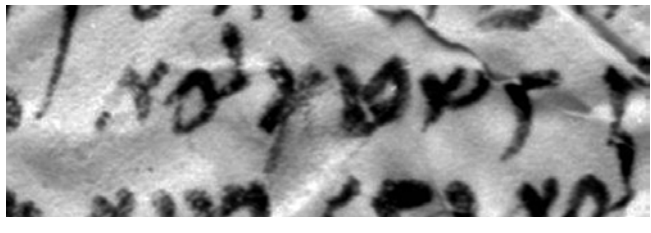
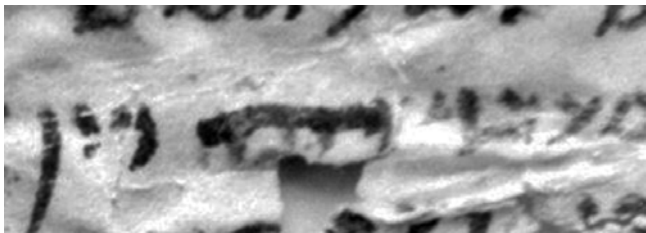
(a) Partially erased suffix? (so Milik; iiv.12): שהדוהי changed to שהדי^י

(b) The word חכמא/ח^ה apparently written over previously existing letters (iiv.13)

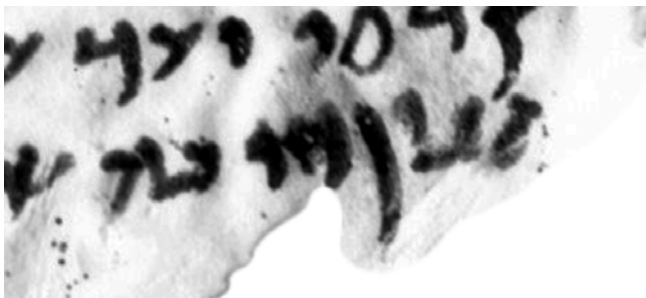


(c) Horizontal line to strike through (delete) a word (iiv.16):

(d) Partial erasure and overwritten character (iiv.22): קשט קשט^י changed to קשט עלמא



(e) Overwritten character for correction (iii.25): זי changed to די



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

iii.16, iii.21(?), iii.23, iv.15(2x), iv.18

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iii.25, iv.13, iv.19(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

iii.20, iii.22(2x?), iv.24, iv.16(?), iv.20, iv.22, iv.24

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii.19, iv.14, iv.17, iv.21

Subject implied (verb late in clause):

iv.17, iv.26(?)

Verbless clause:

iv.23

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: iv.22

Use of דִּי to mark genitive relationship:

iv.21

Double כּוּל construction:

iv.20, iv.21

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

iv.21

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוּוּה + participle:

iv.14

Lexical items:

אִיִּתִי: iv.26

דִּי: iii.19, iii.21, iii.25, iv.13, iv.18, iv.20, iv.21, iv.22

זִי: iii.25 (changed to דִּי), iv.17[?]

–ד: iv.15

כֶּעֶן: iv.24

Morphology:

אִפְעֵל form:

iii.21

Assimilated nun:

iv.13

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

iv.15

Orthography/Phonology:

שׁ for /s/:

iv.25

Other notable features:

Chain use of בִּתְר:

iv.15, iv.19

1Q23, Book of Giants^a (EnGiants^a)

[ed. Milik, DJD 1:97–98; reed. Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:49–66]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript very likely preserves portions of what scholars have called the Book of Giants, a composition with clear affinities to the corpus of texts focused on Enoch, and especially to the Book of Watchers. There is little coherent text in what remains of 1Q23, but Stuckenbruck included it, along with 6Q8 (papGiants), 4Q203 (EnGiants^a), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), and 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), among the manuscripts “whose identification with BG is virtually certain” (*Giants*, 41; cf. Milik, *BE*, 301–9). The identification of 1Q23 as a Book of Giants manuscript is strengthened significantly by the probable mention of Mahavai, one of the giants, in 27.2 (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 54). In addition, several groups of two-hundred animals are mentioned (e.g., wild asses, sheep, and rams) in frag. 1, which may predict fertility following the flood. The destructive deeds of the Watchers or their gigantic offspring may also be under discussion

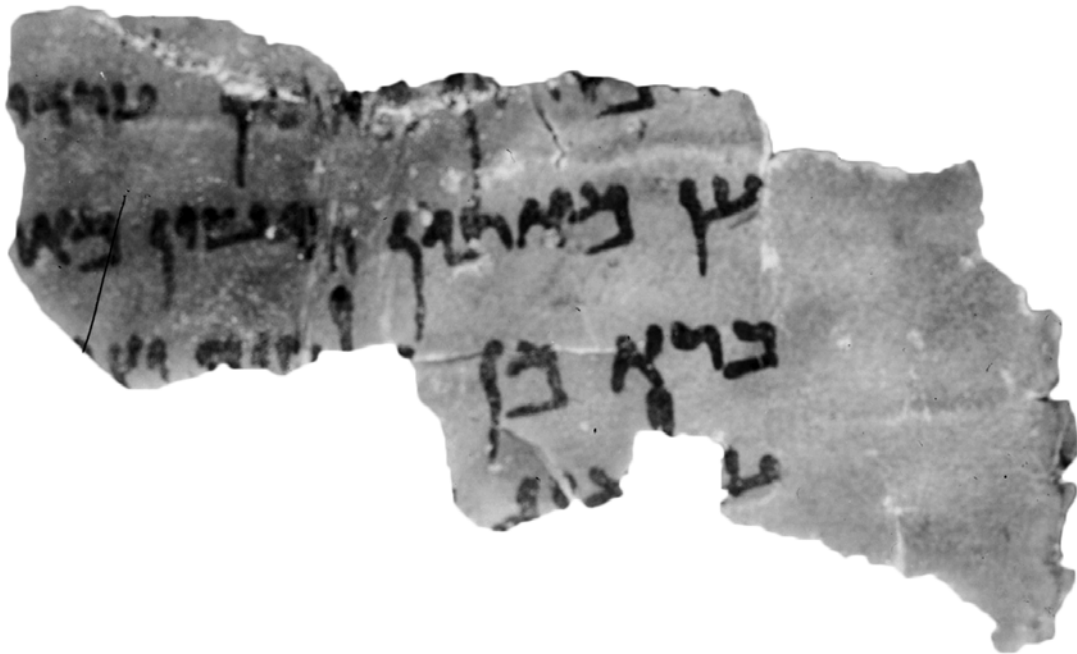
in frags. 9, 14, and 15. Not much else can be said regarding the contents of 1Q23, since the scroll is rather poorly preserved. However, we do find a broken reference to a tablet (לִוּחַ) in 31.1, and another possible mention of a tablet or tablets in 16.1. Tablets play an important role in a dream-vision scene elsewhere in the Book of Giants (e.g., at 2Q26 [EnGiants] 1.1–3; see the profile on 2Q26 below), and we also find allusions to tablets in a visionary context in 4Q537 (TJacob?) 1–3.3, 5. Another reference to a tablet in the Book of Giants occurs in 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 8, a fragment which purports to preserve the contents of “a copy of the s[ec]ond tablet of the le[tter]” written by “the hand of Enoch, the scribe of interpretation” (8.3, 4). These references to tablets reflect a broader interest in writing and written documents present across a significant number of Aramaic texts from Qumran, including the early Enochic writings, the Words of Michael, the

Genesis Apocryphon, the Birth of Noah, New Jerusalem, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, the Visions of Amram, the Prayer of Nabonidus, and Jews in the Persian Court.

Material remains: This manuscript comprises thirty-one badly damaged fragments, only a handful of which contain more than a few letters or words. At approximately 3 by 4 cm, frag. 1 (see image below) is more than twice as large as any other fragment, containing parts of four lines of text and an intercolumnar margin, with some of the stitching between sheets still preserved. The poor state of preservation has made arranging the material difficult, though scholars have offered several proposals. Milik suggested grouping frags. 1, 6, and 22, and frags. 9, 14, and 15, respectively (*BE*, 301–3). Stuckenbruck judged these two arrangements “justifiable,” though he is more skeptical of Beyer’s combination of frags. 24 and 25 or

García Martínez’s arrangement of frags. 16 and 17 (*Giants*, 43). 1Q23 contains only one possible textual overlap with another Qumran Book of Giants manuscript (i.e., 1Q23 29//6Q8 [papGiants]; see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 197). However, Beyer and Stuckenbruck have argued that 1Q23 9+14+15 comes from a section of the composition that generally corresponds to 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) 1 and 5, since each of them contains a description of “the giants’ violent deeds” (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 144). On the ordering of the material more generally, see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 144–5.

Notes on provenance: 1Q23 was discovered during the official excavation of Cave 1 from February 15 to March 5, 1949 (DJD 1:43), supervised by Roland de Vaux and Gerald Lankester Harding. The fragments are currently in the possession of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, in Amman (Tov, *Revised Lists*, 13).



Sample image: 1Q23 1
Image B-277258

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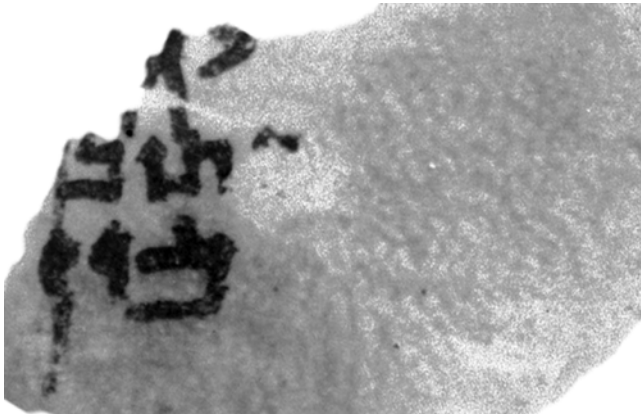
PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Intercolumnar:* At least 1.1 cm**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Likely (see breakage pattern on frag. 1)**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 5–7 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (20.2 [4 mm])*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean to early Herodian semi-formal (comparable in style to, e.g., 4Q537 [TJacob?], 4Q548 [Visions of Amram^f], and 5Q15 [NJ])*Proposed palaeographic date:* 100–1 BCE*Special traits and general comments:* There is not much remarkable about this manuscript. It was of good quality, written by a reasonably-skilled, though not exceptional, scribe. The spacing is fairly well-regulated, both between lines and words, though some variation does exist (e.g., frag. 20). There is at least one addition/correction, the supralinear script of which is somewhat smaller than the main hand (frags. 24 and 25). In terms of language, there is little by which to reckon, given the limited amount of running text. However, we may find the disjunctive phrase *מן ברא* (“except for, aside from”) in 1.4. Stuckenbruck, following Milik, understood the word *ברא* as “field,” since this word is used elsewhere in the set expression *ברא חיות ברא* (“living creatures of the field”; e.g., Dan 4:22, 1Q20 [apGen] 13.8), and the content of the fragment is speaking of animals. That reading is certainly possible, but given the broken context we should not rule out the preposition *מן ברא*. A form of this expression is found elsewhere only in other Qumran texts, Egyptian Aramaic of the fifth to fourth centuries BCE, and Nabatean.*Original manuscript quality:* Good*Select bibliography:* Milik, *BE*, 301–3; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 266–68; Beyer, *ATM*², 159; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 100; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 122; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 43–59.*Script sample:*

אא בב גג דד טט וו זז חח טט ככ לל ממ ננ סס עע פפ קק רר שש טט
 אא בב גג דד טט וו זז חח טט ככ לל ממ ננ סס עע פפ קק רר שש טט

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear additions on frags. 24 and 25, in a noticeably smaller script (1–1.5 mm)



Images [left to right] B-278283 and B-277253

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Language**Syntax:**

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

9+14+15.2(?), 9+14+15.4, 17.3(?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

3.2(?)

Lexical items:

באדן: 1+6+22.5, 20.2

ברא (מן): 1+6+22.4(?)

די: 9+14+15.5, 12.2(?), 21.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

9+14+15.4

1Q24, Book of Giants^b? (EnGiants^b?)

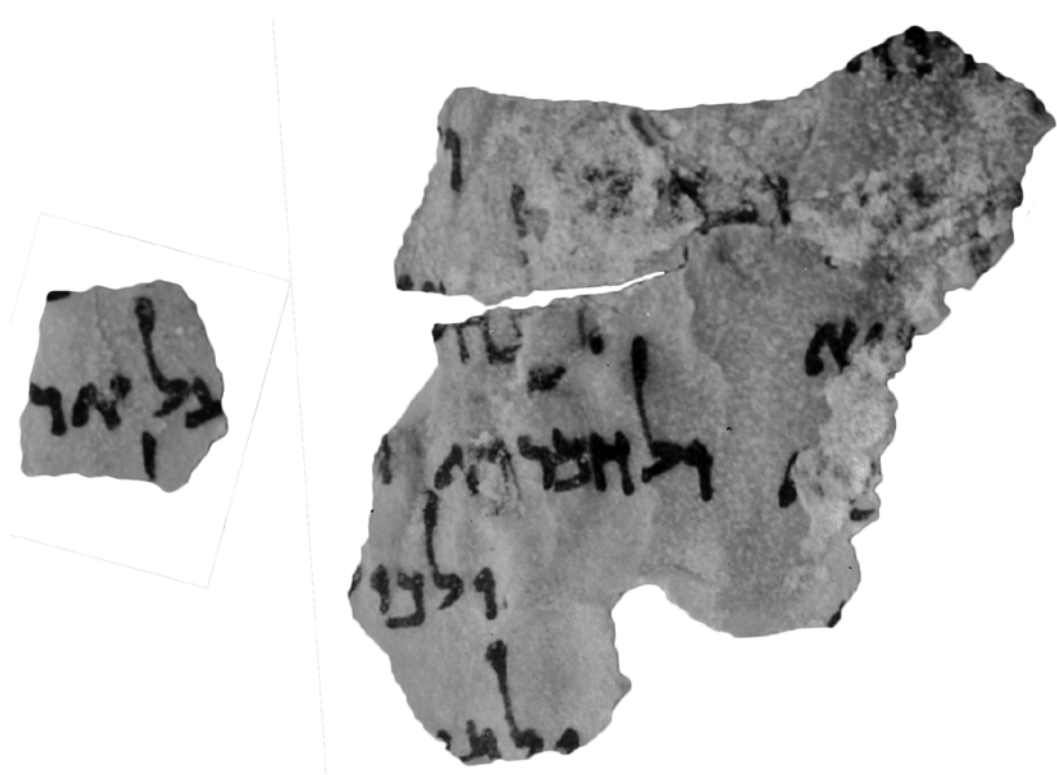
[ed. Milik, DJD 1:99; reed. Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:67–72]

Content synopsis and significance: Several scholars have associated 1Q24 with the Book of Giants, but caution is required when attempting to identify this manuscript, given its poor state of preservation. Milik included 1Q24 among the manuscripts that he deemed “too poorly represented to allow a sufficiently certain identification” (*BE*, 309), and Stuckenbruck classified it as one of the manuscripts “whose identification with BG is plausible” (*Giants*, 41). Beyer included it in his treatment of Book of Giants manuscripts, while other scholars have left it out of theirs (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 59). The best evidence for identifying 1Q24 as a copy of the Book of Giants comes from frags. 5 and 8. Fragment 5 contains the phrase “[and the rain and [the] dew[” (למטרא ולטל[א]; 5.4), while a similar phrase, “and the dew and [the] rai[n]” (וטלא רא[; 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 111.2), appears in an assured Book of Giants manuscript. However, the Aramaic Enoch fragments also preserve this sort of language; it is not unique to the Book of Giants: “dew and rai[n]” (4Q204 [Enoch^c] 1xiii.26); “dew [and rain]” (4Q210 [Astronomical Enoch^c] 111.8); “dew] and rain” (4Q211 [Astronomical Enoch^d] 11.2). Fragment 8 contains the phrase “there is]not peace for you[” (ל[; 8.2). As Stuckenbruck points out, this

phrase closely parallels one found in the Manichaean Book of Giants, but it also corresponds to 1 En. 12:5 (*Giants*, 63). Very little else can be said about the contents of 1Q24 or its association with the Book of Giants. Its use of presumably figurative language (e.g., donkeys, lightning) does appear to suggest that it deals with the visionary revelation of divine secrets. It also seems plausible to associate it with the Enochic cluster of writings, given its verbal affinities with the Enochic tradition, outlined above.

Material remains: This manuscript consists of eight, poorly-preserved fragments, each of which contains only a few words and/or short phrases. The scroll held at least eight lines of text (and probably more), as can be seen from frag. 1, but almost nothing else can be said about its original dimensions.

Provenance: 1Q24 was discovered during the official excavation of Cave 1 from February 15 to March 5, 1949 (DJD 1:43), supervised by Roland de Vaux and Gerald Lankester Harding. The fragments are currently held in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Tov, *Revised Lists*, 13).



Sample image: 1Q24 1 and 2 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-277259

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Average medial letter height:

2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words: 2–5 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium

(1.5 [1.5 cm])

Material: Skin*Script:* Early to mid-Herodian semi-cursive (Stuckenbruck)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 33–1 BCE (Stuckenbruck)

Special traits and general comments: The script and scribal execution is of medium quality, and little stands out about this very fragmentary scroll. The word spacing is at places quite generous, though it varies considerably. For such a small amount of text these fragments contain a noticeably high concentration of *lamed* used as the direct object marker, a feature linked to the list-like format of frag. 1 in particular.

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 309; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 267–68; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 100–101; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 51; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 59–63.

Script sample:

Language

Syntax:

Direct object marker (if present):

-ל: 1.3, 1.4(2x), 1.6(?), 1.7, 5.4(2x)

Lexical items:

י: 7:3

2Q26, Book of Giants (EnGiants)

[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:90–91; reed. Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:73–75]

Content synopsis and significance: This fragmentary manuscript, which describes a tablet (לוח) that is immersed and then lifted from water, was originally assigned the title “Fragment de Rituel (?)” by Baillet. On the appearance of tablets in the Book of Giants, and in the Aramaic scrolls more broadly, see the profile for 1Q23 (EnGiants^a), above. Despite preserving very little text, Stuckenbruck classified 2Q26 as one of the manuscripts “whose identification with BG is probable” (*Giants*, 41). He made this determination on the basis of its similarities to the Manichaean Book of Giants and the medieval Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael, first noted by Milik (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 64–66; cf. Milik, *BE*, 334–35). The latter two compositions recount two dream-visions seen by the giants Ohyah and

Hahyah: the first portends the coming flood and appears to correspond to 2Q26, while the second involves a garden of trees and seems to correspond to 6Q8 (papGiants) 2 (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 64–66, 201–2). These parallels suggest that the fragmentary material in 2Q26 should be interpreted as belonging to a dream-vision involving the coming destruction of the giants and the survival of Noah and his family. Moreover, if the order of the Qumran Book of Giants manuscripts can be reconstructed on the basis of parallel material in the Manichaean Book of Giants and the Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael, it may be that the text preserved in 6Q8 2 should follow closely after that in 2Q26, as Stuckenbruck suggested (*Giants*, 22). The Book of Giants is distinct among the extant Qumran Aramaic

writings in depicting the giants as the recipients of revelatory dream-visions. It should be noted, however, that dream-visions permeate the Aramaic scrolls corpus more generally, and appear to be the dominant form of divine revelation in these writings (see Perrin, *Dynamics*).

Material remains: Only a single fragment of this manuscript is extant. Remains of at least four lines are preserved, but the lack of margins precludes any conclusions about the original size of the scroll or its columns. As noted above, the contents of the fragment share affinities with the Manichaean Book of Giants and the Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael, but there are no textual overlaps with any of the other Qumran copies of the Book of Giants.

Notes on provenance: Cave 2 was discovered around February 1952 by Bedouin (DJD 3:3; Fields, *Scrolls*, 132). Khalil Iskander Shahin (Kando) facilitated the subsequent sale of the Cave 2 fragments, including 2Q24, to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (DJD 3:3; Fields, *Scrolls*, 563). A survey of the caves near Qumran, which included Cave 2, was organized and carried out from March 10–29, 1952. The expedition uncovered a small number of additional fragments from Cave 2 (de Vaux, “Exploration,” 553; Reed, “Qumran Caves,” 13), but de Vaux made clear that all fragments of significance from the cave had been part of the earlier lot discovered by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 2Q26 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Average medial letter height:

2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 9 mm

Space between words:

0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin*Script:* Early Herodian semi-cursive (Stuckenbruck)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 33–1 BCE (Stuckenbruck)

Special traits and general comments: The scribal hand and manuscript preparation are very uniform and of high quality. This was likely a manuscript of considerable expenditure and workmanship. The Aramaic prepositional phrase מן עלא (“above”; 2) also occurs in Dan 6:3, 1Q20 (apGen) 20.7, and 4Q206 (Enoch^e) 1xxvi.20, 4i.20. This particular construction is found only once in earlier Aramaic texts (in an Egyptian Jewish letter from ca. 475 BCE), where the more common construction is מן עלא.⁸ It is not found in later Jewish dialects where the more expected forms are עלא, מן עלא ל-, לעיל ל-, מן לעיל, מלעיל, or something similar.⁹ It would appear that the phrase in the Qumran texts (including Biblical Aramaic) is a feature distinguishing it from later Jewish dialects, drawn from earlier Persian period usage.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 266; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 101; Milik, *BE*, 309; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 51; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 63–66.

Script sample:

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

3

Lexical items:

ד: 3(?)

Morphology:

אפעל form:

1(?)

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

אדיחו (lexical; 1) [H]

⁸ *DARI*¹, 651. For the Egyptian Aramaic letter, written on an ostrakon, see *DARI*², 151 (D:7.9(5).4–5), which reads, concerning a servant girl, יכתבוה על דרעה עלא מן כתבא זי, על דרעה (“Tattoo her on her arm above the tattoo that is [already] on her arm”). The only other close formulation is in the Elephantine Ahiqar text (*DARI*², 87 [C:1.1 (Kol.11).162]), where we find the phrase לעלא מנה.

⁹ For later dialects, refer to *DTM*, 1069; *DJA*, 70; *DJPA*, 315; *DJBA*, 630.

4Q203, *Book of Giants*^a (*EnGiants*^a)

[ed. Milik, *BE*, 310–17; reed. Puech, DJD 31:17–18 (frag. 1); DJD 37:507–8 (frag. 14); reed. Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:8–41 (frags. 1–13)]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is a copy of the Book of Giants, a work that bears clear affinities with the Enoch tradition. Yet, as 4Q203 helps to demonstrate, the Book of Giants can be distinguished from the rest of the Enochic writings, inasmuch as it is told in significant part from the perspective of the giant offspring of the fallen Watchers. In fact, Stuckenbruck has pointed out that, “in both degree and kind, Qumran BG casts the spotlight on the *progeny* of the fallen Watchers more than any other Jewish writings composed during the Second Temple period” (*Giants*, 26).

A number of fragments from 4Q203 recount conversations between the giants themselves, or between the giants and Enoch. Fragment 2 recounts a speech given to a group of giants by Mahaway, a giant and son of a Watcher named Baraq’el, mentioned the Book of Watchers and the Parables of Enoch (see 1 En. 6:7 and 69:2, respectively; Baraq’el is identified as Mahaway’s father in 6Q8 [papGiants] 1). Fragments 4 and 7ii also contain parts of a conversation between two giants named Ohyah and Hahyah. These three giants play prominent roles throughout the composition, a point discussed further in the profiles for 4Q530 (*EnGiants*^b) and 6Q8 (papGiants). Here, it is sufficient to note that Ohyah and Hahyah receive divine revelations through dream-visions (see also 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] col. ii, and probably 2Q26 [EnGiants] and 6Q8 [papGiants] 2), and that Mahaway acts as an intermediary between Enoch and rest of the giants (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] col. ii–iii).

Enoch is a key figure in 4Q203, and in the Book of Giants more generally. Fragment 8 purports to contain the contents of “a copy of the s[ec]ond tablet of the le[tter] written by “the hand of Enoch, the scribe of interpretation” (8.3–4). The phrase “scribe of interpretation (ספר פרשא)” also occurs in another Book of Giants manuscript, 4Q530 (*EnGiants*^b), and likely alludes to Enoch’s ability to interpret dreams. (For more on the significance of this title, see the profile for 4Q530.)

The tablet to which frag. 8 refers contains an indictment against the fallen Watchers and their gigantic offspring (8.7–14), and is “presented in the form of an official letter decree” (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 90). As Doering has demonstrated, “Indications of the epistolary nature of the second tablet are the use of *pršgn* ‘copy,’ an Aramaic *terminus technicus* – borrowed from the Old Persian – for copies of official documents, amongst them letters, and a number of epistolary features” (*Letters*, 171). The same Aramaic term occurs in the incipit of the Visions of Amram: “a copy

(פרשגן) of the book of the words of the visions of Amram” (4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 1a–c.1//4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 1a1.1). Other epistolary features in 4Q203 include the identification of the scribe, in this case Enoch (8.4), and the phrase “let it be known to you th[at]” (ידיע להוא לכוון ד’; 8.6), which is “a widely attested formula of disclosure” (Doering, *Letters*, 172). Enoch’s “second tablet” thus clearly imitates the formal features of an official Imperial Aramaic letter, and we might reasonably assume that his first missive (now missing) did as well. In this respect, 4Q203 shares affinities with the Book of Ezra and Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550), both of which contain letters employing the formal phrase “let it be known” and other conventional epistolary features (Ezra 4:12; 5:8; 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 1.7).

Enoch’s scribal identity in 4Q203 is consistent with his depiction throughout the Aramaic literature at Qumran. Various compositions comprising 1 Enoch also give him the title “scribe” (1 En. 12:3, 4; 15:1; 92:1), and include scenes in which he writes down information (1 En. 13:4–6; 14:4; 33:3; 82:1; 83:10; 92:1; 108:1). The Genesis Apocryphon also recounts a story involving Abraham’s possession of “the book of the words of Enoch” (1Q20 [apGen] 19.25). In fact, the Aramaic Qumran literature is replete with examples of pious protagonists who are endowed with scribal knowledge, possess written documents, write down information, and/or are associated with books bearing their names, e.g., Noah, Abraham, Levi, Qahat, Amram, and Daniel. An interest in writing and book lore pervades the Qumran Aramaic texts as a corpus.

Material remains: Milik identified thirteen fragments belonging to this manuscript, though his frags. 7 and 8 each represent combinations of three separate pieces. His arrangement of the pieces that comprise frag. 8 is uncontroversial, but his reconstruction of frag. 7 has been disputed by Stuckenbruck (see 1 *Enoch*, 77–85). Fragment 8 is by far the largest, preserving a relatively substantial amount of running text and parts of fifteen lines. The rest of the manuscript is much more fragmentary. Fragments 1–3 appear to belong together, as Milik suggested (*BE*, 311). Others of his proposed arrangements are less certain (for a summary and assessment of each, see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 66). There has been significant agreement among scholars working on 4Q203 that it likely belongs with 4Q204 (*En*^c) as part of the same scroll, since the two batches of fragments share a number

of physical and scribal characteristics, including the same scribal hand (so, e.g., Milik, *BE*, 310; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 66–67). The implication would be that the Book of Giants was copied on the same scroll as other portions of 1 Enoch (the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch), and was therefore considered by the copyist to be closely related to the other Enochic works. For more on the relationship between 4Q203 and 4Q204 (En^c), see the *Special traits and general comments* sections of their respective profiles. Klaus Beyer (*ATM*², 125–26) considered 4Q203 1 to belong instead with 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b), though this association has been widely rejected (see Puech, DJD 31:17).

In addition to the fragments identified by Milik and reedited by Stuckenbruck (and, in the case of frag. 1, also by Puech), Puech discovered what he considered to be

frag. 14 of 4Q203 on PAM 43.610. His identification is reasonable, and adds to the scroll another small fragment with a stitched margin at the beginning of a sheet.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q203 were photographed as part of the PAM “G series,” the relevant plates being PAM 40.617 and 40.622. The fragments in this series of images are said to have been discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). If 4Q203 is considered alongside 4Q204 (En^c), then the batch of fragments under the latter designation, found as part of de Vaux’s excavation and included on several “E series” plates, should also be taken into account for 4Q203. In this case, fragments of the same scroll (4Q203/4Q204 [En^c]) were found both by the Bedouin and in the excavations led by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q203 8

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.8–2.2 cm*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 1–1.2 cm
(to edge of sheet seam)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both sides of column if considered along with 4Q204 (the lines are not clearly apparent on images of 4Q203)**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 6–8 mm**Space between words:** 1–1.5 mm**Vacats:** Yes; from small and medium (9.5 [3.5 mm], 4.5 [1.8 cm], 8.11, 9.7; minor sense divisions) to approx. one full line (7a.4, 8.2, 8.15; intermediate to major sense divisions)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Early Herodian, the same scribe as 4Q204 (Milik); Herodian round semi-formal (Yardeni)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 33–1 BCE (Milik); 25 BCE–25 CE (Yardeni)*Special traits and general comments:* For a discussion of the scribal traits of this manuscript, see the entry for 4Q204 (En^c), to which I am convinced the 4Q203 fragments also belong. In addition to the matching scribal hand, the measurements and other characteristics of the fragments under these two sigla are fairly well-aligned, within the range of normal variance for a single scroll (though see the observations of Stuckenbruck on the use of vacats and indentation). The overall quality of both batches of fragments (those belonging to 4Q203 and 4Q204 [En^c]) is very high and nearly free of scribal miscues, though the line spacing does vary noticeably from column to column in each group. Like 4Q204 (En^c), it appears from frag. 7b that the scribe often “justified” the left margin of columns, depending on the distribution of words at the end of one line and the beginning of the next. This is, in fact, one argument for the vertical ruling of columns in 4Q203, though the lines cannot be discerned in the images currently available.As for orthography and morphology, these fragments generally correspond to 4Q204 (En^c). For example, we find a similar, “full” use of *aleph* as a vowel or syllable marker (e.g., 1.4, 8.14; שְׁרוֹא, לְבַאִישׁ, קָאֵם). In both groups the 1cs suffix and pronouns end in נַגְ-. One notable contribution of 4Q203 is its regular use of the “heavy” form of the 2ms pronominal suffix כֶּה-. Since the ending is not extant in 4Q204 (En^c), it may be assumed that the form would once have been present there as well. In Yardeni’s opinion (“Scribe,” 288), 4Q203 belongs to a long list of scrolls penned by a single, Herodian-period scribe. Curiously, she does not include 4Q204 on the list, and there are other reasons to doubt her central claim. Still, her identification of 4Q203 as having a Herodian script similar in style to the other scrolls she listed is sound.*Original manuscript quality:* Very good–excellent*Select bibliography:* Sokoloff, “Notes”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 261, 263, 268; Beyer, *ATTM*², 156; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 102–103; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 57, 66, 82–84, 109–10, 124–27; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 59–63; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 47–51; Tigchelaar, “Notes”.*Script sample:*

נַגְ נַגְ טַ טַ חַ חַ וַ וַ חַ חַ טַ טַ אַ אַ נַגְ נַגְ אַ אַ
 פַּ פַּ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ וַ וַ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ טַ
 תַּ תַּ טַ טַ טַ טַ

Language**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

4.3, 7a.5(?), 7a.7

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

8.12

Verb-subject (verb late in clause):

9.3(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

7a.6

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

8.3

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Participle + finite form of הוה:*

8.6

Lexical items:

אִיְהִי: 13.3

אִדִּין: 12.3, 13.2(?)

בִּאֲדִין: 7a.5, 7bi.3

דִּי: 8.3, 8.8(?), 8.11, 8.13, 9.3

כְּדִי: 1.1, 4.5(?)

כְּעֵן: 7bii.3, 8.14, 9.5, 10.1, 10.3(?)

Morphology:*Object suffix on verb:*

3.4, 7bi.5

Orthography/Phonology:*3ms defective suffix ך-:*

See 3.2 (וה-)

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כה:

7a.3, 7bi.5(?), 7bii.1, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6, 13.3

4Q530, Book of Giants^b (EnGiants^b)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:19–47]

Content synopsis and significance: These fragments represent one of the best-preserved Book of Giants manuscripts. Much of the extant text recounts the deliberations and dream-reports of several giants gathered in an “assembly” (כְּנִשָּׁת; see 11.8; 2ii+6–12[?].5). Some of the giants in the narrative are named, including Ohyah, Hahyah, Mahaway, and Gilgamesh. The Book of Giants is the only known ancient Jewish source to refer to Gilgamesh by name (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 109), reflecting some level of engagement with Mesopotamian traditions about this heroic figure. It is unclear how the authors of the Book of Giants had access to such traditions, though this question is addressed by Goff (“Gilgamesh”). Engagement with Mesopotamian traditions is a more common feature of the Aramaic Scrolls (see Drawnel, “Some Notes”), something that is especially evident in the early Enoch tradition, the Book of Watchers, and the Astronomical Book (see, e.g., VanderKam, *Enoch*; Kvanvig, *Roots and Primeval*; Drawnel, “Moon”), but we also see engagement with Mesopotamian tradition in texts such as the Aramaic Levi Document (Drawnel, “Education”) and the Prayer of Nabonidus (Newsom, “Why Nabonidus?”).

The fragmentary character of the manuscript results in a number of interpretative difficulties, but the basic gist of the preserved narrative can be reconstructed with relative confidence. Two of the giants, Hahyah and his brother Ohyah, relate the contents of their dreams to

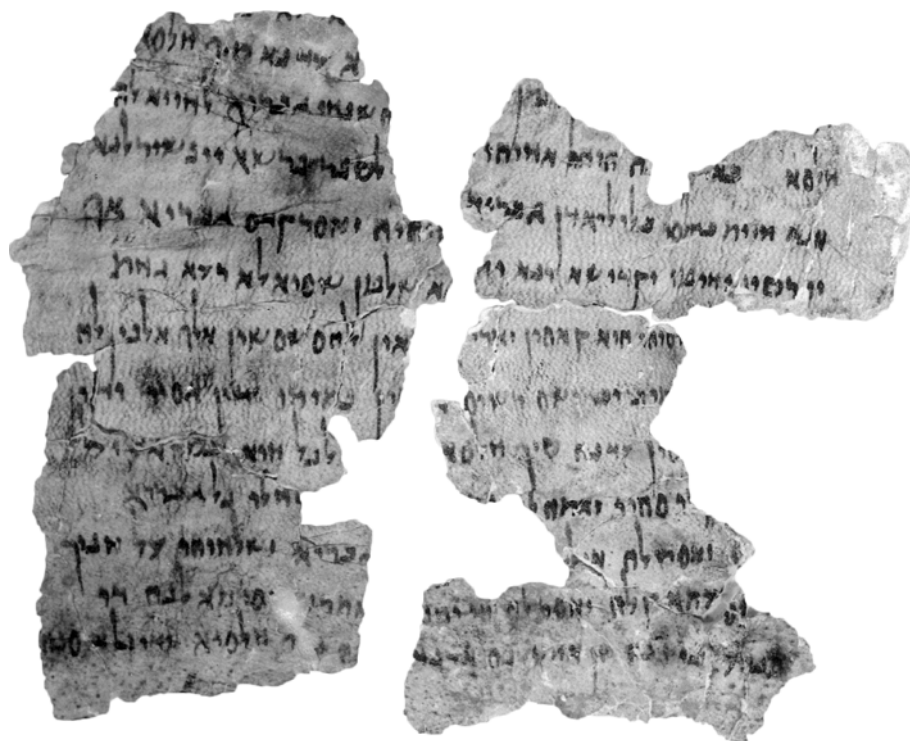
their assembled companions. In Hahyah’s dream, gardeners are watering a garden and shoots begin to emerge from the soil, but the garden is destroyed by water and fire (frags. 2ii+6–12[?].6–12). As Stuckenbruck has shown, the dream appears to be a symbolic retelling of the Watchers myth (*Giants*, 114). The giants are unable to comprehend the meaning of the dream, and Hahyah proposes to inquire of Enoch, “the scribe of interpretation, so that he may interpret for us the dream” (לְסַפֵּר פִּרְשָׁא וּפְשׁוֹר לְנָא) (חֲלֻמָּא) (frags. 2ii+6–12[?].14–15). Enoch is also described as a scribe of interpretation in 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 8.4, though this title appears nowhere else in the extant Enoch literature. In 4Q530, the juxtaposition of noun פִּרְשָׁא with the verb פִּשֵּׁר seems to function as “a creative attempt to underline Enoch’s role as dream interpreter for the giants” (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 118). The Book of Giants thus reverses the more typical image of Enoch as the recipient of dreams. In this respect, Enoch in the Book of Giants resembles Daniel, who in the Aramaic court-tales is renowned for his ability to interpret (פִּשְׁרֵי) the dreams of the Babylonian king (e.g., Dan 2:25; 4:18). Before consulting Enoch, Hahyah’s brother Ohyah also recounts his dream among the assembled giants. In Ohyah’s dream, God, who is called both “the ruler of heaven” (שְׁלִטָן שְׁמַיָן) and “the Great Holy One” (קַדְיִשָׁא רַבָּא), descends to earth in order to pronounce judgment (frags. 2ii+6–12[?].16–19). The dream also includes thrones being erected and

thousands of attending angels (frags. 2ii+6–12[?].17). This judgment scene exhibits striking parallels with the “throne visions” of Dan 7:9–10 and 1 En. 14:18–23, though it is difficult to determine the precise nature of the relationships among these three compositions (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 121–3; Stokes, “Throne Visions”; Trotter, “Tradition”; Angel, “Reading,” 330–41). Upon hearing Ohyah’s dream recounted, the assembled giants become frightened, and enlist Mahaway to seek out Enoch, who lives beyond “the Great Desert” (מַדְבְּרָא רַבָּא) (frags. 2ii+6–12[?].20–24; 7ii.1–11). The structure of this section of the narrative contains notable parallels with the early columns of the Genesis Apocryphon (see also 1 En. 106–107), in which Methuselah travels to “the end of [the] ea[rth]” to seek out knowledge from Enoch on behalf of Lamech (1Q20 [apGen] 2.21–23), who is mystified by the astonishing appearance and conduct of Noah at birth. In both passages a central character makes a long journey to the distant, eastern edge of the earth to make an inquiry of Enoch, as the result of a dream-vision.

As the discussion above has shown, the Book of Giants has a close literary relationship with the Book of Watchers. However, it is also firmly at home within the broader scope of the Qumran Aramaic literature, as seen in its clear affinities with the Danielic writings and the Genesis Apocryphon, and in its engagement with Mesopotamian traditions.

Material remains: This manuscript comprises twenty fragments, several of which come from the same sheet and can be combined to form the remains of three consecutive columns (frags. 2+3 and 6–12). Fragment 1 preserves the remnants of two additional columns, bringing the total of recognizable columns in 4Q530 to at least five. According to Milik’s arrangement of the main fragments, at least of one of the columns had twenty-four lines (*BE*, 303–6; so also Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 104–24; Puech, *DJD* 31:28). This column in particular (the second of the three continuous columns [= col. ii]), has been reconstructed “to provide an almost continuous text” (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 102). Despite the relatively large amount of text extant for 4Q530, there are no clear overlaps with other copies of the Book of Giants. However, Milik (*BE*, 309) noted that 6Q8 2 is part of the dream vision also found partially in 4Q530 2ii+6–12, and Puech accordingly incorporated the text of 6Q8 3+2 into his reconstruction of that column (*DJD* 31:28).

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q530 were photographed as part of the PAM “G series,” the relevant plates being PAM 40.585 and 40.620. In addition, frag. 17 was included on the “E series” PAM plate 40.979. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while at least one was discovered in the official excavations led by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q530 9–11

Image B-283986

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL
ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: At least 1 cm (perhaps not fully preserved; frags. 2, 7)

Lower: At least 8 mm (perhaps not fully preserved; frag. 10)

Intercolumnar: 1.5–2.5 cm

Column dimensions:

Approx. 15.5 cm h. × 9.5 cm w.
(Milik's reconstruction)

Lines per column: Approx. 24
(Milik's reconstruction)

Letters per line: 43–52
(frags. 9–11)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5.5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (2ii+6–12(?).15 [5 mm]; minor sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-cursive (Cross, Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 100–50 BCE (Cross); 75–25 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This scribe wrote in a legible but relatively untidy hand, with letter size and spacing varying considerably. Cross opined that 4Q530 has “an unusual semicursive” style (“Development,” 149), with certain letters – for example, *aleph*, *bet*, *mem*, *shin/sin* – lacking the more square features typically associated with them in Hasmonean formal scripts. Milik called the script “spidery” in appearance. The space between lines is inconsistent from column to column, and even line to line. If portions of the top and bottom margins are completely preserved, they are fairly small. Several significant corrections are preserved using the relatively uncommon practice of striking words and letters through with a line. Vacats do not appear to have been widely used. We may also note a likely case of uncorrected dittography through *homoioarcton* in col. 2, line 4 (2ii+6–12[?].4; שנת עיניהון מנהון וקמו), which Stuckenbruck rightly observed implies copying from an earlier manuscript; consequently, this is not the autograph. This scroll is, in general, competently executed, but certainly not of the highest quality.

The archaic form of the relative pronoun *ו* is written once, and there are two occurrences of the possibly Hebraizing *zms* suffix in *לכה*. This scribe several times employed *samek* in cases where either *samek* or *sin* might be used, though two of these are in names not native to Hebrew (cp. 4Q531 [EnGiants^c] 22.12, 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 3.3). *בסרא* (2ii+6–12[?].19) is against the normal spelling practice, while *שגיא* (ii.6) coheres with the more expected spelling. As with many other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, the orthography in 4Q530 is quite full. This manuscript uses *aleph* for the indication of a long vowel (*גברוא*, *שגיא*), and sometimes to mark the internal vowel of a hollow-root participle (*קאם*), as in Dan 2:31 and elsewhere in the Qumran texts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court]). As we often find in the Aramaic scrolls, *aleph* and *he* are interchanged, as in the particle *כה/כא* (“thus, here”) at 2ii+6–12(?).12, 20.

Overall manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 303–7; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 261, 264–65, 268; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 120–21; Beyer, *ATTM*², 157–59; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 99–105; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 51–164; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 59–63; Machiela and Perrin, “New Reading”; Stuckenbruck, “Considerations,” 129–39.

Script sample:

אא בנ אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב
 אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב
 אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב אב

Corrections and scribal features:

- (a) Vertical deletion line through a letter (7i.1): ז[מ]א זי אמר (7i.1) (b) Horizontal deletion line through a word (7ii.4; *homoio-arcton*): בידוהי {כעל} כנש[ר]

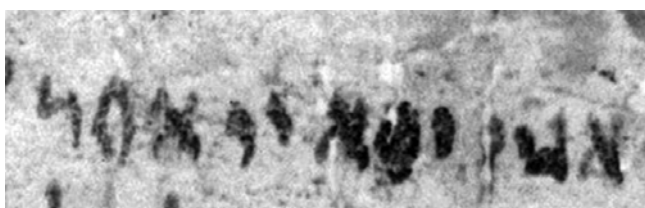


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- (c) Supralinear letter added (8.1): אשה'ע"י

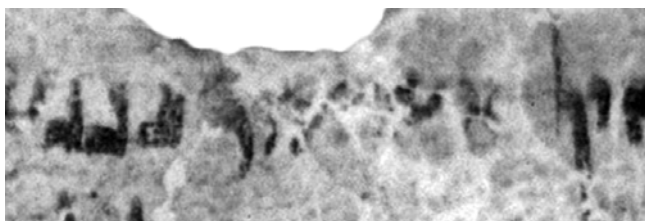


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- (d) Alteration of existing letter (7ii.7): למהו<<למהודך

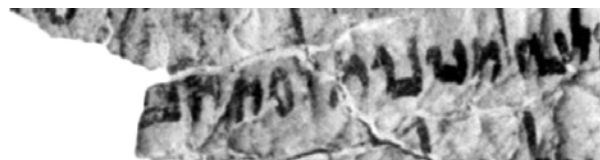


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Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1i.7, 2ii+6-12(?).1, 2ii+6-12(?).3(2x), 2ii+6-12(?).4,
2ii+6-12(?).20, 2ii+6-12(?).21, 7ii.6

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2ii+6-12(?).1, 2ii+6-12(?).2, 2ii+6-12(?).8,
2ii+6-12(?).10, 2ii+6-12(?).16(2x), 2ii+6-12(?).17,
2ii+6-12(?).18

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2ii+6-12(?).3, 2ii+6-12(?).4, 2ii+6-12(?).5(2x,
once after obj.), 2ii+6-12(?).7, 2ii+6-12(?).13,
2ii+6-12(?).14, 2ii+6-12(?).15, 2ii+6-12(?).21(2x),
2ii+6-12(?).22, 2ii+6-12(?).23(3x), 2ii+6-12(?).24,
7ii.4, 7ii.5, 7ii.6(2x)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1i.5, 2ii+6-12(?).17, 2ii+6-12(?).18,
2ii+6-12(?).23-24

Verbless clause:

2ii+6-12(?).12, 2ii+6-12(?).20

Object early in clause:2ii+6-12(?).5, 2ii+6-12(?).6, 2ii+6-12(?).17,
2ii+6-12(?).23-24**Direct object marker (if present):**

-ל: ii.7, 7ii.5

Use of ׀ to introduce direct quotation:

2ii+6-12(?).23

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

2ii+6-12(?).5, 2ii+6-12(?).21

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

ii.3, ii.8, 7ii.5

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):**Finite form of הוה + participle:**

ii.6, 2ii+6-12(?).6, 2ii+6-12(?).7, 2ii+6-12(?).18

Participle + finite form of הוה:

2ii+6-12(?).8, 2ii+6-12(?).15(?)

Lexical items:

איתי: 2ii+6-12(?).24

באדין: 2ii+6-12(?).3, 2ii+6-12(?).15

די: ii.2, ii.3, 2ii+6-12(?).9, 2ii+6-12(?).22, 2ii+6-12(?).23, 7ii.11

זי: 2ii+6-12(?).1

כחדה: ii.5

תנה: 7ii.7

Morphology:**אפעל form:**

2ii+6-12(?).2

הפעל form:

2ii+6-12(?).13

אתפעל form:

2ii+6-12(?).3, 2ii+6-12(?).5, 17.2

Object suffix on verb:

2i+3.1, 2ii+6-12(?).21, 7ii.6(2x)

Orthography/Phonology:**2ms verbal affix תה/תא:**

2ii+6-12(?).23 (cf. also 2ii+6-12[?].22)

2ms (pro)nominal suffix בא/כה:

2ii+6-12(?).22, 7ii.7

ס for /s/:

2ii+6-12(?).2(2x), 2ii+6-12(?).19, 18.1(?)

ש for /s/:

ii.6

Other notable features:**Use of negative particle אל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):**

2i+3.6 (pair), 5-3, 5-4

Proposed Hebraisms:

רוזניא (lexical; 2ii+6-12[?].2 [cf. 4Q542 (TQahat) 2.9]) [H]

נפיליא (lexical; 2ii+6-12[?].6) [H]

חלד (lexical; 7ii.5, following Puech) [H]

נפילי (lexical; 7ii.8) [H]

4Q531, Book of Giants^c (EnGiants^c)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:49-94; DJD 37:521-22 (frags. 48-51)]

Content synopsis and significance: Another manuscript thought to be a copy of the Book of Giants, 4Q531 preserves fragments recounting episodes associated with the gigantic offspring of the fallen Watchers, the גבריין or נפילין (for these terms see frag. 1.2, 8). This manuscript exhibits clear parallels with the Book of Watchers and related traditions (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 151-2). For example, the Watchers are said to have “defiled themselves” (frag. 1.1; cf. 1 En. 9:8; 15:3-4), and to have “begat” giants (frag. 1.3; cf. 1 En. 15:3-4), who have ravenous appetites (frag. 1.5-6; cf. 1 En. 7:3-5). A number of the fragments catalogue the violent acts of the giants, including the destruction they unleash on the earth and their internecine warfare (cf. frags. 2+3, 7, 18, and 19). The giants discuss their own impending judgment in frag. 19.3, and they may also describe Enoch and his divine knowledge in frag. 14.4

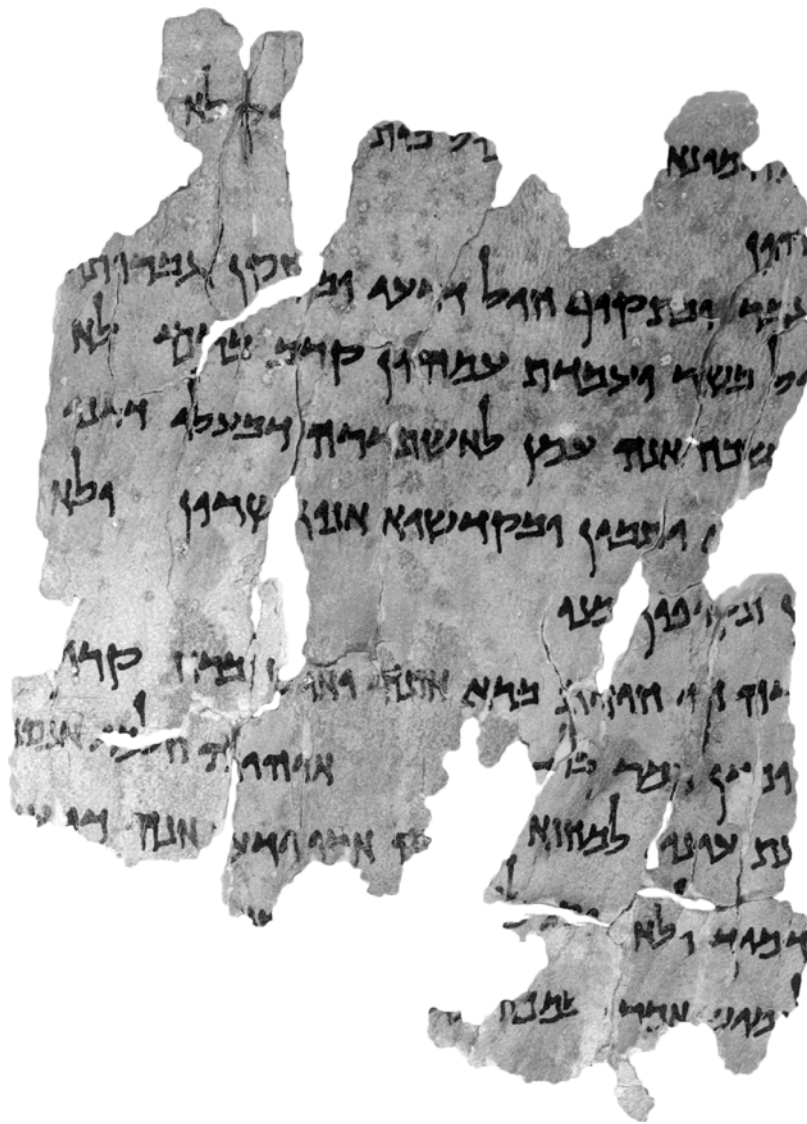
(so Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 155-6). In frag. 22, we learn of an exchange between two of the giants, Gilgamesh and Ohaya, in which someone recounts a great battle, and Ohaya tells of a dream-vision revealed to him. For more on the giants as recipients of revelatory dream-visions in the Book of Giants, see the profiles for 2Q26 (EnGiants), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), and 6Q8 (papGiants). On Gilgamesh as one of the giants in the Book of Giants, see the profile for 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), and on his self-description as “a wild man” (איש ברא) in 4Q531 22.8, see the discussion of Angel (“Reading,” 334-37). Some of the fragments of 4Q531 were written from the perspective of the giants in the first-person singular or plural voices (e.g., frags. 14, 18, 19, and 22). On first-person narration as a common feature of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls as a corpus, see Stuckenbruck, “Pseudepigraphy” and Perrin “Capturing.”

At least one fragment of 4Q531 was written in the second-person singular (frag. 17), and may preserve portions of a prayer uttered by Enoch, though this is only one possible interpretation of this badly-damaged part of the scroll (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 158).

Material remains: Forty-eight fragments of this scroll were initially identified by Starcky, though in his DJD edition Puech puts the number at forty-seven, having joined two pieces to form his frag. 19 (DJD 31:49). At twelve lines, frag. 22 is the largest of the extant fragments, and has attracted the greatest scholarly attention (Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 165). The majority of the fragments are small scraps of skin with no more than a few letters or words preserved on them (e.g., frags. 3, 8–12, 15, 16, 20, 21, 24–47). Others contain several lines of readable text (e.g., seven

lines on frag. 7; eight lines on frag. 1; ten lines on frag. 2+3), but even these fragments are badly damaged. There are no clear overlaps with other copies of the Book of Giants at Qumran, though a possible parallel does occur between 4Q531 1.5 and 4Q532 (EnGiants^d) 2.10.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q531 were photographed as part of the PAM “G series,” the relevant plates being PAM 40.592, 40.607, 40.619, 40.622, and 40.626. In addition, Tigchelaar has identified several fragments included on the “E series” PAM plates 40.975 (frag. 4), 40.978 (frag. 37), and 40.979 (frags. 3 and 29). As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q531 22

Image B-283985

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: At least 1.2–1.5 cm
(frags. 14, 18)

Intercolumnar: At least 1.2 cm
(frag. 23)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–2 mm (somewhat larger
for frag. 22)

Vacats: Yes; small (10.1 [at least 9 mm]), medium (5.2 [at least 1.2 cm]; 20.2 [at least 2.6 cm]; 22.9 [1.1 cm]; 27.4 [at least 2.1 cm]; 30.4 [at least 2.1 cm]; 45.2 [at least 2.3 cm]), and large (1.7 [at least 3 cm]; 14.5 [at least 5.7 cm]; 22.2 [6.7 cm]; 22.7 [5.2 cm]); The few cases where it is possible to judge appear to be minor sense divisions.

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonian formal (Puech); Herodian round semi-formal (Yardeni)

Proposed palaeographic date: 67–33 BCE (Puech); 25 BCE–25 CE (Yardeni)

Special traits and general comments: 4Q531 is written in a consistent, well-trained formal hand, reminiscent of 4Q203 (EnGiants^a), though it is not the same scribe. Yardeni did believe both copies to be written by the same person, including them as part of her long list of scrolls penned by a single, Herodian-period scribe (“Scribe,” 288–89). Puech’s disagreement on this point is telling, and speaks to the variation among scribal hands for the scrolls listed by Yardeni. Spacing is consistent and relatively generous. Especially noteworthy is the high number of medium and large vacats, though very few of them are preserved in their entirety. Context for deciphering these vacats is lacking in most cases, though where available the evidence suggests that medium and large blank spaces were used to mark relatively minor sense divisions, such as separating new speech vignettes in a discussion between Gilgamesh and O haya on frag. 22. Corrections are minimal, with a possible strike-through deletion, an erasure, and a single instance of an added, supralinear letter. Assimilation occurs with *tav* in a presumed *ithpaal* form in 1.1 (see also 4Q557 [Vision^a]), and the same word is apparently corrected to this orthography in 6.4. *Aleph* is assimilated in the noun ממר (instead of מאמר) and, as expected, in the imperfect conjugation of מר”ד at 18.4. We do not find nasalization (addition of *nun*) in the noun מדע, as in some other scrolls (i.e., מנדע). *Aleph* is typically used to mark the emphatic state (though note a possible *he* at 11.2), but otherwise the scribe seems to prefer *he* for the feminine noun, suffix, and verb endings compared with the penchant for *aleph* in 4Q530 (EnGiants^b). Interesting is the unusually high usage of the “long” second masc. suffix-conjugation verb affix (e.g., עבדתה) and pronominal suffix (כה–), which in some cases could be understood as a morphological Hebraism. In contrast to 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), which uses *samek* for בסר and גלגמיס, we find in 4Q531 בשר and גלגמיש. The use of *samek* or *sin* in such ambiguous cases was apparently the prerogative of the scribe. *Lamed* is used multiple times to indicate the direct object in the list of frag. 7.

In terms of language and idiom, 4Q531 fits well the broader profile of the Qumran Aramaic texts. The phrase כען לכא [28.4] is just one indication of this, since it reflects the direct, first-person speech regularly found in these works, and is one of the phrases also used to begin direct address in 1Q20 (apGen) 5.9, 5.20, 4Q212 (Enoch^g) 1v.24, and 4Q542 (Testament of Qahat) iii.9. (A closely related expression is used at 2Q209 [Astronomical Enoch^b] 26.6.) Though attested with very little surrounding context, these words in 4Q531 serve as a representative connection to other works in the Aramaic Qumran corpus.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 307–9; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 260, 262–63; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 119; Beyer, *ATTM*², 155–56; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 99–105; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 51–164; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 141–77.

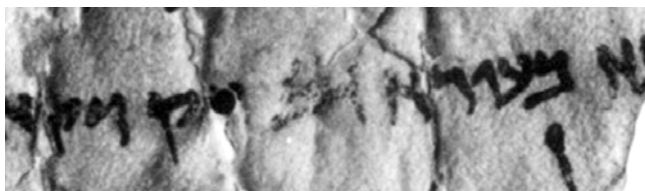
Script sample:

אא פב גג חח טט וו זז חח טט זז
 זז חח טט זז חח טט זז חח טט זז
 זז חח טט זז חח טט זז חח טט זז

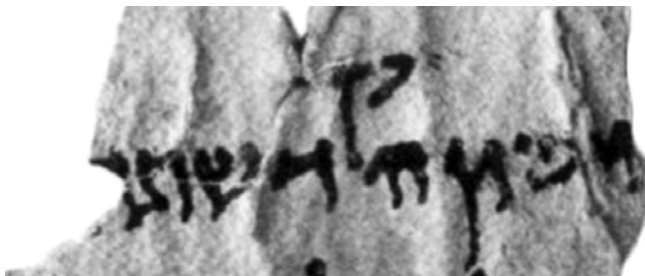
Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Erasure (2.6; reading uncertain): בעירא {דמו} דקדקא

(b) Possible horizontal strikethrough of first extant letter (6.4; reading uncertain): {ת}[א



(c) Apparent conversion of *vav* to *he*, with supralinear letter added (17.1): קש[יטין {ו} >ה< קדשתה



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.8, 22.5, 22.9, 22.10(2x)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2+3.2, 5.3, 7.5, 14.3, 22.12, 45.3

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

22.9

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

6.3(?), 6.4(?), 14.4(2x), 19.4, 22.4, 22.11

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

14.3(?), 17.2, 22.9, 22.11

Verbless clause:

18.1, 18.3(?), 19.3(2x)

Object early in clause:

14.3, 22.9

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 7.1, 7.2, 7.3(3x)

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

12.3(?), 20.3(?), 22.8

Use of ך to introduce direct quotation:

5.3, 22.8(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

46.2(?)

Interrogative ה:

7.5(?), 15.2

Lexical items:

אִיתִי: 12.1
 בָּרַם: 22.4
 דִּי: 1.5, 2+3.4, 5.3(2x?), 5.4, 7.4, 12.3(?), 13.6(?), 18.3,
 22.8, 22.10, 25.2, 30.3, 40.1
 –ד: 20.3(?), 22.5
 כִּעֵן: 28.4, 32.2

Morphology:

אִפְעֵל *form*:
 1.1, 1.3, 13.1, 15.3
 הִפְעֵל *form*:
 17.1
 אִתְּפֵעֵל *form*:
 1.1, 22.5
Object suffix on verb:
 1.8, 22.9(?)
Assimilated nun:
 2+3.10(?)

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms verbal affix תָּה/תָּא:
 4.3, 6.3, 17.1, 17.2, 17.4, 34.2
 2ms (pro)nominal suffix כָּה/כָּא:
 5.4, 7.4, 7.5, 7.7, 16.4, 19.5, 22.12, 28.4
 ש for /s/:
 1.6, 2+3.1, 17.5, 19.3, 19.4, 22.4, 22.12

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:
 אִטְמִיז (lexical; 1.1; see also 6.4)
 נִפְלִיז (lexical; 1.2) [H]
 נִפְלִיא (lexical; 1.8) [H]
 שְׁמִים (morphological; 2+3.4) [H]
 דִּגְנָא (lexical; 2+3.5) [H]
 שְׂרָץ (lexical; 2+3.7, 4.2)
Poetic doublets/triplets:
 22.3, 22.6

4Q532, Book of Giants^d (EnGiants^d)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:95–104]

Content synopsis and significance: For this copy of the Book of Giants we have preserved only two very fragmentary columns of text. The first column has nine complete words, which include several verbs (or perhaps participles) in the third-person, singular voice. The second column brings to mind the first four fragments of 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), though there is no clear textual overlap between the two copies (the closest parallel in wording is found at 4Q531 [EnGiants^c] 1.5 and 4Q532 2.10). In both texts we find what is presumably a description of the monstrous acts of the giants, perpetrated against the earth and its inhabitants. 4Q532 casts this account in the past, twice using the past-continuative (periphrastic) tense. There are several striking correspondences of this text with the early columns of 1Q20 (apGen), in which Noah is suspected of being a giant. These include the distinctive phrases מִן עִירִין “from Watchers” and אִסּוּר תְּקִיף “a strong bond,” as well as repeated use of the nouns בִּשְׂר and אִרְע.

Material remains: Starcky grouped six fragments under the heading “Sy 5 = Ps(eudo)-Hénoch^c.” Upon further analysis, Puech concluded that two of these fragments belonged together, comprising another Cave 4 copy of the

Book of Giants (DJD 31:95). Starcky’s other four fragments are treated by Puech in DJD 37 under a different number and heading (4Q582 [Testament^c]). As a result, 4Q532 now refers only to the first two of Starcky’s six fragments. Both fragments of 4Q532 are tall and slender, having remnants of between ten and thirteen lines of text (neither fragment seems to preserve the full column height). No line of text contains more than two complete words, and most contain only a single word or less. Fragment 1 contains portions of two columns of text and an intercolumnar margin, while frag. 2 preserves part of a single column. Puech suggested that there is “une correspondance possible des lignes” between frag. iiii and 2 (DJD 31:95), such that frags. 1 and 2 may together represent two consecutive columns of the scroll. There are no certain overlaps between 4Q532 and other copies of the Book of Giants, though a possible parallel exists at 4Q532 2.10 and 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) 1.5.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q532 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q532 1-2 (Fragment placement follows Puech)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Lower: At least 1.1 cm (not fully preserved)

Intercolumnar: Approx. 1.3 cm (frag. 1)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
3 mm

Space between lines: 6.5–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE, with a preference for ca. 75 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This copy is written in a rather defective orthography, as noted by Puech (e.g., כּל rather than כּוּל, להן instead of להון), though note the word אסור written more fully in 2.14. Note, too, the insertion of *aleph* as a *mater lectionis* for the hollow-root participle קאמ[ן] (2.4), quite common in Qumran and Biblical Aramaic. A unique case of nasalization with a *pael* suffix-conjugation form of the root חב"ל (וחנבלו) occurs in 2.9. As in many Jewish Aramaic narratives preserved at Qumran, we find the periphrastic past tense employed by combining a finite form of הו"ה and a participle.

The use of a reading mark (a so-called "*paragraphos*" sign) in the only preserved, intercolumnar margin is a rare feature in the Aramaic Qumran scrolls (see 4Q542 [TQahat] iii.9), though it is better known from the Hebrew manuscripts, such as 1QIsa^a XXIII.26, 4QDeut^b zii.15, and 4Q448 (Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer) 2–3. The mark in 4Q532 is of the sort *Tov* called the "straight line" *paragraphos*, as opposed to the "fish hook" or other types (cf. 4Q213 [Levi^a]) (*Scribal Practices*, 179–85).

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 178–85.

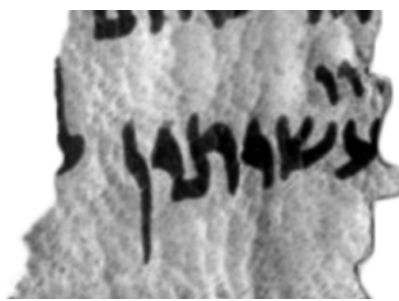
Script sample:

אא צב אא אא אא אא אא אא אא אא
ננ ון פ ע ע כב ק ק ל אש תת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Marginal reading mark (1.7)

(b) Supralinear letters added (2.6): עשיתן^מ



Language**Syntax:***Subject implied (verb later in clause):*

2.9

Object early in clause:

2.9

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

2.4, 2.6

Lexical items:

ד: iii.10

כד: ii.3(?)

כען: 2.13

Morphology:*Dissimilated nun/nasalization:*

2.9

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

ii.10, 2.2

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

א/ג] ונפילי (lexical; 2.3) [H]

Poetic doublets/triplets:

2.8(?)

4Q533, Book of Giants^e (EnGiants^e)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:105–15]

Content synopsis and significance: The manuscript designated here as 4Q533 is occasionally elsewhere referred to by the label 4Q556, on which see the profile for 4Q556 or below under *Material remains*. Several words and phrases in 4Q533 suggest an association with the so-called Book of Giants, or at least the Enochic tradition more generally. These words and phrases include the first-person plural pronoun אנחנו “we” in 2.4 (the voice in which the giants speak elsewhere), a second-person plural address throughout frag. 3, and mentions of prayer and children in 3.1. The negative actions of shedding blood and lying accompany a reference to the flood in frag. 4. All of these details fit well the basic story of the Book of Giants (though see also the early columns of the Genesis Apocryphon), in which the gigantic, violent offspring of the Watchers interact with Enoch, and seek some remedy for their grievous plight. For these reasons most scholars consider 4Q533 to be a copy of the Book of Giants.

Material remains: Stuckenbruck and others have referred to this manuscript using the label 4Q556 (e.g., in his re-edition of 4Q206 in DJD 36:42–48), while using the

designation 4Q533 for what Puech titled 4Q556 and 4Q556a in DJD 37. The result is a confusing swap of manuscript numbers for the scrolls among some publications. Thankfully, the label 4QEnGiants^e is consistent across the different editions. Puech’s siglum and DJD numbering are followed here. The scroll itself is incredibly fragmentary, numbering eight fragments. Fragments 3 and 4 contain only a few readable words and phrases, with most of the other fragments having only a few stray letters or words. Fragment 3, the largest of this scroll, is roughly the size and shape of a postage stamp, as are the slightly smaller frags. 1 and 4. Fragments 5–8 are little more than tiny specks of leather. None of the fragments preserves more than four partial lines of text, although frag. 1 does contain part of an intercolumnar margin. 4Q533 has no parallels with other Qumran copies of the Book of Giants.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q533 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q533 1, 4 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-284602

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PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: 1 cm (frag. 1)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height: 2 mm

Space between lines: 6.5–8 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-cursive (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE, possibly closer to the middle of that century (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: Although there is little by which to judge, the scribal execution of this manuscript appears of middle or middle-lower quality. The script is somewhat messy, and the spacing fairly compact. What spelling is preserved fits well the broader orthographic picture of the Qumran Aramaic texts, with *yod* and *aleph* regularly representing vowels and full spellings. Puech reads the unusual orthography קדמוה at 3.1 (i.e., the locative prep. [מן קדם] + a defective masc. [or possibly fem.] suffix), but this is incorrect. The word is rather קדמיא, the *aleph* being somewhat obscured on the photographs. Given the spelling, this word is most likely the ordinal numeral (“first,” cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 12.14, 4Q210 [Enastr^c] 111.15, 4Q211 [Enastr^d] 111.5) or the object “first/earlier ones,” as in Dan 7:24. The phrase “מן קדמיא” in 4Q533 recommends the latter option, but it is impossible to be sure without further context.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 237–38; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 260–61; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 105; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 51–164; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 185–91.

Script sample:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת
 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Words struck through (3.2): אֶכְחִיב

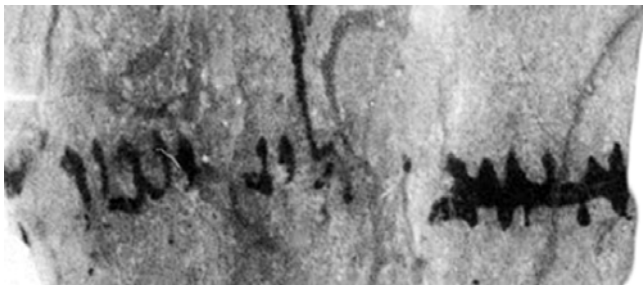


Image B-284602

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
 DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
 PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

3.1

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

4.2(2x)

Lexical items:

די: iii.3

בדי: ii.4

בען: 2.2

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

3.2

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraism:

מבול (lexical; 4.3) [H]

6Q8, *Book of Giants* (*papEnGiants*)

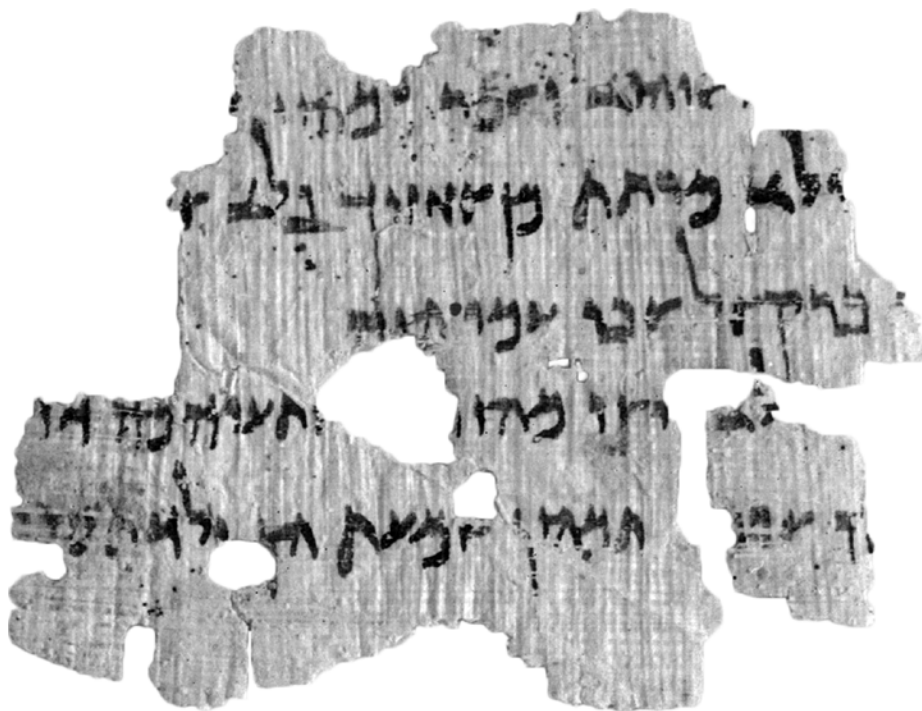
[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:116–19; reed. Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:76–94]

Content synopsis and significance: Maurice Baillet originally called this text “un apocryphe de la Genèse,” which he thought might be related to 1Q20 (apGen). However, in view of the wider Qumran corpus it was eventually identified with Cave 1, 2, and 4 copies of what is now called the Book of Giants. Though the remains are very fragmentary, we can glean some basic insights into the scroll’s contents. Fragment 1 has the names of the giant brothers Ohaya and Mahaway (known from other Book of Giants manuscripts), as well as that of their father Baraqel. We learn of a discourse between the brothers, which mentions their having been “shown everything.” This statement undoubtedly refers to the visions given to the brothers elsewhere in the Book of Giants, on which see the profiles for 2Q26 (EnGiants), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), and 4Q531 (EnGiants^c). Fragment 2 refers to “three shoots” and a “garden” (פרדסא), which are presumably elements in a dream about Noah’s three sons surviving the flood. This dream is preserved more fully in later Manichean and Rabbinic traditions, and it is also referenced in the Genesis Apocryphon (cf. Machiela, *DSGA*, 96–98). Finally, the location “Lubar” (לובר; frag. 26) is mentioned, one of the mountains of Ararat associated especially with Noah and the flood in

other Jewish literature of the Second Temple period (1Q20 [apGen] 12.13, 4Q244 [psDan^b] 8.2–3, and Jub. 5:28, 71).

Material remains: 6Q8 is the only extant papyrus copy of the Qumran Book of Giants. The scroll is very poorly preserved, with the majority of fragments being little more than tiny scraps of papyrus containing a few extant letters or words. Slightly more continuous text can be found on frag. 1, the largest of the thirty-three extant fragments. This fragment contains portions of six lines and several complete phrases. With the exception of frag. 1, even the largest fragments (i.e., frag. 2, 3, 4, and 26) contain little readable material. There are no textual overlaps between this and other copies of the Book of Giants.

Notes on provenance: Cave 6 was discovered by Bedouin in September 1952. Most of the fragments from this cave, presumably including 6Q8, were excavated by the Bedouin and then sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Only a small number of remaining fragments were discovered during the official excavation of Cave 6 in late September 1952 (DJD 3:26), a group that seems not to have included the 6Q8 fragments.



Sample image: 6Q8 1

Image B-284840

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 0.9–1.1 cm (frags. 3, 5)*Lower:* At least 1.5 cm (frag. 6)*Intercolumnar:* From at least 0.9 cm (frags. 2, 4, 33) to 2.7 cm (frag. 26)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* None*Vertical column lines:* None**Average medial letter height:**
2–4.5 mm**Space between lines:** 6–10 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–3 mm**Vacats:** Yes; medium (1.3 [at least 1.1 cm]); minor sense division?)*Material:* Papyrus*Script:* Herodian semi-cursive (Baillet, Stuckenbruck)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–1 BCE (Cross); 25–70 CE (Baillet)

Special traits and general comments: Although thirty-three fragments remain of this papyrus manuscript, the writing is very poorly preserved and little of the text can be recovered with confidence. The spacing of lines and words is erratic, as is the sizing of letters, although it is clear from 1.3 that vacats were employed for minor sense divisions. Some margins are preserved, though it is not always clear how fully. The very large right margin (2.7 cm) on frag. 26 deserves special comment, since it has escaped the attention of others working with the manuscript. The space of the margin is considerably larger than we should expect for an intercolumnar margin, the largest of which – even in the best manuscripts – typically do not reach 2 cm. Compare, for example, the slightly better-quality papyrus manuscript 4Q196 (papTobit^a), which has an intercolumnar margin of 1.8 cm. Given the lesser quality of 6Q8, it would be very surprising indeed to have an intercolumnar margin of that size on frag. 26. Instead, we ought to consider other options for this large space. One possibility is that this is, in fact, the beginning of the manuscript. Another is that there was a large break preceding this section (e.g., a large portion of the preceding column was left blank to indicate a major sense division). Whatever the case, it may be worth reassessing the fragment's placement in the scroll. Baillet was the first to notice that the scribe distinguished between medial and final forms of *aleph* (compare the words אלא and אהזיד in 1.3), which is an extreme rarity in the Qumran Aramaic texts. As noted by Cross and Stuckenbruck, the same distinction is evident in epitaphs dated to the Second Temple period (DJD 36:76). This scribe preferred spellings with *he* for some words where other scribes frequently used *aleph* (e.g., גה, 1.5; הן, 1.6). The short, more expected Qumran Aramaic form of the dem. pronoun דן is found at 2.3. Finally, we find an idiomatic affinity with other Qumran Aramaic texts in 1.6, where כל is used in an augmentative way in the phrase דן כלה פרדסא (“this garden, all of it”). Though the phrase begins a line, and the end of the preceding line is missing, it may be that the full phrase originally used what I have called the “double כול construction”: כל פרדסא דן כלה. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that no preposition (e.g., ב or ל) is prefixed to פרדסא.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Milik, *BE*, 300–1, 309–10; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 262, 265, 268; Beyer, *ATTM*², 162; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 101–2; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 59, 63–64, 107–8; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 196–213; Puech, “Les Fragments”.

Script sample:

ט ז ח א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת יו יא
 ט ז ח א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת יו יא

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (3.2): לַעֲוֹנוֹתָהּ

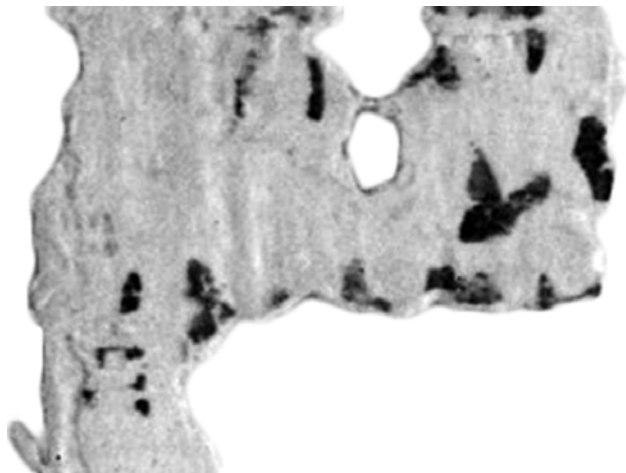


Image B-284840
 COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
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 PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.2, 1.5, 1.6

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1.4

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.2, 1.3

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.6

Object early in clause:

1.6

Double בּוֹל construction:

1.5–6(?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Participle + finite form of הוּדָה:

2.1–2

Lexical items:

דָּי: 1.5, 2.2

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

1.3

Orthography/Phonology:

שׁ for /s/:

12.2

4Q529, *Words of Michael*

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:1–8; DJD 37:519 (additional frag. 3)]

Content synopsis and significance: This remarkable text, which was unknown before its discovery at Qumran, relates “The words of the written account that Michael said to the angels ...” (1.1). Michael is an angel named in several other texts from the Second Temple period; he is the first angel listed in 1 En. 9:1, while in 1 En. 10 he is instructed by the Lord to bind the rebellious Watchers, to destroy their sons, and to cleanse the earth so that it may be renewed. He has a military role tied to Israel’s fate in Dan 10. In 4Q529, he recounts to his fellow angels what seems to be a journey in which various natural and fantastic phenomena are described. These include mountains and other geographic regions, the angel Gabriel, and a city built for the name of “my master, the Lord of Eternity” (רבי מרא עלמא). This divine title is unique among the Aramaic Qumran texts, and serves as the primary connection to a presumed copy of the same work in the very fragmentary 6Q23 (*Words of Michael*). Although the title’s formulation is unique, it shows the same tendency towards universalizing epithets for the God of Israel displayed in other Aramaic works kept at Qumran, and bears a close resemblance to the title “Lord of Eternity” (מרה עלמא) in 1Q20 (apGen) 2.5 (cf. 21.2), and especially to the extended phrase “our Great Lord, (you) [ar]e the Lord of Eternity” (הו[א] מרא עלמא) in 4Q202 (En^b) iii.14 (= 1 En. 9:4). 1 Enoch 9–10 bear other literary similarities to 4Q529, as in the narrative framing of 1 En. 9, which begins, “Then Michael and Sariel and Raphael and Gabriel looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed upon the earth ... And entering in, they said to one another ...” (1 En. 9:1–2, trans. Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, 202). The affinities between 4Q529 and these chapters of the Book of Watchers suggest a special relationship between the two texts. DiTommaso (*New Jerusalem*, 165–67) also suggested a possible connection between the *Words of Michael* and the *New Jerusalem*, while Dimant (“Textes Araméens,” 294) noted that the phrase ודהבא ודהבא לי כספא ודהבא in 1.15 appears to be a citation of Hag 2:8 (לי הכסף ולי הזהב). If this is the case, she rightly suggests that the future temple of Jerusalem may be in view at this point in the *Words of Michael*, as it seems to be in 4Q529 1.9.

In the opinions of Milik (*BE*, 91), Puech (DJD 31:1), and Dimant (“Textes Araméens,” 293), Michael recounts for the other angels the contents of a vision revealed to Enoch. It is possible that this is a different account of Enoch’s heavenly journey also recorded in the *Book of Watchers*, with

Milik having highlighted connections between 4Q529 1.2–4 and details from 1 En. 14, 17–18, and 20–21. At 4Q529 1.6, Michael tells of something written “in the books of my master, the Lord of Eternity.” The themes of writing in heavenly books or the transmission of revealed wisdom among righteous individuals from Israel’s past is shared by a number of the Aramaic texts from Qumran, such as 4Q204 [En^c] 1vi.9 (cf. 1 En. 82:1–3, 83:10); 1Q20 (apGen) 5.29, 19.25; 4Q543 (*VisAmram*^a) 1.1; 4Q547 (*VisAmram*^e) 4.8; 4Q542 (*TQahat*) iii. 9–13; and ALD 10:10. The idea of heavenly books or tablets is also found more broadly in Jewish literature of this period, as in the *Book of Jubilees* (see Baynes, *Heavenly Book*, 107–34). Later in 4Q529, Michael’s account shifts to speaking of evil deeds, and the Lord of Eternity remembering his covenant (1.10–11). Here we pivot to events associated either with interactions between Israel (or Israel’s ancestors) and God, or perhaps with an eschatological scenario, judging by the future-looking statements in 1.13–14. Puech considered these lines to be speaking of Noah and Abraham (DJD 31:6–7).

Material remains: 4Q529 comprises three fragments, of which frag. 1 is by far the largest (approx. 5 × 11 cm) and contains most of the preserved text. The fragment is actually made up of five separate pieces originally joined by Jean Starcky, with all of the joins being absolutely certain. Puech noted that the skin was apparently treated with an oil substance in the laboratories of the British Museum in the years after its discovery, which has left it badly darkened in non-infrared photographs. Fragments 2 and 3 are very small, with frag. 2 having gone missing since being photographed on PAM 43.572 in June, 1960. Fragment 3 contains only one complete word, and was identified with 4Q529 after Puech had already published frags. 1–2 in DJD 31. A second copy of this text is found in 4Q571 (*Words of Michael*^a), with five overlapping words on two, successive lines in 4Q529 1.12–14 and 4Q571 1.13–14. 6Q23 (*Words of Michael*) is often assumed to be a third copy of the *Words of Michael*, though there is no certain overlap in text between it and 4Q529 or 4Q571.

Notes on provenance: Fragment 1 of 4Q529 was photographed as part of the PAM “E series” on plate 40.965. The fragments in this series of images were discovered as part of the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32; see also the comments of Puech in DJD 31:1).



Sample image: 4Q529 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.8 cm*Intercolumnar:* 1–3 mm (to sewn edge of sheet)**Column dimensions:**

Approx. 8.5 cm w. (based on Puech's reconstruction)

Lines per column: At least 16**Letters per line:**

Approx. 42–50 (based on Puech's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:*Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes**Average medial letter height:**

1.5–2 mm

Space between lines: 5–7 mm**Space between words:**

0.5–4 mm

Vacats: See the treatment of spacing in *Special traits and general comments**Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean formal (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 75–25 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript is written in a neat, formal hand that is free of mistakes and corrections in what is preserved. When compared to other manuscripts for which the right, sewn edge-seam of a sheet is preserved (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q213a [Levi^b], 4Q542 [TQahat], 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a], 4Q546 [Visions of Amram^d]), the writing in 4Q529 is placed unexpectedly close to the seam. Based on the likelihood that we have the beginning of the composition in the first words of this sheet, this is perhaps due to a separate, blank sheet being placed before the one we have preserved. In other cases the preceding blank space is part of the same sheet (e.g., 1QM, 4Q571 [Words of Michael^a]). It is also possible (though less likely) that another, related composition preceded this one on the same scroll, as with, e.g., the blank space preceding 1Q20 (apGen) 5.28 and 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 8.3–5. A noteworthy practice of the scribe is an abnormal variation in spacing between words, ranging from no more than the usual distance between letters in the same word (0.5 mm) and what elsewhere would be considered a small vacat (4 mm, as between קודם and רבי in 1.10). This variation speaks against identification of what might otherwise be considered a small vacat in 1.4, between לדר[ומא and תמה. Consistent with almost all other Qumran Aramaic texts, the scribe or his exemplar used *dalet* in words that at an earlier stage would have been spelled with *zayin*, as seen in 1.11 (ידקר) and דהבא (1.15). The 3ms prefix conjugation of הו"א ("to be") is spelled with a *lamed* (להוא), as expected. In 1.6 and 1.9 we find two irregular instances of a noun with a suffix followed by a genitive די and a *nomen rectum* (עלמא מרא רבי די רבי בספרי and מ'רא לשמה די רבי מ'רא). The second (1.9) is a somewhat surprising example of the proleptic pronoun anticipating the *nomen rectum*, which would become popular in later (especially Mishnaic) Hebrew. A number of passive verbal forms are used beginning in 1.6. There may be a sheet-numbering letter (*yod* or *vav*) in the upper, right-hand corner of the sheet, as in 1Q20 (apGen), though this is based on the photographs, and is uncertain. In favor of the possibility, we may note that the placement is very similar to that in 1Q20 (apGen), and in both manuscripts the letter is smaller than the main hand of the text.

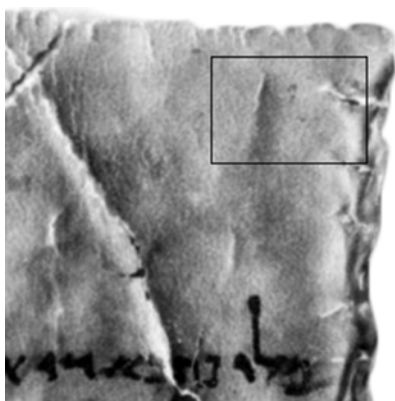
Original manuscript quality: Very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*^E, 127–28; Beyer, *ATM*², 165–66; Hamidović, "Transtextualité."

Script sample:

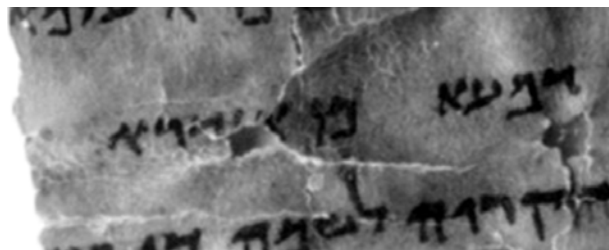
א א ב ב ג ג ד ד ה ה ו ו ז ז ח ח ט ט י י
 י י כ כ ל ל מ מ נ נ ס ס ע ע פ פ צ צ ק ק
 ש ש ת ת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Possible sheet number mark: י' (top right of frag. 1; marked by box)



(b) Erasure of מן by scraping, perhaps due to dittography (1.8): ◦ מן אנדרא [מן]



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.9(part.)

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

1.1, 1.10, 1.13, 2.1

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.4, 1.5, 1.6(pass. part.), 1.11, 1.14, 2.2(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.2(?)

Direct object marker (if present):

ל: 1.4, 1.11

Use of די to mark genitive relationship:

1.6, 1.9

Use of די to introduce direct quotation:

1.2, 1.5

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

1.14

Lexical items:

די: 1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 1.6, 1.9, 1.10

כדי: 1.8

תמה: 1.2, 1.4, 1.6

Morphology:

form: הפעל

1.2, 1.5

Object suffix on verb:

1.5

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

1.8(?), 1.13

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

גודד (lexical; 1.2) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

גודד (noun; 1.2)

כש"ב (verbal root [meaning uncertain]; 1.8)

דמע (noun; 1.8)

אנדר (noun [meaning uncertain]; 1.8)

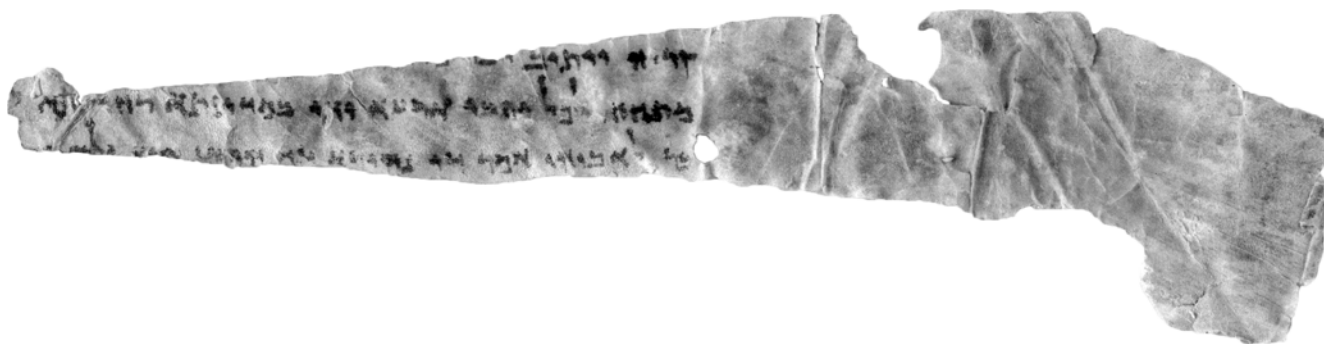
דנ"ח (verbal root; 2.1)

4Q571, Words of Michael^a
[ed. Puech, DJD 37:399–403]

Content synopsis and significance: On the composition Words of Michael, see the entry for the better-preserved 4Q529 (Words of Michael), with which 4Q571 has an overlap of five words. Milik (*BE*, 91) was apparently the first to make an identification between these two manuscripts, and with 6Q23 (Words of Michael). 4Q571 fills in slightly the fragmentary scenario of 4Q529 (Words of Michael), in which Michael describes a revelation (perhaps given to Enoch) in the presence of other angels. 4Q571 1.12–13 mentions a city (קריה) and something being revealed to all the inhabitants of the earth. At 4Q571 1.14, we find the subject בר “son” rather than the גבר “man” of 4Q529 (Words of Michael) 1.14, as part of the phrase “a son wi[ll be] saying to his father ‘Until the light has been extended”” (די נהירא (עד) הוצע הווא). The reference to light recalls texts such as the Epistle of Enoch, the Birth of Noah, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram, where light is opposed to darkness and represents divinely revealed wisdom. The contents of these lines in 4Q571 lend some weight to the idea that Michael is speaking of an eschatological scene, in which such wisdom will extend to the distant places of the earth. If this is correct, we may find here an echo of eschatological (and messianic) prophetic utterances, such as that of Isaiah in Isa 49:6, “It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the survivors of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth” (NRSV).

Material remains: Only one, tapering fragment remains of this scroll, containing most of the width of its first column preceded by a sizable blank space on the same sheet of skin. It should be noted that the letter “G” has been stamped in ink on the verso of this fragment after its modern discovery. This letter identifies the fragment as part of the “G series,” on which see the *Provenance* section, below. The “G” stands for “Government,” signifying a fragment purchased by the Jordanian government from the Bedouin, and therefore not excavated by the official team led by de Vaux. Similar “G” marks are found, for example, on the versos of 4Q84 (Ps^b) 25, 4Q434 (Barkhi Nafshi^a) 7, 4Q525 (Beatitudes) 14, and 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court) 1. A clear overlap of multiple, successive words occurs between 4Q571 1.13–14 and 4Q529 (Words of Michael) 1.13–14, making clear that these are copies of the same work. The inclusion of a third copy, 6Q23 (Words of Michael), is inferred from similar contents, though not on direct textual overlaps.

Notes on provenance: The single fragment of 4Q571 has a letter “G” stamped on its verso side (see above, under *Material remains*), marking it as one of those discovered in Cave 4 by Bedouin in 1952, and then sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (either directly or through the Bethlehem antiquities dealer Kando).



Sample image: 4Q571.1

Image B-285379

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: A blank space of 8.6 cm is preserved at the beginning of the scroll

Column dimensions:

Approx. 10 cm w. (reconstructed from 1.13–14)

Letters per line:

Approx. 35–40 (based on Puech's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes (very lightly inscribed)

Vertical column lines: Perhaps (see Puech)

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 150–100 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This fragment preserves the beginning of the composition, as shown by a blank area of the scroll preceding the first column of text. Another scribal option was to begin writing on the first column of the second sheet, leaving an entire blank sheet to begin the scroll (as with, for example, 4Q529 [Words of Michael] and 4Q543 [VisAmram^a]). Puech noted that this is the oldest copy of the Words of Michael, based on palaeography. Parts of only three lines are preserved on the extant fragment, but we can see the scribe's style quite well within this limited space. The writing is fairly consistent and neat; a typical formal hand of the Hasmonean period. The orthography is generally full, with *yod* and *vav* indicating long vowels, (with the exception of לכל in 1.13). *He* and *aleph* are distinguished for the feminine noun ending on the one hand (קרִיָה), and the definite article and conjugation of the verb הוֹא on the other. Only the full form of די is used in what little text is preserved, and we find the expected *lamed* for the 3ms prefix conjugation of הוֹא. A rare *hofal* form seems to be used in 1.14. The construction ודי (1.13) to begin a new clause, which does not follow closely on a preceding די (as, for example, in 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12 (?).23), is unusual, and the line is difficult to understand without better context (notwithstanding Puech's attempt). The construction is only known otherwise as part of the set phrase ודי חוֹזִית (א) from Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., 14.14), where it must mean something like “And concerning what you saw,” always referring back to an earlier part of the text where a specific element had been previously mentioned. Consequently, one wonders if Michael is referring back to something stated earlier in the narrative, in which case we would translate, “And concerning that in a distant province, a son wi[ll be] saying to his father ...” This interpretation gains some support from 4Q529 (Words of Michael) 1.9, which suggests that the קרִיָה of 4Q571 1.12 was mentioned earlier in the text (and so the same thing may have been true for the מְדִינָתָא of 1.13). More generally, the text clearly draws on visionary language also found in Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon (cf. 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1.4–5). Perhaps we do not find in 4Q571 the word חוֹזִית (א) because Michael is speaking to other angels, who presumably would not “see” a vision in the same way as would Daniel or Noah.

If Puech's transcription and reconstruction are correct, we find some unusual syntactic constructions, leaving the sense of the text at these points uncertain. For example, we would have two periphrastic constructions in which a finite, prefix conjugation of the verb הוֹא “to be” is followed by a participle, something well-attested in other literature. However, in 4Q571 the participle is placed later in the clause, separated from the finite verb by a subject or an indirect object, which is most irregular. At least in the case of 1.13–14 (בר לֹאבוּהִי אָמַר / לְ[הוֹא]), this type of construction seems likely, despite its irregularity, and was perhaps the result of the author writing in an exalted, poetic style due to the speaker being the angel Michael.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Script sample:



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.13

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1.14(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.12

Use of ܕܝ to introduce direct quotation:

1.14

Verb of movement + ܠ + inanimate object:

1.12

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

1.12–13(?), 1.13–14(?), 1.14(?)

Lexical items:

ܕܝ: 1.12(?), 1.13, 1.14

Morphology:

הפעל form:

1.14 (*hofal*)

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

1.13

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

הוֹצֵעַ (lexical? [Puech]; 1.14)

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

ܝܥ"ע (verbal root; 1.14)

6Q23, papWords of Michael

[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:138]

Content synopsis and significance: Maurice Baillet did not know when editing the four fragments of 6Q23 that a larger context for understanding them would be revealed from Cave 4, with 4Q529 (Words of Michael) and 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a). These connections were first identified by Milik (*BE*, 91), and have subsequently been adopted by Émile Puech (DJD 31 and 37) and others (e.g., Dimant, “Textes Araméens,” 292). Only four full words are preserved on these Cave 6 fragments, but they strongly suggest that the fragments belonged to a copy of the Words of Michael, thereby providing one of the links between Caves 4 and 6. In 4Q529 (Words of Michael), Michael repeatedly uses the unique title מרא עלמא רבי (“my master, the Lord of Eternity”) to speak of God, with no other extant Qumran Aramaic text using precisely this title. The words עלמא (1.1) and רבי מרא (2.2; Baillet had originally read רבו) are evidently parts of the same epithet, and provide the primary connection between 6Q23 and the other copies of Words of Michael. For more information on the Words

of Michael as a composition, see the profiles for 4Q529 (Words of Michael) and 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a).

Material remains: Only four small, badly-damaged papyrus fragments have been identified with 6Q23, none preserving more than two complete words. There are no certain textual overlaps with the other two Words of Michael scrolls (4Q529 and 4Q571), but the reconstructed divine epithet מרא עלמא רבי at 6Q23 1.1, 2.2, and perhaps 2.3 (see Puech DJD 31:1), suggests a relationship among the three copies.

Notes on provenance: Cave 6 was discovered by Bedouin in September, 1952. Most of the fragments from this cave, presumably including 6Q23, were excavated by the Bedouin and then sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Only a small number of remaining fragments were discovered during the official excavation of Cave 6 in late September 1952 (DJD 3:26), a group that seems not to have included the 6Q23 fragments.



Sample image: 6Q23 1–4 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-280160

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PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 1.4 cm (frag. 1)

Intercolumnar: At least 8 mm
(frag. 1)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height:
3–5 mm

Space between lines: 9–12 mm

Space between words: 1–1.5 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Papyrus

Script: Late Hasmonean to early Herodian semi-cursive

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–1 BCE

Special traits and general comments: This papyrus manuscript has generous spacing, but relatively small margins compared with the better skin copies (if the margins of 6Q23 are, indeed, fully-preserved). The scribal hand is fairly consistent, and employs a mixture of more formal letter forms (e.g., *aleph*, *lamed*, and *samek*) and cursive ones (e.g., *mem* and *tav*). The cursive *mem* as found in 6Q23 is relatively rare in the Aramaic literary manuscripts from Qumran, though it is much more common in documentary texts from around the same period. The letters *vav* and *yod* are practically indistinguishable from one another in this copy. In general, the script aligns quite well with those semi-cursive examples dated by Cross to the first cent. BCE (“Development,” 149), hence my proposed dating here. Along with the use of papyrus, I take use of the semi-cursive script as an indicator of a somewhat lower-quality scroll. Baillet read incorrectly אֶלְפָּא at 2.3, which Puech (DJD 31:1) instead emended to אֶלְמָא[ע]. This would assume a large, formal *mem* rather than the cursive form found elsewhere, which is certainly possible. However, I wonder if it may instead read אֶלְכָּא, with the vertical, upper stroke of the second *lamed* effaced (as has clearly happened with parts of the surrounding letters).

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*^E, 127–28; Beyer, *ATM*², 165–66; Puech, DJD 31:1; Hamidović, “Transtextualité.”

Script sample:



4Q534, Birth of Noah^a
[ed. Puech, DJD 31:129–52]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is part of a composition that has been called both the Birth of Noah and the Elect of God. The latter designation comes from an appellation in 4Q534 11.10 is used to describe the text's protagonist, a certain אלהא בחר. This figure is identified by some scholars as Noah, based on linguistic and thematic parallels with other Second Temple period Noah traditions, especially the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 2–5) and 1 Enoch (106–7). 4Q534 is often associated with two other manuscripts, 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b) and 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c). There is decisive overlapping material connecting the latter two scrolls (4Q535 3.4–5; 4Q536 1.1–3), and a considerably less extensive overlap between 4Q534 7.2–6 and 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c) 2ii.11–13. Most have judged the evidence sufficient to treat these three manuscripts as representatives of a single composition (DJD 31:121), though some do so tentatively.

The extant portions of 4Q534 begin with a description of the protagonist's physical features, including his hands, knees, hair, distinguishing moles (שומה), and other bodily markings (e.g., טלופח) (11.1–3). The description is clearly already in progress at the beginning of fragment 1, showing that we are missing an unknown amount of preceding text. The physiognomic interests present in 4Q534 led earlier interpreters to associate it with 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope) (Starcky, "Messianique," 51–66; Milik, *BE*, 56; Milik, "Écrits," 94; Milik, "Les modèles," 357, 363–64). However, Puech has rightly stressed that there is no overlap between 4Q534 and 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope) that would allow us to conclude they represent two copies of the same composition (DJD 31:121). It is more likely that they simply reflect a growing physiognomic interest on the part of Jewish authors in the Second Temple period (see Popović, *Physiognomics*, 277–80 and the profile for 4Q561).

The physical description of the person under discussion is followed by an account of his intellectual journey. Despite lacking knowledge as a youth (11.4), the central character comes to a place of profound understanding after an encounter with "the three books" (תלת ספריא);

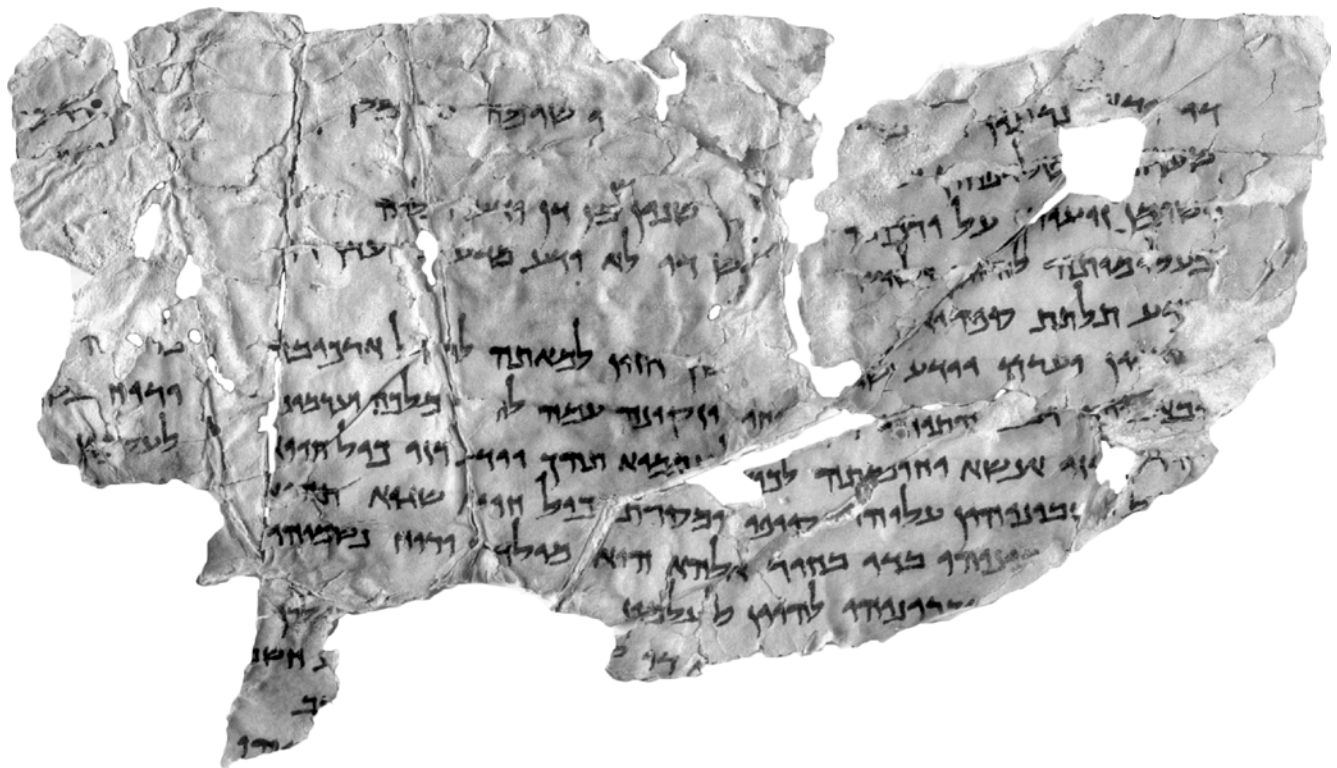
11.5). These three books are never clearly identified in the preserved material, but Puech associated them with Enochic lore (DJD 31:137–38; cf. Jub. 4:17–18, 21). This proposal is quite plausible, especially given the propensity in other Aramaic works of this period to attribute book lore to Enoch (1Q20 [apGen] 19.25; 1 En. 82:1–2; 92:1; 104:12–13). The extraordinary knowledge acquired is described using a number of terms that appear frequently elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic collection, most notably רז ("mystery"; 1Q20 [apGen] 1.2, 3; 5.20, 21; 6.12; 14.17; 4Q201 (En^a) 1iv.5; 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 9.3; 4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c] 2i+3.8; 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 4.16; 4Q546 [Visions of Amram^d] 12.4; Dan 2:18, 19, 27, 30, 47; 4:6), חכמה ("wisdom"; 1Q20 [apGen] 6.4; 19.25; 4Q212 [En^g] 1iv.13; 4Q213 [Levi^a] 1i.9, 10; 4Q213a [Levi^b] 1.14; 4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c] 2i+3.5; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^b?] 7.4; 9.2; 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 2a–b.2), and חשבון ("plan, calculation"; 1Q20 [apGen] 5.9; 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 25.3; 4Q530 [Book of Giants^b] 2i+3.4; 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 3.4). These terms, especially רז, are regularly used to describe divinely-revealed knowledge (cf. 4Q213a [Levi^b] 1.11–15; 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 4.16; 1 En. 16:3–4; 103:1–3; 104:10–13; Dan 2:19–23). The text of 4Q534 goes on to report that the protagonist's wisdom "will reach all people" (לכול עממיא תהד) (11.8). In this respect, the protagonist functions as a revelatory figure specially imbued with divine knowledge (cf. 4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c] 2i+3.8). The legible portion of this fragment ends with the identification of the protagonist as "the Elect of God" (בחר אלהא) (11.10) alongside broken references to "his birth" (מולדה) (11.10; cf. 4Q535 [Birth of Noah^b] 2.2), "the spirit of his breath" (רוח נשמוהי) (11.10), and a statement concerning the eternity of "his [pl]ans" (חשבונותי) in contrast to those of his enemies. The latter are destined to come to an end (11.9).

Ever since Fitzmyer's seminal 1965 article on this text most scholars have followed him in identifying the "Elect of God" figure with Noah, though many have acknowledged that the evidence is circumstantial and the conclusion only provisional (Grelot, "Hénoch," 481–500; Starcky, "Le Maître," 53–55; García Martínez,

“El Libro,” 195–232; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 1–44; Stuckenbruck, “Lamech,” 253–73; and Eshel, “Genesis,” 277–98). Not everyone, however, has accepted Fitzmyer’s interpretation. Proposed alternatives include the protagonist being a/the messiah, Enoch, an Enoch *redivivus*, Melchizedek, or simply an unnamed, extraordinary individual; see Davila (“Merkavah,” 367–81) and Peters (*Traditions*, 101–2) for summaries of the various scholarly opinions. Most recently, Dimant (“Themes,” 15–46) challenged the consensus regarding the Noahic identity of the “Elect of God,” while Stökl Ben Ezra (“Messianic,” 515–45) maintained that messianic and Noahic identities are not incompatible in light of the *Urzeit-Endzeit* eschatological model common in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Finally, Cook (WAC, 539–40) and Peters (*Traditions*, 100, 106) noted several similarities between the “Elect of God” figure in 4Q534 and the description of the eschatological high priest in 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}) 9i.2–3. Both figures are associated with “wisdom” (4Q534 1i.8, 2i+3.5; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}] 9i.2) and “teaching” (4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c] 2i+3.4; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}] 9i.3), have a mission that is universal in scope (4Q534 1i.8; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}] 9i.2), and yet face considerable opposition (4Q534 1i.9; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}] 9i.5–7). Of whomever the text is speaking, it is clear that he was considered very important, playing a significant role in God’s plan for human history.

Material remains: The preserved portions of 4Q534 comprise seven fragments, though the inclusion of frag. 4 in the collection is uncertain. Each of the two largest fragments (1 and 2) are, in fact, made up of several smaller ones, based on arrangements that were originally suggested by Starcky and later accepted by Puech in the *editio princeps*. Fragment 1 consists of seventeen collated fragments, while fragment 2 consists of seven pieces. Together, these two fragments allow us to reconstruct parts of two consecutive columns, each of which contains at least twenty lines. The rest of 4Q534’s fragments contain little written material, though some sections of frag. 7 may be reconstructed on the basis of a possible overlap with 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c; 4Q534 7.1–6//4Q536 2ii.11–13). In addition to the damage on the surface of the manuscript, there are also signs of significant shrinkage that may affect the precision of particular joins, measurements, and readings (Fitzmyer, “Aramaic,” 357–58; DJD 31:129).

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q534 (the lower part of 1iii, 2, and 7) were photographed as part of the PAM “G series” plates 40.592, 40.621, and 40.618. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32).



Sample image: 4Q534 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 1.7–1.9 cm (frag. ii–ii);
2.2 cm (frag. 5)

Lower: At least 1.5 cm (frag. 3)

Intercolumnar: 1.5–1.8 cm
(frags. 1, 5, and 7)

Column dimensions: at least
17 cm h. × 15.5–16.5 cm w.
(col. 2)

Lines per column: At least 20

Letters per line: Approx. 40–49

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
3–4 mm

Space between lines: 8–10 mm

Space between words: 2–4 mm

Vacats: Yes; large, all seven
preserved examples appear
to leave the remainder of the
line blank for minor sense
divisions (see frag. ii–ii)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian semi-formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: Considerable care and skill were invested in this manuscript, in the phases of both production and writing. It was fully ruled, with horizontal script lines and vertical guidelines at both ends of the columns. The margins appear to be only moderate in size, though the script lines spaced quite generously. Without the end of a sheet preserved, it is impossible to tell if guide dots were used to assist in plotting the script lines. The two preserved columns are considerably wider than, say, in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) or the Cave 11 Job translation (11Q10), with the full height now lost.

The scribe wrote in an adept, Early Herodian hand, using fairly large letters to fill the generous line spacing. A notable practice is the use of large vacats for quite minor sense-divisions. What remains of this copy contains only one, minor scribal correction. In terms of orthography, the scribe generally preferred full spellings with *vav*, *yod*, and *aleph* as *matres lectionis*, as is typical in the Qumran manuscripts. We find a relatively rare full spelling of the 2ms suffix כה– at 7.2. The copy's Aramaic language, too, is in keeping with the general profile of the wider Aramaic corpus at Qumran. Verbs tend to be placed, with or without the explicit subject, near the beginning of clauses, with an occasional late verb used to stylistic or poetic effect.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Fitzmyer, "Aramaic"; Starcky, "Messianique"; Caquot, "4QMESS AR"; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 1–44; Beyer, *ATTM^E*, 125–26.

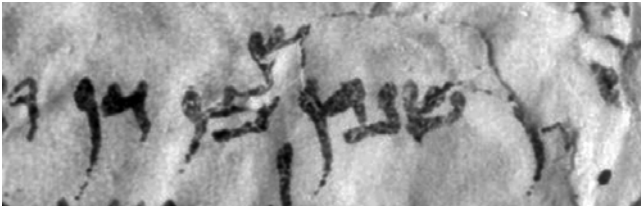
Script sample:

ך גג אג ו חח סס רר חח טט שש ננ
נת אא רר ג גג עע סס סס ננ שש בב

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear word added by original scribe (1.3):

שניז יז מן דן

**Language****Syntax***Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*

ii.11, iii+2.12, iii+2.14, iii+2.12(?), iii+2.13

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

ii.7

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

ii.3(?), ii.7, ii.8, ii.9(2x)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.5, ii.6(2x), ii.8(2x), iii+2.13, iii+2.16, iii+2.18(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

ii.4, iii+2.1(?), iii+2.15

Verbless clause:

ii.10, iii+2.15

Object early in clause:

iii+2.15

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

ii.8

Lexical items:

באדן: ii.6(?), iii+2.9(?)

בדי: ii.10

די: ii.1, ii.4(2x), ii.12, iii+2.1, iii+2.12, iii+2.18

Morphology:*Object suffix on verb:*

ii.7

Assimilated nun:

ii.4

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

ii.5

Orthography/Phonology:*2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:*

7.2

ש for /s/:

ii.9

4Q535, Birth of Noah^b

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:153–59]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of three copies from Qumran of a text typically referred to as The Birth of Noah (cf. 4Q534 [Birth of Noah^a] and 536 [Birth of Noah^c]). It was given this name based on proposed literary and thematic parallels between the account of the unnamed individual in this text and that of Noah in portions of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 2–5) and 1 Enoch (106–7). The passages are connected by some scholars with a hypothetical Book of Noah. See the profile on 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) for a fuller discussion of this composition and its relationship to Noahic (and other) traditions. The majority of what little is preserved of 4Q535 deals with the extraordinary birth of an individual.

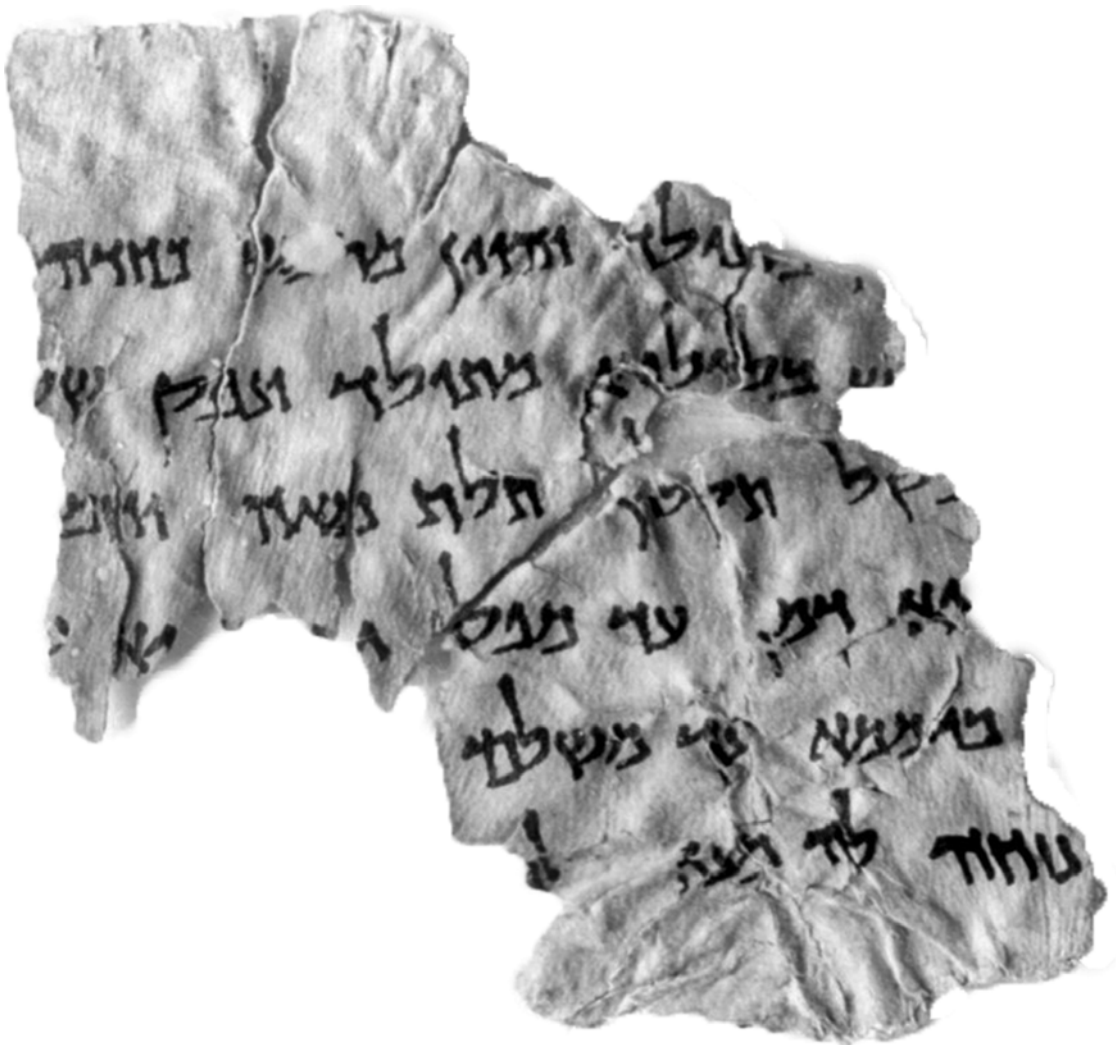
Fragment 3 contains most of the material related to this event, though even this portion of the scroll is poorly preserved. In that fragment it is reported that the central figure is born at night and that he “comes out perfect/complete” (3.2). This statement is followed in the next line by a broken reference to his weight, presumably at the time of his birth (three hundred and fif[ty] [one?] shekels). Several scholars have noted that this particular aspect of the birth relates most directly to the description of Noah in 1Q20 (apGen) 2–5 and 1 En. 106–7 (e.g., Stuckenbruck, “Lamech,” 256; Eshel, “Genesis,” 289). Fragment 2 contains another reference to “the time of [his] birt[h]” (2.1). Eshel suggested that this passage may depict the newborn’s

horoscope (“Genesis,” 288–89). The same fragment refers to “his signs” in a very broken context. Puech noted that this term may refer either to some sort of omen connected with the figure’s birth or to bodily markings that are part of a physiognomic description (DJD 31:157).

Material remains: Three fragments remain of this scroll, with frag. 3 preserving the most material in six, partial lines. Puech plausibly assumed that frag. 3 preserves the entire height of a column, based on the probable presence of both an upper and a lower margin. At six lines per column (perhaps five for frags. 1 and 2), 4Q535 would rank among the smallest scrolls in the Qumran library in

terms of manuscript height. The various measurements of frag. 3 differ somewhat from those of frags. 1 and 2, the latter being quite consistent with one another. This led Puech to propose that frags. 1 and 2 derive from a different sheet of leather than frag. 3. He further hypothesized that these two sheets were sewn together and formed two consecutive columns (DJD 31:153).

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q535 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q535 3

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimension: 6.4 cm h.
(frag. 3)

Margins:

Upper: 1.3–1.4

Lower: At least 1 cm (frag. 3)

Column dimensions: 4.1 cm h.
(frag. 3)

Lines per column: 5–6

Letters per line: At least 20 (not fully preserved)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
3 cm

Space between lines: 7–9 mm

Space between words: 2–4 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian semi-formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: There are several outstanding questions about this manuscript. Puech, following Starcky, attributed all three main fragments to the same copy, despite a larger upper margin and wider line spacing on frags. 1–2 than on frag. 3. Puech assumed that the entirety of the manuscript height is preserved on frag. 3, which would make this a remarkably small scroll for Qumran in terms of its height, smaller even than the custom copy of Psalm 119 in 4QPs^g (4Q89). I see no reason to doubt Puech on this latter point, while the association of the three fragments must remain an open question.

This copy is written in a tidy, consistent hand on a manuscript with moderate margins and otherwise standard spacing. Though horizontal script lines are no longer visible, the consistency of line spacing suggests that they were originally inscribed very lightly as part of the manuscript preparation. The small amount of text preserved makes it difficult to know whether vacats were used regularly, or how much weight should be placed on the absence of corrections. There is nothing abnormal in the orthography for the corpus. As for vocabulary, Puech reads what would be a rare direct object marker τ at 3.4, though the extremely fragmentary preservation of the relevant section precludes any certainty on this point. Consequently, the word should not be included in discussions of use of τ in the Qumran texts.

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Fitzmyer, “Aramaic”; Starcky, “Messianique”; Caquot, “4QMESS AR”; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 1–44; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 125–26.

Script sample:
Language**Syntax:**

Subject implied (verb early in clause):
3.1, 3.2

Subject implied (verb later in clause):
3.2(part.; ?), 3.4

Lexical items:

τ : 1.2(?)

כחדא: 3.1

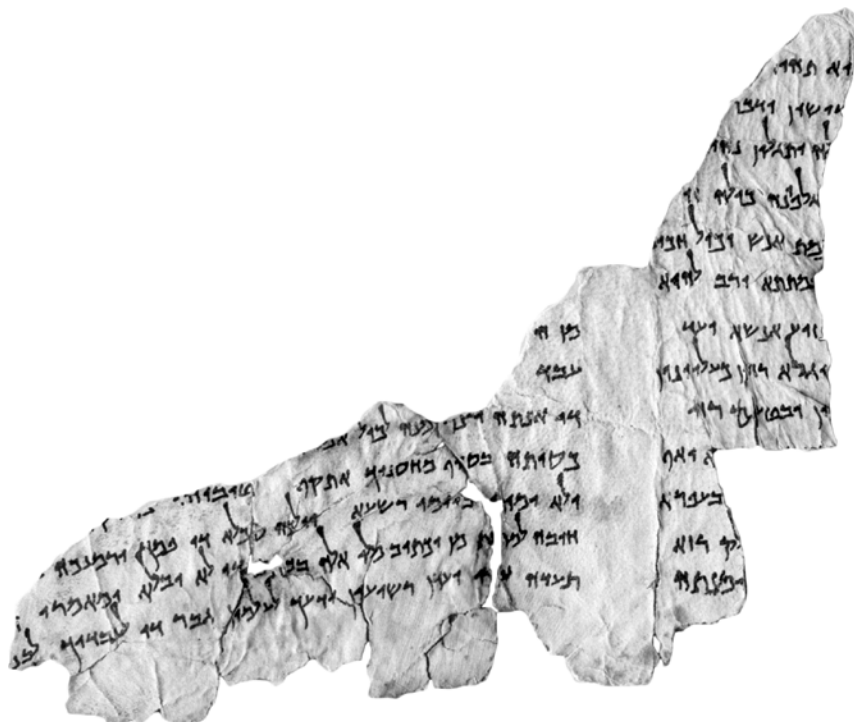
4Q536, Birth of Noah^c
[ed. Puech, DJD 31:161–70]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript represents one of three Qumran copies of a text typically referred to as The Birth of Noah (cf. 4Q534 [Birth of Noah^a], 535 [Birth of Noah^b]). See the profile of 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) for a fuller discussion of this composition and its relationship to Noahic (and other) traditions. Fragment 1 is typically interpreted to tell of the miraculous birth of an individual, though this section is quite fragmentary in 4Q536 and its parallel in 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b). Fragment 2i+3 displays some thematic and conceptual affinities with 4Q534 ii, though there is no direct overlap between the two copies. This passage describes a revelatory figure who discloses “mysteries like the Watchers” (2i+3.8; “mysteries” are also mentioned in lines 9 and 12). The divine mysteries (ܡܝܫܬܪܝܢ) are a recurring theme across a number of the Aramaic works from Qumran, such as the Enochic texts, Daniel, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Visions of Amram. Other references in 4Q536 to wisdom, teaching, and light connect this passage to both 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) and other sapiential and/or apocalyptic figures from the broader Qumran Aramaic corpus (e.g., Noah in 1Q20 [apGen]; Levi in 4Q213–214b [Levi^{a-f}]; an unnamed priest in 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}]; Qahat in 4Q542 [TQahat]; Amram, Moses, and Aaron in 4Q543–547 [Visions of Amram^{a-e}]). Fragment 2ii mostly contains material unique to this manuscript, with the exception of

a small, patchy overlap with 4Q534 7.16 at lines 10–13. In this column we find a question, spoken in the first-person, “Who will write these words of mine in a document that will not wear out?” This question reflects a broader concern with written documents and the act of writing seen elsewhere in the Aramaic literature kept at Qumran (e.g., 4Q204 [En^c] 1vi.19; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}] 7.4; 4Q542 [TQahat] iii.12; and 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 9.8).

Material remains: 4Q536 is preserved in four fragments. Of these, frag. 2 is by far the largest, containing a significant amount of text from two successive columns. In fact, it appears that frag. 2 preserves the entire height of the first column, based on the likely presence of both upper and lower margins. The rest of the fragments are much smaller, though they all preserve margins. Stitching between sheets is preserved on frag. 4. Textual parallels between 4Q536 and the other two Birth of Noah copies are found at 4Q536 1.1–3//4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b) 3.4–6 and 4Q536 2ii.11–13//4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) 7.1–6; cf. DJD 31:121–22.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q536 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q536 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 1.4 cm (frag. 1); at least 9 mm (frag. 2)

Lower: 1.5–1.7 cm (frags. 2, 3)

Intercolumnar: 1.3 cm (frag. 2)

Column dimensions: 11 cm h. × at least 10 cm w. (frag. 2)

Lines per column: 13 (frag. 2i)

Letters per line: At least 40 (frag. 2ii)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column

Average medial letter height: 2–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (5–7 mm [frag. 2ii.8, 10, 11]; minor to intermediate sense divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian semi-formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 50–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The line spacing varies considerably in this manuscript, raising the possibility that horizontal script guidelines were not used (despite vertical column lines being present). This is unusual, the opposite arrangement being found more regularly among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls. The script of 4Q536 is of high quality, though not as nice as in the finest examples of handwriting in the corpus (e.g., 4Q535 [Birth of Noah^b]). From what remains of the scroll, the copyist seems to have made very few mistakes. The scribe's spacing of words was quite generous, and small vacats appear to have been used regularly for both minor (the continuation of a description of an individual) and somewhat more significant (a moderate change of topic) sense-divisions in the text. In the very small amount of text evidently overlapping with 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a), it is worth noting that 4Q534 7.4–6 has what appears to be a full line vacat where 4Q536 2ii.13 has none at all (preceding the word גבר). The spelling is not especially full in 4Q536, though we do find the standard long form of אנתה “you,” and twice in 2ii.11 the long form of the 2ms pronominal suffix כה–. In general, the script and orthography falls comfortably within the standards of the broader Qumran corpus. There are, however, two archaic morphological items worthy of note in this manuscript. The first is an instance of the earlier spelling זי (rather than די) at 2i+3.4, though די is otherwise used throughout the preserved text. The second possibly early form is found at 2ii.12, in the phrase מלי אלה. Most have interpreted the second word as the plural demonstrative pronoun (“these words of mine”), with Puech provided supporting argumentation for this view. His most persuasive point is the poetic parallel with מ אמרי דן “this saying of mine” in the following line, though the demonstrative pronoun there is partly reconstructed. If this is correct, אלה would be the singular occurrence of the early form of the plural demonstrative pronoun in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, the expected (and morphologically later) form being אלן/אלין. Another possibility is that מלי אלה should be translated “words of God,” in a plural construct relationship. However, Puech sensibly argued that we should then have expected the emphatic אלהא. Although fragmentary and partially reconstructed, 2ii+3.12 is a nice example of the kind of elevated, poetic doublet found in many of the revelatory or didactic sections of the Aramaic Qumran literature.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

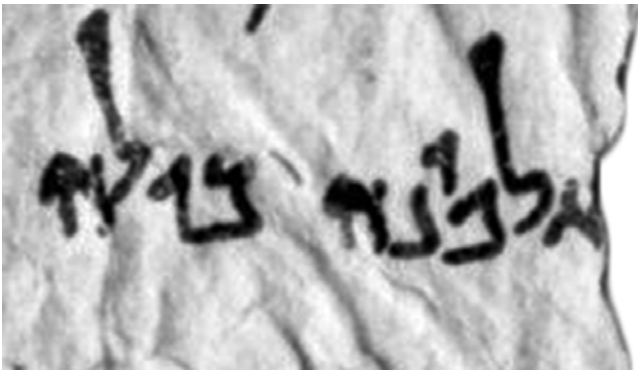
Select bibliography: Fitzmyer, “Aramaic”; Starcky, “Messianique”; Caquot, “4QMESS AR”; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 1–44; Beyer, *ATTM^E*, 125–26.

Script sample:

33 11 55 44 11 11 44 44 11 22 44
 קק 77 33 22 55 11 22 44 33 22 77
 55 44 77

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (2.4), apparently by the original scribe: אלפינה



Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2ii.9(part.), 2ii.11

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

2i+3.3

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2i+3.8(?), 2i+3.13, 2ii.11, 2ii.13, 2ii+3.12

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.1, 2i+3.2(?), 2i+3.6(?), 2i+3.10

Lexical items:

בחר: 1.3(?)

די: 2i+3.13, 2ii.9, 2ii.11, 2ii.12, 2ii.13

זי: 2i+3.4

Morphology:

אֶת־פֶּעַל form:

2ii.10

Object suffix on verb:

2ii.11

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

2ii.11

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כה:

2ii.11(2x)

Other notable features:

Poetic doublets/triplets:

2ii+3.12

1Q20, Genesis Apocryphon (apGen)
[ed. Machiela, *DSGA*, 1–84]

Content synopsis and significance: The most extensively preserved of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves, 1Q20 contains a lengthy retelling of Gen 5:28–15:4 in what remains of the manuscript. There is not only a difference in compositional languages between 1Q20 and Genesis, but a wide range of rearrangements, additions, omissions, harmonizations, and literary fusions carried out by the author(s) of the Genesis Apocryphon in relation to its Hebrew forerunner (see, e.g., Bernstein, “Compositional,” 166–75). A special interest in the Apocryphon seems to have been the portrayal of the patriarchs (e.g., Enoch, Noah, and Abram) as paradigmatic, righteous individuals who exhibited a litany of virtuous traits. Divine revelation is regularly imparted by way of dream-visions, often apocalyptic, and a number of other concerns come to the fore, such as the observance of cultic regulations, rights to the Land of Canaan/Israel, endogamy, and the chronology of the events recorded in Genesis. There is an added layer of human interest in 1Q20, with vigorous exchanges between characters and an elevated role for various women in the story (e.g., Batenosh and Sarai). New elements of humor and suspense are also palpable, especially in the exchange between Lamech and Batenosh in col. 2, and the interactions between Abram, Sarai, the Pharaoh, and his nobles in cols. 19–20.

Since its partial publication by Avigad and Yadin, scholars have struggled to place the Genesis Apocryphon within existing literary categories, originally classifying it as targum, midrash, or pseudepigrapha (see Bernstein, “Apocryphon”; Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 41–2). Beginning with the landmark study of Vermes (*Haggadic Studies*), the Genesis Apocryphon figured prominently into scholarly discussions of Jewish biblical interpretation during the Second Temple period, and especially the much-debated literary category of “rewritten Bible” or “rewritten Scripture.” An ongoing discussion about the genre of the Apocryphon ensued, with others arguing for a classification as “parabiblical.” However we classify this work, it is clear that it challenges the literary categories typically used at the time of its discovery, and in this way the scroll has generated important discussions on the interpretation of earlier, authoritative texts in Second Temple Judaism.

Avigad and Yadin recognized that the Genesis Apocryphon had close literary relationships with 1 Enoch and Jubilees, and this, too, has sparked much further study. The early columns of 1Q20 exhibit clear overlaps in general content with the Enochic Books of Watchers (1 En. 1–36)

and the so-called Birth of Noah story (1 En. 106–107), and, occasionally, close parallels in specific wording. There are also affinities with the Book of Giants, discovered at Qumran and evidently part of the Enochic corpus of the Hellenistic period that had been lost. Later columns of 1Q20 contain striking parallels with the Hebrew book of Jubilees, as in Noah’s very similar division of the earth among his sons in 1Q20 16–17 and Jub. 8:11–9:15. Opinions are divided on the chronological order of these relationships, leading to disagreements on relative dating. In the cases of both 1 Enoch and Jubilees, it is typically asked whether the Genesis Apocryphon borrowed from the other text, or vice versa. In reality, the situation is unlikely to have been so simplistic. What is clear, however, is that the Apocryphon has a striking affinity to others of the Aramaic writings now known from the Qumran caves. The portrayals of Abram in the Genesis Apocryphon and Joseph in the Aramaic Levi Document bear a strong resemblance to each other, both describing exemplary wisdom figures who ably navigated the foreign culture of Egypt (Machiela, “Wisdom”). The story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt shows clear literary affinities with that of Tobias and Sarah (Machiela and Perrin, “Family Portrait”). A number of other Aramaic compositions found at Qumran exhibit sundry literary affinities with the Genesis Apocryphon. This is seen, for example, in their shared use of dream-visions (Perrin, *Dynamics*), wisdom language (Machiela, “Wisdom”), cultic practices, and court tale elements. Another shared feature is the use of first-person narration by a figure from Israel’s past in telling the story (i.e., pseudepigraphy), which in the Apocryphon takes the form of several, distinct sections narrated by different characters: the first columns are narrated by Enoch and Lamech, from 5.29 Noah becomes the first-person narrator, and from 18.24 until 21.22 Abram takes over narration. Curiously, from 21.23 to the end of the preserved scroll is narrated in the third-person voice. In light of the affinities listed above, we can see that from a literary point of view the Genesis Apocryphon is very much at home among the Aramaic writings from Qumran, despite the fact that it has often been placed in a generic category (rewritten Bible/Scripture) different than the rest of the corpus.

Upon close reading in comparison with other Aramaic documents and literary texts from the fifth century BCE onward, it is evident that the Genesis Apocryphon is a fine example of Jewish *haute literature* from the Second Temple period. As such, the Aramaic is highly “literary” (as argued by Greenfield, “Standard”), and should probably not be

read as an example of the spoken Aramaic of Roman Palestine (contra Dalman, Díez Macho, and Black; for bibliography see Machiela, "Translation," 217–18).

Material remains: 1Q20 is the only Aramaic manuscript from Qumran to be discovered as a fairly well-preserved, rolled scroll. Parts of at least twenty-three columns are now preserved, but the scroll was once longer than this. Because no other copies of this composition are known from Qumran or elsewhere (with the possible exception of 3Q14 8), it is now impossible to tell just how much longer the scroll may once have been. The manuscript was deposited in Qumran Cave 1 (see *Provenance*, below) with the last part of the composition rolled to the inside, and its beginning at the outside of the scroll; i.e., it was rolled as if ready to read from the beginning (see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 40, 108). Based on the preservation of the scroll when it was found, this suggests that what is now designated "col. 0" stood at or near the beginning of the scroll, possibly preceded by a lost column or two. If so, it is reasonable to conclude that the composition began with a version of the story of the Watchers, their offspring the giants, and Enoch also known from the Book of Watchers and Book of Giants. Following these events, attention turned to the astounding birth of Noah. The outermost columns of the scroll were badly or entirely disintegrated by the time it was discovered in the late 1940s, and it becomes progressively better-preserved as we move further along in the text, towards the innermost revolutions of the scroll. Consequently, some portions of the early columns are now only isolated fragments. A complicating physical feature of the scroll when it was discovered is that one of its sides was more pliable and better-preserved than the other, probably due to the way it was stored (and, hence, deteriorated) in the cave over a long period of time. The upper part of the scroll is also better-preserved than the lower portion, perhaps from a prolonged period standing in a jar. Those columns preceding col. 2 exist only in relatively small, isolated fragments, the arrangement of which has been partially reconstructed by scholars. Columns 2–9 consist of larger fragments, each making up part of one or two columns. From col. 10 onward the fragments become larger, preserving parts of two or three columns, leading to the final, best-preserved piece of the scroll containing five columns (18–22), of which the last three were originally almost fully in-tact. A point of special interest is that the scroll was cut cleanly in antiquity after col. 22, directly following the seam beginning a new sheet of skin, so that the text ends mid-sentence at a point corresponding to Gen 15:4. Another curious feature of the scroll is that it was rolled together with another protective

(or backing) sheet of moderately-prepared skin, considerably lighter in color than the scroll itself and covering only its lower portion (Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 14; Elgvin and Davis, "1QApocryphon," 283–84). The purpose of this sheet is not entirely clear, though most consider it to have been part of repairing or protecting the (perhaps partially-damaged) scroll in antiquity. The scroll has deteriorated badly since its modern discovery, and later photographs show that parts of it once relatively well-preserved and physically connected are now cracked and separated. Other parts have disintegrated into a dark, gelatinous substance. This process is attributable, in part, to the ink used to write the text, which in some places has eaten away the skin where the script was written while the surrounding skin is left in-tact (Nir-El and Broshi, "Black Ink"). The composition of the ink clearly caused this type of decay, perhaps due to storage in a metal inkwell, or to the particular concoction of binding agents used in the ink's production. Deterioration of this type is uncommon among the Qumran scrolls, though a handful of other scrolls do have the same phenomenon, including 4Q115 (Dan^d) among the Aramaic manuscripts (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 53–54).

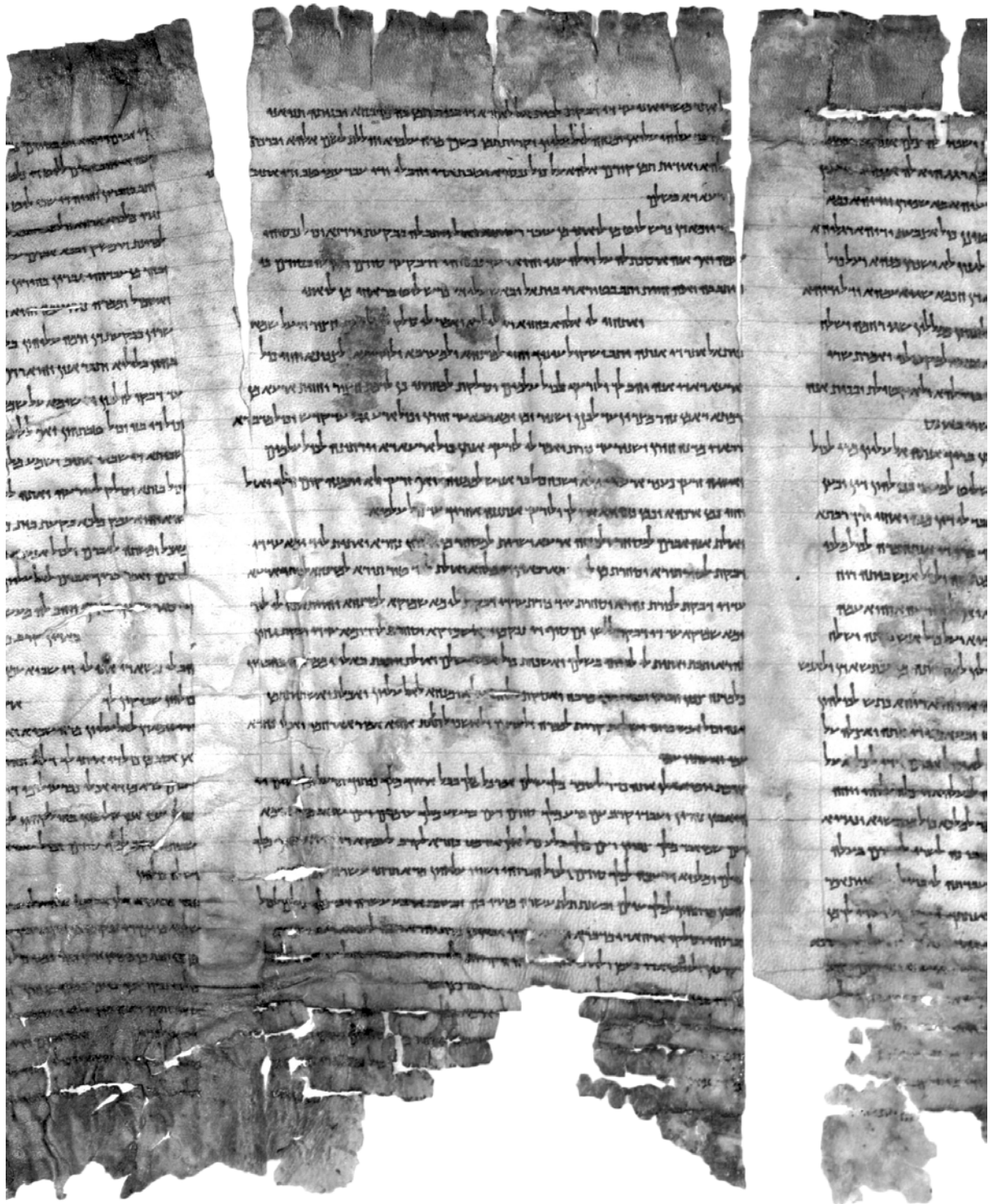
1Q20 has a complicated history of publication, with portions of the scroll being made available in segments over a period of more than fifty years, in a number of locations, and by different editors. The main stages of this process have been documented by Machiela (*DSGA*, 21–26), with the only major publication on the manuscript in the meantime being Machiela, "Genesis Apocryphon."

Notes on provenance: The modern discovery of 1Q20, sometimes called in early literature "the fourth scroll," is somewhat confused because of conflicting firsthand accounts. However, all accounts place the findspot of the scroll in Qumran Cave 1, and there is no compelling reason to doubt this fact. It is quite clear that the seven main scrolls typically associated with the first discoveries from Cave 1 belonged to two batches, often distinguished by those who purchased them: four scrolls by Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel at St. Mark's Monastery, and three by Eleazar Sukenik on behalf of the Hebrew University. 1Q20 was part of the four scrolls bought by Mar Samuel, but there are discrepancies among firsthand testimonies over whether it was *discovered* with the other three scrolls owned by Mar Samuel (1QIsa^a, 1QS, and 1QpHab), or with the three scrolls eventually purchased by Sukenik (1QIsa^b, 1QM, 1QH^a) before the sale to Mar Samuel was made (on the conflicting reports see Trever, *Untold Story*, 106, with notes). In the account endorsed by John Trever (*Untold Story*, 106), in the summer of 1947 the

Bedouin tribesmen Jum'a Muhammad and Khalil Musa went back to the cave where they had initially discovered 1QIsa^a, 1QS, and 1QpHab, by which time Mar Samuel and his associates knew about this first batch of scrolls. They discovered four additional scrolls, which included 1Q20, and brought them to an antiquities dealer, Faidi Salahi, in Bethlehem (see also Fields, *Scrolls*, 29; Taylor, Mizzi, and Fidanzio, "Revisiting Qumran," 301). However, another dealer, Kando, kept 1Q20, and eventually added it to the lot sold to Mar Samuel in July, 1947. The remaining three scrolls were sold to Sukenik in November-December, 1947. Whatever actually happened, we can say with some confidence that 1Q20 was discovered by Bedouin on one of their early visits to Cave 1 and was brought to Bethlehem, whence it was sold to Mar Samuel in the summer of 1947.

According to Mar Samuel (*Treasure*), his four scrolls were transferred to a bank vault in Beirut in 1948, and then eventually to New Jersey in 1949. In 1954, Yigael Yadin arranged for the scrolls to be purchased from Samuel, through an intermediary, for the State of Israel (Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 7). The main part of the rolled scroll eventually made its way to the Israel Museum, where it was unrolled and remains today in a vault at the Shrine of the Book. Around the time of its discovery, however, some fragments from the outside layers of the scroll broke away and made their way to three different locations. In 1955, eight fragments were published by J.T. Milik in DJD 1 (86–87, PL. XVII; cf. PAM 43.753) under the title "Apocalypse de Lamech." They were part of a batch of fragments bought by the Palestine Archaeological Museum from an antiquities dealer in Bethlehem (presumably Kando) in the early 1950's, who must have acquired them from Bedouin (DJD 1:43). It is

unclear whether the fragments had broken off the original scroll while in Bethlehem and stayed in the possession of dealers there, or had been looted from Cave 1 by Bedouin sometime after the discovery of the main scroll. It is often claimed that they were found in the controlled excavation of Cave 1 conducted by Harding and de Vaux from February to March, 1949, but de Vaux made clear in DJD 1 (43) that this was not the case. These eight fragments were later reconstructed by Bruce Zuckerman and Michael Wise (cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis*, 117) as parts of what are now called cols. 0–1, and are currently held by the National Archaeological Museum in Amman, Jordan. Another piece of the scroll fell into the possession of John Trever during his famous first examination of it on February 21, 1948 (cf. Elgvin and Davis, "1QApocryphon," 283). At this time a small "wad" of leather with four layers broke off of the brittle, rolled scroll, and were kept by Trever. The wad was sold to Martin Schøyen in 1994 and added to his private collection in Oslo, Norway (MS 1926/2). The fragments were subsequently photographed by Bruce Zuckerman and published by Elgvin and Davis ("1QApocryphon"). Containing only margins and a few legible letters, the fragments belong to the upper part of the scroll's early columns. Finally, to these may be added the so-called "Trever Fragment," which was part of col. 1. This fragment of seven partial lines was originally removed from the outside of the scroll by Trever during his first inspection of it at St. Mark's Monastery in March, 1948 (Fields, *Scrolls*, 78), and allowed him to determine that the scroll was written in Aramaic. The fragment stayed in Trever's possession, and its whereabouts were unknown until a 2012 publication (Wolff et al., "Provenance") suggesting that it is now kept at the Israel Museum as part of their scroll collection.



Sample image: 1Q20 20-22

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions:

Approx. 31 cm h. × 2.38 m w.
(as preserved)

Margins:

Upper: 2.2–2.7 cm

Lower: 2.4–2.9 cm

Intercolumnar: 1.4–1.8 cm
(1.2–1.4 cm to sheet seams)

Column dimensions: 24.9–26.8
cm h. × 8–12.3 cm w.

Lines per column: 34–37

Letters per line: Approx. 45–70

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes,
with marginal guide dots for
ruling

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; many from small
(e.g., 6.9 [7 mm], 19.10 [1.8
cm]; minor sense divisions)
to over one full line (e.g., 5.28,
16.12–13; major sense divi-
sions); approx. 55 preserved
in total

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian formal (Avigad)

Proposed palaeographic date: 50 BCE–70 CE (Avigad); 25 BCE–25 CE (Fitzmyer)

Radiocarbon date: 73 BCE to 14 CE (see Van der Schoor, “Radiocarbon”)

Special traits and general comments: 1Q20 is among the most finely made manuscripts dating to this period from the Judean Desert. The leather is very well-prepared, including guide dots, full dry ruling, ample space between lines, large margins, and sheet numbering. We possess the remains of four sheets of skin (not including the slight remains of a fifth sheet, cut from the scroll after col. 22), with the first sheet containing at least six columns of text, and the following sheets containing five, seven, and six columns, respectively. As in a number of other Qumran manuscripts, the last column on a sheet was typically narrower than those preceding it. This can be seen especially in cols. 16 (approx. 8 cm w.) and 22 (9 cm w.). The text was written by an experienced scribe with an expert hand and a low occurrence of mistakes. Vacats are used liberally, though spacing between words is relatively tight compared to some manuscripts of a similar quality (e.g., 4Q544 [Visions of Amram^b]). This scribe had a neat, consistent style that has often been compared to the Cave 1 copy of the War Scroll (1QM). *Vav* and *yod* can often be distinguished, as can *bet* and *kaph*, and the scribe consistently used final letters in the proper place. Avigad distinguished this script type by “its strict formal hand and by the more developed form of characteristic key letters” (Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 71). Milik (*BE*, 274) suggested that this is the same scribal hand (probably meaning the same script style) as in 4Q209 (Enastr^b), 1QIsa^b, 1QM, and the original hand of 1QH^a. The fact that the sheets of 1Q20 were numbered in a different hand than the main text indicates the various stages of creating this manuscript, with the sheet numbers presumably representing a part of the production process prior to the writing of the text by a scribe. The high numbers used on the existing sheets (equating to 17, 18, and 19) suggests that they are not related to the number of sheets in this particular scroll, but were used by those treating and cutting the sheets to mark the order in which they were to be matched for later sewing. Similar sheet numbers are found on only a few other Qumran manuscripts (the clearest examples being 4Q256 [S^b] and 4Q493 [M^c]; cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 211–12), and are very rare. Another possible occurrence among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls is found on 4Q529 (Words of Michael). 1Q20 was corrected by a different hand at some stage after the main text was written (see below). The orthography of the scroll is nearly always full, sometimes startlingly so (e.g., חמישיאתא, 12.15; בלחודיהה, 19.15; cf. 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 26.6). The scribe or his exemplar freely interchanged א and ה in certain situations, such as some verbal endings (e.g., חזיתה/חזיתה, הווא/הווא; though compare with the 1cp perfect, which always follows the orthography

בנינא), suffixes (e.g., לכא/לכה, בנינא), and the demonstrative pronoun דנה/דנא. However, spellings of the definite article (א) and feminine noun ending (ה) are very stable. *Aleph* is also used intermittently to fill in hollow verbs (קיאם, 14.14; סאף, 0.13; ראמא, 14.10). *Sin* is typically preferred to *samek* in situations where usage is mixed across the scrolls (e.g., השתכל, 14.19; cf. הסתכל in 11Q10 [Job]). Long 2ms forms are regularly used for the pronominal suffix (e.g., מנכה, 20.26), the independent pronoun אנתה, and suffix-conjugation verbs (e.g., נפקתה, 22.28). In most cases, these forms can be viewed as graphic reflections of Aramaic phonetic developments, but the pronominal suffix is considered by some to be the result of Hebrew influence. A similarly ambiguous case is found at 8.16 (and perhaps also at 10.7), where the 2mp pronominal suffix כם- is used, rather than the usual כן-/כנ-. This is the only time of which I am aware that this form occurs in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, and it seems more likely to be an archaism in Aramaic than a Hebraism. The occasional use of nouns with the ending ון-, such as חשבון (6.9), הריונא (2.15), and עליון (e.g., 12.17) have also been discussed as possible morphological Hebraisms. Some see the ending as demonstrating the clear influence of Hebrew on the scroll's language, while Stadel (*Hebraisimen*, 15, 141–43) considers most examples of this morphological trait to result from an internal Aramaic process.

The syntax of the scroll is mixed, though some patterns are clearly discernable. As expected, the verb is typically fronted in the sentence or clause, and very often assumes an implied subject from an earlier, governing clause. When a subject is present, it more regularly follows the verb, but many examples of a subject preceding the verb are found. The verb is, on occasion, placed later in the sentence or clause, especially in sections of heightened or poetic language, such as prayers or prophetic utterances. Frequent use is made of the periphrastic construction to express a continuative action. One trend worth noting is the habitual placement of the indirect object – usually indicated by *lamed* with a pronominal suffix (e.g., לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן, “to tell to her this dream”; 19.18) – directly after the verb, and before the subject or direct object. This is sometimes called Pronominalregel or pronoun enclisis in the literature, and in the lists below it is sometimes marked with the parenthetical “(sub. late)” where a subject is present.

On the use of עלא מן in 20.7, see the profile for 2Q26 (EnGiants). As in any language, set cultural conventions accompanying certain speech acts may cause subtle shifts in the syntactic and lexical registers of those sections. This is especially evident in the visionary and poetic sections of the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., the poem on Sarai's beauty in 20.1–8). An important but widely ignored issue when addressing the language of this scroll is the extent to which we may find linguistic “interference” from Hebrew Genesis in those sections where the content of the two works draws close together. This is especially evident from 21.23 onward, where the Genesis Apocryphon comes very close to translation for short stretches. In this section it may be questioned whether natural Aramaic syntax or the underlying Hebrew are governing the language; it seems to me that it is very often the latter, and that this may alter the character of the Aramaic in various ways. One possible example of this is the complete absence of the indirect object directly following the verb (pronoun enclisis), mentioned above, beginning at 21.23. If this observation is valid, then we should expect a more “natural” Aramaic, reflecting the penchants and dialect of the author(s), in those sections of the scroll where it does not closely follow Hebrew Genesis. As it happens, this describes most of the Genesis Apocryphon, with the exception of its final two columns. Whatever one makes of this feature here and elsewhere in the Qumran texts, there is no doubt that 1Q20 contains many Hebraisms (listed below).

A curious trait of 1Q20 is the cut made directly after the stitching of what would have been sheet 7, after col. 22. This leaves the end of the scroll dangling in mid-sentence, and a satisfactory explanation for the cut has yet to be given (repair of the manuscript or reuse of the parchment are two suggestions, but these are highly speculative).

Overall manuscript quality: Excellent

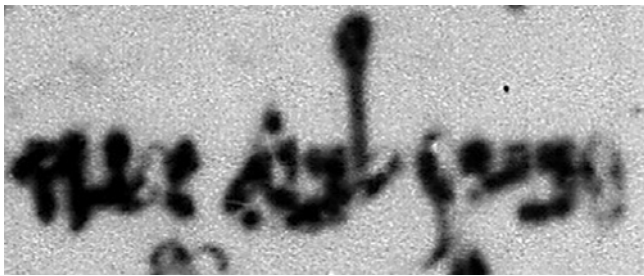
Select bibliography: Milik, DJD 1:86–87; Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*; Fitzmyer, *Genesis*; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 165–86; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 68–70; Beyer, *ATTM*², 89–101; Greenfield and Qimron, “Col. XII”; Qimron, “Towards”; Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan, “Unpublished Columns”; Qimron, “New Edition”; Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 26–106; Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon”; Elgvin and Davis, “1QApocryphon”.

Script sample:

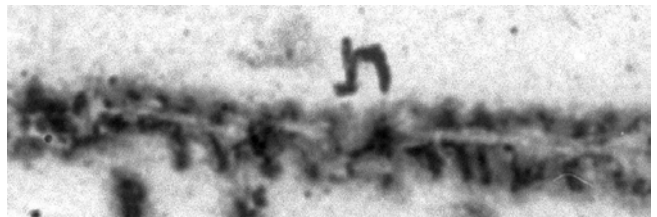
נב יי טט חח וו וו חח דד יי זב זב אא
 זז קק ננ עע סס סס ננ סס זז זז זז
 תת שש רר קק קק

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

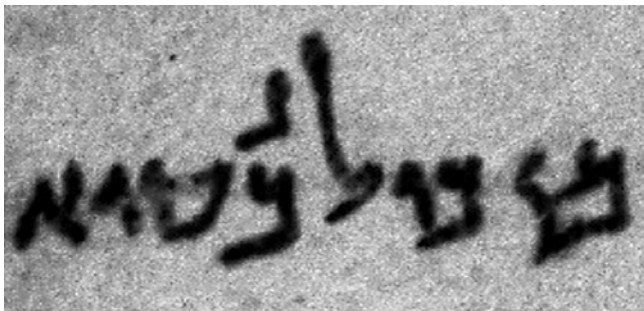
(a) Cancellation dots above and below a letter (5.9): {א}לכ



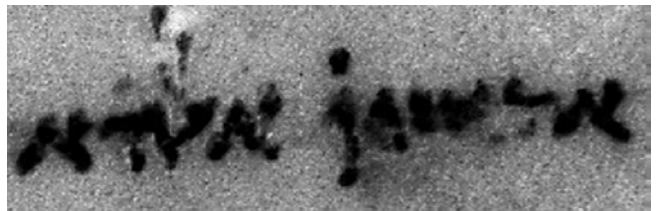
(b) Supralinear letter added in an apparently different hand (6.11): יאחזיא



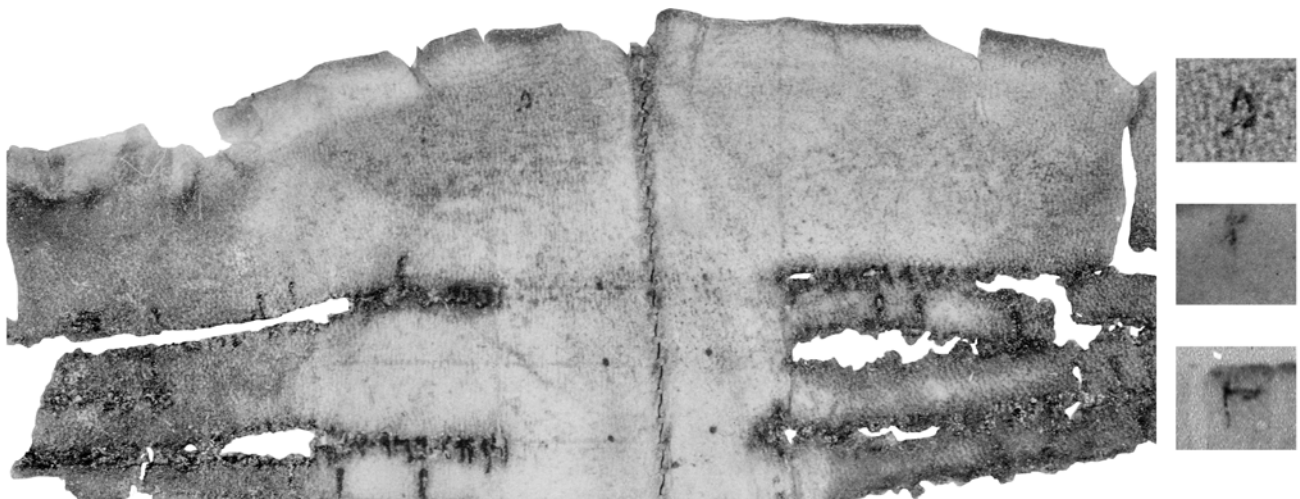
(c) Supralinear letter added (22.17): יכסיא



(d) Cancellation dots above and below a letter (22.27): אתחזיו



(e) Sheet number marks: פ (col. 5), צ (col. 10), ק (col. 17)



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2.12(2x), 2.14(part.), 2.21, 5.24, 6.2(?), 6.6, 6.9(2x; sub. late in 1), 6.11(?; sub. late?), 6.18(?), 6.19, 6.23, 8.1(?), 9.3(part.), 10.13(?), 10.14(?), 11.15(?), 12.8(sub. late), 12.9(sub. late), 12.13, 12.14, 13.11, 13.16(?), 14.10, 16.15, 16.17, 16.23(?), 16.26(?), 17.10, 17.15(sub. late), 19.10, 19.14, 19.16(2x), 19.20, 19.21, 19.22(?), 19.23, 19.29(?), 20.8, 20.9, 20.10(2x), 20.11(sub. late), 20.14, 20.20, 20.21(sub. late), 20.22(2x, sub. late in 1), 20.24, 20.26(2x, sub. late in 1), 20.29(sub. late), 20.30(sub. late), 20.31(sub. late), 20.33(2x), 21.7, 21.8(sub. late), 21.13, 21.15, 21.20–21(sub. late), 21.25, 21.31, 21.32, 21.33, 21.34, 22.1, 22.2, 22.3, 22.4, 22.5(2x), 22.12(2x), 22.18, 22.20(2x; 1 part.), 22.23, 22.24, 22.27, 22.32, 22.34

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

0.13, 2.3, 2.4(part.), 2.19, 2.22(?), 3.17, 5.3, 5.26, 10.12(2x?), 10.18(?), 11.1(2x), 11.11, 11.17(part.), 12.3(?), 12.9, 12.18, 13.9, 13.10(part.), 13.11(part.), 13.13, 13.16(part.), 14.9, 14.11, 14.13, 14.16(part.), 14.17(part.), 15.10, 15.11, 15.15, 15.18, 15.19, 15.21(?), 15.21, 16.12, 17.7, 17.16, 19.10, 19.15, 19.18(part.), 20.27, 20.34, 21.6, 21.7, 21.10(part.), 21.13, 21.25, 21.33, 22.7, 22.9, 22.13, 22.14, 22.15, 22.31–32, 22.33(2x; 1 sub. early)

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

5.7, 5.27, 12.10, 16.14, 17.10, 20.16(?), 20.18(2x), 21.5, 21.23, 21.27

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

2.2(part.), 2.8(2x), 2.10, 2.11, 2.17(3x), 2.24, 5.9(2x), 5.20, 6.15, 7.5(late), 10.17, 14.12, 19.3, 19.14–15, 19.16, 20.6, 20.8(part.), 21.9(part.), 22.2

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

0.11, 0.13, 1.10, 1.13, 2.1, 2.3(2x), 2.9, 2.13, 2.23(2x), 2.24, 2.25, 3.32, 4.11(?), 5.1, 5.12, 5.16(2x), 6.1, 6.2, 6.6(2x), 6.7(2x), 6.9, 6.10, 6.11(3x), 6.12, 6.16(3x), 6.17, 6.19(2x), 6.21(2x), 7.1(?), 7.7(2x), 7.9(?), 7.11(?), 7.17(?), 7.18, 7.20, 7.22(2x?), 8.35, 10.1, 10.3(?), 10.11, 10.15, 10.16, 11.12, 11.13(2x), 11.14, 11.15, 11.16(imp.), 11.18, 12.1, 12.8, 12.13, 12.15, 12.16(2x), 12.17, 12.18(2x), 13.11, 13.12, 13.13, 13.14, 13.15(x2), 13.16(part.), 13.16, 13.17(3x), 14.1(?), 14.10, 14.11, 14.14, 14.15, 14.17, 15.8(part.), 15.9(2x), 15.10, 15.12, 15.13(3x), 15.17(2x), 15.19, 15.20, 16.8(?), 16.9, 16.10, 16.11(2x), 16.16, 16.18(?), 16.19, 17.7(2x), 17.8, 17.9, 17.10, 17.11,

17.13, 17.14(2x), 17.15, 17.16(2x), 19.7(2x), 19.8(2x), 19.9(4x), 19.10(2x), 19.11(?), 19.12(2x?), 19.13(2x), 19.14, 19.15(part.), 19.16, 19.17(3x), 19.18(2x), 19.19(2x), 19.20, 19.22, 19.23, 19.25(2x), 19.26(2x), 19.29, 20.6, 20.8, 20.9(4x), 20.10(2x), 20.12, 20.14, 20.15(2x), 20.17(3x), 20.18, 20.19, 20.21(4x), 20.22(2x), 20.23(3x), 20.24(2x), 20.25, 20.26(3x), 20.27, 20.28(3x), 20.29(5x), 20.30(3x), 20.32(3x), 20.33, 20.34(2x), 21.1(3x), 21.2(4x), 21.3(4x), 21.5(2x), 21.6(3x), 21.7, 21.8, 21.10(2x), 21.12(2x), 21.13, 21.15(2x), 21.16(3x), 21.17(4x), 21.18(4x; 1 part.), 21.19(5x), 21.20(3x), 21.21(2x), 21.22, 21.24, 21.26, 21.28(3x), 21.29, 21.30, 21.31, 21.32, 22.1, 22.2, 22.3(2x), 22.5, 22.6, 22.7(3x), 22.8(2x), 22.9(2x), 22.10(2x), 22.11, 22.13(2x), 22.17(2x), 22.18, 22.19, 22.24, 22.25, 22.26, 22.27, 22.28, 22.30(3x), 22.34

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

0.2, 0.5(2x), 0.13, 1.25, 1.28, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.13(2x), 2.18(part.), 2.19, 2.20, 5.11, 5.12, 5.18, 5.19, 5.21, 5.22, 5.25, 5.27(?), 6.1(2x), 6.2, 6.4, 6.7(2x), 6.8(2x), 6.10, 6.12, 6.14(4x), 6.17, 7.9(?), 7.20(?), 9.2, 10.13, 10.14, 10.15, 10.16, 10.17, 11.14, 11.15, 11.17, 12.1, 12.13, 12.14, 12.15, 12.16, 14.12, 15.17(2x), 15.20, 15.22, 19.8, 19.9, 19.18(2x), 19.20(?), 19.26, 20.7, 20.8, 20.9, 20.12(3x), 20.14, 20.22(?), 21.12, 21.14, 21.26, 21.27, 21.34(?), 22.10, 22.11, 22.12, 22.25, 22.28, 22.29(2x), 22.33

Verbless clause:

0.8, 0.12, 1.7–8, 2.1(2x), 2.15(3x), 2.20, 3.17, 5.13, 10.16, 11.12(2x), 11.13(2x?), 11.15, 12.11(?), 12.12, 14.9, 17.8, 17.9, 17.16, 17.17(3x), 19.7, 19.12, 19.20, 20.2, 20.3(4x), 20.4(5x), 20.5(3x), 20.6(2x), 20.7(3x), 20.10, 20.12, 20.13(2x), 20.15, 20.17, 20.23, 20.25, 20.27, 21.7, 21.24, 21.26, 21.28, 21.29(3x?), 21.30(2x), 21.32, 22.13, 22.14, 22.15, 22.16(2x), 22.20, 22.22, 22.24, 22.27–28, 22.28, 22.28–29, 22.30, 22.31(2x), 22.32(2x), 22.33

Object early in clause:

0.5, 2.2, 2.5, 2.10, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 7.5, 10.14, 10.15, 10.16, 11.14, 11.17, 12.1, 12.14, 16.14, 16.26, 17.9, 17.15, 17.16, 19.17

Direct object marker (if present):

—**ḥ**: 2.23, 5.12, 5.23, 6.7, 10.1, 10.12, 11.12, 11.14(2x), 12.17, 13.16(2x), 19.15, 19.16, 19.19, 19.25, 20.17(2x), 20.20, 20.25, 20.31, 20.32, 21.2, 21.3, 21.9, 21.27(2x), 21.28, 21.29(3x), 21.30, 22.9, 22.11, 22.16

Use of יד to mark genitive relationship:

0.13, 16.9, 19.13(?), 20.31, 21.16, 21.25, 21.28, 21.29,
21.32(?), 21.33(2X), 22.1, 22.14, 22.17, 22.18, 22.21,
22.22–23

Use of יד to introduce direct quotation:

2.25, 20.10, 20.27, 22.22

Double כול construction:

10.13, 12.10, 16.10 (cf. 19.10)

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

2.3, 2.19, 2.22, 20.21(2X?), 22.1–2, 22.8

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

1.25, 2.24, 15.22(?), 20.16, 20.23, 20.25, 20.30, 21.21,
22.14–15

Verb of movement + על + inanimate object:

22.10(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

0.11, 2.23(2X), 2.25, 6.3, 10.17, 12.8, 17.10, 19.9,
19.13(2X), 19.22, 20.6, 21.8, 21.10, 21.15, 21.16,
21.17(2X), 21.18, 21.19, 22.4, 22.4–5, 22.13

Verb of movement with no linking preposition:

21.3, 21.18, 21.28

Verb + reflexive pronoun:

2.9, 13.9, 13.10, 13.11, 16.26(?)

Copula pronoun:

11.13, 19.7, 19.20

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

1.1, 6.2, 10.17, 12.17, 13.9, 13.15, 14.9, 14.18, 15.18, 19.9,
19.24, 19.26, 19.29(?), 20.10, 20.17, 20.20(inter-
vening sub.), 20.26, 20.34, 21.6, 21.7, 21.17,
21.26–27, 21.28(double part.), 22.1, 22.2–3, 22.7,
22.8, 22.9(2X), 22.15, 22.22

Participle + finite form of הוה:

1.25(?), 13.9, 13.10, 13.11, 13.14

Infinitive + participle:

14.14(?)

Lexical items:

אד: 2.8, 2.11, 5.9, 8.3, 8.35, 10.12, 11.1(?), 22.20
באד: 2.1(2X), 2.13, 2.19, 5.16, 6.6, 6.8, 6.10, 6.18, 10.1,
10.3, 10.11, 10.15(?), 10.18, 19.21(?), 20.21, 22.2, 22.18
ד: 0.2, 0.4, 0.11, 0.13(2X), 1.2, 1.3, 1.7, 1.10, 1.11(2X), 2.1,
2.12, 2.15, 2.24, 2.25, 3.13, 3.17, 3.28, 3.30, 4.12, 5.2,
5.8, 5.9, 5.18, 5.27, 6.3, 6.9, 6.19(2X), 6.20, 6.24,
7.1, 7.17, 7.18, 7.20, 8.10, 10.1, 10.9, 11.5, 11.13(2X),
11.15, 11.16, 11.17, 12.14, 12.17, 12.18, 12.21, 13.11, 13.15,
14.9, 14.10, 14.11, 14.14, 14.15(2X), 14.17, 14.19, 14.20,

15.9(2X), 15.11, 15.13, 15.15, 15.23, 16.8, 16.9, 16.10,
16.11, 16.16(2X), 16.17, 16.18, 16.19, 17.8, 17.9(2X),
17.10, 17.11, 17.12(2X), 17.13(2X), 17.14, 17.15, 17.16,
17.17(2X), 17.21, 19.9, 19.10, 19.12, 19.13, 19.19,
19.20(3X), 19.23, 19.26(2X), 20.6, 20.8, 20.13, 20.14,
20.15, 20.21, 20.25, 20.27, 20.30, 20.31, 20.32,
21.1(2X), 21.3(3X), 21.7(2X), 21.8(2X), 21.9, 21.10,
21.12, 21.13, 21.15, 21.16, 21.17(2X), 21.18(3X), 21.19,
21.23, 21.25, 21.26, 21.28, 21.29(2X), 21.30(2X),
21.32(2X), 21.33(2X), 21.34, 22.1(2X), 22.2(2X),
22.3(2X), 22.10(2X), 22.11, 22.12(2X), 22.15, 22.17(2X),
22.18, 22.19(3X), 22.22(2X), 22.23(3X), 22.25, 22.28,
22.29(2X), 22.20, 22.33, 22.34
–ד: 2.25, 11.9(2X), 12.23, 14.18, 16.9, 17.7, 17.11, 17.14,
17.17, 19.18, 20.7, 20.10, 22.22
כע: 0.8, 0.12, 1.11, 3.12, 4.1, 5.9, 5.20, 11.1, [14.9], 19.9,
19.12, 19.13, 20.13, 20.23, 20.28, 22.29, 22.30
כדי: 2.12, 2.21, 5.3, 5.24, 5.26, 6.1, 6.9, 12.14, 19.22, 20.8,
20.10, 20.11, 20.24, 22.33

בדי: 2.20

(מן) ברא: 22.23(2X), 22.31

דיל(ב): 7.4, 11.14, 19.20, 20.10(2X), 20.25, 20.26, 21.6

איתי: 21.22, 22.19, 22.29

כחדא: 12.16, 19.15, 21.21, 21.25, 22.1

לחדא: 7.18, 7.19, 13.15, 20.33, 22.32

להן: 5.4, 22.34

קובל: 6.14, 14.9, 21.32

תמן: 2.23, 19.7, 19.9, [19.10], 21.1, 21.2, 21.3, 21.20(2X),
[21.34]

תנה: 2.25, 22.28

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

0.12, 2.23, 6.3, 6.11(2X), 6.12, 6.15, 6.23, 7.7, 11.13, 12.3,
13.11, 13.17, 15.10, 15.20, 19.21, 20.30, 20.32, 21.3, 21.6,
21.19, 21.20(2X), 21.22, 22.6, 22.7, 22.10, 22.14, 22.19,
22.24

הפעל form:

1.26, 14.19(?), 15.17, 15.19

אתפעל form:

0.13, 2.3, 2.11, 2.12, 6.6, 11.15(?), 13.13, 19.17, 19.18(2X),
19.26, 20.12(2X), 20.29, 21.3, 21.8, 21.25, 21.32, 22.5,
22.27

Object suffix on verb:

2.5, 2.6, 2.10, 6.3, 6.12, 7.9, 7.19, 12.17, 13.11, 13.17(2X),
15.20, 19.17, 19.19, 19.21(2X), 19.23, 20.8, 20.9(5X),
20.14, 20.15, 20.16, 20.17, 20.19, 20.20, 20.22(?),
20.27(2X), 20.30(2X), 20.32(2X?), 21.1, 21.3, 21.12,
21.13, 21.14, 22.3, 22.33, 22.34(2X)

Assimilated nun:

1.26, 6.10, 12.15, 13.17, 14.13, 22.4, 22.10, 22.19, 22.22,
22.30, 22.34

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

2.20, 2.22, 19.18, 20.15(added), 21.12, 21.14, 22.14,
22.24

Assimilated lamed:

21.20

Assimilated he:

21.34, 22.4

Orthography/Phonology:*zms verbal affix תה/תא:*

14.14, 14.15, 15.9(2x), 15.13, 22.19, 22.28

zms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:

5.9 (corrected), 20.26

zmp (pro)nominal suffix כם:

8.16, 10.7(?)

ש for /s/:

1.24, 2.11, 3.11, 3.27, 4.1, 4.3, 5.18, 7.2, 7.16, 7.20, 11.16,
12.3, 12.9, 12.14, 13.10, 13.13(2x), 13.15, 14.19, 15.16,
15.17, 19.27(2x), 20.7, 20.8, 20.30, 20.31(2x), 20.33,
20.34, 21.6, 21.13, 21.33, 21.32, 22.10, 22.29, 22.32

Other notable features:*Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):*

2.25, 8.34(2x), 11.15, 15.19(2x), 19.16, 20.15, 22.30

Proposed Hebraisms:

נפיל (lexical; 2.1, 6.19) [H]

עלמים (morphological; 2.7, 4.3, 10.10, 11.15, 11.18,
14.14, 16.12, 19.8, 20.13, 21.10, 21.12) [H]

הריונא (lexical/morphological; 2.16) [H]

הורחי (lexical/morphological; 6.1) [H]

אמת (lexical; 6.2) [H]

מעיל (lexical; 6.4) [H]

חוק (lexical; 6.8) [H]

אנוש (morphological?; 6.12, 6.20, 19.15, 19.23,
20.32, 21.13; see Stadel, *Hebraismen*, 21)

ציר (lexical; 6.13) [H]

משלחת (lexical/morphological; 6.13) [H]

לכת (morphological; 6.16) [H]

לעד (lexical/semantic; 10.10) [H]

על ... כפר (lexical/morphosyntactic; 10.13) [H]

איסוד (lexical; 10.15) [h]

לבונה (lexical; 10.16) [h]

עדן (lexical; 11.12) [h]

מבולא (lexical; 12.9, 12.10) [H]

חודשא (lexical; 12.14) [H]

עליון (lexical; 12.17, 12.21, 15.24, 20.12, 20.16, 21.2,
21.20, 22.15, 22.16[2x], 22.21) [H]

שרץ (lexical; 13.11)

טורים (morphological; 14.9) [H]

פשע (lexical?; 15.[12]) [H]

צפונא (lexical; 16.10, 17.7-8, 17.11, 17.16, 21.9, 21.20)
[H]

ליד (semantic; 17.7, 21.15-17) [h]

דרומא (lexical; 17.11, 17.12, 19.9, 21.9, 21.18) [H]

לטמיא (lexical; 20.15)

יכולון (morphological?; 20.19; see Stadel,
Hebraismen, 34)

מנחה (lexical; 21.2, 21.20) [H]

שמאל (semantic; 21.8, 22.10) [h]

שוה הקריות (morphological [construct]?; 21.29)

סגר (lexical/semantic?; 22.16; see Stadel,
Hebraismen, 38)

נפשא (semantic; 22.19) [H]

פתגמיא (semantic; 22.27) [h]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

גב"ל (verbal root; 20.33)

אונס (noun; 22.11)

איסוד (noun; 10.15)

שופר/שפר (as a noun; 20.7, 9)

עובד (noun; 6.11, etc.)

דמע (noun; 20.12)

דנ"ח (verbal root; 15.21)

Use of בתר for a list:

13.7(?), 17.8(2x), 17.9, 17.16(2x), 17.17

Poetic doublets/triplets:

1.9(noun), 2.1, 2.4, 2.14(?), 2.15, 2.16, 6.11, 6.13, 6.23,
7.7, 7.22, 8.34, 10.8, 11.16, 12.17, 15.16, 19.25, 20.9,
20.12, 20.19, 20.20, 20, 24, 20.25, 20.26, 20.27,
21.13-14

2 From Jacob through Aaron and His Family

4Q537, Testament of Jacob? (TJacob?)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:171–90]

Content synopsis and significance: This composition was originally titled *Testament-Visions de Jacob* by Józef Milik (“Écrits,” 103–5) and then *Das Genesis-Apokryphon* by Klaus Beyer (*ATTM*¹, 186; later changed to Jakob in Bethel in *ATTM*^E, 70; *ATTM*², 102), who believed it to be a later portion of the rewritten account of Genesis also preserved in 1Q20 (apGen). We join a story in progress at 4Q537 1–3, which begins a new sheet of the scroll. Here we find an exchange between a central figure, who speaks in the first-person voice, and a secondary character who addresses the central figure (see also 24.3). Though fragmentary, the episode clearly involves tablets that are presented to the central figure, on which things about him and his future are written. The presence of tablets addressing future events makes it highly probable that the second figure is an angelic messenger, and that the episode is a vision narrated by the central figure. Other parts of the scroll mention tribulations (frags. 1–3), episodes from the life of the protagonist (e.g., frags. 14, 24), and cultic activity in a temple (frag. 12; it is unclear if this is part of the vision recounted in frags. 1–3). Some fragments (5–9) have the central figure addressing a group – most plausibly his sons – in the second-person voice, which accounts for the frequent identification of this text as a “testament” (on which see Frey, “Testament”). As in a number of other Aramaic texts found at Qumran, there is a strong, wisdom-based ethical element present in 4Q537, seen especially in the contrast of justice and uprightness with corruption and lies in 1–3.1–2, and the metaphor of walking on a crooked path in frag. 5 (see Machiela, “Wisdom”). It is clear that some of the narrative is focused on the future events and activities of the protagonist’s descendants, with a significant portion of the existing text dedicated to cultic or priestly concerns (most notably frag. 12) and the travels of the protagonist (frags. 14, 24). These topics, too, have affinities with other Qumran Aramaic texts: the former is found especially in the Aramaic Levi Document, the Visions of Amram, and the New Jerusalem (see Jones, “Priesthood”), while the latter bears a resemblance to the peregrinations of Abram as described in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) 21.9–22 and 21.33–22.1.

The central figure of 4Q537 has been identified by several scholars as Jacob, based especially on comparison with the description of Jacob’s (second) vision in Jub. 32:21–26 (see Milik, “Écrits,” 104; Tigchelaar, “Visionary,” 263–64, 268–69). Jubilees’ vision tells of Jacob reading tablets

delivered by an angel, revealing what would happen to him and his descendants over future generations in a way that strongly resembles 4Q537 1–3. Although Jub. 32:21–26 does not include an explicit account of Jacob seeing the eschatological temple, Tigchelaar (“Visionary”) drew further connections among Jub. 32, the vision of the New Jerusalem text, and 4Q537 12, proposing that all three texts (along with several others) assume an episode in which the future temple was shown to Jacob. Based on these correspondences, some scholars have suggested that 4Q537 is a copy of the composition used as a source by the author of Jubilees, though this remains a matter of debate. The geographic descriptions in 4Q537 seem to accord with the travels of Jacob in Genesis, especially the probable mention of Bethel at frag. 14.2. Several of the place names used in the scroll are not those found in Genesis, but are instead later, updated toponyms such as Beer Zayit (14.2), Rimmon (14.3), and Ramat Hazor (24.2) (see Puech in DJD 31 for discussion). The last toponym is also found at 1Q20 (apGen) 21.8, 10, in a description of Abram’s travels, with the broader narrative setting of the Genesis Apocryphon providing an analogous tendency to update place names.

In summary, 4Q537 provides a narrative most plausibly focused on Jacob. In the text, Jacob recounts episodes from his life very like the first-hand accounts found across the Aramaic literature more broadly (e.g., the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Visions of Amram, and Tobit, to name only a few). These episodes included visions, descriptions of the temple and its service, and wisdom instruction passed on to Jacob’s sons.

Material remains: Puech identified twenty-five fragments as belonging to this manuscript, though the inclusion of the last three (frags. 23–25) he labelled as “non assurée” (DJD 31:190). Two of the fragments (1 and 12) were in fact constructed of multiple pieces by Puech and the editors before him, all of the joins being quite certain. The largest piece of frag. 1 (roughly 5.5 by 5 cm), and of the entire manuscript, is often called the Testuz Fragment (or 4QTestuz), named after Michel Testuz, a French scholar and collector of antiquities who died in 1987. This piece is labelled frag. 1a in more recent editions, and since the death of Mr Testuz its location is unknown (for this reason it is drawn, not photographed, in DJD 31, Plate XI). Other fragments with significant text preserved are 2, 5, 12, 14,

and 24. The remaining nineteen fragments are quite small, though some of them contain several successive words. A few of the fragments have partially-preserved margins, adding somewhat to our sense of the scroll's physical features. It should be noted that Starcky, and originally Milik, included a fairly large fragment with a fully-preserved bottom margin as part of 4Q537, and it is still presented as if part of 4Q537 in the Leon Levy Digital Library. Milik later placed the fragment with 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), but Puech rejected both identifications and has instead published the fragment as 4Q583 (Prophecy^e; DJD 37:447–52). I follow Puech's identification here.

Notes on provenance: A fragment originally identified by Starcky and Milik with 4Q537 was photographed as part of the PAM "G series" (see the lower portion of PAM 40.622), which implies that the fragment was discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin (see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). However, the fragment was subsequently re-identified by Milik with 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court; Milik,

"Les modèles"), and Puech later argued that it belonged with neither scroll, publishing it independently as 4Q583 (Prophecy^e; DJD 31:171, 37:447–52). Despite the separation of this fragment from those included with 4Q537 by Puech in DJD 31, it remains very likely that the 4Q537 fragments were discovered in Cave 4 by Bedouin, who then sold them to the Palestine Archaeological Museum, either directly or through Kando. A supporting datum for discovery by the Bedouin, and brokerage by Kando or another Bethlehem antiquities dealer sometime during the early 1950s, is the so-called Testuz Fragment (4QTestuz). This fragment was purchased by the French collector Michel Testuz, presumably on the Bethlehem or Jerusalem antiquities market, and was published by him in 1955 ("Deux fragments"). The fragment constitutes the major portion of 4Q537 1, and is typically labelled as frag. 1a in the editions. Unfortunately, no infrared photograph of the Testuz Fragment is available (only a drawing made by Puech), and the fragment's location is no longer known (see DJD 31:xiv).



Sample image: 4Q537 12

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 2.1 cm (1a, based on Puech's drawing)

Intercolumnar: At least 1.3–1.5 cm (frags. 1a [to sewn seam], 4, 12)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lies: Yes (frags. 1a–b, 4; right margin of sheet)

Average medial letter height: 1.5 mm

Space between lines: 6.5–7.5 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; small? (16.1 [at least 3 mm]) and large (12.4 [at least 3.5 cm]; major sense division?)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean, with an inclination towards early Herodian in some forms (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 50–1 BCE, perhaps 50–25 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: A small, tidy, and remarkably consistent scribal hand marks this copy, with spacing that suggests a very high-quality manuscript. Though it is not possible to judge the nature of the pause in our story, the large vacat on frag. 12 (see the “Sample image,” above) reflects a scribal practice similar to manuscripts like 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q203/204 (EnGiants^a/En^c). In many respects, 4Q537 resembles those manuscripts and others like them. Etymological *aleph* is typically retained (e.g., וישתארון; 1–3.1), as expected in the Qumran Aramaic texts. We find the characteristic Qumran use of *aleph* for verbs with weak third radicals (e.g., להוא, יתא, למטעא), and the frequent use of *aleph* as a vowel marker more generally, as in the fem. suffix הֵה– and the particle אַן rather than הַן (12.3). An exception to this trend is תכלון (“you shall eat”; 5.1), which graphically assimilates the etymological *aleph*. Full spelling is the norm, as seen in the *yod* of the masc. part. (e.g., צדיקיא 1–3.1), or the imperative קריא (1–3.3). Except for 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q537 is the only text to use both the long and short forms of the near demonstrative pronoun דַן (1–3.5) and דנה (24.3), in each case using the very unusual syntax of placing the pronoun before the related noun (on which see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 151, though note that he gives a fictitious example, the only sure cases being in 4Q537). This agreement in word order is one detail supporting the inclusion of frag. 24 as part of 4Q537, which on material grounds Puech considers to be “non-assurée” (דנס 31:188). The longer form דנה is less frequent among the Qumran texts, but is commonly used in Biblical Aramaic. In terms of the general idiom and syntax of 4Q537, there are numerous comparisons to be made with other Qumran Aramaic texts. Not only do we find first-person narration and visionary material, as in many other compositions, but specific phrasing such as כען + imperative (1–3.3), a poetic triplet of roughly synonymous words (5.2), the stock phrase כל ארעא (17.1), and the partitive construction מן קצת (12.2).

As an aside, the reading of Puech at the end of 12.1 (וטהירן), is clearly mistaken, which should be read as ובהודן. This, it would seem, refers to expressions of thanksgiving (fem. noun הודה, pl. הודן) uttered by the priests or Levites in conjunction with their offering of sacrifices (see the following line). While the noun הודה is not found in earlier or contemporaneous Aramaic, the root יד״ה (“give thanks, acknowledge”) is more broadly attested in the Qumran Aramaic corpus (1Q20 [apGen] 21.3; 4Q196 [papTobit^a] 17ii.3, 17ii.9, 18.15). Moreover, we find an unusual, corresponding Hebrew nominal form הִידוּת in Neh 12:8, which is placed in a specifically levitical context. The noun הודה (pl. הודות) is quite common in the Hebrew sectarian texts from Qumran. If this interpretation is correct, we would then translate, “... they will be dressing, and with expressions of thanksgiving [... they will be]presenting offerings for the altar ...”

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Testuz, “Deux fragments”; Milik, “Écrits”; Beyer, *ATTM*^L, 186–87; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 70–71; Beyer, *ATTM*², 102–3; Puech, “Fragments”.

Script sample:

אא בב גג דד וו זז חח טט יי ככ לל
 ממ ננ סס עע פפ קק רר
 שש תת

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1-3.1, 1-3.3(2x)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

9.2, 15.1(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1-3.2

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1-3.5(2x?), 5.1(2x), 5.3, 14.1(?), 24.4–5(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1-3.4

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

1-3.4

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

12.2, 14.3

Verb of movement with no linking preposition:

14.1(?), 14.2(?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

1-3. 6(?), 9.2, 12.1(2x?), 12.2(?), 12.3(2x)

Lexical items:

אד"ן: 19.2

ד"י: 1-3.4, 1-3.5, 9.1, 12.3, 24.3, 25.1

כען: 1-3.3

קובל: 9.2

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

24.3

Assimilated nun:

1-3.6

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

7.2(?), 8.1

Assimilated lamed:

12.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

5.2

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

ישירי]א (lexical; 1-3.1) [H]

ריקין (lexical; 1-3.6) [H]

פשעי]ן (lexical; 7.2) [H]

הודן (morphological?; 12.1)

Poetic doublets/triplets:

5.2, 6.1, 9.2

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

ענ"ש (verbal root; frag. 23)

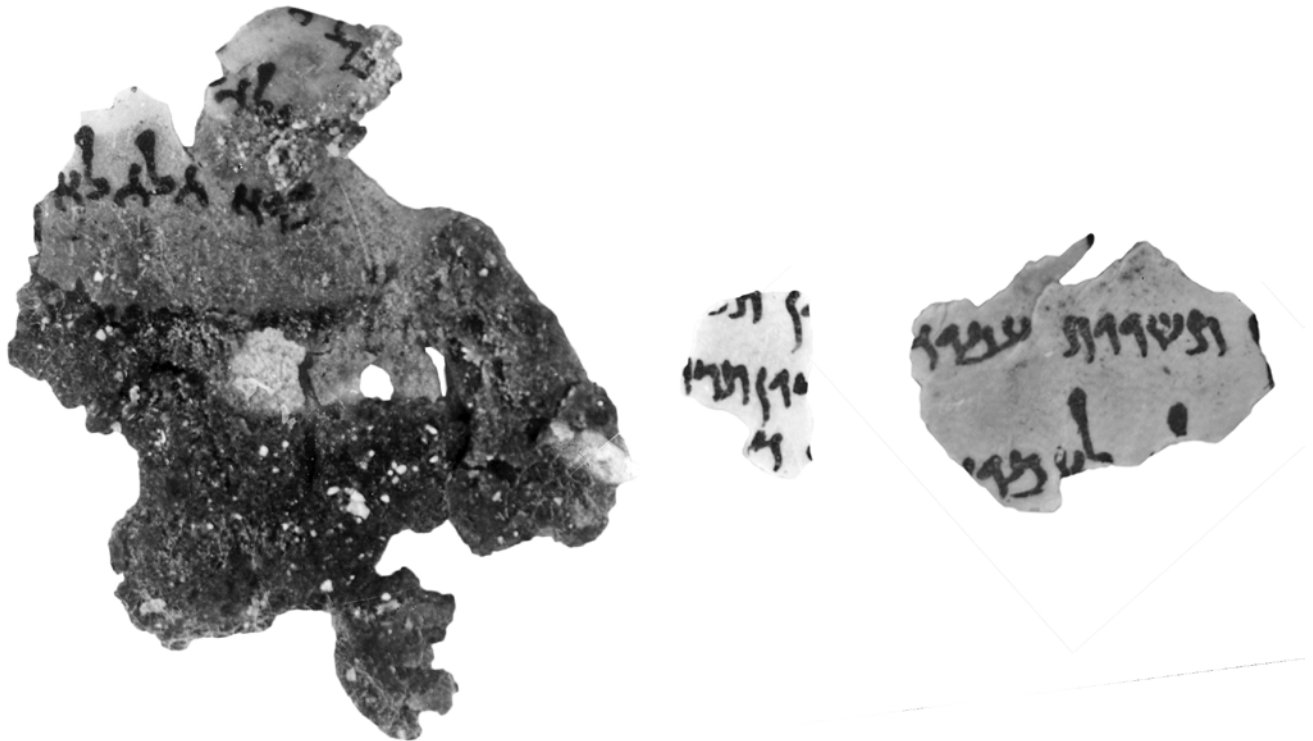
1Q32, New Jerusalem? (NJ?)

[ed. Milik, DJD 1:134–35]

Content synopsis and significance: Already at the time of its initial publication by Milik in 1955, 1Q32 was identified with a composition called the New Jerusalem, represented by manuscripts from Caves 2, 4, and 5, to which an important copy from Cave 11 was later added. Scholars now count seven copies of the work, though 1Q32 and 4Q555 (NJ^c) have no direct overlaps with other New Jerusalem copies. 1Q32 is extremely fragmentary, and little of its contents can now be discerned. The extant text consists mostly of isolated architectural terms, typically thought to connect this manuscript to the better-preserved New Jerusalem copies (García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 446): “column base” (תשוית עמוד), “interior” (גוא), “wall” (כותל), and “gate” (תרע). For a fuller introduction to the New Jerusalem text, along with its broader significance, see the profile for 4Q554 (NJ^b).

Material remains: Milik identified twenty-three fragments with 1Q32, most of which do not preserve even one full word. Milik admitted that “[c]e groupe de fragments n’est pas très homogène,” and the inclusion of frag. 14, especially, has been considered doubtful (DJD 1:135; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 446). Fragment 14 is the largest of the lot, but is damaged and difficult to read. Most scholars speak of frags. 1–7 as the group containing architectural terms, and therefore demonstrating the greatest affinity with other New Jerusalem copies.

Notes on provenance: The fragments assigned to 1Q32 were collected during controlled excavations in Cave 1, supervised by Roland de Vaux and G. Lancaster Harding from February to March, 1949 (DJD 1:43). The fragments are currently housed in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Tov, *Revised Lists*, 14).



Sample image: 1Q32 1, 5, 14 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-278240

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

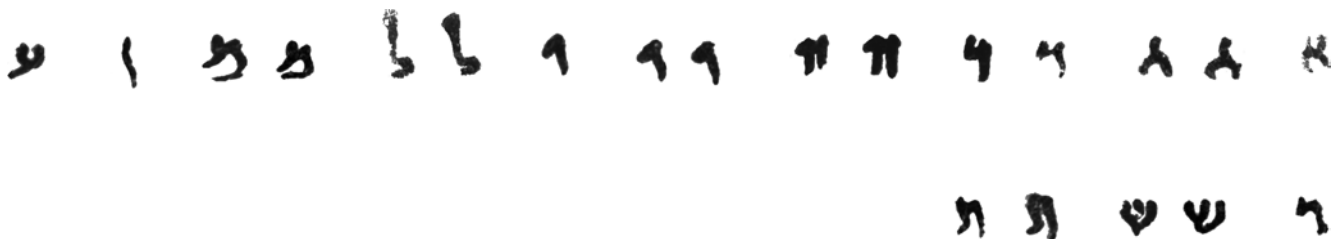
PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes*Vertical column lines:* None preserved**Average medial letter height:**
2–2.5 mm**Space between lines:** 7–8 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Herodian round semi-formal (Yardeni)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 25 BCE–25 CE

Special traits and general comments: There is little that can be said about this manuscript, with even the connection between the various fragments being uncertain. Milik reported that guidelines were inscribed lightly, though this is impossible to see on the available images. The script is fairly small and neat, with hardly enough material remaining to give an accurate palaeographic assessment. Milik said nothing on this front, though Yardeni (“Scribe,” 288) included it in the long list of scrolls she argued were written by a single, middle-Herodian period scribe. I am highly skeptical of the claim that all scrolls on her list were written by the same scribe (see further the final chapter on scribal practices), but Yardeni’s association of 1Q32’s script with other Herodian-period scrolls is reasonable. Given the scant remains of this scroll, I have refrained from offering an opinion on the original manuscript quality. There is simply not enough material to make such an assessment.

Select bibliography: Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:235; Beyer, *ATM¹*, 220; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 17–18; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 446; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 4–5, 156.

Script sample:

Language

Lexical items:

׳7: 15.2

2Q24, New Jerusalem (NJ)

[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:84–89]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of only two New Jerusalem copies for which we have a significant amount of material preserved describing the idealized temple and the functioning of the sacrificial cult (see also 11Q18 [NJ]; in 4Q555 [NJ^c] we also find some small fragments possibly related to sacrificial practice). The best-preserved portion of 2Q24 is frag. 4, which overlaps with frag. 20 of 11Q18 (NJ). These fragments contain an

elaborate description of the showbread ritual also found in Lev 24:5–9, in which twelve loaves of bread are baked using choice flour, arranged in two rows on a table of pure gold, replaced every Sabbath day, and then eaten by the priests in a holy place. While there are clear similarities between the accounts in 2Q24 and Leviticus, a close reading reveals several differences that distinguish the former from the latter. Most notably, 2Q24 appears to describe

precisely where the showbread should be consumed – i.e., “[outside the Temple, to the right of] its west side” (4.9–10; cf. 11Q18 [NJ] 20.2) – delineates the roles of the high priest and his deputy (lit. “second one”) in the ritual (4.15–16; cf. 11Q18 [NJ] 20.6–7), and notes the specific number of priests involved in the eating of the bread (4.11–14; cf. 11Q18 [NJ] 20.3–5). The rest of the fragments in this manuscript are rather poorly preserved, but refer to the detailed architectural elements and measurements characteristic of this composition. We can discern fragmentary descriptions of the interior of the city in frag. 1, which finds parallels in 4Q554 (NJ^a) and 5Q15 (NJ). A sapphire door is mentioned in frag. 8, along with the temple and its courtyard, and the atoning role of the priests (cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 10.13). Frag. 4 also contains clear evidence that this text is framed as a first-person vision report, as seen in the phrases *וְחִזִּיתָ עַד דַּי* “I looked until” (4.11) and *עַד חִזִּיתָ הָיִיתָ עַד* “I was [look]ing until” (4.14–15, 17). For further discussion of the cultic material in New Jerusalem, including the relation of this material to other cultic material in the Aramaic Scrolls, see the profile for 11Q18 (NJ). On the significance of the New Jerusalem text more generally, see the profile for 4Q554 (NJ^a).

Material remains: Eleven fragments of various sizes remain of 2Q24, the largest by far being frag. 4. This fragment

contains twenty partial lines of text, with lines 9–16 having some correspondence with the text of 11Q18 (NJ) 20.2–7. The overlap is important, since it firmly connects 2Q24 with other copies of New Jerusalem. Fragment 1 also has several words that overlap with 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.12–15 and 5Q15 (NJ) ii.1–2. All of the fragments preserve some text, but frags. 2 and 9–11 are very small. As noted by DiTommaso (*New Jerusalem*, 5 n. 12), Baillet’s DJD edition of this manuscript differs in the fragment *sigla* and joins from his earlier, preliminary edition (Baillet, “Fragments”). Baillet’s frag. 8 accrued two additional, tiny fragments over time, as reflected in the various images.

Notes on provenance: Cave 2 was discovered around February 1952 by Bedouin (DJD 3:3; Fields, *Scrolls*, 132). Khalil Iskander Shahin (Kando) facilitated the subsequent sale of the Cave 2 fragments, including 2Q24, to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (see Fields, *Scrolls*, 563). A survey of the caves near Qumran, which included Cave 2, was organized and carried out from March 10–29, 1952. The expedition uncovered a small number of additional fragments from Cave 2 (de Vaux, “Exploration,” 553; Reed, “Qumran Caves,” 13), but de Vaux made clear that all fragments of significance from the cave had been part of the earlier lot discovered by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 2Q24 4

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Lower: At least 2 cm (frag. 1)

Intercolumnar: 1 cm (frag. 1);
7 mm (to sheet seam; frag. 4)

Column dimensions: At least
13.5 cm h. × 10 cm w. (frag. 4)

Lines per column: At least 20
(frag. 4)

Letters per line: At least 30
(frag. 4)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frags. 1, 4)

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words:
1.5–4 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (1.1 [7 mm],
4.16 [7 mm], 4.17 [at least
8 mm]) and medium (4.14
[15 mm]); all minor sense
divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian formal (Baillet); Herodian round semi-formal (Yardeni)

Proposed palaeographic date: 1–25 CE (Baillet); 25 BCE–25 CE (Yardeni)

Special traits and general comments: It is clear that this was once a beautiful, high-quality manuscript, with generous spacing, few mistakes, regular vacats, and an elegant, Herodian-period scribal hand. Yardeni (“Scribe,” 288) included 2Q24 among the many scrolls she assigned to a single scribe. Even if all scrolls on her list were not written by the same scribe (see the last chapter on scribal practices), their being classed together stylistically is justified. The margins of 2Q24 are only slightly smaller than, for example, those in 1Q20 (apGen). As in 11Q10 (Job) and other manuscripts with formal Herodian scripts, the final *mem* is typically the same height as standard medial letters. The lower extension of *qoph* is also relatively short. This particular scribe had a penchant to add small, leftward ticks at the bottom of vertical strokes, seen especially in the rightmost strokes of *aleph*, *dalet*, *he*, and *tav*. The scribe also preferred full spellings, most notably when *vav* could be used to signify vowels. As usual in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, the *aleph* prefix was used exclusively for the causative verb conjugation (i.e., the *aphel*). The syntax is also what we might expect, with the verb typically placed at the beginning of a clause. In keeping with the generic style of recounting a dream-vision, we find several occasions of the periphrastic construction marking durative past action.

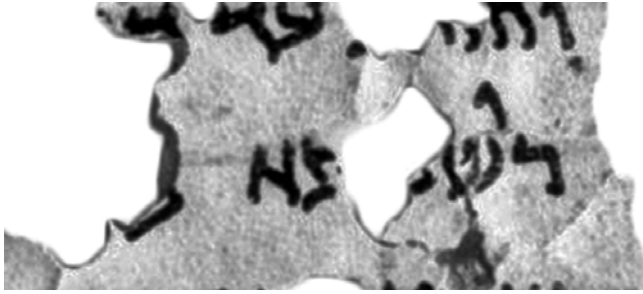
Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 216–17, 220–22; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 15–32; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem”; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 5, 33.

Script sample:

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (4.12): רישמתא

**Language****Syntax***Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*

4.15, 4.16

*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*1.3, 3.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.16(part.), 4.17, 4.19,
8.6, 8.7**Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):***Finite form of הוה + participle:*

8.5

Participle + finite form of הוה:

4.15(?), 4.17

Lexical items:

ד: 3.3, 4.11, 4.14, 4.16, 4.17, 4.19

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

1.3, 8.7

Object suffix on verb:

1.3, 8.7

Assimilated nun:

4.5, 4.9

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

4.1, 4.13(2x), 8.4, 8.8

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

ספין[רא] (lexical; 3.2) [H]

איל (lexical; 4.18) [H]

מכפרין... עלו[הי] (lexical/morpho-syntactic; 8.5)
[H]

עזרתא (lexical; 8.7) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

פנבד (lexical; 4.16)

4Q554, New Jerusalem^a (NJ^a)

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:103–38]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of three copies of New Jerusalem found in Cave 4 (with 4Q554a [NJ^b] and 4Q555 [NJ^c]). Copies of this composition were also discovered in Caves 1, 2, 5, and 11 (1Q32 [NJ?], 2Q24 [NJ], 5Q15 [NJ], 11Q18 [NJ]), which suggests its relative popularity in the Qumran library. New Jerusalem recounts a dream-vision in which a seer, whose identity is no longer preserved, is taken on a tour of a colossal city and its temple by an angelic figure. The angelic figure measures and recounts the dimensions of the city's various features,

primarily using rods (קנין) and cubits (אמין) – with a conversion rate of one rod per seven cubits. Stades (ראסין/רסין) made up of sixty rods are also used as a unit of measurement for the larger features of the city's architecture, such as its wall. Much of the composition consists of list-like descriptions of the city in meticulous detail. For this reason, the text takes on the quality of a literary blueprint, only sporadically punctuated by repetitive verbal constructions that highlight the text's narrative framework – e.g., “he brought me” (אעלני) and “he showed me”

(ארחזני). One exception is the description of the temple in 2Q24 (NJ) and 11Q18 (NJ), in which cultic rituals, the high priestly vestments, and other aspects related to the inner workings of the temple are narrated in greater detail than found in the Pentateuch.

New Jerusalem has often been compared to Ezek 40–48, a text that should likely be seen as an early example of this literary tradition. However, as the Qumran scrolls attest, the “new Jerusalem” was a much more pervasive literary *topos* in Second Temple Jewish literature than scholars had originally thought, with New Jerusalem and the Temple Scroll (11Q19) being the most conspicuous examples of this motif added to a group that already included the more well-known examples of Ezek 40–48 and Rev 20–21. Earlier scholars often made comparisons between New Jerusalem and the Temple Scroll, with several positing some sort of direct literary dependence. For example, Wacholder (*Sectarian Torah*) suggested that New Jerusalem depends on the Temple Scroll, whereas Wise (*Critical Study*) argued for the opposite relationship. García Martínez, however, has shown that the correspondences between these two texts are tenuous at best, and are certainly not enough to demonstrate direct dependence in either direction (“Apocalyptic”; cf. DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*).

The now lost identity of the seer is a question that has interested interpreters. In a seminal article on this topic, Tigchelaar (“Visionary”) listed various proposals that have been made as to the seer’s identity: 1.) Ezekiel (Lange, Dimant; cf. Wacholder, Tov), 2.) Jacob? Levi? Qahat? Amram? (Beyer), 3.) one of the ancestors of Israel (Frey), and 4.) Moses (Puech). Many of these proposals were tentative, and still other researchers chose not to offer any conjecture at all based on such uncertainty (e.g., García Martínez). Tigchelaar argued that Moses and Ezekiel should be ruled out as options, since his analysis of the other extant Aramaic Qumran scrolls led him to observe that the protagonists of these texts are taken only from the periods of biblical history related to the pre-Mosaic patriarchs and the Babylonian-Persian exiles. Tigchelaar argued that Jacob is most likely the seer in New Jerusalem, based on literary connections to the visionary experiences of Jacob in 4Q537 and Jub. 32, wherein Jacob is shown a future cultic site in a dream-vision. Whoever the seer is, New Jerusalem fits within a broader tradition in which one of the heroes of Israel’s past is taken on a tour of cosmic or geographical spaces by an angelic figure. These texts are often called heavenly or otherworldly journey apocalypses. Early examples of this type include the Book

of Watchers and the Astronomical Book of Enoch, both of which were found at Qumran. Although it is unclear whether or not New Jerusalem should be seen as a heavenly or otherworldly journey, there are striking affinities between these three Aramaic texts.

4Q554 is noteworthy among the other copies of New Jerusalem for two reasons: First, it contains a lengthy (though highly fragmentary) account of the city’s gates in frag. 1 (cols. 1–2). It is clear that the wall contains twelve gates, with each bearing the name of one of the sons of Jacob. In this respect, New Jerusalem participates in the tradition also found in Ezek 40–48, the Temple Scroll, and Rev 20–21, in which the twelve gates of the new Jerusalem correspond to the twelve tribes of Israel, based on the layout of the wilderness tabernacle in Num 2. Not all of the names have been preserved, but there is general agreement that Levi’s gate occupied pride of place, namely, the central gate on the eastern wall (as in 11Q19 [T^a], contra Ezek 48:31–34). On this point, see Puech (“Gates,” 379–92) and DiTommaso (*New Jerusalem*, 25–31). Second, frag. 13 preserves the only explicitly eschatological material, in a poorly preserved passage recounting the succession of empires. Although only the names of Babylon and the Kittim are extant, DiTommaso argued that this fragment depicts a four-kingdoms schema, such as those preserved in Dan 2 and 7, and perhaps Four Kingdoms (4Q552, 553). Fragment 13 also contains references to Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites, the traditional enemies of Israel, possibly in the context of an eschatological battle, as in the War Scroll (cf. García Martínez, “Apocalyptic”). DiTommaso, however, saw no need to understand this list of enemies as depicting the opponents of Israel in a martial conflict at the end of days. On his reading, the rehearsal of Israel’s enemies simply reflects an example of the “humbling of the enemy nations” motif. On the question of whether all of the aforementioned nations comprise a single list or two separate lists with separate functions, see DiTommaso (*New Jerusalem*, 173–78). Whatever the case, frag. 13 clearly demonstrates the eschatological character of New Jerusalem, which only strengthens the case for understanding the text as being or containing an apocalypse.

Material remains: Puech numbered fourteen fragments as part of this manuscript, though the larger ones (frags. 1, 2, and 13) actually comprise several smaller pieces, with some joins being more certain than others. Puech (“Jérusalem nouvelle”; DJD 37:139) separated from this lot a single, large fragment originally included by Starcky as part of 4Q554, but now designated as 4Q554a (NJ^b; see

the following profile). Fragment 1 of 4Q554 is relatively large, representing significant parts of three columns, and containing a bottom and two intercolumnar margins. Portions of frag. iii.13–22 overlap with 5Q15 (NJ) ii.1–6, and iii.11–21 with 5Q15 (NJ) ii.15–ii.4. A few letters of iii.21 also appear to overlap with the first word of 4Q554a (NJ^b) i.1. Fragments 2 and 13 are also significant in size, with parts of ten and nine lines preserved, respectively. As seen on PAM 43.589 and subsequent photographs taken by the IAA, Starcky seems to have joined frags. 2 and 13 at the sewn joint between two sheets. However, Puech considered the join to be improbable based on the stitching. Puech does, however, associate frags. 13 and 14 as parts

of the same column. The remaining fragments are quite small, the largest of them preserving small bits of three lines. Parts of at least three sheets are represented in the fragments, based on the preserved seams, and at least six or seven columns.

Provenance: 4Q554 13 is found on the early PAM “G series” plate 40.608. This means that frag. 13 was among the fragments discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q554 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q554 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Lower: At least 1.6–1.8 cm (frags. 1, 2)

Intercolumnar:

Approx. 1.2–1.6 cm (frags. 1, 2); approx. 0.8–1.2 cm (to sheet seam; frags. 2, 13)

Column dimensions: Approx. 8.5 cm w. (frags. 1, 2)

Lines per column: At least 17 (Puech reconstructs 21–22)

Letters per line: Approx. 40–55

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height: 2–2.5 mm

Space between lines: 5.5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (iii.9, 17 [5–6 mm]) and large (iii.10 [almost one full line]; intermediate sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean formal with some traits of the Herodian period (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 75–25 BCE

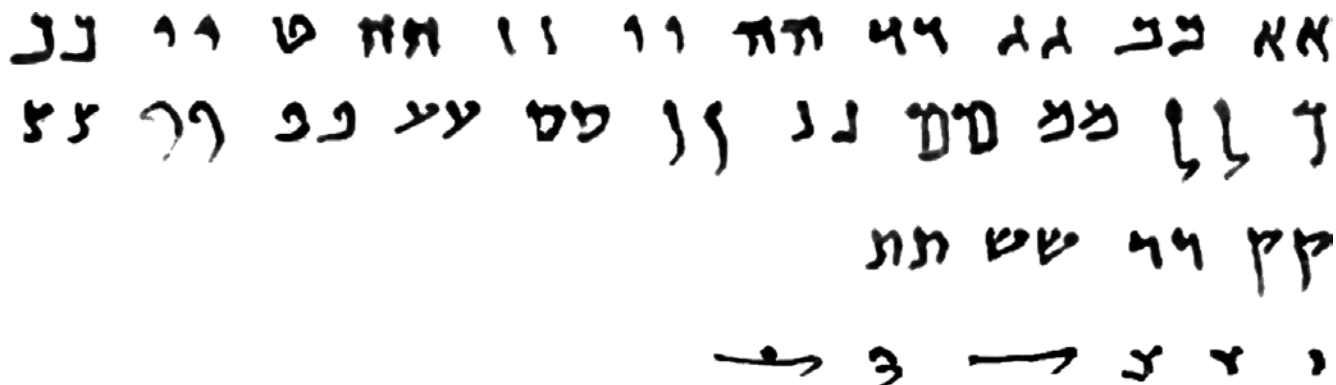
Special traits and general comments: This copy has no ruling, despite the fact that it is of rather good quality in many respects. The absence of horizontal ruling is clearly seen in the non-alignment of lines in successive columns on the same sheet (see frags. ii–ii and 2i–ii). The right margin alignment of lines also varies somewhat on frag. 13, though in general the scribe kept quite straight right margins. 4Q554 appears to have been a fairly large-format scroll, on well-prepared skin, though the preserved columns are relatively narrow. The extant margins are of average size for the corpus, or slightly above average, but not as large as those in the best manuscripts. The scribe appears to have used several, small vacats in frag. iii, but these occur in continuously running text (there are no natural sense divisions), and at iii.9 an imperfection in the skin can be seen on the images. Puech suggested that a correction was made here, with some of the original text having been erased through scraping. This seems to me uncertain, and it should be considered whether the scribe simply skipped over a pre-existing imperfection in the skin (see also DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 38). There is a large vacat of nearly one, full line preserved, marking the transition between two sections of the city tour, from the description of the gates in the outer wall to that of the city's interior. The scribe occasionally left especially large spaces before the final word of a line (though the left margin is not "justified," as in a few other manuscripts). The script is generally tidy and even, with very few corrections, and Puech (דנס 37:106) described the orthography as "semi-defective." That is to say, the scribe did use full orthography, but not consistently or even predominantly. For example, we find ראסין but also רסין, אורכה but also ארכה. Only the defective כל is found in the preserved text, while the word גוא occurs with its full spelling (e.g., iii.11; some other scribes preferred גו). We do not find exceptionally full spellings, as in some manuscripts. The scribe preferred the short form of the masc. dem. pronoun דן (rather than דנה; e.g., ii.10, 13, 14, 16), and although the expected order noun + dem. pronoun is employed, the reverse order is found twice, at ii.22 and iii.7–8. The direct object marker ית – quite rare in Qumran Aramaic – is found once at iii.13, and the scribe switched back and forth between writing out numbers and using the alternative numeric symbols. Before one such group of symbols we clearly find an abbreviation of the word אמין with the letter *aleph*, despite Tov's claim that abbreviations are not found in the Qumran texts (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 235). In terms of syntax, there is a noticeable preponderance of constructions with the verb placed later in the clause, something unusual for the corpus more broadly. This can be explained by the use of formulaic, repetitive phrases in the technical description of the city tour, which often place subordinate, locative clauses prior to the main verb. An example of this is the phrase in ii.22, [מן דא זייתא ... משח עד "and] from this corner he measured until...", which is repeated in various permutations throughout this section of the text. These verb-later constructions are more like the formulaic phrases in the Astronomical

Book than in the more standard prose narratives of many Aramaic texts from Qumran, where verb-early constructions predominate.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Starcky, "Jerusalem"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 216–20; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 95–104; Beyer, *ATTM*², 129–38; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; Puech, "Jérusalem nouvelle"; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 15–32; García Martínez, "New Jerusalem," 446; Puech, "Gates"; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 13–48, 57–72.

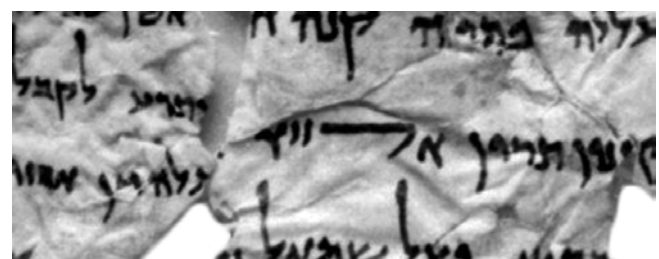
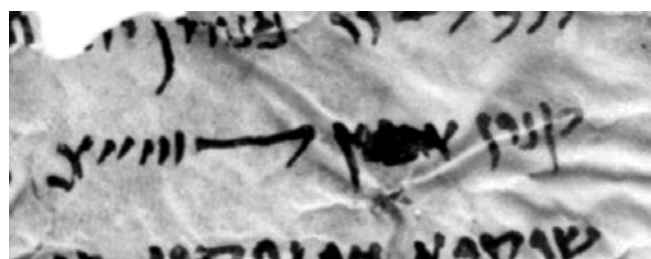
Script sample:



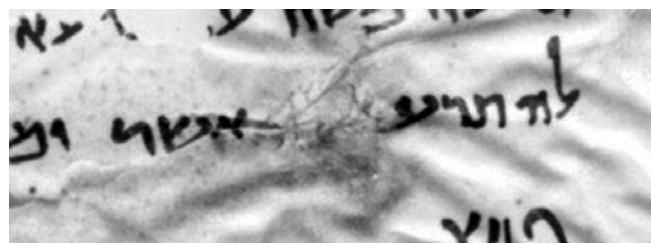
Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Deletion with a horizontal line (iii.18): קנין אמין

(b) Unit abbreviation, א for אמין (iiii.18; see also iii.14).



(c) Possible erasure of letters through scraping (so Puech; iii.9): תרע /// אשר



Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iii.18(part.), iii.21, 2ii.14–15, 2ii.22(part.)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii.9, iii.11(2x), iii.14, iii.15, 13.19(?), 13.20,
13.22

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

ii.13–14, ii.15, ii.16, ii.17–18(?), ii.18(part.; ?),
ii.19(?), ii.19–20(part.; ?), ii.20–21, ii.21(part.; ?),
ii.21–22(part.; ?), ii.22, iii.6(part.; ?), iii.6–7(?),
iii.7(part.), iii.7–8(?), iii.8–9(part.), iii.17–18, iii.21,
iii.19

Verbless clause:

ii.10, ii.11, ii.12–13(?), ii.14–15, iii.13, iii.15, iii.17(2x),
2ii.15, 2ii.15–16, 2ii.16

Object early in clause:

iii.17, iii.20–21(?)

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: iii.13, 13.20

תי: iii.13

Use of יד to mark genitive relationship:

13.19

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

iii.11

Lexical items:

בתר: 13.15, 13.16

די: ii.11, iii.9, iii.17, iii.15, iii.21, 5.2(?), 7.2(?),
13.19(2x), 13.20, 13.21

Morphology:

אפעל form:

iii.11, iii.15, iii.19

Object suffix on verb:

iii.11, iii.15, iii.19, 10.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

ii.9, iii.14, 3.2, 3.3, 13.17

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

צפונא (lexical; ii.10, 11) [H]

ד[רומא] (lexical; ii.15, iii.19) [H]

ל[מא]ש (lexical; iii.17) [h]

יסוד (lexical; 2ii.13) [h]

חש[מל] (lexical; 2ii.15) [H]

ספיר (lexical; 2ii.15) [h]

4Q554a, New Jerusalem^b (NJ^b)

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:139–46]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of three Cave 4 copies of New Jerusalem (with 4Q554 [NJ^a] and 4Q555 [NJ^c]), and overlaps significantly with the New Jerusalem manuscript found in Cave 5 (5Q15 [NJ]). For a fuller introduction to New Jerusalem as a composition, see the profile for 4Q554 (NJ^a). Much of the content of 4Q554a can be better understood when read in light of its parallel material in 5Q15 (NJ). Both manuscripts provide a description of the interior of the city, with the locations and measurements of staircases, houses, and gates being shown to the seer by an angelic guide. From other New Jerusalem manuscripts we can determine that the city is divided into “blocks” (פרדזין) by a series of streets that run north to south and east to west (see 4Q554 [NJ^a] ii.15–22). 4Q554a contains a fragmentary description of one such block, including its residential spaces. As in all of the extant New Jerusalem manuscripts, there is no description of the

human population of the city or their activities; only the physical features of the city’s construction are mentioned. This stands in contrast to the description of the temple in 2Q24 (NJ) and 11Q18 (NJ), in which the activities of the high priest, his deputy, and the other members of the priesthood are described in detail (cf. García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 431–60; Perrin, *Dynamics*, 171).

Material remains: Only one, large fragment remains of this manuscript. Starcky had originally included it with the lot of fragments belong to 4Q554 (NJ^a; his col. IV), but Puech (“Jérusalem nouvelle”; DJD 37:139) argued to assign it an independent siglum based on a clear difference in scripts, and the parts of the scroll preserved (its upper portion for 4Q554a, but the middle and lower portions for 4Q554 [NJ^a]). He also drew attention to a probable overlap between 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.21 and 4Q554a 1.1. Finally, 4Q554a

is very clearly ruled with horizontal and vertical guide-lines, while the 4Q554 (NJ^a) fragments are not. Combining all of these points, Puech's reasoning is entirely persuasive. There is extensive overlap between 4Q554a 1.1–12 and 5Q15 (NJ) iii.4–15.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q554a are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q554a 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 2.3 cm*Intercolumnar:* At least 1.3 cm (right margin); 1.5 cm to sheet seam (left margin)**Column dimensions:** 9.5 cm w.**Lines per column:** At least 14**Letters per line:** Approx. 55–60**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both sides of column**Average medial letter height:** 1–2 mm**Space between lines:** 6–7.5 mm**Space between words:** 0.5–1.5 mm**Vacats:** Yes; large (1.2 [at least 6 cm]); minor sense division)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late formal Hasmonian with a tendency toward semi-cursive (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 100–50 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: Although this copy consists of only one fragment, we have enough indicators to determine that it is from a manuscript of quite high quality. The margins and other spacing measurements are approximately the same as for 1Q20 (apGen), though the script is slightly smaller in 4Q554a (among the tiniest of the entire corpus). The manuscript was fully ruled on beautifully-prepared skin. The scribe was clearly well-trained, but one can easily see that the writing is more erratic and untidy than in some of the very best manuscripts. There is little distinction between *vav* and *yod*, and the final *kaph* has a distinctively large lower, horizontal stroke. As in some other New Jerusalem copies, the scribe used the Aramaic number symbols mixed with numbers fully written out. Few mistakes are present in the small amount of preserved text. There is what appears to be a dot of ink between the words ורומה and גו in 1.12, but examination of the newest images taken by the IAA in the Leon Levy Digital Library show that the surface of the skin has been abraded. Starcky and Beyer were probably correct in assuming that it once read ברומה בגו. Puech noted a mark above the *dalet* of קדמייתא in 1.9, which seems to me to be a small, supralinear *aleph* placed between the first two letters of the word (קדמייתא). This is an unexpected addition (though there is an /a/ vowel at this point), and the added *aleph* is in a different hand, with a more Herodian-period flourish seen in the flag on the upper stroke.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

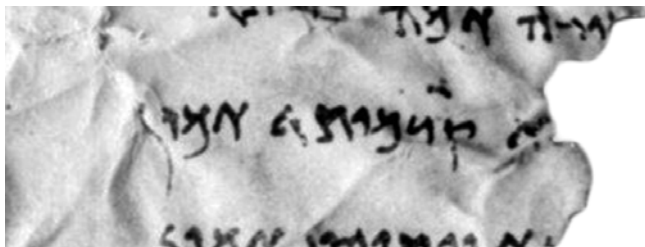
Select bibliography: Starcky, “Jerusalem”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 219–20; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 97; Beyer, *ATTM*², 131; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; Puech, “Jérusalem nouvelle”; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 29–30; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem”; Puech, “Gates”; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 49–56.

Script sample:

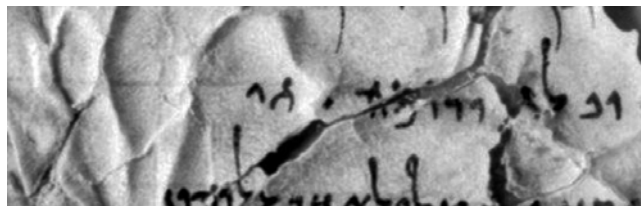
וו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו
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Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (1.9): קִדְמִיתָא



(b) Ink dot/abraded surface (1.12): וְרומָה . גו

**Language****Syntax***Verbless clause:*

1.1(?), 1.4, 1.5(2x), 1.6, 1.7, 1.10

Direct object marker (if present):

תָּ: 1.13(?)

Lexical items:

גִּדְ: 1.1, 1.13

Orthography/Phonology:*שׁ for /s/:*

1.3

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

לִיד (semantic; 1.8) [h]

4Q555, New Jerusalem^c (NJ^c)
 [ed. Puech, DJD 37:147–52]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is grouped by Puech with the other two New Jerusalem manuscripts from Cave 4 (4Q554 [NJ^a] and 4Q554a [NJ^b]). The highly fragmentary nature of this manuscript makes it difficult to glean much about its contents. However, based on some of the preserved words, it does appear to be related to the description of the temple in 11Q18 (NJ) (Puech, DJD 37, DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 73). The following cultic terms are extant or partially-extant: “table” (פִּתּוֹר), “oil” (מִשְׁחָה), and “seventh day” (שֶׁבִיעִיתָא). If Puech and DiTommaso are correct in associating this manuscript with the cultic material found elsewhere in New Jerusalem (especially that of 11Q18 [NJ]), then 4Q555 is unique among the Cave 4 New Jerusalem copies in preserving a part of the composition related to the temple and its cult. For a fuller description of New Jerusalem as a composition, see the profile for 4Q554 (NJ^a). For more on the cultic material in New Jerusalem, see the discussions in the profiles for 2Q24 (NJ) and 11Q18 (NJ).

Material remains: This manuscript was originally designated by Starcky as the second Cave 4 copy of New Jerusalem (4QSy 57–NJ^b), but since Puech’s delineation of 4Q554a (NJ^b) from 4Q554 (NJ^a) it has been deemed the

third copy. To Starcky’s original three fragments Puech has now added a fourth, based on similarities in line-spacing and script. However, by Puech’s count there are, in fact, five separate fragments, because he also separated Starcky’s frag. 1 into frags. 1a and 1b (followed in most other transcriptions). Other scholars have proposed varying numbers and configurations of fragments, up to six by DiTommaso (*New Jerusalem*, 73). Several of the fragments not included by Puech under his siglum 4Q555 are gathered together in his 4Q584a–c (Unidentified^{a–c}). None of the fragments identified by Puech contains much text, with frags. 1a and 3 being very small (frag. 4 primarily contains an intercolumnar margin). There are no clear overlaps between 4Q555 and other copies of New Jerusalem, though the contents of the fragments make it quite certain that they belong to that work.

Provenance: Fragment 4 of 4Q555 is found in the early PAM “G series” plate 40.589, meaning that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q555 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q555 3, 1, 2 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnnar:

Approx. 1.5–1.9 cm (frag. 4)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column (based on breakage pattern of frag. 4)

Average medial letter height:

2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words: 1 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: There is little that can be said about this manuscript based on the few preserved fragments. The intercolumnnar margin in frag. 4 was slightly larger than average, and the line spacing was around the norm for the Qumran manuscripts. The scribe wrote in a neat Herodian-period formal script, with the full spellings using *vav* and *yod* seen more broadly across the corpus. This includes the typical Qumran Aramaic form of the demonstratives אנון (1a.1) and אלין (1b.3) with their full spellings. In 1b.1 we find the preposition לעלא, also present in 1Q20 (apGen) 20.7 and 4Q204 (En^c) 1vi.21. Based on wider usage of the preposition, which is typically followed by the word מן in the Qumran texts, I would suggest the transcription וְלעלא מְ] rather than Puech's וְלעלא מְ].

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*^E, 99; Beyer, *ATM*², 133; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem”; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 73–76.

Script sample:

א א ב ב ג ג ד ד ה ה ו ו ז ז ח ח ט ט י י כ כ ל ל מ מ נ נ ס ס ע ע פ פ ק ק ר ר ש ש ת ת

Language

Syntax:

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:
3.2

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:
4i.8(?)

Lexical items:

דיל(ב): 2.1(?)
די: 2.1

5Q15, New Jerusalem (NJ)

[ed. Milik, DJD 3:184–97]

Content synopsis and significance: Much of the material preserved in this copy of New Jerusalem overlaps with portions of 4Q554 (NJ^a) 1. The preserved parts of 5Q15 describe the interior of the city, including physical features such as entryways, staircases, and pillars. An important aspect of this copy is that it details the interior of one city block, along with its residential spaces, giving us a reasonably good idea of this part of the composition. The measurements of various architectural features are shown to the seer by his angelic tour guide, who is said to be measuring each item as the two of them progress through the city. The tour is told from the first-person perspective of the seer. As in several other New Jerusalem manuscripts, the description of the city in 5Q15 has a repetitive, list-like quality, amounting to a textual blueprint of sorts. For a fuller description of New Jerusalem as a composition, along with its broader significance and the units of measurement used to describe the city and its physical structures, see the profile for 4Q554 (NJ^a).

Material remains: Milik numbered twenty-one fragments in his DJD edition of 5Q15, though the photographs make clear that several these comprise multiple, smaller pieces. In fact, his frag. 1 – which contains parts of two columns – is made up of around thirty individual pieces, and frag. 13 is also composite. Fragment 1 is by far the largest remaining “piece” of the manuscript, with frags. 3–21 being very small and containing little or no readable text. Portions of frag. ii.1–6 overlap with 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.13–22, and ii.15–ii.4 with 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.11–21.

Notes on provenance: After Bedouin discovered Cave 4 in September of 1952, an official survey of Cave 4 and the surrounding area was organized by the French Archaeological School and the Palestine Archaeological Museum (September 22–29, 1952). It was at this time that Cave 5 was discovered by J.T. Milik, with an excavation overseen by him and carried out by Bedouin workers on September 25–28 (DJD 3:26; Fields, *Scrolls*, 142, 505). 5Q15 was among the fragments discovered by Milik during this excavation.



Sample image: 5Q15 portion of ii, and iii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least
14.5 cm h.

Margins:

Upper: At least 1.6 cm (frag. 1)

Lower: 1.8 cm

Intercolumnar: 1.5 cm

Column dimensions: At least
12 cm h. × approx. 12–13 cm
w.

Lines per column: At least 19

Letters per line: Approx. 60–75

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (ii.2, at least
5 mm) to large (ii.7, approx.
4 cm); all minor sense
divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal (comparable in style to, e.g., 1Q23 [EnGiants^a], 4Q529 [Words of Michael], and 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a]); Herodian (Milik)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–1 BCE

Special traits and general comments: 5Q15 was a nicely made manuscript, with margins and line spacing that are around average (or slightly above) relative to the wider corpus. Script lines were ruled with unusual regularity, almost always at 7 mm. Although some reconstruction is required, it appears that the columns were more square in shape than was typical, with frag. ii seeming to be slightly wider than it is tall. In manuscripts of fairly high quality, columns tend to be noticeably taller than they are wide, though this is the rule and there are certainly exceptions. The scribe of this copy wrote in a small, neat, square script, with few mistakes (only a few supralinear letters added). A small vacat was used near the beginning of a line to mark narrative movement within a description of one part of the city (ii.2), but approximately one-third of a line was left open to signal a similar break later in the same column (ii.7). We may thus surmise that vacats were used often in the scroll, probably of at least a full line for more significant transitions in the narrative. Full spellings are found regularly (e.g., סחור, פותיהון, סחור), but not always (e.g., כל). The composition's syntax is notably varied, something that can be attributed to the terse, list-like description of measurements throughout the best-preserved parts of the manuscript. This often leads to verbless clauses like קנין שוקן ברית לפרזייתא סחור ושבק סחור סחור [and a walkway [ran] (all) around the block; a street passageway[three staffs](and) twenty [one c]ubits (long).” Cook (*DQA*, 39) noted that the noun ברית “passageway” is an Akkadian loanword.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

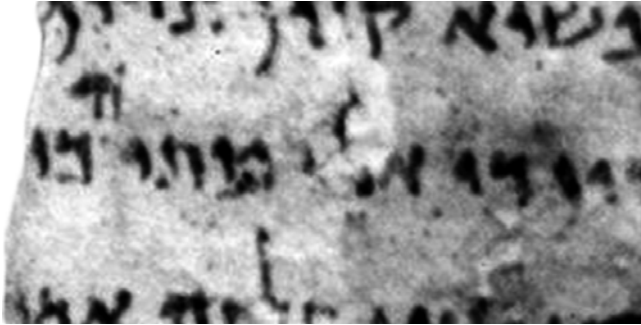
Select bibliography: Licht, “Town Plan”; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 214–22; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 15–32; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 448–49; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 5–6.

Script sample:

אא צב גג דד חח וו וו חח טט יי
 יי קק רר סס עע פפ צצ
 שש תת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (ii.9): פורתִי

**Language****Syntax:***Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*

ii.3(part.), ii.4(part.), iii.4, iii.5

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.17, ii.18, iii.5, iii.6(2x), 10.2(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

ii.3–4, iii.2

Verbless clause:

ii.1, ii.9, ii.19, iii.2

Direct object marker (if present):

וִ: ii.17

Use of ׀ to mark genitive relationship:

ii.9

Lexical items:

דִ: ii.4, ii.9(2x), iii.4, iii.5, iii.9, 2.2, 9.2

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

iii.2, iii.6(2x)

Object suffix on verb:

ii.18, iii.2(?), iii.6(2x)

Orthography/Phonology:*ש for /s/:*

ii.1, ii.3, ii.6, ii.10, ii.11(?), ii.15, ii.16, iii.3, iii.7, iii.8,

iii.9(?), ii.11(2x), iii.11(?), iii.13, 2.4, 5.3

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

[א]דרומ (lexical; ii.4) [H]

יהלם (lexical; ii.7) [H]

11Q18, New Jerusalem (NJ)

[ed. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23:305–55]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is in an especially poor state of preservation. It was discovered as “a partially petrified scroll which could not be unwrapped” (DJD 23:305). Attempts to unravel the scroll were unsuccessful, and what remains is only a relatively meager collection of tiny fragments from the rolled scroll. With a few exceptions, much of the material is hard to interpret or contextualize. García Martínez has attempted to arrange some of the fragments in order according to columns (“Last Surviving”), though several aspects of his reconstruction were challenged by Kister (“Notes”). García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude detailed the extreme difficulty of reconstructing the correct order

of the 11Q18 fragments in their 1998 DJD edition of the scroll (DJD 23:305–9), a conundrum that remains unresolved. The extant fragments of the scroll deal primarily with issues pertaining to the temple and its cult, overlapping on occasion with 2Q24 (NJ). For example, both 11Q18 20 and 2Q24 (NJ) 4 describe the ritual of showbread (cf. Lev 19:5–9; discussed in greater detail in the profile for 2Q24). One of the most significant and best-preserved portions of 11Q18 is the account of the bovine offering in frag. 13. This fragment shares a number of striking correspondences with cultic scenes from the Aramaic Levi Document and the Genesis Apocryphon, namely, Isaac’s sacrificial instructions to Levi and Noah’s sacrifice

following the flood. However, there are a few distinguishing elements in the sacrificial material among the three texts. A comparison of the sacrificial halakha in all three works has been done by Perrin (*Dynamics*, 171–77), who drew on the earlier work of Kister (“Notes”) and Schiffman (“Architectural”).

The extant fragments of 11Q18 also describe the vestments of the high priest – a description that uniquely includes his seven crowns (frag. 14) and possibly the ephod or breast-piece – the weekly courses of the priests, the physical features of the temple and its furniture, various cultic implements, priestly blessings and sacrifices, and the rising and setting of the sun. Reference is made in frag. 30.4 to the “festivals of God” (מועדי אל), and Passover is mentioned on several occasions (16ii+17i.2; 27.3). There are a number of suggestive phrases, most of which are now impossible to contextualize due to the poorly-preserved nature of these fragments: “the sacrifices of Israel” (25.1), “al]l of Israel” (27.1), “while the Levites sacrifice” (30.2), and “a pleasing aroma” (33.1). Fragment 19 is worthy of special comment, since it contains the phrase: “[H]oly is the Temple and [the] Great Glory” (קדיש הוא היכלא ויקרא רב]א; 19.3). The distinctive divine epithet “the Great Glory” is also found in 1 En. 14:20, 104:1; and T. Levi 3:4 (cf. Kister, “Notes,” 286; DJD 23:336). A few lines later in the same fragment, the seer reports that his angelic tour guide has shown to him a writing (כתב), and has read from it. The entire scene appears to take place in the temple, but it is unclear what sort of writing this is, or what it contained. Is it an inscription inside of the temple, or perhaps a handbook of priestly instructions? The answer eludes us, but the convergence of priestly themes, distinctive divine epithets, angelic revelation, and a focus on textuality demonstrates conceptual and lexical affinities with the broader Aramaic literary tradition at Qumran, as all of these themes are found in other Aramaic scrolls.

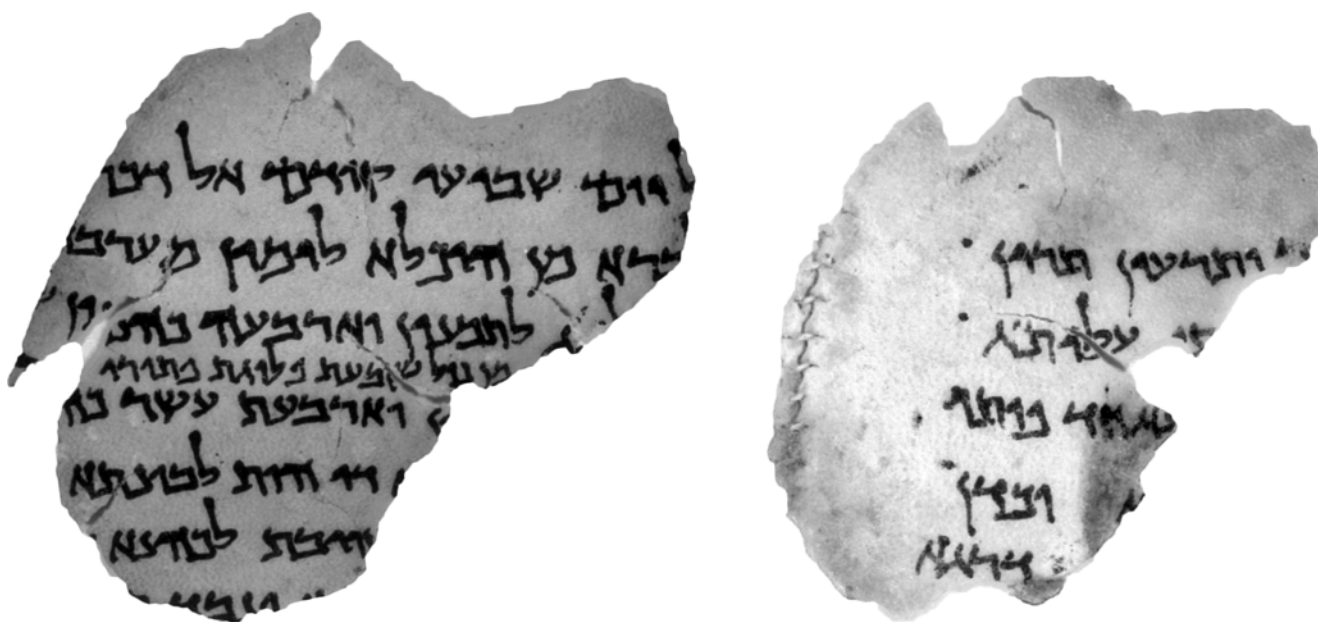
New Jerusalem’s thoroughgoing interest in the temple, priesthood, and cult, seen especially in 2Q24 (NJ) and 11Q18, situate it firmly within the broader Qumran Aramaic collection, insofar as a concern for matters related to the priesthood characterize a considerable segment of the corpus. Other texts exhibiting this interest include the Testament of Jacob?, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Apocryphon of Levi, the Testament of Qahat, the Visions of Amram, the Book of Watchers, the Astronomical Book, the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Tobit. Milik already recognized this shared interest among a number of Qumran Aramaic texts in 1957 (*Dix ans*, 95–96), and more recently Angel (*Otherworldly*) and Perrin (*Dynamics*, 158–89) have

advanced our understanding of the priestly material in these texts. At the same time, there are features distinguishing New Jerusalem from the other priestly-oriented texts among the Aramaic Scrolls, such as its mention of the name Israel and sacrifices related to the Passover festival.

Material remains: 11Q18 originally surfaced as a badly-damaged, desiccated, rolled scroll approximately 10.6 cm long and with a circumference at its center of around 3.5–3.8 cm (DJD 23:306, Plate LIII). There is clear evidence that it was stored in a textile wrapping, since part of the wrapping was still stuck to the outside of the scroll. Many such wrappings were found in Cave 11 (Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 97–124). One piece of cloth associated with the scroll has been identified as wool (DJD 23:306), but given that all known scroll wrappings from Cave 11 are linen, this flax-based material is almost certainly the fabric used to wrap the scroll. Unrolling the scroll proved impossible, due to gelatinization of much of it (Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 181–82), and the best that could be done was to remove a less-damaged portion of it on the advice of H.J. Plenderleith. It seems that at least eight layers from the outside of the scroll were completely lost (DJD 23:309). The fragments currently available derive from the portion removed under Plenderleith’s guidance, or otherwise broken off from the brittle scroll. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude numbered thirty-seven fragments of 11Q18, though several of them comprise multiple pieces with definite joins. Approximately fifty additional very small or unnumbered fragments were not numbered, but are included on Plate XL of DJD 23, and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude described other hardened “wads” of skin, the layers of which could not always be separated (e.g., frag. 3 on Plate xxxv). Since the main fragments were manually removed from the larger scroll, frags. 4–32 are of a somewhat similar shape, with generally diminishing sizes as one moves higher in the fragment numbers (with several exceptions), and presumably closer to the scroll’s center. The largest of these fragments (e.g., frags. 12 and 13) are roughly 8 cm high and 5 cm wide, with the smallest (e.g., frags. 22 and 29) being about 5 cm high by 2 cm wide. The fragments have begun to crack since their removal, but are generally still legible. However, it should be noted that frags. 1–8 are more badly damaged (and less legible) than most others, since they were closest to the damaged outer revolutions of the scroll. The only assured overlap with another copy of New Jerusalem is at frag. 20.2–7, which finds partial parallel in 2Q24 (NJ) 4.9–16.

Notes on provenance: The majority of the Cave 11 manuscripts were discovered by Bedouin in early (probably January) 1956, including 11Q18. Only a few Palaeo-Hebrew fragments and a small scroll titled Apocryphal Psalms (11Q11) were found in the official excavations led by Roland de Vaux in February, 1956 (de Vaux, "Fouilles," 574; Tigchelaar in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 250–51). The Palestine Archaeological Museum provisionally purchased a batch of Cave 11 manuscripts that included 11Q18 in July, 1956, and there is no reason to believe that the scroll did not originate in Qumran Cave 11. The cost of

a number of the Cave 11 manuscripts, including 11Q18, was eventually covered by the Dutch Academy in 1961–62, with funds provided by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (KNAW) and the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (ZWO). As a result, these manuscripts were published by a group of Dutch scholars. For an extensive discussion of the provenance, publication, and nature of the Cave 11 scrolls, see Tigchelaar's account in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 249–58.



Sample image: 11Q18 20, 21 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least 10.6 cm h. (originally rolled scroll; see PAM 43.981)

Margins:

Upper: At least 2.5 cm (frag. 11)

Intercolumnar: 1.5–2 cm (1.5 cm to sheet seam on frag. 21)

Column dimensions: At least 6.5 cm h. (frags. 12–13)

Lines per column: At least 11 (frag. 13)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes, with marginal guide dots for ruling

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column (frag. 10)

Average medial letter height: 3–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 6.5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–3 mm

Vacats: Yes, large (10.4 [at least 2.5 cm], 11.5 [at least 5 cm], 12.4 [at least 3.3 cm], 13.7 [at least 3.2 cm], 18 [at least 5 cm]; see also 22.7, 26.4–5); all minor or intermediate sense divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian round semi-formal (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude; Yardeni)

Proposed palaeographic date: 25 BCE–25 CE (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude; Yardeni)

Special traits and general comments: A notable feature of this scroll is that it was found with its textile wrapping still partially in-tact and stuck to the outer layers. If we assume that the preserved scroll height of around 10.6 cm is close to its original size when produced and used in antiquity, we would have to assume that the columns were quite short in height. Fragment 13 shows that there were at least eleven lines in that column, with a minimum column height of 6.5 cm. Adding the 2.5 cm upper margin and a slightly larger lower margin of, say, 2.8 cm would result in a scroll height of around 11 cm. Based on the appearance of the scroll when it was found, it is plausible that this was close to its original height. The result would be a scroll (and columns) 3–4 cm shorter in height than 11Q10 (Job), the date of which is quite close to that of 11Q18 on palaeographic grounds. Still, 11Q18 would be slightly greater in height than other short manuscripts, such as 4Q246 (apocrDan) and 4Q542 (TQahat). The upper and intercolumnar margins of 11Q18 are relatively large, and the scroll was fully ruled, with ruling guide dots at the ends of sheets (the dots were used for marking both vertical and horizontal lines). Stitching is still seen on the left side of frag. 21.

The scribe wrote in a relatively large script, comparable in size to 11Q10 (Job) and noticeably larger than in most Qumran Aramaic manuscripts. Yardeni included 11Q18 among the list of scrolls attributed by her to a single, Herodian period scribe (“Scribes,” 289). Though her palaeographic assessment agrees with that of the scroll’s DJD editors, the attribution of all scrolls on her list to a single scribe is open to criticism (see the last chapter on scribal practices). At some points the scribe of 11Q18 fluctuated markedly in script size, using smaller letters, e.g., in frags. 9, 31, 33, and 37. As with many formal Herodian scripts (e.g., 11Q10 [Job], 4Q246 [apocrDan]), the heights of final letters and other typically taller letters, such as *qoph*, are much closer to the size of a standard medial letter than we would expect to find in earlier, Hasmonean-period hands. The scribe of 11Q18 did not differentiate between medial and final *tsade* (cf. 14ii.4), always using the former. In line with many other Aramaic manuscripts at Qumran, he tended to use *aleph* as a vowel letter more often than *he*, and regularly used full spellings with *vav* and *yod*. There is an unusual fluctuation in the 3ms pronominal suffix between the expected וְהִי– (e.g., וְקַרְבֹּהִי; 13.2) and the abbreviated וְיִ– (עֲלוּי at 8.3 and 9.4). The shortened ending is typically taken to be a later development, which would fit well with the Herodian date of this copy, and would provide an example of minor scribal intervention through the use of a newer form. We find liberal use of vacats, with the scribe apparently leaving the remainder – or large parts of – a line open to signal small or intermediate progressions in the narrative. In frags. 11 and 12 there are large vacats between what seem to be descriptions of different parts of the temple complex, while in frags. 18 and 19 they seem to occur before a new type of interaction with the angelic guide or some other figure in the vision. As in 1Q20 (apGen) 17.7, the scribe

of 11Q18 used the probable Hebrew prepositional compound לִיד (6.2, 11.2, 13.8) along with various other lexical items derived from Hebrew, mostly related to the temple and the sacrifices performed there.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Script sample:

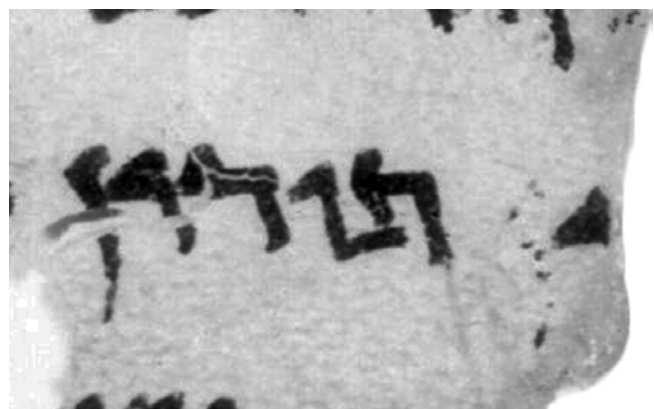
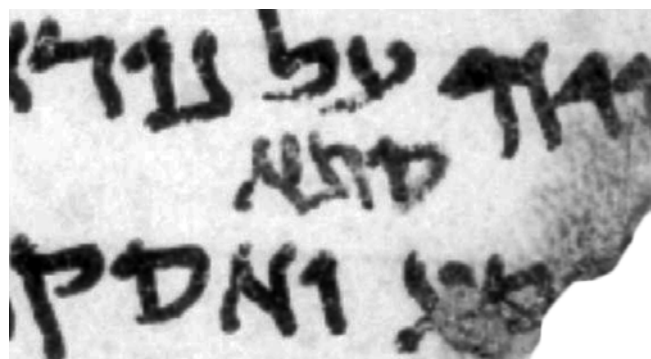
אא בב גג דד חח טט יי זז חח טט יי זז
 קק רר סס טט פפ צצ ככ לל מם ננ סס
 טט פפ צצ ככ לל מם ננ סס
 טט פפ צצ ככ לל מם ננ סס

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 222; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 99–104; Beyer, *ATTM*², 133–38; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 180–213; García Martínez, “Last Surviving”; Kister, “Notes”; Chyutin, *New Jerusalem*, 15–32; García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 446; Puech, “Gates”; DiTommaso, *New Jerusalem*, 6–7.

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear word added in same hand (13.4):
 ר[ז]בֵּעִיִּתִּיאֲסִקָּה

(b) Erasure of final *nun* by scraping (28.5): [ז]תורין



Language

Syntax:

- Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*
 14ii.5(?), 16ii+17i.3–4, 18.5(part.), 20.5, 26.3, 27.4(?)
- Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*
 11.2, 11.6(?), 13.6(part.), 15.2, 15.3(part.), 16ii+17i.2–3(part.), 20.6(?)
- Verb-subject (verb later in clause):*
 19.3, 20.3a

- Subject-verb (verb later in clause):*
 18.2(part.)
- Subject implied (verb early in clause):*
 9.4, 13.1, 13.2(2x), 13.3, 13.4, 13.5, 14ii.1, 15.4, 18.5, 19.5, 25.6, 26.2, 28.2(?), 30.3, 32.2(?), 32.7
- Subject implied (verb later in clause):*
 8.3(?)
- Verbless clause:*
 14i.4

Object early in clause:

8.3

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

13.3

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

13.4, 16ii+17i.3–4

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

7.2, 14ii.5, 15.1(?), 15.2, 26.6(?), 28.1

Lexical items:

אִיִּי: 13.3

–ד: 16ii+17i.3(?), 23ii.2

ד: 7.2, 11.2, 11.4(?), 12i.1, 12i.2, 12ii.8, 15.1, 15.2, 19.1, 20.5, 24.3, 24.7, 25.4, 26.1, 30.5, 37.4

כדִּי: 14ii.1, 21.5, 27.2

בחדא: 26.4

להן: 15.1

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

13.4

Object suffix on verb:

13.3, 13.4, 32.7

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

32.7

Assimilated lamed:

13.4

Orthography/Phonology:*3ms defective suffix י-:*

8.3, 9.4

ס for /s/:

23ii.5(?)

ש for /s/:

8.2, 10i.7(?), 13.6, 15.4, 17ii.3, 20.3a, 20.4, 25.4

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

לִיד (semantic; 6.2, 11.2, 13.8) [h]

דרומא (lexical; 6.3) [H]

קרבוהי (lexical; 13.2) [H]

תודתהון (lexical; 17i.1) [H]

אל (lexical; 20.1, 30.4?) [H]

לבונתא (lexical; 20.5) [H]

שלמיהון (lexical; 27.5) [H]

ניחוח (lexical; 29.6, 33.1) [H]

יסוד (lexical; 32.9) [h]

איליא (lexical; 33.2) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

פנבד (lexical; 20.7)

4Q538, Testament of Judah/Words of Benjamin (TJud/Words of Benjamin)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:191–99]

Content synopsis and significance: This previously unknown work records a character narrating, in the first-person voice, events from the Joseph story of Genesis. The extant portions of the scroll retell the parts of the story in which Joseph tested his brothers with the hidden silver cup (Gen 44), and in which Joseph revealed his true identity (Gen 45). Connections to the Joseph story are seen throughout the fragments, but are most explicit in the naming of Joseph at 2.3, and in the phrase הַבְּלָה וְעַפְקֵי בְּכָהֶם (‘‘he f]e[ll o]n my neck and embraced me, wee[ping]’’) at 1.6. This phrase clearly reflects the language of Gen 45:14 וַיִּפֹּל עַל צוּרְאֵי בְּנֵימִן אָחִיו וַיִּבְכּוּ ‘‘And he [Joseph] fell on the neck of Benjamin, his brother, and he wept,’’ showing that the speaker in 4Q538 is not Joseph, but Benjamin. It is understandable, then, that Starcky originally titled the scroll ‘‘Testament of Benjamin.’’ However, Milik (‘‘Écrits,’’ 97–98) – followed by Puech (DJD 31:191–92) – later proposed that the individual speaking is, in fact, Joseph’s older brother Judah. Milik based his

identification on details in Jub. 42:25–43:18 (esp. 43:11–18) and the Greek Testament of Judah 12:11–12, in which Judah is said to speak with Joseph and reside with him in Egypt. Klaus Beyer (*ATM*¹, 187; *ATM*², 103) followed Starcky in assigning the narration of the fragments to Benjamin, but proposed that they belong (along with 4Q537 [TJacob?]) to a Cave 4 copy of Das Genesis-Apokryphon. This last part of Beyer’s proposal has not been accepted by subsequent scholars working on 4Q537 (TJacob?) and 4Q538. Dimant also followed the earlier insight of Starcky in arguing for an identification of the speaker in 4Q538 with Benjamin, an identification that, she wrote, ‘‘is salient and fits every detail in the passage’’ (*History*, 452). An important detail in this regard is Joseph’s testing of his brothers’ attitude towards Benjamin in 1–2.1–4, which Dimant noted was widespread in Second Temple period Jewish readings of the Joseph story (e.g., in Jubilees and the writings of Philo and Josephus). 4Q538 is another attestation of this tradition, and the earliest of which we know. Dimant avoided

the explicit association with the later Greek Testament of Benjamin that might be inferred from Starcky's designation Testament of Benjamin, proposing instead the title Words of Benjamin. At the same time, she noted that the very little text preserved on frags. 3–4 seems to be part of an "exhortation" (*History*, 453), similar to those found in other Jewish and Christian texts identified with the genre "testament."

As Dimant has shown, Milik's connection to Judah are not compelling, and the fact that Joseph falls upon Benjamin's neck in Gen 45:14 (a tradition followed by Philo, Josephus, and others) heavily favors Starcky's original identification of Benjamin as the speaker and protagonist of 4Q538. In this scroll, we find an Aramaic expansion of a story from Genesis, told from the first-person perspective of a character from that book. This literary style closely resembles many other Qumran Aramaic texts, such as the Enochic writings, the Book of Giants, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Aramaic Levi Document, to name only a few. Although the speaker of 4Q538 is Benjamin, it is probable that a major focus of the text was Joseph, whose impeccable character was also the focus of the

didactic poem at the end of the Aramaic Levi Document, and much of the Greek Testament of Benjamin.

Material remains: We possess four fragments of this scroll, with frags. 1 and 2 being relatively large (approx. 5–6 × 4 cm) and containing most of the preserved text. Already in 1978 Milik proposed that these two fragments belonged to the same column, offering a plausible reconstruction followed by Beyer, Puech, and Dimant. Fragment 2 has a partial left margin preserved. Fragments 3 and 4 are significantly smaller than frags. 1–2, and were first published by Puech in DJD 31. Fragment 3 contains part of a right margin, with clear evidence of a vertical dry-ruled line demarcating the edge of the column. Milik ("Écrits," 98) suggested that 3Q7 contains a very partial Hebrew copy of the same work as 4Q538, but this identification is extremely tenuous and has not been widely accepted.

Provenance: The fragments of 4Q538 are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q538 2, 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: At least 1 cm
(frag. 2)

Column dimensions: Approx.
12 cm w. (according to
Puech's reconstruction)

Letters per line:

Approx. 55 (according to
Puech's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes (right
side of column; frag. 3)

Average medial letter height:
1.5–2.5 mm

Space between lines: 7–9 mm

Space between words:
0.5–2 mm (typically 1 mm)

Vacats: Yes; small (2.2 [at least
4 mm]); minor sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 50–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: It is difficult to get an accurate read on the quality of this manuscript based on the remaining fragments. The script and spacing are uniform and neat, the manuscript is ruled, with what appear to be relatively generous intercolumnar margins, and it seems there were at least some vacats marking minor sense divisions based on frag. 2. These factors point toward a manuscript of estimable quality and investment. Though based on a very small sample size, notable linguistic traits include a high frequency of the word אִתִּי in lieu of other verbal or predicate structures, and two instances of אִדִּין as a marker of narrative progress. The full orthography of בְּאִתֶּר in 3.4 is found in several other manuscripts (4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e], 4Q551 [Narrative], 4Q554 [NJ^a]), though the defectively-spelled בָּתֶר is more prevalent (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q196 [pap-Tob^a], and 4Q212 [En^g]). The morphology and orthography of 4Q538 are very much in keeping with the majority of Qumran Aramaic texts.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Milik, "Écrits"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 187; Beyer, *ATTM*², 103; Dimant, *History*, 441–54.

Script sample:

לֵל נַנ רִר ט חח וו חח י יֵי א נַנ א
 נַנ ש יֵי קִי י נ עע סס ון נַנ

Language

כדִי: 2.2

כחדא: 1.3

Syntax*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*

1.1, 1.4, 1.5, 2.2, 2.4, 3.4(?), 4.1(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.4(?), 1.5

Verbless clause:

3.3

Lexical items:

אִיָּוִי: 1.2, 1.4, 2.5

אִדָּוִי: 1.1, 1.4

דִּי: 1.4, 4.1

Morphology:

אפעל form:

2.2(2x)

Object suffix on verb:

1.5, 3.4(?)

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

אָ (lexical; 3.3) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

עפֿ"ק (lexical; 1.6)

4Q539, Testament of Joseph (TJoseph)

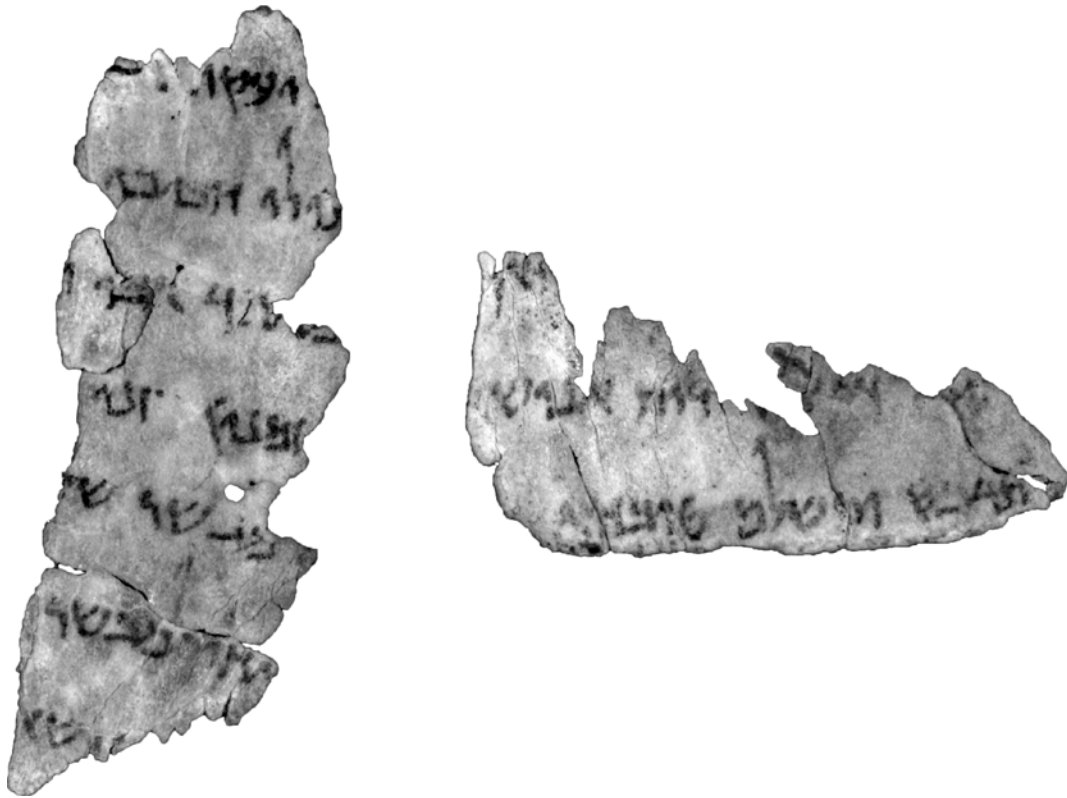
[ed. Puech, DJD 31:201–11]

Content synopsis and significance: Like a number of other Aramaic texts found at Qumran, 4Q539 records the story of a figure from the Hebrew book of Genesis, told from the first-person perspective. This is seen most clearly in the name Jacob two lines before the noun “my father” (אבִי) on frag. 2, and in the phrases “li]sten, my children” (שְׁמַעוּ בְנֵי) and “the children of my uncle, Ishmael” (בְּנֵי דְדִי יִשְׁמָעֵאל) in frag. 3. The context of a father addressing his children in the latter fragment led to the judgment that this is a death-bed testament (on the genre, see Frey “Testament”), though it should be noted that such addresses are widely attested among the Aramaic texts at Qumran, not always as part of an address on the occasion of the protagonist’s death (see Machiela, “Wisdom”). The central character of 4Q539 is probably Joseph, judging by Milik’s comparison of the text with details in the Greek Testament of Joseph (Milik, “Écrits,” 101–2), which was later strengthened by the analysis of Puech in DJD 31. In addition to Jacob and Ishmael, the name Pentephres may occur at 4.6, though the reading is uncertain. This is the name of Joseph’s Egyptian father-in-law in the Septuagint, *Joseph and Aseneth*, the Greek Testament of Joseph, and later sources, used as an alternative to the name Potiphar in MT Gen 41:45 and 46:20. The personal name or toponym Memphis (מֶפֶס) may also be preserved at 1.2. Puech noted that, in some traditions, Memphis is the name of Pentephres’s wife. We also read of someone weeping for “my father” and the wisdom aphorism, “[By the word of]

his[mo]uth will the spirit of a man be trapped” (5.2). While Milik and Puech argued for a number of specific parallels with passages in the Greek testament, these are not always as compelling as they seem to assume. Nevertheless, the cumulative evidence does suggest that the Greek work was derived from a significantly earlier, originally Aramaic composition narrated by Joseph, a small part of which is preserved in 4Q539.

Material remains: Józef Milik originally published frags. 1–3 of this scroll (“Écrits,” 101–2; following the preliminary identification of Jean Starcky), to which Puech later added frags. 4–5 (DJD 31). All of the fragments are rather small and difficult to read. None of them preserves more than three or four consecutive words on a line, with frag. 2 having the most successive lines, at seven. Both Milik and Puech reconstructed frags. 2–3 to form part of a single column, which Puech estimated to be approximately 12 cm wide, containing lines of around fifty to sixty letters. A left margin is preserved on frag. 4, with a damage pattern suggesting a vertical column guideline. 4Q539 is the only known copy of this work from Qumran or elsewhere.

Provenance: The fragments of 4Q538 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q539 2 and 5 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Images B-363281 [left] and B-363295 [right]

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES

AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible, but probable

Vertical column lines: Yes
(frag. 4)

Average medial letter height:
2 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE (favoring 80–50 BCE), slightly earlier than 4Q538 (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The left side of a column is preserved on frag. 4, though the fragments are in poor condition and difficult to assess for overall manuscript quality. The scroll was evidently ruled throughout, although the horizontal ruling is now too faint to see on the fragments. Lines are evenly spaced, and the scribe wrote in a small, fairly-consistent formal hand. There are no clear instances of vacats or scribal mistakes in the few bits of text preserved. The orthography of 4Q539 is mostly typical of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, with full spellings that included *aleph* to indicate internal vowels (e.g., אֲתִצְאֵד [from צִ"ד]; 5.2). Characteristic Qumran spellings include אָן, דָּ, and מֵא in 3.4–5. Less common is *aleph* used as the fem. noun ending (רַחֲמֵא; 1.1), rather than *he*. Other irregularities include the possible use of a final letter in medial position at 4.4 (תְּשִׁלְמֵת, though the reading is far from certain) and a medial form in final position (מִבְּ; 1.2). The syntactic placement of the verb and subject after an indirect object

in 5.2 can be attributed to the poetic, aphoristic character of this phrase, something found more often with wisdom-sayings in the Aramaic texts (see, e.g., the poem at the end of the Aramaic Levi Document). It appears to me that what Puech read as תַּמְנִין [“quatre-vingt”; 2.4] is rather זַמְנִין [“times”; cf. 1Q21 [Levi] 3.2].

Script sample:



Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

5.3

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

5.2

Morphology:

אפעל form:

2.3

אתפעל form:

5.2

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

2.3(?)

1Q21, Levi

[ed. Milik, DJD 1:87–91]

Content synopsis and significance: The contents of this scroll are difficult to discern, due to its extremely poor state of preservation. However, it does overlap in several places with other known copies of the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran and elsewhere, confirming that it is the only copy of this work from Cave 1. Some important words and phrases reinforcing a connection to the Document are יצחק “Isaac” (5.1),]יעקב[“]Jacob[” (19.1),]מן זרע[“from [the] seed of ...” (28.1),]אבין[“my father[” (29.1), שמיא “the heavens” (32.1, 37.3), and]ישראל[“I]srael[” (58.1). The most extensive and noteworthy phrase is found in 1.2,]מלכות רבא מן מלכות[“the kingdom of the priesthood is greater than the kingdom of[.” We also find the word תַּמְלַךְ “you will be king” at 7.2, which seems related to

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

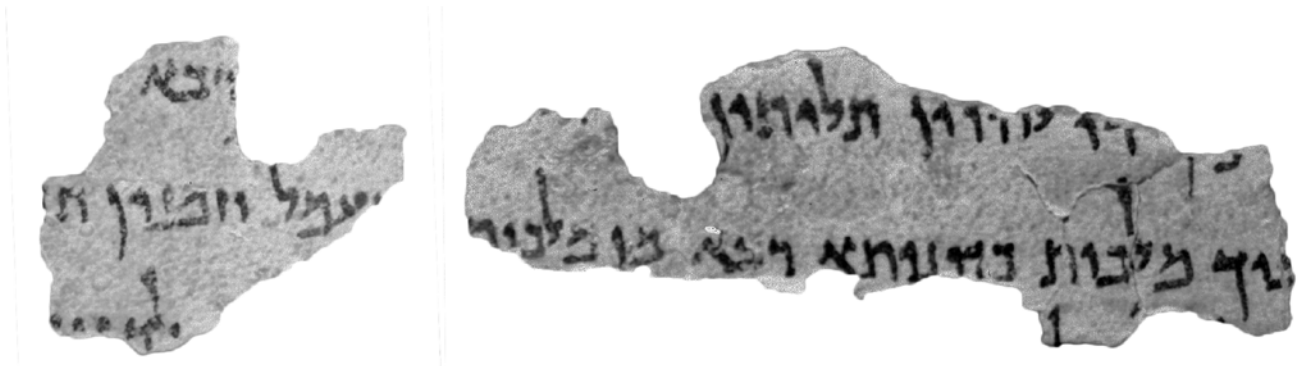
Select bibliography: Milik, “Écrits”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 188; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 71; Beyer, *ATTM*², 103–4.

the statement in another Qumran copy of the Document that both priests and kings will arise from among Levi’s offspring (4Q213 [Levi^a] iii+2.10–18; see Kugel, “Levi”). The mention of kingship also coheres with Michael Stone’s argument that the Aramaic Levi Document transfers the royal blessing of Judah (Gen 49) to Qahat (“Axis,” 134–35). The elevated status of Levi’s offspring is a common theme in many of the Qumran Aramaic texts, most notably the Testament of Qahat (4Q542) and Visions of Amram (4Q543–547). These texts often emphasize the priestly identity or cultic functions of Levi’s descendants, but they are also exalted for their future roles as teachers, judges, and rulers.

Material remains: This manuscript consists of sixty tiny fragments, none containing more than a few letters, words, or, in several cases, an isolated phrase. Milik identified the fragments with one another primarily on palaeographic grounds (DJD 1:87; cf. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 22). Most are too small to assess or place with any confidence. Several fragments, however, overlap or share verbal affinities with copies of the Aramaic Levi Document known from Qumran, the Cairo Geniza, and Mt. Athos. While no direct overlap exists between frag. 1 and other witnesses to the Document, Milik, Grelot, Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, and Drawnel place it in the story of Levi's vision(s) as a young man (see Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 22; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 66, who also place frag. 7 here). 1Q21 3 overlaps for up to two words (3.2) with the Geniza Bodleian manuscript, also as part of Levi's vision (Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 54; Greenfield, Eshel, and

Stone also place 1Q21 26 here). 1Q21 4 and 45 appear to overlap for one or two partial words with sections of the Bodleian manuscript (lines 9 and 26, respectively) recounting Isaac's instructions to Levi, following Levi's vision(s) (Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 54). 1Q21 45 also seems to overlap with 4Q214 (Levi^d) 2.3 (see DJD 22:46), the only correspondence of 1Q21 with a Cave 4 copy of the Aramaic Levi Document. For a recent, comprehensive overview of the discovery and publication of the Qumran Aramaic Levi materials, focused especially on the central role of J.T. Milik, see Drawnel, "Milik."

Notes on provenance: The fragments assigned by Milik to 1Q21 were found as part of the official excavation of Qumran Cave 1, under the direction of Roland de Vaux and G. Lankester Harding in February and March, 1949 (DJD 1:43).



Sample image: 1Q21 1, 3

Image B-278279

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: 1.6–1.9 cm
(frag. 7)

Letters per line: At least 24
(frag. 1)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2–2.5 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (8.1 [8 mm];
minor sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean (Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel) formal

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–1 BCE (Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel)

Special traits and general comments: Although we possess only very fragmentary remains of this copy, it is evident from the larger fragments (1, 3, 7–8, 48) that it was of high quality, comparable in its spacing and scribal execution to manuscripts such as 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b), 4Q537 (TJacob?), and 1Q20 (apGen). The only extant intercolumnar margin is very generous in size, and it appears that vacats were used based on frag. 8, and perhaps also frag. 48. The scribe wrote in a small, tidy Late Hasmonean or Early Herodian script that is closely comparable to that of 1Q20 (apGen). A *lamed* prefix with the verb הוה"ה (1.10) was used, as expected from the wider Qumran corpus, and the scribe apparently preferred the short form of the demonstrative pronoun הו (36.1, 40.1, 56.1). At times, the orthography is more defective than in many other Qumran Aramaic scrolls, as seen in the repeated spellings כל (8.2, 37.2, 39.1) and הוו (22.2, 55.1). However, we also find what appears to be the long form of the second sg. masc. pronoun אנתה (7.1), suggesting a mixed orthographic picture. One also wonders if the long form of the fem. possessive suffix is used at 23.2, as in several other Qumran texts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen]).

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 195–98, 208–9; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATTM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Schattner-Rieser, “Levi”; Drawnel, “Milik.”

Script sample:

ט ט ח ח ו ו ק ק ד ד ב ב א א
 ו ו נ נ ס ס פ פ ל ל ד ד ג ג ו ו
 ש ש ו ו ק ק נ ע ע

Language**Syntax:***Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*

7i.1(?), 8.1(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.1

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

3.2(2x?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

57.2

Lexical items:

דָּרַן: 11.1, 27.1

דָּ: 1.1, 7i.2, 10.1, 16.1, 25.2, 55.2, 56.1

כְּדָ: 6.1

Morphology:

הַפְעֵל form:

30.3

Orthography/Phonology:

שׁ for /s/:

18.1(?)

4Q213, Levi^a

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:1–24]

Content synopsis and significance: The DJD editors considered 4Q213 to be one of seven Qumran copies of a work commonly called the Aramaic Levi Document (alternatively, the Visions of Levi [Drawnel] or Aramaic Testament of Levi [Milik]). 1Q21 (Levi), 4Q213, 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), 4Q214 (Levi^d), 4Q214a (Levi^e), and 4Q214b (Levi^f). The division of the manuscripts is, in fact, a matter of dispute, and there may be as few as three Qumran copies (see the section on *Material remains*, below). Copies of the Aramaic Levi Document were also discovered in the Cairo Geniza and at Mt. Athos, the latter preserving a Greek translation of parts of the original Aramaic composition. The fragments assigned by Stone and Greenfield to 4Q213 contain portions of Levi's first-person account addressed to his children, seen most clearly in frag. 4. The bulk of the extant text belongs to what most commentators have called a wisdom poem, an ethically-charged discourse in which Levi exhorts his children to walk in the paths of wisdom and knowledge, which includes the cultivation of scribal skills. Fragment 1 provides a stirring description of the ideal sage, with the Cairo Geniza parallel showing that Levi's brother, Joseph, serves as the paradigmatic example to be emulated. Following this introduction, we find a call to seek wisdom that recalls Job 28 and the early chapters of Proverbs. Fragments 2–5 appear to address the future situation of Levi's children and their descendants, at times using apocalyptic language. Many of the literary features found in this manuscript invite comparison with other texts among the Qumran Aramaic corpus. The theme of paternal instruction is shared by many other texts. Modelled on the book of Proverbs and other wisdom

literature, such instruction is found most often in texts related to the pre-Mosaic patriarchs (i.e., Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Levi, Qahat, and Amram), but it also figures prominently in the book of Tobit. Frey ("Testament") suggested that the literary device of paternal instruction in the Aramaic Qumran literature demonstrates that it was integral to the development of the later testamentary genre (cf. Drawnel, "Education"; Dimant, "Themes") exemplified by the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In addition, one passage of Levi's wisdom poem recalls an episode in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). In 4Q213 1i.10–19, we read that the "one who learns wisdom" will not be treated "like a foreigner" in "every land and country to which he will go" (4Q213 1i.10, 16–17, 15). Instead, the inhabitants of those places "will honor him" as a result of their desire "to hear his words of wisdom" (4Q213 1i.14, 19). A strikingly similar scenario, accompanied by close parallels in specific wording, is found in the encounter between Abram and the nobles of the Pharaoh in 1Q20 (apGen) col. 19 (Machiela, "Wisdom," 233–47). In this account, Pharaoh's nobles are aware of Abram's reputation for wisdom. They seek him out during his sojourn in Egypt, so that he might teach them "scribal craft, and wisdom, and truth" (1Q20 [apGen] 19.24–25). In response to their inquiry, Abram reads to them from "the book of the words of Enoch" (1Q20 [apGen] 19.25). In 4Q213, Levi uses a triad of terms (ספר ומסור וחכמה) very close to that describing Abram in 1Q20 (apGen; ספרא וחכמתא וקושטא). In 4Q213, foreigners will seek out the wise man "to hear the words of his wisdom" (למשמע מלי חכמתה), while in 1Q20 (apGen) Pharaoh's nobles seek out Abram "because of my words

and my wisdom” (על מלי ועל חכמתי). The phrase “ways of truth” (ארחת קשטא) in 4Q213 as a metaphor for proper behavior is another characteristic feature of the Aramaic literature at Qumran more broadly (e.g., 4Q213a [Levi^b] 1.12; 4Q212 [En^g] iii.18; iv.22; iv.25; 4Q243 [psDan^a] 7.3). Levi’s sons are described in this manuscript as abandoning the “ways of truth” (4Q213 4.5), which stands in contrast to the behavior of figures like Noah and Tobit, who are described as walking in the “ways of truth” (1Q20 [apGen] 6.3), the “paths of everlasting truth” (1Q20 [apGen] 6.2), or the “ways of truth and righteousness” (Tob 1:3). In a number of these passages, “darkness” is described as the future fate of those who abandon the ways of truth, or travel down the “highway of deceit” (4Q213 4.7; 1Q20 [apGen] 6.3). Dualistic language of this sort is in keeping with the worldview of many of the Aramaic texts kept at Qumran.

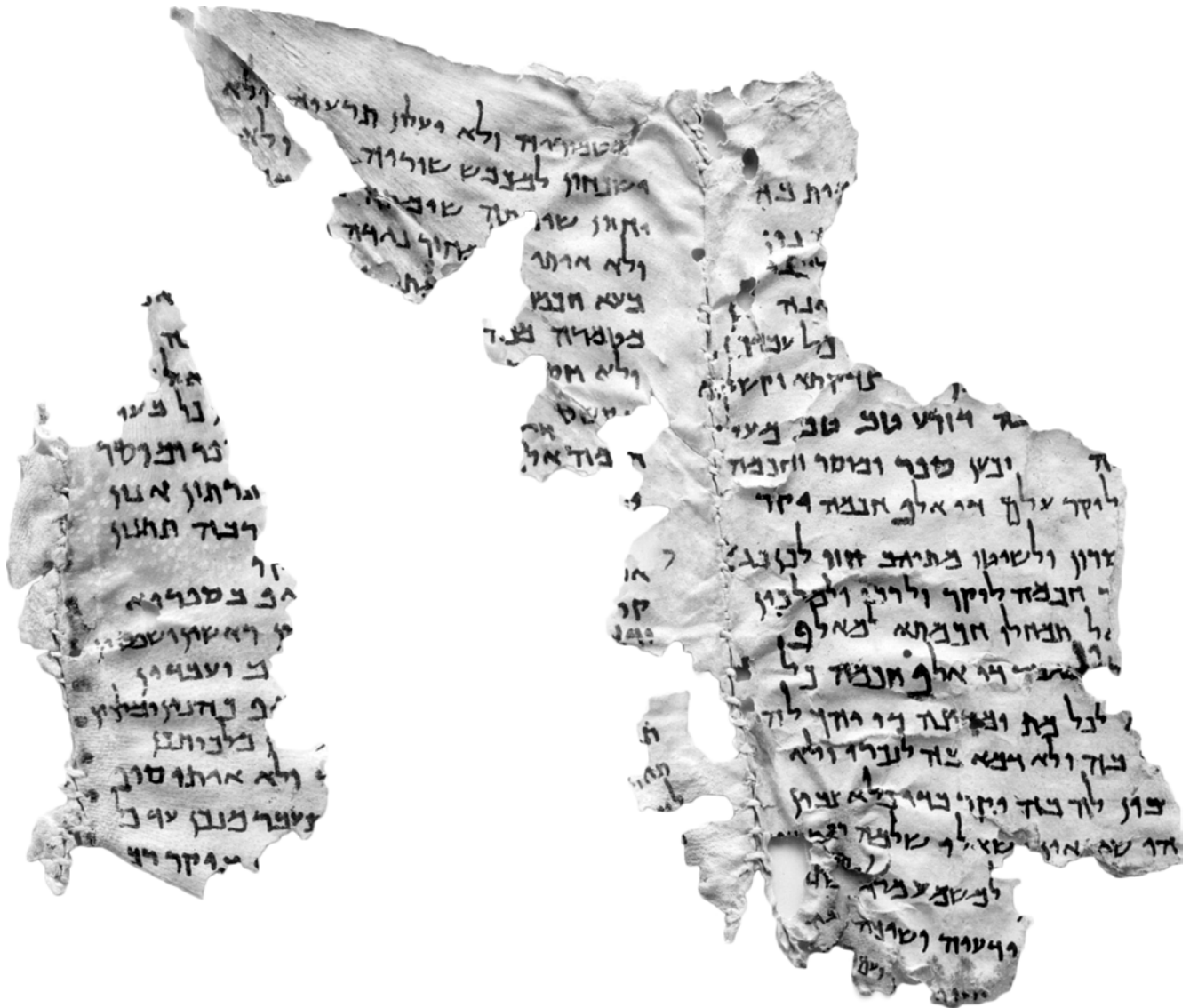
Material remains: What Stone and Greenfield designated 4Q213 comprises five fragments, frag. 1 being much larger than the rest. Fragment 1 contains parts of two columns on adjoining sheets, each preserving roughly twenty lines of text. The first column overlaps with material from the Cairo Geniza, and has notable similarities with the Greek Testament of Levi 12–13 (this led scholars as early as R.H. Charles to argue that the Aramaic Levi Document served as a source for the Greek testament; Charles, *Testaments*, 245–56; cf. DJD 22:2). There are some possible, minor overlaps between 4Q213 iii and 4Q214a (Levi^e) 2–3 and 4Q214b (Levi^f) 8. Fragment 2i may belong to the same column as found on frag. iii (so Stone and Greenfield). Fragments 3–5 have no parallel in any extant copy of the Aramaic Levi Document, Qumran or otherwise. Of these final three fragments, only frag. 4 contains any more than a few words and phrases. A tiny, sixth fragment is found on PAM 43.241, though the DJD editors did not consider it to be a part of 4Q213 or the Aramaic Levi Document. In fact, we cannot even be sure that it is part of an Aramaic text (DJD 22:24).

Hanneke van der Schoor (“Variation”) recently challenged Stone and Greenfield’s division of the manuscripts 4Q213, 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d), a division generally followed by Drawnel and other scholars. Van der Schoor argued that the fragments constituting Stone and Greenfield’s four manuscripts should instead be considered parts of a single copy. In this she followed the earlier opinion of Milik, who originally (“Le Testament”) discerned three copies (see also the label on PAM 42.363), but a decade later changed his mind (“Fragment”) and claimed that they were, in fact, parts of “un seul rouleau,”

which he designated “4Q213 TestLevi^a.” This is confirmed by the labels on PAM 43.241–243, all of which are written in Milik’s distinctive hand. They clearly identify the fragments gathered by Stone and Greenfield under 4Q213, 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) as TestLevi^a. Milik’s judgement has now been treated in even more depth by Drawnel (“Milik”), who now seems to endorse Milik’s view. Van der Schoor built her case on the scribal variation to be expected in an informal script like that used for 4Q213, 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d). In her opinion, Stone and Greenfield misinterpreted this variation, along with some inconsistencies between the skin of different fragments, though they did consider 4Q213a (Levi^b) and 4Q213b (Levi^c) to be different copies written by the same scribe. As a result, they wrongly divided the fragments into four different manuscripts based on palaeographic traits that fall within the acceptable range of variation for an informal script from this period. For example, handwriting features that Stone and Greenfield (in consultation with Frank Moore Cross) isolated as distinctive on 4Q213a (Levi^b), such as the small *aleph*, the rounded final *nun*, the large *kaph*, and the formation of *tet*, are rightly shown by van der Schoor also to be present on 4Q213 and 4Q214 (Levi^d). She correctly noted, for example, that *tet* could be written using either one or two strokes even on the same fragment (4Q213 1), clearly by the same scribe. Final letters show varied forms in several of the fragments. In my opinion, Milik and Van der Schoor (now tentatively affirmed by Drawnel, “Milik”) are quite plausibly correct, and all (certainly most) fragments of Stone and Greenfield’s 4Q213, 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) may justifiably be gathered under the single designation, 4Q213. Some scribal features not discussed by Milik or van der Schoor support their position, such as overall spacing and sizes of columns, sizes of margins, use of vacats, orthography, comparable “fishhook” scribal marks in the margins of 4Q213 1 and 4Q213a (Levi^b) 2, similarly-spaced guide dots in the margins of 4Q213 2 and 4Q213a (Levi^b) 2, and manuscript construction (e.g., the guide dots were marked at the edge of sheets before they were sewn on 4Q213 and 4Q213a [Levi^b]). As noted by all scholars working on the text, 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b (Levi^f) should be treated as one, or possibly two, separate manuscripts (on the question of their unity, see the profile for 4Q214a [Levi^e]). For a recent, comprehensive overview of the discovery and publication of the Qumran Aramaic Levi materials, focused especially on the central role of J.T. Milik, see Drawnel, “Milik.”

Notes on provenance: Most of 4Q213 1 and 4 are present on the early PAM “G series” plate 40.612, meaning that these fragments were among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). Tigchelaar also identified a very small piece of frag. 1

(attached to the left edge of the fragment in later photos) on the “E series” PAM image 40.978. As a result, we can see that some fragments of this scroll were found in Cave 4 by the Bedouin, and others by the official excavation team.



Sample image: 4Q213 1, 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least 14 cm h.

Margins:

Upper: 1–1.5 cm (frags. 1, 3, 6)

Lower: 1.8 cm (frag. 5)

Intercolumnar: 8–15 mm (across seam connecting two sheets; frags. 1–2)

Column dimensions: At least 11.5 cm h. × approx. 8 cm w. (Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction of frags. iii–2)

Lines per column: At least 20

Letters per line:

Approx. 40 (based on Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction of frags. iii–2)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible, but marginal guide dots present on frag. 2

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height: 2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium (ii.9 [1.1 cm], 2.8 [1.9 cm]; minor sense divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); pre-Hasmonean (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 50–25 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); 175–150 BCE (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Radiocarbon date: 191–155 BCE (59%) or 146–120 BCE (41%) (see Van der Schoor, "Radiocarbon")

Special traits and general comments: The construction of this manuscript is of immediate interest, since, assuming that the reconstruction of frags. 1–2 is correct, there is a stitched seam on both sides of a single column that presumably fell somewhere towards the middle or end of this composition. Given the combined facts that every other preserved fragment of 4Q213–4Q214 (Levi^d) also has stitching preserved at one of its edges (on the unity of these manuscripts, see above), and that frags. 3–4 seem to follow in relatively close proximity to the wisdom poem of frags. 1–2 (Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 342–48; cf. T. Levi 13–14), there is a strong probability that other single columns were also written on small, individual sheets of skin and then sewn together. This is highly irregular for the Qumran scrolls, which almost always include several or more columns on each sheet for lengthy literary works like the Aramaic Levi Document (see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 33–36). The skin looks to be of good quality, but whoever was responsible for making this manuscript chose small sheets rather than the larger ones often dedicated to the Qumran manuscripts. This trait could be evidence of a somewhat lower-quality manuscript, which accords well with several other scribal features. Judging from the high-quality images made available by the Israel Antiquities Authority, it is clear that the thread used to sew the columns is of a spun, plant-based material, and not animal sinew. The dimensions of the scroll and its columns fall in the middle of the corpus range, roughly comparable to the size of 11Q10 (Job). The same is true of the margins, which appear to vary somewhat from sheet to sheet on the scroll. What Stone and Greenfield considered to be a vacat on 4Q213 ii.1 may, in fact, simply be a slightly larger upper margin on the sheet containing that column. A measurement of that margin shows that it is similar in size to the left side of the upper margin on the following sheet (col. ii).

While frags. 1, 2, and 6 suggest that a fairly regular space of 5–10 mm was left between the right-hand stitched edge of a sheet and the beginning of the written lines, ends of lines often come close to the left edge of the column/sheet (cf. frags. 1–5). In fact, at the end of ii.7 we see that the word טשק is written across the stitched seam, telling us that the scribe penned the text *after* the sheets had been sewn together (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 33–34). This is uncommon among the Qumran manuscripts, and it is often assumed that scribes first wrote on individual sheets of skin, only after which were the sheets sewn together. The fact that the scribe wrote after the sheets had been sewn (at least for these columns) may be linked to the unusual use of small, single-column sheets for this manuscript. The penmanship of this scribe is only fair, with more erratic spacing than on the better manuscripts in the corpus (e.g., 4Q204 [En^c], 4Q544 [Visions of Amram^b]). The latter

trait is due to the fact that scribal guidelines were apparently not used, despite the presence of ink dots to mark where lines would be placed on both sides of the seam for frag. 2. None of the other seams have guide dots preserved, though it may be telling that some of the dots in the upper part of frag. 2 appear to have been sewn into the seam, and are therefore no longer visible. Similar dots are found in the margin of 4Q213a (Levi^b). While the dots of frag. 2 were placed on the left and right edges of the two sheets, spaced approximately 5–6 mm apart, they seem not to have been used for ruling the columns. Taken together, these traits suggest that: 1.) small sheets were prepared with guide dots inked on one or both sides of the sheet, 2.) the sheets were sewn together, and 3.) the scribe wrote the text, perhaps following the dots as a rough guide to spacing, but not using ruled guidelines.

This scribe had the idiosyncratic habit of putting a lower, horizontal “foot” stroke on the final *pe*, something witnessed several times in frags. 1 and 2. While this results in the final *pe* being similar to medial *pe* in shape, the final letters are much larger than medial ones in frag. ii. There are few clear mistakes in what remains of the manuscript, aside from several instances of supralinear addition, though Stone and Greenfield noted the unusual number of ink dots on the fragments. While dots are sometimes used as deletion markers (e.g., in 1Q20 [apGen]), the high number of dots and their placement on the manuscript make it likely that at least some of them are the result of ink having dripped accidentally from the pen during the course of copying. Medium-sized vacats were used to indicate minor progressions in the text. A final scribal mark of note is the “fishhook” symbol in the margin of iii.11,

Script sample:

אא פפ אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה

which probably indicates some sort of section break, as suggested by Stone and Greenfield.

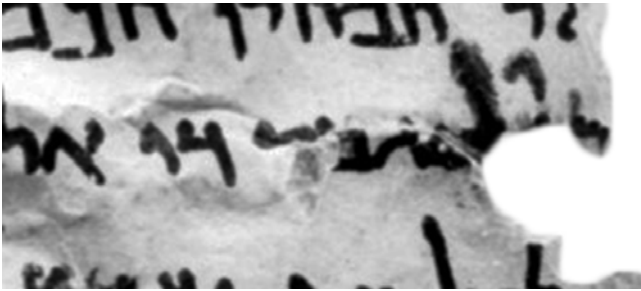
This scribe tended toward a more defective orthographic style (e.g., קשטא, בל) than is found in many of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, with a manuscript like 4Q542 (TQahat) representing the extreme other end of the spectrum. Defective spelling extended to assimilation of the *nun* in a word like תתנון, which would more often be spelled תנתנון (as in 4Q542 [TQahat] ii.10). Nevertheless, several of the spelling practices of this scribe reflect the wider conventions of the Aramaic scrolls at Qumran. These include the use of *aleph* as a *mater lectionis* for vowels, and the correct use of etymological *sin* rather than *samek* in words such as שג[י]אין and שימה. Also, in keeping with the compositional character of many other Aramaic texts kept at Qumran is the presence of numerous, lightly Aramaicized Hebrew words drawn from biblical parlance. Stone and Greenfield dated the scribal hand to the middle of the first century BCE, in consultation with Cross, though Drawnel recently reported (“Milik,” 114) that Milik had dated the hand to the early second century BCE in a yet-unpublished monograph on what Milik called the Aramaic Testament of Levi. This is a significant disagreement in palaeographic date, and the script is in need of further study.

Original manuscript quality: Good

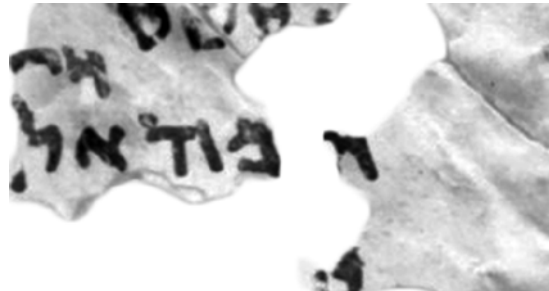
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Schattner-Rieser, “Levi”; Van der Schoor, “Variation”; Drawnel, “Milik.”

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

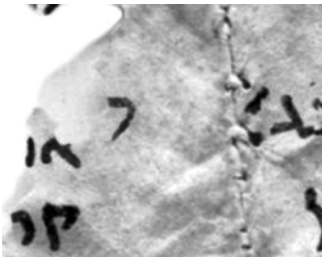
(a) Supralinear letters added, possibly in a different hand (ii.14): לִי־וְגִבֹרֹתֵי



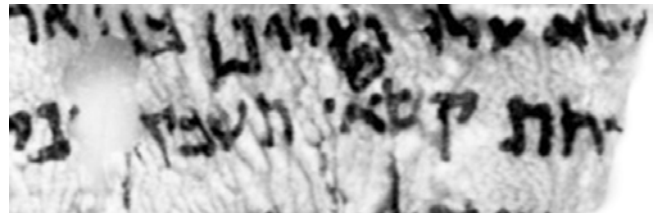
(b) Supralinear word or letters (iii.9): םד



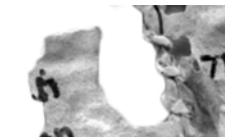
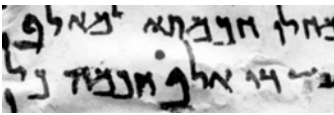
(c) Scribal “fishhook” symbol in margin (iii.11)



(d) Supralinear letter added and possible scribal dot following *aleph* (4.5): קשׁטא



(e) Ink dots from possible spills: פ (ii.14), ה (iii.1), ה (iii.9), ת (iii.16)

**Language****Syntax:**

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

ii.14(part.), 4.7

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

4.3

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

ii.8(part.), ii.11(part.)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.13, ii.16(part.), iii.1, iii.2(?), iii.3(?), 4.4, 4.6(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

ii.15, ii.17(part.), 4.5, 4.6(?), 4.8

Verbless clause:

ii.18

Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb): ii.13

Interrogative ה:

4.2, 4.4

Lexical items:

אִיתִי: iii.4, 2.14

אִדִּין: 5.2

בְּדִי: ii.17

–ד: ii.8

דִּי: ii.10, ii.14, ii.15, iii.9, 4.7

כַּעַן: ii.9, 4.8

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

ii.18 (note also שִׁמָּה in ii.20)

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

- מוסר (lexical; ii.9, 2.5) [H]
 מחיר (lexical; iii.4) [h]
 נגדה (lexical; iii.4, following the understanding of
 Beyer and Stadel) [H]
 שפִּטִּין (lexical; 2.10) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

- שיטו (morphological [noun form]; ii.11)
 מח"ל (lexical [verb]; ii.13)
 טמ"ר/מטמור (lexical-morphological [verb and
 noun form]; iii.1, 6)

4Q213a, Levi^b

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:25–36; Puech, DJD 37:51–17 (additional frag. 3)]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of up to seven, and as few as three, Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, parts of which were also found in the Cairo Geniza and at Mt. Athos (see profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). Fragments 1–2 likely fall somewhere near the beginning of the composition (compare the contents of frag. 2 with T. Levi 2). These fragments contain enough text to provide a basic knowledge of this part of the composition, portions of which correspond with Jub. 30–31 and the Greek Testament of Levi. Fragment 1 is a first-person prayer by Levi, addressed to “my Lord” (1.10). The prayer displays several themes also found in other Aramaic compositions from Qumran, such as the “ways of truth” mentioned in 1.12 (cf. 4Q212 [En^g] iii.18; iv.22; iv.25; 4Q213 [Levi^a] 4.5; 4Q243 [psDan^a] 7.3; Tob 1:3) or the triad “wisdom, knowledge, and strength” in 1.14 (cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 19.25). Levi also asks that God not allow “any satan” to have dominion (שִׁלְטָא) over him in 1.17, a request that evokes some of the language and themes found in the Visions of Amram (4Q544 [Visions of Amram^b] 1.12), where two angels, one good and the other bad, are said to have been given dominion (שִׁלְטָא) over all of humanity (cf. Peters, *Traditions*, 58). The prayer is followed, in frag. 2, by a partially-preserved vision bequeathed to Levi while he is travelling to see his father, Jacob. The language used to introduce the vision (חזיון אֲחֻזִּית) parallels other visionary accounts from among the Aramaic scrolls (see, e.g., 1 En. 19:3; 83:1–2; 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1.5). As a motif, the dream-vision is one of the most widely attested features of the Aramaic scrolls, appearing in compositions across the corpus (see Perrin, *Dynamics*, for the most comprehensive treatment of this theme). The vision occurs in the geographic vicinity of Abel Mayin, as does Enoch’s vision beginning at 1 En. 13:9. The content of Levi’s vision resembles that of Enoch in 1 En. 14, with both episodes including a heavenly journey and revealed knowledge. A distinctive aspect of Levi’s vision, however, is its focus on the divine bestowal of the priesthood on Levi and his progeny. Fragments 3–4 may deal with the story of Dinah and the Shechemites (Gen 34), though the woman described

is unnamed in the preserved material and scholars have debated her identity. Whoever she is, these fragments include the condemnation of an illicit marriage, but turn in the final extant lines to a positive future for the transgressor’s people. Fragments 3–4 end with the mention of a “holy tithe,” highlighting the priestly focus of this text. The same focus is seen in a fragmentary reference to “the eternal priesthood” in frag. 5. Themes related to the priesthood appear in a significant number of the Aramaic scrolls, as first noted by Milik (*Dix ans*). The Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram show the most explicit and thoroughgoing interest in the priesthood, but such interest is also reflected in the Testament of Jacob?, New Jerusalem, Tobit, 1 Enoch, and the Genesis Apocryphon.

Material remains: Stone and Greenfield grouped six fragments under the label 4Q213a, with frags. 5 and 6 being roughly the size of a postage stamp and containing little readable text. However, see the discussion of *Material remains* for 4Q213 (Levi^a) on the likelihood that the fragments of 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a, 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) should be considered parts of a single manuscript, as suggested by Milik (see now Drawnel, “Milik”) and argued more substantially by Van der Schoor (“Variation”). 4Q213a 1–2 are the most substantial fragments under this manuscript heading, each having fourteen preserved lines of text. They are “triangular fragments from the bottom corners, right and left respectively, of two adjoining sheets that were originally sewn to one another” (DJD 22:25). The maximum height and width of the triangular, combined fragments are slightly larger than a typical playing card. Overlapping material shared by frags. 1–2 and the Greek Mt. Athos manuscript has allowed the editors to reconstruct a substantial portion of the lines on these fragments (DJD 22:31–33). Fragments 3 and 4 have been plausibly joined by the editors, resulting in seven partial lines of writing. To these Puech added a small, additional fragment with a clear join to the top, right corner of frag. 3 (DJD 37:51–17). These fragments contain text with

no apparent parallels in the other extant Aramaic Levi Document copies, at Qumran or elsewhere.

Notes on provenance: Fragment 2 of 4Q213a is found on the early PAM "G series" plate 40.609, meaning that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952

(see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). If 4Q213a is treated with 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) as part of the same scroll, then the small fragment of 4Q213 (Levi^a) 1 found in the official 1952 excavations of de Vaux, and included on the "E series" PAM plate 40.978, also attests to the Cave 4 origins of 4Q213a.



Sample image: 4Q213a 1, 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Lower: 1.7 cm (frags. 1–2);
4–7 mm on frags. 4–5 (if the margin is fully preserved)

Intercolumnar: 1.8–2.2 cm
(frags. 1–2, across the seam of two sheets), 8–17 mm (frag. 4, to a sheet seam)

Column dimensions: Approx. 11 cm h. (Milik's reconstruction from frags. 1–2) and at least 9–10 cm w. (frags. 3–4)

Lines per column:
Approx. 18 (Milik's reconstruction from frags. 1–2; see Puech, DJD 37:512)

Letters per line: Approx. 30–35
(frags. 3–4)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible (though see the comments of Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:25), plus marginal guide dots

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 5–7 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (1.12? [2.5 mm], 2.11 [3 mm], 2.13 [4 mm], 2.15 [8 mm]) and medium (6.2 [at least 1.8 cm]); all minor sense divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); pre-Hasmonean (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 75–50 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); 175–150 BCE (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Special traits and general comments: The fragments of 4Q213a are comparable in many ways to those of 4Q213 (Levi^a), and all are likely parts of the same manuscript. Nevertheless, the fragments of 4Q213a give the overall impression of having slightly more even spacing and thicker lettering. Full (*plene*) spellings are found somewhat more often than in 4Q213 (Levi^a), but some words are spelled defectively (e.g., כּל in all but one instance). Such variation is well within the acceptable range of a single scribe among the Qumran manuscripts, as argued by Van der Schoor ("Variation"). The word טש in 1.17 shows proper use of the etymological *sin*, with the noun shifting to טס in later Aramaic dialects. Scribal dots are found along the preserved right margin of frag. 2, regularly placed about 6 mm apart. While scribal guidelines are not discernable on the photographs, the fact that the lines of writing consistently align with these dots may suggest that lightly inscribed lines were once present, but are no longer visible. This would cohere with Milik's early appraisal of the manuscript ("Le Testament," 399), and the later comments of Stone and Greenfield (DJD 22:25). The scribal hand is clearly that of a trained scribe, though somewhat messy in the regulation and formation of letters. In frags. 3–4.6 a pair of corrections are of special interest for two reasons: First, it appears that in both cases the longer 3fs suffix אה– was first written, but then later corrected to the shorter form ה–. The long form occurs in at least five other Qumran manuscripts, and is an oft-cited feature in discussions of Qumran Aramaic (note, too, the repeated use in 4Q213a of the long 2ms ending כה–/כה–). Second, two different forms of correction were used for what may have been an *aleph* in each case, erasure in the first instance (אבוהא, so Puech) and vertical and horizontal lines struck through the letter for the second (עמהא). A scribal "fishhook" mark very similar to that in 4Q213 (Levi^a) was used between 2.10 and 2.11 to signal a new section, which is evident from the small vacat and the word באדין to begin 2.11. This scribe used small vacats more generally to indicate minor sense divisions in what little remains of this manuscript. A final notable feature is the mixed use of י and –י in the same manuscript (as in 4Q212 [En^g]), representing both the "early" and "late" forms of the relative pronoun (typically יד at Qumran), respectively.

Original manuscript quality: Good

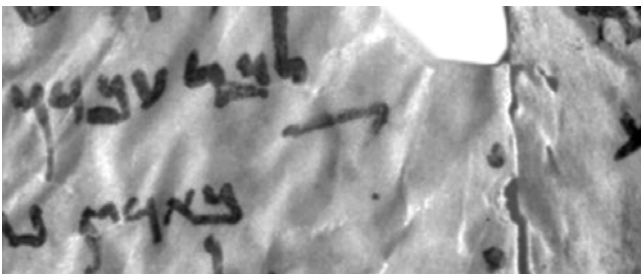
Select bibliography: Milik "Le Testament"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATTM*², 104–10; Stone and Greenfield, "Prayer"; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Schattner-Rieser, "Levi"; Van der Schoor, "Variation"; Drawnel, "Milik."

Script sample:

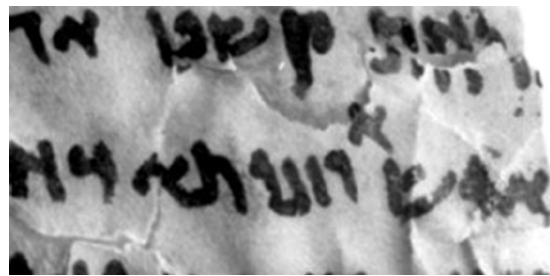
אא בא גג דד הה וו חח טט יי ככ
 לל מם ננ סס עע פפ צצ קק
 רר שש תת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Marginal “fishhook” symbol (2.10–11)



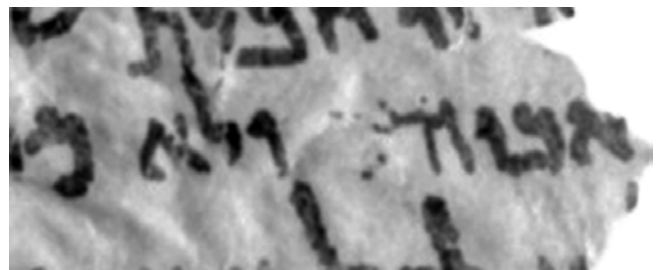
(b) Supralinear letter added (1.13): ב[אישׁׁ



(c) Letter deleted with vertical and horizontal lines (3–4.6): {עמה}א



(d) Possible erasure of letter by scraping (leather is abraded; Stone and Greenfield and Puech suggest *aleph*) (3–4.6): [אבוה:]



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2.14, 3.16

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2.18(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1.11(part.)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.17, 2.11, 2.16, 2.17, 3.13, 3.15

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

2.15(?)

Object early in clause:

2.15

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

2.7

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

1.8, 2.17

Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb): 1.17

Lexical items:

- אֲדִין: 2.13, 2.15
 בִּאֲדִין: 2.11
 -ד: 1.16(2x), 2.7
 זִי: 3.15
 כִּדִי: 2.12
 כִּעֵן: 3.12

Morphology:

- אִפְעַל form:
 1.12, 2.15
 Object suffix on verb:
 1.18

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

- 1.10, 1.11, 1.14, 3.13

Orthography/Phonology:

- zms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא/כז:
 1.18

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

- שֵׁטן (lexical; 1.17) [H]
 חֲזִיוֹן (lexical; 2.15) [H]
 אֵל (lexical; 3–4.8, following the correct reading of Milik et al. against Stone and Greenfield) [H]

4Q213b, Levi^c

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:37–41]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of up to seven, and as few as three, Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, a composition which was also found in the Cairo Geniza and at Mt. Athos (see profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). 4Q213b contains a small part of the end of a dream-vision received by Levi, followed by several lines of first-person narration by the patriarch (see the discussion on the importance of dream-visions in Aramaic Scrolls in the profile of 4Q213a [Levi^b]). The vision evidently focused on the election of Levi to the priesthood. In line 2, Levi reports awaking from his sleep. Subsequent lines mention Levi's secrecy regarding the dream's content, that Levi's father Jacob presented a tithe (another priestly theme), and the bestowal of something upon Levi from among Jacob's sons, likely related to his receiving the priesthood. On the importance of the priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Qumran Aramaic corpus as a whole, see the profile for 4Q213a (Levi^b). Several phrases in this fragment recall language found in other Qumran Aramaic texts, most notably the Genesis Apocryphon. These include the expression אֲתַעִירָהּ [אֲנִי אֲנִי מִן שְׁנֵי in line 1 ("And]I awoke from my sleep"; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 19.17; 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 9.8) and טִמְרָה [גְּלִיתָהּ לֹא אֲנִי אֲנִי מִן שְׁנֵי] ("I [hid] this too in my heart, and to no one [did I reveal it]"; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 6.12).

Material remains: Stone and Greenfield included only one fragment under this manuscript designation, though it most probably belongs together with 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a (Levi^b), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) as part of a single scroll (see the *Material remains* section for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). The fragment contains six partial lines of text, most having

between four and six complete or nearly-complete words (with the exception of line 6, which is badly damaged). It comes from the left side of a column, with a small part of the margin preserved. 4Q213b overlaps with several lines of the Cairo Geniza text, allowing scholars to reconstruct some missing portions of the Qumran fragment. As Stone and Greenfield highlight in the textual notes, "[W]here the text is extant in the two manuscripts, it is almost completely identical" (DJD 22:40). It is worth noting that their reconstructed text, based on the Cairo copy, makes for an appreciably wider column (approx. fifty-five letters) than that reconstructed in 4Q213 (Levi^a; approx. forty letters). While this should be considered in connection with Van der Schoor's argument about 4Q213 (Levi^a)–214 (Levi^d) being parts of a single scroll, it is a rather weak reason for separating 4Q213 (Levi^a) and 4Q213b into two different copies. We know that widths can vary significantly in different columns of a single copy, as seen, for example, in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). For a recent, comprehensive overview of the discovery and publication of the Qumran Aramaic Levi materials, focused especially on the central role of J.T. Milik, see Drawnel, "Milik."

Notes on provenance: 4Q213b is found on the early PAM "G series" plate 40.618, meaning that it was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). If 4Q213b is treated with 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a (Levi^b), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) as part of the same scroll, then the small fragment of 4Q213 (Levi^a) 1 found in the official 1952 excavations of de Vaux, and included on the "E series" PAM plate 40.978, also attests to the Cave 4 origins of 4Q213b.



Sample image: 4Q213b 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Column dimensions:

Approx. 13 cm w. (based on Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction)

Letters per line: Approx. 55 (Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:

2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (2 [2 mm], 5(?) [2 mm]); minor sense divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); pre-Hasmonean (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 75–50 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); 175–150 BCE (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")

Special traits and general comments: This single fragment has no fully-preserved margins, though a part of the left column margin remains. The scribe of this manuscript wrote in an even script with tightly-packed word spacing, but generous, regular spacing between lines. Although there are no significant vacats, a measurement of spacing reveals that approximately 1 mm extra was left before אָדָן in line 2 and וְלִי in line 5, relative to the surrounding space between words. There is nothing particularly distinctive about the orthography, and no mistakes or corrections are preserved in these few lines.

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Schattner-Rieser, "Levi"; Van der Schoor, "Variation"; Drawnel, "Milik."

Script sample:

אא נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב
 נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב נב

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.4

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

1.2

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.1, 1.3(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.5(?)

Morphology:

אחפעל form:

1.2

Object suffix on verb:

1.1

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

1.1, 1.4

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

1.4

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

עליון (lexical; 1.6, following the correct reading of Beyer and Drawnel) [H]

Lexical items:

אדין: 1.2

כדי: 1.4

4Q214, Levi^d

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:43–51]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of up to seven, and as few as three, Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, a composition which was also partially found in the Cairo Geniza and, in Greek translation, at Mt. Athos (see the profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). In frag. 2 of 4Q214, we read part of the cultic instructions for sacrificing a bull, handed down from Isaac to Levi during a visit by Levi to his grandfather's house. The Qumran Aramaic corpus includes a number of texts that take special interest in sacrificial and other cultic procedures. The Genesis Apocryphon recounts the sacrifices of Noah and Abraham, both of which are elaborated in much greater detail than in their counterparts from the Hebrew Bible (Reeves, "Noah"). New Jerusalem and Testament of Jacob? also include visions in which the sacrificial cult is

described in some detail. Schiffman ("Halakha," *Qumran*) has compared the sacrificial regulations found in New Jerusalem to that of the Aramaic Levi Document, and other studies of this part of the composition include Mali, "Instruction," Feldman, "Sacrifice," and Machiela and Jones, "Beginnings." Fragment 3 contains an otherwise unknown part of the Aramaic Levi Document, discussing the topic of honor (יקר; cf. 4Q213 [Levi^a] ii.12, 17). As in other parts of the composition, these fragments contain first-person discourse directed at another individual or group (e.g., the broken phrase לי תמרון; 3.2). For first-person narration as a prevalent feature in the Aramaic Scrolls, see Dimant ("Qumran Aramaic," "Themes"), Stuckenbruck ("Pseudepigraphy"), Tigchelaar ("Pseudepigraphy"), and Perrin ("Capturing").

Material remains: Four fragments are included by Stone and Greenfield under the siglum 4Q214, though if Van der Schoor is correct they should be included together with 4Q213 (Levi^a), 213a (Levi^b), and 213b (Levi^c) as parts of a single scroll (see the *Material remains* section for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). Fragment 1 is very narrow, with parts of eight lines preserved, none with more than a single word. Fragment 2 contains the most preserved text, though its surface is partially abraded. This fragment overlaps with 4Q214b (Levi^f) 2–3.8 and 1Q21 (Levi) 45, as well as parts of the Cairo Geniza and Mt. Athos witnesses. Fragments 3 and 4 have suffered less damage than frags. 1 and 2, but contain little text, especially frag. 4. A fifth fragment appears on PAM 43.243, but the editors considered it to be an “unidentified fragment” not affiliated with the

Aramaic Levi Document (DJD 22:51). It contains very little legible text, and no complete words. For a recent, comprehensive overview of the discovery and publication of the Qumran Aramaic Levi materials, focused especially on the central role of J.T. Milik, see Drawnel, “Milik.”

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q214 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. However, if they are treated together with 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a (Levi^b), and 4Q213b (Levi^c) as part of the same scroll, then the small fragment of 4Q213 (Levi^a) 1 found in the official 1952 excavations of de Vaux, and included on the “E series” PAM plate 40.978, also attests to the Cave 4 origins of 4Q214.

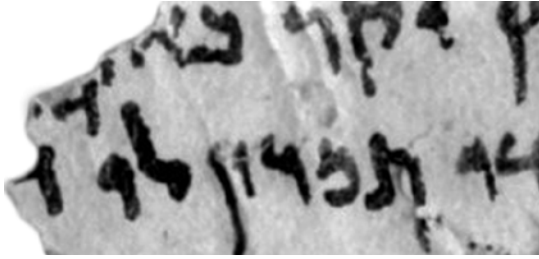


Sample image: 4Q214 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.8 cm (frag. 2)*Intercolumnar:* At least 1.1 cm (frag. 3, partially preserved)**Letters per line:** Approx. 30–35 (Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* None visible*Vertical column lines:* None visible**Average medial letter height:** 2–3 mm (*kaph* and *tav* are often larger)**Space between lines:** 5–7 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (2.8 [8 mm]; minor sense division)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); pre-Hasmonean (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")*Proposed palaeographic date:* ca. 75–50 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); 175–150 BCE (Milik, as reported by Drawnel, "Milik")*Special traits and general comments:* The orthography of this scribe tends to be defective, though the long form of the demonstrative דנה (rather than דן) is used in 4.3. The successive use of the preposition בתר ("after"; sometimes with a suffix) in order to list items is notable, and matches the practice found in 1Q20 (apGen) 10.14 and 17.8–17. The script is of fair quality, somewhat erratic in the sizes and shapes of letters, and the scribe used vacats to indicate minor pauses in the flow of the narrative. Like 4Q213 (Levi^a), 213a (Levi^b), and 213b (Levi^c), the script is technically "formal" (perhaps better, semi-formal) based on ductus and letter formation, though the level of execution is quite relaxed, probably indicating a less formal purpose for this manuscript than for more carefully written copies. A noticeable fluctuation in spacing between lines corresponds with the apparent lack of scribal guidelines, while spacing between words is slightly larger than average.*Original manuscript quality:* Good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATTM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Schattner-Rieser, "Levi"; Van der Schoor, "Variation"; Drawnel, "Milik."*Script sample:*

7 33 11 6 44 1 11 44 9 8 33 44
 44 11 77 44 55 59 2 8 33 44

Corrections and scribal features:(a) Supralinear word added (3.2):]ה^ו יד^ו ל**Language****Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

2.4, 3.1–2(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

3.2

Use of יד to introduce direct quotation:

3.2

Use of negative particle ל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

2.4

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

1.6(?)

Assimilated lamed:

1.6(?)

Other features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

קרביא (lexical; 2.7) [H]

Lexical items:

בתר: 2.5, 2.6, 2.8(?), 2.9

יד: 3.2(2x)

4Q214a, Levi^e

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:53–60]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of up to seven, and as few as three, Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, a composition also found in the Cairo Geniza and at Mt. Athos (see further the profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). The three fragments (or two, in Drawnel's assessment) of 4Q214a contain only a small amount of text, some of it also being found in other witnesses to the Document. Fragment 1 contains bits of a description of what types of wood to use for sacrifices on the altar, which is a part of Isaac's instructions to Levi on proper cultic practices (see the profile of 4Q214 [Levi^d] for a discussion of the sacrificial material in this section). Parallels with other copies allow us to see that col. 1 of frags. 2–3 was part of an autobiographical account of the birth of Levi's children with his wife, Melcha. The issues raised in these two fragments highlight one of the salient themes

of the Aramaic Levi Document and the Aramaic literature at Qumran more broadly: endogamy (see Eshel, "Proper," "Marriage"; Perrin, "Tobit's Context"; and Dimant, "Tobit"). The Aramaic Levi Document recounts that Levi's wife Melcha was a member of Abraham's line, and reports that Levi's daughter Jochebed married Levi's grandson Amram. It also contains the command to "take a wife for yourself from my family, so that you may not defile your seed" (ALD 6:4). This theme is also found in the Visions of Amram, in which the opening scene records the marriage of Amram's sister Miriam to her uncle Uzziel. The Testament of Qahat seems to allude to the practice of endogamous marriage when it refers to remaining "pure from intermingling" (4Q542 [TQahat] ii.8–9; cf. Drawnel, "Education"; Harrington, "Identity"). Some scholars have associated the emphasis on endogamy in the above texts

with their priestly character (e.g., Tervanotko, “Ideal Marriages”); however, the theme of endogamy, and specifically marriage within the family or tribe, is also an important theme in both the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 6.7–9) and Tobit (1:9; 3:15; 4:12–13) (see Machiela and Perrin, “Family Portrait”; Perrin, “Tobit’s Context”). Column 2 appears to be part of the wisdom discourse placed by scholars near the end of the composition. The discourse is directed at Levi’s sons, extolling the virtues of wisdom and the difficulty of finding it (cf. 4Q213 [Levi^a] and 4Q214b [Levi^f]). For a recent, comprehensive overview of the discovery and publication of the Qumran Aramaic Levi materials, focused especially on the central role of J.T. Milik, see Drawnel, “Milik.”

Material remains: 4Q214a consists of three very small fragments, at several points overlapping with other copies of the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran, the Cairo Geniza, and Mt. Athos. Milik (*BE*, 5, 244) evidently thought that Stone and Greenfield’s 4Q214a and 4Q214b (Levi^f) were parts of a single copy, which Milik called 4QTestLevi^b. This is confirmed by the fact that all fragments of 4Q214a and 4Q214b (Levi^f) were placed by Milik on same photographic plate (PAM 43.260), and were clearly labelled in his hand as 4QTestLevi^b in the bottom, left-hand corner of the plate. The writing is very similar across the fragments, as are their physical and scribal features (this view was recently affirmed by Drawnel, “Milik,” 113–15). Stone and Greenfield, seemingly followed by Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom*, 27), noted the similarity of script in the two groupings, but maintained their separation on two bases: 1.) slight differences in the formation of the letters *mem*, final *nun*, and *lamed*; and 2.) what they considered to be overlapping text between 4Q214a 1 and 4Q214b (Levi^f) 2–3, and 4Q214a 2–3ii and 4Q214b (Levi^f) 8. Regarding the differences in script, an argument similar to that mounted by Van der Schoor for 4Q213 (Levi^a)–214 (Levi^d) (see the profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]) could also be made in this case. The script of 4Q214a–214b is slightly more formal than in 4Q213 (Levi^a)–214 (Levi^d), but it is plausible that a single scribe could make the kinds of small variation noted by

Stone and Greenfield between 4Q214a and 4Q214b (Levi^f); see also the comments of Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*, 27, for 4Q214b). As for the overlaps among the fragments, they are very minimal, and the text for this section of the composition is not well established (see now Drawnel, “Milik,” 117–18). In view of these considerations, it is entirely possible that Milik’s view is the correct one. On balance, Milik’s original combination of 4Q214a and 4Q214b (Levi^f) as a single scroll seems preferable.

Fragment 1 of 4Q214a is no bigger than a postage stamp, but its few preserved phrases are thought by Stone and Greenfield to overlap with words from the Cairo Geniza text and 4Q214b (Levi^f) 3 (DJD 22:54, 64). Fragments 2 and 3 were joined by Milik on PAM 43.260 (accepted as correct by the editors in DJD 22:53), with the fragments containing parts of two columns. Drawnel claims, however, that the two pieces are still connected, and should be labelled as a single fragment (*Aramaic Wisdom*, 27). Despite the poor state of preservation, the editors find material in frags. 2–3, col. 1 that may overlap with the Cairo Geniza copy, while small parts col. 2 were thought to overlap with the Geniza text, 4Q213 (Levi^a), and 4Q214b (Levi^f; DJD 22:54, 57–60). The small overlap with the Cairo Geniza text is the most certain of these possibilities. Although the evidence is very fragmentary, Stone and Greenfield, followed by Drawnel, concluded that 4Q214a contains a significantly shorter (or perhaps rearranged) text than the other witnesses to the Aramaic Levi Document. This led to talk of two recensions of the Document (or at least this section of it), with 4Q214a representing the shorter recension, and 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q214b (Levi^f), and the Cairo Geniza copy the longer one. See Kugler (“Reflections”) on whether the Qumran fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document attest to a “single, relatively consistent work” or “a work that existed in diverse recensions.”

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q214a are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q214a 2-3

Image B-280387

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY,
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: Approx. 7–10 mm (frags. 2–3;
at least 7 mm preserved on frag. 1)

Letters per line: Approx. 35–45 (Stone and
Greenfield's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: Yes, right margin only
(frags. 2–3)

Average medial letter height: 2–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (1.2 [8 mm]); minor sense
division)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); Early Hasmonean (Milik [BE, 244], who identified the scribe as the same who wrote 4Q207 [En^f]; see also Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 50–25 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); Milik implicitly dated this script to ca. 150–125 BCE, based on its association with 4Q207 (En^f) (BE, 244; Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Special traits and general comments: The scribe of this manuscript (probably to be combined with 4Q214b [Levi^f]) also appears to have written 4Q207 (En^f). Little remains of this scroll, but from our scant evidence it appears that it was of quite high quality. The script is relatively regular, upright, and neat. Spacing is even and moderate, with small vacats used to indicate minor narrative progressions. Although scribal guidelines are for the most part not discernable, the regular spacing of lines hints that they were once present, but very lightly inscribed. The breakage pattern at the right edge of 4Q214a 2–3ii strongly suggests that a vertical guideline was inscribed there with more pressure, although there is no evidence of such a line at the left edge of the preceding column. There is little that can be said about this manuscript in terms of scribal practices or language.

The lengths of lines at the left edge of the column vary considerably, and at least in the case of אִלִּין (1.1), the scribe preferred a more defective spelling, rather than the longer form אִלִּין.

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATTM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Drawnel, “Milik.”

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Script sample:



Language

Syntax:

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2–3i.4(?)

Morphology:

Assimilated nun:

2–3ii.1

Lexical items:

כְּדִי: 1.2(?), 2–3i.1

כְּעֵן: 2–3ii.5

4Q214b, Levi^F

[ed. Stone and Greenfield, DJD 22:61–71]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of up to seven, and as few as three, Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, a composition also found in the Cairo Geniza and at Mt. Athos (see further the profile for 4Q213 [Levi^a]). The preserved text of frags. 2–3 and 5–6 is part of a pedagogical discourse given by Isaac to Levi, while Levi was visiting his grandfather's home (see the profile of 4Q213 [Levi^a] for a discussion of the significance of paternal instruction in the Aramaic literature from Qumran). Fragment 7 contains only three words, מִן אִלִּין בְּשֵׁרֵי אִלִּין, a phrase which appears to be distinguishing the chosen status of Levi or his progeny “from all flesh.” Fragment 8 contains the words מִן טְמֵרִיא (“hidden places”), and belongs to the wisdom poem – more specifically the description of wisdom's difficulty to attain – that seemingly fell toward the end of the Document (see the profile of 4Q213 [Levi^a] for a fuller treatment of the wisdom poem).

Material remains: Stone and Greenfield's 4Q214b comprises eight fragments, few being larger than a postage stamp. It is quite possible that the fragments of 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b belong to a single copy, on which see the *Material remains* section for 4Q214a (Levi^e). In virtually every respect, the fragments assigned to the two manuscripts are closely comparable. 4Q214b frags. 2–6 overlap with portions of the Cairo Geniza manuscript, as well as several of the other Qumran manuscripts. For a proposed reconstruction of the combined texts, see DJD 22:68–69. Fragment 1 contains only a handful of complete words, and has no parallels with any extant Aramaic Levi Document manuscript. Fragment 7 has only a single, legible phrase. It may overlap with material from 4Q213b (Levi^c) 1 or the Geniza text, though this is not certain (cf. DJD 22:69–70). Fragment 8 is also very poorly preserved, but it appears to overlap with portions of 4Q213

(Levi^a), perhaps 4Q214a (Levi^e; in the opinions of Stone and Greenfield), and the Geniza material (DJD 22:71). This fragment evidently comes from the wisdom poem, which can be partially reconstructed on the basis of 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q214a (Levi^e), 4Q214b, and the Cairo Geniza codex (DJD 22:72).

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q214b 1 on the early PAM “E series” plate 40.976. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining fragments of 4Q214b in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q214b 1–6

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: 3–10 mm
(frags. 5–6)

Letters per line: Approx. 45–50
(Stone and Greenfield's
reconstruction, frags. 2–6)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None
visible

Vertical column lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–9 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (2–3.7
[2 mm], 2–3.8 [4 mm]); minor
sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean formal (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); Early Hasmonean (Milik [BE, 244], who identified the scribe as the same who wrote 4Q207 [En^f]; see also Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 150–100 BCE (Stone and Greenfield, based on Cross); Milik implicitly dated this script to ca. 150–125 BCE, based on its association with 4Q207 (En^f) (BE, 244; Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Special traits and general comments: This scribe, who is likely also responsible for 4Q207 (En^f), wrote in a tidy, well-regulated script, very evenly spaced despite the apparent lack of scribal lines (these may simply be no longer visible). The single intercolumnar margin is smaller than in many higher-quality manuscripts, and in the extant text the scribe twice used very small vacats to indicate minor pauses in the narrative progression. The width and variation in this margin closely resembles that of the margin in 4Q214a (Levi^e) 2–3, supporting the idea that they belong to the same copy, written by a single scribe. This scribe tended to employ the *plene* orthographic conventions typical of the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, though as in 4Q214a (Levi^e) 1.1 the short form אַלן is used (instead of אַלִּין) at 4Q214b 2–3.3. While the etymological *sin* is correctly employed in עש[ע] (2–3.2), as is *samek* in אַדסא (5–6i.5), the *samek* in סגג'א (5–6i.4; Drawnel correctly reads *aleph*, but incorrectly *yod* for the *vav*) is apparently derived from an etymological *shin* or *sin* (Stadel, *Hebraismen*, 46–47). The word אַדסא may also testify to a weakening of the spirantized ה, which is the first letter of this noun in other (admittedly later) Aramaic dialects. Another interesting phonological detail is the spelling of the noun עע (“tree”; 5–6i.2), which developed from an older Aramaic עק (cf. Heb. עץ) and is found elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic as אע (see Morgenstern in DJD 22:62).

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 188–208; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 71–78; Beyer, *ATM*², 104–10; Kugler, *Levi-Priestly*; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*; Drawnel, “Milik.”

Script sample:

11 5 55 אא חח 1 11 77 44 א 55 אא
 חח ש 77 ק 44 חח 55 11 55

Language**Syntax:***Subject-verb (verb later in clause):*

2–3.3(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

5–6i.2

Verbless clause:

2–3.5

Direct object marker (if present):

-ל: 5–6i.2

Lexical items:

אִיִּי: 8.1

דִּי: 1.3(?), 2–3.5

Morphology:

אפעל form:

5–6i.3

Assimilated lamed:

5–6i.3

Orthography/Phonology:

פ for /s/:

2–3.2

Other notable features:*Previously unattested in Aramaic:*

סוגדא (lexical; 5–6i.4)

אדסא (lexical; 5–6i.5)

4Q540, Apocryphon of Levi^a (apocrLevi^a?)

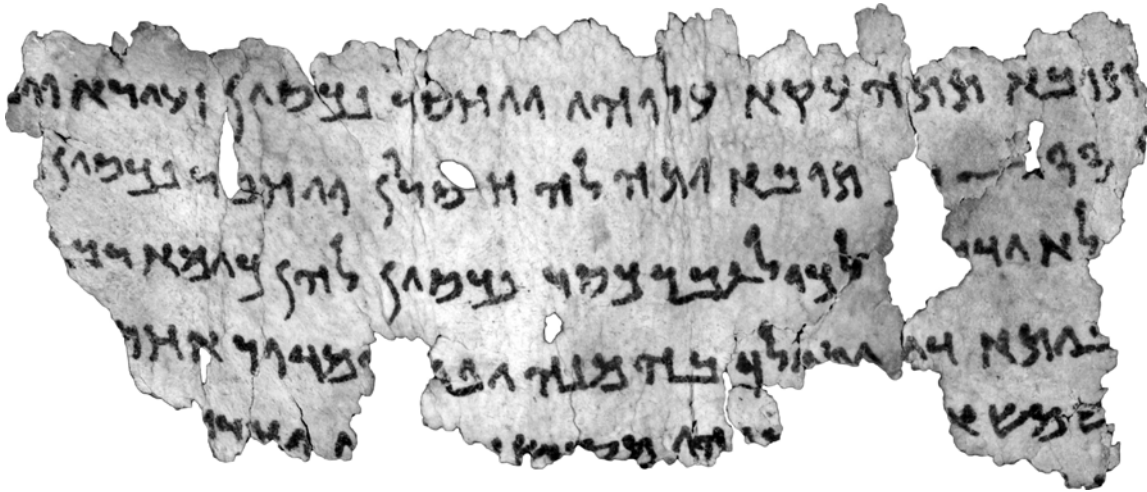
[ed. Puech, DJD 31:217–23]

Content synopsis and significance: The preserved text of these fragments tells of an individual, identified in line 1 as “the youth/little one,” who will suffer a variety of maladies. In line 3, it may be that these maladies are reversed, if the same individual is still the subject. “Possessions” (נכסין) and the verb “to lack” (חסר) with reference to the individual(s) under discussion are repeatedly mentioned in the fragment. Taken as a whole, the text seems to be a prophetic or apocalyptic prediction of events surrounding one or more figures, possibly in the context of a dream-vision. The final lines mention “the holy place” or “the temple” (מקדש) and a destruction of some sort (יהרב). These details led a number of scholars, beginning with Jean Starcky, to identify this manuscript with the priesthood and, more specifically, with Levi. In fact, Milik identified both copies with a work that he called the Aramaic Testament of Levi, also represented by 4Q213 (Levi^a)–4Q214b (Levi^f) (see Drawnel, “Milik,” 114). A messianic theme is also discerned by many who have worked on the text, causing some to associate it with the priestly messiah (or messiah of Aaron) mentioned in some of the Qumran sectarian literature (e.g., CD 12.23 and IQS 9.11). Unfortunately, it is very difficult to confirm these opinions with what little text remains of 4Q540. Based on some thematic, generic, and lexical similarities with 4Q541 (apocrLevi^b?), Puech suggested that the two scrolls may be copies of the same work: Both speak in the third-person voice about the future of an individual, outline the sufferings he will endure, and seem to have priestly connotations (this last point being much more obvious in 4Q541 [apocrLevi^b?]). However, there is no direct textual

overlap between the two manuscripts, and consequently this identification must be treated with caution. A significant number of the Qumran Aramaic texts involve priestly protagonists, some of whom are identified explicitly as priests, while others simply exhibit priestly attributes. Many of the priestly compositions center around Levi and his offspring (e.g., the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram), though texts with priestly characters and themes are not limited to those focused on the Levitical ancestry (e.g., 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, and New Jerusalem).

Material remains: 4Q540 comprises only three fragments, none of which overlaps with any other Qumran Aramaic manuscript. Fragment 1 is the only one containing a significant amount of text. This fragment is rectangular in shape, greater in width than height. Neither the full height nor width of the fragment’s single column can be discerned with certainty. Parts of six lines remain, but we cannot know how many are missing. The upper margin is visible, though Puech does consider the possibility that what has been taken as the upper margin is actually a large vacat (DJD 31:217). The final two fragments are tiny scraps, containing only a few letters each and smaller than an average postage stamp.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q540 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q540¹

Image B-358679

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.

PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: At least 8 mm (frag. 1)

Letters per line: At least 35
(frag. 1)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean (Puech, noted that the hand is similar to that of 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}]); early Hasmonean (Milik, as reported in Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Proposed palaeographic date: 125–100 BCE (Puech); ca. 175 BCE (Milik, as reported in Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Special traits and general comments: The orthography in this manuscript is of the sort seen in many of the other Qumran Aramaic scrolls, with a number of full spellings, particularly those using *vav* and *yod* to represent vowels. The word כסר in line 3 is noteworthy, since it is most likely a misspelling of חסר, a root that also occurs in lines 1 and 2. This may indicate a similar pronunciation of the two letters at the time and place of this copy being made, though Puech prefers to see haplography of an intended *khet*, with the *kaph* being a preposition (כח{סר}). Although the *lamed* of לכול in line 3 might be seen as the direct object marker, it is also the expected preposition to accompany the preceding verb דימה, and is best understood in that light. As for syntax, line 1 preserves a clause in which the subject is, somewhat surprisingly, placed after both the verb and the object. This may again be the case at the end of line 2, and the shift in expected syntax is best explained as the use of a poetic, heightened prose for this apocalyptic utterance. Other scribal characteristics include considerable variation in spacing between lines, and the use of numeric symbols in line 2, as in a number of other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts (e.g., 4Q554 [NJ^a], 4Q554a [NJ^b], 4Q558 [papVision^b], and 559 [papBiblical Chronology]).

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 78–82; Beyer, *ATTM*², 110–14.

Script sample:

44 55 11 11 1 11 11 11 2 25 NR
 11 1 11 1 1 11 11 11 11 11 11
 3 1 1

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Numerical cipher for '52' (1.2)

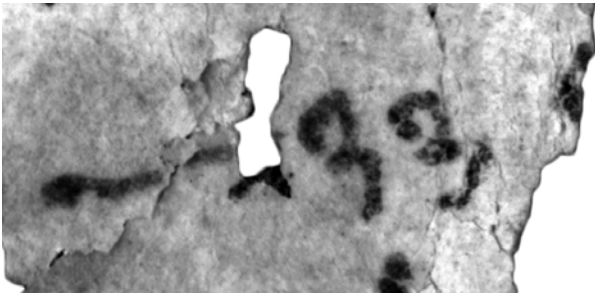


Image B-358679
 COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
 DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
 PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

Language**Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

1.1(2X), 1.2(2X?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.4

Object early in clause:

1.1, 1.2(?)

Verb of movement + 𐤅 + animate object:

1.1

Verb of movement + 𐤅 + animate object:

1.2

Lexical items:

𐤅: 1.4

𐤅𐤅: 1.3

Morphology:*Assimilated nun:*

1.4

4Q541, Apocryphon of Levi^b (apocrLevi^b?)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:225–56; 37:523 (frag. 25)]

Content synopsis and significance: What remains of this text is focused on the discourse between a first-person speaker and an individual addressed in the second-person voice (see frags. 2–6, 24). Discourse of this sort is common in the Aramaic literature found at Qumran, often taking place between a father and his son(s) or an angel and

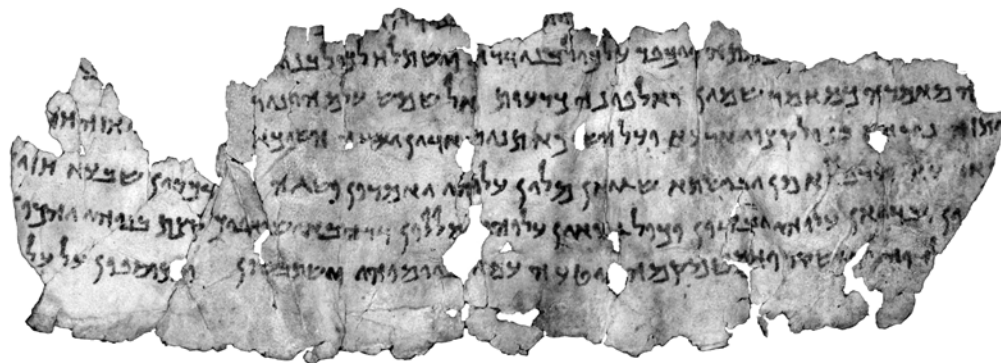
the recipient of a dream-vision. Within the framework of this discourse, several fragments (notably 7–9) contain predictive proclamations in the third-person voice about a remarkable individual who bears the marks of a priest: He will “atone for all the children of his generation,” “his teaching (will be) according to God’s will,” and

“his light will show to all the ends of the earth” (on this theme see Angel, *Otherworldly*, 77–82). Puech and others have noted that frags. 9 and 24, in particular, bear a close resemblance to the Greek Testament of Levi 4 and 18. This has provided the basis for an identification of the scroll’s central figure with Levi, though the precise nature of that connection remains unclear, as does any potential connection to other Aramaic texts connected with Levi (e.g., the Aramaic Levi Document). Fragment 24 has been the subject of much discussion, with Puech arguing that lines 4–5 refer to crucifixion as part of the maladies that will come upon the addressee. Cook (“4Q541”) and others have offered alternative readings that exclude crucifixion, and Cook’s interpretation seems more plausible than that of Puech. The fragment ends with a dualistic appeal for the hearer to act uprightly, recalling similar statements in the Testament of Qahat, the Aramaic Levi Document, and elsewhere in the Aramaic literary corpus at Qumran. Unfortunately, the central figure of 4Q541 cannot be identified with certainty, even if Levi is a strong candidate. Whoever the figure is, he has unambiguous priestly attributes set within a future-oriented eschatological frame, and scholars have discerned in his suffering (frag. 24) intertextual relationships with earlier Hebrew literature such as the “suffering servant” passage of Isa 53 (Brooke, *Scrolls*, 140–51; Hengel, “Isaiah 53,” 106–18) and the vision of restoration in Jer 30 (Elgvin, “Trials”). Others (e.g., Peters, *Traditions*, 100–106) have seen connections with traditions about Noah found in the Aramaic Enoch materials and the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), which may be premised on a basic analogy during the Second Temple period between the flood of Noah’s generation and the expected eschatological restoration. Based on the description and role of the central figure outlined above, a number of scholars have included the scroll in discussions of Second Temple period Jewish messianism, especially in connection with the New Testament (Brooke, *Scrolls*, 140–57). While Collins (*Apocalypticism*, 86–87) seemed to suggest that the work represented by 4Q541 was composed by the group also responsible for the Hebrew sectarian literature kept at Qumran, this view is rightly rejected by Elgvin (“Trials,” 97) and others (cf. Angel, *Otherworldly*, 77–78). It is reasonable to assume, however, that the work was of great interest to the later sect because of its contents.

Material remains: Twenty-four fragments of varying sizes constitute 4Q541, the most substantial of which are frags. 9 and 24. These two fragments contain by far the most running text. Fragments 1–4 and 6–7 also contain a significant amount of text, while the remaining fragments are tiny scraps with only a few letters and/or words. However, even the stray words and phrases on some of the smaller fragments help to establish 4Q541’s themes and genre. None of the preserved fragments overlap with other works known from Qumran or elsewhere, despite Puech’s argument that 4Q541 is to be associated with 4Q540 (apocrLevi^{a?}). (See the profile on 4Q540 [apocrLevi^{a?}] for a discussion of the possible relationship between these manuscripts.) The width of an entire column is preserved on frag. 24, with part of an intercolumnar margin extant on both sides. Fragment 9 also has nearly the entire width of a column. Based on the preserved margins, Puech has concluded that 4Q541 originally contained at least eight or nine columns (DJD 31:225).

It should be noted that images B-370756 and B-370757 – taken in August, 2012, by the Israel Antiquities Authority and available in the Leon Levy Digital Library – show two stamps of the letter “S” on the verso of frag. 9. These letters were stamped on some large fragments from Cave 4 in the 1950’s in order to indicate the institution that donated money to the Palestine Archeological Museum for purchasing fragments from the Bedouin (see Fields, *Scrolls*, 142). The letter “S” shows that the money for these fragments was donated by McGill University, as arranged by R.B.Y. Scott. Other scrolls bearing “S” stamps include 4Q84 (Ps^b, along with a “G” stamp), 4Q370 (AdmonFlood), and 4Q525 (Beatitudes, again with a “G” stamp).

Notes on provenance: Fragment 2 of 4Q541 is found on the PAM “G series” plate 40.594, indicating that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified several fragments included on the “E series” PAM plate 40.976 (frags. 11, 13–14). As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux. The connection with Cave 4 is further confirmed by two “S” letters stamped on the verso of frag. 9, associating it clearly with the Cave 4 Bedouin finds (see *Material remains*, above).



Sample image: 4Q541, 9

Image B-370755

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES
AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Lower: 9–15 mm

Intercolumnar: 3–13 mm (approx. 1 cm on average)

Column dimensions: Approx. 14–16.5 cm w.
(frags. 9 and 24)

Lines per column: At least 8–9 (possibly the total number, if col. 2ii.1 follows directly from 2i.9, as Puech suggests)

Letters per line: Approx. 45–55

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: Breaks on some frags. (1, 4, and 24) may indicate lightly-inscribed vertical column lines

Average medial letter height: 3–4 mm

Space between lines: 6–11 mm on average for most frags., though with considerable variation

Space between words: 1–2 mm on average

Vacats: Yes; small (2i.9 [4 mm], 7.5 [7 mm]; minor sense divisions), medium (12.3? [at least 1.5 cm]), and large 24ii.6–8 [over two full lines]; end of major sense division or end of scroll)

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean (Puech); late Hasmonean (Milik, as reported in Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Proposed palaeographic date: 125–100 BCE (Puech); ca. 75–50 BCE (Milik, as reported in Drawnel, “Milik,” 114)

Special traits and general comments: Puech noted that the hand of this manuscript is close to that of 4Q540, with some differences evident in the letters *gimel*, *dalet*, *resh*, *vav* (in the combination *vav-yod*), *lamed*, *nun*, *pe*, *samek*, and *ayin* (DJD 31:217). He also situated the hand of 4Q541 close to that of 4Q542 (TQahat; DJD 31:226–27). The orthography of 4Q541 is generally full, sometimes exceptionally so, as with *אוּחִידוּאִן* in 2(+?)ii.7 and 4i.4, or *מכאוביכה* in 6.3. Such spellings are comparable to a number of other Qumran Aramaic scrolls, such as 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q542 (TQahat). The scribe used medial *pe* for both medial and final positions, and the same appears to be true for *kaph* (the shape of which varies considerably), if we compare the final forms (2ii.5, 9i.6) with some medial forms (e.g., 6.1, 9ii.6). Etymological *sin* is used properly throughout, including in *ישתמק* at 7.3, as is the *samek* in *יסוד* (3.1, 24.5). This scribe used the longer form of the demonstrative pronoun *דנא*, as well as the long feminine suffix known from other Qumran texts (*רוּהַה*). Alongside these long spellings we find assimilation of the first root letter in *pe-nun* (ii.2, iii.2) and *pe-aleph* (9i.4) prefix-conjugation verbs. The manuscript is written in a less tidy hand than the finest Aramaic Qumran scrolls, though the letters are quite evenly sized. Line spacing and margins vary considerably, with no evident scribal guidelines. A number of margins are preserved, notably the bottom margin on frag. 24, which evidently includes two empty lines. An upper margin may be partially preserved on frag. 18 (8 mm), but due

to possible vacats and the large distance between lines on some fragments (e.g., frag. 13) it is difficult to be certain. Puech holds that the stitching on frag. 10 is due to a repair of the leather after it was written upon, and not the usual suturing of two sheets. This would be a notable feature, but after close inspection of the IAA photographs I consider it more likely that this is indeed the seam between two sheets, which has become shrunken and contorted over time. It is difficult to know if the dot of ink under the *yod* of ובריאן, noted by Puech, is intentional or simply an errant drop from the scribe's pen.

The elevated language used in this text, particularly in frag. 9, has led to some aberrations from the syntax expected in an Aramaic narrative text from Qumran. There is a higher than usual number of fronted objects, leading to a relatively high number of verb-late clauses.

Script samples:

אא כב גג דד הה וו זז חח טט יי קק
 לל מם ננ סס טט ככ דד זז חח טט
 יי קק רר שש טט

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) According to Puech, correction from וברייכה to וברייב עלה (2ii.4)

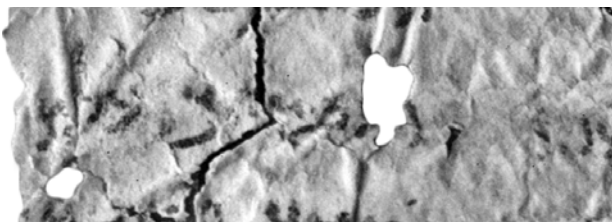


Image B-285363
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 PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

(b) According to Puech, ש corrected to ט, or perhaps vice versa (4ii.5): בט/שבי



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 PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

This should be seen as a stylistic device, also found in a number of other Aramaic texts from this corpus. The prepositional phrase in 2(+?)ii.8 and 3.4 (ל + על; לעליכה, לעלי) is shared by 1Q20 (apGen) 2.26 and 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) 1a.10. Other notable expressions or forms include the temporal phrase בה בזמנא in 10.3 (compare Ezra 5:3, Dan 3:7–8, 4:33), the expected *lamed* prefix-form of הרה in 2(+?)iii.9, 9i.7, and 16.2 (להוה), and the reconstructed partitive phrase קצת מן at 9ii.5–6 (also in Dan 2:42, 1Q20 [apGen] 14.16–17, and 4Q537 [T]Jacob? 12.2).

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 78–82; Beyer, *ATTM*², 110–14; Cook, “4Q541”; Elgvin, “Trials,” 89–95.

(c) Supralinear letter added and, according to Puech, erasure of second letter (24ii.6): אַיִן{ׁ}ת

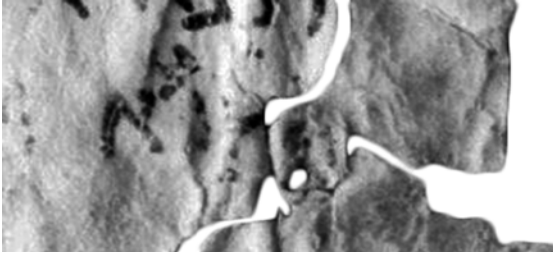


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Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

3.2(?), 7.3, 7.4, 9i.4(2x), 9i.7, 9i.7(?), 9ii.6, 10.4

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

3.4, 9i.3

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2(+?)iii).7, 2(+?)iii).9, 2ii.3(?), 2ii.4, 2ii.5, 2ii.8,

6.2, 9i.2(3x), 9ii.7, 17.2, 24.2, 24.4, 24.5, 24.6(2x)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

2(+?)iii).4(?), 2(+?)iii).5, 3.5(?), 9i.4, 9i.5, 9i.5-6,

9i.6, 9i.7(?), 24.5, 24.5-6

Verbless clause:

9i.3(2x), 9i.5, 9i.6, 9i.7

Object early in clause:

2(+?)iii).4(?), 2(+?)iii).5, 9i.5, 9i.5-6, 9i.6, 24.5

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 2ii.8

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

2(+?)iii).8, 3.4

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

9i.2-3

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

10.4

Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

24.2(2x?), 24.4, 24.5

Lexical items:

אֲדִין: 7.4, 9i.4

דִּי: 3.4, 6.3(?), 7.2, 9i.7

לֵהֶן: 2i(+?)iii).8

תִּמְנֵן: 23.1(?)

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

24.4

Assimilated nun:

ii.2, iii.2

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:

2ii.4(first hand), 3.1(?), 3.2, 3.4, 4ii.3, 4ii.4, 6.2, 6.3,

6.4, 6.5

ש for /s/:

3.5, 4i.6, 9i.5(2x), 24.3(2x), 24.6

Other notable features:

Poetic doublets/triplets:

9i.3, 9i.3-4, 9i.4-5, 9i.5-6, 9i.7(?), 24.4, 24.5, 24.6

Proposed Hebraisms:

אֵל (lexical; iii.4, 2ii.2, 9i.3) [H]

מִכְאוּב[י]ן (lexical; 2ii.3) [H]

יִסוּד (lexical; 3.1) [h]

וּמְכַאֲבִין (lexical; 6.1) [H]

מִכְאוּבִיכָה (lexical; 6.3) [H]

וּיִכְפֵּר (lexical; 9i.2) [H]

שְׁחַפָּא (lexical?; 24.4)

יִסוּד (lexical; 24.5) [h]

תּוֹעָא (lexical; 24.6) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

מַח"ל (lexical [verb]; 24.4)

שְׁחַפָּא (lexical; 24.4)

4Q542, Testament of Qahat (TQahat)

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:257–82]

Content synopsis and significance: The extant portions of this manuscript purport to record an exhortation of Qahat, son of Levi, which was unknown prior to the Qumran discoveries. Qahat is a relatively minor figure in the Hebrew Bible and in Second Temple Jewish traditions, although the Aramaic Levi Document credits Qahat with a high-priestly pedigree (ALD 12; cf. 4Q245 [psDan^c]). The purpose of this composition seems aimed, at least in part, at bolstering the image of Qahat as a member of the priestly genealogy, and as a link between the more important figures of Levi and Aaron (cf. Tigchelaar, “Pseudepigraphy”; Tervanotko, “Trilogy”). As with many other Qumran Aramaic works, this one is written in the first-person voice of Qahat, and is aimed at teaching and admonishing his sons. Amram, in particular, is singled out in iii.9, and we find a number of noteworthy verbal, stylistic, and thematic features connecting this composition to the larger Qumran Aramaic corpus. Machiela (“Testament of Qahat”) has argued on material grounds that 4Q542 belongs to the same scroll as 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e), and that the Testament of Qahat may, in fact, be a part of the Visions of Amram. For further discussion of this possibility, see the profile for 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e).

The narrative framing of 4Q542 is one place where we see a connection to the Aramaic Qumran literature more broadly. Many Aramaic texts from Qumran, especially those related to the pre-Mosaic patriarchs, are presented as the first-person speech of a father to his son(s) or grandson(s) in an instructional context (e.g., 1 En. 82.1–3; 83.1–2; 91.1–4; 1Q20 [apGen] 5.20–25; 4Q213 [Levi^a] 11.3–6; 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 1.1–4). First-person narration is one of the clearest unifying features of this literature, the importance of which has been discussed in a number of studies (Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic,” “Themes”; Tigchelaar, “Pseudepigraphy”; Stuckenbruck, “Pseudepigraphy”; Perrin, “Capturing”). The propensity of these texts to use the first-person voice, combined with their emphasis on the theme of ancestral instruction, has drawn scholars to investigate the relationship of the Aramaic literature from Qumran and the Jewish literary genre of “testament” (Drawnel, “Admonitions”; Dimant “Themes”; Frey, “Testament”). Scholars working in the early years after the Qumran discoveries gave several previously-unknown Aramaic compositions the title “Testament of X” (e.g., 4Q537 [TJacob?], 4Q538 [TJud/Words of Benjamin], and 4Q539 [TJoseph]), based on their similarity to the later Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and related texts. Subsequent scholars noted that the Aramaic texts

bearing these titles often do not clearly contain some central features of the later, more developed testamentary genre, such as a death-bed setting. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that some of these compositions very likely served as sources for the later Greek testaments (e.g., the Aramaic Levi Document). Frey concluded that, although not all of the Aramaic compositions should be classified as testaments, we should nevertheless look to the Aramaic works kept at Qumran to understand the origin and development of the later testamentary genre (see also Reed, “Textuality”).

4Q542 explicitly associates Qahat’s teaching with a chain of patriarchal transmission along which knowledge was handed from one generation to the next, beginning with Abraham and continuing down to Qahat and his sons (4Q542 ii.7–12; cf. 4Q214b [Levi^f] 5–6i; 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^e] 3.5; see Dimant, “Themes,” 35). Elsewhere, we see that much of this ancestral teaching ultimately derives from the prediluvian heroes Enoch and Noah (Stone, “Axis”). One means by which Qahat’s teaching was passed on is described in 4Q542 iii. 9–13, where Qahat entrusts Amram with “all my writings” (כול כתבי) and lists the benefits of heeding them. This emphasis on writing coincides with other occasions where the patriarchs are said to have written down information for posterity’s sake (e.g., 1 En. 82.1–3; 83.10; 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 4.8), or are otherwise associated with books that bear their name (e.g., 4Q204 [En^c] 1vi.9; 1Q20 [apGen] 5.29, 19.25; ALD 10.10; 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 1.1). It also accords with other places in the Aramaic texts from Qumran where ability as a scribe (ספר) is listed as a positive attribute associated with wisdom, knowledge, and righteousness (1Q20 [apGen] 19.25; 4Q213 [Levi^a] 11.9, 2.5; 1 En. 12.3–4; cp. Ezra 7:6).

Qahat’s instructions include topics related to the priesthood (ii.13) proper ethical conduct (iii.6, 8), and the eschatological future (iii.4–8), all of which appear as common topics and themes in other Aramaic texts from Qumran (e.g., the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, the New Jerusalem, the Testament of Jacob?, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Visions of Amram, Daniel, and Four Kingdoms). Qahat implores his children to attend to their “inheritance” while living among “foreigners” (e.g., ii.4–ii.1), a concern which some have associated with the practice of endogamy (Drawnel, “Admonitions”; Harrington, “Intermarriage”). As pointed out by several scholars, the concern for endogamy is a theme repeated often among the Aramaic texts from

Qumran (Eshel, “Marriage”; Perrin, “Tobit’s Context”; Dimant, “Tobit”). We also find a strong dualistic juxtaposition between righteous and wicked conduct, with the associated imagery of light and darkness (2.11–12), another motif common in the Aramaic Qumran scrolls (e.g., the Enoch materials, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, and especially the Visions of Amram; see Machiela, “Wisdom”).

The Testament of Qahat shares a number of salient verbal parallels with other texts from among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, especially the Aramaic Levi Document and the Visions of Amram. These parallels include use of the verbs פקד “to command” (ii.13; iii.9, 10) and אלף “to teach” (iii.1), as well as very similar use of the term קושט “truth” and/or “righteousness” (iii.1–2), all in instructional contexts strikingly similar to one another. (On the prevalence and importance of the term קושט in the Aramaic Scrolls see Lange, “Vision of Righteousness”; Machiela, “Wisdom”). Note also the phrase לכה עמרם ברי אנא זכען לכה in iii.9, which closely resembles phrases in 1Q20 [apGen] 5.9, 20; 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 26.6; 4Q212 [En^s] 1v.24.

Material remains: The remnants of this manuscript consist of three fragments, two of which are made from a combination of smaller fragments joined by Jean Starcky,

the manuscript’s original editor (DJD 31:257). The original manuscript had at least four columns (very likely more), based on the right margins preserved on frags. 2 and 3, in addition to those on frag. 1. Fragment 1 is by far the largest of the three, measuring approximately 9.5 by 27 cm and containing the majority of two text columns. The first column is preserved nearly in its entirety, with the exception of a few small pieces missing from the final few lines. It also has preserved upper and lower margins, allowing for an accurate measure of scroll’s original height. Fragments 2 and 3 are significantly smaller. Fragment 2 is slender and curved, preserving parts of only single words on each of its seven lines. Fragment 3 is wider than frag. 2, but has fewer lines. Fragment 3 appears to contain the remnants of two columns, though col. i is attested by only a single complete word.

Notes on provenance: Fragment 3 of 4Q542 is found on the PAM “G series” plate 40.613, and so was among those fragments discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q542 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q542 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: 9–9.5 cm h.

Margins:

Upper: 4–6 mm

Lower: 5–9 mm

Intercolumnar: 1.1–1.4 cm
(to right sheet seam) and
0.6–2.9 cm (between ii and
iii)

Column dimensions: 8 cm h. ×
15.5 cm w.

Lines per column: 13

Letters per line: 43–51

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height:
2.5–5 mm

Space between lines: 5–10 mm

Space between words:
0.5–6 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium (iii.13 [at
least 1.5 cm]; minor sense
division?)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Hasmonean (Puech) semi-formal

Proposed palaeographic date: 125–100 BCE (Puech)

Radiocarbon date: 388–353 BCE (34%); 309–235 BCE (66%) (see Van der Schoor, “Radiocarbon,” with the discussion in Doudna, “Radiocarbon,” 445–46)

Special traits and general comments: Emile Puech described in personal correspondence (Sept. 14, 2019) the rough, thick skin used for this manuscript relative to the higher-quality skins used for the large majority of the Qumran Aramaic corpus. The skin had an unusual hole at iii.2 when the text was written in antiquity, as seen by the large space left between the continuous words *ממר* and *קישטא*. Combined with the significant variation between the radiocarbon and palaeographic dates, the poor quality of the writing surface suggests that an old skin may have been used for this manuscript, though the possibility of secondary writing as a palimpsest is ruled out definitively by Bonani et al. (“Dating,” 848). Puech (DJD 31:264) described this scribe as “negligent,” and it is difficult to argue with his assessment given the irregularity of line and word spacing, letter size, and especially the very high number of mistakes and corrections (some in a second hand) in relation to the amount of text preserved. The scribe also varied significantly in where lines ended, and engaged in some alphabetic curiosities: the medial forms of *kaph* and *tsade* are used in both medial and final position, while final *mem* and medial *nun* are occasionally used in the wrong position. Also rare among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls is the vertical addition of at least two words (the second was subsequently corrected) in the intercolumnar margin of frag. 3. This practice is also found in some Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran, most famously 1QIsa^a. All told, this is the most mistake-filled extant Qumran Aramaic scroll, well outpacing others also deemed “fair” in quality, such as 4Q201 [En^a] and 4Q212 [En^g]. Despite this, the word spacing is surprisingly generous, and there were clearly some vacats used to indicate minor sense divisions, as seen at iii.13. Given the many corrections, it is likely that this copy was being compared against another manuscript, or perhaps a well-established oral tradition.

Puech proposed that the scribe of this manuscript is also that of 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e) (DJD 31:377), an assessment with which I agree. For more on the scribal affinities between these two manuscripts, and the possibility that they may in fact belong to a single scroll, see the profile for 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e).

Hebraisms abound in this copy, showing lexical, morphological, and semantic influence from Hebrew. As noted by Stadel, many of these cases may be explained through familiarity with biblical usage, though this does not adequately explain every case. The orthography of the scroll falls within the parameters of other Qumran manuscripts, with full spellings predominating: *Aleph* is employed often (though not always) for the definite article, the fem. noun ending (as opposed to *he* in most Qumran Aramaic scrolls), and various other prefixes and vowels (e.g., *אנא*, *קאם*, *דיאן*, *אתהילכותהון*). *He* is found for the 2ms and 3ms pronominal suffixes, and regularly for

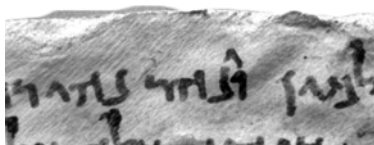
feminine adjective endings. One surprising practice is the occasional correction of *aleph* to *he*, as in 1i.10 and 1ii.4, which seems to assume some perceived orthopraxy in the use of these letters, not followed by the original scribe. *Yod* and *vav*, too, are typically present in their consonantal or vocalic uses. *Samek* and *sin* are correctly discerned for the simple /s/ sound (ויבסרון, שגני). Note the two forms of 2mp imperfect in 1i.5 and 1ii.10 (תנתנון and תנתנו), with the earlier instance using the apocopated form after the negation אל, as in 1Q20 (apGen) 19.16. We find a rare paragraph mark in the right margin of 1i, between lines 8 and 9. 4Q213 (Levi^a) 2.10–11 also has such a mark, though there it is of the “fish hook” style, rather than the straight line used in 4Q542. Despite the relatively poor quality of this manuscript, the fact that it was corrected and re-inked shows that the scroll was valued and well-used.

Script sample:

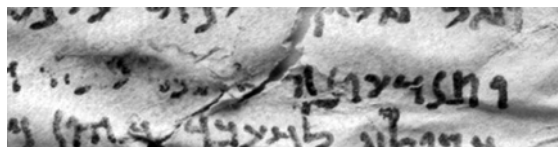
אא פנ ג 44 אה 11 11 אא טט אה 33
 44 פנ סס 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11
 שש תת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

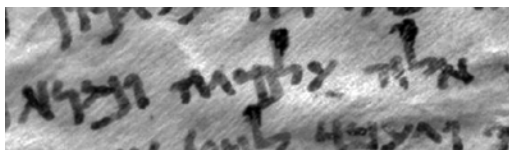
(a) Supralinear letter added (1i.1): ונהר



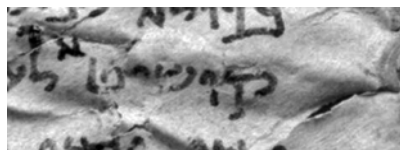
(b) Dittography and subsequent erasure of second word by scraping (1i.2): {ותנדעונה} ותנדעונה



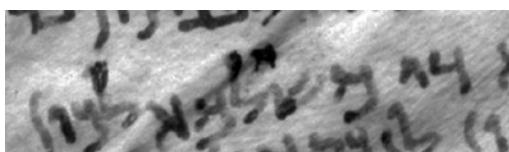
(c) Use of final *mem* in medial position (1i.2 [2x]; cf. 2.1): עלסיה



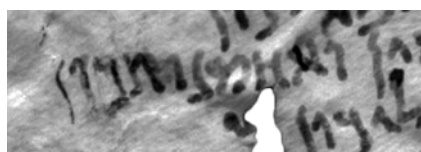
(d) Supralinear letter added and possible erasure of second *vav* by scraping (1i.4): קושן{ט}ט



(e) Supralinear *he*, according to Puech superimposed over an erased supralinear *aleph* (1i.4): מו⁽⁸⁾שלמא



(f) Erasure and subsequent corrections by a second hand, from verb + ל + direct object (ואחסן לכו), to verb + object suffix (ואחסנותכו) (1.5; according to Puech, this change involved several steps)

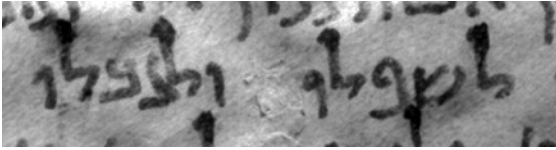


The syntactic profile of 4Q542 follows roughly that of 1Q20 (apGen), with a mix of verb-subject and subject-verb constructions, the latter often using a verbal participle. Both constructions are outweighed by those with a verb only, assuming the subject from prior clauses. There is a high concentration of poetic doublets in this text, distinguishing Qahat's teaching from normal prose and giving his speech the elevated, expressive character of wisdom texts like Proverbs and the instructions of Ahiqar.

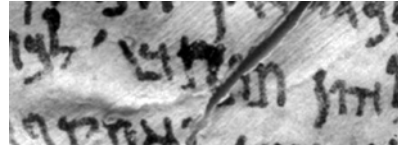
Original manuscript quality: Fair

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 209–10; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 82–85; Beyer, *ATTM*², 114–17; Cook, “Kohath”; Drawnel, “Admonitions”; Machiela, “Testament of Qahat.”

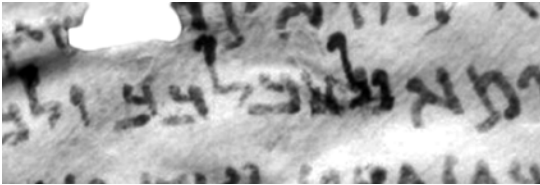
(g) Erasure of *tav* by scraping following לשפלו (ii.6)



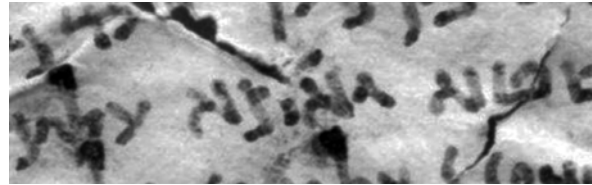
(h) Correction of *tav* (ii.7): בין>ת<תו(ה/ב)



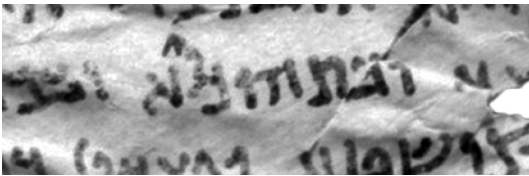
(i) Erasure and overwritten characters from בלבלבב to ולאבלבב (ii.9)



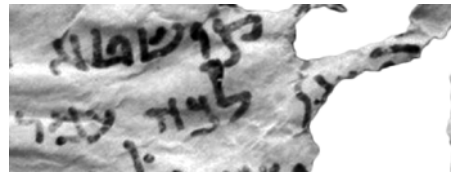
(j) Possible erasure(s) and subsequent corrections of second letter (iii.2): Originally יאתא (see Puech)



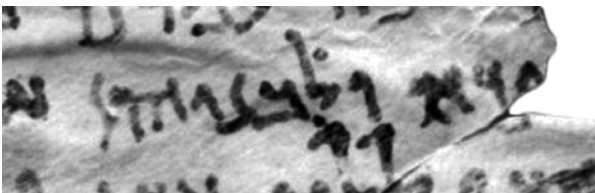
(k) Original supralinear *yod* later re-inked by second hand (iii.7)



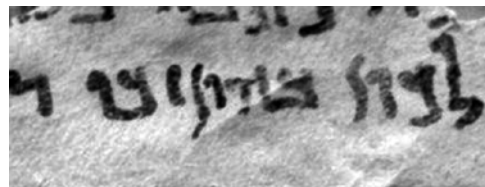
(l) Scribal “paragraph” mark in margin (iii.9; at far right edge)



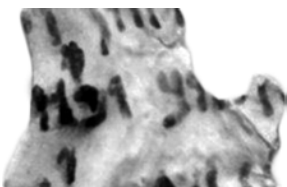
(m) *Aleph* overwritten with *he* and deletion dots for *lamed* of following word (iii.10)



(n) Correction in second hand of pronominal suffix from בה to בהון (iii.13)



(o) According to Puech, וממ corrected to ולה (2.11)



(p) Vertical insertion of text in right margin (frag. 3)



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

ii.5, ii.12, iii.8

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iii.2, iii.3, iii.9(part.), iii.10(part.)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.1(2x), ii.2, ii.3, ii.5, ii.6(2x), ii.7(2x), ii.10, ii.11, ii.12, ii.13, iii.1, iii.5, iii.11, iii.12

Verbless clause:

ii.2, ii.3, 2.13(?)

Use of negative particle אֵל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

ii.5

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה+ participle:
ii.8–9, iii.3–4(?)

Lexical items:

אי תאי: 3ii.13 (אי תאי)
דיל (ב): ii.8
די: ii.2, ii.4, ii.5, ii.6, ii.11, ii.12, ii.13(2x), iii.12, 3ii.12,
3ii.13
כען: ii.4, iii.1, iii.9
להן: ii.7, ii.10, 2.12
לחדא: 3ii.13

Morphology:

אפעל form:
ii.8
הפעל form:
ii.4 (corrected from *aphel*)
אתפעל form:
ii.4, iii.13
Object suffix on verb:
ii.1, ii.2, ii.13, iii.1
Assimilated nun:
ii.5
Dissimilated nun/nasalization:
ii.1, ii.2, ii.10

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:
ii.9, iii.10
ש for /s/:
3ii.12

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:
אל (lexical; ii.1) [H]
מעבדיא (semantic/morphological; ii.2) [h]
ושמחא (lexical; ii.3) [H]
ירותתא (morphological; ii.4) [h]
ירותתכון (morphological; ii.5) [h]
נבלו (semantic; ii.6) [h]
ישירותא (lexical; ii.9) [H]
שמח (lexical; ii.11) [H]
ירות[ת]א (morphological; ii.12) [h]
ישירותא (lexical; ii.12) [H]
כה[ו]נתא (morphological; ii.13) [H]
יסודכון (lexical; iii.5) [h]
תהומיא (lexical; iii.7) [H]
זכו (lexical; iii.13) [H]
באתהילכתהון (morphological/semantic; iii.13) [H]
רוזנא (lexical; 2.13)
Previously unattested in Aramaic:
בס"ר (lexical; ii.6)
Poetic doublets/triplets:
ii.2–3, ii.5–6, ii.7–8, ii.8–9, ii.10, ii.10–11, ii.13–iii.1

4Q543, Visions of Amram^a

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:289–318]

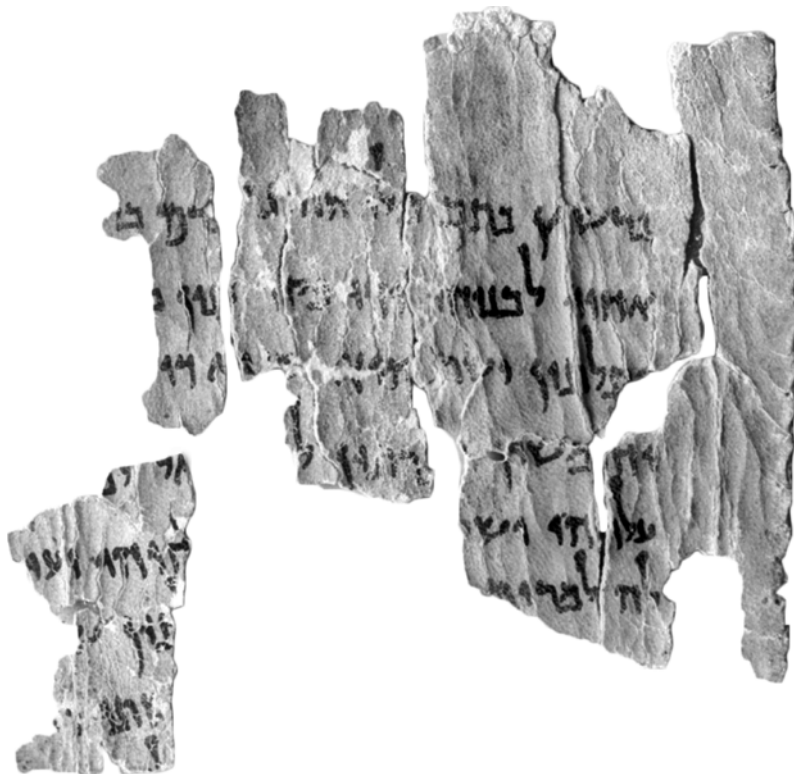
Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of at least five copies of a composition known only from Qumran, referred to as the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547 [Visions of Amram^{a–e}], possibly with 4Q548–549 [Visions of Amram^{f–g}]). The composition centers on the activities of Levi's grandson, Amram, the eponymous protagonist of the text. This copy of the Visions contains a rare opening superscription, which presents the document as a written copy of a first-person speech that Amram recounted to his children near the time of his death: "A copy of the words of visions of Amram son of Qahat son of Levi, all that he explained to his children and commanded them on the day of his death" (4Q543 1a–c.1–2; cf. 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 1ai.1–2). On the basis of this superscription, scholars have considered whether the Visions of Amram should be understood as an early example of the Jewish genre of "testament," known especially from the later Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (cf. Frey, "Testament"; Reed, "Textuality"). The first-person narrative voice of the

Visions of Amram demonstrates its affinity with a large number of the Aramaic texts from Qumran, many of which purport to record the first-person speech of venerable figures from Israel's past (e.g., the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of Jacob?, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and Tobit). On this phenomenon, see Tigchelaar ("Pseudepigraphy"), Stuckenbruck ("Pseudepigraphy"), and Perrin ("Tobit's Context"). The Visions of Amram also shares a number of features in common with a smaller group of Aramaic works, especially those related to the Levitical family (Aramaic Levi Document and Testament of Qahat). Beginning with Milik ("4Q Visions"), several scholars have suggested that these three texts comprise a "priestly trilogy" (Drawnel, "Admonitions") or "trilogy of testaments" (Tervanotko, "Trilogy") due to the fact that they "are connected stylistically, thematically, and linguistically" (Tervanotko, "Trilogy"; cf. Puech, "Qahat"; DJD 31:257–75).

4Q543 is a relatively poorly-preserved copy of the Visions of Amram, but it does contain a portion of the composition's superscription and opening scene, which can be partially reconstructed with the help of 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) and 4Q546 (Visions of Amram^d). Fragment 1a–c records the date of Amram's farewell speech, his one hundred thirty-sixth year, in the one hundred fifty-second year of Israel's exile in Egypt (lines 2–4). It also recounts Amram's arrangement of his daughter Miriam's marriage to his brother Uzziel (lines 4–6), and the subsequent wedding banquet (lines 6–7). The focus on endogamy in this passage has drawn the attention of a number of scholars (Loader, *Sexuality*, 324–26; Tervanotko, "The Hope"; Tervanotko, "Ideal Marriages"). Endogamy is also an important theme later in the Visions of Amram, in the context of its description of Amram's marriage to his aunt Jochebed. Interestingly, uncle-niece and aunt-nephew marriages are prohibited in several Second Temple texts, including some from Qumran (4QHalakha A [4Q251] 17.3–5; 4QTemple Scroll^b [4Q524] 15–22.3–4; 11QTemple Scroll^a [11Q19] 66.15–17; and the Damascus Document [CD] 5.7–11). For a discussion of the importance of endogamy as a motif in the Aramaic Scrolls more broadly, see Eshel ("Proper," "Marriage"), Perrin ("Tobit's Context"), and Dimant ("Tobit"). 4Q543 also contains fragmentary portions of a few other passages from the Visions of Amram, on which see the profiles of the additional copies of the text, below.

Material remains: This manuscript consists of forty-six fragments, most of which are only tiny scraps and contain little more than a few letters, words, or phrases. Several fragments are somewhat more substantial, though none is larger than a standard playing card. 4Q543 overlaps with four other Visions of Amram manuscripts: 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b; at 4Q543 3; 4; 5–9; 14), 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c; at 4Q543 1 a, b, c; 2a–b; 3), 4Q546 (Visions of Amram^d; at 4Q543 1 a, b, c; 3; 15), and 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e; at 4Q543 4; 5–9). Fragment 1a–c contains a significant portion of the right and upper margins. Margins are also found on frags. 4 and 15, though the manuscript's poor state of preservation does not allow us to say anything about the scroll's original overall dimensions, or those of its columns.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q543 (e.g., frag. 5) were photographed on the PAM "G series" plate 40.620, and so are part of the lot of fragments discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 in 1952 (see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified several fragments included on the "E series" PAM plates 40.978 (frags. 1c, 23, 33) and 40.979 (1b, 2b, 45), associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 led by de Vaux in 1952. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 5Q543 1a–c

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 2.1–2.2 cm (frags. 1a–c, 15)

Lower: 1.2 cm (frag. 4)

Intercolumnar: 1.7 cm (to sheet seam; frag. 1a–c; see also frag. 34)

Letters per line: Approx. 30–35 (frag. 1a–c [Col. 1])

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes (so Puech)

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height: 3–4 mm

Space between lines: 8–10 mm

Space between words: 2–3

Vacats: Yes; small(?) (frag. 16 [at least 8 mm]; minor sense division) and medium (frags. 5–9 [at least 1.3 cm]; minor sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 150–100 BCE, perhaps around 125 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The beginning of this manuscript is partially preserved, and we can see from the clear evidence of stitching at the right edge of the first preserved sheet (frags. 1a–c) that another one preceded it. This must have been either a blank cover sheet or a sheet containing part of another composition. Of these two options, I find the former more likely, since we know of blank cover (or handle) sheets for other Qumran scrolls (e.g., 1QIsa^a, 1QS, and 1QH^a; see also the end of 11QT^a). An alternative method to an entire blank sheet was to leave a part of the initial sheet blank, placing the first column of writing part-way through it (as with 4Q571 [Words of Michael^a] and 1QM). Margins and line spacing fall toward the larger end of the spectrum for our manuscripts. The script of 4Q543 is also relatively large, and the scribe spaced words generously. The evenness of the line spacing supports Puech's claim that script guidelines were used, even though they are no longer visible on the available images. Vacats seem to have been used regularly to signal minor narrative progressions. Orthography and morphology are generally typical for the Qumran Aramaic texts, with noteworthy features being a possible *haphel* verb form at 28.2 and what appears to be the long form of the 2ms suffix at 19.1.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Milik, "4Q Visions"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATTM*², 117–25; Drawnel, "Initial Narrative"; Duke, *Social Location*, 9–34.

Script sample:

77 33 11 60 44 1 11 44 44 33 44
 77 44 5 33 66 66 77 33 77 33 77
 77 44

Language

ד: 15.3(?), 21.2(?), 27.2(?)
 א: 5–9.8

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):
 16.2(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):
 5–9.4(2x), 5–9.7(part.), 15.1(?), 32.1

Subject implied (verb later in clause):
 5–9.6

Verbless clause:
 5–9.7 (understanding חעכוך as an adj. part.
 [חעכוך]), 10.1

Object early in clause:
 5–9.6, 16.2(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:
 15.1(?)

Lexical items:

ד: 16.3

א: 35.2(?)

Morphology:

הפעל form:
 28.2(?)

Assimilated nun:
 4.3, 28.1

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/א:
 19.1(?)

ש for /s/:
 15.3

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

ל (lexical; 2a–b.4; 2x) [H]

עליון (lexical; 22.2) [H]

4Q544, Visions of Amram^b

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:319–29]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript represents one of at least five copies of a composition known only from the Qumran finds, referred to as the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547 [Visions of Amram^{a–e}], possibly with 4Q548–549 [Visions of Amram^{f–g}]). The preserved portions of 4Q544 contain an account of the events that transpired during Amram's journey from Egypt to Canaan, of which we hear nothing in Exodus. In frag. 1 we learn that Amram and a group, which included his father Qahat and a number of other Israelites, traveled to Canaan in order to build family tombs. (On burial as an important indicator of piety in both the Visions of Amram and Tobit, see Goldman, "Burial"). The theme of rebuilding ancestral tombs as part of the city of Jerusalem also appears in the late Persian-period Neh 2:1–5, which uses language similar to the Visions of Amram. Before Amram's building project is complete, the group hears rumor of a coming war between Philistia and Egypt, causing them to return to Egypt. Amram, however, stays behind to complete the work. A border closure resulting from the war leaves Amram stranded in Canaan for forty-one years, during which time he longs for his wife Jochebed, but points out that he refrained from taking another wife from among the nations. Here, as we see elsewhere in the Aramaic literature from Qumran, endogamy is an important indicator of personal piety and faithfulness to one's Israelite identity (see Eshel, "Marriage"; Perrin, "Tobit's Context";

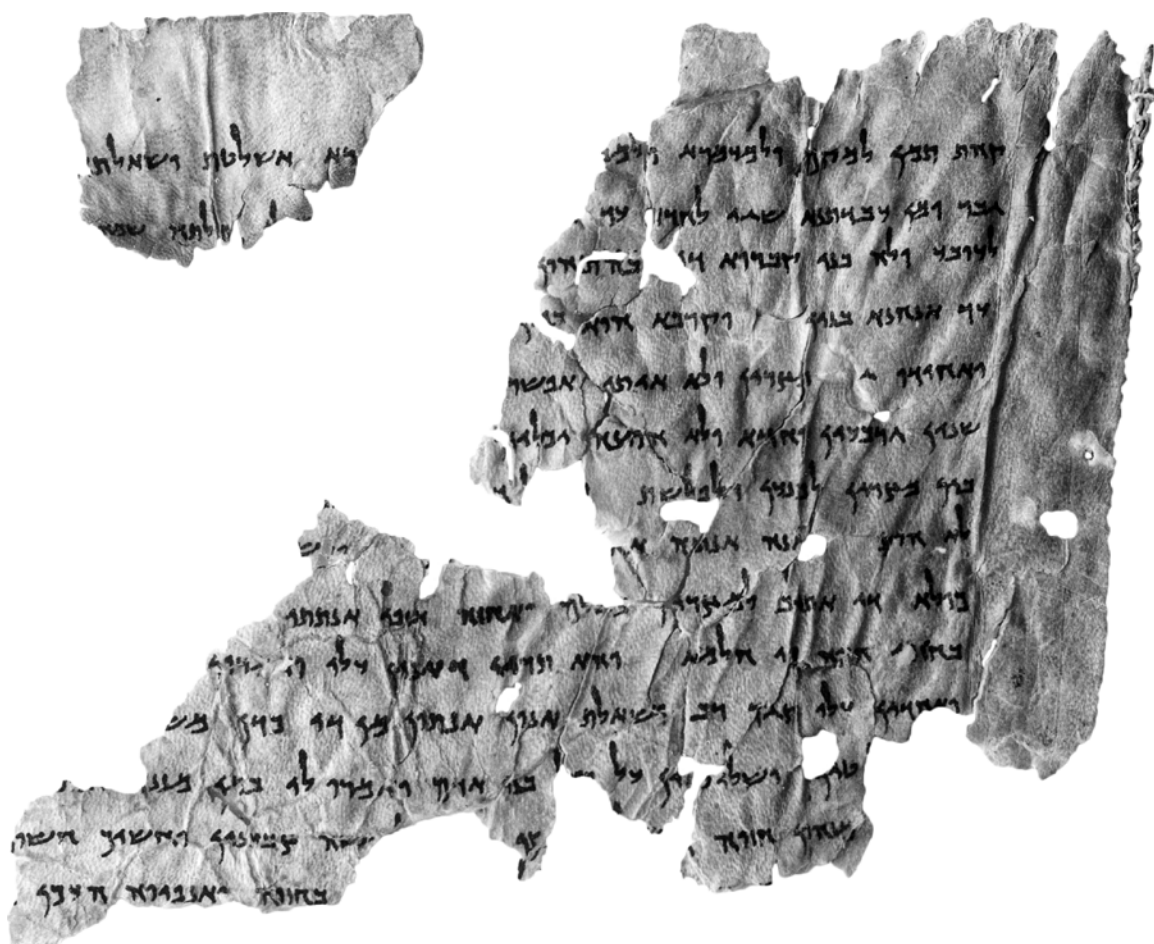
Tervantko, "Ideal Marriages"; Dimant, "Tobit"). For more on the relationship between Amram and Jochebed, see the profile for 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a). Fragment 1 ends with a fascinating dream-vision seen by Amram. The vision is lengthy, continuing in frags. 2–3, and tells of two opposed "judges" – presumably angelic spiritual beings – who have "a great dispute" over Amram. The two beings represent the two paths of righteousness and wickedness. Language of light and darkness features prominently in the dream-vision, with one of the judges ruling over the light and the other ruling over the darkness. This theme has led to discussions about the place of the Visions of Amram in the development of Jewish dualistic thinking and its relation to those Qumran sectarian texts using similar light/darkness imagery, such as the War Scroll (1QM) and the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3–4) (cf. Goldman, "Dualism"; Perrin, "Dualism"). The use of light/darkness imagery characterizes a significant number of the Aramaic texts from Qumran (the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Apocryphon of Levi?, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Testament of Qahat). In these texts, the motifs of light and darkness function as a way to distinguish between righteousness and wickedness in ethical, cosmological, and eschatological contexts. Several scholars have also speculated as to the identity of the two angelic beings in Amram's vision, especially the judge who rules over the realm of light. His

name is not preserved in the extant manuscript, but he has often been identified with Melchizedek due to the fact that his opposite is identified clearly in the text as Melchiresha (מלכי רשע; frag. 2.13). The identification of the good angel as Melchizedek has led to the Visions of Amram often being incorporated into studies on the figure of Melchizedek in early Judaism and Christianity (e.g., Kobelski, *Melchizedek*; Mason, *Priest*). For the rationale behind this identification, see Milik (“4Q Visions”) and Perrin (*Dynamics*, 166–67), though the suggestion has not been accepted enthusiastically by all (e.g., Dimant “Melchizedek,” 366).

Material remains: Three fragments comprise what remains of this manuscript. Fragment 1 is quite large and well-preserved, containing an upper and right margin, as well as parts of fourteen lines. Parallels with material from

4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a), 545 (Visions of Amram^c), 546 (Visions of Amram^d), and 547 (Visions of Amram^e) allow us to reconstruct even more of this fragment’s original content. The stitching visible on its right margin also indicates that this fragment begins a new sheet. Fragment 2 is much smaller, but preserves portions of six lines and a bottom margin. Fragment 3 is the smallest by far, preserving only a few words. It does, however, contain a full upper margin.

Provenance: Some fragments of 4Q544 (e.g., 2 and the right half of 1) were photographed on the PAM “G series” plates 40.609 and 40.617, having been discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q544 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q544 1, 3 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-284599

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PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.5–1.7 cm*Lower:* 1–1.5 cm*Intercolumnar:* 1.6–1.8 cm (to seam at beginning of sheet)**Column dimensions:** At least 9.5 cm h. × 12 cm w. (not fully preserved; reconstructed by Puech at approx. 11 cm h. × 16.5 cm w.)**Lines per column:** 16 (so Puech)**Letters per line:** Approximately 70 (based on Puech's reconstruction of frag. 1)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes**Average medial letter height:** 2 mm**Space between lines:** 5.5–8 mm**Space between words:** 2–4 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (1.4 [9 mm]; 1.8 [7 mm]); 1.10 [7 mm]; minor sense divisions)**Material:** Skin**Script:** Hasmonean semi-formal with some semi-cursive features (Puech)**Proposed palaeographic date:** 150–100 BCE, perhaps ca. 125 BCE (Puech)**Special traits and general comments:** This is a very well-executed manuscript with a small, tidy script, a generally high level of consistency in spacing, and the use of small vacats to indicate minor pauses or shifts in the narrative. Margins are fairly large and uniform and there are no extant corrections, indicating a skilled copyist. Word spaces are exceptionally large, regularly reaching 3 and sometimes even 4 mm.Despite the generally high quality of the manuscript and scribal work, the scribe of this copy had several idiosyncratic spelling practices in comparison with the larger Qumran Aramaic corpus. The letters *aleph* and *he* are freely interchanged at the end of words (e.g., אַנְחָנָא and הוּיְנָה in 1.4, 6), to the extent of writing the negation לֹא as לָה in 1.3. Noteworthy, and perhaps unique (cf. the profile for 4Q542 [TQahat]) among Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, the scribe wrote the *paal* infinitive with a *mem* prefix (לְמַעְמָרָא) in 1.1, something that is rare in earlier Aramaic but is well-known from later dialects. In the parallel at 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) iii.13 the verb is written without the prefix (לְעַמְרָה). Other aberrant or unexpected spellings include וְאַנְפִּיּוּהָ (for וְאַנְפִּיּוּהָ) and הַעֲבֹן (for הַעֲבֹן) in 1.14, and הַדָּן in 2.12. The last word is difficult to interpret with certainty based on its fragmentary context. Cook (*DQA*, 60) suggested that it may be an early proclitic use of the focusing particle הָא plus the demonstrative pronoun דָּן (דָּן; cf. הָא דָּא in 1Q20 [apGen] 2.6), something that becomes widespread in later Aramaic dialects. Several of these scribal features suggest the weakening, shifting, or levelling of guttural vowels and consonants, and may be considered relatively late or progressive in terms of diachronic morphology and phonology. In the realm of orthography, the letter *he* occasionally takes on a more semi-cursive “cross” shape, as seen in 2.2 (הוּא) and 2.4 (וּבְחִשׁוּכָה). In this case, the formation of the letter (i.e., the ductus) has not changed, but is simply done with more flourish. This is especially true of the right, vertical leg of the letter.**Overall manuscript quality:** Very good–excellent**Select bibliography:** Milik, “4Q Vivions”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATTM*², 117–25; Drawnel, “Initial Narrative”; Duke, *Social Location*, 9–34.**Script sample:**

ככ יא בב אא וז רג אא גא אא בב אא
 גג חח טט פפ יי קק סס זז חח טט זז ככ
 שש תת

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.1(?), 1.5

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

1.4(part.), 1.4, 2.15(part.), 2.15(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

2.15(? part.)

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

1.8

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.3, 1.6, 1.9(2x), 1.10(part.), 1.11(part.), 1.11, 1.12, 2.12,

2.13, 3.1, 3.2(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.8, 3.1

Verbless clause:

1.10, 1.11(?), 1.13(2x), 1.14, 2.12, 2.14, 2.16

Object early in clause:

1.8

Use of דַּי to mark genitive relationship:

1.3, 1.10

Verb of movement + לַ + non-personal object:

1.9

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוּוּה + participle:

1.6

Lexical items:

דַּי: 1.3, 1.9, 1.10, 1.11

אִתִּי: 1.5

לַחֲדָה: 1.2

תַּמֵּן: 1.1

לְעוֹבֵעַ: 1.3

Morphology:

אִפְעֵל form:

3.1

Object suffix on verb:

3.1(?)

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

בְּנֵי אָדָם (lexical; 1.12) [H]

Poetic doublets/triplets:

1.1

4Q545, Visions of Amram^c

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:331–49]

Content synopsis and significance: Like 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a) and 546 (Visions of Amram^d), 4Q545 preserves the beginning of the Visions of Amram, including the introductory superscription and the subsequent marriage of Miriam to Uziah. Unlike any of the other Visions of Amram manuscripts, however, 4Q545 records what happens immediately after the wedding of Miriam and her paternal uncle. Following seven days of celebration, Amram summons his son Aaron, who is instructed to fetch a figure called מְלֹאכִיָּה. Scholars have debated the identity of this figure (or figures), but Duke has shown persuasively that מְלֹאכִיָּה is the Hebrew name of Moses, Aaron's brother ("Hebrew Name"). Amram's following speech to מְלֹאכִיָּה can be partially reconstructed on the basis of overlapping material in 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a). In the speech, Amram notes that Moses has received wisdom (4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 2a–b.2), and affirms Moses' status as a מְלֹאכֵךְ אֵל "messenger of God" (4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 2a–b.4). The speech contains two broken references to דְּרֵי עֲלָמִין "generations of eternity," a phrase that occurs elsewhere in the Visions of Amram and the

broader Qumran Aramaic corpus (the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and Tobit). Some of the other occurrences of דְּרֵי עֲלָמִין appear, unsurprisingly, in eschatological contexts, but in every case the phrase refers to the perpetual endurance of a lineage or institution in Israel (e.g., the Aaronide priesthood or the Jerusalem temple). The Hebrew equivalent of the phrase is found in the Hodoyot (1QH^a), 4QCommentary on Genesis A (4Q252), and Words of the Luminaries (4Q504). Fragment 4 of 4Q545 contains a predictive discourse on the future priesthood of Aaron and his descendants. The precise context of this fragment is difficult to determine, but it seems most likely to belong within Amram's dream-vision. In this passage, Aaron is called a "holy priest" (בְּהֵן קַדִּישׁ), "the seventh among the men of [his (i.e., God's)] favor" (שְׁבִיעֵי בְּאֵנוּשׁ הַרְעוּתָהּ), and "an eternal priest" (בְּהֵן עֲלָמִין). Aaron's service (עוֹבֵד) is described as a "mystery" (רִז). It is also foretold that Aaron's descendants will be "ho[l]y" (קַדְּ[וּ]שׁ) for "all the generations of e[ternity]" (כּוֹל דְּרֵי עֲלָמִין). Perrin's discussion of this fragment demonstrated the striking

extent to which the description of Aaron's priesthood in this passage is similar to that of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document (*Dynamics*, 165; cf. DJD 31:343). It is possible that the Visions of Amram is attempting to stress the continuity between these two priesthoods.

Material remains: Twelve fragments remain of this manuscript, of which only frags. 1 and 4 exceed the size of a typical postage stamp. Frags. 10, 11, and 12 are tiny scraps of skin, preserving only a few letters each. The large majority of the preserved material comes from the two columns of frag. 1, which itself comprises two fragments (a and b), the second of which is much smaller than the first. The remnants of this fragment include parts of both the upper and the lower margins, demonstrating that this sheet contained nineteen lines of text with a column height of over 14 cm. The text of frag. 1 is quite poorly preserved,

but the parallels that it shares with 4Q543 (*Visions of Amram*^a), 544 (*Visions of Amram*^b), and 546 (*Visions of Amram*^d) allow us to reconstruct some of its contents with confidence, including the superscription in lines 1–4. Fragment 4 preserves considerably less text than frag. 1, but its seven lines contain an interesting section of the Visions of Amram not extant elsewhere in the Qumran fragments.

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q545 1 on the early PAM “E series” plate 40.965. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining fragments of 4Q545 in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q545 1a–b

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least
15.8 cm h

Margins:

Upper: At least 8 mm (frag. 1)

Lower: At least 1 cm (frags. 1, 4)
to 1.3 cm (frags. 2, 6, 8; see
*Special traits and general
comments*)

Intercolumnar: Approx. 1.1 cm
(frag. 1a); 9 mm (frag. 3, to
sheet seam)

Column dimensions: 14.4 cm h.
× approx. 7.5 cm w. (frag. 1a)

Lines per column: 19 (frag. 1a)

Letters per line: 32–37 (frag. 1a)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes, with
marginal guide dots (frag. 3)

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frag. 1a)

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 1–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (1a–bii.15 [at
least 6 mm]; minor sense
division) to large (9.6 [at
least 1.3 cm]; 4.19 [at least
3.3 cm])

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE, favoring 67–33 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The preparation of this manuscript included full ruling of the script lines and column limits on both sides, including guide dots at the beginning and end of sheets. Close examination of the fragments reveals that the bottom margin is likely not fully preserved on frags. 1a or 1b. It may be that the full height of this margin was around 1.2–1.3 cm, as on frags. 2, 4, 6, and 8. However, as Puech noted, frag. 8 contains clear evidence of an unused ruled line between the last line of writing and what appears to be the bottom of the scroll. Were this empty line to contain writing, the bottom margin would be exceptionally small, around 4–5 mm. Puech thought that the blank spaces at the bottom of frags. 2, 4, 6, and 8 may be vacats, but I find it more likely that the scribe simply left this line blank in all columns of this sheet (or perhaps the entire scroll) in order to leave a more reasonably-sized bottom margin. In either case the bottom margin is notably small relative to the broader corpus. The top margin is claimed by Puech to be 1.8 cm (DJD 31:331), though we have only 8 mm preserved on frag. 1a. The top edge of the fragment is quite obviously torn in the images, and the original margin was certainly larger than 8 mm. Judging by the evidence available, the intercolumnar margins were quite narrow, around 1.1 cm on frags. 1a and 3, though the latter is measured to the seam at the beginning of a new sheet, meaning that the overall intercolumnar margin here likely would have been in the range of 1.5–2 cm. The stitching holes can still be seen on frag. 3, along with the guide dots for the horizontal ruling. As with the intercolumnar margins, the columns are relatively narrow, roughly half the width of those in 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b). The height of 4Q545 falls around the middle of the spectrum for those manuscripts with a full height preserved in the corpus. It is slightly taller than 4Q112 (Dan^a) or 11Q10 (Job), but considerably shorter than the largest manuscripts, such as 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q202 (En^b), and 4Q204 (En^c). An incomplete 2.4 cm area of uninscribed skin precedes the first column of frag. 1a. This is a much larger distance than would be expected to the stitched seam of a preceding, blank cover sheet (as on 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a]), suggesting instead that one or more blank columns were left at the start of the manuscript, as on 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a) and 1QM.

The scribe of 4Q545 wrote in a very neat, square, upright script, with words spaced quite compactly (cf. the much more open spacing of 4Q544 [Visions of Amram^b]). Vacats were clearly used, though their size and the nature of their narrative function is for the most part not clear. Some of them seem to have been quite large (at least 3.3 cm at 4.19). The orthography, morphology, and syntax adopted by the scribe is generally in keeping with the broader Qumran Aramaic corpus. *Aphel* and *Ithpael* verb forms were used in what little text is preserved, and this scribe preferred the long form of the 2ms suffix (כה-). As in so many of the Aramaic narratives from Qumran, there is a clear preference for vso syntax.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Milik, “4Q Visions”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATTM*², 117–25; Drawnel, “Initial Narrative”; Duke, *Social Location*, 9–34.

Script sample:

אא זב זג אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה אה

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1ai.7–8, 1a–bii.15(?), 1a–bii.16, 1a–bii.17(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

4.18

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1ai.4, 1ai.5, 1ai.6, 1ai.7(2x), 1ai.8, 1ai.9(?), 1ai.10, 1a–bii.11, 1a–bii.12(?), 1a–bii.17(?), 4.14, 4.16, 4.18, 4.19, 7.1

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

6.3

Verbless clause:

1ai.3, 7.1

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 1ai.5, 1ai.9

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

1ai.3, 1a–bii.17

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

1ai.4(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

1a–bii.16

Lexical items:

אדין: 1ai.7

די: 1ai.2, 1ai.3, 1a–bii.17

כדי: 1ai.7

Morphology:

2ms form:

1ai.7

3ms form:

1ai.7

Assimilated nun:

1a–bii.18

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כה:

1ai.14, 4.14, 4.16

ש for /s/:

1a–bii.14

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

א[ל]לאך (lexical; 1a–bi.17) [H]

ש[מ]ח (lexical; 5.4) [H]

ל[ה]ליסוד (lexical; 8.1) [h]

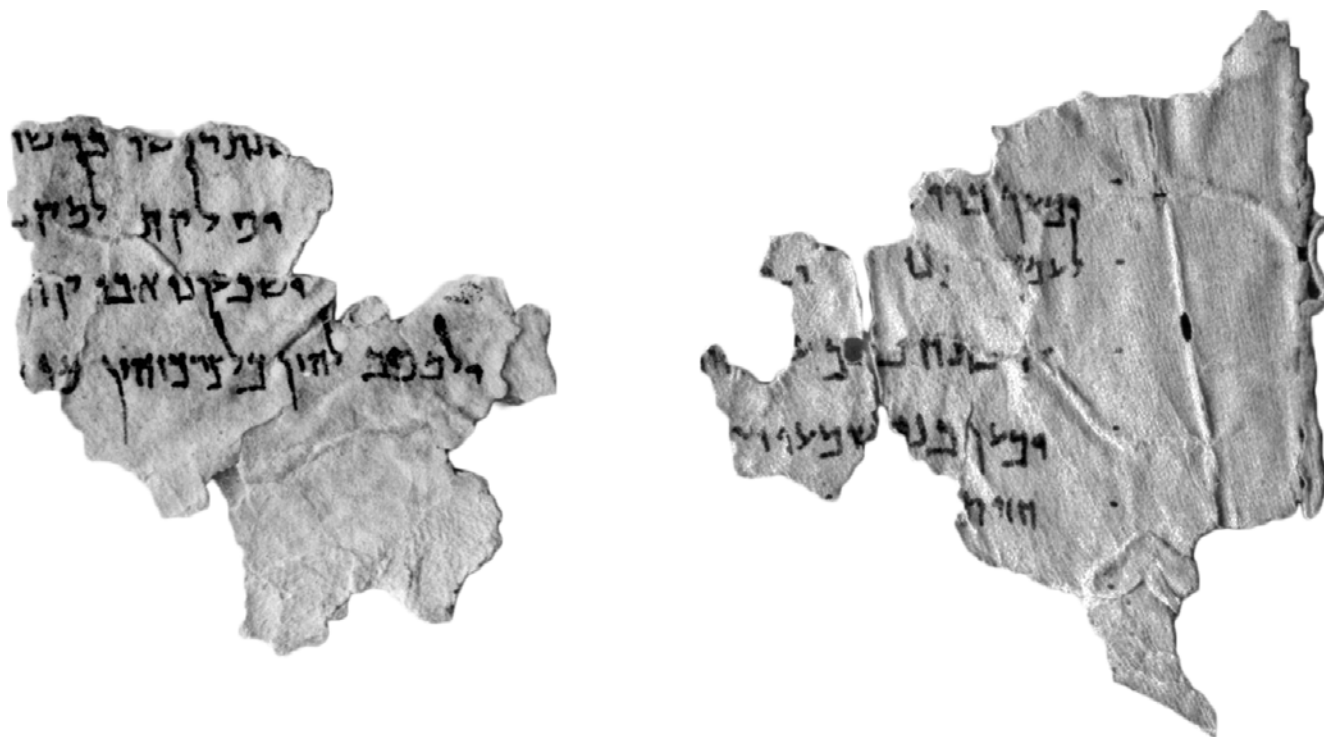
4Q546, Visions of Amram^d
[ed. Puech, DJD 31:351–74]

Content synopsis and significance: This copy of the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547 [Visions of Amram^{a–e}], possibly with 4Q548–549 [Visions of Amram^{f–g}]) consists mostly of small fragments, the context and content of which are difficult to discern. However, several of the fragments provide important details that give insight into the composition as a whole. For example, frag. 12 contains a reference to the “mystery of Miriam” (רז מרים). The figure of Miriam appears earlier in the Visions of Amram, in a passage addressing her marriage to her uncle Uziah, but the reference to Miriam’s “mystery” suggests that she had more than just a passive role in the story. The word רז is used more widely in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, and often refers to aspects of the divine plan for the cosmos and human history, with a specific focus on Israel. Aaron’s “service” (עובד), which surely refers to the priestly, cultic activity assigned to him, is also described as a רז in 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) 4.16. While scholars have generally noted the importance of Aaron in the Visions of Amram, the elevated status of Miriam in this composition has received far less attention. However, the Visions of Amram clearly imbues all three of Amram’s children with special qualities and functions. On the figure of Miriam in the Visions of Amram and other ancient Jewish texts, see Tervanotko’s publications on the topic (“The

Hope,” “Dreams,” “Ideal Marriages,” and *Her Voice*). 4Q546 contains several other intriguing details, though they occur in very fragmentary contexts. These include references to “the priest” (כהנא; 18.2) and “the tablet” (לוחא; 20.2). Though difficult to interpret with confidence, these references connect the Visions of Amram to the larger collection of Qumran Aramaic texts, with their interest in the priesthood and in the contents of (heavenly) tablets and books (see, e.g., 4Q537 [T]Jacob?).

Material remains: This manuscript consists of twenty-five small, relatively poorly-preserved fragments, very few of which contain any more than four or five lines of text. Frags. 1, 2, 4, and 6 have clear parallels with other Visions of Amram manuscripts (i.e., 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a], 544 [Visions of Amram^b], 545 [Visions of Amram^c]). The manuscript’s poor state of preservation prevents us from getting a sense of its original dimensions, but a number of its fragments contain sizeable upper, lower, and intercolumnar margins.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q546 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q546 2, 14 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx.
21.5 cm h. (based on Puech's
reconstruction)

Margins:

Upper: At least 2.2 cm (frag. 10)

Lower: 2.1–2.2 cm (frags. 2, 24)

Intercolumnar: 2–2.2 cm
(frag. 14; to sheet seam)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 17 cm h. (Puech's
reconstruction)

Lines per column: Approx. 21
(Puech's reconstruction)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes, with
marginal guide dots (frag. 14)

Vertical column lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2–2.5 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

Space between words:
1–1.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium (15.5 [at
least 1.3 cm] and 24.2 [at least
2.4 cm])

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean formal hand, with some semi-cursive influence (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 67–33 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: If Puech is approximately correct in his reconstruction, this was a relatively tall scroll, nearly the same height as the better-preserved 4Q204 (En^c). Margins are toward the more generous end of the spectrum relative to the overall corpus, and we possess part of the beginning of a new sheet (including the flax thread) on frag. 14. The layout of the manuscript included guide dots, as seen clearly on frag. 14. These dots are spaced quite regularly at around 6 mm, and most written lines are also spaced at 6–7 mm. There does occasionally seem to be larger variation in line spacing, though it should be kept in mind that the leather has become shrunken and contorted in places. Horizontal ruling for writing was used, but there does not appear to be vertical column ruling. The absence of these lines is supported by the irregular distance of where the scribe began writing lines relative to the right side of the column on frag. 14. The scribe was very capable, but wrote in a less tidy script than we find in some of the highest-quality manuscripts. There are no scribal mistakes on the preserved fragments, and the scribe apparently used sizeable vacats. Puech's proposed vacats on frags. 3.2 and 15.1–4 are quite uncertain, and for this reason I have not measured an intercolumnar margin at the right side of frag. 15. The only sure vacats are at 15.5 and 24.2, in uncertain narrative contexts. One minor scribal idiosyncrasy on this copy is the use of a medial *kaph* as the final letter of ביתכ "your house" at 14.3. There is also a curious, large medial *mem* found on what appears to be the bottom margin of frag. 9 (it occurs at the edge of the fragment). The letter is noticeably larger (4 mm) than the letters used for the main script, and is oriented at a downward angle relative to the ruled script lines. It is possible, but not certain, that the letter was written by the original scribe of the copy, and Puech has tentatively suggested that it may be part of a scribal notation indicating the contents of the column (DJD 31:353). Whatever its original function, the letter is anomalous among the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Milik, "4Q Visions"; Drawnel, "Initial Narrative"; Duke, *Social Location*, 9–34.

Script sample:

אא בא גג דד חח וו יי קק לל ממ ננ סס טט צצ ככ פפ קק רר
 שש תת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Large medial *mem* in bottom margin (frag. 9)(b) Medial *kaph* used in final position (frag. 14:3)

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2.3, 9.2(?), 12.2(part.; ?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2.2, 3.3(?), 4.1(?), 4.3(2x), 8.4, 9.3(?), 12.3(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

12.4(?)

Verbless clause:

4.2, 11.3(?)

Object early in clause:

12.4(?)

Direct object marker (if present):

-ל: 9.6(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

9.6(?)

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

2.3, 4.3

Assimilated nun:

2.4

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

14.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

10.1(?)

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

ומפתין (lexical; 10.2) [H]

Lexical items:

בתר: 9.4, 11.4, 14.2(?)

די: 7.3, 9.5, 14.4

כען: 12.2, 14.1, 14.4

4Q547, *Visions of Amram*^e

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:375–90]

Content synopsis and significance: This is the last of the numbered manuscripts identified with certainty as a copy the Visions of Amram, the identifications of 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f) and 4Q549 (Visions of Amram^g) being debated by scholars. 4Q547 is very fragmentary and contains little overlapping material with the other Visions of Amram copies. The absence of context for most fragments makes it difficult to interpret the contents of this copy, though several of the fragments contain phrases that aid in our understanding of the larger composition. For example, some of the fragments apparently focus on the cultic activities of Amram's ancestors. Fragment 5 appears to have a reference to Noah in close proximity to the verb קרב ("to bring near, sacrifice"), reminding us of Noah's activity as a priest in Genesis Apocryphon column 10, which is based on Gen 8:20–22 (see Machiela and Jones, "Beginnings"). In frag. 8 we find the phrase "a[1] that Levi his son brought near" (כְּוֹל לֵי קֹרֵב לְיִי בְרָה), along with an allusion to "a]ll the offerings" (כְּוֹל קֹרְבָנָא) and an "altar of stones" (מִדְבַּחַּ אֲבִינֵי אֲ). Fragment 9 also displays an interest in cultic matters, being well-preserved enough to allow us to say slightly more about its contents than for other fragments. In line 8 we find the phrase "and I awoke from the sleep of my eyes" (וְאִנְהָ אֲתַעִירָתָ מִן שְׁנַת עֵינַי), a formula that closely resembles those at the conclusions of revelatory dream-visions in the Aramaic Levi Document (4Q213b [Levi^c] 1.2) and the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 [apGen] 15.21; 19.17). Just as significant for determining this fragment's broader context is its reference to "the land of Canaan" (אַרְעֵי כְנַעַן) in the next line. From 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b), we learn that Amram fell asleep and began to dream while sojourning in Canaan (1.10). Fragment 9 likely contains the conclusion of this dream-vision. What remains of the preceding material in frag. 9 deals with some sort of sacrifice being offered "upon [the] bronze altar" (עַל מִדְבַּחַּ נְחֹשֶׁת אֲ) (line 5) and describes a priest who "will be elevated over all the sons of eternity" (יִתְרֵם כְּהֵן) (מן כּוֹל בְּנֵי עֶלְמָאָּ (line 6) and will eventually be succeeded by "his children after him for all the generations of eternity" (בְּנֵיהֵן אַחֲרָיָהּ לְכֹל דְרֵי עֶלְמִין) (line 7). This statement concludes the dream-vision, and shows that one focus of the dream was the divinely-established lineage of the Levitical (and, more specifically, Aaronic) priesthood. Though the name of the priest being discussed at the end of the dream is not preserved, it is most likely Aaron, considering the strikingly similar statements about the

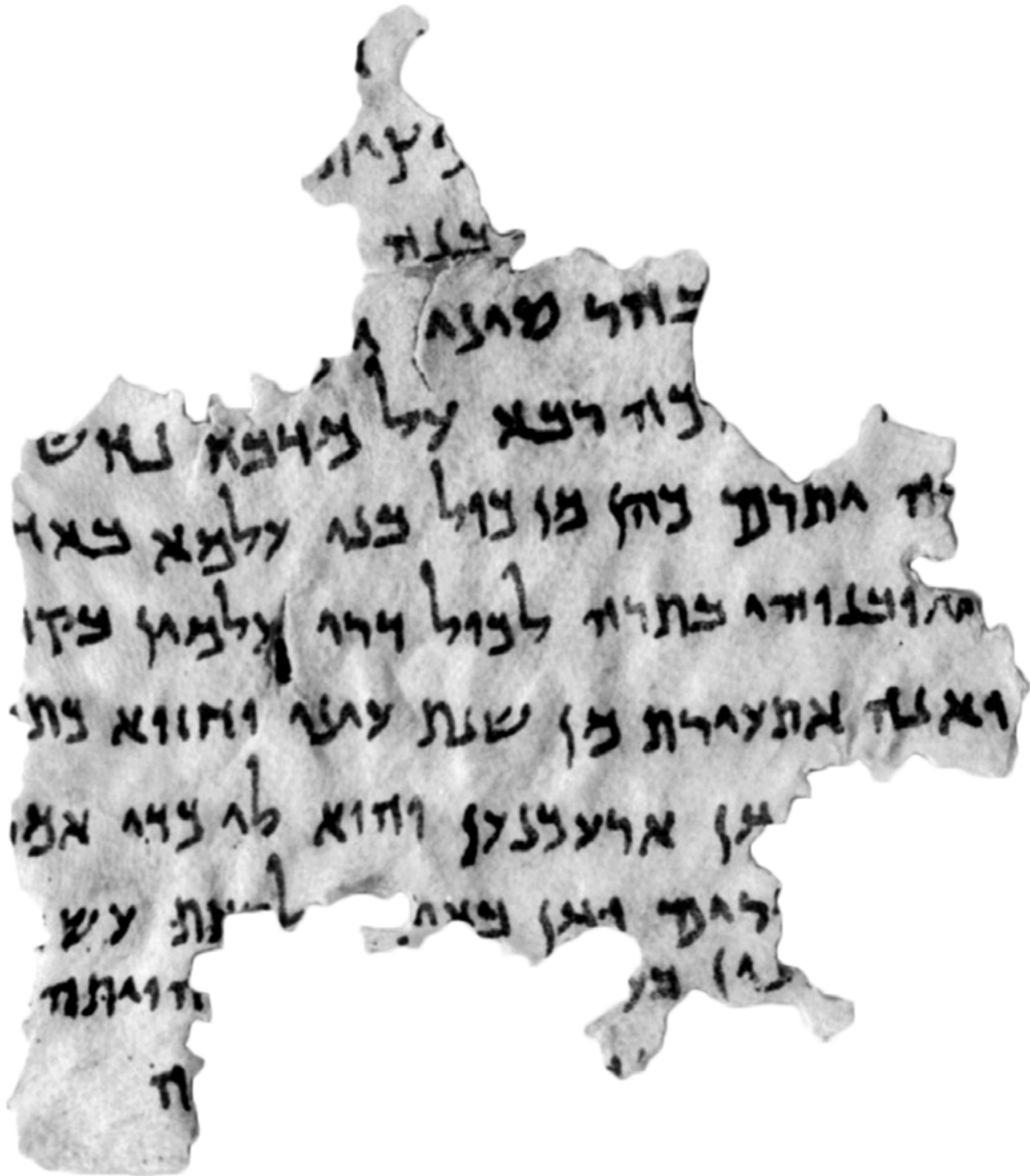
eternal priesthood of Aaron and the perpetual inheritance of his children elsewhere in the Visions of Amram (cf. 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 4.16–19). These aspects of 4Q547 connect it to themes found more widely throughout the Qumran Aramaic corpus. Information about the Israelite priesthood and the operation of the cult is disclosed to protagonists by way of revelatory dream-visions in the Aramaic Levi Document (see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 66–69), New Jerusalem (2Q24 [NJ]; 11Q18 [NJ]), and the Testament of Jacob? (4Q537). Second, both Noah and Levi are elsewhere described as cultic figures, especially in the Aramaic Levi Document. There, Noah is presented as the point of origin for the sacrificial instructions passed from Isaac to his grandson Levi. As mentioned above, Noah also carries out an atoning sacrifice after the flood in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 [apGen] 10.13–17; cf. Jub. 6:2–4). All of these texts witness to a proclivity in the Aramaic scrolls to depict heroes from Israel's past in the genealogical line of Levi (stretching both forwards and backwards) as priests, emphasizing the ancestral connections among them and highlighting their legitimate transmission of priestly knowledge (see esp. 4Q542 [TQahat] 11.7–13; 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 4.18).

Building on Puech's observation (DJD 31:377) that the same scribe wrote 4Q547 and 4Q542 (TQahat) I have argued (Machiela, "Testament of Qahat") that these two manuscripts are, in fact, part of the same scroll (see further below, under *Special traits and general comments*). I also made the additional suggestion that the Testament of Qahat, which hitherto has been considered an independent literary work, may have originally been part of the Visions of Amram. This would, in turn, reshape somewhat our conceptions of both the Testament of Qahat and the Visions of Amram, showing that the latter text has a section in which the first-person narration of Amram includes a secondary layer of first-person instruction by Qahat. A very similar situation is found in the Aramaic Levi Document, where Levi's grandfather Isaac gives a long sub-discourse on cultic matters in the first-person voice.

Material remains: Nine fragments are all that remain of this manuscript, the first three of which overlap with other copies of the Visions of Amram. Of the other six fragments, only frag. 9 contains any significant amount of running text. It is possible that both the upper and lower

margins are preserved on this fragment, which would attest to a column height of twelve lines and roughly 7 cm. However, the presence of the upper margin is uncertain. Fragment 5 has a fairly sizable left margin with remains of the stitching between two sheets still preserved. Some of the other fragments may also have preserved margins, but it is often not clear whether these are margins or vacats.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q547 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented. If 4Q547 does belong to the same scroll as 4Q542 (TQahat), as I believe it does, then the presence of 4Q542 (TQahat) 3 on the PAM “G series” plate 40.613 is also of relevance for 4Q547.



Sample image: 4Q547 9

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least 7.8 cm h.

Margins:

Upper: 5–6 mm (frags. 1, 5)

Lower: 4–8 mm (frags. 9, 2)

Intercolumnar: At least 1 cm (frag. 4, with significant variation between lines); approx. 2.2 cm (to sheet seam; frag. 5)

Column dimensions: At least 7.3 cm h. (likely the full column according to Puech)

Lines per column: 12–13 (frags. 1–2, 9)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes (according to Puech, frags. 3, 9)

Vertical column lines: None preserved

Average medial letter height: 2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

Space between words: 2–4 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium to large (9.12 [at least 9 mm; remainder of final line in column])

Material: Skin

Script: Early Hasmonean (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 150–100 BCE (Puech)

Radiocarbon date: If 4Q547 and 4Q542 (TQahat) are parts of a single scroll, the radiocarbon date for 4Q542 (TQahat) would also apply to 4Q547.

Special traits and general comments: If Puech's reconstructions are correct, this was a relatively small manuscript in terms of its height. A reconstruction of column heights, containing twelve to thirteen lines of text, depends mainly on the relative placement of frags. 1–2, considered alongside frag. 9. Supporting evidence for such a reconstruction is not completely absent, but it is meager. Margins are small, and the use of script lines are indicated by Puech, though they cannot be seen on the available images. The erratic spacing of the lines does make one wonder if they were, indeed, used. There is a rare manuscript repair on frag. 5, where a 3 cm diagonal tear in the skin that started at the seam between two sheets (toward the bottom half of the column) has been sewn back together. Given the placement of the tear's beginning near the middle of the sheet, it seems likely that it was made before the sheets were sewn, and that the repair was made when the scroll was first being assembled.

Puech proposed that the scribe of 4Q547 is the same as that who wrote 4Q542 (TQahat), and I completely agree with his assessment. The similarity is seen not only in the untidy scribal hand, but also in other scribal habits. For example, in both manuscripts we find full spellings of the long /i/ vowel with *aleph* (e.g., אַיִן in 4Q542 [TQahat] יו.י and לְהַגִּיטָא in 4Q547 3.2) and the long 2ms pronoun endings spelled with *he* (כה–). There is a general absence of vacats being used in the small amount of text preserved, and where we might expect them to have been used (as at 9.9) they are not.

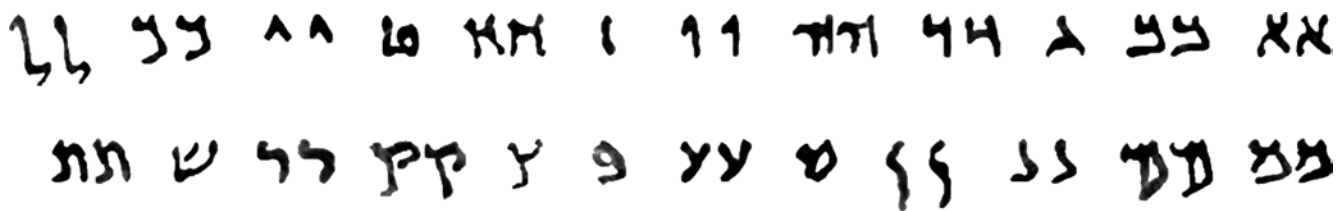
The similarities between 4Q547 and 4Q542 (TQahat) extend beyond the scribal hand alone, as I have argued elsewhere (Machiela, "Testament of Qahat"). If Puech's estimate of the lines per column in 4Q547 is correct, this is precisely the same number as found in 4Q542 (TQahat). In almost every other respect the manuscripts are closely comparable. They are written on similarly colored and tanned skins, with the hair follicle grain moving in the same direction (horizontally from lower left to upper right), and all of the measurements (margins, line spacing, etc.) are quite similar. The one possible exception to this trend is the use of horizontal script ruling in 4Q547, but not 4Q542 (TQahat). However, as mentioned above, this trait can be questioned for both scrolls. When combined with Puech's observation that the scrolls share the same scribe, the striking similarity in manuscript size and execution raises the possibility that both 4Q542 (TQahat) and 4Q547 are, in fact, parts of one and the same scroll. In this case, we could then understand the speech from Qahat in 4Q542 (TQahat) to be either a distinct work included on the same manuscript as the Visions of Amram, or a sub-section of the larger Visions of Amram narrative. The latter possibility is quite plausible when we consider that the Aramaic Levi Document incorporates a

long speech by Levi's father Isaac, teaching cultic regulations associated with Levi's election to the priesthood. In the Aramaic Levi, Isaac's speech proceeds in the first-person voice after a third-person introduction by Levi. We also find serial narratives in the first-person voice in other Aramaic works, like the Genesis Apocryphon and Tobit.

Original manuscript quality: Fair

Select bibliography: Milik, "4Q Visions"; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATM*², 117–25; Drawnel, "Initial Narrative"; Duke, *Social Location*, 9–34; Machiela, "Testament of Qahat."

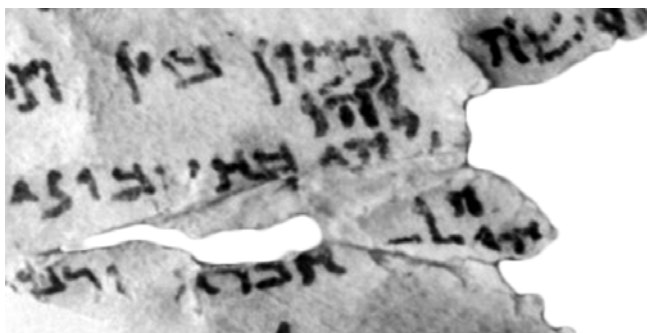
Script sample:



*Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:*¹⁰

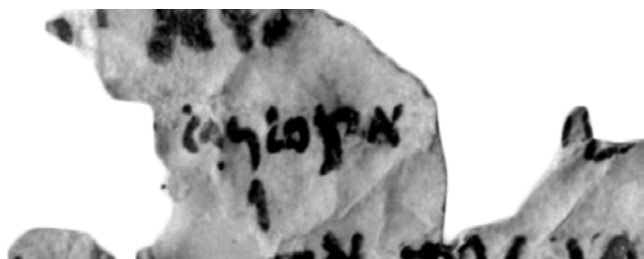
(a) Supralinear word added: ה'י להי [ו] (3.4); supralinear letter added: ה'הילה (3.5)

(b) Possible scribal dots between columns (frag. 4)



(c) Manuscript repair by stitching (frag. 5)

(d) Possible cancellation dots under and over final two characters (6.2): אקטרין



¹⁰ Puech has an erasure of לי in 1–2.7. However, the correction is not evident on the available images. I would read instead: אנתה [א] זאחרי.

Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

9.8

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

8.2, 9.6

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1–2.12(part.; ?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1–2.8, 1–2.9, 1–2.10(part.; ?), 6.5, 8.3(?), 9.9

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

3.1, 3.3, 9.7, 9.10

Object early in clause:

3.1, 8.2, 9.7, 9.8

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

8.3

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

1–2.5, 1–2.8

Lexical items:

בּתּר: 4.2(?), 5.4(?), 9.7, 9.10(?)

דּי: 7.3, 8.2, 8.3

כּדּי: 3.1, 9.9

לּהּן: 3.4, 3.6

Morphology:

אפּעל form:

6.2

הפּעל form:

3.5(?)

אחפּעל form:

9.8

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms verbal affix תּה/תּא:

9.11

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כּה/כּא:

8.3

ש for /s/:

9.10

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

תּופּע (lexical; 3.1) [H]

אּל (lexical; 6.3) [H]

הּר סיני (lexical; 9.4) [H]

4Q548, Visions of Amram^f

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:391–98]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript has often been treated as a copy of the Visions of Amram (with 4Q543–547 [Visions of Amram^{a-e}] and possibly 4Q549 [Visions of Amram^g]), though scholars disagree over the certainty of this identification. Puech tentatively associates 4Q548 with the other Visions of Amram manuscripts in his *editio princeps*, though he notes that this or any other proposal about the identity of 4Q548 is made “sans certitude en l’absence de recouplement avec les autres exemplaires” (DJD 31:392; see also the earlier suggestions of Milik along these lines “4Q Visions,” “Écrits”; cf. Puech, “Fragments”). For arguments against identifying 4Q548 with the Visions of Amram, see Duke (*Social Location*, 35–42) and Goldman (“Dualism”). The preserved sections of the scroll contain the first-person address of an individual to a plural “you.” Taking into account the broader context of the Aramaic literature found at Qumran, it seems very likely that the speaker is one of the ancestors of Genesis or Exodus addressing his sons about their future conduct and the course of human history. This preview of history appears to culminate in a scene

of eschatological judgment for the righteous and wicked at iii–2.13–14, though the text is fragmentary. One of the most striking features of this manuscript’s contents is its way of dividing people into two, opposed groups, “the children of light” (בּני נהורא) and “the children of darkness” (בּנּי חשוכא). The combination of first-person address and the light/dark dichotomy is also found in other Visions of Amram copies, and this ideological connection constitutes the main argument for associating 4Q548 with the Visions. Dualistic language of light and darkness pervades frags. iii–2, characterizing the identity and eschatological fate of two groups with opposing ethical and intellectual qualities. For example, line 12 reports that “every fool and wic[ked person is dar]k and every [wis]e and righteous person is light,” while lines 12–14, though quite broken, appear to recount that “[all the children of light] (will go) to the light” and “all the children of dar[kness (will go) to the darkness.” The same passage speaks about the children of darkness going “to destruction” (לאבדנא). The sharp contrast between light and dark in this text has often been associated with an emerging Jewish dualism,

taken to be present in this and other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts (cf. Frey, “Dualistic Thought”). Although this contrast is more sharply defined in 4Q548 than in most other Aramaic works kept at Qumran, the theme does appear often elsewhere in the collection (e.g., the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Apocryphon of Levi?, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram). We also find references in 4Q548 to “the children of the blessing” (בני ברכתא), “children of deceit” (בני שקר), and possibly to “the children of ri[ghteousness]” (בני צדקתא). The language used in 4Q548 to categorize humanity closely resembles that of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in 1QS 3–4, which refers to “the children of light” (בני אור), “the children of righteousness” (בני צדק), and “the children of deceit” (בני עול), the latter group being associated with the “angel of darkness” (מלאך חושך). See the profile for 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b) on the correspondence between the two otherworldly beings in Amram’s dream-vision and the two angels of 1QS 3–4. If 4Q548 is counted among the Visions of Amram manuscripts, the basic connection in ideology between this composition and 1QS 3.13–4.26 is further strengthened. However, if 4Q548 is not considered to be a copy of the Visions of Amram, we would have two Aramaic scrolls that likely influenced the language and concepts found in 1QS. For more on the similarities between these two Aramaic manuscripts and 1QS 3–4, see Machiela, “Library,” 255–56. Dualistic language pitting “children of light” against “children of darkness” is found elsewhere in the sectarian literature of Qumran,

most famously in the opening lines of the War Scroll (1QM 1.1). The same terms and imagery are attributed to Jesus (υἱοὶ φωτὸς [Jn 12:36]) and Paul (τέκνα φωτὸς [Eph 5:8], υἱοὶ φωτὸς [1 Thess 5:5], both in contrast to darkness) in the New Testament. As far as we can tell, the Visions of Amram (with 4Q548) preserve the earliest clear use of this motif in a well-developed form.

Material remains: Three fragments are assigned to this manuscript in Puech’s *editio princeps*. Parts of two columns are preserved in frag. 1, though what remains of the first column amounts only to traces of one or two letters. Column ii appears to come from the same column as that of frag. 2, as Puech’s placement and reconstruction suggest. When combined, these two fragments (iii–2) are the primary witnesses to this manuscript. Fragment 3 is tiny, and contains only two complete words. Puech is uncertain as to whether frag. 3 even belongs to the same manuscript as frags. 1–2 (DJD 31:391). Fragment iii–2 presently contains sixteen lines, though the absence of upper and lower margins prevents us from knowing its original size. The column as preserved is just over 9.5 cm in height, and at least the same in width if Puech’s reconstruction is accepted.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q548 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q548 1–2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Intercolumnar:* 1.3 cm (frag. 1)**Column dimensions:** At least 9.5 cm h. (frag. 2)**Lines per column:** At least 17**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* None visible*Vertical column lines:* Yes (frag. 1)**Average medial letter height:** 2–2.5 mm**Space between lines:** 5–9 mm**Space between words:** 1–3 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal, with some semi-cursive influence (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This well-prepared manuscript appears to have been finished without horizontal ruling for the script, though a fairly clear, dry-ruled line for the right side of a column is preserved on frag. 1. The same fragment contains an intercolumnar margin that is average in size for the corpus, at 1.3 cm. The absence of script ruling is confirmed by the relatively erratic line spacing on the extant fragments. The last two lines of frag. 2 (15–16) are placed particularly far apart (9 mm), raising some question of whether a blank line may have been left between them. Though placed far apart, the distance does not appear to be quite large enough to accommodate an empty line, and so Puech is likely correct to consider them to be successive, without a vacat. This position gains strong support from frag. 1, which was presumably the basis for Puech's decision. It may be that line 16 was the last of the column, and that for this reason (along with the absence of ruled guidelines) the scribe gradually strayed downward relative to the preceding line as he wrote. The scribe wrote in a practiced hand, somewhat less tidy than in the best manuscripts. The orthography is not especially full, but occasionally a full spelling is found, as when the long /i/ vowel was spelled with an *aleph* in אסיאנהון at 2.3. At least two scribal corrections were made in the sixteen, partially-preserved lines. In terms of syntax, the relatively high percentage of clauses with the verb placed late may perhaps be attributable to the elevated, poetic style of the first-person address. In keeping with the dialectical constraints of the corpus more broadly, the scribe used the root הו"ך for the *peal* prefix-conjugation verb "to go" at 2.14, as opposed to אז"ל (used for the suffix-conjugation verb and participle).

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

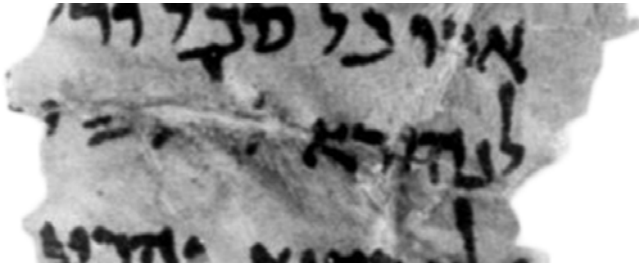
Select bibliography: Milik, "4Q Visions"; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATM*², 117–25; Drawnel, "Initial Narrative"; Duke, *Social Location*, 35–42.

Script sample:

אא אב אג אד אה אי אכ אל אמ אנ או אפ אק אר אש את
 אב אג אד אה אי אכ אל אמ אנ או אפ אק אר אש את

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) According to Puech, partial erasure and correction of word (iii.6): <]נְעִימָתָא{תמימותא}ל.



(b) Attempted erasure by scraping with added cancellation dot (2.9): צבתא {י}

**Language****Syntax**

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

iii-2.9(part.), iii-2.9, iii-2.11

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

iii-2.9(part.), iii-2.9-10, iii-2.10, iii-2.11, iii-2.12-13, iii-2.14

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii-2.14

Verbless clause:

iii-2.12(2x)

Object early in clause:

iii-2.9

Lexical items:

יָד: iii-2.7

Morphology:

אפעל form:

iii-2.14, iii-2.15(?)

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

iii-2.11

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

The possible Hebraisms discussed by Stadel (*Hebraismen*, 63) are based on incorrect readings in Beyer's transcriptions, corrected by Puech in DJD 31.

Poetic doublets/triplets:

iii-2.9(?)

4Q549, Visions of Amram^{6?}

[ed. Puech, DJD 31:399-405]

Content synopsis and significance: Like 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f), Puech grouped this scroll with those representing the Visions of Amram (i.e., 4Q543-549 [Visions of Amram^{a-g}]) in his *editio princeps*. However, scholars disagree as to whether 4Q549 actually represents a copy of this composition, since it does not overlap with any of the preserved portions of 4Q543-547 (Visions of Amram^{a-e}) or 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f). Duke (*Social Location*, 35-42) and Goldman ("Dualism") represent those who doubt the identification of 4Q549 with the Visions of Amram, while Puech (DJD 31:399-400), White Crawford ("Traditions"), and Tervanotko ("Trilogy") take the opposite position. For a helpful summary of the reasons for viewing 4Q549 as copy of the Visions of Amram, see Tervanotko ("Trilogy," 42-44). Fragment 1 contains very little text, but we do find

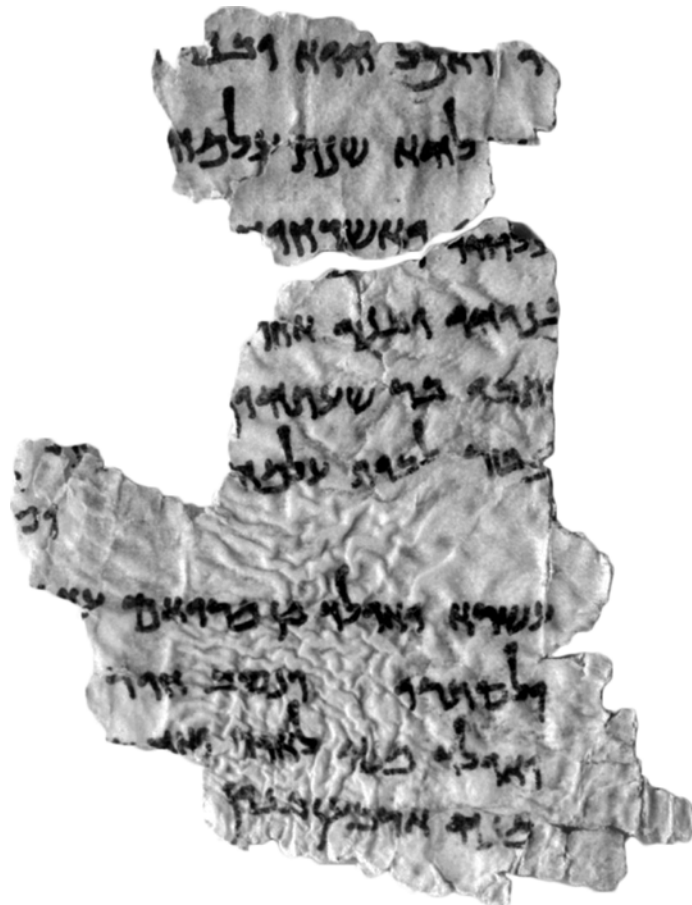
a reference to Egypt (מצרִיָּם). Fragment 2 is also quite fragmentary, but from it we can discern two main sections. The first is a story, now very broken, that reports the deaths of several people perhaps related to Amram, though this connection is not assured. There is one euphemistic expression for death in 2.6 – פטר לבית עלמה – "he departed to his eternal home" – that is of interest, since it has a close parallel in Tob 3:6. In the latter text, Tobit asks that he be granted death by using the idiom ἀπόλυσόν με εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν αἰώνιον "bid me depart to the eternal place" (G11). Based on comparison of the Greek and Aramaic at 4Q196 (pap-Tob^a) 6.8, we can plausibly posit that the Aramaic phrase underlying the Greek of Tob 3:6 would have been אַפְטָרְנִי לְבֵית עֵלְמָא "bid me depart to the eternal home" or something very similar, which amounts to the same expression

as in 4Q549 2.6. Puech noted (DJD 31:404) that the same idiom is also found in later rabbinic literature (e.g., *Lam. Rab.* 46:24). Fragment 2 also includes a genealogical list of some members of the Levitical family, though it is unclear just how many generations were originally included. The list repeatedly uses the phrase “and he begat from” (וַיֹּלֵד מִן, *וואולד מן*), which does not mimic the standard biblical expression וְהוֹלִיד אֶת (cf. 4Q559 [papBiblical Chronology]), but is similar to a single formulation in a genealogy from 1 Chronicles that is not present in Samuel-Kings (וַיֹּלֵד מִן וְהוֹדֵשׁ אֶשְׁתּוֹ; 1 Chr 8:9). Names present in the extant parts of the list include Miriam (מִרְיָאִם), Sithri (סִתְרִי), Hur (חֹוּר), Ur (אֹוּר), and most likely Aaron (אַהֲרֹֹן). Some earlier scholars (e.g., Eisenman and Wise, *Uncovered*, 152) posited that this fragment reflects a marital connection between Miriam and Hur, a tradition also attested in Josephus. However, both White Crawford and Tervanotko have convincingly shown that 4Q549 probably originally identified Uzziel as Miriam’s husband, and Hur as the couple’s son. As noted in the profile for 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a), the opening section of the Visions of Amram explicitly identifies Uzziel as Miriam’s husband. It is also worth noting that rabbinic tradition depicts Hur as Miriam’s son, as

Tervanotko observed (“Trilogy,” 43). 4Q549 shares an interest in the genealogy of the Levitical family with several other Aramaic texts from Qumran, including the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, the Visions of Amram, Pseudo-Daniel (4Q245), and 4Q559 (papBiblical Chronology). However, it should be noted that we cannot know with certainty whether 4Q549 is concerned with the Levitical genealogy as a whole, or only the family of Amram.

Material remains: 4Q549 comprises two fragments, the first of which is no larger than a small coin and preserves only a few, isolated words. Fragment 2 is considerably larger, containing portions of at least eleven lines. There is some question as to whether the bottom of the fragment preserves a lower margin or a vacat, given the size of the vacat in the middle of the fragment. The right side of frag. 2 also preserves part of an intercolumnar margin.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q549 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q549 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: at least 1 cm
(frag. 2)

Column dimensions: At least
6.7 cm h. (Puech reconstructs
the column of frag. 2 as
9.5–10 cm w.)

Lines per column: At least 11
(frag. 2)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None
visible

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frag. 2)

Average medial letter height:
2–4 mm

Space between lines: 6–9 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (2.9 [9 mm])
and large (2.7 [4.7 cm])

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian round semi-formal, with some lingering traits of Hasmonean style (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: What little remains of this manuscript suggests good, competently-done work. The one, preserved intercolumnar margin is on the small side among the extant Aramaic manuscripts, and what Puech takes to be a bottom margin following 2.9 is, in fact, small enough simply to be an empty space between successive lines. If it is the bottom margin of the column, it does not seem to be fully preserved. A number of the measurements (e.g., line spacing and vacats) for the scroll should be taken as approximate, due to the significant puckering and wrinkling of the manuscript on the bottom portion of frag. 2. The scribe wrote in a script that varied significantly in size, something seen clearly in the word למצריין on 1.2. Orthography also varies noticeably, from full spellings like להא “to/for her” (2.2) and מריאם “Miriam” (2.8) to defective ones like ארבען “forty” (2.11). The long form of the 3fs suffix אה- is notable, and is also found in a number of other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts. Puech suggested (DJD 3:401, 405) that the final *nun* of ארבען was corrected in the middle of writing, the scribe having started to write the letter *aleph*, though I do not find his arguments very compelling. The scribe used vacats of varying sizes to mark pauses in the text, which is the main reason for my extending the rating of the manuscript into the “Very good” range. In truth, it is difficult to give an accurate assessment without more material preserved. Aside from the possible scribal slip noted above for ארבען, there are no mistakes in the small amount of extant text.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Milik, “4Q Visions”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 210–14; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 85–93; Beyer, *ATTM*², 117–25; Drawnel, “Initial Narrative”; Duke, *Social Location*, 35–42.

Script sample:

Handwritten Aramaic script sample showing two lines of text. The first line contains several words, and the second line contains a longer phrase. The script is a mix of full and defective spellings.

Language**Syntax**

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):
2.1, 2.2(?), 2.9

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):
2.10(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):
2.3(?), 2.5, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10

Direct object marker (if present):
-ל: 2.10

Morphology:אפעל *form:*

2.3, 2.8, 2.10

Object suffix on verb:

2.3

Orthography/Phonology:

װ for /s/:

2.8

3 The Assyrian to Persian Exiles**4Q196, papTobit^a (papTob^a)**

[ed. Fitzmyer, DJD 19:7–39]

Content synopsis and significance: The most extensively preserved of the Qumran Tobit copies, 4Q196 contains a significant number of fragmentary passages from the book previously known only from the Greek and later versions. These include portions of the Ahikar story near the beginning of the book, Sarah's dilemma and prayer, the journey of Tobiah and Azariah toward Ecbatana, Tobiah's arrival at Raguel and Edna's house, Azariah's self-revelation as Raphael, Tobit's final instructions and prayer, and the book's conclusion in Tob 14. This wide range of passages from Tobit shows that 4Q196 contained most, and very likely all, of the book as we know it from the later Greek versions, particularly the longer Greek translation (G11). The presence of Tobit's discourse at the end of 4Q196 (Tob 14) is of special importance for helping to resolve a source-critical debate, since prior to the Qumran discoveries many had considered this section of the book to be a secondary addition in the Greek and other recensions. While this is technically still possible at a stage that preceded the Qumran copies, the likelihood of the chapter being part of the book's original composition increases significantly with its presence in 4Q196. Most now consider it to have been a part of Tobit's earliest compositional stages.

There are definitely four, and perhaps as many as six, Aramaic copies of Tobit discovered at Qumran, depending on how one judges the cases of 3Q14 4 and the papyrus fragment that is part of the Martin Schøyen Collection in Oslo, Norway (Schøyen Tobit; MS 5234). For the former manuscript, the identification of which is far from certain, see the profile in this volume. The provenance and genuineness of the latter has come under intense scrutiny since its publication by Hallermayer and Elgvin ("Tobit-Fragment"), who originally considered it to be another fragment of 4Q196 and labelled it 4Q196a. However, the fact that the word beginning the first line of the Schøyen fragment (ואמר) falls in the middle of 4Q196 18.16 shows beyond doubt that the fragments cannot belong to the same manuscript. More recently, it has been argued that the Schøyen fragment is a modern forgery,

along with a larger group of forged fragments (Davis et al., "Dubious"; Elgvin and Langlois, "Forgeries"). The argument merits serious consideration, and is most likely correct. (For this reason, the Schøyen fragment has not been included among the profiles in this book.) Alongside the Aramaic copies of Tobit, a single Hebrew copy was also found in Cave 4 (4Q200). The presence of Tobit in Hebrew raises the question of the book's original language of composition, an issue that had already been debated before the Qumran discoveries (see Machiela, "Hebrew of Tobit"). A very small group of scholars maintains that the book was composed in Hebrew and later translated into Aramaic, while Schmitt ("Die hebräischen") argued that it was published simultaneously in both languages. However, a clear, growing consensus has emerged around the book having been composed in Aramaic, and only later translated into Hebrew. This translation may well have been the product of a growing sense during the Hasmonean period that Hebrew was the sacred, national language (Perrin, "Scripturalization"; Machiela and Jones, "Revival"). Whatever the case, the copies of Tobit from Qumran have dramatically reshaped discussions of the book's language of composition.

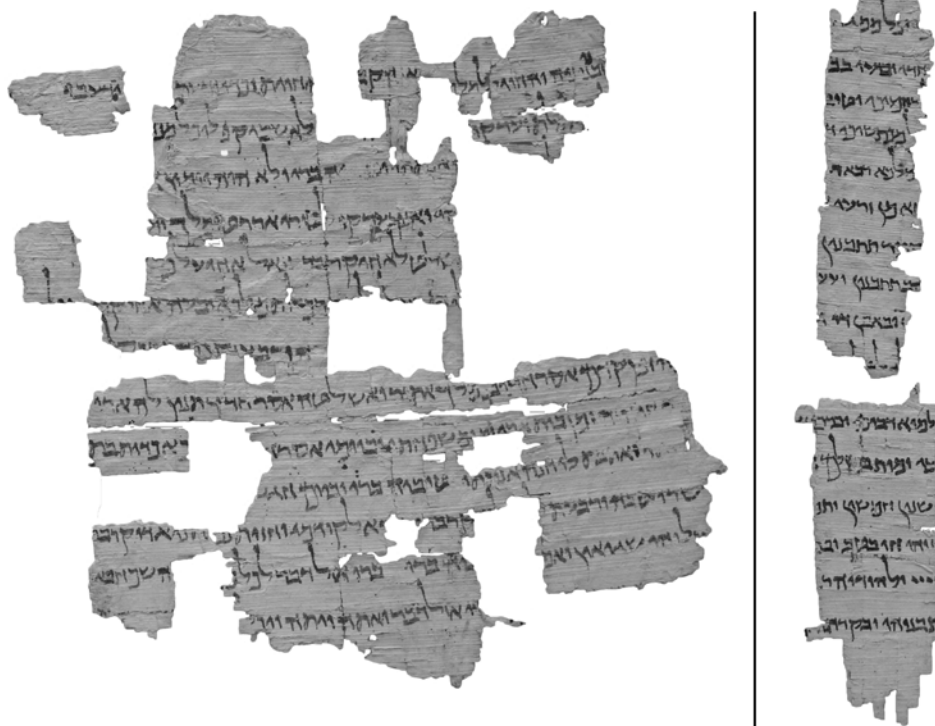
The book of Tobit shares a number of broad themes, literary type scenes, and more specific idioms with other Aramaic texts kept at Qumran. These resemblances have been catalogued by scholars such as Nickelsburg ("Tobit," "Mixed Ancestry"), Dimant ("Tobit"), Eshel ("Proper"), Machiela ("Hebrew of Tobit"), Machiela and Perrin ("Family Portrait"), and Perrin ("Tobit's Context"). Many of these connections can be seen only with recourse to the Greek translations, especially the G11, because of the fragmentary state of the Qumran copies. Some of the relevant passages, however, are partially present in 4Q196. Fragment 2 contains the account of Tobit's service in the Assyrian royal court, along with mention of his nephew Ahikar's high position. This portion of Tobit bears a resemblance to several other "court tales" written in Aramaic, such as the tales of Daniel 2–6, the Pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243–244), the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Jews at

the Persian Court (4Q550), and the augmented story of Abram and Sarai in the Pharaoh's court in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). Such tales were clearly a prominent, popular part of Hellenistic-period Jewish Aramaic literature. The story of Sarah's marital dilemma with the demon Asmodeus and her eventual marriage to Tobias, parts of which are preserved in 4Q196 6 and 13–15, has clear literary connections to the rewritten story of Abram, Sarai, and the Pharaoh in the Genesis Apocryphon (see Machiela and Perrin, "Family Portrait"). Tobit's ethically-charged wisdom address to Tobias (4Q196 8–10) is similar to ethical wisdom discourses by Noah in the Genesis Apocryphon, Isaac and Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document, and Enoch in the Epistle of Enoch (see Machiela, "Hebrew of Tobit"). Finally, Tobit's description of Jerusalem in 4Q196 18 shares several details with the New Jerusalem text. Because Tobit was found in Aramaic at Qumran, we are now able to identify and reflect upon the book's place in the broader corpus of Aramaic writings from the Second Temple period.

Material remains: We possess forty-nine fragments of 4Q196, only nineteen of which Fitzmyer was able to identify solidly with passages from Tobit. The remaining

thirty fragments are so small as to be unidentifiable, often containing only a few partial letters or a single word. Fragment 2 is by far the largest of this copy, from which we can determine the height of the manuscript and its columns. Fragments 6, 14, 17, and 18 also containing a considerable amount of preserved text. Passages identified (often only partially) in the fragments are Tob 1:17; 1:19–2:3; 2:10–11; 3:5, 9–15, 17; 4:2, 5, 7; 4:21–5:1; 5:9; 6:6–8, 13–18; 6:18–7:6; 7:13; 12:1; 12:18–13:6; 13:6–12; 13:12–14:3; and 14:7.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q196 were photographed on the early PAM "G series," plates PAM 40.600, 40.630, 40.631, and 40.632. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 in 1952 (Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified a number of fragments (at times only partial) included on the "E series" PAM plates 40.974 (frags. 9, 11, 12, 34) and 40.977 (frags. 9, 14, 29), associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 led by de Vaux, also in 1952. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q196 2, 18

(Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments; the two sets of fragments represent the two possible scribal hands, on which see script samples A [left] and B [right] below)

Images [right to left] B-484996, B-485064, and B-513168

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTOS: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least
17.5 cm h. (frag. 2)

Margins:

Upper: At least 1.6 cm (frags. 2,
17i)

Lower: 2.2–2.7 cm (frags. 12, 17i,
18)

Intercolumnar: Approx. 1.8 cm
(frag. 14)

Column dimensions: 13.8–15
cm h. × 13–14 cm w. (frags. 2,
17ii, 18)

Lines per column: 13–16
(frags. 2, 18)

Letters per line: 37–52
(frags. 2, 6)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height:
2.5–4.5 mm

Space between lines: 7–12 mm

Space between words: 0.5–2
mm

Vacats: Perhaps; small?
(frag. 13.2)

Material: Papyrus

Script: Late Hasmonean semi-formal (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)

Proposed palaeographic date: 75–25 BCE (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)

Special traits and general comments: This is the only preserved papyrus copy of Tobit from Qumran, unless the Schøyen MS 5234 is proved to be genuine (see above), in which case there would be two papyrus copies. 4Q196 is of estimable quality for a papyrus manuscript, with fairly generous spacing and a well-trained scribal hand. However, it lacks some traits of the better skin manuscripts, such as vacats to indicate sense divisions in the text, the evenness of spacing provided by scribal guidelines, and distinct spacing between words. In fact, the text of 4Q196 is effectively written *scripta continua* in some places. The scribe also made mistakes quite regularly, such as forgetting an obvious letter. Fitzmyer suggested the presence of one, small vacat in 13.2, but close investigation shows that this is far from certain; in reality, no definite cases can be identified in the preserved fragments. A few scribal features are notable: First, we find a “hooked” insertion mark for an added, supralinear word in 6.8, something that is very rare in the Qumran manuscripts (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 203). Second, the vertical line used to strike through, and thereby cancel, a letter in 2.2 (likely a *kaph*, cf. 13.1) is also uncommon in the Qumran scrolls. The mark is found elsewhere in only two skin manuscripts, also written in Aramaic (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii.1 and 4Q213a [Levi^b] 3–4.6). For each of these corrections only a single letter is cancelled by the line (horizontal lines are used for two or more letters), with the more expected way to make such cancellations being dots above and/or below the letter in question (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 5.9). Third, the scribe of 4Q196 had the singular practice of replacing the divine name אלהא with four dots, or the tetrapuncta (Machiela, “Tetragrammaton”). Use of the tetrapuncta for the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew texts is well known at Qumran (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 219–21), but this is the only manuscript in which it is used for אלהא. While unique, the substitution of the tetrapuncta for אלהא in 4Q196 accords well with other evidence for the special treatment of אלהא (and Hebrew אלהים) in other Qumran texts, such as אלהכה written with palaeo-Hebrew letters in 4Q243 (psDan^a) 1.2.

Close examination of the script and spacing of 4Q196 suggests that there may, in fact, be either two manuscripts, or two scribal hands within a single manuscript, represented in the fragments assigned by Milik to 4Q196 and subsequently adopted by Fitzmyer. Fragments 2, 6, and 14i are representative of a group that tends to have larger letter size, more even line spacing (around 6 mm), and employs a cursive *tav* and relatively “straight” final *nun*. In contrast, fragments 17–18 have less even spacing and letter size, using the formal (or monumental) *tav* and a more “hooked” final *nun*. Milik did not designate these fragments as a single manuscript without reason, since many of the letters are indeed very similar across the group, and the variation in spacing is not necessarily outside the acceptable range of variation in a manuscript written by one scribe. It is certainly possible that all fragments are the work of a single scribe. Although it is rare, we do find manuscripts that have a mixed orthography for *tav*, switching back and forth between

cursive and formal forms of that letter (e.g., 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court], 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b], and 4Q553a [Four Kingdoms^c]). However, in these cases the two forms are not generally grouped into large, consistent bunches, as in our fragments, but vary more frequently and inconsistently. While the presence of two separate copies or two scribal hands under the siglum 4Q196 cannot be established with certainty, the variation between fragments should be borne in mind by those analyzing them. It may be that future scientific analysis of the papyrus and ink will reveal further details supporting or eliminating the possibility of two manuscript or two scribes.

The language and orthography of the scroll comport well with much of the other Aramaic literature preserved at Qumran. It is noteworthy that we find several loanwords from Akkadian in this work. These include the nouns נפתן (“meal, banquet”; 2.11) and שד (“demon”; 6.18), along with

the official titles רב שקה, רב עזקן, and שיזפן, associated with Tobit’s nephew Ahiqar in 2.6–8.

Original manuscript quality: Good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 298–300; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 134–47; Beyer, *ATTM*², 172–86; Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, eds., *Book of Tobit*; Hallermayer, *Tobit*; Machiela, “Tetragrammaton”.

Script sample: Since it is possible that there are two scribal hands used in this scroll (see discussion above), samples representing each possible hand are provided below. Because of this, the first abecedary A is composed of characters only from frag. 2. The largest fragment potentially representing the second scribe is 18; abecedary B represents this hand.

A: Script sample from frag. 2:

א א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת
 א א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת

B: Script sample from frag. 18:

א א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת
 א א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letters added (2.1): ביניונה



Image B-285525
COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

(b) Letter deleted with a vertical line: Fitzmyer read *pe*, but I would read instead *kaph* (2.2)

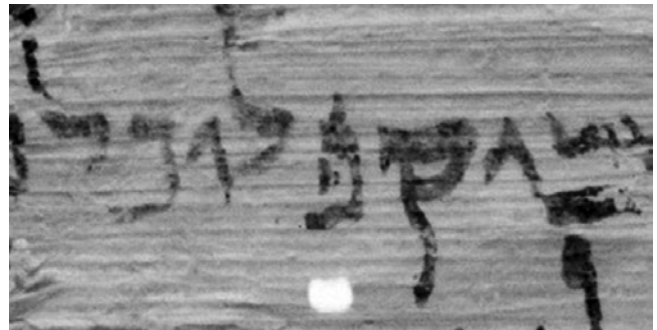


Image B-285525
COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
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(c) Scribal insertion mark below the supralinear אמר (6.8)

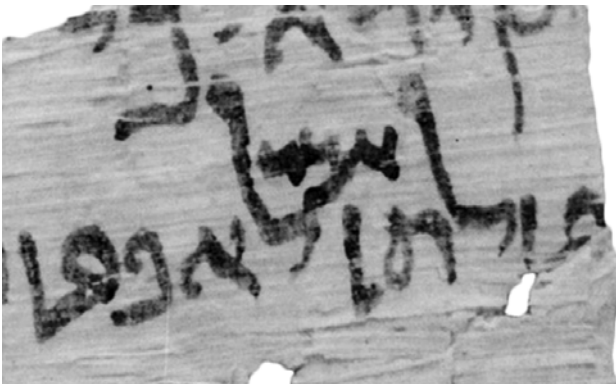


Image B-285526
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(d) Letter deleted with a horizontal line (13.1)

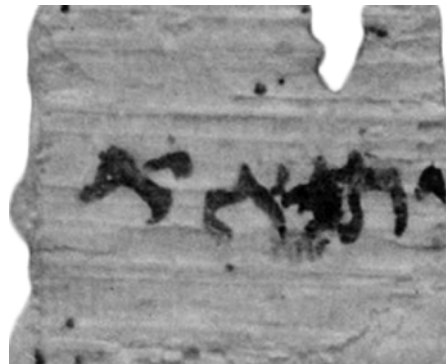


Image B-285526
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(e) Partially extant tetrapuncta (18.15): ... ולהודיה



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PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

(f) Letter conversion? (18.16): Fitzmyer reads ובקדה, but the last letter is not a typical *he*, and may have been converted from a *tav* or another letter

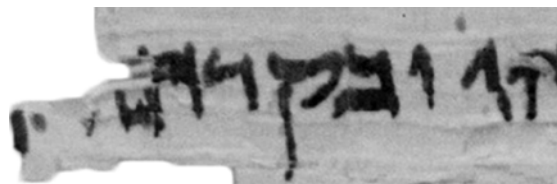


Image B-285527
COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
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PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2.3, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10, 6.12, 13.2, 14i.12(?), 14ii.10(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2.1, 2.4, 2.7, 2.9, 2.13(?), 17i.3(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

6.8, 11.2, 13.1, 14i.5(?), 17ii.3(?), 18.7(?), 18.8(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2.1(3x), 2.9, 2.11(3x), 2.12, 2.13(?), 6.1, 6.10(?),
6.12(?), 14i.8, 14ii.6, 16.1, 17ii.1(?), 17ii.7, 18.12, 18.14,
18.16

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

14ii.7, 17ii.14, 18.11

Verbless clause:

2.12, 6.9, 6.10(?), 6.11(?), 14ii.11, 17ii.15(?), 17ii.16

Object early in clause:

6.8

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 2.1, 2.5, 2.13(?), 13.2, 14i.5, 14ii.6, 17ii.2, 17ii.3

Use of יד to mark genitive relationship:

1.1, 18.9

Verb of movement + ל + animate object:

2.10, 2.13(?)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

2.4, 2.9–10, 6.2

Use of negative particle אל (+ prefix conjugation verb):

14i.9(?)

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

17i.4–5(?)

Lexical items:

–ד: 18.11

די: 1.1, 2.1(?), 2.2(?), 6.9(?), 14i.4, 14i.7, 14i.8, 14ii.9, 18.9

כדי: 2.1, 2.9, 14i.1, 29.2

להן: 2.3(?)

תמן: 17i.13

Morphology:

אפעל form:

2.1, 2.5, 2.8, 2.10, 2.11, 6.8, 17i.2

הפעל form:

2.1, 14ii.6

אתפעל form:

2.13

Object suffix on verb:

2.8, 2.13, 6.8, 6.11(?), 14i.8, 18.16

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

2.2, 2.3

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

2.12, 9.2, 14ii.4, 40.1

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

משפחתי (lexical; 2.9) [H]

תהלן [H]

ארורין (lexical; 17.15, 16[2x]) [H]

ספיר (lexical; 18.7) [h]

4Q197, Tobit^b (Tob^b)

[ed. Fitzmyer, DJD 19:41–56]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserves considerable portions of Tob 3–9, including parts of Tobit and Hannah's farewell to Tobiah and Azariah, Tobiah and Azariah's departure to Media, episodes along their journey (e.g., catching the medicinal fish, Azariah's description of Sarah), their arrival at Raguel and Edna's house in Ecbatana, and Azariah's departure further east to Rages. In general, the Aramaic text more closely corresponds to the longer Greek recension (G11) than other later translations.

On the significance of the Aramaic copies of Tobit for our understanding of the book's original language of composition, eventual translation, and connections with other Aramaic literature at Qumran, see the profile for 4Q196 (papTob^a).

Material remains: Seven fragments remain of this manuscript, the last two (frags. 6–7) being so small that Fitzmyer could not identify them with a passage from Tobit. Fragments 1–3 are quite small, but Fitzmyer's frag. 4,

which in fact combines a number of separate pieces of skin, preserves parts of three columns covering portions of Tob 5–7. Because we appear to have upper and lower margins partly preserved on some of these pieces, a physical reconstruction of the manuscript could be attempted (e.g., estimated manuscript height and length), though no one has done so to date. Of the fragments on which the text of Tobit has been identified, we possess parts of Tob 3:6–8; 4:21–5:1; 5:12–14; 5:19–7:10; and 8:17–9:4.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q197 (e.g., the left-hand piece of fragment 4a) were photographed on the PAM “G series” plate 40.576. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q197 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q197 4 a, b (Fitzmyer's placement)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: At least 8 mm (frag. 4i; not fully preserved)

Intercolumnar: 8–14 mm (frag. 4iii)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 11.5 cm h. × 12 cm w. (frags. 4i–4iii)

Lines per column: Approx. 19 (frag. 4i)

Letters per line: Approx. 48–58

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column

Average medial letter height: 3 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words:

1–2.5 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (4iii.13 [5 mm]), medium (4i.4 [1.5 cm]), and large (5.3 [at least 3.7 cm]); all minor sense divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian formal (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 25 BCE–25 CE (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)

Special traits and general comments: This beautifully-written manuscript exhibits the characteristics of a highly-trained scribe. Corrections are minimal, limited to the addition of supralinear letters, which appear to be from the same hand as the main text. Letters are crisp and very consistent, though the spacing of lines and intercolumnar margins are slightly more cramped than in the best manuscripts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q204 [En^c], 4Q537 [TJacob?]). Word spacing, however, is noticeably more generous than is typical, even when compared with the highest-quality Qumran manuscripts. Vacats appear to have been used liberally, with an especially large one found at 5.3, where Tobiah turns from the speech of his future father-in-law, Raguel, to address Azariah (Tob 8:21–9:1). Since this is part of a single episode in the story, I consider it to be a “minor” sense division. A remarkable feature of 4Q197 is the scribe’s apparent practice of “justifying” the last word of a line when too much space would be left at the end of the line based upon the following word, beginning the next line. This takes place at the end of 4ii.8 and 11, and is also found on 4Q203/4Q204 (EnGiants^a/En^c; see the profile for 4Q204 for further discussion). Even though the practice is very rare among the Qumran Aramaic texts, the scribes of 4Q197 and 4Q203/4Q204 (EnGiants^a/En^c) are not the same. As can be seen by the language profile below, verbal object suffixes are employed in this text at an especially high frequency.

The orthographic and morphological features of 4Q197 are consistent with much of the Qumran Aramaic corpus and resemble better manuscripts like 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q537 (TJacob?). *He* and *aleph* are typically, though not always, distinguished from one another in ways that accord with the broader corpus. *He* is used for fem. absolute noun endings and adjectives, and some suffixes and pronouns (fem. and masc. sg. suffix ה-, first sg. pronoun אנה). *Aleph* is used for the def. article, the long fem. sg. suffix אה-, and the first pl. pronoun and suffix (אנהנא, אנהנא-). Generally speaking, *aleph* as a vowel marker is used somewhat less than in a number of other Qumran scrolls, such as 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q203/4Q204 (EnGiants^a/En^c). Both forms of the near dem. pronoun are found (דן, דנה), and אנון (rather than המון) is the pl. form used for the object of a clause. We also find both Qumran spellings of the locative preposition לגו/א/לגו (4i.15, 4iii.1). The interrogative מנאן in 4iii.5 is similar to the forms in 4Q210 (Enastr^c), some of which are corrected in the latter scroll. In later dialects of Aramaic, the word was apocopated to מנן or, less often, מנא. Finally, the noun מסכנא (“the poor [person]”; 2.1) is originally an Akkadian loanword (see also the profile for 4Q196 [papTob^a]).

Fitzmyer has not transcribed accurately a few words from the last lines of frag. 5, as can now be discerned from the additional images placed online by the Israel Antiquities Authority: What Fitzmyer transcribes as ונתאתה [נתאתה] is, in fact, מן גבאל הב לה כתב, [נת] גב[א] ל[א] וְהֵב לֵה כְּתָב. Without further context, the sense of the first word (presumably from אתה, “come, arrive”) is difficult to make sense of in conjunction with the following מן.

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 4i.11, 4iii.6

Use of ך to mark genitive relationship:

4iii.11

Use of ך to introduce direct quotation:

4iii.8

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

4ii.8

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

4iii.4, 5.6

Use of negative particle אל (+ prefix conjugation verb):

4i.1, 4i.2, 4i.3(2x), 4ii.17, 5.8(?)

Interrogative ה:

4iii.7

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

4i.11(?), 4ii.8–9(?), 5.11(?)

Lexical Items:

איתי: 4i.17, 4i.18

דיל(ב): 4ii.4

די: 1.1, 4ii.4(2x), 4ii.5, 4ii.9, 4ii.12, 4iii.6(?), 4iii.8, 4iii.11

כדי: 4i.15, 4ii.8, 4iii.1, 6.1

כחדא: 4i.5, 4i.11

כען: 4ii.6

להן: 4i.18

לחדא: 4i.1, 4iii.1(?)

תנה: 5.9(תנא)

Morphology:

אפעל form:

4iii.4

Object suffix on verb:

4i.8(2x), 4i.13, 4ii.3(2x), 4ii.5, 4ii.6, 4ii.12, 4ii.13,

4iii.1, 4iii.2(2x), 4iii.8

Assimilated nun:

4ii.3, 4ii.4, 5.10(?)

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

3.2, 3.5, 4i.8, 4i.13, 4i.18, 4ii.3, 4ii.5, 4ii.13, 4iii.4,

4iii.5(2x), 4iii.6

Assimilated lamed:

4iii.4

4Q198, Tobit^c (Tob^c)

[ed. Fitzmyer, DJD 19:57–60]

Content synopsis and significance: All of the extant material from this manuscript derives from Tob 14, the final chapter of the book, which contains Tobit's deathbed discourse to his son, Tobiah. In the fragments preserved here, we find Tobit's injunction to give alms and fear God, leave Assyria and Babylon because of their coming destruction as foretold by Israel's prophets, and the instructive fate of Nadav (or, possibly, Nadin; the name is not preserved), nephew of Ahikar. As mentioned in the profile for 4Q196 (papTob^a), the presence of this chapter among the Qumran copies of Tobit is strong evidence that it was part of the book in its early stages of composition and dissemination, rather than a later addition as previously argued by some scholars.

For discussion of the Tobit manuscripts as they relate to study of the book more generally, see the profile for 4Q196 (papTob^a).

Material remains: This manuscript comprises two "fragments," each of which is, in fact, made up of a number of small pieces joined together by early scholars working on the Qumran materials (in this case, most likely J.T. Milik). Fragment 1 is much larger than frag. 2, and contains parts of fourteen lines identified with portions of Tob 14:2–6. Fragment 2 is roughly 2 × 4 cm, slightly larger than a postage stamp, and has parts of five lines of text from the right side of a column. Fitzmyer thought the fragment might preserve Tob 14:10, something that can now be confirmed (see the *Special traits and general comments* section, below).

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified pieces of 4Q198 1 on the PAM "E series" plates 40.964 and 40.976. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining pieces of 4Q198 in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q198 1

Image B-359920

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL
LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* At least 1 cm*Intercolumnar:* At least 6 mm**Letters per line:**Approx. 50 (based on
Fitzmyer's reconstruction)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* No*Vertical column lines:* No**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 7–10 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–2 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal with some semi-cursive features (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 75–25 BCE (Fitzmyer, based on Cross)*Special traits and general comments:* This manuscript is not ruled, and the scribe therefore varied space between lines appreciably. Also varied is the spacing between words, with a script that is relatively messy and inconsistent. Both cursive and formal (or monumental) *tavs* are used, an example of the former being found in 1.5 (יתעבר) and the latter in 1.7 (יתבין). Compare the morphology of יתאייח]א ("will be brought [to pass]") in 1.6 with אתהייתה ("cause him to be brought") in 4Q196 (papTob^a) 2.13, both of which use two *yods* to signify the internal vocalization. In general, the morphology and orthography of this scroll corresponds with the broader profile of the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts.A few of Fitzmyer's transcription require comment. The *dalet* of יתעבר (1.5) is instead *resh*, יתעבר. The most recent Israel Antiquities Authority images for frag. 2 are excellent, and consequently that fragment may be read as follows:

לא]

אנפין ל]

ואח[י]קר]

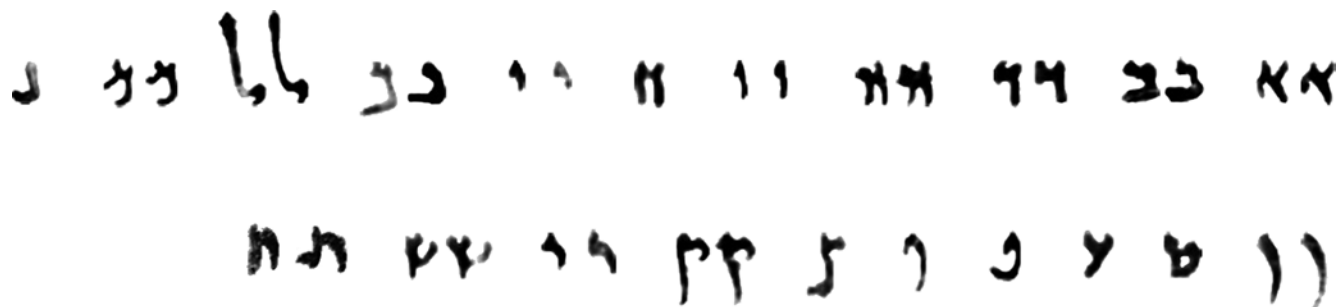
נפל בפה]

ק]

This fragment is, in fact, a collection of small pieces, some of which are held together by twine already in the earliest photographs. While the *lamed* of Fitzmyer's לפח in line 4 is understandable based on the images, close inspection shows unambiguously that the preposition is a *bet*, although there is a stray ink stroke between lines 3 and 4 resembling in shape a final *nun*. It is possible that this is the lower extension of the leg of the *qoph* in line 3, with the small fragments having shifted somewhat. At the same time, this would be an unusually long extension for a *qoph*. In any case, the stroke should not affect the readings of lines 3–4. The third line differs substantially from Fitzmyer's transcription, and the occurrence of the name Ahiqar confirms his suspicion that this fragment preserves part of Tob 14:10.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*¹, 298–300; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 134–47; Beyer, *ATM*², 172–86; Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, eds., *Book of Tobit*; Hallermayer, *Tobit*.

Script sample:



Language

Syntax:

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.6, 1.12(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

1.5, 1.6, 1.7(? part.)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.1, 1.2(2X), 1.13

Direct object marker (if present):

—ל: 1.1, 1.11

Morphology:

form: הפעל

1.1(2X)

Object suffix on verb:

1.2

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

אליל^א] (lexical; 1.13) [H]

Lexical items:

י: 1.3, 1.6, 1.9

4Q199, Tobit^d (Tob^d)

[ed. Fitzmyer, DJD 19:61–62]

Content synopsis and significance: In these two small fragments we have only short snippets of Aramaic text, with frag. 1 clearly belonging to the book of Tobit. Fragment 1 provides part of Tobiah's reply to his soon-to-be father-in-law, Raguel, stating that he will not eat or drink until he is promised Raguel's daughter, Sarah, as a bride (Tob 7:11). On frag. 2, see the section on *Material remains*, below. If Fitzmyer were correct about it containing the name "Nadin," this would be of some significance, for it is the Assyrian name of Ahiqar's nephew in the framing narrative of the *Wisdom of Ahiqar*, found, for example, at the Judean settlement of Elephantine. Yet, in the Greek and other translations of Tobit we always find Ahiqar's nephew named Nadav, part of a clear effort in the book to coopt the famous Ahiqar and Nadin/Nadav into Israelite history. If the name Nadin were used in 4Q199, an Aramaic copy of Tobit, we would have to assume that the change of name was not present in the early stages of the book, and was instead introduced at the later stage of translation. Neither Nadin nor Nadav is found in the Qumran copies of

Tobit apart from 4Q199 2 (including in the Hebrew 4Q200 [Tob^e]), and I argue below that it is most likely not found in this copy either. It seems more plausible that the early Aramaic copies of the Tobit contained the name Nadav, as reflected in the later translations.

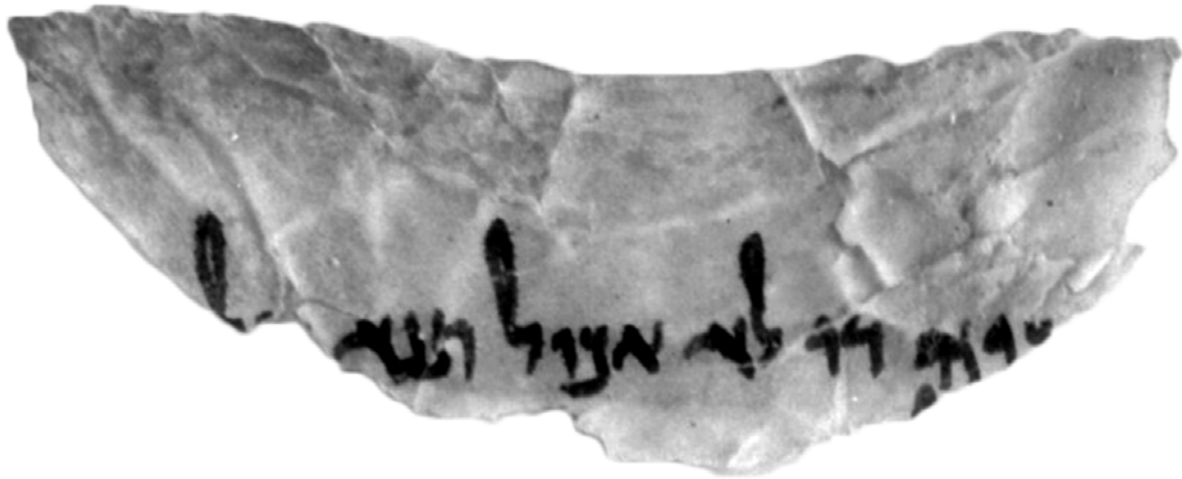
The profile for 4Q196 (papTob^a) discusses the importance of the Qumran copies for our understanding of the book of Tobit more generally.

Material remains: In the earliest PAM images, there is only one fragment assigned by Milik to 4Q199 (Fitzmyer's frag. 1). However, by the time new photographs were taken in 1993, another fragment had been added to the plate (Fitzmyer's frag. 2), along with two very tiny additional pieces of skin (never mentioned by Fitzmyer). These additional three pieces are present in all images taken since 1993, with frag. 2 containing part of a large bottom margin. Fitzmyer read the two words of frag. 2 as [ע]יבדי נדין, confidently connecting them to Tob 14:10 even though the proposed Aramaic does not line up especially well with

the Greek or Latin translations. In fact, Fitzmyer's reading is clearly incorrect, and as a result the fragment cannot be connected with any confidence to Tob 14:10, and perhaps not even to 4Q199. Based on the images taken by the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1993 (PAM I-363566) and 2013 (B-371259 and B-359925–26), Fitzmyer's frag. 2 undoubtedly reads] בְּדִיל נָדִין [. The bottom hook of the *lamed* for the first word can be clearly seen following the *yod*, rendering the standard Aramaic compound preposition "because of, on account of." None of the later translations mentioning Nadav (Tob 11:10 and 14:10) have a text in which we would expect the name to be preceded by the word בְּדִיל, and so it seems quite unlikely that this fragment should be understood to contain the name Nadin. Once this is recognized, there are reasons to wonder whether Fitzmyer's

frag. 2 belongs with 4Q199 1 at all, reasons that include the scripts and the follicle patterns of the skin. In my opinion, if the fragment does belong to 4Q199, it is doubtful that it contains part of Tob 14:10 or the name of Ahiqar's nephew. The uncertain association of frag. 2 with frag. 1 should be kept in mind when considering other aspects of the scroll's profile, below. As for the two additional fragments on the post-1993 images of 4Q199, they are so small as to preclude any certainty whatsoever about their inclusion under the siglum 4Q199.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q199 are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image, 4Q199 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.5 cm (frag. 1)*Lower:* 2.1 cm (frag. 2)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* No*Vertical column lines:* No**Average medial letter height:**

2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: At least

9 mm (frag. 1)

Space between words: 1 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Hasmonean (Fitzmyer)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 125–75 BCE (Fitzmyer); “Not enough distinctive letters are extant on this text to date it more precisely” (DJD 19:61)*Special traits and general comments:* Little is left of this manuscript, but we are fortunate to have an upper margin preserved on frag. 1, and a lower margin on frag. 2. In the single line of frag. 1 we find the word יד used to introduce a direct quotation of Tobiah, and the use of *aleph* as a vowel marker in the word אנה (“here”).*Original manuscript quality:* Good–very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*¹, 298–300; Beyer, *ATM*^E, 134–47; Beyer, *ATM*², 172–86; Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, eds., *Book of Tobit*; Hallermayer, *Tobit*.*Script sample:***Language****Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

1.1(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.1

Use of יד to introduce direct quotation:

1.1

Lexical items:

די: 1.1

תנה: 1.1(תנה)

1Q71, Daniel^a (Dan^a) + MS 1926/4a

[ed. Barthélemy, DJD 1:150–51; Trever, “Publication,” Plates v, vii; Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a”]

Content synopsis and significance: Eight, or possibly nine (see Puech, “Daniel”), fragmentary manuscripts of the book of Daniel were found among the Qumran caves. Five of these (or six, if Puech is correct) had parts of the Aramaic section of Daniel (Dan 2:4b–7:28) preserved, and only these manuscripts are included among the profiles here. For the three copies in which only Hebrew text is preserved (4Q114 [Dan^c], 4Q116 [Dan^e], and 6Q7 [pap-Dan]), see the editions of Ulrich in DJD 16 (Cave 4) and Baillet in DJD 3 (Cave 6). These three copies are of natural interest to study of the Aramaic manuscripts at Qumran, since it is plausible to assume that they once contained the Aramaic section of Daniel as well. The contents of Daniel are, of course, well known because of its canonical status in Judaism and Christianity. 1Q71 contains portions of the first two chapters of the book. Dan 1:1–2:4a are written in Hebrew, and recount the trial and ascent of Daniel and his companions in the Babylonian court of Nebuchadnezzar. The transition to Aramaic in Dan 2:4b is preserved in this copy, preceded by a 2 cm vacat. Several fragmentary phrases of the Chaldeans’ address to Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 2:4–6 follow on five partial lines of text. In wider view of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, two things stand out about the contents of these lines. First, the story of an Israelite finding success in a foreign king’s court recounted in these chapters (and, indeed, throughout Dan 2–7) is paralleled in a number of other Aramaic compositions kept at Qumran. We find similar or related “court tales” in the Pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243–245), the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550), and perhaps Four Kingdoms (4Q552, 553, 553a). A clear interest in this genre is also reflected in the first chapters of Tobit and the Abram cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). Second, the dream-vision and its interpretation found in Dan 2 contributes to one of the most widespread themes in the Aramaic literature from Qumran, as documented by Perrin (*Dynamics*). Comparable dream-visions are found in many Aramaic texts, such as the New Jerusalem, the Visions of Amram, the Book of Giants, and the Genesis Apocryphon. 1Q71 is the only Qumran copy of Daniel to preserve these verses of Dan 2, though 4Q112 (Dan^a) contains some verses from later in the same chapter.

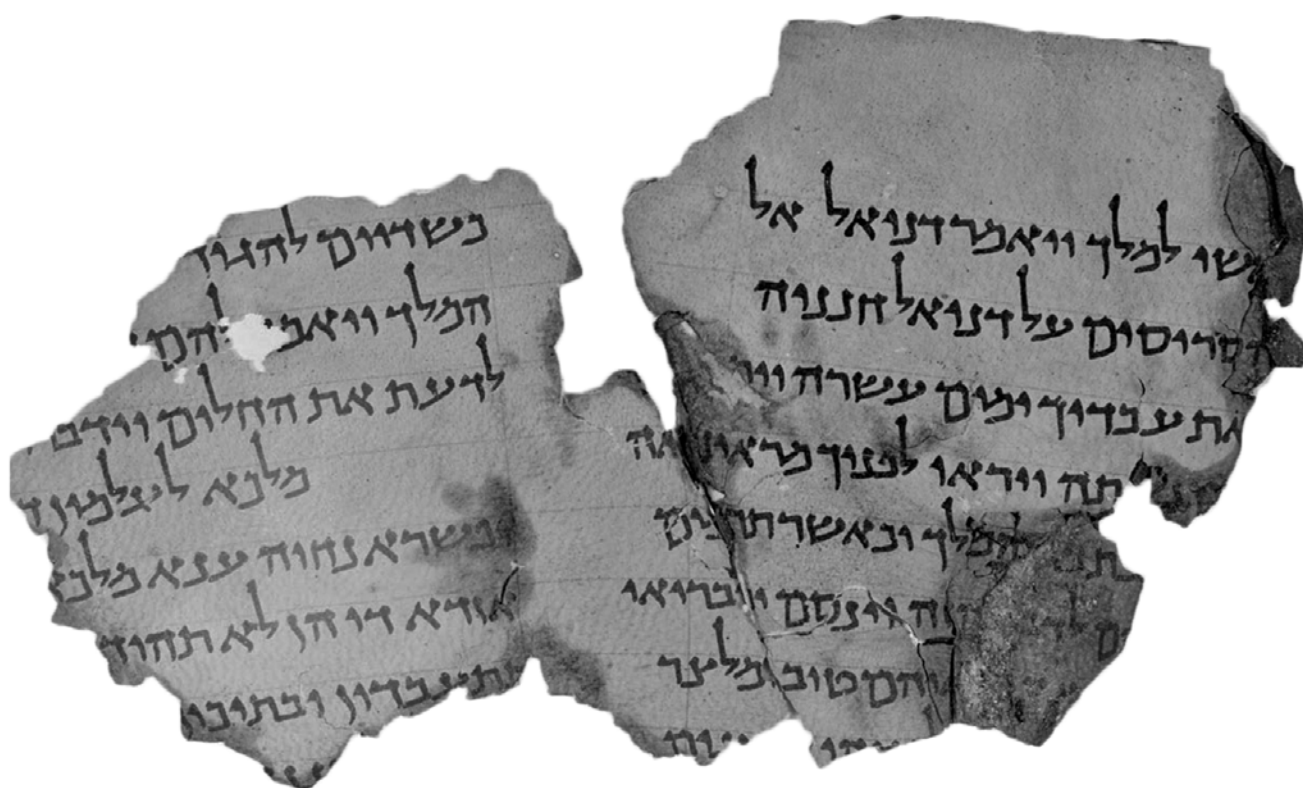
Material remains: John Trever first reported one main fragment remaining of this manuscript, roughly 1.5 times the size of a standard playing card, plus a small (1 × 4 cm) additional fragment with part of an intercolumnar margin,

and no fully preserved letters (labelled frag. 4 on Plate vii in Trever, “Publication,” 344; Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a,” 249, instead label it as frag. 3). A small, additional fragment with parts of several words from Dan 2:5–6 was later identified by Elgvin and Justnes (“MS 1926/4a”; their frag. 2; = MS 1926/4a), which they successfully joined to the left edge of the main fragment. All of the fragments were part of a folded wad comprising small parts of at least three manuscripts: 1Q71, 1Q72 (Dan^b), and 1Q34 (Prayers). Trever (“Publication”) described carefully the wad and its process of unfolding, making clear that these manuscripts were not rolled individually when placed in the cave in antiquity, but that portions of them, likely already damaged, were folded together and deposited as a group. 1Q71 was on the outside of the wad, pressed against the verso of another Daniel fragment (1Q72; the lighter part of image “b” on Trever’s Plate II). Trever’s entertaining historical description of how the fragments came to be deposited in Cave 1 is speculative and completely unverifiable. The main fragment of 1Q71 was clearly folded on an axis diagonal to its original orientation, after which much of the sheet or fragment evidently eroded away. Once Trever unfolded the fragment, we were left with a butterfly-shaped piece of skin with very similarly shaped “wings” on each side of the fold (see the *Sample image*, below). Despite its damage, the remaining fragment is in good condition and portions of text from Dan 1:10–17 and 2:2–6 can be easily read. Trever’s frag. 4 (Elgvin and Justnes’ frag. 3) contains only a small part of one letter, but Trever suggested that it originated from the left side of col. II on the main fragment. Elgvin and Justnes (“MS 1926/4a,” 249) claim that it has traces of sewing from a sheet seam, and if this is true we have evidence of the end of the first sheet of this manuscript. One column must have preceded Trever’s col. I, meaning that the first sheet once contained three columns of text. Based on photographs of 1Q71 and 1Q72 (Dan^b) published by Athanasius Yeshue Samuel in his autobiography (*Treasure*, appendix), one can see that the fragments of these scrolls had deteriorated significantly between the photos taken by Trever in April, 1949, and those done for Samuel around 1965 (Trever, “Future,” 471).

Notes on provenance: The 1Q71 fragments were discovered as “the result of the clandestine prospecting of the Syrians” (see de Vaux’s comments in DJD 1:43). Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel claimed that one of his men discovered the fragments in August 1948 (Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a,” 247; see also Fields, *Scrolls*, 85),

and John Trever gave credit for the discovery to George Isha'ya, who then brought the fragments to Mar Samuel at St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem (Trever, "Publication," 323). A detailed record of the excavation was not kept, so that the cave from which the fragments were found cannot be determined with absolute certainty. However, one fragment (1Q5 [Deut^b] 13) among those that Isha'ya discovered, is linked to a manuscript excavated by de Vaux in Cave 1 in February–March, 1949 (DJD 1:43, n. 1). This connection increases the probability that 1Q71 can be firmly linked to Cave 1. As tensions from the Israeli-Arab war grew in the autumn of 1948, Mar Samuel smuggled the Daniel fragments (among others) out of the country, without an export license, in December 1948 or January 1949 (Fields,

Scrolls, 85, 242–45). In the United States in February 1949, Samuel allowed John Trever to handle and photograph the fragments, which he finally published in 1965. It is unclear how the exchange occurred, but somehow Trever acquired a small wad ("an inseparable stack of fragments," see Elgvin and Justnes, "MS 1926/4a," 248) containing four layers (= MS 1926/4). The wad contained some layers from 1Q71, and other layers from 1Q72. This wad of fragments was purchased from the Trever family in 1994 by Martin Schøyen (Elgvin and Justnes, "MS 1926/4a," 247) and is now kept in his personal collection in Oslo, Norway. The remaining fragments are currently kept by the Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese in Teaneck, NJ (Elgvin and Justnes "MS 1926/4a," 247, n. 4).



Sample image: 1Q71 1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx.
19 cm h.

Margins:

Upper: 2 cm

Intercolumnar: 1.8 cm

Column dimensions: 15 cm. h ×
approx. 10–11 cm w.

Lines per column: 20

Letters per line: Approx. 35

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words:
0.5–1 mm

Vacats: Yes; large (11.5 [2 cm];
minor sense division and
change of language)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Herodian formal (Trever)

Proposed palaeographic date: 1–50 CE (Ulrich; Trever)

Special traits and general comments: The two preserved columns of 1Q71 are almost certainly the second and third inscribed columns of the scroll. This copy of Daniel has a fairly substantial height, judged against the Aramaic scrolls for which we can estimate this dimension. It falls well short of the tallest scrolls, such as 1Q20 (apGen; 31 cm), but is larger than other high-quality copies like 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c; around 16 cm) and 11Q10 (Job; 14 cm). 1Q71 was a very finely-wrought manuscript, carefully and fully ruled in the style of other Herodian-period manuscripts like the Cave 1 Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab) and War Scroll (1QM), or 4Q246 (apocrDan) from among the Aramaic scrolls. The ruled line spacing and margins are even and quite generous, though the overall manuscript and writing block sizes are medium (using the terminology of Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 86–87) in view of the wider Qumran corpus. The skin preparation and ruling is among the best found in the Aramaic writings kept at Qumran. The scribe wrote in one of the neatest, most practiced formal hands found among the Qumran texts, accurately described by Trever as “approaching the appearance of the printed page.” Trever also suggested that the same scribe may have written both 1Q71 and the copy of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Masada (MasShirShabb; Trever, *Scrolls*, 134–35). The two manuscripts are comparable typologically, both exhibiting formal, late Herodian scripts with similar ornamental flourishes. However, on close examination I do not think that we have here the same scribe. There are no mistakes or corrections in the small amount of text preserved. A generous vacat was left at the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic in the middle of Dan 2:4 (col. 11.5), which also marks the beginning of the Chaldeans’ speech to the king. By contrast, the word spacing is quite tight, with breaks between words sometimes being no larger than that between letters in a word. At the end of col. 1.1 it is obvious that more space than usual has been left between two words, since only the short preposition ܠܐ would fit on the remainder of the line despite there being space for three or more letters. Because of the additional space, the scribe chose to leave extra room between the last words, bringing ܠܐ close to the vertically-ruled column line. In other cases, the scribe often wrote beyond this line by one or two letters. The orthography of the Aramaic text in this copy closely resembles that of MT Daniel, differing only by interchanging the letters of *he* and *aleph* at the end of two words (נחור and ענא). The sole textual difference is the addition of ܘܐ at the beginning of a sub-clause in col. 11.7. In terms of typological palaeographic dating, this is one of the latest Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran. It seems likely that it was written at the site of Qumran, based on comparison with scribal practices in a number of the Hebrew sectarian texts.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Trever, “Publication”; Beyer, *ATM*¹, 301–3; Flint, “Daniel”; Ulrich, “Text of Daniel”; Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a.”

Script sample:

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

11.6

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

11.6

Object early in clause:

11.6

Lexical items:

דַּי: 11.7

Morphology:

הַפְעֵל form:

11.7

1Q72, Daniel^b (Dan^b) + MS 1926/4b

[ed. Barthélemy, DJD 1:151–52; Trever, “Publication,” Plate VI; Davis and Elgvin, “MS 1926/4b”]

Content synopsis and significance: For a brief introduction to the Daniel manuscripts at Qumran, see the profile for 1Q71 (Dan^a). 1Q72 is one of five (or perhaps six; see Puech, “Daniel”) Qumran copies of the book that contain part of the Aramaic section of Daniel (Dan 2:4b–7:28), with several verses from towards the end of Dan 3 preserved on two fragments. This chapter contains the harrowing story of three young Judean men – Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego – being thrown by Nebuchadnezzar into a burning furnace for their refusal to do obeisance before a large statue erected by the king. The story is also partly preserved on 4Q115 (Dan^d) 2, with several lines of text overlapping between the two copies at Dan 3:24–25 (there are no significant textual or orthographic differences). It is of some interest for the textual development of the book that both Qumran copies are missing the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Judean Youths, placed between verses 23 and 24 of the Aramaic text in the Greek and Latin translations. In this respect, 1Q72 and 4Q115 (Dan^d) closely resemble the MT version of the story. As a tale about the trials and successes of Judeans in the upper echelons of the royal court, Dan 3 is but one representative of a “court tale” genre well-represented in the Qumran Aramaic literature. In addition to the stories of Dan 2–7, we find similar tales in the Pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243–245), the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Jews at the Persian

Court (4Q550), and Four Kingdoms (4Q552, 553, 553a). The first chapter of Tobit and the story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt, in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), also incorporate new or expanded court episodes into their stories. Based on the frequency of such stories, it is clear that the royal court was a social setting of obvious interest to whoever wrote this Hellenistic-period literature. Prominent themes shared by Dan 3 and other Jewish court tales written in Aramaic are the positive impact of Judeans on the royal court and the king, and the king’s eventual recognition of Israel’s God as ruler over the entire created order, to be worshipped above all others.

Material remains: Barthélemy and Trever published two main fragments of 1Q72, frag. 1 being roughly twice the size of frag. 2 (labelled by Trever 1a and 1b). Elgvin and Davis later identified a small, third fragment (“1QApocryphon”) from the private collection of Martin Schøyen, which they labelled frag. 1c (= MS 1926/4b) and successfully joined to lines 8–10 of the left side of frag. 1. Barthélemy’s frag. 1 has fifteen mostly-incomplete lines of text (several with less than one, full letter preserved), and frag. 2 has ten partial lines. Davis and Elgvin’s frag. 1c contains only a few letters, identified as belonging to Dan 3:26–27. On the discovery and handling of the skin “wad,” of which 1Q72 was part, see the *Material remains* and *Provenance* entries for 1Q71

(Dan^a). The top part of 1Q72 1 was exposed, with the writing visible, when Trever received the wad of fragments, the bottom portion of frag. 1 being exposed only when other fragments were removed. One of these removed fragments was 1Q72 2, which was pressed to the bottom portion of frag. 1 with the writing of the two fragments facing each other. This makes clear that, like 1Q71 (Dan^a), a portion of 1Q72 (at least one column) had been separated from the larger scroll before being placed in Cave 1 in the first century CE, where it was folded and deposited together with segments of 1Q71 (Dan^a) and 1Q34 (Prayers). The group of pieces then suffered further deterioration over the centuries in the cave, with the result that they were partially “gelatinized” and fused together. 1Q72 1–2, plus MS 1926/4b, contains portions of Dan 3:22–32, partially overlapping with the text of 4Q115 (Dan^d) 2ii. The right side of 1Q72 1 shows that this was the beginning of a new sheet of skin, being the second or third sheet of the scroll, depending on the original height and line number of the columns. I would estimate that 5–7 columns of text preceded this one. Some manuscripts held up to 5–7 columns per sheet (see, e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] and 1QpHab), while others (e.g., 1QS and 1QIsa^a) had only 2–4 columns per sheet. It is now impossible to tell where 1Q72 fit on this spectrum.

Notes on provenance: The provenance of 1Q72 is linked to that of 1Q71 (Dan^a). Both sets of fragments were allegedly among those discovered in 1948 by George Isha'ya (see the *Provenance* section for 1Q71 [Dan^a]) and brought to Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel in Jerusalem (Trever, “Publication”; Fields, *Scrolls*, 85). The fragments were probably found in Cave 1, due to a link between one of the scrolls Isha'ya discovered and those from de Vaux's 1949 excavation of Cave 1 (DJD 1:43, n. 1). The fragments were smuggled out of the country by Samuel in December 1948 (or possibly January 1949). Once in the United States, the fragments were photographed by John Trever, in February 1949, and Trever published the images in 1965. Trever kept a small wad of fragments (“an inseparable stack of fragments”; see Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a,” 248) containing four layers (MS 1926/4). Some layers were from 1Q71 (Dan^a), and others were from 1Q72, proving the common origin of the two manuscripts. The wad of fragments was purchased from the Trever family in 1994 by Martin Schøyen (Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a,” 247) and is now kept in his personal collection in Oslo, Norway. The remaining fragments remained in the possession of the Syrian Orthodox Church, and are currently kept by the Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese in Teaneck, NJ (Elgvin and Justnes, “MS 1926/4a,” 247, n. 4).



Sample image: 1Q72 1, 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: At least
16 cm h.

Margins:

Intercolumnar: 1.5 cm (to seam;
frag. 1)

Column dimensions: At least
13 cm. h. × approx. 15 cm w.

Lines per column: At least 18

Letters per line: Approx. 50–55

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes,
plus marginal guide dots for
ruling

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
3–4 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (1.6 [5 mm];
minor sense division) and
large (1.11 [approx. 4.5 cm];
minor sense division; 2.7
[approx. 6.5 cm]; intermedi-
ate sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian, with a “more cursive tendency” than the hand of 1Q71 (Trever, cf. Flint, “Daniel”)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–25 BCE (Ulrich); 50–1 BCE (Davis and Elgvin); 37 BCE–70 CE (Trever)

Special traits and general comments: This is a high-quality manuscript, carefully prepared and fully ruled with guide dots for the horizontal script lines. The double vertical lines at the right edge of the sheet (seen on frag. 1) give a clue to the order in which the ruling process was done: Vertical lines were first inscribed at the two ends of each sheet, after which guide dots were marked along this line and horizontal script lines were drawn. Vertical lines demarcating the right and left sides of the columns could have been inscribed either at the beginning or end of this process. In many respects, the construction of this manuscript (quality of skin, layout, margin size, etc.) closely resembles 1Q20 (apGen), though the scribe of 1Q72 wrote with slightly larger letters and tended to leave a bit more space between words. It is not possible to determine the number of lines in the single column of 1Q72, but there are eighteen preserved (as opposed to the seventeen mentioned by previous scholars; see the trace of the upper stroke of *lamed* on 2.9). These lines were on the longer side for the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. The scribe wrote a formal script of moderate quality (less steady and practiced than the scribe of 1Q71 [Dan^a], for instance) with some elements that Trever labelled “cursive.” Distinctive elements of this scribe are the leftward return on the lower, middle stroke of *aleph*, the similar leftward return at the bottom of final *kaph*, and the “closed” box of medial *mem*. The script might best be described as semi-formal. The scribe made no mistakes requiring correction on what is preserved, and used vacats frequently. Some of these are partly preserved on the fragments, while others can be hypothesized based on the reconstructed letter counts of partial lines (1–2 cm at the end of 1.7, between ואתו and בארין at Dan 3:26; approx. 4 cm at the beginning of 2.7). A large space (about 4.5 cm) was left before Nebuchadnezzar begins his benediction of the God of Israel (Dan 3:28) in 1.11. Between Dan 3:30 and 31, which begins an address by the king only loosely related to what precedes, close to a half of 2.6 (6.5 cm) was left blank, and then another 4 cm or so at the beginning of the following line. Barthélemy failed to transcribe the two words clearly seen on 2.7, which was remedied by Trever (“Publication,” 331). Even Trever, however, missed the small trace of a *lamed* under the *shin* of לשינא on 2.7, proving an eighteenth line for the column. Based on letter count, the *lamed* very likely belongs to the word עליא “Most High” from Dan 3:32. In the little text preserved we find a high number of orthographic or phonetic variants from the MT, including several words spelled more defectively in the Qumran copy than in the MT, an אתפעל form at 1.4 rather than the MT הפעל, a spelling with *sin* rather than *samek* for שרבל־יהון (1.10), and a plural imperative שימו rather than the singular MT שים at 2.4. As in MT Daniel, 1Q20 (apGen), and a number of other Qumran manuscripts, the long form of the demonstrative pronoun דנה is used, not the more widespread Qumran form דן.

4Q112, Daniel^a (Dan^a)
[ed. Ulrich, DJD 16:239–54]

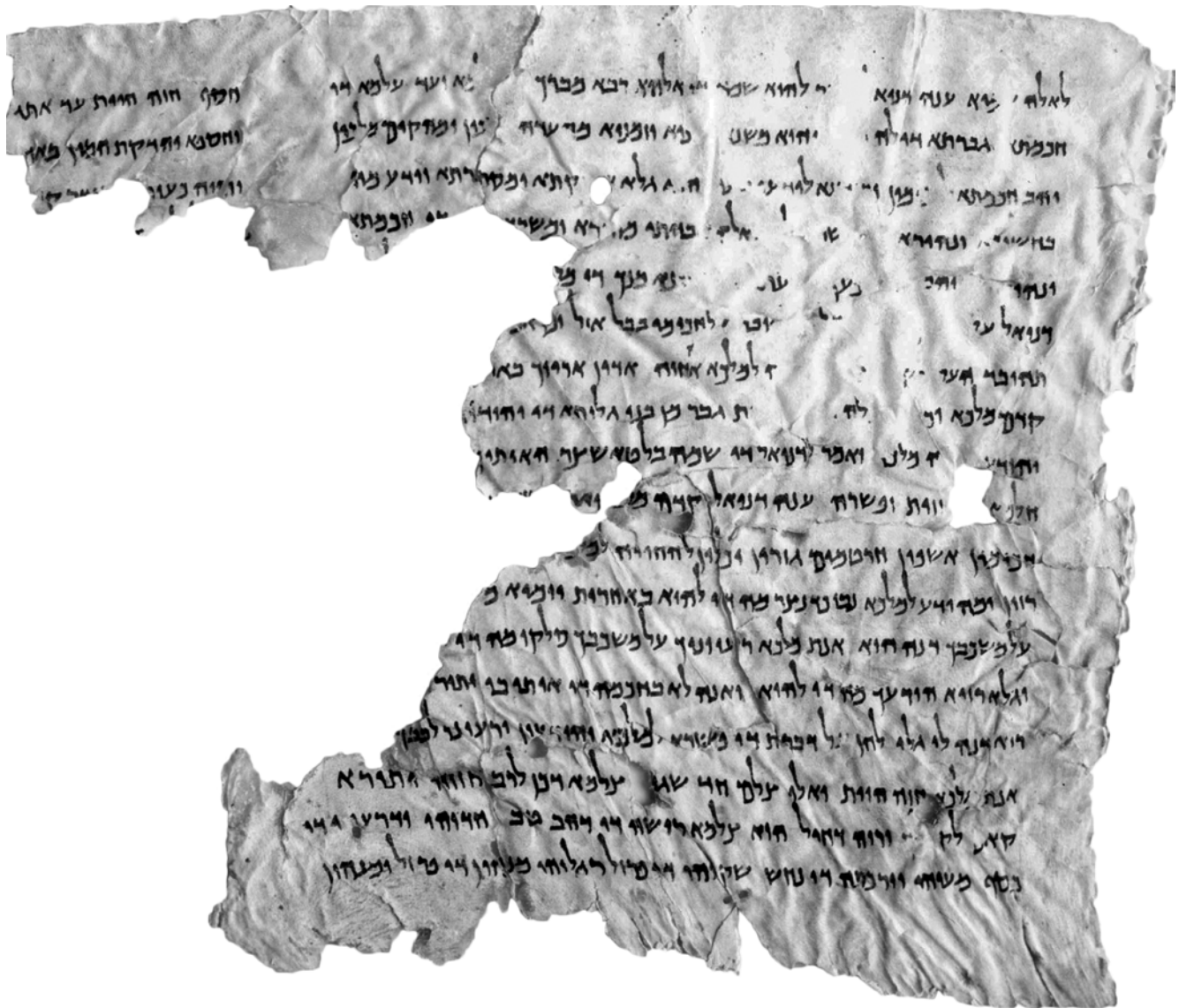
Content synopsis and significance: 4Q112 is the best-preserved Daniel manuscript from Qumran, and one of five copies of the book preserving portions of its Aramaic chapters (or six if Puech, “Daniel,” is correct about his 4QDn^f). Eight (perhaps nine) total copies of Daniel were discovered at Qumran, discussed briefly in the profile for 1Q71 (Dan^a), above. 4Q112 contains verses from all chapters of Daniel except for 6, 9, and 12, but there is no serious doubt that the scroll originally contained all chapters of the book as we know it in later transmission. The contents of Daniel are well-known due to its canonical status in Judaism and Christianity, and in this copy we find portions of the first, Hebrew chapter introducing the main characters, four of the five Aramaic tales recording the exploits of Daniel and his companions in the Babylonian and Persian royal courts, Daniel’s apocalyptic vision in chapter 7, and the extensions of that theme in three of the Hebrew chapters that conclude the book (Dan 8–12). Thus, all of the main components of Daniel are present in 4Q112. Two major themes are of significance in view of the wider Qumran Aramaic corpus: 1.) The trials and successes of Israelites in the court of a foreign king, often called “court tales,” and 2.) the reception of divinely revealed knowledge through dream-visions. Both of these themes are shared among Daniel and a number of other Aramaic texts, as discussed more fully in the profile for 1Q71 (Dan^a). In terms of textual variation, this copy is the most distinctive among the Daniel copies from Qumran, differing markedly from the MT and other Qumran copies in many small ways. These minor differences encompass syntax, morphology, and orthography, and are quite evenly spread throughout the scroll. All of these variances are captured in the chart on scribal variation, in the following chapter on language (Chapter 3).

Material remains: Twenty fragments remain of this copy, with frags. 3 and 14 being quite substantial in size. Fragment 3 contains one, nearly fully-preserved column of text and part of another, with a small portion of the surface and its writing partially flaked off. Other fragments also have such flaking. Fragment 14 is roughly the size of a standard playing card, with fourteen partial lines preserved. A number of the other fragments contain enough

text to help us place them in the manuscript and reconstruct the scroll’s original size and length. Fragments 16–20 are so small, however, that they are not included in the DJD photographic plates, and only two of them have any writing preserved. Only frag. 17 can be placed with confidence, together with the first column of frag. 3. A number of the fragments have margins preserved, several still with the stitching in-tact between sheets, allowing for a good overall sense of the original scroll. Ulrich reconstructed the scroll as having twenty-eight columns of text, which must be approximately correct (it could vary by one column in either direction, based on the consistency of column widths). It is reasonably clear that the first sheet of skin had three columns, and based on Ulrich’s recognition that col. 6 was narrower than some of the others. It seems likely that this column was also the last in a sheet with three columns, since final columns on sheets are often narrower than the others (see also the profile for 1Q20 [apGen; cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 83–84). Based on the extant fragments, we can estimate that column width varied in 4Q112 between narrower columns of 35–45 letters per line (cols. 3 [33–43 letters], 6 [37–45], 13 [43–44], and 19 [43–49]; each of which is the last column on a sheet) and wider ones of up to 55 letters per line or more (cols. 1, 4, 5, 12, 17, and 25; none being the last on a sheet). Intermediate-sized columns include cols. 2, 11, 14, and 24. The available evidence suggests that the smallest columns would have measured approximately 8.5 cm wide, and the widest around 10.5 cm. New sheets most likely began at cols. 4, 7, 10 (or 11), 14, 17, 20, 23, and 28. Either the third or fourth sheet must have had four columns, while most or all others seem to have had three (similar, e.g., to 1QIsa^a). Consequently, we can theorize nine sheets, each approximately 30–35 cm in length (at least one, with four columns, closer to 45 cm), for an overall manuscript length of around 300 cm, perhaps slightly longer. This is around half the length of 11Q10 (Job). For a full list of the parts of Daniel preserved on the fragments, see Ulrich’s list in DJD 16:240. There are overlaps in the Aramaic section of Daniel with other Qumran copies at 4Q112 10–11.1–6//4Q113 (Dan^b) 1–4.7–8 (= MT Dan 5:12–14), 4Q112 13.1–4//4Q113 (Dan^b) 12–13.3–4 (= MT Dan 7:5–7), and 4Q112 14.5–9//4Q113 (Dan^b) 15.19–21 (= MT Dan 7:25–28).

Notes on provenance: While it is not clear exactly who found all of the 4Q112 fragments, they have been confidently linked to Cave 4 (see DJD 16:2). At least frag. 14 was included on one of the “G series” PAM plates, 40.613, associated with the Bedouin excavation of Cave 4 in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). Tighelear

also identified part of frag. 3 on the PAM “E series” plate 40.965, connected with the documented excavations of Cave 4 led by Roland de Vaux in September, 1952 (DJD 6:3–4). The remaining fragments of 4Q112 could, in theory, have been discovered either by the Bedouin or in de Vaux’s excavations.



Sample image: 4Q112 3i–ii

Image B-284885

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: 14.8 cm h
(frag. 3) × approx. 300 cm w

Margins:

Upper: 1.1–1.35 cm (frags. 1, 3, 12)

Lower: 1.7 cm (frag. 3)

Intercolumnar: 1.2–1.6 cm
(frags. iii, 3ii); approx. 1.2 cm
to seams between sheets
(frags. 3i, 12, 14)

Column dimensions: Approx.
12 cm h. × 8.5–10.5 cm w.
(frags. 3, 7)

Lines per column: 18 (frag. 3)

Letters per line: Approx. 40
(reconstructed narrow col-
umns; frags. 7, 14)–70

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words: 0–3 mm
(see *Special traits and general
comments*)

Vacats: Yes; small–medium
(6.4 [at least 1 cm]; minor
sense division) and large
(7.5 [approx. 5.5 cm], 14.10
[approx. 6 cm]; new chapter/
story)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal (Ulrich)

Proposed palaeographic date: 75–25 BCE (Ulrich)

Special traits and general comments: The relatively extensive remains of 4Q112 allow us to determine that it was carefully prepared, laid out with even margins and lightly-ruled vertical and horizontal lines. The overall height of this copy was roughly half that of 1Q20 (apGen; 31 cm) or 4Q202 (En^b; 30 cm), but considerably larger than the smallest manuscripts, such as 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b; 6.4 cm). Column height and width are about average for the corpus, with margins slightly smaller than the average. Nevertheless, the layout is even and neat, with an overall appearance of uniformity and generous spacing. When scrutinized, it turns out that the spacing between words varies appreciably; there is usually an easily perceptible space of 1–2 mm, but occasionally no more space is left between two words than is typically left between letters (e.g., *יהב לה* at 7.3 or *על משכבך* at 3i+17.13). The scribe sometimes wrote with noticeably more cramped or open spacing than usual at the end of a line, depending on the available space. Pfann and Ulrich noted that visibly larger word-spaces of around 3 mm were sporadically left between “sentence” units that equate to our modern verse divisions (e.g., at 3i+17.7, 10, 13; 3ii, 4–6.1, 12; 7.4, 12.2). Although this clearly does happen, it is more the exception than the rule. Vacats were clearly inserted between units within a single story, as seen in the obvious space left between Dan 2:45 and 46, a *parashah petuhah* in the MT. Much larger vacats of at least two-thirds of a line were left at 7.6 and 14.10, both of which correspond with modern chapter divisions. The space at 14.10 also marks the transition between the Aramaic Dan 2–7 and the Hebrew Dan 8–12. This scribe’s orthography tends toward more defective spellings than other Qumran copies of Daniel, and even the MT. For example, we find *אנת* rather than *אנתה*, *כל* rather than *כול*, and *ודרעהי* rather than *ודרעויה*. There is a striking orthographic difference between 4Q112 and 4Q113 (Dan^b), the latter regularly employing full spellings. In the few preserved cases, the scribe consistently (and distinctively) used *אתפעל* verb forms rather than *התפעל*, but the *הפעל* spelling rather than *אפעל*. There are fairly regular minor scribal variants from the MT, along with some more significant ones, such as the phrase *חזוה יתירא* (3i+17.16; Dan 2:31) rather than *רבו חזוה יתיר*, or the probable phrase *ותקרא* [וכתבא] *יקרא* [ופשרה] (cf. 4Q113 [Dan^b] 1–4.8, with a similar reading) rather than *יתקרי* *ופשרה*. One extraordinary variant is the archaic (or, less plausibly, Hebraized) form *מנהם* used twice at 3ii+4–6.10–11, despite finding the more expected *מנהון* elsewhere in the manuscript. As in MT Daniel, we find the longer form of the dem. pron. *דנה*, not the shorter, more widespread form at Qumran, *דן*. In terms of syntax, we find the verb placed early in a clause approximately twice as often as later in a clause, though the object is placed early in clauses a fairly high number of times for the amount of text preserved, compared with a text like the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). Mistakes and corrections appear to have been rare, but did occasionally occur. Aside from the few, unsurprising supralinear letters added, there is an odd spelling and correction of the name Nebuchanezzar (*ומכינצר*) at 7.8. The correction at 14.11 is worthy of comment, even though it occurs in the first line of the Hebrew Dan 8. After the start of the first sentence (*בשנת שלוש למלכות בלאשצר המלך*),

which begins almost identically to the opening words of Dan 10 (בשנת שלוש לזרש מלך פרס), the scribe accidentally continued with the words from the later chapter, דבר נגלה from Dan 10:1. Realizing the mistake, the scribe placed two horizontal strokes through the words and continued with the correct phrase from Dan 8:1, חזון נראה. At

some point, the corrected words were also scraped and partially erased.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*^E, 148–60; Beyer, *ATM*², 187–99; Puech, “Daniel”.

Script sample:

א א ב ב ג ג ד ד ה ה ו ו ז ז ח ח ט ט י י
 כ כ ל ל מ מ נ נ ס ס ע ע פ פ צ צ ק ק ר ר ש ש ת ת

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Ink dots above penultimate letter (perhaps last two letters) of word, possibly for erasure (3i+17.8): יהודיא] (MT and other witnesses have יהוד)

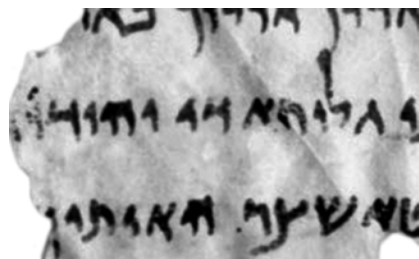


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(b) Supralinear *dalet* added and misspelling of ונבכדנצר as ומכדנצר (7.6–8)

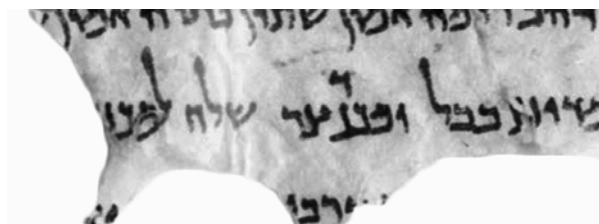


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(c) Near full-line vacat at transition from Aram. ch. 7 to Heb. ch. 8. Erasure of words with double lines and subsequent scraping in first line of Heb. text (14.10–11): {ד}בר נגלה

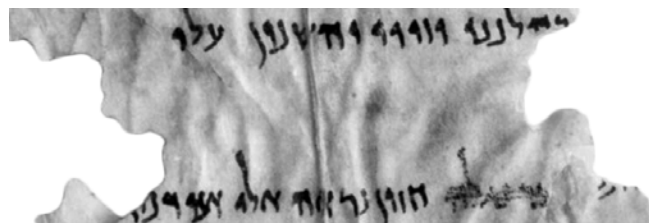


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Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

3i+17.1(2x), 3i+17.9, 3i+17.10, 12.2

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

3i+17.2(part.), 3i+17.3(part.), 3i+17.6, 3i+17.14, 7.4,
7.8, 9.16, 9.16(part.), 10–11.4, 14.6, 14.9

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

3i+17.4(part.), 3ii+4–6.7, 3ii+4–6.14

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

3i+17.4(part.), 3i+17.5, 3i+17.6, 3i+17.7, 3i+17.10–11,
3i+17.13, 3i+17.15, 3i+17.16, 12.3

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

3i+17.1, 3i+17.2(2x; part.), 3i+17.3(part.), 3i+17.3–
4(part.), 3i+17.5, 3i+17.6, 3i+17.8, 3i+17.9, 3i+17.10,
3i+17.12(part.), 3i+17.17(part.), 3ii+4–6.1, 3ii+4–6.2,
3ii+4–6.3, 3ii+4–6.13, 12.2, 12.3(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

3i+17.5, 3i+17.7, 3i+17.15, 12.1, 12.1–2

Verbless clause:

3i+17.2, 3i+17.13, 3i+17.16(3x), 3i+17.17

Object early in clause:

3i+17.4, 3i+17.7, 3i+17.15, 12.1, 12.1–2, 12.3

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 3i+17.4

Use of יד to mark genitive relationship:

3i+17.1, 3i+17.8, 3i+17.14, 3i+17.17(2x), 3i+17.18(3x),
3ii+4–6.10, 7.7, 12.1, 14.8

Use of יד to introduce direct quotation:

3i+17.8

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

3i+17.6

Copula pronoun:

3i+17.2, 3i+17.13

Interrogative ה:

3i+17.9

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

3i+17.1, 3ii+4–6.13

Participle + finite form of הוה:

3i+17.16, 3ii+4–6.1

Lexical items:

אִיִּי: 3i+17.9, 3i+17.14

אִדָּן: 3i+17.7, 3ii+4–6.18

בִּאִדָּן: 3ii+4–6.2, 12.2

דִּי: 11i.4, 11i.6, 3i+17.1(2x), 3i+17.4, 3i+17.5(2x), 3i+17.8,
3i+17.9, 3i+17.10, 3i+17.12, 3i+17.13, 3i+17.14(2x),
3i+17.15, 3i+17.17(2x), 3i+17.18(3x), 3ii+4–6.5,
3ii+4–6.9, 3ii+4–6.10, 3ii+4–6.12, 3ii+4–6.13,
3ii+4–6.14, 3ii+4–6.16, 7.7, 8.17, 10–11.2, 10–11.5,
12.1, 12.6, 14.8

כִּעַן: 3i+17.5

לֵהֶן: 11i.2, 3i+17.15

Morphology:

הפעל form:

3i+17.2(2x), 3i+17.6, 3i+17.11, 3ii+4–6.2, 9.17, 10–11.4,
12.1, 12.3, 14.9

אתפעל form:

3i+17.7, 3ii+4–6.1

Object suffix on verb:

3i+17.5, 3i+17.7, 3i+17.14, 9.16, 12.1, 14.9

Assimilated nun:

10–11.1

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

3i+17.3, 9.7

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

3i+17.16, 13.2

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

חִרְטָמִים (morphological; 3i+17.11) [H]

רַעִיוֹן (morphological; 3i+17.13) [H]

עֲלִיוֹן (morphological; 14.7) [H]

Poetic doublets/triplets:

3i+17.3

4Q113, Daniel^b (Dan^b)

[ed. Ulrich, DJD 16:255–67]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is one of five (or six if Puech, “Daniel,” is correct about his 4QDn^f) Qumran copies containing the Aramaic chapters of Daniel, and one of eight (or nine) overall copies of the book. The extant fragments of 4Q113 contain parts

of Dan 5 (5:10–12, 14–16, 19–22), 6 (6:8–22, 27–29), and 7 (7:1–6, 26–28). Chapters 5 and 6 are the best preserved, both being stories of Daniel’s travails in the Babylonian and Persian royal courts of Belshazzar and Darius, respectively. On the significance of these court tales and the

vision of Dan 7 in view of the Qumran Aramaic literature more broadly, see the profiles for 1Q71 (Dan^a) and 4Q112 (Dan^a). In terms of its textual character, 4Q113 is marked by a fairly high number of minor variants in orthography, morphology, and syntax when compared with the MT, many of which can be attributed to scribal preferences. However, the differences between 4Q113 and the MT do not appear to be as extensive as we find in 4Q112 (Dan^a). Both 4Q113 and 4Q112 (Dan^a) are important witnesses to the kinds of scribal variation that occurred in authoritative Jewish texts during the Second Temple period.

Material remains: Twenty fragments remain of this manuscript, varying considerably in size. The two largest fragments are 7 and 18, each of which has parts of two columns preserved. The smallest fragments (2–4, 12, 14, 20) contain only a few letters. Since we are dealing with a relatively stable text that we possess in full, these and several other fragments help to determine line length (about 35–45 letters) and column width (11.5–13.5 cm) in the scroll. Based on letter count, the column width seems to have varied within a few centimeters, as is typical. From frag. 7 we can also reconstruct the column height and line number, allowing for a rough estimation of the scroll's length. Ulrich proposed 31–32 columns in total, which would make for a scroll around 400–450 cm long. This is longer than the reconstructed 4Q112 (Dan^a), but still not

as long as other scrolls like 11Q10 (Job). No seams are preserved between sheets, and so we cannot estimate the columns per sheet, or how many sheets were used. There are overlaps in the Aramaic section of Daniel with other Qumran copies at 4Q113 1–4.7–8//4Q112 (Dan^a) 10–11.2–3 (= MT Dan 5:12), 4Q113 12–13.3–5//4Q112 (Dan^a) 13.2–3 (= MT Dan 7:5–6), and 4Q113 15.18–22//4Q112 (Dan^a) 14.6–8 (= MT Dan 7:26–28).

Notes on provenance: The provenance of 4Q113 is comparable to that of 4Q112 (Dan^a). A portion of frag. 7ii appears on PAM 40.612, which is part of the “G series” photographic plates containing fragments discovered by the Bedouin and then sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum directly (to Roland de Vaux of the École Biblique) or through the Bethlehem antiquities dealer Kando (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). Tigchelaar also identified 4Q113 2 on the PAM “E series” plate 40.963, connected with the documented excavations of Cave 4 led by Roland de Vaux in September, 1952 (DJD 6:3–4). The origins of the fragments not on PAM 40.612 or 40.963 are less certain, having been discovered either by Bedouin or in de Vaux's excavations. Ulrich noted that two fragments of the manuscript went missing (frag. 14 and 19), while still at the Rockefeller (Palestine Archaeological) Museum (DJD 16:256). Fragment 14 was reported missing in 1982, and frag. 19 in 1999.



Sample image: 4Q113 7i–ii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 21 cm h. × 400–450 cm l. (based on Ulrich's reconstruction)

Margins:

Upper: 2.2 cm

Lower: 2 cm

Intercolumnar: 1.8 cm (frags. 7, 18)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 16.5 cm h. × 11.5–13.5 cm w.

Lines per column: 22 (frag. 7ii)

Letters per line: Approx. 35–45

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column

Average medial letter height: 3

Space between lines: 6–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; large (7ii+8.14 [approx. 7.5 cm], 9–11.15 [approx. 10.5 cm]; intermediate sense divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian formal (Ulrich, based on Cross)

Proposed palaeographic date: 20–50 CE (Ulrich, based on Cross)

Special traits and general comments: The preparation of this scroll seems to have been good (not excellent), and a noteworthy characteristic is its high number of blemishes – six or seven on the extant fragments – relative to most manuscripts at Qumran. These included imperfections or pits (5–6.2) in the skin, and even holes (7i.17, 7ii+8.3–4). The fact that the scribe regularly wrote around these blemishes shows that they were part of the scroll already when it was inscribed in antiquity. This copy had quite large upper, lower, and intercolumnar margins. Most columns seem to have averaged lines in the mid-thirties for letter count, though some columns, such as that containing the beginning of Dan 8 (frags. 16–18i+19), were closer to the mid-forties. The scribe wrote in a rather large, consistent Herodian script. Full orthography was regularly used, as in the pronoun אנתה and the long 2ms pronominal suffix כה-, which contrasts with the more defective orthography of 4Q112 (Dan^a). Like the scribe of 4Q112 (Dan^a), that of 4Q113 preferred the אהפעל verb form to the התפעל of the MT, but used the הפעל spelling rather than the אפעל. The scribe wrote כלקבל correctly, as a closed compound word at 7i.15 (so also 4Q115 [Dan^d] 3–7.17) as opposed to the MT's כל קבל and, surprisingly, wrote מיד instead of the expected מן יד at 9–11.13. This seems best interpreted as a morphological Hebraism. Ulrich (“Identification”) suggested that the scribe who copied 4Q113 can also be identified in 1Q11 (Ps^b), 4Q57 (Isa^c) and 11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milhamah). The scripts are indeed very similar, though Tigchelaar harbors some reservations (in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 258). Most of the spaces left blank are due to the manuscript blemishes mentioned above, but the scribe did leave large vacats of nearly a full line at a point of significant progression within a story (7ii+8.14, before Dan 6:19), and between two distinct stories (9–11.15, between Dan 6 and 7). In the parts of the scroll preserved, syntactic arrangements with the verb placed later in clause are quite common. Many of these clauses occur in Dan 6.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

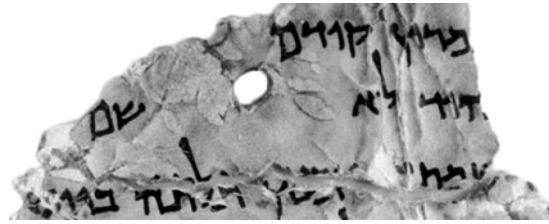
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 148–60; Beyer, *ATTM*², 187–99;

Script sample:

אא בב גג דד חח וו זז חח טט ככ לל
 ממ ננ סס טט ככ לל קק רר
 שש ת

*Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:*Supralinear *vav* added (7i.14): ותרשים

(b) Blemish on skin (in this case a hole), avoided by the scribe (7ii+8.3–4; see also 5–6.2; 7i.17; 9–11.14–17, 21; and 12–13.4)

**Language****Syntax***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

7ii+8.13, 7ii+8.14, 7ii+8.15, 7ii+8.18

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

7ii+8.8, 7ii+8.12, 7ii+8.15, 7ii+8.16

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

9–11.16

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

7ii+8.3, 7ii+8.13, 7ii+8.15, 7ii+8.18

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

7ii+8.6, 7ii+8.7, 7ii+8.7–8, 7ii+8.11, 7ii+8.17,

7ii+8.17–18, 9–11.17

Verbless clause:

7ii+8.6

Object early in clause:

9–11.17

Use of ךי to mark genitive relationship:

7ii+8.11, 7ii+8.17

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

7ii+8.8

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

7ii+8.15, 7ii+8.17

Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

1–4.1

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

5–6.2, 7ii+8.7–8

Participle + finite form of הוה:

9–11.21

Lexical items:

אִתִּי: 1–4.2

אֲדִין: 7ii+8.6

בְּאֲדִין: 7ii+8.8, 7ii+8.15, 7ii+8.16

דִּי: 5–6.1, 7i.12, 7i.16, 7ii+8.9, 7ii+8.11, 7ii+8.12, 7ii+8.17, 7ii+8.18, 9–11.21

כְּדִי: 7ii+8.6

Morphology:*הפעל form:*

5–6.2, 7ii+8.8, 7ii+8.10, 7ii+8.15

אחפפעל form:

7ii+8.16

Object suffix on verb:

7ii+8.8

Assimilated nun:

9–11.13

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

7ii+8.15

Orthography/Phonology:*2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:*

1–4.3, 1–4.14, 7ii+8.18

ש for /s/:

7ii+8.4, 7ii+8.6, 7ii+8.7, 7ii+8.13, 12–13.3(2x), 15.22

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

מִיד (morphological; 9–11.13)

עֲלִינִין (lexical; 15.20) [H]

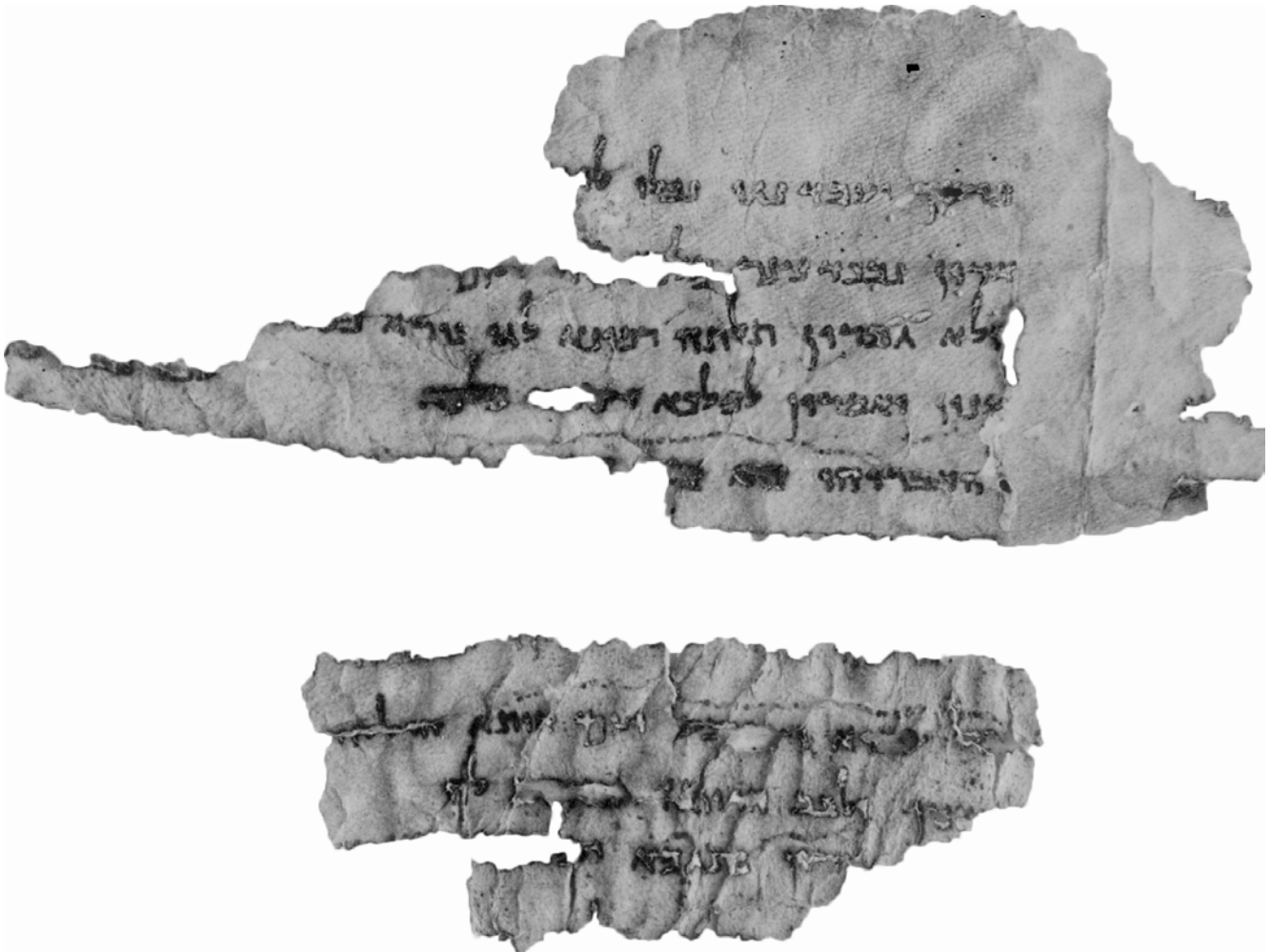
4Q115, Daniel^d (Dan^d)
[ed. Ulrich, DJD 16:279–86]

Content synopsis and significance: This is the last of five (or possibly six; see Puech, “Daniel”) Qumran copies of Daniel preserving parts of the Aramaic portion of the book, out of eight (or nine) copies of Daniel in total. 4Q115 contains parts of Dan 3, 4, and 7, comprising both court tales and Daniel’s apocalyptic vision. On the significance of these two genres in view of the wider Aramaic literary corpus at Qumran, see the profiles for 1Q71 (Dan^a) and 4Q112 (Dan^a). Like 1Q72 (Dan^b), 4Q115 is missing the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Judean Youths, placed between Dan 3:23 and 24 in the Greek and Latin translations. Thus, 1Q72 (Dan^b) and 4Q115 have the same version of the story as found in the MT. Apart from some minor, mostly orthographic variants, the text of 4Q115 is quite close to that of other Qumran copies, and to the MT. We do occasionally find an added word repetitive of other, nearby contexts (see terms from Dan 3:24 replicated in 3:25 at 2ii.5), and at 3–7.3 (Dan 4:6) a minor syntactic alteration.

Material remains: Twelve fragments remain of this manuscript, the largest being frags. 2, 4–6 (joined with certainty into one), and 8. Fragment 2 is irregularly shaped, but at its outer dimensions is roughly the size of a standard playing card. Fragments 10–12 are very small, containing few or no legible letters. What are labelled frags. 13–15 in DJD 16 have been identified by Ulrich as belonging to other manuscripts, something that is clearly the case at least for frag. 14. The Aramaic passages of Daniel partly preserved on the fragments are Dan 3:8–12, 23–25; 4:5–9, 12–16; and 7:15–23. Because frag. 2 contains upper and intercolumnar margins, along with the beginnings of five lines of 2ii, it allows us to estimate within a range the width of one column of the scroll. By placing frag. 1 relative to the scant

remains at the left edge of 2i, it is possible to determine that the first line of 2i began with Dan 3:8 (Machiela, “New Reconstruction”). This critical piece of evidence paves the way for reconstructing two successive columns at around twenty-five lines each, from which we can estimate the length of the entire scroll at between 300 and 400 cm, depending on several factors such as whether it once had a handle sheet at its beginning. The scroll would likely have contained 24–25 columns of text, with the inscribed portion of the scroll being around 300–350 cm long. Fragments 1–2 most likely belong to cols. 7–8, frags. 3–7 to col. 9, and frags. 8–9 to col. 16. The remaining fragments cannot be placed with certainty. Although it is impossible to know for certain, each sheet appears to have contained around four columns of text, based on the fact that col. 8 can be reconstructed as appreciably narrower (approx. 10.5 cm) than col. 7 (approx. 12 cm), and was likely the last column on a sheet. The only overlap with another Qumran copy of Daniel is at 4Q115 2ii.1–5//1Q72 (Dan^b) 1.3–5 (= MT Dan 3:23–25).

Notes on provenance: 4Q115 2 is found on the early “G series” PAM plate 40.620. The “G Series” images are associated with the fragments discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The Bedouin sold these fragments to the Palestine Archaeological Museum either directly or through the Bethlehem antiquities dealer Kando (DJD 6:3–4). Others fragments of 4Q115 were discovered during the official excavation of Cave 4, led by Roland de Vaux during September 22–29, 1952, as shown by their presence on the “E series” PAM plates 40.975 (frags. 5, 7), 40.982 (frag. 6), and 40.985 (frag. 4).



Sample image: 4Q115 2i-ii, 4 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-284285

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx.
19 cm h. × 300–350 cm w.

Margins:

Upper: At least 1.6 cm (frag. 2)

Lower: At least 9 mm (frag. 9)

Intercolumnar: Approx. 1.5 cm
(1.2 cm to right-most ruled
line; frag. 2)

Column dimensions: Approx.
15.5 cm h × 10.5–12.5 cm. w.

Lines per column: 25
(frags. 1–2)

Letters per line: Approx. 35–45

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes
(frag. 2)

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frag. 2)

Average medial letter height:
2 mm

Space between lines: 6–7 mm

Space between words: 1–3 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (3–7.12
[6 mm]), medium (2ii.4
[1.8 cm], 3–7.2 [1.2 cm],
3–7.13 [1.7 cm]), and large
(2ii.1 [3 cm reconstr.], 8–9.6
[2.8 cm]); all minor sense
divisions

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian formal (Pfann; Ulrich, based on Cross)

Proposed palaeographic date: 25–1 BCE (Ulrich, based on Cross)

Special traits and general comments: Ulrich described the skin of this manuscript as “ill-prepared,” but this impression may be partly due its advanced state of deterioration. At high magnification the hair follicles do make the surface of the skin look quite rough. Pfann (“Preliminary Edition,” 38–39), however, proposed that the skin may be in poor shape due to environmental degradation over the course of storage. Based on its preparation techniques, it seems to be a copy of fairly high (not the highest) quality. Margin sizes are at or slightly above the norm for Qumran manuscripts, and the scroll was carefully, evenly ruled and written. Judging by standard practices among the Qumran manuscripts, we would expect the bottom margin to have been slightly larger than the upper one. Assuming that the upper margin is fully preserved at 1.6 cm on frag. 2, it is thus likely that the lower margin was once around 2 cm. Horizontal and vertical lines were made to guide writing and demarcate columns widths, and several scholars have commented on the unusual three vertical lines (rather than the usual two) inscribed in the intercolumn of frag. 2 (see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 59–61). This practice resembles the so-called “double ruling” used in a handful of other Qumran scrolls (e.g. at the beginnings of sheets on 4Q27 [Num^b]), and also occurring outside Qumran (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 59–60). The only other Aramaic scroll on which this trait clearly occurs is 11Q10 (Job) 21, also in an intercolumn on the middle of a sheet. Proposed reasons for the practice vary, including neatness, ensured observance of the left margin (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 59), and guidance for minimum and maximum line length (Pfann, “Preliminary Edition,” 40). None of these explanations is especially convincing, since the practice is only occasional, sometimes occurs at the right side of columns (e.g., 4Q27 [Num^b]), and scribes do not seem to have used the guidelines for the purpose suggested by Pfann (on 4Q115 all lines fall well short of the right-most line). Given all of the evidence, one wonders if, in some cases, the sporadic use of an extra vertical line resulted from a mistake in preparing the manuscript, with the added line adjusting the original size of the column or intercolumn. Pfann’s (“Preliminary Edition,” 39) and Ulrich’s (DJD 16:279) observation that “indents,” or *points jalons*, were made along the middle vertical line, to be used as guide dots for inscribing the horizontal script lines, is incorrect. Such dots typically occur only at the beginnings and ends of sheets (which is not the case here), and the holes cited by Ulrich in connection with frag. 2.4–5 do not line up well with the vertical or horizontal ruling marks; they are the result of deterioration. Pfann (“Preliminary Edition,” 39) suggested that the horizontal ruling was done with “very diluted ink,” which would be abnormal and does not appear to me to be correct. The ruling was more likely done as usual, with light scoring by a sharpened reed or other instrument, creating a darkened line on the skin.

The scribe wrote in a tidy, consistent, and small script (among the smallest preserved among the Aramaic scrolls) with notably generous word spacing at many points in the preserved text. Pfann (“Daniel and Ezra,” 136; “Preliminary Edition,” 45–53) commented at some length on a rare system of

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

2ii.4

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2ii.2, 2ii.5, 3-7.13(2x)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

2ii.1, 3-7.3, 3-7.12-13, 3-7.17

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

2ii.2, 2ii.4(2x), 8-9.3

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

2ii.3, 3-7.12(2x)

Verbless clause:

3-7.14(2x)

Object early in clause:

2ii.3, 3-7.3, 3-7.17

Direct object marker (if present):

־ל: 3-7.3

Use of ׀ to mark genitive relationship:

3-7.11

Interrogative ׀:

2ii.3

Lexical items:

׀׀׀: 2ii.2, 8-9.6

׀: 3-7.11, 3-7.17, 3-7.18, 8-9.4, 8-9.7, 8-9.8, 12.1(?)

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

3-7.12

4Q117, Ezra

[ed. Ulrich, DJD 16:291-93]

Content synopsis and significance: What little remains of this manuscript contains snippets of Ezra 4:2-11 (frags. 1-2; parallel in 1 Esdras 5:66-70) and 5:17-6:5 (frag. 3; parallel in 1 Esdras 6:20-25). This is the only preserved copy of Ezra from the Qumran caves, and is important for showing that the book was kept as part of the library there. One of the transitions from Hebrew to Aramaic in Ezra occurs at 4:8, and while we do not possess the actual change from one language to the other on the extant fragments, frag. 1 (Hebrew) and frag. 2 (Aramaic) contain nearby text, showing that it was once present in the intervening space on the original scroll. The small amount of extant text is quite close to the version of Ezra known from the MT, with a few minor variants. The differences are mostly orthographic, but also include two cases of changing the number of a verb, once from plural to singular, and once from singular to plural. In at least the first case (3.3; Ezra 6:1), this change makes good sense in the narrative context, and corresponds to a variant also present in the LXX. Ezra, like Daniel, is a text whose literary framing is in Hebrew, but includes extensive material in Aramaic. Although it seems to have been composed at a time slightly earlier than the majority of Aramaic texts in the Qumran library, there are clear thematic connections between Ezra and other Aramaic works. These include interest in the positions

and success of Israelites in the foreign royal court, how those from Israel are to interact with foreigners more generally, the pedagogical role of priests in Israel, and proper marriage.

Material remains: 4Q117 consists of three fragments. Fragments 1 and 2 are quite small, with portions of several lines of writing preserved on each. Fragment 3 is over twice the size of frags. 1 or 2, with nine partial lines of text. Because the content of all three fragments is part of a known text that closely resembles the MT, we can reconstruct some of the surrounding context, line length, and column width with a fairly high degree of certainty. The column to which frag. 3 once belonged was approximately 10.5 cm wide, and the column of frags. 1-2 closer to 10 cm. It is likely that frags. 1-2 belonged to a single column, perhaps directly preceding the column of frag. 3. Because no margins are preserved on the fragments, it is now impossible to determine the number of lines per column, column height, or the original length of the scroll.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q117 are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q117 3

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Column dimensions: Approx.
10.5 cm w.

Letters per line: Approx. 50–60

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Average medial letter height:
1–1.5 mm

Space between lines: approx.
6–7 mm

Space between words: 0.5–1

Vacats: Yes; small (3.9 [9 mm]);
intermediate sense division)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal (Ulrich, based on Cross)

Proposed palaeographic date: 75–25 BCE (Ulrich, based on Cross)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript was made of finely-prepared skin, with horizontal guidelines placed at around the average spacing of 6–7 mm from the top of one line to the next. The scribe wrote in a tiny, neat hand, among the smallest scripts on any of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls. Despite the overall care taken by the scribe, a lapse in the usual, formal style is found in the cursive *tav* at 3.9 (this seems to have been intended as a formal *tav* based on the ductus, the scribe having failed to lift the pen sufficiently when moving from the first to the second stroke). The spacing of words is very tight in some places, essentially *scriptio continua* (e.g., 3.3, towards the end of 3.7), but in other places word spaces are more easily discerned. The single, preserved vacat at 3.9 marks a significant section break within a chapter of Ezra, and we might expect that vacats were used regularly throughout the manuscript to demarcate larger sense-units in the narrative. As in many of the Aramaic texts for which we have multiple copies, 4Q117 appears to have exchanged *he* and *aleph* indiscriminately in comparison with the MT text of Ezra. It also twice differs from the MT on the number of a verb. As in MT Ezra, we find in 4Q117 the more archaic (or

formal) כענת (2.3), rather than the form כען typical of the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. The far demonstrative pronoun ךך “that” is used at 3.2, the only other Qumran attestation being in 4Q556a (Prophecy^b) 5i.13.

Script sample:



Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM^E*, 160–61; Beyer, *ATTM²*, 200.

Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

3.7

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

3.8, 3.9

Use of ךך to mark genitive relationship:

3.6

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

3.8

Lexical items:

ךך: 3.6

כען: 2.3 (כענת), 3.9(?)

Morphology:

form:

3.8

Assimilated nun:

3.9

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

3.4

4Q243, Pseudo-Daniel^a (psDan^a)

[ed. Collins and Flint, DJD 22:97–121]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is often associated with 4Q244 (psDan^b) and 4Q245 (psDan^c), all of which were given the title Pseudo-Daniel by J.T. Milik (“Prière de Nabonide,” 411). However, this shared designation is slightly misleading for two reasons. First, 4Q243 and 4Q244 (psDan^b) contain overlapping material (4Q243 13.1–4//4Q244 [psDan^b] 12.1–4), but neither scroll overlaps with 4Q245 (psDan^c) so that it is not clear whether 4Q245 (psDan^c) represents the same composition as 4Q243 and 4Q244 (psDan^b). Second, the title Pseudo-Daniel implicitly privileges the Daniel traditions that eventually came to constitute the biblical book of Daniel (see Perrin, “Daniel Traditions”). It has become clear that Daniel traditions were pervasive and diverse in the early

Second Temple period, and it seems best not to assume that a text like 4Q243 is derivative of the canonical book of Daniel. The names Daniel and Belshazzar in frag. 2 of 4Q243 reveal that at least part of this text is set in the royal Persian court, a setting further confirmed by reference to “the nobles of the King” (רברבני מלכא) in 4Q244 (psDan^b) 1–3.1. Court tales are found repeatedly among the Aramaic Scrolls, as in the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550), Four Kingdoms (4Q552, 553, 553a), and the copies of biblical Daniel at Qumran. Portions of Tobit and the Abram cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) also draw on aspects of the court-tale theme.

While 4Q243 clearly narrates a court tale focused on Daniel, the precise contents of the story in 4Q243 and

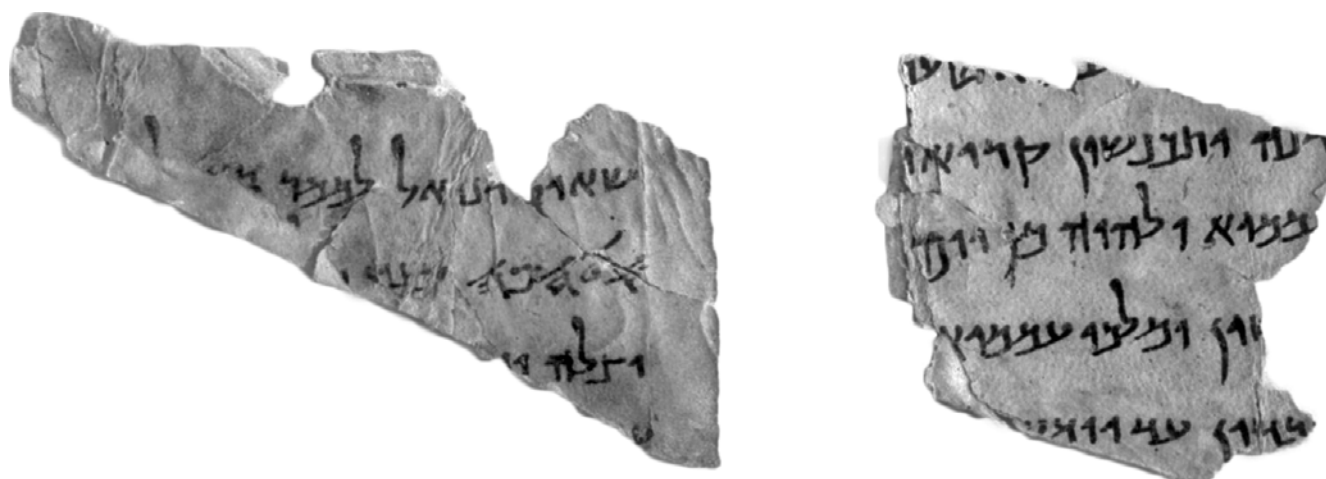
4Q244 (psDan^b) are difficult to discern, given the poor state of preservation for both scrolls. Two features, however, provide some sense of the plot. First, there is a reference to something being written down in 4Q243 6. Second, much of the preserved portions of 4Q243 (and 4Q244 [psDan^b]) evidently involve a review of Israelite history, spanning from primordial times to at least the Hellenistic period. That the review extends into the Hellenistic period is seen in the reference to someone named “Balakros” (בלכרוס), which is “decidedly Hellenistic, and was a popular name among Alexander’s generals” (Collins and Flint, DJD 22:137). This helps to establish a likely *terminus post quem* for this composition during the fourth to second centuries BCE. Collins and Flint reconstructed the arc of this historical review, dividing it into four periods: the primeval period, the period from the patriarchs to the exile, the Hellenistic period, and the eschatological period. An interesting aspect of this account is that the exile seems to have been caused as a result of God’s anger at the Israelite practice of sacrificing their children “to demons of error” (לשידי טעותא), an otherwise unattested tradition (4Q243 13; cf. 4Q244 [psDan^b] 12). Collins and Flint suggested that Daniel is expounding for the king the contents of some sort of revelatory book, though it is unclear when and where the book was written, and by whom. One thing that distinguishes 4Q243 from other Danielic historical reviews is the fact that it does not begin with the exilic period (e.g., Dan 2, 7; cf. 4Q552–553a [Four Kingdoms^{a-c}]). Enoch is named in frag. 9, and “the tower” (בגדלא, perhaps a reference to Gen 11) in frag. 10. With respect to its historical scope, the account in 4Q243 is closer to the Enochic Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Weeks than

to the historical visions in the biblical book of Daniel. A small detail linking this text to others in the Aramaic corpus at Qumran is the phrase אורחת ק[ושטא] “paths of t[ruth]” in 7.2. This is a common expression in descriptions of positive conduct, often in texts where fathers are teaching their children (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 6.3; 4Q212 [En^g] iii.18, iv.25; 4Q213 [Levi^a] 4.5), but also in the so-called “son of God” text (4Q246 [apocrDan] ii.5).

The narrator of the historical review is never made clear in the available fragments, though the most plausible speaker in light of frags. 1–2 is Daniel. This first-person narrative perspective is extremely popular in the Aramaic literature at Qumran. However, as in many other comparable texts, frags. 1–2 reveal that 4Q243 is framed by third-person narration.

Material remains: Forty fragmentary pieces remain of this manuscript, only a handful of which are (slightly) larger than a postage stamp. Few fragments contain more than four fragmentary lines of text (frags. 12, 24). Several fragments preserve parts of the upper, left, and right margins, though the lower margin is not present. Intercolumnar margins are extant in frags. 11 and 17. Remnants of the scroll’s stitching can be seen in frag. 1. The order of the fragments cannot be reconstructed on material grounds, and the editors have relied primarily on biblical referents to determine their placements.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q243 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q243 1, 24 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.1–1.5 cm*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 7 mm
(frag. 11i–ii)**Letters per line:**Approx. 36 (based on overlap
with 4Q244 [psDan^b] 13;
Collins and Flint)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both
sides of column**Average medial letter height:**

3–4 mm

Space between lines: 7–9 mm**Space between words:**

1.5–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Herodian (Collins and Flint) semi-formal (Langlois, “Theonyms”)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 1–25 CE (Collins and Flint) or slightly earlier (Langlois, “Theonyms”)

Special traits and general comments: Collins and Flint (DJD 22:97) doubted the presence of horizontal ruling in this manuscript, but such ruling appears likely based on the even line spacing and what appear to be very faint script lines on several of the fragments. These are more lightly impressed and thicker than the more obvious vertical column lines, and may be seen best on the third line of frag. 11. The scribe wrote into the ruled intercolumnar margin in frag. 8, and from our few samples it appears that these margins were considerably smaller than in scrolls like 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b), and 4Q554 (NJ^a). Nevertheless, 4Q243 is otherwise generously-spaced, and the scribe wrote in a tidy, well-trained hand making few mistakes as far as we can tell. The most distinctive characteristic of the scribe’s practice is his use of palaeo-Hebrew script at 1.2 to write the divine name אלהיכה “your God.” The letter *kaph* of the 2ms suffix has been the topic of some discussion, considered by Milik (“Prière de Nabonide,” 412, n. 1) and Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 240) to be an aberration from the more traditional palaeo-Hebrew *kaph*, with its two-step head (see Langlois, “Theonyms”). Milik deemed the letter to have “une forme nettement ‘samaritaine,’” while Tov suggested that the scribe was ignorant of some palaeo-Hebrew letters. However, Langlois (“Theonyms”) rightly noted that the shape of the letter is within the expected bounds of palaeo-Hebrew letter formation. In fact, the *kaph* in 4Q243 resembles those of the of the first hand in 1Q3 (palaeoLev [and palaeoNum?]), 2Q5 (palaeoLev), and 11Q1 (palaeoLev^a), showing that forms similar to that in 4Q243 were more widely employed by scribes at or beyond Qumran. Langlois (“Theonyms”) is of the opinion that the word was written at the same time as the rest of the text, by a single scribe.

The scribe used at least once the long form of the 2ms suffix, in the theonym just discussed, and perhaps employed *samek* for /s/ in]ַסְנַסְנַ “hate” (39.2), though the context of these letters is lacking and the meaning of the word remains uncertain. In other respects, the language and orthography are typical of Qumran Aramaic.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

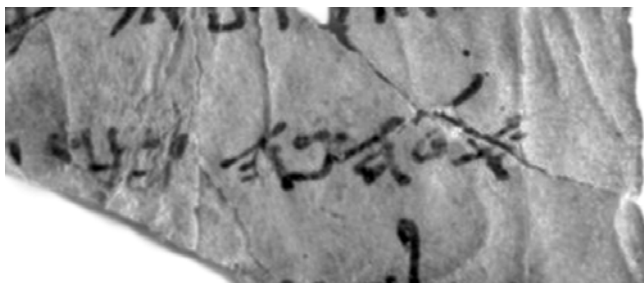
Select bibliography: Milik, “Prière de Nabonide,” 411–15; Beyer, *ATTM^E*, 105–7; Beyer, *ATTM²*, 139–42; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 137–61; Collins, “Pseudo-Daniel.”

Script sample:

אא בב גג דד הה וו זז חח טט יי ככ לל מם ננ סס עע פפ קק רר שש תת
 אא בב גג דד הה וו זז חח טט יי ככ לל מם ננ סס עע פפ קק רר שש תת
 אא בב גג דד הה וו זז חח טט יי ככ לל מם ננ סס עע פפ קק רר שש תת

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Divine name written in palaeo-Hebrew characters
 (1.2): אלהכה



(b) Supralinear letters inserted (35.1):] אגרה] אגרה [



Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

13.1, 24.2, 25.3(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

24.1(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.1(?), 4.1(?), 10.2(?), 12.2(?), 13.1-2(?), 16.2, 24.3

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

6.2

Verbless clause:

16.4

Direct object marker (if present):

-ל: 13.2

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

13.2(?)

Lexical items:

איתי: 3.1

דיל(ב): 1.1

די: 6.3, 8.3, 20.3, 26.2

Morphology:

אפעל form:

24.1

Orthography/Phonology:

ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כה:

1.2

ש for /s/:

20.2

ס for /s/:

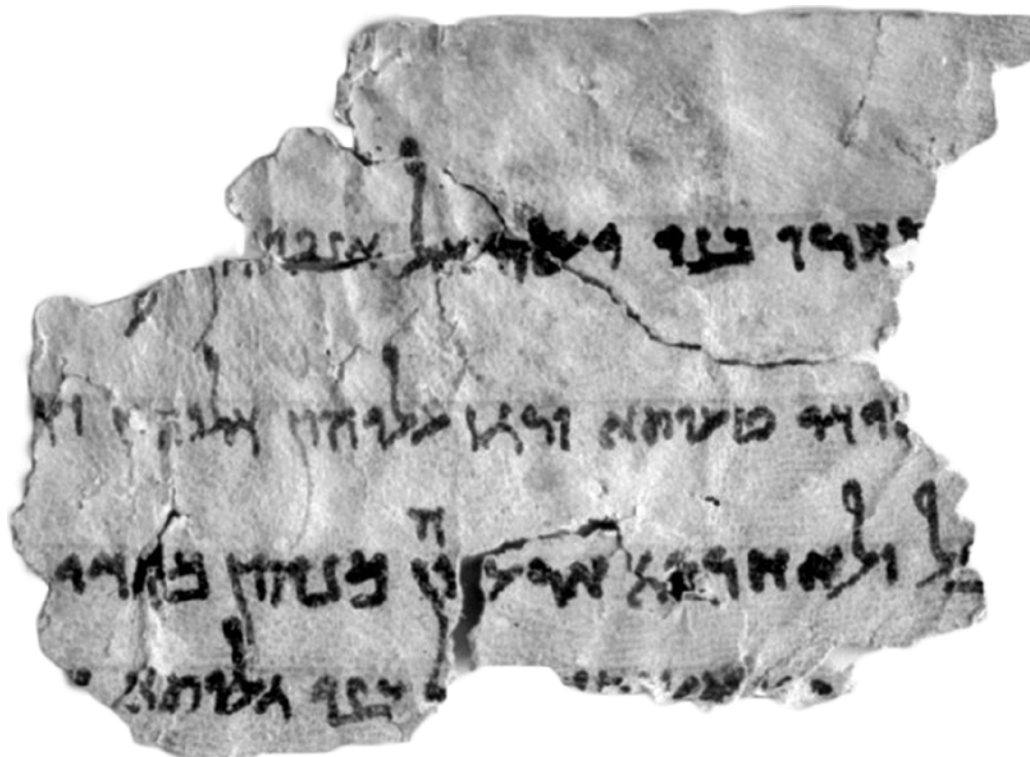
39.2(?)

4Q244, Pseudo-Daniel^b (psDan^b)
[ed. Collins and Flint, DJD 22:123–131]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is often grouped together with 4Q243 (psDan^a) and 4Q245 (psDan^c) under the title Pseudo-Daniel, though 4Q244 overlaps only with 4Q243 and not 4Q245. It is quite possible, therefore, that the three manuscripts classified as Pseudo-Daniel comprise two, distinct compositions. For a fuller discussion of the contents and significance of the composition represented by 4Q244, see the profile for 4Q243 (psDan^a). The largest preserved fragment of 4Q244 (frag. 12) presents God's rationale for subjecting Israel to the Babylonian conquest and exile, and contains the only text paralleled in 4Q243 (psDan^a). Both copies depict the desolation of Israel as the result of their decision to forsake God and follow the *טעוה* [“]demons of error” (4Q244 12.1–4; cf. 4Q243 [psDan^a] 13.1–4). Reynolds (“Demons of Error”) and others have made a case that this passage has child sacrifice to foreign deities in view. Other parts of 4Q244 reflect the broader Second Temple period tradition of Daniel serving in the court of a foreign king (frags. 1–3, 4). The clearest references to events from Israel's past, more fully attested in 4Q243 (psDan^a), are present in frag. 8. Here we find mention of the flood, Noah, and (Mount) Lubar (lines 2–3; see also 1Q20 [apGen] 12.13; Jub. 5:28, 7:1; cf. Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 161).

Material remains: Less text is extant in 4Q244 than in 4Q243 (psDan^a). The manuscript comprises fourteen fragments, though these are made up of seventeen pieces, two being joined to make frag. 1 and three to make frag. 12 (Collins and Flint, DJD 22:123). Like 4Q243 (psDan^a), 4Q244 has several upper margins preserved, most fully on frags. 1 and 12. No lower margins remain, making the dimensions of the columns difficult to discern. Only frags. 1–3 and 12 contain text of any significant length, each preserving broken portions of four lines. Most of the remaining fragments contain little more than one or two complete words. Collins and Flint reported that several of fragments contain worm-holes, and suggested that the damage patterns created by these holes might in the future prove helpful in reconstructing the original order of some of the fragments (DJD 22:123).

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q244 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q244 12

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.2 cm*Intercolumnar:* 9–11 mm
(frags. 5, 11)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes
(frag. 11; right side of column preserved)**Average medial letter height:**
2–3.5 mm**Space between lines:** 7–11 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Herodian, of a similar but “more minute hand than 4Q243” (Collins and Flint)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 1–25 CE (Collins and Flint)

Special traits and general comments: This scribe wrote in a small script that is visibly more erratic, messy, and cursive than the scribe of 4Q243 (psDan^a). Collins and Flint (DJD 22:129) mentioned that the script changes on frag. 12, becoming “more cramped” and “more cursive” for the remainder of the fragment. They entertain whether this implies a change of scribe or an attempt to squeeze text secondarily into a preexisting vacat. Neither of these explanations is convincing, and the script remains quite constant throughout the fragment. It does, however, appear that the scribe may have made a new calamus pen or recut his existing one based on the thick letters at the beginning of line 1, and especially the malformed *shin* of ישראל in that line. He also used two cursive-style *tavs* in frag. 12, as opposed to the formal or square-style *tavs* in frags. 5 and 8, a variation that also occurs in other Qumran scrolls. It seems that this scribe was less experienced than those who wrote the best Qumran texts, with the relatively faint, thin letters in line 2 resulting from too little ink in the calamus. The scribe of 4Q244 wrote with a fairly full orthography, very common in the Qumran scrolls. The manuscript bears the marks of careful preparation, with both horizontal and vertical ruling and ample line spacing, but it has much smaller margins than the highest quality scrolls like 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q537 (TJacob?), and 4Q554a (NJ^b). Together with the script, this indicates that the copy was of a medium quality.

There is no *vav* at the beginning of 5ii.4 as transcribed by Collins and Flint, where it seems they either mistook the right, upper arm of the *aleph* as a separate letter, or forgot to add a bracket indicating textual reconstruction.

Original manuscript quality: Good

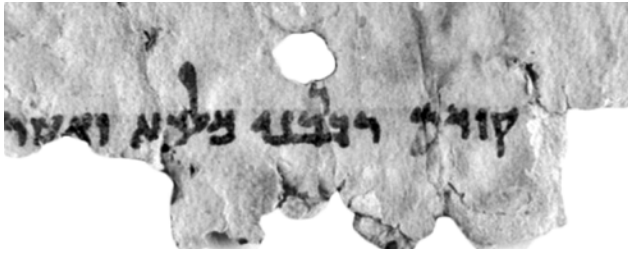
Select bibliography: Milik, “Prière de Nabonide,” 411–15; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 105–7; Beyer, *ATTM*², 139–42; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 137–61; Collins, “Pseudo-Daniel.”

Script sample:

11 2 14 10 11 1 1 1 11 11 11 11 11
 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear letter added (1.1): רב־בני



(b) Supralinear word added (4.2):]אמיר[דניאל]

**Language****Syntax***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

4.2(?), 12.1(?), 12.2

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

5ii.4, 12.2, 13.1(?)

Use of די to mark genitive relationship:

1-3.1

Lexical items:

בתר: 8.2

די: 1-3.1, 11.1, 12.3

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

1-3.2(?), 12.3

4Q245, Pseudo-Daniel^c (psDan^c)
[ed. Collins and Flint, DJD 22:153-64]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript is grouped with 4Q243 (psDan^a) and 4Q244 (psDan^b) under the heading Pseudo-Daniel. Despite this identification, 4Q245 does not contain any material that overlaps with either 4Q243 (psDan^a) or 4Q244 (psDan^b), and it is not a settled matter that 4Q245 comes from the same composition as the other two manuscripts (DJD 22:153). For more on the relationship between the three scrolls see the profile on 4Q243 (psDan^a). 4Q245 1 appears to preserve the opening portion of the composition (DJD 22:153-54), and near the beginning of the fragment we find an occurrence of the name Daniel along with the phrase “a book that was given” (כְּתָב דִּי יְהִיב). The notion that Daniel consults or reads a book containing information about the past and the future also appears in 4Q243-244 (psDan^{a-b}), and constitutes one thematic connection between the three scrolls. The theme of knowledge being transmitted, preserved, and found in books pervades the Aramaic Qumran literature (see, e.g., the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Testament of Qahat). The reference to Daniel in frag. 1 is followed by at least two, poorly-preserved lists, the first

recording a succession of high priests and the second a sequence of kings. The extant portion of the high-priestly list begins with Qahat, includes the name Onias, and likely ends with someone named Simon. The name Simon is preceded by the letters הָטָן], and the full name has plausibly been reconstructed by Collins and Flint as יוֹנָהָטָן “Jonathan.” There are several Simons in the high-priestly line during the Second Temple period, but as Collins and Flint remark, the “direct sequence of Jonathan-Simon is only found in the Hasmonean line” (DJD 22:161). They find it most likely that Simon ended the list. If this reconstruction is correct, the last reference would be to Simon the Hasmonean, who held the office of high priest from 142-135 BCE. 4Q245 stands out among the Qumran Aramaic texts as the only one containing a plausible historical allusion to the Hasmonean period. Overt historical references to persons or events proximate to a text’s composition are very rare in the Aramaic literature kept at Qumran, making many of the texts difficult to date on the basis of their contents. The extant part of the royal list begins with the names of David and Solomon, with Ahazia[h] and [Joa]sh also being named in the following line. The only other

fragment to preserve a significant amount of text (frag. 2) recounts an eschatological scenario in the third-person voice referring to the extermination of wickedness (2.1) and to two contrasting groups, one that will go astray (טע"י) due to their blindness (ער"ר) (2.2) and another that will arise (קו"ם) and return (תו"ב) (2.4–5). Dualistic language is used in ethical and eschatological contexts often in the Aramaic literature kept at Qumran, but there is an especially close verbal parallel between 4Q245 and the Enochic Animal Apocalypse in their shared use of עו"ר "to be blind" and טע"י "to go astray" as a way of describing wicked behavior (1 En. 89:32–33, 54). Stuckenbruck ("Daniel," 377) notes that the combination of these two metaphors in 4Q245 "is, among documents previously composed in the Jewish tradition, shared only with the *Animal Apocalypse*."

Material remains: Four fragments of this manuscript are extant, and no other extant scroll from Qumran clearly contains the same composition as 4Q245. Fragment 1 is the tallest of the four fragments, at over 11 cm and preserving

parts of twelve lines. However, the precise height of the manuscript is impossible to determine with any certainty, since nothing remains of the lower margin. Fragment 2 likely fell at the end of the scroll, with the four blank lines in zii suggesting a column that was all or mostly blank. Fragments 3 and 4 are very small, containing only a few legible letters (frag. 4) to two words (frag. 3). If Collins and Flint are correct about frag. 1 belonging to the beginning of the scroll and frag. 2 to its end, we would possess text from near both its ends. Unfortunately, the poor state of the manuscript prevents us from hazarding a guess as to how much intervening material we now are missing.

Notes on provenance: 4Q245 1 is found in the early PAM "G series" plate 40.622, meaning that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q245 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q245 1, 2 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* At least 1.2 cm*Intercolumnar:* 1.3–1.4 cm**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both sides of column**Average medial letter height:**
3–4 mm**Space between lines:** 7–8 mm**Space between words:** 2–4 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Herodian, “written in a larger, clearer hand than 4Q243 or 4Q244” (Collins and Flint)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 1–25 CE (Collins and Flint)*Special traits and general comments:* Among the first things one notices about this manuscript are its very high-quality of skin and its neat, formal, and relatively-large script. The skin is thin and noticeably lighter in color than is the norm among the Qumran scrolls (comparable with the 11Q19 [T^a], though written on the opposite side of the skin), and the manuscript is carefully, evenly ruled with generous spacing. The space between columns in 4Q245 is only slightly less than in 1Q20 (apGen). The only things keeping this manuscript from being labeled as “excellent” in quality is that we lack an accurate estimate of the outer margins and several scribal features, such as the scribe’s use (or non-use) of vacats. In what little text remains of the scroll, the scribe wrote in the Aramaic orthography and style typical of the texts found at Qumran.*Original manuscript quality:* Very good–excellent*Select bibliography:* Milik, “Prière de Nabonide,” 411–15; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 105–7; Beyer, *ATTM*², 139–42; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 137–61; Collins, “Pseudo-Daniel”; Flint, “4Qpseudo-Daniel”; Wise, “High Priesthood.”*Script sample:*
Language**Syntax:***Subject implied (verb early in clause):*
2.3(?), 2.4(?), 2.5(?)**Lexical items:**אֲדָנִי: 2.4
דָּי: ii.2, ii.4, iii.9**4Q246, Apocryphon of Daniel (apocrDan)**

[ed. Puech, DJD 22:165–84]

Content synopsis and significance: This text has received much attention, due in large part to its mention of the parallel titles “Son of God” (ברה די אל) and “Son of the Most High” (בר עליון) in frag. iii.1 (cf. Luke 1:32–33), though there has been considerable scholarly debate over whether this individual is cast in a positive (e.g., Fitzmyer, “Son of God”; Collins, *Daniel*, 77–79; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*,162–79) or negative light (e.g., Flusser, “Antichrist”; Milik, “Les modèles”; Segal, “Son of God”). The scroll was preliminarily titled 4Qpseudo-Daniel^d by Puech (“pseudo-Dan^d”), and by other scholars 4QSon of God (e.g., Fitzmyer, “Son of God”). The general narrative setting of this apocalyptic work is the interpretation of a dream-vision, apparently in the context of a royal court. The court setting of 4Q246

connects it to the wider phenomenon of Jewish Aramaic court tales attested at Qumran, which includes the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Pseudo-Daniel (4Q243–245), Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550), Four Kingdoms (4Q552–553a), the Aramaic tales of Daniel 2–6, portions of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), and Tobit 1. The dream-vision in 4Q246 was symbolic (see the “comets” [כִּיָּא] in iii.1), and is interpreted in historical terms (kings of Assyria and Egypt are mentioned in ii.6). This is comparable with the symbolic dream-vision in Four Kingdoms (4Q552–553a), Dan 7, and other Aramaic works kept at Qumran. 4Q246 builds to a scene of salvation and deliverance involving “the people of God” (עַם אֱלֹהִים; iii.4), which has often been compared to the final, eschatological kingdoms of Dan 2 and 7. The scroll shares specific language with both of those passages (hence the association with Daniel in its title), and has regularly been discussed among a group of Aramaic texts in the Danielic tradition from Qumran. Representative examples of studies dedicated to 4Q246 in view of Daniel (with other intertexts) are those of Berthelot, “References,” and Segal, “Son of God.” The precise affiliation between 4Q246 and the book of Daniel, however, is often difficult to determine, and Tigchelaar (“Aramaic Texts”; see also Perrin, “Daniel Traditions”) has warned against assuming that our canonical Daniel was always a direct literary influence on this and other texts in the “Danielic” tradition, even if it likely did exert influence in some cases, such as that of 4Q245 (psDan^c). 4Q246 benefits from being viewed within the broader context of the Aramaic literature kept at Qumran, in which dream-visions more often function to “forecast geopolitical

movements on the eve of the eschaton” (Perrin, *Dynamics*, 218). Such texts include the Enochic Animal Apocalypse and Apocalypse of Weeks, the Book of Giants, the Genesis Apocryphon, New Jerusalem, and Four Kingdoms. All of these texts share a deterministic view of history according to which God is guiding historical events to their final culmination. From the divine vantage point, all of the powers that currently dominate the earth are ephemeral, and will soon be replaced by a permanent, divinely-established kingdom (see Perrin, *Dynamics*, 221–25).

Material remains: Only a single fragment remains of this manuscript, though it is quite well-preserved relative to other Aramaic scrolls in the Qumran corpus. The fragment contains portions of two consecutive columns, the second of which is almost completely in-tact. Roughly half of the first column also remains. The left edge of the fragment represents the end of a sheet. The presence of upper, lower, and intercolumnar margins gives us a sense of the original height of the scroll and the dimensions of one of its columns, but we can say nothing of its original width. Scribal guidelines and regular spacing indicate the skill and care with which this scroll was prepared and written, though it now bears the scars of damage, having been wrinkled, abraded, and torn or gnawed by insects (DJD 22:165).

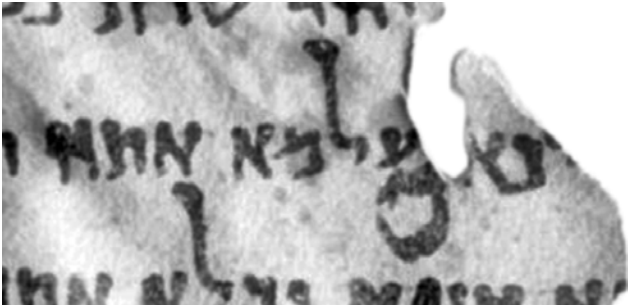
Notes on provenance: The fragment of 4Q246 is not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While its discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q246 1

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Sublinear letter or scribal mark, with the reading disputed between a *bet* or *mem* (ii.2). Puech suggests the insertion of a cursive *mem* by a later scribe, signifying מן with an assimilated *nun* (cf. Ezra 6:8; Dan 6:5), though this is far from certain.

**Language****Syntax:**

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

iii.4, iii.5–6

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

ii.3, ii.4, ii.7, ii.8, iii.4, iii.6, iii.8

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

ii.2

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

ii.1(?), ii.2–3(?), iii.2, iii.3, iii.6, iii.7, iii.8, iii.8–9

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii.1

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

ii.9(2x), iii.1(2x), iii.1–2, iii.2, iii.3

Verbless clause:

ii.5, iii.3, iii.5(2x), iii.7, iii.9

Object early in clause:

ii.9(2x), iii.1(2x), iii.3, iii.8, iii.8–9

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: iii.3(2x)

Use of דִּי to mark genitive relationship:

iii.1

Verb of movement + על + inanimate object:

ii.4

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

ii.2(?), ii.5(?)

Verb + reflexive pronoun:

iii.7, iii.8

Lexical items:

דִּי: iii.1, iii.2

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

iii.1

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

iii.8

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

אל (lexical; iii.1, iii.4, iii.7) [H]

עליון (lexical; iii.1) [H]

תהום (lexical; ii.5) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

נחשירון (lexical [Iranian loanword]; ii.5)

איל (lexical [Hebraism?]; iii.7)

Poetic doublets/triplets:

See the section on *Special traits and general comments*. The entire text exhibits poetic couplings, for example, in ii.9–ii.1 (רָבָא יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה) (וברא די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה)

4Q242, Prayer of Nabonidus (PrNab)
[ed. Collins, DJD 22:83–93]

Content synopsis and significance: This fragmentary manuscript purportedly records the first-person narration of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (556–539 BCE). It is known as the Prayer of Nabonidus because of the partially intact incipit with which it begins: “The words of the p[ra]yer which Nabonidus, king [of Baby]lon, prayed [when he was smitten] with a bad disease by the decree of G[o]d in Teima” (1–3.1–2). After this introduction, the king briefly recounts his seven years of affliction and the divine intervention that led to him being healed of his sickness and forgiven of his sin (1–3.3–4). Nabonidus reports that a Jewish diviner (גַּד) instructed him to compose a document giving honor and exaltation to the name of God (1–3.4–5). What follows is the beginning of the king’s composition, which restates the information about his affliction and adds (assuming Collins’ reconstruction to be basically correct) that he had previously prayed to various idols for seven years, having thought that they were actually gods (1–3.6–8). The implication, of course, is that the king now realizes they are false gods. Unfortunately, the first column ends suddenly at this point due to deterioration. Presumably, the king went on to describe his rejection of idolatry and his acceptance of the God of the Jews. The last fragment of 4Q242 (frag. 4) is very poorly-preserved and difficult to interpret. Some early interpreters of the fragment, principally Milik (“Prière de Nabonide,” 409), understood the king to receive a dream-vision at this point in the text based on some supposed links to Dan 4. Others, including Collins (DJD 22:92–93), more plausibly read the fragment to describe the king’s recovery after being healed by God of his affliction.

Some scholars have suggested that 4Q242 occupies an intermediate place between several Babylonian accounts about Nabonidus on the one hand, and the story of the madness and exile of King Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4 on the other (Collins, DJD 22:86; cf. Newsom, “Why Nabonidus?”). Long before the discovery of the Qumran finds, it was suspected that the story in Dan 4 was originally about Nabonidus, not Nebuchadnezzar (e.g., Reissler, *Das Buch Daniel*, 43; Hommel, “Abfassungszeit”). The Nabonidus Chronicle published in 1882 recounts that Nabonidus spent ten years of his reign at Teima in Arabia. Two additional, competing accounts of Nabonidus’s sojourn have also come to light, a harshly critical one written by a group of Babylonian clergy (“Verse Account of Nabonidus,” in *ANET*, 305–7) and Nabonidus’s own report on the Harran Stele (cf. Gadd, “Nabonidus”). These texts and the kingship of Nabonidus more generally

have now been studied extensively by Beaulieu (*Reign of Nabonidus*), though they have recently been supplemented by a number of cuneiform inscriptions referring to Nabonidus’ reign, found in Tayma (in modern Saudi Arabia) between 2004 and 2015 (Macdonald, ed., *Tayma’ II*). The Prayer of Nabonidus represents a Jewish version of the king’s sojourn in Teima, and contains several, striking similarities to the story of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4. Newsom (“Why Nabonidus?”) and Kratz (“Nabonid”) saw in the Prayer a dependence on the sixth-century BCE cuneiform literature, while Waerzeggers (“Prayer”) noted that Babylonian speculation on Nabonidus’ legacy continued into the Hellenistic period. Both 4Q242 and Dan 4 associate a Babylonian king with a seven-year sojourn, are narrated from the king’s first-person perspective, involve a Jewish hero, and recount the king’s eventual recognition of the error of idolatry followed (presumably, in the case of 4Q242) by his confession of Israel’s God. We cannot know with certainty if the author of Dan 4 depended on some form of the Prayer of Nabonidus, though Dan 4 does appear to reflect an awareness of either oral or written traditions regarding the sojourn of Nabonidus similar to those underlying 4Q242. In this scenario, the author of Dan 4 would have changed the name of the Babylonian king to the more famous Nebuchadnezzar and attributed the name of Daniel to the anonymous diviner of 4Q242. In doing so, the older Nabonidus tradition was associated with the broader collection of Danielic literature that flourished in the Second Temple period (e.g., 4Q243–245 [psDan^{a-c}] and the Greek additions to Daniel).

Beyond its obvious connections to Dan 4, the Prayer of Nabonidus uses a number of literary tropes that characterize the Qumran Aramaic texts more generally. First, 4Q242 is a good example of Jewish court-tale literature, a genre repeatedly encountered in the Jewish Aramaic literature of the Second Temple period. In many of these tales, a Jewish courtier achieves high standing within the foreign court because of his wisdom or skill, with the foreign king eventually coming to acknowledge the authority of the God of Israel. The most well-known examples of court tales are found in the now-canonical book of Daniel, but are also present in the so-called Pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243–245), Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550), Four Kingdoms (4Q552–553a), parts of the Abram cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), and the introduction of Tobit (see Tob 1:10–22). Second, the incipit in the opening line of 4Q242 resembles a number of other headings found in the Aramaic Qumran literature, used to introduce narrative

works or major subsections within them (see Perrin, “Capturing”). These include the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 5.29), Words of Michael (4Q529 1.1), Visions of Amram (4Q543 1a–c.1), and Tobit (Tob 1:1). Finally, the command that the king write down his praise of God reflects a general concern with textuality and written records that pervades the Aramaic texts from the Qumran caves, which often depict their protagonists as consulting or composing texts of various kinds. This motif is present, for example, in the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Book of Giants, the Words of Michael, the Birth of Noah, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of Jacob?, New Jerusalem, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Apocryphon of Levi^b?, the Testament of Qahat, the Visions of Amram, and Dan 7.

Material remains: Three fragments have been combined to reconstruct part of this scroll’s initial column, of which the first nine lines partly remain (along with an interlinear addition above line 9). In fact, what are labelled frags. 1 and 2 each comprise several smaller pieces (frag. 1, three

pieces; frag. 2, two pieces). Fragment 1 is approximately 8 × 8 cm, roughly the size of a standard playing card. The damaged frag. 4 is considerably smaller, containing only a few partially preserved words and phrases. In 4.1, the last letter of the first preserved word is certainly a *dalet*, as read by Puech, and not a *resh*, as read by Collins and others who follow Milik. Puech’s *mem* toward the beginning of the same word is based on a false reading from a shadow on the earlier photographs, and should not be accepted. We can, however, read with some confidence the letters רָבַד to begin the line, as Puech suggested, and therefore some form of the root “to make, do.”

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q242 3 on the “E series” PAM plate 40.964. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining pieces of 4Q242 in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q242 1, 2a, 2b, 3

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: 5 mm (partially preserved)

Intercolumnar: 2.5 cm (beginning of sheet)

Letters per line: Approx. 40 (Collins, Puech)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal scribal lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: Yes, right side of column preserved

Average medial letter height: 4–5 mm

Space between lines: 8–10 mm

Space between words: 1.5–2.5 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Semi-cursive (Collins); late Hasmonean semi-cursive (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: ca. 75–50 BCE (Collins, based on Cross); ca. 50 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: We possess the beginning of this manuscript, with a cut edge at what is either the right side of a skin sheet or the now-broken vertical scribal rule mark at the left edge of a preceding column. While the comparable right-hand side of the first column of 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a) 1a–c has clear signs of a sewn seam, indicating a preceding cover sheet, 4Q242 bears no such evidence. Although either a cover sheet or a preceding blank column seems to have been used commonly for scrolls at Qumran, we cannot be certain that 4Q242 had either of these features. It seems unlikely that the upper margin is preserved in its entirety, since it is badly damaged and would be exceptionally small for a manuscript of this quality. A vertical ruled line is clearly discernable at the right edge of the first column, but horizontal script lines must have been inscribed very lightly if they were ever made at all. The fluctuating distances between lines suggests that they were not used. Nevertheless, the scribe did an admirable job of writing a neat, attractive copy, using generous line and word spacing. No vacats are preserved, though minor sense divisions do occur at 1–3.3 (between שבע and ומן) and probably 1–3.4 (between לה and גור; the syntax of the line is difficult to interpret).

The scribe of 4Q242 wrote in a squared, tall script with several distinguishing features. These include a long, descending vertical stroke on the *shin* and a final *mem* that is skinny and extends well below the bottoms of the surrounding medial letters. In 1–3.2, however, the final *mem* was apparently foregone for a medial form, either by mistake or, as Puech (“Prière de Nabonide,” 214) suggests, because this is a construct noun formation viewed as a single unit. The latter would still be a very rare practice among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. As noted by Collins (DJD 22:85), the scribe preferred to use *aleph* and *yod* to represent vowels at the ends of words rather than *he*, a practice that may have extended even to indefinite feminine nouns, if this is the proper interpretation of שחנא באישה in 1–3.2. In other respects, the orthography is what we would expect at Qumran. The scribe used the long form of the pronoun אנתה (4.4), which Collins curiously calls archaic despite the early Aramaic forms being את and אנת. Aside from the Qumran Daniel manuscripts, which vacillate between the shorter (4Q112 [Dan^a], 4Q115 [Dan^d]) and longer forms (4Q113 [Dan^b]), it is the long form that is typically used in the Qumran copies. More unexpected is the actual archaic form המון at 4.1, the much more widely used form at Qumran being אנו. In Qumran Aramaic, המון is otherwise found only in 11Q10 (Job) and at Dan 2:34–35 (4Q112 [Dan^a] 3ii, 4–6.2). As in 1Q20 (apGen) and the Aramaic portions of Ezra, the scribe spelled the noun אע “wood” (1–3.8) with the later orthography/phonology, according to which the first guttural has weakened from *ayin* to *aleph* (for the earlier spelling עע see 4Q214b [Levi^f], which at an even earlier stage had been written עק). We find the periphrastic construction used repeatedly in 4Q242, as in many of the Aramaic Qumran texts, and the elevated prose of this composition features syntactic variation reminiscent of the Aramaic portions of Daniel.

Original manuscript quality: Very good

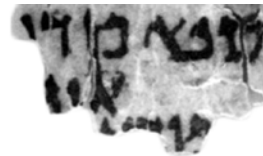
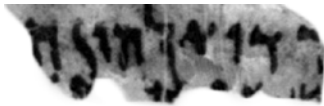
Select bibliography: Milik, “Prière de Nabonide,” 407–11; Meyer, *Nabonid*, 16; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 223–4; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 104; Beyer, *ATTM*², 139; García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 116–28; Puech, “Prière de Nabonide”; Eshel, “Book of Daniel.”

Script sample:

The image shows a sample of handwritten Aramaic script. The first line contains 11 characters: ܓ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ. The second line contains 11 characters: ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ. The third line contains 11 characters: ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ. The fourth line contains 11 characters: ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ. The fifth line contains 11 characters: ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ ܢ.

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear text inserted (1.9, 3.9; approximate placement of fragments)



Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1-3.1, 1-3.3(?), 4.4

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

1-3.2-3(?), 1-3.5-6(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

4.1(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1-3.4, 1-3.7

Verbless clause:

1-3.4

Object early in clause:

1-3.4

Direct object marker (if present):

–ܠ: 1-3.4

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Finite form of הוה + participle:

1-3.8(?)

Participle + finite form of הוה:

1-3.7

Lexical items:

ד: 1-3.1, 1-3.8(2x)

Morphology:

אפעל form:

4.1, 4.2(?)

4Q552, Four Kingdoms^a
[ed. Puech, DJD 37:59–72]

Content synopsis and significance: 4Q552 is one of three manuscript witnesses to a composition known as the Four Kingdoms, a composition that, despite being quite fragmentary, can be identified as a court-tale that includes a vision. Like many of the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran, this text was unknown prior to the Qumran discoveries, though it bears some clear resemblances to the better-known stories of Dan 2 and 7. This manuscript is most notable for its account of a vision told in the first-person voice, which overlaps with parts of 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b; Puech also identified a third manuscript as 4Q553a [Four Kingdoms^c]). In the vision, four symbolic, animated trees (ארבעה אילנין) introduce themselves to a seer. Most interpreters have held that 4Q552–553 reflect a literary trope also found in the book of Daniel, in which world empires are symbolically presented as parts of a three- or four-fold historical succession (Swain, “Four Monarchies”; Flusser, “Four Empires”; Collins, *Daniel*, 166–70). However, Sharon (“Four Kingdoms”) recently challenged this view, positing a geographic rather than a temporal structure how the kingdoms are introduced. One significant difference between 4Q552 and Dan 2 and 7 is that 4Q552 explicitly identifies the empires being represented by the vision’s symbolic elements. In line 5 of frag. iii, the first tree identifies itself as בבל (“Babylon”), at which point the seer notes that Babylon is “the one who rules over Persia” (iii.6). Unfortunately, the names of the other three trees have not been preserved, with ongoing debate as to their identities. Various proposals have been put forward by Collins (“Apocalypticism,” 415–17), Flint (“Daniel,” 362–63), Hogeterp (“Daniel”), Puech (DJD 37:57–58), Reynolds (*Symbolism*, 191, 199–201), and Perrin (*Dynamics*, 213–18). In addition to Daniel, 4Q552 shares a number of similarities with other texts among the Aramaic scrolls. Trees also figure into the dream-visions of Noah and Abram in 1Q20 (apGen), with both patriarchs being symbolized as trees

in that text (14.9; 19.14). Although the term ארז (cedar tree) is used in 1Q20 (apGen), as opposed to the more general noun אילן in 4Q552, both texts feature personified trees that can move and speak. More generally, the fact that 4Q552 contains a dream-vision connects the text to the wider corpus of Aramaic scrolls kept at Qumran, dream-visions being a pervasive motif across this literature (cf. Perrin, *Dynamics*). The phrase “and the king said to me” (ואמר לי מלכא) suggests that Four Kingdoms should be understood as a court-tale (Perrin, *Dynamics*, 73), a genre that characterizes the Aramaic scrolls corpus more broadly (cf. the profile for 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court]). 4Q552 also refers to Israel’s God as “God Most High” (אל עליון), a divine epithet that pervades the Genesis Apocryphon and appears in other Aramaic scrolls from Qumran. On some specific verbal connections between Four Kingdoms and the Visions of Amram, see Machiela, “Connections.”

Material remains: Six fragments remain of this manuscript, two of which contain most of the preserved text (frags. 1 and 2). Puech proposed joining frag. 2 to col. i of frag. 1, a placement that he acknowledges is not certain (DJD 37:59). If this placement is accepted, the collated frags. 1 and 2 would provide us with a significant portion of two consecutive columns. The four remaining fragments (3–6) contain very little text, ranging from parts of a few lines (frags. 3, 5, and 6) to a portion of a single word (frag. 4). We do, however, have several margins preserved (upper, lower, and intercolumnar). Fragments 1 and 3 appear to preserve a complete upper margin, and frag. 1 provides a complete intercolumnar margin.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q552 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.

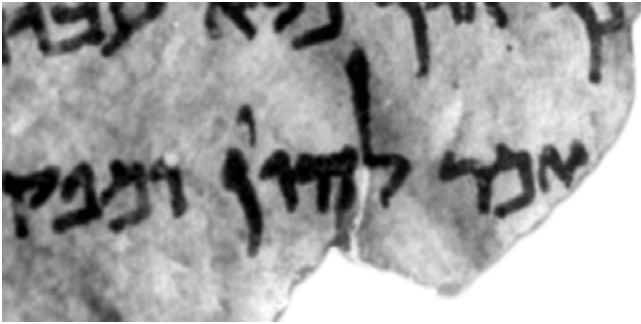


Sample image: 4Q552 ii-ii, 2

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 2.2 cm*Lower:* 1.5–1.8 cm*Intercolumnar:* 1.8–2 cm**Column dimensions:** Approx. 6–6.5 cm w. (Puech's reconstruction)**Lines per column:** Approx. 12 (Puech)**Letters per line:** Approx. 25–30 (frags. 1–2; Puech's reconstruction)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both sides of column**Average medial letter height:** 2–2.5 mm**Space between lines:** 6.5–8 mm**Space between words:** 1 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (11+2.8 [6 mm]); minor sense division)*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal, slightly prior to 4QSam^a (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–25 BCE (Puech)*Special traits and general comments:* This is a very carefully-prepared and neatly-written manuscript, virtually free of mistakes in the little text preserved. The margins of 4Q552 are similar in size to good or very good manuscripts like 4Q208 (Enastr^a) and 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a), but somewhat smaller than the best ones (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q209 [Enastr^b]). We can see in frag. iii that the scribe used at least small vacats to indicate minor breaks in running dialogue. Another notable practice in frag. ii is the scribe's justification of the last word of a line with the left-hand column guideline, often leaving a conspicuous gap between the penultimate and final words of lines. This same practice occurs in 4Q203/204 (EnGiants^a/En^c) and 4Q554 (NJ^a). The scribal practice is otherwise typical of the corpus more widely, with the scribe using a *lamed* for the prefix-conjugation verb א"וה, the short form of dem. pronoun ׀ד, and full spellings with *aleph*. A relatively rare use of the fem. dem. pronoun אד is found in 3.1. Little can be said with confidence on the topic of syntax, other than that the scribe frequently placed the verb early with an implied subject (again, typical of Qumran Aramaic) and quite often placed an object suffix on the main verb.*Original manuscript quality:* Very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 108–109; Beyer, *ATTM*², 144–45; Flint, "Tradition"; Stuckenbruck, "Formation"; Hogeterp, "Daniel"; Sharon, "Four Kingdoms."*Script sample:*

נן ִן וּן אַן ִן ִן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן
 אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן
 אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן אַן

Corrections and scribal features:(a) Supralinear *vav* or *yod* added (1.10): להו'יז**Language****Syntax***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

ii+2.6, iii.2

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

ii+2.9, ii+2.10(?), iii.1, iii.4(?)

*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*ii+2.5(?), ii+2.6(?), ii+2.8, ii+2.9, iii.2, iii.2(?),
iii.3(3x), iii.5(2x), iii.8, iii.9, iii.11, 3.1, 3.2(?)*Verbless clause:*

iii.5, iii.6, iii.8, iii.9, 3.1

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

ii+2.9, iii.4

Lexical items:

דיל (ב): ii+2.8

די: ii+2.5, iii.4, iii.6, 5.12, 6.11, 6.12

Morphology:*Object suffix on verb:*

ii+2.9, iii.5, iii.8

Assimilated nun:

ii+2.10

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

ii+2.9

Orthography/Phonology:*2ms verbal affix תה/תא:*

5.11

ש for /s/:

iii.4

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

מחוזא (lexical; 6.10) [H]

אל עליין (lexical; 6.10) [H]

4Q553, Four Kingdoms^b

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:73–80]

Content synopsis and significance: 4Q553 is one of three manuscripts associated with a previously unknown text, referred to by Puech and others as the Four Kingdoms (see also 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] and 4Q553a [Four Kingdoms^c]). For a fuller summary of the composition and explanation of the significance of its dream-vision, see the profile on 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a). A sizeable portion of 4Q553 overlaps with frag. iii of 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), the visionary portion of the text telling of four trees that stand for four kingdoms. It is important

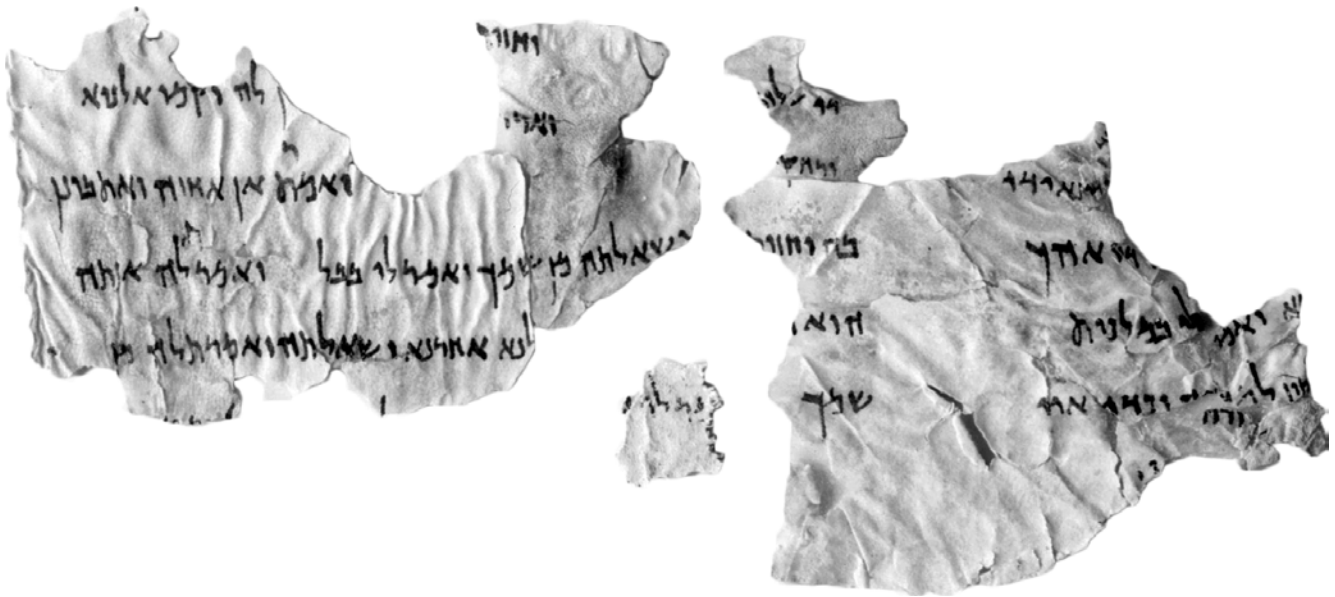
to note that, while “Babylon” is clearly named as the first kingdom in both manuscripts, Puech’s reconstruction of “Media” as the name of the second kingdom in 4Q553 has met with severe criticism. Hogeterp (“Daniel,” 178) accepts Puech’s reading at face value, but a number of other interpreters have rejected the proposal, including Perrin (*Dynamics*, 215–16), Reynolds (*Symbolism*, 200), and Sharon (“Four Kingdoms,” 213–14). Puech noted two verbal correspondences between 4Q553 and 4Q246 (apocrDan; the so-called Son of God text), namely, the use of the

phrase בשמה (“by his name” in iii.5; cf. 4Q246 [apocrDan] ii.9) and the term של־טנה (“his dominion,” Puech’s reconstruction at iii.4). The latter term is common in the Aramaic texts from Qumran (4Q246 [apocrDan] iii.9; cf. 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 1.6, 7; 1Q20 [apGen] 9.3; Dan 4). Machiela (“Connections”) observed similar connections between Four Kingdoms and the Visions of Amram. 4Q553 mentions the name of Moses (מושה) in a somewhat broken context. While Moses does not often figure into the narrative texts among the Aramaic texts kept at Qumran, he is also mentioned in Tobit and the Visions of Amram (Tob 1:8; 6:13; 7:11, 12, 14; 4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] 4.15).

Material remains: The four numbered fragments of this manuscript are actually formed from several smaller pieces, originally joined by Jean Starcky. If Starcky’s arrangement of the fragments is correct, it would suggest that the remains of 4Q553 cover portions of three consecutive columns (the first, frag. 2i; the second, a combination of frags. 1i and 3+2ii+4; and the third, frag. 1ii).

Puech considers this possibility, but also expresses some ambivalence about it, noting that we may actually have the remains of four columns. In any case, Starcky’s collation of frags. 3+2ii+4 as belonging to a single column seems secure, given the overlapping material that it shares with 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a). Based on this arrangement, Puech attempted to reconstruct the dimensions of the scroll’s columns (13 to 13.5 cm wide, with seven lines). An intercolumnar margin with a seam between two sheets is quite well preserved between cols. i and ii of frag. 1. A fairly sizable upper margin is present on the same fragment, while frag. 2 contains both lower and intercolumnar margins (the latter with no seam).

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q553 4 on the “E series” PAM plate 40.978. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining pieces of 4Q553 in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q553 2–4

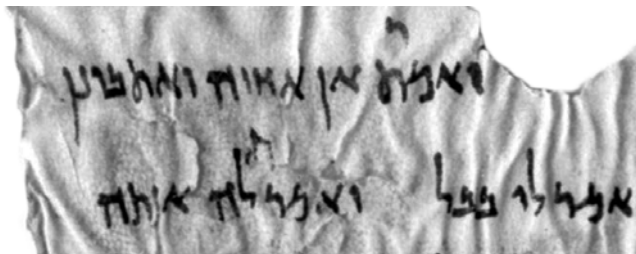
PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 1.8 cm (frag. 1)*Lower:* At least 1.3 cm (frag. 2)*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 1.7 cm (frag. 2); or approx. 1.5 cm (frag. 1; across seam); 3–7 mm (frag. 3; to seam)**Column dimensions:** 13–13.5 cm w. (Puech's reconstructed col. 2)**Lines per column:** At least 7 (Puech's reconstructed col. 2)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* None visible**Average medial letter height:**
2.5–3 mm**Space between lines:** 8–10 mm**Space between words:** 1–2 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small (3+2ii+4.5 [5 mm]) and medium (3+2ii+4.1 [14]; 3+2ii+4.4 [18 mm]); all minor sense divisions*Material:* Skin*Script:* Hasmonean semi-cursive, with some traces of semi-formal style (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 100–50 BCE (Puech)*Special traits and general comments:* The physical layout of this manuscript is more generous in its spacing than 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), and the scribe of 4Q553 also used significantly larger vacats for the same type of narrative pauses in dialogue. At the same time, the scribe of 4Q553 wrote in a slightly less controlled, tidy hand than the scribe of 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), occasionally using some cursive letters (e.g., the *tav* switches back and forth between more formal and more cursive forms). In other respects, the scribe of 4Q553 abided by the conventions typical of most Qumran Aramaic scrolls, with orthographic, morphological, and syntactic characteristics mirroring those in 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a). If we accept Puech's relative palaeographic dating, 4Q553 appears to be the earlier of the two copies.

Puech noted, based on autopsy, that there are very lightly traced horizontal script lines (DJD 37:73), though these are not visible in the images. The regular line spacing across columns on frag. 2 confirms his testimony.

Original manuscript quality: Very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM^E*, 108–9; Beyer, *ATM²*, 144–45; Flint, "Tradition"; Stuckenbruck, "Formation"; Hogeterp, "Daniel"; Sharon, "Four Kingdoms."*Script sample:*

66 77 3 2A KM 11 11 MM 44 55 NN
 hh ee 44 pp 7 | 55 44

Corrections and scribal features:(a) Supralinear letters added (3.3–4): ואמר^ה; ואמר^ה**Language****Syntax***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

3+2ii+4.2

*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*2i.5, 3+2ii+4.1(?), 3+2ii+4.3(4x), 3+2ii+4.4(?),
3+2ii+4.4(2x), 3+2ii+4.5(2x), 3+2ii+4.6(?)*Verbless clause:*

3+2ii+4.4, 3+2ii+4.5–6

Lexical items:ד^י: ii.3, ii.5, 2i.3, 2i.4, 3+2ii+4.2כד^י: 2i.6**Morphology:***אחפעל form:*

ii.4

Object suffix on verb:

3+2ii+4.4, 3+2ii+4.5

4Q553a, Four Kingdoms^c

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:81–90]

Content synopsis and significance: Starcky had originally grouped the fragments comprising 4Q553a with those of 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b) using the siglum ‘Sy 20.’ Puech subdivided Starcky’s copy into two, based in part on linguistic considerations and in part on palaeography (DJD 37:57). As a result, Puech tentatively included 4Q553a as one of three manuscripts discussed under the title Four Kingdoms, along with 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) and 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b). However, unlike 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) and 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b), the extant fragments of 4Q553a do not bear clear evidence of the four-kingdoms schema, nor are there any obvious overlaps between 4Q553a and the other two manuscripts. As a result, Puech could not definitively state that 4Q553a is a part of the same composition as 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) and 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b). That being said, he rightly notes that the references to dream-visions, angels, and trees found in 4Q553a indicate that it shares in the “same literary genre” as the other two Four Kingdoms manuscripts.

The extant text of 4Q553a is very fragmentary, and the lack of running narrative prevents one from saying much

about its contents. The vocabulary of 4Q553a is reminiscent of many other visionary compositions from the Aramaic Scrolls. Angels are referred to twice (2ii.1, 2; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 15.14; 4Q213a [Levi^b] 2.18; 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1.1, 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] 1.5), trees may be mentioned (on which, see below; 7.2, 3; cf. 4Q201 [En^a] iii.4, 5, 9; 4Q204 [En^c] ii.28, xii.26; 4Q211 [Enastr^d] ii.4, 5; 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] 2ii.1, 2, 4, 11; 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b] 6ii.2, 5; 10.2, 3), and there is a reference to the heavens (6.1; cf. 4Q204 [En^c] 5ii.27; 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 23.2, 5, 6, 7; 4Q213a [Levi^b] ii.8; iii.16–18; 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 7ii.11). The phrase “and I saw” (וחזית) occurs once, in a very broken context, which strongly suggests the report of a vision based on the phrase’s use to describe visionary experiences elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic corpus (cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 19.14; 2Q24 [NJ] 4.11; 4Q204 [En^c] 1xi.5; 4Q213a [Levi^b] 2.16; 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1.4; 4Q537 [TJacob?] 1+2+3.5; Dan 7). Puech draws a parallel between 4Q553a and the Enochic Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90) due the occurrence of the phrase “calves and lambs” in 4Q553a 10. Given this association, it is worth considering afresh two of Puech’s reconstructions or interpretations of words in

4Q553a. On frag. 7, he reconstructs twice the noun “tree” (איל) from the readings]איל(7.2) and]איל(7.3). Based on the mention of calves and lambs on frag. 10, both occurrences may be better interpreted as the noun “ram” (איל). This, of course, would change our understanding of the scroll appreciably, in particular its possible relationship to 4Q552–553 (Four Kingdoms^{a-b}). It would also strengthen the scroll’s connection with the Animal Apocalypse (with the preceding רב “master” in 4Q553a 7.2, compare 1 En. 89:42–43). Although the context is broken, one also wonders whether the reading]סמח in 2ii.4 (the last letter is uncertain), which Puech takes to mean “eliminate,” might refer to blindness, as in the Animal Apocalypse.

Material remains: Puech groups under the siglum 4Q553a the fragments of PAM 43.579 not included in his 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b), but he warns that we cannot know with certainty whether all of the fragments not belonging to 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^a) derive from the same

manuscript (DJD 37:81). Puech organized the eleven small fragments into two, distinct sub-groups on the basis of their material features: frags. 1–3 and frags. 4–11. He argued that the former grouping attests to between three and five columns, while the latter group attests to at least two columns. The extant fragments vary considerably in size and shape, though none of them is much larger than a postage stamp, and several are considerably smaller than this (i.e., frags. 8, 9, and 11). Frags. 1, 2, and 3 contain (or may contain) intercolumnar margins, frag. 3 having in its margin a seam with the plant-based thread still well preserved.

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q553a 1 on the “E series” PAM plate 40.976. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining pieces of 4Q553a in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q553a, 2, 3 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

4Q550, Jews at the Persian Court

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:1–46]

Content synopsis and significance: 4Q550 centers on two apparent Judeans with Persian names, Patireza and Bagasrav. In this very fragmentary, otherwise unknown text we learn that the two men served in the courts of the Persian Kings Darius and Xerxes, respectively. The later fragments of the text, as ordered by Puech, recount Bagasrav's conflict with an antagonist named Bagoshi. Unfortunately, many details of the narrative are now obscured due to the fragmentary nature of the scroll. In fact, there is some debate as to whether 4Q550 tells a single, coherent story (e.g., Talmon, "Book of Esther") or two distinct tales, one about Patireza and the other about Bagasrav, understood as two unrelated figures (e.g., Wechsler, "Para-Biblical"). While the phrase "to Patireza, your father" in 1.1 implies a second protagonist in the parts of the story mentioning Patireza, Patireza and Bagasrav are never named together on the same fragment, and so their familial connection cannot be established with certainty. In the *editio princeps*, Puech weighed both of the options above, and concluded that 4Q550 tells a single story about Patireza and his son Bagasrav, serving under successive Persian kings (DJD 37:6–7). In Milik's initial, influential publication of these fragments ("Les modèles"), he identified 4Q550 as the "modèles," "archétypes," or "sources" underlying the book of Esther. Milik's proposal led to significant debate over the relationship between 4Q550 and Esther, the latter being otherwise unattested at Qumran (see White Crawford, "Esther"; Talmon, "Book of Esther"; Collins and Green, "Persian Court"). Despite some striking verbal and thematic similarities, it is difficult to prove direct literary dependence or establish a specific tradition-historical relationship between the two texts. What can be said is that both 4Q550 and Esther participate in the wider literary phenomenon of the Jewish court tale. The hallmarks of this genre include rivalries between Jewish and non-Jewish courtiers, the ascendancy of Jewish courtiers to positions of power as a result of their skill and righteousness, and the foreign king being led to confess the greatness of Israel's God. All of these traits are found in 4Q550, as in the Aramaic literature focused on Daniel found at Qumran (see, e.g., the profile for 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a]). There are also telling verbal correspondences between 4Q550 and other Aramaic court tales, such as use of the temporal phrase *בה בשתא* (a defective spelling of *בה בשעתא*) "in that very hour" in 4Q550 1.3, also found in Dan 3:6, 15; 4:33, and 5:5. 4Q550 contains some striking correspondences to the narrative frame of the Tale of Ahiqar, as Puech frequently pointed out in

the notes to his edition. Beyond its affinities with texts typically characterized by scholars as court tales, 4Q550 shares important connections with other Aramaic texts from Qumran. The story is set in the post-exilic period, a characteristic feature of a large number of the Aramaic texts kept at Qumran (see Dimant, "Qumran Aramaic," "Themes"; Tigchelaar, "Visionary"; Ben Dov, *Astronomy*). There is an interest in books, writing, and scrolls (1.4–7; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 5.29; 19.25; 4Q529 [Words of Michael] 1–6; 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] ii.18–19; 4Q541 [apocrLevi^b] 7.2, 4; 4Q542 [TQahat] iii.12; 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] 1.1; 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 4.8). One of the protagonists is described as *קשוט* "righteous," like many other characters in the Aramaic literature from Qumran (4.3; cf. Tob 1:3; 1 En. 15:1; 1Q20 [apGen] 6.1–6). Israel's God is referred to with universalizing epithets, such as *עליא* "Most High" (7+7a.1; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 2.4; 6.24; 10.18; 4Q568 [Prophecy^d] 1.1) and *שליט* "Ruler" (7+7a.1; cf. 1Q20 [apGen] 20.13; 4Q542 [TQahat] ii.2). Finally, the edict in 1.5–7, claimed to have been written by Darius, shares clear verbal and structural parallels with the epistle in 4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 8.6, which was said to have been written by Enoch. Most notable among these parallels is the phrase *די ידע להוא לבון די* "let it be known to you that ..." (1.7; see also Ezra 4:12, 13; 5:8; *TAD* A6.8; *TAD* A6.10; cf. Doering, *Letters*, 170–89). In fact, both texts reflect standard epistolary conventions known to exist in the Persian and Hellenistic periods based on caches of Aramaic documents from Elephantine, Bactria, and Samaria dating from the fifth to third centuries BCE. This knowledge is beautifully illustrated in the detailed description of the "si[n]gle scroll [seal]ed with seven seal[s]," along with the inscription on the outside of the sealed scroll, in 1.5–6. These features are regularly found on documents from the Elephantine, Bactria, and Samaria corpora, including scrolls sealed with seven seals. In addition to formal features, the contents of Darius's edict in 1.5–7 bear a striking resemblance to the Behistun inscription of Darius I, especially in the advice given to future rulers. The content is so similar that it is not unreasonable to suppose detailed knowledge of the Behistun decree on the part of whoever composed Jews at the Persian Court. Whoever composed the story copied in 4Q550 was clearly very well-educated, familiar with a wide array of literature and literary conventions.

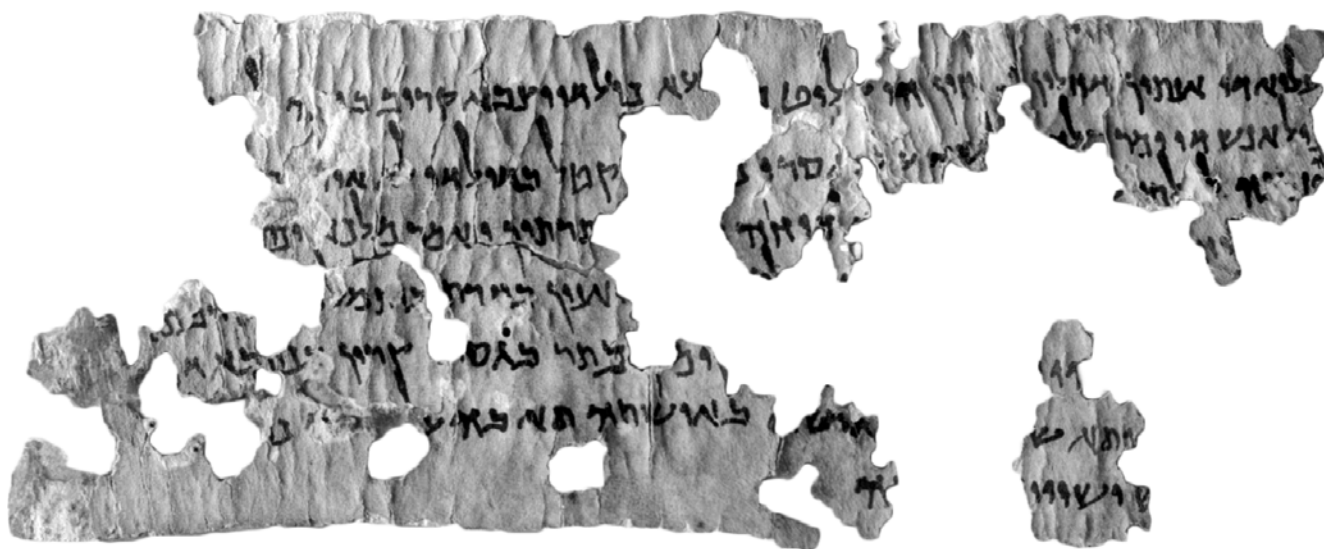
Material remains: Puech assigned sixteen fragments to this scroll, though several of them are combinations of smaller pieces (there are at least twenty-three pieces comprising

Puech's sixteen fragments). Significant portions of five columns are extant, giving a basic sense of some the scroll's dimensions. The best-preserved column is 7 (frags. 7+7a), the outside dimensions of which (including margins) are around 6 by 16 cm. The skin is in many places wrinkled, shrunken, or contorted, and so the measurements are only approximate. It should be noted that Milik ("Les modèles," 361–63) included as part of 4Q550 a fragment not present in Starcky's original grouping (Starcky, and initially Milik, had placed it with 4Q537 [T]Jacob?), containing what seems to be part of an historical apocalyptic narrative to which Milik gave the siglum 4QprEsther^f. The contents of the fragment would add a new conceptual dimension to the text and has been included in some editions, such as that of García-Martínez and Tigchelaar (*DSSSE*, 1102–3; there it is given the siglum 4Q550e). Puech rejected Milik's inclusion of the fragment, and instead numbered it as 4Q583 (Prophecy^e; DJD 37:447–52), a decision with which I agree. 4Q550 is the only known copy of this text.

An ink mark in the shape of a circle intersected by an "x" should be noted on the verso of frag. 1. When compared

with other available images of the verso sides of Qumran fragments, it is clear that the mark is a "G," stamped onto the manuscript at an early stage of the modern cataloguing process. This letter identifies the fragment as part of the "G series," on which see the *Notes on provenance* section, below. The "G" stands for "Government," signifying a fragment purchased by the Jordanian government from the Bedouin, and therefore not found in the official excavations directed by Roland de Vaux. Similar "G" marks can be seen, for example, on the versos of 4Q84 (Ps^b) 25, 4Q434 (Barkhi Nafshi^a) 7, 4Q525 (Beatitudes) 14, and 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a) 1.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q550 were photographed on the PAM "G series" plates 40.585 and 40.590. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of 4Q550 were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q550 7, 7a

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions:

Approx. 6–6.5 cm h. × at least
1.5 m l. (Puech's estimate)

Margins:

Upper: 6–10 mm

Lower: 7–12 mm

Intercolumnar: At least 6–11 mm
(frags. 1, 2, 5, 7); 1–7 mm to
sewn sheet seam at left mar-
gin (frags 1, 3, 5a) and 1 cm at
right margin (frag. 6b)

Column dimensions: 3.75–4.75
cm h. × approx. 13–15 cm w.

Lines per column: 7–8

Letters per line: Approx. 50–60

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column (frag. 2)

Average medial letter height:
2.5–4 mm

Space between lines: 5–9 mm

Vacats: Yes; large (7.7 [8 cm];
end of manuscript or compo-
sition?); others are possible,
but not assured

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-formal, with some influence of semi-cursive style (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: A number of large fragments of this manuscript are preserved, allowing us to achieve a relatively good sense of its overall size and the dimensions of its columns. Puech found evidence of at least six sheets and up to twelve columns, with portions of approximately ten columns remaining. Four seams between sheets are partially preserved (frags. 1, 3, 5a, 6b). The copy was laid out with columns that were relatively short in height, appearing to have averaged around 4.5 cm high and 14 cm long, with seven or eight lines of text. The scribal hand is quite neat and practiced, though there are several corrections (note that Puech's suggested supralinear *lamed* at 6+6a-c.5 is actually a just hole in the leather), and no clear evidence for extensive use of vacats. The only unambiguous case is at 7.7, with a vacat over half a line long that may well mark the end of the composition, as Puech proposed. In this case, we may possess the last sheet of the manuscript, suggesting that it was rolled at the center of the scroll when stored in Cave 4 in antiquity. The two other vacats suggested in Puech's edition (8.1; 10.7) are subject to some hesitation. In the first case, there is no visible dry-ruled guideline, as in the following lines, and the preserved skin above the first line of script is only slightly larger than the upper margin of frag. 1 (which seems to have shrunk). As for 10.7, a similar logic applies, with skin preserved beneath that last written line of approximately the same size as the lower margin of frag. 5.

There is a significant amount of scribal variation in this manuscript. While all of the fragments have very similar physical characteristics, suggesting that they belong to a single scroll, there is often disparity in the way some characters are penned, even within the same fragment and in close proximity (e.g., the cursive and formal forms of *tav* in אַתְּחִיָּא [ושׁ] at 6.4). Puech raised the possibility that two scribes are reflected (דַּנְדַּן 37:9), but at the end of his analysis concluded that it was more probably one scribe who vacillated between formal and cursive forms of some characters, and changed or re-cut his pen at some point. For characters where Puech has noted deviation, an effort was made to reflect this in the abecedar, below. As for linguistic character, we find relatively heavy use of phrases with אַיְחִי, extensive verb-early clause constructions (as we would expect in a narrative of this sort), and fairly frequent use of object suffixes on verbs. An occurrence of the direct object marker תַּי at 5+5a.7 is notable for two reasons: First, the particle is very rare in the Qumran Aramaic texts; and second, of the few occasions where it is used in the corpus, most are in clear imitation of Biblical Hebrew phrases that call for the Hebrew particle אֵת (see the profiles for 4Q559 [Biblical Chronology] and 11Q10 [Job]). Only here and in the New Jerusalem do we find the particle used in a more "native" Aramaic setting, not clearly reliant on Biblical Hebrew. The orthography of 4Q550 is, generally speaking, full, though not exceptionally so. *Dalet* is used rather than *zayin* for the words דַּכְרֹן and דַּה]ב. A notable exception

דיל (ב): 7+7a.2
 בתר: 1.7, 7+7a.5
 די: 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6a, 1.7, 2.5, 2.6, 4.1, 4.2, 5+5a.2,
 5+5a.5, 5+5a.6, 5+5a.7, 6+6a+6b+6c.5, 7+7a.1(2x),
 7+7a.2(2x), 7+7a.3, 10.5, 10.6
 כדי: 5+5a.6, 8.5(?)
 להן: 2.1

Morphology:

אפעל form:

1.4(?)

אתפעל form:

1.5

התפעל form:

1.4, 1.6

Object suffix on verb:

5+5a.6(2x), 6+6a+6b+6c.8(2x?)

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

5+5a.6(2x)

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/א:

5+5a.4, 6+6a+6b+6c.2

Other notable features:

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

אוישי (likely Persian loanword; 2.5, 4.1[?], 4.4)

4 Translations or Possible Translations

4Q156, Leviticus? (Lev?)

[ed. Milik, DJD 6:86–89]

Content synopsis and significance: The text preserved on this manuscript has proven to be something of an enigma among the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran. Enough of the text remains to show beyond doubt that it is a fairly literal translation into Aramaic of some verses from a description of the Day of Atonement ritual in Leviticus 16. On the two extant fragments we find small bits of Lev 16:12–15 and 16:18–21, mostly preserving only partial words (there are twenty-three complete words in total). If we exclude the more literal segments of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), 4Q156 is the only known Aramaic translation of a passage from the Pentateuch dating to the Second Temple period, marking it as a highly significant text in view of the broader Qumran Aramaic corpus. Predating the two Job translations from Qumran on palaeographic grounds, this manuscript is also the earliest surviving translation of a passage from the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic. However, scholars have debated what to make of this discovery. Beginning with the original DJD publication of Milik, some have suggested that 4Q156 attests, along with 11Q10 (Job) and 4Q157 (Job), to a Second Temple period translation tradition that may be genealogically related to later Jewish (rabbinic) targums. This approach seems to assume that 4Q156 represents a translation of the entire Hebrew book of Leviticus, or at least a significant portion of it. Other scholars (e.g., Fitzmyer, “Targum”; Stuckenbruck and Freedman, “Fragments”) have cautioned that this may have been something other than a “targum,” such as a liturgical text (suggested as a possibility already by Milik) or part of a larger Aramaic composition that might

resemble, for example, the New Jerusalem text. Even if the latter option were correct, the very close adherence of 4Q156 to the Hebrew text of Leviticus is noteworthy. Although this adherence is striking, Stuckenbruck and Freedman (cf. appendix by M. Kasher in DJD 6:92–93) have rightly pointed out a number of places where 4Q156 stands in notable disagreement with the later Pentateuch targums. This is one reason to remain suspicious of suggestions about genealogical relationships between 4Q156 and the later rabbinic targums. Moreover, even among the scanty remains of 4Q156 we find some rather free translation, at least when compared to known Hebrew and Greek versions of Leviticus (these variations also do not resemble anything preserved in cols. 25–27 of the Temple Scroll [11Q19]). The first variation occurs in 1.6, where 4Q156 omits the Hebrew locative פני of Lev 16:14, and displaces to a later verse the notification that the blood of the bull is to be sprinkled “to the east” (Heb. למדונהא; קדמה in 4Q156) of the cover of the ark. At 2.4, the beginning of Lev 16:20 was rewritten slightly to provide a clearer temporal progression for the actions of the high priest (see *Material remains*, below). Among the other notable features of this translation, we find that the Hebrew כפרת (“place of atonement”) is uniquely translated with the word כסיא (“cover, lid,”) and אתהקדש (“the holy place”) of Lev 16:20 with the phrase על בית קדשא.

Material remains: We possess two medium-sized, irregularly-shaped fragments of this scroll, the smaller of which (5×5 cm) is roughly the size of the large fragment of

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Letters per line: Approx. 35
(Milik)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
2.5–4 mm

Space between lines: 5.5–9 mm

Space between words:
Approx. 2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-formal

Proposed palaeographic date: Second century BCE (Milik)

Special traits and general comments: The most striking characteristic in this manuscript is undoubtedly the scribe's use of two vertical dots (a dicolon) to mark a pause between small sense-units in the text (cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 138–39). There are nine dicola either legible or reconstructed with some confidence, six of which correspond to the Masoretic *sof pasuq* dicolon (i.e., end of verse), two to the Masoretic *atnakh*, and one to a natural break in Lev 16:21 lacking either of these marks in the Masorah. Eight of the nine dicola precede a conjunctive *vav* and a verb indicating a new action in the narrative, the one exception being a more clearly marked temporal progression in 2.4, in which the conjunctive *vav* is replaced by כִּדְּי (“when”). This scribal trait sets 4Q156 apart among other Qumran Aramaic texts, and has been claimed by some as unique in the entire scrolls corpus at Qumran. The latter claim is true only if referring to the type of use, as a punctuation sign between small sense-units, since dicola are systematically used in 4Q364 (Reworked Pent B) before the Tetragrammaton (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220). Beyer (*ATTM^E*, *ATTM²*) compared the use of this scribal mark to those used in both cuneiform texts from Uruk and Greek texts, although he gave very few details about the similarities. Given that other Jewish manuscripts from Qumran contain signs that are obviously Greek in derivation, such as the *ancora* and *paragraphos* (cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 178–88), it is worth seriously considering whether the scribe of 4Q156 employed dicola following the Greek tradition, albeit adapted to a different linguistic situation. This punctuation mark, identical in appearance to the marks in 4Q156, was used by scribes of Greek texts as early as the fourth century BCE to signal minor transitions or progressions in thought. A number of scholars have produced the example of Platonic dialogues, observing that the dicolon is used there to mark the frequent changes in speaker (e.g., Turner and Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts*, 9; Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 271–73). While this is true, it is notable that in a manuscript like Oxyrhynchus 2181 (Plato, *Phaedo*) the dicolon represents a change in speaker less than half of the time, and more often signals a minor pause *within* the speech of an individual. Thus, while use of the dicolon in Greek manuscripts and 4Q156 is not exactly the same, the sign's general use to mark a minor pause and narrative progression is very similar. In Greek manuscripts, dicola can occur with around the same frequency as we see in 4Q156, depending on the nature of the text, and it seems to me most likely that the practice of 4Q156 is inherited from the realm of Greek scribal production (cf. Angerstorfer, “Toratargums,” 22, 33; contra Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 139).

Aside from the remarkable use of the dicolon, this manuscript is quite typical for those found at Qumran. Ruled guidelines are not visible on the images, and the line spacing varies appreciably, especially between the two fragments, with frag. 1 being more tightly spaced than frag. 2. Although the fragments are missing only approximately three verses from Leviticus between them, this difference in spacing may suggest that the fragments come from two successive columns. The scribe wrote in a well-trained,

Hasmonean semi-formal hand, and Stuckenbruck and Freedman (“Fragments,” 93) have observed that a more conservative (or defective) spelling style is used. Letter size and shape varies slightly more than we might expect within the highest quality manuscripts, but the small amount of preserved text exhibits no mistakes or corrections. The translation follows Hebrew Leviticus quite closely, and this includes the predominantly verb-early syntax of the source text.

Script sample:



Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Two dots (dicolon) used to indicate minor sense-divisions (1.6):

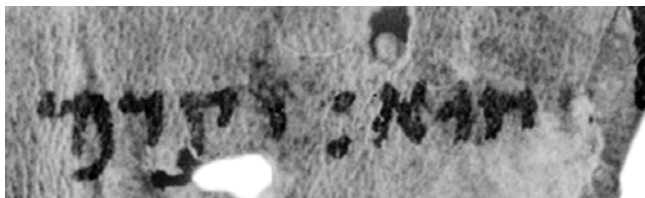


Image B-284476

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Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.4, 2.5

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.3, 1.5(2x), 1.7, 2.1(?), 2.3(2x), 2.6

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.6–7

Lexical items

כדרי: 2i.6

Original manuscript quality: Very good

Select bibliography: Fitzmyer, “Targum”; Angerstorfer, “Targumforschung”; Angerstorfer, “Toratargums”; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 278–80; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 132–33; Beyer, *ATTM*², 170; Stuckenbruck and Freedman, “Fragments”; Shepherd, “Taxonomy,” 189–206.

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

2.3(2x)

Assimilated nun:

1.7

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

רָכַתָּא [פ] (lexical; 1.3) [H]

4Q157, Job
[ed. Milik, DJD 6:90]

Content synopsis and significance: What remains of this manuscript preserves a very small portion of an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew book of Job. Not even a full verse of the translation is extant in its entirety, only various words and phrases from Job's first address (Job 3:5–9) and Eliphaz's reply (4:16–5:4). 11Q10 (Job) preserves text from Job 17:14 onward, and so there is no direct overlap between the two Qumran translations of the book. 4Q157 has been discussed primarily in connection with the much better-preserved 11Q10 (Job), with the two often being taken together as indicative of an active targum tradition during the Second Temple period. On the broader significance of this assumption, see the profile for 11Q10 (Job). In what little of 4Q157 is preserved, the translation quite closely resembles the later Hebrew of the Masoretic Text of Job. Even within this very small sample, however, some flexibility in the *Übersetzungsweise* of the translator may be discerned, compared with the more rigid approach of many (though not all) of the later rabbinic targums, and specifically the rabbinic targum of Job (see Puech, "Le targum," 140). This includes the repeated addition of conjunctive *vav*, and the more explicit restatement of Job 5:2 as a question through the addition of an interrogative *he* to begin the verse. In the end, little can be said with confidence about translation style, and the significance of this manuscript lies mainly in its being a second attestation of an Aramaic translation of Job from the Qumran caves.

Material remains: Two fragments of this scroll have been identified, the outer dimensions of the first being slightly smaller than a modern-day playing card, while the second is only a fraction of this size. Fragment 1 contains portions of two columns, with ten partially-preserved lines of writing at its greatest height (col. 2). It also has a nicely-preserved intercolumnar margin. In ii.4, the last letter (left untranscribed by Milik) may be read as ה, probably part of the word בה (= Heb. בו) from the end of Job 3:7. Fragment 2 has only small bits of two lines, of which the few extant words have been partly effaced. Neither Milik nor Beyer transcribed frag. 2, though some letters can be read. Line one begins with a 7 mm *vacat*, followed by the letters אִתְּהָ[. The following line contains a single word, of which all that may presently be read is אִמְתָּא[. The critical second letter has a horizontal upper stroke, like that of a *dalet* of *kaph*, but is largely effaced. I have not been able to determine the location of the fragment vis-à-vis the Hebrew book of Job based on these scanty remains, though see now the proposal of Puech ("Le targum"). On Milik's proposed reading דְּבַעַפְרָה at iii.4, see below.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q157 are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q157 fragments 1 and 2 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-284476

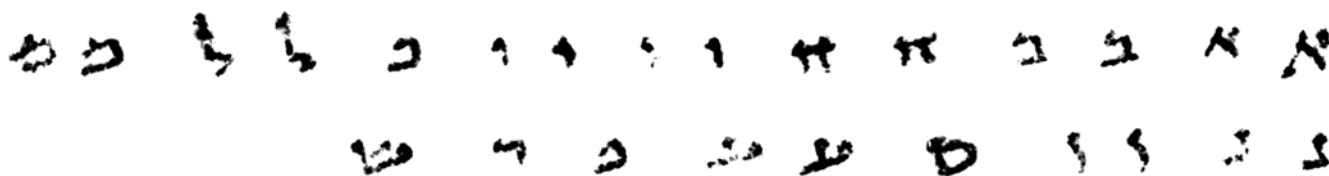
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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Intercolumnar:* 1.3 cm**Lines per column:** At least 10**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes, both sides of column**Average medial letter height:**
1.5–2 mm**Space between lines:** 4–5 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–1 mm**Vacats:** Yes; medium (iii.7 [1.2 cm]; minor sense division), cf. frag. 2.1*Material:* Skin*Script:* Developed Herodian (Milik); late Herodian (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 1–50 CE (Milik); 25–50 CE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript is made from high-quality, lightly-colored leather. It is neatly spaced with clear ruling and a fairly generous margin between the two preserved columns. The vertical guideline, providing the scribe with the right side of the column, is more deeply incised than the other lines on the large fragment. The writing and spacing is slightly more compact than in many of the Qumran manuscripts, comparable, for example, to 4Q529 (Words of Michael). The scribe wrote in a well-trained, Herodian-period style, with some of the calligraphic flourishes also present in 11Q10 (Job) (though the scribes are clearly different). There are two preserved vacats, with that at iii.7 corresponding to a verse break in MT Job. Little weight should be placed on the absence of scribal errors, given the small amount of preserved text.

Regarding orthography and morphology, 4Q157 exhibits some of the traits also seen in 11Q10 (Job). We find the prefixed preposition –נ rather than detached נן at iii.2, and there is an increased use of the interrogative *he*. Perhaps the feature most commented upon by scholars mentioning 4Q157 is the prefixed –ד in the proposed phrases דְּבַעְפֶּרֶה and דְּרָשׁוּעַ in iii.4 and iii.8, respectively, while the scribe of 11Q10 (Job) (and most other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts) preferred the independent דִּי. However, Milik's reading in the first case should be rejected, and I admit to strong reservations about the second. At iii.4, there is definitely not enough room for a full *dalet*, especially since the scribe has assiduously kept within the ruled guideline at the right side of the column. A *dalet* would cause a very unlikely aberration, and we should therefore read דְּבַעְפֶּרֶה, which also makes good sense of the verse.

Original manuscript quality: Very good*Select bibliography:* Vasholz, "Targum Job"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 280–85; Mastin, "Re-Examination"; Puech, "Le targum."*Script sample:***Language****Syntax:***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*
iii.8(?)*Subject-verb (verb early in clause):*
iii.7(?), iii.8*Subject-verb (verb later in clause):*
iii.2*Subject implied (verb early in clause):*
iii.6(?)*Subject implied (verb later in clause):*
iii.3(?), iii.5(?), iii.7

Direct object marker (if present):

-ܘ: iii.8(?)

Interrogative ܢ:

iii.2, iii.7

Lexical items:

-ܘ: iii.8(?)

Morphology:*Assimilated nun:*

iii.2

11Q10, Job

[ed. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23:79–180]

Content synopsis and significance: This scroll is of considerable significance among the Aramaic works discovered in the Qumran caves, for several reasons. First, it is among the most extensively preserved Aramaic scrolls in the Qumran corpus, with a fragmentary translation of Hebrew Job 17:14–42:12 extant in thirty-nine partial columns. By all appearances, the underlying Hebrew text from which the translation was made resembled quite closely the later Masoretic Text of Job, though it seems to have differed in some minor respects (Sokoloff, *Job*, 6–8). The preserved translation begins in the midst of the second cycle of dialogues between Job and his three friends, at approximately the opening of Bildad's second discourse (ch. 18). Various parts of the dialogues are preserved, including some of Job's wisdom poem (ch. 28) and portions of Elihu's speech. God's reply to Job's challenge and the concluding frame narrative (ch. 42) are partially extant, with the text breaking off due to physical damage only six verses short of the end of the book as it is preserved in Hebrew. Second, 11Q10 is one of very few examples of translation from Hebrew to Aramaic during the Second Temple period. Scholars quickly connected 11Q10 with the mention of a "targum" of Job in the Tosefta, Shabbat 13:2 (Lieberman edition), associated with the first century CE sage Rabban Gamaliel I. Urbach and others have noted that it is not entirely clear whether the targum mentioned in this story was Aramaic or another language, such as Greek (Sokoloff, *Job*, 5), though Alexander ("*Targum*," 167) is surely correct that Aramaic is much more likely. Others saw 11Q10 as proof that the rabbinic targums are the direct descendants of an earlier, Second Temple period practice of translating Hebrew scriptures into Aramaic. In some instances, this was closely linked to debates over the status of Hebrew and Aramaic in Palestine during the Second Temple period, and to the language(s) of Jesus (cf. Machiela, "Translation"). More recent studies have urged extreme caution over a simplistic linking of the Qumran translations with later rabbinic targums. David Shepherd (*Translation*), for example, demonstrated the significant stylistic differences between the Qumran Aramaic Job, which is a loosely paraphrastic translation

akin to that of the Syriac Peshitta, and the rabbinic targums, which follow much more rigidly the syntax of the governing Hebrew source text. These dissimilar methods for representing the underlying Hebrew source reflect more fundamental differences in the purpose of each type of text – one being a "translation," and the other a "targum" – thus throwing into question the soundness of any suggested correlation among 11Q10 and the rabbinic targums. Third, the literary character of this scroll, as a translation of an earlier Hebrew book, stands apart noticeably from most of the Qumran Aramaic corpus. The large majority of texts in the corpus were originally composed in Aramaic, and betray numerous affinities in both general literary style and specific concerns. A discussion related to the place of 11Q10 in the wider Aramaic corpus from Qumran has taken place around the particularities of the text's Aramaic dialect. Muraoka ("*Aramaic*," "Notes"), for example, drew attention to linguistic features that suggest an "eastern" derivation, which he compared with the more "western" language of a scroll like 1Q20 (apGen). The latter text coheres better with the Aramaic of the Qumran corpus more broadly. The only other text linked unmistakably with 11Q10 in terms of genre is 4Q157 (Job), another translation of Job from Cave 4. The translation of a brief passage of Leviticus (4Q156 [Lev?]) into Aramaic is more ambiguous, and its genre has been debated. When viewed against the wider backdrop of the Qumran texts, 11Q10 is a very rare, relatively well-preserved example of Aramaic translation from the Second Temple period, a translation that, incidentally, attests to the highly venerated status of Hebrew Job in at least some Jewish communities at the time.

Material remains: 11Q10 was found as a rolled scroll approximately 14 cm in height, which was heavily gelatinized from centuries of storage in Cave 11, especially at the scroll's top and bottom. Unfortunately, the gelatinized portions mostly crumbled away when the scroll was opened. As a result, this manuscript has a distinctive damage pattern, showing clearly that the better-preserved final columns of the translation were rolled at the inside

of the scroll when last stored in antiquity. This meant that the book was rolled so as to be ready for reading from its beginning. For this reason, the beginning of the book (i.e., the outermost part of the scroll) suffered considerably more damage from the elements in Cave 11 than the end of the book. One physical area of the rolled scroll fared especially well in the cave, with the result that the earliest discernable portions of text are preserved on ovoid fragments of approximately 3 cm wide by 5.5 cm tall. There are twenty-eight such unconnected, ovoid fragments, which increase in size (especially width) as they get nearer to the center of the scroll. The last such fragments are approximately 8.5 cm wide by 7.5 cm tall, and the similar, ovoid shape of all of the separate fragments shows clearly that they were once situated one on top of the other, representing successive revolutions of this part of the scroll. After the twenty-eighth ovoid fragment, the remainder of the scroll is connected in one large piece, approximately 109 cm wide and vacillating between 1.5 and 6.5 cm tall. The large piece comprises parts of three leather sheets and eleven ruled columns, with the last two sheets containing four columns each. The physical remains suggest that the sheets generally had four or five columns, with the exception of a small sheet of only two columns at XVIII–XIX (frags. 15–17). The last column of the scroll was left blank by the scribe. Even though it fell at the end of the sheet and manuscript, the leftmost margin of this last column had been ruled and prepared for sewing by small holes punched through the leather. This suggests that the sheets were pre-manufactured before their exact purpose was known, or without a firm knowledge of how long the scroll would ultimately be. For both the large piece and the twenty-eight ovoid fragments it seems that between

five and nine lines of text are now missing due to damage, especially in the lower portions of the scroll (the top margin is preserved at several places). A number of other small fragments are extant (DJD 23:79–80), all containing only a few letters or partial words. The majority of these smaller fragments can no longer be placed with confidence amidst the remainder of the scroll. There is no overlap with the other Aramaic translation of Job from Cave 4, 4Q157.

Notes on provenance: The majority of the Cave 11 manuscripts were discovered by Bedouin in early (probably January) 1956, including 11Q10. Only a few Palaeo-Hebrew fragments and a small scroll titled Apocryphal Psalms (11Q11) were found in the excavations led by Roland de Vaux in February, 1956 (de Vaux, "Fouilles," 574; Tigchelaar in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 250–51). The Palestine Archaeological Museum provisionally purchased a batch of Cave 11 manuscripts that included 11Q10 in July, 1956, and there is no reason to believe the scroll did not originate in Qumran Cave 11. The cost of a number of the Cave 11 manuscripts, including 11Q10, was eventually covered by the Dutch Academy in 1961–62, with funds provided by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (KNAW) and the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (ZWO). The rights to 11Q10 were the first to be purchased, on December 11, 1961. As a result, these manuscripts were published by a group of Dutch scholars. For an extensive discussion of the provenance, publication, and nature of the Cave 11 scrolls, see Tigchelaar's account in Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 249–58.



Sample image: 11Q10 cols. XXXII–XXXIV
[with en dash]
Image B-285218

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions:

Approx. 14 cm h. × 7 m w.
(García Martínez, Tigchelaar,
and van der Woude); approx.
68 columns

Margins:

Upper: 1.3–1.6 cm (frags. 11,
17–18)

Intercolumnar: 1.2–2 cm (within
a sheet) or 2.1–2.4 cm (across
the seam connecting two
sheets)

Column dimensions: 10.5 cm h.
× 7.3–10.5 cm w.

Lines per column: 15–18

Letters per line: Approx. 27–37

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both
sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2.5–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–3 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (xxx1.2
[1 cm]; very minor sense divi-
sion), medium (22i.3+21ii.4
[3 cm], xxxiv.1 [1.5 cm];
minor sense divisions), and
large, at times exceeding
one full line (1a–b.3–4, 3.1–2,
6a.1, 8.3, 9.6–7, 17.5, xxxvii.2,
xxxvii.9+frg. J, xxxviii.8;
major sense divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Late Herodian formal (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude)

Proposed palaeographic date: 25–70 CE (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude)

Special traits and general comments: The distinctive damage pattern of this scroll, along with its reliance on a well-known Hebrew text, has allowed scholars to form a fairly good idea of its original dimensions. Compared with many of the other high-quality Aramaic scrolls from Qumran, 11Q10 is rather short in height, at approximately 14 cm and 15–18 lines of text per column. The scribe was obviously highly-trained, with a more calligraphic flourish to the script than found in most Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran. This is seen, for example, in the more pronounced serif and head strokes on the right-most stroke of *sin/shin*, the upper, right head stroke of *aleph*, and the horizontal roof of *qoph*. These factors are a clue to the relative diachronic placement of this late Herodian-period scribe compared with the large majority of Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, regularly situated in the Hellenistic, Hasmonean, and Early Roman periods. While the scribe was very adept at his craft, the script size varies appreciably by column, as seen in a comparison of frags. 16 and 19, the former having noticeably smaller script than the latter. In general, the script is fairly large relative to the broader corpus, similar in size to 11Q18 (NJ). Corrections are fairly regular, but tend to be of a minor sort, such as the supralinear addition of a letter or the erasure of a letter by scraping the surface of the skin. More extensive erasures occur occasionally, as when the second half of Job 34:11 was apparently erased at 21ii.6. The manuscript was beautifully ruled with deep scoring, and the preserved sheet joins were masterfully done (compare, for example, the much rougher seam on a “good” manuscript, like 4Q210 [Enastr^c]). On the relatively rare “double ruling” in the intercolumnar margin of frag. 21, see the profile for 4Q115 (Dan^d), the only other Aramaic scroll with this trait (cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 59–61). Vacats are used regularly, with small spaces typically indicating minor sense divisions (e.g., a slight change of focus within an individual’s speech) and large ones signifying more major shifts of speaker or topic. The 1.6 cm vacat at 27.6 merits special comment, since it does not appear to be based on a natural sense-division in the text or an imperfection in the leather, the two reasons for which we might expect a vacat to be used. Sokoloff (*Job*, 141) suggested that there may have been a problem at this point in the text being copied, such as an illegible or missing word. As opposed to a scroll like 1Q20 (apGen), where the final column of a sheet is often narrower than those before it, 11Q10 tends to have final columns that are quite close in width to the others on a sheet. This feature likely speaks to a different method by those laying out the sheets prior to the composition being written and sewn together. While the extant writing is generally well-preserved and readable, ink has flaked off on some of the fragments (e.g., 3, 5, and 20).

The scribe of 11Q10 generally preferred to use *aleph* in cases where either an *aleph* or *he* could be used interchangeably, with a few notable exceptions. *He* is used more often than *aleph* for the prefix in the causative and passive

verbal conjugations, something that clearly distinguishes the orthography of this manuscript from most others written in Aramaic at Qumran (in which *aleph* predominates). The irregular spelling of אִיתְחַדַּח in 10i.10, with the long -אִ prefix, is otherwise unknown in Qumran Aramaic, if indeed the word is correctly understood as a suffix-conjugation (perfect), reflexive form (cf. Sokoloff, *Job*, 119). Muraoka and Cook take the initial *aleph* as a scribal mistake by dittography (Muraoka, “Aramaic,” 11; Cook, *DQA*, 6). *He* is always used in the word הָן (“if”), rather than the alternative הָן, the latter being used intermittently in some other Qumran Aramaic texts (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q538 [TJud/Words of Benjamin], 4Q539 [TJoseph]). We find תָּמָה used at 24.7 rather than תָּמָן, as in all other Qumran Aramaic texts except for 4Q529 (Words of Michael). Also in the realm of phonology/orthography, note that *zayin* is used in the word זָכִי (“pure”; 8.8; cf. 17ii.4, xxxiv.4) instead of the *dalet* expected from other Qumran texts (4Q542 [TQahat] has mixed use). Otherwise, *dalet* predominates in situations where phonological or orthographic ambiguity might have existed. The supposed use of *samek* for *shin* in חָשׁוּךְ/חָסוּךְ at 9.1, what Cook calls a case of *lapsus calami* (דַּנְךְ 23:106–7), should clearly be read, with Sokoloff, as חָשׁוּךְ on palaeographic grounds, despite the protestations of García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude (on the *keraiā*, see the instances of *shin* on frag. 23; as for the upper oblique stroke, it is visible on the fragment). Consequently, there is no phonological/orthographic anomaly here. Sokoloff (*Job*, 14–15) has observed that 11Q10 regularly uses *samek* to represent the etymological /s/ sound, whereas Biblical Aramaic and 1Q20 (apGen) show much heavier usage of *sin*. We could now add many other Qumran Aramaic scrolls to the list of those with a preference for *sin*, though occasionally a scribe preferring *samek* is found (e.g., 4Q201 [En^a]).

The scribe’s use of לָכֵן (“therefore”; 3.3) is odd, as noted by Stadel (*Hebraïsmen*, 107–8) and others. The construction follows the Hebrew of Job 20:2, but is anomalous compared to Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and other dialects, where we would expect instead לְהָן (e.g., 4Q542 [TQahat] 11.7). The word is sometimes considered a Hebraism. In 1.1, 4.3, and 8.2, אָפּוּ with the meaning “then” is somewhat unexpected in view of Qumran Aramaic, though the word is found in Aramaic outside Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, and so should not be considered a Hebraism. Nevertheless, in 1.1 and 8.2, אָפּוּ reflects the underlying Hebrew of Job, and its use may well be attributable to that influence. The construction מִן טַלְל (“because of”; 6a.2) differs from 1Q20 (apGen) 19.16, 20 (the only comparable occurrences in Qumran

Aramaic) and Egyptian Aramaic, both of which use בְּטַלְל with the same meaning. The form in 11Q10 is more like the מִן טַלְל/מִטּוֹל of JPA, CPA, and Syriac. The fact that מִן טַלְל in 11Q10 does not directly correspond to anything in the Hebrew text of Job increases the likelihood that this was the form known to, and typically used by, the translator or copying scribe. Another distinctive trait of 11Q10 in the context of Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic is its broader use of the determinate state, something documented by Sokoloff (*Job*, 23–24), who built on the general observation of van der Woude. Sokoloff detected that use of the definite article is markedly less discriminate in 11Q10 than in Biblical Aramaic and 1Q20 (apGen), and in this detail 11Q10 more closely resembles later Aramaic dialects. The infinitive constructions in the pattern infin. + ל + מ (מַלְמַהוּא, 13.5; מַלְמַהַבְּהָ, 17ii.3) are highly idiosyncratic compared with Biblical Aramaic and the rest of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, though they cohere well with later dialects, such as that of Targum Onkelos (cf. Sokoloff, *Job*, 124). These constructions also illustrate a feature that occurs with much higher frequency in 11Q10 than in Biblical Aramaic or elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic: the shortened, prefixed form of the preposition מִן (i.e., -מִ). Other examples include מַעֲלֵן (16ii.3) and מַרְחִיק (26ii.3). The optative particle מְלוּא (“if only”) is found only in 11Q10 (6a.3, 6a.7) at Qumran, though this could be incidental based on usage (cf. Zuckerman and Reed, “Fragment,” 7). The spelling is unique, but the word is likely associated with the asseverative (positive assertion)/optative particle *lu* in Akkadian and other Semitic languages. The preposition לִוְת followed by an independent noun instead of an attached suffix (xxxviii.4–5) is likely the first known instance of this construction in Aramaic, with no other clear example in Biblical Aramaic or Qumran Aramaic (Sokoloff, *Job*, 169, notes a comparable use among the Nahal Hever documents). In fact, Sokoloff has observed that Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic typically use the preposition עַל to follow the verb אָחַר – the verb used here by 11Q10 – a feature discussed more fully by Folmer (*Aramaic Language*, 589–621). 11Q10’s use of לִוְת with the prepositional sense “to, toward” is unique among Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic texts, where it otherwise means “with” or “from” (the latter combined with מִן). Two other notable vocabulary items viewed against the wider backdrop of Qumran Aramaic are the use of the direct object marker יָת (xxxv.9, xxxviii.9), and the third-person plural pronoun הַמּוֹן. The former is extremely rare in both Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, which typically mark the direct object with a prefixed ל, if it is marked at all. Some instances of יָת in Qumran Aramaic

can be attributed to influence from the Hebrew particle **א**, and this is the case at 11Q10 XXXVIII.9. As for **המון**, it is used exclusively in what remains of 11Q10, rather than the alternative form of the pronoun **אנון**. Precisely the opposite situation obtains for nearly all other Qumran Aramaic texts, while in the Aramaic of Daniel each form is found three times.

In the realm of syntax, we find the periphrastic construction used at 13.7 (**רעין הוא**), although the order (part. + finite form of the verb **הו"א**) differs from the clear norm in Qumran Aramaic, which places **הו"א** first (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 21.6). This could, of course, simply be poetic license on the part of the translator. More generally, there is a much higher ratio of clauses in which the verb is placed later than we would expect from comparison with the broader Qumran Aramaic corpus, or even the Aramaic of Daniel. The most obvious explanation for this fluctuation would seem to be a generic one, since the book of Job is highly poetic – and, therefore, associated with greater flexibility or creativity in word order – while the remaining Qumran Aramaic texts are mostly narrative prose, albeit with occasional poetic sections. While this explanation is no doubt correct in the main, Muraoka (“Aramaic,” 439–41) has observed that placement of the verb late in a clause sometimes occurs even where the underlying Hebrew has the verb earlier, leading him to posit some additional influence from “Sumero-Akkadian” syntax on the translator.

A number of Akkadian loanwords have been detected in 11Q10, including **נכסין** (“possessions”; 4.6), **מגן** (“without

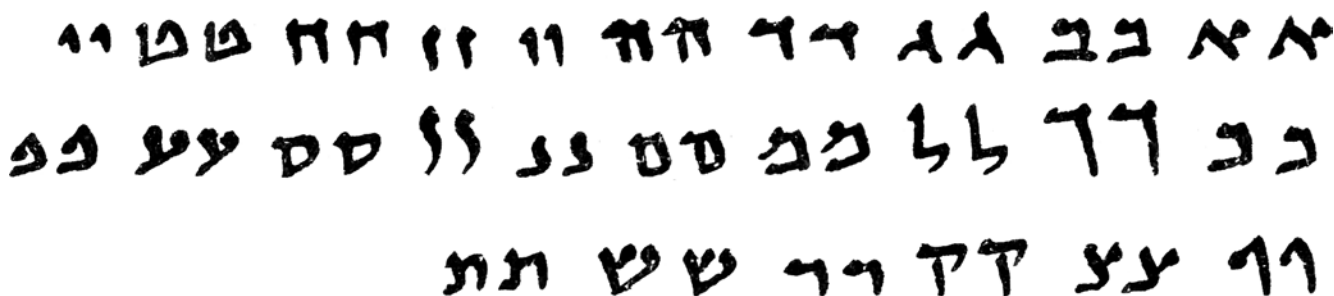
reason”; 6i.5), **מסכן** (“poor person”; 7ii.5, xxv.4, xxvii.2), and **זיקי** with the meaning “gale, wind” (27.5). Another feature suggesting eastern derivation is the verbal root **בקי** (“to examine”; 27.3; see Sokoloff, *Job*, 140). Appearing together with these “eastern” traits is the word **קטורתא** (“hut, small chamber”; 10i.9), which Sokoloff (*Job*, 119) considers to be a Greek loanword from **κατῶν**. The high number of Hebraisms in the text is striking, though not altogether surprising when we consider that this is a translation from Hebrew.

In sum, 11Q10 has a number of scribal and linguistic features that distinguish it from the Qumran Aramaic corpus more generally. At least some of these differences may be attributed to the fact that 11Q10 is a translation from Hebrew, written at a time somewhat later than the majority of Qumran Aramaic scrolls. However, some factors suggest that the Aramaic of 11Q10 is of a slightly different dialectical derivation than most other Qumran Aramaic compositions, as already noted by Muraoka and others.

Original manuscript quality: Very good–excellent

Select bibliography: Van der Ploeg and van der Woude, *Job*; Kaufman, “Job Targum”; Muraoka, “Aramaic”; Muraoka, “Notes”; Sokoloff, *Job*; García Martínez, “lecturas”; Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts*, 1–73; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 280–98; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 133; Beyer, *ATTM*², 171–72; Zuckerman, “11Q Targum”; Puech and García Martínez, “Remarques”; Zuckerman and Reed, “Fragment”; Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 255.

Script sample:



Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear addition of *tav* and *yod*, followed by erasure of a letter, possibly *vav* (5.8; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude): הִיעֵטְוִי־תוֹן



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(b) Supralinear letter added (7.7): וִיחֵטִי־

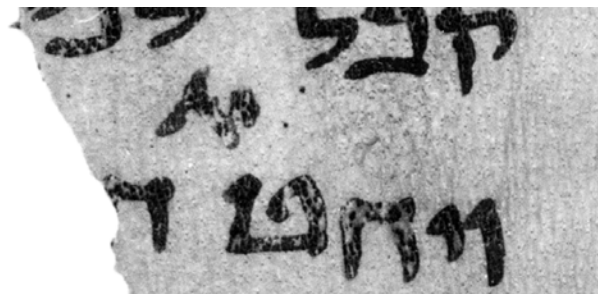


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(c) Erasure of one letter (21ii.5) and at least two words (21ii.6) by scraping: לְחַבֵּל(ה)־אֵ

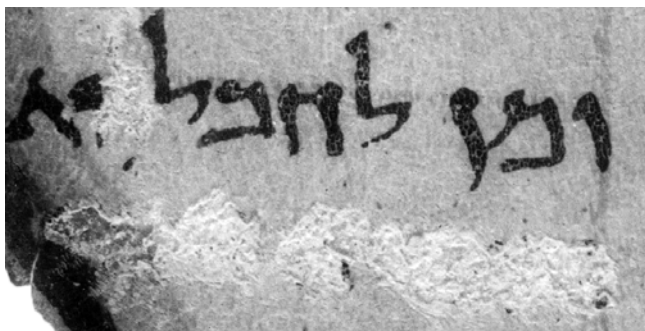


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Language¹¹

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.4, 2.1, 2.2, 4.3(?), 6a.1, 8.3, 8.6, 8.7, 9.4, 9.10(?),
12.5, 13.4, 15ii.3, 16ii.2, 17ii.4, 17ii.6, 20.2(?), 21ii.3,
XXIX.6, XXX.5, XXXIV.2, XXXV.2, XXXVII.3,

XXXVII.4, XXXVIII.2, XXXVIII.3, XXXVIII.4–5,
XXXVIII.7, XXXVIII.7–8

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

2.7(?), 4.5, 5.3(part.), 5.5, 6ii.4, 7ii.2(?), 8.2, 10i.2,
10i.6, 11ii.4, 12.3, 12.5, 12.6, 14.6, 14.7–8, 18.5,
19.1, 21ii.9(?), 23.5, 23.9(?), 27.5, 27.6, XXIX.2,
XXIX.8, XXX.3(2x), XXX.4, XXXI.2, XXXI.5–6,
XXXII.4, XXXIII.9, XXXVI.2, XXXVI.3, XXXVI.6–7,
XXXVI.8(part.), XXXVII.6, XXXVII.7–8, XXXVIII.9

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

12.4, 14.5, 19.8, 24.8(?), XXXIII.4–5, XXXIII.7,
XXXVI.5, XXXVI.7, XXXVI.7–8

¹¹ Note that this catalogue of linguistic features uses the fragment numbers 1–27 for the smaller, individual fragments, using small Roman numerals ('i' and 'ii') to designate columns when a fragment contains two partial columns of text. After frag. 27, large Roman numerals are used to indicate the column numbers commonly used by scholars for the large, continuous fragment (what some scholars call “the small scroll”).

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

2.4, 3.7(?), 5.4(part.), 9.6(?), 10i.8, 12.4, 13.6, 14.7, 20.2(?), 22i.6+2iii.7, 22i.7, 22i.9(?), 23.6, 24.9, 26i.1, 27.2(part.), 27.2-3, XXIX.4, XXX.4, XXXI.6, XXXI.7(2x), XXXII.4-5, XXXVI.2-3, XXXVI.4-5, XXXVI.6

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.5, 2.5, 4.6, 5.7(?), 6i.3(?), 6i.7, 6ii.1, 6ii.2(part.), 6ii.5, 6a.1, 6a.3, 6a.4, 6a.5, 6a.6, 7ii.7, 8.2, 8.4(?), 9.2, 9.8, 10i.5, 10i.10, 11ii.9, 12.2(2x), 12.5, 13.1(2x), 13.2(2x), 13.8, 14.3(?), 14.9, 16i.5, 16i.6, 16ii.5, 16ii.6, 17i.3, 17ii.2, 18.1, 18.2, 18.4, 18.7(2x), 18.8(2x), 18.9, 19.2, 19.4, 19.5(2x), 20.1, 20.3, 20.4, 21i.3, 21ii.8, 22i.1(part.), 22i.2, 23.1, 23.2, 23.5, 23.8, 24.2, 24.4, 24.5(2x), 24.6, 24.9, 25i.3, 25ii.3, 25ii.4, 25ii.5, 25ii.6, 25ii.7, 25ii.9, 26i.3(2x), 26i.4, 26ii.2, 27.7, 27.10, XXIX.1, XXIX.2(2x part.), XXIX.6(2x), XXX.1(2x), XXX.2(2x), XXX.6, XXX.7, XXX.8, XXX.9, XXXI.2, XXXII.2(3x), XXXII.3(4x), XXXII.5, XXXII.6, XXXII.7, XXXII.8(2x), XXXII.9(2x), XXXII.10, XXXIII.1, XXXIII.2(3x), XXXIII.3, XXXIII.4(2x), XXXIII.7, XXXIII.9, XXXIV.3, XXXIV.4(3x), XXXV.2, XXXV.3, XXXV.4, XXXV.5, XXXV.6(2x), XXXV.7(2x), XXXV.8(2x?), XXXV.9, XXXVI.3, XXXVI.8(part.), XXXVII.3(2x), XXXVII.5, XXXVII.6, XXXVII.8(3x), XXXVIII.1, XXXVIII.2, XXXVIII.4, XXXVIII.5, XXXVIII.6

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

1.2, 1.3, 1.6, 1.7(?), 2.3(?), 2.5, 2.6, 3.3(?), 3.4, 3.5, 4.2, 4.9(?), 5.6(2x?), 5.8, 6a.5, 6a.7(?), 8.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.5, 10i.4, 10i.5, 10i.7, 11ii.3, 12.3, 12.8, 12.9(2x), 12.10(?), 14.1, 14.2, 14.3, 14.8, 14.9, 18.2, 18.6, 19.4, 19.7, 20.5, 20.6, 20.7, 22i.5, 22i.8, 23.3, 23.4, 23.7, 24.1, 24.2, 24.7, 25i.3, 25i.7, 26i.6, 27.3-4, 27.8, XXIX.1, XXIX.3, XXX.9, XXXI.2, XXXI.8(?), XXXI.9, XXXII.2, XXXII.6-7, XXXII.7-8, XXXIII.3, XXXIII.5, XXXIII.6, XXXIII.7, XXXIII.9, XXXIII.10(?), XXXIV.2, XXXIV.5, XXXIV.6, XXXIV.8, XXXIV.9, XXXV.3(2x), XXXV.4, XXXV.5, XXXVI.2, XXXVI.5, XXXVII.4, XXXVII.5, XXXVII.6, XXXVII.7

Verbless clause:

4.7-8, 5.2, 8.4, 15ii.4, 19.3(2x), 19.6, 27.1, 27.3, 27.4, XXXI.4, XXXVII.2

Object early in clause:

2.5, 2.6, 3.3, 3.4(2x), 3.5, 3.7, 4.2, 4.9, 5.4, 6a.5, 6a.7(?), 10i.4, 10i.7, 10i.8, 12.3, 12.4, 16ii.1, 19.4, 19.7, 22i.7, 23.3, 23.4, 24.8, 24.9, 27.3, XXX.4, XXXI.6, XXXI.7, XXXII.2, XXXIV.6, XXXIV.7-8, XXXVI.6, XXXVII.2

Direct object marker (if present):

–ל: 2.4(?), 12.6, 19.4, 25ii.1, XXXIV.2, XXXVII.8, XXXVIII.3

ת: XXXV.9, XXXVIII.9

Use of יד to mark genitive relationship:

2.8(?), 26i.9(?), XXXV.10(?)

Verb of movement + על + animate object:

XXXVI.7 (also note לות איוב at XXXVIII.4)

Verb of movement + ל + inanimate object:

1.2, XXIX.2

Copula pronoun:

27.3

Interrogative ה:

1.2, 1.7, 5.3, 8.5, 8.10, 22i.6, 22i.10(?), XXIX.6(?), XXIX.7(?), XXX.6, XXX.9, XXXI.5, XXXII.8(2x), XXXII.9, XXXIII.1, XXXIII.7, XXXIV.3, XXXV.3, XXXV.4, XXXV.5, XXXV.6, XXXV.7

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Participle + finite form of הוה:*

13.7

Lexical items:

איתי: 6i.4, 8.5, 18.3, 20.10(?), XXXI.5, XXXIV.5, XXXIV.10(?)

אדין: 17ii.6

באדין: 11ii.8

דיל(ב): XXIX.7, XXXVIII.3

בתר: 22i.3, XXXII.7, XXXII.10

די: 2.8, 3.5, 6ii.1, 6a.2, 12.7(?), 13.3, 13.8, 23.1, 24.5, 26i.9, 27.1, 27.4, XXIX.3, XXXI.1(?), XXXI.3, XXXII.5, XXXIV.4, XXXV.2, XXXV.10, XXXVI.3, XXXVIII.4, XXXVIII.6

כדי: 15ii.7

כחדא: 5.6 (כחדה), XXX.5(2x), XXXIV.9

בען: XXXVII.7

להן: 18.5

ת(א): XXXVIII.4

לחדא: XXXVI.2 (לחדה)

תנה: 24.7 (תמה), XXX.8 (תנא)

Morphology:*אפעל form:*

14.6, 14.9

הפעל form:

2.3, 2.6, 4.6, 8.5(?), 12.3, 13.1(?), 17ii.3, 18.7, 19.4, 20.9, XXIX.5, XXIX.7, XXX.1, XXX.2, XXX.4, XXXI.3, XXXI.4, XXXI.5, XXXIV.3, XXXIV.6, XXXIV.7(2x), XXXIV.8, XXXVII.7, XXXVIII.7

form:

10i.10(?), 14.3, 16i.5

form:

5.8, 6ii.7, 14.3, 20.6, 26i.3, XXX.1, XXXI.7, XXXIV.3, XXXV.6

Object suffix on verb:

12.2, 12.5, 12.9, 14.6, 14.9(2x), 18.5(?), 18.6, 20.2, 20.3, 23.5, 24.5, 24.6, XXIX.3, XXX.1(2x), XXX.2, XXXI.7(?), XXXIII.1, XXXIV.3(2x), XXXIV.7, XXXV.2, XXXV.3, XXXV.7, XXXVII.6, XXXVII.7(2x), XXXVIII.6

Assimilated nun:

5.1, 5.4(?), 9.10, 10i.9(?), 13.5, 14.6, 14.9, 16ii.3, 16ii.7, 17ii.1, 17ii.3, 24.2(2x), 26i.6, 26ii.3, XXIX.8, XXX.7, XXXI.2, XXXII.3, XXXV.3(3x?), XXXV.5(2x), XXXVI.5(2x), XXXVI.7

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

2.6, 4.2, 6i.3, 9.3, 10i.4, 20.4, 22ii.5, 27.5(supralinear), XXIX.1(2x), XXIX.6, XXIX.8, XXIX.9, XXX.3, XXXI.3, XXXI.5, XXXI.7, XXXII.2, XXXIII.3(2x), XXXIII.4, XXXIV.4, XXXVI.2

Orthography/Phonology:**ס for /s/:**

4.4, 4.6, 10i.7, 19.5, 24.1, 24.3, 24.4, 26ii.4, 27.6, XXXI.4, XXXII.10

ש for /s/:

XXX.3

Other notable features:**Proposed Hebraisms:**

לְבָן (lexical; 3.3) [h]

זָכִי (lexical; 8.8) [h]

יִפְצוֹן (lexical; 10i.5) [H]

סִפִּירָא (lexical; 10ii.3) [h]

בַּמַּעֲבָדָה (morphological/syntactic [prep. ב + infin.]; 10ii.6, and all other such constructions:

10ii.7, XXX.2, XXX.4, XXX.6, XXX.7) [H]

יַעֲנָה (lexical; 15i.6) [H]

אֲבָדוֹן (lexical; 15ii.5) [H]

תָּבַל (lexical; 20ii.8, XXIX.3) [H]

לָהּ אֵיחָל (syntactic/lexical; 23.7) [H]

שׁוּא (lexical; 24.8) [H]

לְמוֹסֵר (lexical; 25ii.4) [H]

וְעַדְנִין (lexical; 25ii.6) [h]

יְשִׁיחַ (lexical; 27.10) [H]

פְּעֹז (lexical; XXIX.6) [H]

חֻזִּיתָה (lexical; XXX.4) [H]

תְּהוּמָא (lexical; XXX.6, also XXXI.7?) [H]

נְפִילָא (lexical; XXXI.8) [H]

פְּרָאָה (lexical/semantic; XXXII.4) [H]

וּנְגִשְׁתָּ (lexical; XXXII.6) [H]

הָאֵחַ (lexical; XXXIII.5) [H]

יִסְתַּעֲרֵךְ (lexical/semantic; XXXIII.7) [H]

כַּבְּחָכָה (lexical; XXXV.3, also כַּחְכָּה בַּחֲכָמָא at XXXV.4) [h]

יִזְיַב (lexical; XXXV.3) [H]

עֲטִישְׁתָּה (morphological; XXXVI.3) [h]

לְפִידִין (lexical; XXXVI.4) [h]

יֵת (syntactic?; XXXVIII.9) [h]

Poetic doublets/triplets:

There are many in this scroll, but they are largely based on the underlying Hebrew poetic structure.

5 Miscellaneous Texts**3Q14 4, Tobit? (Tob?)**

[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:102–4]

Content synopsis and significance: In 1963 Maurice Baillet suggested that this single fragment, preserving the beginnings of six lines, might be a copy of the Aramaic Book of Tobit. He based this suggestion on what may be parts of the names Reuel/Raguel (רַעֲוִיל; line 2) and Edna (עֲדְנָא; line 4), along with what could be the word דְּרָתָה (“his dwelling”; line 3), though all of these words are uncertain. Baillet compared the possible contents of lines 2–4 with Tob 7:1–2 in the longer Greek text of Codex Sinaiticus. However, because the Greek text provided no parallel to lines 5–6, he jettisoned the idea. Baillet did not have the Cave 4 evidence of Tobit available, which shows a

general alignment with the longer Greek version of the book (often called G11), but at many points differs in small ways from later translations and recensions, including G11. Consequently, it is at least possible that this manuscript preserves a portion of Tobit not found elsewhere in the Aramaic copies, and which differs in some respects from the Greek and other versions. If this were the case, the names רַעֲוִיל and עֲדְנָא would indicate a passage from Tob 7–8, perhaps 8:9–15, in which the Greek contains phrases that mirror the כָּבוֹל and כָּבוֹל of lines 5–6 respectively. Most suggestive of an identification with Tobit is לְעֲדְנָא, since the letter combination עֲדְנָא matches very few

possible words in Aramaic or Hebrew. In the end, however, this manuscript's association with Tobit remains speculative. For a recent argument against an identification with Tobit, see Dimant, "Hebrew Copy," 297–300.

Material remains: This fragment belongs to a batch of unidentified fragments gathered by Baillet under the siglum 3Q14. Fragment 4 is the only from this batch identified as a possible copy of the book of Tobit. The fragment preserves the lower right corner of a column, along with a nearly complete intercolumnar margin, part of a lower margin, and the beginnings of six lines of text.

Notes on provenance: 3Q14 was discovered in Cave 3 on March 14, 1952, during an official survey of the greater Qumran region. The survey was organized by de Vaux and William Reed in reaction to the Bedouin discoveries of Caves 1 and 2. Three teams, led by Dominique Barthélemy, Henri du Bessey de Contenson, and Józef Milik, were assembled to survey the area from March 10–29, 1952 (DJD 3:3; Fields, *Scrolls*, 133; VanderKam, *Today*, 16). De Contenson's team discovered and excavated Cave 3 (Fields, *Scrolls*, 134–35).



Sample image: 3Q14 4

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.4 cm*Intercolumnar:* 1.4 cm (to seam between sheets)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes*Vertical column lines:* Yes**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 7–9 mm**Space between words:** 1 mm
(only two spaces preserved)**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Early Herodian semi-formal*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50–1 BCE*Special traits and general comments:* We are fortunate to have the bottom and one intercolumnar margin preserved on this fragment, with the latter ending at a stitched seam of two sheets (the preceding sheet is not preserved). Due to the few words left, there is little one can say about the scribal traits of the manuscript, other than that the scribe was quite able, writing in a tidy script.*Original manuscript quality:* Good–very good*Select bibliography:* Dimant, “Hebrew Copy,” 297–300.*Script sample:*

4Q318, Zodiology and Brontology
[ed. Greenfield and Sokoloff, DJD 36:259–74]

Content synopsis and significance: The contents of 4Q318 are generically unique among the Aramaic Qumran texts, and indeed the entire Qumran scrolls corpus. What remains of the scroll contains portions of two astrological works based on a zodiacal calendar. The first is a calendar of the moon’s movements through the signs of the zodiac (i.e., a zodiology), reckoned by the months of the Babylonian-based Hebrew calendar. The editors of 4Q318 also use the technical term selenodromion for this portion of the text, and in it the moon passes through each sign once every 30-day month, spending two or three days in each sign. Underlying the text is a 360-day year, differing from the 364-day calendar adopted by the sect

at Qumran (and related groups outside of Qumran) and the 354-day lunar calendar also used by some groups of Jews in the Second Temple period. The second work, of which only four partial lines remain, is a brontology, an omen text that predicts the results of thunder occurring while the moon is in a particular sign of the zodiac. We now possess two early Roman astrological texts that contain a zodiology followed by a brontology, one of which Wise (*Thunder*, 35) called “a structural twin to the Qumran text” (see Jacobus, “Jewish Zodiac,” 383–86). This resemblance shows clearly that 4Q318 is a rare Aramaic example of a type of text that was more popular in the wider Hellenistic world. As Popović (*Physiognomics*, 128)

observed, 4Q318 demonstrates “a Jewish interest in astrological matters on a scientific level that matches similar texts from the Hellenistic world.” Albani (“Der Zodiakos”) and Greenfield and Sokoloff (DJD 36:259) stressed the Mesopotamian background and derivation of the astronomical science underlying the scroll, while scholars such as Popović (*Physiognomics*, 128), Ben-Dov (*Astronomy*, 256–57), and especially Jacobus (“Jewish Zodiac,” “Zodiac Sign,” “Zodiac Calendars”) have noted that astrological traditions quite similar to those in 4Q318 were also alive and well in Hellenistic and Roman cultures.

Because of its 360-day calendar, Greenfield and Sokoloff (DJD 36:270) held the text to be non-sectarian, an opinion that has generally been followed. Popović (*Physiognomics*, 28), for example, wrote that “there is nothing particularly sectarian, or even Jewish, about these texts. If they had been Greek papyri found in Egypt, nothing would suggest a Jewish context.” While this is true, Jacobus (“Jewish Zodiac,” “Zodiac Calendars”) has repeatedly emphasized 4Q318’s Jewish context, and that the scroll can be interpreted as complementary to the Jewish calendar and early Jewish beliefs about revealed knowledge.

Material remains: Most of the remaining text of 4Q318 is preserved on a piece of skin (8 cm × 20 cm) slightly larger

than a banking cheque, containing significant portions of two columns. As can be seen from early photographs (e.g., PAM 40.612), this large piece is actually made up of a number of smaller fragments, though the joins are mostly very certain. Based on a plausible reconstruction (DJD 36:265–66; Jacobus, “Jewish Zodiac,” 367), we can gather that this piece likely preserves cols. 7–8 of the scroll, at least if it began with the selenodromion partially preserved in these two columns. In addition to the large piece, six small fragments have been identified with 4Q318 by its editors. One of these they positioned in a column preceding the large piece (col. iv), but the placement of the remaining five fragments is uncertain.

Notes on provenance: A fragment containing the upper, right-hand corner of 4Q318 col. vii is found in an early PAM “G series” photograph (PAM 40.612), implying that this fragment was among those discovered by Bedouin in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified frag. 3 on the “E series” PAM plate 40.978, associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 led by de Vaux, also in 1952. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q318 vii–viii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 8 cm h. × at least 1.4 m w. (reconstructing 12 cols.; cf. Jacobus, “Jewish Zodiac”)

Margins:

Upper: 7–10 mm

Lower: 6–7 mm

Intercolumnar: 1.5 cm

Column dimensions: 6.4 cm h × 10 cm w.

Lines per column: 9

Letters per line: Approx. 41

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column

Average medial letter height: 2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 6–7.5 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: Yes; small (viii.9 [7 mm]; intermediate sense-division) and large (vii.4 [1.6 cm]; vii.9 [4.8 cm]; viii.6 [4 cm]; intermediate to major sense-divisions)

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian book-hand (formal) (Yardeni)

Proposed palaeographic date: 25 BCE–25 CE (Yardeni)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript was carefully prepared and ruled on high-quality skin, though it is among the smallest scrolls in terms of its height among those with their full height preserved (only 4Q535 [Birth of Noah^b] and 4Q569 [Proverbs] are smaller). It also has relatively small upper and lower margins. Yardeni noted that the scribe wrote in a book-hand – a formal, square script – though the size of the writing varies quite significantly, at times leaving an impression of haste or untidiness. Especially distinctive are the large, looping *tet*, and the large *aleph*. The scribe clearly distinguished between the medial and final symbol for the number one (a single, vertical stroke), with the latter extending further downward to mark the number’s end. Generous vacats were left between the individual months of the selenodromion (what I consider to be an intermediate sense-division), and again between the end of the selenodromion and the beginning of the brontologion (a major sense-division). The text’s editors suggested that the *samek* of מסבת in viii.6 was “written over a correction” (DJD 36:263). The letter does look rather malformed, if indeed it is a *samek*.

The syntax of the scroll is idiosyncratic, since it is largely a formulaic list that forgoes the use of verbs. This is especially true of the selenodromion, which is mostly a repetition of numerical data in a list-like format, punctuated by the relevant names of the months or zodiac signs. The brontologion also has the terse wording of scientific manual, but does include verbs for thunder and various events associated with it. The verb placement seems to be later in the phrase more often than we might expect to find in a prose narrative text, though very little of the brontologion is preserved. This verb-later syntax is likely a result of the text’s genre.

Original manuscript quality: Good

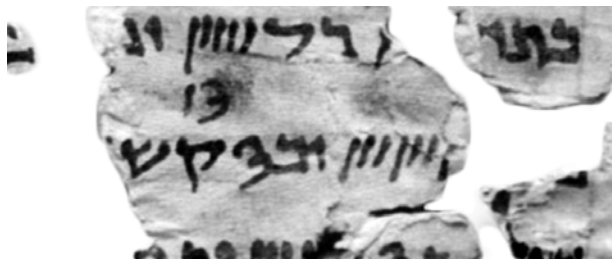
Select bibliography: Albani, “Der Zodiakos”; Wise, *Thunder*, 13–50; Greenfield, Sokoloff, Pingree, and Yardeni, “Astrological Text”; Beyer, *ATM*², 166–68; Ben-Dov, *Astronomy*, 256–57; Jacobus, “Jewish Zodiac”; Jacobus, “Zodiac Calendars”; Jacobus, “Zodiac Sign.”

Script sample:

נב יי טו ה יי יי חח יי א זב אא
 חח שש יי קק עע ס יי ננ זז זז יי
 3 > / '

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Supralinear insertion of numeric symbols (viii.4).

**Language****Syntax**

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):
viii.8(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):
viii.8

Subject implied (verb later in clause):
viii.6(?), viii.9

Verbless clause:
viii.6, viii.9

4Q339, List of False Prophets

[ed. Broshi and Yardeni, DJD 19:77–79]

Content synopsis and significance: This small manuscript stands apart from the large majority of Qumran Aramaic scrolls in a number of respects. In terms of its contents, it preserves a list of eight (or perhaps seven, see below) “prophets of the lie” (נְבִיאֵי [ש] קְרָא). The list is introduced by a simple Aramaic phrase: “Prophets of the lie who arose in [Israel].” On the disputed reading of this line, see the *Special traits and general comments* section, below. The phrase “prophets of the lie,” translated by many as “false prophets,” does not otherwise appear in the extant Hebrew or Aramaic Jewish textual record until the Mishnaic period (e.g., *m. Sanh.* 1.5), but its Greek equivalent does occur in the Greek translations of Jeremiah and Zechariah (DJD 19:78). Wise (*Cave 4*, 153) also noted the very similar phrase in 1QH 12.18, נְבִיאֵי כִזָּב, “prophets of a lie,” which demonstrates a comparable concept among the Hebrew sectarian texts from Qumran. After its introductory phrase, 4Q339 follows a pattern of listing one name per line, each qualified by either a patronym or a toponym related to the prophet’s origin (e.g., Balaam [son of] Beor; [Shemaiah the Ne]hlemite). The bulk of figures named in the list come from either 1 Kings or Jeremiah. Scholars have debated the identity of the final prophet, or prophets, in lines 8–9. These lines are mostly missing, with only their final few letters preserved: אִרְ (line 8)

and עֵן (line 9). While there is general agreement that the penultimate line once read “[Hananiah son of Az]ur,” named in Jer 28, two significantly different reconstructions have been proposed for line 9: 1.) עֵן[נְבִיאֵה דִּי מִן גַּב] “[a prophet from Gib]eon” (DJD 19:79; Qimron, “More”; cf. Golani, “Reflections,” 259–62), in which case the line is a further description of Hananiah on line 8; and 2.) יוֹחָנָן עֵן[בֶּן שִׁמּוֹן] “[John son of Sim]on” (Lange, “False Prophets,” 206, following Rofé, “False Prophets,” and Qimron, “False Prophets”), which would be a reference to the second-century BCE Hasmonean leader John Hyrcanus (ruled 135/34–104 BCE). Both 1 Maccabees and Josephus commented positively on John’s prophetic station, which some see as supporting his inclusion in a list of this sort (though here he is instead viewed negatively). An argument that some have used to support the reconstruction of Broshi and Yardeni is that it restricts the list to figures known from the Jewish scriptures. On the other hand, the presence of John Hyrcanus’s name would maintain the format of earlier lines, listing only one prophet per line. Wise (*Cave 4*) and especially Lange (“False Prophets”) have given additional reasons why “Jonathan son of Simon” should be the preferred reconstruction, including that his name would help to explain the list’s creation in the Second Temple period. However, Golani (“Reflections”

260–65) has argued forcefully for reconstructing the line as “[the prophet from Gibe]on,” in connection with line 8. If line 9 did once list John Hyrcanus as a false prophet, which must remain an open question, then 4Q339 would align with the negative view of him in 4QTestimonia (4Q175).

Regarding literary genre, the fact that 4Q339 is a simple list of names is unique among the Qumran Aramaic texts, and finds its closest parallel in the Hebrew 4Q340 (List of *Netinim*). Cohen (“False Prophets”) argued that lists such as these were works of scholarship, testifying to the early stages of collection that would eventually support intellectual work like the composition of more extensive texts. Cohen very helpfully set the list genre of 4Q339 and 4Q340 into the wider context of Hellenistic list-making in Greek, which is well documented in the textual record. Many of these Hellenistic lists bear a strong resemblance to 4Q339 and 4Q340. Though the function of the list on 4Q339 is now lost to us, Lange (“False Prophets,” 213) believed it was written by sectarians in order to compose a pesher text that included a critique of John Hyrcanus as a false prophet. This is extremely speculative, based on several unfounded assumptions. Regardless of the intended purpose of its list, when compared with the general picture of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves the uniqueness of 4Q339 can be fully appreciated. The large majority of Aramaic texts are extended narratives such as Tobit, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Book of Giants. A much smaller proportion are translations of a Hebrew book (Job, and perhaps Leviticus), and a few scrolls do not fit either of these genres. 4Q339 is one of these few. Combined with the linguistic situation discussed below, this point urges us to treat the manuscript as a special case amidst the Aramaic scrolls corpus.

The mixed linguistic profile of 4Q339 is another of its unusual traits. While the first line is clearly composed in Aramaic, most or all of the following lines are instead written in Hebrew. The names of lines 4, 5, and 6 use the Hebrew word בן rather than the Aramaic בר. The editors of

the *editio princeps* have reconstructed a Hebrew def. art. –ה in 1.3 and 1.7, at least the first of which seems very likely on material grounds. Following the suggestion of Puech, and against all previous transcriptions, Lange and Golani read the Hebrew relative pronoun –ש in 1.3 (with which I agree; see the *Special traits and general comments* section, below). These observations have led Lange to conclude that the author of 4Q339 wrote the introductory line in Aramaic, but then switched to Hebrew for the rest of the document, illustrating “how someone who is more fluent in Aramaic changes back to Hebrew once he directs his mind to the realm of holy Hebrew scriptures” (“False Prophets,” 209). Golani (“Reflections,” 261–62) has recently argued that the last name of the list, in line 9, was also written in Hebrew. Whatever the socio-linguistic background of this short text, its unusual mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew in a literary unit of this kind sets it notably apart from the other Aramaic writings at Qumran.

Material remains: 4Q339 was originally a single piece of skin not much larger than a modern playing card, of which two separate fragments now remain. Cohen (“False Prophets”) has compared it to a hypothetical Greek *pinax*, on which lists were presumably written. The upper, bottom, and left margins of our manuscript are preserved, and it evidently tore in two width-wise (perhaps through use) in antiquity. Damage patterns include obvious holes opposite each other on either side of the tear, which may suggest that 4Q339 was originally folded and at some point had to be held together with flax thread or a leather thong (DJD 19:77). On the material similarities with 4Q175 and other material features, see the *Special traits and general comments* section, below.

Notes on provenance: Both 4Q339 fragments were photographed on the PAM “G series” plates 40.577 and 40.614. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32).



Sample image: 4Q339

Image B-361433

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY,
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI HALEVI

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx. 8.5 cm h. × 7 cm w. (reconstruction of Broshi and Yardeni)

Margins:

Upper: At least 1 cm

Lower: 1.8 cm

Left: Approx. 1.8 cm (there was evidently only one column)

Column dimensions:

Approx. 5.6 cm h × 3 cm. w

Lines per column: 9

Letters per line: 10–20

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: No

Vertical column lines: No

Average medial letter height:

2.5–3 mm

Space between lines: 4–6 mm

Spaces between words: 1–3 mm

Vacats: No

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian formal (Broshi and Yardeni)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript is fundamentally unlike any other in the Aramaic scrolls corpus. It was evidently what Broshi and Yardeni called a “card” of tanned skin, presumably intended for the list partially preserved on it. The unruled card is very small and shows clear evidence of being folded once in each direction. It also appears to have been sutured together with string or a leather strip based on matching holes on both sides of the horizontal fold. All of this suggests that the card may have been designed for portability or discrete storage. In being a single sheet, folded twice, it closely resembles the Hebrew 4Q175 (Testimonia) from Qumran, though the latter is roughly twice as large (ca. 19 cm h. × 12 cm. w.) as 4Q339. Broshi and Yardeni noted that 4Q339 has a dark band around its edge, which they claim “has been rubbed off” (DJD 19:77). The origin or function of this band is unclear, but it is noteworthy that the outer edges of 4Q175 are also slightly darkened (though not as much so as 4Q339), something most visible in the upper, right corner of the sheet. The dark band on 4Q339’s upper, left corner strongly suggests that the upper margin is partly or completely preserved here. Based on its unique physical features and contents, Lange (“False Prophets,” 208) considered it to be one of only a few autographs at Qumran, which seems a reasonable claim. Published images of the fragments have been of low quality, but this has now been remedied by the images published online by the IAA as part of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. Based on these new images, some previous debates over readings and reconstructions can be definitively resolved. The end of the first line has been reconstructed or read as both די קמו בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל [יִשְׂרָאֵל] (Broshi and Yardeni in DJD 19:78, with most others) and די קמו בְּאֵלֵהָ [נ] (Lange, “False Prophets,” 206, based on comments by É. Puech). Despite Lange’s assurances that Broshi and Yardeni’s reconstruction is impossible based on the physical remains, the newly-released images show beyond doubt that Lange’s transcription is incorrect, and that of the *editio princeps* close to accurate. It reads: די קמו בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל (see also the comments of Golani, “Reflections,” 259, n. 8). The plene spelling of Israel with a double *yod* is unexpected, but the clear (second) *yod*, *aleph*, and bottom portion of the *lamed* make clear that this is the name written on the scroll. Lange (“False Prophets,” 206, again following the suggestion of Puech) was on the right path, however, in reading שְׂמִבֵּיתֵאֵל “who (was) from Bethel” in line 3, against Broshi and Yardeni’s גְּבֵיתֵאֵל. We can now read with some confidence שְׂבֵבֵיתֵאֵל “who (was) at Bethel.” The rightmost arm of the *shin* is clearly present, and we can now see that the formulation of 4Q339 follows more closely the initial notification in 1 Kgs 13:11 that the aged prophet was יֹשֵׁב בְּבֵיתֵאֵל “residing at Bethel.” The writing of this scribe is respectable, of better quality than we find in some of the poorly-written literary texts. Line spacing in uneven due to the card not being ruled, but it should be noted that the skin is now shrunken and contorted in several places. Providing a rating of the original manuscript quality for 4Q339 is difficult, since it is so different in size and function than the mostly narrative scrolls in the corpus. It may

have been of good or even very good original quality for a text of its sort (before tearing and being repaired?), but in view of the broader corpus of literary texts I have assigned it a relatively low rating.

Original manuscript quality: Fair

Script sample:



Language

Lexical items:

יָד: 1.1

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

נְבִיא (lexical; 1.1) [H]

שְׁבִיטָא (lexical/morphological [prefixed relative pronoun]; 1.3) [H]

בָּן (lexical; 1.4, 5, 6) [H]

4Q551, Narrative

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:47–56]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserves snatches of a story that, at least in part, recounts an episode between an individual and a group. In frag. 1, the individual – perhaps the “aged man” (גִּבֹּר שֶׁב) mentioned in 1.2 – pleads with the group not to engage in a shameful act. Fragment 1 also includes an otherwise unknown genealogy tracing at least five men. Early on, Milik (“Daniel,” 355–59) suggested that this narrative may be related to Daniel and Susanna, preserved in the Christian tradition as a deuterocanonical addition to the book of Daniel. This proposal has not been widely accepted, and a number of other scholars (e.g., Beyer, Nickelsburg, Puech) have pointed instead to the story of the Gibeonites in Judg 19, or less likely to that focused on Sodom in Gen 19, as the account being retold in 4Q551. There are some intriguing affinities with Judg 19, but the scroll is fragmentary enough to preclude certainty about the relationship. An Aramaic retelling of a portion of Judges would be striking, due to the typical affiliation of the Qumran Aramaic literature with either the era of the patriarchs and matriarchs of Genesis and Exodus, or the period of the Babylonian–Persian exiles

Select bibliography: Broshi and Yardeni, “Netinim”; Qimron, “False Prophets”; Qimron, “More”; Cohen, “False Prophets”; Shemesh, “A Note”; Wise, *Cave 4*, 153; Beyer, *ATM*², 128; Lange, “False Prophets”; Golani, “Reflections.”

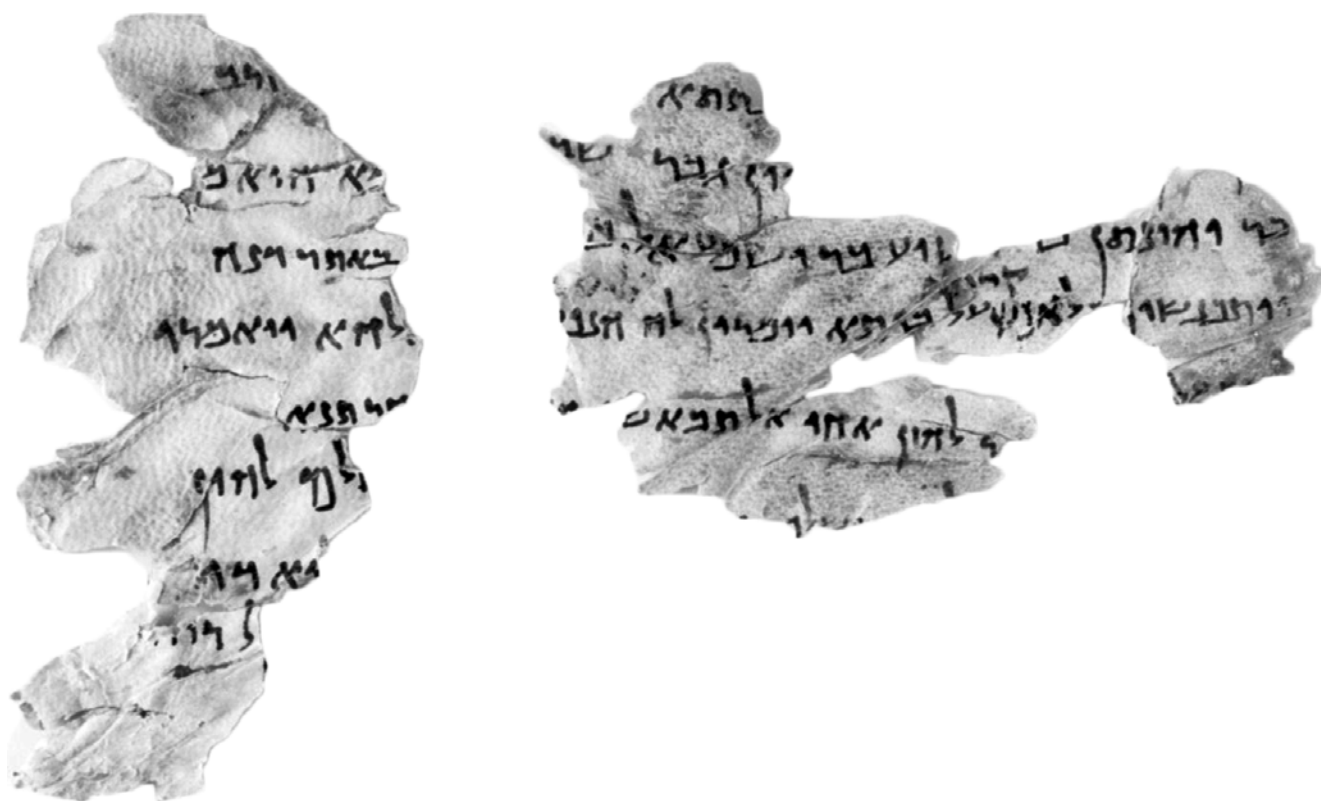
(cf. Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic”; Tigchelaar, “Visionary”; García Martínez, “Aramaica”). Various theories have been put forward for the interest in these two historical periods, though we must remain circumspect given our very partial possession of the corpus. My own theory is that these periods, as opposed to those of the biblical monarchies, were times when Israel was living under the varied pressures of foreign domination, and thus provided situations analogous to the Persian and Hellenistic periods in which this Jewish Aramaic literature was written (see, e.g., Machiela, “Language,” 92–8). If this theory is correct, the period of the Judges would still provide a historical context in which the authors of the Aramaic literature could explore the negative and positive aspects of life without political hegemony. Whatever the case, 4Q551 exhibits a number of generic and linguistic affinities with the broader corpus of Qumran Aramaic literature. It is an entertaining narrative, based on the activity of protagonists and antagonists who presumably gave readers positive and negative examples of conduct. Like many other Aramaic texts, 4Q551 seems to be based on earlier Hebrew traditions, either explicitly

or by inference. In sum, while the specifics of the story in 4Q551 are beyond our reach at present, this text has the look and feel of many other Aramaic compositions discovered in the Qumran caves.

Material remains: This scroll consists of four fragments, two of which are very small and contain only a few letters (frags. 2, 4). Fragments 1 and 3 are somewhat larger, preserving parts of six and eight lines, respectively. Puech considered the earlier suggestion that these four fragments belong to the same column (esp. Milik, "Daniel,"

355), but he eventually concluded on both material and textual grounds that the arguments in favor of this view are unpersuasive. As a result, he maintained that each fragment should be studied separately, in the order in which they are laid out in the *editio princeps* (DJD 37:47).

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q551 are not found on the early "E series" or "G series" PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



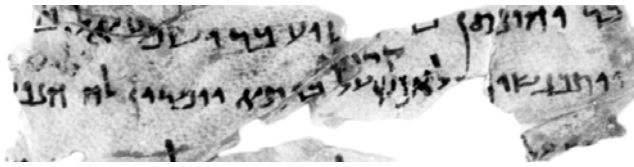
Sample image: 4Q551 1, 3 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.2 cm (frag. 4)*Intercolumnar:* Approx. 1.5 cm (frag. 3; probably to seam between sheets)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes, with probable marginal guide dots (frag. 3)*Vertical column lines:* None visible, though perhaps inferred from left break of frag. 3**Average medial letter height:**
2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 6–9 mm**Space between words:**
0.5–3 mm**Vacats:** None preserved*Material:* Skin*Script:* Late Hasmonean, with some characteristics of early Herodian (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 75–25 BCE (Puech)*Special traits and general comments:* This scribe wrote in a small, tidy hand, with Puech sensibly suggesting that the supralinear additions – apparently done by the same scribe as the main text – imply that 4Q551 is based on an older copy. On the older PAM photographs, scribal guide dots for making dry-ruled horizontal lines appear to be present in an ink fainter than the main script. If these dots are indeed present, it would be a sure indication that the left edge of frag. 3 is also the end of a sheet, though there is no longer any evidence of a sewn seam. In the more recent IAA photos, the possible guide dots can no longer be seen as clearly, leaving one to wonder if they are a result of the photography in the older images. In any event, guidelines are visible on frags 1 and 3. Line and word spacing is quite erratic, though this may be exaggerated by contortion of the skin due to shrinkage. Puech noted that the formation of some medial *nuns* and final *mems* may represent archaisms in the script (DJD 37:50).Puech noted several phrases that are found in other Aramaic works from this period, such as Daniel (e.g., באתר דנה at 3.3; cf. Dan 7:6–7). Note, too, the typical Aramaic narrative convention for moving the action of the story forward, וכען (2.1). The scribe used a mixture of full (באתר, בינתא) and defective (בל, אנש, וימרון, קדם, the latter having been changed to קידם) orthography, though with an inclination towards the more defective end of the spectrum. In this text we find the root כנ"ש used in 1.4, as in 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q204 (En^c), 4Q243 (psDan^a), and 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), but in distinction from כנ"ס in 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 4Q210 (Enastr^c). In our only relevant example, the *haphel* was used, not the *aphel* (הנפק; 1.4). This scribe used the long form of the demonstrative pronoun דנה, and *aleph* to spell תנא (as in 4Q197 [Tob^b], 4Q199 [Tob^d], 4Q530 [EnGiants^a], and 11Q10 [Job]). Puech noted that ויאמרו at 3.4 could be either a Hebraism or a jussive, with the latter being more likely, in my opinion.*Original manuscript quality:* Good–very good*Select bibliography:* Milik, "Daniel"; Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 224–25; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 105; Beyer, *ATTM*², 142; Nickelsburg, "4Q551."*Script sample:* Note that the *qoph* is from a supralinear insertion (1.4), though it seems plausible that this was the scribe correcting his own work.

Corrections and scribal features:

- (a) Two supralinear insertions, the second subsequently erased by scraping (1.4; cf. 2.2).

**Language****Syntax**

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

1.4

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.4, 1.5, 3.6(?)

Use of ךי to mark genitive relationship:

3.7(?)

Verb of movement + על + inanimate object:

1.4

Use of negative particle אַל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

1.5

Lexical items:

די: 3.7

כען: 2.1

תנה: 3.5

Morphology:

form: הפעל

1.4

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

1.4

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

1.2, 1.4(?)

4Q556, Prophecy^a

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:155–58]

Content synopsis and significance: The numerical designation of 4Q556 in DJD 37, separated by Puech into two copies, has a somewhat confusing history (see Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 185–87, 221). Scholars have occasionally discussed 4Q556 under the designation 4Q533 [EnGiants^e], and vice versa, such that usage of the two sigla varies across publications. The other manuscript alternatively numbered either 4Q556 or 4Q533 (the latter designation being used by Puech in DJD 31, and here) is a copy of the Book of Giants. The fragments here designated 4Q556 and 4Q556a (Prophecy^b), however, do not appear to have any relation to the Book of Giants. Puech considered 4Q556 and 4Q556a (Prophecy^b) to be different copies of a single composition based primarily on the mention of Sinai (סיני) in both manuscripts, though this identification is far from certain. The single fragment identified by Puech with 4Q556 is lacking context, but refers to several geographic locations and a now lost utterance of “the

prophet.” Mount Sinai (טור סיני) is mentioned in line 2, a rare occurrence in the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. Aside from 4Q556a (Prophecy^b), the toponym also appears in the Visions of Amram (4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] 9.4), though there the Hebrew word הר is used rather than the expected Aramaic טור. There is also a reference to Mount Sinai in the Book of Watchers (1 En. 1:4), but the Aramaic phrase has not been preserved at Qumran. The toponym Jaffo (יפוא) appears twice, at 4Q556 1.5 and 1.9. The likely occurrence of משרי “encampment” (line 3) along with the phrase מדינתא חדתא די שבה “the new city that he captured” (line 6) suggests the description of a military campaign, though the precise nature of the implied conflict remains elusive. Cook (WAC, 563) and Puech suggested that this fragment deals with the persecutions of the Jews under Antiochus IV, supported by the mention of Jaffo and a possible reference to someone being hunted and seized in line 5. This hypothesis depends partly on 4Q556 belonging

to the same composition as 4Q556a (Prophecy^b), which mentions the eating of pig flesh in frag. 5i–ii.9. If 4Q556 is judged on its own terms, it becomes far more difficult to identify any historical referents. Finally, line 7 contains an allusion to a prophetic utterance על דנה אמר נביאא “concerning this the prophet said.” A similar prophetic formula also appears in the very fragmentary 4Q562 (Unidentified Text A) 7.1: די מלל נביאה: “which the prophet spoke.” It seems that 4Q556 is presenting some sort of historical conflict in the language of prophetic discourse. It is possible that 4Q556 should be interpreted as an example of *ex eventu* prophecy, though too little material remains for any firm judgment on this point. The narrative framing and characters of the composition are now missing, but its contents call to mind other, historically-oriented revelations among the Aramaic corpus at Qumran.

Material remains: Only one fragment remains of this manuscript, approximately 5 by 6 cm in size. It contains parts of ten lines, though the first and last are rather poorly preserved. The middle of the fragment contains the longest, best-preserved lines, growing progressively narrower in the upper and lower portions. The damage patterns on the fragment suggest that it was folded along its vertical axis for some time before its modern discovery.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q556 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q556 1

Image B-285378

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Column dimensions: At least
6.2 cm h.

Letters per line: At least 24

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5–8 mm

Space between words: 1–3 mm

Vacats: Yes; medium (1.5 [at
least 1.3 cm])

Material: Skin

Script: Early Herodian formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 33–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The line spacing on this fragment varies noticeably, suggesting that script lines were not used. A single vacat is preserved in the few extant lines, seemingly used for a fairly minor narrative break in a continuing prophetic or visionary account. The script is carefully and capably done, and in my estimation Puech is certainly correct to discern a different hand here than in the fragments of 4Q556a (Prophecy^b). In keeping with the Jewish idiolect of Aramaic typical at Qumran, the prefix-conjugation of the verb “to be” הוּרִיא takes a *lamed* prefix in 1.8, and the standard Hebrew morphology of the noun “prophet” נְבִיאָה is used by the scribe.

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 107; Beyer, *ATTM*², 142–43; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 233–37.

Script sample:
Language**Syntax**

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

1.7

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1.3, 1.4, 1.5(2x)

Object early in clause:

1.6

Use of הוּרִיא to introduce direct quotation:

1.7

Lexical items:

הוּרִיא: 1.6(2x), 1.7

Morphology:

Object suffix on verb:

1.5

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

נְבִיאָה (morphological; 1.7) [H]

4Q556a, Prophecy^b

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:159–73]

Content synopsis and significance: In DJD 37, Puech split into two a batch of fragments originally treated together by Jean Starcky, Józef Milik, and others under the numerical designations 4Q556 (Prophecy^a) or 4Q533 (EnGiants^e) (on the confusion over the numbering see the profiles for 4Q533 [EnGiants^e] and 4Q556 [Prophecy^a]). Puech based his decision on palaeographic grounds, but considered the two manuscripts, now designated 4Q556 (Prophecy^a) and 4Q556a, likely to be copies of the same work. The preserved text of 4Q556a is highly fragmentary, but full of tantalizing historical references. It names a number of Israel's historic enemies, including the Ammonites, Moabites, and Amalekites (frag. ii.4), as well as Egypt and the king of Egypt (4.2; 5i–ii.4). Puech noted that the former list of nations also appears in Dan 11:41 and New Jerusalem (4Q554 [NJ^a] 13.18) (DJD 37:153), and seems to have become a stock motif in the texts from the Second Temple period promoting an eschatological viewpoint. On the mention of “Sinai” at frag. 5i–ii.13, see the profile for 4Q556 (Prophecy^a). 4Q556a contains a number of allusions to conflict, impiety, and persecution, especially in frag. 5i–ii, where we find the words or phrases “an idol” (פּתכּר; line 3), “impiety” (רְשָׁעִיא; line 11), “the lan[d] of desolation” (אַרְעָא צְדוּתָא; line 12), and “eating the flesh of pigs” (אַבְלִין בֶּשֶׂר חַזִּירָא; line 9), all in broken contexts. These references have led some scholars to suggest that this composition may allude to the events of the Antiochean persecutions and the Maccabean revolt (DJD 37:153; WAC, 563). Both 2 Macc 6:18–19 and 4 Macc 5:1–2 speak of Jews being compelled to eat pork on the command of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. 4Q556a also bears some of the hallmarks of revelatory literature from this period, including especially other Aramaic texts from

Qumran. Fragment ii.3 refers to “the people who are in the book” (עֲמֻמִּין דִּי בְּסִפְרָא), which may refer to a writing that contains knowledge of the future. Revelatory documents of this kind are well-represented in the Qumran Aramaic corpus (e.g., Book of Watchers, Book of Giants, Words of Michael, Testament of Jacob?, Apocryphon of Levi?, and Pseudo-Daniel). There is a relatively high concentration of the exclamatory particles אַרְו and אַרְוָא, which Perrin has shown is a common feature in Aramaic texts containing dream-visions (*Dynamics*, 102–3). There is also a preference for the future tense throughout this text. These features led Puech to ask whether 4Q556a (and 4Q556 [Prophecy^a]) should be understood as an *ex eventu* prophecy, though he rightly acknowledged that this hypothesis must remain tentative in light of its poor state of preservation. It can be stated with some confidence that the text records a revelation of some kind.

Material remains: Puech identified eleven fragments with 4Q556a. Most are poorly preserved scraps that contain little text (frags. 2, 6–11). Only frags. 1 and 5 have significant amounts of writing preserved, both containing parts of two columns. Column ii of frag. 5 has no legible text. The two larger fragments preserve portions of eleven and twelve lines, respectively.

Notes on provenance: Tigchelaar identified 4Q556a 9 on the “E series” PAM plate 40.975. The fragments in this series of plates were found in the official excavations of Cave 4 on September 22–29, 1952, directed by de Vaux (Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). While the discovery of the remaining pieces of 4Q556a in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of their discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q556a 5i, ii

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* At least 9 mm? (frag. 4)*Lower:* At least 8 mm? (frag. 8)*Intercolumnar:* 1–1.3 cm (frags. 1, 5, and 10)**Column dimensions:** At least 9 cm h. (frag. 5)**Lines per column:** At least 12 (frag. 5)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* Yes (Puech)*Vertical column lines:* Yes (Puech)**Average medial letter height:** 2–3 mm**Space between lines:** 6–8 mm**Space between words:** 1.5–2.5 mm**Vacats:** Yes; small? (iii.9 [at least 7 mm]), and medium or large (5i.6 [at least 1.7 cm])*Material:* Skin*Script:* Early Herodian with a tendency towards semi-cursive style (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 25–1 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: Puech identified a possible upper margin and a certain bottom one, though in fact both are uncertain due to surface damage of the fragments. The possible upper margin on frag. 4 is preserved in so small an area that it could also be a vacat. The top of the fragment also appears to be ripped, not having a finished edge. On frag. 8 there are traces of ink one line below Puech's last line of script (i.e., there was some writing on 8.4), and the same issues apply here as on frag. 4. Puech finds evidence of full ruling for lines and columns, and the left column line is quite clearly seen on frag. 5. Horizontal script ruling is less evident on the images, but is supported by the fairly even line spacing and, especially, the consistent spacing between cols. i and ii on frag. 1. The scribe of 4Q556a wrote in an even, square script that is, however, somewhat more erratic than we find in the best Qumran manuscripts. Sizeable vacats were incorporated into the text (at least 1.7 cm in frag. 5i.6), though their narrative functions are no longer clear. The long and short (prefixed) forms of the relative pronoun were used (יִד and –ד), and we find a rare occurrence in the Qumran corpus of the accusative particle ית in the phrase ית פתגמא “the utterance” at frag. 5i–ii.7, and perhaps also at 3.3. There is one occurrence of the far demonstrative pronoun דך “that,” found elsewhere only at 4Q117 (Ezra) 3.2 in the Qumran corpus. Puech noted two cases of Persian loanwords: פתגם “utterance, event” and פתכר “idol.” The scribe or a later corrector placed an X the size of a standard letter in the empty space at the beginning of the line in frag. iii.9. This sign is found only on 4Q584 m.4 (in a broken context) elsewhere among the preserved Aramaic Qumran manuscripts, though such a mark was used in several Hebrew scrolls (e.g., 1QIsa^a xxvi.9, xxxv.10; 4Q177 [Catena A] 12–13ii.9, 29.2; and 4Q417 [Instruction^c] 4.1). In cases where we have some context the mark seems to indicate a matter of importance in the text, typically situated to the left of the mark.

Original manuscript quality: Very good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 107; Beyer, *ATTM*², 142–43; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 233–37.*Script sample:*

33 7 33 11 11 1 11 11 11 1 33 11
 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11
 11

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) X mark at the beginning of a line (iii.9)

**Language****Syntax***Verb-subject (verb early in clause):*

ii–ii.6(?), ii–ii.9, 5i.2

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

4.1

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

ii–ii.2, ii–ii.5, ii–ii.10(?), 3.6

Verbless clause:

ii–ii.8, 5i–ii.3

Direct object marker (if present):

יח: 3.3, 5i–ii.7

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):*Finite form of הוה + participle:*

5i–ii.9(?)

Lexical items:

אדן: ii.9, 3.7(?)

באדן: 8.3(?)

-ד: 3.4

די: ii–ii.3, 2.1, 5i–ii.3, 5i–ii.8, 7.5

כדי: 4.1

Morphology:*הפעל form:*

ii–ii.5

Orthography/Phonology:*ψ for /s/:*

5i–ii.9

Other notable features:*Proposed Hebraisms:*

גביא [ג] (morphological; 1.7) [H]

4Q557, Vision^a

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:175–78]

Content synopsis and significance: This fragmentary manuscript was given the name Vision C by Jean Starcky, a title retained by Puech in the DJD edition. The lack of preserved material prevents us from saying much about the contents

of this composition, though there is an intriguing reference to “the angel Gabriel” (גבריאל מלאכא) in the second line of frag. 1. 4Q557 participates in an emerging Second Temple trend wherein the angelic beings are organized

hierarchically, named, and given particular tasks. Gabriel appears elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic collection as one angel in a list of four in 1 En. 10–11, and in a list of seven at 1 En. 20 (cf. Tob 12:5). In the first of these passages, Gabriel is in charge of destroying the offspring of the Watchers by initiating cataclysmic war between them, while the second describes Gabriel as wielding authority over paradise, the serpents, and the cherubim. Gabriel also appears in a fragmentary text from the Qumran Aramaic collection entitled the Words of Michael (4Q529). Other ancient references include the War Scroll (1QM; 4Q285), the Hebrew Birth of Noah (1Q19+1Q19bis), the Hebrew portions of Daniel, the Gospel of Luke, the Parables of Enoch, and 2 Enoch. Gabriel's particular function is impossible to discern in 4Q557, especially considering his diversity of duties in Second Temple period literature. The references to a remnant (ושאר כול; 1.3), a group being defiled (אטמיתון; 1.5), and tribulation or distress (עקתא; 1.8) may suggest that the narrative in 4Q557 involves some sort of retelling of Gen 6–9, and is either similar or related to the Book of

Watchers, but we cannot know this with certainty. It is not even possible to identify the “we” and “you” figures who are part of the text's dialogue, though the archangels and the fallen watchers are plausible options. Whoever these characters may be, like so many other Aramaic scrolls, this one contains a lively narrative told in part from a first-person perspective.

Material remains: The extant portions of 4Q557 are contained in two small fragments. Most of the preserved material comes from frag. 1, which measures 6 × 3.1 cm. This fragment has nine lines with between one and three words on each. Fragment 2 is less than half the size of frag. 1, preserving nothing more than a few partial words. No other copies of this composition have been identified.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q557 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q557 1, 2 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

4Q558, *papVision*^b

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:179–257]

Content synopsis and significance: This composition was originally labeled by Starcky as 4QVision B, a designation retained by Puech (4QpapVision^b). Besides its obvious visionary character, much of the scroll's contents remain obscure, and there are no obvious overlaps with any other known text at or outside of Qumran. In fact, all that can be known of the scroll's contents must be deduced from suggestive words and phrases with very little narrative context. It is likely that at least a portion of 4Q558 involves a dream-vision, in which a seer engages in dialogue with an interpreting angel. Perrin (*Dynamics*, 76–77) came to this conclusion after highlighting a variety of key terms that this scroll shares with other Aramaic visionary works at Qumran, such as the verb חזי (“to see”; 7.1; 48.2; 65.2) and the exclamation הֵא (“behold”; 20.2; 34.2; 5iii.3). The occurrence of the phrases “and he said to me” and “my lord,” along with a number of references to angels throughout the manuscript, only reinforces this conclusion. Such dialogues between human and divine figures pervade the Qumran Aramaic texts (e.g., the Aramaic sources of 1 Enoch, the Testament of Jacob?, New Jerusalem, and the Visions of Amram). Another feature that 4Q558 shares with other Aramaic dream-vision texts is its extensive arboreal imagery, as seen in the mentions of an ארז (“cedar”; 10.2; 134.1), שרשין (“roots”; 21a–b.2; 26.1), and לולבין (“branches”; 31.3). Vocabulary associated with trees and their parts is found in a number of the preserved fragments, and presumably made up a major part of this text. The symbolic use of the imagery is unclear, but trees and tree parts are used symbolically as part of dream-visions in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), the Book of Giants (4Q530, 6Q8), and Four Kingdoms (4Q552–553a). It is likely that the same is true in 4Q558, with arboreal imagery representing people and events from Israel's past (or, perhaps, future). At least some of the narrative is written in the first-person voice (frags. 5iii.3, 140.1), as is often the case in the Aramaic literature found at Qumran.

In view of the wider corpus of Aramaic texts from Qumran, a distinctive feature of 4Q558 is its (at least partial) focus on Israel's monarchic period. Scholars have primarily focused on frag. 5iii, which in line 4 refers to the sending of the prophet Elijah. Several have identified the mention of Elijah as an allusion to Mal 3:23 (4:5), in which God promises to send Elijah before “the great and terrible day of the Lord” (cf. Starcky, “Quatre Étapes,” 497–98; DJD 37:180–81; Stökl Ben Ezra, “Messianic,” 521–22). In this fragment we also find mention of a “chosen one” (בְּחִיר), and possible theophanic imagery (e.g., בְּרָקָא,

“lightning”), plausibly linked to the day of judgment mentioned in Malachi. The title “chosen one” also appears in 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) among the Aramaic Scrolls. This grouping of terms has led some scholars to suggest that 4Q558 be understood against an eschatological or even messianic backdrop, though most of the references occur in contexts that are too broken to interpret with much certainty. For a recent discussion of 4Q558 along these lines, see Stökl Ben Ezra (“Messianic”; also, Starcky, “Quatre Étapes”; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 413–15; DJD 37:180–81). In addition to frag. 5iii, 4Q558 has a number of fragments that reflect historical and/or apocalyptic concerns. Most strikingly, there is mention of “the kingdom of Uzziah” in frag. 29.4, which represents “the only non-ciphered reference to a kingdom of the Israelite monarchy in the Aramaic texts” (Perrin, *Dynamics*, 77). In general, unambiguous references to any period of Israelite history between that of the judges and the exile are very rare in this literature (cf. Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic”; Tigchelaar, “Aramaic Texts”; Machiela, “Library”). Puech has proposed that 4Q558 contains references to Horeb, Elijah, Elisha, Egypt, Aram, Pithom, Jebus, and Reuben. Although some of these readings are open to question, it is clear that 4Q558 displays a striking, distinctive interest in Israel's history, which led Puech to classify this text as a “histoire prophétique,” and Beyer as *Prophetengeschichten* (*ATM^E*, 93). Other aspects of 4Q558 are reminiscent of apocalyptic literature, including mentions of “a writing” (בְּתִב; 8.2), the act of writing (104.1), “the time of the end” (עֵדוֹן קִץ; 26.1), and “an eagle” (נִשָּׂר; 22.2) immediately before the phrase “ru]lers of the kingdoms.” These features connect 4Q558 with a broader apocalyptic tradition in which historical processes – past, present, and/or future – are conveyed to a worthy human in a dream-vision (e.g., Animal Apocalypse, Apocalypse of Weeks, Daniel 2 and 7, New Jerusalem, and Four Kingdoms). Finally, if Cook's reading of 27.1 is correct (*DQA*, 119), 4Q558 may describe an atoning act carried out by a plural subject (יִכְפְּרוּן). It is not clear, however, who does the atoning and what role, if any, atonement plays in the eschatological scenario. Both New Jerusalem (2Q24) and Apocryphon of Levi^b (4Q541) use this verb in an eschatological context.

Material remains: 4Q558 is a very badly damaged papyrus manuscript, with little running text. Many of its extant one hundred and forty-one fragments contain less than one complete word. Most are not bigger than a postage stamp. Even the largest and best-preserved fragments

(e.g., 33, 51, 53) do not provide much of an interpretive context. The fragments are too small to be arranged with any confidence, though Starcky attempted to group some of them on the basis of their contents and, especially, the appearance of their handwriting and papyrus. Puech distinguished several fragments from Starcky's original batch, and assigned them a different siglum: 4Q558a (cf. DJD 37:179–80, 259–62). 4Q558a consists of seven very small fragments with few complete words, which Puech believed did not belong with 4Q558 based on scribal and physical traits. It is not even clear that all fragments of 4Q558a belong together. Since 4Q558a has virtually no usable text or any sizeable fragments, a profile is not included in this book.

Notes on provenance: Some fragments of 4Q558 were photographed on the PAM “G series” plates 40.630, 40.631, 40.632, 40.633, 40.634, and 40.635. The fragments in this series of images were discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified a number of other fragments on the “E series” PAM plates 40.972 (frag. 53), 40.974 (frags. 31, 50b), and 40.977 (frags. 64, 106, and 125). This series is associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 led by de Vaux, also conducted in 1952. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q558 33

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Upper:* 3.1–3.5 cm (frags. 3, 4, 26)*Lower:* At least 3–3.8 cm (frags. 37, 52)*Intercolumnar:* 1.1–1.5 cm**Lines per column:** At least 11 (frag. 33)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* No*Vertical column lines:* No**Average medial letter height:** 3 mm**Space between lines:** 9–12 mm**Space between words:** 1–3 mm**Vacats:** Yes, medium (29 [at least 1.2 cm], 63 [at least 1.6 cm])*Material:* Papyrus*Script:* Late Hasmonean to early Herodian, with a style ranging from semi-cursive to semi-formal (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 75–25 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: This papyrus manuscript was written on the recto side (i.e., with the horizontal fibers), as was typical in antiquity. The upper and lower margins are among the largest in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, and the intercolumnar margin falls around the median average. This is very likely connected to the use of papyrus, which was relatively less expensive than prepared skin scrolls. Based on the medium of papyrus alone, I take this manuscript to be of somewhat lower quality and material value than a comparable copy on skin, leading to my placement of 4Q558 in the “good” quality category. Nevertheless, generous margins and spacing suggest that this was a highly-valued literary text. Line and word spacing are also quite generous (again probably due to the medium of papyrus) and evenly-spaced despite the absence of scribal guidelines, which were not necessary on papyrus due to the natural, horizontal grain of the plant fibers. The scribe wrote in a mostly square, formal script, but with some less-formal, cursive features mixed in. Puech suggested that the hand is slightly later than that of 4Q530 (EnGiants^b; DJD 37:181). This is seen especially in the cursive *tav* and the occasional, cursive final *mem*. The orthography and grammatical forms of this copy are typical of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, with *yod* and *vav* sometimes used to mark long vowels, and less frequent use of *aleph* as a *mater lectionis* than in the most fully-spelled scrolls (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q542 [TQahat]). The word כּל was regularly spelled without *vav* (e.g., 47.1), and בּגוּ (א) both with (34.2) and without (20.2) *aleph*. This scribe used number symbols (35i.1, and perhaps 67.3) rather than fully-written numbers. The prepositional phrase כּדן כּדיל “because of this” (41.2) is also found in 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) 1.8 and 4Q581 (Testament^b?) 2.2. The phrase is distinctive to this corpus, with an alternative formulation being כּדיל כּן (e.g., 4Q562 [Unidentified Text A] 7.2).

Original manuscript quality: Good*Select bibliography:* Beyer, *ATM*^E, 93–94; Beyer, *ATM*², 126–27.*Script sample:*

א א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י י כ
 ל מ נ ס ע פ צ כּדן כּדיל
 כּדיל כּן

Representative sample of corrections and scribal features:

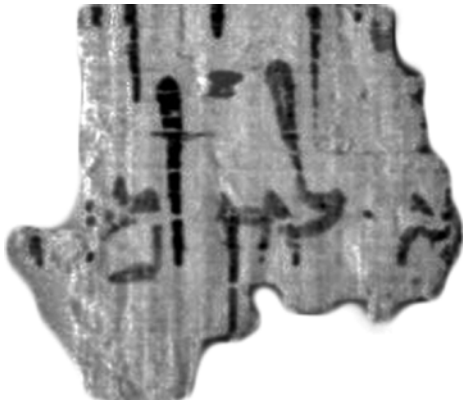
(a) Fragmentary numeric symbols (35i.1)



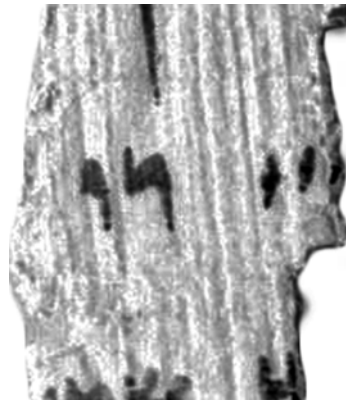
(b) Supralinear letter added (42.1): חטסי



(c) Irregular character ("lamed sans pied") preceding *mem*, which according to Puech signifies a correction (58.2)



(d) Numeric symbols (or, less plausibly, tetragrammaton dots) (67.3)



Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

33ii.4(part.; ?), 53.1(?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

4.1, 29.4(?), 29.5(?), 33ii.5, 51ii.4, 51ii.6(?), 64.3, 66.2(?)

Verbless clause:

21a-b.3, 86.1

Direct object marker (if present):

ל: 33ii.5, 51ii.4, 64.3

Lexical items:

דיל (ב): 41.2(?)

בתר: 33i.4(?)

די: 4.3, 7.1, 22.4, 37.2, 51ii.2, 53.1, 55.2, 57.2, 62.2, 67.3, 72.1a, 77.1, 116.3

כדי: 80.1

כען: 65.2

להן: 51ii.2, 58.2

Morphology:

אחפּעל form:

67.5

Object suffix on verb:

62.3

Dissimilated nun/nasalization:

64.2

Orthography/Phonology:

ש for /s/:

122.2

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

ובחדש (lexical; 59.3) [H]

4Q559, papBiblical Chronology
[ed. Puech, DJD 37:263–89]

Content synopsis and significance: This scroll preserves part of a unique chronographic account focused on biblical figures and events from Israel's past, part of which has a genealogical framework. The account uses an outline in which numbers of years are repeatedly given to relate one figure or event to others in a chronological sequence, told in a very abbreviated way. As both Puech and Wise have argued, the text seems aimed at solving or easing a number of exegetical problems in the received chronologies of the Hebrew scriptures. Wise ("Times and Seasons") summarized the main chronological issues addressed in the extant fragments as the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, the period of Israel's wandering in the wilderness, and the period of the judges. The earliest figure, chronologically speaking, mentioned among the fragmentary remains of the scroll is Enoch (2.5), though his name occurs in a section dealing more directly with the lives of Isaac and Jacob (and perhaps Levi). Puech reconstructed three successive columns (Wise has instead four, numbering the fragments differently), and we lose the account during the time of Israel's judges (frags. 4–5), or perhaps Eli and Samuel if Puech's questionable reconstruction of frag. 6 is correct. One gets the sense that the text's focus is primarily on the chronological framework of the figures and events recorded, rather than on the figures and events themselves. In this sense, it may be viewed as a scholarly resource text, recording, in short form, the kinds of exegetical calculations that underlie longer narratives such as the Aramaic Levi Document, the Visions of Amram, and Jubilees. Wise developed this argument at some length, calling 4Q559 "a literary missing link" between earlier texts of the Hebrew Bible and later ones from the Second Temple period ("Times and Seasons," 51).

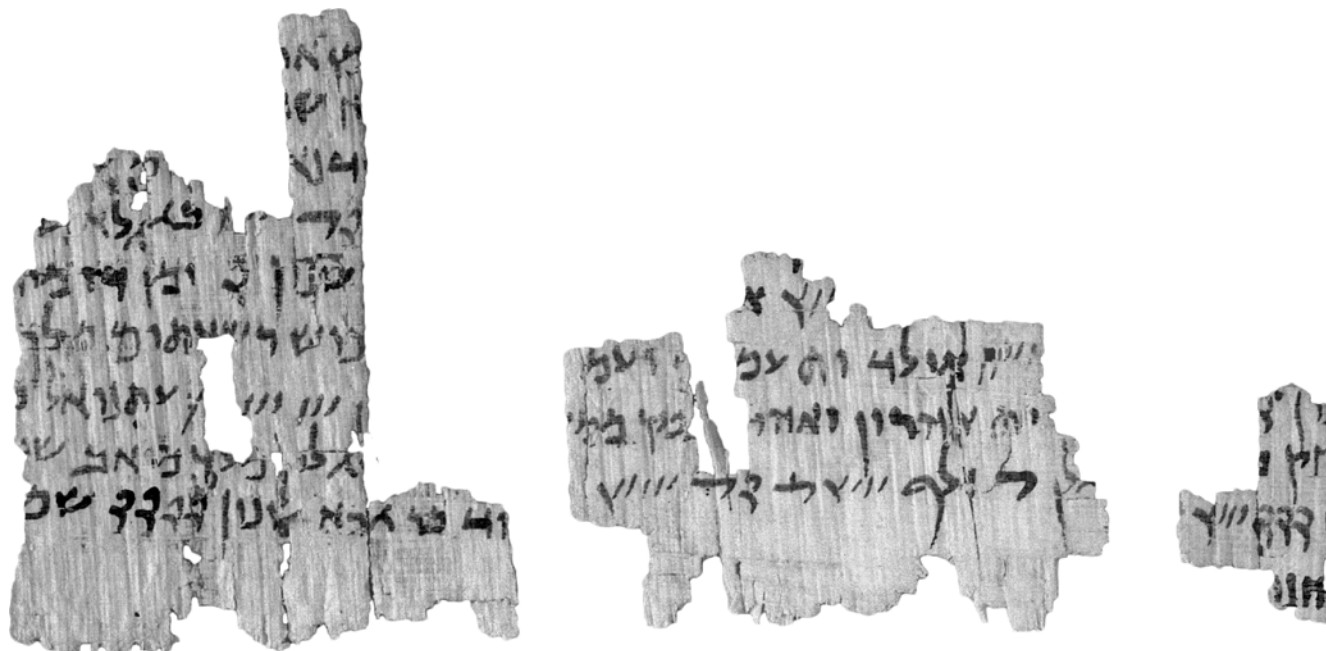
Wise helpfully placed 4Q559 among a broader set of Jewish writings displaying an interest in chronography during the Second Temple period (e.g., Demetrius the Chronographer, the Septuagint translators, Jubilees, and Josephus' *Antiquities*), and indeed across the Greco-Roman world more generally. As he pointed out ("Times and Seasons," 3–5), 4Q559 may now be the oldest preserved Jewish chronograph, rivalling the Hellenistic-period dating of Demetrius. He believed 4Q559 to date to the third-century BCE ("Times and Seasons," 50–51; so too Puech DJD 37:266), which I find plausible, even if impossible to prove. Wise also noted ("Times and Seasons," 25) that the last line of his frag. 2 (Puech's frag. 3) appears to

show a chronological section culminating with Aaron and the priests, rather than with Moses, suggesting to him that the text is "of priestly origin, propagandistic" ("Times and Seasons," 25). This interpretation was followed by Puech. In view of the wider Qumran Aramaic corpus, the terse chronographic genre of the text stands out as unique, though it must be noted that chronological interests are certainly present in narrative accounts like the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Visions of Amram. The priestly focus of 4Q559 lines up very well with the outlook of texts like those just listed, and both Wise and Puech have noted that the chronologies of all these texts are similar in their approach. At the same time, the extension of 4Q559 into the period of Israel's judges is something atypical of the Aramaic narrative texts from Qumran, with the notable exception of 4Q551 (Narrative).

Material remains: Thirteen fragments remain of this manuscript, of which the joined frags. 2–3 and frag. 4 are the largest (approximately 6 × 8 cm). The remainder of the fragments are very small, no bigger than 2 × 2.5 cm and preserving little text. Wise ("Times and Seasons," 7–10) offered the most extensive discussion of the scroll's physical reconstruction, though his confidence often outstrips the evidence. His reconstruction was based on recurring damage patterns among the fragments and the largely hypothetical text of four partial columns, the most basic points of which makes good sense (and also underlie Puech's reconstruction). Wise posited a scroll of approximately 10–15 columns, with the extant columns reconstructed at 10.8–13.8 cm wide and ten lines long. Puech was rightly skeptical of the extensiveness and confidence of Wise's reconstruction. Puech is more reserved in his own proposal, adhering more closely to the fragments available and suggesting somewhat narrower columns. Both Wise and Puech have reconstructed around twenty-five full lines of text based on sparse physical remains, and some of these lines are much more convincing than others. In general, their reconstructions are quite similar, though occasionally they differ in ways that have an important impact on how we understand the text. On these occasions the actual evidence of the fragments is more accurately reflected in Puech's transcription. No other manuscript has been identified with parallels to 4Q559.

Notes on provenance: Fragments 1, 4, and 10 of 4Q559 were photographed on the PAM “G series” plates 40.600 and 40.634. The fragments in this series of images are reported to have been discovered by the Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). In addition, Tigchelaar identified frag. 12 on the “E series” PAM plate

40.974. The “E series” is associated with the official excavations of Cave 4 led by de Vaux, also conducted in 1952. As a result, we can see that some of the fragments of this scroll were found by the Bedouin, while others were discovered in the official excavations supervised by de Vaux.



Sample image: 4Q559 2, 3, 4

Image B-285380

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:*Lower:* 1.6 cm**Column dimensions:** Approx. 7 cm h. × 9–11 cm w. (as reconstructed by Puech)**Lines per column:** 10 (as reconstructed by Wise and Puech)**Letters per line:** Approx. 25–35 (as reconstructed by Puech)**Scribal guidelines:***Horizontal script lines:* No*Vertical column lines:* No**Average medial letter height:** 3–5 mm**Space between lines:** 6–9 mm**Space between words:** 1–3 mm**Vacats:** Perhaps small vacats at 3.5 (at least 4 mm) and 4.6 (3.5 mm)*Material:* Papyrus*Script:* Herodian semi-cursive (Wise); Late Hasmonean with semi-cursive and semi-formal features (Puech)*Proposed palaeographic date:* 50 BCE–70 CE (Wise); ca. 100–50 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: Puech's text and column reconstruction should be treated with caution, but if correct it would result in a scroll of about 9–10 cm in height. Wise aptly called the scribe's work "far from deluxe" ("Times and Seasons," 8), with noticeable variation in the space left between lines and the sizes of letters. Still, the scribe wrote in an easily-legible script and appears to have made few mistakes in the small sample left to us. The extent to which vacats were used is now impossible to judge with confidence, but the remaining fragments suggest that they were small, if used at all. Combining the above factors with the use of papyrus, Wise ("Times and Seasons," 8) considered 4Q559 to be the copy of an earlier work for private study. It is certainly among the lower-quality scrolls in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, perhaps linked to its status as a scholarly resource text (see the *Content synopsis and significance* section, above). The orthography of the scroll tends toward full spellings, similar to most of the corpus. The genre of the scroll appears to dictate its terse syntax, at some points taking the form of a list-like succession of verbless clauses (e.g., 4.7–10). A notable feature of 4Q559 is its use of the Aramaic direct object marker ית in the fixed phrase ׀[ר] עמ[ר] אולד ית עמ[ר] --[--] וקהת בר שנין (4.3) and the like, used repeatedly in the text's genealogical section(s). Use of this particle is very rare among the Qumran texts and, as Stadel (*Habraismen*, 65) correctly observed, its use here is due to overt imitation of a Biblical Hebrew genealogical idiom of the type ויהי ירד שתים וששים שנה ומאת ויולד את חנוך (Gen 5:18). Consequently, ית in 4Q559 is the clear equivalent of Hebrew את in a fixed expression, and so can be viewed as a morphosyntactic Hebraism (Stadel considered ית to be a feature mainly of "die gesprochene Sprache" up until its widespread use in the later Targums, though this remains a matter of debate). Another morphological Hebraism is found at 3.4, with the assimilated preposition מן at the beginning of ממצ[ר]י[ק]ם. As with ית, this linguistic feature seems to be based on mimicry of well-known Hebrew words, and betrays the close dependence of 4Q559 on earlier Hebrew texts.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good*Select bibliography:* Nebe, "4Q559"; Wise, "Times and Seasons"; Beyer, *ATTM*², 128.

Script sample:

שש נ וו מ מ וו מ מ 44 א א ב ב א א
 א א א א ק ק ק ע ע ו ו ו ו ו ו
 ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו
 ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו ו

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Sublinear *gimel* added (4.5): בגל, לא



Image B-285380

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
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Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

3.4

Verb-subject (verb later in clause):

3.3, 3.3-4(?)

Direct object marker (if present):

יח: 3.3, 3.4

Lexical items:

די: 4.6, 5.2(?)

להן: 10.3

Morphology:

form: אפעל

3.3

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

אולד ית אמ[ר]ם (morphosyntactic; 3.3) [H]

אולד ית אהרון (morphosyntactic; 3.4) [H]

ממצ[ר]ין/ם (morphological; 3.4) [H]

4Q560, *Magic Booklet*

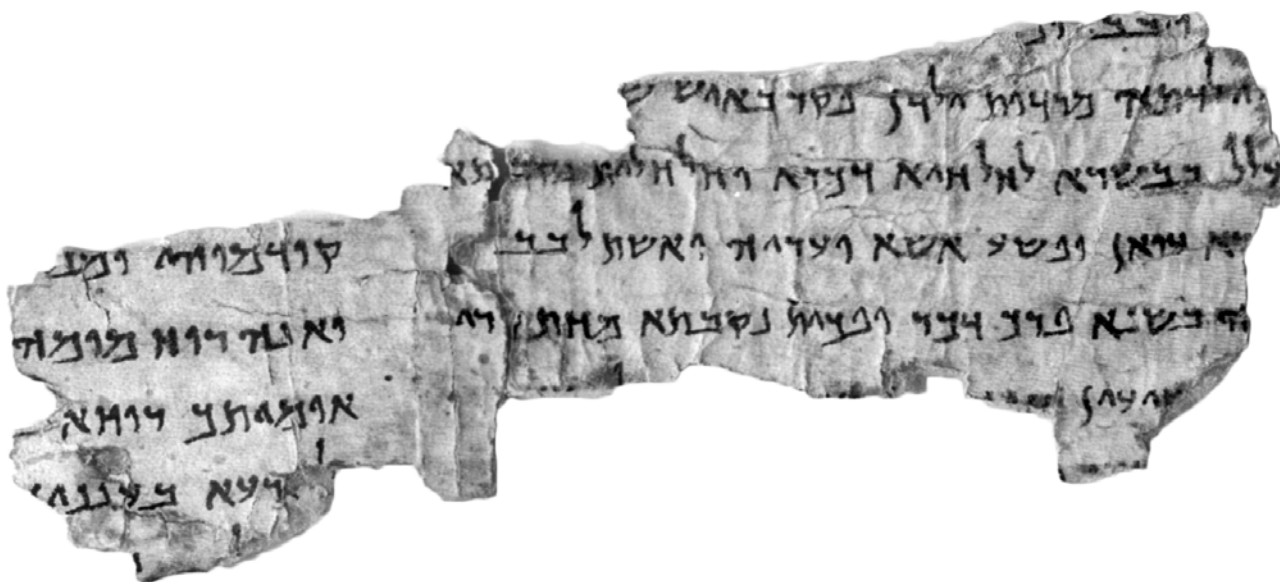
[ed. Puech, DJD 37:291–302]

Content synopsis and significance: This fragmentary scroll contains the remnants of an incantation text, describing various demonic illnesses and providing exorcistic incantations for dealing with them. 4Q560 is partially preserved, has no parallels in the Qumran corpus, and has generated significant debate over several key terms (see Cook, *DQA*, 84, for a discussion of the numerous ways scholars have rendered חלחיא). While interpretations of the scroll must remain tentative, a number of specific features confirm its relation to a broader Jewish tradition of technical, apotropaic manuals known primarily from the Late Antique and Medieval periods. 4Q560 is an important witness to the early existence and development of this tradition. The extant text of frag. ii is primarily descriptive in nature, preserving broken references to something entering the flesh (עלל בבשרא; line 2), “iniquity and transgression” (עוואן; line 4), “fever and chills” (אשא ועריא; line 4), pairs of male (דכרא) and female (נקבהא) entities (lines 3, 5), and possibly “the [e]vil eye” (ר[שיעין עינא]; line 6, according to Puech). Fragment iii preserves even less material, but attests to at least one incantation formula in which a first-person speaker addresses a spirit: “I adjure you, O spirit” (אומיתכ רוהא; line 5). Some of these features find close parallels in magical texts of diverse chronological and geographical origins. For example, Naveh noted that the Aramaic or Hebrew pair “fever and chills” (אשתה והעריה; וערייה) is a common occurrence in the amulets from fifth- to seventh-century CE Palestine (“Magic Book,” 257), while Penney and Wise point out that this pair also appears in Egyptian and Akkadian magical texts (“Aramaic Incantation,” 640–41). The characterization of demonic or other malevolent entities as being both male and female (i.e., ‘X male-demon and X female-demon’) is also a pervasive feature of apotropaic bowls and amulets from locales such as Aleppo and southern Turkey, as noted by Naveh (“Magic Book,” 258–59; cf. Penney and Wise, “Aramaic Incantation,” 639, who trace this particular feature back to Akkadian sources). Given these correspondences, 4Q560 may have originally been a part of a larger magical booklet, akin to those found in the Cairo Geniza. If so, 4Q560 would be the earliest example of a

Jewish magical text of this kind, pointing to the presence and use of such texts in the Second Temple period, perhaps even at Qumran. However, the fragmentary nature of this scroll warrants some caution on this point; we cannot know for certain whether 4Q560 once took the form of a “recipe book” containing a larger collection of technical apotropaic knowledge and formulae. Nevertheless, 4Q560 remains an important piece of evidence for understanding the development of Jewish apotropaic literature, and exhibits clear links to an international literature on this topic in antiquity. It should be stressed that 4Q560 is generically unique among the Aramaic Qumran literature, but it is noteworthy that we find several exorcistic narratives among the rest of the corpus. The main examples are found in Tobit (4Q196–200), the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), and the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242). Jub. 10:1–14, which may depend on earlier traditions composed in Aramaic, recounts how Noah was the first to be taught exorcistic arts by the angels. The Hebrew Qumran scrolls also include several apotropaic incantation texts that bear comparison with 4Q560 (e.g., 4Q444 [Incantation]; 4Q510–511 [Shir^{a-b}]).

Material remains: Only two fragments remain of 4Q560, though only frag. 1 contains a significant amount of text. Fragment 2 preserves little more than a few complete words from two lines. Fragment 1 contains portions of two columns, with more material remaining from col. 1 (seven lines). However, without a right margin it is difficult to know how close col. 1 comes to preserving a complete line, and so to determine the column width. Neither column bears an upper or lower margin, making it impossible to determine the original height of the scroll.

Notes on provenance: The right half of 4Q560 1 is found on the early PAM “G series” plate 40.602, meaning that it was among those discovered by Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (see Strugnell, “Photographing,” 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of the scroll were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q560.1

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Intercolumnar: 1.3 cm

Lines per column: At least 7

Letters per line: At least 30
(frag. ii)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: None visible

Vertical column lines: None visible

Average medial letter height:
2–3.5 mm

Space between lines: 7–8 mm

Space between words: 1.5–2

Vacats: Yes, small (iii.7 [1 cm])

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-formal (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: The intercolumnar margin, line spacing, and letter height of this copy fall around the norm for the Qumran corpus, while word spacing is slightly more generous than usual. The scribe used at least some vacats, though the type of sense-division being marked is no longer discernable. Although there are no visible scribal lines, the writing is very even and neat, with regular spacing, suggesting that at least horizontal guidelines were inscribed very lightly as part of preparing the scroll and can no longer be seen. The scribe had a distinctive writing style, with a large, closed, medial *mem*, a very short lower extension on *qoph*, and no differentiation between medial and final *kaph* (cf. iii.6). The word collocation “iniquity and transgression” (עוֹן וְפֶשַׁע) is a clear Hebraism, found on several occasions in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Num 14:18, Mic 7:18). The first word of the pair, however, has an orthography common to the Aramaic Qumran texts compared with the Hebrew form (עֲוֹן). The syntax is difficult to assess without more running text than is currently available. I suspect that if we had more of this copy preserved, it would be placed in the “Very good” quality category. However, in the absence of more material evidence I have labelled it as “good–very good.”

Original manuscript quality: Good–very good

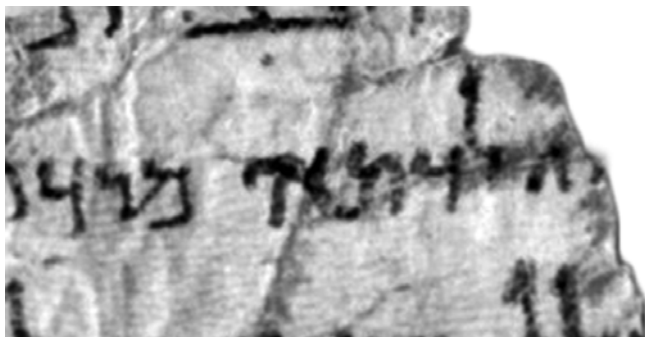
Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 129–30; Beyer, *ATTM*², 168; Penney and Wise, “Aramaic Incantation”; Naveh, “Magic Book.”

Script sample:

נח יי יי יי יי יי יי יי יי יי
 י י י י י י י י י י

Corrections and scribal features:

(a) Possible (partial?) *aleph* converted to *he* (ii.2):
 <ה>{א}לִידת



Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

iii.5(part.; ?)

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

iii.6(?)

Subject implied (verb later in clause):

2.2

Lexical items:

יִד: ii.5

Morphology:

אפעל form:

iii.6

Object suffix on verb:

iii.6

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

עואן (lexical; ii.4) [H]

ופשע (lexical; ii.4) [H]

4Q561, Physiognomy/Horoscope

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:303–21]

Content synopsis and significance: This manuscript preserves fragmentary portions of a physiognomic text, describing the physical features of at least one male human body moving from head to toe. As far as we can tell, the Qumran library contains no other extant copy of this composition, though Starcky originally proposed viewing 4Q561 as an Aramaic version of the Hebrew 4QZodiacal Physiognomy (4Q186) (“Messianique,” 51). This association, however, has been rejected in later scholarship (cf. Popović, *Physiognomics*, 65–67, 240–75). 4Q561 includes brief, schematic descriptions of the eyes, nose, teeth, beard, limbs, fingernails, thighs, and feet. It is difficult to

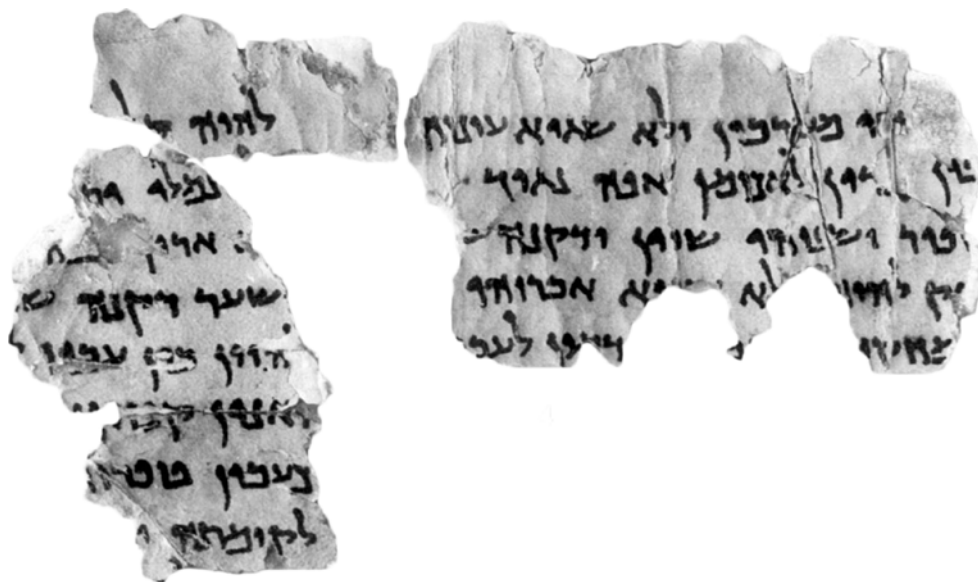
determine precisely how many bodies are described in this text, due its poor state of preservation (see WAC, 567–68; DJD 37:306; Popović, *Physiognomics*, 60). The extant text mostly contains a report of physical features, but Popović demonstrated that such description may serve a prognostic function, even if almost none of the predictive material is preserved. It is also possible, though far less certain, that 4Q561 contains a reference to a person’s character or “spirit” (רוח; frag. 6.2), as is the case in 4Q186 (Starcky, “Messianique,” 64–65; DJD 37:318; Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 393; Lange, “Magic and Divination,” 390). Popović, on the other hand, both questions the textual

basis for this conclusion and cautions against reconstructing the missing portions of 4Q561 based on a perceived parallel with 4Q186 (*Physiognomics*, 64–65).

Popović has demonstrated the “emergence of a marked interest in the physical description of people’s bodies in Second Temple period Judaism” (*Physiognomics*, 277), of which 4Q561 is part. This broader trend appears elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic material, most notably in the description of Noah’s appearance in Birth of Noah (4Q534–536), 1 Enoch 106, and Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) col. 5, as well as the head-to-toe description of Sarai’s beauty in Genesis Apocryphon 20. Although the descriptions in these texts differ in both content and function, they tend to pay special attention to bodily features either as an indication of intellectual prowess or as a means of prognostication. Popović argued that this literary trend, evinced also in Ben Sira, 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a,c} (4Q434, 4Q436), 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, reflects a broad awareness of physiognomics among writers in the Greco-Roman period. According to Popović, these traditions may even bespeak some familiarity with Ptolemaic administrative practices of identifying individuals based on their bodily features. In the sectarian (most probably Essene) context of Qumran and related communities, it is plausibly argued by Alexander and Popović that physiognomic evaluation of the kind witnessed in 4Q561 played some role in considering the membership of aspiring entrants to the community (Alexander, “Physiognomy”; Popović, *Physiognomics*, 172–208). This is perceived especially in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, in 1QS 3–4.

Material remains: 4Q561 is composed of either seven (Popović) or eight (Puech) fragments, though some scholars have argued for the inclusion of several more (see, e.g., Holst and Høgenhaven “Physiognomy”). The majority of the preserved material comes from two fragments (ii and 3), one of which, according to Puech and Popović, contains nearly the entire width of a column (ii). The rest of the manuscript is quite fragmentary, preventing us from making definitive statements about the original order of the material or length of the manuscript. It is important to note that there are some minor discrepancies between the two most recent editions of 4Q561 with respect to how the fragments are labeled (cf. Popović, *Physiognomics*, 60–63; DJD 37:308–21). For one thing, Popović follows Starcky’s original join of Puech’s frag. 3 to the bottom of Puech’s frag. iii, with Popović labeling the collated fragments together as frag. iii, defending this join on material grounds. Puech, on the other hand, doubts whether the join is defensible, either materially or with respect to content. Both scholars accepted Starcky’s join of frag. ii to frag. iii. There are other discrepancies over their respective ways of numbering the remaining fragments: Puech labels Popović’s frag. 3 as frag. 6, frag. 5 as frag. 7, frag. 6 as frag. 5, and frag. 7 as frag. 8. Puech noted that his numbering system is somewhat arbitrary, given the fact that it is very difficult to determine the order of the fragments. Numbering in this profile follows that of Puech in DJD.

Notes on provenance: The fragments of 4Q561 are not found on the early “E series” or “G series” PAM plates. While their discovery in Cave 4 is assured, the mode of that discovery was not documented.



Sample image: 4Q561 ii, iii, and 3 (Popović frags. ii and iii)

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Margins:

Upper: At least 1 cm (frags. ii–iii)

Intercolumnar: 1.2–1.5 cm (frag. ii–iii)

Column dimensions:
5–6 cm w.

Letters per line: Approx. 20–30

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes

Vertical column lines: Yes, both sides of column

Average medial letter height:
2–3 mm

Space between lines: 5–6.5 mm (frag. 8 somewhat smaller)

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Late Hasmonean (Puech); early Herodian round semi-formal (Popović)

Proposed palaeographic date: 100–50 BCE, perhaps 75–50 BCE (Puech); ca. 50–25 BCE (Popović)

Special traits and general comments: This manuscript has below average margin sizes, and among the narrowest column widths in the Qumran corpus if the estimates of Puech and Popović for frag. ii are correct. Such narrow column make it likely that this was a small scroll, and thus perhaps short as well (see Popović, *Physiognomics*, 56). It was evidently prepared with ruled lines at the top, right, and left edges of columns (no bottom margins are preserved), based on lines visible on frags. ii–iii, 4, and 6. It seems, however, that horizontal guidelines were not used inside the text columns, since none are visible in the images and there is considerable variation in spacing between lines. Puech considered frag. 8 to have a preserved marginal guide dot for ruling at the beginning of line 1, but I find this very doubtful. It is much more likely a partially effaced *vav* or *yod* (so also Popović, *Physiognomics*, 63). The scribal hand is of good quality, and the orthography is in keeping with the broader picture in the Qumran manuscripts. *Vav* and *yod* are regularly used to represent vowels, *aleph* is occasionally used where we might have expected *he*, and the expected prefix conjugations of the verb הנהיף take a *lamed* prefix. We find an assimilated *nun* in the word אפה “nose” as in 11Q10 (Job) 35:3, 4–5, though the unassimilated form is used in 1Q20 (apGen) 20:3 (אנפה, “her nose”). The noun דקד “beard” is spelled, as expected in Qumran orthography, with what was presumably a harder dental *dalet* rather than *zayin* (the same root is apparently spelled with *zayin* in 4Q339 [List of False Prophets] 3). There are no sure cases of correction in what remains, though Puech proposes what I find to be a very doubtful supralinear letter at the beginning of frag. 7.3. It is difficult to say much about the syntax of the scroll, given the small amount of preserved text.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Starcky, “Messianique”; Beyer, *ATTM*^E, 125; Beyer, *ATTM*², 163–4; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy”; Popović, *Physiognomics*, 54–67, 262–76.

Script sample:

נ נ ו ו ט ט א א ו ו ח ח י י א א כ כ
 י י ק ק ר ר ש ש ע ע ס ס ן ן נ נ פ פ ל ל י י
 ת ת ש ש

Language

Syntax

Verb-subject (verb early in clause):

iii.1(?)

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

3:5(?)

Subject-verb (verb later in clause):

ii.3-4, ii.4-5(?)

Verbless clause:

ii.1, ii.1-2, ii.2-3, ii.3

Periphrastic construction (past/future continuative action):

Participle + finite form of הוה:

ii.4-5(?)

Lexical items:

דַּי: 2.2

Morphology:

Assimilated nun:

ii.2

Orthography/Phonology:

שׁ for /s/:

ii.1, ii.4, 8.1

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

דַּק (lexical; ii.4) [H]

Previously unattested in Aramaic:

דַּק (adjective; ii.4)

סַגְלַגַּל (adjective; 7:3)

4Q569, Proverbs

[ed. Puech, DJD 37:353-61]

Content synopsis and significance: Very little of this scroll is preserved, but from what remains it is clear that 4Q569 is a Jewish representative of a broader ancient Near Eastern wisdom tradition that flourished during the Persian and Greco-Roman periods. Aramaic proverbial wisdom literature of the sort in 4Q569 is also found, for example, in the sayings of Ahiqar, discovered in the cache of Judean texts attested at Elephantine. Wisdom discourses were also popular in Aramaic narrative texts from Qumran, such as Tobit, the Epistle of Enoch, and the wisdom poem near the end of the Aramaic Levi Document (see Machiela, “Wisdom”). Hebrew examples related to this genre from the Greco-Roman period include the Wisdom of Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), and several other previously unknown Jewish wisdom texts found at Qumran (cf. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*). Little can be said about the contents of 4Q569, due to its poor state of preservation. As with most wisdom literature, the extant sayings are written to a second-person singular addressee and include imperatives (e.g., “remember the poor,” דַּכּוּר עֵינִי; 1.8), prohibitions (e.g., “do not humble yourself,” אַל תִּשְׁתַּפֵּל; 1.4), and conditional statements (e.g., “if your lord loves ...” הֲן מֵרַךְ רַחֵם; 1.6). Although none of the sayings is preserved in full, the words and short phrases that remain appear to reflect a concern with social and economic relations: “like a prince” (בְּנִסִּי; 1.5), “your lord” (מֵרַךְ; 1.6, 2.3), “the

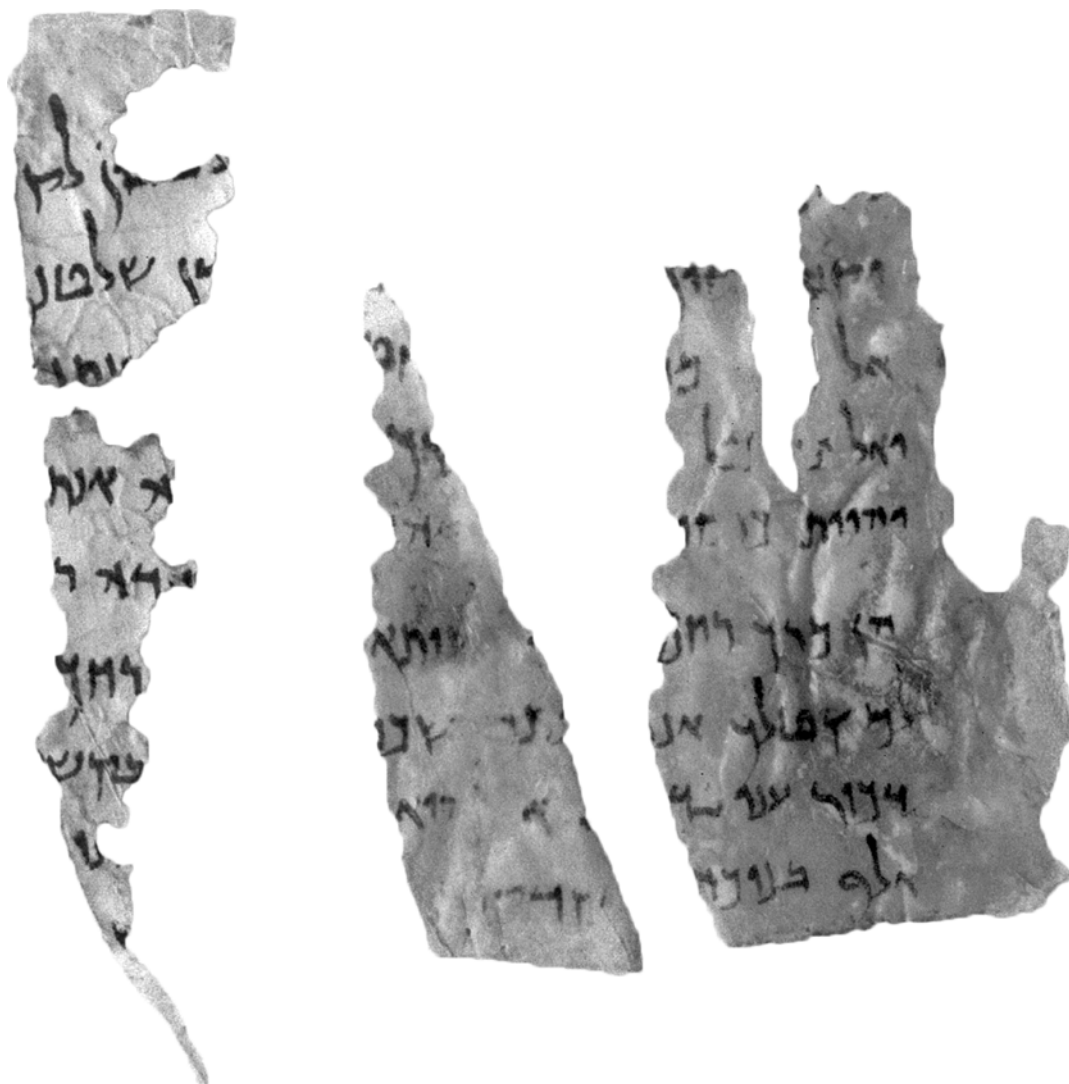
poor” (עֵינִי; 1.8), and “gold” (זָהָב; 2.4). It is also worth noting that 4Q569 preserves two important terms that pervade the Qumran Aramaic collection: שְׁלִטָּן (“dominion”) and קִשְׁט (“truth/righteousness”). These words and concepts appear repeatedly in texts such as 1 Enoch, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, the Visions of Amram, Pseudo-Daniel, Jews at the Persian Court, Four Kingdoms, and Vision^b (4Q558). Puech reconstructed the word לְמַשְׁכָּלִי “to/for the sage” in 4Q569 1.1 (DJD 37:355), cited by Dimant as evidence of a parallel between this text and 4QInstruction (Dimant, “Themes,” 42). If once present, the word would also be a blatant Hebraism. However, scrutiny of the PAM photographs and the digital images on the Leon Levi Digital Library demonstrates just how tenuous this reading is. In my opinion, it is better treated as a reconstruction, and is not likely to be correct.

Material remains: Puech’s 4Q569 comprises four modest fragments, the largest measuring only 2.5 × 6 cm. Two of these four were combined by Puech into his frag. 3. Most of the preserved text is found in frag. 1, which contains meager remains from nine lines. Each of the fragments is very narrow in width, with even frag. 1 containing no more than three extant words in any line. Close examination of the fragments raises serious questions about their cohesion as parts of a single scroll. The two fragments of Puech’s frag. 3 clearly belong together based on color, script, line

spacing, and unambiguous dry ruling at regular intervals (though they were not used by the scribe writing the text), while frags. 1–2 obviously belong together as well. However, there are several physical features distinguishing frag. 3 from frags. 1–2. If Puech's arrangement of frag. 3 and his proposed number of lines for both groups of fragments are correct, frag. 3 is approximately 1 cm taller than frags. 1–2. The bottom margins would also vary considerably, with a very small margin on frags. 1–2 (around 3 mm), but one more than double that size for frag. 3. The color and preservation of the skin are also different, though this can sometimes happen with fragments from a single copy that were preserved in different environments. Line spacing is another trait where the two groups diverge, as Puech already observed. Fragment 3 has quite even line spacing, at around 6 mm per line, while we find much

greater variation on frags. 1–2 (4–8 mm). Palaeographic differences are not determinative, since we have so little remaining text and the scripts are similar typologically. There is almost no textual basis on which to connect the two groups of fragments, and so it is advisable to leave their relationship an open question. In my opinion, the two groups of fragments should not be uncritically treated as parts of the same manuscript.

Notes on provenance: Fragment 2 of 4Q569 is found in the early PAM "G series" plate 40.579, meaning that it was among those discovered by Bedouin in Cave 4, in 1952 (see Strugnell, "Photographing," 124, 131–32). The origins of the remaining fragments of the scroll were not clearly documented, though they most likely were also discovered in Cave 4 by the Bedouin.



Sample image: 4Q569 1–3 (Not a proposed arrangement of the fragments)

Image B-285370

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM.

PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scroll dimensions: Approx.
7.2 cm h. (based on Puech's
frag. 3)

Margins:

Upper: 1 cm (frag. 3)

Lower: Approx. 3 mm (frag. 1–2)
and at least 1 cm? (frag. 3)

Intercolumnar: At least 1.2 cm
(frag. 1)

Column dimensions: 4.3 cm h.

Lines per column: 9 (frag. 3)

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal scribal lines: Yes
(frag. 3), not on frags. 1, 2

Vertical column lines: None
visible

Average medial letter height:
2–4 mm

Space between lines: 4–8 mm

Space between words: 1–2 mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Hasmonean semi-formal with some semi-cursive elements (Puech)

Proposed palaeographic date: 133–100 BCE (Puech)

Special traits and general comments: If Puech's proposed number of lines and overall manuscript height are correct, this manuscript is among the shortest preserved at Qumran. This is one factor in assessing the quality of the manuscript, and accounts for my relatively low rating of "fair–good." However, as observed above under *Material remains*, frags. 1–2 and frag. 3 are best assessed independently. Fragment 3 has a curious feature: It is very clearly ruled with horizontal script lines, the first being placed 1.4 cm from the top of the sheet, with lines then evenly spaced at 7 mm. The scribe, however, began writing the first line only 1 cm from the top of the sheet, and then regularly spaced the lines at about 6 mm apart. The result is lines of writing that do not align with the ruling, which had been done earlier in the scroll's preparation process. Puech notes that the orthography is generally defective, but there are two preserved examples of *plene* spelling: the full form of the imperative דכור at 1.8 and the second sg. suffix כה– at 1.9 (cf. ד– at 1.6, 7; 2.3; 3a–b.2, 6). Puech suggested that the orthography of דכור was influenced by the Hebrew form (זכור), in which case this would be a morphological/phonological Hebraism.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Puech, "Morceaux."

Script sample:

וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו
 וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו

Language

Syntax

Subject-verb (verb early in clause):

1-2.6, 1-2.8

Subject implied (verb early in clause):

1-2.2(?), 1-2.5

Use of negative particle אֵל (+ prefix-conjugation verb):

1-2.3; 1-2.4

Orthography/Phonology:

2ms (pro)nominal suffix כה/כא:

1.9

Other notable features:

Proposed Hebraisms:

דכור (morphological/phonological; 1.8) [h]

6Q14, Apocalypse

[ed. Baillet, DJD 3:127-28]

Content synopsis and significance: Little can be said about the contents of these two small fragments, if indeed they belong together (see below). The first seems to mention a destruction of “all the beasts of the fi[eld]” (כול חות בִּרְאָא; 1.6), and “peoples” (עמיון; 1.7), though without any context. The second fragment has the verb “he/it will rise up” (יקום; 2.1) and “mo]rning and weeping” (אֵל בִּלְ[בְּכִי; 2.3), again with no context. Based on the implied calamity and the mention of beasts in these fragments, Baillet (DJD 3:128) suggested that an eschatological scenario was in view, an observation that led to his label for 6Q14, “Texte apocalyptique.” Beyer went a step further (*ATM*¹, 268), arguing that 6Q14 belongs to the Book of Giants and warned of the coming Flood (hence his title, “Die Ankündigung der Sintflut”). Stuckenbruck (*Giants*, 219; cf. García-Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 102, n. 13) rightly judged Beyer’s identification to be extremely tenuous, writing that “identification of this manuscript with the Qumran BG represents at best only a questionable possibility.” In fact, 6Q14 is so fragmentary that little can be said about it with confidence, including that it is an apocalypse. One can only say that the scroll’s possible identification as apocalyptic and eschatological in its outlook would be in keeping with the profile of the Qumran Aramaic corpus more broadly.

Material remains: Baillet identified two fragments under the siglum 6Q14, both being smaller than 2 × 2 cm. Fragment 1 is actually made up of two joined pieces in the earliest plate arranged by Baillet (PAM 41.510), with the join seeming plausible. By later that year (1955), a small third piece had been added on the upper, righthand edge

of the fragment, as seen on PAM 41.734. This third piece has moved slightly in subsequent photographs, and while its identification with 6Q14 seems tenable, the join is open to serious doubt. Scholars since Baillet have accepted his identification of the two main fragments without scrutiny, though in my opinion there is good reason to question that they belong to the same manuscript. The skin is similar in color, but the script has clear differences, with frag. 1 having a more rounded, untidy script character when compared to the more square, regulated style of frag. 2. This is seen especially in a comparison of the letters *qoph* and *dalet*. In addition, the sizes of the letters is more consistent (2 mm) on frag. 2 than on frag. 1 (varying from 1.5 to 2 mm), and the spacing of the lines on frag. 2 is visibly more generous than on frag. 1. Analysis of the hair follicle patterns would have to be done in person, but there is no clear connection based on the photographs. In any event, this would only apply if we could show that the fragments come from the same area or sheet of the manuscript. With such a small sample size it is difficult to come to a definitive conclusion, but I am skeptical of identifying the two fragments as belonging to the same manuscript.

Notes on provenance: Cave 6 was discovered by Bedouin in September, 1952. Most of the fragments from the cave, likely including 6Q14, were extracted by Bedouin and then sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (DJD 3:26). Only a small number of remaining fragments were discovered during the official excavation of Cave 6 in late September, 1952 (Fields, *Scrolls*, 142).



Sample image: 6Q14

Images [right to left] B-482250 and B-482254

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PROFILE OF PHYSICAL LAYOUT

Scribal guidelines:

Horizontal script lines: Yes
(according to Baillet)

Average medial letter height:
1.5–2 mm

Space between lines: 3–5 mm

Space between words: 0–1.5
mm

Vacats: None preserved

Material: Skin

Script: Herodian (Baillet), though see *Special traits and general comments* below

Proposed palaeographic date: 1–70 CE (Baillet)

Special traits and general comments: The spacing of this manuscript is close and erratic, with the upper extension of the *lamed* sometimes intruding into the preceding line. This is especially true for frag. 1, which as suggested above may well belong to a different manuscript than frag. 2. Fragment 1 has a rounded Hasmonean or early Herodian script, comparable in its poor execution to 4Q201 (En^a). A more assuredly Herodian, square script is found on frag. 2, resembling in its formality copies such as 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 4Q531 (EnGiants^c). There are no preserved margins, vacats, or corrections in the very little text preserved. Baillet referred to scribal guidelines based on autopsy, but these are not visible on the images (early or more recent) and it is unclear whether he discerned them on both fragments. The orthography is characteristic of the corpus generally, tending to have full spellings, using *vav* and *yod* in particular to indicate vowels.

Original manuscript quality: Fair–good

Select bibliography: Beyer, *ATM*¹, 268; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 218–19, 231.

Language

The language of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves has grown into a topic of considerable scholarly debate. This discussion has been driven by multiple factors, but especially the following two: 1.) The relative dearth of Aramaic writings preserved from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods prior to the discoveries around the site of Qumran. With the Aramaic scrolls, we now have much better access to an otherwise poorly-attested phase of this language's development. Tied up with this point are a number of areas of tangential interest, most notably the often related questions of “the language of Jesus,” the linguistic landscape of Second Temple period Judaism, and the historical development and use of the Jewish targums.¹ Such interests have clearly impacted the amount of attention dedicated to the question of language in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. 2.) The Aramaic dialect of the scrolls has been an influential factor in dating them, as shall be seen below. These compositions neither contain dates indicating when they were written or copied, as the documentary texts from the Judean Desert sometimes do, nor do internal clues make them easy to situate in the history of Second Temple period Judaism. As a result, we are left to employ whatever methods and criteria are at hand for dating, and one of our best available options is the Aramaic dialect used by those who composed or copied the scrolls. Consequently, the language of these works may play a determinative role in how they figure into discussions of the historical, social, and religious landscape of early Judaism. To cite one prominent example, Kutscher's dating of the language of the Genesis Apocryphon to around the turn of the Common Era, which was followed by Fitzmyer and others, influenced significantly how that text has factored into reconstructions of early Judaism and the broader corpus of Aramaic works from Qumran.

In what follows, I provide a survey of the history of research on what is often called Qumran Aramaic, going on to give my own account of the language of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls. The guiding questions behind this chapter are derived from those driving the book as a whole: To what extent can we speak of Qumran Aramaic as a coherent dialect, thereby supporting or undermining the notion of these texts forming an interrelated corpus? To what period can the dialect(s) of these scrolls be assigned,

and with what level of certainty can we make that assignment?² Finally, how compelling is the distinction – still commonly made by linguists – between Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic?

1 Yehezkel Kutscher and the Typological Method of Dating Aramaic Texts

No serious treatment of the language of the Qumran Aramaic literature can ignore the enormously influential, pioneering work of Yehezkel Kutscher on the language of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20).³ A doyen of ancient Aramaic and its dialects, Kutscher set the pattern for decades of researchers by placing different texts in a diachronic sequence based on the comparison of carefully chosen linguistic diagnostic traits. Kutscher and those who followed him assumed that these traits furnish the researcher with important clues for establishing the relative time and place of a text's composition, and help to fill in a developmental sketch of the Aramaic language, from Official Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch) to the Jewish targums. Among the most important characteristics for Kutscher's dating of the Genesis Apocryphon were:

- דן/דנה: The demonstrative pronoun דן “this,” much more common than the longer form דנה in the Genesis Apocryphon, is considered later than the דנה of MT Daniel (or זנה of Official Aramaic).
- Use of *aleph* instead of *he* as a prefix for some conjugations of the causative (אפעל/הפעל) and passive-reflexive (אתפעל/התפעל) verbal stems: The usual *aleph* of the Genesis Apocryphon is considered later than the *he* of MT Daniel and earlier dialects.
- אן/אין: The spelling of the conditional particle אן “if,” used intermittently in the Genesis Apocryphon, is considered later than the consistent use of אין in MT Daniel.
- Certain spellings in the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., מרי, לזאתי, ראישה) are deemed to betray what Kutscher called a Middle Aramaic background, later than spellings found in MT Daniel.⁴

² This question leads to the vexed topic of terminology associated with the Aramaic of the Qumran texts, which will be discussed below.

³ Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon.”

⁴ Kutscher's Middle Aramaic is to be distinguished from Fitzmyer's later definition of the same label, which encompasses an earlier

¹ I have attempted to summarize the issues at play here in an earlier article, Machiela, “Translation.”

- Some word forms are of special note, especially those ending with *nun* in the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., תמן, תמן; כמן, תמה; = כמה, תמה in MT Daniel) and ordinal numbers (e.g., תניאני in the Genesis Apocryphon; = תנינות in MT Daniel). The forms in the Genesis Apocryphon are considered by Kutscher to be later than those in MT Daniel.
 - Use of the קושט noun pattern, which resembles a standard Hebrew pattern and occurs regularly in the Genesis Apocryphon, is considered to be a later deviation from the more classical Aramaic קשוט.
 - Dissimilation of a geminate consonant through nasalisation (addition of *nun*; e.g., ינדע [יד"ע]) and retention of etymological *nun* (e.g., ינפק [נפ"ק]), common in both MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, is considered to be generally earlier than the assimilated forms (יפק, ידע) typically found in later dialects.
 - Employment of *lamed* to mark the direct object (e.g., להון), again almost ubiquitous in MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon (and in Official Aramaic), is considered to be earlier than use of the particle ית (e.g., יתהון).
 - The internal passive פְעִיל form occurs regularly in MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, but is “conspicuous by its absence” in later Middle Aramaic.
 - The particle of negation אַל, followed by a shortened prefix-conjugation verb (e.g., אַל תקוצו), is used in earlier dialects, including MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, but not in later “western” dialects.
 - די/–ד: The relative pronoun די (זי in Official Aramaic) is generally earlier than the shortened, prefix form –ד, which marks the Middle Aramaic dialects.
 - First person plural suffixes tend to be –נא (e.g., עלנא, אַנחנא) in MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon (also Targum Onkelos), as opposed to the later –ן ending.
- Various other “early” or “late” elements of the Genesis Apocryphon, not connected with MT Daniel, were also

discussed by Kutscher, leading to a rather mixed and confusing picture that could be skewed toward various dates depending on the relative importance allotted to different patterns of traits. Kutscher ultimately settled on dating the Genesis Apocryphon’s language to the first century BCE (to the first century CE), somewhat later than the language of MT Daniel, but prior to that of Targum Onkelos to the Pentateuch. He was followed by Joseph Fitzmyer, who dated the Apocryphon’s composition to the first century BCE or the first century CE, based mainly on the opinion of Kutscher.⁵

An important, though sometimes overlooked, response to Kutscher’s article was published in 1963 by H.H. Rowley, who restricted his investigation to the relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and MT Daniel.⁶ Surveying fifty-six linguistic traits, many of which had also been treated by Kutscher, Rowley judged that “the language of the scroll is very close to that of the Aramaic parts of the book of Daniel, though slightly later.”⁷ Rowley’s study moved beyond Kutscher’s in certain respects. For example, he paid more attention to the marking of word-final ‘a’ and ‘e’ vowels either by א or ה, most notably to indicate the final ‘a’ vowel of the determined state and the feminine noun suffix. The presence or absence of א as a vowel marker in some other situations (e.g., as a medial vowel, or to indicate פ”י verb endings) was also noted, with א generally deemed to indicate a later stage of Aramaic. Another important consideration for Rowley was a text’s relation to several phonetic shifts from earlier to later written forms: ע>ק (e.g., “earth” ארק/ארע; Heb. ארץ), ד>ז (e.g., “altar” מזבח/מדבח), ת>ש (e.g., “to weigh out, pay” שקל/תקל), and ש>ס (e.g., “ten” עשר/עסר). Not all of these changes occurred at the same time, or in the same ways, but they do give some general sense of when a text was written. After considering Kutscher’s date of the Genesis Apocryphon, Rowley objected that, “[o]n linguistic grounds there is nothing to preclude a date in the second century BC, since there is nothing that would require any long interval between the date of the Aramaic of Daniel and the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.”⁸ A comparison of Kutscher and Rowley demonstrates how examination of similar factors could lead to appreciably different results. Kutscher and others had frequently acknowledged the woefully limited material with which to work, and the refinement that would be possible if further Aramaic texts from the Second Temple period came

period than that intended by Kutscher. Kutscher never clearly defined Middle Aramaic, but one may gather from his related comments that it includes the various Jewish targums (especially Onkelos), Galilean Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Nabatean. For a slightly fuller explanation, see Kutscher, “Dating,” 288–89. Middle Aramaic has been used in this same sense by Kutscher’s student, Michael Sokoloff. The definition of Fitzmyer has been followed by many scholars, such as Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 20. A completely different dating taxonomy is proposed by Klaus Beyer, *ATM*¹, 23–76 (with an updated, English translation published as *Language*). Beyer uses the term *Mittelaramäisch* in a way distinct from both Kutscher and Fitzmyer, adding to the confusion around this term. Beyer placed most of the Qumran Aramaic texts under his category *Hasmonäisch* (i.e., *Hasmonean Aramaic*; *ATM*¹, 34–35), with the notable exception of 4Q201 (En^a), which is the only text he lists as *Jüdisch-Altostjordanische* (227).

5 Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 28.

6 Rowley, “Notes.”

7 Rowley, “Notes,” 129.

8 Rowley, “Notes,” 129.

to light. Happily, with the many added manuscripts from Qumran we are now in a better position to assess not only the date of the Genesis Apocryphon's language, but also the consistency and character of "Qumran Aramaic" more generally.

As other Aramaic Qumran scrolls were published, some were put through the paces of Kutscher's method, using his and Rowley's categories for comparison, and assigning a date relative to the now-growing list of texts. The so-called Job Targum from Cave 11 (11Q10) was the first to receive such attention, initially by van der Ploeg and van der Woude, and then by Sokoloff.⁹ The former scholars suggested very tentatively that the translation should be placed, on linguistic grounds, between MT Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, in the second half of the second century BCE. Several years later Sokoloff offered a far more comprehensive comparison of traits, nearly amounting to a full-scale grammatical treatment of the scroll. The comparative indicators of Kutscher and Rowley were expanded yet further by Sokoloff, including attention to morphology of verbs, pronouns, and use of the determinate and indeterminate states of nouns. In the end, Sokoloff tallied the scroll's linguistic traits according to the following categories: 1.) Like Biblical Aramaic [16]; 2.) Between Biblical Aramaic and the Genesis Apocryphon [6]; 3.) Like the Genesis Apocryphon [3]; 4.) Later than the Genesis Apocryphon [3]; 5.) Inconclusive [4]. Based on these numbers, he offered that "[t]he date of composition of Tg1 is thus placed sometime between BA (D) and GAP, and – if a date may be hazarded – probably sometime in the second century BCE."¹⁰

A similar approach was adopted by Sokoloff in a later article dedicated to the Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch. The study was, in part, also a review of J.T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch*, and focused especially in on the linguistic and scribal traits of 4Q201 (En^a), which Sokoloff judged "the most interesting of all the published manuscripts."¹¹ He isolated as noteworthy the following eleven points of orthography and grammar:

1. A heavy preference for η rather than \varkappa to mark the final 'a' vowel of the determinate state, feminine nouns, and other words ending with this vowel.
2. A heavy preference for δ rather than ψ to mark the phoneme 's.'
3. Preference for the \varkappa prefix of the causative and reflexive/passive verb forms, rather than η .

4. Defective spellings of 2nd pl. perf. verb forms and 2nd and 3rd pl. pronominal suffixes.
5. Regular assimilation (or elision) of etymological \varkappa in both verbs and nouns.
6. Non-assimilation of η in the single example of a η verb (ינפק).
7. Employment of 3rd f. pl. forms for the pronoun and verb.
8. Spelling of the pl. dem. pronoun as אַלִּי, not אֲלִי.
9. Spelling of the 3rd m. pl. independent pronoun as אַנּוּן, not הַמִּי (וּ).
10. Consistent use of the full form יָדִי, not –דִּי, for the relative pronoun.
11. Original short 'u' vowels are not represented in the orthography.

Sokoloff compared 4Q201 (En^a) with 11Q10 (Job) in much the same way that he had earlier assessed 11Q10 (Job) relative to Biblical Aramaic and the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20). He concluded that, "[t]he morphological features of 4QEn^a indicate that it should be placed somewhat after 11Q10." All of the above resulted in the following proposed chronological sequence of Aramaic texts, from earlier to later: Daniel (as reflected in the MT), 11Q10 (Job), 4Q201 (En^a), and 1Q20 (apGen). The basic method of Kutscher, Rowley, and Sokoloff has been drawn upon by others for assessing the dates of additional compositions, an example being García Martínez's treatment of the New Jerusalem text.¹³

2 Responses to the Typological Method

A major critique of the "typological series" approach outlined above was issued in the early 1990s by two North American scholars, Michael Wise and Edward Cook, a development encapsulated in Cook's statement that "the entire method of dating Qumran Aramaic texts linguistically needs rethinking."¹⁴ Although Wise and Cook worked independently, their critiques share important similarities.¹⁵ Wise set his views within the broader

9 van der Ploeg and van der Woude, *Job*, 3–4. Sokoloff, *Job*, 9–16.

10 Sokoloff, *Job*, 25.

11 Sokoloff, "Notes."

12 Sokoloff, "Notes," 203. On the potentially complicating factor of this scroll being written in a different geographic location than other Qumran scrolls, see section 4.2 in the following chapter on scribal practices.

13 García Martínez, "New Jerusalem," 456. See also the comments of Puech in DJD 37:98, and the earlier assessment in DJD 3:184.

14 Wise, *Thunder*, 103–151 (published earlier in Muraoka, *Studies*, 124–67); Cook, "Kohath" (quotation at 218). "Typological series" is a phrase first used by Cook ("Kohath," 216) to describe the approach developed by Kutscher and Sokoloff.

15 Though not dealt with directly in what follows, see also the corroborating comments of Wacholder, "Judaean-Aramaic," 259.

frameworks of the use of Aramaic in Palestine before and during the period when the Aramaic Qumran texts were written, and the book culture of Greco-Roman antiquity.¹⁶ With respect to the former area, Wise bristled that scholars have not often enough recognized how Aramaic operated as a diglossic language in Second Temple period Palestine. According to Wise, there was a higher dialect (H) that was primarily written, was restricted to the educated classes, and resembled the older Official Aramaic of the Achaemenid period. This high dialect was accompanied by a lower one (L) that was primarily spoken, incorporated numerous changes into the older dialect (e.g., many of the abbreviated and altered forms listed above), and was much more widespread among the populace than the higher dialect. Wise applied his notion of Aramaic diglossia to the Qumran texts by proposing that the so-called “later” elements identified by Kutscher and others are simply instances where the lower dialect (L) had made its way into a group of writings that were written primarily in the higher dialect (H) by a group of well-trained scribes. If correct, this would be important for dating, since it would mean that two texts with slightly different constellations of linguistic features, like Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, could have been composed at the same time, with the former simply reflecting stricter adherence to the higher dialect, either at the stage of composition or subsequent copying. That is to say, the “later” elements are rendered much less effective for the type of dating attempted by Kutscher and others. A further complication, ignored by earlier scholars according to Wise, is that different manuscripts were copied for different purposes, a factor that may have influenced the language of any given copy. For instance, 6Q7 (papDan) is a poorly-written copy on low-grade papyrus, and Wise makes a connection between this manuscript’s physical features, presumed intended purpose as a “personal copy,” and relatively high number of intrusions from the lower dialect. The fact that this manuscript stands alongside copies of Daniel without these intrusions does not necessitate that 6Q7 (papDan) is chronologically later. Its scribe, potentially writing at the same or even an earlier time than the scribe of a more archaic-looking manuscript, simply may not have preserved the higher-dialect form of the text as well as the other scribe, who was perhaps writing a higher-quality copy. This led Wise to the important role of the copying

scribe in textual change over time, a point emphasized with equal force by Cook.

Cook began his analysis by noting that, with the publication of 4Q201 (En^a), “it could be seen that the typological method was in trouble.”¹⁷ This trouble was caused by a tension between several linguistic features considered by Sokoloff to be late, and Milik’s relatively early dating of the scroll to the first half of the second century BCE on palaeographic grounds. Because of Sokoloff’s previous assignment of the language of 11Q10 (Job) to “sometime in the late second century BCE,”¹⁸ which he considered to be linguistically earlier than 4Q201 (En^a) but later than MT Daniel, 11Q10 (Job) would need to be moved to an earlier time, should Milik’s date be accepted. However, this ran up against the common assumption that MT Daniel’s Aramaic should be dated to around 165 BCE, with the chronological window between MT Daniel, 11Q10 (Job), and 4Q201 (En^a) now growing perilously small, if not collapsing altogether. Something clearly had to give, whether Sokoloff’s dating of the language of 11Q10 (Job), Milik’s palaeographic date, or the dating of MT Daniel’s Aramaic. While Cook suggested that MT Daniel’s Aramaic may be reasonably placed as early as the third century BCE in order to accommodate the typological dating system (with which I fully agree), he ultimately rejected this solution for two reasons: 1.) “the probability of orthographic and grammatical revision in the transmission of texts;” and 2.) the existence of “a variety of local orthographies” that confounds attempts at placing orthographic and grammatical phenomena in a straight-line chronological or typological development.¹⁹ Like Wise, these points led Cook to argue that “nothing is more certain than that individual scribes differed in their use of such features as *matres lectionis*, use of ψ or ϑ , retention of historical spellings, and so on,” as can be seen in comparison between two manuscripts of the same work.²⁰ For Cook, these factors compromise the typological approach so severely that our confidence in linguistic dating is almost completely eroded. In lieu of this system, he proposed that we should simply refer to all Aramaic material from the Judean Desert as “Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Hellenistic Roman Period.”²¹

16 Gzella (see below) is correct to point out that the rather acerbic, haughty tone of Wise’s essay may contribute to its being widely ignored in scholarly treatments. Nevertheless, some of his points deserve serious consideration.

17 Cook, “Kothath,” 216.

18 Sokoloff, *Job*, 25.

19 Cook, “Kothath,” 217–18. At the end of his article, Cook explicitly rejects Wise’s diglossia solution, preferring instead the more geographically-oriented “local orthography” explanation. On this point, see also Cook, “Dialectology.”

20 Cook, “Kothath,” 218. Cook’s two main examples are the Qumran Enoch manuscripts and 4Q542 (TQahat).

21 Cook, “Kothath,” 219.

More recently, Holger Gzella added his voice to this conversation, raising again the point that orthography is a very shaky criterion for dating a composition, since it can easily change over time with scribal transmission.²² More secure, argues Gzella, are morphological and morphosyntactic features, since they have greater resistance than orthography to change, while lexical development is sometimes difficult to untangle from orthography proper.²³ Gzella shows through the Arsacid and later Samaria inscriptions, all of which are contemporary with or postdate the Qumran texts, that ostensibly early features can be preserved for a very long time. In fact, the Arsacid inscriptions display an almost flawless reproduction of the considerably earlier Achaemenid period standard.²⁴ Rather than show that these texts antedate those from Qumran, Gzella rightly argues that they advocate for a more complex approach than has been used hitherto. Such an approach would complicate the picture by factoring in the possibility of different linguistic “registers,” literary traditions, written versus spoken forms of the language, and local dialects, as well as more carefully weighing the true import of various linguistic features. In the end, Gzella advocates a salvage project for the typological approach in lieu of the critiques of Cook and Wise, proposing that “one should utilize non-linear models of the development of Aramaic and its multi-dialectal scribal context with competing orthographies for improving the underlying typological method.”²⁵

Another call for complicating the way we handle Qumran Aramaic and other Aramaic dialects has been issued by Aaron Koller, although he pushed forward the discussion in different directions than Gzella.²⁶ Koller stressed especially the factors of genre and ideology in an attempt to break loose of models focused primarily on geography and chronology (e.g., a text or corpus is Eastern Middle Aramaic). A more nuanced approach, argues Koller, should recognize that the situation on the ground included many more factors, and often does not conform easily to a neat geographic-chronological model. With reference to the Qumran texts specifically, Koller follows Ursula Schattner-Rieser by laying emphasis on the heterogeneity of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, in contrast to the more homogeneous approach of, for example, Cook.²⁷ This topic will be taken up further near the end of

the present chapter, but suffice it to say that one’s opinion on the heterogeneity or homogeneity of the corpus rests largely on one’s definition of a dialect, and the factors chosen as the focus of comparison.²⁸

3 Scribal Preferences and Textual Transmission I: The Evidence for Scribal Change

Taken together, the studies of Wise, Cook, Gzella, and Koller provide an insightful corrective to Kutscher’s method. While Wise and Cook despair of gleaning any firm conclusions from the typological approach, I agree with Gzella that parts of the method are of serious value to scholars studying these texts, so long as text-external factors like local dialects and individual scribal preferences are used to inform and condition the method. There is no going back to the placement of every Qumran Aramaic text in sequence on a single developmental trajectory; the situation is undoubtedly much less tidy than that.

We have seen that an important factor, stressed by Wise, Cook, Gzella, and Koller, is the role of individual scribes and the extent to which we may assume a copy to represent faithfully a composition’s “original” text, whatever that may have been and by whichever processes it may have developed. The important distinction between the character of a work’s language at the point of original composition and its subsequent copies has often been left ambiguous in studies on Qumran Aramaic texts, though the factor of scribal intervention through the transmission process was raised already by Tisdall and Schäder in the early twentieth century for Daniel.²⁹ For example, Kutscher did not specify whether he regarded the *literary composition* of the Genesis Apocryphon to date to the first century BCE (to the first century CE), or simply *this copy* of the work (i.e., 1Q20).³⁰ This ambiguity resulted in different interpretations by the first editors of the scroll, Nahmad Avigad and Yigael Yadin, and Joseph Fitzmyer in his later commentary.³¹ Avigad and Yadin agreed with Kutscher’s date, but added that “[t]his does not, of course, fix the

22 Gzella, “Dating”; idem, *Cultural History*, 231.

23 Gzella, “Dating,” 72.

24 Gzella, “Dating,” 75–6.

25 Gzella, “Dating,” 78.

26 Koller, “Dialects.”

27 Koller, “Dialects,” 212–13. See also Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 25; Cook, “Dialectology,” 7–8.

28 In concluding this section, attention should also be drawn to the comments of Christian Stadel, who issues a similar warning for typological dating based on how various text groups employ the word ܠܢ. See Stadel, “Syntagm,” 44.

29 As noted by Cook, “Kothath,” 217. See Tisdall, “Daniel,” 237–45; Schäder, *Beiträge*, 242, 245–46.

30 Kutscher wrote of the “language” and “spelling” of the “scroll” (“Genesis Apocryphon,” 15, 27–28), which could be taken to mean that he was referring to this copy only in his analysis. See also Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 38–9.

31 Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 38–9; Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 26–28.

time of the original composition,” which they judged to be the second century BCE or earlier. Fitzmyer, on the other hand, collapsed the stages of original composition and copy, even considering that 1Q20 (apGen) may be the original autograph, a view widely rejected in later scholarship with good reason. In each case, the position adopted is bound to influence the subsequent historical treatment of the scroll.

As will become clear below, there can be no doubt that scribes had their own habits and idiosyncrasies when it came to copying a text, and that each copy could take on its own set of linguistic traits. Several examples from different copies preserving the same passage will suffice, for the moment, to introduce and illustrate this point:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | 4Q205 (En ^d) 2i.26 | וְדָכַר דִּי עֵן |
| | 4Q206 (En ^e) 4ii.12–13 | וּדְכַר [זִי עֵן] |
| 2. | 4Q209 (Enast ^b) 23.5 | כּוּכְבִּין וּבְדִכִּין |
| | 4Q210 (Enast ^c) iii.a+b+c.16 | כּוּכְבִּיא בְדִיל כִּין |
| 3. | 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 5.3–4 | וּמְנַהֵם פְּרוּל מִ[לְכוּ פְּלִיגָה]
תְּהוּא... [וּאֲצַבְעַת] תְּ רִגְלִיא
מְנַהֵם פְּרוּל
וּמְנַהֵן פְּרוּל מִלְכוּ פְּלִיגָה
תְּהוּא... וּאֲצַבְעַת רִגְלִיא
מְנַהֵן פְּרוּל |
| | MT Dan 2:41–42 | |

Each of these parallels contains a disagreement between presumably “early” and “late” linguistic features in two copies (or in Daniel’s case, the entire Masoretic tradition), thereby unambiguously catching the process of scribal updating or variation in motion.³² The first example, from two Enoch fragments, attests to the phonetic transition from ʔ to ד , representing the “hardening” (or dentalization) of an originally softer, more spirantized consonant. The same ד form is witnessed several other times in the Qumran texts (4Q206 [En^e] 4iii.16, 4Q213a [Levi^b] 3–4.5, 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12(?).1, 4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c] 2i+3.4), at times in close proximity to the dentalized ד form. Remarkably, in the same 4Q206 (En^e) that uses ד we also find what is presumably the latest form of this word, the prefixed –ד (twice in 1xxii.6). Both 4Q205 (En^d) and 4Q206 (En^e) are dated palaeographically to the first century BCE. In the second example, from the Astronomical Book of Enoch, we find several linguistic changes in close proximity, including the addition of a conjunction and the collapsing of two words into a contracted form. In general, these two manuscripts exhibit a relatively high number of orthographic and morphological disagreements in the available parallel passages. Again, both manuscripts are dated by Milik and Drawnel to the first century BCE. While

it is true that the Daniel manuscripts from Qumran agree to a significant extent with the MT consonantal text (i.e., the *ketiv*, and less so with the *qere* traditions), 4Q112 (Dan^a) contains what seems to be a stark archaism in the Official Aramaic form of the 3mp pronominal suffix –ה , rather than expected form as found in MT Daniel and Qumran Aramaic more broadly: –הן .³³ 4Q112 (Dan^a) also uses once the *aleph*-prefixed *ithpeel* spelling rather than the *he*-prefixed *hithpeel* of the MT, another apparent archaism.³⁴ Another Daniel manuscript, 4Q113 (Dan^b), spells the MT pronoun אנת and 2ms suffix –ך instead as אנתה and כה–, both forms usually considered to represent later orthographic practice. As with the examples above, Cross and Ulrich judge both 4Q112 (Dan^a) and 4Q113 (Dan^b) to be first century BCE copies.

What are we to make of differences like these? In what ways should they change our approach to dating the language of Qumran Aramaic texts, in keeping with Gzella’s suggestions? If our goal is to assess the overall coherence of Qumran Aramaic as an Aramaic dialect, and secondarily its relationship to other dialects, it is clear that discrepancies between copies like those just offered must condition the scope of linguistic variation that we should expect and accept when assessing Qumran Aramaic as a dialect. This ties into the very important, though infrequently discussed, topic of how we define a “dialect.”³⁵ What do we mean by this word? What are our expectations of a dialect? How tight must the coherence among disparate texts be for inclusion within a single dialect? How many (or what sorts of) linguistic features must be present before a text is deemed to fall outside of a given dialect? These are very difficult questions to answer, given the high complexity of coordinating manifold linguistic features across a considerable number of texts.

A first step toward answering questions like these with respect to Qumran Aramaic is to get a good sense of the range of scribal variation existing among the scrolls. To achieve this end, one can look at variation exhibited

33 For background on the differences between the *ketiv* and *qere* in Daniel, see Morrow and Clarke, “Ketiv/Qere.” While Cook (“Kohath,” 217, n. 43) understands this variant in 4Q112 (Dan^a) to be an archaism, it is also technically possible that it is a Hebraism. This possibility gains some weight from the presence of a stark Hebraism in the plural ending of –הם at 4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.11, versus –הן of MT Dan 2:27. In either case, the general point of scribal intervention is illustrated.

34 Kutscher and Sokoloff imply that the *ithpeel*, like the *aphel*, is a later spelling. However, Cook (“Dialectology,” 14–16) has pointed out correctly that the situation is, in fact, the opposite for the passive-reflexive stem.

35 The topic is discussed briefly by Gzella (*Cultural History*, 46, n. 11), though even there the term is left quite open.

32 The third example was noted already by Cook in “Kohath,” 217, n. 43.

between different Qumran Aramaic literary works, as Sokoloff did for 11Q10 (Job) and 4Q201 (En^a). However, as the differences between the Enoch manuscripts illustrate, this may give a “false read” if our goal is to compare *literary compositions* and not simply *individual copies*. In other words, Sokoloff does not demonstrate that the language of Aramaic Enoch is older than that of the Genesis Apocryphon, but rather that the language of 4Q201 (En^a) is older than that of 1Q20 (apGen). Discrepancies between parallel passages show beyond doubt that another, now lost copy of the Genesis Apocryphon could have contained features considered older than those in 1Q20 (apGen), which may in turn compel us to date the *composition’s* (though not that *copy’s*) language to an earlier period. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that some Aramaic works from the Qumran caves are composite in nature, bringing together stories potentially written at different times, and with slightly different linguistic features. An example of this is the Aramaic Enoch anthology underlying what would eventually become 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch. There is also the possibility of more sweeping revisions to individual works – what we might call different editions – as may have been the case for the Astronomical Book of Enoch. Of course, such revisions could have included changes to the Aramaic in which they were written.

A constructive way to begin assessing the range of variation we might expect across the Qumran Aramaic corpus is to catalogue the types of scribal changes exhibited between copies in parallel passages of the same literary work. With this range of scribal variation before us, we may then go on to compare the range of linguistic variation between separate literary compositions in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, with the aim of seeing whether the variation between compositions exceeds that exhibited between copies of the same work. If the types of scribal changes found between copies of the same work are roughly equivalent to those found between separate compositions, then any attempt at the *relative* dating of *literary compositions* based on language alone is seriously compromised, and should be avoided. At most, it should serve only as tertiary, supporting evidence of arguments for dating made on other grounds. Though the sample size of parallel passages shared by two or more copies of the same work at Qumran is regrettably small, the range of discrepancies in these parallel passages can provide a baseline for linguistic comparison among the disparate Qumran Aramaic texts. This baseline can then inform our method for typological dating, since it exposes at least some of the factors that should be neutralized for dating purposes, based on demonstrated scribal intervention in the manuscripts. For example, if we see that two copies of the same work vacillate between using the *aphel* and

haphel spellings for the causative stem in parallel passages, with how much confidence can we use this factor for the relative dating of *literary compositions* from our corpus based on the available manuscripts? The consistent use of the *aphel* spelling in a given Qumran Aramaic work, then, should be given little weight for dating the language of *composition*, since we can see in other contexts at Qumran this feature being changed by scribes over the course of transmission. To be sure, this *aphel* spelling remains useful for assessing the habits of that particular scribe and copy, though it will be suggested below that we should be careful dating with too much precision even an individual copy based on such linguistic features.³⁶

Below is a complete list of parallels in the Qumran Aramaic scrolls, followed by an initial catalogue of the types of linguistic changes present in parallel passages from different copies of Qumran Aramaic works.³⁷ For the Qumran Daniel and Ezra manuscripts I will also include the consonantal (*ketiv*) text of the MT for the purpose comparison.³⁸

*Parallel passages in the Aramaic Qumran scrolls*³⁹

1Q71 (Dan^a) 2.4–8//MT Dan 2:4–6

1Q72 (Dan^b) 1.1–13//MT Dan 3:22–28//4Q115 (Dan^d) 2ii.2–5

- 36 Another potentially fruitful area of study for our purposes is the type of scribal corrections made in the available manuscripts. This will be discussed in the next chapter, on scribal practices.
- 37 Parallels are only provided where there is clearly overlapping text. For example, where two copies preserve part of the same verse, but no certain letters or words are shared in common, that correspondence is not included.
- 38 One might legitimately question the inclusion of MT Daniel and Ezra among the Qumran manuscripts, and ask whether this may skew the analysis, since Leningradensis was not found in the caves, and the origin of its text cannot be placed in time and space with certainty. However, I include it here on the grounds that its text is widely recognized to be very ancient, indeed to antedate in some cases the Qumran copies. Moreover, the types of changes exhibited between the Qumran Daniel-Ezra copies and the MT consonantal text are very similar to those exhibited between parallel Qumran copies for other works. Finally, the MT consonantal text generally corresponds closely to the Qumran copies, although there are many small differences among them. In fact, similar changes are regularly seen taking place in both directions, with (for example) the MT including a *mater lectio-nis* against a Qumran manuscript in one place, and vice versa in another. The case is quite different for the Cairo Geniza copy of the Aramaic Levi Document, and for that reason I did not include it in the list of parallels. For such a list, see the editions of Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, and Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*.
- 39 Scrolls are listed in order of manuscript number and according to literary composition. In general, parallels are listed only once, at the occurrence of the first scroll in the list. Occasionally, when there is an overlap between three witnesses, a parallel is listed twice because distinct overlaps of a passage may be preserved between two of the three witnesses.

- 1Q72 (Dan^b) 2.1-6//MT Dan 3:27-30
 4Q112 (Dan^a) iii.1-7//MT Dan 2:9-11
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.1-18//MT Dan 2:19-33
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 3ii, 4-6.1-18//MT Dan 2:33-46
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 7.1-9//MT Dan 2:47-3:2
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 8.17-18//MT Dan 4:29-30
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 9.14-18//MT Dan 5:5-7
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 10-11.1-6//MT Dan 5:12-14//4Q113 (Dan^b)
 1-4.7-8
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 12.1-6//MT Dan 5:16-19
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 13.1-4//MT Dan 7:5-7//4Q113 (Dan^b)
 12-13.3-4
 4Q112 (Dan^a) 14.5-9//MT Dan 7:25-28//4Q113 (Dan^b)
 15.19-21
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 1-4.1-4//MT Dan 5:10-11
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 1-4.7-8//MT Dan 5:12//4Q112 (Dan^a)
 10-11.2-3
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 1-4.11-12//MT Dan 5:14-15
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 1-4.14-15//MT Dan 5:16
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 5-6.1-3//MT Dan 5:19-20
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 5-6.6-7//MT Dan 5:21-22
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 7i.12-22//MT Dan 6:8-13
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 7ii, 8.2-20//MT Dan 6:13-22
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 9-11.11-22//MT Dan 6:27-7:4
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 12-13.3-5//MT Dan 7:5-6//4Q112 (Dan^a)
 13.2-3
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 14.2//MT Dan 7:11?
 4Q113 (Dan^b) 15.18-22//MT Dan 7:26-28//4Q112 (Dan^a)
 14.6-8
 4Q115 (Dan^d) 1.1-3+2i.1-5//MT Dan 3:8-12
 4Q115 (Dan^d) 2ii.1-6//MT Dan 3:23-25//1Q72 (Dan^a) 1.3-5
 4Q115 (Dan^d) 3-7.1-6//MT Dan 4:5-9
 4Q115 (Dan^d) 3-7.11-19//MT Dan 4:12-16
 4Q115 (Dan^d) 8-9.1-14//MT Dan 7:15-23
 4Q117 (Ezra) 2.1-4//MT Ezra 4:9-11
 4Q117 (Ezra) 3.1-9//MT Ezra 5:17-6:5
 4Q201 (En^a) iii.1-2//4Q202 (En^b) iii.6-7
 4Q201 (En^a) iii.10-15//4Q202 (En^b) iii.15-19
 4Q201 (En^a) iv.1-7//4Q202 (En^b) iii.1-8
 4Q201 (En^a) iv.10-11//4Q202 (En^b) iii.10-11
 4Q201 (En^a) iii.1-3//4Q204 (En^c) ii.20-22
 4Q201 (En^a) iii.5-11//4Q204 (En^c) ii.24-30
 4Q201 (En^a) iii.5-11//4Q204 (En^c) iii.24-29
 4Q202 (En^b) ivi.9//4Q204 (En^c) ivi.16
 4Q204 (En^c) ixii.28-30//4Q206 (En^e) lxxvi.14-17
 4Q204 (En^c) 4.1//4Q205 (En^d) 2ii.30
 4Q205 (En^d) 2i.26-29//4Q206 (En^e) 4ii.12-16
 4Q205 (En^d) 2ii.27-29//4Q206 (En^e) 4iii.19-21
 4Q209 (Enastr^b) 23.5-8//4Q210 (Enastr^c) iii.a+b+c.15-18
 1Q23 (EnGiants^a) 29.1-2//6Q8 (papGiants) 1.4-5
 4Q206 (En^e) 3i.5-6//4Q533 [4Q556] (EnGiants^e)
 [Prophecy^a] 4.1-2
 4Q213 (Levi^a) iii.4, 6//4Q214b (Levi^f) 8.1-2
 4Q213 (Levi^a) 2.5//4Q214a (Levi^e) 2-3ii.5
 4Q214 (Levi^d) 1.5//4Q214b (Levi^f) 5-6i.3
 4Q214a (Levi^e) 1.1//4Q214b (Levi^f) 2-3.5
 4Q214b (Levi^f) 2-3.8//4Q214 (Levi^d) 2.3//1Q21 (Levi) 45.2
 4Q243 (psDan^a) 13.1-4//4Q244 (psDan^b) 12.1-3
 4Q529 (Words of Michael) 1.13-14//4Q571 (Words of
 Michael^a) 1.13-14
 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) iii.1-11//4Q553 (Four
 Kingdoms^b) 3+2ii+4.2-7
 2Q24 (NJ) 4.10-16//11Q18 (NJ) 20.2-7
 2Q24 (NJ) 1.1-4//4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.12-15//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1-2
 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.11-21//5Q15 (NJ) ii.15-ii.4
 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.21//4Q554a (NJ^b) 1.1//5Q15 (NJ) iii.4-5
 4Q554a (NJ^b) 1.1-10//5Q15 (NJ) iii.4-13
 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.15-22//5Q15 (NJ) ii.3-6
 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) 1.5//4Q532 (EnGiants^d) 2.10(?)
 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) 7.2-6//4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c)
 2ii.11-13
 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b) 3.4-6//4Q536 (Birth of Noah^e) 1-3
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 1a, b, c.1-8//4Q545 (VisAmram^c)
 1ai.1-8//4Q546 (VisAmram^d) 1.1-4
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 2a-b.1//4Q545 (VisAmram^c)
 1ai.14-19
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 3.1-3//4Q545 (VisAmram^c) 1a-bii.17-
 18//4Q546 (VisAmram^d) 2.3-4
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 4.2-4//4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.7-
 8//4Q547 (VisAmram^e) 1-2.6-7
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 5-9.1-7//4Q544 (VisAmram^b)
 1.11-14//4Q547 (VisAmram^e) 1-2.11-13
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 14.1//4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 3.1
 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 15.2//4Q546 (VisAmram^d) 6.1
 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.1-4//4Q545 (VisAmram^c)
 1a-bii.13-19
 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.7-10//4Q547 (VisAmram^e)
 1-2.6-10
 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 3.2//4Q546 (VisAmram^d) 4.1
 4Q545 (VisAmram^c) 6.3//4Q547 (VisAmram^e) 3.3
 4Q196 (papTob^a) 13.1-4//4Q197 (Tob^b) 4i.10-14
 4Q196 (papTob^a) 14i.4-8//4Q197 (Tob^b) 4ii.9-12
 4Q196 (papTob^a) 14ii.4-11//4Q197 (Tob^b) 4iii.1-8
 4Q196 (papTob^a) 18.15-16//4Q198 (Tob^c) 1.1-8

3.1 *Catalogue of Scribal Changes Witnessed in the Parallel Passages*

Orthographic and phonological variation

Interchange between letters

Interchange of ה and א for definite article	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.3(קדמיה)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.15(קדמיא) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.2(מלכה)//4Q202 (En ^b) iii.7(מ[לכא]) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.1(לארעה)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.20(לארעא) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.9(לארעה)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.28(לארעא) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.10(עבדיה)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.29(עובדיא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.7(ופשרה)//MT Dan 2:24(ופשרא) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(גויא)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.18(גויה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.15(ידא)//MT Dan 5:5(ידה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.18(כתבא)//MT Dan 5:7(כתבה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 12.3(ופשרה; intended as 3ms suffix?)/MT Dan 5:17(ופשרא) 4Q113 (Dan ^c) 7ii, 8.18(חיה)//MT Dan 6:21(חיא) 4Q117 (Ezra) 2.3(נהרא)//MT Ezra 4:10(נהרה) 4Q117 (Ezra) 3.4(מדינתא)//MT Ezra 6:2(מדינתה)
Interchange of ה and א (or י) for weak verb ending	1Q71 (Dan ^a) 2.4(נחואה)//MT Dan 2:4(נחוא) 1Q71 (Dan ^a) 2.4(ענא)//MT Dan 2:5(ענה) 1Q72 (Dan ^b) 1.3(מאד)//MT Dan 3:24(דמה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.7(אחואה)//MT Dan 2:24(אחוא) 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms ^a) iii.3(אחוא)//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms ^b) 3+2ii+4.3(אחזה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.10(תהואה)//MT Dan 2:41(תהוה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.12(תהואה)//MT Dan 2:42(תהוה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.18(איקרה)//MT Dan 5:7(יקרה) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 1–4.8(איתקרה)//MT Dan 5:12(יתקרי) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.7(הוה)//MT Dan 6:15(הוא) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.14(תשנה)//MT Dan 6:18(תשנא)
Interchange of ה and א for suffixes and other word endings	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(ותרעה)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.18(ותרעא; perhaps intended as def. art.) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.21(גוה)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.4(גוא; perhaps intended as def. art.) 4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.1(ולמעמרא)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) 1a–bii.13(ולעמרה) 4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.4(אנחנא)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) 1a–bii.19(אנחנה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.6(להובדה)//MT Dan 2:24(להובדה) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7i.17(בעליתה); perhaps intended as def. art.//MT Dan 6:11(בעליתה) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.15(להיכלא); perhaps intended as def. art.//MT Dan 6:19(להיכלה) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.3(תלתה)//MT Dan 3:24(תלתא) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3–7.5(רבא)//MT Dan 4:8(רבה) 4Q196 (papTob ^a) 14ii.8(כמה)//4Q197 (Tob ^b) 4iii.4(כמא)
התפעל vs. אפעל	1Q72 (Dan ^b) 1.3(באת בהלה)//MT Dan 3:24(בהתבהלה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.7(באת בהלה)//MT Dan 2:25(בהתבהלה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.1(אתגזרת)//MT Dan 2:34(התגזרת) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.16(ובאתבהלה)//MT Dan 6:20(ובהתבהלה)
הפעל vs. אפעל	4Q196 (papTob ^a) 14ii.6(וה[ש]כווה)//4Q197 (Tob ^b) 4iii.3(וואשכווה)
Interchange of ה and א for negation לא	4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.3(ולה)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) 1a–bii.17(ולא)

i The overlap here is not for the exactly corresponding word, but the basic difference in spelling (עסר vs. עשרי) is evident throughout these parallel sections.

(cont.)

Orthographic and phonological variation

Interchange of ש and ש	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.11(עסר)//4Q202 (En ^b) iii.16(עשרי) ⁱ
for etymological /s/	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.9(עסאל)//4Q204 (En ^c) iii.26(עשאַל)
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.10(עסר)//4Q204 (En ^c) iii.27(עשר)
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.11(עסר)//4Q204 (En ^c) iii.28(ער]
	1Q72 (Dan ^b) 1.10(ושרבל]יהון)//MT Dan 3:27(וסרבליהון)
Interchange of ז and ד	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.7(זרחיז)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.18(דרחיז) ⁱⁱ
	4Q205 (En ^d) 2i.26(די)//4Q206 (En ^e) 4ii.13(זי)
Interchange of ח and ה (weakening of guttural)	4Q543 (VisAmram ^a) 5-9.7(חעכוך)//4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.14(העכוך)

Full and defective spelling of vowels

Addition/subtraction of ו to represent a vowel	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.14(כל)//4Q202 (En ^b) iii.18(כל]
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.1(עבד ^ה)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.20(עובד[ה)
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.2(זכל)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.21(זכל]
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.9(כלהון)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.28(כולהון)
	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.9(בהון)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.28(ב[הון)
	1Q72 (Dan ^b) 2.4(כול)//MT Dan 3:29(כל)
	1Q72 (Dan ^b) 2.4(אומ[ה])//MT Dan 3:29(אמה)
	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.2(וגברתא)//MT Dan 2:20(וגבורתא)
	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.15(ורעיני)//MT Dan 2:30(ורעיני)
	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.32(ודרעהי)//MT Dan 2:32(ודרעהי)
	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.16(ורעיניהי)//MT Dan 5:6(ורעיניהי)
	2Q24 (NJ) 1.2(סחור סח[ור])//4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.13(סח[ח סח[ר])//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(סחור סחור)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.16(פתי)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.3(פ[ת]
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(פתי)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.4(פ[ת]
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.14(ארכה)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.17(ארכה)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(אסוף)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.18(אסף)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(אחרון)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.18(אחרון)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(כתלא)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.18(כותלא)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.17(וארכה)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(וא[ר]כה)
	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.20(וארכה)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.3(ואורכה)
	4Q554a (NJ ^b) 1.4(ארד)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.7(ארד)
	4Q554a (NJ ^b) 1.10(ופתיהון)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.13(ופ[ת]יהון)
	4Q213 (Levi ^a) iii.4(כ[ל])//4Q214b (Levi ^f) 8.1(כ[ל])
	4Q543 (VisAmram ^a) 2a-b.6(לכל)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) iai.19(ל[כ]ול)
	4Q543 (VisAmram ^a) 4.2(ובכל)//4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.7(וב[כ]ול)//4Q547 (VisAmram ^e) 1-2.6(וב[כ]ול)
	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7i.4(תרשים)//MT Dan 6:9(תרשם)
	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7i.22(כול)//MT Dan 6:13(כל)
	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.3(קודם)//MT Dan 6:14(קדם)
	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.13(שומת)//MT Dan 6:18(שמת)
	4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.2(נבכד נצר)//MT Dan 3:24(נבוכדנצר)
	4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.4(נבכד נצ[ר])//MT Dan 3:25(נבוכדנצר)
	4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3-7.12(חולקה)//MT Dan 4:12(חלקה)

ii Due to secondary correction. See the profile for 4Q210 (Enastr^c).

(cont.)

Orthographic and phonological variation

Addition/subtraction of י to represent a vowel	<p>4Q209 (Enastr^b) 23.5(ומאינן)//4Q210 (Enastr^c) iia+b+c.16(ומנאן)</p> <p>4Q201 (En^a) iii.5(ואלין)//4Q204 (En^c) iii.24(ל[ו]אֵל)</p> <p>4Q204 (En^c) ixii.29(קליפיא)//4Q206 (En^e) ixxvi.16(קלפוהי)</p> <p>1Q72 (Dan^b) 1.12(ושזב)//MT Dan 3:28(ושזב)</p> <p>1Q72 (Dan^b) 2.2(ומשד[ו]//MT Dan 3:28(ומישד)</p> <p>4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) iii.2(אלניא)//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b) 3+2ii+4.2(אילנא)</p> <p>4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.13(לפרזיחא)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(לפרזחא; original hand)</p> <p>4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 5–9.7(חעכין)//4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.14(העכין)</p> <p>4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.2(עבדתנא)//4Q545 (VisAmram^c) 1a–bii.15(עבדתנא]</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.17(רישה)//MT Dan 2:32(ראשה)</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 3ii, 4–6.15(ל[א]ר[ו]ח)//MT Dan 2:44(אלין)</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 12.3(ונבזיחד)//MT Dan 5:17(ונבזיחד)</p> <p>4Q115 (Dan^d) 2ii.6(יקדחא)//MT Dan 3:25(יקדחא; typical spelling)</p> <p>4Q115 (Dan^d) 3–7.12(חוחא)//MT Dan 4:12(חוחא)</p>
Addition/subtraction of א to represent a vowel	<p>4Q205 (En^d) 2ii.27(ראם)//4Q206 (En^e) 4iii.19(רם)</p> <p>4Q201 (En^a) iii.1(ח[ו]א)//4Q204 (En^c) ii.20(חוא)</p> <p>4Q201 (En^a) iii.1(חבון[נו]א)//4Q204 (En^c) ii.20(ואחבוננא)</p> <p>4Q204 (En^c) ixii.30(אחזיאת)//4Q206 (En^e) ixxvi.17(אחזיית)</p> <p>4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) iii.2(וקאם)//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b) 3+2ii+4.2(וקמו)</p> <p>4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.19(אחזיניא)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.2(אחזיניא)</p> <p>4Q554a (NJ^b) 1.4(פת[ה]ח[ו]ח)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.7(פוחאח[ו]ח)</p> <p>4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.2(שג[ו]ח)//4Q545 (VisAmram^c) 1a–bii.15(שגיא[ו]ח]</p> <p>1Q72 (Dan^b) 1.4(ל[ג]ו[ח]ח)//4Q115 (Dan^d) 2ii.3(לגו[ח]ח)//MT Dan 3:24(לגוא)</p> <p>1Q72 (Dan^b) 2.4(ועבד נגוא[ח]ח)//MT Dan 3:29(ועבד נגוא)</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.9(בלטשצר)//MT Dan 2:26(בלטשצר)</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.17(רישה)//MT Dan 2:32(ראשה)</p> <p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 13.3(גביהא[ח]ח)//MT Dan 7:6(גביהא)</p>
Interchange of short and long 2ms pronoun אנת and אנתה	<p>4Q112 (Dan^a) 3i, 17.13(אנת)//MT Dan 2:29(אנתה)</p> <p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 7ii, 8.12(אנתה)//MT Dan 6:17(אנתה)</p> <p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 7ii, 8.18(אנתה)//MT Dan 6:21(אנתה)</p> <p>4Q115 (Dan^d) 1.2(אנת)//MT Dan 3:10(אנתה)</p>
Interchange of short and long 2ms suffix ת- and כה-	<p>4Q543 (VisAmram^a) 2a–b.1(ממרד[ח]ח)//4Q545 (VisAmram^c) 1ai.14(ממרכה)</p> <p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 1.3(אבוכה)//MT Dan 5:11(אבוך)</p> <p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 4.14(עליכה)//MT Dan 5:16(עליך)</p> <p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 7ii, 8.18(אלהכה)//MT Dan 6:21(אלהך)</p>
Interchange of short and long 2ms verb suffix ת- and תה-	<p>4Q113 (Dan^b) 7ii, 8.5(רשמת[ח]ח)//MT Dan 6:14(רשמת)</p>

(cont.)

Morphological variation**Verb morphology**

Disagreement in number or gender of verb	4Q204 (En ^c) xii.29(מדִּקֵּן)//4Q206 (En ^e) ixxvi.16(מדִּקֵּק) 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms ^a) iii.2(וקאם)//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms ^b) 3+2ii+4.2(וקמו) 1Q72 (Dan ^b) 2.4(שׁימוּ)//MT Dan 3:29(שׁים) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.3(והוה)//MT Dan 2:35(והוּו) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 10–11.2(השת כח)//MT Dan 5:12(השתכחת) 4Q117 (Ezra) 3.3(ובקרו)//MT Ezra 6:1(ובקרו) 4Q117 (Ezra) 3.8(והיבלו)//MT Ezra 6:5(והיבל)
Variation of verb conjugation	4Q206[4Q206a] (En ^e) 3i.5–6(שִׁפִּיד)//4Q533 [4Q556] (EnGiants ^e) [Prophecy ^a] 4.1–2(משתפד) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.12(מהודע)//MT Dan 2:28(הודע) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 14.9(יהשנון)//MT Dan 7:28(ישתנון)
Elision of ה or א in causative or passive-reflexive stem	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.2(משנא)//MT Dan 2:21(מהשנא) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 5–6.2(מהר[ים])//MT Dan 5:19(מרים)
Addition/subtraction of מ prefix for derived-stem infinitive	4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.1(ולמעמרא)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) 1a–bii.13(ולעמרה)
Expanded vs. contracted spelling of geminate verb	4Q204 (En ^c) xii.29(מדִּקֵּן)//4Q206 (En ^e) ixxvi.16(מדִּקֵּק)

Noun morphology

Disagreement in number or gender of noun or adjective	4Q552 (Four Kingdoms ^a) iii.2(אלניא)//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms ^b) 3+2ii+4.2(אילניא) 4Q213 (Levi ^a) iii.4(מטמרה)//4Q214b (Levi ^f) 8.1(מטמריא) 4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.2(שגי)//4Q545 (VisAmram ^c) 1a–bii.15(שגיאינ) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.8(יהודיא)//MT Dan 2:25(יהוד) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.3(אדר קיט)//MT Dan 2:35(אדרי קיט)
Absolute vs. definite noun or adjective form	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.5(כוכבינ)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iii+a+b+c.16(כוכביא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.16(יתירא)//MT Dan 2:31(יתיר) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 9–11.11(אלה חי)//MT Dan 6:27(אלהא חיא) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3–7.13(חיותא)//MT Dan 4:13(חיוה)
Alternative numeric forms	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.10–11(עסר)//4Q202 (En ^b) iii.15–18(עשרי) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.6(תרתין)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.25(תרינ; original hand)
Alternative noun forms	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(פתייה)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.4(פותי) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.16(חלצה)//MT Dan 5:6(חרצה)
Addition/subtraction of construct state for noun	4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.10(חלמא די חלמא)/[חזית]//4Q547 (VisAmram ^e) 1–2.9(חזית בחזבת)
Hebrew vs. Aramaic plural noun ending	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.11(חרטמים)//MT Dan 2:27(חרטמין)

(cont.)

Morphological variation**Other morphological variations**

Subtraction/addition of 1 (nasalisation)	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.5(מאינן)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.16(מנאינן) ⁱⁱⁱ 4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.6(ומתכנסין)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.17(ומתכסין) 4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.7(מאינן)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.18(מנאינן) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.17(להנעלה)//MT Dan 5:7(להעלה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 10–11.1(ומדע)//MT Dan 5:12(ומנדע)
Transposition of letters	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.9(בלטשאצר)//MT Dan 2:26(בלטשאצר) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 7.9(א[רבי] א[רבי])//MT Dan 3:2(גדבריא דתבריא) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3–7.2(בלטשאצר)//MT Dan 4:6(בלטשאצר)
י ד vs. –ד	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.3(ד[כל])//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.22(די כול) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.5(דעליהו)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.24(די/עליהו)
ם vs. ך 3mp suffix ending	4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.10(ומנהם)//MT Dan 2:41(ומנהון) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.11(מנהם)//MT Dan 2:42(מנהון)
Elision of מן to following word	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 9–11.13(מי[ד])//MT Dan 6:28(מן יד)
Compounding of words	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.5(ובדכו)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.16(בדיל כן)
Fem. vs. masc. suffix	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.8(מנהון)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.19(מנהון)
ס קוטל vs. קוטל pattern	2Q24 (NJ) 1.2(סחור סחור)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(סחור סחור)

Syntactic variation

Addition/ subtraction of one or two words	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.1(א[ר]ע[א] [חזו])//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.20(חזו לכו ל[א]רעא) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.11(הוא לעלם)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.30(הוא לעלם) 4Q201 (En ^a) iii.9–10(פריהו וכל פריהו לה דר)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.28–29(ב[ב...][הו] וירוקין וכול) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.1(אלהא רבא)//MT Dan 2:20(אלהא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.5//MT Dan 2:23–24(some added words seem likely in MT) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.6(על ארין[ד])//MT Dan 2:24(על ארין) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.14(בי מן כל)//MT Dan 2:30(בי מן כל) 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms ^a) iii.8(ושאלתה מן שם[ד])//4Q553 (Four Kingdoms ^b) 3+2ii+4.5(ושאלתה ואמרת לה) 2Q24 (NJ) 1.3(כול משחת[ני])//4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.14(א[חזי]ני[ני] כול משחת[ני]) 4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.10(חזית[חזית])//4Q547 (VisAmram ^e) 1–2.9(חזית בחזבת[חזית]) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4–6.9(ותר[ע] כל ארעא)//MT Dan 2:40(ותרע) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 7.8(ומכ'נצר שלח)//MT Dan 3:2(שלח מלכא שלח) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.17(ש[דיא] כ[ב])//MT Dan 5:7(בשדיא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 10–11.3(יקרא ופשרה יקרא ופשרה)//4Q113 (Dan ^b) 1–4.8(יקרא וכת[א] וכת[א] וכת[א])//MT Dan 5:12(יקרא ופשרה) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.16(בשפשא יקום בנגתא)//MT Dan 6:20(בשפשא יקום בנגתא) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.20(אדין דניאל מ[ל]ל[ל])//MT Dan 6:22(אדין דניאל עם מלכא מלל) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.4(ענה ואמר[ר] ונצ'ר ואמר[ר])//MT Dan 3:25(ענה ואמר[ר]) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.5(ואמר[ר] להדברויה הא[ר])//MT Dan 3:25(ואמר[ר]) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 2ii.6(יקיד'תא נורא[ר])//MT Dan 3:25(נורא)
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iii See the relevant profiles for discussion of the corrections found in this parallel.

(cont.)

Syntactic variation

Addition/subtraction of conjunctive ו	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.5(ובדכן)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.16(בדיל כן) 4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.6(בל)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.17(וכל) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.13(ולכל)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(לכל) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.3(וידע)//MT Dan 2:22(ידע) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.16(חזוה)//MT Dan 2:31(וזוה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4-6.12(ודי)//MT Dan 2:43(די) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 10-11.1(שכלחנו)//MT Dan 5:12(ושכלחנו) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 14.5(ועדינן)//MT Dan 7:25(ועדינן)
Addition/subtraction of די (-ד)	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.6(דתרתין ודתלת שנין)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.25(דתרתין ודתלת שנין) 1Q71 (Dan ^a) 2.6(די used to introduce quotation)//MT Dan 2:5(-) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.18-3ii, 4-6.1(ומנהון חסר)//MT Dan 2:33(ומנהון די חסר) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4-6.1(עד די)//MT Dan 2:34(עד די) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 9.18(בבל די כל אנש)//MT Dan 5:7(בבל די כל אנש)
Transposition of words	4Q204 (En ^c) 4.1(ורעדיון) [ח] [ל] [י] [ז]//4Q205 (En ^d) 2ii.30(רע) [י] [ז] [ח] [ל] [י] [ז] 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.15(לי גלי)//MT Dan 2:30(גלי לי) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.11(ול גבא די אריותא)//MT Dan 6:17(ורמו לגבא די אריותא) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3-7.3(לך לא אנט)//MT Dan 4:6(לא אנט לך)
Addition subtraction of noun or verb suffix	4Q204 (En ^c) xii.29(קליפוא)//4Q206 (En ^e) xxxvi.16(קלפוא) 4Q213 (Levi ^a) iii.4(מטמרה)//4Q214b (Levi ^f) 8.1(טמריא) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.13(וחתם)//MT Dan 6:18(וחתמה)
Addition/subtraction of preposition or dir. obj. marker -ל	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.20(לאמיזן)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.5(אמיזן) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.4(לאלה)//MT Dan 2:23(אלה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.16(לרב)//MT Dan 2:31(רב)
Addition/subtraction or variation of several or more words	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.7//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.18 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.12(על [חלמין חיי חלמד]//MT Dan 2:28(על [חלמין חיי חלמד] וימא מ[לכא לעלמין חיי חלמד] see edition))
Addition/subtraction of preposition -ב	4Q196 (papTob ^a) 13.1-3(ובכדה)//4Q197 (Tob ^b) 4i.12(ובכדה) 4Q115 (Dan ^d) 3-7.14(ומאמר)//MT Dan 4:14(ובמאמר)
Addition/subtraction of dir. obj. marker ית	4Q535 (Birth of Noah ^b) 3.4-6(ית[י] זמיא); reading uncertain//4Q536 (Birth of Noah ^c) 1-3(יזמוה)
Addition/subtraction of reflexive pronoun	4Q201 (En ^a) iii.1(-)//4Q204 (En ^c) ii.20(לכוז)

Lexical variation

Interchange of alternative words or closely related word forms	4Q209 (Enastr ^b) 23.7(בדי)//4Q210 (Enastr ^c) iia+b+c.18(די) 4Q529 (Words of Michael) i.13(גבר)//4Q571 (Words of Michael ^a) i.14(בר) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.5(ונהיתא [נהיתא?])//MT Dan 2:23(וגבורתא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3i, 17.16(חזוה)//MT Dan 2:31(וזוה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4-6.13(די הכא)//MT Dan 2:43(די הכא; perhaps derived from די הכא) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 3ii, 4-6.18(אדין)//MT Dan 2:46(באדין) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.15(באדין)//MT Dan 6:19(אדין) 4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.7(לזבוותה; meaning uncertain)//MT Dan 6:15(לשיזבוותה)
Interchange of alternative prepositions	4Q113 (Dan ^b) 7ii, 8.13(בפם)//MT Dan 6:18(על פם)

iv Milik's readings for this entry are quite uncertain. In essence, however, they are followed by Drawnel.

(cont.)

Other types of variation

Interchange of fully-written numbers and numeric symbols	2Q24 (NJ) 1.1–4(ד]חמישיין וְחָ[ב)//4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.12(symbols for 51) 2Q24 (NJ) 1.4(ארבעין ותרתין)//4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.15(symbols for 42 [partially preserved]);//5Q15 (NJ) ii.2(ארבעין ותרתין) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.12–13(symbols for 357)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1(חמישיין ושבע) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.14(symbols for 21)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.1([וחדה] עשרין) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.17(symbols for 72)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.3([עין תריין] שָב) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(symbols for 18)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.4([ר] עשׂ) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(symbols for 126 [partially preserved]);//5Q15 (NJ) ii.4([ו] שְׁתַּיּוּ וְעֶשְׂרִיּוּ מֵאָה) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.19(symbols for 9)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.5([ה] תשׂ) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.20(symbols for 4)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.5([ר] יעׂ) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.21(symbols for 92 [partially preserved]);//5Q15 (NJ) ii.6([ו] וְתַרְתִּין]) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.13(symbols for 14)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.16(ארבע עשרה) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.16(symbols for 7)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.19(שבע) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(symbols for 14)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.1([ר] יעׂ עשרה) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(symbols for 14)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.1([ר] יעׂ עשרה) 4Q554a (NJ ^b) 1.5(symbols for 14)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.8(ארבע עשרה) 4Q554a (NJ ^b) 1.7(symbols for 12)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.11(תר יעׂ עשרה)
Abbreviation of a word	4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.14(א)//5Q15 (NJ) ii.17(אמיז) 4Q554 (NJ ^a) iii.18(א)//5Q15 (NJ) iii.1(אמיז)
Misspellings	4Q196 (papTob ^a) 18.16(ובקדה)//4Q198 (Tob ^c) 1.2(ופקדה) 4Q112 (Dan ^a) 7.8(ומכ׳נצ׳ר)//MT Dan 3:2(ונבוכדנצר)
Variant spelling of 3ms suffix on plural noun	4Q543 (VisAmram ^a) 5–9.7(ואַנְפִּיּוּהַּ)//4Q544 (VisAmram ^b) 1.14(ואנפיוה)
Substitution of <i>tetra-puncta</i> for אלהא	4Q196 (papTob ^a) 18.15(ולהודיה)....[]//4Q198 (Tob ^c) 1.1(ולהודיה)

The data catalogued above are obviously limited, not indicating of the full range and depth of scribal intervention we would find in the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves were we to have the corpus fully preserved. We must also compensate for the perception that there is more variation in some works than others, since this is likely due to how many manuscripts happen to be preserved of any given composition. Were we to possess as many manuscripts of the Genesis Apocryphon or Words of Michael as we do, say, for Daniel or the Visions of Amram, it is reasonable to assume that we would find a comparable range of scribal variation across all these works. The list above serves mainly to illustrate some of the shifts taking place through scribal intervention between manuscripts of the same work, and in this way provides a good starting point for analyzing Qumran Aramaic. In addition to the changes catalogued above, we may add some linguistic variations witnessed between different manuscripts

of the same work, though not preserved in the extant, directly-overlapping passages. These include:

1. The scribe of 4Q201 (En^a) generally preferred **ס** to represent etymological /s/, versus **ש** in 4Q202 (En^b) and 4Q204 (En^c) (e.g., **סגי** vs. **שגי**), and indeed the large majority of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls.
2. 4Q208 (Enastr^a) and 4Q209 (Enastr^b) exhibit several significant differences in spelling and phrase construction, such as the assimilation of **נ** and **ל** as object marker in the analogous phrases **וב ציר מן נהורה לשב יעיני** (4Q208 [Enastr^a] 15.2) and **ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשה** (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 7ii.6). Spellings of the words **יממה** “day” and **לילא** “night” also vary between the copies.
3. 4Q530 (EnGiants^b) uses defective spellings such as **אלן** “these” and **כל** “all,” while the scribe of 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) preferred the full spellings **אלין** and **כול**.

4. 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) and 4Q548 (VisAmram^f) use only כּל, but 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) and 4Q547 (VisAmram^c) primarily כּול. 4Q546 (VisAmram^d) is mixed in its spelling of this word.
5. 4Q113 (Dan^b) regularly uses the fuller spellings כּול and כּה–, unlike 4Q112 (Dan^a) and MT Daniel.
6. 4Q113 (Dan^b) 7i.15 and 4Q115 (Dan^d) 3–7.17 use the consecutive (and grammatically-correct) spelling כּלקבל (cf. 4Q204 [En^c] כּלקובל), versus MT Daniel כּל קבל.
7. 4Q214 (Levi^d) 4.3 uses the demonstrative pronoun דּנה, rather than the ךּ of 4Q213a (Levi^b) and 4Q213b (Levi^c). The same difference obtains between 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) (דּנה) and 4Q530 (EnGiants^b) (ךּ).
8. The New Jerusalem manuscripts show a number of disagreements in orthography. In general, 4Q554a (NJ^b) is written more defectively than the other copies, as with the preposition גּוּ (גּוּא in the other manuscripts). Most manuscripts have כּל, except for 2Q24 (NJ) and 11Q18 (NJ), which use כּול. 11Q18 (NJ) has לּקובל and 4Q554 (NJ^a) לּקבל.
9. 4Q198 (Tob^c) twice has the causal stem with a הּ prefix, while the אפעל predominates in 4Q196 (papTob^a) and 4Q197 (Tob^b) (though there are two instances of הפעל in 4Q196 [papTob^a]).
10. In the New Jerusalem text, 5Q15 (NJ) (iii.7) spells “their width” as פּוּתאָהוּן, but 2Q24 (NJ) (7.1) has rather פּוּתִיהוּן.

Taken together, the evidence of scribal change collected above illustrates the following principles:

1. A limited number of orthographic conventions changed freely between copies of the same literary work, as indeed they sometimes vary in a single manuscript (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen], 4Q201 [En^a]). Chief among these changes are:
 - a. א and ה being interchanged in various situations, including at the beginning of the suffix conjugation causative and passive-reflexive verbal stems. The evidence suggests that over time א took general precedence in all of these situations among the Qumran scrolls. At times, this interchange at the end of nouns may have caused confusion between the definite state and a 3ms suffix.
 - b. א being used interchangeably to represent full vowels. Again, it seems that the basic diachronic trend was a growing usage of א in this way.
 - c. Scribes fluctuating between defective and full spelling preferences, with the bulk of our manuscripts exhibiting a diachronic trend toward
2. At least some scribes felt comfortable with the contraction, abbreviation, or symbolic representation of words or short phrases, which typically did nothing to alter their meaning. Examples of this are the contraction of כּן בדיל to כּדכּן in 4Q209 (Enastr^b), לא איתי to לת in 4Q201 (En^a), the abbreviation of אמן to א in 4Q554 (NJ^a), and the replacement of אלהא with four dots in 4Q196 (papTob^a). Occasionally, the meaning did change, as with הכא די in 4Q212 (En^g), rather than הא כדי in MT Daniel.
3. There was clearly some tolerance for, or oversight of, minor adjustments in grammatical construction and phrase formation (morphosyntax), in some cases bringing better clarity to the text. This included the following:
 - a. The addition, subtraction, or substitution of one to a few words with something that the scribe apparently felt was more suitable or stylistically attractive. For example, ושאלתה מן שמך in 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a) versus ושאלתה וואמרת לה מן שמך in 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b).
 - b. The transposition of words.
 - c. Adding or deleting a suffix.
 - d. Adjusting the conjugation of a verb, for various reasons either apparent to us (e.g., agreement with a perceived subject) or no longer obvious.
 - e. Changing the number or definiteness of a noun or adjective, at times in order to achieve agreement with the governing verb.
 - f. The addition, subtraction or substitution of a preposition or conjunction. An example is 4Q113 (Dan^b) using בּפּם, whereas MT Daniel has עּל פּם.
4. Representation of the final, open vowel of the 2ms suffix conjugation verb (קטלת), 2ms pronoun (אנת), and 2ms suffix (ךּ–) through augmentation with the letter הּ. The augmented forms with הּ are typically taken to be later in their development.
5. Varied representation of gemination or nasalization with the letter נּ (e.g., מדע vs. מנדע, מתכסין vs. מתכנסין).
6. Replacing ש with ס in certain words (e.g., עשר, שגיא, and בשר).
7. Other small orthographic or phonological adjustments based on pronunciation or perceived grammatical propriety.

4. Adjustments were occasionally made to word morphology. It stands to reason that some of these changes reflect the conventions better known to, or preferred by, the scribe writing the copy. These adjustments included:
 - a. Changes in verb morphology, such as the addition of ׀ to the derived stem infinitive in 4Q544 (VisAmram^b), graphic representation of the geminate stem in 4Q206 (En^e), and variation between the causative and passive-reflexive conjugation in 4Q112 (Dan^a) and MT Daniel.
 - b. Representation of weakening or strengthening guttural letters, as with the difference between חעכון and העכון in 4Q543 (VisAmram^a) and 4Q544 (VisAmram^b).
 - c. Shifts in the written form of nouns from the קטול to קוטל pattern, or vice versa.
5. In some cases a scribe has replaced one word with another that fits the same context. There are few cases of this, and the words are typically very close or the same in meaning. The majority of these changes occur between the Qumran Daniel manuscripts and MT Daniel, which is likely due to the fact that we have more parallel text preserved there than elsewhere.
6. Minor spelling mistakes occurred from time to time, for a variety of reasons. In some cases, the word may have no longer been current, or a little-used loanword. At other times the scribe seems simply to have erred based on graphic or aural confusion (e.g., בקדה for פקדה in 4Q196 [papTob^a]). When we look outside of the preserved parallel passages, we can see that some scribes were more susceptible to such slips, as in the case of 4Q542 (TQahat). That scribe might have taken a lesson from the scribe of 4Q537 (TJacob?), who was nearly flawless in his task.
7. Only very occasionally do we witness larger-scale alterations in the available parallel passages. The only two preserved instances of this are found between 4Q112 (Dan^a) and MT Daniel, and 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 4Q210 (Enastr^c) in the Enochic corpus. Neither parallel is fully preserved. In the case of Daniel, the change is actually quite minor, apparently restricted to the substitution and/or transposition of up to three words. The difference between 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 4Q210 (Enastr^c) appears to be greater, with what Milik (followed by Tigchelaar and García Martínez) called “a long passage” omitted in the latter copy or added to the former. In fact, if Milik’s reconstruction is correct, the difference would be approximately one line or less depending upon line length. Milik suggested the possibility that

this was a case of homoeoteleuton, but there is no evidence to support his claim.

We are able to see from this survey that the changes made between copies are, on the one hand, fairly regular and to be expected, while on the other hand they are restricted to a set group of minor changes to orthography, word or phrase morphology (morphosyntax), and only very occasionally word choice or more extensive phrasing. Though it was not included above, a similar picture emerges from comparison of the Qumran manuscripts of the Aramaic Levi Document and the considerably later copy from the Cairo Geniza.⁴⁰ It is clear that at least some copying scribes used their own systems and preferences. Some scribes did so with consistency (e.g., the scribe of 4Q113 [Dan^b]), while others were much more erratic (e.g., the scribes of 4Q201 [En^a] and 4Q208 [Enastr^a]). Importantly, the changes seen in the parallel passages above mirror, to a great extent, the divergences witnessed across different Qumran Aramaic compositions. A couple of the more salient points not covered by scribal intervention in the parallel passages discussed above are:

1. Interchange between the equivalent independent personal pronouns המון and אנון for the direct object. המון is the earlier form used regularly in Official Aramaic, while אנון gains ascendancy in Jewish Aramaic (with similar forms in other dialects) over the course of the Second Temple period. המון is found only in 4Q242 (PrNab), 4Q112 (Dan^a), and 11Q10 (Job) at Qumran.
2. Attestation of some of the phonetic shifts seemingly taking place during this period, such as between ק and ע, ע and א, or ש and ת. Since we do witness scribal alterations from ז to ט and ח to ה among manuscripts of the same work, it may be that the other shifts are simply not preserved in the parallels left to us. As Schattner-Rieser has noted, many of these shifts are already taking place in the fifth century BCE Aramaic texts from Elephantine and fourth century BCE Wadi Daliyeh documents.⁴¹

The brevity of this list shows that the orthographic and morphological features which vary between individual works and are *not* present between parallel passages in copies of the same work, are remarkably limited. Of course, our restricted comparative evidence does not allow us to assess satisfactorily the *extent* of the differences between two separate works. For instance, if 11Q10 (Job) and 4Q242

⁴⁰ The relevant texts may be found in Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom*. See now also an additional fragment of the Genizah text published by Bohak, “Aramaic Levi,” and discussed further by Drawnel, “Fragment.”

⁴¹ Schattner-Rieser, “archaïsmes,” 102–6, 111.

(PrNab) use primarily the הפעל verb and the pronoun המון, while 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q531 (EnGiants^c) have overwhelmingly the later אפעל and אנון, should we consider the large extent of the disagreement to undermine the possibility that scribal intervention could adequately account for these differences? To put it another way, could a scribe in the process of copying – or several scribes over the course of several successive copies – intervene to the extent that a text with mostly the הפעל and המון was converted into one with largely or entirely the אפעל and אנון? The answer remains elusive.

4 Scribal Preferences and Textual Transmission II: Archaisms, Archaizing, and Lessons from Elephantine and Arsacid Elymais

For many of the scribal changes described above, the two or more linguistic options potentially chosen by a scribe can be identified as earlier or later in the diachronic development of Aramaic. These identifications rely on our knowledge of earlier dialects such as Early and Official Aramaic on the one hand, and later ones such as Targumic and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic on the other. They also form the foundation of the typological method established by Kutscher and others. It is clear that the later scribal features provide a *terminus ante quem* for when a Qumran Aramaic work was written, even if some problems remain with the precision of dating such elements. However, a methodological debate has developed over how the earlier elements – sometimes referred to as archaisms – should be understood, a debate that bears heavily on the task of linguistically dating these texts. The two sides of the debate are illustrated nicely by a collegial exchange between Ursula Schattner-Rieser and Steven Fassberg at a conference on Qumran Aramaic texts, at Aix-en-Provence in 2008.⁴² Schattner-Rieser assumed that archaisms in these texts provide a linguistic glimpse of elements from earlier stages in the life of this literature. While many of the archaisms have been lost through the process of scribal change and updating, the remaining early linguistic features more accurately reflect the date of composition than the later, updated ones. Fassberg, on the other hand, wonders if these so-called early features are rather an imperfect attempt at archaizing by those who wrote the Qumran Aramaic texts, in order to give their writings a patina of antiquity and authority. To support this idea, Fassberg adduced the examples of the Hebrew Qumran scrolls, the late books of the Hebrew

Bible, and Ben Sira, all of which are widely regarded to archaize by mimicking earlier stages of Hebrew drawn from the ancestral writings of Israel. In this case, the later linguistic elements of the Qumran Aramaic texts are more indicative of their compositional setting, and the archaisms a faux embellishment by authors and scribes.

This debate is difficult to resolve, since either side can make a plausible argument based on the scribal changes witnessed in the Qumran scrolls. Those who favor the explanation of Schattner-Rieser can appeal to changes between copies as evidence that scribes were updating language in minor, but appreciable ways over the course of transmission. Each scribe would have done this in a different manner, and to a different extent. However, from Fassberg's perspective the fact that the manuscripts are mostly dated to the first century BCE may simply suggest that some scribes did a better job of effecting or preserving the archaisms than others. In either case, it is obvious that we must allow for a fairly stable range of scribal preference and variation. While I find Schattner-Rieser's view on archaisms and scribal change more convincing on grounds apart from language, the fact that scribes might consciously choose to write in an Aramaic literary idiom either more conservative or more progressive than their contemporary scribes or standard local dialects is nicely illustrated by two examples, one from the fifth century BCE texts discovered at Elephantine, and the other from the Aramaic inscriptions at Elymais dating to the Arsacid (or Parthian) period of rule, in the first to third centuries CE.

Margaretha Folmer has drawn attention to the fascinating case of two scribes at Elephantine who were father and son, Natan bar Ananiah and Mauwziah bar Natan bar Ananiah.⁴³ In contrast to the situation of the Qumran scrolls, the names and dates included in the documents from Elephantine allow us to situate their Aramaic in time and place with confidence, and to compare scribes. Natan and Mauwziah, who belonged to a larger family of scribes and wrote in the middle to late fifth century BCE, are notable because they differ in some surprising ways regarding linguistic usage. The father generally wrote with a more progressive (“later”) orthography and morphology than did his son, who tended to be more conservative (“earlier”) in his style.⁴⁴ This included Natan more often beginning words with the dental ט where Mauwziah had ט,⁴⁵

42 Schattner-Rieser, “archaisms.” See also the comments of Gzella, *Cultural History*, 231.

43 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 715–17.

44 For a listing of the documents written by Natan and Mauwziah, along with their dates and other details, see Porten and Yardeni, *TAD* 2, 188.

45 See especially the pronominal prefix –דיל– “belonging to –” and noun דכר “male.” This phenomenon occurs six times in Natan's writing, and once in Mauwziah's. For Natan, see *TAD* B2:7-7,

occasionally using the root *תק"ל* “weigh” instead of Mauwziah’s *שק"ל*,⁴⁶ employing the prefix conjugation causative verb without *ה* while Mauwziah included it (e.g., *אנצל* [*TAD* B1.3:13] vs. *אנהצל* [*TAD* B3.8:42]), and using the apocopated pronominal suffixes *ך*– (2fs) and *וה*– (3ms) instead of Mauwziah’s *כי*– and *והי*–. Moreover, Natan once wrote the noun for “land” as *ארע*, rather than the more expected *ארק* of his direct contemporary, Attarshuri bar Nabuzeribni. Conversely, Mauwziah adopted a more progressive spelling than his father for the suffix-conjugation 2mpl verb ending *תן*–, whereas Natan used *תם*–. Mauwziah also used the verb stem *כה"ל* “be able” as opposed to Natan’s use of the (in Folmer’s opinion earlier) synonym *יכ"ל* in similar contexts. Mauwziah preferred the oft-repeated temporal phrase *מן יומא זנה* *עד עלם* to his father’s *מן יומא זנה ועד עלם* (with conjunctive *ו*), and had the uncharacteristic practice of beginning the dependant clause of a conditional sentence with the prefix conjugation instead of the suffix conjugation of his father and other Elephantine scribes.⁴⁷ It should be added that another Elephantine scribe, who was a close contemporary of Mauwziah, Haggai bar Shemaiah, used some of the same progressive practices as Natan. Haggai used *ך* instead of *י* to an even greater extent than Natan,⁴⁸ and like Natan he wrote *ארע* rather than *ארק* in *TAD* B3.4:5. Finally, Haggai preferred the apocopated spelling of the first person common plural pronoun *אנחן*, not *אנהנא* used by Mauwziah and other Elephantine scribes.

The features that fluctuate between these Elephantine scribes are similar to some of the features used to date the Qumran texts typologically and place them in a relative order. Even though we certainly find more variations present among the Qumran texts (which considerably outnumber those at Elephantine), the texts from Elephantine show us that scribes working at the same time, in the same town, presumably trained in the same scribal system, and even living under the same roof had their own idiosyncratic preferences. These preferences could give the false appearance of a text being earlier or later, but could also be combined in a way that would otherwise

confuse attempts at a neat relative dating. Because we are fortunate enough to possess the names and dates on the Elephantine texts, we can see that attempts at relative dating would be wrong-headed from the start. Were the names and dates not preserved and relative dating was attempted, we would almost surely have gotten the order wrong.

Another cautionary tale may be drawn from the eleven brief, rock-cut inscriptions at Tang-e Sarvak and Tang-e Butān, Elymais, in south-western Persia.⁴⁹ These inscriptions were apparently commissioned by the ruling aristocracy, and date to between the first and third centuries CE. Though they were written at a relatively late date, contemporary with other, more updated eastern Aramaic dialects such as those at preserved at Assur, Hatra, and Palmyra, Gzella observed that the inscriptions of Elymais use a noticeably more pure, classicizing form of Official Aramaic. It should be stressed that the inscriptions are very short, formulaic, and in a few cases fragmentary; there is really too little text preserved to make far-reaching claims. Nevertheless, it is true that enough is extant to recognize a dialect that, were we not able to situate it historically due to the place of its discovery and script, would surely be dated earlier than the second century CE.

To be sure, the Qumran, Elephantine, and Elymais texts are not all cut from the same cloth, and, in keeping with Koller’s recommendations, we ought to bear this in mind when doing any comparison.⁵⁰ Some factors that must be taken into account are the media, genre, ideology, social setting, and geographic location of each group of texts. The Elephantine documents are mostly legal or administrative in nature and written on papyrus, in Upper Egypt, by scribes trained specifically for that task. At Elymais we have brief monumental, official inscriptions in stone, again by trained scribes and masons. In both cases we might expect a conservative scribal approach based on genre, though we have still seen modest variation, either within a corpus or against contemporary dialects from adjacent regions. In both cases this variation cut against straightforward typological dating models. The Qumran scrolls, in contrast to the Elephantine and Elymais texts, are largely religious and literary in nature, written on leather or occasionally on papyrus, and were copied repeatedly over an extended period of time. In most cases, the scribes seem

11, 16; B2.6:17, 20, and B3.1:23. For Mauwziah, see *TAD* B8.8:2. It should be noted, however, that the use of *י* still far outweighs that of *ך* in Natan’s writing.

46 For Natan see *TAD* B2.6:4, B3.1:5 and B3.2:8, and for Mauwziah a number of times in *TAD* B3.8. Natan also uses *שק"ל* frequently.

47 For *כה"ל* and *יכ"ל*, compare *TAD* B2.6:31, 35 (Natan) to *TAD* B2.10:9, 10 (Mauwziah). An example of the conditional sentence construction is Mauwziah’s *הן יאמר כות לא ישתמע לה* (*TAD* B3.8:42) versus Natan’s *הן מסת מריבתא לרשא ירבה מריבתא* (*TAD* B3.1:6). For even more features, consult Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 715–17.

48 *TAD* B3.4:12; B3.6:3; B3.11:3; B3.10:10, 14; B3.12:30, 31.

49 See Gzella, “Arsacid,” 112–22. The Tang-e Sarvak inscriptions were originally published by Henning, “Tang-i Sarvak.” For the *editio princeps* of the Tang-e Butān inscriptions, see Bivar and Shaked, “Inscriptions.”

50 Koller, “Dialects.”

to have been well-trained for their task, though this varies across the corpus.

Having addressed the scribal variation present at Qumran, the possibilities of historical archaisms versus archaizing, and some examples of contemporary texts using varied linguistic features, we are now ready to move on to a descriptive overview of the Aramaic of the scrolls from the Qumran caves.

5 A Descriptive Overview of Qumran Aramaic with Reference to Bordering Aramaic Dialects

David Crystal's *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* defines a dialect as "[a] regionally or socially distinctive variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures."⁵¹ Definitions like these by necessity leave open the fuzzy boundaries of where one dialect begins and another ends. Is Qumran Aramaic "regionally or socially distinctive"? Should we classify it as a language variety "identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures"? Our answers will depend on the standards of variety allowed or expected, whether implicitly or explicitly. In the end, the identification of a dialect should be a heuristic tool for those working with, or interested in, these texts and how they fit into their broader historical, geographic, and social surroundings. Below, I seek to provide an accessible overview of Qumran Aramaic with the following guiding principles: 1.) To provide an easy entry into many of the salient features of the language for students of the Qumran Aramaic texts, especially relative to widely-used categories of Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and the Aramaic texts most closely following after the Qumran scrolls chronologically (e.g., the documents from elsewhere in the Judean Desert, or the Onkelos and Jonathan targums); 2.) To judge by these comparative observations whether the Qumran Aramaic corpus obtains levels of internal homogeneity and the required distance from other Aramaic text collections to justify calling it a distinctive dialect; and 3.) To establish the range of time during which the Qumran Aramaic texts were most plausibly written, based on linguistic factors alone. I must hasten to add that I neither attempt here to provide an exhaustive reference grammar of Qumran Aramaic, for which we are now fortunate to have Takamitsu Muraoka's *Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*, nor to cover all aspects of the language. Rather, my goal is to touch on what are, in my opinion, some of the most salient features with respect to the guiding principles just

laid out. Where a feature is not distinctive in relation to other surrounding Aramaic dialects, I typically will not discuss it. Much of what follows synthesizes previous scholarship, relying heavily on the pioneering work of earlier and contemporary Aramaicists such as Kutscher, Muraoka, Fitzmyer, Beyer, Greenfield, Puech, Sokoloff, Fassberg, Cook, Folmer, Schattner-Rieser, Gzella, Koller, and others. I occasionally add my own suggestions, drawn in large part from the profiles in this volume, to which readers may refer for further details on any given text.

5.1 Spelling (Orthography and Phonology)

The difference most readers first notice when comparing Qumran Aramaic texts to Aramaic works from outside the Qumran scrolls corpus is the spelling. As with any language, the pronunciation and spelling of Aramaic shifted with the passing of time and geographic distance, something that took place at varying places and in different ways, depending on the particular locale.⁵² Achaemenid Official Aramaic – the international language of the Persian Empire beginning with Darius I around 550 BCE – provides an important waypoint in the development of the language. At this time, the language was standardized within scribal circles throughout the empire, and remained remarkably stable in the available literary record over an impressive geographical expanse during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods.⁵³ Because of this stability, and the fact that many Official Aramaic texts are signed and dated, the dialect provides an excellent anchor for the comparison of various other forms of Aramaic, both earlier and later. In Biblical Aramaic, the Aramaic letters of Ezra are typically characterized as being written in good Official Aramaic, while the Aramaic portions of Daniel exhibit some small indicators of subsequent development from the imperial standard.⁵⁴ Turning back to the Qumran scrolls, we can see that, like Daniel, some things differ from Official Aramaic, though the two groups of texts still share many genetic similarities. The differences speak to incremental changes in pronunciation and writing practice that were taking place as highly-trained Jewish scribes plied their craft in Official Aramaic to the composition and transmission of new national literature. In what follows, I give an overview of various areas of spelling traditionally falling under the grammatical

⁵¹ Crystal, *Dictionary*, 142.

⁵² On the topic of linguistic change in Aramaic, see the recent history of the language by Gzella, *Cultural History*, especially on pages 45–52.

⁵³ Gzella, *Cultural History*, 157–201. Here Gzella gives a helpful descriptive overview of Official Aramaic and the texts included under that category.

⁵⁴ See Gzella, *Cultural History*, 205–8.

categories of orthography and phonology, focusing on where changes in pronunciation and writing practice are manifest in relation to Official Aramaic on the one hand, and Aramaic dialects contemporary with or subsequent to Qumran Aramaic on the other.

Generally speaking, the Qumran Aramaic texts tend to be full (or *plene*) with regard to spelling, providing *matres lectionis* of various sorts not found in most Official Aramaic texts, and distinct in some ways from the full spelling systems in later dialects, such as those of Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, or the Jerusalem Talmud. In many cases, the full spellings in Qumran Aramaic are associated with the graphic representation of vowels, and my survey will begin with this phenomenon.⁵⁵ These spellings were presumably connected with the reading tradition, and are thus often taken to be an indicator of how Aramaic was pronounced at the time and place in which the texts were composed or copied.⁵⁶ However, it is very important to recognize at the outset that not all the scribes of the Qumran Aramaic texts employed the full spelling system to the same extent, and that, moreover, we find differences in this regard between copies of the same work, not just two different compositions. Good examples of different spelling preferences in two copies of the same work are 4Q530 (EnGiants^b) versus 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), 4Q113 (Dan^b) versus 4Q112 (Dan^a) and MT Daniel, and 4Q554a (NJ^b) versus the other New Jerusalem copies. These texts prove beyond doubt that full or defective spelling is not an accurate tool for dating when a text was composed. Still, the vast majority of Qumran Aramaic texts do use full spellings in a fairly consistent way, so that it is justified to call it a general trait of the corpus, with occasional exceptions. Even these exceptions could be considered to fall within the realm of scribal preference described above. The following list surveys the full spellings most commonly used to represent vowels in Qumran Aramaic, though any given copy will have different constellations of agreement or disagreement with the items on this list. As with Qumran Hebrew, or indeed most other ancient languages, we should not expect consistency in spelling.⁵⁷

1. The letter **Ⲑ** is used to represent vowels in a variety of situations:⁵⁸
 - a. We find **Ⲑ** internal to words of different sorts, often combined with other letters to signify the vowel (e.g., **ⲓⲁⲓ** “head” [1Q20 (apGen) 14.9, 4Q566 (Prophecy?) 1.4], **ⲃⲁⲓ** “bad” [4Q203 (EnGiants^a) 8.14], **ⲁⲥⲓⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ** “their physician” [4Q548 (VisAmram^f) 1–2ii.3], **ⲓⲁⲥⲓⲛ** “stadia” [4Q554 (NJ^a) ii.15], **ⲓⲁⲥⲓⲛ** “standing” [4Q542 (TQahat) iii.4]). For some of these words the **Ⲑ** is an original, etymological feature, but for others it is not. Cook noted that **Ⲑ** is used after the letters **ⲓ** and **ⲙ** (e.g., **ⲓⲁⲓ** “iniquity” [4Q560 (Magical Booklet) 1.4]) to distinguish a word from others with the same written form (i.e., homographs), something rare outside of the Qumran texts.⁵⁹ It is also found separating vowels at the boundary between morphemes, as in **ⲓⲁⲓⲛ** “shame” (4Q541 [apocrLevi^a?] 9i.6). Some spellings of words with etymological **Ⲑ** are found regularly in earlier Official Aramaic texts (e.g., **ⲃⲁⲓ**), but such spellings without the etymological connection are uncommon (e.g., **ⲓⲁⲓ** versus **ⲓⲁⲥⲓⲛ** in Qumran Aramaic). Both kinds of spelling are found in the third- to second-century BCE scribal exercises on clay bowls from Maresha (**ⲃⲁⲓ**, **ⲓⲁⲥⲓⲛ**), and to a more limited extent in the later Judean Desert documents.⁶⁰ Most later Aramaic texts, such as Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, lose the internal **Ⲑ**, etymological or otherwise (e.g., **ⲓⲁⲓ**, **ⲓⲁⲥⲓⲛ**). Generally speaking, this feature is more pronounced at Qumran than in earlier groups of texts, and wanes noticeably in later dialects. Though the sample size is currently very small, the Maresha texts are important, since they show that these forms were present in Palestine as early as the third century BCE.⁶¹ It is also noteworthy that similar full spellings with **Ⲑ** are found in Qumran Hebrew.⁶²
 - b. **Ⲑ** is also used at the end of words finishing in a vowel, such as **ⲓⲁⲓ** “they were” (e.g., 4Q530

55 The same basic trend is seen in Qumran Hebrew, as over-viewed by Elisha Qimron (*Grammar*, 55–98) and Eric Reymond (*Qumran Hebrew*, 13–63).

56 This is not, however, to imply that the vowels represented by these letters were not spoken at an earlier time. As will be seen below, this remains a matter of scholarly debate.

57 On this point see Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 35–37.

58 For further details and examples see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 21, 24–26, 28–29.

59 Cook, “Aramaic,” 362.

60 See DJD 37 and Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*.

61 Hundreds of additional Aramaic ostraca from Maresha have been discovered in recent years. These are planned for publication in the coming decade as part of a project led by Prof. Esther Eshel at Bar-Ilan University.

62 Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 43–47.

[EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12(?) .15, שגיא “much many” (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] 20.7, 4Q196 [papTob^a] 2.12), and היא “she” (e.g., 4Q197 [Tob^b] 4ii.17, 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] 2iii.1). Cook suggests that this serves a graphic purpose (some call it a digraph), and as with the examples above it seems tied to marking vowels.⁶³ While it is also common in Qumran Hebrew, it is rare elsewhere.⁶⁴ A noteworthy full spelling of this sort, uniquely shared by Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic against other dialects, is גו “interior, within.”⁶⁵ We would rather have expected the ו of surrounding dialects, both earlier and later.

2. The letter ׀ is frequently employed to represent /o/ and /u/ vowels:⁶⁶
 - a. Other Aramaic corpora, both earlier and later, also use ׀ to signify the final and medial long vowels /o/ and /u/. However, the high frequency of this practice stands out in a large majority of Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, and separates it in particular from the more defectively-spelled, earlier Official Aramaic texts. Generally speaking, in the Masoretic tradition Ezra and Daniel are also written more defectively than most Qumran Aramaic scrolls. Part of the increased usage in Qumran Aramaic is due to the fact that many of the scribes marked etymologically *short* vowels with ׀.⁶⁷ This includes, most notably, the word כול “all,” but also many other words (e.g., אורחא “road” [4Q196 (papTob^a) 13.1], אומןה “people” [1Q72 (Dan^b) 2.4], עולימא “youth” [1Q20 (apGen) 2.2], and the second masculine singular suffix תון-). Again, this also happens in Qumran Hebrew, and becomes more frequent in later Jewish and Christian Aramaic dialects.⁶⁸
3. The letter ׀ marks many /e/ and /i/ vowels:⁶⁹
 - a. As with ׀, full spellings with ׀ are not restricted to Qumran. Yet, the extent to which that letter

is used for /e/ and /i/ vowels at Qumran is more extensive than in most earlier Aramaic corpora. At the same time, it is not as widespread as in some later text groups. For example, the etymological short /i/ in the first syllable of a word (e.g., at the beginning of the passive-reflexive stem איתפעל) is not represented with ׀ in the Qumran scrolls, but is present in the later Aramaic texts from the Judean Desert (e.g., איתפרע “I will take vengeance” [Nahal Hever 50.9]), and the Cairo Geniza copy of the Aramaic Levi Document (e.g., מינהון [7:5]). We do find ׀ marking short /e/ or /i/ vowels in later syllables of the *pael* and *aphel* conjugations in some texts at Qumran.⁷⁰ As in Qumran Aramaic, ׀ marking short /e/ or /i/ vowels in Qumran Hebrew is quite restricted.⁷¹

A different kind of full spelling takes place with the appearance of the letter ׀ in a limited number of grammatical situations, a phenomenon that may again be tied to pronunciation.⁷² This ׀ can, in fact, appear to be *preserved* in the case of a word containing an original, etymological ׀ in the root that in other dialects would be assimilated into the word (as with the prefix conjugation of נת׀ן and נפ׀ק), or *added* in a word with gemination, the doubling of a consonant (a process sometimes referred to as nasalization, nunation, or dissimilation by means of ׀), though it may be that the underlying phonological process is the same in both of these cases.⁷³ Examples are ינפ׀ק “he will go out” in 4Q201 (En^a) 11.5 (compare with יפ׀ק in 1Q20 [apGen] 22.34; this process is particularly seen in the prefix conjugation of פ׀ן verbs) and מנדע “knowledge” in 4Q213a (Levi^b) 1.14 (compare with מדע in 4Q212 [En^g] 11v.13). This sort of dissimilation by way of ׀ varies in Qumran Aramaic from copy to copy, and even within individual texts, two good examples being 1Q20

63 Cook, “Aramaic,” 362–63.

64 Qimron, *Grammar*, 82–86; Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 56–57. Note the frequent use of שגיא in Official Aramaic. In later Aramaic the typical spelling is סגיא and the like is used in later Jewish Aramaic (probably influenced by Biblical Aramaic and/or Hebrew), while in Official Aramaic we find גיא.

65 E.g., 5Q15 (NJ) 11.13, 4Q206 (En^e) 4i.17, 11Q18 (NJ) 13.5, MT Dan 3:25, 4:7, and 7:15.

66 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 23, 27–28.

67 Cook, “Aramaic,” 362.

68 Qimron, *Grammar*, 58–61, Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 47–51.

69 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 22–23, 26–27.

70 For examples see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 26.

71 Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 39–43.

72 So Muraoka, *Grammar*, 11, though see the comments of Cook, “Aramaic,” 363. On the phenomenon in its grammatical context see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 6–11. Another nice orientation to the issue, though done before most of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls were published, is that of Coxon, “nasalization.”

73 As noted by Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 44–45) and Muraoka (*Grammar*, 10). For a word with an etymological ׀, such as the third masculine singular prefix conjugation of נת׀ן, the process would be: Lengthening of the word through addition of the prefix נתן > assimilation of the ׀ and compensatory gemination (doubling or lengthening) of the second radical יתתן > dissimilation of gemination by adding ׀, as is usual for geminated consonants, resulting in ינתן. In this scenario, the process for words with and without etymological ׀ is the same, once the etymological ׀ has been assimilated and the following consonant doubled.

(apGen) and 11Q10 (Job). However, the 1 is present on a fairly regular basis, and in most cases is comparable to the patterns of assimilation and dissimilation in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic.⁷⁴ The second century CE documents from the Judean Desert still show mixed use of dissimilation by way of 1, though in later Jewish and Christian dialects there is a noticeable decline in such usage, albeit with differing rates and patterns of change depending on the text. In a few other cases, certain words may assimilate letters, but these tend to be less noticeable and frequent than assimilation or dissimilation of 1. One of the more prominent cases is the assimilation of 1 in certain conjugations of סל"ק "go up," or the assimilation of the second 1 in על"ל, both of which are also found in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic.

Another type of augmentation by 1 is at the end of a small group of words that, without the 1, end in an open vowel (א or ה), as discussed already by Kutscher.⁷⁵ The main examples of this are תמה "there" (always in Ezra [4x] and Official Aramaic) and כמה "how?" (not present in Official Aramaic, and two times in Daniel), which in Qumran Aramaic also appear as תמן and כמן. In Qumran Aramaic, only 4Q529 (Words of Michael) and 11Q10 (Job) use תמה, and all other texts תמן (20x). The evidence for כמן is less striking, with nearly twenty occurrences of כמן/כמה in eight manuscripts, including a number in 1Q20 (apGen), and only three instances of כמן, all of them also in 1Q20 (apGen).

In contrast to the characteristically full spellings of Qumran Aramaic, there are occasionally defective spellings that suggest some distance from Official Aramaic. An example of this is the word כען "now," which is consistently spelled this way in Qumran Aramaic's forty-two occurrences, but fluctuates between the fuller form כענה and defective כען and כעת in Official Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, Daniel has only כען (7x), while Ezra is mixed

between כענה (3x), כען (6x), and once כעת. There has also been discussion of what linguists call monophthongization, the collapsing of a diphthong into a single vowel, for the Official Aramaic phonemes /aw/ and /ay/, which some suggest contracted to /o/ and /e/ in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic. If this were the case, it would show phonological development from Official Aramaic to Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, but the issue is not as clear cut as some suggest. The idea began with Beyer, based on guesswork about spoken vowels drawn from the consonantal texts. It moved from there to Cook, Muraoka, Gzella, and others.⁷⁶ The problem is that the evidence is, in fact, very thin or non-existent for Qumran Aramaic, with the possible exception of the hollow-root participle using א (e.g., קאם), to be discussed further below.⁷⁷ This contrasts with the later Judean Desert documents, which do contain multiple consonantal indicators that seem to suggest the monophthongization of some diphthongs. Indeed, this comprises a significant orthographic or phonetic departure from Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic. For the latter two text groups, clear evidence for the phenomenon is negligible.⁷⁸

Some spelling changes do, however, demonstrate differences in how the language was read or spoken phonetically from the Official Aramaic to the Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic corpora. These changes have to do with a more broadly attested set of phonological shifts taking place over the course of the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. The main examples are listed below:⁷⁹

1. 1 changed to 7⁸⁰

During the floruit of Official Aramaic, there was an interdental consonant /d̪/, for which the tongue was apparently set somewhat behind the teeth,

74 Certain words reveal some differences, typically with Qumran Aramaic not having the 1 and thereby suggesting possible chronological development. One such case is מדינתא "the province, land," which always keeps the 1 in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, but in two out of seventeen occurrences in Qumran Aramaic exhibits assimilation. Also see the verbal roots על"ל and סל"ק. However, the situation changes with, e.g., the word 7(נ)א "face, nose," where Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic always have dissimilation, but Official Aramaic sometimes does not. Since we are dealing with small sample sizes, it is difficult to know how much weight to place on differences like these, and in the end it seems accurate to say that Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic prefer the preservation or addition of 1 in many of the same situations, with Qumran Aramaic exhibiting a slight decline from Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic.

75 Kutscher, "Genesis Apocryphon," 4.

76 Beyer, *ATM*¹, 53, 116–20; Cook, "Aramaic," 364; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 30–31; Gzella, *Cultural History*, 207.

77 In the very few other cases where Qumran Aramaic may show this process, it could also be attributed to scribal error, as noted by Muraoka.

78 For Biblical Aramaic I refer, of course, only to the consonantal text, and not the later Masoretic vocalization.

79 For a fuller account see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 3–6. One shift not dealt with below is that from 7 /t/ to 7 /t/, discussed by Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 36) and Muraoka (*Grammar*, 6). Both refer to אשור (typically אתור in Aramaic at this time) in 1Q20 (apGen) 17.8 (it also occurs in 12.18), but both times in 1Q20 (apGen) אשור refers to the personal name of Shem's son (cf. Gen 10:22), all of which are spelled according to the Hebrew conventions of Genesis. As such, this name should be dismissed as evidence for any such shift. More useful is the clear shift from the verbal root שו"ב "to return" in Official Aramaic to תו"ב in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic.

80 See Schattner-Rieser, "archaïsmes," 104–5; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 4.

producing a sound slightly harder than /z/, but softer than /d/. In Official Aramaic, the consonant is spelled predominantly with the “softer,” more spirantized character ז , but already we can see it hardening – or dentalizing – in the occasional spelling with the full dental ד .⁸¹ Good examples of this are זי “that, which,” זנה “this,” אחזו “seize, hold onto,” זהב “gold,” and זחל “to fear,” each of which is sometimes spelled with ד instead of ז in Official Aramaic, in certain cases quite often. In Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic the situation is essentially reversed. In these texts ד predominates and ז is an occasional or absent spelling (e.g., regularly די , דנה/דן , אחד , דהב , and דחל). The published third-century BCE Maresha bowls still have ז ,⁸² but there are hundreds of unpublished bowls and ostraca from that site dating to the same period, and Esther Eshel has confirmed that these show mixed spellings, which include the prefixed ד .⁸³ This is very important, since it shows that this “late” form was already being used in Judea in the third century. Somewhat surprisingly, the later Judean Desert documents contain many more ז spellings than Biblical Aramaic or Qumran Aramaic, even though we know they come from a later period.⁸⁴ In later Jewish and Christian dialects, however, the transition to ד reaches its completion.

2. ק changed to ע , and ע changed to א ⁸⁵

There is a long-term shift in pronunciation of a proto-semitic velar or pharyngeal consonant formed with the back of the tongue (more forward) or pharynx (slightly farther back) that is represented by the “harder” letter ק in the earliest Aramaic texts and continues on into Official Aramaic. This is seen in the Official Aramaic words עק “wood” and לעבק “with haste.” Already in Official Aramaic the early velar ק started to shift to the more pharyngeal ע , as seen in the mixed usage of ארק and ארע for “land,

earth,” a process that is more advanced in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic (where only ארע is present). We see this phonetic progress, for example, in Official Aramaic לעבק now being written לעבע (1Q10 [Job] only) or לעובע ($3x$) in Qumran Aramaic. In like manner, Official Aramaic עק is now sometimes written as עע ($4x$).⁸⁶ This word allows us to see a second shift, from ע to the weaker laryngeal א , since in Biblical Aramaic ($5x$) and in Qumran Aramaic (twice) we find instead the spelling אע .⁸⁷ The development of this word thus shows nicely the process of change: $\text{עק} > \text{עע} > \text{אע}$.⁸⁸ In terms of external evidence, the fourth-century BCE ostraca from Idumaea published by Eph'al and Naveh still have עק , while אע is found in the third- to second-century BCE Maresha bowls, showing that the shift to that form had already begun by that time.⁸⁹ The latter part of this process is also caught in motion among the Qumran Aramaic texts with the verb חע"ד “to laugh,” which is found in 1Q67 (Unclassified frags.), 4Q543 (VisAmram^a), and 4Q544 (VisAmram^b), but six times as חא"ד in 1Q10 (Job). A further extension of these shifts can be seen in later Jewish and Christian dialects, where Biblical Aramaic עלע “rib” changes to אלע , Qumran Aramaic עב"ע changes to אב"ע , and Qumran Aramaic ער"ע “to meet” shifts to אר"ע .⁹⁰

3. ש and ס

A number of words that originally contained an /s/ sound rendered in Official Aramaic by the letter ש show the slight beginnings of a shift to ס in Qumran Aramaic that would eventually predominate in later Jewish and Christian dialects.⁹¹ Presumably this was because the phonetic value of ש and ס were equalizing during the Second Temple period.⁹² While it is

81 There can be no doubt that ד was already use occasionally in the fifth century BCE, as seen clearly, for example, in text 44.3 of the Persepolis ritual objects published by Bowmen, *Persepolis*, 115. This text, written on a green chert ritual plate, uses the demonstrative pronoun דנה , while the many other similar texts have זנה . The plate with דנה is securely dated to 452/51 BCE.

82 Eshel, Puech, and Kloner, “Maresha.” See also the evidence adduced by Schattner-Rieser, “archaisms,” 105, and the discussion of Koller, “Dialects,” 206.

83 Personal communication on May 13, 2015.

84 This is yet another reminder to avoid simple linear models that posit, e.g., texts using ז as being chronologically earlier, and those using ד as being later.

85 See especially Sokoloff, “Dialects,” 748–50; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 6.

86 This includes the word עעיתרה “wooden frame/lattice?” ($2x$), though there has been some discussion as to whether it is synonymous with עע .

87 This is another process of dissimilation, on which see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 12. In 4Q211 (Enastr^d) 11.3, the weakening may have been represented in the other character, based on the spelling אע .

88 As noted by Sokoloff, the same development is seen in Official Aramaic $\text{ער"ק} >$ Qumran Aramaic $\text{ער"ע} >$ and אר"ע in later dialects.

89 See the discussion in Koller, “Dialects,” 204–207. Eph'al and Naveh, *Ostraca*, texts 25:2 and 167:2. Eshel, Puech, and Kloner, “Maresha.”

90 Sokoloff, “Dialects,” 748–49.

91 The change is also seen nicely in a comparison of the Qumran copies of the Aramaic Levi Document, which typically have ש , and the Cairo Geniza copy, which for the same words has ס .

92 So Muraoka, *Grammar*, 4.

true that we find some spellings with **ס** at Qumran (e.g., **עסר** in 4Q201 [En^a] iii.5 vs. **עשר** in 4Q209 [Enastr^b] ii.6), and that nearly twenty lexemes show this interchange in Qumran Aramaic, the texts overwhelmingly have the older spellings with **ש**, as also in Biblical Aramaic. It should also be noted that certain Qumran manuscripts, such as 4Q201 (En^a) and 11Q10 (Job), show a stronger preference for **ס**, sometimes disagreeing with conventions in other copies of the same text. The case is quite different for the second-century CE Judean Desert documents, which exhibit a noticeably increased use of **ס** in the relevant situations.⁹³ Later Jewish and Christian Aramaic dialects display a strong move to **ס**.⁹⁴

4. **ס** changed to **י**

Another noticeable change from Official Aramaic is the phonetic and graphic movement from **מ** to **נ** in some situations.⁹⁵ These are mostly found in independent pronouns and pronominal suffixes, such as Official Aramaic **אנתם**, **כם**, and **הם**-, versus Qumran Aramaic with mostly **אנתון**, **כון**-, and **הון** (note again the full spellings with **ו**).⁹⁶ There is also Official Aramaic **הם/המו**, for which Qumran Aramaic has mostly **אנון**.⁹⁷ Biblical Aramaic is caught between the shift, with both Ezra and Daniel having some of each type (see the section on pronouns, below), though Ezra leans toward Official Aramaic and Daniel more toward Qumran Aramaic for this characteristic. The second-century documents from the Judean Desert still use some of the forms with **מ**, but later Jewish and Christian dialects switch over completely to **נ**.⁹⁸

Along with these phonetic shifts, many Qumran Aramaic manuscripts show a widespread preference for **א** over **ה**, which seems to imply a weakening, or quiescence, of **ה**.⁹⁹ In other cases, the letters are simply interchanged freely, with no apparent pattern for which one is chosen, and this suggests phonetic equalizing. Preference for **א** is seen most starkly in the prefix for the causative conjugation, which is mainly **אפעל** in Qumran Aramaic, rather than the

הפעל of Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic.¹⁰⁰ There are, however, plenty of exceptions to the rule at Qumran, and Cook opines that the choice of **א** or **ה** “seems to have depended on the whim of the scribe.”¹⁰¹ 11Q10 (Job) and 4Q529 (Words of Michael) typically or always use the **הפעל** form, and usage is mixed in manuscripts such as 4Q196 (papTob^a) and 4Q542 (TQahat). We may pair this with Muraoka’s further observation that the representation of **א** or **ה** in the causative stem at Qumran is largely restricted to the imperative, infinitive, and suffix conjugation forms, but is rare as an infix in the prefix-conjugation and participles. By contrast, Biblical Aramaic often (though not always) has the **ה** infix in these latter two verb forms (e.g., **יהקם** in MT Dan 5:21; **מהקים** in MT Dan 2:21).¹⁰² For Muraoka, we thus witness “a diachronic shift in progress” at Qumran. Looking outside of Qumran, we see that the fourth century BCE ostraca from Idumaea still use **הפעל**.¹⁰³ Later dialects commonly have the **אפעל** spelling. A similar situation obtains for spellings of the passive/reflexive conjugation, **אתפעל** and **התפעל**, though here the surrounding chronological evidence is different: As opposed to the use of **הפעל** in Official Aramaic, that dialect always uses **אתפעל** for the passive/reflexive conjugation, as do the later Jewish and Christian dialects.¹⁰⁴ In other words, Biblical Aramaic and some Qumran Aramaic texts (e.g., 11Q10 [Job]) stand out for their idiosyncratic use of the **התפעל**, while most Qumran Aramaic texts fit better with Official Aramaic and later forms of Aramaic.¹⁰⁵ The other major places where we see the exchange between **א** and **ה** are: 1.) Representing the final vowel of **א**־ל verbs or other words ending with open vowels, such as the independent pronoun **אנה/אנא** or demonstrative pronoun **אנה/דנה**;¹⁰⁶ 2.) For the definite article at the end of nouns to indicate the determined state (overwhelmingly **א** [e.g., **מערבא** “west” in 1Q20 (apGen)

93 See some of the references in Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 36.

94 For example, see the comments of Levias, *Grammar*, 14. In some cases (e.g., Syriac) the *sin* (**ש**) disappears altogether.

95 Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 43) sees this as part of a larger shift toward nasalization or nunation. See also Schattner-Rieser, “archaïsmes,” 107–9.

96 Notable exceptions at Qumran are 4Q112 (Dan^a) and 4Q570 (Unid. Text D).

97 4Q242 (PrNab) and 11Q10 (Job) are the exceptions; see further below.

98 For the Judean Desert documents see the examples given by Muraoka, *Grammar*, 41.

99 See Schattner-Rieser, “archaïsmes,” 106.

100 With the exception of the Hermopolis Papyri, which also have **אפעל**.

101 Cook, “Aramaic,” 373. An excellent overview of the topic is available in Muraoka, *Grammar*, 109–111.

102 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 110, and the other literature cited there.

103 As noted by Koller, “Dialects,” 207, n. 25.

104 As pointed out by Cook, “Dialectology,” 14–16. For many examples see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 113–14.

105 Beyer (*ATM*¹, 463, 466) and Cook (“Aramaic,” 374) attribute the forms in Biblical Aramaic and 11Q10 (Job) to Hebrew influence from the **התפעל** stem, though Muraoka (*Grammar*, 112) disputes this claim. Bauer-Leander (*Grammatik*, 108) thought, rather, that it was formed on analogy with the **הפעל**.

106 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 23–24. A nice example of the verb with weak final radical is **תתקרה** (4Q543 [VisAmram^a] 2a–b.4) versus **אתקרה** (4Q563 [Wisdom Composition] 1.2). The letter **א** is more typically found in the final position, though it can alternate with **ה** even within the same work (e.g., **מתחזא** [4Q204 (En^c) ii.21] and **מתחזה** [4Q571 (Words of Michael^a) 1.13]).

17.10], but occasionally ה [e.g., מערבה in 2Q24 (NJ) 4.10]; and 3.) For the sufformative /ā/ of the feminine noun in the absolute state (typically ה [e.g., אנתה “woman, wife” in 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.8], but sometimes א [e.g., אנתא in 4Q197 (Tob^b) 4i.13]). The firm rule in Official Aramaic is א for the definite article and ה for the feminine noun sufformative. While the Qumran Aramaic texts still largely adhere to this rule, there are certainly more exceptions than in Official Aramaic (and Biblical Aramaic). In some cases, however, it is clear that the divergences are based on the preferences of an individual scribe, as we also find occasionally in Official Aramaic.¹⁰⁷

Noteworthy differences between full and defective spellings are also found among the endings of pronouns, pronominal suffixes, and demonstrative pronouns.¹⁰⁸ These forms are often referenced by those situating Qumran Aramaic among other dialects, and so they merit brief treatment here. For ease of discussion, the most common Qumran Aramaic forms are provided, with alternative Qumran spellings separated by a slash, and relatively infrequent or singular Qumran spellings in parentheses.

	Independent pronouns		
	Masculine	Common	Feminine
Singular			
First person		אנה (אנא)	
Second	אנתה (אנת)		—
Third	הוא		היא
Plural			
First person		אנחנא (אנחנה)	
Second	אנתון (אנתן)		—
Third	המון (אנן)		אנן

Some of these forms, used consistently across Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, distance the Qumran texts from other corpora. Both earlier and later dialects also use אנה and אנחנה (or אנתן), but later Jewish and Christian dialects witness the growth of new apocopated forms for אנחנה, such as אנן and חנן. The main thing distancing Qumran Aramaic from surrounding dialects is the use of a final א in אנחנא, which is purely orthographic and varies in Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic (both Daniel and Ezra). More significant is the second person masculine אנתה, also the usual *ketiv* spelling in Daniel (though

not Ezra), which is a full form missing from other, surrounding Aramaic text groups. All other known Aramaic texts, including the later Judean Desert documents, use shorter forms such as אנת (the Official Aramaic form) and אה. Some debate has taken place over whether the Qumran Aramaic/Daniel form represents a long or stressed /a/ vowel already present in Official Aramaic, but not written there, or signifies a novel development in the pronunciation behind the Qumran Aramaic/Daniel form, perhaps influenced by Hebrew.¹⁰⁹ אנתון is a full spelling in Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic distinguished from the Official Aramaic אנתם on one hand, and אנתון of later Aramaic corpora on the other. The Official Aramaic spelling of the third-person masculine singular pronoun is הו, and the feminine הי, though some Early Aramaic texts and the fifth-century BCE Sheikh Fadl inscription from Egypt have הוא or היא/הוא. The latter forms are the ones found almost exclusively in Qumran Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and subsequent Jewish dialects, with the exception of 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court) 7+7a.1 (הו) and 4Q204 (En^c) 5ii.30 (הואה) among the Qumran scrolls, and the noteworthy use of הו and הי in the later Judean Desert documents. The spelling הואה in 4Q204 (En^c) is taken by Fassberg, Schattner-Rieser and others to be a Hebraism,¹¹⁰ and some have suggested that the switch from earlier הו/הי to הוא/היא is due, at least in part, to the influence of Hebrew orthography.¹¹¹

As with אנתון, Qumran Aramaic and, to a slightly lesser extent, Biblical Aramaic witness a shift with the third person plural אנון and אנן, the latter being attested only once (4Q201 [En^a] iii.15). The older Official Aramaic forms were המו (or הם) and הני (one occurrence), of which only the masculine form has come through to Qumran Aramaic and Daniel as המון. This earlier form is used exclusively in 11Q10 (Job) and what little is preserved of 4Q242 (PrNab). The distribution between המון and אנון is split in Biblical Aramaic (three times each), but the later אנון predominates in the remaining Qumran Aramaic texts, with over forty occurrences. Some of the other, post-Official Aramaic dialects use forms beginning with ה,¹¹² and it of interest that the second century CE Nahal Hever documents still use המון frequently alongside אנון. אנון or

107 As in a number of the Hermopolis Papyri (TAD A2.1, A2.2, A2.3, A2.4 and A2.5), which use the negative particle לה, rather than the standard לא.

108 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 37–50. Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 423–25, 449–52. On many of these forms see also Cook, “Vowels.”

109 See Cook, “Vowels,” 63–64; Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 43–44; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 41–43.

110 This spelling also occurs in Qumran Hebrew. See Fassberg, “Aramaic,” 365. In my opinion, the spelling suggests strongly that this copy was made at Qumran, exhibiting some features of what Tov has called the Qumran Scribal Practice.

111 So Muraoka, *Grammar*, 37.

112 See Cook, “Dialectology,” 11.

related forms (e.g., *הַנּוֹן*, *אִינוֹן*) are found in later Jewish and Christian Aramaic. Cook suggested that *הַמּוֹן* was used only for the direct object in Biblical and Qumran Aramaic, though in fact the closely related form *הַמוֹ* is used as a plural subject in Ezra 5:11, and the same is true of *הַמוֹן* at 11Q10 (Job) XXVIII.2.¹¹³ Furthermore, *אִנוֹן* is clearly used as a direct object in Ezra 5:4 and Dan 6:25, as it is in Qumran Aramaic.¹¹⁴ Taking all of this evidence into account, we should be careful of assigning specific syntactic roles to *אִנוֹן* and *הַמּוֹן* – they seem to be used arbitrarily based on the preferences of a given scribe. In light of the relatively late use of *הַמּוֹן* in 11Q10 (Job) and the Nahal Hever documents, we should also avoid dating texts with great specificity based on this criterion.

	Pronominal suffixes		
	Masculine	Common	Feminine
Singular			
First person		נִי-/י-	
Second	ךָ-/כָּה-(כֹּא-)		כִּי-
Third	הִי-/ה-		הֵה-/הָא-(הֵהה-)
Plural			
First person		נָא-נָה-(נִ-)	
Second	כּוֹן-/כֶּן-(כֹּם-)		—
Third	הוֹן-/הֶן-(הֵם-)		הֵן/הֶן-

The first-person suffixes are unremarkable in relation to surrounding dialects, except that the full *נָא-* ending of the plural in Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic (fluctuating between *א* and *ה* in both) is instead mixed in Official Aramaic between *נָא-* and the defective form *נִ-.*¹¹⁵ The spelling of the second-person suffix across the range of dialects is typically the short *ךָ-* of Official Aramaic, but the full spelling *כָּה-* (*כֹּא-* in 1Q20 [apGen] 2.17, 5.9) occurs fairly regularly in a cross-section of Qumran Aramaic texts. This full ending is a distinctive trait of the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, and as with *אִנְתָּה* there has been debate over whether this is an idiosyncratic graphic representation of an original Official Aramaic final vowel /a/, or a Hebraism.¹¹⁶ Although the short form *ךָ-* is always used in Biblical Aramaic of the Masoretic tradition, we saw above

that this is not true of 4Q113 (Dan^b). The long feminine singular suffix *כִּי-* is present in Official Aramaic along with the short form *ךָ-*, though in most later Jewish Aramaic dialects (with the exception of Christian Palestinian Aramaic) a short feminine form *ךָ-* is the norm.¹¹⁷ The non-Qumran Judean Desert documents are mixed; Qumran Aramaic stands out among the other dialects for its exclusive use of the long form.¹¹⁸ As noted by Kutscher, the long Aramaic form also influences Qumran Hebrew, where it sometimes appears as an Aramaism.¹¹⁹ Masculine plural *כּוֹן-/כֶּן-* was usually *כֹּם-* in Official Aramaic, with an occasional *כּוֹן-/כֶּן-* showing that the transition from *mem* to *nun* was already underway in fifth-century BCE Egypt. For the most part, we find the later endings with *nun* at Qumran, though 1Q20 (apGen) has the ending *כֹּם-* at least once (8.16), perhaps twice (10.7?). It seems to me best to interpret this as an archaism in Aramaic rather than a Hebraism, though either interpretation is possible.

The third person singular masculine *הֵה-* (after a consonant) or *הִי-* (after a vowel, *וְהִי-* on masculine plural nouns, as well as prepositions such as *עַל* and *קִדְוֹם*) of Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic is the same as in Official Aramaic and the later Targum Onkelos/Targum Jonathan dialects.¹²⁰ Some other later dialects have shortened forms of *וְהִי-*, such as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *וִי-* and Samaritan Aramaic *וִי-*. One of these is found at Qumran in 11Q18 (NJ) (*עֲלוֹי*; 8.3, 9.4), a copy dating to the Herodian period, and so relatively late in view of the wider corpus. Forms from dialects further east are different. The shorter feminine singular suffix *הֵה-* is the standard in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic.¹²¹ Although *הֵה-/הָא-* does appear a few times in Official Aramaic texts, and regularly in Targum Onkelos/Targum Jonathan after a vowel, this longer ending is much more widespread in Qumran Aramaic than in Official Aramaic, and also appears in more grammatical situations than in Targum Onkelos/

113 Cook, "Aramaic," 365, cites Rosenthal (*Grammar*, 23 [§29]) in support of this claim, though it should be noted that Rosenthal wrote that "With one exception ... *הַמּוֹן* and *הַנּוֹן* happen to be used as direct objects immediately following a verb in the perfect tense" (italics added).

114 Hence, in Ezra 5 we find precisely the opposite linguistic situation as that suggested by Cook.

115 The defective form appears once in Qumran Aramaic at 4Q213a (Levi^b) 3-4.2.

116 For the former opinion see Beyer, *ATM*¹, 424, 449-50; Cook, "Vowels," 60-61; Qimron, "Suffix"; and with some further nuance,

Sokoloff, "Dialects," 751. On the Hebraism theory see Fassberg, "Hebraisms," 51-53.

117 The form is not present in Biblical Aramaic. The fact that both the short and long forms occur in Official Aramaic may testify to the fact that from early on the suffix was pronounced /-ki/, though the phonetic consistency behind these ending is disputed. On this point see Fassberg, "Suffix"; Sokoloff, "Dialects," 752.

118 One can see the stark difference between Qumran Aramaic and the Judean Desert documents in the examples provided by Muraoka, *Grammar*, 40.

119 Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 158-61. For an alternative explanation see Qimron, *Grammar*, 266-67.

120 See Cook, "Vowels," 56-58.

121 For further discussion and reference to earlier opinions see Fassberg, "Hebraisms," 53-54; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 40.

Targum Jonathan.¹²² Other later dialects have only ה־. Scholars have compared the long feminine singular ending to the second person כה־, and an analogous debate has taken place over its origins, whether it represents an original Aramaic vowel (Kutscher, Cook, Fassberg) or is a Hebraism (Fitzmyer). As for the third person plural forms, we find a roughly analogous situation to that of the independent המון and אנון. The typical Official Aramaic forms are masculine הום־/הם־ and perhaps feminine הן־, though the masculine ending does occasionally have *nun* rather than *mem*.¹²³ As with כם־ and כן/כונ־, the evidence of הום־/הם־ and הן־/הון־ illustrates the halting transition from *mem* to *nun* beginning to take place already in Official Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, Ezra has the Official Aramaic הם־ and Daniel הון־, followed by most Qumran Aramaic texts. Some *mem* forms persist into later periods, as with מנהם in 4Q112 (Dan^a) (מַט Daniel (מנהון), אלהיהם in 4Q570 (Unid. Text D) 6.6, and more conspicuously the later Nahal Hever documents.¹²⁴ The full spelling of the feminine suffix (הין־; e.g., 4Q531 [EnGiants^c] 1.4) is found in Qumran Aramaic in addition to the defective form.

Demonstrative pronouns

	Near: "This"	Far: "That"
Masculine singular	דן/דנה	דך (דכן)
Feminine singular	דא	—
Common plural	אלין/אלין (אלה)	אלך

The singular masculine short demonstrative דן makes its first appearance in Qumran Aramaic, signalling a clear development from Official Aramaic זנה/זנא (rarely דנה/דנא) and Biblical Aramaic דנה, although the short form דן does occur in a variety of inscriptions predating or contemporary with Official Aramaic.¹²⁵ The Qumran Aramaic דן is a forerunner of the later Jewish and Christian Aramaic forms דין (when a sentence subject), הדין (when

an adjective), and דין.¹²⁶ It may be that a single occurrence of דן is found at 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 2.2.¹²⁷ Although far surpassed in number by דן, the longer form דנה does occur in thirteen manuscripts at Qumran, in some cases (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen] and 4Q537 [TJacob?]) in mixed usage with the short form. The later Judean Desert documents have a surprising mixture of זנה, דן, דנן, and (mostly) דנה/דנא.¹²⁸ The Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic far demonstrative דך (Ezra; דכן in Daniel)¹²⁹ is mixed between דך, דך, and דך in Official Aramaic. We find דך and דך alongside the independent forms הוּא and היא serving as demonstratives in the later Judean Desert documents, while subsequent Jewish and Christian dialects shift further to using הוּא and היא.¹³⁰ Aside from the interdental to dental shift from ז to ד, the feminine דא matches the Official Aramaic דא, which also has once דה.¹³¹ Like the masculine form, it later shifts to דא (subject) and הדא (adjective) in Jewish and Christian Aramaic. The plural near demonstrative אלה, standard in Official Aramaic, may occur once at Qumran in 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c) 2ii.12, and twice in Biblical Aramaic (Jer 10:11, Ezra 5:15).¹³² The Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic form is otherwise always אלה/אלין. The other Judean Desert texts witness to both אלה and אלין, though it should be remembered that Nabatean

122 Fassberg ("Hebraisms," 54) and Sokoloff ("Dialects," 751–52) pointed out that the long ending was primarily a feature of 1Q20 (apGen), which was true at the time. However, the ending has now come to light in many other Aramaic Qumran scrolls (e.g., 4Q197 [Tob^b] 4ii.2, 4Q213a [Levi^b] 3–4.6, 4Q537 [TJacob?] 12.3, 4Q541 [apocrLevi^b] 9i.4, and 4Q549 [VisAmram^g] 2.2), so that it can be said to have a much wider distribution.

123 The feminine is either poorly attested or, according to Muraoka and Porten (*Grammar*, 46, n. 215), not attested at all.

124 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 41. As with some of the other forms already discussed, it is at least conceivable that these are Hebraisms, though an archaism from earlier Aramaic seems more likely.

125 For references see Schwiderski, *DARI*¹, 291. זנה is also found in a second century BCE inscription from Mt. Gerizim (Naveh, "Samaria").

126 On some of these forms see the study of Folmer, "Pronouns."

127 So Puech (DJD 31:327), Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 63), and Muraoka (*Grammar*, 47), though it may also be the more expected דן prefaced by an interrogative ה, as suggested by Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, 32). On other dialectal forms see Cook, "Dialectology," 8, 10–11; "Aramaic," 367. The later grammatical functions noted by Cook may support Kobelski's view.

128 See Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 62–63.

129 Muraoka's interpretation of ברכן in 4Q209 (Enastr^b) 23.5 (*Grammar*, 49) is clearly mistaken based on the parallel in 4Q210 (Enastr^c) 11ia+b+c.16.

130 Or very occasionally other forms, such as דיכּי in Targum Onkelos/Targum Jonathan. Muraoka and Porten (*Grammar*, 58) note that הן is occasionally used in a demonstrative way in Official Aramaic.

131 Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 56–57. The use of הוּא and היא as far demonstrative pronouns is completely absent from Qumran Aramaic, where they are used primarily as the second component of a predicate clause, e.g., אבּי הוּא "He is my father" (4Q197 [Tob^b] 4iii.8) or a subject. Dan 2:32 and 6:11 do have הוּא as a far demonstrative, but Biblical Aramaic usage otherwise resembles Qumran Aramaic.

132 As Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 63) points out, the word אלה in 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c) may also be the proper noun "God," with the context supporting either interpretation. The fact that this scroll otherwise falls into line with Qumran Aramaic may support Schattner-Rieser's opinion, though see also Puech, DJD 31:169. אלה also appears in the single verse of Aramaic in Jeremiah, in 4Q70 (Jer^a) 5i.4. See also the profile for 4Q536 (Birth of Noah^c) and the relevant discussion there.

preserves אלה.¹³³ Later Jewish and Christian Aramaic dialects used forms similar to, or developed from, Qumran Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, such as אֱלִי/אֱלִיין, אֱלִין, and הֱלִין/הֱלִיין. The far demonstrative plural אֱלִין is stable across a wide spectrum of dialects encompassing Official Aramaic (along with the alternate אֱלִין), Qumran Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and the later Judean Desert documents. Subsequent Jewish and Christian forms are אֱלִין and הֱלִין, or simply the independent pronoun (אֱיִנִין or the like). At Nahal Hever, and perhaps once at Qumran, we also find the independent אֱיִנִין used in a far demonstrative sense.¹³⁴

5.2 Formation of Verbs and Nouns (Morphology)

The formation of verbs and nouns is another area where elements distinguishing Qumran Aramaic from surrounding dialects may be recognized. A few of these features appear to be part of the same phonetic/orthographic phenomena discussed above for the pronouns, and so will be dealt with first.

In the suffix conjugation there are four sufformatives that warrant comment:¹³⁵

1. The second-person masculine singular ending is often the short form ת- found in Official Aramaic (e.g., חזית “you saw” 1Q20 [apGen] 14.17), though a longer תה-/תה- suffix is found a number of times across a range of copies (e.g., חזיתא 1Q20 [apGen] 14.14). Biblical Aramaic shows this same mix, with long endings at Dan 2:41, 4:14, and 5:27. While later Jewish and Christian dialects tend to use the short form, the long form is also attested in some places.¹³⁶ As with the pronoun אנתה and pronominal suffixes כה- and אה-, scholars have debated the possibility of an original Aramaic vowel versus Hebrew influence.¹³⁷
2. The second-person masculine plural verb suffix in Official Aramaic is mixed between תם- and תן-/ת-ן.¹³⁸ In Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, however, it is always תון- (rarely written defectively as תן-), as is the standard in later dialects. Here we see the same basic shift from ט to י endings, as in several of the pronouns.

¹³³ See Cook, “Dialectology,” 8, 10.

¹³⁴ Muraoka, *Grammar*, 49.

¹³⁵ I will not deal here with the suffix-conjugation third-person masculine plural verb ending ין- (rather than Official Aramaic י-), discussed by Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 75. What he considers his most secure example, in 1Q20 (apGen) 5.16, is actually in the prefix conjugation, severely weakening the presence of this feature in Qumran Aramaic. See also Muraoka, *Grammar*, 99.

¹³⁶ See Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 70–71.

¹³⁷ See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 98.

¹³⁸ See, e.g., Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 97, 100–101.

3. In Official Aramaic and the consonantal text (*ketiv*) of Biblical Aramaic the third-person singular feminine verb suffix is the shared masculine י-.¹³⁹ Several Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, however, attest to a distinctive feminine ending א- (e.g., שלמא [1Q20 20.6], הויא [4Q202 iii.2]).¹⁴⁰ This same ending is found in later Jewish dialects, such as that of the Onkelos and Jonathan targums.¹⁴¹
4. The first person common ending is י- in Official Aramaic, but in both Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic we find uniformly the longer ending אן-, and we may note that the same is found in the third to second century BCE Maresha bowl inscriptions.¹⁴² אן- is also used in the subsequent Jewish and Christian dialects.

One of the most striking traits of the verbal system used only in Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and the other Judean Desert documents, is an idiosyncratic practice of using a ל- prefix for the third person singular and plural forms of the verb הו”א “to be” in the prefix conjugation (e.g., להוין, להוין, להוין).¹⁴³ This practice is unknown in Official Aramaic, and some have posited that Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic inherited an old ל- jussive-precativ prefix known from a group of Early Aramaic inscriptions influenced by Akkadian, which they put to their own use as a stand-in prefix to avoid verb forms that may be confused with the Tetragrammaton.¹⁴⁴ As Schattner-Rieser observed, the fact that the Tetragrammaton is never otherwise used to refer to God in Qumran Aramaic corroborates this probable avoidance.¹⁴⁵ Recently, Fassberg has proposed a completely different line of development, in which avoidance of the Tetragrammaton does not play

¹³⁹ The *qere* tradition of Biblical Aramaic, however, vocalizes these verbs as if they had the /-ā/ ending seen graphically in the Qumran Aramaic form.

¹⁴⁰ Opportunities for use of the form are rare in the preserved texts. It is found at 1Q20 (apGen) 5.12, 13.16, 20.6, 22.28; 4Q201 (En^a) iii.16; and 4Q202 (En^b) iii.2.

¹⁴¹ See Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 75–76; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 70.

¹⁴² Eshel, Puech, and Kloner, “Maresha,” 41.

¹⁴³ There are a few exceptions to this rule, collected by Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 71, though not all of the readings are certain. For discussion see Sokoloff, “Dialects,” 750–51; Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 68–69; and Fassberg, “ל”הו”א.” In this study Fassberg includes exceptions from the Cairo Geniza copy of the Aramaic Levi Document in his numbers, though placing this copy with the Aramaic Qumran scrolls for these purposes is highly questionable from a methodological viewpoint (the same thing is done in Muraoka’s *Grammar*).

¹⁴⁴ For a review of the different suggestions, see Rubin, “Preformative.” Also, Kaufman, “Reflections,” 150.

¹⁴⁵ See the discussion appended to Fassberg “Verbal System,” 81.

a part.¹⁴⁶ Whatever the case, the old prefix, were it indeed known, was available for all verb stems. Yet in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic it was restricted to the root אהו.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic may use the ל- prefix in an indicative sense, unlike the old Early Aramaic and Akkadian jussive-precative prefix. Although a ל- prefix was used in Late Eastern Aramaic dialects, it was not restricted there to אהו, and Fassberg is justified in distancing this from the Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic usage.¹⁴⁸ The practice is not found in later Jewish Aramaic dialects, and thus serves as a truly distinctive feature of Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and the other Judean Desert Aramaic texts.

Some differences between Qumran Aramaic and the later Judean Desert documents have been indicated above, but two further items should be added to these. First, Aaron Koller noted an interesting discrepancy in the morphology of the אהתפעל/התפעל conjugation between Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic on the one hand, and the second century CE Judean Desert documents and Nabatean on the other.¹⁴⁹ In the former group of texts we find the first letter of verbal roots beginning with ש, ס, and ז (i.e., a sibilant) undergoing metathesis with the infix -ת- of the conjugation, as in זמנ (זמנ, 1Q20 [apGen] 21.25), הסתכל (סכ"ל, 11Q10 [Job] 24.5), and משתפך (שפ"ך, 4Q533 [EnGiants^e] 4.2). This is the expected norm across almost all Aramaic dialects, with the exception of Nabatean and the Judean Desert documents, which show "a consistent lack of the expected sibilant metathesis for [H]ithpe'el verbs."¹⁵⁰ Examples from the Judean Desert texts are אהזבן (זב"ן, P. Yadin 7:16), אהתשדר (התשדר, P. Yadin 53:3), and אהשכח (שכ"ח, P. Yadin 54:10).¹⁵¹ Muraoka has also noted the unusual full spelling אהתפרע "exact punishment" in Nahal Hever 50.9, though not much can be made of one irregularity.¹⁵²

The second difference is seen in the morphology of the infinitive. In the dialects up to and including Qumran Aramaic, the standard way of forming the infinitive of the base *peal* (G) stem was with a prefixed ל and מ, examples being למדהל "to fear" (4Q198 [Tob^c] 1.1) and למעבד "to do" (4Q212 [En^g] iiv.16).¹⁵³ For the derived stems there is typically a ל prefix and a ה/א suffix, as in לאלפה "to teach" (4Q201 [En^a] iii.15) and להלבשה "to clothe" (11Q10 [Job] 29.7). However, already in Official Aramaic, and in Qumran Aramaic as well, we occasionally find derived-stem forms that include a prefixed מ, for example with למתיה "to bring" in Official Aramaic (אהת"ה, TAD A2.4:11) and at Qumran למחזיא (4Q542 [TQahat] iii.6) and למעמרא (4Q544 [VisAmram^b] 1.1; though, importantly, לעמרה in the parallel at 4Q545 [VisAmram^c] 1a-bii.13).¹⁵⁴ This latter combination becomes the norm in most later Jewish and Christian dialects, and in the Judean Desert documents we see an undeniable increase in use of this form when compared to Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic (e.g., למשפיה, למעמקה, and למעבדא).¹⁵⁵ Moreover, Muraoka and Schattner-Rieser note some other innovative infinitive forms in these texts, like למפרוע (Nahal Hever 7.17, 57), a construction typical of later Jewish dialects, and למנעול (Nahal Hever 7.26, 57), identical to the Syriac pattern.¹⁵⁶ It seems, then, that we see a clear development in the morphology of the derived stem infinitives in some of the Judean Desert documents, similar to forms that will become well-established in later dialects.

Steven Fassberg has drawn attention to another full spelling that appears to reflect a morphological or phonological shift taking place in some Qumran Aramaic manuscripts.¹⁵⁷ He cited five instances where a *peal* imperfect form is spelled with a long vowel, graphically representing /o/ or /u/ in the final or penultimate consonant (e.g., ינטור in 4Q534 [Birth of Noah^a] 7.4) instead of the expected /a/ vowel inferred for Official Aramaic (i.e., ינטר).¹⁵⁸ Muraoka has added a number of other

146 Fassberg, "להוא."

147 In Fassberg's opinion ("להוא," 16), this may simply capture the earliest stages of ל as a prefix in Jewish Aramaic, with its attachment to אהו being due to the fact that its "consonants are weak and thus prone to morphological innovation."

148 Fassberg, "Verbal System," 69. On these later dialects see especially Rubin, "Preformative."

149 Koller, "Dialects," 203-4. For the situation of אהתפעל versus הפעל forms, and אהתפעל versus אהתפעל forms, see the discussion above on the orthographic, and likely phonetic, shift between ה and א in Qumran Aramaic.

150 The quotation, also cited by Koller ("Dialects," 203-4), is found in Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 23. On the Nabatean texts, see especially Morgenstern, "Nabataean," 139.

151 As noted by Koller and Morgenstern, the non-metathesized forms also occur occasionally in Qumran Hebrew. For examples see Qimron, *Grammar*, 239.

152 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 113.

153 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 103-106. Rarely this stem will not have the מ; for the common exception of לאמר in Official Aramaic see Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 108.

154 Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 108-109; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 104-105.

155 Cf. Muraoka (*Grammar*, 105) for references. See also Ezra 5:9 למבניה, though the proper interpretation of the form there is disputed, as the ending may indicate the determined state or a pronominal suffix.

156 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 104-105; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 71-72.

157 Fassberg, "Verbal System," 73-74. Though see already Kutscher, "Genesis Apocryphon," 13.

158 One of the examples cited by Fassberg is not correct: His במעול (1Q20 [apGen] 6.4) should instead be read במעיל. As a result,

occurrences, though some of these are from the later Judean Desert documents and Cairo Geniza copy of the Aramaic Levi Document, and so should not be considered as Qumran Aramaic in a straightforward way.¹⁵⁹ The longer form is that known from later Jewish and Christian dialects, such as Christian Palestinian Aramaic.¹⁶⁰

The use of \aleph in some situations to indicate the internal vowel of hollow-root verbs was already noted in the section on orthography and phonology above, and scholars have debated the extent to which this is a morphological change. These forms, all found in the participle construction, are present in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic (e.g., קאם, Dan 2:31; קאמיא, Dan 7:16; דארין, Dan 3:31; קאם, 2Q24 [NJ] 4.16; דאלין וואעין, 1Q20 [apGen] 0.7; דאנין, 4Q544 [VisAmram^b] 1.10; דאר, 4Q209 [Enastr^b] 23.3).¹⁶¹ Little evidence for the relevant forms is preserved in the later Judean Desert texts, but the \aleph participle is well known from later Jewish and Christian dialects. When we look at Official Aramaic, however, we find no occurrences of the participle with \aleph representing the internal vowel, but rather y only.¹⁶² Beyer and others after him assumed that this implies a process of monophthongization, combining the double vowel of a diphthong /ay/ into one sound /e/.¹⁶³ In fact, there is no way of being sure that this is the case, and Schattner-Rieser adopts the alternative explanation that the \aleph simply serves the purpose of distinguishing the active and passive participle forms.¹⁶⁴ Whatever the phonetic reality was behind the graphic change, this feature constitutes a clear difference between Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic/Qumran Aramaic.

Finally, there are two verbal lexical items that deserve mention. The first pertains to the words signifying one's ability to do something, "to be able," כה"ל and יכ"ל. In Official Aramaic, both of these words are used to describe the state of one's ability, almost exclusively in negative statements: לא נכל נגדך דין ודבב "We shall not be able to

institute against you a suit or process ..." (TAD B3.4:12–13); לא נכהל נרשנדך דין ודבב "We shall not be able to bring against you suit or process ..." (TAD B3.12:25). The lexeme כה"ל is used in the Sefire inscriptions and Saqqara papyrus, while יכ"ל occurs already in the Deir Alla inscription, so that both words are present in Early Aramaic. In Official Aramaic, כה"ל is more frequent, with around forty preserved instances, compared to around twenty-five for יכ"ל.¹⁶⁵ In Biblical Aramaic, usage is tilted in the other direction, with all occurrences being found in Daniel: twelve יכ"ל and four כה"ל. One may rightly ask whether there is enough evidence to extrapolate a shift in use from these texts, but it is interesting that in Qumran Aramaic we find only יכ"ל (at least seventeen times in nine texts).¹⁶⁶ Neither כה"ל nor יכ"ל appears in the later Judean Desert documents, but כה"ל falls out of use in favour of יכ"ל in all later Jewish and Christian dialects. Biblical Aramaic and, to an even greater extent, Qumran Aramaic appear to signal the earliest stages of this shift.

Fassberg has noted a comparable situation with two Aramaic roots meaning "to go" or "to walk," הו"ך and הל"ך.¹⁶⁷ Like Early Aramaic and Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic make a basic distinction between the two forms, using הו"ך for the prefix conjugation (imperfect) and infinitive forms, and הל"ך as a suppletive paradigm for the suffix conjugation (perfect) and participle.¹⁶⁸ In a response to Fassberg, Jan Joosten averred that it is, in fact, אז"ל "to go" that serves as the suppletive paradigm for הו"ך, not הל"ך, which has a different semantic range.¹⁶⁹ While this distinction is generally upheld in the Aramaic of Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, in other Jewish and Christian dialects הל"ך and אז"ל take over the old uses of הו"ך.

Noun morphology in Qumran Aramaic has focused largely on an apparent shift in the vocalization of a tri-consonant noun class realized in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic as *q^eshut* or *q^eshot* (קשט "truth, righteousness," often referred to as the *qtul* pattern), with the full vowel placed between the second and third consonants.¹⁷⁰ This pattern fits into a more general

his "miqtol" forms are not represented. The other occurrences given by Fassberg are at 4Q530 (EnGiants^b) 2ii.15, 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) 7.4, 4Q541 (apocrLevi^b?) 24ii.5, 4Q542 (TQahat) iii.3, and 11Q10 (Job) xxxiii.9. Most of these match the Masoretic vocalization of Biblical Aramaic.

159 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 107–108. Also Cook, "Aramaic," 372.

160 As noted by Kutscher, "Genesis Apocryphon," 13.

161 As pointed out by Schattner-Rieser (*Grammaire*, 77) and others, the Biblical Aramaic *qere* appears to follow the vocalization expected of a form with y representing the internal vowel, and therefore seems at odds with the *ktiv*.

162 Muraoka and Porten (*Grammar*, 131, n. 607) do, however, wonder if this is simply due to a lack of adequate attestation for the relevant forms.

163 Beyer, *ATM¹*, 53, 116–20; Cook, "Aramaic," 364; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 30–31; Gzella, *Cultural History*, 207.

164 Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 77.

165 For the occurrences, see the relevant entries in Schwiderski, *DARI¹*.

166 The one proposed occurrence of כה"ל at 4Q530 (EnGiants^b) 5.2 is very uncertain, and no argument can be built on it.

167 Fassberg, "Verbal System," 68–69.

168 4Q542 (TQahat) iii.13 also uses הל"ך for the nominalized *ithpaal* form באתהילכותהון "by their conduct."

169 See Joosten's response at the end of Fassberg's article "Verbal System," 78–80. I am inclined to agree with Joosten on this point.

170 Typically spelled in both corpora defectively: e.g., קשט, as at Dan 2:47, 4:34. For the pattern in Official Aramaic see Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 80–81.

tendency in these dialects to have the weight of the full vowel placed in the last syllable for the absolute-state noun (e.g., גִּבֵּר, כִּסֵּף, לֶחֶם, תִּקְרָה). While we cannot know with certainty how these words were pronounced when the texts were written – the vocalization of the Masoretes for Biblical Aramaic deriving from a much later period – some full spellings in Qumran Aramaic suggest that the Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic pronunciation had shifted to *qosht/qusht* or, more likely, to a vocalization with two full vowels: *qushut*, *qushot*, *qoshot*, or *qoshut*.¹⁷¹ Support for *qosht/qusht* (= *qutl*) vocalization is seen in preserved spellings such as קוֹשֵׁט (1Q20 [apGen] 2.7, 4Q542 [TQahat] iii.8), תוֹקֶרֶ (1Q20 [apGen] 20.14, 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 7a.3), אֹרֶךְ (1Q20 [apGen] 11.11, 4Q554 [NJ^a] 2ii.12), and רִישֵׁם (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12[?].19). Such spellings have at times been ascribed to Hebrew influence, since this is a well-known noun pattern from that language.¹⁷² However, Kutscher ultimately rejected a possible Hebrew provenance in favor of an internal Aramaic development. Working from the fact that the more expected pattern from Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic also appears in Qumran Aramaic (e.g., תִּקְרֶה in 1Q20 [apGen] 13.16, 4Q531 [EnGiants^c] 22.3; אֲנוֹס in 4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 1.7; and אֲרוֹךְ in 5Q15 [NJ] iii.7), sometimes in close proximity to the alternate forms just listed, Kutscher was the first to hypothesize that the implied vocalization must, in fact, be *qushut* or *qoshot*, noting similar forms in Qumran Hebrew.¹⁷³ This full vocalization was confirmed by the publication of 4Q542 (TQahat), which contains the spelling קוֹשֵׁט at iii.1.¹⁷⁴ Muraoka rightly judged that there is a low possibility of this spelling being a scribal mistake, reinforcing the impression that a number of the Qumran Aramaic texts reflect a more fully-vocalized noun pattern than in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, even if the origins of this development remain obscure.¹⁷⁵

5.3 *Ways of Communicating: Some Larger Syntactic and Idiomatic Traits of Qumran Aramaic*

Thus far my overview has focused on the writing system, phonology, and word formation of Qumran Aramaic at the level of individual words or morphemes. However, some of the most interesting features of any language are how it arranges words and clauses in order to form a larger system of written or spoken communication. Attaining a thorough grasp of this topic is significantly more difficult than for words and morphemes alone, since a higher-order study of this sort includes many moving parts, which can be measured in any number of ways. In the case of Qumran Aramaic, it is also hampered by the fragmentary nature of the scrolls. I do not claim here to give anything approaching a comprehensive overview of how Qumran Aramaic communicates in relation to surrounding Aramaic text groups, but simply to offer a sounding of some salient facets of Qumran Aramaic's "way of speaking" that overlap significantly with the linguistic domains of syntax and semantics. Most of these facets have been discussed already by others. I will begin by treating use of the verb in sentence structure, and then move to other, non-verbal constructions.

A pervasive verbal construction shared by Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic (along with many other earlier and later dialects, including Official Aramaic) is the so-called periphrastic phrase, in which the verb הוּא "to be" is combined with another verb, usually to convey ongoing action.¹⁷⁶ הוּא is always in a finite form, thereby governing the tense of the phrase. It is typically followed by the participle conjugation of the second verb, which defines the specific content of the action (e.g., וְאֵנָה הוּיָת, "And I was dwelling" 1Q20 [apGen] 21.7; וְאֵנָה תְּהוּיָת, "And you will be agitating and making trouble" 4Q537 [TJacob?] 9.2). Occasionally, this order is reversed (e.g., חִזָּה הוּיָת, "I was looking" 1Q20 [apGen] 13.11; יָדִיעַ לְהוּא לְכוֹן, "Let it be known to you" 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] 8.6).¹⁷⁷ הוּא is found rarely in the imperative, in most cases conveying a durative command to "be doing" something

171 For the most recent and extensive treatment of the topic see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 66–70.

172 With reference to 1Q20 (apGen), Kutscher ("Genesis Apocryphon," 12–13) stated that, "[t]he *qutl* pattern of the noun appears in the indeterminate state as *qotl* (*qutl*)..., exactly as in Hebrew. In 'correct' Aramaic it should have been *qtol*, e.g. תִּקְרֶה, קוֹשֵׁט." Of the word קוֹשֵׁט in 4Q542 (TQahat) iii.1, Puech ("Qahat") wrote, "La forme QWŠWT (avant correction) et ii 1 montre non l'hésitation entre la forme *qutl* (type hébreu) et *qtol* (plus araméenne) mais un compromis."

173 Kutscher, "Cave I," 181; Kutscher, *Language*, 396–98. This possibility was initially eschewed by Muraoka ("Segolate," 231–32), but he later accepted it as likely (*Grammar*, 69).

174 As argued by Cook, "Kohath," 207–9.

175 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 69, n. 290.

176 On this phenomenon see Fassberg, "Verbal System," 71–72; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 175–79; Geiger, "Periphrastic," 214–15.

177 For the few exceptions to the usual constructions see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 177. Muraoka argues (*Grammar*, 175, n. 71 and 72) that Fassberg is incorrect to include יָדִיעַ לְהוּא and some similar forms in his list of this construction, though here Muraoka is surely making black and white an area that is rather grey. He asserts that this phrase "has nothing to do with the continuative, repetitive aspect." It is true that it is not repetitive, but neither are some other periphrastic uses. That it is not "continuative" is not clear, since one might plausibly argue that the expression intends to convey that one ought to know and keep on knowing, i.e., to keep in mind.

habitually (e.g., *הווא קד[י]שין ודכין מן כל[ע]ר ברוב*, “Be set a[p]art and clean of all[mi]xture” 4Q542[TQahat].ii.8–9).¹⁷⁸ While Fassberg was right to point out that *חזוה הוית* and *ידיע להווא* are frozen expressions also found in Biblical Aramaic, his and Muraoka’s assumption that Qumran Aramaic usage must be influenced by Biblical Aramaic (Daniel and Ezra respectively) is not convincing.¹⁷⁹ Is it not possible that *חזוה הוית* was a visionary expression used more widely in the Jewish sphere, drawn upon by Daniel and other Qumran texts as a common idiom? The issue should not be judged in advance based on an assumption that Daniel had an authoritative status not enjoyed by some other Jewish Aramaic texts at this time, even if we may, in the end, deem this to be the case. In addition, the question of dating for texts other than Daniel is not yet a settled issue. As for *ידיע להווא*, that expression is well attested in Official Aramaic (*ידיע יהוה*, without the Jewish Aramaic *ל-* prefix on *הווא*), especially if we now consider the Bactrian texts from the early Hellenistic period in the Khalili collection.¹⁸⁰ Against this wider Official Aramaic background, any argument for the exclusive influence of Ezra loses its force. If there is anything to be gleaned from Qumran Aramaic using the periphrastic construction, it is that it conforms to the situation also found in Biblical Aramaic and Official Aramaic.

A couple of special verbal features are shared by Daniel and 1Q20 (apGen), setting these two works off from the surrounding Aramaic dialects. The first is use of the prefix conjugation as a preterit, carrying the sense of something that is recalled as having taken place in the past.¹⁸¹ This occurs six times in Daniel, always governed by a preceding suffix-conjugation verb or temporal clause indicating action in the past. One example is Dan 4:2: *חזוה ראשי ביהלנני וידחלנני... וחזוה ראשי ביהלנני* “I saw a dream, and it frightened me ... and the visions of my head agitated me.”¹⁸² The same thing happens three times in 1Q20 (apGen), the third instance being part of Noah’s dream in column 13: *הוית תמה על זיתא דן ... [ארבע] רוחי שמיא נשבן בתקוף לה ויתברן לה ... [the four] winds of heaven blowing powerfully ... and breaking it to*

pieces” (1Q20 [apGen] 13.15–16).¹⁸³ There is some question of whether the agreement between Daniel and 1Q20 [apGen] on this grammatical feature may be ascribed to genre, since these are two of the best-preserved Aramaic story collections from the Second Temple period, both of which often cast narrative in the past. Whatever the case, this shared feature is striking in view of our available evidence.

A second mutual feature is the impersonal plural participle *אמרין* used to indicate something said by a vaguely specified subject “they.” This is always in reference to a pronouncement being made by an authority, either earthly or heavenly. In Daniel we find it three times, one being the command in Dan 3:4 to fall down and worship the golden image: *וכרווא קרא בחיל לכו אמרין עממיא אמיא ולשניא* “And the herald called out loudly, ‘To you they are speaking, O peoples, and nations, and language groups ...’”¹⁸⁴ Here the identity of “they” is not specified, though “they” clearly have the stamp of authority. The same thing is found in 1Q20 (apGen) 6.15, as part of one of Noah’s visions: *קל אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח* “I heard a voice, ‘To you they are speaking, O Noah!’”¹⁸⁵ Note the similar constructions of *<ל prefix + pronominal suffix + אמרין + addressee(s)>* in both examples, an arrangement also used Dan 4:28. In all cases but Dan 3:4 the construction is used as part of a dream-vision, and to my knowledge is not found in earlier Aramaic, unless we consider the phrase *כה אמרין [כ]תבון* of Sefire 1C1 to be a pair of participles (“Thus they are saying [and thus they are wr]iting”) rather than the suffix conjugation, as assumed by Fitzmyer.¹⁸⁶

A wider agreement between Daniel and a number of Qumran Aramaic texts is found in their common adoption of the historic participle in narrative situations, something that again might have to do with genre. Gzella discussed the phenomenon of the Aramaic participle extending its verbal functions following the period of Official Aramaic, including its use as a substitution for the suffix conjugation (“Perfekt”) indicating past action.¹⁸⁷ The first place this happens with any certainty and regularity is the book of Daniel, as in the sentence *באדין נפקין שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא* “Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego

178 It should be noted, however, that Gianto (“Aramaic,” 21) recently argued that it bears the sense rather of “trying” to do something in certain texts. See also Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 206–207.

179 Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 72. A very similar statement is made by Muraoka, *Grammar*, 176.

180 Naveh and Shaked, *Bactria*.

181 Noted by Joosten in his response to Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 80. See also Muraoka, *Grammar*, 170.

182 Also Dan 4:2, 17, 33; 5:6; 6:20; 7:16.

183 See 1Q20 (apGen) 2.13 and 6.15. In the passage cited above we also see a nice example of the “historic present” participle (*נשבן*), on which, see Muraoka, *Grammar*, 174.

184 The other instances are at Dan 4:28 and 7:5.

185 This statement is especially close in wording to that in Dan 4:28.

186 See Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 19, 73. This would fit the profile of the expressions in Daniel and 1Q20 (apGen), especially that in Dan 7:5.

187 Gzella, “Erscheinungsformen.” Also see the examples cited by Li, “Participle.”

departed from the midst of the fire" (Dan 3:26).¹⁸⁸ The same function is found regularly in Qumran Aramaic, a good example being the beginning of the angelic dispute over Amram in 4Q544 (VisAmram^b) 1.10: *והא תרין דאנין עלי*: "And behold, two (beings) were having a dispute over me and saying[...]"¹⁸⁹ It is significant that this novelty in narrative use of the participle is employed so similarly in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic.¹⁹⁰

Another use of the participle that distinguishes Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic from Official Aramaic is as the verb in a "performative utterance," the function of which "is to perform an act, rather than describe one."¹⁹¹ In both Classical Biblical Hebrew and Official Aramaic, the customary way to make such an utterance was to use the suffix conjugation: *ברכתכי לפתח* "I bless you by Ptah" (e.g., *TAD* A2.1:2); *... ליהוה אלהיך כי* "I proclaim today by the Lord your God that ..." (Deut 26:3). The situation changes in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, where we now find a mixture of the suffix conjugation and, more often, the participle: *... מהודעין אנחנה למלכא די* "We (hereby) inform the king that ..." (Ezra 4:16); *וְכַעַן לְכָה* "And now you, Amram my son, I comma[nd] ..." (4Q542 [TQahat] iii.9–10).¹⁹² This shows that in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic the shift from the suffix conjugation to participle for performative utterances was partially complete, on the way to later dialects, where the participle is used with yet greater diversity.¹⁹³

One area where some differences may be perceived between Biblical Aramaic (particularly Daniel) on the one hand, and Qumran Aramaic on the other, is word order, or preferred sentence structure. This is a topic deserving

of extended treatment, though only a few of the most basic observations will be made here. Despite the many interesting facets of syntax, I will focus primarily on verb placement relative to the main subject and object(s) of a clause or sentence. As a preliminary caveat, it is important to emphasize again the need to recognize generic differences among our texts and the role genre may play in word order. What is more, the very fragmentary nature of most Qumran texts regularly interferes with a clear understanding of their syntax. Folmer has observed that "[f]unctional grammar, as any other syntactic treatment, is most useful when texts to be compared, belong to the same genre, are in good shape, and are clear and unambiguous in meaning."¹⁹⁴ Though our knowledge of Second Temple period Aramaic has grown considerably over recent decades, not least with the publication of the Aramaic scrolls from the vicinity of Qumran, these criteria are in many respects still not met.¹⁹⁵ Despite this handicap, there is enough extant literature for some provisional observations to be made on word order.

Studying word order can help us to understand how languages change over time and geographic space, thus providing a useful comparative tool that is less susceptible to scribal interference than orthography, and perhaps also morphology.¹⁹⁶ In addition, it can show how a single dialect may use word order to present ideas with different nuances, such as placing a thought in continuity or discontinuity with the main topic of the text.¹⁹⁷ For native speakers of a language, deviation from standard word order can be felt immediately, and such deviation may even encode a message of its own. An amusing place to see this at work in the English-speaking realm is the language of the Jedi master, Yoda, in the Star Wars films. Standard English word order is subject-verb-object (svo), as in the sentence "You will see things through the Force." Yoda, however, often places verbs at the end of his sentences, and the direct object early (i.e., object-subject-verb [osv]). Thus, he says instead, "Through the Force, things you will see." While an English speaker will surely be able to make sense out of this sentence, in the context of the film the abnormal syntax lends Yoda's speech an aura of foreignness, timelessness, and wisdom. In the context of our Aramaic texts, it is important to note as background

188 See Gzella, "Erscheinungsformen," 401, who noted that employment of the participle in this way in Daniel is concentrated in Dan 3:3–7, 26–27; 4:3–5; and 5:5–10, and discussed other examples.

189 For a discussion of, and elaboration on, the Qumran evidence, see Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 120; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 174–75.

190 Li, "Participle," wished to nuance the functions of the participle in the Aramaic of Daniel in comparison with previous approaches. While he disagrees with some ways in which the participle has been construed in earlier scholarship, my impression is that, even if adopting his conclusions, the functions of the participle in Qumran Aramaic would not differ greatly from that in Daniel.

191 Quoted from Rogland, "Performative," 277.

192 See especially Loesov, "Present Time," 119–23; and Rogland, "Performative." The same shift takes place in Late Biblical Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew, on which see Rogland, *Qatal*.

193 For a discussion of the performative participle in Classical Syriac, see Rogland, "Syriac." Note, too, the somewhat skeptical assessment of Li, "Participle," 81–82.

194 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 522.

195 The same point, though with specific reference to lexical items, has recently been made by Cook, "Retroversion."

196 Note, however, some of the changes to word order in the Qumran manuscripts of Daniel (vis-à-vis the MT) in the section on scribal variation above. It is clear, then, that even word order could on occasion be altered.

197 See especially Buth, "Functional Grammar."

information that the eastern languages of Akkadian and Old Persian are widely acknowledged to prefer a subject-object-verb (SOV) sequence, tending to place the verb at or towards the end of clauses or sentences.¹⁹⁸ Classical Biblical Hebrew, like most other Semitic languages, generally prefers instead a verb-subject-object (VSO) order, with the verb placed at or near the beginning of a clause or sentence.¹⁹⁹ Of course, as in any language, we find plenty of exceptions to these general rules.

Muraoka and Porten observed that Official Aramaic often follows the classical Semitic practice of placing the verb first in a clause or sentence, although, as Folmer has shown in her exhaustive survey, there are a great many exceptions and alternatives.²⁰⁰ In fact, there are so many exceptions that Muraoka and Porten felt it necessary to qualify the situation as follows:²⁰¹

In our corpus we find a considerable number of cases where the verb, either pc. [prefix conjugation] or sc. [suffix conjugation] form, follows an explicit subject or object or both. This verb-final position, which contradicts the classical Semitic word order VSO, has generally been attributed to a foreign influence, viz. Akkadian on the one hand, which in turn is said to be ultimately influenced by Sumerian, a non-Semitic language, and Persian on the other, also non-Semitic. However, in view of a substantial number of cases in which the verb occupies a non-initial position, it is more accurate to speak of free word-order in our idiom.

The main point for non-specialists to take away from this is that Official Aramaic presents a complex, mixed picture when it comes to clause and sentence structure, even if some general trends may be observed.²⁰² An important ancillary point is that, in clauses and sentences where the verb is placed first and there is an indirect pronominal object mediated by a preposition (something that occurs frequently, especially with the preposition ܠ), this indirect

pronominal object is typically placed in the second position, directly following the verb.²⁰³ The examples below illustrate this phenomenon, which is sometimes referred to by linguists as pronoun enclisis, or by the German term *Pronominalregel*.²⁰⁴

<p>“Tamet brought <i>to me</i> with her own hand one garment.”</p> <p>“If Reia gave <i>to you</i> wool ...”</p> <p>“I gave <i>to you</i> my field.”</p>	<p>הנעלת לי תמת בידה לבש 1</p> <p>הן יהב לכי רעיה עמר</p> <p>נתנת לך חלקי</p>
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The word order of Biblical Aramaic, and particularly Daniel, has been characterized by a number of scholars as “free,” with a penchant *not* to place the verb first.²⁰⁵ Coxon, moreover, observed that there is “a marked preference in the biblical documents for the sequence object-verb-subject, and in sentences possessing no direct object the sequence subject-verb is preferred.”²⁰⁶ In fact, the general consensus is that the Aramaic of Daniel is even more “free” than is the norm in Official Aramaic, with the verb coming at or near the end of a clause or sentence more often in the former than in the latter. This variety in word order is nicely illustrated in the group of examples discussed by Yakubovich.²⁰⁷ In the opinions of Kutscher and Coxon, this is because Biblical Aramaic is of a more “eastern” type (i.e., more influenced by Akkadian word order) than is generally true in Official Aramaic, which has more “western” traits.²⁰⁸ Cook, Buth, and Hayes built on these observations by suggesting that some of the word order variation in the Aramaic of Daniel (and in Official Aramaic for Buth) could be ascribed to an increasing complexity of pragmatic functions in the language – i.e., the

198 For Akkadian see, e.g., Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 19–20. For Old Persian, Hale, “Persian.”

199 See Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 155c (p. 545); Buth, “Functional Grammar.” Buth spends some time discussing those who would instead describe Biblical Hebrew as a language preferring SOV word order.

200 Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 296–313; Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 521–87. Note, however, the earlier opinion of Kutscher (“Aramaic,” 363), who considered at least a good deal of Official Aramaic word order to be “eastern,” and more like Akkadian (with more free, non-Semitic word order).

201 Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 299.

202 Buth (“Functional Grammar,” 93) writes that “Imperial Aramaic ... is noted for very diverse word orders.”

203 This is also the case with prepositions other than ܠ.

204 The examples are from, respectively, *TAD* B3.3:4, *TAD* A2.2:16, and *TAD* B1.1:2. For many more examples, see Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 296–97; Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 585–87.

205 See, e.g., Rosenthal, *Grammar*, 56; Stefanovic, *Daniel*, 99–100. Cook (“Word Order”) has a somewhat qualified sense of “free,” meaning that no single order is dominant, but each is specialized to serve different purposes.

206 Coxon, “Syntax,” 119. He followed the classic treatment of Bauer-Leander, *Grammatik*, §§99–100. Cook observed instead that SVO is most common, and that verb-object (VO) slightly outnumbers object-verb (OV) in clauses or sentences without an expressed subject.

207 Yakubovich, “Structure.”

208 Kutscher, “Aramaic,” 400; Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 2; Coxon, “Syntax,” 120. On the difficulty of fitting the early evidence into simplistic categories like “eastern” and “western,” see Gzella, *Cultural History*, 48–52. H.H. Rowley chose to characterize Daniel’s Aramaic as a Palestinian dialect of relatively late coinage (*Aramaic*, 106, 155–56), though this has been widely rejected in subsequent scholarship. It may be indicative of the ambiguity of the evidence that Rowley (153–54) considered Biblical Aramaic to be connected with “western” Aramaic.

variation in word order expanded what the language could do.²⁰⁹ For example, in sentences with only a verb and object (the subject being implied by the verb), Cook suggested that those with verb-object (vo) order in the suffix conjugation marked temporal sequence or consecution, thereby indicating one event occurring sequentially after another.²¹⁰ Buth argued that Official Aramaic essentially remained a verb-subject-object (vso) dialect, but that this is hidden by the fact that the verb or other elements could be moved in order to mark background-discontinuity (verb placed at the end), or foreground-continuity (often subject-verb order in Daniel).²¹¹ This “functional” or “pragmatic” sort of approach has now been carried a step further by Yakubovich in a very interesting study.²¹² Shepherd proposed a “distributional approach” in which various verb forms and word orders are related to “a remarkable diversity of communication levels.”²¹³ These newer studies suggest that word order in Daniel may not be as “free” (i.e., ungoverned) as it first appears, but they do affirm earlier assessments stressing the great variety of word order in that book.

Study of the word order of Qumran Aramaic to date has centered on two texts, 1Q20 (apGen) and 11Q10 (Job). There is good reason for this, since they present far more running text than in other Qumran Aramaic manuscripts. Outside of 1Q20 (apGen) and 11Q10 (Job), it is often difficult to say anything conclusive about word order, since the context necessary to judge the full meanings of clauses and sentences is broken or missing altogether. Moreover, our representative sample of a given text is very small in most cases. While these factors must be borne in mind, a few trends will be cautiously tendered below.

Muraoka provided a detailed analysis of the word order in 1Q20 (apGen), and his basic results are corroborated by the profile of that text earlier in this volume.²¹⁴ These results were adumbrated already by Kutscher in his early study of the scroll’s language.²¹⁵ The most important point to take away from the various sets of data is that 1Q20 (apGen) heavily favors placement of the verb at or toward the beginning of a clause or sentence, which stands in

contrast to the much more mixed (or complex) orderings of Daniel. Over two-thirds of the time 1Q20(apGen) has the verb in the first or second position, before the direct object (verb-subject, subject-verb, or verb early with its subject implied from a preceding clause). Only around ten percent of the time does the object precede the verb. In other words, while the Aramaic of 1Q20 (apGen) is not exactly like the verb-early Semitic word order typically found in Biblical Hebrew prose, it is much closer to that syntactic system than is the Aramaic of Daniel. Another syntactic feature setting 1Q20 (apGen) somewhat apart from Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic is the strong preference of 1Q20 (apGen) to place the complement (typically the object) after an infinitive, as in למשבק תמרתיא “to leave the date-palm” (1Q20 [apGen] 19.15).²¹⁶ Some have observed that in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, however, there is more flexibility in order, with the object occasionally preceding the infinitive, e.g., פשרא להודעתני “the interpretation to make known to me” (Dan 4:15), דינן למרשה עליך “suits to bring against you” (TAD B2.11:8).²¹⁷ While this may be true for a broad comparison, it is important to recognize that some sub-groups or individual scribes in the Official Aramaic corpus clearly preferred placement of the complement after the infinitive, as in 1Q20 (apGen).²¹⁸ Kutscher and some after him have seen the object + infinitive order as an “eastern” trait, while infinitive + object is more “western.”²¹⁹ Whatever the case, the variation noted above suggests that this was a grammatical area open to stylistic choice by an author or scribe in Official Aramaic.

What is said above for 1Q20 (apGen) seems to hold true, generally speaking, for a number of other Aramaic works at Qumran. These include, but are not limited to, 4Q537 (TJacob?), 4Q538 (TJudah/Words of Benjamin), 4Q542 (TQahat), 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), the Visions of Amram, Tobit, the Book of Giants, and the other narrative Enochic materials (not including the highly formulaic portions of the Astronomical Book). Though the evidence is by no means complete or unequivocal, all of these texts appear to employ a grammatical approach similar to that of 1Q20 (apGen), with a majority of preserved clauses or sentences having verb-first or verb-early ordering, and objects or other complements following the infinitive. We may call this either more Semitic or more “western,”

209 Cook, “Word Order”; Buth, “Functional Grammar,” 94, 96–97; and Hayes, “Word Order.”

210 Cook, “Word Order,” 125.

211 A more extensive treatment is provided in Buth, *Word Order*. See, however, the critique of Buth’s view on Aramaic as a continuous vso language by Kutý, *Syntax*; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 242.

212 Yakubovich, “Structure.”

213 Shepherd, *Verbal System*, 70. Shepherd suggests an opposition between the suffix conjugation, which is used primarily for “narration,” and the prefix conjugation, used primarily for “discourse” (see especially 73–74).

214 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 241–51.

215 Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 33–34.

216 Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 34; Muraoka, *Grammar*, 250.

217 Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 33; Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 536–42; Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 308.

218 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 536–42.

219 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 754–55.

but however we label it, the differences in word order are notable.²²⁰

One area where we see Qumran Aramaic aligning closely with Official Aramaic is that of the aforementioned pronoun enclisis, or Pronominalregel.²²¹ A combined preposition and pronominal suffix (grammatically, an indirect object) is regularly placed directly after the verb in Qumran Aramaic, as seen in the following examples:²²²

“Hannah, my wife, <i>was returned to me ...</i> ” (4Q196 [papTob ^a] 2.10)	אתבת לי חנה אנתתי
“The dread of the scribal house <i>fell upon him.</i> ” (4Q550 [Jews at the Persian Court] 2.4)	נפלת עלוהי אימת בית ספרא
“... , which your ancestors <i>gave to you.</i> ” (4Q542 [TQahat] 11.5)	די יהבו לכון אבהתכון
“Again losses will <i>come to him.</i> ” (4Q540 [apocrLevi ^a ?] 1.2)	תובא יתה לה חסרין
“[He will] <i>tell you</i> the mystery of his work.” (4Q545 [VisAmram ^c] 4.16)	[א] חוה לכה רז עובדה
“... and the giants <i>rejoiced over it.</i> ” (4Q530 [EnGiants ^b] 2ii-12(?).3)	וחדו עלוהי גבריא

This construction is found over and over again in Qumran Aramaic, most notably in 1Q20 (apGen) because of its extensive stretches of preserved text. Since pronoun enclisis is also a rule followed often in Biblical Hebrew,²²³ at times we see that the underlying Hebrew could be used to explain the phenomenon in 1Q20 (apGen) (e.g., ויתן לו, מעשר מכל (Gen 14:20)/ ויהב לה מעשר מן כול/ (1Q20 [apGen] 22.17). However, the same word order is found in many passages of 1Q20 that do not correspond to portions of Hebrew Genesis, as well as in other Qumran Aramaic works. Combined with the fact that pronoun enclisis is native to Official Aramaic, there seems no need to attribute its use in Qumran Aramaic to Hebrew influence, although the correspondence did allow for a happy mirroring of syntax for those portions of 1Q20 (apGen) that follow closely Hebrew Genesis.

Pronoun enclisis is not as clearly seen in Daniel, where the preposition + pronoun is often (though not always) placed before the verb or active participle, and is sometimes separated from it by several intervening words. Note, for example, ולי הדברי ורברבני יבעון “And my advisors

and nobles sought me” (Dan 4:33), which would be an unusual construction for Official Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic (and where we might expect instead ובעו לי הדברי ורברבני). An exception to this seems to be Dan 7, in which pronoun enclisis is more frequent.

11Q10 (Job) presents a special case for several reasons. First of all, it translates a notoriously difficult Hebrew source, which is itself known for some syntactic peculiarities. This includes what Muraoka called “the Sumeru-Akkadian type of word order” of the Hebrew (MT) Job, with verbs often placed at or toward the end of clauses.²²⁴ 11Q10 (Job) generally keeps this word order and, surprisingly, when it does not agree with Hebrew Job the syntax is skewed even further toward the “Sumeru-Akkadian” style.²²⁵ This clearly contrasts with the great majority of other Qumran Aramaic texts, and was one of the factors leading Muraoka to posit that 11Q10 (Job) was most likely produced in “the East.”²²⁶ This idea has not gained wide acceptance, but no matter where the scroll was produced, its word order clearly diverges from the large majority of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls.

Another area of correspondence between Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic is found in the syntactic and lexical rules governing the linking of verbs of movement to their directional objects. An insightful study of this phenomenon has already been published by Folmer, and much of what I present here simply summarizes her discussion.²²⁷ However, some further clarity may be gained on the Qumran Aramaic side of things from the profiles included earlier in this volume, along with the examples gathered in Muraoka’s grammar.²²⁸ In Official Aramaic, there is a general rule that most verbs of movement, such as אול “go” and עלל “enter,” tend to use either no preposition (i.e., direct linking) or the preposition ל for an inanimate directional object, but the preposition על for an animate object, particularly a person. Examples of this are נחת אנת למנפי “you come down to Memphis” (TAD A3.8:11) for the first scenario, and אנה אחית עליך בביתך בסון “I came to you at your house in Syene” (TAD B3.13:2) for the second. It is important to add that, in Official Aramaic, this tendency is not always followed, with ל occasionally being used with an animate directional object.²²⁹ It has also been suggested that certain verbs of movement may

220 One attempt at this, which has remained unpublished, is the dissertation of E.H. Chandler, *Word Order*.

221 See Muraoka, *Grammar*, 249–50.

222 There are, of course, exceptions, as in 4Q541 (apocrLevi^b?) 9.6, which may be written in a heightened or more poetic prose that intentionally inverts the typical word order.

223 See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, 44.

224 Muraoka, “Aramaic,” 439.

225 Muraoka, “Aramaic,” 439–441.

226 Muraoka, “Aramaic,” 442.

227 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 589–621. See also Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 268–71.

228 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 219–21; Muraoka, “Notes.”

229 On the possible reason for this, related to whether the subject moves or the object is transferred (with a more stationary subject), see Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 607–9.

act differently than others in this regard, although this impression depends partly on the varied practices of some textual sub-groupings.²³⁰ Turning to Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, we find that the same general rules are observed there, though they are applied more methodically than in Official Aramaic, and with fewer cases of direct linking.²³¹ A few further examples will suffice to illustrate the standard practice:²³²

Directional verb with an inanimate object, typically a place:

“Then the king went <i>to his palace</i> ” (Dan 6:19)	אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה
“And they brought them <i>to the temple of Babylon</i> ” (Ezra 5:14)	והיבל המו להיכלא די בבבל
“He went out <i>to Rimmon</i> ” (4Q537 [T]Jacob?) 14.3)	נפק לרמון
“I was going <i>to the south of Moreh</i> ” (1Q20 [apGen] 19.9)	והיית אזל לדרומא מזרה

Directional verb with an animate object, typically a person:

“The Judeans who went up from you <i>to us</i> ” (Ezra 4:12)	יהודיא די סלקו מן לותך עלינא
“Daniel went in <i>to Arioch</i> ” (Dan 2:24)	דניאל על על אריוך
“I ran <i>to Methuselah</i> ” (1Q20 [apGen] 2.19)	רסת על מתושלח
“He will turn <i>to you</i> ” (4Q196 [papTob ^a] 17ii.1)	י תפנה עליכון

²³⁰ Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 609–15; Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 268–71.

²³¹ Except in those places where קדם is used as a deferential preposition of respect for God or royalty, on which see below. “In BA the preposition *l* always occurs when the directional element of the verb of movement is a PN [personal name], a noun or a pron. sf. denoting a living being ... Both in Ezra and Daniel, the verb of movement is always linked to its directional element by *l* when this element is a toponym or a noun denoting a location ...” (Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 617–18). Regarding Qumran Aramaic, Muraoka (*Grammar*, 219) writes that, “[i]n the overwhelming majority of cases, however, indirect, prepositional government is the rule: -ל marks a place as a destination and על a person.”

²³² Muraoka (*Grammar*, 220–21) noted that the verb שלח acts somewhat differently than the other verbs of movements surveyed by him for Qumran Aramaic, tending to use instead -ל even for persons and other animate objects (e.g., ישתלח לכול, [ע]מָה in 4Q541 [apocriLevi^b] 9i.2). This observation is due in large part to 1Q20 (apGen) only (though note 4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 2ii+6–12(?).21). Folmer (*Aramaic Language*, 620) observed the same trend in Official Aramaic.

Preliminary investigation into other contemporaneous and later dialects, including the second century CE Judean Desert documents and letters, suggests a difference from the fairly uniform approach of Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic with respect to this practice.²³³ For example, Folmer observed that the later Judean Desert texts tend to use -ל in all scenarios, while Targums Onkelos and Jonathan use לות for animate directional elements (e.g., ואזל עשו לות ישמעאל “And Esau came to Ishmael” Gen 28:9).²³⁴ An exception may be Syriac, which Muraoka proposed complements verbs of movement in a way similar to Qumran Aramaic.²³⁵

A number of non-verbal phrases and words also warrant mention, based on either previous discussions or their saliency in the wider scope of surrounding dialects. One such word is the preposition קודם/קדם “before” used in its spatial (rather than temporal) sense, which has been discussed most fully by Jan Joosten.²³⁶ Joosten pointed out that, in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, there is a noticeable tendency to use קדם in a special, deferential sense as a term of respect reserved mostly for those of high rank, such as authority figures and deities. When used in this way, קדם indicates a respectful conceptual distance from the object of the preposition, and replaces the more common spatial prepositions -ל and על. However, in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic the coordination of קדם with kings and deities is not complete; on the one hand, we occasionally find it used with someone who is not a king or deity, and on the other, kings or deities may also be coordinated with prepositions other than קדם. Consider, for example, the following two passages:

“..., and the interpretation we will relate to (-ל) the king.”
למלכא
(Dan 2:16)

“This is the dream, and its interpretation we will tell to (קדם) the king.” (Dan 2:36)
דנה חלמא ופשרה
נאמר קדם מלכא

By the time of Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, the language of which has often been placed in close proximity

²³³ See Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 619–21, though the evidence is not always compelling due to the small sample size available in some cases.

²³⁴ Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 620. The standard preposition for the inanimate directional object in the targums is still -ל.

²³⁵ Muraoka, “Notes,” 39. See also Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 620, n. 104, and the bibliography cited there.

²³⁶ Joosten, “devant.” For the Official Aramaic evidence, see also Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 590. Joosten observed that the same expression is used by some of the Septuagint translators, betraying the background influence of Aramaic on the Greek of the Septuagint. See Joosten, “Septante.”

to that of 1Q20 (apGen; e.g., by Kutscher), we find that קדם has become much more closely tied to the name of God than in Biblical Aramaic. In Joosten's words, "dans le Targum, l'emploi de la preposition est devenue systématique dans le langage religieux."²³⁷ To illustrate this tighter affiliation, he cited a similar usage of the *haphel* conjugation of רגז "to be afraid" with קדם in Ezra and Targum Jonathan to 1 Kings:

"... since our ancestors made the God of Heaven angry." (Ezra 5:12)	מן די הרגזו אבהתנא לאלה שמיא
"... since they made the asherahs, making the Lord angry." (1 Kgs 14:15)	דעבדו ית אשיריהון מרגזין קדם יהי

According to Joosten, we see here a development from a preposition that overlapped to a notable (but not complete) extent with the domains of royal and divine address in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, to a systematic and nearly exclusive application in the religious domain with the targums and other, related corpora. But what of Qumran Aramaic? As in Biblical Aramaic, we often find קדם used in connection with God, but in some Qumran texts from the Enochic group we find the preposition also extended to other divine or quasi-divine beings, such as the angels or giants.²³⁸ Though Joosten categorized this differently than occurrences referencing a deity, he is correct in saying that it is "une extension de l'emploi théologique" of Biblical Aramaic and Official Aramaic. Also like Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, the correspondence with God is not complete in Qumran Aramaic. So, for example, we still find in 1Q20 (apGen) 22.21 the following construction:

"I raise my hand this day to the God Most High ..."	מרים אנה ידי יומא דן לא אל עליון...
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Alongside these similarities, Joosten suggests that קדם is not used in Qumran Aramaic for human kings, as in Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic. This is, in fact, not correct, since we find the locution several times, in 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court) 1.4, 4.2, 8.2; 4Q244 (psDan^b) 1–3.1 (קודם רברבני מלכא), and 1Q20 (apGen) 19.25 (וקרית קודמיהון referring to the officials of the Pharaoh).²³⁹ We

might also consider the use of קדם with Joseph under this category, since he too was part of the royal court (4Q538 [TJud] 2.3). In addition, there is the problematic fact that Joosten does not allow Daniel to be considered among the Qumran texts, when it is undeniably part of that corpus. Nevertheless, it is true that we might have expected the idiom more often with the many other instances of the noun מלך in Qumran Aramaic, especially in 1Q20 (apGen). Joosten holds that the author of 1Q20 (apGen) does not *know* of the distancing formula for language associated with the court, though I suspect it has less to do with knowledge of Official Aramaic than with the intentions and preferences of the author of the Genesis Apocryphon.

When we turn to the second-century CE Judean Desert texts, we find a different picture, with that corpus using קדם a number of times to refer to ordinary individuals and their families in legal contexts.²⁴⁰ This difference could, perhaps, be ascribed to the genre of these texts, with their official, legally-binding status. Whatever the correct explanation may be, the Qumran texts line up quite well with the Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic profile when compared to the more systematic application of קדם in Targums Onkelos and Jonathan on the one hand, and the legal use of the later Judean Desert texts on the other. A possible exception to this is 1Q20 (apGen), which does not use קדם when referring to kings.

The specialized particle of negation אל is well-known from Official Aramaic and earlier Aramaic texts, where it is used with a jussive form of the prefix-conjugation (imperfect) verb expressing a command or exhortation. The form is visibly shortened in the plural, by dropping the otherwise expected final *nun* of that conjugation (e.g., אל תדחלו vs. לא תדחלו).²⁴¹ This practice continues into Biblical Aramaic, with six preserved instances, at Ezra 9:12 (twice; אל תתנו ... אל תשאנו), Dan 2:24 (אל תהובד), 4:16 (אל יבהלך), and 5:10 (twice; אל ישתנו ... אל יבהלך). In Qumran Aramaic we find twenty-nine occurrences of אל with the jussive verb in fourteen different manuscripts, as at 4Q213 (Levi^a) 11.13 (אל תמחלו) and 4Q542 (TQahat) 11.5 (אל תתנו). This is thrown into relief when we look to later dialects of Aramaic, such as Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, which no longer use אל, instead regularly replacing the אל of their Hebrew source text with לא. In this respect, Qumran Aramaic is closely aligned with Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic against the targums and other Christian

²³⁷ Joosten, "devant," 92.

²³⁸ Joosten, "devant," 94–95.

²³⁹ As Joosten notes ("devant," 95, n. 38), it probably also occurred at 4Q243 (psDan^a) 2.1.

²⁴⁰ See, e.g., Nahal Hever/Se'elim 7.5–6, 9.20, and 50.15 in DJD 27, or P. Yadin 7.22.

²⁴¹ The same practice is found in Biblical Hebrew.

and Jewish dialects of later periods, in which אַל has disappeared.

The particle תי, used in some Aramaic dialects to mark the direct object in a manner roughly analogous to Hebrew אַת, has been discussed often in overviews of Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic. In Early Aramaic and Official Aramaic תי is not present, though by the time of Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, Nabatean, and other Roman-period Jewish and Christian dialects, it is widely-attested.²⁴² Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic lie somewhere between these two extremes, with both heavily preferring the prefix ל- to mark the direct object when desired. In Biblical Aramaic תי is used once, with a pronominal suffix, at Dan 3:12 (יההון “them”). Nine sure occurrences are found in Qumran Aramaic, concentrated especially in the New Jerusalem, the Visions of Amram, and the Job translation.²⁴³ Most of these are cases of the particle without a suffix, as at 4Q554 (NJ^a) 2iii.14 (יה טלולה “the roof”) and 4Q559 (papBibChronology) 3.9 (יה אהרון “Aaron”). In several of the Qumran Aramaic examples, it is clear that תי acts as a conscious substitution for Hebrew אַת, due to either an underlying Hebrew source text (11Q10 [Job] xxxviii.9) or another form of influence from Biblical Hebrew, as when the author of 4Q559 (papBibChronology) borrows and adapts a standard Biblical Hebrew genealogical formula from Genesis.²⁴⁴

“and he begat Terah ... ויולד את תרח ...
and he begat Abram ...” אברם
(Gen 11:24–26)

“He begat Amram ... [he ית [אולד] ...
begat] Aaron ...” (4Q559 אהרון ...
[papBibChronology]
3.8–9)

When we observe the translation technique of the later Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, we find that the correspondence between תי and אַת is much more complete.

242 See Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 20–21; Muraoka, “Aramaic,” 439.

243 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court) 5+5a.7; 4Q554 (NJ^a) iii.13; 4Q554a (NJ^b) 1.13; 4Q556a (Prophecy^b) 5i–ii.7; 4Q559 (papBibChronology) 3.8, 3.9; 5Q15 (NJ) 11.1; 11Q10 (Job) xxxv.9, xxxviii.9. Other possible occurrences are at 4Q201 (En^a) 1v.5 and 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b) 3.4. It should also be noted that תי occurs in the phrase יההון יתהון ולא ישבקון יתהון in the Manchester fragment of the Aramaic Levi Document from the Cairo Geniza. The Geniza copy typically corresponds to the earlier Qumran copies where comparisons are possible, and so it is probable that the phrase was once present in the Qumran copies of this work. For the text and accompanying discussion, see Drawnel, “Fragment.”

244 As noted already by Stadel, “Influences,” 395.

While the fact that some of the Qumran Aramaic instances of תי can be categorized as Hebraisms does set these few texts apart from the single occurrence of that particle in Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic generally resembles Biblical Aramaic in its extremely limited use of תי.

The conjunction להן “but rather, except for” is attested over a dozen times in Qumran Aramaic, in at least nine different compositions, and ten times in Biblical Aramaic (in both Ezra and Daniel). It is well known from Official Aramaic, but disappears completely in later Aramaic, including in the targums and other contemporaneous or later Christian and Jewish dialects. It is yet another lexical, or morpho-syntactic, clue aligning Qumran Aramaic more closely with Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic than with other, later dialects.

A similar situation obtains for the prepositional phrase מן ברא “except for, outside of,” found in four Qumran texts.²⁴⁵ The phrase first appears in fifth- to fourth-century Elephantine and Northern Saqqara texts,²⁴⁶ and again in one of the Nabatean papyri from the Bar-Kokhba period.²⁴⁷ Apart from these occurrences, the phrase is unknown, the most closely related constructions being מן לבר and מברא in later dialects (translating Hebrew מחוץ in the targums).

Another prepositional phrase with a comparable distribution is מן עלא “above,” found in Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic.²⁴⁸ It also occurs once in Official Aramaic, where the more common construction is מן עלא.²⁴⁹ The phrase is not found, however, in later Jewish and Christian dialects, where the more expected forms are מן עלא, מן עלא ל-, לעיל מן, לעיל ל-, or something similar.²⁵⁰ Like the items discussed above, מן עלא in Daniel and the other Aramaic Qumran scrolls is a feature distinguishing their Aramaic idiom from later Jewish dialects, and placing them closer to Persian and Hellenistic period usage.

As a final example of this sort, we may note the two occurrences of the preposition בטלל “on account of,

245 1Q20 (apGen) 22.23, 31; 1Q23 (EnGiants^a) 1+6+22.4; 4Q204 (En^c) ii.24; and 11Q18 (NJ) 20.2.

246 For references see Schwiderski, *DARI*¹, 179.

247 In P. Yadin 1:36 (Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 180).

248 Dan 6:3; 1Q20 (apGen) 20.7; 2Q26 (EnGiants) 1.2; and 4Q206 (En^e) 1xxvi.20, 4i.20.

249 Schwiderski, *DARI*¹, 651. For the Egyptian Aramaic letter from Elephantine (ca. 475 BCE), written on an ostrakon, see Schwiderski, *DARI*², 151 (D:7.9(5).4–5), which reads, concerning a servant girl, יכתבוה על דרעה עלא מן כתבא זי על דרעה (“Tattoo her on her arm above the tattoo that is [already] on her arm”). The only other close formulation is in the Elephantine Ahiqar text (Schwiderski, *DARI*², 87 [C.1.1 (Kol.11).162]), where we find the phrase לעלא מנה.

250 For later dialects, refer to Jastrow, *DTM*, 1069; Sokoloff, *DJA*, 70; Sokoloff, *DJPA*, 315; Sokoloff, *DJBA*, 630.

because of, by the protection of” in 1Q20 (apGen) 19.16, 20.²⁵¹ Derived from the noun טלל “shade, cover, protection,” בטלל does not appear in Biblical Aramaic, though this is likely due to the fact that there was no occasion for its use. In Official Aramaic, however, it is used often, in precisely the same way as in Qumran Aramaic. In both Official Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic we find the independent form without assimilation of the second *lamed*, and the suffixed form with such assimilation:

“... on account of the God of Heaven” (TAD A4.3:5)	בטלל אלה שמיא
“... on account of the palm tree” (1Q20 [apGen] 19.16)	בטלל תמרתא
“by the protection of Ahu[ramazda ...]” (TAD C2.1 VII:42)	בטלה זי אהו[רמזד]
“... and I will live by your protection” (1Q20 [apGen] 19.20) ²⁵²	ואחה בטליכי

This word is not found in Jewish and Christian Aramaic dialects diachronically later than Qumran Aramaic and, together with the words and phrases collected above, contributes to an important cache of agreements between Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic against other dialects.²⁵³

In concluding this overview of Qumran Aramaic, it is important to acknowledge the significant extent to which Hebraisms and, to a lesser degree, other loanwords characterize the corpus. While Hebraisms were noted already by Avigad and Yadin in their early edition of parts of 1Q20 (apGen), and were expanded further by Beyer, Fitzmyer, Fassberg, and Puech, the most comprehensive, important work has been that of Christian Stadel.²⁵⁴ In addition to cataloguing his own and previous suggestions in *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer*, Stadel went on to argue that the Hebrew influence in our Aramaic texts may be assigned primarily to a scribal

familiarity with the Hebrew scriptures, and not acquaintance with a contemporary Hebrew vernacular.²⁵⁵ This observation is based on the use of Hebrew words such as ריון “prince” (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] and 4Q542 [TQahat]) or עליון “Most High” (1Q20 [apGen], 4Q246 [apocrDan], 4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c], 4Q541 [apocrLevi^{b?}], 4Q543 [VisAmram^a], and 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a]), morphological features like the Hebrew plural endings of עלמים “ages” (1Q20 [apGen]) and שמים (4Q531 [EnGiants^c]), and short expressions, including בני אדם (4Q544 [VisAmram^b]). Although Stadel’s theory neither adequately explains every Hebraism, nor provides the only plausible explanation in many cases, it does suffice for a sizable portion of them. Consequently, his work tells us something vital about the scribes responsible for producing much of the Qumran Aramaic literature: they were intimately involved with their Hebrew ancestral texts, to the point of adopting specific words and phrases from them. Yet, they chose to compose their own works in an Aramaic literary idiom clearly extending from, and closely related to, Official Aramaic.

The international scope within which these same scribes worked is reflected linguistically in other, non-Hebrew loanwords. In Daniel these words are primarily Persian and Greek, as discussed at an early stage by S.R. Driver, and frequently thereafter.²⁵⁶ Greek loanwords are largely absent from the other Qumran texts, but Akkadian and Persian words are well-attested and appear with relative frequency across a number of works.²⁵⁷ It is worth noting, however, that a significant number of these occur in 11Q10 (Job), which is of a somewhat different character than most other Aramaic works at Qumran, for reasons already discussed above.

The foregoing overview is intended as a way to gain a basic familiarity with the dialect of Qumran Aramaic, focusing especially on how the Qumran texts comport with Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and the later Jewish and Christian dialects. As a final point, it is worth addressing briefly the topic of homogeneity and heterogeneity in Qumran Aramaic. Many appraisals of the dialect have treated it as a relatively coherent collection of texts, linguistically speaking. Cook represents well this view.²⁵⁸

251 Already noted by Kutscher, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 7. See also Cook, *DQA*, 95–96, who draws attention to the related construction מן טלל in 11Q10 (Job) xxviii.7.

252 Compare the corresponding בגללך in Gen 12:13.

253 To this list we may now wish to add the observations of Stadel on the use of כל “all, every” followed by plural determined and indeterminate nouns in Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran Aramaic. The results of Stadel’s article are somewhat ambiguous, and Biblical Aramaic clearly has a different approach, but there does seem to be a general correspondence between how כל is employed in Official Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and one of the later Judean-Nabatean papyri. See Stadel, “Syntagm.”

254 Stadel, *Hebraismen*; Stadel, “Influences.”

255 Stadel, “Influences.”

256 Driver, *Daniel*, lvi–lxiii. See also the vibrant rejoinder by Tisdall, “Daniel,” who extensively interrogated the loanwords in Daniel.

257 See now the excellent lists in Muraoka, *Grammar*, 78–81, and the bibliographic items cited there. This is in keeping with the character of Official Aramaic, which also contains many Akkadian and Persian words (cf. Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 342–56).

258 Cook, “Dialectology”; Cook, “Aramaic”; and especially Cook, “Retroversion,” 362–363.

Despite claims to the contrary, I feel that the grammatical and lexical variation in the QA [Qumran Aramaic] corpus, while undoubtedly present, is not suggestive of a wide chronological range, and most of the documents themselves were adaptively copied and used during the first century BCE and perhaps part of the first century CE. QA is a generally uniform synchronic corpus, consisting of a small selection of partially preserved didactic-religious texts written in a formal or literary register.

Others, such as Schattner-Rieser and Koller, have stressed instead the linguistic heterogeneity of the corpus, with various texts being allocated to different time periods and social or geographic locations based on isolated linguistic traits.²⁵⁹ The extent to which either approach is correct depends upon the scope of one's view. When set against the broad sweep of Aramaic dialects, from Early Aramaic to Late Aramaic, Cook is certainly justified in his claim that "QA is a generally uniform synchronic corpus." However, if we zoom in on Qumran Aramaic exclusively, as Schattner-Rieser does, the finer discrepancies among texts exhibiting some "older" traits (e.g., 4Q242 [PrNab]), those with some "younger" ones (e.g., 1Q20 [apGen]), and linguistic outliers like 11Q10 (Job), stand out more prominently.

Here, however, is where the range of scribal variation attested between manuscripts becomes of paramount importance for any attempt to date the Aramaic Qumran scrolls based on language. Given the range laid out above, is it conceivable that an earlier copy of the Genesis Apocryphon had some "older" linguistic traits that were updated in the process of copying, or that a later, now lost copy of the Prayer of Nabonidus had some perceived archaisms updated by the copying scribe? Since we witness these sorts of changes taking place very clearly among the extant scrolls, the theoretical answer is surely "Yes," irrespective of what actually happened with either of these texts. Of course, it is impossible to gain clarity on the scribal history of any of our texts, but we can say without doubt that a variety of linguistic changes were made by scribes, who obviously felt comfortable exercising their discretion in this domain. Consequently, it is crucially important to recognize the contingent nature of a position like Schattner-Rieser's. While we might speak cautiously of dating language based on earlier and later

traits in *individual copies* – bearing in mind the cautionary examples from Elephantine and Elymais discussed above – it is considerably more hazardous to do so for specific *compositions*.

At the same time, the outer boundaries of the range of scribal variation exhibited in Qumran Aramaic *do* set some limits on where the dialect may be placed in time and space. Scribes tended to update their new copies in ways that were constrained to certain features within a more-or-less fixed chronological range. For example, some of our scribes evidently would have had a choice between אנת and אנתה "you," but not את; between דן and דנה "this," but not דין or דנן. Even texts with the "earliest" traits, such as the Aramaic portions of Ezra, the Prayer of Nabonidus, and to a lesser degree Daniel and Jews at the Persian Court, apparently postdate the cache of Official Aramaic texts found at Elephantine and sundry other locations, even if by only a relatively short period of time. "Later" texts like the Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, the Visions of Amram, and the Book of Giants exhibit an appreciably greater distance from Targums Onkelos and Jonathan – and even the second century CE Judean Desert texts – than from the texts just listed above. It is difficult to gauge, however, the extent to which differences between Qumran Aramaic and the later Judean Desert texts is due to their obvious disparities in genre and social location, over and above any purely diachronic factors.

In relation to surrounding dialects, then, the Qumran Aramaic scrolls – with a few possible exceptions, and not including the later Judean Desert texts – exhibit a set of linguistic characteristics tight enough to mark them off as a distinctive group, falling chronologically somewhere between Official Aramaic on the one hand, and the second century CE Judean Desert texts and early targums on the other. We have seen that, apart from some superficial orthographic features that demonstrably changed over time with copying, the morphology, semantics, and general linguistic function of Qumran Aramaic regularly falls closer to Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic than the later Aramaic literature. The combined facts that a few of the Qumran Aramaic copies are dated by palaeography or carbon dating to the second century BCE, and that these same copies can be placed, linguistically speaking, with the relatively "later" Qumran Aramaic texts, proves that literary works containing such "later" features – even the orthographic ones – *need not be dated to later than the second century BCE*. A few supporting examples for this claim are the second century BCE copies 4Q201 (En^a), 4Q208 (Enastr^a), and 4Q542 (TQahat), which show little or no linguistic discrepancy from later copies of works like Tobit, the Book of Giants, and the Aramaic Levi Document. This

259 Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 25; Koller, "Dialects," 212–13. A well-known example of varied geographic distribution is Muraoka's suggestion ("Aramaic") that 11Q10 (Job) is of eastern origin, as opposed to the more western origin of 1Q20 (apGen).

important observation stands in direct contrast to the conclusion of Kutscher for 1Q20 (apGen), who did not have all of the evidence available at the time of his judgment, and consequently dated the language of that text to the late first century BCE or early first century CE. Only now, with more texts published, can we see that he need not have set the date later than the second century BCE, based on the second-century manuscripts just listed. A related issue, which cannot be addressed here, is whether the last stages of literary productivity in this Aramaic dialect coincided with an apparent resurgence of Hebrew literary activity in the Hasmonean period, evidenced in texts like Jubilees and the sectarian literature from Qumran, the addition of the Hebrew (Hasmonean-period) chapters to Daniel, and the probable translation of Tobit into Hebrew (4Q200 [Tob^e]).²⁶⁰

It is more difficult to say where we should fix the earlier end of the diachronic spectrum for Qumran Aramaic. The language of texts with a greater accumulation of “earlier” features still feels somewhat later than the bulk of our fifth- to fourth-century Official Aramaic texts from Elephantine, Bactria, and elsewhere. But what are we to make of this? It is possible that some of the differences are due to factors other than diachronic distance, such as literary genre or a difference in location, whether social or geographic, as Koller and Gzella each suggested in his own way.²⁶¹ What is more, since our Qumran scrolls tend to date to the second and first centuries BCE (mostly the latter), how much of that difference might be attributed to the process of transmission and copying, in keeping with the scribal changes documented above? An important piece of limiting evidence may be of some help here: Even though the bulk of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls date to roughly a one-century period – from the late second to late first centuries BCE – a range of dialect-internal linguistic difference is still present. That is to say, not all linguistic variation has been flattened or homogenized in our manuscripts, even though they were copied within a relatively narrow window of time. So, most of the “earlier” features of Ezra, Daniel, and the Prayer of Nabonidus persist in the Qumran manuscripts, even if we do witness small adjustments here and there where copies overlap. This suggests that, although scribes obviously felt comfortable making an array of minor changes to the orthography, morphology, and even syntax of the texts with which they worked, there was apparently no full-scale, deliberate program of updating their language *per se*. Much of the basic

linguistic character of a composition remained in tact despite these minor modifications, with the most intensive loci of change being orthographic, such as *matres lectionis* and the scribal implementation of phonetic shifts (e.g., interdental ʔ changed to dental ʔ, or the interchange of ʔ and ʔ due to aspirantization). This being the case, our best course is to reckon by the scrolls currently available, assuming that they represent the basic style of language in which they were composed, but at the same time recognizing that they may have been updated to some limited extent, and in restricted ways. Being unable to gauge at present the impact of factors like literary genre and social or geographic location, it seems best to allow a generous margin of time for the developments between Official Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic/Qumran Aramaic to have taken place. (The letters of Ezra may be viewed as a special case, and are dealt with further below.) Given the many uncertainties involved, a century offers a reasonable amount of time for most of the changes found in the available scrolls, leaving us with a soft *terminus post quem* for Biblical Aramaic/Qumran Aramaic around the transition from the fourth to third centuries BCE. In summary, working from the evidence now available, we may posit a working chronological range of roughly two centuries for Biblical Aramaic/Qumran Aramaic, from the late fourth to late second centuries BCE.

6 Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and the Problem of Terminology

In this overview, I have hitherto retained the common distinction between Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, though in view of the combined Qumran evidence now available, the validity of that division ought to be seriously questioned. When the distinction was first introduced by Kutscher, only 1Q20 (apGen) was available for study. One can understand, then, why he compared Qumran Aramaic (i.e., the Aramaic of 1Q20 [apGen]) to the much more well-established and well-studied domain of Biblical Aramaic, along with other dialects such as that of Targum Onkelos. As new texts were discovered and published, the separation between Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic was maintained, even when the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel (as well as Jer 10:11) were added to the “Qumran Aramaic” corpus. Yet with these additional texts, particularly Ezra and Daniel, the separation of Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic has become confused and untenable, not least because there is a direct terminological overlap between the two: Ezra and Daniel are, strictly speaking, simultaneously Biblical Aramaic *and* part of

260 On the evidence for a revival of Hebrew during the Hasmonean period, see now Machiela and Jones, “Revival.”

261 Koller, “Dialects”; Gzella, “Dating.”

“Qumran Aramaic.” How, then, can we speak of *comparing* Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic, unless we wish to cordon off the Qumran copies of Ezra and Daniel from the rest of the Qumran corpus based simply on their later theological (not linguistic) claims to canonical status? While the separation of texts along canonical boundaries has been the approach of the editors of the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series and a number of other publications in Dead Sea Scrolls research, in this case it draws an artificial boundary between texts otherwise displaying a natural affinity in both language and content.²⁶²

Along with this terminological problem, it has become much more difficult to uphold the sorts of linguistic differences first delineated by Kutscher between Biblical Aramaic (primarily Daniel) and Qumran Aramaic (= 1Q20 [apGen]). We now possess over one hundred additional Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, many of which show micro-variation internal to the literary dialect encompassing Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic. For example, there are “non-biblical” Qumran Aramaic scrolls that contain early traits once said to set Biblical Aramaic apart from Qumran Aramaic. 4Q570 (Unid. Text D) uses pronominal endings with 𐤃, like Ezra. As in Daniel, 11Q10 (Job) and 4Q529 (Words of Michael) prefer spelling the causative verb with the 𐤇 rather than 𐤍 prefix. The list of such features could be expanded, blurring the border between Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic once drawn by Kutscher – a border disputed already in 1963 by Rowley for Daniel and 1Q20 (apGen) alone.²⁶³ All of this makes it very difficult to maintain the distinction any longer. Instead, we should recognize Biblical Aramaic (the consonantal text only) and Qumran Aramaic as parts of a contiguous, vibrant Jewish literary dialect active during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The linguistic variation present in our Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic texts is the combined result of scribal stylistic preference, scribal updating, and limited diachronic development over the period of one or two centuries. As we might expect, some scribes (or copies) exhibit idiosyncrasies, even while clearly participating in the larger dialect. Folmer has helpfully shown that something similar is true

of Official Aramaic, so often referred to as a remarkably standardized literary idiom.²⁶⁴

Based on the points above, I would argue that an emic, historically-oriented perspective discourages the separation of Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic along later canonical lines, as valuable as that distinction may remain for some non-linguistic discussions. This perspective, in turn, encourages a reappraisal of the Biblical Aramaic texts relative to Qumran Aramaic. As noted frequently by those commenting on Biblical Aramaic, Ezra and Daniel should be treated separately from one another, even if in practice this advice often is not followed. One reason for such a distinction is the different compositional histories of the two books. Ezra is an essentially Hebrew book integrating Aramaic documents – the Artaxerxes correspondence – though the precise contours of how this was done and the historicity of the Aramaic documents are still debated. For this reason, Ezra as a composition is really quite different *in kind* than our other Qumran Aramaic texts. It would be more accurate to place it with the post-exilic Hebrew literature, recognizing that it incorporates some Aramaic material pertinent to our discussion. Daniel’s situation is very different. The most compelling theories of that book’s composition have been put forward by German scholars – crystallized most convincingly by Reinhard Kratz and Rainer Albertz – and have been subsequently adopted by others like John Collins and Carol Newsom.²⁶⁵ These scholars continue to disagree over details of Daniel’s composition history, and the finer points of their descriptions are not always persuasive. However, the essential theory uniting their approaches is that a collection of originally independent (but closely related) Persian- or Hellenistic-period Aramaic tales about Daniel and his companions was brought together at some point before the Hasmonean era, forming an Aramaic compilation comprising all or much of Daniel 1–7.²⁶⁶ Some suggest that Daniel 1 and 7 (and various bits of other chapters, especially Daniel 2) were added at later stages, but more certain is the notion that the Hebrew chapters 8–12 were successively added during the Hasmonean period, as a further elaboration of chapter 7. If this is correct, then the core (or all) of the Aramaic portion of Daniel – and perhaps Daniel 1, if at a late stage it was translated from Aramaic into Hebrew – was originally a collection of

262 Of course, in certain situations this distinction might remain useful, such as when writing a grammar focusing on Biblical Aramaic alone for students with a view to the Jewish or Christian canons. This should remain separate, however, from the broader dialectical question addressed here, and in this case Biblical Aramaic should be understood as a canonically-limited sub-corpus of the larger Biblical Aramaic/Qumran Aramaic dialect.

263 Rowley, “Notes.”

264 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*. The same point had been made earlier, though much more laconically, by Ginsburg, “Aramaic,” 232, and Greenfield, “Standard,” 116.

265 Albertz, *Daniel 4–6*; Albertz, “Setting”; Kratz, *Translatio*; Collins, *Daniel*, 29–38; Newsom, *Daniel*, 6–12.

266 On the story collection format of Daniel, see now Holm, *Courtiers*.

Persian- or Hellenistic-period Aramaic compositions, like the bulk of the Qumran Aramaic texts, and unlike the book of Ezra. Thus, in kind this section of Daniel is akin to many other Aramaic works kept at Qumran, though the attention that it – and especially chapter 7 – received resulted in the eventual addition of the Hasmonean-period, Hebrew chapters 8–12, and either the addition of an originally Hebrew Daniel 1 or its translation from Aramaic into Hebrew.²⁶⁷ These fundamental compositional differences between Ezra and Daniel, and the resulting differences in their relationships to the Qumran Aramaic corpus, must be borne in mind while discussing their language: As a literary work, Daniel is much more closely aligned with the rest of the Qumran Aramaic corpus than Ezra, even if the Hebrew-Aramaic edition of Daniel, as a final product, distances it from other Qumran Aramaic texts in important ways.²⁶⁸

Aside from some probable updates to spelling and one or two possible idiomatic adjustments, it is widely accepted that the Aramaic of Ezra's official letters is essentially Official Aramaic, irrespective of whether or not they preserve actual historical correspondences.²⁶⁹ The basic, if somewhat updated, Official Aramaic character of Ezra's Aramaic has been most recently reiterated by Folmer and Williamson.²⁷⁰ Some potentially late elements in the greeting formulas of Ezra's letters have been noticed by Schwiderski, and used to argue that the letters are best seen as products of the Hellenistic period: Use of the preposition לְ (rather than עַל or אֶל) in Ezra 5:7 and 7:12 to introduce the recipient, and the salutation שלום "peace, greetings" placed at the end of the greeting phrases in Ezra 4:17 and 5:7.²⁷¹ The persuasiveness of the first feature has been challenged, and does not inspire great confidence as a tool for dating. The second has stood

267 My own preference, for the reasons often provided since the initial argument of Charles (*Daniel*, xlvi–xlviiii), is that of translation into Hebrew from Aramaic. This was most likely done because the Hebrew beginning and ending resulted in a "Hebrew book," thereby facilitating Daniel's Jewish use from the Hasmonean period onward.

268 It is worth noting that a somewhat different approach was taken with Tobit, which was apparently translated entirely into Hebrew, as seen in 4Q200 (Tob^e). On this topic, see Machiela, "Hebrew of Tobit"; Dimant, "Hebrew Copy."

269 The latter topic has been debated, and is by no means divorced from the question of language. For a recent overview of the issues and various opinions, see Doering, *Letters*, 122–25. The Aramaic sections of Ezra are 4:11–22, 5:7–17, 6:2–12, and 7:12–26. A useful account of older opinions, on which later scholarship tends to elaborate, is provided by Torrey, "Ezra," 210–14.

270 Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 41, 754; Williamson, "Documents," 54–62. See also Gzella, *Cultural History*, 206–7.

271 Schwiderski, *Briefformulars*, 360, 362, 364–68.

up quite well to scrutiny, but we may question how confidently a Hellenistic-period date may be advanced based on this single, minor feature alone. In the end, it is best to acknowledge the essentially Official Aramaic character of Ezra's Aramaic, leaving the requisite room for some scribal change over time, on analogy with what we see in the Qumran Aramaic corpus.

I will not delve into the features used to distance Daniel from Qumran Aramaic, since they have been listed exhaustively by others such as Kutscher and Rowley. Many such features were reviewed near the beginning of this chapter. As noted above, these traits do not hold up very well when Daniel is compared to the entire Qumran Aramaic corpus, and in my opinion the only argument for retaining a distinction between Daniel and Qumran Aramaic is canonical – not linguistic – in nature. The Aramaic of Daniel fits comfortably within the full scope of Qumran Aramaic, a kinship reflected not only in small linguistic details, but also in many shared idiomatic expressions. A number of these were first pointed out by Rowley for Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, a list to which Fitzmyer later added.²⁷² These shared expressions could now be expanded yet further, not just with reference to the Genesis Apocryphon, but other texts as well. A few of Rowley's and Fitzmyer's examples will suffice to demonstrate the point, further grounding the observation that the authors of Daniel and other Qumran Aramaic texts quite literally "speak the same language":

Daniel	1Q20 (apGen)
שגיא באש עלוהי (6:15)	ובאש עלי די (21.7)
בגוא נדנה (7:15)	לגו נדנהא (2.10)
ועלה מנהון (6:3)	לעלא מן כולהון (20.7)
בחזוא די ליליא (2:19)	בחזוא די ליליא (21.8)
חזה הוית עד די מריטו	חזה הוית עד די אסיפּוּהי (13.11)
גפיה (7:4)	

Based on these and other idiomatic parallels, Fitzmyer was surely justified in his judgement that, "[f]rom such a list it can be seen that the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not far removed from that of Daniel."²⁷³ All of this is not even to mention the strong affinities between Daniel and other Qumran Aramaic texts in terms of genre and content, something emphasized by Dimant and others.²⁷⁴

272 Rowley, "Notes," 128; Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 35. See also Fassberg, "Verbal System," 76–77.

273 Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, 35.

274 Dimant, "Qumran Aramaic," 204. See also Gzella, *Cultural History*, 208.

Based on these similarities, it has sometimes been suggested that Daniel and Ezra influenced other Qumran Aramaic texts in some of their phrasing, reifying the idea that the Aramaic of biblical books has a claim to greater antiquity, higher religious authority, or both. For example, addressing a cluster of Aramaic works gathered under the heading “Legendary Narratives and Court-Tales,” Dimant stated that, “[t]he place of the book of Daniel is particularly intriguing, for a number of texts from this group *build upon or are influenced by it*.”²⁷⁵ Speaking of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, Fassberg remarked that “[t]he inverted word order in the compound tenses \sqrt{hwy} + participle (ידיע להוא, חזה הוית) also reveals *links to and dependence on* literary Aramaic, in this case, the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra.”²⁷⁶ Muraoka concurred, judging that Qumran Aramaic occurrences of the inverted periphrastic construction חזה הוית “are best interpreted as *modelled on* the same combination in Daniel 2.34, 7.4, 9, 11.”²⁷⁷ These scholars may be correct in asserting the influential role of the Biblical Aramaic books, but it is at least worth examining the grounds for their conclusions. Each of the scholars cited above seems to take it as self-evident that non-biblical Qumran Aramaic works would more likely draw on Daniel or Ezra than other possible relationships. In commenting on the spelling of the causative verb with a prefixed ה or א, Muraoka submitted that, already during the period when the Qumran texts were written, Daniel and Ezra had achieved a more authoritative status than other Qumran Aramaic texts.²⁷⁸

That the /h-/ is quite common in BA in the PC [prefix conjugation] and participle as well shows that BA represents a stage earlier than most of the QA documents. The fact that Qumran Daniel (and Ezra) fragments show complete agreement with the MT, not altering H to A, does not have to signify that the scribe's or scribes' Aramaic was considerably more archaic than that of many of his or their colleagues, but he or they hesitated to tamper with what was, in his or their eyes, *a sacred document*.

This statement seems to imply that the other, non-biblical Aramaic works kept at Qumran either were not considered sacred, or that their sacrality was of a somewhat lesser distinction than that of Daniel and Ezra, with the possible

result that scribes felt comfortable tampering with the “non-biblical” texts (specifically the causative spelling), but not the “biblical” ones. In reaching this conclusion, Muraoka drew on the earlier study of Pfann, who noted the tendency of the Qumran copies of Daniel and Ezra to follow closely the MT in a handful of (mostly) orthographic features, notably the ה prefix for the causative verb.²⁷⁹ Pfann stopped short of making the claim that this and a few other features were preserved by the copying scribes because these “biblical” texts held a different authoritative status than other Aramaic works at Qumran, but he did single out Daniel and Ezra as unique among the then-published Aramaic scrolls regarding the stability of their textual transmission. As noted above, however, plenty of other Aramaic Qumran scrolls also act in unique ways with regard to language (one thinks most immediately of 4Q212 [En^g] and 11Q10 [Job]), and every one of the traits singled out by Pfann can now be recognized in other, non-biblical texts. In reality, the Qumran Daniel and Ezra copies do not differ appreciably in relation to the MT consonantal text than do other Qumran Aramaic works with overlapping text in two or more copies, such as Tobit and the Visions of Amram. While there may be non-linguistic grounds for accepting the more authoritative status of Daniel, Ezra, or both during the Second Temple period, from a strictly linguistic viewpoint we can say only that there are a few features suggesting that these texts be placed tentatively earlier in the period of Jewish literary activity in Aramaic, with Ezra somewhat earlier than Daniel. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that the spelling of each book was updated slightly over the course of the Hellenistic and later periods.²⁸⁰ This updating is seen, for example, in the probable change of Daniel's original passive-reflexive verbs with an א prefix in Qumran copies

279 Pfann, “Daniel and Ezra.”

280 A recent example of the bifurcation between Biblical Aramaic (Daniel and Ezra, in particular) and the Aramaic Qumran literature is found in the overview of ancient Aramaic by Abraham Tal, “Aramaic.” Tal makes the typical distinction between Biblical Aramaic and Standard Literary Aramaic (ארמית ספרותית טטנ), the latter including the Qumran texts. Tal cites as evidence of this distinction, for example, the fact that Biblical Aramaic uses ה to signify a vowel at the end of words, while Standard Literary Aramaic uses א, as shown in the Genesis Apocryphon. However, this and the other examples cited by Tal are too simplistic, ignoring the full situation of the Qumran copies of Daniel and Ezra. Once that evidence is considered, Tal's examples simply fail to convince, and his distinction loses its force. With regard to the case of final vowels just cited, see the “Interchange of ה, א (or י) for weak verb ending” section in the catalogue of scribal changes, above. See also Tal, “Raison d'Être,” 360.

275 Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic,” 204. Italics have been added.

276 Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 76. Italics have been added.

277 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 176. Italics have been added. On the same page he deems the phrase מין חזה ער ארעא חפית מין in 4Q206 (En^g) 4i.18 to be “another epigone of Daniel.”

278 Muraoka, *Grammar*, 110. Italics have been added.

(אתפעל) to ה prefixes in the MT version.²⁸¹ This fits well with the broader trends in the Qumran Aramaic corpus, and texts in antiquity more generally.

To sum up, it is evident that Ezra varies as much from Daniel as Daniel does from “later” Qumran Aramaic works like Tobit or the Book of Giants. Consequently, there is good reason to view Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic as part of the same literary dialect, inherited directly from Official Aramaic and adapted to use as a Jewish language of literary composition over the course of approximately two centuries.²⁸² Texts like Ezra’s letters and the Prayer of Nabonidus contain some linguistic characteristics that place them closer to Official Aramaic, and presumably toward the earlier end of this period. Others, such as Tobit, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Visions of Amram betray a somewhat later phase, at least in the copies available to us. Daniel and the early Enochic texts fall somewhere between these two poles. However, along with any attempt to sketch dialectal contours in greater detail we must account for the reality that the scribe of any given copy could exercise his own style and preferences during the course of transmission, including archaizing or updating. The dialect thus represents a living scribal tradition – an inconsistently moving target – and as a result we must leave sufficient room for variation from work to work, copy to copy. The fact that Ezra and Daniel were later canonized in Jewish and Christian circles should not result in their being cut off from the literary tradition of which they (especially Daniel) were clearly part.

7 Summary and Conclusions: Early Jewish Literary Aramaic (EJLA)

In this chapter, I offered a descriptive account of linguistic features characterizing Qumran Aramaic, arguing that it should be treated as a Jewish literary dialect thoroughly enmeshed with Biblical Aramaic – especially the Aramaic of Daniel – so as to obfuscate any sharp division between the two. The reasons for treating these text groups as a single unit, rather than two distinct dialects as is so often done, are both linguistic and generic, based on the many clear bonds in both language and content between the

Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic works. This vibrant literary idiom was a direct descendant of Official Aramaic, though adapted for use in a Jewish context.²⁸³ The specifically Jewish character of the language is subtle, but may be seen, for example, in the many Hebraisms scattered throughout the corpus (often drawn from the ancestral Hebrew literature), and in the distinctive –ל prefix for the prefix conjugation of the verb הוה. Based on the linguistic features surveyed in this chapter, it makes good sense to place the beginnings of this Jewish literary use in the late Persian period, with Ezra preserving what appears to be the earliest Aramaic (notwithstanding the arguments of Schwiderski), followed by that of Daniel, the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), and perhaps several other works such as Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550) and some of the Enochic texts. As already mentioned, it can be shown convincingly that we need not date the slightly later-looking Aramaic of texts like the Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, the Visions of Amram, the Book of Giants, and the Testament of Qahat – all of which are similar enough to discourage attempts at relative dating – any later than the late second century BCE based on the palaeographic and carbon dates of some early manuscripts (e.g., 4Q201 [En^a], 4Q542 [TQahat]). Since it is widely acknowledged that all or most of the Qumran Aramaic scrolls are copies, not autographs of the original composition, from a linguistic viewpoint alone we may plausibly place the composition of Aramaic texts like these at or before the first half of the second century BCE.²⁸⁴

If Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic merit treatment as an acceptably cohesive dialect, albeit evolving over approximately two centuries, it remains only to discuss the vexed topics of taxonomy and nomenclature. The perennial problem of classification and choosing where dialects begin and end – and consequently what to call the resultant classes and dialects – is witnessed on both large and small scales in Aramaic Studies.²⁸⁵ On the large scale, one needs look no further than the most recent American and German systems, put forward by Joseph

²⁸¹ This may have been done for reasons of consistency with the causative verb spellings, or even because it homogenized the forms with the Hebrew spellings throughout the rest of the book. As noted by Pfann and Cook, the forms with ה align with the earlier Official Aramaic texts.

²⁸² This accords with the summation of Gzella, *Cultural History*, 208. See also Flesher, “Aramaic,” at 86–89.

²⁸³ In fact, Beyer (*ATM*¹, 28–35; *Language*, 14–21) includes both Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic as later subtypes of Official Aramaic, which he calls Imperial Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch). The closest literary successor of our dialect is the Aramaic of the Onkelos and Jonathan targums.

²⁸⁴ Of course, this is not to discount the possibility that some later Fortschreibung took place after this original stage, as a number of scholars have suggested was the case for the “little horn” (most likely representing Antiochus IV Epiphanes) in Dan 7:8.

²⁸⁵ On this issue, see now the helpful overview of Gzella, *Cultural History*, 45–52.

Fitzmyer and Klaus Beyer respectively.²⁸⁶ Fitzmyer's goal was to unify and simplify the somewhat confused organizational landscape existing up until his proposal, in 1966, of a five-phase chronological model. Based, no doubt, on the relative simplicity and cogency of his system, Fitzmyer's approach has been widely accepted and used, especially in English-language scholarship. However, some have justifiably complained that this simplicity gives the false impression of unity across what are, in fact, extremely diverse types of Aramaic.²⁸⁷ Beyer's taxonomy, constructed on three major phases (Old Aramaic, Middle Aramaic, and Modern Aramaic), is considerably more sophisticated than Fitzmyer's, which is at the same time a strength and a weakness; a strength in that its greater level of refinement allows for talking about the language with more precision through time, place, and social location, but a weakness in that many of his finer shades of distinction – proposed with astonishing confidence – are open to serious questioning.²⁸⁸ These two systems also have some unfortunate terminological discrepancies, with the identical terms “Old Aramaic” (Das alte Aramäisch) and “Middle Aramaic” (Das Mittelaramäische) covering very different periods for each scholar. Importantly for our purposes, both systems separate Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic within their larger taxonomies: For Fitzmyer, Biblical Aramaic is included in his second major diachronic phase, Official Aramaic (roughly 700–200 BCE), while Qumran Aramaic is placed with the following Middle Aramaic period (roughly 200 BCE–200 CE). It should be obvious by now that I would contest 200 BCE as a natural point of chronological division, since it likely bifurcates the active period of the combined Biblical Aramaic–Qumran Aramaic Jewish literary dialect described in this chapter. If Fitzmyer's system were kept, however, I would argue that Qumran Aramaic is better placed in the earlier, Official Aramaic period. Beyer's separation is less dramatic, including Biblical Aramaic (Das Biblisch-Aramäische) and “Hasmonaeon” (Das Hasmonäische, under which the Qumran literature is placed) as distinct dialects of Post-Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic (Das nachachämenidische Reichsaramäisch).

On a smaller scale, more concerned with Qumran Aramaic, we have just seen that Fitzmyer situated the

Qumran texts as a part of his considerably broader category Middle Aramaic, alongside other local text groupings such as the later second century CE Judean Desert documents and letters, Nabatean, Hatran, and Palmyrene. For Beyer, the Qumran literature was part of Hasmonaeon Aramaic, also including the later Judean Desert texts, a few Judean inscriptions (which are very short and fragmentary), some bits of the Mishna and Tosefta, “the older layer” (die ältere Schicht) of the Galilean and Babylonian targums, and a few other documents.²⁸⁹ Beyer's notion that Qumran Aramaic is chronologically Hasmonaeon has been adopted recently by Gzella, in an important monograph sketching the historical development of the Aramaic language in antiquity. Echoing the sentiments of Beyer, Gzella writes that,

As elsewhere in the Hellenistic Near East, the change in leadership and the resulting independence of Judaea with the rise of the Hasmonaeon dynasty (142 until 37 BCE) had an immediate impact on the linguistic situation. It coincides with the appearance of a local literary variety of Aramaic in Jerusalem and Judaea that is best attested in some hundred-twenty to hundred-thirty religious compositions discovered in the Qumran scrolls.²⁹⁰

Much is assumed in this statement that is either unproven or incorrect, depending on one's opinion. It is not entirely clear whether Gzella is referencing the Aramaic of the original compositions, the mostly first-century BCE copies, or both.²⁹¹ If it is the original compositions, there is still considerable debate over where these texts were written. I tend to agree with Gzella's view that these are, for the most part, texts written in Hellenistic Palestine. Yet others, such as Henryk Drawnel and Jonathan Ben-Dov, have argued for the Mesopotamian extraction of at least some of these texts. Even less agreeable is the placement of the Qumran texts (*en masse*) in the Hasmonean period. They were *copied* in that period, to be sure, but the character of the Aramaic by no means requires them to be dated this late, and, as argued above, we would do better to place them instead in the Hellenistic period (or

286 Fitzmyer first published his classificatory system in a footnote of his original, 1966 edition of *Commentary*, 19, n. 60. A more extended, article-length discussion later appeared as “Phases.” Beyer's system can be found in Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 23–71; and Beyer, *Language*.

287 See recently Gzella, *Cultural History*, 47–48.

288 Gzella (*Cultural History*, 50–51) advocates for Beyer's general system, while recognizing some of its shortcomings.

289 Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 34; Beyer, *Language*, 20.

290 Gzella, *Cultural History*, 230. This follows very closely Beyer's view in *ATTM*¹, 34. It should also be noted that there are 120–130 Aramaic *manuscripts* from Qumran, not “compositions.” Many of these manuscripts are one of multiple copies of the same composition.

291 His statements about dating (*Cultural History*, 233) might lead one to think that he means only the preserved copies, but this is never made clear.

perhaps even the late Persian period, depending upon the text). On non-linguistic grounds, too, many scholars have argued for the Hellenistic dating of texts like Tobit, the Visions of Amram, the Book of Giants, and the Genesis Apocryphon.²⁹² Consequently, it is best not to prejudge the matter by calling Qumran Aramaic “Hasmonaeen,” when in all likelihood “Hellenistic” would be the more accurate chronological adjective. In fact, in contrast to Beyer’s and Gzella’s view, it seems more likely that the early Hasmonean period marked the last, waning years of literary activity in Aramaic (though copies continued to be made) and the revival of Hebrew as the preferred literary language of Jews in the re-established land of Israel. For these reasons the identification of the Qumran texts as belonging to Hasmonaeen Aramaic ought to be rejected.

A classificatory and terminological alternative with direct relevance to Qumran Aramaic was first proposed by Jonas Greenfield in 1969: Standard Literary Aramaic.²⁹³ Greenfield described Standard Literary Aramaic as a supra-local literary language developed from, and heavily dependent upon, Official Aramaic; what Wise has aptly described as “a new Semitic koine that replaced earlier Official Aramaic.”²⁹⁴ An important point distinguishing Greenfield’s conception from those of Fitzmyer and Beyer was the fact that he understood both Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic to belong to Standard Literary Aramaic, though with Biblical Aramaic being more “eastern” and somewhat earlier, while the Qumran Aramaic texts were western, “written on Palestinian soil.”²⁹⁵ Greenfield drew a sharp line between this fairly standardized literary idiom and whatever types of spoken Aramaic may have existed in Palestine during the same period (hence, the adjective “literary”), and stressed the need to pay attention to differences between the various Qumran Aramaic compositions. Unfortunately, he gave no clear indication of the traits distinguishing Standard Literary Aramaic from other dialects, most pertinently Official Aramaic. This has led some to question the category, as in Gzella’s judgment that it had not “been defined precisely ... so the existence of such a standard idiom besides the Achaemenid

chancellery language as a medium of administration remains doubtful.”²⁹⁶

Despite the nebulous character of Greenfield’s formulation, Standard Literary Aramaic has been widely referenced by those studying the Aramaic language, and was developed further by Michael Sokoloff and Steven Fassberg.²⁹⁷ Sokoloff placed Qumran Aramaic under what was essentially Greenfield’s Standard Literary Aramaic, but chose to call it instead Jewish Literary Aramaic because of some specifically Jewish features of the language already discussed above.²⁹⁸ In several places Fassberg has now combined these insights, citing Qumran Aramaic as the primary example of what he called either Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic, or Standard Literary Jewish Aramaic.²⁹⁹

While, in my opinion, Fassberg’s Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic comes closest to capturing the essence of the combined Biblical Aramaic (especially Daniel) and Qumran Aramaic dialect that I have endeavored to describe in this chapter, it has the single drawback of not indicating, in general terms, where the dialect fits diachronically into broader developmental models of the Aramaic language. For this reason, I suggest that the language of Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic be combined under the rubric *Early Jewish Literary Aramaic*. This label has the advantage of signalling the literary character of the language (following Greenfield and many others), its several Jewish characteristics (with Sokoloff and Fassberg), and its diachronic placement at the beginning of specifically Jewish Aramaic dialects, such as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. The word “Early” also avoids fixing the dialect to a specific politico-historical period, such as “Hasmonaeen” or “Hellenistic” (e.g., Beyer and Gzella) with which it is unlikely to coincide neatly. Of course, under this general heading we remain free to explore the finer contours and development of the dialect attested between the various compositions and copies, including between the now-biblical works (traditionally, Biblical Aramaic) and those that did not achieve canonical status (traditionally, Qumran Aramaic). We may compare texts with more “eastern” and more “western” features (e.g.,

292 For an overview of this topic, see Machiela, “Compositional Setting.”

293 Greenfield, “Standard.”

294 Wise, *Language*, 282.

295 “Qumran Aramaic is also Standard Literary Aramaic but written on Palestinian soil. It is in this language that Tobit, Enoch, the Testament of Levi, and the ‘Daniel’ pseudographs were written.” Greenfield, “Standard,” 116–17.

296 Gzella, *Cultural History*, 49 (see also 165). So, too, Cook, “Dialectology,” 1; and Cook, “Perspective.”

297 See, in addition to those already named, Flesher, “Aramaic,” 87–89. This designation has been affirmed most recently (2018) by Tal, “Aramaic.” It seems to me, however, that Tal draws a sharper distinction between Biblical Aramaic and Standard Literary Aramaic than did Greenfield.

298 Sokoloff, “Dialects,” 746. He is followed by Flesher, “Aramaic.”

299 Fassberg, “Verbal System,” 67, 76–78; Fassberg “Language,” 136; Fassberg, “לְהוֹיָה.” This title is cited with approval by Joosten “Exorcise,” 348.

the syntactic differences between Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon), or with “earlier” and “later” features (e.g., the Prayer of Nabonidus and Tobit), all the while recognizing that these differences occur among what are much more substantial and numerous linguistic similarities, warranting their treatment together. Early Jewish Literary Aramaic is closely related to Official Aramaic on the one hand, and to the Onkelos and Jonathan targums on the other. It is also relatively similar to some of the other writings placed under Standard Literary Aramaic by Greenfield, or under Hasmonaean by Beyer and Gzella. In my opinion, the designation Early Jewish Literary Aramaic allows us to picture more clearly, from

a linguistic viewpoint, a tremendously creative, fertile branch of Jewish literary activity in Aramaic during the Second Temple period. Written by highly-trained scribes working in the broader tradition of Official Aramaic, this language was the vehicle of an impressive international, ethno-religious literature that drew heavily upon earlier Hebrew traditions, and most likely spanned from the late Persian period to the waning years of Hellenistic rule in Palestine and the ascension of the Hasmoneans. From the Hasmonean period onward, this Jewish Aramaic literary tradition appears slowly to have given way to a new wave of literary productivity in Hebrew.

Manuscript Features and Scribal Practices

1 Introduction: The Historical Context of Manuscript Production and Scribal Practice at Qumran

The scrolls studied in this book were, for the most part, carefully-planned objects, created and used within the social and historical contexts of Second Temple period Judaism, a context bound up closely with the broader Hellenistic milieu of the eastern Mediterranean region. The Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves were presumably used at the site of Qumran, though some of them likely came to the settlement from outside, having been crafted and written before the first century BCE.¹ The extent to which the scrolls studied here were manufactured at or around Qumran remains a question without a clear answer, though significant progress is now being made on this front due to new scientific research focused on determining the provenance of their skin and ink through chemical and other analyses.² Preliminary studies have suggested that at least some of the scrolls were processed and written in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, local to Qumran.³ Wherever our scrolls were made, written, and used, it is obvious that an extended process of planning and production preceded someone reading or listening to

them. This process involved a substantial investment of time and resources.

There is some evidence that the monetary costs of manuscript production were very high in ancient Mediterranean cultures, a factor tied to the cultural prestige of scrolls (also called bookrolls), the knowledge they contained, and the specialized nature of writing and reading more generally.⁴ A number of Roman-period authors commented on the high value placed on literary manuscripts or libraries perceived to contain precious knowledge, most of which would have been papyrus bookrolls.⁵ In the first century BCE, Cicero wrote to a friend that his personal library was “worth a considerable sum” (*multorum nummorum*).⁶ More than a century later, Pliny the Younger wrote that his uncle, Pliny the Elder, could have sold the notebooks (*commentarios*) for his *Natural Histories* in Spain for 400,000 sesterces.⁷ We are told that there were considerably fewer notebooks at that time (*aliquanto pauciores erant*) than the 160 eventually inherited by Pliny the Younger. If we estimate that Pliny the Elder possessed around 100 rolls at the time of his potential sale, we would be left with a cost of approximately 4,000 sesterces per “notebook.” The average wages of an ordinary Roman legionary soldier in the first century CE was roughly 1,000 sesterces, and so the entire collection would have far exceeded an average person’s lifetime wages, and even a single bookroll would cost several years’ worth of wages. Owning such an object clearly involved a serious financial investment. Another signal of the high value placed on written manuscripts was that they were occasionally listed among valuables seized as the spoils of war. For example, Plutarch reported that Aemilius Paulus took as war booty the bookroll collection of Perseus, king of Macedon, in 168 BCE.⁸ These sources admittedly reflect social locations quite different than those from which the Qumran scrolls originated, but they give us a sense of the high social and financial value attached to written scrolls

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- 1 Current scholarly consensus holds that the site of Qumran was settled sometime during the early first century BCE, while a portion of the scrolls kept in the caves around Qumran predate that time. A cogent defense of the first-century BCE settlement of Qumran can be found in Mizzi and Magness, “Qumran.” For a recent appraisal of the manuscript evidence against the archaeological backdrop of the site see White Crawford, *Scribes*, 141, 317–20. Emanuel Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 5) observed that, “It appears that many, if not most, of the literary texts found in the Judean Desert had been copied elsewhere in Israel. Therefore, the contents and scribal practices reflected in them represent not only the persons who passed through, lived, and wrote in the Judean Desert, but to an even greater extent the culture and scribes of Palestine as a whole.” Tov admitted that this opinion is difficult to verify at present, though it does have logical appeal due to the great number of scrolls kept at the site, evidently written by hundreds of scribes (*Scribal Practices*, 14–15).
- 2 The number of studies of this sort are expanding rapidly. The following articles are a representative sample, and provide a more extensive bibliography of the existing research. On the ink of the scrolls, see Nir-el and Broshi, “Red Ink”; Nir-el and Broshi, “Black Ink.” On the manuscript materials, see Wolff et al., “Provenance”; Rabin and Hahn, “Characterization”; Schuetz et al., “Temple Scroll”; Anava et al. “Genetic.”
- 3 See Rabin, “Archaeometry.”

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- 4 On the social value ascribed to bookrolls in Greco-Roman antiquity see Johnson, “Reading,” 612–15.
- 5 See, for example, Johnson, “Libraries,” 359–61.
- 6 For the text and translation see Cicero, *Letters*, 2.276–77 (the Loeb letter number is 212 [XIII.77]).
- 7 Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 178–79.
- 8 The books were the only items kept personally by the king, bestowed on his sons, “who were devoted to learning.” Plutarch, *Lives*, 430–31 (*Aemilius Paulus* 28.6). See further Houston, *Libraries*, 34–7.

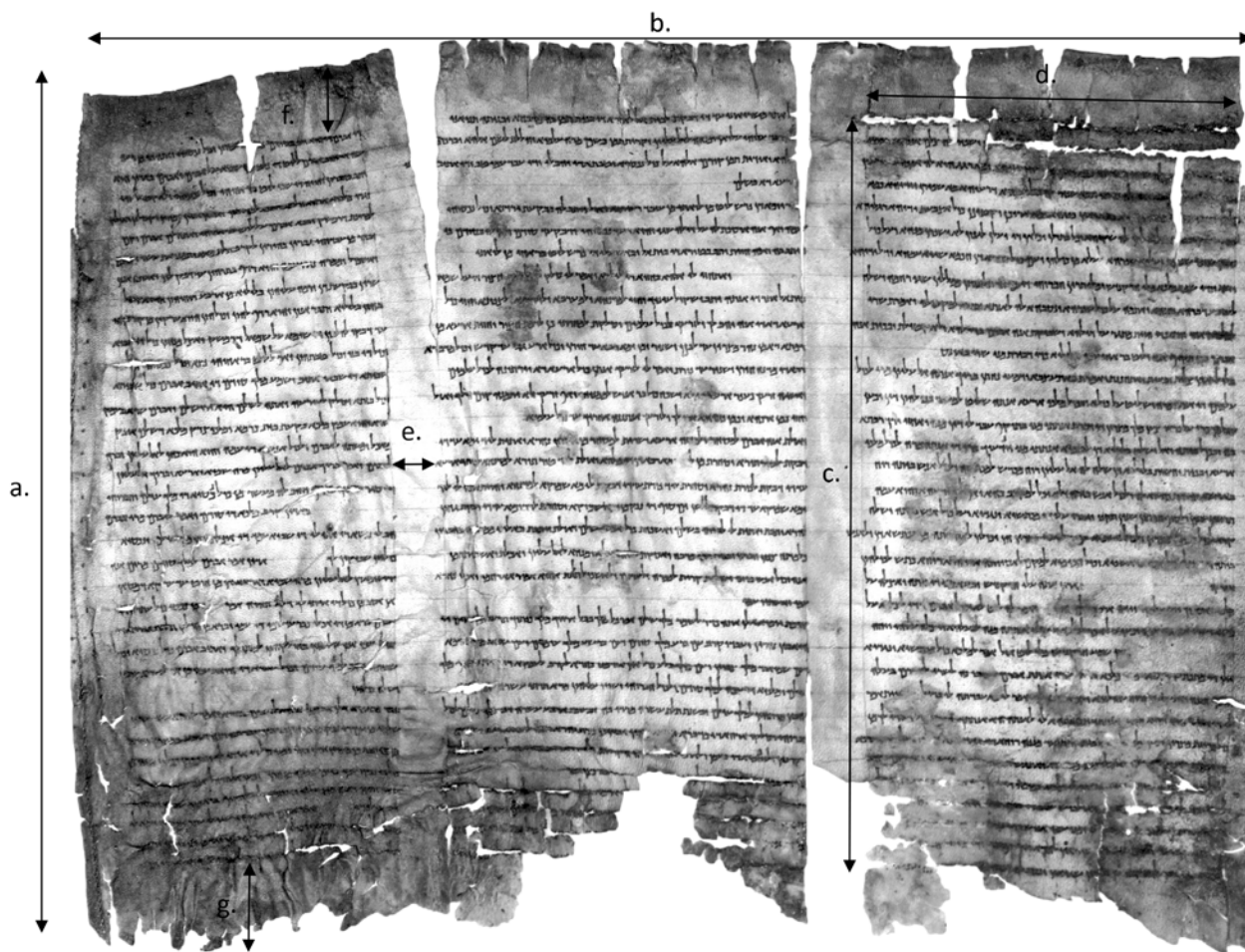


FIGURE 1 Anatomy of a scroll (1Q20 [apGen] cols. 20–22)

- a. Scroll height
- b. Scroll length
- c. Column height
- d. Column width
- e. Intercolumnar margin
- f. Upper margin
- g. Lower margin

during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, at least by the educated, literate classes.⁹

The costs of producing manuscripts were largely labor-based, first to manufacture the papyrus or skin writing surface, which required specialized tools and training, and then to employ extensively-educated scribes to lay out the blank manuscript (usually in columns) and to write the text. We can no longer determine the extent to which these labor costs may have been mitigated by the social contexts in which the scrolls kept by those living at Qumran were produced, since we cannot accurately calculate how much of the process was done by members of the Essene sect at or around the settlement, or elsewhere. We simply do not yet know – and we probably never will know with certainty – where the scrolls from the caves around Qumran were produced, though the scientific

advances in determining provenance mentioned above hold out promise for advancing our knowledge somewhat. Still, whether a scroll was produced in Jerusalem, at Qumran, or elsewhere in Greco-Roman Palestine, we may safely assume that it was a costly endeavor for the individual or community creating it. In all of these places, an important potential difference compared with the Greco-Roman social contexts discussed above is that whoever produced the Qumran scrolls may not have had to pay the associated fees charged by professional craftspeople and scribes, who did their work to make a living.

With this general context in mind, in what follows I provide a synthetic overview of the physical and scribal features of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves, building on the individual scroll profiles. Along the way, I will discuss aspects of the manuscript production process, and for this reason the chapter is laid out in sections that follow this process step-by-step. I will begin with the materials used to create the blank sheets of skin or papyrus and

9 On the potential differences between reading communities and reading events, see Johnson, “Reading.”

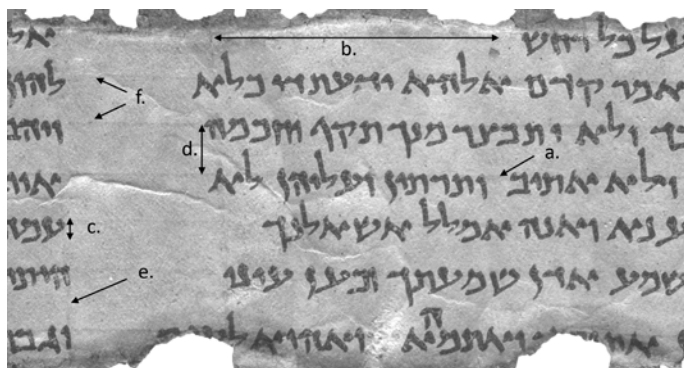


Image B-285222

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
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FIGURE 2

Parts of the column (11Q10 [Job] cols. 37–38)

- a. Space between words (kerning)
- b. Vacat
- c. Letter height
- d. Space between lines (leading)
- e. Vertical column guideline
- f. Horizontal script guidelines

end with the writing, correction, and repair of the scrolls included in the profiles. The two central goals of this chapter are: 1.) to provide an overall sense of the physical and scribal features of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, and 2.) to facilitate comparison with other ancient manuscripts, most immediately with the other scrolls from the Qumran caves, but also with corpora farther afield, such as those from Samaria, Elephantine, and Oxyrhynchus.¹⁰

Both the scroll profiles and the following discussion in this chapter rely on an array of terms for the physical features of a scroll and its columns. I therefore provide above two illustrations detailing these features and terms, one for the scroll as a whole and the other for its columns.¹¹

2 Manuscript Features

2.1 Materials

Tov described the manufacturing and copying processes of the Qumran scrolls in general (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek), which may be viewed against the wider backdrop of scroll production in the Mediterranean Basin during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹² An initial decision was that of the material to be used for a scroll, although in some (perhaps most) cases this choice was likely dictated by geographic location and the availability of resources. The two materials used for the scrolls included in the profiles are animal skin and papyrus.

2.1.1 Skin

Nearly all of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls are written on skin prepared from domesticated quadrupeds commonly found in Second Temple period Palestine.¹³ Judging by the pioneering DNA-based study of Anava et al., it seems that the majority of scrolls in the environs of Qumran were made from the hides of sheep (*Ovis aries*), though two of the scrolls they tested were made of cow (*Bos taurus*) hide.¹⁴ This study confirms the earlier observations of Poole and Reed, that the Qumran scrolls derived primarily from sheep and/or goats, and more rarely from cows or other quadrupeds.¹⁵ The use of skin, as opposed to papyrus, for creating most of the scrolls kept at or near Qumran is best understood against the broader cultural backdrop of skin manuscript usage by government-affiliated Persian and eastern Hellenistic scribal chanceries. From a technological perspective, letters and documents such as those found in the Arshama archive from the late fifth century BCE, first published by Driver, and the very similar fourth-century Bactrian archive published by Naveh and Shaked,

¹⁰ On the Oxyrhynchus papyrus bookrolls, see the excellent study of Johnson, *Bookrolls*, whose work influenced considerably my own approach in this chapter.

¹¹ Unless otherwise noted, none of the scroll images used in this chapter are to actual scale. They are for the purposes of illustrating manuscript features and scribal practices only.

¹² Tov, *Scribal Practices*. Cf. Johnson, *Bookrolls*.

¹³ I use the term “(prepared) skin” here in an effort to avoid the confusion in terminology often found in the literature, at the risk of sacrificing elegance for utility. One finds the terms leather, parchment, or vellum used of the scrolls by various scholars, though each of these terms can, in some contexts, imply specific methods of preparation that do not clearly apply to the Qumran scrolls. For further discussion and bibliography see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 34–35, who prefers the term “leather.”

¹⁴ Anava et al., “Genetic,” 1220. None of the scrolls tested belong to the Aramaic manuscripts studied here. It should be added that Woodward et al., “Parchment,” 228, found that 11Q19 (Temple Scroll^a) is made from goat and ibex skins. See also Parry et al., “Advances,” 505–6.

¹⁵ Poole and Reed, “Preparation,” 17.



FIGURE 3 Skin fragment (3Q14 frag. 4 [Tob?])



FIGURE 4 Papyrus fragment (6Q23 [pap-
Words of Michael] frag. 1)
Image B-280160
COURTESY OF THE LEON
LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL
ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

reflect a manufacturing and scribal process strikingly similar to those found in our corpus.¹⁶

Once the hide had been removed from the animal, a standard process of several basic steps was followed in order to prepare it for cutting, the laying out of columns, and writing.¹⁷ The first step was to dehair (or depilate) the unsplit hide, which was typically done by soaking it in water with natural, enzyme-inducing agents that helped to loosen the hair from the skin.¹⁸ Salt, flour, other

vegetable-based materials, urine, and dung were commonly used for this purpose, with the lime mixtures so common in later dehairing processes not yet in use for our manuscripts.¹⁹ This process also played a role in cleaning the hide and loosening its fiber structure for easier manipulation. The hair was removed by scraping once it had been soaked and loosened, after which the dehaired skin would be stretched, dried, and worked with a rock or other implements.²⁰ The final stage of preparation was to dress both sides of the skin superficially (not by soaking or penetration) with a gallic acid tanning solution, which facilitated the permanence of ink when applied, served

16 Driver, *Documents*; Naveh and Shaked, *Bactria*. The major innovation represented in the Qumran scrolls is the stitching together of multiple skin sheets to form a longer scroll, an innovation possibly adapted from longstanding papyrus bookroll technologies.

17 The process is helpfully described and explored by Poole and Reed, "Preparation." See also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 33–35; Reed, "Tannery"; and Bond, *Trade*, 112–14, who cites a number of the ancient sources on the process.

18 As observed already by Sukenik (*Scrolls*, 25), and later confirmed by Poole and Reed ("Preparation"), the Qumran scrolls were

almost always written on unsplit skin of the *G^{vil}* type, though Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 35) noted the important exception of 11Q19 (Temple Scroll^a). This copy of the Temple Scroll is physically unique among the Qumran scrolls corpus, on which see now Schuetz et al., "Temple Scroll."

19 Poole and Reed, "Preparation," 12.

20 See the description of Bar-Ilan, "Writing," 996.

TABLE 1 Skin and papyrus manuscripts arranged by palaeographic date (youngest to oldest)

Skin manuscripts:			Skin manuscripts (<i>cont.</i>):		
Number	Title	Palaeo. date	Number	Title	Palaeo. date
11Q10	Job	25–70 CE	4Q198	Tob ^c	75–25 BCE
4Q113	Dan ^b	20–50 CE	4Q210	Enastr ^c	75–25 BCE
6Q14	Apocalypse	1–70 CE	4Q529	Words of Michael	75–25 BCE
1Q71	Dan ^a	1–50 CE	4Q551	Narrative	75–25 BCE
4Q157	Job	1–50 CE ⁱ	4Q553a	Four Kingdoms ^c	75–25 BCE
2Q24	NJ	1–25 CE	4Q554	NJ ^a	75–25 BCE
4Q243	psDan ^a	1–25 CE	4Q213a	Levi ^b	75–50 BCE
4Q244	psDan ^b	1–25 CE	4Q213b	Levi ^c	75–50 BCE
4Q245	psDan ^c	1–25 CE	4Q214	Levi ^d	75–50 BCE
4Q197	Tob ^b	25 BCE–25 CE	4Q242	PrNab	75–50 BCE ⁱⁱ
4Q209	Enastr ^b	25 BCE–25 CE	1Q21	Levi	100–1 BCE
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	25 BCE–25 CE	1Q72	Dan ^b	100–25 BCE ⁱⁱⁱ
11Q18	NJ	25 BCE–25 CE	4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	100–50 BCE
4Q115	Dan ^d	25–1 BCE	4Q206/a	En ^e /EnGiants ^f	100–50 BCE ^{iv}
4Q556a	Prophecy ^b	25–1 BCE	4Q530	EnGiants ^b	100–50 BCE ^v
1Q24	EnGiants ^{b?}	33–1 BCE	4Q532	EnGiants ^d	100–50 BCE
2Q26	EnGiants	33–1 BCE	4Q533	EnGiants ^e	100–50 BCE
4Q203	EnGiants ^a	33–1 BCE	4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c	100–50 BCE
4Q204	En ^c	33–1 BCE	4Q553	Four Kingdoms ^b	100–50 BCE
4Q205	En ^d	33–1 BCE	4Q554a	NJ ^b	100–50 BCE
4Q246	apocrDan	33–1 BCE ^{vi}	4Q560	Magical Booklet	100–50 BCE
4Q534	Birth of Noah ^a	33–1 BCE	4Q561	Physiognomy/Horoscope	100–50 BCE ^{vii}
4Q535	Birth of Noah ^b	33–1 BCE	4Q539	TJoseph	100–50 BCE
4Q549	Visions of Amram ^{g?}	33–1 BCE	1Q23	EnGiants ^a	125–25 BCE
4Q555	NJ ^c	33–1 BCE	5Q15	NJ	125–50 BCE
4Q556	Prophecy ^a	33–1 BCE	4Q199	Tob ^d	125–75 BCE
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE ^{viii*}	4Q540	apocrLevi ^{a?}	125–100 BCE
3Q14, 4	Tob [?]	50–1 BCE	4Q541	apocrLevi ^{b?}	125–100 BCE
4Q211	Enastr ^d	50–1 BCE	4Q542	TQahat	125–100 BCE [*]
4Q212	En ^g	50–1 BCE ^{ix}	4Q569	Proverbs	133–100 BCE
4Q536	Birth of Noah ^c	50–1 BCE	4Q214b	Levi ^f	150–100 BCE ^x
4Q538	TJud/WordsBenjamin	50–1 BCE	4Q543	Visions of Amram ^a	150–100 BCE
4Q548	Visions of Amram ^f	50–1 BCE	4Q544	Visions of Amram ^b	150–100 BCE
4Q537	TJacob [?]	50–1 BCE	4Q547	Visions of Amram ^e	150–100 BCE
4Q213	Levi ^a	50–25 BCE [*]	4Q557	Vision ^a	150–100 BCE
4Q214a	Levi ^e	50–25 BCE ^{xi}	4Q571	Words of Michael ^a	150–100 BCE
4Q552	Four Kingdoms ^a	50–25 BCE	4Q207	En ^f	150–125 BCE
4Q531	EnGiants ^c	67–33 BCE	4Q156	Lev [?]	200–100 BCE
4Q546	Visions of Amram ^d	67–33 BCE	4Q201	En ^a	200–150 BCE ^{xii}
4Q112	Dan ^a	75–25 BCE	4Q202	En ^b	200–150 BCE ^{xiii}
4Q117	Ezra	75–25 BCE	4Q208	Enastr ^a	225–175 BCE [*]

* Manuscript also carbon-dated (see Table 2)

i Alternate date: 25–50 CE.

ii See profile for alternate date: ca. 50 BCE.

iii Alternate dates: 50–1 BCE; 37 BCE–70 CE.

iv Alternate date: 75–25 BCE.

v Alternate date: 75–25 BCE.

vi Alternate date: ca. 25 BCE.

vii Alternate date: 50–25 BCE.

viii Alternate date: 25 BCE–25 CE.

ix Alternate date: 75–25 BCE.

x Alternate date: 150–125 BCE.

xi Alternate date: 150–125 BCE.

xii Alternate date: 225–175 BCE.

xiii Alternate date: 175–100 BCE.

Papyrus manuscripts:

Number	Title	Palaeo. date
6Q8	papEnGiants	50–1 BCE ^{xiv}
4Q196	papTob ^a	75–25 BCE
4Q558	papVision ^b	75–25 BCE
6Q23	papWords of Michael	100–1 BCE
4Q559	papBibChronology	100–50 BCE ^{xv}

xiv Alternate date: 25–70 CE.

xv Alternate date: 50 BCE–70 CE.

TABLE 2 Carbon-dated manuscriptsⁱ

Number	Name	Palaeographic date	Carbon date
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE	73 BCE–14 CE
4Q208	Enastr ^a	225–175 BCE	166–102 BCE
4Q213	Levi ^a	50–25 BCE	191–155 BCE (59%)/ 146–120 BCE (41%)
4Q542	TQahat	125–100 BCE	388–353 BCE (34%)/309–235 BCE (66%)

i See Van der Schoor, “Radiocarbon,” for an up-to-date bibliography and discussion of the dates used here.

as a final means of cleaning, and generally made the surface of the skin more attractive and finished-looking. Investigation has shown that, for the Qumran scrolls, a dressing made from gallic vegetable tannins such as the gall apples of acacia trees was the norm.²¹ Beginning with Roland de Vaux, some have found evidence of an industrial tanning center at ‘Ein Feshkha, potentially related to the settlement at Qumran and thereby with the Dead Sea Scrolls, though this use of the site is still debated and deserving of further study.²²

When the skin was fully dehaired, stretched, dried, smoothed, tanned, and cured, it was ready for “sheets”

21 Again, 11Q19 (Temple Scroll^a) is an exception, on which see Schuetz et al., “Temple Scroll.”

22 Reed, “Tannery”; Magness, *Archaeology*, 215–16.

to be cut from it for making scrolls. The large majority of these sheets were rectangular in shape, with the sheet size(s) being determined by the type and size of animal. Judging by the construction of Qumran scrolls with multiple sheets, and the regular differences in size from scroll to scroll, it is reasonable to conclude that sheets were often cut with a desired literary work or type of scroll in mind. Letter-based numbering is present at the top, righthand corner of each sheet of 1Q20 (apGen), and perhaps also on the single fragment of 4Q529 (Words of Michael), both written in a hand different than the main text. These letters suggest that the sheets were planned and prepared with the idea of a definite sheet sequence. At the same time, the letters used for the sheets in this scroll represent high numbers, making it very unlikely that the scroll started with the letter *aleph*. Considering these factors together, we may posit a scenario in which a large batch of numbered sheets (at least 20) were manufactured for future use, from which a scribe could then draw as needed for a specific literary work.

For scrolls that were large in height, such as 1Q20 (apGen) and 4Q202 (En^b), it seems probable that a small quadruped like a sheep or goat would have provided a single sheet, while the same hide might have supplied two or more sheets for scrolls of a smaller scale, such as 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b). While rectangular sheets intended for a scroll were the norm, exceptions do occur. In such cases, irregularly shaped pieces of skin that were left over after the rectangular sheets had been cut from the hide may have been put to use. A probable example of this among the Aramaic manuscripts is 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), which was written on a relatively small “card” of skin that was folded rather than rolled. It has also been suggested that 4Q242 (PrNab) may have been written on a single, small piece of skin.²³ Comparable examples among the Hebrew manuscripts include 4Q340 (Netinim), 4Q341 (Exercitium Calimi C), and 4Q175 (Testimonia). We might also consider the nearly square sheet used for 1QIsa^a cols. 26–27. It is notable that many of these small, irregularly-sized manuscripts are apparently scribal exercises, scholarly resource texts, or copies evidently intended for personal study or travel.

The last stage of the scroll construction process was to sew the individual sheets together, which was generally done with vegetable-based threads made of flax or similar

23 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 36.

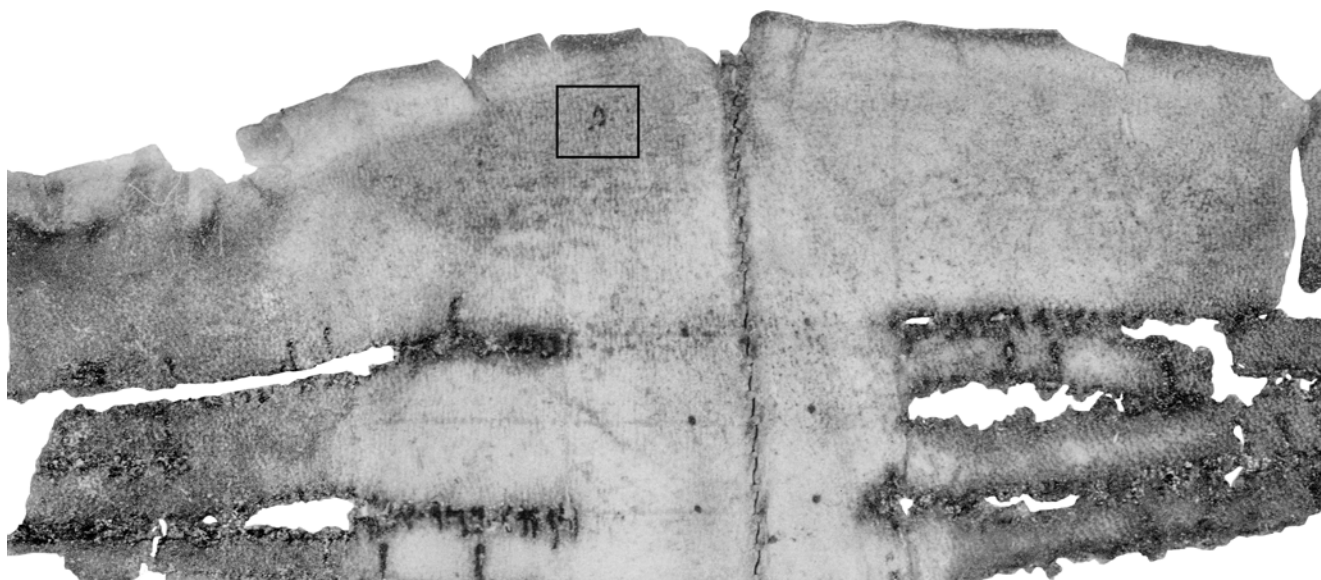


FIGURE 5 Sheet number 5 (1Q20 [apGen] col. 5; marked by box)

materials. It is often assumed that this sewing was done after the scribe had laid out the columns and written the text, on which see below.²⁴ This order of events – laying out the columns, writing the text, and only then sewing the sheets together – might be implied, for instance, by the sheet numbers on 1Q20 (apGen), providing easy reference to the order in which the sheets should be sewn together. However, it is clear that some scribes wrote their text after the sheets had been sewn into a larger scroll, as in the case of 4Q213 (Levi^a; see image below), on which the writing crosses over the sewn seam joining two sheets.

The relative quality of the finished skins used for the Qumran manuscripts clearly varied, though this factor is impossible to assess accurately unless a scroll is examined in person (which was not possible for this study). The severely degraded state of most skins also inhibits a true appreciation of their original quality.

2.1.2 Papyrus

It is often claimed that papyrus had to be imported to Greco-Roman Palestine from Egypt.²⁵ While this certainly could have been the case, there is good evidence that the papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus*) grew at multiple swampy locations in Palestine during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, into the early 20th century. This was most certainly the case in the Hula Valley and Lake Agmon, in the Galilee region, but also in the Sharon Plain

and elsewhere.²⁶ An overlooked detail that bears on this question is Josephus's mention of Aristobulus's successful battle against the Nabateans at a location named Papyron (Παπυρώνα).²⁷ The name of the site is clearly connected with the papyrus plant, and based on Josephus's description most commentators have understood it to be located in the Jordan Valley, near Jericho.²⁸ This suggests that papyrus grew in the general vicinity of Qumran during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and that texts like the Samaria papyri published by Cross, the Ketef Jericho papyrus published by Eshel and Misgav, and the many other Judean Desert letters and legal documents (e.g., from Nahal Hever) could have been written on locally harvested and manufactured papyrus. It is reasonable to argue that such local papyrus was readily available, and in the absence of contrary evidence there is no compelling reason to assume that it was imported from more distant locations like Egypt.

The pith of the plant's harvested stalk was split into thin strips, which were made into individual sheets (κολλήματα) by placing the strips side by side in two layers, first in one direction and then in the other. The sheets

²⁴ See, e.g., Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 37.

²⁵ E.g., White Crawford, *Scribes*, 156.

²⁶ Bein and Horowitz, "Papyrus"; Zohary, *Plant Life*; Zohary, *Plants*, 137. See also the comments of Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 13.73, who notes that *Cyperus papyrus* grew as far north as Syria.

²⁷ Josephus, *War* 1.130; Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.33.

²⁸ Kraeling ("Place Names," 201, n. 14) states with reference to Jericho that "the papyrus plant, from which the name is derived, is found there, of course, but it is also found in many other places."



FIGURE 6 Sewing between sheets, with writing across the seam (4Q213 [Levi^a] frag. 1)

were then pounded or pressed, dried, and cut to size.²⁹ The ideal length of a sheet was around 20–24 cm for high quality papyrus of the type often used for literary texts, with sheet (and, therefore, scroll) heights being more subject to variation, but normally falling between 20 and 35 cm. Individual sheets were then glued together by a 1–2

cm overlapping area at the ends of two sheets (κολλησεις). Pliny reported that Roman-period bookrolls typically did not exceed twenty sheets in length (*Natural History* 13.77). Scribes could then cut a manuscript to the length needed from the roll and would write their text laid out in separate columns, which normally were noticeably narrower in width than they were in height.³⁰ The recto surface of

29 The classical description of the process is the much-discussed account of Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 13.74–83. For discussion and bibliography, see Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 85–91, 141–43.

30 For a helpful, comparative overview of the evidence at Oxyrhynchus, see Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 100–41. Johnson (128)



FIGURE 7 Manuscript repair by stitching (4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e] frag. 5)

the papyrus scroll, on which scribes typically wrote, was that on which the papyrus strips ran horizontally, while on the verso (i.e., the outside of the scroll) the strips ran vertically. In the environment of the Qumran caves, papyrus degraded more quickly and extensively than did scrolls made from skin.³¹

Of the eighty-nine literary scrolls considered in the profiles, only five (6%) of them are made of papyrus.³² They are:

1. 6Q8 (papGiants)
2. 6Q23 (papWords of Michael)
3. 4Q196 (papTob^a)
4. 4Q558 (papVision^b)
5. 4Q559 (papBiblical Chronology)

observed a tendency for earlier, Ptolemaic-period bookrolls to have wider columns relative to their height than later, Roman-period ones.

³¹ See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 44.

³² 6Q7 (papDaniel), a papyrus copy of at least part of Daniel, might be considered as part of this discussion, since it is plausible that the scroll once contained the Aramaic portions of the book in addition to the currently extant Hebrew portions of Dan 8, 10, and 11.

Tov observed that approximately 13% of the literary scrolls from Qumran were written on papyrus, meaning that the percentage of Aramaic scrolls written on papyrus is significantly lower than is the norm for the Qumran corpus (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek) more generally.³³ It is striking that two of our Aramaic manuscripts came from Cave 6, a cave that produced relatively few scrolls, but had an unusually high proportion of texts written on papyrus.³⁴ Three of the Aramaic papyrus scrolls are copies of texts also found on skin scrolls: the Book of Giants, the Words of Michael, and Tobit. The two remaining texts, not identified in any other copies, are generically akin to other texts written on skin scrolls. Consequently, it would seem that a text's genre was not a determinative factor in choosing the material on which it was written. It is generally believed that papyrus was considered a cheaper, less durable material for manuscripts than skin in antiquity, a view already implied in Pliny's hyperbolic account of Eumenes's invention of prepared skins (*membrana, περιγραμνή*) to compete with papyrus.³⁵ This situation led Wise to argue that papyrus was one indicator of what he called "personal copies" of relatively low quality.³⁶ While these observations about relative quality are difficult to prove with certainty, they do accord well with the available evidence and can be accepted as highly probable.

In comparison with the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran on skin, the papyrus scrolls tend to be generous in terms of their margin sizes, line spacing, and letter size, which may reflect less concern with economy than for skin scrolls, due to the lower expense and prestige of papyrus. For the skin scrolls, there is a general (though not absolute) correlation between the quality and size of a scroll and the formality of its script and other scribal features; smaller scrolls – often written on lower quality skin – are more likely to have relatively informal, erratic scripts, with higher admixtures of rounded cursive elements. All of the papyrus manuscripts are marked by erratic letter size and formation, and by informal, cursive script features.

33 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 44–45. Precisely the opposite obtains for Greek texts, which are overwhelmingly written on papyrus scrolls.

34 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 47.

35 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 13.69–70. See also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 32–33; Wise, *Thunder*, 127–28. On the "cheapness" of papyrus for book-production in antiquity, see especially Skeat, "Papyrus." The same view seems to be reflected at two places in the New Testament: In the Apostle Paul's request near the end of 2 Timothy, that Timothy take to him "the books, and above all the parchments" (τα βιβλία μαλιστα τας μεμβρανας; 2 Tim 4:13), and in Luke's comment on the spectacular value of the scrolls (τας βιβλους) burned at Ephesus, in Acts 19:19.

36 Wise, *Thunder*, 127–34.

4Q559 (papBibChronology), 6Q8 (papGiants), and 6Q23 (papWords of Michael) are among the most erratic, semi-cursive scripts of the entire Qumran Aramaic literary corpus, with the scribes of both 6Q8 (papGiants) and 6Q23 (papWords of Michael) using highly idiosyncratic writing features (the use of a cursive final *aleph* and a cursive *mem*, respectively). The scripts of 4Q196 (papTob^a) and 4Q558 (papVision^b) are noticeably more squared, upright, and formal than those of the three other scrolls, but even these two (or possibly three) scribes mixed rounded, cursive features into their writing in a way not typical for skin scrolls of very good or excellent quality. It also seems that vacats were used less frequently in Qumran papyrus scrolls than in those written on skin, though the fragmentary state of the evidence leaves some question on this point. The only column of a papyrus scroll for which we have a good sense of its overall size is that preserved on 4Q196 (papTob^a) 2, which appears to be approximately 17.5 cm in height and 16 cm in width. The height of this column is around the average for those preserved on skin scrolls, but its width is the greatest of any of the Qumran Aramaic scrolls, again suggesting a somewhat different scribal approach for papyrus scrolls than for skin. The overall picture gained from the above assessment is unlikely to change appreciably were we to add other papyrus scrolls of possible relevance, such as 6Q7 (papDaniel), Puech's 4Q558a (papUnidentified), or the other fragmentary papyrus manuscripts listed in Chapter 1.

These indicators that the Aramaic papyrus scrolls kept at Qumran were generally made to lower quality standards than skin scrolls from the same corpus is corroborated by a comparison with the classical standards of Hellenistic- and Roman-period literary bookrolls, described in great detail by Johnson.³⁷ While some features of the Qumran scrolls occasionally meet the benchmarks of professionally-written literary bookrolls from places like Oxyrhynchus (e.g., letter height and line spacing), it is readily apparent that the spacing and scripts of the Qumran scrolls are significantly more erratic than roughly contemporary Greek literary bookrolls from Egypt. From the little evidence available, it seems that the Qumran scrolls also tended to be smaller in height and had different column ratios (much wider columns relative to height) than the hundreds of bookrolls studied by Johnson. Of course, it should be borne in mind that the two literary corpora were produced in different geographic and social milieux, although there is reason to believe that the professional guild standards clearly in effect at Oxyrhynchus were known and used widely throughout the Greek and Roman

37 Johnson, *Bookrolls*.

empires. It seems plausible, therefore, to assume that they were also known to Jewish scribes in Greco-Roman Palestine, an assumption supported by the multiple parallels adduced by Tov between the Qumran scrolls and wider Greco-Roman scribal practices.³⁸ At the very least we can say that, if the artisans and scribes responsible for creating the Qumran Aramaic papyrus scrolls knew of the professional guild standards evident in literary bookrolls like those at Oxyrhynchus, they did not adhere closely to those standards. If we were to look at Qumran for scrolls that did follow the high professional standards of Hellenistic and Roman period literary bookroll production, we would find them in the “Very good” and, especially, “Excellent” quality categories used in the profiles. At Qumran, all such Aramaic scrolls were written on skin, with representative examples being 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q203 (EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), 4Q205 (En^d), 4Q209 (Enastr^b), 4Q554a (NJ^b), and 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b).³⁹ This correspondence strengthens the notion that, in Greco-Roman Palestine, esteemed literary texts were very often written on skin scrolls because of the material’s implied high quality, prestige, and perhaps durability compared with papyrus. Cheaper, less durable papyrus, by contrast, was reserved almost exclusively for: a.) mundane legal, business, and personal documents such as deeds, loans, letters, inventories, and lists; and b.) lower-quality copies of the same types of literary texts also copied on skin. However, it is important to note that a low-quality copy might also have been written on skin of sub-par quality or irregular size, as in the case of 4Q201 (En^a), 4Q212 (En^g), 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), and 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e). The situation was very different in Egypt, where papyrus was used for the full spectrum of textual needs, with a bookroll’s contents and intended use bearing on a manuscript’s quality, size, format, and scribal execution.

Pulling together the threads of the preceding discussion, it is evident that papyrus was chosen for scrolls of low to moderate quality. What such lower quality may tell us about the intended uses of these scrolls is a matter of educated speculation, and our answers will depend, to a considerable extent, on the social scenarios that we reconstruct for those who wrote and used them. The fact that four of the five scrolls treated here contain scribal corrections suggests that they were compared to other copies and were considered valuable enough to update

and correct. Wise argued that such low quality manuscripts were “personal” or “private” copies as opposed to scrolls that circulated in the “book trade,” though Johnson has challenged and complicated this binary in important ways.⁴⁰ If we imagine the scrolls from the Qumran caves being written for an ethno-religious group like the one that lived at Qumran – or even a wider spectrum of interested Jews living in Jerusalem or elsewhere – then lower quality manuscripts like those written on papyrus (or a low-quality skin scroll like 4Q542 [TQahat]/4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e]) could be explained from the viewpoints of production, intended use, or perhaps a combination of both factors. On the production side, these scrolls might be the work of scribes in training or otherwise possessing less scribal skill, writing low-quality “practice texts” that might still be kept as serviceable copies. Papyrus may also have been used for texts still in the process of composition, resulting in something like a “draft copy” or a “working copy.”⁴¹ Depending on the social situation, there may simply have been a need for lower cost or investment of labor. In terms of intended use, there are several reasons why lower-quality, more expendable copies of some texts would have been desirable. These reasons may have included personal use or use among a small group not requiring an expensive, high-quality copy, portability with less concern about damage, and wider distribution facilitated by lower expense and investment of labor. In the end, all we can say with confidence is that the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran were produced along a spectrum of quality indicators, and that the papyrus copies fell towards the lower-quality end of this spectrum. The reasons for such lower-quality copies may have included concerns over expense, availability of materials, considerations of literary content, degree of scribal training, and intended use (e.g., personal study, portability, or further textual or compositional work).

2.2 *Scroll Dimensions*

The largest possible dimensions of skin scrolls were limited by the size of the animal used and conventions of usability.⁴² As discussed above, the sizes of papyrus scrolls

38 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 273–74.

39 Even closer in style to the bookrolls studied by Johnson are the Twelve Minor Prophets scrolls on skin, in Greek from Nahal Hever (8Hev1) and in Hebrew from Wadi Murabba’at (Mur88), a topic that merits further exploration.

40 Wise, *Thunder*, 127–28; Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 157–60.

41 This might help to explain why there are so few papyrus copies of “biblical” books at Qumran, as noted by Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 47). Such books would have been among the most settled in terms of their textual state and authoritative status by the period during which the Qumran scrolls were written, while more recently composed texts were more open to revisions of various kinds.

42 For a recent reflection in the limits of usability for a scroll, and the typical outer dimensions of scrolls in antiquity (though not

TABLE 3 Manuscripts with height and length substantially preserved

Number	Title	Palaeo. date	Quality	h. (cm)	w. (cm)
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE	Excellent	31	≥238
4Q112	Dan ^a	75–25 BCE	Very good	14.8	~300
4Q113	Dan ^b	20–50 CE	Good–very good	21	~400–450
4Q115	Dan ^d	25–1 BCE	Good–very good	~19	~300
4Q204	En ^c	33–1 BCE	Very good–excellent	~24	≥175
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	25 BCE–25 CE	Good	8	≥103.5
4Q339	List of False Prophets	100–50 BCE	Poor–fair	8.5	7
11Q10	Job	25–70 CE	Very good–excellent	14	700

TABLE 4 Manuscripts with only height substantially preserved

Number	Title	Palaeo. date	Quality	h. (cm)
1Q71	Dan ^a	1–50 CE	Very good–excellent	~19
4Q196	papTob ^a	75–25 BCE	Good	≥17.5
4Q201	En ^a	200–150 BCE	Fair	~23
4Q202	En ^b	200–150 BCE	Good–very good	~30
4Q246	apocrDan	33–1 BCE	Very good	8.8
4Q535	Birth of Noah ^b	33–1 BCE	Good	6.4
4Q542	TQahat	125–100 BCE	Fair	9–9.5
4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c	100–50 BCE	Good–very good	≥15.8
4Q547	Visions of Amram ^e	150–100 BCE	Fair	≥7.8
4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	100–50 BCE	Good	~6–6.5
4Q569	Proverbs	133–100 BCE	Fair–good	~7.2

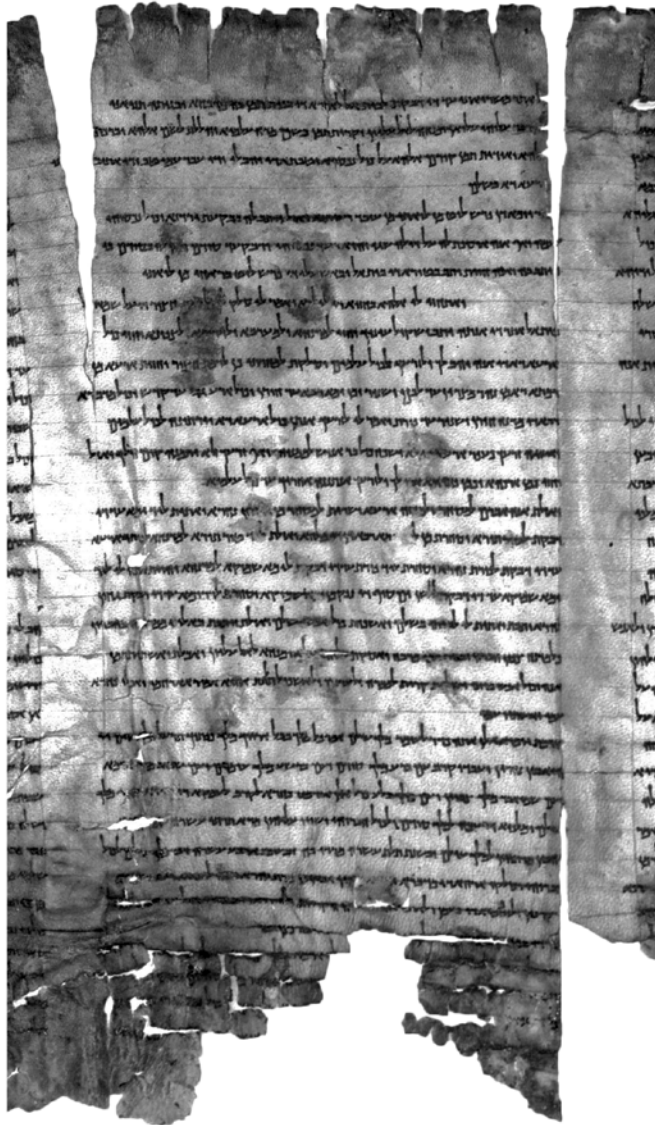
do not differ substantially from those made of skin, suggesting that manuscripts of both materials adhered to a widespread cultural aesthetic for literary texts. The charts above aim to give a snapshot of the known dimensions of the scrolls included in the profiles.

Based on the information above, we can observe that the height of scrolls in our corpus range between approximately 7 cm at the small end of the spectrum and 30 cm at the large end, with a mean height of almost 16 cm and a median height of 14.4 cm. There is no clearly observable correlation between the period of production and manuscript height, nor does there seem to be a sustained connection between height and the quality of scribal execution. Scrolls that are of very high scribal quality are both 14 cm (11Q10 [Job]; very good–excellent) and 31 cm tall (1Q20 [apGen]; excellent), the former being a century or less younger than the latter. At the same time,

scrolls that are relatively small in height include those with both fair (4Q569 [Proverbs]) and very good (4Q246 [apocrDan]) levels of production and scribal execution. It is possible – even reasonable – that the length of a literary work impacted the size of the scroll on which it was planned to be written, though it is now impossible to assess such a correspondence in the large majority of cases. Still, it should be noted that two manuscripts of the Visions of Amram (4Q545 and 4Q547) written in the same century vary quite significantly in height and scribal execution, while a fairly long and expertly written scroll like 11Q10 (Job) is of only medium height (14 cm). Although the sample size is very small, it appears that there was a well-established range of potential sizes for scrolls containing a literary work (ca. 7–30 cm in height), but that within that range individual scribes – no doubt working at different times and in diverse locations – had considerable freedom as to the size of scroll they produced.

Unfortunately, there is little reliable evidence regarding the widths (i.e., lengths) of the scrolls comprising our

addressing directly the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran), see Carr, “Materiality,” 599–604.



1Q20 (apGen) col. 21 (30 cm)



4Q246 (apocrDan) (8.8 cm)

FIGURE 8 Examples of large and small scroll heights (to approximate relative scale)

corpus. It can be estimated that 11Q10 (Job) was approximately 7 m long, and 4Q112 (Dan^a) around 3 m. 1Q20 (apGen) must have been at least 3 m long, and was very likely much longer than that. By contrast, it is difficult to imagine a manuscript less wide than 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), at a mere 7 cm or so. Based on the data of the entire Qumran corpus, including the Hebrew texts, it seems that the outside limit of width for most scrolls was in the vicinity of 8–10 m, though most scrolls were considerably narrower than this, in the 2–6 m range.⁴³

43 See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 76–77; Carr, “Materiality,” 602–4. 1Q15a^a is 7.34 m long, and 11QT^a (11Q19) 8.75 m long. Tov (76) lists three possible extremely long exceptions: 4QRP^{a–e} (22.5–27.5 m), 4QJer^c (16.3–17.6 m), and 1Q20 (apGen) (more than 11.83 m),

2.3 *Laying Out the Scroll: Ruling, Columns, Margins, and Spacing*

Once the sheets of skin had been prepared and cut, a scribe very often added dry-ruled guidelines to facilitate

though the lengths of 4QRP^{a–e} and 1Q20 (apGen) especially are open to question based on the required, extensive reconstruction. As I have argued in the profile of 1Q20 (apGen), it is doubtful that the Morgenstern’s proposed reconstruction of that scroll (in “New Clue”), espoused by Tov, is correct. The discussion of Johnson (*Bookrolls*, 143–52) is of some pertinence to our discussion, though it must be remembered that he is speaking of papyrus scrolls, a thinner substance than prepared skin. Consequently, the diameter of rolled scrolls that he discussed (150) would have to be increased if applied to the skin scrolls from Qumran.

the subsequent stage of writing, using a sharp instrument (perhaps made of bone, as Tov suggests) and a straight edge to score the skin and leave permanent, slightly-darkened lines on its surface. This was consistently done on the wool or hair side of the skin (the recto), since it received the ink better than the flesh (verso) side.⁴⁴ In at least the case of 4Q115 (Dan^d), it has been suggested that “very diluted ink” was used to make some of the guidelines.⁴⁵ A sheet that was fully ruled had vertical guidelines demarcating both the right and the left sides of its columns, and evenly-spaced horizontal lines to guide writing stretching the length of the sheet (i.e., covering multiple columns), similar to a modern piece of lined paper. Rarely, as in the cases of 1Q72 (Dan^b) and 4Q115 (Dan^d), two vertical guidelines were used on the right side of a column, a practice that, within the broader Qumran corpus, most often occurs at the right edge of a sheet.⁴⁶ Guide dots were sometimes placed at the right and left edges of a sheet to indicate where the straightedge was to be placed for marking the horizontal script guidelines.⁴⁷ While the majority of our skin scrolls were fully ruled, on occasion we find one that was only partially ruled, or has no dry-ruling at all.⁴⁸ At other times, it is very difficult to tell whether or not a sheet was dry-ruled due to the poor state of its preservation and, in some cases, very lightly-ruled lines. Sheets or scrolls of papyrus were not in need of ruling and layout marks in the way that skin ones were, since the horizontal grain of the papyrus strips were almost always on the recto (writing side) of the sheet, and so provided a natural means to regulate script consistency and spacing. The following tables and figures summarize the data on use of scribal guidelines and guide dots.

44 This can be seen by the fact that that 11Q19 (Temple Scroll^a), which was unusually written on the flesh side of the skin, was subject to special surface preparations. See Schuetz et al., “Temple Scroll.”

45 Pfann, “Preliminary Edition,” 39. In my opinion, Pfann’s conclusion deserves further scrutiny. It appears to be possibly correct for the horizontal text guidelines, but not the vertical ones.

46 See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 59–60.

47 For an extensive discussion of the Qumran evidence more broadly, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 62–68.

48 Some of the more certain examples of partially-ruled or unruled skin scrolls are 4Q198 (Tob^c), 4Q201 (En^a), 4Q212 (En^g), 4Q213–213b (Levi^{a-c}), 4Q214 (Levi^d), 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), 4Q540 (apocrLevi^{a?}), 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}), 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e)/4Q542 (TQahat), and 4Q557 (Vision^a).

TABLE 5 Vertical ruling on both sides of columns

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE
2Q24	NJ	1–25 CE
4Q157	Job	1–50 CE
4Q197	Tob ^b	25 BCE–25 CE
4Q201	En ^a	200–150 BCE
4Q202	En ^b	200–150 BCE
4Q203	EnGiants ^a	33–1 BCE
4Q204	En ^c	33–1 BCE
4Q209	Enastr ^b	25 BCE–25 CE
4Q243	psDan ^a	1–25 CE
4Q245	psDan ^c	1–25 CE
4Q246	apocrDan	33–1 BCE
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	25 BCE–25 CE
4Q534	Birth of Noah ^a	33–1 BCE
4Q536	Birth of Noah ^c	50–1 BCE
4Q552	Four Kingdoms ^a	75–25 BCE
4Q554a	NJ ^b	100–50 BCE
11Q10	Job	25–70 CE

TABLE 6 Vertical ruling on right side of column only where left margin is extant

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date
4Q112	Dan ^a	75–25 BCE
4Q113	Dan ^b	20–50 CE
4Q206/a	En ^e /EnGiants ^f	100–50 BCE
4Q214a	Levi ^e	50–25 BCE
4Q537	TJacob?	50–1 BCE
4Q539	TJoseph	100–50 BCE
4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	100–50 BCE
4Q555	NJ ^c	33–1 BCE
4Q556a	Prophecy ^b	25–1 BCE
5Q15	NJ	125–50 BCE
11Q18	NJ	25 BCE–25 CE

TABLE 7 Vertical ruling on right side of column where left margin is not extant

MS number	Title	Palaeographic date
3Q14, 4	Tob?	50–1 BCE
4Q207	En ^f	150–125 BCE
4Q210	Enastr ^c	75–25 BCE
4Q244	psDan ^b	1–25 CE
4Q529	Words of Michael	75–25 BCE
4Q538	TJud/Words of Benjamin	50–1 BCE
4Q544	Visions of Amram ^b	150–100 BCE
4Q548	Visions of Amram ^f	50–1 BCE

TABLE 8 Ruled script lines

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date	Yes	Uncertain	No
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE	●		
1Q21	Levi	100–1 BCE	●		
1Q23	EnGiants ^a	125–25 BCE	●		
1Q24	EnGiants ^{b?}	33–1 BCE	●		
1Q32	NJ?	—	●		
1Q71	Dan ^a	1–50 CE	●		
1Q72	Dan ^b	100–25 BCE	●		
2Q24	NJ	1–25 CE	●		
2Q26	EnGiants	33–1 BCE	●		
3Q14, 4	Tob?	50–1 BCE	●		
4Q112	Dan ^a	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q113	Dan ^b	20–50 CE	●		
4Q115	Dan ^d	25–1 BCE	●		
4Q117	Ezra	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q156	Lev?	200–100 BCE		●	
4Q157	Job	1–50 CE	●		
4Q196	papTob ^a	75–25 BCE			●
4Q197	Tob ^b	25 BCE–25 CE	●		
4Q198	Tob ^c	75–25 BCE			●
4Q199	Tob ^d	125–75 BCE			●
4Q201	En ^a	200–150 BCE		●	
4Q202	En ^b	200–150 BCE	●		
4Q203	EnGiants ^a	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q204	En ^c	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q205	En ^d	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q206/a	En ^e /EnGiants ^f	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q207	En ^f	150–125 BCE	●		
4Q208	Enastr ^a	225–175 BCE			●
4Q209	Enastr ^b	25 BCE–25 CE	●		
4Q210	Enastr ^c	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q211	Enastr ^d	50–1 BCE	●		
4Q212	En ^g	50–1 BCE			●

TABLE 8 Ruled script lines (*cont.*)

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date	Yes	Uncertain	No
4Q213	Levi ^a	50–25 BCE		●	
4Q213a	Levi ^b	75–50 BCE		●	
4Q213b	Levi ^c	75–50 BCE		●	
4Q214	Levi ^d	75–50 BCE		●	
4Q214a	Levi ^e	50–25 BCE		●	
4Q214b	Levi ^f	150–30 BCE		●	
4Q242	PrNab	75–50 BCE		●	
4Q243	psDan ^a	1–25 CE	●		
4Q244	psDan ^b	1–25 CE	●		
4Q245	psDan ^c	1–25 CE	●		
4Q246	apocrDan	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	25 BCE–25 CE	●		
4Q339	List of False Prophets	100–50 BCE			●
4Q529	Words of Michael	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q530	EnGiants ^b	100–50 BCE			●
4Q531	EnGiants ^c	67–33 BCE	●		
4Q532	EnGiants ^d	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q533	EnGiants ^e	100–50 BCE		●	
4Q534	Birth of Noah ^a	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q535	Birth of Noah ^b	33–1 BCE		●	
4Q536	Birth of Noah ^c	50–1 BCE		●	
4Q537	TJacob?	50–1 BCE	●		
4Q538	TJud/Words of Benjamin	50–1 BCE	●		
4Q539	TJoseph	100–50 BCE		●	
4Q540	apocrLevi ^{a?}	125–100 BCE		●	
4Q541	apocrLevi ^{b?}	125–100 BCE		●	
4Q542	TQahat	125–100 BCE			●
4Q543	Visions of Amram ^a	150–100 BCE	●		
4Q544	Visions of Amram ^b	150–100 BCE	●		
4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q546	Visions of Amram ^d	67–33 BCE	●		
4Q547	Visions of Amram ^e	150–100 BCE	●		
4Q548	Visions of Amram ^f	50–1 BCE		●	
4Q549	Visions of Amram ^{g?}	33–1 BCE		●	
4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	100–50 BCE	●		

TABLE 8 Ruled script lines (*cont.*)

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date	Yes	Uncertain	No
4Q551	Narrative	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q552	Four Kingdoms ^a	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q553	Four Kingdoms ^b	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q553a	Four Kingdoms ^c	75–25 BCE	●		
4Q554	NJ ^a	75–25 BCE			●
4Q554a	NJ ^b	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q555	NJ ^c	33–1 BCE	●		
4Q556	Prophecy ^a	33–1 BCE		●	
4Q556a	Prophecy ^b	25–1 BCE	●		
4Q557	Vision ^a	150–100 BCE		●	
4Q558	papVision ^b	75–25 BCE			●
4Q559	papBibChronology	100–50 BCE			●
4Q560	Magical Booklet	100–50 BCE		●	
4Q561	Physiognomy/Horoscope	100–50 BCE	●		
4Q569	Proverbs	133–100 BCE	●		
4Q571	Words of Michael ^a	150–100 BCE	●		
5Q15	NJ	125–50 BCE	●		
6Q8	papGiants	50–1 BCE			●
6Q14	Apocalypse	1–70 CE	●		
6Q23	papWords of Michael	100–1 BCE			●
11Q10	Job	25–70 CE	●		
11Q18	NJ	25 BCE–25 CE	●		

TABLE 9 Manuscripts with marginal dots for marking script guidelines

MS num.	Title	Palaeographic date
1Q20	apGen	50 BCE–70 CE
1Q72	Dan ^b	100–25 BCE
4Q210	Enastr ^c	75–25 BCE
4Q213	Levi ^a	50–25 BCE
4Q213a	Levi ^b	75–50 BCE
4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c	100–50 BCE
4Q546	Visions of Amram ^d	67–33 BCE
4Q551	Narrative	75–25 BCE
11Q18	NJ	25 BCE–25 CE

The only Aramaic literary scroll with part of its end preserved is 4Q245 (psDan^c), which in frag. 2 has at least one partially or fully blank column.⁴⁹ The narrowness of this column suggests that it likely fell at the end of a sheet, and therefore the manuscript.⁵⁰ An uninscribed column at the end of the composition accords well with the general picture from the Qumran scrolls documented by Tov.⁵¹ Technically, we also possess the end of 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), though because it is written on a single card of skin, its “end” amounts to little more than the standard margin of a text column.

We possess slightly more evidence from the beginnings of our scrolls.⁵² 4Q242 (PrNab), 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a) and 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) preserve evidence of an area of skin left blank before the first inscribed column, on the same sheet. For 4Q242 (PrNab) this blank area is not much bigger than an especially wide intercolumnar margin, though it should be borne in mind that we do not know the nature of this manuscript, and that some have suggested it was written on a single sheet of skin rather than a full scroll.⁵³ The blank area on 4Q571 (Words of Michael^a) is somewhat larger, close to the size of a full column for what is preserved. A different practice was used for 4Q529 (Words of Michael) and 4Q543 (Visions of Amram^a), the first inscribed columns of which are preceded by a standard intercolumnar margin at the beginning of a sheet and a sewn seam. This seam strongly suggests that what is often called a “handle sheet” – a blank sheet of skin to which a wooden stick may, in some cases, have been attached – was sewn to the beginning of the scroll. Blank sheets or portions of sheets at the beginnings and ends of scrolls served the purpose of protecting

49 The end of 1Q20 (apGen) is almost fully preserved as it was presumably stored in Cave 1 in antiquity, but it is evident that the scroll was cut following a seam between two sheets (between cols. 22 and 23) such that the original end of the scroll is no longer extant. The reason for cutting the scroll in antiquity is not clear.

50 Based on the best photographs, it appears that not all of the horizontal script lines continue past the last intercolumnar margin, suggesting that there was one partially or fully un-inscribed (but fully dry-ruled) final column. This was followed by an area of unruled skin.

51 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 111–12, 115–18.

52 For the wider context at Qumran, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 110–15. Tov’s suggestion (111) that 4Q534 (Birth of Noah^a) preserves the beginning of the scroll seems to me unlikely. While it is true that 4Q2011 may preserve the beginning of the manuscript (corresponding to 1 En. 1:1–5; see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 110), there are no physical remains of the area preceding the fragment.

53 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 36. The blank area on 4Q545 (Visions of Amram^c) is approximately the same size, but is not well-preserved and may once have been larger.

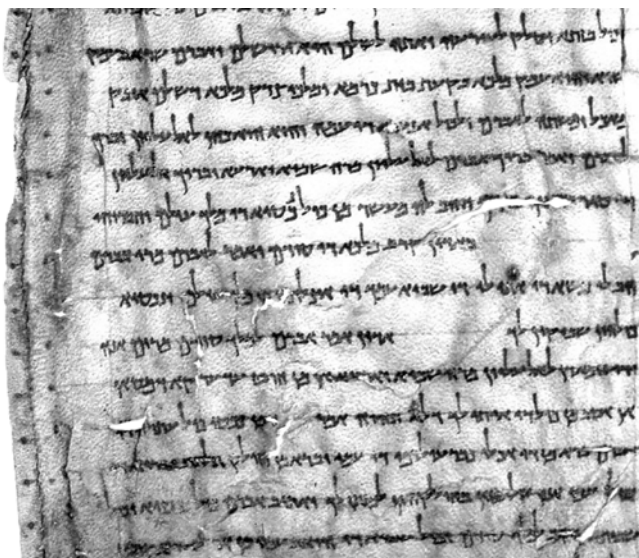
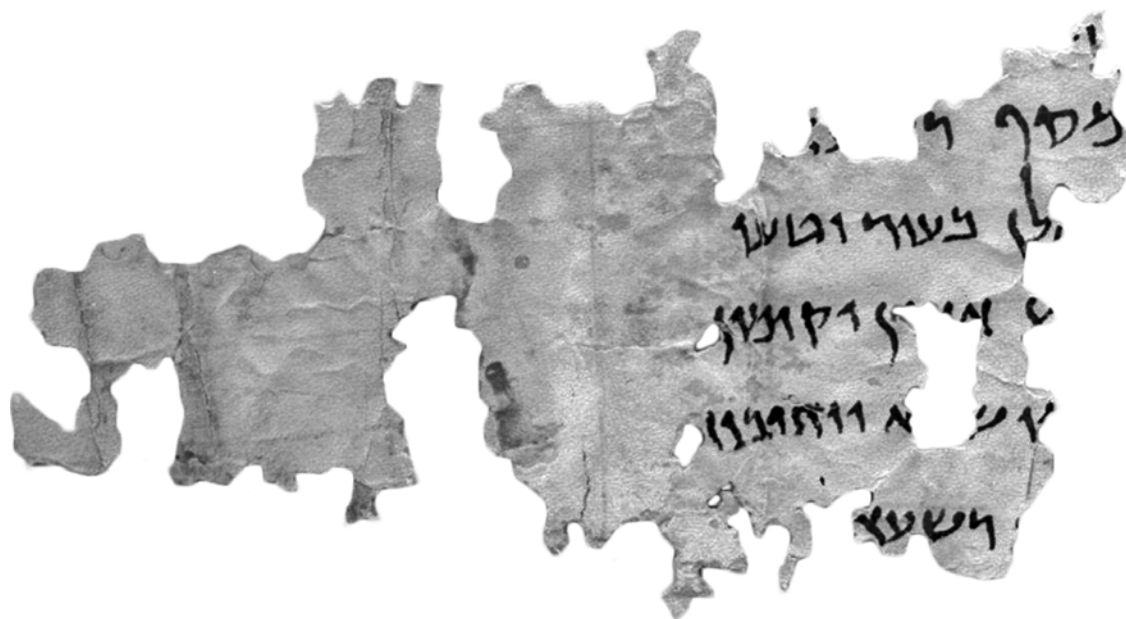


FIGURE 9 Guide dots (1Q20 [apGen] col. 22)

FIGURE 10 Guide dots (4Q545 [Visions of Amram^c] frag. 3)FIGURE 11 Part of the end of a scroll (4Q245 [psDan^c] frag. 2)

its outer parts in storage, and allowed for handling by readers without potentially smudging or otherwise damaging the text itself through ongoing use.

Ruling the sheet resulted in a series of blank columns surrounded on all sides by margins, a basic pattern that was followed even when sheets were not ruled. As has often been observed, the technology of writing in columns allowed for ease of reading in a scroll format, since only a small area of the scroll (one to a few columns) needed to be unrolled at any time for continuous reading. The sizes of complete or easily-reconstructed columns from

our corpus vary considerably. In twelve of the eighteen examples included in the table below (67%), the column is taller than it is wide (a height to width ratio greater than 1), and in four cases (22%) the height is nearly or more than double the width. By contrast, a handful of scrolls (e.g., 4Q318 [Zodiacology and Brontology] and 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^c]/4Q542 [TQahat]) have some columns that are close to twice as wide as they are tall. Column heights range between the extremes of just over 4 cm (4Q535 [Birth of Noah^c]) and nearly 27 cm (1Q20 [apGen] and 4Q202 [En^b]); however, the significant majority of scrolls



FIGURE 12 The partial beginning of a scroll (4Q571 [Words of Michael^a])
Image B-285379

COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

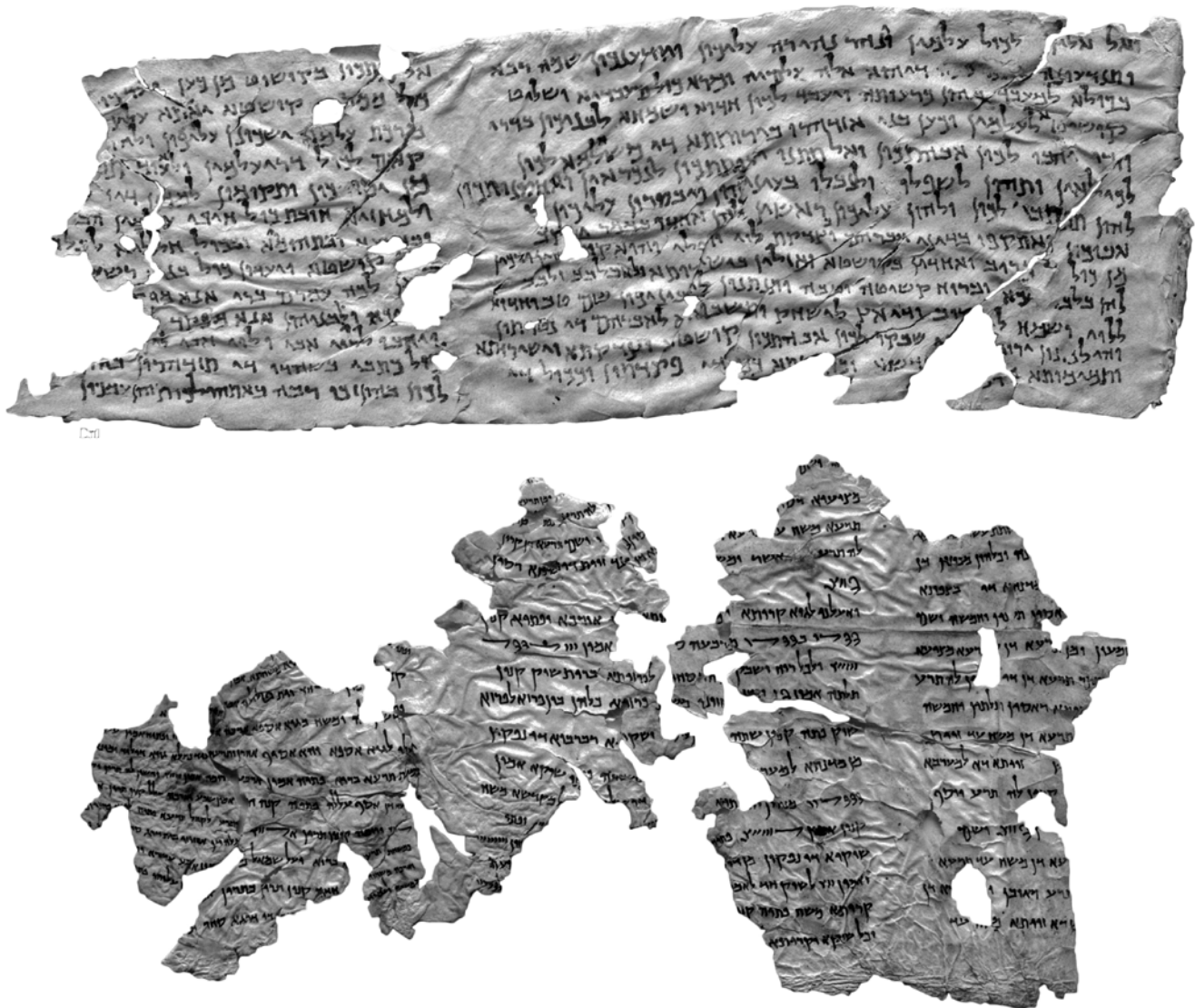


FIGURE 13 Examples of column width (to approximate relative scale): Top image: 4Q542 (TQahat) frag. 1 (15.5 cm); Bottom image: 4Q554 (NJ^a) frag. 2 (6–7.5 cm)

TABLE 10 Column size (height and width)ⁱ

Ms. num.	Title	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Lines/Col.	Lets./Line	Ratio of h./w.
1Q20	apGen	24.9–26.8	8–12.3	34–37	~45–70	2.55
4Q202	En ^b	~26.5	~9.5–13	~28	43–52	2.36
4Q209	Enastr ^b	~26	~10	~40	~52–80	2.60
4Q208 ⁱⁱ	Enastr ^a	~19–20	12.5–15.5	28–29	~35–55	1.39
4Q113	Dan ^b	~16.5	~11.5–13.5	22	~35–45	1.32
4Q212	En ^g	~16	~13.5	25–26	~35	1.19
4Q530	EnGiants ^b	~15.5	~9.6	~24	43–52	1.61
4Q196	papTob ^a	13.8–15	13–14	13–16	37–52	1.07
4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c	14.4	~7.5	19	32–37	1.92
4Q115	Dan ^d	~15.5	~10.5–12.5	25	35–45	1.35
4Q112	Dan ^a	~12	~8.5–10.5	18	~40–73	1.26
4Q197	Tob ^b	~11.5	~12	~19	~48–58	0.96
11Q10	Job	10.5	7.3–10.5	15–18	27–37	1.18
4Q542	TQahat	8	15.5	13	43–51	0.52
4Q559	papBibChronology	~7	9–11	10	~25–35	0.70
4Q246	apocrDan	6–6.2	~7	9	27–34	0.87
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	6.4	10	9	~41	0.64
4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	3.75–4.75	~13–15	7–8	~50–60	0.30

i For purposes of determining the ratio of height to width for columns in this chart, wherever the column heights or widths vary I have taken the median of the range for making calculations. As such, the column ratios are meant to give only a general impression for that scroll, and not to suggest a precise measurement for the entirety of the original.

ii Tigchelaar and García Martínez's reconstruction of the height, width, lines per column, and letters per line differs from Ratzon's reconstruction (the latter is used here). See profile for 4Q208 (Enastr^a) for discussion of Tigchelaar and García Martínez's reconstruction.

have columns of ca. 10–16 cm. As for width, the outer limits are 6 cm (4Q561 [Physiognomy/Horoscope]) and 17 cm (4Q210 [Enastr^c]), with a large group falling into the 8–14 cm range. Consequently, we can speak of a corpus-wide norm for columns of 10–16 cm in height and 8–14 cm in width, with occasional exceptions. These sizes are generally in keeping with the broader Qumran corpus, as discussed by Tov, with Aramaic scrolls from the corpus studied here falling into his small, medium, large, and very large writing block parameters.⁵⁴

Within the column, the number of lines and average letters per line depend on the tightness of spacing, the size of the script, and other factors like the use of vacats. The outer limits of lines per column are set by 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope), at 5 or 6 lines, and 4Q209 (Enastr^b), at around 40, with a fairly even distribution on a bell curve between those extremes and a mean of nearly 19 lines per column. The average number of letters per line (not counting spaces between words) cluster mostly between 30 and 50 per line, as seen in the following chart. Significant outliers include 4Q339 (List of False Prophets;

15 letters), 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope; 23.5 letters), 5Q15 (NJ; 81 letters), and 4Q210 (Enastr^c; 81.5 letters). Column size, lines per column, and letters per line do not seem correlated to the scribal quality of a manuscript in any straightforward way.

The visual compactness of the column was impacted by a combination of the line spacing, or leading, and the size of the script. The significant majority of manuscripts cluster in the 6.5–7.5 mm range for leading, as documented in the chart below. As already noted above, there is a recognizable tendency for papyrus scrolls to be spaced more generously than those on skin, despite what otherwise seem to be indicators of lower quality.

As a general rule, the lower margin of a scroll tends to be slightly larger than its upper margin, as already observed by Tov and others. This seems to have been part of a basic aesthetic of scroll (and, later, codex) layout, as is also true for Greek manuscripts from sites such as Oxyrhynchus.⁵⁵ However, there are a number of scrolls that do not appear

54 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82–90.

55 Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 99) noted that the same is true for later rabbinic instructions on the writing of scriptural scrolls (b. Menah. 30a; y. Meg. 1.71d and Sof. 2.5), with approximately a 2:3

TABLE 11 Column size (only full width known)

Ms. num.	Title	Height	Width	Lines/col.	Lets./line
4Q210	Enastr ^c		~16–17		~76–87
4Q541	apocrLevi ^{b?}		~14–16.5	≥8–9	~45–55
4Q553	Four Kingdoms ^b		13–13.5	≥7	
4Q201	En ^a		~12.5–13.5	~27	~37–48
1Q72	Dan ^b	≥13	~15	≥18	~50–55
4Q213b	Levi ^c		~13	~55	
4Q204	En ^c	≥16.5	~12–13	≥24	47–66
4Q538	TJudah/Words of Benjamin		~12		~55
4Q206/a	En ^e /EnGiants ^f		9–10	~21	~30–40
4Q571	Words of Michael ^a		~10		~35–40
4Q213	Levi ^a	≥11.5	~8	≥20	~40
4Q549	Visions of Amram ^{g?}	≥6.7	9.5–10	≥11	
4Q534	Birth of Noah ^a	≥17	15.5–16.5	≥20	~40–49
4Q529	Words of Michael		~8.5	≥16	~42–50
4Q554	NJ ^a		~8.5	≥17	~40–55
4Q552	Four Kingdoms ^a		~6–6.5	~12	~25–30
4Q561	Physiognomy/Horoscope		5–6		~20–30

TABLE 12 Column size (only full height known)

Ms. num.	Title	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Lines/col.	Lets./line
4Q546	Visions of Amram ^d	~17		~21	
4Q536	Birth of Noah ^c	11	≥10	13	≥40
4Q213a	Levi ^b	~11	≥9–10	~18	~30–35
4Q569	Proverbs	4.3		9	
4Q535	Birth of Noah ^b	4.1		5–6	≥20

to follow this rule and instead have upper and lower margins of roughly equal size, such as 4Q318 (Zodiology and Brontology), 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b), 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e)/4Q542 (TQahat), 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), and perhaps 4Q535 (Birth of Noah^b).⁵⁶

Intercolumnar margins range from erratic and very small (a few mm), as in parts of 4Q212 (En^g), to highly regulated and large (1.5–2 cm), as in 4Q554 (NJ^a) and

4Q554a (NJ^b). As a language written from right to left, the right side of the column (i.e., the left edge of the intercolumnar margin) always follows a straight vertical line, though in some scrolls this principle was followed more faithfully than in others. However, at the left side of the column, where the lines of writing end, there is much more variation. In some scrolls – again, 4Q212 (En^g) is a good example – the scribe varied greatly in where he would end lines, leaving the left side of the column with a jagged, unkempt appearance. The opposite approach was taken by the scribes of 4Q203 (EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c) and 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), who were so keen to keep a neat, even column and intercolumn that they sometimes left larger than usual spaces between the last two words of a line in order to “justify” the margin. The same practice is adopted by the scribe of 4Q554 (NJ^a), though less rigorously than in 4Q203(EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c) or 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a).

Intercolumnar margins were of two types: 1.) Those that occur where two sheets meet, and so span the sewn seam connecting the sheets, and 2.) those that were in the midst of a sheet and so have no seam between them. The large majority of intercolumnar margins in a typical scroll would have been of the latter type, and tended to be of greater or lesser regularity in size depending on the individual proclivities of the scribe who either laid out (e.g., ruled) or wrote it. Understandably, those scrolls that were ruled with vertical lines on both sides of the column tend to exhibit more regularity in the size of intercolumnar

ratio for top to bottom margin size. For Oxyrhynchus, note the important qualifications offered by Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 130–41.

56 Tov’s observations (*Scribal Practices*, 101) about 1Q20 (apGen) are not quite accurate. It is true that the top and bottom margins are of similar sizes, but the bottom seems to have been *slightly* larger than the top (ca. 2 mm) in most cases where we can measure. This scroll is on the borderline of being included in the list above.

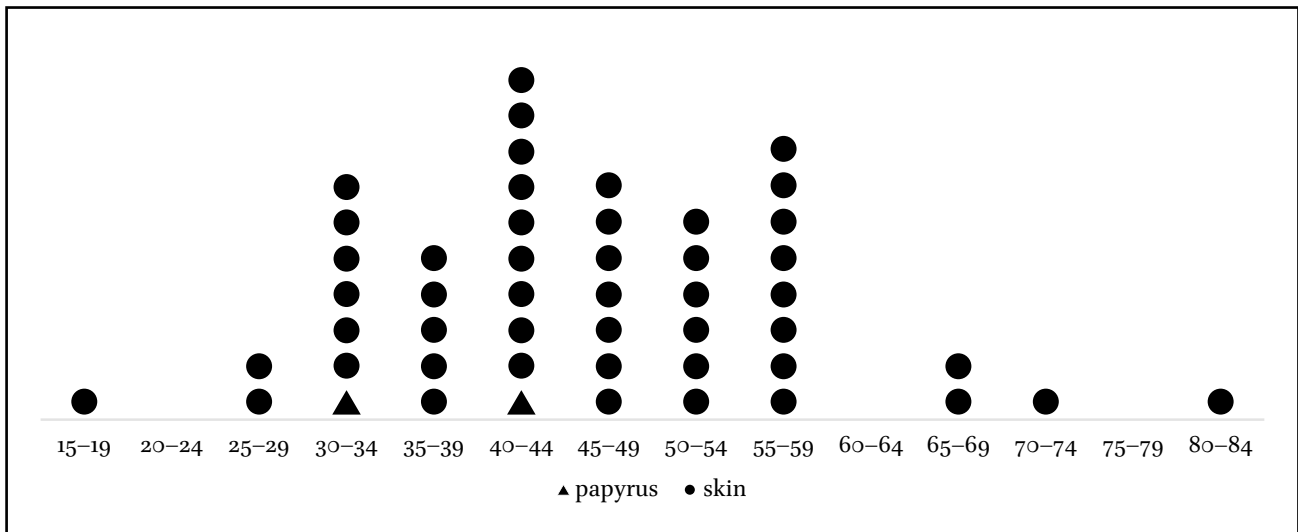


CHART 1 Letters per line (average)

Note: For the purpose of this chart, ranges have been turned into simple averages (e.g., the range for 4Q202 [En^b] is 43–52 letters per line. 43 and 52 were added together and the total was divided by two, resulting in 47.5).



FIGURE 14 Example of a wide column and an exceptionally large number of letters per line (5Q15 [NJ] frag. 1)

margins. In general, more consistently-sized, even, and generous margins seem to be one indicator of a higher-quality scroll. Intercolumnar margins spanning a seam between sheets show more variety. Sometimes, margins similar in size to those in the midst of a sheet were also left at both of a sheet's ends, resulting in an intercolumn between sheets wider than the norm for the scroll. This appears to have been the case in 1Q20 (apGen), 4Q544 (Visions of Amram^b), and 4Q554a (NJ^b), though in the last two examples we have only one side of the margin preserved. At other times, smaller blank spaces were left at

the ends of a sheet, resulting in intercolumns more similar in size to (perhaps even narrower than) those in the midst of a sheet (see, e.g., 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b] 1 and 2, 4Q212 [En^g] 2, and the several seams of 4Q213–213b [Levi^{a-c}]).

Surveying the data above, we may posit a correlation among the empty space left on a scroll by way of margins, the formality of its script, and the extent to which vacats are used. In general, scrolls with small or erratic margins have a strong association with informal scripts, and typically contain few or no vacats. Some good examples of this type of scroll are 4Q201 (En^a), 4Q212

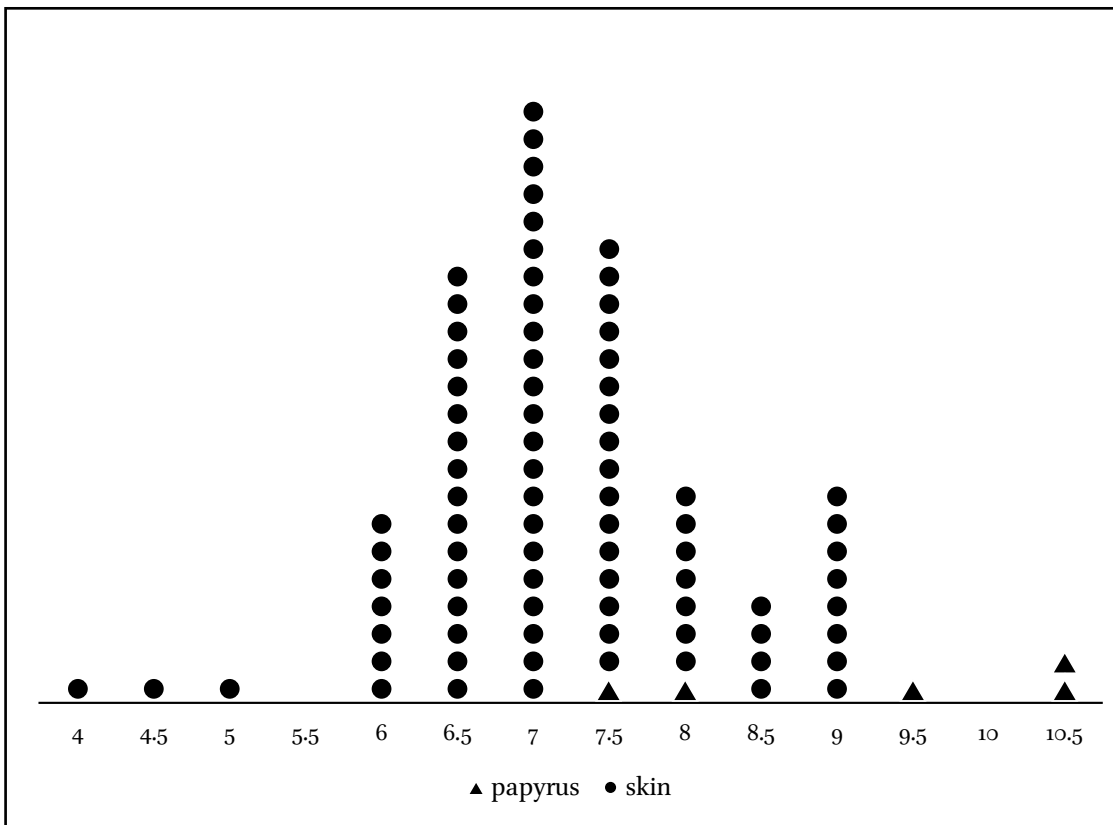


CHART 2 Line spacing (mm)
 Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages. Outliers include 6Q14 (Apocalypse; 4 mm), 4Q558 (papVision^b; 10.5), and 6Q23 (papWords of Michael; 10.5).

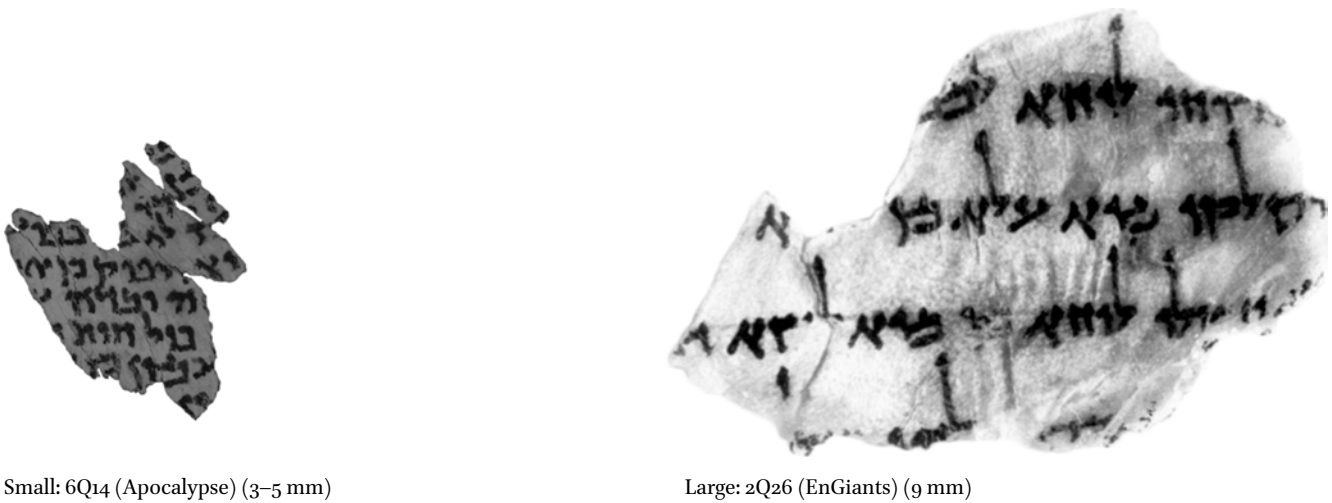


FIGURE 15 Line spacing examples (to approximate relative scale)
 Image B-482250
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 PHOTOS: SHAI HALEVI



FIGURE 16 Example of a fairly typical upper to lower margin ratio (4Q246 [apocrDan] frag. 1)

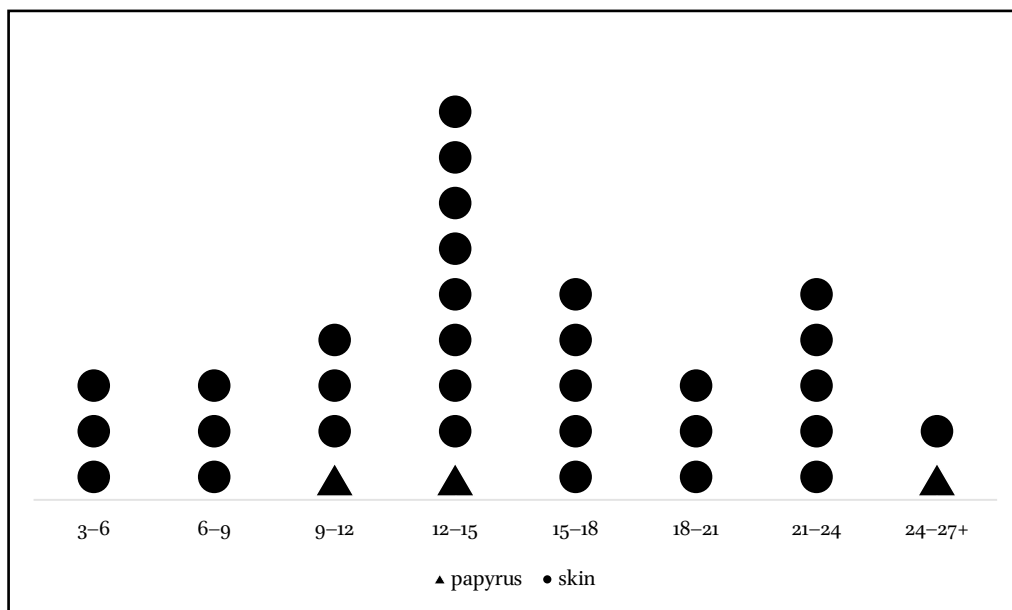


CHART 3 Top margin size (mm)
 Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages. Smallest average top margins: 4Q542 (TQahat; 5 mm), and 4Q242 (PrNab; 5 mm). Largest average top margins: 1Q20 (apGen; 25 mm), 4Q558 (papVision^b; 33 mm)



4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e) frag. 5 (5 mm)



4Q558 (papVision^b) frags. 3, 4 (31 mm)

FIGURE 17 Small and large top margins (to approximate relative scale)

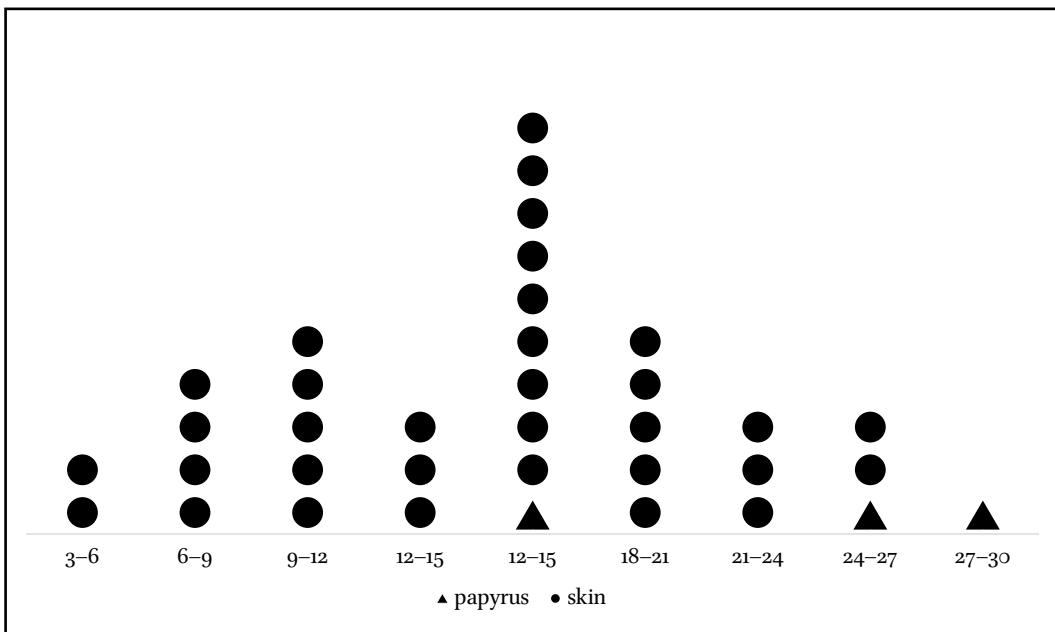
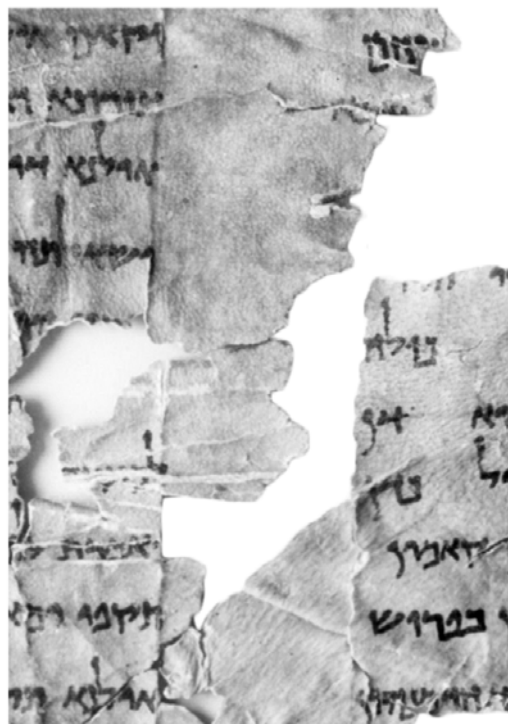
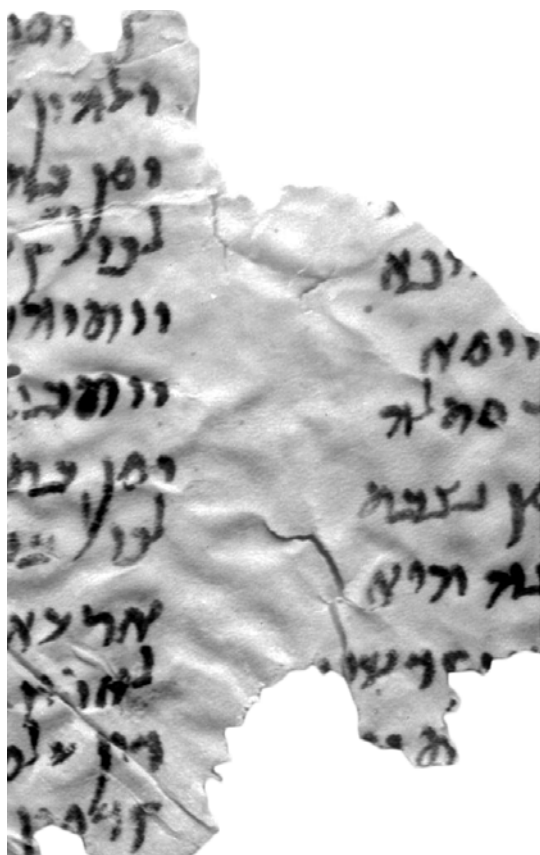


CHART 4 Bottom margin size (mm)

Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages. Smallest average bottom margin: 4Q569 (Proverbs; 3 mm). Largest average bottom margin: 4Q558 (papVision^b; 29.5 mm).



Messy intercolumnar margin (4Q212 [En^g] iiiii-v; also see Figure 30)

Neat, ruled intercolumnar margin (4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] ii-ii, 2)

FIGURE 18 Intercolumnar margins (to approximate relative scale)

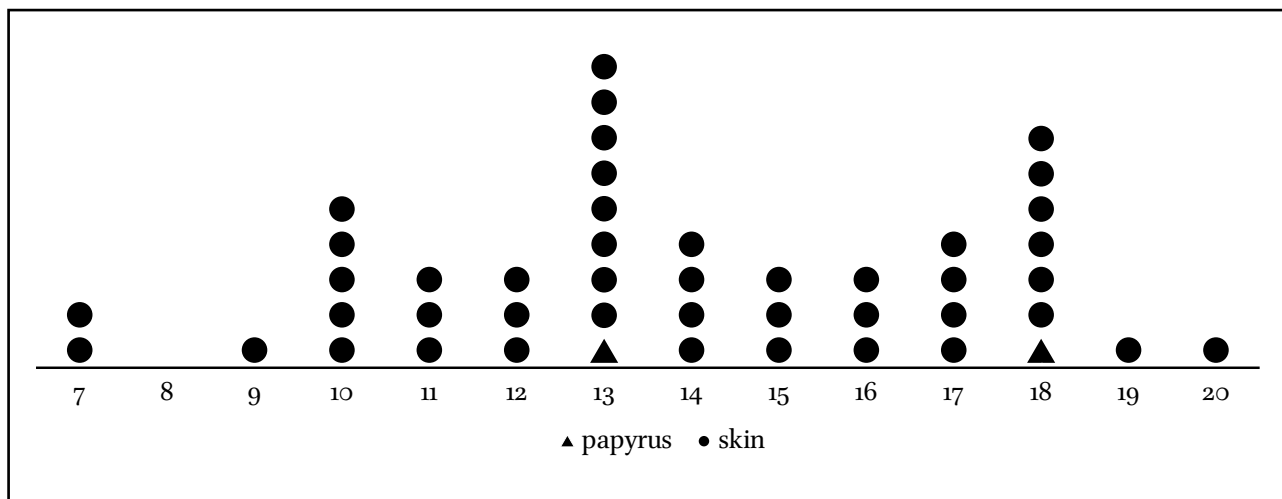


CHART 5 Intercolumnar margin size (mm; without seam)

Note: Ranges for this chart have been turned into simple averages, rounded to the nearest whole number. Outliers on the small end are 4Q214b (Levi^f; 7 mm) and 4Q243 (psDan^a; 7 mm), and on the large end is 4Q530 (EnGiants^b; 20 mm).

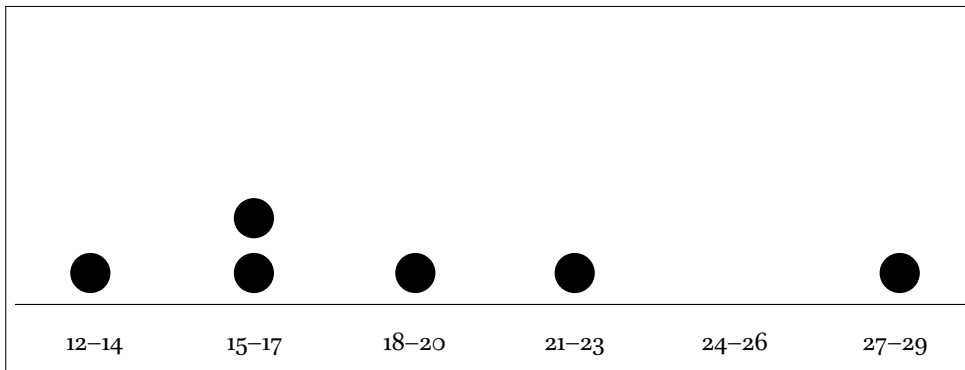


CHART 6 Intercolunmar margin size (mm; with seam)
 Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages, rounded to the nearest whole number. The six scrolls that preserve intercolunmar margins across sheets are 4Q213 (Levi^a; 12 mm), 4Q213a (Levi^b; 15 mm), 4Q553 (Four Kingdoms^b; 15 mm), 4Q553a (Four Kingdoms^c; 20 mm), 11Q10 (Job; 23 mm), and 1Q20 (apGen; 28 mm).

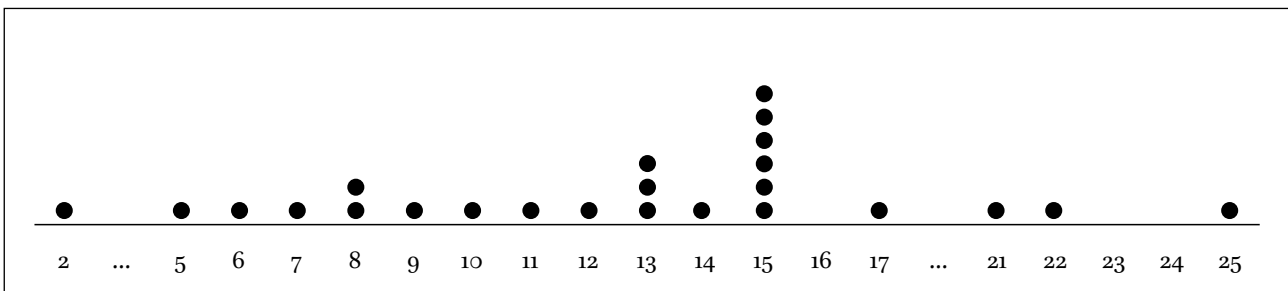


CHART 7 Margin to seam (mm)
 Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages, rounded to the nearest whole number. An outlier on the small end is 4Q529 (Words of Michael; 2 mm), and on the large end is 4Q242 (PrNab; 25 mm).

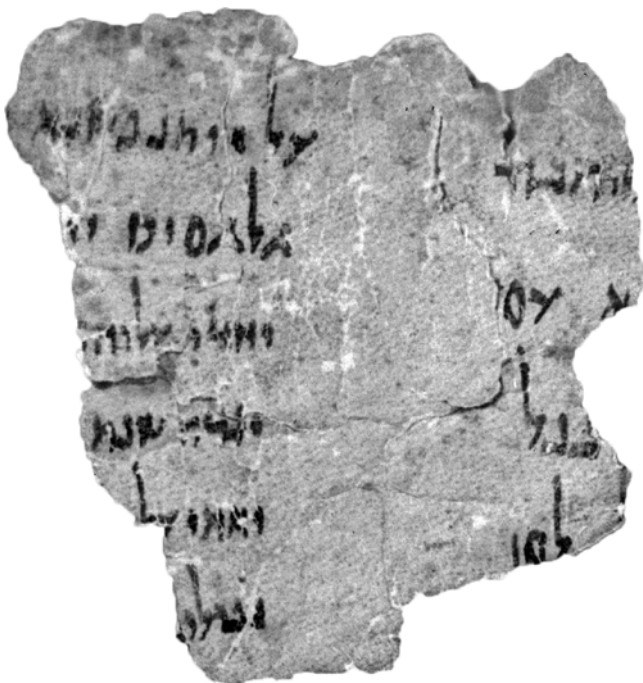


FIGURE 19 Intercolunmar margin (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] frag. 2)
 Image B-283986
 COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
 DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
 PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA



FIGURE 20 Intercolunmar margin with seam (4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b] frag. 8)

(En^g), 4Q213–213b (Levi^{a-c}), 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}), 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e)/4Q542 (TQahat), 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court), 4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope), and several of the papyrus copies. By contrast, scrolls with large margins tend to be written in neater, more formal scripts with regular use of vacats. These same scrolls are very often fully ruled, and so have an overall aesthetic of open, well-regulated spacing. The banner example here is 1Q20 (apGen), but also meriting inclusion are 1Q71 (Dan^a), 4Q113 (Dan^b), 4Q115 (Dan^d), 4Q246 (apocrDan), 4Q203(EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), 4Q209 (Enastr^b), 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), 4Q554 (NJ^a), 4Q554a (NJ^b), and 11Q10 (Job). While most of these scrolls are of a fairly large format, there are notable exceptions (e.g., 4Q246 [apocrDan] and 11Q10 [Job]). The two typological groupings just outlined can be said to represent the ends of the manuscript quality spectrum for our scrolls, between which many of the remaining cases may be placed. With respect to the general (though not absolute) correlation between formality of script and other manuscript features – notably a scroll's size and format – see now the corroborating observations of Longacre (“Style”) for the Dead Sea Psalms scrolls.

3 Scribal Habits

3.1 Writing the Text

The arduous process of preparing the sheets of skin and, in most cases, laying them out in columns with dry-ruling, culminated in a scribe writing the chosen text. The ability to write required extensive training, as reflected in written materials throughout the ancient Mediterranean Basin. A number of such writings were found at Qumran and other Judean Desert locations, where scribes apparently trained to write the alphabet (abecedaries) and lists of words (exercitium calami).⁵⁷ Such texts were often written on inexpensive material like pottery sherds or left over scraps of skin or papyrus. Scholars have proposed that some longer texts, poorly written by apparently unskilled scribes, may also have been scribal learning exercises.⁵⁸ Of the Aramaic scrolls studied here, Milik speculated that 4Q201 (En^a) was, perhaps, a “school-exercise,” and that 4Q551 (Narrative) was written by an “apprentice scribe,” though such opinions are impossible to verify.⁵⁹

57 For a list of the texts see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 13–14.

58 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 14.

59 Milik, *BE*, 141; Milik, “Daniel,” 355. It seems preferable simply to say that these scrolls are of relatively low quality without making assumptions about the social settings in which they were

3.1.1 Ink and Related Writing Implements

In preparation for writing a scroll, scribes in antiquity needed to prepare their own inks and pens.⁶⁰ The scribal profession was well-established in Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean societies, and there is clear evidence that some scribes owned and used their own kits in plying their trade. These may have included pens, ink pellets, and an inkwell. If it was the writing scribe who laid out a skin scroll, tools for that purpose – a pointed object and a straight edge the length of a typical sheet (ca. 0.5–1 m) – were also required. Finally, for skin scrolls a needle and flax or animal sinew thread were needed to sew the sheets together. In the communal context of Qumran or the institutional domain of the Jerusalem temple it is impossible to determine the extent to which such tools of the trade may have been shared by groups of scribes, but they had to be readily available.

Scribes in antiquity mixed their own inks as needed, though it is difficult to ascertain a scribe's possible role at earlier stages of the ink manufacturing process. The production of ink was a discrete area of artisanship in the Hellenistic- and Roman-period Mediterranean Basin. Combining the few texts that address the topic and scholarly inference from archaeological objects such as scribes' writing kits, it is clear that there were a variety of methods for making ink.⁶¹ The simplest and presumably most widespread method was to mix a carbon-based soot such as lampblack or other burnt plant products (e.g., resin or pine wood) with a binding agent – typically gum Arabic, a naturally-occurring sap from species of the acacia tree family, but possibly also bone glue or other substances – and a suspension liquid such as water, oil, or vinegar.⁶² Pliny the Elder recorded that soot could also be scraped from furnaces at workshops made specifically for manufacturing ink and paint pigments.⁶³ Ink production was an area of continual experimentation and, already dur-

written, given the very little information we possess about scribes in Jewish antiquity.

60 For helpful visual and textual examples of the types of inks, pens, and inkwells discussed below, see Willi, *Roman Writing*.

61 In general, see Christiansen, “Manufacture.” With reference to the Qumran scrolls specifically, see Plenderleith in DJD 1:39–40; Steckoll, “Inks”; Nir-El and Broshi, “Black Ink”; Rabin et al. “Characterization,” 129–32. On the several weaknesses of the study done on ink from an inkwell allegedly from Qumran by Rasmussen et al. (“Constituents”), see Rabin, “Analysis.”

62 Christiansen et al., “Composition,” 27825. On the possible use of bone glue as a binder for at least some of the Qumran inks, see Murphy et al., “Degradation,” 95. See also, however, the comments of Rabin et al. “Origin,” 100, on the ink of 1QHodayot^a.

63 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.41–43, discussed in Christiansen, “Manufacture,” 172–75.

ing the Hellenistic and Roman periods, some ink recipes included metallic compounds rich in iron, copper, or lead. Such compounds could derive either from natural mineral sources like vitriols, minium, ochre, and hematite, or from the by-products of processed metals.⁶⁴ These metallic additives may have contributed to coloration and adhesion, but they are known to have served as drying agents for the ink. Once these ingredients were mixed into a paste, the ink was dried and made into pellets or cakes for easy transport or storage until needed by a scribe.

A number of studies have confirmed that the inks used for the Qumran scrolls were primarily carbon or soot based. However, some of the ink studied by Nir-El and Broshi – in particular that of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) – has unusually high levels of copper and lead compared with the other scrolls tested.⁶⁵ The Genesis Apocryphon's ink also has the peculiar characteristic of delaminating the skin in some places, in extreme cases “eating away” the skin completely to leave negative, ghost letters where the writing once was. The same phenomenon occurs among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls on 4Q115 (Dan^d), as well as on several Hebrew scrolls.⁶⁶ Nir-El and Broshi surmised, based on the prior study of Haran, that the metallic compounds present in the Genesis Apocryphon's ink must have come from its storage in a metal inkwell, since metallic inks had not yet been invented during the early Roman period.⁶⁷ However, Pliny's account makes clear that metallic compounds were intentionally added to carbon inks already in the first century CE, and likely well before that time. As Christiansen has shown, carbon inks and metallic inks were not the only two options, since what he called “mixed inks” – carbon-based recipes with metallic additives – were used during the period when the Qumran scrolls were written.⁶⁸ Consequently, it is unnecessary to resort to a bronze or copper inkwell in explaining inks from the Qumran caves with metallic compounds. It seems more likely that lead- or copper-based additives were simply part of the recipes for some, but not all, of the inks used. However the high levels of copper and lead came to be present in some of the inks at Qumran, Cross assumed that they were responsible for the delamination of the skin on the scrolls exhibiting that feature.⁶⁹ Nir-El and Broshi were more circumspect, admitting that the deterioration caused by the ink of the

Genesis Apocryphon and similar scrolls may be attributed to multiple factors, including the reaction of binding constituents in the ink (e.g., vegetable gum or animal size) with environmental changes, or the lead and copper present in the ink.⁷⁰

A mordant water, such as that suffused with the tannins of harvested oak galls or other tannin-rich plants, helped inks bond to the writing surface, and there is chemical evidence that such ink was used for at least some of the scrolls tested by Nir-El and Broshi.⁷¹ This water could have been added either during the initial stage of making the ink paste, or when water was added to the dried ink at the time of writing. Chemical tests on the Qumran scrolls suggest that sweet water was used at both stages, not water from the Dead Sea.

There is clear, compelling evidence that Jewish scribes during the Herodian and Early Roman periods used both ceramic and metal inkwells for mixing and holding their inks, though we possess no proof that the same was true for the preceding Hellenistic period.⁷² These inkwells were of the type used more widely in the Roman world, as seen by comparison of the inkwells found by de Vaux at Qumran with those depicted on the frescoes at Pompeii, and in various excavations around the Roman world.⁷³ De Vaux announced three inkwells (two ceramic and one bronze) found during his original excavations, to which we may add a fourth discovered at the site by Steckoll and a fifth that was found at the nearby site of 'Ain Feshkha but, according to the neutron activation analysis of Gunneweg and Balla, was produced at Qumran.⁷⁴ In the same study, Gunneweg and Balla identified the unmistakable fragment of a sixth ceramic inkwell among the unpublished pottery collection from Qumran, though analysis showed

metal inkwell,” noting that “the phenomenon is not unusual among the Qumran manuscripts.”

70 Nir-El and Broshi, “Black Ink,” 164–66.

71 Nir-El and Broshi, “Black Ink.”

72 Ceramic and metal inkwells are known to have been made and used during the Hellenistic period (see, e.g., Sjökvist, “Inkstands”), so that the use of inkwells by Jewish scribes preceding the Roman period is entirely plausible. Prior to the Hellenistic period scribes used wooden ink pallets suitable for use with rush brush pens. The switch to inkwells accompanied the change to reed pens, following Greek scribal practices. For discussion and helpful images, see Longacre, “Script,” 12–21.

73 Examples of ceramic inkwells similar to those from Qumran have been found in excavations at Meiron in the Galilee, the Burnt House in Jerusalem, and most recently (2020) Gush Etzion.

74 de Vaux, *Archaeology*, 29–30; Steckoll, “Notes,” 35; Steckoll, “Inkwell”; Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation,” 13, 32. See also Goranson, “Qumran.”

64 Christiansen, “Manufacture.”

65 Nir-El and Broshi, “Black Ink.”

66 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 53–54.

67 Nir-El and Broshi, “Black Ink,” 162, citing Haran, “Workmanship.”

68 Christiansen, “Manufacture.” See also Rabin, “Historic Inks.”

69 DJD 12:133. He believed that the delamination was “presumably because of some residual acid in the ink from its storage in a

that it had not been produced at the site.⁷⁵ Finally, in 2001–2 Magen and Peleg discovered a seventh inkwell in an ancient dump to the east of Qumran, which Gunneweg tested in 2007 and determined was produced at Qumran.⁷⁶ Several additional inkwells (both ceramic and metal) have been claimed to originate from Qumran, but their connection to the site cannot be verified.⁷⁷ Of course, all of these inkwells pertain only to scrolls that may have been written at Qumran during the Roman period. Nevertheless, they suggest that inkwells of the type found at Qumran were used more widely by Jewish scribes during the Second Temple period.

The pens used to write our manuscripts were presumably made of appropriately-sized reeds (ca. 1 cm in width), which were sharpened to a triangular tip and split at the nib for better ink flow.⁷⁸ Reeds of the sort needed grew at many places in Hellenistic- and Roman-period Palestine (and still today), including the Dead Sea region. Being made of perishable material and having little monetary value, no such pens have survived from Qumran or elsewhere in ancient Palestine, though examples from Roman Egypt and fresco images from Pompeii fit well the above description.

3.1.2 Scripts

Although each scribe had individual preferences and writing habits, the Qumran scrolls show clearly that well-established norms existed for writing that speak to the existence of guilds or shared communities of practice. Corpora such as the Elephantine papyri reveal that the role of scribe was often cultivated within a family setting, with scribal skills being handed on from father to son. In other social situations, such as that of Qumran, we might imagine non-familial apprenticeships and training arrangements. In both cases, it may be supposed that small scribal circles intersected with others in an interwoven network, comprising a wider scribal tradition across the Mediterranean Basin in antiquity. While we witness a basic continuity in the Aramaic square scripts used almost exclusively in the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, it is typically assumed that styles and aesthetic preferences shifted slowly over time, allowing for the typological, diachronic classification of scripts. For the scrolls studied here, the relevant periods commonly adopted in the scholarly

literature are the Hasmonean (second–mid-first centuries BCE) and the Herodian (mid-first century BCE–70 CE).

Each script from among the Qumran scrolls may be placed somewhere on the related spectrums of formality – informality, and uniformity – variability. Classificatory terminology for Jewish scripts of the Second Temple period has varied, but the most commonly used taxonomy was heavily influenced by F.M. Cross, who proposed the four basic categories of formal, semi-formal, semi-cursive, and cursive.⁷⁹ As Longacre recently observed, the scripts included by Cross and others under some of these headings vary significantly, limiting their usefulness.⁸⁰ Rather than working with Cross's formal-cursive system, some scholars have preferred to use a more intuitive formal-informal spectrum.⁸¹ Longacre has now proposed a more sophisticated taxonomy, advocating for the following script types: 1.) Ornate rectilinear, 2.) Ornate curvilinear, 3.) Simple rectilinear, 4.) Simple curvilinear, 5.) Semi-cursive, 6.) Cursive, 7.) and Extreme cursive. The first four categories belong to what Longacre and others call the "Square" scripts, with Semi-cursive being transitional to the "Cursive" scripts (the latter not being found among the manuscripts included in the profiles). Any of these script types can be written with varied "Levels of execution": Calligraphic, Common, and Current.⁸² Longacre's nuanced treatment has pushed the discussion of ancient Jewish scripts forward in important ways, and his insights will have to be accounted for in future palaeographic work. However, because his system has not yet been integrated into palaeographic assessments of most of the Qumran scrolls, in the profiles and in what follows I continue to use the system(s) developed by Cross and followed to various extents by Milik, Puech, and others.

I assume that scripts characterized by formality, squareness, ornateness, and high levels of uniformity are one indicator of a high-quality scroll, compared with more informal, rounded, simple, and varied (i.e., messy) scripts. As Longacre noted, formal scripts with high levels of execution demand considerable skill and attention from a scribe, and are more suitable to public uses.⁸³ This observation is supported by a clear correlation between literary texts that were presumably held in high esteem and formal, square scripts written with high levels of execution, even if there are a number of exceptions for which we must account. By contrast, scripts with less formal

75 Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation," 13, 32.

76 The inkwell is published in Magen and Peleg, *Qumran*, 20–21.

77 See Goranson, "Qumran," 111; Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation," 32.

78 As opposed to the earlier rush brush pens. On this change, which preceded the period during which our scrolls were written, see Longacre, "Script."

79 Cross, "Development"; Cross, "Palaeography." See also the overview of Longacre, "Formality," 102–110.

80 Longacre, "Formality"; Longacre, "Style."

81 E.g., Van der Schoor, "Variation."

82 Longacre, "Formality"; Longacre, "Style."

83 Longacre, "Formality"; Longacre, "Style."

characteristics, written with lower levels of execution, are very often used for mundane documents belonging to the private sphere (e.g., business documents, deeds, contracts, personal letters, and receipts). The latter class of scripts are obviously written with less care, the priority being function rather than aesthetic.

The scripts of the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves range from formal to semi-cursive, for both the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, with formal Herodian period scripts showing an increasing penchant for calligraphic flourishes (see, e.g., 11Q10 [Job] and 1Q71 [Dan^a]). In a number of cases, we find a single literary composition written in scripts of notably different quality: the Enochic Book of Watchers (compare 4Q204 [En^c] and 4Q201

[En^a]) and Book of Giants (compare 4Q203 [EnGiants^a] and 4Q530 [EnGiants^b]), the Words of Michael (compare 4Q529 [Words of Michael] and 6Q23 [papWords of Michael]), the Visions of Amram (compare 4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a] and 4Q547 [Visions of Amram^e]), Tobit (compare 4Q197 [Tob^b] and 4Q198 [Tob^c]), and Four Kingdoms (compare 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms^a] and 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms^b]). If we allow as evidence the several copies of Daniel now containing only Hebrew portions of the book, that work should also be included in this list (compare 1Q71 [Dan^a] and 6Q7 [papDan]). As noted above, higher quality scripts are very often coordinated with wider margins, more generous use of vacats, and greater uniformity in spacing, making for a scroll with an orderly aesthetic

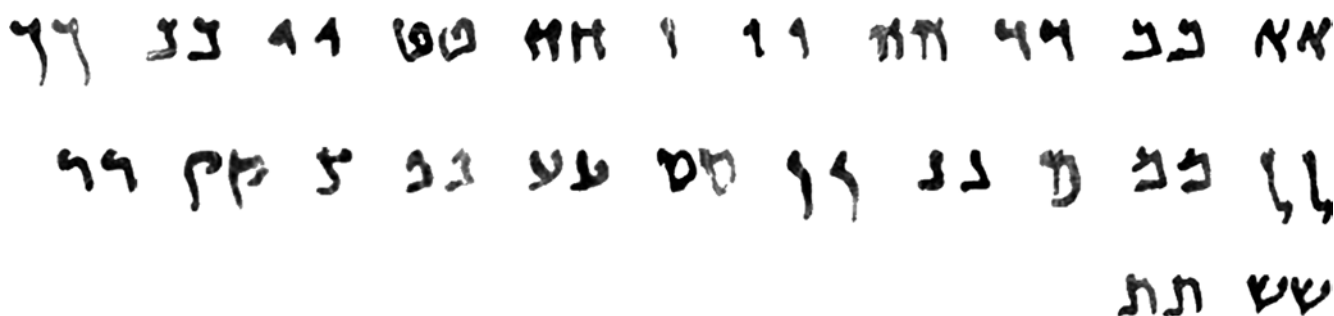


FIGURE 21 Formal Hasmonean script (4Q543 [Visions of Amram^a])

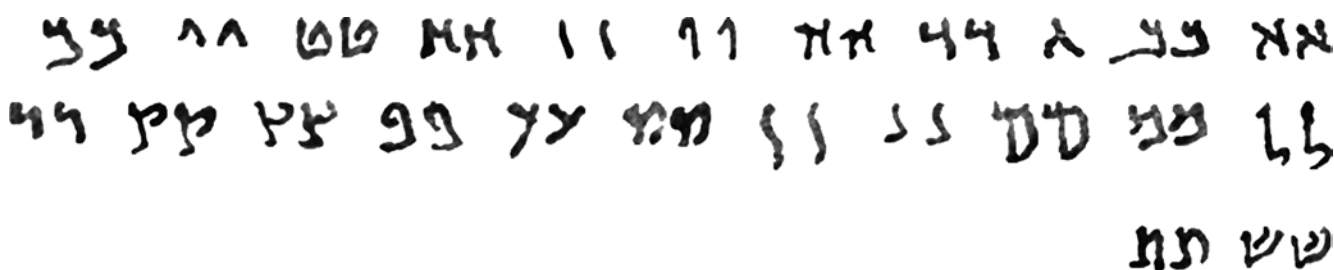


FIGURE 22 Semi-formal Hasmonean script (4Q542 [TQahat])

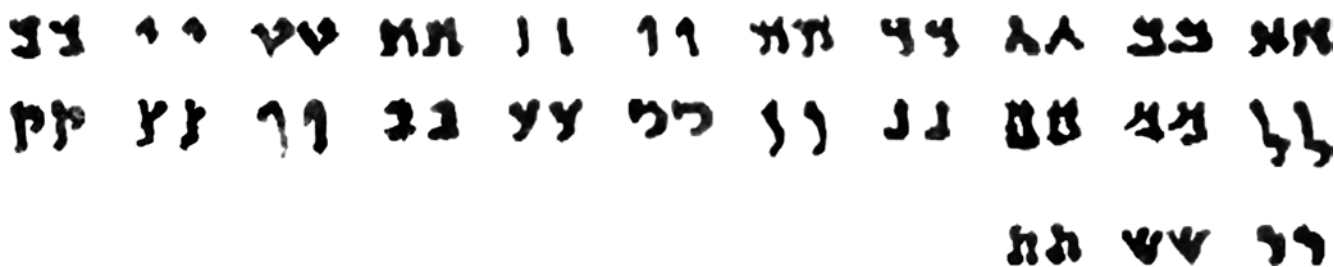


FIGURE 23 Semi-cursive Hasmonean script (4Q201 [En^a])

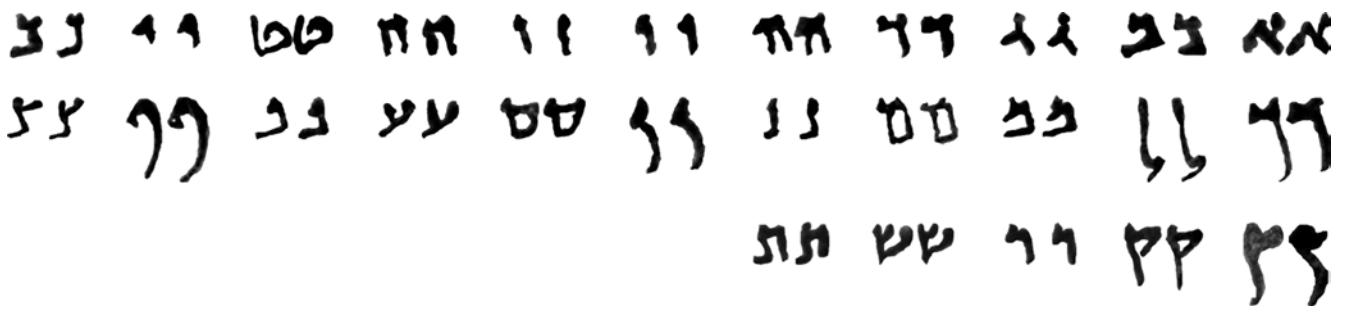


FIGURE 24 Formal Herodian script (1Q20 [apGen])

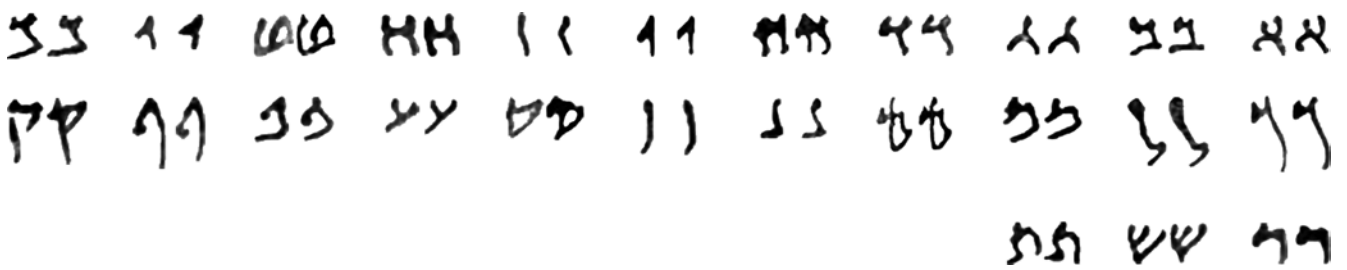


FIGURE 25 Semi-formal Herodian script (4Q536 [Birth of Noah^c])



FIGURE 26 Semi-cursive Herodian script (6Q8 [papGiants])

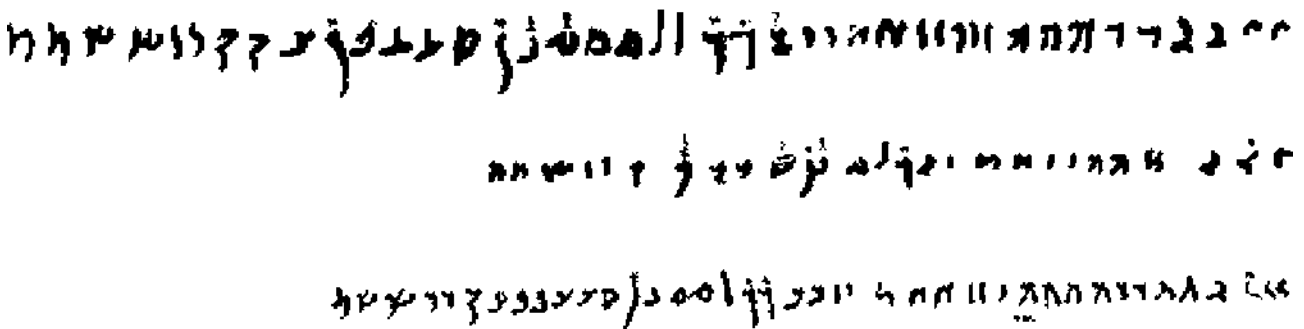


FIGURE 27 Cursive scripts from the Judean Desert, as drawn by F.M. Cross
 Note: These scripts are included for the purpose of comparison. See Cross, *Leaves*, 21. Line 1 is an Aramaic contract found at Murabba'at (Mur 18). Line 2 is from an Aramaic marriage contract (Mur 20). Line 3 comes from an Aramaic contract of sale (Hev/Se 8a). See also some of the cursive Aramaic scripts used on pottery and ostraca at Maresha, in Idumaea, for example those on the bowls published by Eshel, Puech, and Kloner, "Maresha."

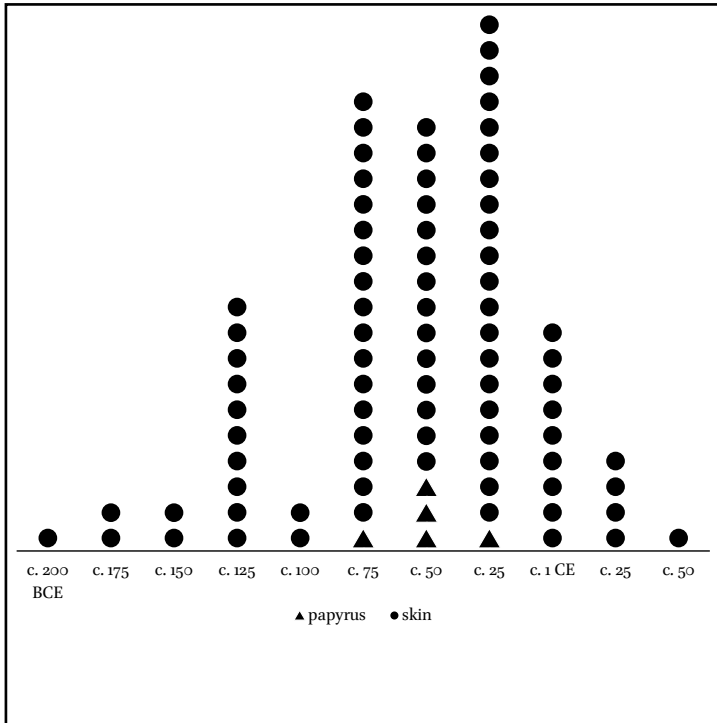


CHART 8
 Chronological distribution
 Note: Date ranges have been turned into simple averages, rounded to the nearest whole number. The simple averages were then rounded to the nearest quarter century. As a result, this chart is meant only to be an impressionistic representation of the data.

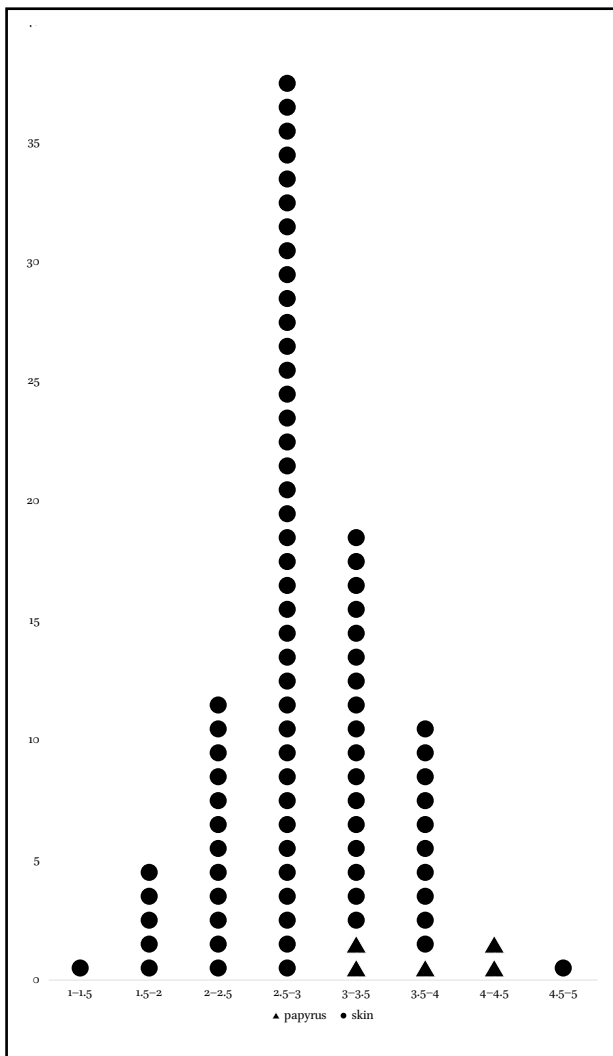
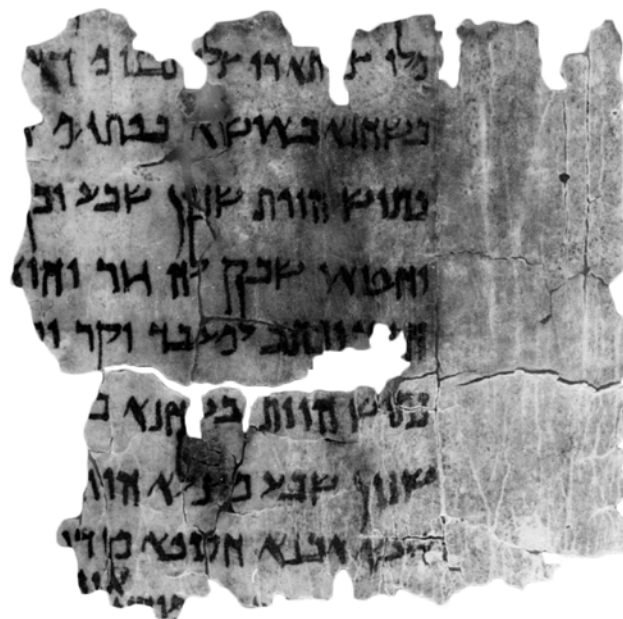


CHART 9
 Letter height (mm)
 Note: Ranges have been turned into simple averages, rounded to the nearest half millimeter. Outliers on the small end include 4Q117 (Ezra; 1 mm), and on the large end 4Q242 (PrNab; 4.5 mm).



4Q529 (Words of Michael) frag. 1 (1.5–2 mm)



4Q242 (PrNab) frag. 1 (4–5 mm)

FIGURE 28 Letter height (to approximate relative scale)

that included more open space than scrolls of lesser quality, allowing for easier reading. Representative examples of the main classifications of script type found in the profiles are provided above.

Roughly 60% of the palaeographic dates are assigned to the first cent. BCE, making this far and away the century during which most of our copies are likely to have been made. The significant majority of scripts have a letter height (based on an average for medial letters only) between 2.5 and 3.5 mm, with a clear preference for slightly larger script sizes in papyrus scrolls compared with those of skin.

The social and geographic locations in which the Qumran scrolls were written has been a topic of vigorous study and debate, with an important facet of the discussion addressing possible cases of a single scribe copying multiple scrolls.⁸⁴ Such cases have potential implications for the connections between different scroll caves, links between the caves and the site of Qumran, and other

questions about the communities who created the scrolls kept near Qumran. I have gathered below cases where a scribe who wrote at least one Aramaic scroll is alleged to have written other scrolls as well. While this remains an area in need of further study, a very small number of cases in which a single scribe wrote multiple scrolls can be identified with a high degree of certainty.⁸⁵

84 On this phenomenon at Qumran more broadly, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 23–24.

85 John Strugnell was of the opinion that 4Q542 (TQahat) and 4Q53 (Sam^c) were written by the same Hasmonean-period scribe (recorded in Bonani et al., “Radio Carbon,” 28). No palaeographic analysis was offered in support of this view, but close examination of the two manuscripts show that Strugnell is incorrect. There are resemblances between some letters, such as *he* and *dalet*, but others (e.g., *lamed*, *mem* [both medial and final], and *tet*) show beyond doubt that these manuscripts are the work of different scribes. Józef Milik wrote (*BE*, 273) that 4Q209 (Enastr^b) “is written in the same beautiful Herodian script as 1QIsa^b, 1QM, 1QGenAp, and the original hand of 1QH.” These scripts are indeed very similar, but it is likely that Milik intended only to characterize them as scripts of a similar style, not as written by the same scribe. Of the scrolls that he lists, 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 1QM are remarkably alike, and deserve further consideration as having been written by a single scribe.

3.1.2.1 11Q18 (NJ) and at Least Nine Hebrew Scrolls

The highly-respected epigrapher Ada Yardeni proposed that over fifty manuscripts at Qumran and Masada were written by the same, Herodian-period scribe, including several of our Aramaic manuscripts.⁸⁶ The Aramaic texts in her list are: 1Q32 (NJ?), 2Q24 (NJ), 3Q14 4 (Tob?) and 6, 4Q203 (EnGiants^a), 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), and 11Q18 (NJ). From an additional list of thirty-six manuscripts that Yardeni claimed were “perhaps also copied by this scribe,” the only Aramaic fragment belongs to a papyrus copy of Tobit in the collection of Norwegian antiquities collector Martin Schøyen, which an international group of scholars has now identified as likely to be a modern forgery.⁸⁷ Yardeni placed heavy emphasis on what she called the scribe’s “peculiar *lamed*, with the ‘pressed’ and curved lower part.”⁸⁸ Yet, she also allowed for “certain differences between groups of manuscripts” and development of the scribe’s writing style over time.⁸⁹

Having examined images of many of the manuscripts discussed by Yardeni, particularly those written in Aramaic, I have difficulty accepting that all of them were written by one and the same scribe. This doubt is strengthened by the yet-unpublished research of Gemma Hayes, who is working as part of *The Hands That Wrote the Bible* project at the University of Groningen.⁹⁰ Hayes’ research is based on a combination of computer learning models and traditional palaeographic analysis, and she has narrowed Yardeni’s long list of scrolls to only eight, which she argued can be assigned to an individual scribe with a high degree of probability based on letter formation and spelling practices. Her eight scrolls are: 4Q161 (pesher Isaiah^a), 4Q166 (pesher Hosea^a), 4Q171 (pesher Psalms), 4Q397 (MMT^d), 4Q439 (Lament by a Leader), 4Q215 (TNaphtali), 4Q474 (Text Concerning Rachel and Joseph), and 11Q18 (NJ). To this list we may confidently add 4Q175 (Renewed Earth), as observed by Eibert Tigchelaar.⁹¹ The scribe of

these nine scrolls likely worked from around the mid-first century BCE to the early first century CE, based both on the traditional palaeographic dates of Cross and Yardeni and the digital writer identification methods of Hayes and her colleagues in Groningen, which are corroborated by a new Carbon-14 date for 4Q161 (pesher Isaiah^a). This Herodian-period scribe was highly-trained and very adept, writing in an elegant script classified by Cross and those after him as “round semiformal.”⁹²

The scripts of the eight scrolls identified by Hayes and 4Q175 (Renewed Earth), as a subset of Yardeni’s much larger group, are virtually identical. Considering the similar spelling conventions and other scribal preferences found in these nine scrolls, it is very likely that they were penned by the same scribe. Among the implications of this finding, I highlight only that the same scribe who wrote 11Q18 (NJ) also copied some of the most distinctive Hebrew sectarian works: the pesharim and MMT. This concrete scribal connection between the Aramaic and sectarian literatures attests to the active, ongoing interest in earlier Aramaic writings among those belonging to the Essene group responsible for collecting and curating the Qumran library.

3.1.2.2 4Q113 (Dan^b), 1Q11 (Ps^b), 4Q57 (Isa^c), and 11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milhamah)

In 2008, Eugene Ulrich identified a scribe who wrote in a hand “among the most careful, stately, and elegant seen in the Qumran collection,” as responsible for writing 1Q11 (Ps^b), 4Q57 (Isa^c), and 11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milhamah).⁹³ His argument was based on general features of the scribe’s style – a notably angled stance, letter size and spacing, use of palaeo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton – and more detailed comparison of letter formation. As Ulrich and others have observed, scripts can be very similar and still be the work of different scribes, since scribes writing formal scripts, especially, seem to have worked to a common standard. Nevertheless, in this case there are good grounds to believe that a single scribe wrote these scrolls.⁹⁴ Several years after Ulrich’s article, Sidnie White Crawford related that Ulrich had added 4Q113 (Dan^b) to the list of

86 Yardeni, “Scribe.”

87 Yardeni, “Scribe,” 289–90. The manuscript number in the Schøyen collection is 5234. On the claims of forgery, see Davis et al., “Dubious,” 220–21.

88 Yardeni, “Scribe,” 287. On p. 293 she states that “[*lamed*] is the most characteristic letter of this scribe.”

89 Yardeni, “Scribe,” 287.

90 Hayes’ most official presentation of her research was in a public, online lecture titled “Digital Palaeography and the Scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” The lecture was recorded, and is available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zSxKNizlyY> (accessed 15 June, 2021).

91 In Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khīrbet Qumrān*, 258. This is despite the absence of this scroll from Hayes’ list, as acknowledged by Tigchelaar (n. 79).

92 Cross, “Development,” 173; Yardeni, “Scribe,” 287. This is also the style description adopted by Hayes.

93 Ulrich, “Identification.”

94 Both Ulrich (“Identification,” 205) and Tigchelaar (Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khīrbet Qumrān*, 258) note some differences in letter size and thickness of the ink in 1Q11 (Ps^b) and 11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milhamah), but at least the second feature is easily accounted for by the use of a different pen.

scrolls attributed to this scribe.⁹⁵ The identification was cautiously endorsed by Tigchelaar and we await the judgement of Hayes and the Groningen team.⁹⁶ If we assume that the scribe of 4Q113 (Dan^b) also wrote the other scrolls identified by Ulrich, then we have another case in which a scribe copied both a partially Aramaic composition and a Hebrew sectarian one. Of course, we must bear in mind the somewhat ambiguous situation of Daniel as a bilingual work in its final form.

3.1.2.3 4Q207 (En^f) and 4Q214a–b (Levi^{e–f})

According to Milik, the same scribe wrote both 4Q207 (En^f) and the manuscript he called 4Q214 TestLevi^b, designated by Stone and Greenfield as 4Q214a–b (Levi^{e–f}; see discussion below). Despite the small amount of text preserved on 4Q207 (En^f), the scripts in these manuscripts are exceptionally coherent, and the scribal connection between them looks solid.⁹⁷ For further discussion of the complexities involved, see the profiles for 4Q207 (En^f) and 4Q214a (Levi^e).

The following three cases are of a different nature than those above, since in each case it has been argued that what some have designated different scrolls of the same or closely related works are, in fact, part of the same scroll written by a single scribe.

3.1.2.4 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d)

Milik considered what would eventually be labelled by Stone and Greenfield as 4Q213 (Levi^a), 4Q213a (Levi^b), 4Q213b (Levi^c), and 4Q214 (Levi^d) to be a single manuscript, which Milik designated 4Q213 TestLevi^a.⁹⁸ Since the *editio princeps* of Stone and Greenfield in DJD 22, their division of the fragments into four scrolls has generally prevailed, but Hanneke Van der Schoor argued convincingly in a recent article that Milik's previous conclusion was correct.⁹⁹ Van der Schoor's argument rests largely on the legitimate point that informal scribal hands, such as that of the scribe discussed here, could vary appreciably even within the same fragment, something for which Stone and Greenfield did not adequately account. Despite this expected variation, the script of the fragments discussed by Van der Schoor is remarkably coherent. For further discussion of this scribe's style, which is quite messy and irregular, see the profile for 4Q213 (Levi^a).

3.1.2.5 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b (Levi^f)

A similar situation obtains for 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b (Levi^f) as for the Aramaic Levi copies discussed above. Milik had originally posited a single scribe and manuscript, designated 4Q214 TestLevi^b, which was later split into two copies by Stone and Greenfield: 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b (Levi^f).¹⁰⁰ As with Milik's 4Q213 (TestLevi^a), Van der Schoor has claimed that Stone and Greenfield's division into two scrolls was unwarranted, and that the fragments included by them under 4Q214a (Levi^e) and 4Q214b (Levi^f) are best assigned to a single scroll, written by one scribe.¹⁰¹ This scribe wrote in an upright, neat script, likely during the Hasmonean period.

3.1.2.6 4Q542 (TQahat) and 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e)

Émile Puech suggested that these two manuscripts were written by the same scribe "à quelques années de distance."¹⁰² The identification is, in my opinion, very convincing based on the striking similarity of the scripts and other scribal factors in these two scrolls. In fact, I have argued elsewhere that that 4Q542 (TQahat) and 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e) belong to one and the same scroll.¹⁰³ Puech gives no explanation for his opinion that the two scrolls were written several years apart, and I see no firm basis for making this assertion given the expected variation in less formal hands. This scribe wrote in a relatively informal, irregular semi-formal style, and Puech dated his scribal activity to the early Hasmonean period.

3.1.3 Spacing and Vacats

Spacing conventions varied from scribe to scribe, but fell within a well-established range of practice. For columns that had been dry-ruled (i.e., in most cases), line spacing was already determined and needed only to be followed by the scribe. When there was no ruling on a scroll the scribe had more freedom to determine the spacing, both in the leading (where horizontal script lines were not present) and in the length of lines (where vertical column lines were not present, in whole or in part). In such cases, scribes who wrote in a more formal, consistent hand tended to have more regular spacing, resulting in a neater overall appearance for the scroll. Scribes who wrote in an informal, untidy script often had more erratic spacing practices as well, as we see, for example, in 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e).

95 White Crawford, "Collection," 124, n. 57. White Crawford, *Scribes*, 162, n. 152.

96 Humbert and Fidanzio, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 258.

97 Milik, *BE*, 5, 244.

98 Milik, "Fragment," 95.

99 Van der Schoor, "Variation." See also Drawnel, "Milik," 113–14.

100 Milik, "Fragment," 95.

101 Van der Schoor, "Variation." See also Drawnel, "Milik," 113–15.

102 DJD 31:377.

103 Machiela, "Testament of Qahat." See also the profiles for 4Q542 (TQahat) and 4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e).

Word spacing varies, from what appears almost to be *scripta continua* – with no more space between words than is typically left between letters within a word (1 mm or less) – to spaces of approximately 5 mm. Both of these extremes are very rare, with the large majority of scribes leaving an average of 1.5–2 mm between words. As was observed for line spacing and line length above, there is a recognizable connection between less formal scripts and more erratic word spacing practices, while scribes who wrote in more formal, regulated scripts tended to have more regular spacing between words. In a few cases, we find scribes who sought to keep a neat left side of the column, “justifying” the left margin by leaving a larger than usual space between the final words of a line when called for (see Figure 18, above). In our corpus, this occurs in 4Q203(EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), 4Q552 (Four Kingdoms^a), and 4Q554 (NJ^a), the same practice being found in a number of Hebrew Qumran scrolls.¹⁰⁴

Vacats provided a way for scribes to indicate what they considered to be breaks or pauses between small or large “sense units” of a text, and in this way vacats assisted with

the mental work of reading a scroll’s contents. I consider the use of vacats to be one likely indicator of a manuscript’s quality. Considered together with a scroll’s formality and evenness of script, neatness, margin size, number of corrections, and other aspects of spacing, the presence of very few or no vacats (where we have enough text to determine this) generally indicates a scroll of relatively low quality, while many vacats – especially vacats of varying sizes, reaching to half a line or greater – generally indicates a scroll of relatively high quality. In most cases, the factors just listed coincide with one another to provide a robust overall sense of a manuscript’s quality. In some of the highest-quality scrolls, such as 4Q203(EnGiants^a)/4Q204 (En^c), 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), 1Q20 (apGen), and 11Q10 (Job), we find variation in the size of vacats in order to signal lesser or greater breaks in the flow of the text, with up to a full line or more to signal major pauses. In doing so, a scribe prioritized an easy, aesthetically pleasing reading experience over the preservation of precious scroll materials.

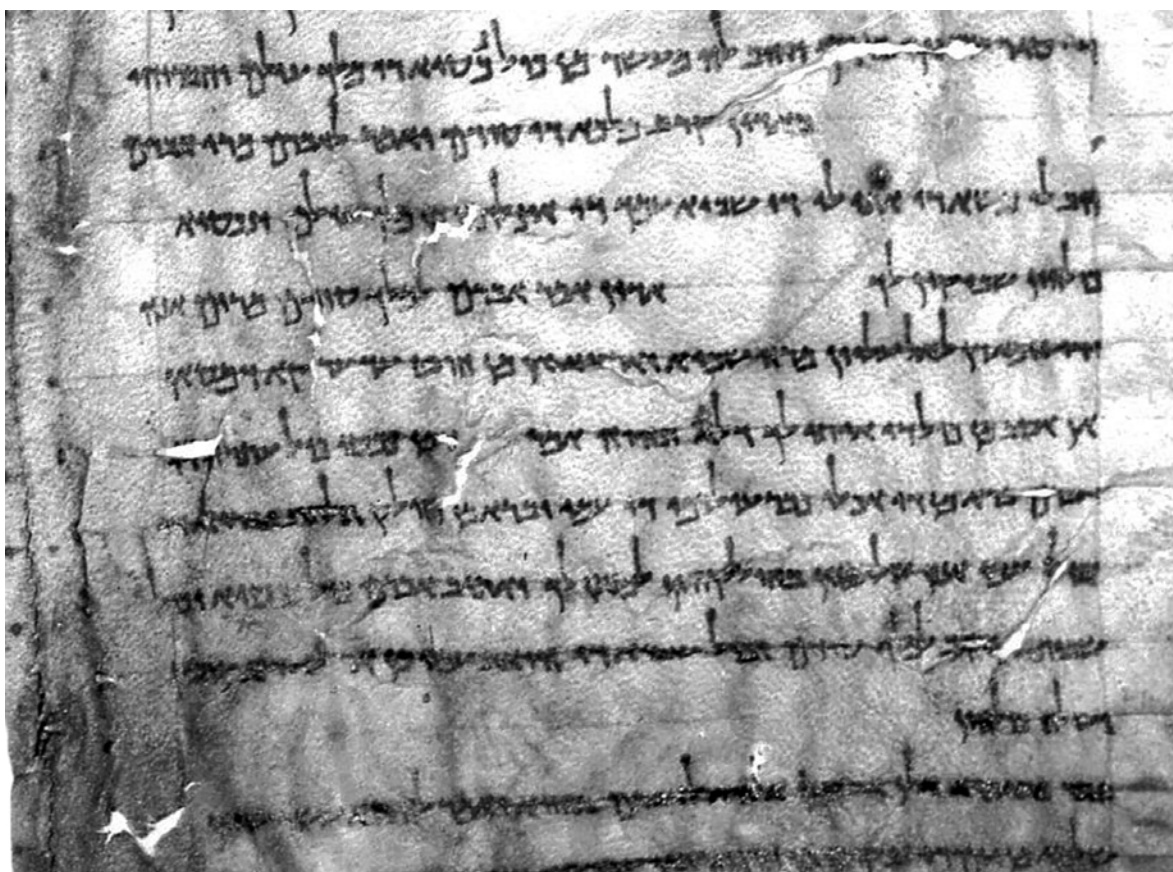


FIGURE 29 A column with small, medium, and large vacats (1Q20 [apGen] 22)

104 A list is provided in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 106–7.

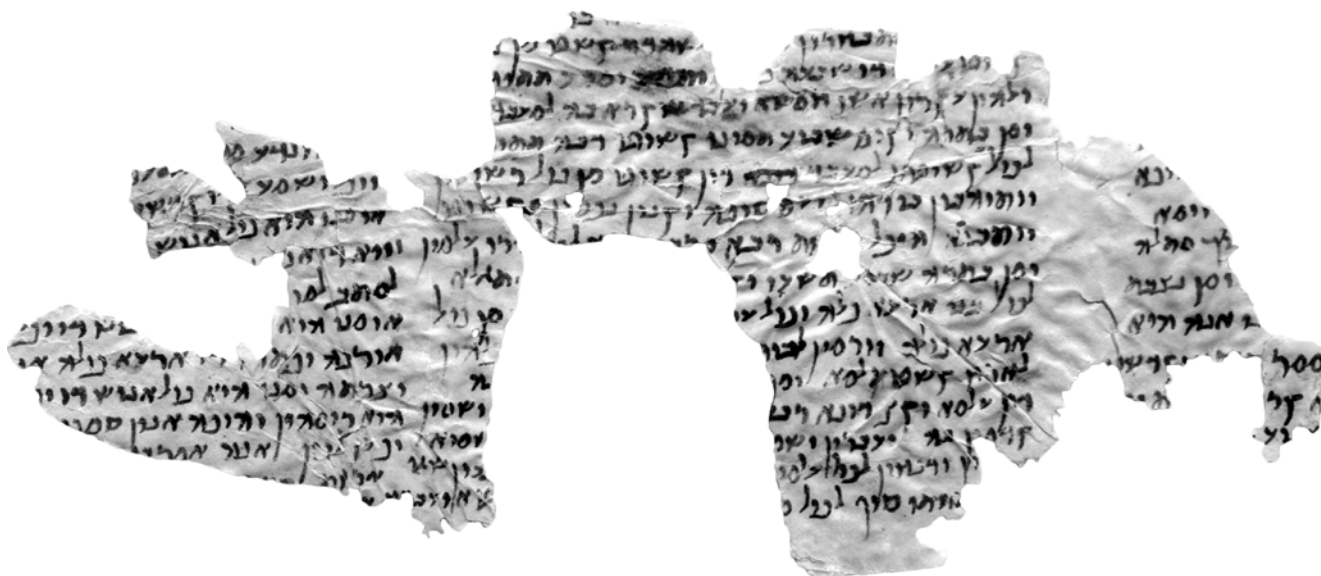
FIGURE 30 A column with no vacats (4Q212 [En^s] iiiii-v)

TABLE 13 Vacats arranged by size

Ms. num.	Title	Vacat size	Script type
1Q23	EnGiants ^a	sml.	Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal
4Q196	papTob ^a	sml.?	Late Hasmonean semi-formal
4Q213b	Levi ^c	sml.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q214	Levi ^d	sml.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q214a	Levi ^e	sml.	Late Hasmonean/early Herodian formal
4Q214b	Levi ^f	sml.	Hasmonean formal
4Q246	apocrDan	sml.	Early Herodian formal
4Q530	EnGiants ^b	sml.	Hasmonean semi-cursive
4Q536	Birth of Noah ^c	sml.	Early Herodian semi-formal
4Q538	TJudah/WordsBenjamin	sml.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q544	Visions of Amram ^b	sml.	Hasmonean semi-formal
4Q552	Four Kingdoms ^a	sml.	Late Hasmonean/early Herodian formal
4Q560	Magic Booklet	sml.	Hasmonean semi-formal
1Q24	EnGiants ^b ?	med.	Early to mid-Herodian semi-cursive
4Q213	Levi ^a	med.	Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal
4Q157	Job	med.	Late Herodian
4Q202	En ^b	med.	Early Hasmonean semi-cursive
4Q546	Visions of Amram ^d	med.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q542	TQahat	med.	Early Hasmonean semi-formal
4Q556	Prophecy ^a	med.	Early Herodian formal
4Q558	papVision ^b	med.	Late Hasmonean to early Herodian semi-cursive/semi-formal
6Q8	papGiants	med.	Herodian semi-cursive
2Q24	NJ	sml., med.	Herodian formal
4Q209	Enastr ^b	sml., med.	Early Herodian formal
4Q210	Enastr ^c	sml., med.	Late Hasmonean
4Q213a	Levi ^b	sml., med.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q543	Visions of Amram ^a	sml., med.	Hasmonean formal
4Q553	Four Kingdoms ^b	sml., med.	Hasmonean semi-cursive
5Q15	NJ	sml., med.	Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal

TABLE 13 Vacats arranged by size (*cont.*)

Ms. num.	Title	Vacat size	Script type
1Q72	Dan ^b	sml., lrg.	Herodian cursive tendency
4Q208	Enastr ^a	sml., lrg.?	Early Hasmonean semi-formal
4Q211	Enastr ^d	sml., lrg.	Hasmonean formal
4Q537	TJacob?	sml.?, lrg.	Late Hasmonean with some early Herodian
4Q547	Visions of Amram ^e	sml., lrg.	Early Hasmonean
4Q549	Visions of Amram ^g ?	sml., lrg.	Early Herodian round semi-formal
4Q205	En ^d	med., lrg.	Early Herodian formal
4Q206/a	En ^e /EnGiants ^f	med., lrg.	Late Hasmonean semi-cursive
4Q197	Tob ^b	sml., med., lrg.	Early Herodian formal
4Q531	EnGiants ^c	sml., med., lrg.	Hasmonean formal
4Q540	apocrLevi ^a ?	sml., med., lrg.	Hasmonean
11Q10	Job	sml., med., lrg.	Late Herodian formal
4Q113	Dan ^b	lrg.	Herodian formal
4Q318	Zodiology and Brontology	lrg.	Early Herodian formal
4Q534	Birth of Noah ^a	lrg.	Early Herodian semi-formal
4Q550	Jews at the Persian Court	lrg.	Hasmonean semi-formal
4Q554	NJ ^a	lrg.	Late Hasmonean formal
4Q554a	NJ ^b	lrg.	Late Hasmonean formal
11Q18	NJ	lrg.	Early Herodian semi-formal
4Q203	EnGiants ^a	sml., med., lrg. (full line)	Early Herodian
4Q204	En ^c	sml., med., lrg. (full line)	Early Herodian formal
1Q20	apGen	sml., med., lrg. (full line)	Herodian formal
4Q112	Dan ^a	med., lrg. (full line)	Late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal

3.1.4 Other Scribal Peculiarities

In addition to the expected writing of a scroll in an Aramaic script, scribes would, on rare occasion, use practices that were unusual judged against the wider backdrop of the Aramaic scrolls studied in this book.

3.1.4.1 *Interchanging Medial and Final Letter Forms*

Scribes sometimes used medial letter forms in final position, or (much less often) vice versa. The reason for this practice is not always clear, but in some cases it may indicate a poorly-trained or careless scribe. In a considerable number of examples, such variation aligns with poorly-executed, informal scripts. Medial and final letter forms are occasionally exchanged in 4Q201 (En^a) and 4Q539 (TJoseph). 4Q541 (apocrLevi^b?) and 4Q213 (Levi^a) have medial *pe* in final position (these letters are unusually large in 4Q213), 4Q546 (Visions of Amram^d) and 4Q560 (Magic Booklet) do the same thing with medial *kaph*, and the scribe of 4Q202 (En^b) used the medial forms of both letters at the ends of words. 4Q242 (PrNab) and 4Q553a (Four Kingdoms^c) have medial *mem* in final position, and 11Q18 (NJ) does the same for *tsade*. 4Q208 (Enastr^a) has only medial letter forms at the ends of words. The scribe of

4Q542 (TQahat), however, takes the prize as most erratic in this respect, consistently using the medial *kaph* and *tsade* in final position, and less consistently placing final *mem* and *nun* in medial position.

3.1.4.2 *Cursive Letter Forms*

On occasion, we find that a scribe used cursive letters known from outside of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, but not common within it. A cursive form that can hardly be called rare among our scrolls is the looped *tav*, which is used in a significant minority of scrolls, often in combination with the more formal, square *tav*. Far less common is the cursive *mem*, used by the scribes of 4Q212 (En^g), 4Q558 (papVision^b), and 6Q23 (papWords of Michael). Unique in the corpus is the cursive *aleph* written by the scribe of 6Q8 (papGiants), which is accompanied by the equally rare practice of distinguishing between medial and final forms of the same letter.

3.1.4.3 *Number Symbols*

Our scrolls attest to scribes both writing out numbers in full and using shorthand numeric symbols, the latter derived from Hieratic but common to Aramaic literature

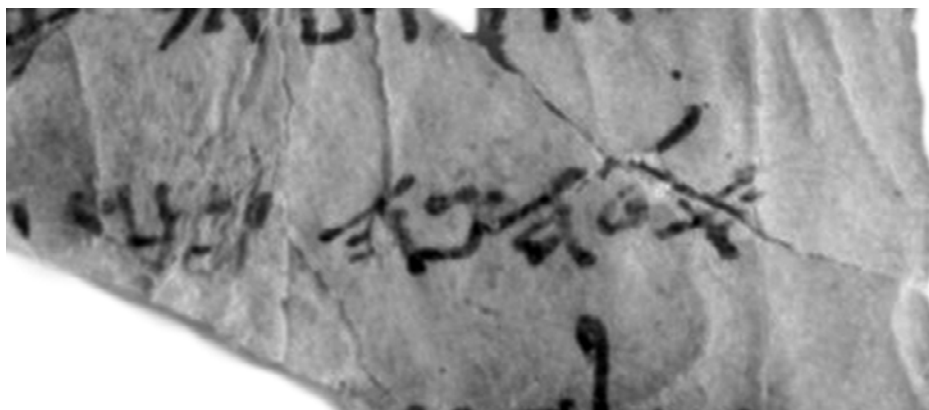


FIGURE 31 Palaeo-Hebrew divine name (4Q243 [psDan^a] 1.2)

of the Persian to Roman periods.¹⁰⁵ Scribes who employed this system wrote 4Q318 (Zodiology and Brontology), 4Q540 (apocrLevi^a?), 4Q554 (NJ^a), 4Q558 (papVision^b), and 4Q559 (Biblical Chronology). Among these, the scribe of 4Q318 uniquely distinguished between medial and final forms of the symbol for number one.

3.1.4.4 *Palaeo-Hebrew Script for a Divine Name*

In a single case – 4Q243 (psDan^a) 1.2 – we find that a scribe used palaeo-Hebrew script to write the divine name “your God” (אלהכה). This practice is found more frequently in the Hebrew (mainly “non-biblical”) Qumran scrolls, and Tov has suggested that the practice may be linked to the community responsible for writing the sectarian Hebrew literature.¹⁰⁶ If this were the case, we would have evidence that the copying scribe of 4Q243 (psDan^a) was linked to that community.

3.1.4.5 *Tetrapuncta for a Divine Name*

Another unique scribal practice among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls is the repeated use of tetrapuncta – four successive dots or strokes of ink – by the scribe of 4Q196 (papTob^a) as a substitute for a divine name. For some years it was assumed that the four dots in 4Q196 represented the four letters of the Tetragrammaton, since that specific substitution is well-known from Hebrew scrolls at Qumran.¹⁰⁷ However, further research has shown that the dots in our scroll represent instead the name אלהא “God,” based on overlapping passages in the Qumran copies of Tobit.¹⁰⁸ This matches well the use of palaeo-Hebrew to write אלהכה in 4Q243 (psDan^a), and the widespread practice in the Aramaic literature of this period to avoid using

the Tetragrammaton. As in the case of 4Q243 (psDan^a), we find here an affinity with the practices of some scribes who also wrote sectarian Qumran scrolls.¹⁰⁹

3.1.4.6 *Dicolon Symbol to Indicate a Break between Sense-Units*

The scribe of 4Q156 (Lev?) repeatedly used two vertically-oriented dots – sometimes called a dicolon in the literature – to mark a minor sense-division in the text. This practice is unique to 4Q156 (Lev?) among the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran, though it is also used in 4Q364 (Reworked Pent B) and in Greek texts contemporaneous with the Qumran scrolls. For further details on use of the dicolon, see the profile for 4Q156 (Lev?).

3.2 *Correction, Supplementation, and Secondary Use of Completed Scrolls*

The stories of our valuable scrolls were only beginning once they had been written by their original scribes, and among the manuscripts studied here we find many signs of ongoing use, correction, and repair. Several distinct practices were employed for marking deletions and other paratextual or secondary additions. These are presented in groups below, according to the type of scribal practice.

3.2.1 *Correction through Deletion*

Scribes regularly made mistakes in their work, though we see strikingly different rates of such errors depending on the individual scribe. In general, there is a clear correspondence between less formal, more erratic scripts and a higher frequency of scribal mistakes, both factors contributing (often together) to what I take to be a lower quality copy. Our scribes had a few ways in which such mistakes could be corrected. In situations where a letter or word

105 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 212–13; Longacre, “Script,” 39–40.

106 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 243.

107 It is clear, for example, that Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 218–19) assumed the tetrapuncta of 4Q196 to represent the Tetragrammaton. In this assumption he followed Fitzmyer (e.g., at DJD 19:30).

108 See Machiela, “Tetragrammaton.”

109 Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 218–19) draws a close connection between the use of tetrapuncta and what he calls the Qumran Scribal Practice, associated by him with the sect living at Qumran.



FIGURE 32 Partially extant tetrapuncta (4Q196 [papTob^a] 18.15)
 Image B-485064
 COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL
 LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: SHAI
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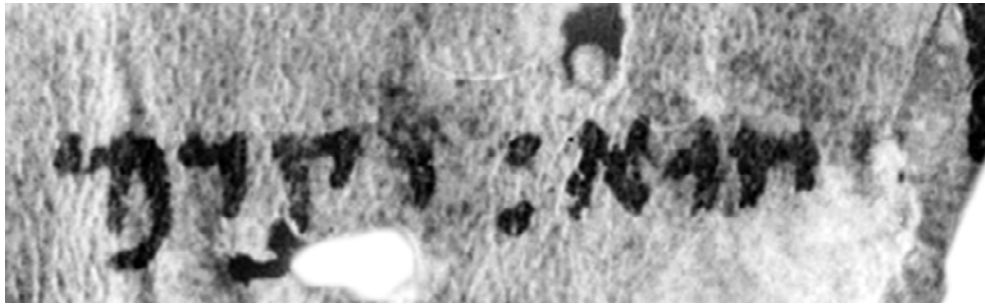


FIGURE 33 Dicolon (two dots) to signal minor sense-division (4Q156 [Lev?] 1.6)

had been written accidentally or incorrectly – as decided either by the original scribe or a later reader – the mistake could be either marked so that later readers were aware not to read, pronounce, or copy it, or scraped from the skin with a sharp instrument, and so erased. In a few cases (e.g., 4Q213a [Levi^b] and 4Q548 [Visions of Amram^f]) we find both types, signifying either distinct stages of correction or mixed usage by a single correcting scribe.

3.2.1.1 Erasure by Scraping

The most common way of deleting a letter or word in our corpus written by mistake was to scrape the skin's surface with a sharp instrument. It is often impossible to tell with certainty if this was done by the original scribe or a later corrector, but occasionally it seems that the original scribe realized his mistake while writing and erased the letter(s) in question once they were dry (e.g., if he stopped writing mid-word). The practice of erasure by scraping is attested in around a dozen of the scrolls left to us: 4Q115 (Dan^d), 4Q202 (En^b), 4Q209 (Enastr^b), 4Q210 (Enastr^c), 4Q212 (En^g; uncertain), 4Q213a (Levi^b; uncertain), 4Q529 (Words of Michael), 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), 4Q541 (apocrLevi^b?;

uncertain), 4Q542 (TQahat), 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f), 4Q551 (Narrative), 4Q554 (NJ^a; uncertain), 11Q10 (Job), and 11Q18 (NJ).

3.2.1.2 Deletion by a Strikethrough Line

The second most popular way of marking the deletion of a letter or word was to use a secondary line of ink through the cancelled portion of text. A single letter is typically struck through with a vertical line, as in 4Q196 (papTob^a) and 4Q530 (EnGiants^b). However, a horizontal line seems to strike a single letter in 4Q531 (EnGiants^c), while the scribe of 4Q213a (Levi^b) used lines in both directions. Horizontal lines mark the deletion of more than one letter in 4Q212 (En^g), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), 4Q533 (EnGiants^e), and 4Q554 (NJ^a).

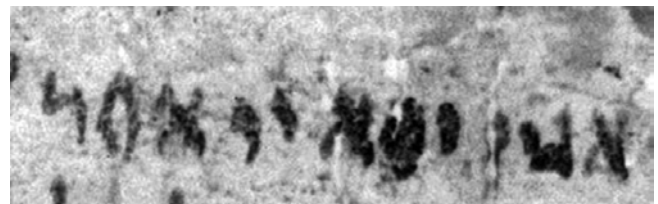


FIGURE 35 Deletion of a letter with a vertical line (4Q530 [EnGiants^b] 71.1)
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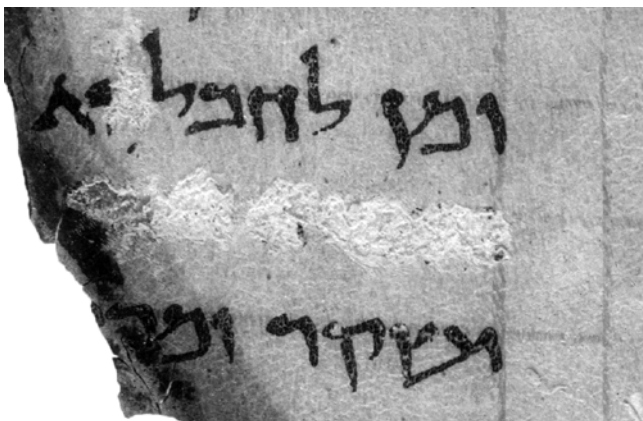


FIGURE 34 Erasure of one letter and at least two words by scraping (11Q10 [Job] 211.5–6)
Image B-285228

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FIGURE 36 Deletion of a word with a horizontal line (4Q533 [EnGiants^e] 3.2)
Image B-284602

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3.2.1.3 *Deletion by Cancellation Dots*

A third, relatively rare way of signaling a cancelled letter was to mark it with one or more ink dots. A single dot above the intended letter was employed by the scribes of 4Q208 (Enastr^a), 4Q112 (Dan^a), and 4Q548 (Visions of Amram^f), while the scribes of 1Q20 (apGen) and apparently 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (Visions of Amram^e) used dots both above and below a letter. For the many ink dots in 4Q213 (Levi^a) – which are probably accidental – see the profile for that scroll.

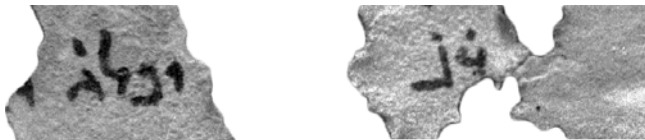


FIGURE 37 Deletion with cancellation dot above the letter (4Q208 [Enastr^a] 16.4 and 18.2)
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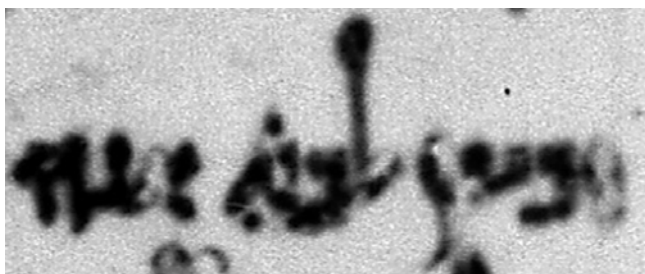


FIGURE 38 Deletion with cancellation dots above and below a letter (1Q20 [apGen] 5.9)

3.2.2 *Correction through Supplementation*

In some cases, the original scribe of a scroll or a later, correcting scribe considered a letter, word, or phrase to be missing from the text as first written. These situations were typically corrected by supplementation of the original text with letters or words placed directly above the spot in need of emendation, though there were other methods, too.

3.2.2.1 *Supralinear Additions*

Additions of a single letter above the spot in need of correction is quite common among the Qumran Aramaic scrolls, as it is in the Qumran corpus more generally. A majority of the scrolls studied here have small corrections of this sort; they were very common. For most supralinear corrections it is difficult to determine with certainty whether they were done by the original scribe at or near the time of initially writing the text, or at a later time by

a different scribe. In some cases, however, a scribal hand is sufficiently distinctive relative to the original hand that this determination can be made. In 11Q10 (Job), for example, the original scribe seems very likely to have made such corrections. Scrolls in which the correcting hand appears to be different than the original one include 1Q23 (EnGiants^a), 4Q246 (apocrDan), 4Q542 (TQahat), and 4Q550 (Jews at the Persian Court). Sometimes a repeated correction suggests a secondary corrector, as we find for the word מַאֲוִיָּן in 4Q210 (Enastr^c). A short vertical stroke was rarely used as a scribal mark signaling where a supralinear addition was to be inserted when reading (4Q196 [papTob^a] and perhaps 4Q558 [papVision^b]).

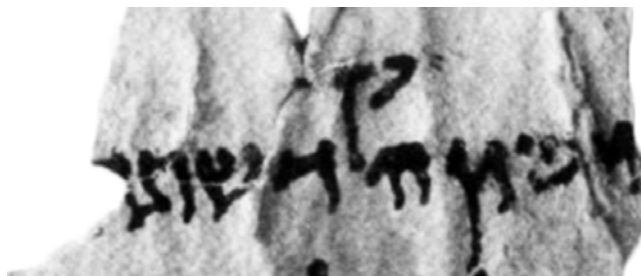


FIGURE 39 Supralinear addition of a letter (4Q531 [EnGiants^c] 17.1)

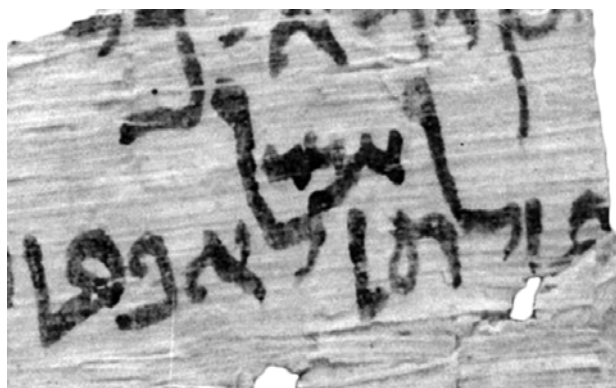


FIGURE 40 Scribal insertion mark below supralinear word (4Q196 [papTob^a] 6.8)
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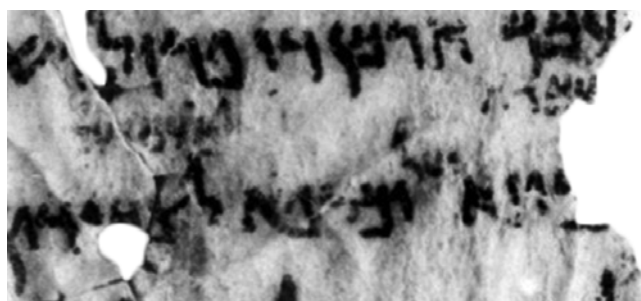


FIGURE 41 Supralinear addition of multiple words (4Q202 [En^b] iii.2)

3.2.2.2 Sublinear Additions

The placement of a supplemental letter under the text to be corrected does occur, but much less frequently than those above the text. Such sublinear additions are found in 4Q559 (papBiblical Chronology) and, apparently, 4Q246 (apocrDan). The letter in the latter scroll – seemingly a large, cursive *mem* written in a hand different than the main text – is the subject of some debate.



FIGURE 42 Sublinear letter added (4Q559 [papBiblical Chronology] 4:5)
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3.2.2.3 Vertical Insertion of Text

Supplementation of the main, horizontally-oriented text with an addition that runs vertically along a column is known from a number of Hebrew Qumran scrolls, most famously 1QIsa^a. We find only one such addition among the Aramaic scrolls, in 4Q542 (TQahat).



FIGURE 43 Vertical insertion of text (4Q542 [TQahat] 3)

3.2.2.4 Overwriting/Conversion of a Letter

Another way of correcting an existing letter or word was to write over it in an attempt to change the reading, a practice that is fairly widespread in our corpus and is mainly limited to scrolls written in informal, untidy scripts. At times, this practice is combined with the erasure of letters by scraping, as in 4Q212 (En^g). This type of correction is sometimes difficult to discern, but overwriting one or

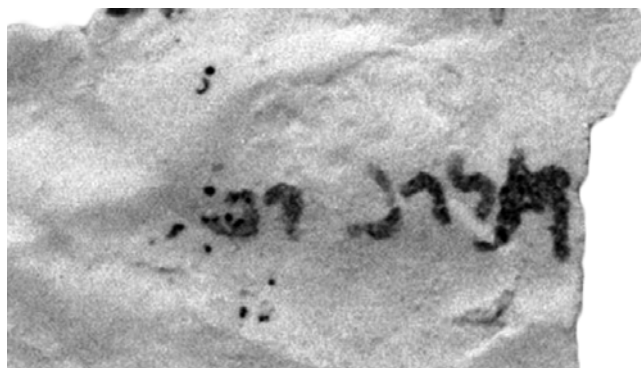


FIGURE 44 *Tav* written over another letter (4Q208 [Enastr^a] 5:2)
Image B-284658
COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS
DIGITAL LIBRARY, ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
PHOTO: NAJIB ANTON ALBINA

more letters in a word does or may occur in 4Q196 (pap-Tob^a), 4Q208 (Enastr^a), 4Q210 (Enastr^c), 4Q212 (En^g; entire word overwritten), 4Q530 (EnGiants^b), 4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b?}), 4Q542 (TQahat), and 4Q560 (Magic Booklet).

3.2.3 Other Paratextual Letters and Symbols

Some paratextual scribal marks have been mentioned above, such as the letters at the top, righthand corners of sheets on 1Q20 (apGen) and perhaps 4Q529 (Words of Michael), or the large, cursive sublinear *mem* (less likely, *bet*) on 4Q246 (apocrDan). To this we should add the large, oblique *mem* written in a hand other than the main text on the bottom margin of 4Q546 (Visions of Amram^d) 9, the purpose of which is unclear.

Several times in the Aramaic scrolls studied here we find scribal symbols in the intercolumnar margins of scrolls evidently related to reading practices, called by Tov and others *paragraphos* symbols drawing on the study of Greek manuscript.¹¹⁰ Indeed, signs very much like those found in the Qumran scrolls are used in Greek manuscripts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and one can reasonably posit influence from Greek scribal practices on Hebrew and Aramaic ones.¹¹¹

A straight, horizontal *paragraphos* line is used in the intercolumnar margins of 4Q532 (EnGiants^d) and 4Q542 (TQahat). The narrative context of the symbol in the former scroll is unclear, though Puech (DJD 31:103) suggested that it may be preceded by a *vacat*. In the latter scroll, however, the symbol clearly corresponds with a narrative

110 Tov gives a broader introduction to this practice across the Qumran scrolls in *Scribal Practices*, 180–84.

111 These and other practices can be set alongside a growing set of Greek influences in the scribal realm, such as those discussed by Longacre, “Script.”



FIGURE 45 Marginal *paragraphos* symbol (4Q532 [EnGiants^d] iii.7)

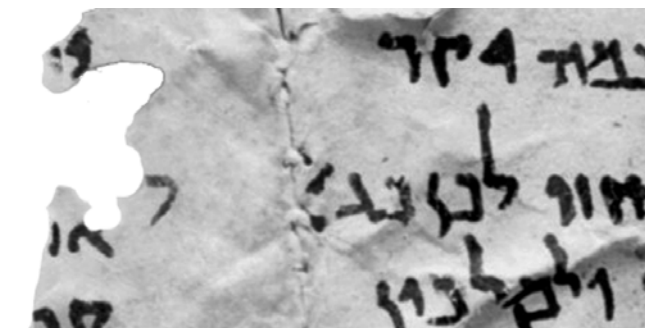


FIGURE 46 Marginal “fishhook” *paragraphos* symbols (4Q213 [Levi^a] iii.11 and 4Q213a [Levi^b] 2.10–11)

pause, and so presumably aided readers in finding the break between two sections of the work. A somewhat differently shaped symbol of the so-called “fishhook” type occurs twice in 4Q213 (Levi^a)/4Q213a (Levi^b), and in each case we can see that the symbol corresponds to the beginning of a new narrative unit. It seems reasonable to assume that these marks were made after the text was initially written, an assumption supported in 4Q532 (EnGiants^d) and 4Q213 (Levi^a)/4Q213a (Levi^b) by the fact that the symbols are written in noticeable lighter ink than the main texts.

Finally, the X mark at the blank beginning of a line on 4Q556a (Prophecy^b) should be mentioned. The context of the symbol is now lost, but the fact that the X is evidently placed in a *vacat* suggests that it served to mark a matter of importance for readers of the text. This suggestion is supported by the several times a similar symbol occurs in the Hebrew Qumran scrolls (e.g., 1QIsa^a xxvi.9, xxxv.10;

4Q177 [Catena A] 12–13ii.9, 29.2; and 4Q417 [Instruction^c] 4.1). Assuming that this is correct, we find three types of symbol used to mark literary units for readers in the Aramaic scrolls from the Qumran caves: a straight horizontal line, a hooked line, and an X mark. All three marks are also well-attested in the corpus of Hebrew scrolls.

3.2.4 Opisthograph: 4Q201 (En^a)/4Q338 (Genealogical List?)

A single opisthograph has been identified among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, with 4Q201 (En^a) being reused to write 4Q338 (Genealogical List?) on the verso (i.e., flesh) side of the skin. The relationship between the two texts, if there is any, can no longer be ascertained, though Milik and Tov entertained the possibility of a connection of both works with the biblical patriarchs.¹¹² For further discussion, see the profile for 4Q201 (En^a).

4 Concluding Observations

4.1 Historical Context and Transmission

Viewed as an entire corpus, the Aramaic fragments studied in this book represent nearly ninety scrolls written over a period of more than two centuries, from roughly the late third or early second century BCE (4Q208 [Enastr^a]) to the mid-first century CE (11Q10 [Job]). The scrolls represented are overwhelmingly written on skin, though a small percentage are made of papyrus. In several cases, the same literary work is found on scrolls made of both materials: the Book of Giants, the Words of Michael, Tobit, and Daniel if we take into account 6Q7 (papDan), now containing only parts of the last Hebrew chapters of that book. The only clear case in which we are not dealing with a scroll is 4Q339 (List of False Prophets), for which the distinctiveness of the physical medium (a rectangular “card” of skin) matches that of its literary contents (a list). Indeed, to class this text among the Aramaic literature at Qumran is open to debate, since only the list’s heading is written in that language.

There is compelling evidence that some Aramaic scrolls in our corpus were written by the same scribe, while others were written by a scribe also responsible for one or more of the preserved Hebrew scrolls. It stands to reason that in these instances – especially when we find an Aramaic scroll written by a scribe who also wrote Hebrew sectarian literature – the likelihood of that scroll being produced at or around Qumran increases significantly. Other practices supporting a connection with scribes

¹¹² Milik, *BE*, 139; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 71.

from the Essene group(s) responsible for the sectarian literature (at Qumran or elsewhere) are the use of palaeo-Hebrew script and tetrapuncta to write the name אלהים “God.” Taken together, these factors show that there was no problem with the same scribe copying both Hebrew and Aramaic literature during the late Second Temple period.

Florentino García Martínez observed that there are no differences in the scribal practices between the Aramaic and Hebrew groups of scrolls from the caves around Qumran.¹¹³ One could, of course, find minor scribal details that occur in one group and not the other, but taking a wide view of the entire Qumran corpus García Martínez is essentially correct: the media, production techniques, scripts, and other scribal practices are remarkable consistent across the Aramaic and Hebrew scrolls. All of these scrolls were demonstrably part of one and the same Jewish scribal culture, which was itself well-integrated with the interconnected scribal guilds of the eastern Mediterranean Basin during the Second Temple period. If the scholarly consensus view that much of the Jewish Aramaic literature attested in our scrolls was composed during the Hellenistic period is correct – and there is every reason to believe that it is – then we can assume that the very large majority of our scrolls, if not all of them, are copies of earlier exemplars.

As seen especially in the preceding chapter on language, the scribes writing our scrolls felt comfortable introducing a limited amount of change during the copying and correction processes. Such change was typically restricted to several aspects of orthography and morphology, though occasionally it extended to more extensive modifications in phrasing. There is little evidence in our corpus to support the idea of scribes making major alterations to a composition during the process of transmission, though we must admit the absence of sufficient textual overlaps among multiple copies to make bold claims on this front.

The fact that many of the Aramaic compositions stored and used at Qumran were copied into the Herodian period proves their enduring appeal to at least some Jewish communities over several centuries. This appeal obviously included those associated with the site of Qumran, where the Aramaic literature was kept and copied. However, with the exception of Daniel, which begins and ends with sections written in Hebrew, the rabbinic circles that eventually rose to social prominence in later Roman-period Palestine do not seem to have carried forward most of this literature. Despite this apparent decline in interest, we do

find some meager evidence of ongoing Egyptian Jewish transmission in the Cairo Geniza, with the Aramaic Levi Document and a Hebrew translation of Tobit, alongside the Christian preservation of Tobit in Greek and Latin translations, an Enochic collection eventually culminating in Ethiopic 1 Enoch, and some earlier Aramaic didactic literature (the Aramaic Levi Document, and perhaps other, now-lost works of a similar ilk) reworked into the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

4.2 *Indicators of Manuscript Quality*

It was suggested above that a variety of factors coalesce to give an indication of the quality of a manuscript in antiquity, and that some of these factors may be weighted more heavily than others. One helpful way to think about these factors is to imagine a spectrum of quality, which in our case would range from scrolls deemed “excellent” on one end to those considered “fair” on the other (the hypothetical category “poor” being reserved for documentary and other texts of lower quality than any of our scrolls). We may then propose exemplar scrolls at the two ends of the spectrum, against which other scrolls may be held up for comparison.

At the “excellent” end of the quality spectrum we have scrolls like 4Q209 (Enastr^b) and 1Q20 (apGen), written in very neat, formal scripts on high-quality skin that is generally free of defects.¹¹⁴ On such scrolls we find generous margins, even ruling and spacing with regular vacats that range in size (up to and sometimes exceeding a full line), and few scribal mistakes or corrections beyond the occasional addition or deletion of single letters. All of these factors speak to an intentionally high level of care and professionalism, and of a shared regimen of specialized training resembling that outlined by Johnson for the bookrolls of Oxyrhynchus.¹¹⁵ The very best scrolls are at times large in format, approaching 25–30 cm in height, such that they align with what Tov called *de luxe* editions drawing on terminology used in the study of Greek bookrolls.¹¹⁶ Scroll size, however, does not seem to be the most salient indicator of overall quality, since we find a few larger scrolls that do not exhibit the characteristics listed above, along with several smaller scrolls that do. As the scroll height increases, the typical dimensions of the

¹¹⁴ These formal scripts could be either curvilinear or rectilinear, tending more towards the latter over time, and beginning to exhibit a square module and ornamental strokes over the course of the Herodian period. See further Longacre, “Script,” 30–39; Longacre, “Style.”

¹¹⁵ Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 157–60.

¹¹⁶ Tov, *Scribal Habits*, 125–29. See also Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 155–60; Longacre, “Style,” 10–12.

¹¹³ García Martínez, “Scribal Practices.”



FIGURE 47 Excellent original quality manuscript (4Q209 [Enastr^b] 23)

writing block tend to change correspondingly, with taller scrolls having higher ratios of height to width. Considering the data of this chapter, there is some reason to believe that the size of a scroll was often more closely related to the length of the text(s) it was planned to contain than to its intended quality. The social functions of high-quality scrolls are not entirely clear, but their production obviously required an elevated investment of money, skill, and time. Such an investment is consistent with more public-facing or formal uses for a scroll, and speaks to the high social value placed on the text being written and the knowledge it conveyed.

At the “fair” end of the spectrum, by contrast, we have scrolls like 4Q212 (En^s) and 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (VisAmram^e), written in informal scripts that tend towards cursive features and betray noticeably less attention to the consistency and tidiness of letters or the evenness of ink coverage (sometimes requiring re-inking). Spacing between letters, words, and lines is more erratic and crowded, giving the overall impression of less open space on the scroll. Margins tend to be small and uneven, mistakes or corrections are considerably more frequent than in high-quality scrolls, and vacats are either not used or are small when present.¹¹⁷ All or some of these features

contribute to a scroll that is more arduous to read. In some cases, such as that of 4Q542 (TQahat)/4Q547 (VisAmram^e), the skin is also of an obviously lower grade, marked by imperfections and repairs already when the scroll was first written. We must be cautious of too confidently linking the scribal features just listed with assumptions about why these poorer-quality scrolls were made or how they were used. It was suggested above that the investment required for a top-quality scroll may reflect the high social value placed on its contents, plausibly signaling a certain public or symbolic significance. However, it is more problematic to claim that lower levels of scribal execution and material fineness in a scroll reflects a proportionately low regard for its literary contents by whoever commissioned or made it. One reason for caution on this front is that we have several literary works with copies occupying both ends of the quality spectrum. It is, of course, possible – perhaps even likely – that the various copies of a literary work were written in disparate geographic and social locations, and that these locations entailed differing views of the work being copied; we simply lack the evidence to determine the nature or extent of such differences. On the other hand, suggestions that low-quality scrolls denote intended uses that were less formal and public – such as “private,” “individual,” “study,” or “working” copies – have

117 In her study of the Aramaic Levi Document, Van der Schoor (“Variation,” 200–201) noted that variability of script often corresponds with a messiness in general layout.



FIGURE 48 Good original quality manuscript (4Q213a [Levi]^b 1, 2)

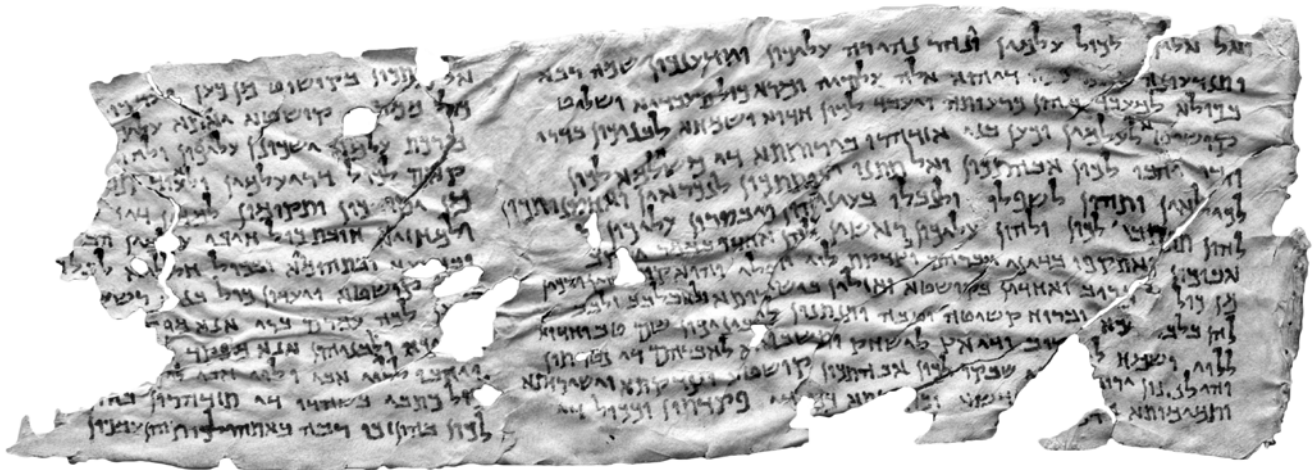


FIGURE 49 Fair original manuscript quality (4Q542 [TQahat] 1)

some logical appeal.¹¹⁸ In this case, a scroll's quality is tied more closely to its intended social location and function than to an estimation of its contents.

Papyrus scrolls were evidently made according to somewhat different quality standards than those on skin. While scripts and scribal features such as vacats and corrections on papyrus scrolls tend to correspond to those found at the lower end of the quality spectrum for skin scrolls, the factors of scroll size, margin size, and openness of line and word spacing often resemble higher-quality skin scrolls. We cannot be sure of the factors involved in these differences, but it is reasonable to infer that they are best explained by the relative cheapness of papyrus compared to skin. This cheapness would have allowed scribes to dispense with some of the frugalities exercised when copying low-quality skin scrolls, while using levels of care and scribal precision falling well short of those on the best skin scrolls.

The discussion above is grounded in observable differences among the scrolls available to us, but it is important to admit the extent to which it is both tentative and heuristic. There are many factors involved in the production of our scrolls of which we cannot, at present, be sure. We might take 4Q201 (En^a) as an example, which according to Milik "seems to have been made from a very old copy,

dating from the third century at least," and "does not fit very well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the Aramaic scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia."¹¹⁹ Beyer, in similar fashion, sees reason to place the copyist in the northern Transjordan.¹²⁰ Puech and Drawnel wisely dismissed such speculation as unverifiable and, therefore, unconvincing, Drawnel suggesting that "[w]ithout indicating the place of the composition of the text found in 4Q201, the script shows several affinities with the semicursive 'Idumaeen' bookhand."¹²¹ Still, Milik's and Beyer's theories raise the important question of how differing geographic locations, times of copying, and distinctive scribal microcultures or communities of practice may have influenced how a scroll was prepared, written, and corrected. A scroll written by a scribe in northern Palestine during the late third century BCE was presumably governed by somewhat different conventions and expectations than one copied at or around Qumran in the early first century CE, though it is now largely beyond our ability to judge accurately in which ways, and to what extent, those conventions and expectations differed. While we await new insights from pathbreaking technologies for assessing the dates and origins of the skins and inks used to write the scrolls, and for discerning the scribal hands represented in them, we must glean what we can from this rich source of Jewish scribal culture in antiquity.

118 On the inherent ambiguity of terms like these, devoid of more fulsome description, see Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 158–60. It should be noted, however, that the social situation described by Johnson likely differs significantly from that behind the Qumran library. Van der Schoor, "Variation," 201, suggested that such copies may not have been "an official copy meant to be read by others, but possibly a non-final copy in the process of transmission." Of course, there is no way to verify a statement of this sort.

119 Milik, *BE*, 140–41.

120 Beyer, *ATTM*¹, 227.

121 Puech, "Notes," 649; Drawnel, *ABE*, 70–71.

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