

Pesher and Hypomnema

*A Comparison of Two Commentary
Traditions from the Hellenistic-
Roman Period*

PIETER B. HARTOG

BRILL

Pesher and Hypomnema

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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VOLUME 121

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Hartog, Pieter B, author.

Title: Peshar and hypomnema : a comparison of two commentary traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman period / by Pieter B. Hartog.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2017] | Series: Studies on the texts of the Desert of Judah ; volume 121 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017034638 (print) | LCCN 2017035373 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004354203 (E-book) | ISBN 9789004353541 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Dead Sea scrolls—History and criticism. | Bible. Old Testament—Criticism, interpretation, etc., Jewish | Homer. Iliad.

Classification: LCC BM487 (ebook) | LCC BM487 .H32 2017 (print) | DDC 296.1/55—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017034638>

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

ISSN 0169-9962

ISBN 978-90-04-35354-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-35420-3 (e-book)

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Acknowledgements

This is a revised version of my KU Leuven doctoral thesis, which I defended on 19 May, 2015. I thank my advisor, Eibert Tigchelaar, for his support and advice. Working with him has shaped my thinking in numerous ways and continues to be a true pleasure. I also thank George Brooke, who hosted me as a Visiting Postgraduate Research Student in Manchester and has seen the research reflected in this book develop almost from scratch. His comments on the various stages of my work have been invaluable. Many colleagues have discussed parts of this book or my thesis with me or shared their unpublished work. I am indebted to them for their time, suggestions, and generosity.

It has been a privilege to work in the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies in Leuven. I thank my colleagues in the faculty and the Research Unit Biblical Studies. Special thanks for their friendship and collegiality are due to Arjen Bakker, Marieke Dhont, Jeremy Penner, and Hanna Tervanotko. Part of the revision of my thesis was carried out during my stay as a Dirk Smilde Scholar in the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies in Groningen. I thank Mladen Popović for his hospitality and Benjamin Wright for fruitful and stimulating conversations. I am grateful to the Protestant Theological University, which offered me a position to continue my work on Judaism in the Hellenistic-Roman world, and to my new colleagues, who welcomed me at the PThU in Groningen.

For their financial support I thank the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO-V), which funded my doctoral and postdoctoral research; the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, which supported my stay in Manchester; and the Smilde family and Ubbo Emmius Fund, which awarded me a Dirk Smilde Scholarship.

I feel blessed to be surrounded by good friends and warm and supportive families. As I write this I think especially of my sister Jeannette, who passed away unexpectedly when I was in the final stages of preparing this book for publication. A special thank you should go to my parents, who have always offered me the opportunity to study, and to my parents-in-law, who encouraged me along the way. But finally: thank you, Ruth and Ode, for the many ways in which you make me see the world anew!

Bärry Hartog

Groningen, 3 May, 2017

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

LXX	Septuagint/Old Greek
MT	Masoretic Text

Editions

BHS	K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds. <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967
BKT	<i>Berliner Klassikertexte</i> . 10 vols. Berlin, 1904–
CPF	<i>Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini (CPF): Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e Latina</i> . Florence: Olschki, 1989–
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. 40 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2010
DSSSE	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998
PCG	Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, eds. <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . 8 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983–
<i>P.Giss.Lit.</i>	Peter A. Kuhlmann, ed. <i>Die Giessener literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar</i> . Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek und dem Universitätsarchiv Giessen 46. Giessen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1994
<i>P.Hamb.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek</i> . 4 vols. 1911–
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . 79 vols. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–
<i>P.Ryl.</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester</i> . 4 vols. Manchester, 1911–
PTSDSSP	James H. Charlesworth, ed. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. 7 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994–

Series, Journals, and Reference Works

AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AB	Anchor Bible

ABD	David Noel Freedman, ed. <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AFPB	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i> Beihefte
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJP	<i>The American Journal of Philology</i>
ALK	Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
APAACS	American Philological Association American Classical Studies
APACRS	American Philological Association Classical Resources Series
AS	<i>Ancient Society</i>
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
ASTHLS	Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AuOr	<i>Aula orientalis</i>
AWE	<i>Ancient West & East</i>
BA	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASPSup	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i> Supplements
BdM	Bibliothèque du Muséon
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
BFCTL	Bibliothèque de la faculté catholique de théologie de Lyon
BFPLUL	Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Liège
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BICSSup	Supplements to the <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKA	Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BzAw	Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
BZAW	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
CahRB	Cahiers de la <i>Revue biblique</i>
CAIBL	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQMS	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> Monograph Series
CCS	Cambridge Classical Studies

CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
<i>CHM</i>	<i>Cahiers d'histoire mondiale</i>
CHSC	Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia
CHSKCLP	Centre For Hellenic Studies King's College London Publications
CIS	Copenhagen International Series
CLCS	Classical Culture and Society
COMES	Civitatum Orbis Mediterranei Studia
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
<i>CR</i>	<i>The Classical Review</i>
CRINT	Compendium rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EAC	Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique
ÉB	Études bibliques
<i>EC</i>	<i>Exemplaria classica</i>
<i>EstB</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
<i>GR</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GRM	Graeco-Roman Memoirs
GS	Geschichte der Sprachtheorie
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
<i>HE</i>	Margalit Finkelberg, ed. <i>The Homer Encyclopedia</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HSK	Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HSSSHL	The Henry Sweet Society Studies in the History of Linguistics
HSt	Hellenic Studies
HThKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary

<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JAJSup	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
<i>JETS</i>	<i>The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>The Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSRC	Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSIJ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSOTSup	Supplements to <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSPSup	Supplements to <i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KZG/CCH</i>	<i>Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte/Contemporary Church History</i>
<i>LB</i>	<i>Linguistica biblica</i>
LD	Lectio divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MARDA	Memorie della accademia Roveretana degli agiati
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
MKNAWL	Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde
MnS	Supplements to <i>Mnemosyne</i>
<i>MPL</i>	<i>Museum philologicum Londoniense</i>
MPER	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTSup	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta
OS	<i>Orbis</i> Supplements
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>

PB	Papyrologica Bruxellensia
PC	Papyrologica Coloniensia
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and its Contexts
PIBA	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
POT	Prediking van het Oude Testament
QUCC	<i>Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RÉJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
RFC	Ricerche di filologia classica
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RM	Die Religionen der Menschheit
RPh	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
SAIS	Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture
SAP	Studien zur antiken Philosophie
SB	Subsidia biblica
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBM	Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien
SDSSRL	Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SGA	<i>Studia graeco-arabica</i>
SGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SGL	Studi grammaticali e linguistici
SHGR	Studies in the History of Greece and Rome
SHL	Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia
SL	Storia e letteratura
SP	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
STCPFGL	Studi e testi per il corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STP	Studi e testi di papirologia
STV	Semietische teksten met vertaling
SUNT	Studien zum Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TCS	Theory, Culture & Society

TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
<i>TiC</i>	<i>Trends in Classics</i>
TiCSup	<i>Trends in Classics</i> Supplementary Volumes
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSJTSA	Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WAAFLNW	Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Introduction

This book deals with two commentary collections from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The first collection consists of sixteen commentaries on poetic-prophetic passages from the Jewish Scriptures.¹ These commentaries are known as the “(continuous) Pesharim” (singular: “Peshar”). Their name derives from the Hebrew noun פֶּשֶׁר (*pēšer*), which introduces scriptural interpretations in these commentaries.² The Pesharim belong to the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls and were recovered from caves in the Judaea desert between 1947 and 1952.³ The second collection comprises seventeen commentaries on Homer’s *Iliad*, preserved on papyrus.⁴ Modern scholars refer to these papyrus commentaries as hypomnemata (singular: hypomnema). This usage of the Greek term ὑπόμνημα is inspired by the work of scholars in the Alexandrian Library and Museum, which promoted commentary writing as a popular scholarly activity and referred to their commentaries as hypomnemata.⁵ By so doing they introduced a more technical meaning for the term, which in other contexts may denote almost anything between a personal note and a scholarly

-
- 1 Some of these are commentaries on Psalms (hence “poetic-prophetic”). At least some Psalms were considered prophetic by at least some Jews in this period. See 11QPs^a 27:11 and Timothy H. Lim, “All These He Composed Through Prophecy,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, ed. Armin Lange, Kristin de Troyer, and Lucas Scholte, CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 61–76.
 - 2 A helpful introduction to the Pesharim is Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, CQS 3 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).
 - 3 Generally on the Dead Sea Scrolls see James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper, 2002); Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002).
 - 4 The best introduction to these commentaries is Francesca Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 399–441.
 - 5 This technical use of ὑπόμνημα is reflected in the scholia (e.g., Schol. *Al.* 5.857; more cases listed in LSJ *sub* ὑπόμνημα). See also P.Oxy. 31.2536, where the signature Θεώνος τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Πινδάρου Πυθιονικῶν ὑπόμνημα must be understood as: “A commentary by Theon, the son of Artemidorus, on Pindar’s *Pythians*” (cf. Eric G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2d ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1980; repr. 2006], 119–20). P.Oxy. 25.2433 (a title tag of a commentary on Simonides) also provides evidence for the use of ὑπόμνημα as a reference to a scholarly commentary.

commentary.⁶ The hypomnemata treated in this book stem from Egypt, mostly from Oxyrhynchus.⁷

This study entails a comparative investigation of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. On the basis of this comparison I develop a twofold argument. First, I contend that the Pesharim and the hypomnemata are at home in similar settings: both commentary traditions reflect the activities of communities of scholars, teachers, and intellectuals. Second, I suggest that the scholarly communities in which these commentaries were produced and read were part of intellectual networks that spanned the entire Hellenistic and Roman Near East. In my view, the similarities and differences between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim are not purely formal. Instead, they reflect processes of globalisation triggered by the exchange of knowledge within these intellectual networks. Via these networks knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship of the *Iliad* reached the authors and readers of the Pesharim. This is not to claim an unequivocally Greek background for the Pesharim: Mesopotamian scholarly communities also appear to have belonged to the networks in which the authors and readers of the Pesharim participated. These are not the focus of this study, however:⁸ my aim here is to illustrate the origins of Jewish commentary writing against the background of the development of textual scholarship in the Alexandrian Museum and Library and the prominence and spread of Alexandrian philological-literary commentaries in the Roman period.

An important impetus for focusing on the Pesharim and the hypomnemata is the temporal proximity of these two collections. Both the Pesharim and

6 The general meaning of the noun is “reminder,” “memorial.” A helpful survey of the different connotations of ὑπόμνημα in various contexts is Aurélie Gribomont, “La question du titre dans la littérature byzantine: Quelques pistes de réflexion autour du terme ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ,” *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 89–112. I thank Reinhart Ceulemans for this reference.

In the context of book production, ὑπόμνημα may refer to the *Reinschrift* or penultimate draft of a literary work. See Tiziano Dorandi, “Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut: Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern,” *ZPE* 87 (1991): 11–33. This might suggest that finalised or published commentaries were not called “ὑπόμνημα,” or at least it stresses the less-than-literary status of scholarly writings, including commentaries. On this latter issue see pp. 59–62 and Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 113.

To avoid confusion with the ancient usage of the term I shall not italicise the term *hypomnema* when I use it as a technical term referring to running commentaries.

7 New fragments of hypomnemata still regularly come to light, as the publication of the Oxyrhynchus papyri has not yet finished. A recent case is P.Oxy. 76.5095.

8 For a comparative treatment of the Pesharim and Mesopotamian commentaries see most recently Bronson Brown-deVost, “Commentary and Authority in Mesopotamia and at Qumran” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2014).

the hypomnemata are products of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, even if both traditions have a longer pedigree.⁹ Greek exegesis begins with the early poets themselves,¹⁰ and the first Greek commentaries appear in the late 4th and early 3rd century BCE.¹¹ In the Hellenistic period, the commentary genre became a popular vehicle for scholarly work in the Alexandrian Museum and Library—institutions established and supported by the Ptolemaic dynasty and embodying the scholarly and cultural ideals of these Greek-Macedonian

9 The Hellenistic period begins with the conquests of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) and ends with the battle of Actium (31 BCE). The beginnings of the Roman period are less easy to define; in the territories of formerly Hellenistic kingdoms, Roman rulers succeed Hellenistic ones, but no single starting point can be pinpointed for the Roman era. Using the beginnings of the empire in 27 BCE as a starting point does not work for the writings treated in this book, as a Roman presence in Judaea goes back at least to 63 BCE.

10 See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–84. More generally on the development of Greek exegesis see Ineke Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition,” in Wout van Bekkum et al., *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, ASTHLS 82 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 147–224; Han Baltussen, “From Polemic to Exegesis: The Ancient Philosophical Commentary,” *Poetics Today* 28 (2007): 247–81.

11 The earliest Greek commentary (usually dated to the late 4th century BCE) is the second half of the Derveni Papyrus (P. Derveni). For the *editio princeps* see Theokritos Kouremenos, George M. Parássoglou, and Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou, *The Derveni Papyrus*, STCPFGL 13 (Florence: Olschki, 2006). The identification of the second half of this papyrus (starting in column VII) as a commentary was proposed by S.G. Kapsomenos, “Der Papyrus von Dervéni: Ein Kommentar zur Orphischen Theogonie,” *Gnomon* 35 (1963): 222–23, but rejected by others. For an overview of the debate see Maria S. Funghi, “The Derveni Papyrus,” in *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, ed. André Laks and Glenn W. Most (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 25–37 (26–27). Gábor Betegh’s judicious treatment is helpful; see his “Exegesis in the Derveni Papyrus,” in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, ed. Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen, and Martin W.F. Stone, 2 vols., BICSSup 83 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2004), 1:37–50. Betegh concludes that “the Derveni text displays a considerable number of formal features and exegetical assumptions that become standard in later commentaries” (49).

P.Heid.G. inv. 28 + P.Graec.Mon. 21 might be another commentary (from the early 3rd century BCE). The *editio princeps* is Antonio Carlini, *CPF* 3:203–20. Carlini suggests that these papyri contain a commentary on Plato’s *Phaedo*, but this identification has been questioned by David Sedley. See Carlini, *CPF* 3:203–20; idem, “Fonti manoscritte primarie del testo platonico dall’antichità al Rinascimento (Tetralogie I–II),” *SGA* 4 (2014): 221–63 (224–25); David N. Sedley, “Plato’s *Phaedo* in the Third Century BC,” in *ΟΔΟΙ ΔΙΖΗΣΙΟΣ: Le vie della ricerca: Studi in onore di Francesco Adorno*, ed. Maria S. Funghi (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 447–55.

rulers. From these Alexandrian institutions the commentary genre found its way across the Hellenistic world. Commentary writing continued to thrive in the Roman period, and the content of commentaries broadened: technical commentaries developed,¹² and commentaries on literary texts (including the *Iliad*) more often came to offer allegorical interpretations.¹³ But the literary-philological strand of Alexandrian scholarship did not die out, as the hypomnemata included in this book testify:¹⁴ throughout the Roman period, philological-literary commentaries were actively used by scholars, teachers, and students.

The Pesharim, too, develop earlier interpretations of Hebrew literature. In many ways, the interpretation of this body of literature is closely bound up with its emergence.¹⁵ In the post-exilic period (beginning c. 539 BCE), certain Hebrew writings came to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the

12 See the survey (with references) in Schironi, "Greek Commentaries," 429–32.

13 The increasing prominence of allegorical interpretations in late Hellenistic and Roman times reflects political and socio-historical developments. When Ptolemy VIII came to power in 145 BCE, many intellectuals, including Aristarchus, had to flee. This resulted both in the dissemination of Alexandrian philological-literary learning across the Hellenistic world and in a change of interests among the new and remaining members of the Library and Museum. See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 211–12, 252; Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC–AD 642* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 223–33 (esp. 228); L.D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 17–18; Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, "Das Museion und die Große Bibliothek von Alexandria," in *Alexandria*, ed. Tobias Georges, Felix Albrecht, and Reinhard Feldmeier, COMES 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 65–88 (79–85).

14 The distinction between allegorical and philological interpretations should not be over-emphasised. Aristarchus, for one, did not categorically deny allegorical exegesis; and Philo, whose works are often taken as allegorical, was well-acquainted with the methods and procedures of philological-literary interpretation. See René Nünlist, "Aristarchus and Allegorical Interpretation," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, TiCSup 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 105–17; Maren R. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 131–85. The overlap between both streams of scholarship is also evident in the wide range of scholars quoted in P.Oxy. 2.221v: it includes the Pergamene scholar Crates, who was known for his allegorical interpretations.

15 Literature on the interplay between the emergence and the interpretation of the Hebrew literary heritage is vast and rapidly increasing. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985; repr. 1986) remains a classic, but cf. the critical comments by James L. Kugel, "The Bible's Earliest Interpreters," *Prooftexts* 7 (1987): 269–83.

religion of Israel and their interpretation became a more central concern. The books of Chronicles constitute one of the clearest expressions of this development.¹⁶ Interpretations of Hebrew literature long remained implicit: they did not distinguish between the base text and its interpretation. This changed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁷ The Pesharim are the first explicit commentaries on parts of the Jewish Scriptures. Later commentary traditions, like the works of Philo and the rabbinic midrash collections, confirm the appeal of the commentary genre to Jews in Hellenistic and Roman times.¹⁸

Generally on ancient interpretations of what would later become the Hebrew Bible see Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 1: From the Old Testament to Origen*, trans. Leo G. Perdue, SBLRBS 50 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009); Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation: Volume I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson, eds., *A History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 1: The Ancient Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

- 16 James Kugel has repeatedly pointed to the “mode of restoration” in the post-exilic period, which triggered a reorientation towards the past and the need to make that past meaningful in the present. See James L. Kugel and Rowan A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation*, LEC (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 27–39; James L. Kugel, “Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation,” in *Early Judaism: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 151–78 (154–57). On the books of Chronicles as an expression of this mode of restoration see Kugel, “Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation,” 155.
- 17 The reasons for this change are complex. The argument in this book suggests that Jewish commentary writing developed in the wake of and in dialogue with other traditions of exegesis and scholarship in the Hellenistic-Roman world. Others have pointed to changed attitudes towards the text of the Jewish Scriptures as a trigger for the development of Jewish commentaries. See, e.g., Menahem Kister, “A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implications,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 101–11 (106–7); George J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002*, ed. Esther G. Chazon and Devorah Dimant, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104 (95). In my view, these two explanations reinforce rather than invalidate one another.
- 18 On the early history of Jewish commentary writing see also Steven D. Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy*, SUNY Series in Judaica (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 1–23.

It turns out that the Hellenistic and Roman periods were formative periods in the development of textual scholarship of both classical works and the Jewish Scriptures. By comparing two commentary traditions from these eras I intend to illuminate the background of commentary writing in Ancient Judaism.

1 Peshet in Context

From the discovery of Peshet Habakkuk in 1947 onward, the socio-historical background of the Pesharim has been a pressing concern in Qumran scholarship.¹⁹ Most studies on this topic seek to pinpoint a single most plausible ancient parallel to the Qumran commentaries. Parallels have been found in three different directions: earlier and later Jewish traditions; ancient Near Eastern interpretations of dreams, omens, or texts; and Greek commentary writing. However, as I intend to show, the parallels between the Pesharim and each of these other traditions are only partial. It appears that the quest for a single point of comparison to illuminate the Qumran commentaries is in need of replacement with a more multi-faceted approach.

1.1 Jewish Parallels

Already in 1951 William Brownlee, the first editor of 1QpHab, noticed the use of similar exegetical techniques in the Qumran scrolls and rabbinic literature. In spite of the structural differences between both groups of writings, Brownlee held that “the exegesis of this ancient commentary is essentially midrashic in character” and that “DSH must be judged a *midrash*.”²⁰ Brownlee’s observations offered the basis for several later studies.²¹ In recent years, however,

19 The 2012 thematic issue of *Dead Sea Discoveries* (DSD 19:3) demonstrates that the concern is still very much alive.

20 William H. Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BA* 14 (1951): 54–76 (76). See also Naphtali Wieder, “The Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum,” *JJS* 4 (1953): 14–18; William H. Brownlee, “The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan,” *JJS* 7 (1956): 169–86; idem, “The Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran,” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor, BETL 46 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978), 183–93 (187–88), where Wieder and Brownlee discuss what they see as shared exegetical traditions between Peshet Habakkuk and Targum Jonathan. For a critical response to this line of scholarship see Robert P. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets*, VTSup 51 (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 83–95.

21 E.g., Elieser Slomovic, “Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 7/25 (1969): 3–15; George J. Brooke, “Qumran Peshet: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre,” *RevQ* 10/40 (1981): 483–503; idem, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish*

comparisons between the Pesharim and rabbinic works have become more problematic. A first reason for this is an increased sensitivity among scholars to the differences in form and purpose between the Pesharim and the Midrashim.²² Furthermore, the exegetical techniques that the Qumran and the rabbinic commentaries have in common were widespread throughout the ancient world and cannot serve as evidence for a link between these Jewish exegetical traditions.²³ In the wake of these developments, the aim of comparative studies of the Pesharim and rabbinic literature has shifted from interpreting the Pesharim in view of rabbinic literature to illustrating the variety of ancient Jewish interpretations of Scripture.

In reaction to Brownlee, Karl Elliger pointed to the book of Daniel as a more suitable parallel to Peshar Habakkuk than rabbinic literature. According to Elliger, the same twofold hermeneutics, implying an *Anfangs offenbarung* and a later *Schlüsseloffenbarung*, underlies the interpretation of Jer 25:11–12, 29:10 in Dan 9; that of dreams, a vision, and a writing on the wall in Dan 2, 4, 5, and 7; and that of prophetic scripture in the Pesharim. For Elliger, the initial revelation remains meaningless until it is supplemented by the later one, which allows the interpreter to decode the dream or vision.²⁴ The use of the terms *pēšer* (פֶּשֶׁר) and *rāz* (רָז) in both Daniel and Peshar Habakkuk strengthens the link

Context (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 279–352.

22 See Steven D. Fraade, “Rabbinic *Midrash* and Ancient Jewish Biblical Interpretation,” in *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 399–426.

23 See, e.g., Michael Fishbane, “The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 13–19 August, 1973, under the auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Avigdor Shinan and Malka Jagendorf, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977–1980), 1:97–114; Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition.”

Specifically on ancient “etymology” and “wordplay” see James J. O’Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996); Stefan M. Maul, “Das Wort im Worte: Orthographie und Etymologie als hermeneutische Verfahren babylonischer Gelehrter,” in *Commentaries—Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most, Aporemata 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 1–18; Maria Broggiato, “The Use of Etymology as an Exegetical Tool in Alexandria and Pergamum: Some Examples from the Homeric Scholia,” in *Etymologia: Studies in Ancient Etymology: Proceedings of the Cambridge Conference on Ancient Etymology 25–27 September 2000*, ed. Christos Nifadopoulos, HSSHL 9 (Münster: Nodus, 2003), 65–70. On ancient etymology see also pp. 193–97.

24 *Studien zum Habakkuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 156–57.

between these two writings. Elliger's views have been very influential in Peshar scholarship,²⁵ with later studies showing that the hermeneutics and terminology of Daniel must be understood in the light of a broader Aramaic tradition.²⁶

At the same time, the parallels between the Pesharim and these Aramaic writings are not as unequivocal as Elliger and others have suggested. To begin with, the book of Daniel and the Pesharim are formally and structurally different: the latter assume the shape of systematic commentaries, whereas the former do not. Small-scale formal similarities, such as the use of deictic pronouns, are not illustrative of a connection between these two traditions, as such pronouns are ubiquitous in interpretations of dreams, omens, and texts throughout the ancient world. More fundamentally, the Pesharim do not approach their base texts as being originally devoid of meaning. As Shani Tzoref and Jutta Jokiranta have demonstrated, the co-textual sense of their base texts plays a role in how the Pesharim derive meaning from these base texts.²⁷ Thus, the Pesharim do not merely approach their base texts as if they were dreams

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- 25 Among the many studies stressing the twofold revelation in Daniel and the Pesharim (with or without reference to Elliger) are Eva Osswald, "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentars," *ZAW* 68 (1956): 243–56; Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1961), 111–27; F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, *Exegetica* 3/1 (The Hague: Van Keulen, 1959), 7–17; Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, *WUNT* 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1960), 73–99; Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer*, *SBM* 12 (Echter: KBW Verlag, 1971), 114–44; Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, *SBLDS* 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 299–308; Ida Fröhlich, "Peshar, Apocalyptic Literature and Qumran," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, *STDJ* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 295–305; David E. Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, *JSPSup* 14 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 126–50 (133–37); Markus N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, *WUNT* 2/36 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 46–49; Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, *STDJ* 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 213–40, 343–62; idem, "The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation," *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–98; Christian Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, *ATHANT* 98 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010), 325–42.
- 26 See Daniel A. Machiela, "The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development," *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–62 (336–44).
- 27 Shani Berrin (Tzoref), *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*, *STDJ* 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 12–18; Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, *STDJ* 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 121–22.

or visions.²⁸ The base texts of the Pesharim are *written texts*, and the Qumran commentaries are part of a development in which certain aspects of dream interpretation are incorporated into an emerging tradition of the interpretation of written texts.²⁹ Similar developments underlie the interpretation of Jer 25 in Dan 9³⁰ and the *pētîrâ* (פֶּתִירָא) structure in rabbinic writings,³¹ as well as exegetical traditions in a variety of non-Jewish cultures.³²

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- 28 Pace statements such as: “Le *peshet* n’est pas un commentaire; il est une sorte d’identification, pareil aux interprétations des songes” (Ida Fröhlich, “Caractères formels des pesharim de Qumrân et la littérature apocalyptique,” in »*Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden*«: *Collected Communications to the XIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Matthias Augustin and Klaus-Dietrich Schunk, BEATAJ 13 [Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988], 449–56 [449]).
- 29 See, e.g., Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 343–62; Martti Nissinen, “Pesharim as Divination: Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets?* 43–60 (esp. 51–60). Also Uri Gabbay, “Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 267–312 (302): “The pesharim are not only interpretations of ominous messages: they are interpretations of such messages in the guise of texts, and the interpretations follow the sequence of the text in continuous pesharim, or are arranged according to subject of texts in the thematic pesharim.”
- 30 On which see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 482–93; John J. Collins, “Prophecy and Fulfillment in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, JSJSup 54 (Leiden: Brill, 1997; repr. 2001), 301–14 (304–7); Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 214–21; Devorah Dimant, “Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 315–32 (329–32).
- 31 The *pētîrâ* is a midrashic structure in which a text from Scripture is applied to (פֶּתִירָא בִּי) a specific circumstance. On *pētîrâ* and its link with the Pesharim see Lou H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshet (1QpHab),” *RevQ* 3/11 (1962): 323–64; Maren Niehoff, “A Dream which is not Interpreted is like a Letter which is not Read,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 58–84 (77–84); Shani Berrin (Tzoref), “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–33 (112–13).
- 32 On Mesopotamia see Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation*, GMTR 5 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), ch. 2. On Greece see Ineke Sluiter, “Antieke grammatica: autonoom of instrument?” in *Nieuwe wegen in taal- en literatuurwetenschap: Handelingen van het eenenveertigste Filologencongres*, ed. Jaap Goedegebuure (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1993), 129–41 (138–40). See also more generally Armin Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung: Zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nichtapokalyptischer Literatur,” in *Wisdom and*

In addition to the book of Daniel and the Aramaic tradition of which it is a part, parallels have been drawn between the Pesharim and apocalyptic writings. The main correspondence between both traditions is their approach towards time and history. Both apocalyptic writings and some of the Dead Sea Scrolls conceive of the entire sequence of history as being divided into periods.³³ These periods are interconnected: what happened in an earlier period has a bearing on later history.³⁴ A similar view on time and history underlies the scriptural interpretations in the Pesharim: even though the base text of these Qumran commentaries is meaningful in its own right, its full potential is only realised when it is interpreted in a later time, by a suited exegete.³⁵ From this perspective, the validity of the scriptural interpretations

Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition, ed. Florentino García Martínez, BETL 168 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 17–33.

- 33 The apocalyptic writings cannot be taken as a strict unity. Nonetheless, similar views on time and history are expressed in many these writings. On “apocalyptic historiography” see Michael E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 59–89. See also John J. Collins, “Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment,” *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27–36; Michael E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. idem, CRINT 2/2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 383–441 (383–94); Jacob L. Helberg, “The Determination of History According to the Book Daniel Against the Background of Deterministic Apocalyptic,” *ZAW* 107 (1995): 273–87; Lorenzo DiTommaso, “The Development of Apocalyptic Historiography in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Jean Duhaime, and Kyung S. Baek, SBLEJL 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 497–522.
- 34 See Florentino García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumranica minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*, ed. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 195–226 (206): “Introducing these periods into history allows the apocalypses the possibility to integrate the past and the present reality with the future that the author intends to ‘reveal’ and with the expected intervention of God, which will bring the end of history.”
- A particular example of this principle is what some scholars have called the *Urzeit-Endzeit* correlation. See Lutz Doering, “*Urzeit-Endzeit* Correlation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Pseudepigrapha,” in *Eschatologie—Eschatology: The Sixth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium: Eschatology in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Hans-Joachim Eckstein, Christof Landmesser, Hermann Lichtenberger, WUNT 272 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2011), 19–58.
- 35 On the base text being meaningful in its own right see the works quoted in n. 27 above. On the importance of the position of the interpreter in history see Devorah Dimant, “Temps, Torah et Prophétie à Qoumrân,” in *Le temps et les temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère*, ed. Christian Grappe and Jean-Claude Ingelaere, JSJSup 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 147–67; eadem, “Time, Torah and Prophecy at Qumran,”

in the Pesharim depends not so much on a *Schlüsselloffenbarung* supplementing an *Anfangs offenbarung*, but on the position of the commentators within the sequence of history.

These Jewish parallels to the Pesharim have done, and continue to do, much to clarify the background of the Qumran commentaries.³⁶ But they fail to explain the development or origins of *systematic commentary writing* in Second Temple Judaism, to which there are only later parallels (Philo, the Midrashim). Moreover, the main parallels between the Pesharim and other Jewish exegetical traditions (the use of similar hermeneutical techniques, terminological overlaps, and the development of an exegetical tradition incorporating elements from the interpretation of dreams) are not exclusively Jewish. They are ubiquitous in the ancient world and suggest a broader background for the Pesharim.

1.2 *Ancient Near Eastern Parallels*

Parallels between the Pesharim and ancient Near Eastern interpretative traditions were suggested already in the early days of Peshar scholarship. Some scholars argued for a connection between the Qumran commentaries and Egyptian writings from the Hellenistic period—like the Demotic Chronicle—on the basis of structural and hermeneutical parallels.³⁷ But a more popular point of comparison has been Mesopotamian dream and omen interpretation,

in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit: Literaturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*, ed. Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Herwig Görgemanns, and Michael von Albrecht, STAC 51 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 147–98; eadem, “Exegesis and Time”; Pieter B. Hartog, “Peshar as Commentary,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

36 Parallels with other Jewish writings have been drawn, but they are of less importance to my argument. On comparisons between the Pesharim and the New Testament (esp. the gospel of John) see the helpful contribution of Stephen E. Witmer, “Approaches to Scripture in the Fourth Gospel and the Qumran Pesharim,” *NT* 48 (2006): 313–28 (with references). On parallels between the Pesharim and Karaite exegesis see Meira Polliack, “Wherein Lies the Peshar? Re-Questioning the Connection between Medieval Karaite and Qumran Modes of Interpretation,” *JSIJ* 4 (2005): 151–200 (with references).

37 Chaim Rabin, “Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll and the Zadokite Documents,” *VT* 5 (1955): 148–62 (148–51); François Daumas, “Littérature prophétique et exégétique égyptienne et commentaires esséniens,” in *À la rencontre de dieu: Mémorial Albert Gelin*, BFCTL 8 (Le Puy: Xavier Mappus, 1961), 203–21. The comparison was recently revived by Machiela, “The Qumran Commentaries as Biblical Commentaries.” From a broader perspective see Fishbane, “The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics”; Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung.”

knowledge of which may have reached Jews in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine through the Aramaic tradition of which the book of Daniel is a part.³⁸ Triggered by the classical work of A. Leo Oppenheim,³⁹ scholars have taken the use of Akkadian *pašāru(m)* and *pišru(m)* in Mesopotamian dream and omen interpretation as an indication of a link between this interpretative tradition and the Pesharim. Structural similarities and the use of similar hermeneutical techniques may point in the same direction. The parallel is not straightforward, however, and scholars have recently become more perceptive of the differences between ancient Near Eastern dream and omen interpretation and the Pesharim. To begin with, the Akkadian verb *pašāru(m)* and the affiliated noun do not carry the same meaning as Hebrew פִּשָּׁר.⁴⁰ If the root was adopted into Hebrew from Akkadian (via Aramaic), it has undergone a change of meaning as it entered the Hebrew language.⁴¹ Secondly, as has been pointed out in the previous section, the Pesharim offer no interpretations of dreams or omens, but of texts. Even if the interpretation of prophetic-poetic base texts was somehow considered a mantic enterprise (as the use of words such as *rāz* and the depiction of the Peshar commentators as divinely inspired might imply),⁴² the phenomena cannot be equated all too easily. Thirdly, the protasis-apodosis structure of Mesopotamian dream and omen texts presents only a superficial structural parallel to the Qumran commentaries, as it implies an element of conditionality which is absent from the Pesharim.

38 Literature on this topic is vast. See, e.g., Asher Finkel, "The Peshar of Dreams and Scriptures," *RevQ* 4/15 (1963): 357–70; Fishbane, "The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics"; idem, *Biblical Interpretation*, 454–56; Lange, "Interpretation als Offenbarung," 20; Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination," 52; Jassen, "The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary"; Machiela, "The Qumran Commentaries as Biblical Commentaries."

39 *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream Book*, TAPS 46/3 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1956), 217–25.

40 Consider, e.g., Qoh 8:1, where Hebrew פִּשָּׁר is devoid of a mantic connotation. But cf. the Targum to that verse, which introduces a reference to the prophets: "Who is the sage who can stand against the wisdom of the Lord and know the interpretations of the words like the prophets?" (trans. Peter S. Knobel, "The Targum of Qohelet: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes," in *The Aramaic Bible: Volume 15* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991], 42).

41 Cf. George J. Brooke, "Peshar and Midrash in Qumran Literature: Issues for Lexicography," in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, SBLEJL 39 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 99–114 (101–7).

42 Cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 46–50; Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination."

The attention several more recent studies have given to Mesopotamian text commentaries as parallels to the Pesharim should therefore be welcomed.⁴³ Here too, Akkadian *pišru(m)* is adduced as a parallel to Hebrew פִּשְׂרָה, even if the terms can be used in different contexts.⁴⁴ Other parallels between the Pesharim and Mesopotamian commentaries may be their bifold structure,⁴⁵ terminological correspondences,⁴⁶ the use of similar exegetical resources,⁴⁷ and a shared appreciation of their base texts as being divinely inspired.⁴⁸ Each of these parallels remains problematic to some extent, but their cumulative effect is to suggest a connection between the Pesharim and Mesopotamian commentaries. At the same time, the differences between the Pesharim and the Mesopotamian commentary tradition indicate that this connection was not an exclusive one. Mesopotamian commentaries are often of a technical kind, interpreting scientific writings that explain dreams, omina, or natural phenomena; the Pesharim, in contrast, take non-technical prophetic parts of Scripture as their base texts. Moreover, the temporal gap between the Qumran commentaries and their Mesopotamian counterparts is often substantial.⁴⁹ Hence, comparisons between the Pesharim and Mesopotamian commentary writing may illuminate certain features of the Qumran commentaries, but they

43 On these Mesopotamian commentaries see Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries*; Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia"; Brown-deVost, "Commentary and Authority in Mesopotamia and at Qumran"; idem, "The Compositional Development of Qumran Pesharim in Light of Mesopotamian Commentaries," *JBL* 135 (2016): 525–41.

Qumran scholars became interested in Mesopotamian commentaries only fairly recently, but parallels between these commentaries and the rabbinic Midrashim were suggested already in the 1950s: W.G. Lambert, "An Address of Marduk to the Demons," *AfO* 17 (1954–1956): 310–21. See also Antoine Cavigneaux, "Aux Sources du Midrash: L'herméneutique babylonienne," *AuOr* 5 (1987): 243–55; Stephen J. Lieberman, "A Mesopotamian Background for the So-Called *Aggadica* 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics?" *HUCA* 58 (1987): 157–225; Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries*, 373–80; Uri Gabbay, "Actual Sense and Scriptural Intention: Literal Meaning and Its Terminology in Akkadian and Hebrew Commentaries," in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity*, ed. idem and Shai Secunda, TSAJ 160 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 335–70.

44 Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia," 298–305.

45 Jassen, "The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary," 385–96.

46 Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia," 305–8.

47 Finkel, "The Pesharim of Dreams and Scriptures"; Fishbane, "The Qumran Pesharim and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics."

48 Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia," 293–95.

49 Akkadian commentaries exist from the 8th century BCE onwards.

do not explain why Jewish commentary writing thrived precisely in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period.

1.3 *Greek Parallels*

Apart from some isolated remarks,⁵⁰ general suggestions,⁵¹ and one idiosyncratic article,⁵² Greek parallels to the Pesharim have until recently attracted little attention. In a programmatic article Markus Bockmuehl pointed to Alexandrian allegorical commentaries as a possible parallel to the Pesharim.⁵³ He tentatively suggested that Philo recognised aspects of his own exegetical work among the Essenes and Therapeutae when he visited Judaea. In making such visits Philo was not alone, and Bockmuehl proposes that Alexandrian Jews may have “exported ideas about biblical interpretation to the Dead Sea.”⁵⁴ Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše share Bockmuehl’s interest in non-co-textual exegesis as a parallel to the Qumran commentaries.⁵⁵ Unlike Bockmuehl,

50 André Dupont Sommer, “Le « Commentaire d’Habacuc » découvert près de la Mer Morte: Traduction et notes,” *RHR* 137 (1950): 129–71 (151); Johannes P.M. van der Ploeg, *Bijbelverklaring te Qumrân*, MKNOWL 23/8 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1960), 4.

51 Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation: Volume 1*, 29; Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 2d ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 35, 203.

52 Carl Schneider, “Zur Problematik des Hellenistischen in den Qumrântexten,” in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961*, ed. Hans Bardtke (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 299–314. Schneider argues that “die Kommentare von Qumrân ... im alexandrinischen Sinn vorwiegend Scholien-Kommentare [sind]” (302).

Schneider’s thoughts on this issue may reflect his philhellenism and antisemitism, on which see Annette Merz, “Philhellenism and Antisemitism: Two Sides of One Coin in the Academic Writings of Carl Schneider,” *KZG/CCH* 17 (2004): 314–30.

53 “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary,” in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–29. See also idem, “The Making of Gospel Commentaries,” in *The Written Gospel*, ed. idem and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 274–95.

54 “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary,” 25.

55 “The Qumran Pesharim and the Derveni Papyrus: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Ancient Jewish and Ancient Greek Commentaries,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange et al., VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 895–922; idem, “Transpositional Hermeneutics: A Hermeneutical Comparison of the Derveni Papyrus, Aristobulus of Alexandria, and the Qumran Pesharim,” *JAJ* 3 (2012): 15–67; idem, “Derveni—Alexandria—

however, they have no interest in drawing historical links between these interpretative traditions.⁵⁶ In Lange and Pleše's view, the Pesharim, the work of Aristobulus, and the Derveni Papyrus all attest to a "transpositional hermeneutics." By that term they refer to a procedure, widespread across the ancient world, which is geared towards the atomisation and recontextualisation of a base text according to the exegete's *Vorverständnis*.⁵⁷ The hermeneutical similarity between these different writings might imply a historical connection between some of them, but this is not necessary.

In response to this dominant focus on non-co-textual exegesis, Reinhard Kratz has compared the Pesharim with Alexandrian commentaries of a literary-philological kind.⁵⁸ On the basis of the structural and hermeneutical similarities between these hypomnemata⁵⁹ and the Pesharim Kratz offers the suggestion that the Peshar commentators may have learned about Greek commentary writing in "the scribal schools and other educational institutions in Hellenized Judah."⁶⁰

Qumran: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Jewish and Greek Culture," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sidney H. Aufère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše, OLA 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 89–162.

- 56 Lange and Pleše, "Transpositional Hermeneutics," 19: "While we do not wish altogether to discard the hypothesis of a direct literary influence, our primary interest lies in identifying and describing the specific historical and cultural circumstances that led to the development of the similar yet distinct hermeneutical programs and methods attested in the Derveni Papyrus, Aristobulus, and the Pesharim."
- 57 See the discussion of the concept at Lange and Pleše, "The Qumran Pesharim and the Derveni Papyrus," 896–99.
- 58 "Text und Kommentar: Die Pescharim von Qumran im Kontext der hellenistischen Bildungstradition," in *Von Rom nach Bagdad: Bildung und Religion in der späteren Antike und im klassischen Islam*, ed. Peter Gemeinhardt and Sebastian Günther (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 51–80; idem, "Die Pescharim von Qumran im Rahmen der Schriftauslegung des antiken Judentums," in *Heilige Texte: Religion und Rationalität: 1. Geisteswissenschaftliches Colloquium 10.–13. Dezember 2009 auf Schloss Genshagen*, ed. Andreas Kablitz and Christoph Marksches (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 87–104.
- 59 The hypomnemata Kratz discusses do not deal with the Homeric epics, but with ancient comedy. The type of commentary is the same, however, notwithstanding their different base texts. See the collection of hypomnemata on ancient comedy by Silke Trojahn, *Die auf Papyri erhaltenen Kommentare zur Alten Komödie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Philologie*, BzA 175 (Munich: Saur, 2002).
- 60 "Text and Commentary: The Pesharim of Qumran in the Context of Hellenistic Scholarship," in *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, ed. Thomas L. Thompson and Philippe Wajdenbaum (London: Routledge, 2014), 212–29 (228).

The value of comparing the Pesharim with these Greek commentaries lies primarily in the temporal proximity of the two traditions.⁶¹ As both the Pesharim and the hypomnemata stem from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, any study of the background of the Pesharim within the ancient world should take account of these Greek exegetical works. Further support for this point comes from the physical, structural, and exegetical similarities between these commentary traditions. At the same time, micro-structural and hermeneutical differences between the Pesharim and the hypomnemata and similarities between the Pesharim and other exegetical traditions demonstrate that the Greek connection was not an exclusive one.

2 A Glocal Perspective

The survey above has revealed that no one ancient exegetical tradition accounts sufficiently for the type of exegesis we encounter in the Pesharim. Jewish, Near Eastern, and Greek parallels explain some aspects of the Qumran commentaries, but fail to account for others. The dominant tendency in previous studies to search for the single most suitable parallel to the Pesharim should thus be abandoned.⁶² Instead of setting Jewish literature, Mesopotamian oneirocritical writings, and Alexandrian commentary writing off against each other as suitable parallels to the Qumran commentaries, it will be more fruitful to conceive of the Pesharim as syncretistic entities bringing together elements from a wide range of other interpretative traditions.⁶³

61 From this perspective a comparison between the Pesharim and Roman commentaries in Latin is another potentially fruitful topic for study. Bockmuehl, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary," 12–13 discusses Latin commentaries, but they play no role in his analysis. See also Fabio Stok, "Commenting on Virgil, from Aelius Donatus to Servius," *DSD* 19 (2012): 464–84.

62 Exceptions to this tendency are rare. The clearest instance is Machiela, "The Qumran Commentaries as Biblical Commentaries." A broad approach is also promoted by Fishbane, "The Qumran Pesharim and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics" and Brownlee, "The Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," 183–93, but these authors ignore the Greek material. For a broad comparison of exegetical traditions portraying their interpretations as revelations see Lange, "Interpretation als Offenbarung."

63 *Pace* statements such as Niehoff's, who writes that "Qumran exegesis must be appreciated in the context of prevalent oneirocritical literature" and not in the context of Alexandrian Bible exegesis or rabbinic hermeneutics ("Commentary Culture in the Land of Israel from an Alexandrian Perspective," *DSD* 19 [2012]: 442–63 [463]).

Such syncretism was ubiquitous in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Several recent studies understand this syncretism as a result of processes of globalisation, which were triggered by Alexander's conquests and were at work throughout the Hellenistic-Roman period.⁶⁴ Applying the concept of globalisation—which was initially developed in close association with the study of modernity, capitalism, and the industrial revolution⁶⁵ and referred mainly to economic and technological developments⁶⁶—to the ancient world has not gone unchallenged.⁶⁷ Yet in my view, the analytical gain of the concept is its emphasis on the interdependence and interconnectedness of different traditions, to the extent that it becomes meaningless to speak of distinctly “Jewish,” “Near Eastern,” or “Greek” traditions. The Hellenistic and especially the Roman worlds did witness increases in interconnectivity and interdependence of the manifold cultures they contained.⁶⁸ Hence, it makes sense to approach the Hellenistic and Roman worlds as globalised spaces, and their territories

64 Literature on ancient and modern globalisation is vast, but good summaries are readily available. See most recently Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys, “Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and Opportunities,” in *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*, ed. eadem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3–31.

65 Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (Malden: Polity, 2009), 108–51. The association of globalisation with modernisation and capitalism has been criticised for echoing Western biases and Eurocentrism. See Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

66 This economic connotation has been challenged in later studies on globalisation. Cf., e.g., Roland Robertson and Kathleen E. White, “What is Globalization?” in *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, ed. George Ritzer (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 54–66, who write that “globalization is constituted by four major facets of human life—namely, the cultural, the social, the political and the economic. These dimensions are in reality heavily intertwined, one or two aspects being more prominent at any given time or place.” (64). On cultural globalisation see also John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, 352–66.

67 See, e.g., Frits G. Naerebout, “Global Romans? Is Globalisation a Concept That is Going to Help Us Understand the Roman Empire?” *Talanta* 38–39 (2006–2007): 149–70.

68 The word “increase” is important here. In some studies, globalisation is used almost as a synonym of interconnectivity; see, e.g., Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). This is problematic. As Justin Jennings has shown, interconnectivity has always been a part of societies and cultures. To speak of globalisation evidence is needed of “both (a) a significant leap in interregional interaction and (b) the social changes that are associated with the creation of a global culture.” These features are attested for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but not to the same degree for others. See Justin Jennings, *Globalizations and the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) (quotation at 13).

(including Greece, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia) as being interconnected and interdependent.

This is not to say that the Hellenistic and Roman worlds witnessed a single process of globalisation or the emergence of a uniform globalised culture.⁶⁹ On the contrary: processes of globalisation tend to trigger a reinvention or a renewed appreciation of local cultures and traditions. Aspects of global tradition assume new shapes in local circumstances and vice versa. As Kostas Vlassopoulos writes:

Globalisation does not necessarily lead to the extinction of local cultural systems; the process of globalisation can also provide the means by which a local cultural system can be redefined, elaborated, codified or modified for new circumstances.⁷⁰

This intricate interplay between global and local cultures and traditions is known as “glocalisation.” Adopted from branding contexts,⁷¹ the term indicates that the global cannot exist without the local—and the other way around.⁷² Thus, the Hellenistic and Roman worlds saw the development of a global culture, but this global culture was expressed in different forms depending on local traditions. At the same time, local cultures and traditions transformed in light of their globalised context.⁷³

This concept of globalisation resembles the way in which some scholars have understood the connection between “Judaism” and “Hellenism.” After the ground-breaking work of Elias Bickerman and Martin Hengel,⁷⁴ few scholars

69 In reaction to earlier studies, which could speak of “globalisation” as the gradual emergence of a world society or world culture, more recent studies are aware of the pluriformity of global developments. Accordingly, they speak of globalisations in the plural. See most explicitly Jennings, *Globalizations and the Ancient World*.

70 *Greeks and Barbarians*, 21.

71 Where it could be used, for instance, to explain why McDonalds does not serve beef in India: the global presence of McDonalds depends on its adaptation to local contexts.

72 See Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992); idem, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity,” in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and idem, TCS (London: Sage, 1995), 25–44.

73 On the importance and transformation of local cultures and traditions in the globalised Roman world see Tim Whitmarsh, ed., *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

74 Elias J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer*

would see Judaism and Hellenism as opposed entities: all Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was “Hellenised.” But Hellenism was far from a homogeneous process, and the forms Hellenised culture assumes depended on the local contexts in which they developed.⁷⁵ So remarks Glen Bowersock:

The very notion of Hellenization ... is a useless barometer for assessing Greek culture.... Hellenism ... represented language, thought, mythology, and images that constituted an extraordinarily flexible medium of both cultural and religious expression. It was a medium not necessarily anti-thetical to local or indigenous traditions. On the contrary, it provided a new and more eloquent way of giving voice to them.⁷⁶

Lee Levine applied Bowersock’s comments on the interplay between Greek and other traditions to the interactions between Judaism and other cultural traditions. Just as Bowersock stresses that “Hellenism” could imply the reinvention or redefinition of local traditions, Levine writes that “outside influences were always being filtered, shaped, and selected by the Jewish body politic ... according to its norms and standards.”⁷⁷

For Bowersock and Levine, therefore, Hellenism is not just about Greek culture. It is about the ways in which Greek cultural elements are appropriated within local contexts, and how local traditions evolve in the light of these Greek elements. This comes very close to the processes of glocalisation described above. Yet there is one key difference: the term “Hellenism” implies the presence of *Greek* cultural elements, whereas the term “global” is more neutral. The latter term allows for non-Greek traditions to play their role as well, and so offers the possibility to analyse more complex cultural phenomena. These need not involve Greek and one type of local (e.g., Jewish) elements, but may combine aspects of a wide range of global and local cultures and traditions.

Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr., WUNT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969).

75 Cf. Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Ian S. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Neither author employs glocalisation terminology. Nonetheless, the “limits” in the titles of these works may be appreciated in the light of Robertson and White’s remark that “globalization, when considered with due respect to the glocalizing aspects of diffusion, inherently limits itself” (“What is Globalization?” 63).

76 *Hellenism in Late Antiquity: Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), 7.

77 *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), 30.

In view of the complex background of the Qumran commentaries, I prefer to speak of the Pesharim as the result of processes of glocalisation rather than the interplay between Jewish and Greek traditions—even if my focus in this study is clearly on the Greek side of the coin.

The blending of a wide range of global and local traditions in the Pesharim is not out of the ordinary in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁷⁸ The astronomical and physiognomic writings from Qumran constitute another example of such blending, not too distant from the topic of this study. Mladen Popović and Jonathan Ben-Dov have shown that some of these works may be closer to Greek, others to Mesopotamian science.⁷⁹ As a whole, these writings freely combine elements of Greek and Mesopotamian learning. As Popović writes:

Scholars have rightly pointed to a Mesopotamian background for the astronomical aspects of the Enochic *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 72–82). Qumran calendar texts that use elements of a Babylonian lunar system further strengthen the supposition that the transmission of scientific ideas into Second Temple period Judaism had a Babylonian origin. For certain elements of cosmography and geography in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1–36), however, a Greek background in addition to a Mesopotamian one is also possible. The astrological and physiognomic texts from Qumran may also have a Hellenistic background in addition to a Babylonian one.⁸⁰

78 Cf. the cases discussed by Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians*, 226–320; Whitmarsh, *Local Knowledge*; also John Ma, “Paradigms and Paradoxes in the Hellenistic World,” in *Studi ellenistici xx*, ed. Biagio Virgilio (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2008), 371–85; Miguel John Versluys, “Lokaal en globaal: Egypte in de Romeinse wereld,” *Lampas* 42 (2009): 186–203; Milinda Hoo, “Ai Khanum in the Face of Eurasian Globalisation: A Translocal Approach to a Contested Site in Hellenistic Bactria,” *AWE* (forthcoming; abstract available at https://www.academia.edu/28206537/Ai_Khanum_in_the_face_of_Eurasian_globalisation_A_translocal_approach_to_a_contested_site_in_Hellenistic_Bactria [last accessed 12 April, 2017]).

79 Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*, STDJ 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); idem, “The Emergence of Aramaic and Hebrew Scholarly Texts: Transmission and Translation of Alien Wisdom,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 81–114; Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in Their Ancient Context*, STDJ 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

80 “The Emergence of Aramaic and Hebrew Scholarly Texts,” 84.

In a later study, Popović accounts for the transmission of knowledge between Greek, Mesopotamian, and Jewish scientists in network terms.⁸¹ He shows that scholars from different backgrounds interacted with each other and constituted networks of knowledge exchange. Thus, they effectively worked in a globalised context, where they were increasingly interconnected and interdependent. As a result, there were no strict borderlines between Greek, Mesopotamian, and Jewish science, and scientific writings like those from Qumran combine elements from different cultures and traditions.

I suggest that the Pesharim result from similar processes of glocalisation. Just like Early Jewish scientific writings, these Qumran commentaries combine elements from different backgrounds and exegetical traditions. And just like these scientific works, some Pesharim may be closer to Mesopotamian, others to Greek traditions of textual scholarship.⁸² Hence, the purpose of this book is to describe the Pesharim as the work of scholars and intellectuals who worked in a globalised context and upheld relations with other communities of scholars and intellectuals throughout the Hellenistic-Roman world.

2.1 *Channels of Knowledge Exchange*

Processes of glocalisation did not occur in a vacuum. They depended on networks that connected intellectuals throughout the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and the exchange of knowledge facilitated by these networks. Particularly illustrative for the purposes of this study are networks that involved Jews in Egypt and Palestine. Jewish literature from the Hellenistic and Roman periods provides indications of what such networks looked like. From the Seleucid period onwards we read about Jewish intellectuals who travelled between these localities.⁸³ Ben Sira probably travelled to

81 “Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews,” in *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge*, ed. Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth Sanders (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 151–91.

82 I have argued that 4Q163/Peshar Isaiah C is particularly close to Greek papyrus commentaries. See my “The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship: 4Q163/Peshar Isaiah C and *Hypomnemata* on the *Iliad*,” *JAJ* (forthcoming).

83 Evidence from the Ptolemaic period is scarce. The only references to travelling intellectuals in this period stem from sources from the Seleucid period. The Letter of Aristeas refers to Jewish intellectuals from Palestine who travel to Alexandria to translate the Hebrew Bible into Greek. On the date of Let. Aris. see Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: ‘Aristeas to Philocrates’ or ‘On the Translation of the Law of the Jews’*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 21–30. Josephus tells the story of the high priest Ezekias—“no fool

Egypt,⁸⁴ and his grandson certainly visited Egypt in 132 BCE. Another traveling intellectual was Dositheus, who, with his son Ptolemy, brought the Greek translation of the book of Esther from Jerusalem to Egypt.⁸⁵ In the Roman period, Philo of Alexandria visited Palestine at least once, but probably more regularly.⁸⁶

On their journeys these intellectuals took books with them. According to the Letter of Aristeas, the scholars dispatched by the high priest in Jerusalem arrived in Alexandria “with the gifts that had been sent and the remarkable parchments on which the legislation had been written in golden writing in Judean characters, the parchment being worked amazingly and the common joins constructed to be imperceptible” (Let. Aris. 176). Ben Sira’s grandson probably carried his grandfather’s book with him to Egypt before translating it,⁸⁷ and Dositheus and Ptolemy exported the Greek translation of Esther from Jerusalem to Egypt.

Exchanges of knowledge between intellectuals in Egypt and Palestine did not depend merely on interpersonal contacts. As Sylvie Honigman has recently stressed, institutions like courts and temples played a key role in the establishment and continuation of networks.⁸⁸ Hellenistic courts were meeting places for elites from all over the kingdom, who gathered regularly to celebrate festivals⁸⁹ or to offer their bids for positions in the administration.⁹⁰ Temples often served as central meeting points as well. The temple in Jerusalem, for instance, received visitors from all over the Hellenistic and Roman worlds during

intellectually” (*C. Ap.* 187)—who wished to join Ptolemy in Egypt when he gained control over Palestine.

84 Cf. Sir 34:12. Note also that Ben Sira describes the ideal scribe as one who “travels among the peoples of foreign lands to test what is good and evil among people” (39:4).

85 Esth (LXX) F 11.

86 *Prov.* 2.64.

87 See Robert H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper, 1949), 354.

88 “Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East: The Respective Roles of Temples, Royal Offices, Courts, and Gymnasia,” in *Centers and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, FAT 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 49–78.

89 Cf. Hyrcanus’s visit to Alexandria to celebrate the birth of a royal son (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.196). Elites from Palestine would probably have attended festivals such as the Ptolemaieia as well.

90 Cf. how Tobias’s son Joseph outbid elites from Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea to obtain the office of head tax collector (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.175–179).

the major Jewish festivals.⁹¹ Thus, the Hellenistic courts and the Jerusalem temple constituted central nodes in the networks that united Egypt and Palestine. As a result of both interpersonal contacts and the central role of these institutions Jewish intellectual life in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and Palestine was thoroughly interconnected and interdependent.

The exchange of knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship to Jews in Palestine should be situated within these networks. Maren Niehoff has shown that Jews in Alexandria from the Hellenistic period onwards were well-acquainted with the methods of Alexandrian scholarship of the Greek classics. As she writes,

Jewish intellectuals came into contact with the work of Aristarchus and his numerous students at the Museum. They seem to have been part of Aristarchus's original audience as well as subsequent admirers of his work.⁹²

This does not mean that Jewish writers adopted the approaches and assumptions of non-Jewish Alexandrian intellectuals uncritically. As they appropriated the procedures and terminology of Alexandrian textual scholarship, Jewish writers adapted them to their own needs and interests. So, the Letter of Aristeas evokes the appeal of Alexandrian Library to present the Septuagint—uncorrupted as it is portrayed to be—as more trustworthy than the Greek classics.⁹³ And Philo adopts the commentary form and some scholarly techniques from his Alexandrian colleagues, whilst also criticising commentators

91 See Samuel Safrai, "Relations between the Diaspora and the Land of Israel," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Samuel Safrai, Menahem Stern, David Flusser, and Willem C. van Unnik, CRINT 1/1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 184–215; Martin Goodman, "The Pilgrimage Economy of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period," in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays*, AJEC 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 59–67.

92 *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 14.

93 See Let. Aris. 311, where a curse is pronounced on "anyone who might revise by adding or changing anything at all of what had been written or by making a deletion. They did this well so that it would always be preserved everlastingly and permanently" (trans. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 441). The import of this passage, in my view, is to draw a contrast between the Homeric epics, which Alexandrian scholars widely recognised as having been corrupted in the course of their transmission, and the Septuagint, which had not seen such corruption.

who held fast too strictly to the principles of Alexandrian criticism.⁹⁴ These appropriations and adaptations of the methods and approaches of Alexandrian scholarship show the close familiarity of Jews in Egypt with this scholarly tradition. Thus it is likely that Egyptian Jews constituted an important chain in the transmission of knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship to Jews in Palestine.

These exchanges of knowledge need not have involved only Alexandria and Jerusalem. Even if most references to contacts between Jews in Egypt and Palestine do concern, or are thought to concern,⁹⁵ these two cities, communities of Jewish intellectuals existed elsewhere in Egypt and Palestine. In the Hellenistic period, Jews fleeing from Palestine came to reside in Leontopolis, where they erected a temple.⁹⁶ If Arie van der Kooij is correct, the Heliopolite nome may have housed Jewish intellectuals who translated Isaiah into Greek.⁹⁷ In the Roman period, Oxyrhynchus housed a Jewish community.⁹⁸ Considering

Generally on the use in the Letter of Aristeas of motifs reminiscent of Alexandrian textual scholarship see Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003).

- 94 See Maren R. Niehoff, "Homeric Scholarship and Bible Exegesis in Ancient Alexandria: Evidence from Philo's 'Quarrelsome' Colleagues," *CQ* 57 (2007): 166–82; eadem, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship*, 75–185; eadem, "Jüdische Bibelinterpretation zwischen Homerforschung und Christentum," in *Alexandria*, 341–60 (344–56).
- 95 Many modern scholars assume an Alexandrian location for Jewish writings in Greek. The main argument for this place of origin for such writings is the lively intellectual climate in Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria. However, this argument alone is too general to be convincing. See Jan Dochhorn, "Jüdisch-alexandrinische Literatur? Eine Problemanzeige und ein Überblick über diejenige Literature, die potentiell dem antiken Judentum entstammt," in *Alexandria*, 285–312.
- 96 See Joan E. Taylor, "A Second Temple in Egypt: The Evidence for the Zadokite Temple of Onias," *JJS* 29 (1998): 297–321; Jörg Frey, "Temple and Rival Temple: The Cases of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel—Community Without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer, WUNT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 171–203.
- 97 See Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1981), 60–61; Johann Cook and idem, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and their Books in the Septuagint Version*, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 63–85.
- 98 On which see Aryeh Kasher, "The Jewish Community of Oxyrhynchus in the Roman Period," *JJS* 32 (1981): 151–57; Eldon J. Epp, "The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, TENTS 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 13–52.

the large amount of fragments of Alexandrian scholarly writings recovered from the rubbish heaps of that city, at least some Oxyrhynchite Jews must have been acquainted with the work of Alexandrian scholars. In Palestine, Hellenised cities like Gadara may have brought Jews into contact with the methods and principles of non-Jewish Greek scholarship.⁹⁹ Non-Jewish Greek scholars or philosophers living in Palestine may have had the same effect; but the evidence for them is sparse.¹⁰⁰ The best indication of Jewish intellectual life outside of Jerusalem remains the Qumran scrolls collection. The presence of some Greek texts among the Qumran scrolls suggests that at least some of their collectors knew Greek and consulted Scripture in that language.¹⁰¹

In sum, knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship reached Jews in Palestine primarily via Jews in Egypt. The latter were acquainted with the work of Alexandrian scholars and upheld close ties with their fellow Jews in Palestine. Alexandria and Jerusalem played an important role in these transmissions of

99 On these Hellenised cities see Fergus Millar, "The Phoenician Cities: A Case-Study of Hellenisation," in *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton and Guy M. Rogers, 3 vols., SHGR (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002–2006), 3:32–50. The extent and types of Jewish involvement with these cities are debated by scholars. Aryeh Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 bce–70 ce)*, TSAJ 21 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990) provides a wealth of information and paints a picture of ongoing hostility between the Jews and the inhabitants of Hellenistic cities. Presumably, however, reality was more complex than that. See Doron Mendels, review of A. Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel*, *JQR* 84 (1994): 517–20.

100 As was rightly noticed by Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Early Texts of the Torah: Revisiting the Greek Scholarly Context," *JAJ* 4 (2013): 210–34 (233, n. 83). For the available evidence see Joseph Geiger, *The Tents of Japheth: Greek Intellectuals in Ancient Palestine* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2012).

101 It is debated whether the Greek Qumran texts were actually used by their collectors. Emanuel Tov writes that "the evidence does not suggest that the Greek texts from cave 4 were read or consulted at Qumran or that they were written there" ("The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan [London: The British Library, 2003], 97–122 [100]). Whereas he may be right on the writing part, I am less convinced by his suggestions on reading and consulting. On the possible uses of Greek at Qumran see David Hamidović, "Do Qumran Inscriptions Show Hellenization of Qumran Residents?" in *Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact: Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences: August 17–22, 2008, York University, Toronto, Canada*, ed. Wolfgang Ahrens et al. (Toronto: York University, 2009), 465–72; Matthew Richey, "The Use of Greek at Qumran: Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence for a Marginalized Language," *DSD* 19 (2012): 177–97.

knowledge, but exchanges were not restricted to these cities. The transmission of knowledge from Egypt to Palestine may have been more diffuse, including Jews (and perhaps non-Jews) from diverse localities in Egypt and Palestine.¹⁰²

2.2 *The Pesharim as Glocal Phenomena*

The sectarian nature of the Pesharim provides a potential objection to seeing these commentaries as glocal phenomena. The Pesharim have traditionally been counted among the “core sectarian texts” in the Qumran scrolls collection. How likely is it that such “sectarian” writings result from processes of glocalisation, which imply the existence of networks between intellectual communities across the Hellenistic and Roman worlds?

It should be noted in this regard that the traditional picture of a “Qumran sect” producing “sectarian writings” has been questioned in more recent Qumran scholarship. Differences between various “sectarian” writings—in particular the Community Rule tradition and the Damascus Document—indicate that no single “Qumran sect” existed. Instead, the inhabitants of Qumran were part of a broader Jewish movement.¹⁰³ This movement was no unified whole: it exhibited variety in its organisation,¹⁰⁴ doctrines,¹⁰⁵ and places of residence.¹⁰⁶ As to the latter point, it appears that members of the Qumran movement lived

102 These personal networks may not have been the only contexts for cross-cultural interaction. Cf. Sylvie Honigman’s portrayal of the royal court as a “‘contact zone’ for high-level cross-cultural encounters” (“Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East,” 68).

103 See, e.g., John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).

104 John J. Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111; idem, “The Yahad and ‘the Qumran Community,’” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu, JSJSup 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96; idem, “Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and idem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 151–72; Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 163–96; Charlotte Hempel, “Community Structures and Organization,” in *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 25–45; eadem, “Emerging Communities in the Serekh,” in *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 79–96.

105 Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 56–60.

106 Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

throughout Hellenistic and Roman Palestine—presumably also in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ The Qumran movement was no isolated community in the Judean desert, but a network of different groups and communities across the land. Its members probably partook in other networks as well, including the ones described in the preceding section. Hence, rather than strict unity the Qumran movement exhibited a larger variety than was assumed in the early years of Qumran scholarship.

Some members of the Qumran movement were familiar with other Jewish and non-Jewish traditions, as studies on community organisation and scientific knowledge in the Qumran scrolls testify.¹⁰⁸ They may have learned about these other traditions in Jerusalem or elsewhere in Palestine; but alien knowledge could also reach Qumran directly, for instance through trade networks.¹⁰⁹ However members of the movement came into contact with these other traditions, it should be evident that the nature of the movement in which the Pesharim originated does not speak against their members upholding connections with other intellectual groups across the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

If the adoption of the commentary genre by the Qumran movement results from its socio-historical context within the glocalised Hellenistic and Roman worlds, the question remains *why* the movement adopted this form of scholarly literature. The possibilities that systematic interpretations of a base text offered for the construction of a historical memory which incorporated the structure and plot of the base text may be part of the answer. The writing of

107 See Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 65–75 and cf. his statement on p. 208: “The *yahad*, and still more the new covenant of the *Damascus Rule*, was not an isolated monastic community, as has sometimes been imagined, but was part of a religious association spread widely throughout the land.”

108 See Yonder M. Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters’ Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context*, STDJ 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2012) and the works by Ben-Dov and Popović quoted in n. 79 above.

109 The existence of trade networks that involved Qumran is plausible on the basis of the use of red ink in some Qumran manuscripts and the use of papyrus as a writing material. The source for this type of ink, as Popović points out, had to be imported from either Spain or China, and so points to the participation of the scribes of the scrolls that use red ink in international trade networks (“The Ancient ‘Library’ of Qumran between Urban and Rural Culture,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 [Leiden: Brill, 2016], 155–67 [160]). Papyrus had to be imported from Egypt; thus, its use as a writing material indicates connections between that country and scroll manufacturers in Palestine (Hartog, “The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship”).

running commentaries, which focus on a substantial part of the base text and treat it in its base text order, allowed the Qumran exegetes to integrate the experiences of their movement and the scriptural narrative into a unified whole.¹¹⁰ At the same time, the prominence of running commentaries among scholars, teachers, and students in the Hellenistic and Roman periods—which goes back to the promotion of the genre by Aristarchus and his successors—raises the possibility that the acceptance of this form of scholarly literature by members of the Qumran movement served to enhance the status of these individuals as intellectuals. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, writing a commentary was a respected way of doing scholarship. By producing commentaries the Qumran exegetes participated in the intellectual discourse of their time and place.

3 Definitions

The comparison between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim in the next chapters is meant to illustrate the connections between these two commentary traditions and the intellectual groups that produced them. Before proceeding to this analysis I should say a few words on the definitions that govern the selection of material included in this study.

3.1 “Commentary”

The following chapters discuss the physicality, structure, and hermeneutics of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. I do not consider these aspects to constitute a proper definition of the commentary genre. Instead, they provide the heuristic framework in which this study operates. This framework serves the dual purpose of limiting the evidence to a manageable size and offering helpful ways to study it.¹¹¹ Moreover, my approach is not meant to imply that “commentary” was always recognised as a genre in the ancient world. Scholars disagree on this issue, and the Pesharim and the hypomnemata may present different cases. Although scholars of the Pesharim are increasingly aware of the fluid boundaries between the Pesharim and other forms of scriptural interpretation, the explicit character of scriptural interpretation in the Pesharim is still often taken as a conscious move away from implicit modes of exegesis. From this perspective, the composers of the Pesharim may have thought of

¹¹⁰ For a more elaborate discussion of this issue see pp. 177–81.

¹¹¹ On definitions of genre being closely tied up with the research interests of those who propose them see Carol A. Newsom, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 270–88.

themselves as producing works belonging to a specific genre. As Hindy Najman writes:

These texts typically exhibit, among other things, the following three features: a lemma or scriptural citation; an interpretation; and the identification of a contemporaneous referent. Like ‘RSVP’ on an invitation, these features are shared because the text-producer has been instructed in the relevant norm, which may be expected to be known to his or her reader as well.¹¹²

In contrast, scholars of Graeco-Roman textual scholarship tend to emphasise the interdependence between its various genres. Francesca Schironi reminds us that “Greek scholarly genres are much less differentiated in their content— at least for us—, because of the peculiar history and development of Greek scholarship.”¹¹³ And Ineke Sluiter, in a study on ancient generic classifications and the position of secondary literature, concludes:

In ancient eidography (explicit descriptions of ‘genre’), ‘secondary literature’ was rarely regarded as a full-blown genre (εἶδος).... However, it is perfectly possible for the modern researcher to identify the parameters that define the particular niche of the ancient commentator.¹¹⁴

A dialogue between these two perspectives will be a fruitful way forward in this debate, as it will illustrate the assumptions that govern research on commentaries in Jewish and classical studies.¹¹⁵ Yet, what is most important for

112 “The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassén, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–21 (312). Najman distinguishes between “genres” and “constellations”: the first refer to a situation in which “the texts were produced as members of relevant genres” (309) the second to a situation in which “genre is primarily an idea to be used in the reader’s classification of texts” (309). For Najman, “Peshier” clearly belongs to the first category.

113 “Greek Commentaries,” 400.

114 “The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity,” in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Glenn W. Most, CHSC 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 183–203 (202).

115 Najman pays attention to Aristotle’s concept of genre (“The Idea of Biblical Genre,” 309–12). The problem with this is that Aristotle’s ideas can be applied to literature, but not to works of scholarship. Elsewhere, Najman has pointed out the gains of a cross-fertilisation

the purposes of this book, is the qualification shared by Najman, Schironi, and Sluiter, that even if “commentary” was not acknowledged as a distinct genre in antiquity, modern scholars are free to identify such a genre in the context of their investigations.

In this book, I conceive of a “commentary” as a writing that stands in an interpretative relationship with a base text and quotes that base text explicitly in lemmata.¹¹⁶ My analysis will be further restricted to commentaries that follow the order of their base texts. Again, this is not to suggest a rigid distinction between “running commentaries” and other forms of ancient textual scholarship. As many scholars have pointed out, the formal features, hermeneutics, contents, social settings, and functions of various genres of ancient scholarly and interpretative literature can be very similar.¹¹⁷ Hence I will incorporate information from other genres of scholarly literature (especially the scholia) when this is necessary for my argument.

3.2 “*Hypomnema*”

Scholarly interest in the defining features of hypomnemata emerged in the context of identifying and classifying newly discovered papyri. So, Edgar Lobel speaks of hypomnemata as writings that explicitly distinguish between lemmata and interpretations; physically express this distinction; and use critical signs and formulae such as ὄτι or τὸ σημείον ὄτι to refer to accompanying editions. If any of these features occurs in a manuscript, it probably contains a hypomnema.¹¹⁸

As more and more papyri came to light of works similar to hypomnemata yet not exhibiting all of Lobel’s features, generic reflections on the hypomnemata and other categories of ancient scholarly literature deepened. Emphasising the historical development of the hypomnemata into scholia and the formal fluidity of these papyrus commentaries,¹¹⁹ Graziano Arrighetti proposed a

between Jewish and classical studies; see, e.g., her “Configuring the Text in Biblical Studies,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3–22. For an application of some insights from classical studies to the Pesharim see also Hartog, “Peshar as Commentary.”

116 Cf. Jassen, “The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary,” 372.

117 Cf. my comments on the blurry distinction between running and non-running commentaries on pp. 105–7.

118 *P.Oxy.* 20:109; idem, *P.Oxy.* 21:95; idem, *P.Oxy.* 25:35.

119 On which see also Nigel G. Wilson, “A Chapter in the History of Scholia,” *CQ* (1967): 244–56; idem, “Scholiasts and Commentators,” *GRBS* 47 (2007): 39–70; Herwig Maehler, “Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholiencorpora der Handschriften,” in *La philologie grecque à l’époque hellénistique et romaine*, ed. Franco Montanari, EAC 40

broad approach and subsumed even some borderline cases under the term “hypomnema.”¹²⁰ The work of Eric Turner and Marina del Fabbro implies a similar approach.¹²¹ In response to these studies, Franco Montanari developed a more refined system of classifying ancient scholarly literature, arguing for more exact categories and definitions.¹²² For Montanari, hypomnemata are writings that distinguish between lemmata and interpretations; provide philological-exegetical expositions of their base texts; and employ critical *sigla*.¹²³ This combination of features sets the hypomnemata apart from other works of ancient scholarship.

Montanari’s work set the stage for most subsequent discussions of Greek commentary writing, including the recent treatment by Schironi. Like Montanari, Schironi accepts the structure of the hypomnemata, with its explicit distinction between the base text and its interpretation, as the main characteristic of the genre. But Schironi also emphasises the osmotic relationship

(Geneva: Hardt, 1994), 95–141; Kathleen McNamee, “Missing Links in the Development of Scholia,” *GRBS* 36 (1995): 399–414; eadem, “Another Chapter in the History of Scholia,” *CQ* 48 (1998): 269–88; Marco Stroppa, “Some Remarks Regarding Commentaries on Codex from Late Antiquity,” *TiC* 1 (2009): 298–327 (324–27).

120 “*Hypomnemata e scholia: Alcuni problemi*,” *MPL* 2 (1977): 49–67; idem, *Poeti, eruditi e biografati: Momenti della riflessione dei Greci sulla letteratura* (Pisa: Giardini, 1987), 190–94. Arrighetti has a keen eye for the peculiarities of individual manuscripts and leaves open the possibility of the existence of “differenti generi di *hypomnemata*” (“*Hypomnemata e scholia*,” 50).

121 Turner, *Greek Papyri*; Marina del Fabbro, “Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea,” *SP* 18 (1979): 69–132. Turner’s treatment, like Arrighetti’s, depends on Lobel. Del Fabbro is more idiosyncratic: she may refer to Turner, but shows no knowledge of Lobel’s and Arrighetti’s work. The strength of her contribution lies in her descriptions of manuscripts, not so much in their generic classification.

122 See, e.g., his “Gli homerica su papiro: Per una distinzione di generi,” in Graziano Arrighetti et al., *Filologia e critica letteraria della Grecità*, RFC II (Pisa: Giardini, 1984), 125–38; idem, “Filologia omerica antica nei papiri,” in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology: Athens 25–31 May 1986*, ed. Basil G. Mandilaras (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 337–44; idem, “Glossario, parafrasi, ‘edizione commentata’ nei papiri,” in *I classici greci e i loro commentatori: Dai papiri ai marginalia rinascimentali: Atti del convegno Rovereto, 20 ottobre 2006*, ed. Guido Avezù and Paolo Scattolin, *MARDA* 10 (Rovereto: Accademia Roveretana degli agiati, 2006), 9–15; idem, “La papirologia omerica: Temi, problemi, prospettive,” in *I papiri omerici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011*, ed. Guido Bastianini and Angelo Casanova, *STP* 14 (Florence: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2012), 1–16.

123 “Gli homerica su papiro,” 126.

between the contents of the hypomnemata and other genres of scholarly literature:

We can define rather precisely how an ancient commentary (*hypomnema*) looked like physically (form), but its content (function) is not easy to distinguish from the content of other scholarly products.¹²⁴

So, according to Schironi, hypomnemata, syngrammata, hypotheseis, scholia, and lexica may each exhibit a different shape; but the contents of these various types of scholarly literature can be very similar, and information from one genre can be included into another.

If the hypomnemata are commentaries, therefore, this does not mean that all Greek commentaries are hypomnemata. Hypomnemata are a special kind of commentaries, which reflect the type of literary-philological exegesis practiced in the Alexandrian Library and Museum. This view on hypomnemata excludes other types of scholarly literature that exhibit the commentary form. According to this definition, Philo's commentaries on the Pentateuch; Galen's commentaries on medicine; Homeric paraphrases;¹²⁵ or the Mythographicus Homericus¹²⁶ cannot be called hypomnemata. Reversely, the hypomnemata included in this study all reflect Alexandrian textual scholarship.

3.2.1 Hypomnema Manuscripts Included in This Study

John Landon has published a helpful survey of hypomnemata on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹²⁷ His list offers the basis for this study, with some adaptations in light of more recent publications.

124 "Greek Commentaries," 400.

125 Paraphrases resemble hypomnemata because they exhibit the same bifold structure. On Homeric paraphrases see José A. Fernández Delgado, "Paráfrasis homéricas en papiros, tablillas y óstraka," *EC* 15 (2011): 3–45; idem, "La parafrasi omerica nei papiri scolastici," in *I papiri omerici*, 159–76.

126 The Mythographus Homericus is a running commentary on the Homeric epics, dealing with mythological issues and consisting of a succession of so-called *historiai* (ἱστορίαι). See pp. 208–9.

127 "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, *TiCSup* 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 159–79.

TABLE 1 *Hypomnema manuscripts included in this study*

Designation	TM Number ^a
BKT 10.16897 ^b	None
P.Berol. inv. 17151	65870
P.Berol. inv. 9960	60307
P.Cairo JE 60566	60423
P.Daris inv. 118	60594
P.Giss.Lit. 2.8	61134
P.Mich. inv. 1206	60948
P.Oxy. 2.221v	60508
P.Oxy. 8.1086 ^c	61148
P.Oxy. 8.1087	61125
P.Oxy. 24.2397	60277
P.Oxy. 65.4451	61158
P.Oxy. 65.4452	60568
P.Oxy. 76.5095 ^d	None
P.Ryl. 1.24	60266
P.Wash.Univ. 2.63	61216

a These numbers refer to the Trismegistos database at <http://www.trismegistos.org> (last accessed 28 March, 2017), where a description of these manuscripts, references to their editions, and references to the secondary literature may be found. Recently published manuscripts have not been assigned a TM number yet. As this table offers TM numbers for all hypomnema manuscripts included in this study I will for the sake of readability exclude these numbers in the remainder of this book.

b Lundon refers to this manuscript as “BKT #.”

c See Plate 1.

d Absent from Lundon's list.

3.2.2 Hypomnema Manuscripts Excluded from This Study

Three papyri Del Fabbro classifies as commentaries on the *Iliad* are absent from my list.¹²⁸ First, the presence of lines from the *Iliad* surrounded by prose text in P.Hamb. 2.136 suggested to its editor that this manuscript contains a hypomnema on the *Iliad*.¹²⁹ More recently, however, P.Hamb. 2.136 has been shown to contain an anthology rather than a commentary.¹³⁰ Secondly, P.Oxy. 3.418 was initially published as a scholia collection. Its mythological content had already triggered Arrighetti's attention,¹³¹ and Montanari classified the manuscript as a fragment of the *Mythographus Homericus*.¹³² Finally, PSI 12.1276 is a paraphrase, not a commentary.¹³³

3.3 "Peshar"

The designation "Peshar" carries various meanings, and scholars have disagreed on whether the term can serve as the name of a genre of exegetical literature.¹³⁴ In 1981, George Brooke delivered a landmark study on the

128 An interesting case is P.Nic. inv. 72 (TM 60463). Del Fabbro omits this manuscript from her analysis, even though it had been designated a commentary already in 1893. See Jules Nicole, "Fragments inédits d'un commentaire de l'Iliade," *RPh* 17 (1893): 109–15. There is no reason to include it here, as scholars now doubt that it contains a commentary. See Alexandra Trachsel and Paul Schubert, "Une description de la topographie de Troie dans un papyrus de Genève (Pack² 1204): Réédition," *MH* 56 (1999): 222–37; Wolfgang Luppe, "Ein Nachtrag zum Genfer Topographie-Papyrus Pack² 1204," *MH* 57 (2000): 237–39.

129 Bruno Snell, *P.Hamb.* 2:85–86.

130 See Georges Nachtergaele, "Fragments d'anthologies homériques (P.Strasb. inv. 2374; P.Graec. Vindob. 26740; P.Hamb. 11,136)," *CdÉ* 46 (1971): 344–51 (348–50); Monique van Rossum-Steenbeek, "The so-called 'Homeric Anthologies,'" in *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19.8.1995*, ed. Bärbel Kramer et al., AfPB 3 (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 991–95 (993–94); Lundon, "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus," 164.

131 "Hypomnemata e scholia," 51–52.

132 "The Mythographus Homericus," in *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle: A Collection of Papers in honour of D.M. Schenkeveld*, ed. J.G.J. Abbenes, Simon R. Slings, and Ineke Sluiter (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1995), 135–72 (155–59); see also Monique van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri*, MnS 175 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 279–80.

133 See Joseph Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, STP 1 (Florence: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2002), 24; Fernández Delgado, "Paráfrasis homéricas," 8–11; idem, "La parafrasi omerica," 160–62.

134 An extensive overview of the debate is provided in Nicolò Rizzolo, *Peshar: L'interpretazione della Parola per la fine dei giorni: Studio sul genere letterario dei Pesharym*, ÉB 73 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017). Unfortunately the book appeared too late for me to include its findings in this study.

definition of “Peshet.”¹³⁵ Responding to previous attempts to characterise the Pesharim as “midrash” or “commentary,” or to understand “Peshet” as a genre in its own right, Brooke proposed a hierarchical approach to “Peshet,” in which he distinguished between primary factors (structure) and secondary factors (hermeneutical methods) of the genre. His final conclusion is that the primary and secondary factors of “Peshet” are the same as that of “midrash” (as René Bloch had defined it¹³⁶). Hence,

providing it is recognized that midrash as literary genre is now a broad enough category to require qualification in every instance as to its provenance (e.g., rabbinic, New Testament, etc.), we may conclude that the commentaries through their combination of primary (structural) and secondary (methodological) factors are to be properly classified as *Qumran midrash*.... So peshet as commonly understood is no more than a sub-genre, and it may well be preferable to drop the word and all its associated complications that are too often forgotten.¹³⁷

Brooke’s study has been the starting point for any subsequent work on the Peshet genre, but some aspects of it have been rightly criticised. To begin with, scholars today tend to stress the *variety* among the Pesharim more expressly than Brooke did in 1981.¹³⁸ Consequently, they acknowledge the provisional nature of the definitions of “Peshet” they put forward.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the association of the Pesharim with the rabbinic Midrashim has been felt to be problematic in view of the differences between these types of commentary.¹⁴⁰ Finally, literary criticism has developed new approaches towards genre, which

135 “Qumran Peshet: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre,” *RevQ* 10/40 (1981): 483–503.

136 “Midrash,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. Louis Pirot, André Pirot, and Henri Cazelles (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1957), 4/5:1263–1281.

137 “Qumran Peshet,” 502–3.

138 Brooke did point out the structural differences between various kinds of peshet (“Qumran Peshet,” 497–501). In his final definition, however, structure did serve as a primary factor of the peshet genre. In some of his later works, Brooke paid more explicit attention to formal variety among the Pesharim; see, e.g., “Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 134–57.

139 Timothy Lim stresses that “Peshet as a genre of scriptural interpretation is a scholarly construct” (*Pesharim*, 53); and Shani Tzoref points out that her definition “is more descriptive than prescriptive, and is more integrative than hierarchical” in comparison to Brooke’s (“Qumran Pesharim,” 110–11, n. 1).

140 See pp. 6–7.

must be incorporated in the study of the Pesharim as a genre of Jewish scriptural interpretation.¹⁴¹

In the wake of these developments, Brooke has become more reluctant to associate Peshar with midrash.¹⁴² Taking into account the current state of literary criticism and its thinking about genre, he has promoted a broad approach to generic definitions of Scripture and exegesis in Early Judaism, emphasising the heuristic nature of categories such as “Rewritten Scripture” or “Peshar.”¹⁴³ From a different perspective, Robert Williamson’s study of the Pesharim in terms of prototype theory has the same effect.¹⁴⁴ Williamson defines the explicit quotation of their base texts; the use of a *pēšer* formula; and the identification of a figure in the base text with a contemporary figure as the compulsory characteristics of the Peshar genre. Other factors are not compulsory, and merely serve to situate certain writings closer to or farther removed from the prototypical Peshar. For both Williamson and Brooke, therefore, the Pesharim are characterised by certain structural features as well as by their contents, but the Peshar genre is a fluid one, overlapping with several other types of early Jewish exegetical literature. In line with the approach to commentaries explicated above, this study concentrates on the so-called “continuous” Pesharim,¹⁴⁵ but I include information from other types of exegetical literature when necessary.

3.3.1 Peshar Manuscripts Included in This Study

Maurya Horgan’s collection of fifteen Pesharim is the basis for this study.¹⁴⁶ She lists four manuscripts (3Q4, 4Q168, 4Q172, and 4Q173 5) in an appendix and doubts their identification as Pesharim.¹⁴⁷ Of these manuscripts I include only

141 Newsom, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre,” 270–76 offers a helpful overview.

142 See “From Bible to Midrash: Approaches to Biblical Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls by Modern Interpreters,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al., STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1–19.

143 “Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Peshar,” 333–35.

144 Robert Williamson, Jr., “Peshar: A Cognitive Model of the Genre,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 336–60.

145 The distinction between “continuous” and “thematic” Pesharim, which Jean Carmignac first proposed in his “Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédeq,” *RevQ* 7/27 (1970): 342–78, is problematic. Nonetheless, many scholars of the Pesharim explicitly or implicitly acknowledge at least the heuristic value of Carmignac’s categories.

146 *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979).

147 In PTS DSSP 6B, Horgan includes 3Q4, 4Q168, and 4Q172 as Pesharim. She excludes 4Q173 5, which she publishes separately as “House of Stumbling Fragment (4Q173a = 4Q173 frg. 5 olim).” See below.

4Q168 in my list. John Strugnell closely connected this manuscript with 4Q166 and 4Q167 and suggested some re-arrangements of fragments between 4Q167 and 4Q168.¹⁴⁸ In light of these ties between 4Q167 and 4Q168, it seemed appropriate to include 4Q168 here, even if it may contain something else than a Peshet.¹⁴⁹

TABLE 2 *Peshet manuscripts included in this study*

Number	Name
1Q14	1QPeshet on Micah
1Q15	1QPeshet on Zephaniah
1Q16	1QPeshet on Psalms
None	Peshet on Habakkuk
4Q161	Peshet on Isaiah A
4Q162	Peshet on Isaiah B
4Q163	Peshet on Isaiah C
4Q164	Peshet on Isaiah D
4Q165	Peshet on Isaiah E
4Q166 ^a	Peshet on Hosea A
4Q167	Peshet on Hosea B
4Q168	4QPeshet on Micah (?)
4Q169	Peshet on Nahum
4Q170	4QPeshet on Zephaniah
4Q171	4QPeshet on Psalms A
4Q173	4QPeshet on Psalms B

a In the preliminary publications of 4Q166 and 4Q167 the names of these manuscripts were reversed, i.e., 4Q167 was known as Peshet Hosea A and 4Q166 as Peshet Hosea B. See John M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect," *JBL* 75 (1956): 89–95 (4Q167); idem, "A Recently Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Hosea from Qumran's Fourth Cave," *JBL* 78 (1959): 142, 145–47 (4Q166). Allegro corrected these names in his *editio princeps* (DJD 5:31–36).

148 "Notes en marge du volume v des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »,» *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276 (199, 203).

149 The largest part of this manuscript (frgs. 1 and 3) yield only scriptural text. Thus, it is possible that 4Q168 is a copy of a biblical manuscript. See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 262.

3.3.2 Peshet Manuscripts Excluded from This Study

The fragments collected as 4Q172 do not constitute an individual manuscript, but are a mixed collection of fragments that John Allegro considered similar to those of the Pesharim. Some fragments have been assigned to other manuscripts, but most of them remain unidentified.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, fragment 5 of 4Q173, whose identity remains debated,¹⁵¹ does not belong with the rest of 4Q173¹⁵² and is thus excluded from this list.

More problematic are manuscripts that contain quotations from Scripture interspersed with something else. The presence of quotations from Isaiah in 3Q4 led Roland de Vaux to classify this manuscript as a Peshet.¹⁵³ De Vaux's identification is probable, but the manuscript lacks explicit markers of the Peshet genre, such as introductory formulae with the word פֶּשֶׁר. Therefore, it is excluded from this study.¹⁵⁴ The same holds for 5Q10, which was published under the title "Écrit avec citations de Malachie,"¹⁵⁵ but which Jean Carmignac suggested could have been a Peshet.¹⁵⁶ The most doubtful case is 4Q253a. Brooke argued that this fragment stems from a commentary on Malachi.¹⁵⁷ It does not contain the term פֶּשֶׁר,¹⁵⁸ but it does have the preposition עַל (4Q253a 1 i 5). In the same line it might refer to "the Teacher of Righteousness." These features may qualify the fragment as a Peshet,¹⁵⁹ but certainty is beyond reach, and the fragment is excluded from this study.

150 Cf. Lim, *Pesharim*, 13–14.

151 See most recently Søren Holst, "4Q173a: A Part of An Eschatological Midrash?" in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 19–27.

152 So already Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 219–20.

153 "Exploration de la région de Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 60 (1953): 540–61 (555–57 and plate XXIVb); see also Maurice Baillet, Jozef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *DJD* 3:95–96.

154 Cf. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 260; Lim, *Pesharim*, 15.

155 Baillet, Milik, and De Vaux, *DJD* 3:180.

156 "Vestiges d'un Peshet de Malachie?" *RevQ* 4/13 (1963): 97–100.

157 Brooke initially presented these fragments as belonging to 4Q253 (Commentary on Genesis B), but presents 4Q253a as a separate manuscript in his *editio princeps* of 4Q253. See his "4Q253: A Preliminary Edition," *JSS* 40 (1995): 227–39; idem, *DJD* 22:209–15. Eibert Tigchelaar informs me that the handwriting and the physical features of 4Q253 and 4Q253a do not necessitate the conclusion that these fragments stem from different manuscripts.

158 *DSSSE* 1:506 reconstructs פֶּשֶׁרוֹ עַל in 4Q253a 1 i 5, but this is uncertain.

159 עַל is a very common word, but is often employed in interpretation formulae in the Pesharim. 4Q253a 1 i 5 reads הַצַּדִּיק. If this is part of the phrase מוֹרֵה הַצַּדִּיק ("the Teacher of

4 Outline of This Book

This book consists of three parts, which each contain an opening chapter followed by two chapters that compare a single aspect of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. The first part concentrates on the physical features of commentary manuscripts and how these reveal the scholarly character of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim as well as the connections between the scholarly traditions reflected in these commentaries. Chapter 2 introduces the types of communities I hold responsible for producing these commentaries and offers a survey of intellectual culture and intellectual networks in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and Palestine. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to the physical features of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. These chapters demonstrate that both types of commentary reflect the same type of scholarly or intellectual activity, even if individual hypomnemata and Pesharim fulfil different functions.

The second part deals with the structure of commentaries. Chapter 5 shows how the bifold structure of commentaries creates a particular kind of rhetoric for these exegetical writings. In chapters 6 and 7 I compare how the hypomnemata and the Pesharim express this rhetoric. This analysis will yield both similarities and differences. To begin with the latter: whereas the structure of the hypomnemata promotes a multifaceted tradition of scholarship and exegesis that values scholarly argument and debate, the make-up of the Pesharim reflects a more unified tradition of exegesis that is based on prophetic authority and blends together the vicissitudes of the Qumran movement and the scriptural base text of its commentaries. At the same time, the macrostructural similarities between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim exemplify the transmission of knowledge through intellectual networks in the Hellenistic and Roman eras. In these periods running commentaries are rare. Hence, the Pesharim commentators seem to have adopted this format and structure from the Alexandrian tradition of commentary writing which the hypomnemata represent.

The third part discusses the hermeneutical assumptions and resources of the Pesharim and the hypomnemata. Again, the comparison will point out both similarities and differences. The hermeneutical assumptions of both types of commentary are different: the hypomnemata imply the notion of Homer as a conscious author and present him almost as a timeless source of wisdom. The Pesharim, on the other hand, emphasise the different positions in the course of history of the ancient prophet and the Pesharim commentators.

Righteousness”), this may support the identification of this fragment as part of a Pesharim, as this form of the expression (with the article) occurs only in the Pesharim.

As a result, the hypomnemata favour co-textual readings of their lemmata and embody the ideal of all-round Ἐλληγνισμός, whilst the Pesharim often present their readers with non-co-textual interpretations focused on the historical memory of the movement in which the Pesharim originated. In spite of these differences, the hypomnemata and the Pesharim also often use the same exegetical resources. This shows that these two commentary traditions belonged to broader exegetical traditions in the ancient world, which presumably incorporated Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions as well.

The Hypomnemata and the Pesharim as Expressions of Intellectual Culture

The Pesharim and the hypomnemata are the result of intense intellectual activity. As these commentaries engender a dialogue between their base texts and their interpretations, the commentators responsible for them must not only have an intimate knowledge of the base text, but also be capable of making that text relevant and acceptable in their own time and place.¹ In antiquity even more than today, such profound engagement with written texts was not a common activity. It required specialists: intellectuals and scholars devoted to textual scholarship² and to communicating their findings to their audiences.

These scholars and intellectuals rarely worked in isolation. Though the contributions of individual scholars and the possibility of personal innovations must not be ignored,³ commentaries and other works of scholarship tend to be based in and originate from communal settings. Brian Stock, in his analysis of Christian “heresies” in the 11th century CE, speaks of such communal settings as “textual communities.” What characterises these communities is the central place they allot to texts:

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- 1 As I see it, “interpretation” is about bridging the gap that separates the base text from its readers; Wolfgang Raible helpfully speaks of interpretation as “Umkodierung”: “Arten des Kommentierens—Arten der Sinnbildung—Arten des Verstehens: Spielarten der generischen Intertextualität,” in *Text und Kommentar*, ed. Jan Assmann and Burkhard Gladigow, ALK 4 (Munich: Fink, 1995), 51–73. Thus, commentators are essentially bridge-builders connecting the base text with its readers—which does not mean that commentaries always serve a modest mediating role.
 - 2 The notion of “textual scholarship” I endorse in this book is broader than the modern definition of the field as it is laid out in, e.g., David C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994). In the period I will be discussing no clear boundaries between the various subdisciplines of textual scholarship existed. For me, “textual scholarship” refers to any self-conscious engagement with written texts. It includes aspects of transmission, interpretation, paraphrase or rewriting, and translation.
 - 3 Cf. how George Brooke points to the role of collective and personal memory in processes of rewriting Scripture in his “Memory, Cultural Memory and Rewriting Scripture,” in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJSup 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 119–36.

Eleventh-century dissenters may not have shared profound doctrinal similarities or common social origins, but they demonstrated a parallel use of texts, both to structure the internal behaviour of the groups' members and to provide solidarity against the outside world.⁴

Stock adds that “textual communities” need not be studying communities, in the sense that each member engaged in textual study. Rather, “what was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text,... but an individual who ... utilized it for reforming a group’s thought and action.”⁵ A slightly different notion was developed by Roger Chartier. Basing himself both on Stock and on Stanley Fish’s work on “interpretive communities,”⁶ Chartier combines the study of material, literary, and social aspects of reading processes to illuminate how “communities of readers” use and explain their texts.⁷

Stock and Chartier may be usefully applied to shed light on the type of groups that produced the hypomnemata and the Pesharim.⁸ It should be borne in mind, however, that the communities behind these commentaries were not just groups of “readers” attributing great significance to “texts.” At least some of the members of these groups were engaged in the active study and meditation

4 *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90.

5 *The Implications of Literacy*, 90.

6 *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

7 *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1–23.

8 The work of Stock and Chartier has been helpfully applied in the study of Ancient Judaism and Christianity by others. Tom Thatcher and Catherine Hezser employ Stock’s insights to pinpoint the existence of “textual communities” in Second Temple Judaism. See Tom Thatcher, “Literacy, Textual Communities, and Josephus’ *Jewish War*,” *JSJ* 29 (1998): 123–142; Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, TSAJ 81 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 196–99. Note that Thatcher and Hezser differ in their definition of “textual communities.” Whilst Thatcher stresses the *symbolic* value of texts for such groups, Hezser speaks in a more restricted fashion of “sets of people who commonly read and discuss particular texts together” (197).

Chartier’s work inspires Kim Haines-Eitzen’s contributions on the identity and activities of Early Christian scribes. See her *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); also eadem, “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2d ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 479–95.

of texts. They were what Dirk Obbink calls “serious readers.” Such a “serious reader” is “someone who demonstrates the inclination and the ability, as formulated by Youtie, to ‘look beyond the perplexities of rapid writing to the flow of meaning through a text.’”⁹ The hypomnemata and the Pesharim reflect this intellectual activity; they are the work of scholars and intellectuals.¹⁰

These intellectual communities were not strictly bound geographically. Nor, so it appears, were they wholly self-centred. As I intend to show in the next pages, hypomnemata were written and consulted in intellectual groups throughout Egypt. Likewise, the Pesharim originated in a Jewish movement whose members lived in different places in Palestine.¹¹ In these various localities, members of one intellectual group met members of other groups. These encounters, whether they be centred at a court, temple, or other institution or were more incidental, created intellectual networks through which scholarly communities exchanged knowledge between them.

1 Scribes and Scholars

This and the next chapters argue that the hypomnemata and the Pesharim originate from similar kinds of intellectual communities. An a priori problem with this idea concerns the different terms employed in classical and Jewish studies to refer to the members of such intellectual groups. These terminological differences run the risk of concealing similarities between the individuals and groups who wrote and consulted commentaries in the Hellenistic and Roman period.

In classical studies and papyrology, persons engaged in the production and transmission of scholarly literature are known as “scribes” and “scholars.” Scribes are responsible for the technical procedures of manuscript production, scholars for the contents of these manuscripts.¹² Literary authors rarely wrote

9 “Readers and Intellectuals,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman et al., GRM 93 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 271–86 (273). The quotation is from Herbert C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*, 2d ed., BICSSup 33 (London: University of London, 1974), 5.

10 Cf. Obbink, “Readers and Intellectuals,” 273: “The resulting activity we might term scholarship or exegesis or education, and would embrace scholars from beginners and their teachers on the lower end of the scale to editors of texts.”

11 See pp. 26–28.

12 So in Eric G. Turner, “Scribes and Scholars” in *Oxyrhynchus*, 256–61; L.D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin*

their own works, but often turned to scribes to put their works to writing.¹³ “Scribes,” in this scenario, can be taken as professionals who had received a specialised training.¹⁴ This training need not imply a sustained degree of literacy: some scribes may have been barely able to recognise what they were writing,¹⁵ others may have been more capable. Differences between scribes concerned not just their professional capabilities, but also their social position.¹⁶ But even then, scribes rarely belonged to the higher echelons of Greek society.¹⁷ Unlike the ancient Near East,¹⁸ the Greek world knew of no well-defined social class

Literature, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

- 13 See, e.g., Raymond J. Starr, “The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World,” *CQ* 37 (1987): 213–23; Tiziano Dorandi, “Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut: Arbeitsweise und Autographie bei den antiken Schriftstellern,” *ZPE* 87 (1991): 11–33; idem, “Tradierung der Texte im Altertum; Buchwesen,” in *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie*, ed. Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 3–16; Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 21–40; Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 157–60.

For clarity’s sake I restrict my attention to the writing of literary and subliterate works rather than documents. By this I do not mean to imply that the scribes doing these two kinds of work were very different; in fact, one and the same individual could have been employed in the production of both literary and documentary texts. See Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 32–34 (with references).

- 14 Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 157–60.
 15 Herm. Vis. 2.1.4 may reflect this reality.
 16 Cf. the survey in Herbert C. Youtie, “ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 17 (1975): 201–21 (217).
 17 See, e.g., Dominique Jaillard, “Memory, Writing, Authority: The Place of the Scribe in Greek Polytheistic Practice (Sixth to Fourth Centuries BCE),” in *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism and Script*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 23–34. See also Peter Parsons, “Copyists of Oxyrhynchus,” in *Oxyrhynchus*, 262–70, who speaks about “copyists” rather than “scribes,” because “the book-transcriber of Roman Egypt has a low profile” (262).

The marginal position of scribes might have to do with the position of writing in certain currents of Greek society. If Plato (*Phaedr.* 274c–275d) is anyone to go by, some Greeks considered writing with suspicion. See Loveday Alexander, “The Living Voice: Scepticism towards the Written Word in Early Christian and Graeco-Roman Texts,” in *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*, ed. David J.A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter, *JSTSup* 87 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 220–47.

- 18 On ancient Near Eastern scribes see Laurie E. Pearce, “The Scribes and Scholars of Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson et al. (New York: Scribner, 1995), 2265–78.

of “scribes,”¹⁹ and scribal activity was not restricted to institutions such as the temple or the court.

Greek “scholars” rarely constituted a distinct class either—especially in the pre-Hellenistic era.²⁰ Most prominent among the pre-Hellenistic intelligentsia were sophists and philosophers. These were probably the first to collect books and to compose scholarly works on Homer and other authors.²¹ Aristotle, for instance, assembled a small library and wrote a *Homeric Problems*.²² In Hellenistic times, scholars in the Alexandrian Library and Museum were known as *grammatikoi*; those connected with the Pergamene Library, possibly as a reactionary move, were designated *kritikoi*.²³ But intellectual activity was not restricted to these institutions. Scholarly and intellectual activity flourished across Egypt, and the individuals engaged in these activities constituted intellectual networks in which knowledge was exchanged.²⁴ Even if intellectual culture in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt was beyond the reach of most people,²⁵ Greek textual scholarship was not the prerequisite of a narrow, institutionalised elite, but thrived in a wide variety of contexts.

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- 19 In the Hellenistic period, when the growth of the empire necessitated a class of scribes involved in administration, it consisted for a large part of Egyptians. See Maria R. Falivene, “Government, Management, Literacy: Aspects of Ptolemaic Administration in the Early Ptolemaic Period,” *AS* 22 (1991): 203–27; Gilles Gorre, “A Religious Continuity between the Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods? Self-Representation and Identity of Egyptian Priests in the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BCE),” in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*, ed. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, MnS 363 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99–114 (esp. 106–11); Sylvie Honigman, “Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East: The Respective Roles of Temples, Royal Offices, Courts, and Gymnasia,” in *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, FAT 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 49–78.
- 20 We do find the term *pepaideumenoi*, which refers to the intelligentsia in general.
- 21 On pre-Hellenistic private book collections see Dorandi, “Tradierung der Texte,” 11–12.
- 22 See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 69–74.
- 23 On these two designations see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 157–59.
- 24 Eric Turner did instrumental work on these networks in his “Scribes and Scholars”; idem, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980; repr. 2006), 74–96, 100–12. More recent contributions include Obbink, “Readers and Intellectuals”; Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 77–104; William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*, ClCS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 179–99; Amin Benaïssa, “Greek Language, Education, and Literary Culture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 526–42 (esp. 532–35).
- 25 Although in the Hellenistic era literacy rates may have increased in comparison with earlier periods, it would be an exaggeration to speak of Hellenistic-Roman Egypt as a “literate”

Things are different in Jewish studies. Modern scholars working in this discipline exhibit a keen interest in “scribes” and their activities, whilst attention to “scholars” is limited. This situation reflects the diverse and scant sources for Second Temple Jewish scribal culture. Two main sources can be distinguished: references to “scribes” in Jewish literature and the material characteristics of manuscripts produced by “scribes.” These sources are rarely treated together.²⁶ As a result, modern scholars use the term “scribe” in different ways, depending on the sources they consulted.²⁷

In the nineteenth century, references to *grammateis*, *nomodidaskaloi*, and *sôpherîm* in Jewish sources from the Second Temple period gave rise to the idea of “*Schriftgelehrten*”—learned persons with a close familiarity with the Torah. This concept has since then been severely criticised,²⁸ but many analyses of Early Jewish scribal culture continue to take references to *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* in Josephus, the New Testament, and rabbinic literature as their point of departure.²⁹ This is not unproblematic, though: Christine Schams has shown that these terms carry different meanings in different contexts.³⁰ Most remarkably, *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* are rarely portrayed as writing anything.³¹ They serve as interpreters of texts³² or dreams,³³ or they are involved in the

society without due qualifications. See William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

- 26 But see Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “The Scribes of the Scrolls,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, forthcoming).
- 27 For a critical survey see D. Andrew Teeter, “Scribes and Scribalism,” in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 1201–4.
- 28 Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*, JSOTSup 291 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 15–35 offers a detailed overview and critique of this early phase of research.
- 29 Most recently, e.g., Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 71–87; idem, *Revolt of the Scribes: Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 9–14.
- 30 *Jewish Scribes*.
- 31 So also Martin Goodman, “Texts, Scribes and Power in Roman Judaea,” in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays*, AJEC 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–90 (84).
- 32 Sir 38:24–39:11 (esp. 39:1–3). The *sôphêr* in Ps 45:2 also seems to be associated with exegetical activity; this may guide the application of this verse to the Teacher of Righteousness in 4Q171 1–10 iv 26–27.
- 33 Enoch in 4Q203 8 4; 4Q530 2 ii 14. Cf. 4Q212 1 ii 22–23 and 1 En. 92:1.

production (rather than merely the transmission) of literature.³⁴ Sometimes they are portrayed as clerks or lower officials.³⁵ Their position in society tends to be higher than that of Greek scribes, even if they do not belong to the narrow highest elite.³⁶ They may be connected with the court or the temple, but this is not necessary.³⁷ In most cases, therefore, *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* belong to the intellectual upper strata in Early Judaism. Their activities were often, but not always, tied up with the temple or the court.

Another picture of Jewish “scribes” arises when one considers the material features of Early Jewish manuscripts. Whereas *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* are rarely involved in writing, the “scribes” responsible for these manuscripts are. It seems that they adopted two basic approaches: one geared towards a producing a faithful (by our standards) copy of a *Vorlage*, and one more interventionist.³⁸ It is unclear, however, how these two approaches were connected, as references to scribes as the producers of manuscripts are absent from our sources, nor have any colophons been preserved in which scribes

34 David in 11QPs^a 27:2. Schams proposes “that the author of 11QPs^a 27 may have had a similar notion of a scribe as Ben Sira” (*Jewish Scribes*, 125). However, Sirach’s scribe seems to be engaged mainly with the *study* of literature, whereas David is responsible for its *production*.

35 According to Goodman, the “scribes of the temple” to which Josephus refers at *Ant.* 12.142 “are more likely to have been bureaucrats than religious leaders or *iuris periti*” (“Texts, Scribes and Power,” 86). Similarly Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 88–90; Teeter, “Scribes and Scribalism,” 1203. Enoch, who is called “scribe” on various occasions (see n. 33 above), may fulfil the role of a clerk (1 En. 13:4).

36 Sir 39:4 describes the scribe as “serving in the midst of great men.” Thus, for Ben Sira, the scribe does not belong to the highest echelon of society, but to the echelon just below. Cf. Anthony Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries*. Saldarini and Horsley take up Gerhard Lenski’s sociological work and identify Jewish scribes as “retainers”: a social class which supports the ruling class.

37 Sir 39:4 implies a connection between scribes and the ruling class. ALD 13 and Ahiqar similarly imply a relation between scribes and the court.

Josephus refers to “scribes of the temple” (see n. 35 above), and the New Testament also implies a connection between scribes and the temple (see Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 143–201). Yet Enoch, who is called a scribe, has no evident ties with the temple. Moreover, the probability that at least some Qumran manuscripts were produced at the nearby site suggests that scribal activity could occur at some distance from the temple.

38 See D. Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 205–68. The term “interventionist” is Teeter’s.

reflect on their own work.³⁹ Perhaps a scribe could adopt both approaches, depending on the character and the purpose of the manuscript being produced.⁴⁰ But it is equally possible that different individuals did different sorts of work: the interventionist approach required scribes to possess more than basic literary capabilities, whilst scribes adopting the more technical approach “did not necessarily understand much of the texts they were copying.”⁴¹ It is also unknown how exactly the picture of “scribes” culled from manuscript features relates to the references to *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* in literary sources.

To fill in the gaps in this disparate collection of sources, modern scholars often resort to comparative evidence; the ancient Near East is particularly popular. In ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, “scribes” (Egyptian: *sš* or *sh*; Akkadian: *tuṣṣarru*) constituted an elite social class, priding itself in its abilities and social standing. Closely tied to the temple and the court, these scribes were the carriers of tradition and the guardians of literature. For scholars such as Karel van der Toorn, this Near Eastern type of scribal culture is echoed in how Second Temple Jewish sources speak of *sôpherîm* and *grammateis*.⁴² At the same time, the type of scribal activity reflected in manuscripts from this period may indicate that certain Jewish scribes were professional writers without any necessary literate abilities, like their Greek counterparts.⁴³ This shows that

39 Both kinds of evidence are available for Greek scribes. See Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 10–13 for a concise overview.

40 Cf. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 8. Teeter (*Scribal Laws*, 256–63) argues persuasively that each approach may occupy its own place in a single polysystem. On the relationship between scribal approach and the intended purpose of manuscripts see also Pieter B. Hartog, “Reading and Copying the Minor Prophets in the Late Second Temple Period,” in *Proceedings of the Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense LXV, Leuven, 27–29 July, 2016*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BETL (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

41 Juhana M. Saukkonen, “Dwellers at Qumran: Reflections on Their Literacy, Social Status, and Identity,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 615–27 (623).

42 *Scribal Culture*, 51–73.

43 See Michael O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*, JSPSup 15 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 119–46; Philip S. Alexander, “Literacy among Jews in Second Temple Palestine: Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Martin F.J. Baasten and Wido Th. van Peursen, OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 3–24; Lester L. Grabbe, “Scribes, Writing, and Epigraphy in the Second Temple Period,” in “*See, I will bring*

comparative analyses can only be of limited value. A consideration of its Near Eastern or Greek background may help to illuminate some peculiar aspects of Jewish scribal culture, but it cannot account for it entirely.⁴⁴ As has been indicated in chapter 1, Jewish scribalism and scholarship in the Hellenistic and Roman period exhibited a “glocal” character and incorporated elements from a range of different backgrounds and traditions.

If “scribes,” in various capacities, abound in the secondary literature on Second Temple Judaism, “scholars” are conspicuously absent. Their absence is due, indubitably, to the fact that Jewish “scholars” in the Second Temple period did not make up a distinct social class, nor defined themselves as “scholars.”⁴⁵ But this is not to say that Judaism in this period knew no intellectual and scholarly activity. *Sôpherîm* and *grammateis* are often engaged in interpretative activities. For that reason, these terms may more suitably be rendered “scholars” rather than “scribes.”⁴⁶ Priests and Levites, too, could function as scholars and interpreters of the law.⁴⁷ “Sages” were involved in scholarly activity as well.⁴⁸ The institutional context of scholarly and intellectual activities is not always clear: it seems fair to assume that the temple in Jerusalem was a central locus

a scroll recounting what befell me” (Ps 40:8): Epigraphy and Daily Life from the Bible to the Talmud, ed. Esther Eshel and Yigal Levin, JAJSup 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 105–21.

44 Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 53 acknowledges this.

45 The concept of “sage” in the rabbinic tradition may be a movement in this direction.

46 Arie van der Kooij refers to (some) *sôpherîm* and *grammateis* as “scholars” in his “Authoritative Scriptures and Scribal Culture,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 55–71. See also idem and Johann Cook, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 15–62 (esp. 39–41, 59–62); idem, “Scholars and Officials in Early Judaism: The *Sôfer* of Jesus Ben Sira,” in *Septuagint, Sages, and Scripture: Studies in Honour of Johann Cook*, ed. Randall X. Gauthier, Gideon R. Kotzé, and Gert J. Steyn, VTSup 172 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 190–204.

47 See Van der Kooij, “Authoritative Scriptures,” 61–70.

The portrayal of the Teacher of Righteousness as a priest suggests that, at times, priests could be involved in the interpretation of the prophets as well. See Pieter B. Hartog, “Peshar as Commentary,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

48 In view of the scarcity of references to *sôpherîm* in the Qumran scrolls, Tigchelaar suggests that the scrolls refer to the individuals engaged in scholarly activity as “sages” rather than “scribes.” See Tigchelaar, “Scribes”; also Armin Lange, “Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature,” in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, FRLANT 219 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 271–93.

of scholarly activity, but it was not the only place where scholarship was practiced. The Qumran scrolls testify that scholarly activities could thrive away from the temple—though perhaps not in full isolation of it.⁴⁹ At the same time, Jewish scholarship, like its Greek counterpart, remained the prerequisite of the *literati*.⁵⁰

It is evident, then, that Greek and Jewish scribes and scholars exhibit both similarities and differences. Depending on the associations modern scholars might have with the term “scribe,” either the similarities and differences may seem more pronounced. In this book, I assume that the same sort of intellectual or scholarly *activity* lies behind both the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. Hence, I approach “scribes” and “scholars” in terms of their activities, not in terms of their position in society, professional status, institutional embedding, or self-definition. For me, “scribes” are involved in the writing and production of manuscripts. “Scholars” are engaged in textual study and in communicating the results of their study to others. These descriptions of scribal and scholarly activities are no definitions proper; I consider them ways into the material, which suitably illuminate the background of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim.⁵¹

49 It is noteworthy that, in the scrolls, interpretative activities are often—but not always—associated with priests. See Steven D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran,” in *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 37–67. Probably there was some interaction between the inhabitants of Qumran and the Jerusalem temple, but its exact nature cannot be gauged. Many modern scholars hold that priests associated with the interpretation of law and literature in the scrolls were once priests in the Jerusalem temple. This is possible, but this scenario risks to be overly historicist. In many Early Jewish and Early Christian writings, priests do not figure as historical persons, but as authoritative *personae* associated with the true and valid interpretation of traditions. See Maxine Grossman, “Priesthood as Authority: Interpretive Competition in First-Century Judaism and Christianity,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, ed. James R. Davila, STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 117–31.

50 On literacy rates in Roman Palestine see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 496.

51 The heuristic nature of this approach is also evident from the fact that “scribes” and “scholars” are often the same individuals.

2 The Hypomnemata and Intellectual Life in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt

The Macedonian-Greek elite ruling over Egypt after Alexander's conquests were eager to stimulate the study of science and literature. The clearest sign of this ambition is the Alexandrian Library and Museum.⁵² These two institutions, the exact reasons of whose establishment remain unclear,⁵³ granted their members a relatively carefree life, allowing them to devote their energies to scholarship and teaching.⁵⁴ It is not surprising, then, that the Library and Museum were important centres of Greek intellectual life in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt. The first scholarly commentaries were probably produced in these institutions, as Aristarchus, one of the Alexandrian head librarians, is commonly held responsible for the promotion of "commentary" as a genre of scholarly literature.

But Greek intellectual culture reached wider than Alexandria, and Greek intellectuals could be found in diverse localities across Egypt. The workings of

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- 52 On the history of the Library and the Museum see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 87–233; Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:447–79; Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, "Das Museion und die Große Bibliothek von Alexandria," in *Alexandria*, ed. Tobias Georges, Felix Albrecht, and Reinhard Feldmeier, COMES 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 65–88. On the historical value (or rather the lack thereof) of our sources on the Alexandrian Library and Museum see also Roger S. Bagnall, "Alexandria: Library of Dreams," *PAPS* 146 (2002): 348–62. On the Museum and Library as symbols of cultural identity see Herwig Maehler, "Alexandria, the Mouseion, and Cultural Identity," in *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, ed. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk, CHSKCLP 5 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 1–14.
- 53 F.W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 2d ed. (London: Fontana Press, 1986), 176–78 gives various reasons for and precedents to the establishment of the Museum and Library in Alexandria. Andrew Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria," *GR* 42 (1995): 38–48 points to the need for the Ptolemies to emphasise their ties with Alexander. The establishment of the Museum and Library according to principles inherited from Aristotle serves to suggest continuity with Aristotle's appointment as Alexander's tutor. Indeed, Alexandrian scholars were regularly employed as teachers in the Ptolemaic court.
- 54 Rudolf Pfeiffer writes on the Alexandrian scholars that "we do not hear of their obligation to lecture," but concedes that "we may assume the gradual growth of a free fellowship of masters and disciples" (*History of Classical Scholarship*, 98). For Pfeiffer, the use of *grammatikos* as a designation for these scholars entails a break with the previous meaning of the term, which originally referred to an "elementary teacher in writing and reading" (*History of Classical Scholarship*, 157). To me, it seems that the application of this term to the scholars in the Museum and Library underlines the fact that these Alexandrian scholars were engaged not just in study, but also in teaching.

intellectual networks are reflected in P.Oxy. 18.2192.⁵⁵ The subscriptions of this letter from the 2nd century CE reflect the search for books among intellectuals. The requested books are clearly scholarly in kind: they include Hypsicrates's *Characters in Comedy*⁵⁶ and Seleucus's work on *Tenses*. The network implied in this manuscript involves Oxyrhynchus and at least one other city, which need not have been Alexandria. Other sources do demonstrate the existence of intellectual networks that involved both Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus. Alexandrian scholars owned estates in Oxyrhynchus,⁵⁷ Oxyrhynchites studied in Alexandria,⁵⁸ and books were sent from one city to the other.⁵⁹ Both Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus were, thus, centres of intellectual culture,⁶⁰ and we must reckon with what Eric Turner aptly called "a constant to and fro" between these two places.⁶¹

This to and fro between Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus also accounts for the dependence of hypomnemata recovered from the Oxyrhynchite rubbish heaps on the type of scholarship practiced in the Alexandrian Library and Museum.⁶² This holds true even if not all commentary manuscripts found near Oxyrhynchus were produced in that city.⁶³ The prominent presence of Alexandrian scholarship in all commentaries treated in this book demonstrates

55 Text and translation in Rosalia Hatzilambrou, "Appendix: P.Oxy. xviii 2192 Revisited," in *Oxyrhynchus*, 282–86.

56 Or: *Topics in Comedy*.

57 Eric G. Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," in *Oxyrhynchus*, 141–54; idem, "Scribes and Scholars"; idem, *Greek Papyri*, 86–88, 100–12; Alan K. Bowman, "Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People," in *Oxyrhynchus*, 171–81.

58 Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," 148; Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 20 (including n. 60).

59 P.Oxy. 8.1153 (cf. Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," 152); P.Mil.Vogl. 1.11 (cf. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture*, 183).

60 On Oxyrhynchus as a major centre of (Christian) intellectual culture see also Eldon J. Epp, "The New Testament Papyri at Oxyrhynchus in Their Social and Intellectual Context," in *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical*, ed. William L. Petersen, Johan S. Vos, and Henk Jan de Jonge, NTSup 89 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 47–68.

61 Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," 148.

62 On this point see John Lundon, "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, TiCSup 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 159–79 (160, 172).

63 It is very difficult to be certain on the place of production of a manuscript, as this need not coincide with the place where it was found. Parsons points to the possibility of traveling manuscripts: "The evidence for Alexandrian intellectuals resident in Oxyrhynchus makes it perfectly plausible that they brought books with them—personal, if not commercial,

that they, like other works of scholarship, were used and transmitted within intellectual networks across Egypt.

The persons who produced these hypomnema manuscripts must be sought among the scholars, students, and professional scribes in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (without these categories excluding one another). Interesting testimony for this comes from Rafaella Criatore's study on teachers and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Comparing the hands of teachers in school exercises to those of the hypomnemata, Criatore writes:

Teachers' hands also have much in common with the hands of *hypomnemata*, scholarly commentaries on ancient authors. Usually *hypomnemata* are written competently and quickly in neat hands that sometimes link some of the letters. Although in *hypomnemata* the letters' size and spacing vary, and the script is less regular than in models, clarity and legibility are good. The most distinguishing feature of *hypomnemata* in comparison to models is the size of the script, which in the commentaries is small and often tiny.⁶⁴

The similarities Criatore recognises between teachers' hands and the hands of the hypomnemata suggest that often the same individuals—scholar-teachers in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt—are responsible for the production of school exercises and scholarly commentaries. Differences in size reflect the different functions of each type of writing: school exercises often serve as models to be copied by students (and hence must be legible), whereas hypomnemata often serve mainly the needs of their producers.

Scholars and teachers could produce commentaries for several reasons. As treasure troves of scholarly knowledge, commentaries assisted the scholar in his or her study of a literary work. At the same time, commentaries were ideal means to provide a systematic survey of one's own viewpoints. Furthermore, when they were teaching, scholars may have had in front of them commentaries on the text

mobility" ("Copyists of Oxyrhynchus," 264). Of course, problems are even more serious when the provenance of a manuscript is unknown.

We might tread on somewhat firmer ground when one hand can be shown to be responsible for several manuscripts. Again Parsons notes: "If it can be shown that one hand was responsible for a range of different MSS, there is at least a presumption that this was a professional and a local professional" ("Copyists of Oxyrhynchus," 264). When we apply this criterion to our corpus, only P.Oxy. 24.2397, which is attributed to Scribe #A19 of Oxyrhynchus (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 23–24, 62 [table 2.1.]), may, with some degree of certainty, be taken to be produced in that city.

64 *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 100.

scheduled for discussion in class. The term *hypomnema* (“reminder”) reflects this use of commentaries as lecture notes.⁶⁵ But teachers were not the only ones to take notes: students, too, took notes of lectures they attended. In classes where a particularly literary work was systematically expounded, these notes may have assumed the form of commentaries, or be redacted into a commentary at a later stage.⁶⁶

Most hypomnema manuscripts exhibit a rather ordinary hand. Especially in the Roman period, commentaries were often written in semi-cursive or informal uncial hands. Yet some manuscripts exhibit particularly well-executed hands.⁶⁷ These manuscripts were probably produced by professional scribes for clients seeking to obtain a neatly written commentary manuscript.⁶⁸ These manuscripts were presumably meant to be collected. Scholars could order a commentary which had attracted their attention, when for one reason or another they did not wish to copy it themselves. As we have seen, books were distributed across intellectual networks in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt; this distribution may have required neatly executed exemplars. We cannot even exclude the possibility that some of the best-executed manuscripts were meant to be displayed rather than consulted, lending to its owner a certain intellectual prestige.⁶⁹

65 Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 107, 113. On “*hypomnema*” as reminder see also Plato, *Phaedr.* 274e–275a, 276d; *Theaet.* 143a; *Pol.* 295c.

66 On note-taking by students and teachers and the connection of these practices with the hypomnemata see Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, ASP 45 (Oakville, CT: American Society of Papyrologists, 2007), 60.

67 P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 (recto); P.Oxy. 76.5095; and especially BKT 10.16897. Note that P.Oxy. 76.5095 is later than most other hypomnemata in our corpus and is written in a codex rather than a roll. On the two hands of P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 see Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, eds., *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 114 (no. 74); on the hand of BKT 10.16897 see Panagiota Sarischouli, BKT 10:80 (who compares this hand with that of P.land. 1.2 [= P.Giss.Lit. 2.8] and P.Lille 76d + 78abc + 82 + 84 + 111c, which are both penned in a neat formal hand).

68 Other manuscripts may also have been penned by professional scribes, but in those cases their activities are difficult to distinguish from those of their non-professional peers.

69 On the various uses of manuscripts and their sociological context and implications see William A. Johnson, “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *AJP* 121 (2000): 593–627. Cf. Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, CCS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2000), 112: “If one of the primary functions of literary texts was to symbolise a culture and an identity, it is also possible that a professionally produced text of Homer existed as much as something to have on the shelf as something actually to be read. In much the same way, academics keep books on

3 The Pesharim and Intellectual Life in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine

Jewish intellectual life thrived in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine. Much of it may be considered a continuation of Jewish intellectual culture in the Persian era, even if for this earlier period there is much less evidence.⁷⁰ At the same time, David Carr recognises “fundamental shifts in textuality and education in Judaism during the ‘Hellenistic’ portion of the Second Temple period (333 BCE–70 CE).”⁷¹ Many writings from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including such variegated works as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Ben Sira, 1 Maccabees, and 4 Ezra indeed promote the study and collection of written texts. Also in this period, Jewish writings proliferated which rewrite, take up, and interpret earlier Jewish Scriptures. The Hellenistic-Roman period thus appears to have been a time of animated Jewish intellectual activity.

The most concrete piece of evidence for Jewish intellectual culture in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine is the Qumran scrolls collection. Taken as a whole,⁷² this collection makes the impression of a consciously selected body of writings, reflecting the interests of its compilers.⁷³ The Qumran collection

their shelves and modern *litterati* buy prize-winning novels without necessarily reading them.”

- 70 On the reading and interpretation of Scripture in the Second Temple period see the detailed survey by Martin Hengel, “„Schriftauslegung“ und „Schriftwerdung“ in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels,” in *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. idem and Hermut Löhr, WUNT 73 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 1–71. See also Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period: Volume 1: Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah*, LSTS 47 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 238–39, 331–43 (with references).
- 71 *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 201–14 (quote at 201).
- 72 This is not the place to rehearse debates on the link between the Qumran caves and the nearby site. In what follows I accept the connection between the Qumran site and the most important caves (including at least caves 1, 4, and 11). Surveys of the debate can be found with Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 188–91; Eric M. Meyers, “Khirbet Qumran and Its Environs,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21–45; Sidnie White Crawford, “Qumran: Caves, Scrolls, and Buildings,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., 2 vols., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 253–73.
- 73 See most recently Mladen Popović, “Qumran as Scroll Storehouse in Times of Crisis? A Comparative Perspective on Judaean Desert Manuscript Collections,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 551–94; also idem, “The Ancient ‘Library’ of Qumran between Urban and Rural Culture,” in

distinguishes itself from other scroll collections in the Judaeen desert by the almost exclusive presence of literary manuscripts.⁷⁴ Moreover, the absence of Esther⁷⁵ and works such as 1 Maccabees and Judith⁷⁶ reflect decisions by its compilers on what to include and what to exclude. Such decisions are also reflected in the abundant presence of traditions related to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Isaiah, Enoch, and Jubilees in the scrolls.⁷⁷ The collection can, thus, be taken as “a scholarly, school-like collection of predominantly literary texts.”⁷⁸ Manuscripts from this scrolls collection presumably formed the basis for the intellectual activities of the inhabitants of Qumran.⁷⁹ Their intellectual interests were varied: apart from works of textual scholarship in various languages⁸⁰

The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 155–67.

- 74 Popović argues convincingly that literary manuscripts from other Judaeen desert manuscripts collections belonged to personal collections of books. His argument takes up Tov’s observation that literary manuscripts from sites other than Qumran tend to be deluxe editions. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 125–29; Popović, “Qumran as Scroll Storehouse,” 576.
- 75 Shemaryahu Talmon, “Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?” *DSD* 2 (1995): 249–67 does not convincingly show that Esther was used and studied (though the book may have been known in a broad sense) at Qumran. On the possible reasons for Esther’s absence at Qumran see George J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002*, ed. Esther G. Chazon and Devorah Dimant, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104 (87–88).
- 76 These works were probably absent because of their pro-Hasmonaean outlook. See Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon,” 91–94. On 1 Maccabees and Judith as expressions of Hasmonaean textuality see David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 155–58.
- 77 This is not to suggest that the amount of manuscripts of a given work must be an indication of the amount of authority or status this work had. Such a direct connection between these elements, which many studies on the scrolls assume, is problematic.
- 78 Popović, “Qumran as Scroll Storehouse,” 554.
- 79 Cf. the work of Philip Alexander, who thinks of Qumran as a “tertiary level educational institution,” with the scrolls recovered from the nearby caves constituting its library. See his “The Bible in Qumran and Early Judaism,” in *Text and Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*, ed. A.D.H. Mayes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35–62 (38); idem, “Literacy,” 14–15.
- 80 The clearest expression of this type of scholarship are translations of Scripture into Aramaic and Greek, and the explicit commentaries discussed in this book. On a general level, however, almost every work recovered from the Qumran caves goes back to and creatively appropriates other and earlier writings. See Michael Fishbane, “Use, Authority and

the Qumran collection has yielded scientific and astronomical works, which attest to the transmission of scientific knowledge across the Mediterranean.⁸¹ The Qumran collection therefore testifies to the thriving of Jewish intellectual life in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine, and its compilers belonged to the Jewish intelligentsia of this time and place.⁸²

The social locations of Jewish intellectual life in this period are less easy to pinpoint. As we have seen above, the Jerusalem temple may well have been an important institution for the development of Jewish textual scholarship, even if it is difficult to decide exactly which writings may have originated in circles linked to the temple. The Qumran finds show that intellectual culture could also prosper away from the temple. At the same time, there is no rigid boundary between the two realities. The Qumran scrolls have a diverse social and cultural background: some of them might have been written at Qumran,⁸³ but most were brought to Qumran from elsewhere—probably also from Jerusalem.⁸⁴ Thus, even if there may not have been a “constant to and

Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling, CRINT 2/1 (Assen: Fortress, 1988), 339–77; George J. Brooke, “The Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Biblical World*, ed. John Barton (London: Routledge, 2002), 250–69.

81 See pp. 20–21.

82 Cf. Hezser’s argument that books would be owned only by a small number of people, all belonging to the intellectual elite (*Literacy*, 145–50).

83 The discovery of inkwells at Qumran and the presence of *exercitia calami* and abecedaries in the nearby caves may suggest that some writing activity took place at Qumran. See Saukkonen, “Dwellers at Qumran.” At the same time, the wide variety of hands attested in the Qumran corpus points to a variegated origin of the Qumran scrolls. This variegated origin is confirmed by recent analyses of the ink of the scrolls (see Tigchelaar, “The Scribes of the Scrolls”).

The criteria to distinguish between scrolls written at Qumran and those produced elsewhere are still debated. Emanuel Tov argued for the existence of a “Qumran Scribal Practice” that characterised manuscripts penned at Qumran, but this argument is not watertight. See most recently *Scribal Practices*, 261–73; for a critical discussion Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “Assessing Emanuel Tov’s ‘Qumran Scribal Practice,’” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions*, 173–207. That also goes for the idea that several scrolls written by the same scribe were produced on site. See Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “In Search of the Scribe of 1QS,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., VTSup94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 439–52 (esp. 451). Recent analyses of the ink of some scrolls has shown that they were produced in the Dead Sea area. See Ira Rabin et al., “On the Origin of the Ink of the Thanksgiving Scroll (1QHodayot^a),” *DSD* 16 (2009): 97–106.

84 See Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 120–22; Alexander, “Literacy,” 5–7, 14–15.

fro" between Qumran and Jerusalem (as there was between Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus), the majority of the Qumran scrolls can be taken as indicative of Jewish textual culture in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine more broadly. This even goes for the so-called "sectarian" writings, including the Pesharim. If the inhabitants of Qumran were part of a broader Jewish movement spread across the land, the specific writings of this movement may have developed in several localities throughout Palestine. These "sectarian" works are, therefore, not merely expressions of the singular views of a Jewish movement isolated from its surroundings, but reflections of a dialogue between intellectual strands in Second Temple Judaism.⁸⁵ Thus, the Qumran commentaries find their home in Jewish intellectual culture in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine.

It is impossible to know for certain who wrote the Pesharim. However, it is worth noticing that the hands of 1QpHab, 4Q161, 4Q164, 4Q166, 4Q167, 4Q168, and 4Q171 can in broad strokes be characterised as trained, but not particularly well-executed. It is tempting to compare these hands with the teachers' hands Criboire defined. Of course, we must be cautious of applying a characterisation of hands in Greek papyri too readily to Hebrew scrolls. Nonetheless, considering the background of the Pesharim in Jewish intellectual life, some Peshar manuscripts may well reflect the hands of teachers, students, or both.⁸⁶ George Brooke argues as much for 1QpHab:

It is impossible to tell what might be the relationship between the two hands, whether, for example, one might be master, the other pupil,

85 Shared traditions between the "sectarian" works and other Jewish writings can be taken as traces of these dialogues. I refer to some examples from the Pesharim in my "Peshar as Commentary."

86 Previous suggestions that some of these manuscripts were written by the same scribe may make us wonder if we can recognise the activities of a Qumran-based scholar-teacher in these manuscripts. See John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume v des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan », " *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276 (183 n. 17; 204), who assumes that 4Q161, 4Q166, and 4Q171 on the one hand, and 4Q167 and 4Q168 on the other were penned by the same scribe; and Ada Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions: Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform*, ed. Meir Lubetski, HBM 8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007), 287–298, who argues that all these manuscripts (and more) were produced by the same individual.

I consider the evidence adduced by Strugnell and Yardeni to be ultimately inconclusive and I will assume that each Peshar manuscript was written by a different scribe. So also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 258; George J. Brooke, "Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features of some Cave 4 'Continuous' Pesharim," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions*, 133–50 (141).

though the second hand has made corrections to the parts completed by the first hand.⁸⁷

As we shall see in chapter 4, Brooke's suggestion on 1QpHab is supported by other features of this manuscript. Arguments for an educational context for other Peshier manuscripts are more difficult to make, although structural similarities or parallels in execution between 1QpHab and other manuscripts might point to an educational purpose for some other Pesharim.

The distinction between formal and informal hands is less clear for Hebrew than for Greek manuscripts. Nevertheless, some Peshier manuscripts are less well-executed than those listed in the previous paragraph. Such differences in execution might reflect the styles and preferences of different scribes, but they may also echo the divergent purposes of manuscripts. As several scholars have argued, less well-executed manuscripts are likely to be personal copies, intended primarily for the eyes of the scribe-scholar producing the manuscript.⁸⁸ This may account for the quick execution of 4Q162 and 4Q163. The latter manuscript may have been written by two different hands and contain the notes of several scholars.⁸⁹ In contrast, 4Q165 and 4Q169 exhibit a comparatively neat execution. Perhaps these were master copies of some sort, meant to be read by others than just their scribes.

4 Commentaries as Scholarly Literature

The scholarly background of the Pesharim and the hypomnemata has implications for the use and transmission of these writings. Compared to literary works, works of scholarship are less often transmitted by scribes specifically trained for that job. Instead, scholarly writings tend to be penned by scholars or students themselves. This practice reflects the use of these writings: unlike most literary texts, scholarly works are metatexts, geared towards the interpretation of a base text. Scholarly writings are not meant to be conserved, but to be actively used for the reading and study of a base text within intellectual

87 "Physicality, Paratextuality, and Peshier Habakkuk," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sidney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše, OLA 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175–93 (180–81).

88 Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 126–27; Alexander, "Literacy," 16.

89 At the same time, the use of different hands should make us wonder if all fragments classified as 4Q163 in previous editions really stem from the same manuscript.

communities. As they are used, performed, and transmitted, these works are adapted and altered by their users.⁹⁰ Thus, each manuscript of a scholarly writing partakes in an open-ended and living tradition of scholarship.⁹¹ The producers of these manuscripts tend to be scholars and scribes at the same time: they produce a manuscript and transmit earlier scholarly works, yet they also create novel scholarly writings by addition, deletion, expansion, and abstraction.

The active use and fluid shape of scholarly writings challenge the notion of individual “scholars.” Christina Shuttleworth Kraus writes that the traditional nature of scholarship has the result that “the individual commentator’s voice ... is submerged in the tide of ‘previous commentators.’”⁹² This observation holds true for the commentaries included in this book. When, for example, the scholar-scribe responsible for P.Oxy. 2.221v incorporates Aristarchus’s exegesis of a line in the *Iliad*, which of the two must be deemed the commentator? And when a Peshar commentator transmits the insights of the Teacher of Righteousness, which of the two is the interpreter of Scripture? Modern scholars refer to both Aristarchus and the scholar-scribe of P.Oxy. 2.221v, and to both the Peshar exegete and the Teacher of Righteousness, as exegetes. But this example shows that we must not think of ancient scholars and commentators as merely individuals, but as heirs to and participants in an ongoing tradition.

The participation of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim in open-ended and living traditions of scholarship has left its traces in these writings.⁹³ A comparison between P.Oxy. 8.1086 and Schol. A *Il.* 2.791–795, for instance, demonstrates the fluid shape of Aristarchus’s interpretations of the *Iliad*. These lines

90 Cf. how Ineke Sluiter contrasts “the stable written nature of the source-text” with “the improvised, oral aspects, and fluid nature, of the commentary” (“The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity,” in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, CHSC 4 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000], 183–203 [187]). Cf. Hartog, “Peshar as Commentary.”

91 The connection between active use within a living tradition and textual fluidity finds confirmation in the work of Andrew Teeter. Teeter surmises that scriptural manuscripts that reflect an interventionist scribal approach may have served an exegetical purpose within reading communities. See Teeter, *Scribal Laws*, 254–64.

92 “Introduction: Reading Commentaries/Commentaries as Reading,” in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, ed. Roy K. Gibson and eadem, MnS 232 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1–27 (16). Cf. McNamee, *Annotations*, 33: “The evidence of ancient hypomnemata leaves the impression that the major preoccupation of scholars in the Roman centuries, when most of the surviving hypomnemata were transcribed, was to consolidate and respond to the work of their predecessors.”

93 More examples with McNamee, *Annotations*, 33–36.

in the *Iliad* present a notorious case of athetesis. Both P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:21–33 (61–73) and Schol. A *Il.* 2.791 provide three reasons for this athetesis and attribute them to Aristarchus. However, only two out of these three reasons make the same point in both scholarly collections. In addition, both the papyrus and the scholia offer one divergent reason for this athetesis. Aristarchus's interpretations of the *Iliad*, therefore, were open-ended: they feature in different forms in different cases.⁹⁴ Moreover, we must reckon with the possibility that certain interpretations were later attributed to Aristarchus. This would be an additional indication of the open-endedness of the tradition, since it implies that Aristarchus's interpretations were not deemed a closed corpus, but inspired reformulation, extraction, addition and appropriation.⁹⁵ Pursuing this argument a little further, it is tempting to view (partly) pseudepigraphic Greek scholarly writings—the most famous one being (Pseudo-)Dionysius's *Techne grammatike*⁹⁶—as expressions of similar open-ended scholarly traditions.⁹⁷

Open-endedness in the Pesharim is evident in 1QpHab 2:5–10, which is probably an addition to an already existing Peshar. In my view, this passage has been added together with 1QpHab 9:3–7 to constitute an explicitly eschatological layer in Peshar Habakkuk.⁹⁸ These additions reflect the developing interests and thoughts of the group in which this commentary was used, read, and transmitted. So, these additions illustrate the open-ended and living character of the tradition in which the Pesharim partake. The Pesharim do not transmit a closed, strictly defined body of interpretations—presumably deriving from the Teacher of Righteousness—but partake in a tradition that invites addition

94 John Lendon concludes on the basis of the use of critical *sigla* in P.Oxy. 8.1086 that “l'opera critica di Aristarco fu variamente ridotta secondo gli interessi e le inclinazioni dei suoi successori” (*Un commentario aristarcho al secondo libro dell' Iliade: POxy VIII 1086 (Proecdosis)* [Florence: s.n., 2002], 22–23).

95 Michael W. Haslam observes that “commentaries may have got Aristarchus' name attached to them, innocently or not” (“The Homer ‘Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista’ I: Composition and Constituents,” *CP* 89 [1994]: 1–45 [45, n. 169]).

96 For a useful summary of the debate on this writing see Lara Pagani, “Pioneers of Grammar: Hellenistic Scholarship and the Study of Language,” in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, TiCSup 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 17–64.

97 It might be useful to think of these traditions in terms of discourses tied to a person. Cf. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

98 “‘The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest’: Eschatological Development and Literary History in Peshar Habakkuk,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 59–80.

and adaptation as these commentaries are used and transmitted.⁹⁹ Both the Pesharim and the hypomnemata, therefore, participate in *living* intellectual and exegetical traditions.

5 Conclusion

Textual scholarship thrived in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt and Palestine. In Egypt, the Alexandrian Museum and Library were hubs of intellectual activity. The type of scholarship that was developed in these institutions quickly rose to prominence and spread throughout Egypt. Scholarly and intellectual networks existed, which connected scholars in Alexandria with their peers elsewhere in Egypt, including Oxyrhynchus. In Palestine, the Qumran scrolls testify to the flourishing of textual scholarship in the Hellenistic-Roman era. The Jerusalem temple probably played a central role in the intellectual life of Jews in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine, but the Qumran collection demonstrates that textual scholarship could be found in other localities too. There seems to have been no strict divide between the intellectual culture of the Jerusalem temple and that reflected in the Qumran collection: even if some scrolls reflect a critical attitude towards the temple, the type of scholarly activity they promote and imply is largely similar to that practiced in Jerusalem. The diverse origins of the Qumran scrolls and the movement behind them accounts for these similarities. In both Egypt and Palestine, therefore, textual scholarship proliferated and groups of scholars and intellectuals could be found in various places. As has been demonstrated in chapter 1, intellectual networks were not restricted to Egypt and Palestine, but connected both places. In this way they allowed the exchange of knowledge between scholars in these two localities.

It is in these groups of scholars and intellectuals that the Pesharim and the hypomnemata find their home. This background influences the transmission and use of these commentaries. As they are intended for active use within a scholarly or intellectual community, the Pesharim and hypomnemata are fluid writings: they are prone to ongoing change and development. Many—perhaps most—Pesharim and hypomnema manuscripts were not produced by scribes trained for the job, but by scholars, intellectuals, or students, who used these commentaries in their study of the base text of the commentary and felt free

99 See Brownson Brown-deVost, “The Compositional Development of Qumran Pesharim in Light of Mesopotamian Commentaries,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 525–41; Hartog, “Pesharim as Commentary”; idem, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/Pesharim Isaiah C, 4Q169/Pesharim Nahum, and 4Q171/Pesharim Psalms A,” *RevQ* 28/108 (2016): 267–77.

to incorporate their own findings in the manuscripts they were copying and studying. Every commentary, therefore, participates in an exegetical *tradition*, in which the viewpoints of earlier scholars blend with the insights of their successors. In this way, neither the Pesharim nor the hypomnemata can be said to be the work of individual “scholars”; instead, these commentaries participate in, and are expressions of, continuous and living traditions of exegesis and textual scholarship.

Textual Scholarship and the Physicality of the Hypomnemata

The scholarly background of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim is reflected in the physical characteristics of manuscripts of these commentaries. These material features shed light on the background, intended aim, and use of the works preserved in these manuscripts.¹

1 “Ammonius, son of Ammonius”

P.Oxy. 2.221v, a hypomnema on *Il.* 21, has a line scribbled between its columns 10 and 11.² It reads: “I, Ammonius, son of Ammonius, placed the sign” (Ἀμμωνίου γραμματικὸς ἐσημειώσάμην).³ Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt explained this line as a signature. In their 1899 edition, they saw Ammonius as the compiler of this commentary, arguing that the verb ἐσημειώσάμην must be understood as “I made these notes.”⁴ Alan Cameron, in contrast, pointed out that σημεióω often refers to the practice of marking an *Iliad* edition with critical signs referring its reader to an accompanying commentary. Hence, for Cameron Ammonius did not compile the commentary in P.Oxy. 2.221v, but critically annotated an edition of the *Iliad*, using this commentary as his source.⁵

1 Already in the 1950s, Eric Turner worked from this assumption when he defined “scholarly” manuscripts on the basis of both their contents and their use of *sigla*. See *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980; repr. 2006). More recently see William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). On Early Christianity see Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); eadem, “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2d ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 479–95.

2 See Plate 2.

3 See below on my translation of σημεióω.

4 *P.Oxy.* 2:53–55.

5 *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 470–71, esp. 471: “This does not mean that Ammonius corrected the commentary, but that he used it to mark up a text of

Cameron's view does more justice to the technical meaning of *σημειώω* in Hellenistic and Roman textual scholarship than Grenfell and Hunt's.⁶ In spite of this advantage, however, Cameron's proposal is not entirely convincing. Had P.Oxy. 2.221v indeed been used as a source to mark an edition of the *Iliad* with critical signs, we would expect to find critical signs in the commentary as well. However, P.Oxy. 2.221v contains virtually no signs. The one exception is the slash-shaped sign next to P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34 (see below). Moreover, it is difficult to see why Ammonius would refer to his critical work on an *Iliad* edition in the commentary he employed as his source.

The problem with Grenfell and Hunt's and Cameron's views is that they take the reference to Ammonius as a kind of colophon or signature. By so doing, they fail to account for the odd place of this reference in the manuscript. Other colophons, rare though they are in commentary manuscripts, are always found at the end of the last column of a manuscript.⁷ Likewise, signatures never appear between two columns of writing. This suggests that the reference to Ammonius is not a colophon or signature, but something else.

Otto Müller provided the key for a solution already in 1913.⁸ He pointed to the slash-shaped sign next to P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34, which is the sole marginal sign in what is left of P.Oxy. 2.221v.⁹ The fact that both the sign and the reference to

Homer, that is to say, placed sigla in the margins to refer readers to the relevant notes in the commentary."

6 On this technical meaning of *σημειώω* see also Kathleen McNamee, "Another Chapter in the History of Scholia," *CQ* 48 (1998): 269–88 (286–88). McNamee points out that this technical connotation evolved from the use of *σημειώω* in legal contexts.

The technical use of *σημειώω* is also attested in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:17, where *Il.* 2.763 is said to be "marked with a sign (*σημειοῦται*), because throughout, the poet takes up in this way the second (item) first, according to a habit peculiar to him."

7 See the colophons in P.Berol. inv. 9780 (= *ΒΚΤ 1* = Didymus's commentary on Demosthenes) and P.Oxy. 31.2536. The first colophon defines P.Berol. inv. 9780 as a commentary "of Didymus, on Demosthenes, 28, of the *Philippics*, 3." The exact meaning of this colophon has been debated; for a survey of the debate see Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and His Ancient Commentators* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 136. The second manuscript, according to its colophon, contains "a commentary by Theon, the son of Artemidorus, on Pindar's *Pythians*." See Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 119–20.

8 *Über den Papyruskommentar zum Φ der Ilias (Ox.-Pap. II 56ff.)* (Munich: Kastner & Callwey, 1913), 49–61. Müller's work has generally been neglected. John Landon, "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, *TiCSup* 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 159–79 (174) refers to Müller, but does not engage his work.

9 See Plate 3.

Ammonius are found between columns 10 and 11 of this manuscript suggested to Müller that both phenomena are related. Keeping in mind the technical meaning of σημειόω in Homeric scholarship, which Cameron and others have emphasised, Ammonius must be understood as the one who placed the sign (ἐσημειωσάμην). In contrast to Cameron, the reference is to the sign next to P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34, which Ammonius may or may not have repeated in a related *Iliad* manuscript, and not to a *siglum* in an edition of the *Iliad*.

That being said, two questions remain. First, why did Ammonius place this sign? And why did he call explicit attention to his placement of the sign in P.Oxy. 2.221v? In regard to the first question, it is noteworthy that *Il.* 21.515, as quoted in P.Oxy. 2.221v, reads Ἀπόλλων οἶος instead of Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος. As far as we can tell, this reading is unique. By placing the sign Ammonius drew attention to this unusual quotation of *Il.* 21.515.¹⁰ The second question is more complicated. The explicit reference to the marginal sign presumably serves to distinguish it from the *paragraphoi* used throughout P.Oxy. 2.221v. Even then, however, Ammonius would surely have been able to recognise a sign he had placed himself. Thus, the reference, including Ammonius's name and profession, presumably indicates that Ammonius expected P.Oxy. 2.221v to be consulted by others.

Several scenarios can be envisioned for the transmission and use of P.Oxy. 2.221v. Müller suggests that Ammonius knew of the work of one of his colleagues. Wishing to deepen his knowledge of this chapter of the *Iliad*, he requested a copy of his colleague's work. As he stumbled upon the strange reading in *Il.* 21.515, Ammonius marked it with a sign and added a signature to distinguish it from the *paragraphoi* in the manuscript. He then returned the manuscript to his colleague with the *siglum* attached.¹¹ But Ammonius need not have instigated this scholarly exchange of knowledge. It is equally possible that one of his colleagues requested Ammonius to have a critical look at his commentary before making it known more widely. Consider in this regard what Raymond Starr writes on the circulation of literary works in the Roman period:

Romans circulated texts in a series of widening concentric circles determined primarily by friendship, which might, of course, be influenced

10 Ammonius does not stand alone in his doubts on the reading Ἀπόλλων οἶος. See Nicholas Richardson, *Books 21–24*, vol. 6 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 97.

11 Müller, *Über den Papyruskommentar*, 60.

by literary interests, and by the forces of social status that regulated friendship.¹²

According to Starr, the first of these concentric circles consisted of the sending of a copy of one's work to a friend and colleague for comments and criticism. After receiving the comments of his friend, the author would revise his work and make it known more broadly. P.Oxy. 2.221v might reflect such a process of ancient peer review. The fact that the commentary is penned on the verso of the papyrus may support the idea that it is a first version of some kind.

At the same time, it remains somewhat strange for Ammonius to include a reference to his name and profession in a manuscript intended to be returned to a friend. This friend would surely have known who Ammonius was. We may thus ponder a third option. In his capacity of a *grammatikos*, Ammonius would not have been engaged just with study and scholarship, but also with teaching. Maybe the sign next to P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34 and Ammonius's explicit reference echo his educational activities. In this scenario, the commentary in P.Oxy. 2.221v would be the work of one of Ammonius's pupils, which Ammonius corrected. Keeping in mind the generally non-institutional nature of teaching in the Hellenistic-Roman period, we need not draw strict boundaries between the three options.¹³ Especially at the higher levels of the educational process, students could become colleagues and discuss exegetical issues with their teachers just as their teacher's colleagues would.

To sum up: Ammonius is not the compiler of P.Oxy. 2.221v, but the person responsible for the slash-shaped sign in the margin of P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34. This sign reflects Ammonius's distrust of the reading Ἀπόλλων οἶος instead of Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος in *Il.* 21.515. The elaborate reference to the sign between columns 10 and 11 of P.Oxy. 2.221v shows that Ammonius did not intend to keep this manuscript for private consultation, but to have others employ it with his sign attached. Thus, the sign and Ammonius's reference reflect the exchange of knowledge among scholars and intellectuals.

12 "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *CQ* 37 (1987): 213–23 (213).

13 On the non-institutional character of education in this period see Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 15–44 and *passim*.

2 Dimensions

The aesthetics of bookrolls depend on the dimensions of their columns, margins, and intercolumnar spaces.¹⁴ In literary rolls, which are produced according to the rules of a scribal tradition or craft, these dimensions can reflect the type of writing contained in a roll.¹⁵ From the 3rd century BCE onwards, for instance, poetry was often written in columns with uneven right margins which depended on the length of the poetic verse. Prose manuscripts tended to have even right margins. But the dimensions of hypomnema manuscripts are more volatile. They often depend on the intended purpose of the manuscript rather than on rules for the production of commentary manuscripts. William Johnson writes:

The overwhelming bulk of bookrolls ... show ... the mix of general uniformity and slight individual variation ... that is characteristic of a well-established artisan craft. For bookrolls (as opposed to commentaries or other “subliterary” texts) the evidence for untrained copying is slim: for most ancient readers, the professional look and feel of the bookroll was an essential aspect of its utility.¹⁶

Yet notwithstanding their overall volatility, commentary manuscripts do tend to exhibit particular dimensions. Eric Turner writes that “documents, musical texts, and commentaries (*hypomnemata*) are often written in wide columns,”¹⁷ and Johnson agrees.¹⁸ Their observations are corroborated by the manuscripts in our corpus. Taking Johnson’s normative range of prose column widths between 4.7–7.5 cm as a criterion,¹⁹ only the columns in P.Oxy. 2.221v are average

14 See Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 85–86.

15 Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 152–55.

16 *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 160. Note that “untrained” in Johnson’s description means “without training in the rules governing manuscript production” rather than “without training at all.” But even this is problematic, as we cannot automatically conclude from the fact that a scribe did not abide by the rules of manuscript production that he was unfamiliar with these rules.

17 *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 8.

18 *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 34.

19 *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 101–8. Though not all hypomnemata manuscripts in our corpus have even right margins, Johnson’s measurements for prose manuscripts must be used rather than those for poetry. In poetry manuscripts, column width depends on line length and is governed by the metre of the base text. This does not occur in our commentaries (it does occur in ancient commentaries like P.Derveni or P.Louvre E 7733v), and hence Johnson’s measurements of poetry column width cannot be applied to our evidence. On

(6.1–6.5 cm).²⁰ Other manuscripts in our corpus whose column width can be recovered, tend to have wide columns, at times even going beyond Johnson's range.²¹ What is more, commentary manuscripts tend to have narrow intercolumns. If we take Johnson's range for prose intercolumns between 1.5–2.6 cm as the norm, some manuscripts from our corpus have regular intercolumnar spaces,²² whilst others have narrow ones.²³ No intercolumns in our corpus are particularly wide.

These tendencies in the dimensions of commentary manuscripts reflect their intended purposes. As we have seen in the previous chapter, commentaries are scholarly writings and were often in active use in intellectual communities. Hypomnemata were often penned by scholars or students and they could serve as notes for personal or classroom use. When taking notes, the note-taker would try to include as many material as possible on as small a writing surface as possible; hence the wide columns and narrow intercolumns in commentary manuscripts. For scholarly note-taking, pace of writing and an efficient use of the material mattered more than the norms of manuscript production.

The impression that certain manuscripts contain the notes of a scholar or student is strengthened by the fact that both the recto and the verso of these manuscripts could be used, each containing a different writing.²⁴ Apparently, earlier manuscripts could be recycled and used for exegetical note-taking or for writing a preliminary version of a commentary. Hence, P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 65.4452 occur on the verso of a metrical treatise and a register. The reverse goes for P.Berol. inv. 17151, P.Oxy. 8.1086, and P.Ryl. 1.24: these rolls have the commentary on their recto and a different writing on the verso. This

P.Derveni and P.Louvre E 7733v see Theokritos Kouremenos, George M. Parássoglou, and Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou, *The Derveni Papyrus*, STCPFGL 13 (Florence: Olschki, 2006), 8; François Lasserre, "L'Élégie de l'huître," *QUCC* 19 (1975): 145–76.

- 20 P.Oxy. 65.4452 may have columns of 5.2 cm, but this measurement depends on the editor's reconstruction of fr. 5 of this commentary. See Michael W. Haslam, *P.Oxy.* 65:29–45 and the photo at <http://163.1.169.40/gsdll/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH687b/d96a5c61.dir/POxy.v0065.n4452.a.02.hires.jpg> (last accessed 11 October, 2016).
- 21 BKT 10.16897 (at least 13–14.5 cm), P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 (at least 8.8 cm), P.Oxy. 8.1086 (15.8 cm), P.Oxy. 8.1087 (6.8–7.6 cm). P.Oxy. 76.5095 has wide margins too (c. 14.0 cm), but this is a late codex manuscript, which may not be comparable to bookrolls of earlier centuries.
- 22 BKT 10.16897 (c. 1.0–2.0 cm), P.Oxy. 24.2397 (1.3–2.2 cm).
- 23 P.Oxy. 2.221v (0.55–1.41 cm), P.Oxy. 8.1086 (1.0 cm), P.Oxy. 8.1087 (0.6–1.4 cm), P.Wash.Univ. 2.63 (1.2–1.3 cm).
- 24 I do not discuss BKT 10.16897 and P.Giss.Lit. 2.8, whose commentaries on *Il.* 5 and *Il.* 11 span both sides of these bookrolls. The neat execution of these two manuscripts makes it unlikely that they contain a scholar's personal notes.

situation, too, underlines the somewhat incidental character of these commentaries, even if it was the commentary that was recycled. Presumably, these commentaries were meant for active consultation and use, not for long-lasting preservation.

3 Corrections and Abbreviations

Many hypomnema manuscripts exhibit corrections and abbreviations. Though in most cases the evidence does not allow for certain conclusions, there are instances where the use of corrections and abbreviations in a manuscript may illuminate its background or intended purpose. BKT 10.16897, for example, contains no corrections and abbreviations, except an abbreviation for ἄνω in the marginal note beneath column 1. This use of ἄνω, in addition to the mere presence of marginal notes, demonstrates that BKT 10.16897 is a scholarly manuscript. It does not seem to result from scholarly note-taking, however: the well-executed hand of the manuscript and the near-absence of corrections, reading marks, and abbreviations suggests as much. Hence, BKT 10.16897 was probably produced either by a trained scribe under the auspices of a scholar, or by a scholar paying due attention to the execution of this manuscript. It seems to have functioned as a master copy of some sort, which included or came to include (it is unclear if the hand ἄνω is the same as that of the remainder of the manuscript) at least one scholarly note in its margins.

In contrast to BKT 10.16897, P.Oxy. 2.221v is known for the amount of corrections it contains.²⁵ Moreover, P.Oxy. 2.221v has a cursive note in the upper margin of column 17. Abbreviations are almost entirely absent. These features correspond with the intellectual context of this manuscript as it has been sketched in § 1 above. It reflects interchanges of knowledge, presumably between a student (the scribe of P.Oxy. 2.221v) and Ammonius, his teacher.

P.Oxy. 8.1086, finally, systematically abbreviates words such as καί, μέν, πρός, γάρ, τῶν, ἐστί, and εἶναι.²⁶ The manuscript has some corrections, too, which its editor suggests “are probably by the original scribe, who, however, has not succeeded in eliminating all the errors.”²⁷ A similar use of abbreviations and corrections is attested in two less well-preserved manuscripts, P.Cairo JE 60566

25 Grenfell and Hunt observe that the manuscript exhibits “a large number of corrections” by a variety of hands (P.Oxy. 2:53).

26 Cf. John Lendon, *Un commentario aristarcho al secondo libro dell’Iliade: POxy VIII 1086 (Proecdosis)* (Florence: s.n., 2002), 24–25.

27 Arthur S. Hunt, P.Oxy. 8:77.

and P.Oxy. 65.4451.²⁸ Taken together with the informal hands of these manuscripts, this suggests that P.Cairo JE 60566, P.Oxy. 8.1086, and P.Oxy. 65.4451 contain the personal notes of an intellectual. In the case of P.Oxy. 8.1086 this suggestion is strengthened by its dimensions and *sigla*, as well as the fact that the verso of the manuscript was used for writing out medical receipts.

4 Signs

Greek scholarship in the Hellenistic and Roman periods made ample use of signs. Two kinds of signs can be distinguished: critical ones, which convey an opinion on the base text (usually on the state of its text); and others, which have a broad purpose and generally refer to something noteworthy in the base text. The development of both kinds of signs is closely connected with the development of “commentary” as a genre of scholarly literature. Aristarchus is the key player in this development. His predecessors had invented several signs to express their views on the textual transmission of the *Iliad* in the margins of its manuscripts. They did not, however, write commentaries.²⁹ This changed when Aristarchus invented a new *siglum*: the *diple* (>). Unlike earlier signs, like the *obelos* (–) or the *antisigma* (Ϸ), *diple* did not have a straightforward meaning.³⁰ It was a multi-purpose sign, indicating that something in the Iliadic base text had caught Aristarchus’s eye.

28 Cf. Michael W. Haslam’s suggestion that P.Oxy. 65.4451 comes from the same commentary as P.Oxy. 8.1086 (*P.Oxy.* 65:27–28).

29 On Aristarchus and his predecessors Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 210–33; Franco Montanari, “Zenodotus, Aristarchus and the *Ekdosis* of Homer,” in *Editing Texts: Texte edieren*, ed. Glenn W. Most, *Aporemata 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 1–21; Francesca Schironi, “Aristarchus of Samothrace,” in *HE* 88–89.

30 *Obelos* marks a line that one of the Alexandrian scholars (starting from Zenodotus) considered spurious. *Antisigma* points to two interchangeable lines. See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 115 (on *obelos*), 178 (on *antisigma*).

More generally on the Alexandrian system of critical *sigla* see Graeme Bird, “Critical Signs—Drawing Attention to ‘Special’ Lines of Homer’s *Iliad* in the Manuscript Venetus A,” in *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy: Images and Insights From the Venetus A Manuscript of the Iliad*, ed. Casey Dué, *HSt 35* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 89–115 (with a focus on Aristarchus); Francesca Schironi, “The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical ΣΗΜΕΙΑ from Zenodotus to Origin,” in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, *JSRC 16* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 87–112 (esp. 88–100).

With the invention of this multi-purpose sign, the need for more elaborate interpretations regarding its meaning arose. Aristarchus no longer crammed them in the margins of *Iliad* manuscripts, but conferred them to separate scholarly writings: commentaries (hypomnemata). Thus, the use of critical signs and the writing of hypomnemata were two essential and closely intertwined aspects of Aristarchus's scholarly enterprise.³¹ One practice stimulated the development of the other: the invention and use of the *diple* sign provoked the composition of commentaries, whereas the practice of writing commentaries on classical texts encouraged the use of multi-purpose signs in the editions of these texts.

These developments led to an increase of multi-purpose marginal signs with various shapes. Well-known examples are slash-shaped (such as the one in P.Oxy. 2.221v) and *chi*-shaped signs, or dotted *obeloi*.³² *Diple* continues to serve as a general-purpose sign, but it may assume other functions as well.³³ According to Turner, the use of these signs implies the existence of commentaries in which their exact meaning is given.³⁴ Indeed, some signs in literary manuscripts do refer their readers to associated commentaries. Kathleen McNamee offers textual and literary evidence for this practice, which was unavailable to Turner.³⁵ At the same time, McNamee is more nuanced than Turner, and she is careful not to speak in terms of a universal connection between signs and commentaries. For McNamee, some signs may serve as references to commentaries, whilst others may merely indicate a matter of interest, without the exegetical point being elaborated in a commentary:

A collection of four sigla—the *diple* in non-Homeric texts, a simple stroke (usually diagonal), a dotted obelus, and *chi*—occur in papyri with noteworthy frequency, but seldom with obvious meaning. For the unexplained occurrences I offer here an explanation that is hardly new, but was proposed by Sir Eric Turner several years ago.... It is simply that

31 See Hartmut Erbse, "Über Aristarchs Iliasausgaben," *Hermes* 87 (1959): 275–303; Schironi, "The Ambiguity of Signs," 91–100.

32 Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, PB 26 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992) offers a survey of these and other signs.

33 In P. Berol. inv. 9780 (= BKT 1 = Didymus's commentary on Demosthenes) and P. Oxy. 35.2737 (a commentary on Aristophanes), *diple* occurs as a sense divider. In P. Berol. inv. 9782 (= BKT 2 = *Anonymus Theaetetus*), *diple* is attached to each line containing a quotation of the base text.

34 Eric G. Turner, "L'érudition alexandrine et les papyrus," *CdÉ* 37 (1962): 135–52 (148–52); idem, *Greek Papyri*, 114–18.

35 *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 17 (n. 42), 18 (n. 51), 19–21.

these—and undoubtedly other signs ...—were used in much the same way that Aristarchus used the diple, namely to indicate something worthy of comment in a line.... In practical terms, though, *some of these sigla probably served as reference marks*, and directed readers to discussions of interesting points in separate hypomnemata, or in other authoritative texts.... *Unless explanatory commentaries existed the meaning of many signs would presumably have become, in time, as much a mystery for ancient readers as they are for us.*³⁶

It is clear, then, that multi-purpose signs abound in literary manuscripts. Some of these signs may refer their readers to accompanying commentaries, others would just mark points of interest without being interpreted in a hypomnema.³⁷

P.Oxy. 8.1086 offers additional support for McNamee's position. This manuscript uses critical and non-critical signs, but these signs occupy different positions in the manuscript. Critical signs are copied along with the lemma to which they belong, whereas the non-critical signs occur in the margins of the commentary.³⁸ This difference in position reflects the different roles these signs fulfil: critical signs occur in the *Iliad* manuscript on which the commentary in P.Oxy. 8.1086 is based as well as in the commentary itself. Thus, they serve as reference marks between the Iliadic base text and its commentary. The non-critical signs in P.Oxy. 8.1086, however, occur only in the commentary and indicate points that the commentator or a reader of P.Oxy. 8.1086 considered of special interest. This shows once more that we must not assume, as Turner does, that each multi-purpose sign in a commentary has a counterpart in a manuscript of the base text of that commentary.³⁹ Some signs do, others do not.

36 *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 15–16 (my italics).

37 William Johnson also criticises Turner, but against McNamee (though he cites her in support of his view) he holds that none of these multi-purpose signs must be viewed as referring to a commentary: "Most of the texts also are marked up with *chi* or other sigla at the left margin.... Such sigla have sometimes been taken as keys to commentaries, but, to follow McNamee, these are best understood as a variety of ways of signaling *nota bene*, that is, they are marks by readers signaling passages of interest, or passages that need further attention" (*Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*, CICS [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 187). Johnson's criticism of Turner is not entirely unwarranted, but he overstates the issue.

38 See Plates 4, 5, and 6.

39 The problem with Turner's suggestion is that he first establishes the referential function of *sigla* in editions and commentaries on the basis of formulations like ὅτι and τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι. He then extrapolates this situation to the use of non-critical *sigla*. By so doing, he fails

The manuscripts in our corpus reflect this use of both critical and non-critical signs. *Obelos* occurs in P.Oxy. 8.1086,⁴⁰ where it marks the athetesis of *Il.* 2.791–795,⁴¹ and in P.Mich. inv. 1206, where it points to the athetesis of *Il.* 14.317–327. The latter manuscript also seems to have a *diple* in line 9 (*Il.* 14.338), even though the editor reads the sign as a *diple obelismene*.⁴² P.Oxy. 8.1086 has *diplai* attached to *Il.* 2.767, 785, 809, 819.⁴³ Each of these lines has attracted comments on linguistic phenomena specific to Homer's language, which presumably explains why they are marked with a sign. This suggestion is strengthened by P.Cairo JE 60566, which uses the *diple* sign with *Il.* 6.257, 277, 278—lines which have likewise attracted attention due to their surprising formulation.

The explanation of these critical signs is introduced in the commentary by the phrases (τὸ σημεῖον) ὅτι or (τὸ σημεῖον) πρὸς.⁴⁴ These formulations echo the link between an *Iliad* manuscript in which these signs occur, and the commentary based on this manuscript. The occurrence of critical signs, the introduction of these signs in the interpretation sections in P.Cairo JE 60566 and P.Oxy. 8.1086 (the interpretation sections in P.Mich. inv. 1206 have not been preserved), and the parallels between these hypomnemata and the later scholia suggest a connection between these commentaries and Aristarchus's scholarly work,⁴⁵ in which the use of signs in a manuscript and the production of

to acknowledge that ὅτι and τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι refer only to critical signs such as *diple* or *obelos*, never to signs like *chi* or dotted *obelos*. See Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 114–18.

40 Müller, *Über den Papyruskommentar*, 60 suggests that the slash-shaped sign in P.Oxy. 2.221v must be understood as an *obelos* written crosswise. This is unlikely. The sign does not mark an athetesis and so does not fulfil the role of an *obelos*. What is more, slash-shaped signs occur regularly in the papyri as a multi-purpose sign. See McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 17–18.

41 See Plate 5. The lemma is corrupt here. *Il.* 2.794, though clearly implied in the comment, is not quoted in the lemma. *Il.* 2.791 is quoted, but does not have the *obelos*. It, too, is implied in the comment and should have been marked with a critical sign. See Landon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 124–26.

42 Wolfgang Luppe, "Homer-Erläuterungen zu E 316–348," *ZPE* 93 (1992): 163–65. The position of the sign next to the line (rather than between two lines) speaks against Luppe's reconstruction of the *siglum* as a *diple obelismene*. Cf. the position of the *paragraphoi* between lines 17 and 18, and 18 and 19, of the same manuscript. See also Schol. A *Il.* 14.338, which makes reference to a critical *siglum* attached to this verse (ὅτι).

43 See Plate 4.

44 On these expressions see pp. 128–30.

45 See Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:79; Hartmut Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, 7 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969–1988), 1:xxxv–xxxvi; Kathleen McNamee, "Aristarchus and 'Everyman's' Homer," *GRBS* 22 (1981): 247–55 (249–50); John Landon, "POxy 1086 e

an accompanying commentary were two sides of the same coin. Even if these hypomnemata should not be taken as direct witnesses to Aristarchus's own Iliadic interpretations,⁴⁶ they reflect the type of intellectual work he initiated.

Non-critical signs occur in several manuscripts from our corpus. The slash-shaped sign in P.Oxy. 2.221v has been discussed above. Another sign, which must be classified as a dotted *obelos*,⁴⁷ occurs in P.Oxy. 24.2397 2 ii 5.⁴⁸ The context of this sign may be an interpretation of *Il.* 17.36, but this is not certain.⁴⁹ Nor can the precise meaning of the sign be established. A range of different signs features in fragment 1 of P.Oxy. 65.4452. The clearest one is a combination of the letters *alpha* and *omega*. The function of this sign is unclear. One possibility is that it is an abbreviation of $\alpha\nu\omega$. This term may refer to supplementary notes in the upper margin of a manuscript. However, its usual abbreviation is *alpha-nun*, not *alpha-omega*.⁵⁰ What is more, the upper margin of this fragment does not seem to contain any notes. Alternatively, the *alpha* and *omega* may indicate the source of an interpretation.⁵¹ The identity of this source must remain unknown, however. Finally, the sign may simply mark an issue that the commentator considered of interest.

The more common abbreviation of $\alpha\nu\omega$ —*aleph-nun*—occurs in column 1 of BKT 10.16897 (line 57). The reference does not occur in the margin, though, but in the column of writing. It appears to precede a *siglum*, which the editor of this manuscript identifies as an *ancora* of unexpected form.⁵² Sarischouli further suggests that the final lines of BKT 10.16897 1 constitute an exegetical note that refers back, through the sign and the abbreviated reference, to the

Aristarco," in *Atti del xxii congresso internazionale di papirologia: Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, ed. Isabella Andorlini et al. (Florence: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2001), 827–39.

46 See Schironi, "The Ambiguity of Signs," 93–96.

47 On dotted *obelos* see McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 18.

48 The editor does not recognise it, but the photos show clear signs of a *siglum*. See Edgar Lobel, *P.Oxy.* 24:91–97. For the photograph of this manuscript see <http://163.1.169.40/gsdll/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH0132/91bee05b.dir/POxy.v0024.n2397.a.01.hires.jpg> (last accessed 11 October, 2016).

49 Cf. Lobel, *P.Oxy.* 24:91.

50 Kathleen McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, BASPSup 3 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 8.

51 Cf. the combination of the letters *zeta*, *omega*, and *iota* in P. Oxy. 35.2741, which may refer to a certain Zoilus. See Silke Trojahn, *Die auf Papyri erhaltenen Kommentare zur Alten Komödie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Philologie*, BzA 175 (Munich: Saur, 2002), 95; McNamee, *Abbreviations*, 35, 113.

52 Panagiota Sarischouli, BKT 10:97.

commentary.⁵³ If she is correct, the marginal note may have contained corrections of the text in the commentary.⁵⁴ The verso of this manuscript, where Sarischouli with some hesitation identifies a second *ancora*, may provide a similar case.⁵⁵

The commonest non-critical sign in our corpus is the *chi-rho* sign, which is widely attested in commentaries and subliterary works.⁵⁶ It stands for either $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (“passage”) or—more probably— $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$ (“useful”), and it indicates passages which commentators thought of particular interest.⁵⁷ In our corpus, it only features in P.Oxy. 8.1086.⁵⁸ In P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:3 (43) and 17 (57), the sign seems to mark observation on Homer’s presentation of the events he narrates in the *Iliad*. The first passage contains an interpretation of οἱ δ’ in *Il.* 2.780 in the light of the complex structure of *Il.* 2.760–785.⁵⁹ The second passage interprets *Il.* 2.788 and the difference between narrative and narrated time in the *Iliad*, as the exegete observes that Iris was sent by Zeus “at the same moment as the dream.”⁶⁰ Another occurrence of the *chi-rho* sign is in P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:32 (112), where it stands next to a line containing part of a quotation of *Il.* 3.185 and a reference to Alcaeus. It may be the Alcaeus quotation that triggers the use of the *siglum*, since quotations of other authors than Homer are rare in this commentary.⁶¹ The use of critical and non-critical *sigla* in these hypomnemata echoes the study of the *Iliad* by their producers. Hence, these signs exemplify

53 BKT 10:81–82, 96. Cf. the photograph of BKT 10.16897 at <http://www2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=4&Alle=16897> (last accessed 11 October, 2016).

54 McNamee writes that *ancora* was used “to mark a place where text had been omitted and (or) to draw attention to the necessary restoration in the top or bottom margin” (*Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 11).

55 Sarischouli writes that the hand of the note in the bottom margin of column 1 of the *recto* is the same as the hand on the *verso* (BKT 10:82).

56 McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 20–21.

57 Its meaning is close to that of the *chi* sign, which also stands for $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$. The two signs are, however, used in different contexts. See McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia*, 20–21.

The *chi-rho* sign is also very common in Christian texts, where it is an abbreviation for the word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. This Christian use of the sign is a later development and has nothing to do with the use of this sign in commentary manuscripts. On the Christian use of this sign see Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 135–54.

58 See Plate 6.

59 On which see pp. 225–26.

60 Namely, the dream sent to Agamemnon in the first lines of *Il.* 2. Cf. René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 80.

61 On references to other authors in the hypomnemata see pp. 123–26.

the background of the hypomnemata in scholarly and intellectual circles in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt.

5 Sense Dividers

One of the hallmarks of commentaries is their explicit division between the base text and its interpretation. As shall be elaborated in chapters 5–7, this structure supports the intellectual and educational aims of commentaries. It suffices here to show that this bifold structure is physically expressed in the manuscripts of the hypomnemata through a variety of sense dividers.

5.1 *Types of Sense Dividers*

The hypomnema manuscripts from our corpus use four types of sense dividers: *ekthesis*; *vacats*; *paragraphos* and *diple obelismene*; and *stigma* and *dikolon*. *Ekthesis* occurs in five (possibly six⁶²) manuscripts.⁶³ Three principles govern its use.⁶⁴ First, if a lemma starts at the beginning of a line, that line protrudes into the left margin. Second, if a lemma begins mid-line, the following line protrudes into the left margin, even if it does not start with a word from the lemma. Third, if a lemma extends over several lines, each line which begins with a word from the lemma protrudes into the left margin. An exception is P.Oxy. 2.221v, which uses *ekthesis* irregularly and inconsistently.⁶⁵

62 P.Wash.Univ. 2.63 is a problematic case, as it contains only one line where *ekthesis* would be expected (and occurs).

63 BKT 10.16897, P.Giss.Lit. 2.8, P.Mich. inv. 1206, P.Oxy. 2.221v, P.Oxy. 8.1087. Caution is in order with regard to P.Mich. inv. 1206, as this manuscript has been preserved only very fragmentarily. Moreover, it is a late manuscript (3rd–4th century CE) and may not be comparable to earlier ones.

64 Cf. Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, eds., *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 23.

65 See P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:36–38. These lines contain short lemmata which begin and end mid-line. One would expect the lines following these lemmata to protrude into the left margin. Instead, it is the lines that contain the lemmata that are *en ekthesei*.

The fact that P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:36–38 are the last lines of a column may explain this irregularity, as one could suggest that the line containing the lemma was *en ekthesei* to prevent the first line of the next column to protrude into the margin. After all, *ekthesis* serves the quick identification of lemmata, and much of its value would be lost if it occurred in a different column from the lemma. At the same time, this reasoning only explains why P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:38 protrudes into the margin. The *ekthesis* of P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:36 remains problematic in light of the principles surveyed above.

Vacats are amply used to distinguish between lemmata and interpretations. Some manuscripts have *vacats* on both sides of lemmata;⁶⁶ others have *vacats* only before⁶⁷ or after lemmata.⁶⁸ In P.Oxy. 8.1086, *vacats* not only distinguish lemmata and interpretation sections, but also serve as sense dividers within an interpretation section. *Ekthesis* and *vacats* work together in BKT 10.16897 and P.Giss.Lit 2.8. The first manuscript has *vacats* mark the beginning and end of lemmata, whereas *ekthesis* occurs with every line beginning with a word from the lemma and marks the extent of the base text quotation. The second manuscript has lemmata begin on a new line. This new line is *en ekthesei*; the end of the lemma is marked by a *vacat*.⁶⁹

The use of *paragraphos* and *diple obelismene*⁷⁰ (which fulfil the same function⁷¹) is less consistent than that of *vacats* and *ekthesis*. In BKT 10.16897, *paragraphos* is found either before or after a lemma. In P.Oxy. 2.221v, either *paragraphos* or *diple obelismene* may be used to mark lemmata, but the signs can also be absent. A similar inconsistency is found in P.Oxy. 65.4452, and

66 BKT 10.16897, P.Oxy. 8.1086. In P.Oxy. 8.1086 *vacats* are not always easily recognizable because of its informal handwriting, but they do seem to be used systematically. See Lundon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 26–28.

67 Possibly P.Ryl. 1.24, but this manuscript has preserved no lemma ends. P.Oxy. 65.4452 sometimes has a *vacat* before a lemma (never after), but is inconsistent in its use of sense dividers.

68 P.Giss.Lit. 2.8. Perhaps P.Mich. inv. 1206, P.Oxy. 65.4451, P.Wash.Univ. 2.63 should be included here too, but none of these manuscripts has preserved mid-line lemma beginnings.

69 A similar correlation may be at work in P.Mich. inv. 1206 and P.Wash.Univ. 2.63, but these manuscripts have been preserved only very fragmentarily.

70 On *diple obelismene* see Roberta Barbis Lupi, “La diplè obelismene: Precisazioni terminologiche e formali,” *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986*, ed. Basil G. Mandilaras, 2 vols. (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 2:473–76.

Francesca Schironi has observed a diachronic development in the use of these signs in hexametric manuscripts: before the 1st century CE, *paragraphos* would be the more prominent sign, whereas in later periods *diple obelismene* became more common. See *TO META BIBAION: Book-Ends, End Titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry*, ASP 48 (Durham: American Society of Papyrologists, 2010), 19–20. This diachronic development may be confirmed by the manuscripts in our corpus, as *diple obelismene* is absent from commentary manuscripts predating the 2nd century CE. At the same time, the fact that *paragraphos* and *diple obelismene* always occur together and are interchangeable in our manuscripts shows that the one sign did not replace the other altogether.

71 Both signs usually differentiate between lemmata and interpretation sections. In P.Oxy. 8.1087 *paragraphoi* also differentiate between items in a list. P.Mich. inv. 1206 has two *paragraphoi*, but their function is unclear.

perhaps in P.Wash.Univ. 2.63.⁷² In P.Oxy. 8.1086, *paragraphos* is found sporadically, and John Lendon suggests that its use reflects the “capriccio del commentatore” more than anything else.⁷³

Stigme and *dikolon*, finally, are uncommon in commentary manuscripts. When they occur, they usually distinguish between lemmata and interpretation sections.⁷⁴ The only manuscript that uses them consistently is P.Oxy. 8.1087, where *dikola* precede and *stigmai* follow lemmata. P.Oxy. 2.221v attests to the same practice, but only occasionally. The editor of P.Oxy. 76.5095 notes that this late codex manuscript employs *stigmai* as sense dividers as well.⁷⁵

5.2 *Different Sense Dividers in One Manuscript*

The survey above shows that several hypomnema manuscripts use different kinds of sense dividers. In some cases, these different sense dividers work together in mutual reinforcement. This is especially true of the use of *ekthesis* and *vacats* in BKT 10.16897 or P.Giss.Lit. 2.8. Other manuscripts, like P.Oxy. 65.4452, exhibit an unsystematic use of sense dividers.

A different situation pertains to P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086. These two manuscripts use several systems of sense division side by side. P.Oxy. 2.221v is quite consistent in its use of *paragraphoi*, but also, less consistently, employs *ekthesis*, *stigmai*, and *dikola*. P.Oxy. 8.1086 is rigidly regular in its use of *vacats*, but also has some *paragraphoi* scattered randomly over the manuscript. These inconsistencies cannot, so it seems, be attributed to the poor execution of these manuscripts. Both manuscripts were probably produced by scholars or advanced students, and it is unlikely that they attempted to use a system of sense dividers, but failed to do so. More importantly, both manuscripts reflect the systematic use of one type of sense dividers alongside a more unsystematic use of others. Thus, it is worth pondering what may be the reasons for this use of different sense dividers in these two manuscripts.

As we have seen above, P.Oxy. 2.221v as we have it is not the product of a single scribe. It also contains the work of the scholar-teacher Ammonius. He was responsible, at least, for placing the slash-shaped sign next to P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34 and for marking this activity in the signature between columns 10 and 11. Though this signature is silent about other corrections or additions with which

72 The latter manuscript preserves only one *paragraphos*, placed before a lemma *en ekthesei*.

73 *Un commentario aristarcho*, 21. *Paragraphoi* are used at P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:19–20 (59–60); 3:26–27 (106–107), 33–34 (113–114).

74 But not so in BKT 10.16897, where *stigmai* function in the same way as our quotation marks.

75 Franco Montanari, *P.Oxy.* 76:178–79.

Ammonius might have been involved, it is not too far-fetched to assume that this scholar was behind some of the other corrections in P.Oxy. 2.221v. After all, the editors of this manuscript observe that it contains “a large number of corrections, many of which are certainly by the original scribe, some not less certainly are by a second and probably contemporary hand, while others cannot clearly be distinguished”⁷⁶—some of these may stem from Ammonius’s pen. Pursuing this argument a little further, we may assume that Ammonius also placed the *paragraphoi* in P.Oxy. 2.221v. The first scribe may have used *ekthesis* to indicate sense divisions. He did not do so systematically, however, and when Ammonius studied the manuscript he provided the missing sense dividers in the form of *paragraphoi*.⁷⁷ Support for this scenario comes from the observation that *ekthesis* and *paragraphoi* in P.Oxy. 2.221v do not overlap.⁷⁸ At the same time, the origins of the *stigmai* and *dikola* in this manuscript must remain unclear.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 is a different case. There is no complementary relationship between *vacats* and *paragraphoi* in this manuscript, as every lemma is marked by *vacats*, but *paragraphoi* occur only sparsely. It is unlikely that these *paragraphoi* somehow refer to the *Vorlage* of P.Oxy. 8.1086. They occur at random distances from one another; moreover, the idea of a *Vorlage* is problematic in regard to the fluid textual traditions of which scholarly writings tend to be a part.⁷⁹ Perhaps the *paragraphoi* in this manuscript mark passages of special interest, though none of the passages concerned appear particularly outstanding. Moreover, P.Oxy. 8.1086 employs another *siglum* to mark interesting passages: the *chi-rho* sign. If we are allowed some speculation, the *paragraphoi* in P.Oxy. 8.1086 might be explained from the use of this manuscript. Seeing that P.Oxy. 8.1086 is likely to contain the personal notes of a scholar, it may well have served an educational purpose, supplying the teacher with notes for his lectures. Its *paragraphoi* might indicate the end of one class and the beginning of the next one. This scenario accounts for the random distance between *paragraphoi* (in one class the teacher would cover more material than in another) as well as their position next to lemmata (the teacher would finish a line before ending the class).⁸⁰

76 Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:53.

77 The nature of *ekthesis*, which can only be applied when a manuscript is first produced, demonstrates that the *paragraphoi* must be a later addition vis-à-vis the *ekthesis*.

78 With the exception of P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:36–38.

79 On which see pp. 59–62.

80 For a different proposal see London, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 20–21, who suggests that *paragraphoi* in P.Oxy. 8.1086 may have served the reading aloud of the contents of

6 Conclusion

The physicality of hypomnema manuscripts reveals how their contents served the needs of scholars, teachers, and students in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. In the next chapter we shall see that some of these physical features find parallels in the Pesharim.

Acknowledging the scholarly background of the hypomnemata is not to suggest that all hypomnema manuscripts served the same purpose. For instance, P.Oxy. 8.1087, which appears to contain a scholar's personal notes, can be contrasted with BKT 10.16897, which is a carefully produced master copy with scholarly annotations in its margins. The different purposes of hypomnema manuscripts are also evident when we compare the two best-preserved exemplars: P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086. The first manuscript exhibits the activities of at least its scribe and the *grammatikos* Ammonius. Ammonius placed a slash-shaped sign in the margin of P.Oxy. 2.221v 11:34, marked this activity, and may have made added further corrections and *paragraphoi*. This dual engagement with P.Oxy. 2.221v testifies to exchanges of knowledge, either between scholars or between a student and his teacher. The fact that the commentary is written on the verso of the papyrus may confirm this scenario, as it suggests that P.Oxy. 2.221v is a first version of some kind of this hypomnema on *Il.* 21.

P.Oxy. 8.1086, in contrast, is the work of a single scholar. The unusual dimensions of the manuscript, its quick handwriting and use of abbreviations demonstrate that it was used for note-taking. Its Aristarchean contents and its use of critical and non-critical *sigla* reflect the scholarly background of its scribe. The use of sense dividers in the manuscript may reflect its use in a classroom context, which ties in well with the combination of teaching and research that characterises scholarly activities in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Thus, P.Oxy. 8.1086, unlike P.Oxy. 2.221v, serves the personal needs of its scholarly scribe. Hence, both P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086 can broadly be classified as "scholarly," but the specific purpose these manuscripts were intended to fulfil, differs.

the manuscript. For an appreciation of the *paragraphos* as an aid to reading aloud see William A. Johnson, "The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts," *ZPE* 100 (1994): 65–68.

Textual Scholarship and the Physicality of the Pesharim

The physical features of Peshar manuscripts, like those of hypomnema papyri, reflect the scholarly use and background of these commentaries.¹ Some physical features of the hypomnemata (especially the use of signs) are paralleled in the Pesharim and seem to point to exchanges of knowledge between the scholarly communities that produced these two types of ancient commentary. Having acquainted themselves with Greek scholarly practices through the intellectual networks to which they belonged, the Peshar exegetes adopted some of these practices and adapted them to their own ends.

1 Dimensions

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Greek manuscripts exhibit two aesthetic models: one for prose and one for poetry. In each model, the dimensions of a manuscript depend on certain scribal principles which focus on the dimensions of individual columns. As a result, each column in a Greek manuscript will typically have about the same width: either that of a given scribal standard (prose) or that of the length of a line (poetry).

The dimensions of Hebrew manuscripts are governed by different principles. One of the main reasons for this is the difference in writing material. Their general preference for parchment restricts the aesthetic options for Hebrew manuscripts: whilst writing on papyrus rolls could continue almost

1 Cf. George Brooke's recent work on the physicality and socio-historical background of exegetical Qumran manuscripts. See "Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features of some Cave 4 'Continuous' Pesharim," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 133–50; idem, "Some Scribal Features of the Thematic Commentaries from Qumran," in *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism and Script*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 124–43; idem, "Physicality, Paratextuality, and Peshar Habakkuk," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sidney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše, OLA 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175–93.

indefinitely,² the stitching that joins parchment sheets together prevents such an uninterrupted flow of writing. Rather than the individual column of writing, the focal point in the aesthetics of Hebrew manuscripts is the single parchment sheet.³ In Hebrew manuscripts, therefore, we often encounter divergent column widths within the same parchment sheet. This divergence serves the equal distribution of columns over the sheet.⁴ The use of vertical and horizontal ruling, guide dots, and other scribal aids serves the same purpose.⁵ For this reason, column widths of Hebrew manuscripts are often given as ranges rather than single numbers.⁶

Unlike their Greek counterparts, Hebrew commentary manuscripts exhibit no distinct aesthetics. Instead, the dimensions of Peshar manuscripts are usually merely average in comparison with those of other Dead Sea Scrolls. If we assume an average column width for the Dead Sea Scrolls of 11–13 cm,⁷ most columns in Peshar manuscripts fall within this range.⁸ Exceptions are 4Q163, whose columns measure 8.5–9.0 cm and are relatively narrow, and 4Q169 3–4 i and ii, which measure c. 16.0 cm and are wide. The narrow columns 4 and 11 in 1QpHab (8.9 cm and 8.8 cm, respectively) are the middle columns in a parchment sheet; their dimensions echo this position.⁹ Column height in Peshar

2 On the manufacturing process and features of papyrus rolls see Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974).

3 The size of a parchment sheet in its turn depends on the size of the animal from which it is taken. Even if sheets of certain dimensions may have been preferred and consciously manufactured, this observation adds an element of randomness to the dimensions of parchment scrolls. Cf. Brooke, “Some Scribal Features,” 125.

4 On the division of columns over parchment sheets see Hartmut Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189–220 (198).

5 See Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 57–68.

6 The exceptions usually concern manuscripts of which only a few columns have been preserved.

7 This assumption is based on Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82–99 (who does not give an average himself). Cf. Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls,” 198, who writes that the widths of columns “range from about 6 cm to about 20 cm.”

8 Average column widths are attested in 1QpHab (8.8–11.65 cm, with two narrow columns [on which see below]), 4Q162 (11.6–12.6 cm), and 4Q171 (10–11.8 cm). The columns in 4Q166 (10.2 cm) tend towards the narrow side of the scale, but not conspicuously so.

9 The situation in 1QpHab is the same as that in 1QM: “The person who scored the sheets of 1QMillhama, for example, drew the column dividers by starting from the edges of a sheet and marking off two or three columns, respectively, from each edge. In the middle, then, there

manuscripts tends to fall within the range of 10–12.5 cm that Emanuel Tov implies as an average.¹⁰ 4Q169 is an exception again, as its columns (9.0–9.1 cm) are short.¹¹ Columns in 4Q166 (14.0 cm) tend towards the tall side of the scale, whereas those of 4Q161 (at least 17.5 cm) and 4Q171 (15.2 cm) are clearly tall. Upper and bottom margins are usually average (between 1.0–2.0 cm for upper margins, between 1.5–2.0 cm for bottom margins),¹² except in 1QpHab, which often has broad upper margins; and 4Q165 (2.5 cm), 4Q169 (at least 2.8 cm), and 4Q171 (at least 2.5 cm), which have broad bottom margins. Inter-columnar spaces are average (1.0–1.5 cm),¹³ with the exceptions of 4Q162 (1.6–2.2 cm) and 4Q169 (1.5–2.4 cm), which have broader intercolumns. An intercolumnar space of exceptional width (3.5–3.6 cm) occurs between 4Q169 3–4 iii and iv; presumably this intercolumn occurs at a sheet joint, even though no traces of stitching are visible.¹⁴

Observing the everyday physicality of Peshet manuscripts, George Brooke suggested that their material features reflect the status of these commentaries:

remained room for one final column, narrower than the others" (Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls," 198).

- 10 Tov writes that an average of twenty lines per column comes with "a height of approximately 14–15 cm (including the top and bottom margins)" (*Scribal Practices*, 84). If we combine this average with Tov's observation that "in the Qumran scrolls, the top margins are usually 1.0–2.0 cm, and the bottom margins are 1.5–2.0 cm" (*Scribal Practices*, 99), the result is an average height for the writing block of 10–12.5 cm.

Average column heights are attested in 1QpHab (at least 11.5 cm) and possibly 4Q163 (at least 10.3 cm).

- 11 Jozef T. Milik, "Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RevQ* 15/59 (1992): 321–99 (364) suggests that 4Q162 exhibits short columns too. Tov accepts his calculation (*Scribal Practices*, 85). However, the column of writing of this manuscript has not been preserved entirely; there is a small trace of a *lamed* beneath the *taw* of למד . Hence, there is no way of knowing the original height of the column. So correctly Brooke, "Aspects," 137 (n. 15).
- 12 See n. 10 above. Average upper margins are attested in 4Q162 (1.9–2.0 cm), 4Q164 (1.8 cm); probably also in 4Q163 (at least 1.4 cm), 4Q165 (at least 0.9 cm), 4Q166 (at least 1.9 cm), 4Q169 (at least 1.5 cm), 4Q170 (at least 1.1 cm), and 4Q171 (at least 1.9 cm). Average bottom margins are found in 4Q163 (at least 1.35 cm); possibly also in 4Q161 (at least 2.0 cm), 4Q166 (at least 2.0 cm), and 4Q167 (at least 2.1 cm), though these last three manuscript may have had broad bottom margins.
- 13 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 103. Average intercolumns are found in 1QpHab (1.2–1.8 cm), 4Q163 (1.1–1.5 cm), 4Q166 (0.8–1.4 cm), and 4Q171 (1.3 cm).
- 14 Cf. Brooke, "Aspects," 134–35 (n. 9), who does seem to recognise signs of stitching at this spot. Shani Berrin (Tzoref), *The Peshet Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*, STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 8 (n. 23) suggests that the leather was brittle at this spot when the scroll was ruled and was thus skipped over by the person who prepared the scroll for writing, but this explanation is ad hoc.

The sectarian commentary literature does not seem to have been reproduced with ideas of its distinctive status and authority in mind, as was the case with many of the scriptural books and even the *Hodayot* which are extant in “de luxe” copies. This might possibly indicate that these commentaries were deemed of less status than the scriptural texts upon which they commented.¹⁵

Brooke’s emphasis on status and authority is not without its problems, though. Even if no deluxe Peshar manuscripts existed,¹⁶ the execution of most Peshar manuscripts does not differ much from that of most scriptural manuscripts and sectarian rule books. It seems more fruitful, therefore, to consider the physicality of Pesharim manuscripts to reflect their intended purpose rather than their status.¹⁷ Presumably, most of the Pesharim served everyday aims, possibly in scholarly-educational settings, where the study and teaching of Jewish prophetic Scriptures occupied a central place.

The dimensions of 4Q169 clearly fall outside the average spectrum. The columns in this manuscript contradict the general correlation in the Dead Sea Scrolls between column width and column height.¹⁸ Moreover, 4Q169 has wide intercolumns. This suggests that this manuscript served a special purpose.¹⁹ Its neat handwriting and the fact that it has the divine name in square characters may indicate that 4Q169 was a scholarly master copy of some sort, perhaps to be used for expert consultation. Its small format defines 4Q169 as a pocket edition.²⁰ In addition to making the manuscript easy to consult, this format

15 “Aspects,” 139.

16 Tov classifies 4Q254 (Commentary on Genesis C) as a deluxe edition, but on a shaky basis—his only argument is the wide bottom margin in 4Q254 16. See *Scribal Practices*, 125–29.

17 Brooke acknowledges this possibility (“Aspects,” 139–40, n. 26).

18 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82.

19 Alternatively, it could be argued that the short columns of 4Q169 reflect a certain aesthetic ideal. Gregory Doudna argues that 4Q169 in its entirety would have contained the exact same amount of columns as 1QpHab (*4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition*, JSPSup 35, CIS 8 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 37–38). Intriguing as this may be, the correspondence seems to be coincidental, as there are no other indications in the scrolls for a preferred length of $12 \frac{1}{3}$ columns for exegetical writings. See also Brooke, “Aspects,” 134–36.

20 Pocket editions are small scrolls, probably meant to be practical in daily use. For instance, Brooke wonders if some small manuscripts of the *meghillot* were “pocket editions for festival use” and Florentino García Martínez suggests that 11Q11 is “a sort of pocket edition of the composition, in an easy-to-carry format, ready for use at the sick bed.” See George J.

facilitated its portability and allowed its owners to carry it around easily.²¹ Hence, 4Q169 may reflect the workings of the intellectual networks to which its producers belonged: the manuscript could be consulted in various localities, by the same or by different experts.

2 Writing Divine Names

Several recent studies have argued that the treatment of divine names in the Dead Sea Scrolls may tell us something about their intended audience and purpose. The Pesharim avoid the tetragrammaton in their interpretations,²² and in Pesher Hosea B this avoidance extends to its lemmata.²³ When the tetragrammaton does occur, Peshar manuscripts may present it either in Paleo-Hebrew characters or in the regular square script.²⁴ Only 1Q14 has both the tetragrammaton and the divine name יהוה (see 1Q14 12 3) in Paleo-Hebrew characters. In the main text of 4Q171, the divine name is in Paleo-Hebrew characters; the addition to 4Q171 1–10 iii 5, however, has the tetragrammaton in square Hebrew letters.

There is no evident correlation between the use of Paleo-Hebrew letters to write the divine name and the date of the manuscript in question.²⁵ Rather

Brooke, "Scripture and Scriptural Tradition in Transmission: Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IQS in Helsinki*, ed. idem et al., STDJ 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–17 (6); Florentino García Martínez, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumranica minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109–30 (123).

- 21 Milik writes that the small format of 4Q169 served "la diffusion rapide et large des textes d'information" ("Les modèles araméens," 364–65). Philip Alexander suggests that pocket editions (4QS^j in his case) were meant to be carried around easily ("Literacy among Jews in Second Temple Palestine: Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran," in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Martin F.J. Baasten and Wido Th. van Peursen, OLA 118 [Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 3–24 [12]). Cf. Brooke's comments on 4Q180 ("Some Scribal Features," 131).
- 22 This is a general characteristic of sectarian writings. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 238–39.
- 23 Peshar Hosea B replaces the tetragrammaton in its lemmata by יהוה in square script.
- 24 Paleo-Hebrew characters: 1Q14, 1Q15, 1QpHab, 4Q161, and 4Q171. Square script: 4Q162, 4Q163, 4Q168, 4Q169, and 4Q170. The tetragrammaton is absent from what remains of 1Q16, 4Q164, and 4Q166.
- 25 Pace Patrick W. Skehan, "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. Frank M. Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 212–25 (215). Critical of Skehan are Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240; Brooke, "Aspects," 147.

than the outcome of a chronological development, therefore, the writing of divine names in Paleo-Hebrew characters must be taken as a sign of reverence.²⁶ The fact that these Paleo-Hebrew divine names were often added later than the body of the manuscript—perhaps by a different scribe or by the same scribe using a different pen or being in a greater state of purity²⁷—supports this.²⁸ Taking up a suggestion by Patrick Skehan,²⁹ Brooke suggests a connection between the use of Paleo-Hebrew characters to write the divine name and the intended purpose of Peshar manuscripts:

26 For my discussion of this topic the connection between the Qumran Scribal Practice and this scribal procedure is of limited importance. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 243–44 has argued for a connection between the presentation of divine names in Paleo-Hebrew letters and the Qumran Scribal Practice. Eibert Tigchelaar largely agrees with Tov, but offers a more nuanced formulation: “In the case of the use of paleo-Hebrew characters for the divine name, the feature seems to be exclusive and characteristic for texts written according to the ‘Qumran scribal practice’ within the corpus. However, with regard to both conventions [the Paleo-Hebrew characters for the divine name and the use of cancellation dots, פבח] we also have multiple texts written in the ‘Qumran scribal practice’ that do not use those conventions” (“Assessing Emanuel Tov’s ‘Qumran Scribal Practice,’” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions*, 173–207 [200]).

27 Cf. Albert M. Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll,” *Textus* 18 (1995): 87–99.

On the basis of a palaeographical comparison between the hands of the Paleo-Hebrew divine names and the hand in the bodies of manuscripts that have these divine names Hartmut Stegemann has argued that these divine names were added by a different scribe. See *KΥΠΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ und KΥΠΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ: Aufkommen und Ausbreitung des religiösen Gebrauchs von KΥΠΙΟΣ und seine Verwendung im Neuen Testament* (Habilitationsschrift Bonn, 1969), 91 (n. 502). On Stegemann’s views see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240; Brooke, “Physicality,” 189–90.

28 Some manuscripts leave blank spaces for inserting the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew characters, but these insertions never occurred. See, e.g., 4Q165 6 4 and 11Q5. On the latter manuscript see Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll” and Jonathan Ben-Dov, “The Elohistic Psalter and the Writing of Divine Names at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 79–104 (95–101).

29 Skehan argued that the use of Paleo-Hebrew characters is meant to prevent the *pronunciation* of the divine name; see his “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint,” *BIOCS* 13 (1980): 16–44 (28). Contrast Jonathan Siegel’s view, who holds that the use of Paleo-Hebrew preserves the tetragrammaton from *erasure* (“The Employment of Paleo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names at Qumran in the Light of Tannaic Sources,” *HUCA* 42 [1971]: 159–72 [169]).

Perhaps manuscripts of pesharim with the divine name in square Hebrew were copies for expert use, such as being scribal base text exemplars or archive copies; those with the divine name in paleo-Hebrew might have been produced to be used by the less adroit, perhaps in public performance as the prophetic texts were studied afresh by novices and long-standing members in the community.³⁰

Brooke's argument is intriguing. As we have seen in chapter 2, 1QpHab may well have served an educational purpose. Its presentation of the divine name in Paleo-Hebrew characters may have prevented accidental mistakes in the handling of this name by non-experts. What is more, Peshar manuscripts that, on the basis of their handwriting, are likely candidates to be an expert's personal copy (4Q162 and 4Q163), present the divine name in square characters. As we have just seen, 4Q169, which has the divine name in square characters, may have served as a master copy for expert use. Hence, even if the correlation is not exclusive, the use of Paleo-Hebrew and square letters to write the divine name in certain manuscripts may echo the audience and scholarly-educational purpose of these manuscripts.

3 Corrections and Additions

Corrections and additions occur frequently in the Pesharim. Corrections or additions of single letters, as in 4Q161,³¹ 4Q162,³² and 4Q164,³³ may be the work of the scribes of these manuscripts or originate with later readers or correctors.

30 "Aspects," 149.

31 4Q161 8–10 iii 10 (Allegro 8–10 6) adds a supralinear *yod/waw* to ונקפו, changing it to either ונוקפו or וינקפו. Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2010, 2013), 2:264 argues that the form should be ונוקפו and points to the quotation of Isa 10:34a in 4Q285 5 1.

32 In 4Q162 1:4, אשר is first corrected to ואשר (to confirm with the preceding ואשר) by adding a supralinear *waw*. Subsequently, both אשר and the supralinear *waw* were deleted by means of cancellation dots. The intended phrase was probably ואשר אמר.

33 4Q164 1 6 erases a *lamed* attached to כשמש. 4Q164 2 1 adds a supralinear *heh* to לוּא.

The same holds for additions of longer phrases, which occur in 1Q15³⁴ and 4Q165³⁵ and can be taken as corrections of parablepsis.

In contrast to these technical corrections, interlinear additions in 4Q163, 4Q169, and 4Q171 appear to be additions to an existing Pesher.³⁶ 4Q163 23 ii 3–14 contain a quotation and interpretation of Isa 30:15–18. A quotation of Hos 6:9α (“just as the troop member, the band of priests, lies in wait”) is added between lines 13 and 14. This reference to Hosea hinges on the occurrence of חכה in Hos 6:9 and Isa 30:18: the interpretation implies a contrast between those who wait for the Lord (Isa 30:18) and the bandits who lie in wait to do harm to other humans (Hos 6:9). Horgan assumes that the addition is “an interlinear gloss on the commentary” rather than a correction of an accidental scribal mistake.³⁷ Brooke develops her suggestion:³⁸ observing that the addition is in the same hand as the body of the commentary, he suggests that the addition of Hos 6:9α enabled the scribe of 4Q163 to draw a parallel between the exposition of Isa 30:18 in Pesher Isaiah C and that of Isa 5:24 in Pesher Isaiah B.³⁹ Thus, the addition of the Hosea passage echoes the diligent study of Scripture, in the course of which connections with other interpretations could be added between the lines.

34 1Q15 adds a part of Zeph 2:2 between lines 2 and 3. This part had been omitted from the quotation of Zeph 2:2 due to homoioarcton: both Zeph 2:2bα and Zeph 2:2bβ begin with בטרם.

35 4Q165 adds parts of Isa 21:15 between lines 4 and 5. John M. Allegro, DJD 5:29 comments that “the scribe’s eye jumped from נגד in v. 14d to the נדד of his textual tradition (= 1QIsa^a; MT has נדדו in v. 15a.” It seems more likely, however, that homoioarcton was the reason for the omission: Isa 21:15 has three expressions that begin with נפני. Qimron’s reconstruction (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:274) plausibly suggests that a confusion between these expressions caused the omission.

36 See more elaborately Pieter B. Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/Pesher Isaiah C, 4Q169/Pesher Nahum, and 4Q171/Pesher Psalms A,” *RevQ* 28/108 (2016): 267–77.

37 *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 120.

38 See also Roman Vielhauer, “Reading Hosea at Qumran,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91–108 (105–6).

39 “Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–32.

A similar situation pertains to 4Q169 1–2 ii, which has an addition between lines 4 and 5. This addition reads: “with all their rulers, whose rule will end,”⁴⁰ and it belongs to the final part of an interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ. The scriptural passage was probably quoted in the final part of 4Q169 1–2 ii 4.⁴¹ The entire interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ was probably added between the lines in this column.⁴² Presumably, this interpretation was not original to Peshet Nahum. Whereas an earlier version of Peshet Nahum quoted Nah 1:4aβ–4b as a single unit, the scribe of 4Q169 added an interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ between the lines.⁴³ By so doing, he altered the structure of this Peshet: Nah 1:4aβ was now isolated from Nah 1:4b and came to serve as the lemma for the interpretation added between lines 3–4 and 4–5 of 4Q169 1–2 ii.

Finally, 4Q171 1–10 iii adds a quotation of Ps 37:20aβγ and the beginning of its interpretation between lines 4 and 5. Qimron, following Strugnell, reconstructs the beginning of the interpretation section as [פּשֶׁרָוּ עַל עֵדֶת בַּחִירוֹ] and argues that the omission resulted from homoioteleuton (cf. עֵדֶת בַּחִירוֹ in line 5).⁴⁴ Even though this reconstruction remains a possibility, the overall structure of Peshet Psalms A invites a consideration of another scenarios. Most lemmata in this commentary correspond with the Masoretic verse boundaries.⁴⁵ When Ps 37:19–20 are quoted in Peshet Psalms A, however, these verses are divided up in smaller components and rearranged into lemmata.⁴⁶ The elusiveness of Ps 37:20, which in the middle of this verse of doom compares “the Lord’s enemies” with “the preciousness of lambs,” probably triggered this reordering. By combining Ps 37:20aα with the preceding verse and allowing Ps 37:20b to stand on its own, the commentator retains the explicit sense of doom in Ps 37:20. In

40 כּוֹל is reconstructed. On the reconstruction see Doudna, *4Q Peshet Nahum*, 95–96.

41 See Doudna, *4Q Peshet Nahum*, 282–83.

42 There has been some debate on the question where the interpretation started. In my view, Strugnell’s suggestion that the first words of the interpretation were added between lines 3 and 4 is to be preferred over the alternative, which reconstructs the start of this interpretation section in line 4. See Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development,” 272–74.

43 This interpretation might be based on passages such as 4Q169 3–4 i 1–3, which also speak of the Kittim and their rulers.

44 John Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume v des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »,” *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276 (214); Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:302 (cf. his note *ad loc.*).

45 The only exceptions are 4Q171 1–10 ii 1–4 (with quotations from Ps 37:8–9a and 9b) and 4Q171 1–10 iv 24–26 (with quotations from Ps 45:2a and 2b).

46 4Q171 1–10 ii 26 contains Ps 37:19a; 4Q171 1–10 iii 2–3 contains Ps 37:19b–20aα; and 4Q171 1–10 iii 7 contains Ps 37:20b.

his attempt to solve the problems in this verse, the exegete may have omitted the problematic middle part of Ps 37:20 from the Peshar.⁴⁷ At a later point in time, another scribe or exegete⁴⁸ grew concerned about the absence of Ps 37:20aβγ and added these words (now reading “those who love the Lord” [אוהבי ה'] rather than “the Lord’s enemies”) and the beginning of their interpretation between the lines. The initial interpretation of Ps 37:19b–20aα was split up, and its final part (from אשר יהיו) became part of the interpretation of Ps 37:20aβγ.

If 4Q163, 4Q169, and 4Q171 are remarkable for the *type* of additions they contain, 1QpHab is notable for the *amount* of its corrections and additions. Apart from the deletion of words and letters by means of cancellation dots and strokes, 1QpHab often adds letters or entire words between the lines. Both the first and the second hand in this manuscript erase or remodel letters.⁴⁹ Sometimes the second hand makes corrections to the first.⁵⁰

Most corrections in 1QpHab resemble those in other manuscripts. An exception is the pair of dots on the left and right side of the negation לוֹא in 1QpHab 7:2. Their purpose is not entirely clear, and they may be accidental ink marks of the kind attested elsewhere in 1QpHab.⁵¹ Elsewhere, however, similar dots serve as cancellation dots,⁵² and they may fulfil the same purpose here.⁵³ The deletion of לוֹא has significant hermeneutical implications.⁵⁴ Taking together the deletion of לוֹא and the possibly secondary nature of 1QpHab 7:3–5, Jutta Jokiranta demonstrates that the longer passage 1QpHab 6:12–7:10 specifies the relationship between the prophet Habakkuk and the Teacher. As the Teacher

47 Contrast Doudna’s view, who makes a case for the originality of Ps 37:20aβγ on the basis of the contents of these lines (4Q Peshar Nahum, 243). For my hesitance to accept his argument straightaway see Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development,” 275 (n. 27).

48 The insertion is not in the same hand as the manuscript. See Allegro, DJD 5:48; Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 214.

49 Brooke, “Physicality,” 180–83 offers a good overview.

50 Brooke, “Physicality,” 181.

51 See, e.g., the ink spot on the left of 1QpHab 7, between lines 1 and 2. Other examples are listed by Jutta Jokiranta, “Quoting, Writing, and Reading: Authority in Peshar Habakkuk from Qumran,” in *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts: Processes of Reception, Rewriting and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Jörg Frey et al., WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming) (n. 17).

52 See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 194.

53 Cf. Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols., BdM 44, 45 (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1958), 1:191: “If the points do not indicate removal of the affected word, it is hard to ascribe a function to them.”

54 See Brooke, “Physicality,” 182; Jokiranta, “Quoting, Writing, and Reading.”

continues the revelation imparted on the prophet Habakkuk, the addition of the נִלְבֵּן could account for the Teacher's lack of full knowledge.⁵⁵ Conversely, the deletion of the negation may reflect a move to bolster the authority of the Teacher by depicting the prophet Habakkuk—and hence the Teacher as the reader of his prophecies—as having been granted complete insight in the course of history, including “the end of time.” Like the examples from 4Q163, 4Q169, and 4Q171 given above, these dots may be taken to demonstrate that the Pesharim facilitated the continuous study of Scripture and its interpretations, with new insights often finding their way into the Qumran commentaries.

4 Signs

Marginal signs occur only in 1QpHab and 4Q163. Most conspicuous are the eleven or twelve⁵⁶ X-shaped signs in 1QpHab, even if these are not “marginal” signs proper.⁵⁷ The purpose of these signs has been disputed. It seems to me that O.H. Lehmann's 1951 suggestion that these signs are line fillers continues to be the best explanation available:⁵⁸ when a line ended well before the left margin, an X-shaped sign was added to fill out the remainder of the column of writing.⁵⁹

55 Jokiranta's reading implies that 1QpHab 6:12–7:10 attributes to the Teacher insight in the words of the ancient prophets without claiming that the Teacher had ever calculated the end of time. Cf. eadem, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 166–73 and see pp. 238–42.

56 1QpHab 9:16 is doubtful.

57 Pace, e.g., Brooke, “Physicality,” 187–189. The X-shaped signs in 1QpHab do not occur in the margins of the manuscript, but at the left end of the column of writing. Contrast other manuscripts, where X-shaped signs do occur in the margins. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 208; Brooke, “Some Scribal Features of the Thematic Commentaries from Qumran,” 129–30.

58 “Materials Concerning the Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls: I: Habakkuk,” *PEQ* 83 (1951): 32–54 (47). Lehmann is followed by Emanuel Tov, “Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, STDJ 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 41–77 (66–67); idem, *Scribal Practices*, 209–10; Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 238–40.

59 This is the general tendency, but exceptions occur. In 1QpHab 2:13; 4:8; 5:5; 6:14; 8:6; 10:10; 11:2, 9 we find blank spaces at line-ends that are no *vacats*, but have no line fillers either. Four of them occur in lemmata; Brooke suggests that the absence of line fillers implies a profound knowledge of the scriptural text quoted in the Peshar (“Physicality,” 187–89). H. Gregory Snyder writes that unfilled blanks in lemmata do not “coincide with a break in the sentence that might have caused a reader to pause or alter the reading prematurely”

Yet even if this general principle is clear, the exact reasons for placing these signs are not.⁶⁰ For Malachi Martin, the signs have no particular significance.⁶¹ In contrast, Gregory Snyder argues that they safeguard the correct performance of Peshar Habakkuk. Referring to them as “line joiners” rather than “line fillers,” Snyder argues that “the marks prompt the reader to continue on to the next line without any alteration in reading.” He continues:

The addition of such phrasing notation suggests a public context where fluent performance was crucial, probably a formal liturgical setting of some kind. Improper reading of the Torah carried a stiff penalty in the Qumran community, so it is not surprising that care would be taken with the divinely-inspired interpretations of a revered member of the community.⁶²

Brooke and Jokiranta embrace Snyder’s suggestion and portray Peshar Habakkuk as a commentary to be performed.⁶³ In view of the occurrence of the same signs in 11Q20 (11QTemple^b), however, I am more hesitant to accept Snyder’s proposal.⁶⁴ The handwriting of 11Q20 is the same as that of the first half of 1QpHab.⁶⁵ Thus, the X-shaped signs in 1QpHab and 11Q20 probably

(“Naughts and Crosses: Peshar Manuscripts and Their Significance for Reading Practices at Qumran,” *DSD* 7 [2000]: 26–48 [44]), whereas line fillers in lemmata come “at a natural break in the verse, where a reader might have expected peshar commentary to commence” (“Naughts and Crosses,” 44 [n. 64]). This statement is not entirely accurate. The line filler between *בשׁת* and *לְבִית־כֹּהֵן* in 1QpHab 9:13–14 (a quotation of Hab 2:10) does not come “at a natural break in the verse.” The unfilled blanks in 1QpHab 8:6 (a quotation of Hab 2:6) and 1QpHab 11:9 (a quotation of Hab 2:16) do “coincide with a break in the sentence that might have caused a reader to pause or alter the reading prematurely.”

60 The signs in 1QpHab can hardly serve the same purpose as the X-shaped line fillers in documentary texts from Nahal Ḥever, which were meant to prevent later additions to these texts. So Yigael Yadin, “Expedition D: The Cave of Letters,” *IEJ* 12 (1962): 227–57 (256). For these signs see 5/6Ḥev 42, 44, 45, 46; XḤev/Se 21. Additions to the Pesharim were not uncommon and the signs in 1QpHab must have served another purpose.

61 *Scribal Character*, 1:194.

62 “Naughts and Crosses,” 43.

63 Brooke, “Physicality,” 187–89; Jokiranta, “Quoting, Writing, and Reading.”

64 See 11Q20 4:9; 5:9. Snyder refers to 11Q20 in passing, but does not consider the implications of the fact that “marks of a similar character are also found in 11QTemple^b” (“Naughts and Crosses,” 41–42).

65 See Johannes P.M. van der Ploeg, “Les manuscrits de la grotte x1 de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 12/45 (1985): 3–15 (9); Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *DJD* 23:364.

originate with the same scribe (and not with a later reader of 1QpHab⁶⁶) and serve the same purpose in both manuscripts. Therefore, unless we are prepared to think of 11Q20 as a manuscript meant for liturgical performance of the kind Snyder envisions, a context of public performance fails to explain the purpose of the X-shaped marks in 1QpHab (and 11Q20). The X-shaped signs in 1QpHab do not serve the needs of the readers or performers of Peshar Habakkuk or the Temple Scroll, but those of the scribe who produced both 1QpHab and 11Q20.⁶⁷

Another suggestion comes from Stephen Llewelyn, Stephanie Ng, Gareth Wearne, and Alexandra Wrathall. They argue that the scribe of 1QpHab placed the X-shaped signs to indicate the beginnings and ends of the two *Vorlagen* that underlie 1QpHab.⁶⁸ Similarly, the signs in 11Q20 point to the beginnings and ends of the *Vorlage* of this manuscript. The argument is interesting, but it works less well for 11Q20 than it does for 1QpHab.⁶⁹ For that reason, I incline to attribute no significance to the X-shaped signs in 1QpHab and 11Q20 apart from taking them as reflecting the aesthetic preferences of the scribe of these manuscripts.⁷⁰ This scribe, so it appears, was concerned to create the impression of even left margins. The X-shaped signs with which he filled out lines ending before the left margin reflect this concern, even if the use of these signs (in both 1QpHab and 11Q20) is not systematic.

1QpHab and 4Q163 also contain true marginal *sigla*. 1QpHab 2:5 has a lone *ʾaleph* at the left side of the column of writing.⁷¹ Tov takes the letter as a wrongly

66 Pace Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1953), 75; Snyder, “Naughts and Crosses,” 42; Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 240.

67 To be sure, I am not denying the possibility that Peshar Habakkuk was publicly performed. This is possible, but I do not think the X-shaped marks in 1QpHab can be adduced as evidence for such a performance.

68 “A Case of Two *Vorlagen* Behind the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab),” in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown*, ed. Shani L. Tzoref and Ian Young, PHSC 20 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 123–50.

69 Cf. my critique of Llewelyn, Ng, Wearne, and Wrathall in “The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest,” 62–63.

70 Cf. Tigchelaar’s remark that “the only common feature [between the X-shaped signs in 11Q20 and 1QpHab, PBH] seems to be that, in all the cases, the line ends some distance before the margin” (DJD 23:364).

71 Some scholars have argued that the final letter of אַלֵּפִי in 1QpHab 2:6 was not meant to belong to this verbal form, but is another instance of a lone *ʾaleph* at the left side of a column of writing. The verb as it stands is admittedly difficult from a grammatical perspective, but the photographs of 1QpHab give no reason to take this *ʾaleph* as a lone letter. Pace Hanan Eshel, “The Two Historical Layers of Peshar Habakkuk,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders K. Petersen et al., STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17 (109, n. 10).

copied X-shaped line filler.⁷² But if the line fillers in 1QpHab originate with its scribe and were not copied from a *Vorlage*, it is implausible for the scribe to make a sudden mistake here. Snyder and Brooke suggest that the sign is related to the secondary nature of 1QpHab 2:5–10.⁷³ As I have argued elsewhere, these lines are part of an explicitly eschatological literary layer in Peshar Habakkuk.⁷⁴ These lines are not the only additions to Peshar Habakkuk, but they may well have attracted the attention of an ancient reader—not unlike the way in which they have invited modern scholars to consider the literary development of Peshar Habakkuk. Intrigued by these lines, this ancient reader would have marked them with the *ʾaleph*.⁷⁵

Two horizontal strokes occur in the right margins of 1QpHab 4:12 and 1QpHab 6:4. The purpose of these signs appears to be similar to that of the *chi-rho* signs in P.Oxy. 8.1086: Tov writes that the sign in 1QpHab 4:12 “was meant to indicate a matter of special interest.”⁷⁶ What triggered the interest of the scribe or later reader of Peshar Habakkuk is not entirely clear. Yet it may be noteworthy that the interpretations of Hab 1:11 in 1QpHab 4:9–13 and Hab 1:16a in 1QpHab 6:2–5 are particularly popular in modern studies on the historical ramifications of the Pesharim. The references in these passages to the Kittim “who, by the counsel of their guilty house, move on, every man in the place of his fellow” (1QpHab 4:11–12) and “are sacrificing to their standards” (1QpHab 6:3–4) are often taken as the most concrete clues for the identification of the Kittim in Peshar Habakkuk with the Romans.⁷⁷ The vivid description of

72 “Scribal Markings,” 43 (n. 5); idem, *Scribal Practices*, 207–8; also Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 240.

73 Snyder, “Naughts and Crosses,” 40; Brooke, “Physicality,” 189. Brooke points out a parallel practice in Aramaic texts: “If this sign is indeed drawing attention to the structure of the interpretation at this point, then it could correspond with the use of paleo-Hebrew *ʾaleph* in some Aramaic texts of the fifth century BCE by which scribes indicated new paragraphs or major subdivisions.” On this practice see also Tov, “Scribal Markings,” 50.

74 “The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest.’”

75 Cf. Bronson Brown-deVost’s intriguing suggestion that the *ʾaleph* is an abbreviation of אהר (“another [interpretation]”) and resembles the use of *šanû* and *šanîs* in Mesopotamian commentaries (“Commentary and Authority in Mesopotamia and at Qumran” [PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2014], 184–85).

76 *Scribal Practices*, 209.

77 See, e.g., André Dupont-Sommer, “Le « Commentaire d’Habacuc », découvert près de la Mer Morte: Traduction et notes,” *RHR* 137 (1950): 129–71 (157, 159); Kenneth M.T. Atkinson, “The Historical Setting of the Habakkuk Commentary,” *JSS* 4 (1959): 238–63 (esp. 240–44); Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, CCWJCW 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; repr. 1994), 226–27, 230–31; James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 109–12; Doudna, *4Q Peshar*

invading armies may have appealed to the ancient reader of Peshar Habakkuk, who marked these passages with a sign.

Finally, the second column in fragment 6 of 4Q163 contains a range of marginal signs.⁷⁸ They occur next to lines 5–9, 11–12, 15–19, and 21 (Allegro 4–8, 10–11, 14–18, and 20). Most of them are shaped like the horizontal strokes in 1QpHab. The sign next to line 11 may resemble the Paleo-Hebrew *ʾaleph*, which functions as a section divider in Aramaic texts.⁷⁹ The sign next to line 19 may be a Paleo-Hebrew *sin/šin*.⁸⁰ The form of other signs is uncertain.⁸¹ Even more elusive is the purpose of these signs. Most of them seem to function as section dividers, but this does not explain them all. In particular, the signs next to lines 12 and 21 do not seem to indicate different sections in the commentary. The same may be true for the sign next to line 9. These signs might indicate points of particular interest to a reader of Peshar Isaiah C, although the uneven distribution of the signs in this manuscript⁸² and the close proximity of the signs to one another renders this explanation implausible. Presumably, the signs in 4Q163 6 ii are not only related to the contents of 4Q163. It appears that, even if most signs indicate sense divisions, the range of signs in 4Q163 6 ii, when taken as a whole, echo the appeal that works of Alexandrian scholarship—in which

Nahum, 608–9; Bilhah Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 163–64, 169; Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 174.

- 78 The signs have been largely overlooked since Allegro's *editio princeps* of 4Q163 (DJD 5:18–19). This neglect may be due to the fact that most of Allegro's signs "cannot be identified on the plates" (so Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 187–88). Horgan, *Pesharim*, 239 mentions the signs, but remarks that she has been unable "to discern any structural significance" for them. She prints them without comment in PTS DSSP 6B:54, 56. The signs are ignored in *DSSSE* and by Christian Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, ATHANT 98 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010); Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.
- 79 See James M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 305–7. Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Letters of the Cryptic A Script and Paleo-Hebrew Letters Used as Scribal Marks in Some Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 330–39 (337); idem, *Scribal Practices*, 185–86.
- 80 So Tov, "Letters of the Cryptic A Script", 337; idem, *Scribal Practices*, 363 (fig. 11.4).
- 81 Tov suggests that "several signs in the margin of 4QpIsa^c frgs. 4–7, col. ii resemble letters either in paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A" ("Letters of the Cryptic A Script", 337). In his survey of the signs in 4Q163, however, he lists only the correspondences between the signs in 4Q163 6 ii 11 and 19 with Paleo-Hebrew *ʾaleph* and *sin/šin*, without any reference to Cryptic A letters in 4Q163. See idem, *Scribal Practices*, 362–363 (figs. 10.1–10.12).
- 82 Whereas the right margins of 4Q163 6 ii abound with signs, other right margins in the same manuscript (see 4Q163 11 and 23) have no signs at all.

marginal signs played a prominent role—had for the scribe of 4Q163.⁸³ If this suggestion is accepted, the *sigla* in 4Q163 6 ii testify to the exchange of scholarly knowledge within the networks that connected Jewish and non-Jewish textual scholars in Egypt and Palestine. These signs were probably meant to create for 4Q163 an image reminiscent of Alexandrian works of textual scholarship. Thus, the scribe or commentator of 4Q163 appropriated the appeal of the Alexandrian scholarly tradition for this manuscript and its contents.

5 Sense Dividers

Peshar manuscripts, like their Greek counterparts, physically express the bifold structure of their contents. The Pesharim exhibit no *ekthesis*,⁸⁴ *paragraphoi*,⁸⁵ or *stigmai*; the only sense dividers in the Qumran commentaries are *vacats* and the marginal signs in 4Q163 6 ii.

Vacats occur in all Peshar manuscripts.⁸⁶ Some have *vacats* at both ends of lemmata,⁸⁷ others only at their beginnings⁸⁸ or ends.⁸⁹ In 1QpHab, when a

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- 83 See Pieter B. Hartog, “The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship: 4Q163/*Peshar Isaiah C* and *Hypomnemata on the Iliad*” *JAJ* (forthcoming).
- 84 *Ekthesis* is occasionally found in the Greek Dead Sea Scrolls. See, e.g., 8HevXII gr 19:39 (Hab 3:14).
- 85 *Paragraphoi* are not unknown to the scrolls, but they are lacking from the Pesharim. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 179–87.
- 86 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 131–66 describes *vacats* in the scrolls in terms of open and closed sections. Whereas this terminology might be appropriate for biblical manuscripts—where these sections may correspond with later Masoretic sense divisions—there seems to be no difference in function between open and closed sections in the Pesharim, or other non-biblical scrolls. Hence, I will speak of *vacats* in general, without distinguishing between their different lengths and positions in the line. On the variety of scribal traditions that governs the use of *vacats* in the Pesharim see Brooke, “Aspects,” 144–45.
- 87 4Q169. Possibly also 1Q16, 4Q161, 4Q163, and 4Q166. On *vacats* in 4Q169 see Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 243–51.
- 88 1QpHab. Possibly also 4Q162 and 4Q167. On *vacats* in 1QpHab see also Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 235–40. According to Brooke, “the absence of a space between whole units of lemma and comment in *Peshar Habakkuk* might suggest that the scribe expected the reader to know the scriptural text by heart” (“Aspects,” 145).
- 89 4Q171. This may reflect the conviction that lemma and interpretation are intrinsically related, or it may demonstrate “that the use of a technical formula to introduce the comment is more than enough to indicate a differentiation between scriptural text and its interpretation” (Brooke, “Aspects,” 145). On *vacats* in 4Q171 see also Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 240–43.

vacat is expected but cannot be placed at the end of a line (because the text runs to its left margin), the *vacat* is either omitted⁹⁰ or placed at the beginning of the following line.⁹¹ Neither within one and the same manuscript nor within the entire corpus of Peshar manuscripts is the use of *vacats* rigidly systematic. Some general principles can be discerned, but the use of sense dividers in the Pesharim appears to depend largely on the personal preferences of its scribe.

Snyder has argued that *vacats* in 1QpHab (like the X-shaped signs) imply a context of public performance for Peshar Habakkuk. In his viewpoint, *vacats* prompt “a corresponding ‘mark’ of some kind in the oral text produced by the reader. Long spaces attract the eye, and warn the reader that a pause, or perhaps a change in the reading pace or intonation is required; it is not impossible that these texts could be chanted or sung.”⁹² But Snyder’s suggestion is problematic in light of comparative evidence. Many scrolls employ *vacats* as sense dividers; and not all the writings in these scrolls were presumably intended for public performances of the type Snyder envisions.⁹³ The same goes for Greek commentaries: Snyder refers to *vacats* in P.Fay. 3, though without suggesting that this commentary on Aristotle’s *Topics* was meant to be publicly performed.⁹⁴ Hence, the use of *vacats* and X-shaped signs in 1QpHab does not in itself suffice as evidence for the public performance of Peshar Habakkuk.⁹⁵

This is corroborated by the use of *vacats* in 1QpHab to mark divisions within interpretation sections.⁹⁶ For Snyder, such *vacats* are “anomalous.”⁹⁷ It appears, however, that their purpose is the same as that of *vacats* that distinguish lemmata from interpretation sections:⁹⁸ both mark sense divisions—either

90 So in 1QpHab 4:4–5, 13–14; 6:5–6; 12:1–2 (though Brooke characterises 4:4–5 and 6:5–6 as “borderline exceptions” [“Physicality,” 185]). Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 330. Tov mentions 1QpHab 9:8 as well, but this line does have a *vacat* between the lemma and the interpretation (even if the space may also be intended to accommodate for the interlinear addition יושבי).

91 So in 1QpHab 8:16; 11:4.

92 “Naughts and Crosses,” 38.

93 On *vacats* in the scrolls see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 131–66.

94 “Naughts and Crosses,” 28–30.

95 Cf. Brooke, “Physicality,” 186: “Snyder’s suggestion that the spaces might encourage or indicate a change in pace or intonation, even a variation in chant, are possible, but there is no clear verbal evidence for how a text such as *Peshar Habakkuk* might be performed in public.”

96 So in 1QpHab 2:5; 5:11; 9:7; 12:5.

97 “Naughts and Crosses,” 41.

98 With the exception of 1QpHab 3:7, where the *vacat* before פשו does appear to be a scribal mistake. The scribe initially wrote פשר and left a *vacat* before that formulaic term (in line with the general principle in 1QpHab). He (or someone else) later realised that פשר is out of place here and corrected the form to פשו—but the *vacat* remained.

between lemmata and interpretations or between smaller sections within an interpretation. What is more, *vacats* in interpretation sections may sometimes point to “comments added to the original interpretation, comments that scribes saw fit to set apart slightly.”⁹⁹ Hence, *vacats* in 1QpHab, just as in the other Peshar manuscripts and the hypomnemata, serve primarily as sense dividers, not as cues for textual performance.¹⁰⁰

4Q163 6 ii stands out for using marginal signs as sense dividers. Signs shaped like Greek *obeloi* accompany lines 5–8, 15–16, and 18, which all begin with a word from an interpretation section.¹⁰¹ The use of these signs is not systematic, however: line 9 begins with the word פִּשְׁרוֹ, but it is not marked with an *obelos*-shaped sign.¹⁰² Lines 17 and 19 are the first lines of a scriptural quotation and are marked with signs of an unclear shape. Finally, the sign next to line 11 appears to mark a new paragraph after a blank line. It should be borne in mind, however, that the use of these signs as sense dividers may not account fully for their presence in 4Q163 6 ii. That sense division was not the primary purpose of these signs is evident from the simultaneous use of *vacats* in 4Q163 to indicate divisions between lemmata and interpretation. This confirms my suggestion that these signs reflect an attempt by the scribe of 4Q163 to appropriate the appeal of the Alexandrian tradition for this manuscript and its contents.

6 Conclusion

The physical features of the Pesharim, like those of the hypomnemata, reflect the scholarly and intellectual background of the Qumran commentaries. The Pesharim saw the light in an environment where the study of the Jewish

99 Snyder, “Naughts and Crosses,” 41.

100 To be sure, the X-shaped signs and the *vacats* in 1QpHab may well have had *some* performative effect. If reading in the ancient world implies reading out loud (which it often, but not always, does, depending perhaps on the type of text that is being read), the reader of 1QpHab can be assumed to have paused at a *vacat* or to have continued reading when he encountered an X-shaped sign. However, these effects of the signs and *vacats* in 1QpHab do not equal their intended purpose. On ancient reading practices see William A. Johnson, “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *AJP* 121 (2000): 593–627 (594–600, with a summary of earlier research).

101 A similar procedure is attested in P.Berol. inv. 9782 (= BKT 2 = *Anonymus Theaetetus*). In that manuscript, lines that contain a quotation from Plato’s *Theaetetus* are marked by *diplai*.

102 Instead, the line is marked with a sign of unidentified shape. This sign might indicate the presence of a scriptural quotation in the preceding line (which starts with a word from an interpretation and hence received the *obelos*-shaped sign, leaving no room for the other sign), but this is uncertain.

Scriptures occupied a central place. Partaking in ongoing exegetical traditions, the Pesharim facilitated this study of Scripture and communicated its outcomes to their readers.

As is to be expected, the comparison of the physical characteristics of hypomnema and Peshar manuscripts has yielded both similarities and differences. These do not seem to be purely formal, however. The use of marginal signs in 4Q163 6 ii testifies to exchanges of scholarly knowledge between the groups in which the hypomnemata and the Pesharim originated. Some of these signs serve no clear purpose in this Peshar manuscript, and those that do are superfluous in view of the simultaneous use of *vacats*. It appears, therefore, that the signs fulfil a more symbolic purpose. Presumably, the scribe who produced 4Q163 attempted to evoke the image of Alexandrian scholarly literature for this manuscript and its contents. Knowledge of the Alexandrian use of *sigla* was transmitted through the intellectual networks that connected Jewish and non-Jewish scholars in Egypt and Palestine and so reached this scribe. Hence, the signs he placed in the margin of 4Q163 6 ii were meant to appropriate the appeal and status of Alexandrian textual scholarship for himself and his work.

The individual Pesharim differ from one another in terms of their purpose and use. The two hands of 1QpHab, its use of paleo-Hebrew characters to write the divine name, and its abundant corrections suggest that this manuscript reflects the activities of a student and his teacher. It seems to have fulfilled an educational purpose.

4Q163 is the result of scholarly note-taking, either by one or by multiple scholars or intellectuals. The handwriting and the dimensions of this manuscript demonstrate its use for taking notes, whilst its use of square characters to write the divine name suggests its expert background. The two hands usually recognised in 4Q163 may imply that its contents are the result of some communal effort. The scholarly background of 4Q163 is further supported by the signs in 4Q163 6 ii. These signs situate the scribe of 4Q163 within intellectual networks via which knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship was transmitted to Jewish scholars in Hellenistic and Roman Palestine.

4Q169, lastly, must be understood as a copy for expert consultation, which presumably travelled around. Its neat handwriting and general lack of corrections indicate its use as a master copy, or a copy for consultation. The presentation of the divine name in square characters implies an expert audience. Finally, its small dimensions define the manuscript as a “pocket edition,” which facilitated not just the easy consultation, but also the easy travel of this manuscript. Either one expert travelled around taking 4Q169 with him, or the manuscript was meant to serve the needs of different experts in different localities.

A Bifold Structure

The hypomnemata and the Pesharim—like other commentaries and in contrast to other kinds of scholarly literature¹—exhibit an explicitly bifold macro-structure. This bifold structure generates a dialogue between the voice of the base text and that of its interpretation.² This structure imbues commentaries with a special kind of rhetoric.

Exegetical writings that distinguish explicitly between their base text and its interpretation are rare in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In view of the scarcity of this type of scholarly literature in these eras, the structural similarities between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim are probably no coincidence. The Qumran exegetes presumably adopted the commentary format when they came into contact with intellectual communities in Egypt and Palestine which were closely acquainted with Alexandrian textual scholarship. Knowledge of textual scholarship was transmitted through the networks in which these scholarly groups partook.³ But as the Peshar commentators adopted the commentary format, they also adapted it.

As the following two chapters intend to demonstrate, the macro-structural similarities between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim do not imply that their micro-structure is the same in all details. Both similarities and differences can be recognised. Despite their macro-structural similarity, therefore, the hypomnemata and the Pesharim present their contents in different ways and have different points to make.

1 Cf. my definition of “commentary” on pp. 28–30.

2 For the metaphor of two “voices” I am indebted to the work of Arnold Goldberg and his student Alexander Samely. In his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Samely distinguishes the midrashic format, where Scripture is explicitly quoted and interpreted, from the expressive use of Scripture, where Scripture is alluded to and the voices of the base text and its interpretation coincide. See also Arnold Goldberg, “Formen und Funktionen von Schriftauslegung in der früh-rabbinischen Literatur (1. Jahrh. v. Chr. bis 8. Jahrh. n. Chr.),” in *Text und Kommentar*, ed. Jan Assmann and Burkhard Gladigow; ALK 4 (Munich: Fink, 1995), 187–97; idem, “Stereotype Diskurse in den frühen Auslegungsmidrashim,” in *Rabbinische Text als Gegenstand der Auslegung: Gesammelte Studien II*, ed. Margarete Schlüter and Peter Schäfer, TSAJ 73 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 242–62.

3 See pp. 16–28.

1 The Rhetoric of Commentary

In a comparison between “Rewritten Bible” and “Midrash,” Steven Fraade draws attention to how the structural features of these two types of exegetical works inform their contents. Following a discussion of *Sifre Deut* 31 (on *Deut* 6:4), Fraade wonders:

What happens were we to strip this complex commentary of its formal and explicitly midrashic elements to produce a straight-forward retold biblical narrative, that is, transform it from scriptural commentary to “rewritten Bible”?... Clearly much of the rhetorical force (and creativity) of the midrash is lost or flattened in these retold narratives. Without our present midrash, we would be left to guess at the interpretive strategies that might lie behind them. But there is another problem: Stripped of its exegetical structure and details, the retold narrative of Jacob’s dialogue with his sons would no longer fit within the context of a commentary to the book of Deuteronomy, but would better fit as an insertion into the narrative of *Gen* 49.... Incorporated within a commentary to *Deut* 6:4, as in the *Sifre*, the retold narrative of Jacob’s last words with his sons *impresses* itself upon the very words, and liturgical recitation, of the Shema more forcefully and performatively than when the words of the Shema are simply imported into a retold narrative of *Gen* 49.⁴

Fraade’s observations show that the explicit distinction in commentaries between lemmata and interpretations are no mere accidental structural features. They have a bearing on the contents of these exegetical writings and echo the purposes of the commentators who produced them.⁵

This rhetoric and the structures that support it reflect the scholarly and didactic background of commentaries in three ways. First, the distinction between lemmata and their interpretations emphasises the individual

4 “Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary,” in *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, *JJS*Sup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 381–98 (391–92).

5 Cf. Heinrich von Staden, “A Woman does not become Ambidextrous!: Galen and the Culture of Scientific Commentary,” in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, ed. Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, *MnS* 232 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 109–39 (127): “In the commentaries using full, complete lemmata, the formal arrangement of the two ancient texts—the original and the exegetical—has significant implications for the socio-scientific dynamics of the triangle author-commentator-reader.”

contributions of both components of the commentary to the hermeneutical process. Second, by setting apart and objectivising their base text in the form of lemmata, commentaries open their base text up to multiple interpretations. Third, the distinction between the two voices of the base text and its interpretation imbue commentaries with a didactic potential.

In contrast to other types of scholarly literature, commentaries explicitly acknowledge the gap between their base text and its interpretation. By presenting the base text and its interpretation as separate entities, commentaries objectivise their base texts and turn them into an object of interpretation. This move marks the authority of the base text and its role in the hermeneutical process.⁶ But the bifold structure of commentaries emphasises not only the contribution of the base text: the voice of the commentator also increases in significance. By presenting the base text and its interpretation separately, commentaries open up the base text for criticism and rejection. Thus commentaries have a subversive potential, in which the voice of the commentator plays a more independent role than it does in other hypertexts.⁷ Glenn Most writes that “commentaries can be potentially rather more subversive than editions, for they explicitly relate the discourse of authority to other discourses available within the society.”⁸ The rhetoric of commentary, therefore, hinges on a dialogue between the voice of the base text and that of the interpretation. To ensure its credibility a commentary must strike a balance between these two voices.

The objectivisation of the base text opens it up to multiple interpretations. In contrast to paraphrastic forms of interpretation, which generally offer a single exposition of their base texts,⁹ the structure of commentaries allows

6 I use the term “authority” loosely to refer to the reasons that someone may have to comment on a text. Whilst for us these reasons are often unknown, the existence of a commentary on a text indicates that, at least for someone, that text held some kind of authority. Some scholars would use the term “canonical status” to indicate the same phenomenon, but I hesitate to follow their lead, as this term would require much qualification to be suitable for the commentaries and base texts treated in this book. On the way(s) in which “canon” might be applied as a useful term see Hindy Najman, “The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the ‘Canon,’” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518.

7 See Ineke Sluiter, “The Violent Scholiast: Power Issues in Ancient Commentaries,” in *Writing Science: Medical and Mathematical Authorship in Ancient Greece*, ed. Matthias Asper (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 191–213.

8 “Preface,” in *Commentaries—Kommentare*, ed. idem, Aporemata 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), vii–xv (x).

9 Exceptions occur; multiple interpretations can sometimes be woven together into a larger narrative. A case in point is 1 En. 106–107, where different etymologies of the name ΠΝ are

different interpretations to occur side by side.¹⁰ This possibility to present more than one interpreting voice imbues commentaries with an encyclopaedic potential;¹¹ this potential explains why commentary writing remains such a favourite scholarly activity until today.¹²

Finally, their bifold structure imbues commentaries with an educational potential. In commentaries, the voices of base text and interpretation may assume the roles of student and teacher. As if in an actual classroom, a student expresses what she knows (the lemma) and the teacher tells her what she does not yet know (the interpretation). Jan Assmann draws out the connection between the bifold structure of commentaries and oral exegetical practices in educational contexts (“Hodegetik”):

Typische Formen solcher Hodegetik sind die Lehrdisputation in Indien und die islamische Madrasa wo der Schüler den Text liest oder auswendig hersagt und der Lehrer den Kommentar dazu abgibt. Erklärungen berühmter Lehrer werden dann im Lauf der Zeit ihrerseits kodifiziert (schriftlich oder memorativ) und vom Schüler zusammen mit dem Text rezitiert.... Auch im jüdischen Lehrhaus gehören Lernen, Lehren und Lesen zusammen.¹³

combined in the interpretation of the Noah story. On this passage see James C. VanderKam, “The Birth of Noah,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 396–412 (397–407).

- 10 Cf. Philip Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF*, ed. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; repr. 2008), 99–121 (117): “The narrative form of the texts means ... that they can impose only a single interpretation on the original.... By way of contrast, the commentary form adopted by the rabbis and by Philo allows them to offer multiple interpretations of the same passage of Scripture, and to treat the underlying text as polyvalent.”
- 11 The development of “commentary” as a genre of scholarly literature in the Hellenistic and Roman periods ties in with the general development of encyclopaedic scholarship in these periods. On ancient encyclopaedism see, e.g., Pierre Grimal, “Encyclopédies antiques,” *CHM* 9 (1966): 459–82; Jason König and Greg Woolf, eds., *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- 12 On modern commentary writing see Gibson and Kraus, *The Classical Commentary*; Stanley E. Porter and Eckhard J. Schnabel, eds., *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, TENTS 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- 13 “Text und Kommentar: Einführung,” in *Text und Kommentar*, 9–33 (31).

To be sure, ancient educational practices tended to be ill-defined and informal,¹⁴ and commentaries could be written for other purposes than classroom use. An educational context should not be assumed to be behind each and every individual commentary. Nonetheless, from a formal perspective, commentaries exhibit a strong educational potential, and this is one of the reasons why commentaries were such popular vehicles of intellectual exchange in the ancient world.¹⁵

2 Structural Variety

This rhetoric of commentary permeates the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. It should be borne in mind, however, that the description of this rhetoric depended mainly on the bifold macro-structure of commentaries. On a micro-structural level, individual commentaries or exegetical traditions often vary, depending on the aims of their producers, users, and transmitters.

Consider, for instance, the traditional distinction between “continuous”—which follow the order of their base text—and “non-continuous”—which are structured according to the interests of the commentator—commentaries. The structural differences between these types of commentary imply a difference in approach: “continuous” commentaries present the voice of the base text as the main voice governing the structure and contents of the commentary; “non-continuous” commentaries allot a central position to the voice of the exegete. This structural and methodological variety may echo the different purposes intended for these commentaries.

At the same time, the distinction between these types of commentary often breaks down, and the differences between “continuous” and “non-continuous” commentaries are not absolute. Take, for instance, Didymus’s commentary on Demosthenes (P. Berol. 9780 = BKT 1). This work is difficult to classify: its first

14 Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, CCS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2000); Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

15 This appeal of commentaries was not restricted to the ancient world. The educational potential of commentaries underlies the popularity of the genre in the scholastic tradition as well. Cf. the insightful discussion in Henk Nellen and Karl Enenkel, “Introduction: Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge,” in *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)*, ed. eadem, SHL 33 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 1–76.

editors referred to it as a “Kommentar,”¹⁶ but Friedrich Leo argued that the work is an example of “περί literature.”¹⁷ Leo’s main argument was the structure of the work, which omits some of Demosthenes’s speeches. In later scholarship Leo’s proposal has not met with much approval: stressing the broad meaning of the term “*hypomnema*,” most scholars opted to classify the work as such, despite the differences it exhibits with the “continuous” hypomnemata in this book.¹⁸ After all, P.Berol. 9780 does quote the speeches it contains (Dem. 9, 11, 13) in their proper order. The contents of the commentary may be determined by the interests of the commentator, but the voice of the base text does influence its structure. A similar thing occurs in some “thematic” Pesharim from Qumran: they are selective in their contents, but they quote the passages they do contain in their scriptural order.¹⁹

The reverse is also true, and the voice of the interpreter continues to play a role in “continuous” commentaries. Many commentaries “on the *Iliad*” may not have covered the whole epic. We find literary references to scholars who wrote commentaries on the entire *Iliad*, or the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but there is little physical support to these claims. Seeing that a single papyrus roll could not have contained a hypomnema on more than one book of the *Iliad*,²⁰ a commentary on the entire epic would have required twenty-four rolls.²¹ None of the fragments in this book shows any indications of belonging to such an

16 Hermann Diels and Wilhelm Schubart, *BKT* 1.

17 “Didymos περί Δημοσθένους,” in *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, ed. Eduard Frankel, SL 82–83 (Roma: Storia e letteratura, 1960), 387–94.

18 See Stephanie West, “Chalcentric Negligence,” *CQ* 20 (1970): 288–96 (esp. 290–91); Graziano Arrighetti, “*Hypomnemata e scholia*: Alcuni problemi,” *MPL* 2 (1977): 49–67; Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and His Ancient Commentators* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Philip Harding, *Didymos on Demosthenes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2006).

19 This was first suggested for 4Q174 by Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, ÉB 21–22 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 573 (n. 20). On the other “thematic” Pesharim see George J. Brooke, “Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 134–57 (147–48).

20 The only commentary from our corpus that stands a good chance of being a commentary on the entire *Iliad* is the late P.Oxy. 76.5095. Unsurprisingly, this is a codex rather than a roll.

21 The division of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into twenty-four books is a Hellenistic invention, either by Aristarchus or by one of his predecessors. See Guy Darshan, “The Twenty-Four Books of the Hebrew Bible and Alexandrian Scribal Methods,” in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, JSRC 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 221–44 (223–26, with references).

extensive commentary.²² At the same time, we do have evidence that not all Iliadic books played an equally prominent role in literate education. Teresa Morgan has shown that this type of education often required the reading of selected passages from ancient authors.²³ In the case of Homer, *Il.* 1–6 and, at more advanced stages of the learning process, *Il.* 7–12 were particularly popular.²⁴ Thus, some hypomnemata on the *Iliad* may have covered only the more central chapters of this Homeric epic. Something similar goes for Qumran commentaries like Peshar Habakkuk. This Peshar does not interpret the entire book of Habakkuk, but only its first two chapters. This decision, like those reflected in the *Iliad* hypomnemata, reflects the aims of the Peshar exegete, who, for reasons not entirely clear to us, did not find much of interest in Hab 3.

These examples demonstrate that, within the framework of their bifold macro-structure, individual commentaries or commentary traditions often exhibit substantial structural variety. No single commentary can be taken as a standard against which other commentaries are measured.²⁵ The structure of a commentary reflects a decision by the exegete, who *chooses* to comment on a base text in its entirety or to select parts from it.

3 Conclusion

Both the hypomnemata and the Pesharim exhibit a bifold macro-structure, which distinguishes explicitly between lemmata and their interpretations.

22 This does not exclude the possibility that some manuscripts from which fragments survived to this day did belong to such large hypomnemata. This has been suggested for P.Oxy. 8.1086 and P.Oxy. 65.4451 by the editor of the latter fragment: "So 4451 and 1086 ... may perhaps be said to be the same commentary. Whether they occupied the same roll is another matter;... I would guess the commentary on each book was given a roll to itself" (Michael W. Haslam, *P.Oxy.* 65:28). Note, however, that P.Oxy. 65.4451 is very fragmentary, and certainty remains beyond reach.

23 *Literate Education*.

24 Morgan, *Literate Education*, 111–12; Raffaella Cribiore, "A Homeric Writing Exercise and Reading Homer in School," *Tyche* 9 (1994): 1–8; eadem, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 194–97. The popularity of *Il.* 1–6 is also echoed in the literary and school papyri of the *Iliad*; see Morgan, *Literate Education*, 308 (table 11), 313 (table 15), 320 (table 21).

25 This point has been forcefully made with regard to the Pesharim by Moshe J. Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshar Technique," in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 635–73.

This bifold structure imbues commentaries with a particular rhetoric, which confirms the scholarly and educational nature of these exegetical writings. Yet within the framework of this macro-structure ample micro-structural variation occurs. This variation reflects the aims and decisions of the producers, users, or transmitters of commentaries. Hence, every commentary combines the voices of the base text and its interpretation, but how these two voices are combined tends to differ between both individual commentaries and broader exegetical traditions.

Structure and Scholarship in the Hypommemata

This and the following chapter aim to illustrate how the bifold structure of the hypommemata and the Pesharim reflect the scholarly and educational purpose of these commentaries. After separately discussing the treatment of lemmata and interpretation sections I will reflect on the interaction between these two elements in the hypommemata as whole entities.

1 Lemmata: Selection and Presentation

It has been shown in chapter 5 that *Iliad* hypommemata from the Hellenistic and Roman periods tend to be selective in the material they include. Of the sixteen hypommema manuscripts included in this study seven deal with passages from *Il.* 1–6,¹ four with *Il.* 7–12.² The preference for these chapters echo the prominent position of these chapters in the educational curriculum. Other hypommemata treat some of the least popular books of the *Iliad* (19 and 21);³ they presumably stem from scholarly or more advanced educational contexts, where even these books were studied.

Even when a hypommema focuses on one book of the *Iliad*, however, it rarely interprets the entire book. All hypommemata in our corpus omit smaller or larger parts from their base texts, the largest omissions extending to fourteen⁴ or seventeen⁵ lines. The criteria for inclusion or exclusion often elude us. Yet, notwithstanding some individual cases in which the omitted lines may not have been known to the commentator,⁶ most omissions do seem to reflect

1 P.Oxy. 65.4451 (*Il.* 1); P.Oxy. 8.1086 (*Il.* 2); P.Berol. inv. 9960 (*Il.* 3 or *Il.* 6); P.Ryl. 1.24 (*Il.* 4); P.Daris inv. 118 (*Il.* 4); BKT 10.16897 (*Il.* 5); P.Cairo JE 60566 (*Il.* 6).

2 P.Wash.Univ. 2.63 (*Il.* 9); P.Berol. inv. 17151 (*Il.* 10); P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 (*Il.* 11); P.Oxy. 76.5095 (*Il.* 12 and *Il.* 15).

3 E.g., P.Oxy. 65.4452 (*Il.* 19); P.Oxy. 2.221v (*Il.* 21). On these books being the least favourite ones see Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 194.

4 BKT 10.16897 omits *Il.* 5.163–176.

5 P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 omits *Il.* 11.713–729.

6 Cf. the Michael W. Haslam's suggestion regarding P.Oxy. 53.3710 3:39–40: "Though very dangerously *ex silentio*, the possibility must be entertained that vv. 177–84, left wholly without comment, were unknown to the commentator" (P.Oxy. 53:111). Haslam's proposal is taken up

conscious decisions on the part of the exegete.⁷ Support for this comes from the medieval scholia: lines omitted from hypomnemata from the Hellenistic and Roman periods are often left without comment in at least one of the major scholia collections too.⁸ In spite of the often-complicated relationship between the hypomnemata and the later scholia, these correspondences suggest that similar processes of selection underlie both collections, even if the principles themselves are beyond our reach.

A final level on which the intentions and preferences of the commentator determine the structure of the commentary is that of the contents and presentation of individual lemmata. Two basic procedures are attested:⁹ a commentary may either quote entire lines from the *Iliad* in its lemmata¹⁰ or present only

by John Landon in his treatment of P.Oxy. 8.1086: *Un commentario aristarcho al secondo libro dell'Iliade: POxy VIII 1086 (Proecdosis)* (Florence: s.n., 2002), 32.

7 Cf. Landon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 32; Marco Stroppa, "Some Remarks Regarding Commentaries on Codex from Late Antiquity," *TiC* 1 (2009): 298–327 (309).

8 E.g., *Il.* 5.179–180 and *Il.* 21.328–330 are absent from BKT 10.16897 and P.Oxy. 2.221v, respectively, as well as from Schol. A, Schol. bT, Schol. Ge, and Schol. D. These observations have been made on the basis of the modern editions of the major scholia collections: Hartmut Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, 7 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969–1988) for Schol. A and Schol. bT and Helmut van Thiel, *Scholia D in Iliadem* (2000; see <http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1810/> [last accessed 11 October, 2016]) for Schol. D. As Erbse's edition contains only a part of Schol. Ge I have also consulted Jules Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1891). On the contents, advantages, and drawbacks of these editions see the helpful overview by Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, APACRS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21–22.

Many cases are less straightforward. *Il.* 7.82, for one, is absent from P.Oxy. 8.1087, Schol. bT, Schol. D, and Schol. Ge, but it does receive comment in Schol. A. *Il.* 21.196 is left without comment in P.Oxy. 2.221v and Schol. D, but not in Schol. A and Schol. bT. The situation in Schol. Ge is complex. According to Nicole, *Il.* 21.196 is commented on in the original scholia of this manuscript (where it is interpreted with reference to Xenophanes; cf. Schol. A *Il.* 21.196–197), but it is absent from the scholia added later by Theodore Meliteniotes. If we accept Nicole's presentation of the evidence, the fact that Meliteniotes did not add scholia on this line need not imply that he thought it of little interest: he may simply have accepted the explanation offered in the already existing scholion to this line. On the evidence see Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises*, 1:199. P. 714 of the manuscript, which contains *Il.* 21.196, can be consulted at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bge/gro044/714> (last accessed 4 April, 2017).

9 Cf. Franco Montanari, "Un nuovo frammento di commentario a Callimaco," *Athenaeum* 54 (1976): 139–51 (142, n. 8).

10 This procedure is attested in P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 and—with some exceptions (on which see Landon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 32–33)—in P.Oxy. 8.1086. It may be at work in BKT

those parts of Iliadic lines which are interpreted, as lemmata.¹¹ These two procedures fulfil different functions and imply different uses of the commentaries in which they occur. In the case of the first procedure, lemmata tend to contain much that is hermeneutically redundant: in many instances, only a part of the line from the *Iliad* quoted in its entirety is interpreted in the commentary.¹² Thus, the aim of these quotations is not to provide a hermeneutical basis for interpretation. They serve as references, pointing the reader of the hypomnema to the part of the base text that is being interpreted.¹³ Therefore, these commentaries are meant to be consulted alongside an edition of the *Iliad*.¹⁴ The second procedure, in contrast, evidences a close hermeneutical link between the lemma and its interpretation: only those parts of lines from the *Iliad* that are subjected to interpretation are quoted as lemmata.¹⁵ These lemmata serve not as references, but provide the hermeneutical basis for the interpretation.¹⁶ Hence, they do not stress the link between the commentary and an edition, but present the commentary as an exegetical writing in its own right and invite independent consultation of the commentary.

10.16897 and P.Wash.Univ. 2.63 too, but the fragmentary state of the latter two manuscripts precludes certainty on this point.

- 11 This procedure is found in P.Cairo JE 60566, P.Oxy. 2.221v, and P.Oxy. 8.1087.
- 12 Cf., e.g., P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 1:2–6, which quote *Il.* 11.677, but comment on only a single word (ῥλιθᾶ) from this line; and P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:16–17 (56–57), which quote *Il.* 2.787, but interpret only the word ἀλεγεινῆ.
- 13 The exceptions in P.Oxy. 8.1086, which do not quote whole Iliadic lines as lemmata, fulfil the same referential purpose as the other lemmata in this commentary. Like the others, these exceptional lemmata may exhibit hermeneutical redundancy. So, P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:17–20 (57–60) omits the last word of *Il.* 2.788. Moreover, lemmata in P.Oxy. 8.1086 always contain the first part of an Iliadic line. This confirms the referential purpose of these lemmata; a similar procedure may be reflected in the late P.Mich. inv. 1206. See Wolfgang Luppe, “Homer-Erläuterungen zu E 316–348,” *ZPE* 93 (1992): 163–65.
- The inconsistency between quoting entire lines and quoting only parts of lines in the lemmata of this commentary must probably be attributed to the carelessness of the scribe of P.Oxy. 8.1086. There are several traces of such carelessness in the manuscript; see London, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 22–23, 31.
- 14 So also Helmut van Thiel, “Die Lemmata der Iliasscholien: Zur Systematik und Geschichte,” *ZPE* 79 (1989): 9–26 (9); London, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 32–33.
- 15 See, e.g., P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:20–2:28 (61) and P.Oxy. 2.221v 10:23–30. In the first passage, two word-groups from *Il.* 7.76 are separately quoted as lemmata and separately interpreted. The second passage quotes and interprets *Il.* 21.204 in its entirety.
- 16 So also John Lendon, “Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey,” in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, *TiCSup* 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 159–79.

The systematic adherence of the hypomnemata in our corpus to either one of these two procedures suggests that the two systems point to different audiences and uses of these hypomnemata. The distinction is probably not rigid: lemmata in which only parts of lines are quoted, do cumulatively fulfil a referential function; and full quotations of Iliad lines as lemmata may not just refer readers to an *Iliad* edition, but even replace that edition with the text quoted in lemmata.¹⁷ Even so, it does appear that the quotation of full lines ties in with the needs of an audience insufficiently acquainted with the Iliadic base text to recognise it by the mention of only a word or word-group, whilst the quotation of parts of lines implies an audience well-versed in the Homeric base text and having no need for obvious references to an *Iliad* edition. In the light of the findings from chapter 3, it might be argued that the first procedure was particularly suited to contexts of education (P.Oxy. 8.1086) or display (P.Giss. Lit. 2.8), whilst the second one would suit the exchange of ideas among scholars (P.Oxy. 2.221v).

2 Interpretation Sections: Contents and Structure

The contents of interpretation sections in the hypomnemata fulfil both a structural and a hermeneutical role. This duality of purpose is reflected in Marina del Fabbro's and Francesca Schironi's treatments of these contents. For Del Fabbro, elements such as glossography, paraphrase, and others reflect the "metodologia" of the hypomnemata.¹⁸ For Schironi, in contrast, they exemplify the "language and style of the hypomnemata."¹⁹ It is helpful to keep the link between these two aspects in mind. Nevertheless, this chapter focuses on the *structural* aspects of interpretation sections. Their *hermeneutics* will be the topic of chapter 9.

17 Cf. Francesca Schironi, "Greek Commentaries," *DSD* 19 (2012): 399–441 (410): "In the 'continuous commentary' the lines were recopied in full and without gaps: in this way, a reader could have avoided the use of a separate edition because both text and commentary were part of the same 'book'."

18 "Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea," *SP* 18 (1979): 69–132 (96–105).

19 "Greek Commentaries," 411–12.

2.1 Glosses

Glossography belongs with allegory to the earliest interpretative activities in the Greek world.²⁰ The interpretation of glosses dates back to at least to the 5th–4th century BCE²¹ and was thematised by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. He wrote:

“Ἄπαν δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα ἢ μεταφορὰ ἢ κόσμος ἢ πεποιημένον ἢ ἐπεκτεταμένον ἢ ἀφρηγμένον ἢ ἐξηλλαγμένον. Λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρώνται ἕκαστοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι. Ὡστε φανερόν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ. Τὸ γὰρ σίγυνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα.”²²

Every noun is either a common one, or a rare one, or a metaphor, or a decoration, or an invented one, or a lengthened one, or a subtracted one, or an altered one. Now, I call “a common noun” what everyone uses, but “a rare noun” what others use. Thus it is evident that the same noun can be both a rare one and a common one, but not for the same people. Σίγυνον, after all, is a common noun for the Cypriots, but a rare one (γλῶττα) for us.²³

Aristotle, *Poetics* 1457b1–5

Elsewhere Aristotle remarks that glosses are particularly suitable for use in epic poetry.²⁴ Developing these Aristotelian principles, Alexandrian scholarship of the Homeric epics paid due attention to the explanation of glosses.²⁵ This interest is reflected in scholarly works like lexica and glossographical treatises, but also, for instance, in the scholia minora or D-scholia, many of which

20 On glossography and allegory before Aristotle see Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 3–56.

21 See Aristophanes, *Banqueters* (fr. 233 PCG) and cf. Dirk M. Schenkeveld, “61. The Impact of Language Studies on Greek Society and Education,” in *History of the Language Sciences: An International Handbook of the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present*, ed. Sylvain Auroux et al., 3 vols., HSK 18 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000–2006), 1:430–38.

22 Text from Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas, *Aristotle Poetics: Editio maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, MnS 338 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 200–201.

23 All translations of Greek sources are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

24 *Poet.* 1459a9–10.

25 On this aspect of Hellenistic Homer scholarship and its indebtedness to Aristotle see Francesca Schironi, “Theory into Practice: Aristotelian Principles in Aristarchean Philology,” *CP* 104 (2009): 279–316 (300–303).

take the shape of glossographical comments.²⁶ It is also prominent in the hypomnemata, where it occurs alongside other modes of interpretation.²⁷

The most basic form of glossographical interpretation is the identification of one gloss with one synonym. A straightforward example is this interpretation of φοιτᾶν (*Il.* 2.779) in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:40–2:1 (41):

Φοιτῶν [ἔ]νθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατόν· φοιτᾶν ἔστι τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐνθουσιωδῶς ὀρμᾶν.²⁸

“They roamed about [hi]ther and thither across the field” (*Il.* 2.779). “Φοιτᾶν” is to move about ecstatically, always in the same place.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:40–2:1 (41)

Other explanations may derive support from etymological reasoning²⁹ or the use of the gloss elsewhere in Homer or another author.

In some instances we encounter more elaborate explanations, in which the exegete offers more than one synonym for the gloss. The interpreter of *Il.* 2.816, for instance, recognises two meanings for Hector’s epithet κορυθαίολος:

[>Τρω]σὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ· κορυθαίολος δὲ ἔστιν ἦτοι ὁ ποικίλη[ν ἔχων τὴν περικεφαλαίαν· αἰό]λον γὰρ τὸ ποικίλον· ἢ καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ περικεφαλαίᾳ ὀξέω[ς καὶ εὐστραφῶς μαχόμενος· εὐ]θετεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ εὐστραφοῦς τὸ αἰόλον, οἶον ὅταν λέγῃ ἔ[νθα ἴδον πλείσ]τους Φρύγας

26 For an overview of glossographical activity in the Hellenistic world see Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary* (P.Oxy. 1802 + 4812), *Sozomena* 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 1, 28–38.

27 This demonstrates that the distinction between “exegetical” and “philological” interpretations, which is often made with regard to the scholia, does not hold for the hypomnemata. See Franco Montanari, “Filologia omerica antica nei papiri,” in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology: Athens 25–31 May 1986*, ed. Basil G. Mandilaras, 2 vols. (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 1:337–44 (343); Michael W. Haslam, “The Homer ‘Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista’: I: Composition and Constituents,” *CP* 89 (1994): 1–45 (43–45 [esp. 43, n. 160; 44]). On the distinction between “exegetical” and “philological” scholia (or scholia minor) see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 207–8; Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, 18–21.

28 P.Oxy. 8.1086 is quoted according to Lunden, *Un commentario aristarcho*.

29 E.g., when P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:16–17 (56–57) derives ἀλεγεινῆ (*Il.* 2.787) from ἄλγος and either *ενεγκ- or *ενεικ- (Aorist stems of φέρω) and glosses it as “carrying pain” (τὴν ἄλγος ἐπιφέρειουσαν).

ἀνέρας αἰολοπῶλους. Ὅθεν Ἄλκαῖος ἀμφο[τέρως ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα,] λέγων οὕτως· καὶ χρυσοπάσταν τὰν κυνίαν ἔχων ἔλαφρα π[...]

[>]“Great Hector with glancing/moving helmet commanded [“the Tro]jans” (*Il.* 2.816). Κορυθαἰόλος is either “the man who [has] a decorate[d helmet]”—for [αἰό]λος is “decorated”—or also “the man who, wearing a helmet, is fighting keen[ly and with agility.”] For αἰόλος [is sui]tably (used) also with regard to keenness and agility, as when he says: “T[here I saw ma]ny Phrygian men with keen horses” (*Il.* 3.185). Whence Alcaeus [takes the word] in both wa[ys,] as he says the following: “And having a helmet shot with gold, with agility [....]”

P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:26–27, 29–33 (106–107, 109–113)

According to the commentator, κορυθαἰόλος means either “with a decorated helmet” or “with a swift-moving helmet” (implying Hector’s agility in battle). Both meanings are supported by etymological reasoning, which splits the epithet into its components κόρυς (“helmet”) and αἰόλος. The first meaning of the epithet depends on αἰόλος meaning “decorated.” However, a second meaning of αἰόλος is attested elsewhere in Homer: the Phrygians in *Il.* 3.185 are portrayed as riding keen rather than decorated horses.³⁰ Hence the association of αἰόλος with agility. It is interesting that the ancient commentator, unlike his modern peers,³¹ does not express a preference for either of the two meanings. Instead, both meanings of the epithet are depicted as simultaneously valid. The Alcaeus quotation supports this: as the commentator observes, Alcaeus employs αἰόλος in its two meanings at the same time.³² Similarly in Homer, the exegete argues, the epithet κορυθαἰόλος emphasises both Hector’s shining helmet and his

30 The epithet αἰολοπῶλους is taken to stem from αἰόλος and πῶλος (“foal,” “horse”). On the association of αἰόλος with swiftness see also J.T. Hooker, “Three Homeric Epithets: Αἰγίωχος, διπετής, κορυθαἰόλος,” *IF* 84 (1979): 113–19 (118–19).

31 Cf. the contrasting views of Denys L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959; repr. 1976), 249–50 and Hooker, “Three Homeric Epithets,” 19. Geoffrey S. Kirk, *Books 1–4*, vol. 1 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 250–51 does not choose between the two meanings of the epithet either.

32 Both the reconstruction and the interpretation of the Alcaeus quotation are not entirely certain. If we follow the modern reconstructions, however, the reading offered here is the most likely one. Though the surviving part of the Alcaeus quotation does not contain the word αἰόλος, it does contain two words that correspond quite neatly with the two meanings of αἰόλος. Cf. Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:99.

indefatigability on the battle field. The two meanings of the epithet combine to characterise the Trojan hero.

2.2 *Paraphrase*

Like glossography, paraphrase offers a synonym for a part of the base text quoted as a lemma. In this way, paraphrases elucidate the meaning or structure of the base text. So, the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 explains the composition of *Il.* 2.760–779:

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἶ[τ]ε πυρὶ χθών πα[σ]α νέμοιτο... Τοῦ[τ]ο δὲ δεῖ λαβεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ἵπποι θ' οἱ φορ[έε]σκον ἀμύμονα. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἶ τε πυρὶ χθών· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ παραναπεφώνηται.

“So they went, like wh[en] an ent[ir]e land is consumed by fire” (*Il.* 2.780) It is necessary to understand th[is] with regard to the above: “And the horses ca[rr]ied the blameless. So they went, like when land by fire” (*Il.* 2.770, 780). The rest is parenthetical.

P.Oxy. 1086 2:1–4 (41–44)

The difficulty in this passage concerns the antecedent of οἱ. A more elaborate discussion of this issue is reserved for a later paragraph.³³ Suffice it to note here that by taking *Il.* 2.780 and *Il.* 2.770 together and by paraphrasing both passages, the exegete expresses his view that οἱ in *Il.* 2.780 refers back to the horses in *Il.* 2.770.

2.3 *References and Quotations*

References to or quotation from other sources than the Iliadic base text fulfil various purposes in the hypomnemata. First, these other sources may constitute sources of textual variety. The Alexandrian scholars were confronted with a text of the *Iliad* that was contested in many places. Thus, textual choices were not self-evident, but needed explanation, for which a commentary was a suitable place. In their explanations of the Iliadic text, commentators often referred to the views of other scholars or to manuscripts and manuscript traditions that exhibited certain readings. Second, the hypomnemata quote other passages from Homer to support their interpretations of their base text. Third, the hypomnema commentators may evoke other authors in their explanations of their Homeric base text. Finally, the hypomnemata contain references to

33 See pp. 225–26.

or quotations from scholars whose opinions are supported, rejected, or just mentioned.

These references and quotations may illustrate points in the commentary or identify the source of an opinion. In those capacities they support the scholarly background of the hypomnemata. By referring to other sources to make his point the commentator testifies to his own knowledge and erudition. The presence of ample references contributes to the commentator's esteem and defines his commentary as the work of a learned individual that must be taken seriously.³⁴ What is more, references to other scholars, textual traditions, and opinions write the commentary in into a literary and scholarly tradition. Through these references the exegete shows that he truly belongs to the community of scholars. As a consequence, the exegete offers the readers of his work the opportunity to become a part of this community too, if they heed well how the commentator presents and develops his own views and how he deals with the work of others.³⁵

2.3.1 Readings and Textual Traditions

Scholarly literature from the Hellenistic and Roman periods attest to three types of references to readings and textual traditions.³⁶ First, some readings are related to the work of individual scholars (κατ' ἀνδρα),³⁷ who produced an edition (*ekdosis*) of the *Iliad* in which they made corrections to the Iliadic text they were using as a master copy.³⁸ References to such individual scholars occur in

34 A good example of how this works is P.Oxy. 8.1087, which contains an elaborate list of derivative nouns from a broad range of authors.

35 On these functions of references and quotations cf. Roy K. Gibson, "Cf. e.g': A Typology of 'Parallels' and the Function of Commentaries on Latin Poetry," in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, ed. idem and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, MnS 232 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 331–57.

36 Lara Pagani, "Le *ekdoseis* antiche di Omero nei papiri," in *I papiri omerici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011*, ed. Guido Bastianini and Angelo Casanova (Florence: Istituto papriologico G. Vitelli, 2012), 97–124.

37 On the term see Pagani, "Le *ekdoseis* antiche di Omero nei papiri," 100 (n. 22).

38 Franco Montanari has persuasively argued that *ekdoseis* are no running texts, copied according to the preferences of the critic, but master copies chosen by the critic, in the margins of which he jotted his critical *sigla* and textual and exegetical remarks. This is also why the term "critic" is a more suitable one than "editor" when it comes to the production of an *ekdosis*. See Franco Montanari, "Alexandrian Homeric Philology: The Form of the *Ekdosis* and the *Variae Lectiones*," in *Epea pteroenta: Beiträge zur Homerforschung*, ed. Michael Reichel and Antonios Rengakos (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 119–35; idem, "*Ekdosis* alessandrina: il libro e il testo," in *Verae lectiones: Estudios de crítica textual y edición de textos griegos*, ed. Manuel Sanz Morales and Miryam Librán Moreno (Huelva: Universidad de

P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Mich. inv. 1206.³⁹ Second, references can be to manuscripts originating in a particular locality, which are known as “city editions.”⁴⁰ A reference to these editions in general (ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων) occurs in P.Oxy. 65.4452 and perhaps in P.Oxy. 2.221v.⁴¹ P.Oxy. 65.4452 refers to the Marseillan edition.⁴² Third, references to readings, editions, or scholars may be more concealing. For instance, *Il.* 2.848a, quoted in P.Oxy. 2.221v 6:17–18, is not found only “in the (manuscript) according to Euripides,” but “also in some others.” We are not told what these “other” manuscripts are: the phrase seems to refer to editions that the commentator did not feel the need to mention explicitly, probably because he held them in lesser regard than Euripides’s edition. Similarly, P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:26 comments on *Il.* 2.766—which in most editions locates the breeding place of Admetus’s horses in Pereia—that “some ignorants write: ‘which in Pieria.’” Who these ignorants are, is not revealed. Del Fabbro suggests that by using this kind of reference, commentators may show courtesy towards colleagues with whom they disagree or express their discomfort with having to refer to sources deemed of little relevance.⁴³ There are problems with this proposal,⁴⁴ but Del

Huelva, 2009), 143–67; idem, “Correcting a Copy, Editing a Text: Alexandrian *Ekdosis* and Papyri,” in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. idem and Lara Pagani, TiCSup 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 1–15.

- 39 In what remains of P.Oxy. 2.221v we find references to Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Philetas, Crates, Zenodotus, and Callistratus. P.Oxy. 2.221v 6:17–18 might refer to an otherwise unknown Euripides, but this is not certain (the reconstruction is based on Eustathius on *Il.* 2.865). Cf. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 72 (n. 4). A further reference to Zenodotus occurs in P.Mich. inv. 1206.
- 40 See Vittorio Citti, “Le edizioni omeriche « delle città »,” *Vichiana* 3 (1966): 227–67; Michael Haslam, “Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell, MnS 163 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 55–100 (69–71); Martin L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich: Saur, 2001), 67–72; Pagani, “Le *ekdoseis* antiche di Omero nei papiri,” 98–100 and *passim*.
- 41 The phrase αἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων in P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:2 has been reconstructed on the basis of Schol. A and Schol. T *Il.* 21.351: “Some of the city editions have κύπαιρον.” Contrast Schol. D (“some say: κήβριον”) and note that P.Oxy. 2.221v contains some traces of the word κύπαιρον.
- 42 This city edition is the one most commonly referred to in the scholia. See West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, 67; Pagani, “Le *ekdoseis* antiche di Omero nei papiri,” 99.
- 43 Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 104. Cf. the practice of using ἐνιοί to refer to contemporary opponents in philosophical polemics (e.g., Diog. Laert. 9.71), and perhaps even the use of unspecific “some” in some modern works of scholarship.
- 44 These are discussed on pp. 126–27.

Fabbro's view ties in with P.Oxy. 8.1086's derogatory qualification of the "some" as "ignorant."⁴⁵

References to readings and textual traditions are not always meant to defend one reading over others. P.Oxy. 2.221v often mentions more than one reading without deciding between them. On *Il.* 21.213, for instance, P.Oxy. 2.221v 10:30–32 notes that "Aristarchus (has) two (readings): εἰδόμενος and εἰσάμενος."⁴⁶ Consider also this example:

"Ἦδε δέ μοι νῦν ἡὼς ἐνδ[εκάτη] ὅτ' ἐς Ἰλίου]ν εἰλήλουθα· ἐν τῇ κατ' Ε[ὐριπίδην] καί] ἐν τισιν ἄλλαις καὶ ἐν Δια[κό]σμῳ [... Ἀ]στεροπαῖος οὕτως αὐ[τὰ]ρ Πυραί[χμης] ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξου[ς] Πηλε[γόνου]ς θ' υἱὸς περιδέξι[ου]ς Ἄστεροπ[αῖ]ος [καὶ εἰ] μὴ παραδέχοιτο δὲ τις τὸν [ἐ]ν Δια[κόσμ]ῳ περι αὐτοῦ στίχ[ον] οὐδὲν κωλύει [ἕνα τῶ]ν ἐπὶ μέρους ἡγεμόνων αὐτ[ὸν] ὄν[τα]."⁴⁷

"This, now, is the ele[venth] night for me [since] I came [to Tro]y" (*Il.* 21.155–156). In the (edition) according to E[uripides] and] in some others, also in the Catalogue of Ships [... A]steropaeus thus: "Pyrae[chmes,] ho[wev]er, led the Paeonians with crooked-bows, and Asterop[ae]us, the ambidextr[ous] son of Pelegon" (*Il.* 2.848–848a⁴⁸). [But if] someone should not accept the lin[e] about him [i]n the Cata[logue of Ship]s, nothing prevents hi[m] from be[ing] one of the subordinate leaders.

P.Oxy. 2.221v 6:16–21, 23–26

The problem in this passage is that Asteropaeus is presented in *Il.* 21 as one of the leaders of the Paeonians, whereas he is absent from the list of Greek leaders in *Il.* 2.⁴⁹ To solve this problem the commentator, following Euripides's

45 Del Fabbro's suggestion increases in strength if we accept Lundon's suggestion that ἔνοια refers to Zenodotus, whom the commentator felt no need to mention by name. See John Lundon, "POxy 1086 e Aristarco," in *Atti del xxii congresso internazionale di papirologia: Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, ed. Isabella Andorlini et al. (Florence: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2001), 827–39 (837).

46 The expression probably refers to Aristarchus's first *ekdosis* and his later revision. See Franco Montanari, "Ripensamenti di Aristarco sul testo omerico e il problema della seconda *ekdosis*," in *Poesia e religione in Grecia: Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, ed. Maria Cannatà Fera and Simonetta Grandolini (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2000), 479–86; idem, "Alexandrian Homeric Philology," 125–26.

47 P.Oxy. 2.221v is quoted according to Erbse, *Scholia*, 5:78–121.

48 *Il.* 2.848a indicates a line which is not found in the modern editions of the *Iliad*, but was attested in some ancient manuscripts, as this interpretation testifies.

49 For a more elaborate discussion see pp. 217–18, 228–32.

and some other editions, appears to accept *Il.* 2.848a as belonging to the *Iliad* that Homer wrote. However, he does not stop there: well aware of the suspicion that surrounds *Il.* 2.848a, the commentator offers an alternative solution: should one not accept *Il.* 2.848a as an authentic part of the *Iliad*, Asteropaeus's absence from *Il.* 2 could be explained from him being one of the subordinate leaders of the Paeonians.

This lack of a clear preference for one reading or exegetical solution marks a difference between the work of our commentators and that of Alexandrian critics such as Aristarchus. For Aristarchus, writing hypomnemata and producing *ekdoseis* were two sides of the same coin.⁵⁰ Basing himself on a master copy of his own choice, Aristarchus corrected the text of this master copy in order to recover Homer's words. This naturally implied decisions on the originality of every possible reading: Homer could have written only one *Iliad*.⁵¹ Aristarchus laid out his decisions in the hypomnemata that accompanied his *ekdoseis*. This resulted in a new differentiation between text and commentary: from Aristarchus onwards, philological and exegetical remarks were no longer contained in the margins of critically revised manuscripts, but included in commentaries.⁵² Some or most of these commentaries were transmitted without their accompanying edition and combined into new scholarly compositions of various kinds.⁵³ Hence, later hypomnemata do not presuppose the type of philological work in which Aristarchus was engaged: the producers of these later commentaries need not have concerned with the critical revision (*diorthosis*) of manuscripts, but they collected the opinions of others who were.⁵⁴ Instead of a repository of arguments for the text-critical views of a

50 See Hartmut Erbse, "Über Aristarchs Iliasausgaben," *Hermes* 87 (1959): 275–303. There has been, and still is, much discussion on the number of Aristarchus's *ekdoseis* and hypomnemata. On this question see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 216–18; Montanari, "Alexandrian Homeric Philology," 125–27. I tend to agree with Montanari that Aristarchus composed one *ekdosis* which he later revised, and wrote at least two hypomnemata.

51 On the notion of Homer as an author who single-handedly wrote the *Iliad* see pp. 198–203.

52 Cf. Del Fabbro, "Il commentario," 91–92; Montanari, "Alexandrian Homeric Philology," 124–25, and *passim*.

53 Haslam, "The Homer 'Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista'" shows how Apollonius's lexicon is based on hypomnemata on the homeric epics; Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, ASP 45 (Oakville, CT: American Society of Papyrologists, 2007), 32–36 points out that marginal annotations are often drawn from hypomnemata. On the transmission of hypomnemata see also Eric G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980; repr. 2006), 121–24.

54 This has been observed for many hypomnemata, especially for P.Oxy. 2.221v, which is notable for combining the views of Aristarchus and Crates and many others in one

single scholar, these later hypomnemata are repositories of scholarly opinions more broadly. This is why these later commentaries are, in Schironi's words, "more reticent" to express their text-critical preferences than Aristarchus:⁵⁵ although these later commentators had an interest in recovering Homer's *ipsisima verba*, they did not necessarily attempt to do so themselves. Nor did they always feel fit to decide between different opinions.

2.3.2 Homer

References to other Homeric passages than the one quoted as a lemma fulfil two main aims. First, they may shed light on elements from the narrative. Take, for instance, the reference to *Il.* 5.177 in this interpretation of *Il.* 5.181–183:

Τυδείδῃ μιν ἔγω[γε δαίφρονοι πάντα ἔϊσκ]ω ἀσπίδι γινώσκων αὐλώ[πιδί τε τρυφαλείῃ ἴππ]ους τ' εἰσορώων· σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶ[δ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν· ὅτι ...] εὐκρινές γίνεται τὸ τῆς ἀμ[φιβολίας ... Διο]μήδει εἰρημένου· εἰ μὴ [τις θεός ἐστι· ... ἀποκέ]κριται ὁ Πάνδαρος· σάφα [δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν].

To Tydeus's [warlike] son I would [like]n [him in everything], recognising his shield [and helmet] with a [socket,] and seeing his [hor]ses. Yet I do not kn[ow for sure if he is a god" (*Il.* 5.181–183). (The sign is placed) because... the ... of the am[biguity] of what was said about [Dio]medes— εἰ μὴ [τις θεός ἐστι (*Il.* 5.177)]—has become clear... Pandaros [answ]ered: ["I do not know] for sure [if he is a god" (*Il.* 5.183)].

BKT 10.16897 1:29–36

The context of this interpretation section is very fragmentary, but we are able to obtain an idea of what it said on the basis of Schol. A.⁵⁶ The problem here is the ambiguity of *Il.* 5.177, where Aeneas urges Pandarus to fight Diomedes,

commentary. See, e.g., Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2; Otto Müller, *Über den Papyruskommentar zum Φ der Ilias (Ox.-Pap. II 56ff.)* (Munich: Kastner & Callwey, 1913), 23–48; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 118–19; Landon, "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus," 175.

55 "Greek Commentaries," 417. It must be noted that the evidence is limited. The context of the textual discussion in *P.Oxy.* 65.4452 (with the references to the city editions) is almost completely lost. The evidence from *P.Oxy.* 2.221v seems to confirm Schironi's observations. *P.Oxy.* 8.1086, however, can be quite outspoken in its preference for one reading to the other, as we have seen. This may reflect the Aristarchean nature of this commentary (*P.Oxy.* 2.221v combines views from a wider range of scholars; see the preceding note); see Landon, "POxy 1086 e Aristarco," 836–37.

56 I assume that the interpretation of the hypomnema departs from a similar understanding of *Il.* 5.177 to Schol. A. and, hence, I do not accept the editor's cautious suggestion to read

εἰ μή τις θεός ἐστι κοτεσσάμενος Τρώεσσιν. This sentence can be taken in two ways, as Schol. A *Il.* 5.177 points out:

Πρὸς τὸ ἀμφίβολον, εἰ μή οὗτος αὐτὸς θεός ἐστιν ὁ ἐναντιούμενος, ἢ εἰ μή τις θεὸς ἐγκοτῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ τῶ πολεμίῳ ἀρήγει.⁵⁷

(The reference is) to the ambiguity: ‘if this one is not himself a god, setting himself (against the Trojans)’ or ‘if not some god, grudging against the Trojans, aids the enemy.’

Schol. A *Il.* 5.177

In the commentator’s eyes, this ambiguity is solved in *Il.* 5.183, when Pandarus responds to Aeneas: “I do not know for sure if he is a god.” Pandarus thus takes Aeneas’s question in the first way, and the commentator suggests that later readers of the *Iliad* do the same. Hence, this reference to *Il.* 5.177 in the interpretation of *Il.* 5.181–183 illustrates the link between these two passages, whereby *Il.* 5.183 resolves an ambiguity in *Il.* 5.177.⁵⁸

Second, references to Homer may illustrate principles of the style, choice of words, and other preferences of the poet. Aristarchus in particular had a special interest in these topics, which tallies with his famous adage “to explain Homer from Homer” (“Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν”).⁵⁹ P.Cairo JE 60566 a ii 10–14, for instance, shows that Homer can use compound and non-compound forms of the same word interchangeably (ἄκρης πόλιος in *Il.* 6.257 and ἀκρόπολιν in *Od.* 8.494). P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:27–38 treats another aspect of Homer’s style. Pointing to the mention of “winged things” and “timorous doves” in *Od.* 12.62–63, the commentator concludes that Homer can single out a specific

οὔπω (“not yet”) in the space before εὐρκινές (which results in the meaning “the ambiguity is not yet cleared up”). See Panagiota Sarischouli, *BKT* 10:92–93.

57 Schol. A are quoted according to Erbse, *Scholia*.

58 Schol. A *Il.* 5.183 adds that this solution to the ambiguity is not Homeric. Observing that Pandarus does recognise Diomedes (as is evident from *Il.* 5.181–182), the scholiast suggests that *Il.* 5.183, including the remark *σάφα δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ θεός ἐστιν*, must be athetised. So, according to the scholiast, *Il.* 5.183 does resolve the ambiguity in *Il.* 5.177, but this is not Homer’s intention. Instead, the scholion remarks, it is an addition by a later reader of the *Iliad* who resolves an ambiguity that Homer intended to stand: “(The line) is athetised, because someone who understood: ‘if he’—the enemy—‘is not some god,’ inserted it. He did not doubt, but he clearly knew that it was Diomedes, wherefore he says: ‘I for me would liken him in everything to Tydeus’s warlike son, recognising his shield and helmet with a socket’ (*Il.* 5.181–182).”

59 See more elaborately p. 216.

group from a larger one to highlight a specific character trait. If the formulation of *Od.* 12.62–63 means to say that doves, of all winged things, are prone to be timorous, so the reference to “eels and fishes” in *Il.* 21.203 suggests that eels, of all fish, are most eager to eat the flesh of the dead.⁶⁰ Finally, *Il.* 21.238–239 describes how the river Scamander “saves the living ones in his good streams, hiding them in eddies deep.” The interpretation of this passage in P.Oxy. 2.221v 12:11–14 points out that this is an image similar to that developed in the story of Tyro, where we read: “And a heaving wave stood bulged around them like a mountain, to hide the god and the mortal woman” (*Od.* 11.243–244). The parallel drawn between these two passages is meant to shed light on the imagery Homer used in his works.

2.3.3 Other Authors

References to and quotations from other authors serve to illuminate the Iliadic base text either by aligning or by contrasting it with information gathered from these authors. The discussion of the athetesis of *Il.* 21.195 and the meaning of *Il.* 21.194–197 in P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:1–25 illustrate both procedures. These lines in the *Iliad* read:

Τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρεῖταιο μέγα σθένος Ὀκeanοῖο,
ἔξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.⁶¹

60 Note that this is not the only possible interpretation of the construction in *Il.* 21.203. The commentator mentions another interpretation (which violates the Aristarchean adage): by referring to eels and fishes separately, Homer may have considered them separate beings—just as Aristotle apparently did. On this passage cf. Myrto Hatzimichali, “Encyclopaedism in the Alexandrian Library,” in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 64–83 (74–75).

The presence of these two interpretations of *Il.* 21.203 in P.Oxy. 2.221v renders one-sided statements like: “Die an beiden Stellen wiederholte Formel ἐγγέλυσες τε καὶ ἰχθύες belegt, daß Homer die Aale nicht als Fische, sondern als Spezies sui generis neben ihnen ansieht” problematic, especially because the commentator does not indicate a preference for either one of these interpretations. Cf. Martin F. Meyer, *Aristoteles und die Geburt der biologischen Wissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2015), 51.

61 The *Iliad* is quoted according to Martin L. West, *Homeri Ilias*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998–2000; repr. Munich: Saur, 2006).

With him not even Lord Achelous vies,
 nor the great might of the deep-flowing Oceanus,
 whence all rivers and all seas
 and all springs and all deep wells flow.

Il. 21.194–197

Some ancient scholars suggested to athetise *Il.* 21.195 and its mention of the Oceanus.⁶² This athetesis has serious consequences for the meaning of *Il.* 194–197: if it is accepted, the source of all rivers is not the Oceanus, but Achelous.⁶³ Support for this athetesis is three-fold. First, some authors omit *Il.* 21.195 when they quote from *Il.* 21.194–197. P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:1–3, for instance, seems to contain a quotation from an unknown poet who omits the line,⁶⁴ and Megaclides, in his *On Homer*, was probably unaware of the line too.⁶⁵ A second reason for omitting *Il.* 21.195 is its redundancy. Our commentator observes that some authors, including Pindar and another poet—perhaps called Seleucus⁶⁶—equate Achelous and the Oceanus.⁶⁷ If this equation is accepted, *Il.* 21.195 loses its significance and should be athetised. Thirdly, the commentator quotes a certain Ephorus,⁶⁸ who takes Achelous to be an umbrella term for all rivers.⁶⁹ If Achelous is indeed an umbrella term, the reference to the Oceanus is unnecessary here, and *Il.* 21.195 must be athetised. In this passage, therefore, the commentator in P.Oxy. 2.221v offers three reasons for the athetesis of *Il.* 21.195. Each of these reasons he support by quoting the views of other authors.

The athetesis of *Il.* 21.195 was not universally accepted, though, and our commentator does not indicate an explicit preference for athetising or retaining

62 Schol. Ge *Il.* 21.195 attributes this athetesis to Zenodotus. Schol. A *Il.* 21.195, however, points out that Zenodotus “did not write it,” which suggests the absence of the line from Zenodotus’s *ekdosis* rather than its athetesis.

63 On the problems related to the athetesis of *Il.* 21.195 see also Marchinus H.A.L.H. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1963–1964), 2:363–65; Martin Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias*, *Zetemata* 62 (Munich: Beck, 1976), 113–14, 117–22.

64 So Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:79.

65 Schol. Ge *Il.* 21.195.

66 This name is partly reconstructed by Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:64.

67 On the equation of Oceanus and Achelous see also Schol. T *Il.* 21.195.

68 This quotation is also found in Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.18.

69 P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:19–20: “The name of all rivers is Achelous.” See also Schmidt, *Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers*, 119–20.

the line.⁷⁰ Alongside the arguments in favour of athetesis he refers to Aristarchus's viewpoint that the line is original. For Aristarchus, "(the line) is Homeric, for the streams stem from the Oceanus."⁷¹ The different views of Aristarchus and other ancient scholars reflect the different methodologies they employ in their study of the Homeric epics.⁷² Scholars who support the athetesis of *Il.* 21.195 suppose that Homer inhabits the same mythological universe as other authors, like Pindar and Ephorus. According to Aristarchus, however, Homer's thought world is *sui generis* and cannot be harmonised with those of other authors. Thus, if Pindar equates Achelous and the Oceanus, this cannot be an argument that *Il.* 21.195 is spurious. On the contrary, from an Aristarchean perspective, this difference in opinion between Pindar and the *Iliad* only emphasises Homer's special position.

Another illustration of Aristarchus's method to contrast Homer with other authors comes from P.Oxy. 8.1086. In his explanation of *Il.* 2.783, Aristarchus⁷³ sets Homer's view on the location of the Arima off against that of the *neoteroi*⁷⁴—a term that can refer to authors ranging from Hesiod to Hellenistic poets like Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes.⁷⁵ For Aristarchus, differences between Homer and the *neoteroi* stress the uniqueness of Homer's style and language.⁷⁶

Εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασι Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς· Ἄριμα τῆς Πισιδία[ς] ἐστίν, ὑφ' οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ Τυφῶς εἶναι καθ' Ὀμηρον· Οἱ μέντοι γε νεώτεροι ὑπὸ τὴν Αἴτνην τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὄρος φασὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὧν Πίνδαρος· κείνῳ μὲν Αἴτνα δεσμὸς ὑπερφίαλος ἀμφικεῖται.

"In the Arima, where they say that the abodes of Typhoeus are" (*Il.* 2.783). The Arima are in Pisidia, under which Typhoeus seems to be according to Homer. However, the more recent poets say that he is under the Etna,

70 Even though the order in which he presents the arguments might suggest that he preferred to athetise *Il.* 21.195.

71 P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:6–8. Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 21.195 and Schol. Ge *Il.* 21.195.

72 See Schmidt, *Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers*, 114.

73 His name is not preserved, but the type of interpretation ties in with the exegetical method for which Aristarchus was known. Cf. Lundon, "POxy 1086 e Aristarco."

74 On whom see Albert Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*, BFLUL 40 (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1928), esp. 31–61; Gregory Nagy, "Aristarchus and the Greek Epic Cycle," *Classics@* Volume 6: Efimia D. Karakantza, ed. The Center for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University, edition of December 21, 2010. [cited 11 October, 2016]. Online: <http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3231>.

75 Severyns, *Le cycle épique*, 31–42.

76 For a more elaborate discussion of this passage see pp. 208–9.

the mountain on Sicily, among whom Pindar: “He encircles the Etna, as a huge bond” (Frag. 92).

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:8–11 (48–51)

The contrast that Aristarchus observes between Homer and Pindar does not lead him to discredit either one of these two authors. Instead, it supports the idea that Homer is one of a kind: his mythological universe differs from that of the later poets. The meaning of Homer’s words is reinforced just because they differ from Pindar’s. Thus, this quotation from another author supports the commentator’s reading of *Il.* 2.783 not because Homer’s words and Pindar’s can be aligned, but precisely because they cannot.

2.3.4 Other Scholars

References to other scholars indicate the source of a certain opinion. As Del Fabbro observed, most references to other scholars are explicit, but some are not. Noting that the hypomnemata refer explicitly to previous scholars of a certain standing, Del Fabbro suggests that implicit references are to scholars whom the commentator thought irrelevant or considered to be wrong.⁷⁷ Though it may explain certain cases—like the polemical “some” in P.Oxy. 8.1086—Del Fabbro’s theory cannot be retained in its entirety. To begin with, Del Fabbro’s proposal runs the risk of inviting circular reasoning: we often do not know much about scholars who are explicitly mentioned in the hypomnemata. In those cases we cannot assume that they were considered authorities simply because they are explicitly referred to in a commentary. Moreover, if scholars referred to by name were of a high standing, we would expect commentators to prefer their views to those of their anonymous colleagues. But this is not necessarily the case:

Ἄρη· τῷ σιδήρῳ [οἱ] δὲ τῆ πλῆ[γῆ· Ἑρμαπ]πίας δὲ περισπᾶ, ἴν’ [ῆ] βλά[βῆ
βέλους] ἢ δόρατος.

“With Ares” (*Il.* 21.112). “With a weapon.” But [some:] “with a bl[ow.]” Hermappias, however, reads it with a circumflex, so that [it be:] “with the har[m of an arrow]” or “of a spear.”

P.Oxy. 2.221v 3:16

Despite the commentator’s explicit reference to Hermappias, there is no indication that he prefers his view to that of Hermappias’s anonymous colleagues.

77 “Il commentario,” 104–5.

Instead of explaining the absence of explicit references in terms of authority, polemics, or lack of interest, it seems more fruitful to assume that commentators often did not have all the necessary information about their sources. The hypomnemata are to a large extent compilations of previous views. If a commentator knew a scholarly opinion only indirectly, or if he had forgotten where he had encountered a certain view, he may have referred to it in a general, implicit way.⁷⁸

These references to other scholars present the commentator as belonging to a scholarly community. But commentators may refer to their colleagues for different purposes. A comparison of P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086 illustrates two different routes ancient commentators might take. In P.Oxy. 2.221v, the commentator often presents different views without explicitly choosing between them. There are exceptions, of course,⁷⁹ but in general this hypomnema allows scholarly disagreement and debate to stand.⁸⁰ This tendency defines P.Oxy. 2.221v as a repository of diverse scholarly opinions. P.Oxy. 8.1086, in contrast, is often more polemical and promotes its own views over against others. Exceptions can again be found;⁸¹ but generally speaking, this commentary mentions the views of other scholars only to refute them. The only scholar quoted in support of the commentator's opinions is Aristarchus,⁸² which has led modern scholars to take P.Oxy. 8.1086 as a valuable testimony to the contents and shape of Aristarchus's commentaries on the Iliad.⁸³ As Aristarchus's commentaries were presumably rather polemical—with Aristophanes and

78 Del Fabbro, "Il commentario," 104 does not exclude this possibility. She gives an example from Didymus.

79 E.g., P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:10–17 (on *Il.* 21.356).

80 So also McNamee, *Annotations*, 33–34: "Even though the Pergamene and Alexandrian approaches were divergent, elements of the one infiltrated the other. In MP³ 1205 [= P.Oxy. 2.221v, PBH], the learned compiler records views from each side" (34).

81 P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:22–25 (102–105) deals with the question whether Myrina (*Il.* 2.814) is a Dardanian woman or an Amazon. Some are said to expound the first view, others the second. The commentator does not, however, choose between the two viewpoints.

82 P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:12, 16; 2:23 (63).

83 See, e.g., Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:79; Erbse, *Scholia*, 1:xxxv–xxxvi; Kathleen McNamee, "Aristarchus and 'Everyman's' Homer," *GRBS* 22 (1981): 247–55; Francesca Schironi, "The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical ΣΗΜΕΙΑ from Zenodotus to Origin," in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, *JSR* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 87–112 (93–96). John Landon in particular has stressed the Aristarchaeic nature of P.Oxy. 8.1086 in his "POxy 1086 e Aristarco"; idem, *Un commentario aristarcho*; idem, "Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus," 173–74. In reaction to Landon, Schironi argues that P.Oxy. 8.1086, albeit a valuable piece of evidence for Aristarchaeic scholarship, is not "a copy of Aristarchus' hypomnema, nor even an excerpt of it" ("Greek Commentaries," 438).

especially Zenodotus as the principal objects of criticism⁸⁴—this polemical tendency may have found its way into P.Oxy. 8.1086.⁸⁵ The approach of these two best-preserved hypomnemata differs, therefore: P.Oxy. 2.221v collects a wide range of scholarly opinions, usually without indicating a strong preference for one of them, whereas in P.Oxy. 8.1086 Aristarchus's voice dominates.

2.4 *Formulaic Terminology*

The hypomnemata use no clearly circumscribed quotation formulae. Quotations are often introduced by a form of the verbs λέγω, φημί, or (less often) γράφω. The form of these verbs depends on their syntactic context and the preference of the commentator or scribe rather than anything else.⁸⁶ The active present indicative is popular, but other forms can occur in the same context as λέγει or φησίν,⁸⁷ and there seems to be no special reason for this variety.⁸⁸ Moreover, many quotations lack an introduction or are introduced by more

84 Aristarchus even invented a *siglum*, the *diple periestigmene*, to indicate his disagreements with Zenodotus. See, e.g., Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 112, 218; Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, PB 26 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992), 8; Francesca Schironi, “Diplé (διπλή),” *HE* 213; eadem, “The Ambiguity of Signs,” 90, 103, and *passim*.

85 Note, however, that neither Aristophanes nor Zenodotus are mentioned in P.Oxy. 8.1086—unless we accept Lundon’s claim that ἐνιοί in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:26 refers to Zenodotus. See “P.Oxy 1086 e Aristarco,” 837.

86 But cf. Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 412: “In commentaries, we often find quotations of sources, authorities and other scholars who support a certain idea or, on the contrary, against whom the commentator is arguing. Typically, these quotations are introduced with ὡς + name of the scholar + (φησίν/λέγει).”

87 As is clear from the list of authors provided in P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:22–2:28 (61).

88 West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, 59–60 raises the possibility that the present tense of γράφω that Didymus uses in his references to Aristophanes shows that Didymus has consulted Aristophanes’s manuscript with his own eyes: “[Didymus] often says Ἀριστοφάνηος γράφει, as if Aristophanes’ text was still to be seen. On the other hand he just as often uses past tenses. Perhaps these can be accounted for from the fact that Didymus’ central topic is the text of Aristarchus: he would be using the past tense of texts which he assumed were current in Aristarchus’s time, irrespective of whether they were still extant in his own.” Ultimately, however, West also concludes that “there is little to suggest direct use of Aristophanes’ text by Didymus’ Alexandrian contemporaries” (60). Hence, more than anything else the use of different verb forms seems to reflect the preferences of the commentator.

idiosyncratic formulae.⁸⁹ Other formulaic terminology is likewise rare in the hypomnemata.

The only exception concerns the terms used in the hypomnemata to refer to *sigla* in the base texts. Two terms are used: (τὸ σημεῖον) ὅτι and (τὸ σημεῖον) πρὸς. It is generally agreed that ὅτι formulae are synonyms which refer to critical *sigla* that accompany the base text in an edition of the *Iliad*.⁹⁰ The situation of the πρὸς formulae is more complicated. As it appears, only the form τὸ σημεῖον πρὸς refers to a sign. The shorter form πρὸς has a broader meaning and can be rendered “against” (in a polemical context) or “with reference to.”⁹¹ At the same time, there is some evidence that πρὸς can refer to a critical sign.⁹² In BKT 10.16897 2:0–9, πρὸς introduces an explanation of *Il.* 5.233–237. However, the scholia to these lines use ὅτι.⁹³ Similarly, P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:28 introduces a comment on Homer’s use of the word φόβος by τὸ σημεῖον πρὸς, whilst P.Cairo JE 60566 and Schol. A *Il.* 2.767 use τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι. This shows that ὅτι and πρὸς can sometimes be used as synonyms, and πρὸς can refer to a critical sign in the base text.

In the hypomnemata, both ὅτι and πρὸς can mark basic observations on Homer’s style and choice of words. In P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:17–18 (97–98) (on *Il.* 2.809), we are told that “the sign (refers) to this (line), because he spoke of ‘gate’ in the plural.”⁹⁴ Elsewhere in the same commentary, the commentator writes that “the *diple* (is placed) because he leaves out the preposition *διά*.”⁹⁵ Each formula can also point to larger problems in the Homeric epics.

89 See, e.g., “Apollo also (testifies) convincingly to Hector’s strength and clearly points out his superiority, even over him” to introduce a quotation from *Il.* 15.254–256 in P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:12–17; and “this (line) speaks against (this interpretation)” to introduce quotations from *Il.* 21.361, 383 in P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:14–16.

90 See Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 114–16; Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, 122; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 411. Del Fabbro presents an exception: she holds that only the expanded formula τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι refers to a *siglum*, whilst ὅτι does not: “se invece si tratta di una spiegazione, la glossa è introdotta dall’ὅτι...; se invece si tratta di motivare un segno diacritico, la formula è ampliata in τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι” (“Il commentario,” 97).

91 See Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 99; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 411; René Nünlist, “*Topos didaskalikos* and *anaphora*—Two Interrelated Principles in Aristarchus’ Commentaries,” in *Homer and the Bible*, 113–26. Nünlist (p. 122) argues that in some cases πρὸς is short for ἢ δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς (“the reference is to”).

92 This use of πρὸς was recognised already by Wilhelm Dinforf, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem ex codibus aucta et emendate*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875–1888), 1:xix–xx.

93 See Schol. A *Il.* 5.233.

94 On the reconstruction see Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:98.

95 P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:14–15 (54–55). Cf. similar cases in P.Oxy. 2.221v 13:11; P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:3 (83; reconstructed).

The observation in P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:7 (47) (on *Il.* 2.781–782) that “the sign (refers) to *χωομένω*,” for it indicates ‘angered’ here” points to the broader issue of the meaning of *χώομαι*. Though the word is usually taken to mean “to become angry,” Aristarchus often took it as “to be confused” (this line is an exception to this tendency).⁹⁶ Likewise, the sign in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:11 (on *Il.* 2.763) is taken to illustrate an aspect of Homer’s style, known as the “principle of reversed order”:⁹⁷ “The sign (is placed) because he took up the second (item) first.”

It appears, then, that in spite of the relative variety of uses of *ὄτι* and *πρός* in the scholia, the hypomnemata often employ the two terms as near-synonyms. Both usually seem to refer to critical *sigla* accompanying the base text, and both mark elementary as well as more elaborate problems in the Homeric base text. Thus, the use of these formulae, like that of the *sigla* themselves, is a sign of the scholarly engagements of the hypomnema commentators with the *Iliad*.

2.5 *Multiple Interpretations*

The hypomnemata often offer more than one interpretation of a problem in their base text. Usually these multiple interpretations are mutually exclusive. This is the case, for instance, with phrases marked as “ambiguous” (*ἀμφίβηλος*) in the commentary:⁹⁸ the two possible meanings of the phrase cannot be true at the same time. At the same time, we have encountered instances where commentators do not express a preference for one interpretation over the other. P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 3:2–5, for instance, lists two possible etymologies for the gloss *ἡμαθόεντος* without choosing between them. And P.Oxy. 2.221v 9:27–10:18 gives several reasons for Homer’s separate mention of fish and eels in *Il.* 21.203 without preferring one explanation to the other. These examples (and others could be added) demonstrate the purpose of mutually exclusive multiple interpretations. Seeing that only one explanation can be true at any given time (even if the commentator is silent about his own preference), these interpretations confirm the encyclopaedic character of commentaries. These multiple interpretations reveal an interest in scholarly debate and the exchange of opinions

96 Karl Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 3d ed. (Leipzig: Herzellium, 1882), 144 is the first to attribute this understanding of *χωόμενος* to Aristarchus. He also suggests that this understanding is based on a mistaken (from a modern point of view) etymology. Cf. René Nünlist, “Aristarch und das Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos,” in *Homer, gedeutet durch ein großes Lexikon*, ed. Michael Meier-Brügger, AAWG 21 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 193–214 (207–8), who suggests an additional explanation (besides etymology) for Aristarchus’s understanding of the word.

97 On this principle see pp. 218–20.

98 Cf., e.g., the discussion of *Il.* 5.177 and *Il.* 5.181–183 in BKT 10.16897, quoted on pp. 121–22.

rather than the authoritative proclamation of the commentator's own views. They define the hypomnemata as repositories of scholarly knowledge.

But multiple interpretations need not be mutually exclusive. They can also reinforce one another. A case in point is the interpretation of *κορυθαίολος* in P.Oxy. 8.1086.⁹⁹ Though the commentator presents the two possible meanings of the epithet as alternatives, he neither prefers one over the other nor hides his own preference. Instead, he provides a quotation from Alcaeus who uses the adjective *αίολος* in two meanings at the same time. So, too, the commentator argues, should the Homeric passage be understood: Hector's epithet refers both to the beauty of his helmet and to his agility in battle. Such mutually reinforcing interpretations are a well-known procedure in ancient etymology,¹⁰⁰ and demonstrate that the hypomnema commentators were part of a broader tradition of Greek thinking about language and textual scholarship.

3 The Hypomnemata as Literary Unities

Commentaries are no random assemblages of lemma-interpretation units. Rather, they constitute literary entities in their own right. They can be taken as a kind of anthologies, and the arrangement of their lemma-interpretation units imbues them with a message of their own.¹⁰¹ Thus, it is worth asking how the hypomnemata included in this study function as literary entities.

Posing the question is, however, easier than answering it. There seem to be two main reasons why previous scholarship has not paid much attention to the

99 See pp. 114–16.

100 The locus classicus is the discussion of Apollo's name in Plato, *Crat.* 405a–406a, where four etymologies of the name *Ἀπόλλων* are given. The four of them together characterise the god and his functions. In Ineke Sluiter's words: "All four derivations of the name are obviously meant to be true simultaneously" ("The Greek Tradition," in Wout van Bekkum et al., *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, *ASTHLS* 82 [Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997], 147–224 [161–62]). On the workings of ancient etymology see also eadem, "Ancient Etymology: A Tool for Thinking," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 896–922.

101 A useful discussion of anthologies and its various forms (including commentaries) is David Stern, ed., *The Anthology in Jewish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Cf. esp. Stern's remark that "the very act of selection can be a powerful instrument for innovation; juxtaposition and recombination of discrete passages in new contexts and combinations can radically alter their original meaning" ("The Anthology in Jewish Literature: An Introduction," in *The Anthology in Jewish Literature*, 1–11 [7]).

overall structure of the hypomnemata.¹⁰² First, the evidence for the hypomnemata is very fragmentary. Even the remains of the best-preserved exemplars deal only with a small part of the book of the *Iliad* that served as their base text: P.Oxy. 2.221v comments only on *Il.* 21.1–363¹⁰³ and P.Oxy. 8.1086 quotes and interprets *Il.* 2.751–827. Both commentaries were presumably much longer than they are now, and their fragmentary preservation makes it difficult to assess their make-up as literary entities. Second, lemmata and interpretation sections in Greek scholarly works—including the hypomnemata—need not stem from the same source. As has become clear above, the hypomnemata as we have them collect evidence from a range of other scholarly writings. This begs the question to what extent we can speak of the hypomnemata as literary works in their own right. This objection is an important one. However, in spite of the fluidity of Greek scholarly literature and the various sources that underlie the views expressed in our hypomnemata, I consider it useful to wonder how the constellation of lemmata and interpretations imbues the hypomnemata with an overarching message of their own.

The main principle that determines the structure of the hypomnemata is the order of their Iliadic base text. This principle allows lemma-interpretation sections with no obvious relation to one another to occur side-by-side in a commentary, because their combination yields a continuous interpretation of (a book of) the *Iliad*. This principle of selection and arrangement determines not only the macro-structure of the hypomnemata, but also their micro-structure: the different types of content included in interpretation sections often exhibit no connection with each other apart from the fact that they all shed light on the Iliadic base text. But the order of the *Iliad* is not the only principle of selection in the hypomnemata. After all, these commentaries clearly do not intend to include every interpretation that has ever been suggested of a passage in the *Iliad*. This is where the interests of the commentator come in. These interests ensure that the hypomnema commentators do not quote every single part of the *Iliad*, but only those which they consider of interest. Again, what

102 It is noteworthy that the two available introductions to the hypomnemata do express an interest in the selection, size, and contents of their lemmata, and the contents of their interpretation sections, but not in how lemma-interpretation units are linked to construct a larger literary unity. See Del Fabbro, “Il commentario”; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries.”

103 Lundon, “Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus,” 177–78 (Appendix) and Erbse, *Scholia*, 5:78–121 have P.Oxy. 2.221v run up to *Il.* 21.513 (in the appendix *Il.* 21.516). However, the attestation of *Il.* 21.513 in fr. i of P.Oxy. 2.221v is not beyond doubt. Even if it is accepted, it is extremely fragmentary and the lines between *Il.* 21.363 and *Il.* 21.513 have not been preserved.

happens on a macro-level is paralleled on the micro-level: the perspective of the commentator determines both the contents of individual interpretation sections and the selection of lemma-interpretation units to be included in the commentary.

The interplay between these principles of selection and arrangement differ from case to case. A comparison of their engagement with the views of other authors has already demonstrated that P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086 reflect different approaches. The interests of the commentator of P.Oxy. 2.221v largely recede to the background: this hypomnemata contains information on a wide array of topics and quotes a range of other authors and scholars, often without indicating a preference for one view over another. In contrast, the interests of the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 are more straightforward: the polemical tone of the commentary and its special interest in stylistic and linguistic issues reveal the Aristarchean tradition in which the commentator stands. A strong grammatical interest also comes to the fore in P.Oxy. 8.1087. This hypomnema does not share P.Oxy. 8.1086's polemical tone and admiration for Aristarchus, but most of its comments do concern grammatical or linguistic issues. Most notable in this regard is the long disquisition on derivative nouns in P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:22–2:28 (61). Apart from these differences, the hypomnemata in our corpus do appear to have some shared interests. Most conspicuously, allegorical interpretation of the *Iliad*, though widely practised in antiquity,¹⁰⁴ is almost entirely absent from the hypomnemata included in this book. Hence, the interests of the commentator may be more or less evident in any hypomnema, but they are never entirely absent.

This is not to suggest that the interests of the commentators imbue the hypomnemata with an overarching theme: in most hypomnemata, successive lemma-interpretation units do not share an overriding interest apart from the interpretation of a certain Iliadic book. An exception occurs in P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:21–33 (61–73). These lines provide several of Aristarchus's reasons for athetising *Il.* 2.791–795. One of them is that Homer always provides fitting words when he likens one person to another. But the words in the lines following *Il.* 2.795 are more fitting for Iris than for Polites. Hence, *Il.* 2.791–795, which describe how

104 See Fritz Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Leipzig: Noske, 1928); J. Tate, "On the History of Allegorism," *CQ* 28 (1934): 105–14; Jon Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Andrew Ford, "Performing Interpretation: Early Allegorical Exegesis of Homer," in *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World: The Poetics of Community*, ed. Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus, and Susanne Wofford (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 33–53.

Iris likened her voice to Polites's, are spurious.¹⁰⁵ As he interprets later lines, the commentator of P.Oxy. 8.1086 returns repeatedly to his remarks on *Il.* 2.791–795 and gives additional evidence for his claim that Iris cannot resemble Polites. By so doing, the commentator creates a chain of lemma-interpretation units that all deal with the same topic: the athetesis of *Il.* 2.791–795 and the stylistic characteristics of the Homeric epics. These lemma-interpretation units are not arranged independently, but centred around a common theme supplied by the interests of the commentator. Thus, this chain of comments shows that the commentator of P.Oxy. 8.1086 consciously arranged the information he included in his commentary, so as to present his own (and Aristarchus's) view that *Il.* 2.191–195 are spurious.

The arrangement of lemma-interpretation sections in P.Oxy. 8.1086 also reveals an interest in avoiding repetition. In his discussion of *Il.* 2.791–795, the commentator offers three reasons for athetising these lines; yet in the following interpretations that concern the same issue, these three reasons are implied, not repeated. The same avoidance of repetition informs the discussion in P.Oxy. 2.221v of Homer's expression "eels and fishes" (*Il.* 21.203, 353). The first time this expression is subjected to interpretation, the commentator provides an elaborate treatment, which takes up no less than 28 lines and contains a long quote from Aristotle. The second time, however, the commentator merely notes that "eels and fishes are separated."¹⁰⁶ This second explanation of the Homeric phrase implies the earlier interpretation, but is cautious not to repeat information given earlier in the same commentary.

It is clear that the hypomnemata result from a conscious arrangement of material on the part of their composers. The main principle that underlies these arrangements is the order of the base text, but the interests of the commentator are never absent. In some cases, the commentator may even arrange several lemma-interpretation units around a common theme or choose not to repeat information given earlier. This conscious arrangement of these commentaries defines them as literary entities in their own right.

4 Conclusion

The macro-structure of the hypomnemata, which accepts the order of the base text as the main principle of selection and arrangement, defines these commentaries as systematic expositions of the *Iliad*. Such systematic expositions

105 On this passage see pp. 223–25.

106 P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:5–7.

were rare in the Hellenistic-Roman period, and the macro-structural similarities between the *Iliad* hypomnemata and the Qumran Pesharim exemplify the exchange of knowledge between the intellectual communities in which both types of commentary were produced and the networks in which these communities participated.

The types or modes of interpretation one encounters in the hypomnemata—glossography, paraphrase, etymology—correspond with those in other works of Greek scholarship, such as lexica, syngrammata, hypotheseis, and the later scholia. As the next chapter will indicate, some of these modes of interpretation find parallels in the Pesharim, too. This demonstrates that the hypomnemata participate in broader traditions of textual scholarship—scholarship of the Homeric epics in particular. The hypomnema commentators take up information from other sources in their own work. The participation of these commentators in a larger scholarly tradition is further evidenced in their references to sources of readings or scholarly opinions, as well as to *sigla*. Finally, references to other authors and other passages from Homer stress the erudition of the commentators and present them as serious scholars.

Whilst the structure of the hypomnemata demonstrates their scholarly nature, individual hypomnemata differ in how they position themselves with regard to other scholars and intellectual traditions. P.Oxy. 2.221v collects the views of various scholars and includes both Alexandrian and Pergamene opinions. This commentator is hesitant to express a strong personal opinion, and so P.Oxy. 2.221v serves as a repository of scholarly knowledge. P.Oxy. 8.1086, in contrast, exhibits a strong Aristarchean perspective. Aristarchus is the only authority with whom this commentator indicates his agreement. Thus the views of the exegete in P.Oxy. 8.1086 align neatly with those of the famous head librarian. Both P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086 are clearly scholarly works, therefore, but they embody different types of scholarship: whereas P.Oxy. 2.221v favours disagreement and debate, P.Oxy. 8.1086 presents its views in a more declarative fashion.

Structure and Interpretation in the Pesharim

The macro-structure of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim is largely similar. Yet one difference is that the Pesharim are at times more lenient in their distinction between lemmata and interpretation sections. This leniency will be discussed in the third section of this chapter. The other sections offer a separate treatment of lemmata and interpretation sections in the Pesharim, followed by a discussion of their connection.

1 Lemmata: Selection and Presentation

The Pesharim quote prophetic base texts in their lemmata.¹ Not all prophetic texts lend themselves to interpretation in a Pesharim, though. Even if it remains a possibility that Pesharim on writings other than Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Psalms² once existed, the surviving Pesharim reflect a more than accidental preference for these prophetic writings in particular. The principles that govern this preference escape one-sided explanations.³ In my view, three principles of selection can be distinguished, which together account for the existence of Pesharim on some prophetic writings, but not on others: (1) the contents of the base texts; (2) the type of textual and literary development of which it is considered to be a part; and (3) its structure.⁴

1 Cf. pp. 238–39, where it is argued that the words of ancient prophets were generally understood in the Second Temple period to be addressed not just to the contemporaries of the prophets, but also to later generations.

2 At least some Psalms were considered prophetic in the Second Temple period. See n. 1 on p. 1.

3 As they have been proposed by scholars concentrating on, e.g., the contents (Roth) or the type of textual transmission (Trebolle Barrera) of the works quoted in the Pesharim.

4 Shani Berrin (Tzoref), “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–33 (118, n. 24) points out that there is a risk of circular reasoning when the principles of selection in the Pesharim are described on the basis of the Pesharim themselves.

With Tzoref I will attempt to avoid too much circularity by formulating my explanations as much as possible in terms of the texts themselves rather than their use in the Pesharim. However, some circular reasoning always remains, if only it were for the fact that it is impossible to speak objectively of “the texts themselves.”

1.1 *Three Principles of Selection*

The most evident principle that governs the selection of base texts in the Pesharim is that of their contents. Cecil Roth wrote on this point:

We have fragments of commentaries on five out of the twelve minor prophets.... Conceivably, these short and self-contained works ... offered especial attractions to the priest who had set himself up as interpreter of these passages. There is thus no proof that similar commentaries were written on the remaining seven books of the twelve.... Outside the prophetic books of the Bible, or books embodying prophetic passages, a *pešer* is extant only on a small portion of the Psalms.... There is certainly no need to postulate that the existence of these inconsiderable fragments necessarily indicates that the entire Book of Psalms was dealt with in this fashion.... A good many other Psalms could be interpreted in the same fashion ... but carried out consistently the result would have been posterously repetitive.⁵

In agreement with Roth, Shani Tzoref has emphasised that the Pesharim have a special interest in passages of an eschatological import or dealing with the fate of the wicked.⁶ At the same time, George Brooke has objected that this relation between the content of the base text and its interpretation in a Pesharim fails to account for those eschatological texts that are not interpreted in the form of a running commentary.⁷ Apparently, content plays a role for the Pesharim exegetes, but cannot explain on its own why some books were interpreted in a Pesharim whereas others were not.⁸

5 "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," *VT* 10 (1960): 51–68 (62).

6 Berrin (Tzoref), "Qumran Pesharim," 118–22.

7 "Qumran Pesharim: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10/40 (1981): 483–503 (487). Tzoref is aware of Brooke's objection ("Qumran Pesharim," 118, n. 23), but she does not address it extensively.

8 In several places, Brooke has argued that the Pesharim do not treat merely eschatologically minded passages, but that "Pesharim is reserved for the interpretation of *unfulfilled* blessings, curses, visions and auditions" ("The Canon within the Canon' at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 242–66 [256; my italics]; also idem, "Prophetic Interpretation in the *Pesharim*," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012], 235–54). This is an interesting suggestion, but I am not entirely convinced by it. The Pesharim evidently depict and approach their base texts as "unfulfilled" (in the sense of: "not having come to full fruition" rather than: "not having come true"; see pp. 249–51), but was it this view on the base

A second principle of selection is the textual and literary transmission in which the base texts of the Pesharim are considered to partake. The prophetic writings quoted in the Pesharim were apparently viewed as “closed” in one way or another and, hence, as suitable for interpretation in the running commentary format. This does not imply that these writings held a higher status than others, or were more canonical than others.⁹ The difference between these and other writings was one of *kinds*, not of *degrees* of authority.¹⁰ There are plenty of indications, for instance, of the centrality of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel for the composers—and probably collectors—of the Qumran manuscripts; but no Pesharim on these books exist.¹¹ In Brooke’s viewpoint, this may

texts that triggered the interest of the Peshar commentators, or rather the reverse? I suppose Jeremiah and Ezekiel contain many visions that could be considered unfulfilled, and yet these books are not interpreted in a Peshar.

- 9 This was suggested by Julio Treballe-Barrera, “Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-Standard and Parabiblical Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2000; repr. 2004), 89–106; idem, “A ‘Canon Within a Canon’: Two Series of Old Testament Books Differently Transmitted, Interpreted and Authorized,” *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 383–99.

There are several problems with Treballe-Barrera’s argument. First, though his observations on the frequency of quotation, the existing number of scrolls, literary and textual history, and the interpretation of certain writings are generally accurate, the correlations he draws are problematic. To mention only two examples: the book of Genesis exhibits a relatively homogeneous literary history, but is amply rewritten in the Second Temple period; and 2 Sam 7:10–14, although belonging to a fluid corpus (the books of Samuel), is explicitly interpreted in 4Q174.

Second, Treballe-Barrera’s work exhibits a canonical bias. As he takes the number of copies recovered at Qumran as an indication of the authority of a work, he should at least have mentioned that works such as Jubilees, the Hodayot, and the Community Rule were found in greater numbers than some of the works included in his first group. Cf. on this point Molly M. Zahn, “Talking About Rewritten Texts: Some Reflections on Terminology,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Hanne von Weissenberg and Juha Pakkala, BZAW 419 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 93–119 (98, n. 16).

- 10 Cf. Brooke, “The Canon Within the Canon,” 244: “Notwithstanding the ravages of insects and earthquakes, it is possible to count up the number of extant copies of particular compositions to see *what kind of popularity* they might have had amongst the group which preserved them” (my italics).
- 11 On Jeremiah see George J. Brooke, “The book of Jeremiah and Its Reception in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The book of Jeremiah and Its Reception: Le livre de Jérémie et sa réception*, ed. Adrian H.W. Curtis and Thomas Römer, BETL 128 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 183–205; Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 519–50; Devorah Dimant, “From

be due to the different kind of tradition that these books represent in comparison with the Isaianic corpus:

Since Isaiah is the prophet most often quoted in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls and is used in at least five distinct running commentaries, it seems as if the difference in the handling of the prophetic sources rests in some aspect of their authority and status, or at least in how that authority was recognized from generation to generation.... Within the Torah ... there is clear evidence of rewriting.... Perhaps such rewriting within the Torah was understood as authorizing an ongoing practice of rewriting. The same may be the case with Jeremiah and Ezekiel; perhaps there was an understanding that these prophetic works had been created over a period of time and that ... they form a rolling corpus that could be extended through the ongoing process of rewriting and reuse.... With Isaiah ... something else must be at work. Study of the Cave 4 Isaiah manuscripts reveals a largely stable text tradition.... Such relative textual stability seems to confirm the possibility that those who transmitted the text of Isaiah perceived it to be a literary unity.¹²

Brooke's suggestion deconstructs the borderline between the transmission and the interpretation of Scripture, suggesting that both are parts of the same coin.¹³ This perspective is appealing, but Brooke's observations cannot be generalised.

the Book of Jeremiah to the Qumranic *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*," *DSD* 20 (2013): 452–71; Kipp Davis, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity*, STDJ 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2014). On Ezekiel see George J. Brooke, "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 317–37; Florentino García Martínez, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. idem and Marc Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 163–76.

- 12 "On Isaiah at Qumran," in *As Those Who Are Taught: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, ed. Claire M. McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 69–85 (81–82). On Jeremiah as a "rolling corpus" see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986; repr. 1999, 2001), 1:1–liii.
- 13 Cf. "New Perspectives on the Bible and Its Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, FAT 35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 19–37.

They are helpful to understand how, for instance, Jeremiah and Ezekiel on the one hand and Isaiah on the other were interpreted in the Qumran scrolls. But they do not offer universally valid rules for the interpretation of rolling corpora or of works that were considered a literary unity.¹⁴

A third principle of selection is the structure of the base texts of the Pesharim. As this chapter intends to show, the main purpose of the Pesharim is to develop a narrative historical memory in which the historical situation of the movement to which the Peshar commentators belonged is made sense of in the light of Scripture and vice versa. In order to function as the basis for the creation of such a narrative historical memory the base texts of the Pesharim must contain a substantial stretch of passages suited to interpretation in a Peshar.¹⁵ So, when eschatological passages, or other passages potentially appealing to the Peshar commentators, occur as isolated sections within a larger literary unity, they are not quoted as base texts in the Pesharim, as they cannot serve as the basis for the creation of a narrative historical memory. For Roth, this explains why there is no Peshar to Jonah.¹⁶ The interpretations of 2 Sam 7:10–14 in Florilegium and of Gen 49 in Commentary on Genesis A may confirm Roth's point: both passages are hermeneutically similar to the Pesharim, but Florilegium and Commentary on Genesis A do not develop a narrative historical memory similar to that construed in the Pesharim. The reason is that their base texts do not lend themselves to such a narrative interpretation: they are isolated passages of eschatological valence in a predominantly non-eschatological context. This may also account for the absence of continuous Pesharim to Jeremiah and Ezekiel: in these books, eschatologically minded passages are more isolated than they are in Isaiah.¹⁷ Interpretations of isolated passages from Jeremiah and Ezekiel (e.g., the reference to Gog in 4Q161 8–10 iii 25 [Allegro 8–10 20])¹⁸ occur, but no commentaries on these writings appear to have been written.

14 As the interpretation of 2 Sam 7:10–14 (part of what could be called a rolling corpus) in 4Q174 shows.

15 The adjective “substantial” is adopted from Brooke, who writes that “by definition a commentary covers a substantial amount of the biblical text” when he describes the relationship between 4Q252 and the book of Genesis (“4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary,” *RevQ* 17/65–68 [1996]: 385–401 [393]).

16 “The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis,” 62.

17 See Yair Hoffman, “Eschatology in the book of Jeremiah,” in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, JSOTSup 243 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 75–97.

18 Which goes back to an eschatological reading of Ezek 38–39. See Sverre Bøe, *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20,7–10*, WUNT 2/135 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 170–74.

1.2 *Other Levels of Selection*

The selection of base texts in the hypomnemata depends on their educational and scholarly appeal; that in the Pesharim on their contents, their literary and textual development, and their structure. But processes of selection occur on other levels too: similarly to the situation in the hypomnemata, most Pesharim omit larger or smaller parts of their base texts, depending on the interests of the exegetes.¹⁹ As in the hypomnemata, these interests cannot always be reconstructed. The absence of Hab 3 from Peshar Habakkuk may be related to the different genre of this chapter (indicated by its heading תפלה).²⁰ Likewise, the commentator in Peshar Psalms A must have had his reasons to omit Ps 38 to Ps 44. As Brooke writes:

It is ... likely that the commentator moved from Psalm 37 to Psalm 45 because he was engaged in an exercise of reading the Psalms historically

19 Peshar Nahum and possibly Peshar Hosea B appear to be the only Pesharim that quote and interpret a whole scriptural book. The evidence of Peshar Hosea B is not straightforward. Roman Vielhauer's reconstruction of 4Q166 and 4Q167 points out that these two manuscripts contain different compositions. The first one interprets only a part of the book of Hosea, the second one may interpret the entire book. See "Materielle Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der beiden Pescharim zum Hoseabuch (4QpHos^a und 4QpHos^b)," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 39–91.

20 So Menahem Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implications," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 101–11 (109, n. 30).

Many scholars have argued that the commentator had a different *Vorlage* which lacked Hab 3. See André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey*, trans. E. Margaret Rowley (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952; repr. 1954), 25–26; also Jean Carmignac, É. Cothenet, and H. Lignée, *Les textes de Qumran traduits et annotés* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 117. Others have argued that it was the commentator's decision to leave out Hab 3. This is probably closer to the truth, but the exact reasons the commentator may have had for this decision are not entirely clear. Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1953), 123 argues that the exegete sought to avoid repetition, whereas Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, CCWJCW 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; repr. 1994), 221 assumes that Hab 3 "was not appropriate for the author's immediate purposes."

William H. Brownlee first subscribed to the first explanation, but later became more doubtful. He describes his change of mind and offers a thorough discussion of both explanations in *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran*, SBLMS 11 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1959), 91–95.

in light of the experiences of the community of which he seems to have been a part.... Having applied the statements about injustice in Psalm 37 so that his readers might consider themselves vindicated and full of expectation for their just reward, he moved on to the next psalm that could also be readily applied to the experiences of the community.... Thus, Peshier Psalms^a as a whole may have been a commentary on a set of chosen psalms presented sequentially but selected thematically.²¹

In other Pesharim, the commentator's reasons for excluding certain passages are less evident. The Pesharim on Isaiah probably did not comment on the entire book, as such a Peshier would not have fitted into one scroll.²² Thus, each Peshier on Isaiah treats a conglomerate of Isaianic passages the commentator thought of particular interest. The exact shape of these conglomerates and the principles that govern their selection cannot be recovered with certainty.²³ Similarly, Peshier Hosea A presumably dealt with only a part of the book of Hosea; but again, it is unclear what parts of Hosea the commentator chose to include.²⁴

The majority of the Pesharim proceed continuously through the literary units selected for interpretation: the three best preserved Qumran commentaries (Peshier Habakkuk, Peshier Nahum, and Peshier Psalms A) are all continuous, even if two of them do not comment on an entire scriptural book. The

21 "Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 134–57 (141–42).

22 Pace Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 125–27 I conceive of the various Isaiah Pesharim as distinct compositions. So also George J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–32 (618–19).

23 One principle may have been the bifurcation of Isaiah at Qumran. On the basis of 1QIsa^a, which exhibits a clear section division between Isa 33 and 34, several scholars have assumed that Isaiah was sometimes divided in two equal halves in antiquity. On this bifurcation see Brooke, "On Isaiah at Qumran," 77–81; idem, "The Bisection of Isaiah in the Scrolls from Qumran," in *Studia Semitica: The Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume*, ed. Philip S. Alexander et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 73–94 (with references). The Isaiah Pesharim tend to quote lemmata either from Isa 1–33 or Isa 34–66. At the same time, the evidence from the Pesharim is limited, and Peshier Isaiah E might be an exception—at least if the reconstruction of Isa 40:12 in 4Q165 1–2 3–4 is accepted. On the Pesharim and Peshier Isaiah E see Brooke, "The Bisection of Isaiah," 90–92.

24 Vielhauer, "Materielle Rekonstruktion," 45.

cases of Peshar Isaiah A,²⁵ Peshar Isaiah D,²⁶ Peshar Hosea A,²⁷ and Peshar Hosea B²⁸ are less clear, but these Pesharim, too, may expound their base texts continuously. Peshar Isaiah B and Peshar Isaiah C are more selective,²⁹ and so, presumably, is Peshar Isaiah E.³⁰ Also on this level, therefore, processes of selection are at work. This means that the continuous interpretation of a base text should not be taken as the default position. Most Pesharim seem to adhere to this procedure, but both the decision to comment on a base text continuously and the decision to leave out parts of the base text are conscious

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- 25 The reconstruction of this manuscript presents several difficulties; see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 70–86; Moshe J. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshar Technique,” in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 635–73 (641–43); Alex P. Jassen, “Re-Reading 4QPeshar Isaiah A (4Q161) Forty Years after DJD v,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 57–90 (61–72).
- 26 4Q164 contains quotations from Isa 54:11bβ and Isa 54:12aα. The last line of 4Q164 1 may contain either Isa 54:12aβ (with a variant vis-à-vis MT) or Isa 54:12aγ. If the first reading is accepted, Peshar Isaiah D may be a continuous Peshar; if the latter is accepted, it is not. Cf. the discussion in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 130–31.
- 27 The absence of Hos 2:8bα and Hos 2:9a from Peshar Hosea A does not necessarily mean that this Peshar was not continuous. Cf. Russell Fuller, “Textual Traditions in the Book of Hosea and the Minor Prophets,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 247–56 (250), who plausibly suggests that the absence of the words וְגִדְרָתִי אֶת גִּדְרָה (Hos 2:8bα) from the Peshar can be explained from a haplography with וְנִתְיַבֹּתֶיהָ לֹא תִמְצָא (Hos 2:8bβ, which is quoted in the Peshar). The absence of Hos 2:9a may also result from haplography; see John Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume v des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »,” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276 (200); Horgan, *Pesharim*, 143; Vielhauer, “Materielle Rekonstruktion,” 50. This suggests that Peshar Hosea A interprets its base text consecutively, but depends on a version of the book of Hosea that lacked Hos 2:8bα and Hos 2:9a.
- 28 Vielhauer’s reconstruction of 4Q167 is more continuous than other reconstructions of this manuscript. See his “Materielle Rekonstruktion,” 69; *pace* Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 201; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 154; *DSSSE* 1:332. Cf. Gregory L. Doudna, “4Q Peshar Hosea^b: Reconstruction of Fragments 4, 5, 18, and 24,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 338–58 (355, n. 46), who agrees with Vielhauer.
- 29 Peshar Isaiah B moves from Isa 5:11–14 to Isa 5:24b–25; this move may point to a process of abbreviation. See pp. 171–73. On omissions in Peshar Isaiah C see Pieter B. Hartog, “The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship: 4Q163/*Peshar Isaiah C* and *Hypomnemata* on the *Iliad*,” *JAJ* (forthcoming).
- 30 Cf. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas,” 648.

decisions on the part of the exegete, reflecting his interest in creating a narrative historical memory for the movement to which he belonged.

2 Interpretation Sections: Contents and Structure

The types or modes of exegesis that we encountered in the hypomnemata usually find parallels in the Pesharim. But these structural correspondences do not mean that these types or modes of exegesis fulfil the same purpose or work in the same way in both commentary traditions.

2.1 Glosses

Just as glossography belonged to the earliest exegetical activities in the Greek world, the interpretation of difficult words has a long-standing pedigree in the interpretation of Hebrew literature.³¹ Particularly prone to occur in contexts of dream and omen interpretation, traces of glossography occur already in the Hebrew Bible, where unclear words can be explained by adding an explanatory equivalent or a short definition.³² A case in point is Isa 9:13–14:

וַיִּכְרֹת ה' מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ וְזָנָב כַּפֶּה וְאַגְמוֹן יוֹם אֶחָד וְזָקֵן וְנִשְׂוֹא־פָנִים הוּא הָרֹאשׁ וְנָבִיא
מִוֶּרֶה־שִׁקֵּר הוּא הַזָּנָב³³

And the Lord shall cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, on a single day. The old and the elevated—he is the head. And the prophet, the teacher of lies—he is the tail.³⁴

Isa 9:13–14

31 Emanuel Tov has pointed to the different meanings attached to the term “gloss” by Hebrew Bible scholars. As he indicates, many scholars unfortunately use the term to refer to marginal or interlinear additions in general rather than to the interpretation of difficult words. See his “Glosses, Interpolations, and Other Types of Scribal Additions in the Text of the Hebrew Bible,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 53–74. Following both Tov and my usage of the term in the preceding chapter I adopt a limited definition of a “gloss” as “an explanation of a difficult word ... meant to remain outside the syntax of the sentence” (Tov, “Glosses,” 67).

32 On glosses in the Hebrew Bible see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985; repr. 1986), 44–65; Tov, “Glosses” (and works cited there); Carly L. Crouch, “חטאת” as Interpolative Gloss: A Solution to Gen 4, 7,” *ZAW* 123 (2011): 250–58.

33 The Hebrew Bible is quoted according to BHS.

34 Translations of Hebrew sources are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

Moshe Goshen-Gottstein has shown that Isa 9:14 glossographically interprets Isa 9:13: a later reader of Isa 9:13 considered the elements “head” and “tail” in need of interpretation and equated them with persons in his own time.³⁵ The similarity between this interpretation of Isa 9:13 and the type of interpretations developed in the Pesharim is clear: the Peshar commentators, too, identify elements from their base texts with events and personae in their own time. Just as the hypomnemata continue an earlier tradition of glossographical interpretation concentrating on (but not being restricted to) epic poetry, so the Pesharim are heirs of an earlier glossographical tradition exhibiting a particular (but not exclusive) interest in dreams and omens.³⁶

Glossographical interpretations in the Pesharim take the shape of nominal clauses consisting either of a personal pronoun and a noun phrase or of two noun phrases (one of which corresponding with the lemma) and a personal pronoun.³⁷ Such glossographical interpretations may be fairly straightforward,³⁸ but they can also be more complex. Consider, for instance, this interpretation of Hab 2:17:

[כיא חמס לבנון יכסכה ושוד בהמות] יחתכה מדמי אדם וחמס ארץ קריה וכול יושבי
בה פשר הדבר על הכוהן הרשע לשלם לו את גמולו אשר גמל על אביונים כיא הלבנון
הוא עצת היחד והבהמות המה פתאי יהודה עושה התורה אשר ישופטנו אל לכלה
כאשר זמם לכלות אביונים ואשר אמר מדמי קריה וחמס ארץ פשרו הקריה היא
ירושלם אשר פעל בה הכוהן הרשע מעשי תועבות ויטמא את מקדש אל וחמס ארץ
המה ערי יהודה אשר גזל הון אביונים³⁹

35 “Hebrew Syntax and the History of the Bible Text: A Peshar in the MT of Isaiah,” *Textus* 8 (1973): 100–106.

36 Cf. Michael Fishbane, “The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 13–19 August, 1973, under the auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Avigdor Shinan and Malka Jagendorf, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977–1980), 1:97–114.

37 See Martin F.J. Baasten, “Nominal Clauses Containing a Personal Pronoun in Qumran Hebrew,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1–16. On nominal clauses see also idem, “The Non-Verbal Clause in Qumran Hebrew” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2006).

38 As in, e.g., 1QpHab 1:12–13 (on Hab 1:4aβ–bα: “Its interpretation: ‘the wicked’—he is the Wicked Priest; and ‘the righteous’—he is the Teacher of Righteousness”) or 4Q171 1–10 ii 4–5 (on Ps 37:9b: “Its interpretation: they [sc. “those who wait for the Lord”] are the congregation of his chosen, the doers of his will”).

39 The Pesharim are quoted according to P^TS^DS^SP 6B, unless otherwise indicated.

["For the violation of Lebanon shall cover you and the devastation of beasts] shall dismay you, because of the blood of humans and the violation of the land, the city, and all its inhabitants" (Hab 2:17). The interpretation of the matter concerns the Wicked Priest, to pay him the reward with which he rewarded the poor—for the "Lebanon," it is the council of the community, and the "beasts," they are the simple ones of Judah, the doers of the Torah—whom God shall judge to destruction, like he has plotted to destroy the poor. And for what he said: "Because of the blood of the city and the violation of the land" (Hab 2:17b⁴⁰). Its interpretation: the "city"—it is Jerusalem, in which the Wicked Priest did deeds of abomination and defiled the sanctuary of God. And "the violation of the land"—it is the cities of Judah, which he robbed of the riches of the poor.

1QpHab 11:17–12:10

These lines interpret elements from Hab 2:17 ("Lebanon," "beasts," "city," "the violation of the land") and identify them with elements in the historical memory of the commentator. But these identifications are no isolated interpretations: the exegete integrates them into a broader narrative framework that revolves around the Wicked Priest, his wicked deeds, and the rewards that await him. By so doing, the commentator invites the reader of the commentary to read the entire lemma afresh, applying the new meanings of the elements interpreted in the Peshar. Read and redefined in this way, the base text makes sense of the historical memory of the Peshar exegete and the movement to which he belonged.

This brings to the fore a difference between glossography in the hypomnema and the Pesharim. In the Greek commentaries, interpretations of glosses are usually separated from other types of interpretation. In the Pesharim, however, glossographical comments tend to be integrated into a larger narrative framework. This difference reflects the divergent aims of the hypomnema and Peshar exegetes. For the hypomnema exegetes, glossography served to illuminate linguistic problems caused by the difference between Homer's language and later Greek. Recovering the meaning of Homer's words and shedding light on the style and language of the poet were worthwhile efforts in their own right, as the familiarity with Homer's language would allow the users of these commentaries to develop into good Greeks. For the Peshar commentators, the interpretation of single words supported the creation of a narrative historical memory on the basis of carefully selected base texts. Glossography was

40 With variants vis-à-vis MT, on which see Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 97–98.

well-suited to this aim;⁴¹ particularly so if its results could be integrated within larger narrative contexts dealing with the historical experiences of the movement to which the Peshar commentators belonged.

Personal Pronouns and the Use of Sources

Personal pronouns introduce interpretation sections four times in the Pesharim. Whereas most glossographical interpretations occur within an interpretation starting with a פשר-formula, these passages replace this regular formula with a personal pronoun.⁴²

[ורמי] הקומה גדועים המה גבורי כת[יאים אשר...] ד ונוקפו טובכי [ה]יער בברזל
ה[מה...] ם למלחמת כתיאים ולבנון בא[דיר יפול המה ה]כתיאים אשר ינת[נו] ביד
גדולו

["And the highest] ones shall be hewn down" (Isa 10:33bα). They are the warriors of the Kit[tim, who ...] "And the thickets of [the] wood shall be cut off with a sword" (Isa 10:34a). T[hey are ...] for the war with the Kittim. "And the Lebanon [shall fall] by a mi[ghty one]" (Isa 10:34b). They are the Kittim, who shall be gi[ven] into the hands of his powerful ones.

4Q161 8–10 iii 9–12 (Allegro 8–10 5–8)

וירד הדרה והמנה ושאנה עליו בא אלה הם אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים הם אשר
מאסו את תורת ה' ואת אמרת קדוש ישראל נאצו על כן חרה אף ה' בעמו ויט ידו
עליו ויכהו וירגזו ההרים ותהי נבלתם כסחה בקרב החוצות בכל זאת לא שב [אפו
ועוד ידו נטויה] היא עדת אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים

"And down goes its honour, and its multitude, and its exulting uproar enters!" (Isa 5:14b). These are the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem, the ones

41 Cf. George J. Brooke, "Pešer and Midraš in Qumran Literature: Issues for Lexicography," in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, SBLJL 39 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 99–114 (100): "In some ways, perhaps the most important items concerning interpretation in the Qumran literature, as elsewhere, are the third person pronouns that, when used demonstratively, permit the identification of one thing with another and produce a wonderful range of 'this' is 'that' possibilities, interpretative moves that are highly significant when the dominant exegetical strategy is the making contemporary of earlier traditions."

42 See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 242 (sub B2). She does not include 4Q163 8–10 4–7, probably because of its fragmentary state of preservation. Casey D. Elledge, "Exegetical Styles at Qumran: A Cumulative Index and Commentary," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 165–208 (203) does include this passage. Horgan also overlooks 4Q171 1–10 iii 12.

who “despised the Torah of the Lord, and rejected the word of the Holy One of Israel. Therefore the anger of the Lord burned against his people and he stretched forth his hand against them, and smote them, and the mountains quaked. Their corpses were as refuse in the middle of the streets. Despite all this [his anger] has not turned aside [and his arm is still outstretched” (Isa 5:24b–25)]. This is the assembly of the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem.

4Q162 2:6–10

ואשר אמר זוא[ת העצה היעוצה על כול] הארץ וזואת היד [הנטויה על כול הגואים
כיא ה'] צבאות יע[ן ומי יפר וידו הנטויה ומי ישי]בנה הואה [...]

And for what he said: “Thi[s is the counsel given over all] the earth and this is the hand [outstretched over all the peoples, for the Lord] of Hosts has given coun[sel, and who shall hinder? And his hand is outstretched, and who shall make] it return?” (Isa 14:26–27). It is [...]

4Q163 8–10 4–7

כיא מבורכ[ו יר]שו ארץ ומקוללו [יכ]רתו פשרו על עדת האביונים א[שר לה]ם נחלת
כול הגדול[ים אשר] ירשו את הר מרום ישר[אל ובה]ר קודשו יתענגו ו[מקול]לו
יכרתו המה עריצי הב[רית ר]שעי ישראל אשר יכרתו ונשמד[ו] לעולם

“For the ones blessed by [him shall] inherit the earth, but the ones cursed by him [shall] be cut off” (Ps 37:22). Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor, to [whom] is the inheritance of all the great on[es, who] shall inherit the high mountain of Isra[el and in] his holy [moun]tain shall delight. “But the ones cursed] by him shall be cut off” (Ps 37:22b). They are the ruthless ones of the co[venant, the wi]cked of Israel, who shall be cut off and be destroy[ed] for ever.

4Q171 1–10 iii 9–13

The reasons for this use of pronouns are unclear. Casey Elledge has noted that in Peshier Isaiah A and Peshier Psalms A, pronouns occur as the first word of interpretation sections only when these sections follow quotations.⁴³ Yet, this is different in Peshier Isaiah B and Peshier Isaiah C, where the pronouns follow lemmata.⁴⁴ What is more, in none of these four Pesharim do pronouns serve as

43 “Exegetical Styles at Qumran,” 200–201.

44 On the status of the quotation of Isa 5:24b–25 in 4Q162 2:7–10 as a lemma see pp. 171–73. Cf. Elledge, “Exegetical Styles at Qumran,” 200: “The *Peshier Isaiah*^b ... uses pronominal formulae, without פשר, to interpret major citations.”

the common way to introduce a certain kind of quotations: the interpretation of the requotation of Isa 11:3b in Peshar Isaiah A (4Q161 8–10 iii 26–27 [Allegro 8–10 22–23]) is introduced by a פשר formula; so are interpretations of lemmata in Peshar Isaiah B and Peshar Isaiah C.⁴⁵ Hence, the use of personal pronouns as introductions to interpretation sections is unsystematic and exceptional.

I suggest that this use of personal pronouns points to the use of sources in the Pesharim. In his discussion of 4Q174, Brooke called attention to the structural and hermeneutical differences between its first and its second part:⁴⁶ in the first part (interpreting 2 Sam 7:10–14), personal pronouns introduce interpretations of both lemmata and subordinate quotations; in the second part (interpreting Pss 1–2), pronouns occur only with interpretations of subordinate quotations from Isaiah and Ezekiel.⁴⁷ In Brooke's view,

it is likely that these hermeneutical differences indicate that the two subsections come from different sources or originate in slightly different circles, but they have possibly been collocated as intertexts in their own right because they suggest each other, not least through the common interest of 2 Sam 7 and Psalms 2 in the sonship of the king.⁴⁸

The use of sources is not restricted to thematic Pesharim such as Florilegium. The presence of Isa 10:22–23 in both Peshar Isaiah A and Peshar Isaiah C shows that different interpretations of Isaiah could exist side by side in the continuous Pesharim.⁴⁹ What is more, several scholars have argued that Peshar Habakkuk, Peshar Nahum, and other continuous Qumran commentaries are no unified

45 The requotation of Ps 27:22b is the only requotation in this Peshar; hence there is insufficient evidence to determine if the introduction of interpretations of requotations by means of a personal pronoun was common practice in Peshar Psalms A. In view of the situation in the three other Pesharim, however, this seems unlikely.

46 *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006); idem, "Controlling Intertexts and Hierarchies of Echo in Two Thematic Eschatological Commentaries from Qumran," in *Between Text and Text: The Hermeneutics of Intertextuality in Ancient Cultures and Their Afterlife in Medieval and Modern Times*, ed. Michaela Bauks et al., JAJSup 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 181–95 (183–89).

47 On the interpretation formulae in 4Q174 (and 4Q177) see also Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 („Florilegium“) und 4Q177 („Catena A“) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 144–46.

48 "Controlling Intertexts," 186.

49 Cf. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 126.

works, but underwent a literary development in which passages were added, deleted, or altered. Hence, the unexpected pronouns in Peshar Isaiah A, Peshar Isaiah B, Peshar Isaiah C, and Peshar Psalms A are likely to mark the inclusion of sources into these Pesharim. Unlike the situation in Florilegium, the trigger for combining these sources was probably not their thematic association, but the fact that these sources supplement one another as parts of a consecutive reading of the base text of these Pesharim. These four glossographical interpretations are witnesses to the fluidity and the literary development of the Pesharim.

2.2 *Paraphrase*

Paraphrase is prominent in the Pesharim: many interpretation sections reformulate their lemmata by mimicking their structure and contents. This explanation of Hos 2:10 is a good example:

לוא ידעה כיא] אנוכי נתתי לה הדגן [והתירוש והיצהר וכסף] הרביתי וזהב עשו
 לבעל פשרו] אשר אכלו וי]שבעו וישכחו את אל המא[כלם ואת כול] מצוותיו
 השליכו אחרי גום אשר שלח אליהם [ביד] עבדיו הנביאים ולמתעיהם שמעו וכבדום
 וכאלים יפחדו מהם בעורונם⁵⁰

[“She did not know that] I gave her grain [and wine and oil. And silver] I increased, but they used gold [for Baal” (Hos 2:10). Its interpretation:] that they at[e and w]ere satisfied, but they forgot the God who fe[d them and all] his commandments that he had sent them [through] his servants the prophets they threw behind them. And they listened to their mislead-ers and honoured them, and feared them as gods in their blindness.

4Q166 2:1–6

This passage retells the base text in different words, but mirrors its structure and contents. This is very similar to paraphrase in the hypomnemata. But there

50 The reconstruction of lines 3–6 has been the subject of some debate. David C. Carlson, “An Alternative Reading of 4QP^aOsea^a 11, 3–6,” *RevQ* 11/43 (1983): 417–21 observed a similarity between these lines and Neh 9:26 and used this similarity to offer some new reconstructions. His suggestions have not been very influential, however, and the two most recent editions of this manuscript (Vielhauer, “Materielle Rekonstruktion,” 46–47; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 2 vols. [Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2010, 2013], 2:258–59) offer the same reconstruction as the one provided here (though Qimron reads מאכלים for מאכלים). For the history of scholarship see Vielhauer, “Materielle Rekonstruktion,” 51–53.

are also differences between both commentary traditions. To begin with, paraphrases in the hypomnemata rephrase the lemma in the commentator's words. This often happens in the Pesharim, too, but in this passage the commentator uses words from elsewhere in Scripture to paraphrase the lemma: the phrase "they ate and were satisfied, but they forgot the God who fed them" mirrors Deut 6:11–12 and 8:10–14. This use of words from Deuteronomy also points to a more general difference between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim: whereas the former tend to mark their indebtedness to other voices than that of the commentator, the Pesharim are replete with scriptural language even in passages where Scripture is not explicitly quoted or referred to. This difference will be treated more elaborately later in this chapter.⁵¹ Suffice it to say here that the use of language from Deut 6:11–12 or 8:10–14 does not automatically imply an interpretation of these passages: the Peshar commentator may simply have found the combination of the roots שב"ע, אכ"ל, and שכ"ח well-suited to capture the meaning of Hos 2:10.⁵²

Finally, paraphrases in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim exhibit a difference already noted in connection with glossography. Whereas in the *Iliad* commentaries paraphrases tend to stand apart from other types of exegesis, the Pesharim tend to integrate their paraphrases into a larger narrative framework. So, this paraphrase of Hos 2:10 has become an integral part of the interpretation of this verse, which also contains elements without hermeneutical connection to the lemma. This demonstrates once more that the purpose of the Peshar exegete is to develop a narrative historical memory on the basis of the lemma.

2.3 *References and Quotations*

The four categories that I used in the chapter on the hypomnemata to classify the types of references to and quotations from other sources than the lemma in these *Iliad* commentaries can also be applied to the Pesharim. This is not self-evident, though. To begin with, even if the Peshar commentators consciously employed different text-forms in their interpretations (for reasons

51 See pp. 158–60.

52 Deuteronomy probably provided a particularly suitable source for idioms to be used in the exegesis of Hosea, as the scriptural books of Hosea and Deuteronomy exhibit important similarities. Deut 6:11–12 and 8:10–14, for instance, are mirrored in Hos 13:5–6. On Hosea and Deuteronomy see Hans W. Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat," *ThLZ* 81 (1951): 83–94; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr. 1992), 366–70; R.E. Clements, "Understanding the book of Hosea," *RevExp* 72 (1975): 405–23 (414–15).

to be discussed below I am not entirely convinced), this use of variant readings and textual traditions in the Qumran commentaries would serve a different purpose to the references to variant readings in the hypomnemata. Nonetheless, the procedures by which such references were attained may have been very similar. Moreover, the Pesharim do not refer to other exegetes primarily to identify the sources of scholarly opinions, but to debunk their fallacious views. Such references are part of broader processes of the creation of a we-they discourse in the Qumran commentaries. They differ from how the hypomnemata deal with alternative scholarly opinions. But here too, the practice of referring to other exegetes may be comparable.

The other types of references and quotations can more straightforwardly be compared. Already in 1951, William Brownlee wrote that “other passages of scripture may illumine the meaning of the original prophet.”⁵³ Other scholars confirmed Brownlee’s suggestion and showed that the interpretation sections of the Pesharim are heavily indebted to scriptural language and ideas,⁵⁴ often implying a particular reading of these scriptural passage as they are quoted.⁵⁵ Finally, the Pesharim incorporate various non-scriptural literary traditions.⁵⁶ As Philip Davies has demonstrated, the Pesharim derive their contents not just from either the vicissitudes of the movement to which their interpreters belong or their scriptural base texts. Instead, the Pesharim exegetes depend on literary traditions in other scrolls, most notably the Hodayot and

53 “Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BA* 14 (1951): 53–76 (62; hermeneutical principle 13).

54 E.g., George J. Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire*, ed. Loveday Alexander, *JSOTSup* 122 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 135–59; idem, “The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. Michael O. Wise et al., *ANYS* 722 (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 339–53; idem, “Controlling Intertexts.”

55 Menahem Kister, “Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations and *Pesharim*,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, *STDJ* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27–39; idem, “A Common Heritage,” 103–5; Devorah Dimant, “Pesharim, Qumran,” in *ABD*, 5:244–51.

56 In the previous chapter I spoke of references to “other authors”; here I speak of reference to “other literary traditions.” This difference accommodates for the different conceptualisations of authorship in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. A full treatment of this issue is beyond the scope of this book. It may be noted, however, that the Pesharim tend to refer to anonymous traditions, whereas the hypomnemata tend to give the name of the authors of the views they incorporate.

the Damascus Document, in how they interpret their base texts and formulate their interpretations.⁵⁷

In contrast to the situation in the hypomnemata, where references to and quotations from other sources are often explicitly introduced and presented as separate elements in their interpretation sections, references and quotations in the Pesharim tend to be concealed. Such references and quotations are usually part of unified, integrated interpretations, without being explicitly marked. They can be recognised only when the Pesharim mimics the vocabulary or style of the element to which it refers. And even then not every instance of similar vocabulary or style is a proper reference or quotation. Second Temple Jewish writings, including the Pesharim, exhibit many kinds of intertextual connections with other writings, references and quotations being only two of the possibilities.⁵⁸ Distinguishing between these different kinds or levels of intertextuality is complicated. For me, the distinctive features of references and quotations are their similarity with the source they take up and their interpretative purpose. A quotation is the occurrence of several words from a particular source in the order in which they occur in that source.⁵⁹ A reference is the occurrence of several words from a particular source in a different order from that of its source. Both references and quotations have an interpretative purpose: they are intended to illuminate a point in the interpretation of the lemma.⁶⁰ Recognising intention

57 *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, BJS 94 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87–105.

58 Literature on this issue is vast and the definitions of levels of intertextuality differ from author to author. Useful overviews are Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 41–56; Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*, JAJSup 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 38–49.

59 Considering the rarity of quotation formulae in the Pesharim, I do not define quotations in terms of their formulaic introductions. On similar grounds Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect*, 41–44 uses a definition similar to the one I adopt here.

A potential problem with this definition is the textual fluidity of Scripture. We cannot always be sure what form of Scripture the commentator may have had in front of him. Hence, what seem to be references (or even allusions) may in fact be quotations. Pajunen, *The Land of the Elect*, 41–42 discusses an illustrative example: 4Q437 2 5 does not contain an allusion to Ps 91:4b in the form of MT, but a quotation of this half-verse in the form of 11Q11 6:6. Another case is the quotation of Isa 13:18 in 1QpHab 6:11–12: it is not a quotation of MT of this verse with an added preposition (ל), but a quotation of the verse as it is also attested in 1QIs^a 11:25–26.

60 This is to say that references and quotations have a double reference: on the one hand they are an integral part of the interpretation section in which they occur, on the other they point beyond this co-text to their original co-text, and they transfer meaning from

is always to some extent a subjective enterprise, seeing that the reader plays a major role in recognising and attaching meaning to intertextual connections.⁶¹ In what follows, however, I do consider references and quotations (unlike allusions, for instance) to be intentional on the part of the commentator, and I will concentrate on those examples for which I think a convincing case for intentionality can be made. As a consequence, the following pages will yield only a partial survey of intertextual connections in the Pesharim; but the picture painted in this chapter should suffice to illustrate the similarities and differences between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim and to illuminate the background of the Qumran commentaries as works of textual scholarship.

2.3.1 Readings and Textual Traditions

The Pesharim contain no explicit references to variant readings or other textual traditions than the one quoted in the lemma. Yet some passages, mostly in Peshar Habakkuk, have suggested to previous scholars that the commentator was aware of various textual traditions and used them intentionally in his explanations.⁶² Most scholars who embrace this opinion point to these passage to support their standpoint.⁶³

אז חלף רוח ויעבר וישם זה כוחו לאלוהו פשרו [ע] ל מושלי הכתיאים אשר בעצת
בית אשמ[תם] יעבורו איש מלפני רעיהו מושלי[הם ז]ה אחר זה יבואו לשחית את
הא[רץ]

that other co-text to the interpretation section in which they occur. See Carmela Perri, "On Alluding," *Poetics* 7 (1978): 289–307, whose work is used by Susan Hylan, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, BZNW 137 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 44–59; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 41–55; Pajunen, *The Land of the Elect*, 47–48.

61 Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 48–50.

62 The first to suggest this was Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," 61 (hermeneutical principle 4). In this article, Brownlee mentions the interpretation of Hab 1:8; 1:11; 2:15; and 2:16 as illustrations of this principle. In a later overview and discussion of passages in which double readings play a role (*The Text of Habakkuk*, 118–23), Brownlee adds the interpretation of Hab 1:15b–16a in 1QpHab 5:12–6:5 and is doubtful about his earlier analysis of the interpretation of Hab 2:15.

63 These are the only two cases of "simultaneous interpretation of two variant readings" that Chaim Rabin recognises in his "Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll and the Zadokite Documents," *VT* 5 (1955): 148–62 (158–59). Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, CQS 3 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 54 calls the interpretation of Hab 2:16 the "locus classicus or paradigmatic passage for illustrating this phenomenon."

“Then he changes his mind and moves on and he whose strength is his god shall devastate” (Hab 1:11). Its interpretation [con]cerns the rulers of the Kittim, who, by the counsel of their guil[ty] house, move on, every man in the place of his fellow. Their rulers, one after another, shall come to destroy the ear[th.]

1QpHab 4:9–13

שבעתה קלון מכבוד שתה גם אתה והרעל תסוב עליכה כוס ימין ה' וקיקלון על כבודכה פשרו על הכוהן אשר גבר קלונו מכבודו כיא לוא מל את עורלת לבו וילך בדרכי הרויה למען ספות הצמאה וכוס חמת [א]ל תבלענו לוסיף [ע]ל [כול ק]ל[ונ] ומכאוב

“You are more glutted with disgrace than with glory! Drink, you, and stagger! The cup of the Lord’s right hand shall turn against you, and disgrace on your glory!” (Hab 2:16). Its interpretation concerns the priest whose disgrace is greater than his glory, for he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart and went in ways of saturation to quench his thirst. But the cup of [Go]d’s wrath shall devour him to increase [all] his [d]isg[ra]ce and pain.

1QpHab 11:8–15

Both passages quote as a lemma a text that differs from MT, but seem to evoke an MT-like text in their interpretations. So, the quotation of Hab 1:11 in the lemma reads *ויאשם* against MT’s *ויאשם*; but its interpretation speaks of *בית אשמים*. Similarly, the lemma of Hab 2:16 reads *הרעל* instead of MT’s *הערה*; but in the interpretation, the priest is accused of not circumcising “the foreskin of his heart” (*עורלת לבו*). For many scholars, this implies that the Peshar commentator knew different textual traditions and made a conscious decision to quote a non-MT text as a lemma and use an MT-like text in his interpretation.⁶⁴ In this view, these passages contain an implicit reference to readings different from the one quoted in the lemma.

Few scholars have sought to explain where the Peshar commentators got their knowledge of these different traditions. Brownlee argued that the familiarity of the commentator in Peshar Habakkuk with the Masoretic version

64 Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation,” 64, 68–69; Rabin, “Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll,” 158–59; Carmignac, Cothenet, and Lignée, *Textes*, 100 (n. 6), 115; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 50; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 227; Bilhah Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (1QpHab) (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 47, 192; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 50.

of Habakkuk was mediated through liturgical performances, especially the Targum.⁶⁵ This view is problematic, however, as it reflects Brownlee's dubious conviction that close parallels exist between Peshet Habakkuk and the Targumim.⁶⁶ Nor is it evident when Targum entered the liturgy.⁶⁷ A different scenario was proposed by Timothy Lim. In his view, the Peshet commentator "may well have had different texts of Habakkuk in front of him, rather than simply remembering variant readings, as he sought to elucidate the meaning of the prophecy."⁶⁸ For Lim, the Peshet exegete's inclusion of variant readings in his interpretation of Habakkuk is not a matter of whim; it reflects a systematic comparison of manuscripts and their readings.⁶⁹ This argument is a reaction to earlier scholarship which tended to attribute to the Peshet exegetes a large amount of freedom to alter Scripture as they felt necessary in view of their interpretative interests. In Lim's view, the fluidity of Scripture in the Second Temple period suggests that many readings that we might be tempted to call

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- 65 *The Text of Habakkuk*, 123: "Hence we conclude that our author probably knew these readings through the Targum, if not from any other source. Admittedly the echo of the variant readings would be only indirect if mediated solely through the Targum (which one need not suppose), but for the purposes of textual criticism this in no way diminishes their importance as attesting the readings of the MT alongside the variant text directly quoted."
- 66 See Brownlee's "The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan," *JJS* 7 (1956): 169–86; idem, "The Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor, BETL 46 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1978), 183–93 (187–88); idem, *Midrash Peshet*, 32–35. Brownlee's arguments have been disproved by Robert P. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets*, VTSup 51 (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 83–95.
- 67 Our only evidence for this use of the Targumim comes from the rabbinic tradition; it is unclear if the Aramaic translations recovered near Qumran can really qualify as "Targum" in the Rabbinic sense of the term. See Philip S. Alexander, "Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, CRINT 2/1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 217–53; Alberdina Houtman and Harry Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions: The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan*, SAIS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 7–40 (27–32 on the Aramaic translations from Qumran). On the Qumran "Targumim" see also Moshe J. Bernstein, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Biblical Interpretation in Antiquity: A Multi-Genre Perspective," in *Reading and Re-Reading*, 387–420 (395–400).
- 68 Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 50.
- 69 Cf. Lim's statement that "the author of the Habakkuk Peshet ... was not freely quoting verses from disparate sources but was making a systematic, verse by verse commentary on the prophecy" ("Eschatological Orientation and the Alteration of Scripture in the Habakkuk Peshet," *JNES* 49 [1990]: 185–94 [194]).

exegetical should be considered textual.⁷⁰ Variant readings were out there, and according to Lim, the Peshar commentator compared these readings carefully as he set out to interpret his base text.

Lim's proposals are intriguing, but not without problems. To begin with, the Pesharim, unlike the hypomnemata, offer no clues that the variant readings they contain were taken from written sources or result from a careful comparison of manuscripts. In material terms, how probable is it that an exegete writing a commentary had three manuscripts in front of him?⁷¹ And if the Peshar exegete did carry out a comparison of various text traditions, why do we not find more alternative readings in Peshar Habakkuk? These questions do not disprove Lim's proposals, but they do problematise them.⁷² A more fundamental problem with Lim's view is that it implies a clear distinction between "text" and "interpretation." For Lim, the text appears to be something the commentator has to confront when he writes an interpretation. But this distinction is untenable, seeing that the same hermeneutical procedures inform both the transmission of texts and their interpretation: hermeneutically speaking, there is no difference between the interpretation of הרעל (Hab 2:16 as quoted in Peshar Habakkuk) as הערל (Hab 2:16 MT) and the interpretation of עמל (Hab 1:3aα) as מעל in 1QpHab 1:5–6. The coincidence that in the first case the form in the interpretation corresponds with the MT of Hab 2:16 does not mean that the commentator had laid eyes on this variant reading in a manuscript. The type of hermeneutical resources at work in the Pesharim show that our exegete did not have to look at a biblical manuscript to interpret הרעל in Hab 2:16 as he did. It remains a possibility, of course, that the Peshar commentator

70 See *Holy Scripture*, 69–94; idem, "Biblical Quotations in the Pesharim and the Text of the Bible: Methodological Considerations," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: The British Library, 2002), 71–79.

71 One manuscript with the MT of Habakkuk, one with another text of Habakkuk, and the one that he was writing (1QpHab).

72 Alternatively, one could argue that the scholarly Qumran collection invited scholarly practices—including manuscript comparison. On the scholarly character of the Qumran collection see Mladen Popović, "Qumran as Scroll Storehouse in Times of Crisis? A Comparative Perspective on Judaean Desert Manuscript Collections," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 551–94; idem, "The Ancient 'Library' of Qumran between Urban and Rural Culture," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 155–67. Popović refers extensively to Galen's *Peri alupias* as a possible parallel to Qumran. This recently discovered work describes the kind of scholarly environment in which manuscript comparison and other scholarly activities would thrive.

was acquainted with the Masoretic version of Hab 2:16, but this assumption is not necessary to explain the evidence.⁷³ Thus, the presence of conscious references to variant readings in the Pesharim remains doubtful.

2.3.2 Other Scriptural Passages

The Pesharim are replete with scriptural language. In the continuous Pesharim, most references to and quotations from other scriptural passages than the one quoted as a lemma are not explicitly introduced.⁷⁴ Instead, the Peshar exegetes integrate them into their interpretation. Consider, for instance, this interpretation of Hab 1:17:

על כן יריק חרבו תמיד להרוג גוים ולוא יחמל פשרו על הכתיאים אשר יאבדו רבים
בחרב נערים אשישים וזקנים נשים וטף ועל פרי בטן לוא ירחמו

“Therefore he unsheathes his sword to kill peoples and he shows no mercy” (Hab 1:17). Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, who shall destroy many by sword, youngsters, adults, and elderly men, women and children, and they shall not show pity on the fruit of the womb.

1QpHab 6:8–12

The words “and they shall not show pity on the fruit of the womb” are a quotation of Isa 13:18b α as it appears in 1QIsa^a. This quotation serves an exegetical aim, in that it invites the reader of the commentary to infer that the Kittim are a tool in God’s hand, just as the Medes in Isa 13.⁷⁵ All this is implicit, however: if one did not know the Isaiah passage, one would not recognise the quotation in the Peshar. The words from Isaiah have become an integral part of this interpretation of Hab 1:17.

A similar situation pertains to this passage from Peshar Nahum, which evokes Dan 11:32–35:

לא ימוש טרף וקול שוט וקול רעש אופן וסוס דהר ומרכבה מרקדה פרש מעלה להוב
וברק חנית ורוב חלל וכבוד פגר ואין קץ לגויה וכשלו בגויתם פשרו על ממשלת דורשי

73 So also Lou H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab),” *RevQ* 3/11 (1962): 323–64 (361); Ilana Goldberg, “Variant Readings in Peshar Habakkuk,” *Textus* 17 (1994): 6–24 (*ad loc.*).

74 Some references and quotations in Peshar Isaiah C are the only exceptions. On references, quotations, and the use of quotation formulae in this commentary see Hartog, “The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship.”

75 See pp. 253–54.

החלקות אשר לא ימוש מקרב עדתם חרב גוים שבי ובזו וחרור בינותם וגלות מפחד
 אויב ורוב פגרי אשמה יפולו בימיהם ואין קץ לכלל חלליהם ואף בגיית בשרם יכשולו
 בעצת אשמתם

“Prey shall not cease, nor the sound of the whip, nor the sound of the rattling wheel, nor the rushing horse, nor the leaping chariot, the ascending horseman, the blade,⁷⁶ the flickering of the spear!⁷⁷ A multitude of wounded and a heap of carcasses! And there is no end to the corpses, and they shall trip over their corpses” (Nah 3:1bγ–3). Its interpretation concerns the rule of the Seekers of Smooth Things, from the midst of whose council shall not cease the sword of the people, captivity, and spoil, and fire among them, and exile out of fear for the enemy. Guilty corpses shall fall in their days and there is no end to the totality of their wounded—and so they shall trip over the corpses of their flesh, because of their guilty counsel.

4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6

Presumably aware of the terminological overlaps between Nah 3:1bγ–3 and Dan 11:32–35, the commentator adopts the vocabulary and style of Dan 11:32–35 in his reading of the lemma.⁷⁸ The closest correspondence is between the phrase “the sword of the people, captivity, and spoil, and fire among them (shall not cease)” in the Peshar and Dan 11:33’s “and they shall stumble by sword and flame, by captivity and spoil.” This use of words from Dan 11 in the interpretation of Nah 3:1bγ–3 also serves to make an exegetical point: just as the wise ones in Dan 11, so the Seekers of Smooth Things in Peshar Nahum shall perish by the hands of an invading enemy.⁷⁹

Part of the purpose of these references and quotations is similar to that of the use of other sources in the hypomnemata. Just as in the Greek commentaries, the evocation of scriptural passages in the Pesharim demonstrates the erudition of the Peshar commentators, who were well-versed in the Jewish Scriptures and could employ them in highly creative ways in their exegesis. But this is not their only purpose. As has been noted, references and quotations

76 Of a sword (cf. Nah 3:3 MT, which has להב חרב).

77 Shani Berrin (Tzoref), *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 239–40 convincingly argues that לא ימוש governs the subsequent words until ברק חנית.

78 Shani Berrin (Tzoref), “The Use of Secondary Biblical Sources in Peshar Nahum,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 1–11 (5–8).

79 On the exegetical ramifications of this passage see pp. 250–51.

constitute just one level of intertextual connections between Scripture and the Pesharim. On close inspection the Qumran commentaries turn out to be replete with scriptural ideas, language, and style. This intricate web of intertexts serves to portray the Qumran commentaries as continuations of Scripture, extending the scriptural world into the lives and experiences of the movement that produced the Pesharim. Michael Fishbane writes to the point:

The interweaving of passages from all the compositions of ancient Israel not only creates a thick archaic texture, dramatizing the biblical inheritance and character of the sect; but these passages also generate a network of intertextual associations that give special resonance to the sectarian compositions. In fact, the implicit citations embedded in these texts produce a tableaux of interlocking allusions: a *new biblical composition*.⁸⁰

This use of scriptural intertexts corresponds with the self-presentation of the Peshar commentators. They portray themselves as heirs to the interpretations expounded by the Teacher of Righteousness (who is the implied commentator in the Pesharim). The Teacher, in his turn, partakes of essentially the same divine revelation that the ancient prophets received; only the Teacher works in a later time than the prophets and hence obtains a fuller insight into the course of history and the meaning of Scripture. Thus, the Teacher extends the divine revelation given previously to the biblical prophets. As the Pesharim claim to contain the insights of the Teacher, they, too, are continuations of the biblical past in the present of the Qumran movement. The manifold intertextual links that these commentaries exhibit with Scripture emphasise the special connection between Scripture and the Pesharim and are meant to present the Peshar exegete and his movement as inhabiting a biblical world.

2.3.3 Other Literary Traditions

In addition to Scripture the Pesharim often take up language from other literary traditions. A full treatment of this topic is beyond the scope of this book. One illustrative example is the use of the phrase “the Teacher of Righteousness” to refer to the implied commentator in the Pesharim. This image of the Teacher, whose interpretations of Scripture the Peshar commentators claim to preserve and develop, does not originate with the Peshar exegetes. Its ultimate source is Hos 10:12 and Joel 2:23. These scriptural passages contain an agricultural metaphor, presenting God as the giver of rain. Playing with the double meaning of

80 “Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra*, 339–77 (356; his italics).

the root ה'ר (which can mean both “to rain” and “to teach”), an early version of the Damascus Document took the phrase “until he comes and rains righteousness onto you” in Hos 10:12 as referring to “one who shall teach righteousness in the latter days” (CD 6:11).⁸¹ This interpretation of the Hosea passage was influential. It underlies the reference in CD 1:11, a later layer in the Damascus Document, to “a Teacher of Righteousness” as a founding figure, and it informs the mention of “the voice of the Teacher” in CD 20:28, 32 (// 4Q267 3 7; 4Q270 2 i 2).⁸² The Pesharim, in their turn, take up traditions from the Damascus Document in how they present the Teacher of Righteousness. So, when Peshar Psalms A speaks of the Teacher as a founding figure,⁸³ the commentator does not derive this image only from his base text, but he develops aspects of the collective memory of the Teacher in the Damascus Document.⁸⁴ Similarly, the reference in CD 20 to the voice of the Teacher carrying authority even after his death is closely related to how the Qumran commentaries present themselves as continuations of the work of the Teacher: the Pesharim, we are led to

81 In addition to the different understanding of the verb, cf. the presence of a definitive article in the Damascus Document (יורה הצדק) in contrast to Hosea (ירה צדק). The addition of this article is part of the interpretative move in the Damascus Document to have the Hosea passage refer to a specific individual. See Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 67; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 42.

82 I follow Philip Davies’s reconstruction of the literary development of the Damascus Document and the relationship between CD 6 and CD 1 and 20. However, I am hesitant to accept Davies’s claim that CD 1 speaks of the Teacher in messianic terms. For Davies’s views see *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”*, JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 123–24; idem, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days,’” *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 313–17. For criticism of Davies’s proposals see Michael A. Knibb, “The Teacher of Righteousness—A Messianic Title?” in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White, JSOTSup 100 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 51–65; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 102–4. For my position see Pieter B. Hartog, “The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest’: Eschatological Development and Literary History in Peshar Habakkuk,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 59–80 (70–72).

83 4Q171 1–10 iii 14–17.

84 On the Teacher as being remembered as a founding figure see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–49 (36–37).

believe, continue the voice of the Teacher after his demise.⁸⁵ Yet the Pesharim not only adopt, but also develop the image of the Teacher.⁸⁶ For instance, the Qumran commentaries pay more attention to conflicts between the Teacher and individual opponents than does the Damascus Document.⁸⁷ The Pesharim both receive earlier traditions and sources and develop these traditions in how they portray the Teacher of Righteousness.

This example is illustrative of a broader phenomenon: the Pesharim make conscious use of literary traditions in other writings, like the Damascus Document and the Hodayot. Davies has argued in several places that members of the Qumran movement understood the Hodayot as expressions of the personal experiences or individual memory of the Teacher of Righteousness.⁸⁸ As a consequence, other writings take up elements from the Hodayot when they speak about the Teacher, often rendering them more specific than they are in the Hymns: plural opponents in the Hodayot become singular individuals in the Pesharim, and “Seekers of Smooth Things” (דורשי חלקות) become “*the* Seekers of Smooth Things” (דורשי החלקות).⁸⁹

The purpose of these references to and quotations from other sources is similar to that of the use of Scripture in the Qumran commentaries. If intertextual links with Scripture portray the Pesharim both as belonging to biblical times and as being a continuation of them, so these links with other literary traditions serve to write the Pesharim into a larger corpus of writings that

85 Cf. Florentino García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–44.

86 For a good overview of what was remembered of the Teacher in different writings see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin G. Wold, WUNT 212 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 75–94; idem, “The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness.” Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets, passim* (esp. 182–86) presents a historical survey of the development of the sobriquet “the Teacher of Righteousness.”

87 A noteworthy development is the presence of a “Wicked Priest” in the Pesharim. He is absent from both the Damascus Document and the Hodayot, but the image of this opponent may have been influenced by the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT). See Philip R. Davies, “What History Can We Get from the Scrolls, and How?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 31–46 (42–45).

88 *Behind the Essenes*; idem, “What History?”

89 Other examples with Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 97–105. See also Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 134–48.

constructs a historical memory for the movement in which they originated and/or were transmitted. By taking up elements from the Hodayot and the Damascus Document, the Pesharim present themselves as trustworthy expressions of the experiences and memory of the movement to which the Pesharim exegetes belonged.

2.3.4 Other Interpreters

The Qumran commentaries contain ample references to other interpreters. Yet each Pesharim is different in how it frames these references and in the opponents it addresses.⁹⁰ In Pesharim Habakkuk, the main rivals of the Teacher are “the Man of the Lie” and “the Spouter of the Lie.” The first individual is presented as the leader of a group of traitors who refuse to believe “the words of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God.”⁹¹ The second individual is portrayed as the Teacher’s negative counterpart in this interpretation of Hab 2:12–13:⁹²

הוי בונה עיר בדמים ויכונן קריה בעולה הלוא הנה מעם ה' צבאות יגעו עמים בדי אש
ולאוימים בדי ריק ייעפו פשר הדבר על מטיף הכזב אשר התעה רבים לבנות עיר שוו
בדמים ולקים עדה בשקר בעבור כבודה לוגיע רבים בעבודת שוו ולהרותם במ[ע]שי
שקר להיות עמלם לריק בעבור יבואו למשפטי אש אשר גדפו ויחרפו את בחירי אל

“Woe to him who builds a city with blood and founds a town on violence! Look, is this not from the Lord of Hosts, that nations wear themselves out resulting in fire,⁹³ and peoples faint resulting in nothingness?” (Hab 2:12–13). The interpretation of the matter concerns the Spouter of the Lie, who has misdirected many to build a useless city with blood and to erect a community with deceit for the sake of its own glory, to wear out many in a useless task and to instruct them in deceitful de[ce]its, so that their labour is for nothing; with the result that those who blasphemed and taunted God’s chosen ones shall go to judgements of fire.

1QpHab 10:5–13

90 The following discussion is based on Pieter B. Hartog, “Pesharim as Commentary,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), where a more elaborate treatment can be found.

91 1QpHab 2:1–3. For the Man of the Lie see also 1QpHab 5:11; 4Q171 1–10 i 18; iv 14.

92 For the Spouter of the Lie see also 1Q14 8–10 4 (not in Horgan, but see Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, DJD 1:78; DSSSE 1:8; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:276). Some scholars also reconstruct the Spouter of the Lie in 1QpHab 1:11, but this is doubtful.

93 The Pesharim commentator appears to understand the preposition בדי as “resulting in.” See p. 280.

This passage presents the Spouter of the Lie as a contrasting figure to the Teacher of Righteousness. Like the Teacher, the Spouter builds a city and establishes a community;⁹⁴ but unlike the Teacher he does so with blood and deceit. Second, the Spouter is said to have misdirected many; the Teacher, in contrast, teaches righteousness. Finally, the use of ירה" to describe the activity of the Spouter of the Lie emphasises the difference between him and the Teacher (מורה, from the same root).⁹⁵

Pesher Nahum refers neither to the Teacher nor to any of his opponents in Pesher Habakkuk. In this Pesher, condemnation is directed against the Seekers of Smooth Things, who are considered to be “the ones who misdirect Ephraim, who with their fraudulent teaching and lying tongue and perfidious lip misdirect many; kings, princes, priests and people together with the proselyte attached to them.”⁹⁶ Pesher Psalms A speaks again of a different conflict: that between the Man of the Lie and the Interpreter of Knowledge. The portrayal of the latter figure as a source of trustworthy knowledge in Pesher Psalms A is similar to that of the Teacher in Pesher Habakkuk.⁹⁷ Like the Spouter of the Lie in Pesher Habakkuk, the Man of the Lie in Pesher Psalms A is presented as a negative counterpart to the Interpreter of Knowledge: his views are called

94 “Building a city” is a metaphor for establishing a community. See David Flusser, “Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes in Pesher Nahum,” in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, trans. Azzan Yadin, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 1:214–57 (222–23).

95 There has been some debate about the root that lies behind the infinitive להרוותם. Cf. Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 171–72.

96 On the contrast that this passage draws between the Seekers of Smooth Things and the Pesher commentator and his movement see Lloyd K. Pietersen, “False Teaching, Lying Tongues and Deceitful Lips’ (4Q169 frgs 3–4 2.8): The *Pesharim* and the Sociology of Deviance,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003*, ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, William J. Lyons, and idem, LSTS 52 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 166–81.

97 Which is not to say that the figures should be too readily equated on either a literary or a historical level. The Teacher of Righteousness also occurs in Pesher Psalms A. In the interpretation of Ps 37, the Teacher is remembered as a founding figure who was in conflict with the Wicked Priest (e.g., 4Q171 1–10 iv 7–10). In the interpretation of Ps 45:2b (“and my tongue is the pen of a skilled scribe”), however, the Teacher seems to figure as a source of scriptural interpretations or trustworthy knowledge. If we do equate the Interpreter of Knowledge and the Teacher of Righteousness, the difference in terminology can be explained from the contents of the lemma to which the reference to the Interpreter belongs: the phrase “Interpreter of Knowledge” (מליין דעת) is a wordplay with מצליח in Ps 37:7 (cf. George J. Brooke, “The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?” in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987], 85–100 [94]).

“words of lies” and “worthless things,” with which he “misdirected many.” Hence, Peshar Nahum and Peshar Psalms A exhibit a similar dynamics to Peshar Habakkuk, but with different protagonists. In all three Pesharim, the only valid expositions of Scripture are those of the Peshar commentators (or, implicitly, the Teacher of Righteousness). The views of all others are condemned.

The discourse developed in the Pesharim exhibits similarities with how P.Oxy. 8.1086 refers to the views of other exegetes. As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapter, this hypomnema exhibits a strong Aristarchean interest and explicitly expresses its agreement only with the views of this Alexandrian scholar. All other viewpoints are rejected. Notwithstanding this general similarity between the two types of commentary, however, there are also differences. To begin with, the Pesharim do not refer to other interpreters by name, nor do they contain any concrete viewpoints of these other exegetes. Contrast, for instance, P.Oxy. 8.1086’s specific rejection of “some” who unknowingly read “Pieria” in *Il.* 2.766⁹⁸ with Peshar Habakkuk’s general rejection of the Spouter of the Lie, “who has misdirected many.”⁹⁹ For the Peshar commentators, the names or exact views of their opponents were less important than their refusal to accept the views of the Peshar exegetes; hence their condemnation. A second, related difference between the Pesharim and P.Oxy. 8.1086 lies in the fact that the debate in the hypomnema concerns only the reading of *Il.* 2.766. In the Pesharim, however, condemnations of rival interpreters are embedded in a broader discourse in which opponents are not accused only of expounding fallacious explanations, but also of other sorts of deplorable behaviour. In Peshar Habakkuk, the Man of the Lie is condemned not just because he rejected the Teacher’s words, but also because he openly despised the Torah.¹⁰⁰ Similarly in other Pesharim, accusations of promoting misleading interpretations function within a larger complex of condemnations, intending, as Jutta Jokiranta writes, to “justify the group’s existence and claims by placing the most relevant out-groups as the opposite of the in-group.”¹⁰¹

2.4 *Formulaic Terminology*

The best-known example of formulaic terminology in the Pesharim is the use of פִּשְׂר, meaning “interpretation,”¹⁰² to introduce interpretation sections. The use of this term has often been taken as an indication of the background of

98 P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:25–27.

99 1QpHab 10:9.

100 1QpHab 5:11–12.

101 *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 137.

102 The meaning of the term פִּשְׂר has been extensively discussed. The root seems to carry a broad meaning, which is best captured with the general rendering “interpretation.”

the Qumran commentaries in either ancient Near Eastern and Early Jewish practices of dream and omen interpretation or Mesopotamian commentary traditions.¹⁰³ Yet the use of the term in Qoh 8:1, its employment in contexts in the Qumran scrolls where the oneirocritical meaning does not seem to fit,¹⁰⁴ and its systematic use in the Pesharim suggest that there is more to it. As far as we can tell, the use of this term to introduce interpretation sections is an invention of the Peshet exegetes. This standardised use of the term serves the scholarly pursuits of these commentators and reflects their systematic engagements with their base texts. It is comparable to the use of (τὸ σημεῖον) ὅτι or (τὸ σημεῖον) πρὸς in systematic interpretations of the *Iliad* in the hypomnema, even if in the Greek commentaries such formulae are rarer than they are in the Qumran commentaries.

In addition to this formulaic use of פֶּשֶׁר, the Pesharim employ quotation formulae to introduce scriptural quotations. These quotation formulae are used differently in each Peshet; from some Pesharim they are entirely absent.¹⁰⁵ Peshet Habakkuk employs וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר and כִּי אִשֶּׁר אָמַר to introduce quotations of parts of the base text quoted previously. The first formula sets the re-quotation apart from the preceding context, the second formula connects the re-quotation with what precedes. When a re-quotation marked by כִּי אִשֶּׁר אָמַר is followed by an interpretation section, this formula integrates the re-quotation and its explanation with the interpretation of the preceding lemma and creates a chain of consecutive quotations and interpretations. The formula וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר occurs, apart from Peshet Habakkuk, in Peshet Isaiah A (where it introduces a re-quotation of Isa 11:3b),¹⁰⁶ Peshet Isaiah B (where it might

103 See pp. 6–14.

104 Brooke points to 1Q30 and 4Q159. See “*Pešer* and *Midraš* in Qumran Literature,” 106.

105 For an excellent overview see Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas.”

106 See 4Q161 8–10 iii 26 (Allegro 8–10 22). The formula is probably used also in 4Q161 2–6 ii 6 (Allegro 2–6 4), where it may introduce a re-quotation of Isa 10:22; see Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas,” 642–43; Jassen, “Re-Reading 4QPeshet Isaiah A,” 61–66.

Some scholars have reconstructed וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר in 4Q161 8–10 iii 9–11 (Allegro 8–10 5–7) (where it may introduce requotations of Isa 10:33bα; Isa 10:34a; and Isa 10:34b), but this reconstruction is problematic. John M. Allegro, DJD 5:13 has וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר only before the quotation of Isa 10:34a (because of the trace of *reš* he recognises in the manuscript). *DSSSE* 1:314, 316 reads וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר before the quotation of Isa 10:33bα, but not before Isa 10:34a. Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 185 reads וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר before both Isa 10:33bα and Isa 10:34a; so also Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:264. Horgan, *Pesharim* reads no quotation formulae at all, because “when this formula is used to introduce a second citation, it is usually followed by an interpretation introduced by the word *פֶּשֶׁר*” (84). The problems with

introduce re-quotations),¹⁰⁷ and Peshet Isaiah C (where it might bridge the gap between non-consecutive lemmata).¹⁰⁸ The latter Peshet also employs the formula **כְּתוּב בְּאִשֶּׁר** to introduce prooftexts taken either from the base text of the commentary or from other sources.¹⁰⁹ Peshet Isaiah E employs **וְאִשֶּׁר כְּתוּב**.¹¹⁰

Horgan's argumentation are neatly outlined by Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas," 642 (n. 21), but he has to admit that we cannot discount her reconstruction altogether.

- 107 See 4Q162 1:3. The same formula is probably intended in 4Q162 1:4, where the manuscript has **וְאִשֶּׁר וְאִשֶּׁר**, but the second **וְאִשֶּׁר** is marked by deletion dots. In 4Q162 1:3, **וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר** seems to introduce a re-quotations of a part of Isa 5:6 (if the reconstruction of this verse in 4Q162 1:1–2 is accepted), but it might also mark a non-continuous lemma. See William R. Lane, "Pešer Style as a Reconstruction Tool in 4Q Peshet Isa b," *RevQ* 2/6 (1960): 281–83; Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas," 649–51. The purpose of the formula in 4Q162 1:4 is unclear.

Allegro reconstructs a quotation formula **אִשֶּׁר אָמַר** in 4Q162 1:1, but this is doubtful; *pace* Allegro, DJD 5:15 see Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 186.

- 108 In 4Q163 8–10 4 **וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר** introduces a quotation of Isa 14:26–27. Bernstein notes that the preceding interpretation deals with Isa 14:8 and remarks: "If we look for a reason for a 'continuous' peshet to employ citation formulas for initial citation, it is certainly possible that the non-consecutive nature of the quotations is what engenders the formula, an employment which differs from its usage in introducing requotations. Since the text is not 'pesheted' consecutively, the function of the formula is to move the reader forward to the next citation" ("Introductory Formulas," 645). This is plausible for this introduction of Isa 14:26–27, but elsewhere **וְאִשֶּׁר אָמַר** seems to mark re-quotations. Hence the role of this formula in Peshet Isaiah C is not entirely clear.

- 109 In 4Q163 4–6 ii 16–17, the formula has been preserved in full, but the quotation it introduces is largely gone. In other passages, the formula itself is only partly recognisable (4Q163 1 4; 8–10 8). It appears, however, that the formula does introduce prooftexts: in 4Q163 8–10 8, a prooftext seems to be taken from Zechariah; in 4Q163 4–6 ii 16–17, the prooftext seems to stem from the Isaianic base text of the commentary.

Most editions of Peshet Isaiah C reconstruct 4Q163 1 4 as **[כְּאִשֶּׁר כְּתוּב עַל־יְיָ בִּירְמִיָּה]** (so Allegro, DJD 5:17; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 96; PTS DSSP 6B:48; DSSSE 1:318). However, the phrase "it is written ... in Jeremiah" would be unique to Peshet Isaiah C. In other quotation formulae, the book of certain authors are never referred to simply by naming the name of the author; one would always speak of something being written in the *book of* Jeremiah (cf. 4Q163 8–10 8: "as is written in the book of Zechariah"). Hence the reference to Jeremiah should not too readily be accepted; cf. also Horgan, *Pesharim*, 106.

- 110 See 4Q165 1–2 2 and perhaps also 4Q165 6 2; 8 2. The reconstruction in 8 2 is ambiguous: "8:2 could be reconstructed as either **כְּתוּב וְאִשֶּׁר כְּתוּב** or **כְּאִשֶּׁר כְּתוּב**" (Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas," 648). The function of this formula cannot be recovered with certainty: the quotation in 4Q165 1–2 2 has not been preserved, and the context does not allow for a certain decision on whether the quotation of Isa 32:5–7 in 4Q165 6 2–6 is an initial or a second quotation.

Other Pesharim use no quotation formulae.¹¹¹ This diversity shows that the use of quotation formulae in the Pesharim can be systematic within a single Peshar. However, between Pesharim, and sometimes even within one and the same Peshar, there is room for variation, depending on the context in which a quotation occurs and the preferences of the scribe.

The situation in Peshar Habakkuk confirms this picture. The general principle in this Peshar is clear: its two formulae introduce re-quotations, which they either set apart from or connect with the preceding context. But not every re-quotation is introduced by a quotation formula. The syntax and context of the re-quoted passage account for this apparent inconsistency. In 1QpHab 4:13, Hab 1:11b is re-quoted without formula. The fact that the re-quotation begins with -ו renders an introductory formula redundant: no formula was needed to integrate the re-quotation of Hab 1:11b into its context. The same principle is at work in other Pesharim¹¹² and is confirmed by the fact that none of the formulaically introduced quotations in the Pesharim seems to begin with -כ, -ו, or כ"א.¹¹³ This also explains the situation in 1QpHab 5:12–6:8, where Hab 1:16a and

Most editions reconstruct some words from Isa 40:11 in 4Q165 1–2 2. This reconstruction is based on the next quotation, which comes from Isa 40:12. It is not unlikely, therefore, but nor can it be accepted uncritically. Furthermore, even if part of Isa 40:11 was quoted here, there is no knowing whether it was a primary or a secondary quotation of that verse.

- 111 In some cases the absence of quotation formulae might be the result of the fragmentary transmission of the Pesharim. However, the fact that Peshar Nahum and Peshar Psalms A—two of the best preserved Pesharim—use no quotation formulae suggests that such formulae had indeed been entirely absent from some Qumran commentaries.
- 112 The re-quotation of Isa 10:34b in 4Q161 8–10 iii 11–12 (Allegro 8–10 7–8) begins with -ו and is not introduced by a quotation formula. Similarly, the re-quotation of Ps 37:22b in 4Q171 1–10 iii 11–12 begins with -ו and has no formula.
- 113 Some exceptions are doubtful. The re-quotations of Isa 10:33b α and Isa 10:34a in 4Q161 8–10 iii 9–10 (Allegro 8–10 5–6) also begin with -ו. The presence of quotation formulae in these lines is disputed, however. See n. 106 above. The suggestion made here could offer support for Horgan's reconstruction (who has no quotation formulae in these lines at all), albeit for entirely different reasons from the ones Horgan put forward.

The case of 4Q162 1:3 is not clear-cut. In this line, **וְאִשְׁרָא אָמַר** introduces a quotation of a part of Isa 5:6. It is not evident, however, if the quotation read **וְעֵלָה שְׂמִיר וְשִׁית** (as in MT) or **עֵלָה שְׂמִיר וְשִׁית**. The second reading is found with Allegro, DJD 5:15. Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 186 criticises Allegro and reads **וְעֵלָה**. He is followed by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 90 and DSSSE, 1:316. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:265 reads **יְעֵלָה**, but leaves room for reading **וְעֵלָה**.

Other possible exceptions to the tendency described here (1Q14 8–10 10; 4Q163 4–6 ii 5) are based entirely on reconstructions.

16b are re-quoted. The first re-quotation is introduced by a quotation formula, the second one is not. Bernstein suggests that the first quotation formula also governs the quotation of Hab 1:16b; but this is not very likely.¹¹⁴ Instead, the absence of a quotation formula with Hab 1:16b should be attributed to the fact that the re-quotation starts with **כִּי־א**. This conjunction links the quotation with the preceding interpretation of Hab 1:16a, and no formula was needed. The interpretation section that follows on the re-quotation of Hab 1:16b does not contradict this. Other re-quotations introduced by **כִּי־א הוּא־אֲשֶׁר־אִמַּר** could be followed by an interpretation section,¹¹⁵ in which case the formula creates a chain of continuous quotations and interpretations. This is also what happens here: Hab 1:16b belongs both with the preceding interpretation of Hab 1:16a (through the conjunction **כִּי־א**) and with the interpretation section that follows it. This use of quotation formulae in Peshar Habakkuk confirms the conclusion that quotation formulae may be used systematically in the Pesharim, but are never fully petrified: their use depends on the context of the quotations they introduce and their shape can be adapted in the light of this context.

2.5 *Multiple Interpretations*

There is a general consensus that multiple interpretations in the Pesharim are rare, if not entirely non-existent. Matthias Weigold allows for only one exception to this consensus: the interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab 1:16–2:10.¹¹⁶ I have elsewhere expressed my doubts about the presence of multiple interpretations in 1QpHab 1:16–2:10.¹¹⁷ This is not to say that multiple interpretations are wholly absent from the Qumran commentaries, however. In 1QpHab 1:8–15, **הָרַעַל** in Hab 2:16 (as it is quoted in 1QpHab) is interpreted in two ways: it informs the reference to “the foreskin of his heart” (**עוֹרֹלַת לְבוֹ**) in the interpretation and it is behind the reference to confusion (**תְּבַלְעוֹנוֹ**) or the general image of drunkenness evoked in this passage. Similarly, Peshar Nahum understands the phrase **וְאִין מַחְרִיד** (Nah 2:12b) in two ways: both as “there is no one to terrify

114 “Introductory Formulas,” 640. Bernstein sees a parallel between 1QpHab 6:12–17 and 12:6–9. In this latter passage, he asserts, “the words **וְהַמַּס אֲרִץ** are quoted for a second and third time, within a re-quotation” (“Introductory Formulas,” 640). However, the first re-quotation of **וְהַמַּס אֲרִץ** (line 7) is governed by the quotation formula introducing the re-quotation of Hab 2:17b, and the second re-quotation of this phrase (line 9) is part of a glossographical interpretation; hence it does not need a quotation formula.

115 1QpHab 5:6–7; possibly also 3:2–4; 13–15.

116 “Ancient Jewish Commentaries in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nóra Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 218–94 (286–89).

117 “‘The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest,’” 66–68.

(the lions in the den)” and as “there is no one to terrify (enemies away from the den).”

These instances allow a comparison between multiple interpretations in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. The first point to be noted is that multiple interpretations are much more common in the Greek commentaries than in the Hebrew ones. Secondly, the Pesharim do not present multiple interpretations as separate expositions, but integrate them into a unified narrative. As we have seen, the idea that two interpretations of the same phrase can exhibit a complementary relationship is not unique to the Pesharim: the hypomnemata adhere to the same idea in their interpretations of *κορυθαίολος* in *Il.* 2.816 and *Ἄρη/ἄρη* in *Il.* 21.112. Even in these cases, however, the hypomnemata present the two readings of these words as distinct interpretations. This does not happen in the Pesharim: the two meanings of *הרעל* and *ואין מהריד* are embedded in the narrative interpretations of *Hab* 2:16 and *Nah* 2:12b from the start. This difference marks the different aims of the hypomnema and Peshar commentators. The first present themselves as engaging in scholarly debates with fellow intellectuals, and their commentaries serve as repositories of scholarly views. In this way, the hypomnema exegetes write themselves into a multi-faceted scholarly tradition. The Pesharim, in contrast, claim to contain the authoritative scriptural interpretations that originated with the Teacher of Righteousness. As representatives of the voice of the Teacher, the Peshar commentators have no interest in presenting alternative views; they offer a unified, narrative historical memory based allegedly on the teachings of the Teacher.¹¹⁸

3 Blurred Boundaries

The interest of the Peshar commentators to offer a unified interpretation of their base texts not only governs the structure of interpretation sections, but also the connection between lemmata and their interpretations. Even though the Pesharim, like the hypomnema, generally adhere to a bifold macro-structure, the boundaries between lemmata and interpretation sections can at times be blurred. Some minor cases have already been referred to. The re-quotation of *Hab* 1:11b in 1QpHab 4:9–14 blends smoothly with its context, and so does the re-quotation of *Ps* 37:22b in 4Q171 1–10 iii 11–12. Other cases

118 Cf. Steven Fraade's comment that the Pesharim offer “a single, authoritative, declarative interpretation” of their base texts (*From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy*, SUNY Series in Judaica [New York: State University of New York University Press, 1991], 5–6).

have to do with the absence of *vacats*: in 1QpHab 3:2–3, for instance, there is no visible distinction between the re-quoted proof-text (Hab 1:6bβ) and the following lemma (Hab 1:7).¹¹⁹

Apart from these minor cases, the Pesharim contain several more elaborate instances of blurred boundaries between lemmata and their interpretations. 4Q162 2:2–10 quote and interpret Isa 5:11–14 and Isa 5:24b–25. The link between these scriptural passages and their interpretation is not immediately clear. In my view, the commentator creates what can be called an “abbreviated Peshar” by taking Isa 5:24b as a proof-text and Isa 5:25 as a lemma. In 4Q169 3–4 i 6–9, the verb יקרא links the first part of Nah 2:14 with the interpretation of Nah 2:13b that precedes. Finally, in 4Q169 3–4 iii 1–7, the plural verb ואמרו connects the quotation of Nah 3:7aβ–b with its preceding context by presenting it as direct speech of the simple ones of Ephraim. Let us take a closer look at these passages.

The first example is 4Q162 2:2–10:

הו משכימי בבקר שכר ירדפו מאחרי בנשף יין ידלקם והיה כגור ונבל ותוף וחליל
יין משתיהם ואת פעל ה' לא הביטו ומעשי ידו לא ראו לכן גלה עמי מבלי דעת וכבדו
מתי רעב והמנו צחי צמא לכן הרחיבה שאול נפשה ופערה פיה לבלי חוק וירד הדרה
והמנה ושאנה עליז בא אלה הם אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים הם אשר מאסו את
תורת ה' ואת אמרת קדוש ישראל נאצו על כן חרה אף ה' בעמו ויט ידו עליו ויכהו
וירגזו ההרים ותהי נבלתם כסחה בקרב החוצות בכל זאת לא שב [אפו ועוד ידו
נטויה] היא עדת אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים

“Woe to those who wake up early in the morning to pursue strong drink, to those that tarry until the evening to have wine inflame them! And as they drink wine there shall be lyre, lute, tambourine, and flute. But the work of the Lord they do not consider and the deeds of his hand they do not see. Therefore, my people shall be exiled for lack of knowledge, and their nobles shall die of hunger, and its common people shall be parched by drought! Therefore Sheol broadens its throat and opens its mouth

119 The absence of a *vacat* may even mislead modern scholars. Emanuel Tov has not observed that Hab 1:6bβ is a proof-text and Hab 1:7 a lemma: “Thus, while the lemmas quoting the biblical text in the exposition in 1QpHab sometimes confirm to what is now a verse in the Masoretic tradition of Habakkuk..., more frequently they comprise half-verses or even smaller segments..., one-and-a-half verses (1:1–2a; 1:6bβ–7; 1:12b–13a; 2:7–8a), or stretches of two..., or three ... verses” (*Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 [Leiden: Brill, 2004; repr., Atlanta.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009], 140 [my italics]; cf. p. 323 [Appendix 7]).

wide without end, and down goes its honour, and its multitude, and its exulting uproar enters!" (Isa 5:11–14). These are the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem, the ones who "despised the Torah of the Lord, and rejected the word of the Holy One of Israel. Therefore the anger of the Lord burned against his people and he stretched forth his hand against them, and smote them, and the mountains quaked. Their corpses were as refuse in the middle of the streets. Despite all this [his anger] has not turned aside [and his arm is still outstretched" (Isa 5:24b–25).] This is the assembly of the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem.

4Q162 2:2–10

Previous scholarship has understood the quotation of Isa 5:24b–25 in different ways. For William Lane, the phrase "these are the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem, the ones who" in lines 6–7 serves merely to bridge the gap between Isa 5:11–14 and Isa 5:24b–25. It is "not an interpretation of the scriptural passage":¹²⁰ the Peshar commentator quotes Isa 5:11–14 and 24b–25, with a short bridge between them, and then interprets both verses by applying them to "the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem." Horgan, in contrast, does take "these are the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem, the ones who" as an interpretation of the preceding lemma. Yet she does not explicate how exactly she conceives of the structure of these lines.¹²¹ Finally, Brooke argues that the quotation of Isa 5:24b–25 is subordinate to the quotation and interpretation of Isa 5:11–14.¹²²

These suggestions all depart from the idea that the quotation of Isa 5:24b–25 is a unity that either looks forward towards its interpretation or backward to the interpretation of Isa 5:11–14. It is not self-evident that Isa 5:24b and 25 belong together, however. The scriptural co-text of Isa 5:24 and 25 implies a division between these verses, marked by the expression על כן at the beginning of verse 25.¹²³ Considering the general sensitivity of the Qumran commentaries to the structure of their base texts,¹²⁴ this division probably played a role in how our commentator read these verses. If so, Isa 5:24b can be taken as a proof-text belonging with the interpretation of Isa 5:11–14 and the application of those verses to the Scoffers in Jerusalem. The quotation of this proof-text naturally in-

120 "Pešer Style as a Reconstruction Tool," 281 (n. 3).

121 *Pesharim*, 92.

122 "Thematic Commentaries," 142–43.

123 So Willem A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 145; H.G.M. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 403.

124 On which see Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 12–18; Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 121–22.

vokes Isa 5:25, which is quoted as a lemma and interpreted as a reference to the Scoffers in Jerusalem.¹²⁵ The result may be considered an “abbreviated Peshet” that skips over Isa 5:15–24a to express the thematic interest of the commentator in the Scoffers in Jerusalem.¹²⁶

A second case is this interpretation of Nah 2:14aα:

ואשר אמר [וימלא טרף] חורה ומעונתו טרפה פשרו על כפיר החרון [אשר ימלא חורה רוב פגרי לעשות נק]מות בדורשי החלקות אשר יתלה אנשים חיים [על העץ לפעול תועבה אשר לוא יעשה] בישראל מלפנים כי לתלוי חי על העץ [יק]רא הנני אלי[כה] נא[ם ה' צבאות]¹²⁷

And for what he said: [“And he fills] his den [with prey] and his dwelling place with prey” (Nah 2:13b). Its interpretation concerns the Lion of Wrath, [who fills his den with a mass of corpses to execute judgment on the Seekers of Smooth Things, who hangs living men [to commit an atrocity that has not been done] in Israel before. For about him who is hanged alive on a tree [it is re]ad: “Behold, I am against [you,] say[s the Lord of hosts!” (Nah 2:14aα)]

4Q169 3-4 i 6-9

This passage has engendered much discussion. Even if the reading יק[רא] is accepted,¹²⁸ the syntax and meaning of the phrase כי לתלוי חי על העץ יקרא

125 This suggestion may not be entirely new, but nor has it yet—to the best of my knowledge—been developed explicitly. Christian Metzenthin reckons with a divide between Isa 5:24 and 25, but still finds it “bemerkenswert ... wie die Überleitung in das Zitat, zusammen mit dem zitierten Halbvers (24b), zu einer neuen Aussage verbunden wurde” (*Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, AThANT 98 [Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010], 233–34). Bernstein, “A Multi-Generic Perspective,” 413–14 also seems to imply a division between Isa 5:24b and Isa 5:25.

126 Cf. Brooke, “Thematic Commentaries,” 142–43. Elsewhere, Brooke offers some other options as to why the commentator may have skipped over Isa 5:15–24a. They are: a) homoioteleuton; b) a prevention of repetition; c) the more general tone of Isa 5:15–23 in comparison with preceding and following passages. See “The Biblical Text in the Qumran Commentaries,” 92.

127 Text and reconstruction according to *DSSSE* 1:336.

128 The photos of the manuscript exhibit traces of *reš* and *ʾaleph* only. Some scholars seem to recognise a trace of *qof* in the manuscript. See *DSSSE* 1:336; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:283. This reading probably results from the plates printed in DJD 5, which show a small speck where the *qof* might have been. However, on the basis of the PAM photographs now available online (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280796>;

remains problematic. For many scholars the Peshet implies a reference to Deut 21:22–23, where a person hanged on a tree is deemed cursed by God.¹²⁹ What is more, a passage in the Temple Scroll has led various scholars to believe that punishment by hanging alive was a legitimate procedure in the eyes of the members of the Qumran movement; hence the Peshet would not condemn, but condone the actions of the Lion of Wrath.¹³⁰ These explanations are prob-

last accessed 11 October, 2016) it is possible to conclude that no such trace is visible and the speck in the DJD plates must be a shade of some kind.

A noteworthy exception is Florentino García Martínez, “4QpNah y la Crucifixión: Nueva hipótesis de reconstrucción de 4Q169 3–4 i, 4–8,” *EstB* 38 (1978–1979): 221–35 (230–32). Observing that the reading אַר[יק] seems to yield no good sense, García Martínez proposes to reconstruct אַר[גו] and understand the phrase as: “for it is terrible for the one hanged alive from the tree.” This reading has two advantages for García Martínez: a) it does not provide an exegetical justification for Jannaeus’s (who can be identified with the Lion of Wrath) actions; b) it explains the shift from plural (אַנְשִׁים חַיִּים) to singular (תְּלוּי חַי). In my view, García Martínez is correct both when he points out that we should not expect a justification for the deeds of the Lion of Wrath here and when he writes that the singular expression אַר[...] בִּי לְתֵלוּי חַי עַל הָעֵץ [...] (however it is reconstructed and understood) must be taken as a “formulación genérica” (“4QpNah y la Crucifixión,” 22). But these two observations do not, in my view, exclude the reconstruction אַר[יק] and the understanding of the phrase אַר[יק] בִּי לְתֵלוּי חַי עַל הָעֵץ יְקָרָא suggested below.

Note, incidentally, the inconsistency in *DSSSE* 1:336–37: the Hebrew text of this passage reads אַר[יק], but its translation still reflects García Martínez’s earlier understanding of the passage (“for it is [hor]rible for the one hanged alive from the tree”).

129 “And if a man has committed a sin punishable by death, and he has died, and you hang him on the wood, then his body shall not remain on the wood for the night, but you must bury it on that same day, for one who is hanged is cursed by God.”

In a preliminary publication of the Peshet, John Allegro followed Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman and assumed that the phrase אַר[יק] בִּי לְתֵלוּי חַי עַל הָעֵץ יְקָרָא must mean “for it (the Scripture) calls the one hanged alive on a tree—.” This would imply a reference to Deut 21:22–23, but the scriptural verse itself would have been absent for pietistic reasons. See John M. Allegro, “Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect,” *JBL* 75 (1956): 89–95 (91).

This old view has been more recently revived by Gregory Doudna, who writes that “the original Cross/Freedman suggestion indeed is the key to the solution to the puzzle.” See *4Q Peshet Nahum: A Critical Edition*, *JSPSup* 35, CIS 8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 421. For Doudna, the passage from the Temple Scroll (see the following note) is of primary importance, as it supplies the missing link between Deuteronomy and Peshet Nahum.

130 11QT^a 64:6–13. The first to point to the relevance of this passage for how we read Peshet Nahum was Yigael Yadin, “Peshet Nahum (4QpNahum) Reconsidered,” *IEJ* 21 (1971): 1–12. See furthermore André Dupont-Sommer, “Observations nouvelles sur l’expression « suspendu vivant sur le bois » dans le Commentaire de Nahum à la lumière du Rouleau du

lematic, however. The occurrence of a halakhic interpretation of Deut 21:22–23 in the middle of a Peshar is “awkward.”¹³¹ What is more, apart from the general reference to hanging the Peshar does not take up language or ideas from Deut 21:22–23. Hence, it appears that no relationship between the Peshar and Deuteronomy must be assumed.¹³²

A more helpful suggestion was first proposed by Hans Bardtke. Bardtke proposes that the word-form אִקְרָא links the preceding interpretation of Nah 2:13b with (part of) the following lemma (Nah 2:14). In this manner, the exclamation “behold, I am against you, says the Lord of hosts!” is directed against the one hanged on a tree.¹³³ Bardtke’s theory has had many followers,¹³⁴ but it was also criticised, most notably by Dupont-Sommer and Doudna. In my opinion, these critiques are not ultimately convincing,¹³⁵ and Bardtke’s reading of this passage remains the most successful one. If we accept his theory, a similarity between

Temple,” in *CAIBL* 116 (1972): 709–20 (712–13); Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Does *TLH* in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?” *JBL* 91 (1972): 472–81 (481); Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 180–84.

131 So Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 182.

132 So also Moshe J. Bernstein, “כִּי קָלְלָת אֱלֹהִים תִּלְוִי: A Study in Early Jewish Exegesis,” in *Reading and Re-Reading*, 592–613 (593, n. 4); Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 183–84.

133 *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1958), 298.

134 Allegro, *DJD* 5:39; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 178–79; eadem, *PTS DSSP* 6B:148; Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 185–89 (and other scholars whom Tzoref lists in n. 59).

135 Dupont-Sommer utters the objection that “un tel emploi de la citation biblique dans un Commentaire qoumrânien serait tout à fait insolite, qu’il ne se rencontre nulle part ailleurs.” (“Observations nouvelles,” 213). In reaction to this view, Horgan refers to the quotation of Isa 5:24b in 4Q162 2:2–10, which is “a continuation of the preceding commentary in one syntactical unit” (*Pesharim*, 179).

Doudna argued in reaction to Horgan that the quotation of Isa 5:24b cannot be compared with a linked reading in 4Q169 3–4 i 6–9, since the use of Isa 5:24b in Peshar Isaiah B “seems to fall within the pattern of identification of interpretive correspondences.... If the crucified one at 4QpNah 3–4 i 8 was being identified as the interpretive counterpart of the object of Yahweh’s imprecation of the next quotation, the normal way this would be done would be by means of a pronoun” (*4Q Peshar Nahum*, 419). However, this reasoning seems to depend on the idea of structural unity in the Pesharim and cannot convince. Doudna also objects that לִי, when used with אִקְרָא, identifies the object of that verb and cannot mean “concerning.” This is not necessary, however. To begin with, לִי and לִי can be used interchangeably in interpretation formulae. Moreover, the use of לִי as an object marker seems to be reserved for אִקְרָא as a *verbum dicendi*; if we understand the root to mean “to read” rather than “to call,” this use of לִי must be assessed along different lines. For the breadth of meaning of לִי see Ernst Jenni, *Die hebräischen Präpositionen: Band 3: Die Präposition Lamed* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 134–48.

the use of Isa 5:24b–25 in Peshar Isaiah B and this quotation of Nah 2:14 becomes apparent. Just as the quotation in Peshar Isaiah B implies a distinction between Isa 5:24b and 25, so Peshar Nahum implies a distinction between Nah 2:14a α and the remainder of Nah 2:14. The first part of this verse belongs with what precedes and is introduced by the verb יקרא; the second part belongs with what follows and serves as the lemma for the next interpretation section. This division is confirmed by the interpretation of Nah 2:14a β –b. This interpretation identifies elements from the lemma with elements in the commentator's thought world. The first word so identified is רובכה from Nah 2:14a β .¹³⁶ This shows that the interpretation section in 4Q169 3–4 i 10–ii 1 indeed implies a lemma that begins with Nah 2:14a β , not 14a α .¹³⁷

A final example, again from Peshar Nahum, is the interpretation of Nah 3:6–7a α :

והשלכתי עליך שקוצים [ונ]בלתיך ושמתיך כאורה והיה כול רואיך ידודו ממך פשרו
 על דורשי החלקות אשר באחרית הקץ יגלו מעשיהם הרעים לכול ישראל ורבים יבינו
 בעוונם ושנאום וכארום על זדון אשמתם ובה[ג]לות כבוד יהודה ידודו פתאי אפרים
 מתוך קהלם ועזבו את מתעיהם ונלוו על [י]שראל ואמרו שודדה נינה מי ינוד לה
 מאין אבקשה מנחמים לך פשרו [על] דורשי החלקות

“And I shall throw detestable things at you and I shall treat you with contempt, and I shall make you repulsive. And all that see you shall flee from you” (Nah 3:6–7a α). Its interpretation concerns the Seekers of Smooth Things, whose wicked deeds shall be made known to all Israel in the final period, and many will understand their iniquity, will hate them, and consider them repulsive because of their guilty insolence. But when the glory of Judah is [re]vealed, the simple ones of Ephraim shall flee from the midst of their congregation and they shall abandon their misleaders, and they shall join [I]srael “and they shall say: ‘Nineveh is ruined; who will mourn for her? Whence could I seek comforters for you?’” (Nah 3:7a β –b). Its interpretation [concerns] the Seekers of Smooth Things.

4Q169 3–4 iii 1–7

136 This reading differs from MT. On its text-critical implications see Pieter B. Hartog, “Nahum 2:14: Text-Critical Notes,” *VT* 63 (2013): 546–54.

137 Doudna overlooks this when he calls the reading proposed here “arbitrary” (4Q Peshar Nahum, 420–21).

Regardless of the origins of the variant reading **ואמר** over against MT's **ואמר**,¹³⁸ the reading fulfils an important role in the structure of this passage: The verb **ואמר** integrates part of Nah 3:7a β -b with what precedes, whilst another part of this quotation belongs to the interpretation sections that follows it. The verbal form fits in seamlessly with the other 3rd person plural perfect forms in 4Q169 3-4 iii 5: "they shall flee"; "and they shall abandon"; and "and they shall join." Thus, the clause that begins with "and when the glory of Judah is revealed" runs until and includes the verbal form "they shall say." The Peshar commentator may take this verbal form from his scriptural base text, but the plural verb ties in well with the interpretation of Nah 3:6-7a α and becomes an integral part of it.¹³⁹ Hence it serves as a bridge between this interpretation and the first part of Nah 3:7a β -b, presenting at least the first words of the latter quotation ("Nineveh is ruined") as the direct speech of the simple ones of Ephraim mentioned in the preceding interpretation section. The remainder of Nah 3:7a β -b serves as the lemma for the interpretation section that follows.

4 The Pesharim as Literary Unities

After this separate discussion of lemmata and interpretations in the Pesharim, we should move on to consider the Pesharim as literary entities in their own right. The most prominent principle of selection at work in the Pesharim is the historical memory of the Peshar commentators and the movement to which they belong. This historical memory presents itself in narrative form and governs the contents of the Qumran commentaries both on the micro-level of the individual lemma-interpretation units and on the macro-level of the Pesharim as a whole. As has been shown, the Qumran commentaries present a unified, integrative interpretation of their base text. Even when different types of interpretation (e.g., glossography, paraphrase, the use of different literary traditions) can be distinguished for the sake of analysis, these are fused into a single

138 It is probably related with the variant **ידודו** in Nah 3:7a α , and the Peshar may well go back to a *Vorlage* which had these two verbs in the plural rather than the singular. So also Horgan, *Pesharim*, 187-88.

139 This is supported by Tzoref's observation that **ואמר** lacks an equivalent in the interpretation that follows the quotation of Nah 3:7a β -b. In her view, "the total lack of correspondence to **ואמר** eludes explanation" (*Peshar Nahum*, 263), but I think the contextual integration of this verb with the preceding interpretation of Nah 3:6-7a α does provide an explanation: **ואמר** was not interpreted because it was not taken to belong with what followed, but with what preceded.

narrative exposition of the base text. The selection and arrangement of the elements included in these expositions depends on the historical memory of the Qumran exegetes. Similarly on a macro-structural level: the historical memory of the Peshar commentators governs the selection and arrangement of lemma-interpretation units into a unified whole. The Pesharim do not, therefore, consist of separate lemma-interpretation units brought together only because they offer a consecutive interpretation of their base text. Rather, the Qumran commentaries organise their lemma-interpretation units around specific themes and aspects of the historical consciousness of their exegetes; there usually is, as Jokiranta puts it, “coherence in the flow of the peshar interpretations.”¹⁴⁰

This organising principle of the Pesharim has been well-known. It inspires studies that seek to draw historical information from the Qumran commentaries in order, for instance, to write a biography of the Teacher of Righteousness¹⁴¹ or to pinpoint the historical reality behind the references to the Wicked Priest in Peshar Habakkuk.¹⁴² Such historical readings of the Pesharim have become suspect in more recent scholarship, which acknowledges that the Pesharim contain historical memory rather than proper history.¹⁴³ But these historical readings of the Qumran commentaries do show that the lemma-interpretation units in these commentaries can be read together as a narrative. As it appears, the Peshar exegetes carefully organised the contents of their commentaries. Individual examples confirm this. When he added 1QpHab 2:5–10 to Peshar Habakkuk, for instance, the exegete used vocabulary from elsewhere in this commentary to describe the persona and activities of the “Priest.” By so doing, the commentator created a link between this passage and column 7 of 1QpHab, and between the figure of the Priest and that of the Teacher. Thus the new passage is incorporated into the plot of the Peshar and the Priest is presented as a counterpart of the Teacher.¹⁴⁴ A conscious arrangement of lemma-interpretation units is also evident in Peshar Nahum. The interpretation of Nah 2:12b in 4Q169 3–4 i 1–3 speaks of the “counsel of the Seekers of Smooth Things” which convinced Demetrius to come to Jerusalem. Later on in Peshar

140 *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 122.

141 E.g., Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, SUNT 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963).

142 E.g., Adam S. van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59; Timothy H. Lim, “The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 415–25.

143 See the works cited in Pieter B. Hartog, “Pesharim,” in *The Dictionary of the Bible in Ancient Media*, ed. Chris L. Keith et al. (London: T&T Clark, forthcoming).

144 Cf. Hartog, “The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest.’”

Nahum, the Seekers of Smooth Things are punished for “their guilty counsel” (4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6). The reference to a “counsel” in both lemma-interpretation units imbues the Peshar with a plot: when these passages are read together, it becomes clear that the Seekers of Smooth Things in 4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6 are being punished for giving counsel to Demetrius. These examples show that the Pesharim are carefully constructed entities, in which the historical memory of their commentators determines the contents, order, and arrangement of lemma-interpretation units.

The conscious arrangement of the Pesharim is also clear from the apparent inclination on the part of the Peshar exegetes to avoid repetition. The evidence is scarce; however, Karl Elliger observed that lemmata in Peshar Habakkuk tend to become longer as the commentary proceeds:

Der Verfasser eilt deutlich dem Ende zu, vermutlich weil er sich mit seinen Gedanken verausgabt hat und sich zu oft wiederholen müßte, wenn er wie am Anfang jede Zeile oder gar Halbzeile zum Gefäß seiner Verkündigung machen wollte. Jedenfalls liegt es nicht im Inhalt des Textes begründet, wenn der Ausleger gegen den Schluß hin den Text rafft.¹⁴⁵

This is a plausible suggestion.¹⁴⁶ In the preceding chapter a similar tendency has been identified in P.Oxy. 2.221v and P.Oxy. 8.1086. In the Pesharim, however, the tendency to avoid repetition seems to depend on the personal preferences of the Peshar commentators: it is absent, for instance, from Peshar Nahum and Peshar Psalms A.

The historical memory of the Peshar commentators is not the only principle of selection in the Pesharim. As the Pesharim constitute continuous commentaries on their base texts, the order and structure of these base texts also serve as a principle of selection. As several scholars emphasise, the Pesharim do not merely apply Scripture to the history of the movement to which the Peshar commentators belonged. Instead, the historical memory of the Qumran exegetes is determined in large part by Scripture. The way in which the Pesharim express the historical memory of their commentators depends on the contents

¹⁴⁵ *Studien*, 120–21.

¹⁴⁶ Elliger also suggests that this tendency accounts for the absence of Hab 3 from Peshar Habakkuk. This does not seem likely. However, the increase in lemma size in 1QpHab might be related to the change of scribe just before the end of the manuscript: perhaps the first scribe was not able—or did not want—to finish the manuscript, so that a second scribe had to take over.

and structure of their base text.¹⁴⁷ So, in Peshar Isaiah B and Peshar Psalms A, the structure of Isa 5:24b–25 and Ps 37 governs the presentation of these base texts in the Pesharim. As we have seen, the integration of Isa 5:24b–25 into 4Q162 2:2–10 depends on the break between these verses in the Isaianic base text. Similarly, the lemmata in Peshar Psalms A reflect the acrostic structure of its base text.¹⁴⁸ The contents of interpretation sections, too, often reflects that of their base texts. References to the Wicked Priest in Peshar Habakkuk go back to negative protagonists mentioned in the book of Habakkuk, which are identified collectively with this opponent of the Teacher and the Qumran movement. Similarly, the portrayal of the Chaldeans in Habakkuk informs the depiction of the Kittim in Peshar Habakkuk.¹⁴⁹ The image of a lion in Nah 2:12–14 (which metaphorically represents the king of Nineveh) underlies its identification with royal figures (Demetrius and the Angry Lion) in Peshar Nahum. And portrayals of conflicts between the Teacher of Righteousness or his movement with other entities in Peshar Psalms A take up the contrast between the righteous and the wicked in Ps 37.¹⁵⁰ Clearly, then, the structure and order of their base texts is a prominent principle of selection in the Qumran commentaries. The historical memory of the Peshar exegetes does not merely govern how scriptural base texts are read in the Pesharim; this historical memory is also itself shaped by the contents and structure of these base texts.

The purpose of this dialogue between Scripture and the historical memory of the movement to which the Peshar commentators belonged, is to merge them into a single perspective. This “single, authoritative, declarative interpretation”¹⁵¹ purports to originate from a divine revelation imparted on the Teacher of Righteousness. The Peshar commentators claim to be followers

147 See, e.g., Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 97–105; idem, “What History”; Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim”; idem, “The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; idem, “Controlling Intertexts”; Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 111–213.

148 So Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 129. An exception is the quotation of Ps 37:20; on the reasons for this exception see Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development,” 275–76.

149 Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 163–65. Jokiranta reacts to Hanan Eshel’s proposal that Peshar Habakkuk incorporates two historical sources. In Eshel’s view, references to the Kittim should stem from a later historical source than those to the Teacher. See “The Two Historical Layers of Peshar Habakkuk,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al., STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17. For additional criticism of Eshel’s theory see Hartog, “The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest,’” 60–64.

150 Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 122–48.

151 Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary*, 5–6.

of the Teacher, guarding his interpretations of Scripture as well as continuing them in later times. Just as the Teacher partook of essentially the same revelation as the prophet Habakkuk, so do the Peshar commentators. Thus, the Pesharim reflect no divide between the biblical and the post-biblical period: the latter days in which the Peshar commentators considered themselves to live are not a break with, but a continuation of biblical times. The abundant use of scriptural language in the Pesharim and the continuous dialogue between their base texts and the historical memory of the Peshar exegetes underscores this view. So do the cases in which the bifold structure of the Qumran commentaries is blurred and the historical memory of the Peshar commentators merges completely with the base text of the Qumran commentaries.

5 Conclusion

The structure of the Pesharim reveals that these commentaries are works of scholarship, produced by intellectuals engaged in the systematic and continuous study of Scripture. The close acquaintance of the Peshar exegetes with the Jewish Scriptures is evident from the abundant intertextual connections between these Scriptures and the Pesharim. The use of interpretation and quotation formulae, different types of interpretation, and other literary traditions also demonstrate that the Pesharim are the result of close and careful study and exegesis.

The macro-structure of the Pesharim exhibits close similarities with that of the hypomnemata. These similarities result from the scholarly networks in which the producers of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim partook. Micro-structural parallels between these commentaries, like the use of glossography, paraphrase, formulaic terminology, or multiple interpretations further indicate that the hypomnema and Peshar commentators participated in broader scholarly traditions.

At the same time, the Pesharim do not reflect the same type of scholarly tradition as the hypomnemata. Unlike most Greek commentaries, the Pesharim exhibit no interest in scholarly debate and discussion. Instead they provide a unified narrative interpretation of their base texts. Even if the Pesharim offer more than one interpretation of an element in the lemma, they integrate them into a single interpretation. This strong integrative inclination is connected with the persona of the Teacher of Righteousness. The Teacher is presented as a recipient of divine revelation and the initiator of the scholarly-exegetical tradition the Pesharim claim to represent. Thus, the Teacher becomes a source

of authority: only interpretations that allegedly tie in with his teachings are accepted; others are condemned. This unifying tendency may even break down the distinction between lemmata and interpretations, or between Scripture and the experiences of its commentators. Hence, instead of initiating their readers into a multi-faceted scholarly tradition, the Pesharim seek to communicate to their readers a single, unified, and authoritative framework in which the history and experiences of the Qumran movement must be understood.

Describing Hermeneutics

As exegetical writings, the hypomnemata and the Pesharim do not just juxtapose their lemmata and interpretation sections. They establish a hermeneutical relation between lemmata and interpretations. To arrive at such a relation the hypomnema and Peshar commentators have a range of hermeneutical resources (or techniques) at their disposal.¹

The hermeneutical system of the hypomnemata has received little attention in previous studies on these Greek commentaries. Some resources (e.g., allegory, analogy, “etymology”²) have been discussed previously, but a comprehensive treatment of how the hypomnemata derive meaning from their base texts remains a desideratum. There are several reasons for this neglect. To begin with, in the early years of hypomnemata research scholars were primarily interested in distinguishing hypomnemata from other types of literature. To this end structural and terminological features were more useful than hermeneutics, and treatments of the hypomnemata have concentrated primarily on these features.³ Secondly, some modern scholars have taken Hellenistic and Roman Homer scholarship as a forerunner to modern-day practices, which, like their ancient counterparts, tend to focus on the literary and linguistic qualities of the Homeric epics. From this perspective, modern Homer scholars can be considered to have an almost intuitive understanding of their ancient colleagues, and there is no need to outline the resources ancient Homer scholars used in their expositions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This is a problematic viewpoint, however: even if the results of ancient and modern Homer scholarship are similar, the principles that underlie them can be (and usually are) quite different. Finally, works of Greek scholarship rarely explicate how they arrive at their interpretations.

As I intend to show in the following chapters, the hypomnemata do exhibit a hermeneutical system. This system consists of the resources these

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- 1 With Alexander Samely I prefer the term “resource” to the more common “exegetical technique” or “method.” The latter two terms may suggest the image of a toolkit from which a commentator draws a suitable tool to arrive at a certain interpretation. “Resources,” in contrast, are a more elusive category; they may be used consciously, but also unconsciously. See *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 12.
 - 2 On “etymology” see pp. 193–97.
 - 3 See pp. 30–32.

commentaries use to arrive at an interpretation of their base texts. These resources reflect the thought world of ancient Homer interpreters, which is often very different from that of modern Homer scholars. At the same time, many of the resources in the hypomnemata find parallels in other ancient exegetical traditions, including the Pesharim. The comparative perspective adopted in the following chapters will enable me both to illustrate the similarities between the hermeneutical profiles of the Pesharim and the hypomnemata and to bring out the different intentions of commentators in both traditions, which has an impact on how they employ the resources at their disposal.

1 A Quest for Categories

A potential challenge for a comparative analysis of hermeneutical resources in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim is finding the right definitions of these resources. Such definitions should do justice to ancient practices without imposing a modern perspective on them.⁴ They should be restrictive enough to be useful for analytical purposes, but broad enough to allow for variety in the individual application of resources. Finally, they should provide a neutral basis for comparison, which does not a priori favour one element in the comparison over the others. This latter point is particularly important. When describing the hermeneutics of a single tradition, it is often acceptable to use terms from that tradition as descriptive categories. A hermeneutical description of the hypomnemata, for one, could include references to “explaining Homer from Homer.” But such terminology cannot be used in a comparative analysis, as it applies to one tradition only—or at least it favours one tradition over the other. Hence our terminology should offer a neutral basis on which to compare the hypomnemata and the Pesharim.

The rabbinic *middôt*, which were used in early hermeneutical descriptions of the Pesharim, do not meet these standards. Even if the similarities between the rabbinic rules of exegesis and Greek exegetical traditions are acknowledged,⁵ the *middôt* can hardly be considered impartial. Analogical

4 Cf. Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 3–4.

5 See the classical works of David Daube, “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric,” *HUCA* 22 (1949): 239–64 and Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, *TSJTS* 18 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950; repr. with *Greek in Jewish Palestine*; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1994), 47–82; also Yonatan Moss, “Noblest Obelus: Rabbinic Appropriations of Late Ancient Literary Criticism,” in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, *JSRC* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 245–67.

reasoning, for instance, occurs in both the hypomnemata and the Pesharim; but it would be odd to speak of *g^ezērâ šāwâ* in the Greek commentaries. What is more, most scholars would be hesitant, for various reasons, to employ the *middôt* in hermeneutical descriptions of the Pesharim. To begin with, the *middôt* are prescriptive, not descriptive and do not constitute a helpful summary of rabbinic hermeneutics:⁶ some of the *middôt* attributed to Hillel, Ishmael, or Eliezer are almost entirely absent from scriptural interpretations in the rabbinic literature, whereas resources lacking from the lists attributed to these authorities are freely used.⁷ The same situation pertains in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁸ Moreover, the relation between the Pesharim and the rabbinic Midrashim has been problematised.⁹ Finally, many Qumran scholars have moved away from outlining the methods the Peshar commentators employed to derive meaning from their base texts to surveying how the base text and its interpretation inspired the structure and formulation of interpretation sections in the Pesharim.¹⁰

From the early years of Peshar scholarship onwards some scholars decided to avoid rabbinic terminology to describe the Pesharim. Karl Elliger, for instance, accounts for the hermeneutics of the Pesharim with reference to resources like “Allegorese,” “Akzentverschiebung,” or “Wortspiel” in Peshar

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- 6 See Fritz Maass, “Von den Ursprüngen der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung,” *ZTK* 52 (1955): 129–61; Philip S. Alexander, “The Rabbinic Hermeneutical Rules and the Problem of the Definition of Midrash,” *PIBA* 8 (1984): 97–125; George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 8–17; Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 26–28.
- 7 See Solomon Zeitlin, “Hillel and the Hermeneutic Rules,” *JQR* 54 (1963): 161–73; Gary G. Porton, “Rabbi Ishmael and his Thirteen ‘Middot,’” in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al., vol. 1: Religion, Literature, and Society in Ancient Israel, Formative Christianity and Judaism, *BJS* 206 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 1–18.
- 8 Consider the categories that Michael Fishbane employs in his “Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, *CRINT* 2/1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 339–77. Fishbane mixes rabbinic and non-rabbinic terminology, as the rabbinic *middôt* alone fail to account for the variety of ways in which Scripture is read and interpreted in the Qumran scrolls.
- 9 See pp. 6–7.
- 10 Cf. Billah Nitzan, who, in her commentary on Peshar Habakkuk, describes the hermeneutics of this commentary in terms of the categories “paraphrase,” “allegory,” “polyvalence,” and “recontextualization.” See *Peshar Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986).

Habakkuk.¹¹ F.F. Bruce outlined a fourfold exegetical methodology in the Pesharim,¹² and Maurya Horgan pointed to four “categories of interpretation.”¹³ The problem with these works, however, is that their categorisations of resources are either not specific (Horgan) or not comprehensive (Elliger and Bruce) enough. Moreover, none of these works offers a systematic description of the hermeneutics of the Pesharim: they employ self-made definitions of which it is unclear how they are connected with one another or fit together into an overarching system.

Shani Tzoref’s book on Peshar Nahum is a major improvement in this regard.¹⁴ Tzoref uses literary-critical terminology in her hermeneutical description of the Pesharim. Thus, the terms she employs constitute a comprehensive and systematic framework for the analysis of Peshar hermeneutics.¹⁵ Even Tzoref’s framework is not without its problems, though. Some terms from her list never return in her descriptions of the hermeneutics of Peshar Nahum (e.g., alliteration, chiasmus), whilst other terms that do feature in her descriptions are not included in her list (e.g., paraphrase). More importantly, Tzoref’s methodology tends to focus on the interpretation of individual words or small word-groups. As a result, Tzoref pays little attention to the use of hermeneutical resources on the clause, sentence, or paragraph level. Yet interpretations in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim do often involve more than just the single words of the lemma.¹⁶ For instance, I will argue in chapter 10 that the Peshar commentator read מלאה in Nah 3:1 as a verb and rendered it with the

11 *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1953), 133–50.

12 *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, Exegetica 3/1 (The Hague: Van Keulen, 1959), 16. Bruce recognised the resources: 1) atomisation; 2) the use of variant readings; 3) allegorisation; 4) application of biblical prophecies to the end-time and the career of the Teacher of Righteousness.

13 Namely: 1) “the peshar may follow the action, ideas, and words of the lemma closely”; 2) “the peshar may grow out of one or more key words, roots, or ideas”; 3) “the peshar may consist of metaphorical identification of figures or things name in the lemma”; 4) “there are instances in which the peshar seems to be only loosely related to the lemma.” See *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 244–45.

14 *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*, STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

15 See Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 30–32.

16 Tzoref’s attention to single words or small word-groups is related to the emphasis she places on “lemma/peshar correspondence.” See “Lemma/Peshar Correspondence in Peshar Nahum,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and

verb יתהלכו. This reading is related to the commentator's reading of כולה in the same lemma as "all of it" rather than "it, totally," which changes the syntax of the lemma and triggers the understanding of מלאה as a verb. In my view, the commentator explained not only these words, but also the syntax of the lemma as a whole. Tzoref, in contrast, holds that מלאה has no equivalent in the interpretation and כולה is the basis for the verb יתהלכו. This uni-dimensional focus of Tzoref's hermeneutical descriptions does not do full justice to the hermeneutical complexity of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim.

For this reason I have decided to employ in my hermeneutical descriptions categories that are based on Alexander Samely's work on the Mishnah.¹⁷ In his work, Samely sets out to identify the resources that govern interpretations of the Jewish Scriptures in the Mishnah. By so doing, he seeks to draw a comprehensive hermeneutical profile of this rabbinic writing. A major advantage of Samely's work is his multi-levelled approach: he categorises all hermeneutical resources he identified in the Mishnah into seventeen resource families, which are defined in terms of the level or aspects of the base text with which they are concerned.¹⁸ As a consequence, Samely's analysis breaks down complex hermeneutical operations into their individual components. Each component engages with a certain aspect of the base text (e.g., its structure, contents, or wording), and most hermeneutical operations include more than one component. In like vein, my categories in the chapters to follow describe how the hypomnemata and the Pesharim engage with a particular aspect of the base text. As in the Mishnah, most exegetical operations in the Pesharim and the hypomnemata involve more than one type of resources and engage with the base text on various levels simultaneously.

Samely's definitions of resources go back to modern linguistic, language-philosophical, and hermeneutical thinking. This does not mean that they impose a modern perspective on the Mishnah; however, in Samely's view, only by using modern categories and being explicit about our own hermeneutical stance can we appreciate the hermeneutics of ancient writings. This use of modern definitions imbues Samely's framework with a comparative potential. As a result, Samely's model can be applied to the hypomnemata and

James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 341–50; eadem, *Peshar Nahum*, 28–29.

17 *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*. A helpful illustration of Samely's position within modern-day midrash scholarship is Susan E. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation*, WUNT 2/260 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 83–120.

18 See Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 399–418 (Appendix 1).

the Pesharim, even if it was originally developed for the Mishnah. Even so, the results of Samely's analysis and the investigations in this book will be of a different kind. Because Samely works on a relatively well-preserved rabbinic writing, the results of his analysis can be claimed to constitute a full hermeneutical profile of the Mishnah.¹⁹ The commentaries in this book have been preserved only fragmentarily, however, and the following chapters will not be able to provide a comprehensive hermeneutical profile of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. Rather, they offer *illustrations* of the type of hermeneutical procedures used in these commentaries.

2 The Categories of This Study

Even if my categories and definitions are based on Samely's work, they do not match his classifications in all regards. To begin with, Samely uses abstract terms to refer to individual resources and resource families. The name of each resource family starts with a different letter of the alphabet so as to enable the designation of complex exegetical operations with strings of letters indicating the resources involved.²⁰ Individual resources are given the name of the resource family to which they belong, supplemented with Arabic numerals. So, Cotext₁ refers to the neutralisation of the co-text of the lemma, whilst Cotext₅ denotes the upholding of that co-text. This terminology is sophisticated, but not very accessible. I have therefore replaced Samely's abstract terms with more convenient ones, such as "neutralising the co-text" or "upholding the co-text."

Moreover, Samely's approach is very helpful in delineating the procedures involved in interpretation, but it tends to overlook the contents of the explanations arrived at through these procedures.²¹ This is problematic, as it is through the contents of interpretations that we gain insight into the perspective and thought world of the commentators. And this perspective, in turn, determines

19 As Samely does in *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 2. On the textual transmission of the Mishnah see Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 8th ed. (Munich: Beck, 1992), 144–49 (with references).

20 To give a random example: Samely describes the interpretation of Deut 26:3 in m. Bik. 1:41 as H6O_{1.4}P₄P₈T₃. In this code each combination of a letter with an Arabic numeral indicates an individual resource: H6 is "Habit6"; O_{1.4} is "Opposition_{1.4}"; P₄ is "Performance₄"; P₈ is "Performance₈"; and T₃ is "Topic 3." For the definition of these resources see Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation in the Mishnah*, 399–417. This description indicates that this interpretation of Deut 26:3 is a complex operation which involves all these five resources.

21 Cf. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews*, 111.

the course interpretative procedures will take. Hence in what follows I will take more space to discuss the contents of interpretation sections than Samely tends to do.

The following six categories inform my analysis of the hermeneutical profiles of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. Some categories are rather general and include a range of subcategories, others are narrower and have no subcategories. Not all categories and subcategories occur in both the hypomnemata and the Pesharim.

2.1 *Perspectivisation*

It has been shown in chapter 5 that the structure of commentaries engenders a dialogue between the voices of the base text and the interpretation. At the same time, chapters 6 and 7 have demonstrated that the selection and presentation of both the base text and its interpretation depend on the interests of its interpreter. Thus, in theory both the base text and the commentator have their say in the move from lemma to interpretation, but in practice the voice of the interpreter tends to overshadow that of the base text. The final word on how an interpretation should proceed and what its outcomes should be rests with the commentator.²² Even when an interpretation upholds the contextual meaning of a lemma, therefore, it is the commentator who *allows* the lemma to be read within its co-text in the base text. Co-textual interpretations are no default option: they result from conscious decisions by exegetes and they reflect the perspective of these exegetes on the author and the text they are interpreting.

The process by which commentators interpret their base texts in view of their own interests and perspective I call “perspectivisation.” This process takes place in various ways. To begin with, the interests of the commentator determine what kind of information (linguistic, stylistic, historical, or other) they draw from the texts they are interpreting. Secondly, the commentator implicitly or explicitly expresses his views on the base text or its authors in his interpretations. Thirdly, the use of technical terminology, such as grammatical terminology in the *Iliad* hypomnemata or sobriquets in the Pesharim, reflects the exegete’s perspective. Lastly, paraphrase allows the commentator

22 See Ineke Sluiter, “The Violent Scholiast: Power Issues in Ancient Commentaries,” in *Writing Science: Medical and Mathematical Authorship in Ancient Greece*, ed. Matthias Asper (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 191–213. Note that the metaphor of violence is also found with André Dupont-Sommer, who writes that the Pesharim “violently apply the text to their own circumstances” (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey*, trans. E. Margaret Rowley [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952; repr. 1954], 26).

to align his own perspective with the base text whose structure he imitates. At the same time, paraphrase can be a subtle way to redefine the perspective of the base text by rephrasing some of its elements.

2.2 *Normativity and Application*

The resources normativity and application constitute an interesting tandem. Each of them occurs in only one commentary tradition treated in this book: normativity is restricted to the hypomnemata, application to the Pesharim. In chapter 10 I will elaborate how the use of these resources pinpoints the differences between these two commentary traditions.

“Normativity” refers to the resources by which the base text is understood as constituting a norm. Such normative readings may take various shapes and concern different aspects of the lemma; Samely distinguishes various “Norm” resources.²³ I do not draw such distinctions, as I recognise only one instance of “normativity” in the hypomnemata.

“Application” entails the application of a lemma to a non-scriptural event or person. As I will explain in chapter 10, the term “application” may not be most suitable one to describe the use of these resources in the Qumran commentaries. The alternatives are even more problematic, however, and I retain the term for simplicity’s sake.

2.3 *Analogy*

The term “analogy” carries a wide range of meanings. As I use it, it refers broadly to a transfer of features between passages on the basis of at least one commonality between these passages.²⁴ This transfer of features comprises a resource in its own right; hence, this category contains only one resource. The workings of this one resource depend on a comparison between at least two passages and their different co-texts.

This use of the term “analogy” differs from Samely’s. In his classification of resources in the Mishnah, Samely reckons with a broad category of “analogical procedures,” which includes the subcategories “Analogy” and “Keying.” The first category refers to instances of a fortiori argumentation or analogies within

²³ *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 148–73, 415.

²⁴ Cf. Dedre Gentner and Arthur B. Markman, “Analogy-Based Reasoning and Metaphor,” in *The Handbook of Brain Theory and Neural Networks*, ed. Michael A. Arbib, 2d ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 106–9 (106): “Analogy derives from the perception of relational commonalities between domains that are dissimilar on the surface. These correspondences often suggest new inferences about the target domain.”

a single co-text.²⁵ The second category refers to analogies between several co-texts.²⁶ The first type of argumentation is absent from the commentaries treated in this book; hence the examples in the following chapters are all cases of what Samely would call “Keying.” For me, “Keying” does not really express what these resources do. Therefore I have changed the name of this resource family to “Analogy.”²⁷

2.4 *Structure*

The broad category “structure” incorporates resources and resource families that engage with an aspect of the structure of the base text. The largest resource family is that which I have called “contributions of the co-text.”²⁸ The term “co-text” is adopted from linguistics to designate the immediate textual surroundings of a lemma within the base text—its “linguistic environment.”²⁹ As the meaning of a lemma is contingent upon its co-text in the base texts, its interpreters will have to engage with this co-text. The first step in this procedure is quoting a part of the base text as a lemma. By so doing, the commentator isolates the lemma from its co-text and opens it up for interpretation: when it is devoid of its co-text, the lemma could mean almost anything. The second step is to situate the lemma within a new co-text in the commentary. This new co-text can relate to the co-text of the lemma in the base text in various ways. The most straightforward options for the commentator are to neutralise or to re-establish the co-text of the lemma in the base text. But the commentator may also redefine this co-text, for instance by drawing new word and verse boundaries or by assuming a new antecedent for a pronoun in the lemma. These different ways of engaging the co-text of the lemma do not exclude one

25 *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 174–214.

26 *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 214–25.

27 Samely’s preference for “Keying” reflects his wish to have the name of every resource family start with a different letter from the alphabet.

Note that Samely recognises two different Keying resources: Keying₂ and Keying₃. The difference between them is that the two passages involved in Keying₃ must either be close to one another or exhibit thematic links with one another, whereas this need not be the case for the passages involved in Keying₂. To me, this seems to define Keying₃ as a subsidiary category to Keying₂ rather than a different resource within the same family. This is especially so because the criteria for their distinction are subjective (what is *close* to one another? What exactly are *thematic links*?). See *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 220–21.

28 Samely speaks of “Cotext” resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 31–58.

29 Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 31 (references in n. 2). The term is used instead of the term “context,” which often holds a much broader meaning.

another: in many interpretations some aspects of the co-textual sense of the lemma are upheld, others neutralised, and others redefined.

A second resource family of the “structure” group is that of “resolving inconsistency.” Resources in this group deal with the solution of contradictions that the commentator perceives in his base text. These solutions can take various shapes.³⁰ In the hypomnemata, they involve either the textual transmission of the *Iliad* or a semantic shift in one of the passages perceived to be contradictory.

A third resource family is “word order.” It indicates the interpretation of the word order of the lemma as being relevant for its meaning. Samely identifies a resource which underlies passages in the Mishnah where the relative importance of particular elements is derived from the order in which they are mentioned.³¹ We find one case in the hypomnemata of an interpretation which may be based on a similar resource: P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:11–19 mentions Praxiphanes’s exposition of *Od.* 11.170–203, in which he implies that what Odysseus asks first, is most important to him.

A fourth resource family defines the interpretation of the syntax of the lemma.³² A commentator may, for instance, understand the syntax of a lemma differently from its co-textually most appropriate meaning. He may also take a subjective as an objective genitive or vice versa. Lastly, a commentator may take paratactic or asyndetic constructions as expressing temporal progression.

The last resource family deals with the interpretation of repetition.³³ The base texts of the Pesharim often exhibit poetic characteristics, including the use of parallelism. The Pesharim themselves tend to be sensitive to parallelism in their base texts; sometimes they exhibit a parallelistic style themselves.³⁴ Yet some of the explanations they offer rely on a neutralisation of repetition and parallelism. These explanations depend on the idea that there is no redundancy in Scripture. So when Scripture says the same thing twice, each of these two statements must have a different meaning.³⁵ This leads to a dissolution of

30 Samely speaks of “Difference” resources and defines eight resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 262–74.

31 “Mapi.” See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 356–57.

32 Samely calls these resources “Syntax” and defines six resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 349–58.

33 Samely speaks of “Redundancy” resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 328–49.

34 On the literary qualities of Peshar Habakkuk see Elliger, *Studien*, 78–117; Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 81–103.

35 Cf. Arnold Goldberg, “The Rabbinic View of Scripture,” in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White, JSOTSup 100 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 153–66 (159).

parallelism and an explanation that attributes separate meanings to the two parts of the parallelism in the lemma.

2.5 *Single Words*

The final category in my description concerns the interpretation of single words. It comprises four resource families. The first one is “levels of generality.” Resources in this family describe how the exegete may take words from the lemma in a more specific or in a more general sense than their co-text appears to favour. I refer to the first resource as “semantic limitation,” to the second as “semantic extension.”³⁶

The second resource family deals with “stressing the unstressed.” Exegetes may place emphasis on elements in the lemma that do not call for such emphasis in their co-text in the base text.³⁷ The hypomnemata and the Pesharim contain cases of the commentator’s special focus on the gender or the number of words in their base texts.

The third resource family is “synonymy and polysemy.”³⁸ Interpreters can understand a word in the light of one of its synonymous or polysemous meanings. They can also interpret the word figuratively where its co-textual meaning prefers a literal meaning, or replace a co-textual figurative meaning with a non-co-textual one.

Finally, the form or appearance of words can govern their interpretation. Various resources can be distinguished within this family, which indicate *how* words are similar.³⁹ These resources entail a partial overlap of letters; anagram; a graphic similarity between letters; a phonological similarity between letters of words; or a different accentuation or vocalisation.

3 “Etymology”

These six categories are the building blocks of the framework I will apply to the hypomnemata and the Pesharim in the following chapters. To illustrate how this framework works I here discuss the case of ancient etymology. In my

36 Samely defines both processes as “Extension” resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 226–41.

37 Samely calls these resources “Opposition.” See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 278–302.

38 This family comprises some of Samely’s “Word” resources. See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 359–90.

39 Samely defines this set of resources as “Grapheme.” See his *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture*, 377–80.

viewpoint, “etymology” does not constitute a single resource, but designates a combination of resources of which some find parallels in the Pesharim.

Modern scholars have recognised etymology as one of the key interests of ancient Greek intellectuals, including the hypomnema commentators.⁴⁰ The term “etymology” is conspicuously absent from descriptions of the hermeneutics of the Pesharim, though. The reason for this difference seems to be the way “etymology” (ἐτυμολογία) is embedded within the Greek scholarly tradition.⁴¹ However, this difference does not do justice to the hermeneutical situation in both commentary traditions, as it masks hermeneutical similarities between the resources employed in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. The methodology outlined above, which breaks down complex hermeneutical operations into their individual components and describes these components in terms independent of the two traditions that are being compared, yields a more nuanced picture.

It should first of all be emphasised that ancient “etymology” is indeed an *exegetical* procedure. The term may have spawned some misunderstanding, but the intentions and practices of ancient etymology differ notably from those of the modern linguistic discipline that goes by the same name.⁴² In

40 See, e.g., Maria Broggiato, “The Use of Etymology as an Exegetical Tool in Alexandria and Pergamum: Some Examples from the Homeric Scholia,” in *Etymologia: Studies in Ancient Etymology: Proceedings of the Cambridge Conference on Ancient Etymology 25–27 September 2000*, ed. Christos Nifadopoulos, HSSSHL 9 (Münster: Nodus, 2003), 65–70 (and other essays in the same volume); Francesca Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 399–441 (416–17); Ineke Sluiter, “Ancient Etymology: A Tool for Thinking,” in *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 896–922.

41 See the opening section of Dionysius Thrax, *Techne grammatike*. On Greek etymologising see Clemens-Peter Herbermann, “Antike Etymologie,” in *Sprachtheorien der abendländischen Antike*, ed. Peter Schmitter, GS 2 (Tübingen: Narr, 1991), 353–76; Ineke Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition,” in Wout van Bekkum et al., *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, ASTHLS 82 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 147–224 (155–63); Helen Peraki-Kyriakidou, “Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing,” *CQ* 52 (2002): 478–93; Eva Tsitsibakou-Vasalos, *Ancient Poetic Etymology: The Pelopids: Fathers and Sons*, Palingenesia 89 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007).

42 So Peraki-Kyriakidou, “Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing,” 487; Tsitsibakou-Vasalos, *Ancient Poetic Etymology*, 6; eadem, “Gradations of Science: Modern Etymology versus Ancient: Nestor: Comparisons and Contrasts,” *Glotta* 74 (1997–1998): 117–32.

For a different view see Elmar Siebenborn, *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihrer Kriterien: Studien zur antiken normativen Grammatik*, SAP 5 (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1976). For Siebenborn, etymology aims “die Bedeutung eines Wortes von seinem Ursprung her zu entschlüsseln” (140; my italics). In support of his position Siebenborn refers to

contrast to the latter, ancient “etymology” is interested primarily in the *meaning* of words, not in their history or development. As Ineke Sluiter writes:

The ancient discursive practice of etymology ... is simply a different kind of language game. In antiquity, to the extent that rules are formulated, they are mostly *ad hoc* and as it were “after the fact,” the “fact” being a preliminary *semantic* observation, leading to an interpretive relationship between the *explanandum* and the *explanans*. This is to say that etymologies are mostly put forward to *corroborate* a specific view of what a word “really” means, probably even where they are presented as a tool to *find* the meaning of a word.⁴³

This is not to suggest that ancient commentators systematically ignore diachronic issues.⁴⁴ However, the difference between synchronic and diachronic analysis was of little interest to them: both approaches were valid, as long as they were able to shed light on the meaning of the interpreted word.⁴⁵ Hence, ancient “etymology” is not a *linguistic* operation in our modern sense, but a *hermeneutical* one.

This hermeneutical operation can be split up into individual components. First, the commentator redefines the co-text of the lemma in the base text by redrawing word boundaries. The use of this resource is embedded in the Greek language, which allows for the formation of compounds. Aristarchus, for instance, already seems to have recognised compounds in his exegetical and grammatical work.⁴⁶ But this does not mean that ancient redrawings of

Schol. Dionysius Thrax 303.6. But this scholion does not support his view: it defines etymology as “the explanation of what is true—that is: what is true in a word” and so stresses the semantic aims of etymology without implying a diachronic dimension.

43 “Ancient Etymology,” 897 (her italics).

44 Peraki-Kyriakidou, “Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing,” 480. For a different view see Jean Lallot, “Did the Alexandrian Grammarians have a Sense of History?” in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, *TiCSup* 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 241–50 (245–46).

45 Peraki-Kyriakidou, “Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing,” 480–81. Cf. Ineke Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar in Context: Contributions to the Study of Ancient Linguistic Thought* (Amsterdam: vU University Press, 1990), 12; Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 209.

46 Stephanos Matthaios, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, *Hypomnemata* 126 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 258–62.

word boundaries are limited to what we would recognise as compounds. This resource is applied both to words that we identify as compounds and to words that we do not recognise as such. In both instances, the hermeneutical procedure is the same. There are no valid reasons, therefore, to distinguish on hermeneutical grounds between the interpretation of ἐλεόθρεπτος (which we also take as a compound) as ἐξ ἔλους φύμενον and that of μέλδιν (which we do not take as a compound) as τὰ μέλη ἔδειν.⁴⁷

Second, either the entire word or its individual parts are interpreted in light of similar words or parts of words. Most cases in the hypomnemata are based on an overlap of letters between words. So, the parts ελεο- and -θρεπτος are each taken in light of a similar word: ἔλος and θρεπτός (which is rendered in turn by φύμενος in the interpretation). Similarly for μέλδιν, whose two components μελ- and -διν are related to the words μέλος and ἔδειν. But these are not the only types of similarity between words. Sluiter points out:

There were four principal categories of word-change: The change of one letter into another (1), the addition of one or more letters (2), the removal of one or more letters (3), and the interchanging of place of two or more letters within a word (4).⁴⁸

Sluiter's fourth category of word-change might be reflected in P.Oxy. 2.221v 3:1–16 (on *Il.* 21.111), though the fragmentary preservation of this passage precludes certainty on the issue. Sluiter's first category is reflected in Schol. A *Il.* 21.249, where Aristophanes is noted to read φόνοιο rather than πόνοιο. The same interpretation of *Il.* 21.249 might be attested in P.Oxy. 2.221v 13:19–21, but once again we cannot be certain. Another category of word-change, in addition to those mentioned by Sluiter, is accentuation: in P.Oxy. 2.221v 3:16–18, different accentuations of ἀρη lead to different understandings of this word. This latter case confirms that the interpretation of words in the light of other words is a different resource from the redrawing of word boundaries: the boundaries of ἀρη remain the same as they are in the base text, and yet the word is taken in light of another word.

As I intend to show in chapter 10, the resources that entail interpretations of words in light of similar words have clear parallels in the Pesharim. There too, a partial overlap between words or the re-arrangement of some letters may inspire the interpretation of one word in the light of another. It has been argued that the Pesharim may even sometimes redraw the word boundaries of

47 P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:35–38 and P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:19–20, 27–28.

48 *Ancient Grammar in Context*, 12.

their lemmata, but I remain unconvinced of this suggestion.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it should be clear that the method adopted in this study allows a detailed comparison between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim and a precise indication of the hermeneutical similarities and differences between both traditions.

49 For my reasons see pp. 263–68.

A Hermeneutical Profile of the Hypomnemata

This chapter offers a hermeneutical profile of the hypomnemata. This profile is based on the exegetical resources as they were defined in the previous chapter. As we shall see, the notion of Homer as a conscious, individual author and teacher governs interpretations of the *Iliad* in the hypomnemata. The resources the hypomnema exegetes apply to derive meaning from their base text tie in with this overarching perspective.

1 Perspectivisation

The hypomnema commentators approached the Homeric epics as the works of a single, conscious author and teacher by the name of Homer. For these exegetes, “Homer” referred not just to a collection of literary compositions,¹ but to a single, conscious author, who had a name, a biography, and a style.² Homer not merely composed, but also wrote down the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.³

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- 1 The extent of Homer’s literary production was discussed in antiquity. Aristotle, for instance, famously attributed the *Margites* to Homer. Others attributed the Homeric Hymns, or even poetry in general, to Homer. See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 73–74; Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 61–105.
 - 2 See Dirk M. Schenkeveld, “Aristarchus and ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΧΝΟΣ: Some Fundamental Ideas of Aristarchus on Homer as a Poet,” *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970): 162–78; Gregory Nagy, “Early Greek Views of Poets and Poetry,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. George A. Kennedy, 9 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989–2013), 11–77 (35–38); George A. Kennedy, “Hellenistic Literary and Philosophical Scholarship,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, 1:200–19 (208); Robert Lamberton, “Homer in Antiquity,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell, MnS 163 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 33–54; Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions*, HSCl 49 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 136–202; Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity*.
 - 3 This idea was not universally accepted, as Josephus shows in *C.Ap.* 12. He writes: “Across the board among the Greeks no authentic writing is to be found older than Homer’s poem, and he clearly lived after the Trojan events; and even he, they say, did not leave his own poem in written form, but it was transmitted by memory and later put together from its recital in songs, and for this reason has many internal discrepancies” (trans. John M.G. Barclay,

This conception of Homer as a conscious author and writer did not originate with the Alexandrian scholars responsible for the hypomnemata. Its first expressions must be dated in the 6th century BCE and attributed to a group of rhapsodes known as the *Homeridai*.⁴ These rhapsodes developed a biographical tradition which mined the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and other writings⁵ for information on Homer's birthplace or biography.⁶ A popular image is that of Homer as a travelling rhapsode and the embodiment of the pan-Greek ideal. This portrayal of Homer served the needs of the *Homeridai*: as guardians of Homer's writings they sought to accrue the same pan-Greek status that Homer had for themselves. Aristotle later adopted this view on Homer as a conscious author and writer with a biography, and the scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library walked in his footsteps.

Homer was believed to exhibit a recognisable literary style. Some ancient scholars held that the poet combined dialects and archaic forms to create his own language.⁷ A related view postulates that Homer's language is not so much older than, but simply different from the Greek language of later periods.

Against Apion, vol. 10 of Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, ed. Steve Mason [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 15–16). On Josephus's position in discussions on the authorship of Homer see Minna S. Jensen, *The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory* (Viborg: Museum Tusulanum, 1980), 149–58; Gregory Nagy, "Homeric Scholia," in *A New Companion to Homer*, 101–22 (108–10); Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship*, 145–59.

- 4 On the development of Homer as an author and the role of the *Homeridai* see Walter Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World: Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987), 43–62; Martin L. West, "The Invention of Homer," *CQ* 49 (1999): 364–82; Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic*, CCS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 5 A famous case is *Hymn. Apoll.* 166–75, which is the source for the long-standing tradition that Homer was blind.
- 6 On this biographical tradition see Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*; eadem, "The Ancient Reception of Homer," in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 26–37; Gregory Nagy, *Homer the Preclassic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 29–47; Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 14–29; Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity*, 61–105; Adrian Kelly, "Biographies of Homer," *HE* 129–30.
- 7 [Plutarch], *De hom.* 8–14. Cf. Giuseppe Scarpat, *I dialetti greci in Omero secondo un grammatico antico*, SGL 2 (Arona: Peideia, 1952); Filippomaria Pontani, "'Only God Knows the Correct Reading!' The Role of Homer, the Quran and the Bible in the Rise of Philology and Grammar," in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, JSRC 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 43–83 (47–55).

Homer could have composed his epics in Attic or *koine* Greek, but he chose not to do so.⁸ In like vein, observations on the structure of the *Iliad* can be attributed to Homer's methodical composition of the epic. So, P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:11–18 describe the use of the principle of “reverse order” in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as Homer's “own custom.” And in P.Oxy. 2.221v 10:18–23, Homer's structuring of the narrative is taken to be reflected in his anticipation of later events.

This image of Homer as a conscious, meticulous author also inspires the interest of the hypomnema commentators in the textual history of the *Iliad*. As they were confronted with the textual fluidity of the *Iliad* in the pre-Hellenistic period,⁹ the Alexandrian scholars assumed that the original epics (as Homer had written them) had been corrupted in the course of their transmission. This corruption consisted primarily of later additions, but some interpretations in the hypomnemata reckon with the deletion of original lines.¹⁰ Thus, the hypomnema commentators are not only interested in illuminating the sense and relevance of Homer's words, but also in recovering them. To distinguish between original and spurious lines they used athetesis and deletion: the first method consists of marking spurious lines with the *obelos*,¹¹ the second removes spurious lines from the text.¹² The reasons for athetesis and deletion could be internal, external, or a combination of both, but most cases

8 Pontani, “Only God Knows the Correct Reading!,” 54.

9 On which see Stephanie West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, PC 3 (Cologne: Westdeutscher, 1967); Michael Haslam, “Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, 55–100 (63–69); Graeme D. Bird, *Multitextuality in the Homeric Iliad: The Witness of the Ptolemaic Papyri*, HSt 43 (Cambridge: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2010).

10 Martin L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich: Saur, 2001), 11–14 lists seven types of interpolation that may occur in the transmission of the *Iliad*.

11 The *obelos* was developed by Zenodotus to indicate spurious lines which were not deleted from the text of the *Iliad*. See Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, PB 26 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992), 8–9 (n. 4); Franco Montanari, “Zenodotus, Aristarchus and the *Ekdosis* of Homer,” in *Editing Texts: Texte edieren*, ed. Glenn W. Most, Aporemata 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 1–21; Francesca Schironi, “The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical ΣΗΜΕΙΑ from Zenodotus to Origen,” in *Homer and the Bible*, 87–112 (89–90).

12 It remains debated to what extent ancient scholars would delete lines from their *Iliad* *ekdoseis*. Zenodotus seems to have been more prone to delete lines than his successors. See Montanari, “Zenodotus, Aristarchus and the *Ekdosis* of Homer”; Richard Janko, *Books 13–16*, vol. 4 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 20–38.

of athetesis in the hypomnemata are based on internal grounds.¹³ The aim of these textual investigations is not to arrive at an abstract entity like the “earliest recoverable text of the *Iliad*,” but to recover Homer’s ipsissima verba. Through careful literary analysis and manuscript comparison the exegete was considered to be in the position to recover the *Iliad* as Homer himself had written it.

Apart from an individual and conscious author, Homer was also perceived as a teacher.¹⁴ His teachings concern not just linguistics or mythology, but touch on almost every aspect of human life. Ineke Sluiter writes:

Throughout Antiquity, Homer could be represented as an authority in military matters and a teacher of popular morality, and his poetry was definitely a factor in the successful socialization of the young.¹⁵

Like the image of Homer as an author, the idea that Homer was a teacher predates the Hellenistic era. Xenophanes (6th century BCE) provides the earliest reference. Although he is generally critical of the poet, Xenophanes accedes that “all men have learned from Homer from the beginning.”¹⁶ Plato, in his *Republic*, is also critical of the Homeric epics—or, in fact of poetry in general¹⁷—and yet he, too, refers to Homer as a teacher.¹⁸ Aristophanes’s Aeschylus, in contrast, stresses the usefulness of poets: “And what gave divine Homer his honour and renown, except the fact that he taught good things, battle orders, virtuous exploits, the arming of men?”¹⁹ In like vein, Niceratus in Xenophon’s *Symposium* boasts about his knowing Homer by heart (3.5) and exhorts his audience:

13 An exception is P.Oxy 2.221v 15:6–27, where athetesis is based on both internal and external grounds. See pp. 203–5. It is unclear if athetesis ever occurred solely on external grounds. See Janko, *Books 13–16*, 20–38.

14 Generally on this topic see Willem J. Verdenius, *Homer, the Educator of the Greeks*, MKNOWL 33/5 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1970).

15 “Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition,” in *Commentaries—Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most, Aporemata 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 173–205 (176).

16 Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1903), 53 (= B 10). Cf. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 8–9; Robert Lamberton, “Xenophanes of Colophon,” *HE* 945–46.

17 See Burkert, “Making of Homer,” 45 (n. 13); Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 194. On Plato’s attitude towards poetry see the essays in Pierre Destrée and Fritz-Gregor Herrmann, eds., *Plato and the Poets*, MnS 328 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

18 *Rep.* 595b–595c, 606e.

19 *Frogs* 1034–1036 (trans. Sluiter, “Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition,” 177).

Ἴστε γὰρ δῆπου ὅτι Ὀμηρος ὁ σοφώτατος πεποίηκε σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. Ὅστις ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν βούληται ἢ οἰκονομικὸς ἢ δημηγορικὸς ἢ στρατηγικὸς γενέσθαι ἢ ὅμοιος Ἀχιλλεῖ ἢ Αἴαντι ἢ Νέστορι ἢ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἐμὲ θεραπεύετω. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσταμαι.

For you know, undoubtedly, that the very wise Homer has written about almost everything of men. He, then, among you who wishes to become a householder, a public speaker, or a general, or like Achilles, Ajax, Nestor, or Odysseus, let him pay attention to me. For I know all these things.

Xenophon, *Symposium* 4.6

This tradition of Homer as “the teacher of all” continued into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A noteworthy expression of it is the Pseudo-Plutarchan treatise *De Homero*. It serves as an introduction to the Homeric epics and portrays Homer as the source of virtually all possible knowledge.²⁰ The idea of Homer as a teacher also informs Alexandrian scholarship and features amply in the scholia.²¹ It also occurs in the hypomnemata.

Underlying interpretations of the *Iliad*, therefore, is an image of Homer as a conscious, methodical author, writer, and teacher. His writings are considered to embody a pan-Hellenic ideal, and his teachings concern almost every aspect of human life. In this way, Homer remains a focal point of Greek identity and

20 See Michael Hillgruber, *Die pseudoplutarchische Schrift De Homero*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994, 1999); John J. Keaney and Robert Lamberton, [Plutarch] *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer*, *APAACS* 40 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

21 Francesca Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 399–441 (426) argues that the Alexandrian scholars did not conceive of Homer as a teacher. For the Alexandrians, Schironi writes, “the goal of poetry ... was not teaching but entertainment.” She refers to Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.10.31–33, who refutes the Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes’s view that Homer’s poems were meant to entertain. However, Eratosthenes’s opinion can hardly count as representative for Alexandrian Homer scholarship in general. On the contrary, Eratosthenes’s statement that “every poet aims at entertainment, not at instruction” is described by Pfeiffer as something which “no scholar had dared to say” (*History of Classical Scholarship*, 166). Pfeiffer also points to “the general Greek belief that all men had *learned* ‘from Homer since the beginning’” as well as to “the innate ethical and educational tendency in Greek poetry from epic times onwards” (*History of Classical Scholarship*, 167 [his italics]). Cf. Verdenius, *Homer*, 26–27 and René Nünlist’s view that “Eratosthenes’ ... view that the goal of poetry is ‘entertainment [*psuchagogia*], not instruction [*didaskalia*]’ gives the impression of being a deliberate challenge of the *communis opinio*” (“Literary Criticism, Hellenistic and Roman,” in *HE* 483–85 [484]).

intellectual activity. The following sections show how this perspective operates in the hypomnemata.

1.1 *The Interests of the Commentator*

The hypomnemata exhibit a wide-ranging interest in almost every aspect of human life. This broad interest of the hypomnema commentators reflects Homer's central position in Greek education, scholarship, and identity. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, every true Greek was supposed to know Homer. Reversely, to study Homer was to become Greek. As Teresa Morgan reminds us, literary education in the Hellenistic and Roman periods had a transformative purpose, and only through education could individuals become full human beings.²² As the focal point of the Greek educational curriculum, therefore, Homer embodied the ideal of Ἑλληνισμός. The multifaceted interest of the hypomnema exegetes echoes this ideal and is meant to initiate the readers of the *Iliad* into all things Greek. As an illustration of this wide-ranging interest of the hypomnema commentators, I will discuss its most conspicuous elements in this section, namely: 1) recovering Homer's words; 2) linguistic explanations; 3) literary criticism; 4) mythology and geography; and 5) the teachings of the poet.²³

1.1.1 Recovering Homer's Words²⁴

Interpretations of variant readings and spurious lines serve to distinguish between Homer's genuine words and later corruptions or additions. An illustrative case is this interpretation of *Il.* 21.290:

22 *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, CCS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2000), 240–70. Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.1.1–2; [Plutarch], *De lib. educ.* 4b–c. More generally on ancient education and its transformative purpose see Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: Die Formung des griechischen Menschen*, 3 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1934–1947); Hindy Najman, “Text and Figure in Ancient Jewish *Paideia*,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 253–65.

23 Previous classifications of the interests of ancient Homer scholarship can be found with Karl Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 3d ed. (Leipzig: Hirzelium, 1882); Adolph Roemer, *Die Homerexegese Aristarchs in ihrer Grundzügen*, ed. Emil Belzner, SGKA 13 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1924); Marina del Fabbro, “Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea,” *SP* 18 (1979): 69–132 (106–22); Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 412–29. Cf. also René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16.

24 Cf. Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 109–11; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 416–18, 420–23.

Ζηνὸς ἐπα[ι]νήσαντος ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη· ἀθετεῖται ὅτι οὐκ²⁵ εἴρηκεν ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μεταβεβληκῶς τὴν ἰδέαν εἰς ἄνδρα· [κ]αὶ γ[ἀ]ρ οὐκαδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄφοδον σημείω ἐπιφανεῖ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐθάρσυνεν· οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔλγηε τὸ ὄν μένος ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον χῶετο Πηλείωνι. Πρὸς ταῦτα λέγει Σέλευκος ἐν τῷ γ' Κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων ὅτι ἀνδράσιν ὡμοιωμένοι ὅμως κατὰ τ[ὸ] σ[ι]ωπώμενον διὰ τῆς δεξιῶσεω[ς] ἵχνη τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι παρέχον[τ]αι [ἐ]πεὶ πῶς εἰρήκασι· τ[ο]ίω γάρ τοι νῶι θεῶν ἐπιταρρόθω [εἰμ]έν· καὶ [ὕ]πὸ Διὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ σ[ι]ωπώμενον ἐπέμφθησαν. Ἐν [δ]ὲ τῷ ε' [τ]ῶν Διορθωτικῶν ὁ αὐτὸς [ἀ]θετεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἐξῆς β' ὡς περισσο[ύ]ς. Οὐκ εἶναι δὲ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Κρητικῇ.

“With Zeus approving, I and Pallas Athena” (*Il.* 21.290). It is athetised, because he has not spoken the name of the god, but “I,” whilst disguised in the shape of a human being. For nor did he encourage Achilles with an evident sign when he left: “But Scamander did not stay his might, but was even more angry with the Peleid” (*Il.* 21.305–306). With regard to these things, Seleucus says, in the third book of *Against the Aristarchaeon Signs*, that they nevertheless implicitly provide hints that they are gods—even as they are disguised as humans—by greeting him; for how would they have said: “For, indeed, we are such helpers for you from the gods” (*Il.* 21.289)? And they were sent by Zeus implicitly. However, in the fifth book of the *Editions*, the same (Seleucus) athetises (the verse), together with the following two, as redundant. They are also absent from the Cretan edition.

P.Oxy 2.221v 15:6–27

In the eyes of this commentator, *Il.* 21.290 does not fit its co-text, as Poseidon's use of the personal pronoun “I” presumes that Achilles had already recognised him as a god despite his human disguise.²⁶ Yet the text nowhere gives any sign of Poseidon's and Pallas Athena's true identity; even their promise that Scamander will soon come to rest (*Il.* 21.292) is not fulfilled.²⁷ Thus our commentator holds with Aristarchus that *Il.* 21.290 is spurious.²⁸ Seleucus, how-

25 In the manuscript οὐκ is preceded by ὄνομα. Hartmut Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, 7 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969–1988), 5:107; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 422 consider this a scribal error.

26 Nicholas Richardson, *Books 21–24*, vol. 6 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 76–77; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 169, 277. Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 21.290.

27 As is clear from *Il.* 21.305–306, quoted by the commentator.

28 *Il.* 21.290–292 are also taken as spurious by George M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925), 189–90. Contrast M.J. Apthorp, *The*

ever, argues in his *Against the Aristarchaeon Signs* that the gods do signal their identity, albeit subtly (*κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*).²⁹ This occurs when Poseidon greets Achilles with the words: “For, indeed, we are such helpers for you from the gods” (*Il.* 21.289).³⁰ Hence, for Seleucus, Poseidon’s use of “I” sits well with the co-text of *Il.* 21.290. This is not the end of the problem, though, as Seleucus turns out not to be consistent: elsewhere he athetises *Il.* 21.290–292 because he considers them redundant (*περισσός*)³¹ and because they are absent from the Cretan edition. Following Aristarchus and Seleucus’s *Editions*, the commentator in P.Oxy. 2.221v concludes that *Il.* 21.290 is not a part of Homer’s ipsissima verba, but a later addition to the *Iliad* that Homer had written.

1.1.2 Linguistics³²

The Homeric epics (particularly the *Iliad*), notwithstanding their idiosyncratic language, were the prime basis of language education in Greek antiquity and the Hellenistic period.³³ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that they were frequently subjected to linguistic interpretation. Modern scholars disagree about

Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer, ΒΚΑ 71 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1980), 77–78. Richardson, *Books 21–24*, 76–77 seems to agree with Bolling.

29 *Κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον* is a technical term in the scholia, where it indicates gaps in the narrative that the reader is supposed to fill in. See Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 157–73. Seleucus uses it in this sense when he states that Zeus’s sending of Poseidon and Pallas Athene occurs *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*: nowhere is it said that Zeus sends these gods, but the reader is supposed to supply this information herself. See also Schol. T *Il.* 21.290.

Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 169–70 points out that Seleucus’s first use of *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον* does not tie in with its technical meaning. In this case, it is not Homer, but Poseidon who holds back information (namely, who he really is) and it is not the reader, but Achilles who has to supply information by paying due attention to Poseidon’s greeting.

30 Seleucus probably understood the genitive *θεῶν* as “from among the gods” rather than just “from the gods.” After all, the latter thing could also be said of human helpers. Cf. Schironi’s translation “for among the gods we two are such helpers” (“Greek Commentaries,” 421). The understanding of the genitive as “from the gods” may inspire Aristarchus’s decision to athetise these lines *pace* Seleucus.

31 On the term *περισσός* see Schenkeveld, “Aristarchus and ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΧΝΟΣ,” 170–75; Dietrich Lührs, *Untersuchungen zu den Athetesen Aristarchs in der Ilias und zu ihren Behandlung im Corpus der exegetischen Scholien*, BzAw 11 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1992), 285–86.

32 Cf. Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 111–15; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 412–15.

33 See Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 162–63; Morgan, *Literate Education*; eadem, “Education, Homer in,” *HE* 234–38; Criore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 194–97.

the nature of linguistic interpretations of the Homeric epics as well as the extent to which the Alexandrian scholars adhered to a well-defined grammatical system.³⁴ From the (sometimes quite elaborate³⁵) grammatical explanations in the hypomnema and other works of Alexandrian scholarship it is evident that the composers of these works engaged in some theoretical reflection on language.³⁶ At the same time, grammar appears to have been no goal in itself for the Alexandrian scholars; it mainly served the elucidation of their base texts. Only in a later period would grammar become an object of study in its own right.³⁷

An illustrative example of the kind of linguistic interpretations found in the hypomnema is this interpretation of the unexpected term *σταφύλη* in *Il.* 2.765:

Ἵτριχας οἰέτεας σταφύλη ἐπὶ νῶτον [εἶσας· ὄτριχας ὁμότρ]ιχας, οἰέτεας ἰσοετείς, σταφύλη ἐπὶ νῶτον εἰσας [οὕτως ἴσας τοῖς νῶτο]ις ὥστε σταφύλη ἀφισοῦσθαι. Σταφύλη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ λαο[ξοϊκὸς διαβήτης ὃς ἔχ]ει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σπάρτον καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σπάρτου μολύβιον ἐξ[ηρημένον ᾧ μετροῦσι] τὴν ἰσότητα· σταφύλην δὲ ὠνόμασεν ἐπεὶ τὸ [μολύβιον ἐστὶ σταφιδι τρω]κτῆ ὅμοιον.

Burkert, "The Making of Homer," 57 points to the oddity of choosing Homer as a schoolbook. Pontani, "Only God Knows the Correct Reading!," 44–55 offers a well-informed discussion and formulates some solutions.

- 34 For a survey of the debate see Lara Pagani, "Pioneers of Grammar: Hellenistic Scholarship and the Study of Language," in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari and eadem, *TiC* 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 17–64.
- 35 See, e.g., the morphological excursus in P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:22–2:28 (61) and cf. Schironi, "Greek Commentaries," 415.
- 36 So also Wolfram Ax, "Aristarch und die 'Grammatik,'" *Glotta* 60 (1982): 96–109; idem, "Sprache als Gegenstand der alexandrinischen und pergamenischen Philologie," in *Sprachtheorien der abendlandischen Antike*, ed. Peter Schmitter, *GS* 2 (Tübingen: Narr, 1991), 275–301; Stephanos Matthaios, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, Hypomnema 126 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); idem, "Textinterpretation und grammatische Argumentation im Kreis der alexandrinischen Philologen: Konsequenzen für die ἐμπειρία-τέχνη-Diskussion," in *Ancient Grammar and Its Posterior Tradition*, ed. Nikolai Kazansky et al., *OS* 36 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 111–41.
- 37 See Matthaios, "Textinterpretation und grammatische Argumentation"; Pagani, "Pioneers of Grammar"; Pontani, "Only God Knows the Correct Reading!," 44–55.

“Of the same hair, of the same age, [equal] in height by the *σταφύλη*” (*Il.* 2.765). [“Of the same hair”: “with the same sort] of hair”; “of the same age”: “of similar age”; “equal in height by the *σταφύλη*”: [“with such equal bac]ks as being equalled with a *σταφύλη*.” A “*σταφύλη*,” then, is a [stone-mason’s rule, which ha]s a rope around it and on the top of the rope a lead weight [hung upon (it), with which one measures] equality. It is called a *σταφύλη* because the [lead weight resembles edi]ble raisins.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:20–25³⁸

The commentator attempts to capture the meaning of *σταφύλη* by explaining it in light of a partially similar word: either *σταφίς*³⁹ or *ἀσταφίς*.⁴⁰ Both nouns mean “raisin.”⁴¹ This meaning of the word is then taken as a reference to the form of the *σταφύλη* of which the Iliadic line speaks: the tool known as “*σταφύλη*” is called that “because the lead weight resembles edible raisins.”

1.1.3 Literary Criticism⁴²

Literary criticism is ubiquitous in the hypomnemata. As the commentators in these ancient commentaries considered Homer to be a conscious author and writer, they concentrated on outlining principles of his literary style. The best available study on the topic is René Nünlist’s book on literary criticism in the scholia, which includes information from the hypomnemata. It suffices here to mention just two noteworthy cases. First, when Seleucus argues, in his exposition of *Il.* 21.290, that Poseidon and Pallas Athena were sent by Zeus “implicitly” (*κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*), he comments on how Homer has constructed the *Iliad*.⁴³ In Seleucus’s view, Homer consciously left out information, which the readers of the *Iliad* must supply themselves. Second, the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:11–19 argues that “reverse order” is a characteristic features of Homer’s style and backs up his argument with a reference to *Od.* 11.170–203.⁴⁴

38 I thank John Lendon for discussing this passage with me.

39 So Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:83; John Lendon, *Un commentario aristarcho al secondo libro dell’Iliade: POxy VIII 1086 (Proecdosis)* (Florence: s.n., 2002), 82. The reading ultimately goes back to Wilamowitz.

40 So Erbse, *Scholia*, 1:166.

41 LSJ *sub* *ἀσταφίς*. *Σταφίς* can also refer to stavesacre, but this meaning does not fit this context.

42 Cf. Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 106–9; Nicholas J. Richardson, “Literary Criticism in the Exegetical Scholia to the *Iliad*: A Sketch,” *CQ* 30 (1980): 265–87; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 423–25.

43 P.Oxy 2.221v 15:6–27. See pp. 203–5.

44 See pp. 218–20.

1.1.4 Mythology and Geography⁴⁵

The mythological and geographical worlds of the Homeric epics often confused their later readers. This gave rise to the Mythographus Homericus, a commentary on the Homeric epics devoted entirely to mythology.⁴⁶ The hypomnemata also engage with the mythographical peculiarities of the *Iliad*. Many mythographical interpretations point out differences between Homer's universe and that of the *neoteroi* or more recent poems. This distinction, as we have seen in chapter 6, is typical for Aristarchus. It underlies this interpretation of *Il.* 2.783:

Εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς· Ἄριμα τῆς Πισιδία[ς] ἐστίν, ὅφ' οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ Τυφῶς εἶναι καθ' Ὀμηρον· οἱ μέντοι γε νεώτεροι ὑπὸ τὴν Αἴτνην τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὄρος φασὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὧν Πίνδαρος· κείνω μὲν Αἴτνα δεσμός ὑπερφίαλος ἀμφίκειται.

“In the Arima, where they say that the abodes of Typhoeus are” (*Il.* 2.783). The Arima are in Pisidia, under which Typhoeus seems to be according to Homer. However, the more recent poets say that he is under the Etna, the mountain on Sicily, among whom Pindar: “he encircles the Etna, as a huge bond” (*Frag.* 92).

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:8–11 (48–51)

This passage refers to the story of Typhoeus, a monster that Zeus had killed and buried.⁴⁷ Both the dwelling place and the burial place of Typhoeus were debated in antiquity. Our commentator understands Homer to locate the burial

45 Cf. Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 115–19; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 418–20.

46 On the Mythographus Homericus see Franco Montanari, “The Mythographus Homericus,” in *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle: A Collection of Papers in honour of D.M. Schenkeveld*, ed. J.G.J. Abbenes, Simon R. Slings, and Ineke Sluiter (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1995), 135–72; Monique van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri*, MnS 175 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 85–118.

47 Various traditions, differing from one another, e.g., with regard to Typhoeus's genealogy or the question whether he defeated Zeus before he was defeated by him, are attested in the literature. For overviews see Walter Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, 2d ed., RM 15 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011), 201 (n. 21); Martin L. West, “Typhoeus (Τυφωεύς),” *HE* 907–8. Schol. b *Il.* 2.783 contains an interesting mythological account on Typhoeus and his defeat by Zeus. This account harmonises two designations of Typhoeus's burial place (note that this is exactly what P.Oxy. 1086 does not do!) by stating that the Arimon in Cilicia was renamed “Etna” after Zeus defeated Typhoeus there.

place of Typhoeus in the Arima.⁴⁸ This mythographical comment is preceded by a geographical one: according to the exegete, the Arima are in Pisidia,⁴⁹ not, as other traditions have it, in Cilicia,⁵⁰ Lydia,⁵¹ or Syria.⁵² According to our exegete, then, Homer held that Typhoeus was buried in the Arima in Pisidia. The *neoterói* disagree, as Pindar's remark that "[Typhoeus] encircles the Etna, as a huge bond" indicates. In Aristarchean vein, the commentator points out the contrast between Homer's world and that of the *neoterói*, but he does not take sides. The point here is not that Homer is right and the *neoterói* are wrong; the point is that Homer is truly *sui generis*.⁵³

1.1.5 The Teachings of the Poet⁵⁴

A final expression of the perspective of the commentators in the hypomnematata is their attention to the teachings of the poet. The scholia contain many instances where Homer is considered to give advice on a particular aspect of human life or behaviour. One clear case in the hypomnematata is this interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 as a piece of military advice by the poet:

Ἄμφω θη[λείας φόβον Ἄρηος φορ]εούσας· [δῆλος δὲ ἐστὶ παρα]καλῶν τὸ ἐν παρατάξει ἵππους θηλείας ἔχειν· οἱ γὰρ ἄρσε[νες χρεμετίζουσι καὶ π]τύρονται,⁵⁵ αἱ δὲ θήλειαι οὐδὲν τούτων ποιοῦσιν. Ἔτι δὲ [καὶ οἱ ἄρσενες ἐν τῷ] φυγεῖν χρησιμεύουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Αἰνεία φησὶν· [Τρῳῖοι ἵπποιοι, ἐπιστάμ]ενοι πεδίοιο κραϊπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκόμεν ἡδὲ φέβεσθαί.

48 As will be discussed on pp. 234–35, this understanding of *Il.* 2.783 implies a figurative reading of *εὐνή* as “grave” rather than “dwelling place.”

49 This view appears to be unique to our commentator. Cf. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 8:95; Geoffrey S. Kirk, *Books 1–4*, vol. 1 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 243–44.

50 Schol. b *Il.* 2.783, where Cilicia is the birthplace of Typhoeus, as it is in Hesiod, *Theog.* 820–68; Schol. D *Il.* 2.783; Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.4.6 (quoting both *Il.* 2.783 and Pindar).

51 Schol. D *Il.* 2.783; Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.19; cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.4.11.

52 Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.4.6; 16.2.7; 16.4.27.

53 On this passage see further John Lundon, “POxy 1086 e Aristarco,” in *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia: Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, ed. Isabella Andorlini et al. (Florence: Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli, 2001), 827–39 (835–36); idem, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 117; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 418.

54 Cf. Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 426.

55 The manuscript reads]τυριζονται; Lundon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 82 (following Erbse) suggests to take these letters as π]τύρονται. The reference to whinnying may be gauged from Schol. b *Il.* 2.767.

“Both of them fe[male, car]rying [Ares’s fear” (*Il.* 2.767). Clearly, he is sum]moning to put female horses in the frontline. After all, ma[le (horses) whinny and are s]cared, but female ones do not do any of these things. Nevertheless, [male (horses), too,] are useful [in] flight, whence he also says regarding Aeneas’s (horses): [“Trojan horses, skill] ed very quickly, hither and thither over the field, to pursue or to flee” (*Il.* 5.222–223 = *Il.* 8.106–107).

P.Oxy 8.1086 1:27–28, 31–35

A more elaborate discussion of this passage is reserved for § 2 below. For now it suffices to note that the contents of this line are not only attributed to Homer, but taken as a piece of advice valid for subsequent generations.

1.2 *Implicit and Explicit Assumptions*

The conception of Homer as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* often plays an implicit role in the hypomnemata. One example, in which a stylistic feature of the epics is attributed to their author, suffices to illustrate the point:

[Ἐ]ξ [ἄ]κρης πόλιος Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχ[εῖν· διη]ρημένως ἐξενηνοχῶς ἐξ ἄκρης π[όλιος· σύν]θετον ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως· ἐν Ὀδ[υσσεῖα συν]θέτως εἰρημένον, ὃν ποτ’ ἐξ ἀκρόπο[λιν δόλον ἤγαγε] δ[ί]ος Ὀδυσσεύς.⁵⁶

“To stret[ch] out the hands to Zeus [fr]om the [cit]adel” (*Il.* 6.257). [After divid]ing it in two, he put forth ἐξ ἄκρης π[όλιος; the com]posite (is) ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως. In the *Od[yssey]*, it is said [with the com]posite: “Which g[od]ly Odysseus [led] to the cita[del] (ἐξ ἀκρόπολιν) as a trick” (*Od.* 8.494).]

P.Cairo 60566 a ii 10–14

This interpretation mentions that Homer uses ἐξ ἄκρης πόλιος in *Il.* 6.257 rather than the composite ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως. The commentator points to *Od.* 8.494, where the composite does occur. As both expressions occur in similar contexts, they must be considered synonymous.⁵⁷ The conclusion drawn from this comparison is that Homer aims at variation in how he expresses himself: sometimes he uses a composite, sometimes he does not. Implied in this interpretation is

56 P.Cairo 60566 is quoted according to William G. Waddell, “Three Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,” in *Mélanges Maspero: II: Orient grec, romain et byzantin* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1934–1937), 145–54 (148–51).

57 Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 6.257; Schol. D *Il.* 6.257.

the image of Homer as an individual, creative author, who makes conscious linguistic and stylistic choices.

In addition to these implicit assumptions the hypomnemata may explicitly reflect the perspective of their producers. This reference to Homer as an eye-witness to the city of Troy can serve as an example:

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη· τοῦτο ὁ ποιη[τῆς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
λέγει, ἐκ] δὲ τούτου ἑαυτὸν⁵⁸ αὐτόπτ[η]ν ἐνδείκνυσι[ν.] Κολώνη ἐστὶ [π]ᾶ[ν]
ἀ[νάστημα γῆς.]

“Now there is a steep mound in front of the city” (*Il.* 2.811). This the po[et says by himself,] and [from] this he show[s] himself an eye-witn[e]ss. A “mound” is [a]n[y] p[ile of earth.]

P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:18–20 (98–100)

This interpretation of *Il.* 2.811 was probably inspired by the present tense ἔστι and the descriptive tone of the line.⁵⁹ In his interpretation, the commentator assumes that Homer is an eyewitness of the mound he describes.⁶⁰ This does not mean that Homer is contemporaneous with the Trojan war,⁶¹ but it does assume that, in this line, Homer writes not from what he has heard, but from what he has seen.⁶²

1.3 *Technical Terminology*

The hypomnemata use grammatical, literary critical, text-critical, and other kinds of technical terminology.⁶³ These terms reflect the interests and

58 The manuscript reads only τὸν.

59 London, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 134; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 191.

60 This assumption seems not to have been very wide-spread; see Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 191 (n. 20). Cf. Kathleen McNamee, “Aristarchus and ‘Everyman’s’ Homer,” *GRBS* 22 (1981): 247–55 (249–50).

61 This would create grave problems, as it contradicts the general idea that Homer postdates the events he describes; see Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 191; Josephus, *C.Ap.* 12; also the classical sources collected by Barclay, *Against Apion*, 16 (n. 53).

62 London, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 134–35 points out that the comment can also be read as a literary critical remark indicating that Homer speaks *as if* he were an eye-witness. With Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 191, who points to the absence of a word such as ὡς, I am hesitant to embrace London’s suggestion.

63 For an accessible discussion of technical terminology and a glossary see Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine*

perspective of the hypomnema commentators. Consider, for instance, this interpretation of *Il.* 2.784:

Ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα· ὡς ἄρα τῶν οὕτως τούτων. Μέγα ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως. Στεναχίζετο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔστενεν, τῷ παθητικῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνεργητικοῦ. Ὁ δὲ λόγος οὕτως τούτων ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσσὶν μεγάλως ἔστενεν ἢ γῆ.

“So, then, the earth groaned greatly under their feet” (*Il.* 2.784). “So, then”: “Thus.” “Great” instead of “greatly.” “Groaned” instead of “moaned,” in the passive instead of the active. So the meaning is: “Thus the earth moaned greatly under their feet.”

P.Oxy. 1086 2:11–14 (51–54)

As the commentator translates unusual phrases in the lemma into more common ones, he acknowledges the idiosyncratic nature of Homer’s language. He mostly does this tacitly. Yet when he comes across *στεναχίζετο*, he comments explicitly that Homer employs a passive rather than an active verb. The terms “passive” (*παθητικός*) and “active” (*ἐνεργητικός*) are technical terms in the study of grammar and their use in this commentary echoes the special interest of this commentator in the grammatical features of his base text and the grammatical preferences of its author.⁶⁴

Technical terms may also be drawn from the realm of literary criticism. We have already encountered the use of *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον* (“implicitly”) in P.Oxy. 2.221v 15:6–27. Consider also this passage:

Ἄ[μ]φεπέοντο· περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγίνο[ν]το ἐνεργοῦντες. Προαναπεφώνηκε δὲ τὸ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσόμενον, ὅτε ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεῖν· ἢ τότε ἔκειτο ἐν ταῖς ἄμμοις αἱ ἐγγέλους ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἥσθιον ἐνδύουσαι.

“Th[e]y d[e]alt with him” (*Il.* 21.203). “With him they we[r]e busy.” He has anticipated what would take place on the third day, when he would float, or whilst he was lying on the sand, the eels were already pressing in to devour him.⁶⁵

P.Oxy. 2.221v 10:18–23

Period, APACRS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 123–29, 219–65. A concise, but still useful list of “frasi stereotype” and “termini tecnici” is Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 97–100.

64 On *παθητικός* and *ἐνεργητικός* as technical terms see LSJ *sub* *παθητικός* and *sub* *ἐνεργητικός*; Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, 236, 250.

65 Translation from Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:80.

The verb *προαναφωνέω* is a technical literary critical term in the scholia. It refers to prolepsis or anticipation, usually of events related more elaborately later in the narrative, but also of events not narrated elsewhere in the Homeric epics.⁶⁶ The latter is the case here: the eating of Asteropaeus by eels and fishes does not occur anywhere else in the *Iliad*, but Homer is assumed to foretell it here. This term, like the grammatical terms in the passage quoted above, reveal the interests of the hypomnema commentators in the literary and narrative structure of the *Iliad*.

1.4 *Paraphrase*

The structural aspects of paraphrase have been dealt with in chapter 6. For the purpose of this chapter it is important to realise that paraphrase is not a neutral strategy. It may allow commentators to align their interests with those of their base text, but it also puts them in the position to impose their own perspective, or to have the base text tell what the commentator wants it to tell. One example of this procedure is the paraphrastic interpretation of *Il.* 4.306–307 in P.Ryl. 1.24, which resolves the ambiguity of these lines by narrowing down their meaning and preferring one possible reading to the other.

Il. 4.306–307 are part of a speech by Nestor. In this speech Nestor exhorts his charioteers to proceed to battle as a unity and never to distort the ranks (*Il.* 4.303–309). No one, Nestor says, must either fight or withdraw by himself. He continues:

“Ὅς δέ κ’ ἀνήρ ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ’ ἄρμαθ’ ἴκηται,
ἔγχει ὀρεξάσθω, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερον οὕτω.

Now, should any man from his own carriage approach another chariot, let (him) stretch out (to him) with a spear, since so would it be much better.

Il. 4.306–307

The commentator in P.Ryl. 1.24 paraphrases these lines as follows:

Τὰ ἑαυτοῦ [ἀπολιπῶν] ἄρματα ἢ ἵππου [βληθέντος] ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς [ἀτυχή] ματος
γενομένου [ἔφ’ ἐτέρων ἐπι]βῆναι βιάζη[ται παταξ]άτω τις αὐτὸν [ἔγχει
εὐ]τελές γὰρ κρίνει [τὸ τεθνάν]αι τὸν τοιοῦτον [καὶ μὴ ζῆν α]ὐτὸν συγχεόν[τα
τὴν τάξιν.]⁶⁷

66 On the term and its use see George E. Duckworth, “ΠΡΟΑΝΑΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ in the Scholia to Homer,” *AJP* 52 (1931): 320–38; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 34–45.

67 P.Ryl. 1.24 is quoted according to Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Ryl.* 1:44. Cf. Erbse, *Scholia*, 1:440–41.

If he [leave] his own chariot, whether on account of a horse [being stric]ken or the occurrence of some other [disa]ster, and for[ce] his way [on to another, let someone smi]te him [with a spear;] for Nestor judges it [a thing of sm]all account that such a man [should peri]sh [and not live] when disturb[ing the ranks.]⁶⁸

P.Ryl. 1.24 1:7–16

The expression ἐγγχει ὀρεξάσθω in *Il.* 4.306–307 can be understood in two ways. First, *Il.* 4.306–307 can offer an alternative to the lone fighting and fleeing which Nestor condemns in *Il.* 4.303–305. Rather than to breach the ranks to fight or to withdraw, Nestor urges his fighters to use their spears whenever they come close enough to reach an enemy chariot. In this way they may be able to kill the enemy without disturbing the ranks.⁶⁹ Alternatively, *Il.* 4.306–307 can be understood as foretelling the fate of anyone who disturbs the ranks: when a charioteer sets out to attack an enemy chariot and by so doing distorts the ranks, he is to be killed by a spear.⁷⁰ The latter reading is preferred by our commentator, who takes the driver of the enemy chariot as the subject of ὀρεξάσθω and the charioteer disturbing the ranks as its object. Thus, by paraphrasing the lemma our exegete also expresses his preference for only one possible interpretation of it.⁷¹

2 Normativity

The central image of Homer as a teacher implies that his words are normative for later generations. An illustrative example of the working of normativity resources is the interpretation of ἄμφω θηλείας in *Il.* 2.767. I quote it again for the sake of my analysis:

Ἄμφω θη[λείας φόβον Ἄρηος φορ]εούσας· [δῆλος δὲ ἐστὶ παρα]καλῶν τὸ ἐν παρατάξει ἵππους θηλείας ἔχειν· οἱ γὰρ ἄρσε[νες χρεμετί]ζουσι καὶ π[τύρονται, αἱ δὲ θή]λεια οὐδὲν τούτων ποιοῦσιν. Ἔτι δὲ [καὶ οἱ ἄρ]σενες ἐν τῷ] φυγεῖν

68 Trans. Hunt, *P.Ryl.* 1:44.

69 Cf. Schol. D *Il.* 4.307.

70 Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 4.307.

71 This interpretation may not even be the most co-textually appropriate one, as *Il.* 4.308–309 are more naturally preceded by a description of battle technique than by a punishment of those ignoring Nestor's instructions. See Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 362.

χρησιμεύουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Αἰνεία φησὶν [Τρώιοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμ]ενοι πεδίοιο κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκόμεν ἡδὲ φέβεσθαι.

“Both of them fe[male, car]rying [Ares’s fear” (*Il.* 2.767). Clearly, he is sum-
moning to put female horses in the frontline. After all, ma[le (horses)
whinny and are s]cared, but female ones do not do any of these things.
Nevertheless, [male (horses), too,] are useful [in] flight, whence he also
says regarding Aeneas’s (horses): [“Trojan horses, skill]ed very quickly,
hither and thither over the field, to pursue or to flee” (*Il.* 5.222–223 =
Il. 8.106–107).

P.Oxy 8.1086 1:27–28, 31–35

As he says that Homer “summons” (παρακαλῶν⁷²) his readers to use mares in battle, the commentator portrays the poet as a teacher of military tactics. He also mentions Homer’s reasons for giving this advice: “male (horses) whinny and are scared, but female (ones) do not do any of these things.” Incidentally, it is rather improbable that the hypomnemata were written for an audience in need of military advice. Thus, we may wonder if Homer’s advice was ever put into practice. But such concerns are of little importance for the commentator. Keen as he is to recover Homer’s teachings from the *Iliad*, he assigns a didactic intent to *Il.* 2.767, all the while neglecting the practical consequences of this reading of the line.

In spite of Homer’s advice to use mares in battle, our commentator does not deny all usefulness to male horses.⁷³ They might not be any good for battle, but they can prove their use in flight. The commentator even finds a basis in Homer for his view. In *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107), the poet speaks of Aeneas’s horses as “Trojan horses, skilled very quickly to pursue or to flee hither and thither over the field.” This passage in *Il.* 5 suggests that the attention that the commentator pays to male horses in his interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 is a response to an inconsistency he had perceived in his base text: if Homer summons his readers to use female horses in battle in *Il.* 2, how can he speak positively about Aeneas’s male horses in *Il.* 5? Our commentator offers a solution that is both simple and ingenious: the passages describe different situations. The female horses described in *Il.* 2 were used in battle, Aeneas’s male horses are used in flight.

72 If the reconstruction is correct.

73 In that regard the interpretation in P.Oxy. 8.1086 differs from Schol b. *Il.* 2.767.

This solution may depend on the place of *Il.* 2.767 and *Il.* 5.222–223 within the *Iliad* as a whole.⁷⁴ *Il.* 2.767 stems from the *Catalogue of Ships*, which describes the muster of troops and their preparation for battle. If the *Catalogue* refers to horses, therefore, these horses can quite naturally be taken as being meant to be used in war.⁷⁵ By contrast, in *Il.* 5:222–223, Aeneas and Pandarus prepare themselves to fight Diomedes. Aeneas points to his horses, which, he says, are not just to carry them to Diomedes, but also safely back to the city if needs be.⁷⁶ Hence, the position of *Il.* 2 and *Il.* 5 in the *Iliad* may have strengthened our commentator's view that Homer orders female horses to be used in battle, but male ones in flight.

3 Analogy

Analogical reasoning serves various purposes in the hypomnemata. It often allows the commentator to recognise patterns in Homer's work. P.Oxy. 8.1087 1:22–2:28 (61), for instance, explains the noun μάρτυρος (*Il.* 7.76) as a derivative from the genitive of μάρτυς by giving similar derivatives from other nouns.⁷⁷ Analogical reasoning also underlies the famous adage "Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν" ("to explain Homer from Homer").⁷⁸ Even if the exact formulation of this exegetical principle does not originate with the Alexandrian scholars, the principle itself does characterise their approach towards the Homeric epics.⁷⁹ This holds true especially for Aristarchus, who had a particular interest in Homer's style and his construction of the *Iliad*.

74 It is unclear whether the commentator quotes from *Il.* 5 or *Il.* 8. Yet, if we assume that the place of the quotation in the whole of the *Iliad* has a bearing on the way the commentator understood it, *Il.* 5 is the better candidate.

75 The expression "carrying Ares's fear" may also suggest as much, although perhaps not for our commentator. On his explanation of this expression see pp. 233–34.

76 *Il.* 5.224–225.

77 On analogical reasoning in the field of grammar see Ineke Sluiter, "A Champion of Analogy: Herodian's *On Lexical Singularity*," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, TiCSup 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 291–310.

78 See Christoph Schäublin, "Homerum ex Homero," *MH* 34 (1977): 221–27.

79 The expression is first attested in this form by Porphyry; see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 226. Nigel G. Wilson, "An Aristarchean Maxim," *CR* 21 (1971): 172; idem, "Scholiasts and Commentators," *GRBS* 47 (2007): 39–70 (62–63) points to an anecdote in Aelian and argues on the basis of this anecdote that the expression was formulated before Porphyry.

I will illustrate the use of analogy in the hypomnemata by giving two examples where analogy serves to recognise principles to which Homer adhered when he wrote his epics. The first example concerns the interpretation of *Il.* 21.155–156. These lines appear in the context of the battle between Achilles and Asteropaeus. *Il.* 21.155 introduces Asteropaeus as the leader of the Paeonians.⁸⁰ Surprisingly, however, Asteropaeus does not feature in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2), which surveys the contingents of both sides in the Trojan war and their leaders and was often read as an introduction to the protagonists in the rest of the *Iliad*.⁸¹ To complicate matters further, the *Catalogue* does refer to another leader of the Paeonians: Pyraechmes.⁸² Our commentator offers two solutions for this alleged inconsistency between *Il.* 2 and *Il.* 21:

“Ἦδε δέ μοι νῦν ἠὼς ἔνδε[κάτη ὅτ’ ἐς Ἴλιον] ἐιλήλουθα· ἐν τῇ κατ’ Εὐ[ριπίδην καί] ἐν τισὶ ἄλλαις καὶ ἐν Δια[κό]σμῳ λέ[γεται] Ἀ[στεροπαῖος οὕτως· αὐ[τὰ]ρ Πυραί[χμης] ἄ[γ]ε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξου[ς] Πηλε[γόνου]ς θ’ υἱὸς περιδέξι[ος] Ἀστεροπ[α]ῖος [... γ]ὰρ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Διακ[ό]σμου [... εἰ] μὴ παραδέχοιτο δὲ τις τὸν ἐν Δια[κό]σμῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ στίχ[ον] οὐδὲν κωλύει [ἔνα τῶν] ἐπὶ μέρους ἡγεμόνων αὐτ[ὸν] ὄν[τα μὴ] ὠνομάσθαι καθάπερ Στιχίον Σχε[δίου] Φο[ίνικα] Πάτροκλον Ἀντίλοχον Τ[εῦκρον] ὅς καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονο[ς] π[ρο]σηγόρευται καθὰ κα[ὶ] Ἰστρος φη[σί]· Τεῦκρε φίλη κεφαλή Τελαμώνιε.

“This, now, is the ele[venth] night for me [since] I came [to Troy]” (*Il.* 21.155–156). In the (edition) according to E[uripides and] in some others, [A]steropaeus is also me[n]tioned in the *Catal[ogue] of Ships* as follows: “Pyrae[chmes,] ho[wev]er, led the Paeonians with crooked-bows, and Asterop[ae]us, the ambidextr[ous] son of Pelegon” (*Il.* 2.848–848a). For he [...] from the *Catalo[gue] of Ships*. [...] If someone should not accept the lin[e] about him [i]n the *Cata[logue] of Ship[s]*, nothing prevents

On the maxim as a characterisation of Alexandrian or Aristarchean scholarship see the works cited in Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 226 (n. 1); also Ineke Sluiter, “The Greek Tradition,” in Wout van Bekkum et al., *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, ASTHLS 82 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 147–224 (204–5); Wilson, “Scholiasts and Commentators,” 62–63; Eleanor Dickey, “Scholarship, Ancient,” in *HE* 764–68; René Nünlist, “Literary Criticism, Hellenistic and Roman,” in *HE* 483–85; idem, “*Topos didaskalikos* and *anaphora*—Two Interrelated Principles in Aristarchus’ Commentaries,” in *Homer and the Bible*, 113–26 (115).

80 Παίονας ἀνδρας ἄγων δολιχεγγέας. This part of *Il.* 21.155 is not quoted in P.Oxy. 2.221v. Cf. *Il.* 21.163, which speaks of “the hero Asteropaeus.”

81 Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 53.

82 Cf. Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 116.

hi[m] from be[ing] one of the subordinate leaders, even though he is [not] ment[i]oned—just like Stichi[u]s, Sche[dius the Ph]oenician, Patroclus, Antilochus, T[eu]ce[r]. The latter is even greeted by Agamemno[n] himself, as Istrus als[o] sa[ys:] “Teucer, beloved head, son of Telamon” (*Il.* 8.281).

P.Oxy. 2.221v 6:16–30

Only the second solution depends on analogical reasoning.⁸³ According to the commentator, Asteropaeus may not have been the commander-in-chief of the Paeonians, but only a subordinate leader.⁸⁴ His lesser status in comparison with Pyraechmes explains his absence from the *Catalogue of Ships*. To support this explanation the commentator draws an analogy with other leaders mentioned in the *Iliad* without having been introduced in the *Catalogue*: Stichius, Schedius the Phoenician,⁸⁵ Patroclus, Antilochus,⁸⁶ and Teucer. The quotation from *Il.* 8.281 serves to show that Teucer was indeed a leading figure: Agamemnon himself addresses Teucer as “commander of the peoples” (κοίρανε λαῶν; these words are not quoted in the commentary). The analogy with Asteropaeus is clear: just as Teucer can be called a “commander” and be absent from the *Catalogue*, so Asteropaeus can be referred to as a “leader” (*Il.* 21.155) and “hero” (*Il.* 21.163) without being mentioned in *Il.* 2. Apparently, the commentator suggests, Homer was prone not to include subordinate leaders in the *Catalogue*, but to refer to them freely in the remainder of the *Iliad*.

The second example concerns Homer’s use of the “principle of reverse order.” To describe this principle the commentator draws an analogy between *Il.* 2.763 and *Od.* 11.163–203:

[>“Ἴπποι μὲν μέγ’ ἄρισται· τὸ σημεῖον ὅτ]ι πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον πρότερον ἀπήντησεν. Τὴν δ’ ἀ[πολογίαν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἀρ]ίσταρχος πεποιήται πρὸς Πραξιφάνην· ἐκεῖνος [γὰρ θαυμάζει τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπὶ τῷ] παρηγορικῶς ὠμιληκότα τῇ μητρὶ κα[τὰ τὴν τελευταίην περὶ Τηλεμάχου καὶ] Πηνελόπης ἐρωτήσαι, ἐπειδὴ περ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα [ἀκούσαι θέλει τὰ συμβάντα ἐν τῇ ἀ]πουσίᾳ. Ἡ δὲ, φησὶν, ἡ Ἀντίκλεια συνετωτάτη [οὔσα εὐθὺς περὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα κατα]γίνεται· δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος δεικνύς ὅ[περ δεῖ ἀποφαίνει ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγ]ει ἡ Ἀντίκλεια. Σημειοῦται δὲ ὅτι διὰ παντὸς [ὁ ποιητῆς οὕτως πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον πρ]ότερον ἀπαντᾷ κατὰ ἰδίαν συνήθειαν.

83 On the other explanation see pp. 228–29.

84 Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:78; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 53.

85 There is a Schedius in the *Catalogue* (*Il.* 2.517), but this is a different one.

86 On how Patroclus and Antilochus are introduced in the *Iliad* see Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 54–55.

[>“The very best horses” (*Il.* 2.763). The sign (is placed) because he took up the second (item) first. Aristarchus based his defence of the poet] against Praxiphanes [on this passage. For] the latter [is surprised that Odysseus] in his consolatory conversation with his mother asks only [at the end about Telemachus and] Penelope, because in his absence he [wants] above all [to know about their plight.] But Anticleia, says he, [being] very intelligent, [turns immediately to this very subject.] For that reason, Aristarchus, showing [what is necessary, makes it clear that] Anticleia [speaks in the right order.] It is marked with a sign, because throughout, [the poet] takes up [in this way the second (item)] first, according to a habit peculiar to him.⁸⁷

P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:11–19

The *diple* that precedes *Il.* 2.763⁸⁸ indicates the potential discrepancy between *Il.* 2.761–762 and *Il.* 2.763. In *Il.* 2.761–762, Homer invokes the Muse to tell him who were the best of the Greek leaders and horses.⁸⁹ Yet as he recounts what the Muse told him, Homer does not begin with the leaders, but with the horses. The commentator takes this as a case of “reverse order.” This principle was recognised by at least some ancient scholars (particularly Aristarchus and his school) as a feature of Homer’s style.⁹⁰

To substantiate his claim, the commentator refers to another case where the principle applies: Odysseus’s conversation with his mother Anticleia in *Od.* 11.170–203.⁹¹ Samuel Bassett outlines the use of reverse order in these lines:

87 Translation from Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 328, 332, with slight alterations.

88 The *diple* is reconstructed, but the reconstruction is almost certain in the light of the use of other *diploi* in this manuscript (1:27; 2:14 [54]; 3:17 [97], 36 [116]) and the reference to a *σημείον* in the interpretation. Cf. Lundon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 78.

89 “You tell me, o Muse, who of those was far the best, of them and of the horses which followed with the sons of Atreus.”

90 The principle was first recognised in more modern times by Samuel E. Bassett, “ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΜΗΡΙΚΩΣ (Cicero, Att. 1, 16, 1),” *HSCP* 31 (1920): 39–62. See more recently Richardson, “Literary Criticism,” 281–82; Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 326–337; also René Nünlist and Irene J.F. de Jong, “Homerische Poetik in Stichwörtern (P),” in *Homers Ilias: Gesamtkommentar (Basler Kommentar/БК): Prolegomena*, ed. Joachim Latacz, 3d ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009) 159–71 (167).

91 On the structure of this passage cf. Irene J.F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 279–81. Cf. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 332–33.

Odysseus asks the shade of his mother (1) of her own death, whether she died (2) of disease or (3) by the gentle darts of Artemis; (4) of Laertes; (5) of Telemachus; (6) whether another has taken possession of his estate and royal power; and (7) of Penelope. Anticleia replies in *exactly the opposite order* to the seven questions: “Penelope remains in thy halls (7) [μένει, 178, μένει, 181]; no one has taken thy kingship (6); Telemachus is master of thine estate (5); thy father dwells in the fields (4); and I died, not by the gentle darts of Artemis (3), nor of disease (2), but of grief for thee (1).”⁹²

According to our commentator, Aristarchus reads *Od.* 11.170–203 in a similar vein: “Aristarchus, showing what is necessary, makes it clear that Anticleia speaks in the right order.” Thus, the commentator draws an analogy between *Od.* 11.170–203 and *Il.* 2.763 and points out that both passages exhibit Homer’s preference for reversed order.

This analogy between *Od.* 11.170–203 and *Il.* 2.763 serves as an argument against Praxiphanes’s reading of *Od.* 11.170–203. As the commentator formulates it, *Il.* 2.763 may have supported Aristarchus in his quarrel with Praxiphanes over the correct reading of *Od.* 11.170–203.⁹³ Praxiphanes had offered a psychological interpretation of the word order in *Od.* 11.170–203, but Aristarchus holds that the word order in those lines is the result of a stylistic preference of the poet. *Il.* 2.763 is an analogous case and serves as an argument for Aristarchus’s viewpoint.

4 Structure

This broad category encapsulates the manifold ways in which the hypomnema commentators engaged with the structure of their Iliadic base text. A central

92 “ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΜΗΡΙΚΩΣ,” 46 (his italics).

93 Note, however, that “defence of the poet” (ἀπολογία τοῦ ποιητοῦ) is largely reconstructed. Fritz Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Leipzig: Noske, 1928) sees only a mild contrast between Aristarchus and Praxiphanes. In his treatment of Wehrli’s viewpoint, Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 333 (n. 26) points to the expression πρὸς Πραξιφάνην as indicating a true argument between the two scholars.

The construction ἐντεῦθεν, if it is accepted, defines *Il.* 2.763 as the basis for the principle of reverse order, probably because the application of the principle in this line is less prone to different interpretations than that in *Od.* 11.170–203. Cf. John Landon’s translation “su quæsta base” (*CPF* 1.1.3:643; idem, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 79 has a different translation).

principle in these engagements is their conviction that the structure of the *Iliad* is a reflection of Homer's mind and his conscious composition of the epic.

4.1 *Contributions of the Co-text*

The hypomnema commentators exhibit a general preference to uphold—rather than to neutralise or redefine—the co-text of lemmata in the base text. This predilection for co-textual interpretation is a corollary of the conception of Homer as a self-conscious author. If the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are well-constructed compositions stemming from the mind and the pen of a conscious author, their contents are best understood in their co-text. This preference for co-textual reading distinguishes the hypomnemata from allegorical interpretations of Homer, which assume that Homer's words are best explained when contextualised against a different background from that provided by their co-text in the base text. At the same time, the borderline between these approaches is not absolute. Allegorical interpreters of Homer often pay due attention to the co-textual meaning of their base text.⁹⁴ And, as we shall see, hypomnema commentators may suspend part of the co-text of their lemmata or even be open to figurative or allegorical reading.

4.1.1 Neutralising the Co-text

Even if the hypomnemata tend to uphold the co-text of their base texts, exceptions do occur. As has been shown in § 2 above, the quotation of *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107) is part of an interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 in P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:27–35. The point of this interpretation is to show that Homer urges his readers to use female horses in battle. Male horses, in contrast, are useful only for flight. The quotation from *Il.* 5 or 8 is supposed to support the latter point about the usefulness of male horses. However, when the commentator quotes these lines in support of his view, he neutralises their co-textual meaning. After all, both *Il.* 5 and *Il.* 8 portray Aeneas's horses as praiseworthy because they know *both* to pursue *and* to flee (διωκέμεν ἡδὲ φέβεσθαί). When the commentator focuses on the use of male horses *only* in flight, he adapts the meaning of *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107) to fit his reading of *Il.* 2.767.

Strikingly, the commentator's understanding of *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107) differs not just from the modern understanding of these lines,⁹⁵ but also from

94 James I. Porter, "Hermeneutic Lines and Circles: Aristarchus and Crates on the Exegesis of Homer," in *Homer's Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. Robert Lamberton and John J. Keane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 67–114.

95 For which see Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 83.

the scholia. When they quote the phrase “to pursue or to flee” in their interpretation of *Il.* 2.767, the scholia uphold the co-textual sense of the phrase. Focusing on the meaning of the expression “carrying Ares’s fear” in *Il.* 2.767, Schol. A writes:

Φόβον Ἄρης φορεούσας· ὅτι τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ φυγὴν φόβον Ἄρεως εἴρηκεν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἵππων οὐ μόνον διώκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε δέοι ἀταράχως φεύγειν, διωκόμεν ἢδὲ φέβεσθαι.

“Carrying Ares’s fear” (*Il.* 2.767). (The sign is placed) because he has called the flight from war “Ares’s fear.” For it is a virtue of horses not only to pursue, but also, when necessary, to flee steadily, “to pursue or to flee” (*Il.* 5.222–223 = *Il.* 8.106–107).

Schol. A *Il.* 2.767

The co-textual meaning of *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107) is also implied in Schol. D *Il.* 2.767.⁹⁶ Hence, it turns out that both this non-co-textual reading of *Il.* 5.222–223 (= *Il.* 8.106–107) and the idea that *Il.* 2.767 contains a piece of military advice on the gender of battle horses are unique to this hypomnema. They reflect the creativity of the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 and his intentions to read *Il.* 2.767 as a piece of military advice by the poet.

4.1.2 Upholding the Co-text

Two examples should illustrate the general preference of the hypomnemata for co-textual interpretations. The first one comes from P.Oxy. 2.221v and resolves an apparent inconsistency between *Il.* 21.286 and *Il.* 21.289 by situating the first line within its proper co-text:

Χεῖρι δὲ χεῖρα [λ]αβόν[τες] ἐπιστώσαντ' ἐπέεσσι· διὰ δε[ξιᾶς] πίστιν ἐποίησαντο τῶν λό[γων]. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μὴ βοηθῆ[σαι] αὐτοῦς Ἀχιλλεῖ, ὅτι Ἥφαιστος [ἀντ]ετέτακτο τῷ Ξάνθῳ.

“[Cl]asp[ing] his hand in their hand they comforted him with words” (*Il.* 21.286). “Through their right [hand] they provide the trust of w[or]ds.” Aristotle, however, (notes) that they do not help Achilles, since Hephaestus had been set [agai]nst Xanthus.

P.Oxy. 2.221v 14:27–32

96 “‘Carrying Ares’s fear’ (*Il.* 2.767). Knowing when to flee and when to pursue in warlike fashion.”

The context of these lines is the battle between Achilles and the river Xanthus. The problem with *Il.* 21.286 is that Poseidon and Athena do not fight for Achilles, but merely comfort him with words. Nonetheless, Poseidon and Athena are called helpers of Achilles in *Il.* 21.289.⁹⁷ The commentator resolves this issue with an argument from the larger co-text of *Il.* 21.286. Basing himself on Aristotle, he remarks that Poseidon and Athena do not save Achilles from Xanthus because this is the task of Hephaestus. Indeed, *Il.* 21.328–360 describe how Hephaestus and Hera strive against Xanthus, urging the river to surrender. Thus, his focus on the larger co-text of *Il.* 21.286 enables the commentator to outline more precisely the different purposes of Poseidon and Athena on the one hand, and Hera and Hephaestus on the other. Poseidon and Athena comfort Achilles by ensuring him that Xanthus will not kill him;⁹⁸ Hera and Hephaestus defeat Achilles's opponent.

A second example of co-textual reading comes from P.Oxy. 8.1086:

᾽Ως ἔφαθ', Ἐκτωρ δ' οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν· τοῦτο ἀμφίβολ[ον· ἕτερον μὲν γὰρ ση]μαίνει, οἷον ἔγνω ὅτι θεᾶς ἐστὶν ἔπος, ἕτερον δὲ οὐκ [ἠ]γνόησεν τὸ τῆς [θεᾶς ἔπος, οἶ]ον οὐκ ἠφροντίστησεν· ὁ καὶ μάλλον· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔξεσ[τ]ι[ν οὕτως ὑπολαβεῖν ὥστε μὴ τινι αὐ]τὴν ὠμοιώσθαι, αὐτόπτιν δὲ λέγειν, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πρ[οειρημένων· τῆς δὲ λεγούσης] γινωσκομένης ὅτι Ἴρις ἐστὶ, πάλι μὴ ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸ ἔπος.

“Thus she spoke, and Hector did not fail to understand any word of the goddess” (*Il.* 2.807). This is ambigu[ous]. For on the one hand, it in]dicates to what extent he knew that it was the word of a goddess; on the other hand, he did not [fail] to understand the [word of the goddess, that] is: he did not fail to heed it. And this (latter reading) is better. For it is clear from what has be[en said earlier] that we m[a]y understand it [so that s]h[e did not] resemble [anyone,] but spoke in her own voice. As she [who was speaking] was recognised to be Iris, (her) word was not neglected anymore.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:13–17 (93–97)

The commentator explicitly mentions the exegetical problem he attempts to solve: the expression οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν is ambiguous. First, it could mean that Hector, in spite of Iris's disguise (*Il.* 2.791–795), was aware that it was a

97 “For, indeed, we are such helpers for you from the gods.”

98 Achilles expresses his fear in *Il.* 21.281–283. Poseidon and Athena's answer is given in *Il.* 21.291–293.

goddess who was speaking. Secondly, it could mean that Hector heeded Iris's words and put them into practice. As he seeks to resolve this ambiguity, the commentator invokes the co-text of *Il.* 2.807. Hector's actions in *Il.* 2.808–810 imply that he did heed Iris's message and that he acts in accordance with it. This does not solve the ambiguity entirely, however, as Hector would have been willing to carry out Iris's words also if he had recognised them as being spoken by a goddess. Therefore, the commentator refers to his preceding comments ("what has been said earlier") on *Il.* 2.791–795. These lines describe how Iris likens her voice to that of Polites, the Trojans' watchpost, but earlier in P.Oxy. 8.1086 the commentator had argued that these lines must be athetised and are not part of the *Iliad*. Hence, they play no role in his explanation of *Il.* 2.807: in the commentator's viewpoint, Iris was never disguised and the first possible meaning of οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγγνοίησεν would make no sense in the co-text of *Il.* 2.807.

This latter example illustrates the ambiguous character of athetised lines. On the one hand, they do not belong to the co-text of other Iliadic lines, as they are thought to be later additions to the *Iliad* as Homer had written it. On the other hand, they are not deleted and remain part of the base text as it is quoted in the commentary. This ambiguity is reflected in this interpretation of *Il.* 2.807: for our commentator, *Il.* 2.791–795 should play no role in the reading of *Il.* 2.807 and the first possible meaning of οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγγνοίησεν must be rejected. However, our exegete cannot simply pass over *Il.* 2.791–795; he needs to refer to them and explain explicitly that they are spurious. The ambiguous character of *Il.* 2.791–795, which were never deleted from the *Iliad*, is echoed in more recent treatments of these lines as well. These may evoke *Il.* 2.791–795 as a part of the co-text of *Il.* 2.807 and argue in favour of the first meaning of οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγγνοίησεν.⁹⁹ In cases such as this, the notion of "co-text" becomes

99 See, e.g., Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 246, who formulates carefully; more outspoken is John Heath, *The Talking Greeks: Speech, Animals, and the Other in Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 55.

Note that scholars who accept *Il.* 2.791–795 as part of the co-text of *Il.* 2.807 may still prefer the second meaning of οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγγνοίησεν. Jonathan L. Ready, *Character, Narrator, and Simile in the Iliad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 80 (n. 177) points out that the references to the goddess (who is Athena disguised as Mentor) in *Od.* 2.297 and *Od.* 2.401 do not imply that Telemachus recognised her. Rather, Homer refers to Athena as a goddess in order not to confuse his readers, but these references do not portray Telemachus's perspective. Similarly, one might say that Homer refers to Iris's words as "the word of the goddess" for the sake of his readers, without implying that Hector recognised her. Cf. Daniel Turkeltaub, "Perceiving Iliadic Gods," *HSCP* 103 (2007): 51–81 (61, n. 31): "Hector in 2.807 ... does not explicitly recognize Iris' voice..., but only her speech."

blurred, due to the ambiguous status of athetised lines, and several co-textual interpretations are able to stand side by side.

4.1.3 Redefining the Co-text: Demonstrative Pronouns

As demonstrative pronouns usually refer to an antecedent somewhere in their co-text, they are triggers for the definition or redefinition of co-textual links. An illustrative case is this interpretation of *Il.* 2.780:

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἴ[τ]ε πυρὶ χθών πά[σ]α νέμοιτο... Τοῦ[τ]ο δὲ δεῖ λαβεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ἵπποι θ' οἱ φορ[έε]σκον ἀμύμονα. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἴ[τ]ε πυρὶ χθών· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ παραναπεφώνηται.

“So they went, like wh[en] an ent[ir]e land is consumed by fire” (*Il.* 2.780)... It is necessary to understand th[i]s with regard to the above: “And the horses ca[rr]ied the blameless. So they went, like when land by fire” (*Il.* 2.770, 780). The rest is parenthetical.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:1–4 (41–44)

The antecedent of the pronoun οἱ in *Il.* 2.780 is unclear. Two options exist.¹⁰⁰ To understand them we need to take into account the structure of the larger pericope *Il.* 2.760–779. *Il.* 2.760 concludes Homer’s enumeration of the Greek troops and their leaders. In *Il.* 2.761–762, Homer invokes the Muses, and in *Il.* 2.763–779 he discusses the outstanding warriors and horses of the Greeks “as some kind of afterthought.”¹⁰¹ The section on the warriors (*Il.* 2.768–779) describes Achilles’s keeping his men, horses, and chariots away from war because of his wrath with Agamemnon. This provides us with two possible understandings of οἱ in *Il.* 2.780. First, the pronoun can refer back to “the leaders and kings of the Danaeans” in *Il.* 2.760. In that case, the description of the outstanding warriors and horses in *Il.* 2.761–779 is an interruption of the main line of the narrative, which *Il.* 2.780–785 pick up again. Second, the pronoun can refer either the ἵπποι (*Il.* 2.770, 775–777) or the λαοί (*Il.* 2.773–775) in *Il.* 2.768–779. If this reading is accepted, *Il.* 2.780–785 do not continue the main line of the narrative, but belong with *Il.* 2.761–779 to the afterthought to the Achaean catalogue.

¹⁰⁰ Other possibilities are much less likely. For instance, Thomas D. Seymour, *The First Six Books of Homer’s Iliad with Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary for the Use of Schools*, rev. ed. (Boston: Ginn, 1903), 101 argues that οἱ picks up the narrative after its interruption by the *Catalogue of Ships* and refers back all the way to *Il.* 2.483.

¹⁰¹ Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 240.

The first reading, which has *οἱ* refer back to *Il.* 2.760, seems co-textually preferable. After all, *Il.* 2.768–779 describe Achilles’s horses, men, and chariots as standing still without fighting. This does not sit well with the description in *Il.* 2.780. Moreover, Iris later tells the Trojans about the advancing Greek army (*Il.* 2.796–806). Hence *Il.* 2.780–785 are best understood as a description of the Greek troops in general rather than as a characterisation of Achilles’s horses and men.¹⁰² This is not, however, the view of our commentator. Taking the description of Achilles’s absence from war (*Il.* 2.771–779) as an interruption of the description of the outstanding warriors, he assumes that *Il.* 2.780 resumes this description and refers back to ἵπποι (Achilles’s horses) in *Il.* 2.770. *Il.* 2.780 is a description of Achilles’s horses and their might, even if these same horses are not participating in the war ahead, as the excursus on Achilles’s absence (*Il.* 2.771–779) makes clear. This interpretation of *οἱ* in *Il.* 2.780 entails a redefinition of the co-text of *Il.* 2.780 and its more straightforward meaning.

4.1.4 Redefining the Co-text: Word-Boundaries

Schironi emphasises the importance that Homer’s ancient readers attached to the correct division of words.¹⁰³ As many early manuscripts were written in *scriptio continua*, determining where one word ends and the next one begins is a first step in the interpretation of a text. Thus, it makes sense to treat the determination of word-boundaries as a hermeneutical resource dealing with the definition of co-texts. As has been shown in the preceding chapter, this hermeneutical resource is a common constituent of etymological interpretations.

The reading of *καί*ετοδ in *Il.* 21.356 provides a first example of the use of this resource:

[K]αίετο δ' ἴς ποταμοῖο· ἢ [ἰσχυρὸς ποτ]αμός. Οἱ δὲ τὸν καὶ σύν[δεσμον ἐλά]μβαν[ον], τὴν δὲ ἔ[ξ] ἀντωνυ[μίαν, ἴνα] ἢ κα[ὶ] αὐτὸν τοῦτο προσεῖ[πεν ἴς πο]ταμ[οῖο]. Ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ [τὸ φῆ πυρὶ] κα[ὶ] ἰό[μενος καὶ τὸ αὐτὰρ [ἐπεὶ Ἐάνθ]οιο δάμη μένος.

“The might of the river [b]urned” (*Il.* 21.356). Or: “The m[ighty ri]ver.” Some [h]o[l]d that *καί* is a con[junction] and *ἔ* a pro[noun, so that] it be: “An[d the might of the ri]ve[r] sai[d] this (word¹⁰⁴) to him.” But [aga]inst this speaks: “[He spoke] bein[g b]urnt [by fire” (*Il.* 21.361)] and “but [when] the strength [of Xanth]us was tamed” (*Il.* 21.383).

P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:10–16

102 So also Schol. D *Il.* 2.780. Cf. Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 243.

103 “Greek Commentaries,” 416.

104 Taken from the remainder of *Il.* 21.356, which is not quoted here.

Most editors and interpreters of the *Iliad* read these seven letters as *καίετο δ'* ("it burned"). According to some,¹⁰⁵ however, *καίετοδ* must be read as *καὶ ἔ τόδε* (i.e., *καὶ αὐτόν τοῦτο*), whereby *καὶ* is taken as a conjunction and *ἔ* as a pronoun. This confusion may echo the use of *scriptio continua* in early manuscripts of the *Iliad*; but the reading *καὶ ἔ τόδε* also serves an exegetical purpose. Presumably, "some" found it difficult to conceive how a river could burn. By redefining the word-boundaries in *Il.* 21.356 they removed this difficulty from the line. In his turn, our commentator rejects this view on the basis of the context of *Il.* 21.356: *Il.* 21.383 states that the strength of the river was tamed—how else could this be done but by parching it with fire?—and *Il.* 21.361 informs us that Xanthus "spoke being burnt by fire" (*καίω*, as in *Il.* 21.356).

A second example deals with the rare verb *μέλδεν* in *Il.* 21.363:

Κνί[σσην]¹⁰⁶ μελδ]όμενος· [κυρίως] δ' ἐστὶ μέλδεν ὡς Δίδυ[μος τ]ὰ μέλη
[ἔ]δειν.

[“Mel]ting the f[at” (*Il.* 21.363). Chiefly,] *μέλδεν*, according to Didy[mus,]
is to [con]sume (ἔδειν) [t]he limbs (τὰ μέλη).

P.Oxy. 2.221v 17:19–20, 27–28

The expression *κνίσσην μελδόμενος* troubled Homer's ancient readers for various reasons. This interpretation deals with the meaning of the verb. Our commentator divides it into two parts and relates each part to another, partially similar, word. Referring to Didymus as his source, he understands *μέλδεν* as *τὰ μέλη ἔδειν* ("to consume the limbs").¹⁰⁷ This etymology informs the meaning "to melt," which is attested for the verb *μέλδεν* not just in P.Oxy. 2.221v, but also in the scholia and other scholarly works.¹⁰⁸

A final example of the redrawing of word-boundaries comes from P.Oxy. 8.1086:

Πὰρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο σὺν ἀγγελίῃ ἀλεγεινῆ· Ἄλεγεινῆ τὴν ἄλγος ἐπιφέρεισαν.

“From aegis-bearing Zeus with a painful message” (*Il.* 2.787). “Painful”:
“bringing forth pain.”

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:16–17 (56–57)

105 Schol. T *Il.* 21.356 attributes this view to Ptolemaeus Pindarion.

106 The manuscript reads *κνείσσην*, but Erbse, *Scholia*, 5:113 attributes the *epsilon* to scribal error.

107 This etymology was widespread. See, e.g., Schol. bT *Il.* 21.363; Schol. T *Il.* 21.363.

108 E.g., Schol. A *Il.* 21.363; Schol. bT *Il.* 21.363; Schol. T *Il.* 21.363; Schol. D *Il.* 21.363.

Schol. A *Il.* 2.787 and Schol. D *Il.* 2.787 hold that ἀλεγεινός can mean “painful,” “difficult,” or, more generally, “worthy of attention.” The commentator opts for the more specific sense. To arrive at this meaning he divides the word up into two parts and connects each part with a partially similar word-form: *αλεγ- is related to the noun ἄλγος “pain,” whereas *-εινός is read in light of either *ενεγκ- or *ενεικ-, the Aorist stems of φέρω (“to carry”). Hence ἀλεγεινός is understood as “carrying pain,” that is: “painful.”

4.2 Resolving Inconsistency

The solution of inconsistencies in their base texts is a special concern for the hypomnema commentators. After all, as a self-conscious and methodical author Homer cannot contradict himself. To resolve inconsistencies in the *Iliad* our commentators adopt two main methods: they attribute the inconsistency to the textual transmission of the *Iliad* or they ascribe a new meaning to one of the seemingly contradictory passages.

A first example of solving inconsistencies by attributing them to the textual transmission of the *Iliad* is the interpretation of *Il.* 21.155–156 in P.Oxy. 2.221v 6:16–26. As we have seen,¹⁰⁹ these lines are problematic because they describe Asteropaeus as the leader of the Paeonians despite his absence from the *Catalogue of Ships*. The commentator gives two solutions for this problem. The first of these solutions aims to resolve this inconsistency in terms of the textual transmission of the *Iliad*. According to the commentator, some versions of the *Iliad*, including that of Euripides,¹¹⁰ contain a line *Il.* 2.848a which reads:

Αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμησ ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξου
Πηλεγόνου θ' υἱός περιδέξιου Ἀστεροπαίου

Pyraechmes, however, led the Paeonians with crooked-bows,
and Asteropaeus, the ambidextrous son of Pelegon.

Il. 2.848–848a

If we accept *Il.* 2.848a as original, Pyraechmes is no longer the sole leader of the Paeonians, but shares this function with Asteropaeus. Both leaders are mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*, and the inconsistency in *Il.* 21 is solved. From this perspective, Homer cannot be held responsible for this inconsistency.

109 See pp. 217–18.

110 Schol. T *Il.* 21.140 even speaks of “many” versions. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation*, 53–54 provides four reasons for considering P.Oxy. 2.221v as more closely approximating the truth than Schol. T.

Instead, it originates with the later transmitters of the *Iliad*, who left out *Il.* 2.848a.¹¹¹

The inconsistencies in *Il.* 2.791–795 are likewise attributed to the textual transmission of the *Iliad*. Unlike *Il.* 2.848a, however, these lines are not taken as original lines that were later deleted, but as later additions to the *Iliad* as it had come from Homer's pen.¹¹²

[–]Εἴ[σ]ατο δὲ φθογγὴν ὑεῖ Πριάμοιο Πολίτη –ὄς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἴζε ποδωκείησι πεποιθὼς –τύμβῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Αἰσυήταο γέροντος· –τῷ σφιν εἰσαμένη μετέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις· ἀθετεῖ τούτους Ἀρίσταρχος, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐδέποτε ὑπὸ Διὸς πεμπομένη ἢ Ἴρις ὁμοιοῦται τινι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτοπρόσωπος παραγίνεται. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἀπίθανος· εἰ γὰρ ἔνεκα τοῦ ψιλῶς εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔρχονται παρήκται ἢ Ἴρις, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Πολίτης ἠδύνατο ποιῆσαι· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἵνα οἱ πρότερον μὴ τολμώντες ἐξελθεῖν ἐξέλθωσιν, ἢ Ἴρις ἔστω λέγουσα ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπεσταλμένη. Ὅτι δὲ Ὀμηρος, ὅταν τινὰ εἰκάζη τινί, καὶ τοὺς πρέποντας λόγους περιτίθησιν, δῆλον. Ἡ γοῦν ἀρχὴ οὐ Πολίτου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τὸν Πολίτην. Φησὶ γὰρ ὦ γέρον, αἰεὶ τοι μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοὶ εἰσιν. Τοῦτο εἰ μὲν ἢ Ἴρις λέγουσα, πρεπόντως ἔχει, εἰ δὲ ὁ υἱὸς πατρί, ἀπρεπῶς· ἔδει γὰρ λέγειν ὦ πάτερ. Καὶ τὸ μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοὶ εἰσιν ὃ ἐστὶν ἀχώριστοι· κρῖναι γὰρ τὸ χωρῖσαι· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ Πολίτου πρὸς πατέρα· ἀκουόντως γὰρ¹¹³ λέγειν ἔοικεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς Ἴριδος.

“–And she likened her voice to Polites, Priam's son, –who was seated as the watchpost of the Trojans, trusting in swiftness of foot, –on the highest tomb of the old man Aesyetes. –Likening herself to him, swift-footed Iris spoke” (*Il.* 2.791–793, 795). Aristarchus athetises these (lines), because, first, Iris never likens herself to anyone when she is sent by Zeus, but always appears as herself. Second, (Iris's) delivery is unconvincing. After all, if Iris were introduced in order simply to say that they are coming, Polites could have done this as well. If, however, (it was) for this, that those who earlier did not dare to go out (for battle), did go out, Iris should

111 From a modern perspective *Il.* 2.848a can hardly be considered original. The line is an invention to accommodate for the inconsistency between *Il.* 2 and *Il.* 21. See Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation*, 77 (with references); Richardson, *Books 21–24*, 67. The fact that the ancient commentator also allowed for the case that “someone should not accept the line” suggests that he was not wholly convinced by this explanation, either.

112 *Il.* 2.794 is not quoted in the commentary, but the commentator clearly had it in mind and thought it should be athetised with the rest of *Il.* 2.791–795. Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 2.791.

113 Not in the manuscript.

speak as also having been sent by Zeus. (The lines are also athetised) because Homer, whenever he likens someone to someone, also clearly provides the fitting words. Thus, the beginning is not by Polites, but beyond Polites: after all, she says: “Old man, confused words are always dear to you” (*Il.* 2.796). If Iris were saying this, it would be fitting; if, however, the son (said this) to the father, (it would be) unfitting, for he would have to say: “Father.” Also: the (phrase) “confused words are dear”—that is: undivided, for to separate is to divide—this (phrase), too, is not by Polites directed to his father, as he seems to speak with deference, but rather by Iris.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:21–33 (61–73)

Il. 2.791–795 describe how the divine messenger Iris, arriving at the Trojan camp, likens her voice to that of Polites, the Trojan watchpost. In our commentator’s view, such a scenario does not sit well with the co-text of the lemma and with the *Iliad* as a whole. He provides three reasons for the inconsistency.¹¹⁴ First, when sent by Zeus, Iris never takes the shape of someone else, but always speaks in her own voice.¹¹⁵ Secondly, the reason for such a disguise is not apparent from the co-text of *Il.* 2.791–795: if Iris wished to inform the Trojans that the Greeks were coming, Polites could have done this in his own voice—after all, he was their watchpost. If, by contrast, Iris wished to say that the Greeks, who first did not dare to enter in battle, had now entered in battle, she would

114 The tradition which athetises these lines is also reflected in Schol. A *Il.* 2.791. The scholion also gives three reasons for the inconsistency, of which only two overlap with the hypomnema. See Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 267–81 (esp. 275–77); also pp. 60–61.

115 It has been pointed out (Arthur Ludwig, “Die Quellenberichte über Aristarchs Ilias-Athetesen,” *RhM* 69 [1914]: 680–734 [714, n. 1]; R. Mollweide, “Zu Homer und Aristarch,” *Philologus* 71 [1912]: 353–60 [356]) that this argument appears to be contradicted by *Il.* 3.121–124, where Iris appears to Helen in disguise. This, in Ludwig’s view, is why this argument is absent from Schol. A *Il.* 2.791. However, John Landon has convincingly argued that the two instances are not really comparable: the commentator in P.Oxy. 1086 refers to the fact that Iris is explicitly sent by Zeus in *Il.* 2.786–787, whereas such an explicit sending of Iris is absent from *Il.* 3.121–124. See Landon, “POxy 1086 e Aristarco,” 830–33 (esp. 832); idem, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 125–26. The issue of being sent by Zeus is taken up again by the commentator when he argues that Iris, if she were to urge the Trojans to wage war against the Greek, should speak “as being sent by Zeus” (cf. Schol. A *Il.* 2.791: “she must be present as herself”). Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 276 (n. 29) offers a more nuancing reading of *Il.* 3.121, stating that “it remains open whether or not Iris is sent by Zeus”; cf. Schol. bT *Il.* 3.121 with Schol. bT *Il.* 11.715. Yet he does agree with Landon that the two passages are not exact parallels.

have to speak in her own voice, as a goddess. Thirdly, whenever Homer likens one person to another, the resemblance involves not only outward appearance, but also manner of speech. Yet, when Iris speaks (*Il.* 2.796), she addresses Priam as “old man” instead of “father.”¹¹⁶ Hence these words cannot have been spoken by Polites. For these reasons, the lines stating that Iris resembles her voice to that of Polites cannot, in our commentator’s view, be taken as original.

The second explanation of the inconsistency regarding Asteropaeus in *Il.* 2 and *Il.* 21 shows how commentators can adopt semantic shifts in their solutions of apparent contradictions in the *Iliad*. Apart from analogical reasoning the strength of this explanation rests on the assumption that Pyraechmes is the commander-in-chief of the Paeonians, with Asteropaeus as his subordinate.¹¹⁷ This resolves the inconsistency between *Il.* 21 and *Il.* 2 and accounts for Asteropaeus’s absence from the *Catalogue of Ships*.¹¹⁸ Yet this portrayal of Asteropaeus as a subordinate leader does not sit well with the co-text of *Il.* 21.155, where Asteropaeus occurs as the leader of the Paeonians without further ado. Hence, this interpretation of *Il.* 21.155 demonstrates that commentators may deviate from the co-textually more appropriate sense of a lemma when they seek to resolve inconsistencies in their base texts.

The same principle is at work in the explanation that Schol. b *Il.* 2.848 gives for Asteropaeus’s absence from *Il.* 2: that he arrived at the battlefield too late to be included in the *Catalogue of Ships*. This scholion refers to the analogous cases of Iphidamas and Rhesus, and Nünlist lists other late arrivals.¹¹⁹ Schol. T *Il.* 12.102 (the first time Asteropaeus is mentioned in the *Iliad*) also points out that he is a “newcomer” (νέηλυς). However, this explanation of Asteropaeus’s absence from *Il.* 2 contradicts the co-textual meaning of *Il.* 21.155, where Asteropaeus is explicit about the fact that he has already been in Troy for ten days: “This, now, is the eleventh night for me since I came to Troy.” He has been around long enough, therefore, to be included in the *Catalogue of Ships*.¹²⁰ The attempt of Schol. T *Il.* 21.156 to argue that Asteropaeus’s reference to “the eleventh night” concerns his departure from Paeonia, not his arrival in Troy, is unconvincing. Hence, the idea that Asteropaeus arrived in Troy only after the *Catalogue of Ships* had been drawn applies the same resource as the idea that

116 Cf. Adolph Roemer, *Aristarchs Athetesen in der Homerkritik (wirkliche und angebliche): Eine kritische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), 420–22.

117 Cf. Schol. bT *Il.* 2.140.

118 Similarly Günther Jachmann, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias*, WAAFLNW 5 (Cologne: Westdeutscher, 1958), 130–31. Cf. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 53.

119 *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 53 (n. 100).

120 So also Schol. T *Il.* 21.140; Richardson, *Books 21–24*, 67.

Asteropaeus was a subordinate leader of the Paeonians: both interpretations alter the co-textually appropriate meaning of one of the allegedly contradictory passages to rescue Homer from the charge of inconsistency.

4.3 *Word Order*

The hypomnemata rarely take the order of words in the *Iliad* as a pointer to their relative importance. Instead, most hypomnema commentators approach the word order of the *Iliad* as an expression of Homer's style. One exception is mentioned and rejected in P.Oxy. 8.1086. As we have seen above,¹²¹ the commentator in this hypomnema refers to *Od.* 11.170–203 in his interpretation of *Il.* 2.763. These lines in the *Odyssey* describe how Odysseus meets his mother Anticleia in Hades and asks her about her own fate and that of Telemachus and Penelope. P.Oxy. 8.1086 refers to Praxiphanes's bafflement over the order of Odysseus's enquiries: why does he ask Anticleia first about her own fate and only afterwards about that of his wife and son? Praxiphanes's surprise over Odysseus's questions carries a psychological overtone: according to Praxiphanes, what is on the top of one's mind should be mentioned first. This psychological thrust is also reflected in how Praxiphanes evaluates Anticleia's response: "Anticleia..., being very intelligent, turns immediately to this very subject [i.e., the fate of Penelope and Telemachus, ΠΒΗ]."¹²² For Praxiphanes, the order in which Odysseus mentions the things that occupy him is an indication of their relative importance. Likewise, Anticleia, in her response, consoles Odysseus by speaking first about his wife and son and only then about her own fate.

This reading of *Od.* 11.170–203 is rejected by Aristarchus and the exegete in P.Oxy. 8.1086. Rather than taking the order in which Odysseus addresses his mother as a reflection of his psychology, our commentator recognises the word order of *Od.* 11.170–203 as a literary principle in Homer's writings: the principle of reverse order.¹²³ Aristarchus's prooftext against Praxiphanes is *Il.* 2.763. Having invoked the Muses to tell him about the Greek leaders and horses, Homer begins with the horses, not the leaders. In like vein, Odysseus asks his mother first about her own fate and then about that of his wife and son, whereas Anticleia's response adopts the opposite order. Hence the order

121 See pp. 218–20.

122 P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:15–16.

123 Cf. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 316–25, where Nünlist discusses the interpretation of Homeric speeches. Many comments in the scholia take these speeches as literary constructions reflecting the style and preferences of Homer rather than the speakers in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

in which Odysseus and Anticleia speak is not a reflection of their state of mind, but of Homer's stylistic preferences.

5 Single Words

Many interpretations in the hypomnemata imply particular readings of single words and apply a wide range of resources that operate on the level of these words. The interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 in P.Oxy. 8.1086, for instance, stresses an element in the base text beyond its co-textual demands. Whereas in the co-text of *Il.* 2.767, the gender of Eumelas's horses is a contingent feature, the commentator lays special emphasis on the use of the adjective *θηλυς* ("female") in this line. This interpretation is strengthened by the use of other feminine words in *Il.* 2.764–767.¹²⁴ Thus, to arrive at his interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 as an exhortation to use *female* horses in battle the commentator has to stress a particular element in the lemma which, in its co-text, does not demand such emphasis.

Another resource that governs the interpretation of single words is that of synonymy and polysemy. Also in *Il.* 2.767, the exegete has to choose between two non-figurative meanings of the word *φόβος*. The meaning of *φόβος* was debated by ancient scholars;¹²⁵ this interpretation in P.Oxy. 8.1086 reflects these disputes:

Ἄμφω θη[λείας φόβον Ἄρηος φορ]εούσας· τὸ σημεῖον πρὸς τὸν φόβον ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Ἄ[ρεως φυγὴν σημαίνει,] τουτέστιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου φυγὴν ὑπομε[νούσας. Ἀτόπως δὲ ἐνι]οῖ ἔλαβον ἐπικεχαράχθαι αὐταῖς πρόσωπον, ὃ ἐστὶ φόβου [σημεῖον.]

"Both of them fe[male, car]rying [Ares's fear" (*Il.* 2.767).] The sign (refers) to φόβον, because [it signifies the flight] from A[res,] that is: "Bear[ing] the flight from war." [Strangely, so]me hold that a mark was branded on them, which is a [sign] of fear.

P.Oxy. 8.1086 1:27–31

¹²⁴ Τάς (*Il.* 2.764, 766), ὄτριχας, οἰέτεας, εἶσας (*Il.* 2.765), φορεούσας (*Il.* 2.767).

¹²⁵ See Jean Harkemanne, "ΦΟΒΟΣ dans la poésie homérique: Étude sémantique," in *Recherches de philologie et de linguistique*, ed. Marcel Hofinger, Albert Manier, and Joseph Mogenet (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'université, 1967), 47–94.

The expression φόβον Ἄρηος φορεούσας posed difficulties to ancient scholars.¹²⁶ One of these difficulties was the meaning of φόβος. In post-Homeric Greek, the noun usually means “fear.” The second interpretation our exegete mentions (and rejects) implies this meaning for *Il.* 2.767 as well.¹²⁷ But some ancient scholars, most notably Aristarchus, held the opinion that φόβος in Homer meant “flight” rather than “fear.”¹²⁸ This explanation is preferred in P.Oxy. 8.1086: according to our commentator, the phrase φόβον Ἄρηος “signifies the flight from Ares” (with Ares being understood as a symbol for war).¹²⁹

A more intricate case of synonymy and polysemy concerns the figurative meanings of εὐνή in *Il.* 2.783:

Εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασι Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς· Ἄριμα τῆς Πισιδία[ς] ἐστίν, ὑφ’ οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ Τυφῶς εἶναι καθ’ Ὀμηρον· Οἱ μέντοι γε νεώτεροι ὑπὸ τὴν Αἴττην τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὄρος φασὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὧν Πίνδαρος· κείνῳ μὲν Αἴτνα δεσμὸς ὑπερφίαλος ἀμφίκειται.

“In the Arima, where they say that the abodes of Typhoeus are” (*Il.* 2.783). The Arima are in Pisidia, under which Typhoeus seems to be according to Homer. However, the more recent poets say that he is under the Etna, the mountain on Sicily, among whom Pindar: “he encircles the Etna, as a huge bond” (*Frag.* 92).

P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:8–11 (48–51)

The literal meaning of εὐνή is “bed.” However, many ancient scholars assume that the noun has a figurative meaning in *Il.* 2.783. The most straightforward reading is that which has the noun refer to the “abodes” of Typhoeus—that is, his dwelling place.¹³⁰ Not everybody accepted this co-textually most straightforward reading, however, and some ancient scholars read the noun as referring to the burial place of the monster Typhoeus.¹³¹ This understanding of the noun has considerable implications for the meaning of *Il.* 2.783. The position of

126 As it does to modern commentators; see Kirk, *Books 1–4*, 241.

127 But contrast Lundon, *Un commentario aristarcho*, 83, who translates ὅ ἐστι φόβου σημεῖον as “un emblema che raffigurava la fuga.”

128 See Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 75–77; Max Hecht, “Zu Aristarchs Erklärung Homerischer Wortbedeutungen,” *Philologus* 46 (1888): 434–44 (438–44); Marco Fantuzzi, “Scholarly Panic: Πανικός φόβος, Homeric Philology and the Beginning of the *Rhesus*,” in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar*, 41–54 (51).

129 Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 2.767; Schol. b *Il.* 2.767; Schol. D *Il.* 2.767.

130 So Schol. D *Il.* 2.783.

131 So Schol. b *Il.* 2.783.

the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 is not entirely clear. However, seeing that he situates Typhoeus “under” the Arima and reads Pindar as saying that Typhoeus is “under” the Etna, his understanding of εὐνή probably resembled Schol. b rather than Schol. D.

Finally, interpretations of single words may depend on the appearance or form of these words. A partial overlap between words is a common basis for interpretation. In addition to cases like ἐλεόθρεπτος (*Il.* 2.776) and μέλδριν (*Il.* 21.363), consider this interpretation of ἡμαθόεις in *Il.* 11.712:

[Τηλοῦ] ἐπ’ Ἀλφειῷ [νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόε]ντος· ψιλο[ῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄμμου, ἢ καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμάθ[ου ποταμοῦ ἢ ἥρωος,] ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ[νεμέεις ἀπὸ ἀνέμου.]

[“Far away] on the Alpheus, [the lowest part of sand]y [Pylos” (*Il.* 11.712).] Bar[e, from “sand” (ἄμμος) or even] from Amath[us, the river or the hero,] just like “w[indy” (ἡνεμέεις) from “wind” (ἄνεμος).]

P.Giss.Lit. 2.8 3:2–5

The commentator gives two possible explanations for the epithet ἡμαθόεις, which Homer employs to describe Pylos.¹³² Either the epithet is derived from ἄμμος or ἄμαθος, both meaning “sand,” or the epithet reflects the name of an otherwise unknown river hero Amathus. Both explanations find parallels in other writings. But whereas other authors tend to decide clearly in favour of one explanation,¹³³ our commentator—if Kuhlmann’s reconstructions are accepted¹³⁴—does not indicate a strong preference. He is convinced that the epithet should be explained in the light of a partially similar word form, but remains undecided on the exact explanation of the epithet.

Apart from partial overlaps the accentuation of words may determine their interpretations. Not all treatments of word accentuation seem to serve an

¹³² *Il.* 2.77; 9.153, 295; 11.712; *Od.* 1.93; 2.214, 326, 359; 4.633; 11.257, 459; 24.152. Cf. Bryan Hainsworth, *Books 9–12*, vol. 3 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*, ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; repr. 2000), 77–78 (on *Il.* 9.153).

¹³³ Strabo, for instance, categorically rejects the connection with sand (*Geogr.* 8.3.14). The epithet, he writes, derives from the name of the river Amathus, which flows through Pylos (*Geogr.* 8.3.1). Should that explanation not hold (it appears that the name “Amathus” was not in universal use), Strabo does not resort to the other explanation, but admits that “the etymology of the city’s epithet is unclear” (*Geogr.* 8.3.14). Other writings that indicate a strong preference for either one of the explanations of ἡμαθόεις are Schol. bT *Il.* 2.77; Apollonius, *Lex. hom.* 83.30 Bekker; Hesychius, *Lex. sub ἡμαθόεντος*; *Ety. mag. sub ἡμαθόεις*.

¹³⁴ See Peter A. Kuhlmann, *P.Giss.Lit.*, 53.

explicitly exegetical purpose,¹³⁵ but some do. Consider, for instance, this interpretation of *Il.* 21.112:

Ἄρη· τῶ σιδήρῳ [οἱ] δὲ τῇ πλῆ[γῆ]. Ἑρμαπ]πίας δὲ περισπᾶ, ἴν' [ῆ] βλά[βη
βέλους] ἢ δόρατος.

“With Ares” (*Il.* 21.112). “With a weapon.” But [some:] “With a bl[ow].” Hermapp]pias, however, reads it with a circumflex, so that [it be:] “With the har[m of an arrow]” or “of a spear.”

P.Oxy. 2.221v 3:16–18

The commentator gives two possible readings of ἀρη, which reinforce one another.¹³⁶ The noun is most naturally taken as the dative of the god Ἄρης. This reading lies behind the reference to a weapon.¹³⁷ Yet Hermappias accentuates the word as the dative of ἀρή “ruin.” When the commentator suggests that the word must be read as “with the harm of an arrow or a spear,” he combines these two interpretations: the idea of harm derives from Hermappias’s reading,¹³⁸ the idea that this harm was caused by a weapon echoes the connection between the god Ares and weapons.

6 Conclusion

Interpretations of the *Iliad* in the hypomnemata depend on a perspective that recognises Homer as a conscious author and teacher. This idea of Homer as an author explains the general predilection of the hypomnema commentators for co-textual readings. It also accounts for their interest in the textual state of the *Iliad* and the solution of inconsistencies. Finally, the notion of Homer as an author invites his Hellenistic interpreters to draw analogies between Homeric passages. Homer’s educational function and appeal account for the normative

135 Consider, e.g., the discussion of ἐνταυθοῖ (*Il.* 21.122) in P.Oxy. 2.221v 3:21–27. Dionysius Thrax reads ἐνταυθοῖ, but his accentuation is contrasted with the later Ionic dialect, which reads ἐνταυθοῖ. On this passage see Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 2:77; Del Fabbro, “Il commentario,” 111; Schironi, “Greek Commentaries,” 416.

136 See pp. 126–27.

137 The name of the godhead could be used as a reference to a weapon. See Schol. *D Il.* 2.381: “The poet used this name [sc. Ares] in four ways: with reference to war...; with reference to a weapon...; with reference to the godhead himself; and with reference to a blow (sc. of a weapon).”

138 For the link between ἀρή and βλάβη, see, e.g., Schol. *D Il.* 12.334.

status the hypomnema commentators ascribe to his words, and the explanation of linguistic, literary, mythographical, geographical, and other details of the *Iliad* reflect the role of this Homeric epic as the basis for Greek identity and education.

As will become clear in the next chapter, the notion that Homer was a teacher inspired his Hellenistic and Roman readers to construe him as a timeless source of wisdom. It will also become evident that the perspective of the Peshar commentators differs substantially from that of the hypomnema exegetes. This illustrates that the transmission of knowledge through intellectual networks did not create a uniform tradition of scholarship. As knowledge was transmitted in a globalised context, it was also adapted to local needs and interests. The Pesharim testify to such processes of glocalisation as they take up the commentary format and certain physical characteristics from Alexandrian textual scholarship, but go their own way in how they incorporate and appropriate these elements.

A Hermeneutical Profile of the Pesharim

This chapter offers a hermeneutical profile of the Pesharim. This survey of the use of hermeneutical resources in the Qumran commentaries will show that scriptural interpretations in the Pesharim are governed by a perspective that emphasises the temporal difference between the ancient prophet and his later interpreters (including the Teacher of Righteousness). As a result of this temporal gap the Peshar commentators consider themselves to be ideally-suited to make sense of the historical experience of their movement in the light of Scripture—and vice versa.

1 Perspectivisation

In the Second Temple period, prophetic utterances and prophetic literature were considered to be directed not in the first place to the prophet's contemporaries, but to later generations.¹ The Pesharim reflect this view and employ prophetic-poetic parts of Scripture to make sense of the times in which the Peshar commentators lived.² These times they considered to be “the latter days” (אחרית הימים)—the final period of history, immediately preceding the final judgement.³ To provide an explanation of both their base texts and the experiences of the movement to which their composers belonged the Pesharim develop a narrative in which Scripture and the experiences of its readers are merged.

Scriptural interpretation in the Pesharim depends on several assumptions on the meaningfulness of the base text, the temporal gap between the base text and its commentator, and the source and character of the interpretations

1 John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 179–213.

2 Generally on attitudes towards prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls see George J. Brooke, “Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards,” in *Prophecy, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak, LHBOTS 427 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 151–65; Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); idem, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Community,” *AJS Review* 32 (2008): 299–334.

3 Annette Steudel, “אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16/62 (1993): 225–44.

in the Pesharim. Many modern scholars, basing themselves on references to “all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets” in Peshar Habakkuk,⁴ have surmised that the Peshar commentators considered their base texts to be initially meaningless. On this view, the words of the ancient prophets contain mysteries that their original recipients did not understand. The reference to God’s telling Habakkuk “to write down what is happening to the last generation,” but not revealing to him “the end of time,” has also strengthened this conviction.⁵ For adherents of this approach towards the Pesharim, the Qumran commentaries understand their base texts as codes to be cracked. Consider, for instance, F.F. Bruce’s comments on the issue:

It will be easily realized that this principle of interpretation ... must deprive Old Testament prophecies of that relevance and coherence which can best be appreciated when they are studied in their historical setting.... All the prophecies, so to speak, were given in code, and no one was able to break the code until the Teacher of Righteousness was given the key. But if, as he taught, the prophecies referred to his own days and the days immediately following, then it is in the context of these latter days that the prophecies appear coherent and relevant.⁶

This traditional approach is problematic, though. Shani Tzoref has argued that it assumes “a kind of denigration of the prophet and its text.”⁷ Indeed, the Pesharim do not portray the Teacher of Righteousness as superior to the ancient prophet. Instead, the Teacher partakes in essentially the same revelation as the ancient prophet, but receives a fuller form of it.⁸ The view that the

4 2:9; 7:5.

5 1QpHab 7:1–2. Shani L. Berrin (Tzoref), *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*, STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13–14 outlines the disagreements between scholars on the reference of the suffix in לֹא הוֹדִיעַ (‘‘he did not make him known’’). Some scholars hold that the suffix refers to the Teacher of Righteousness rather than Habakkuk, but this is unlikely for linguistic reasons. This is not to say, however, that Habakkuk’s words are essentially meaningless without their interpretation by the Teacher. For a similar view see Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167.

6 *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, Exegetica 3/1 (The Hague: Van Keulen, 1959), 10.

7 *Peshar Nahum*, 13.

8 See Devorah Dimant, ‘‘Temps, Torah et Prophétie à Qoumrân,’’ in *Le temps et les temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère*, ed. Christian Grappe and Jean-Claude Ingelaere, JSJSup 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 147–67; eadem, ‘‘Time, Torah and Prophecy at Qumran,’’ in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit*:

prophets' words were initially meaningless does not merely belittle the importance of the prophet and his text, therefore, but also that of the Teacher of Righteousness and his interpretations. For this reason the idea of "textual multivalence" that Tzoref introduces is useful. It implies that the words of the prophets carried a meaning both in the times when they were uttered and in later periods. In Tzoref's words, they "would make sense in regard to Assyria, but would matter in regard to the Community and its contemporaries."⁹

The Peshar commentators approach the temporal distance which separates them from their base text in terms of two closely related assumptions: that God is in control of history and that the past can help to explain the present and the future. It has been illustrated in chapter 1 that this view on history resembles that of apocalyptic writings and some of the Qumran scrolls. It implies that what happened in an earlier period in history has a bearing of what will happen in a later one. Hence the regular references in the Pesharim to historical "periods" (קציים) and the use of the term פשר ("interpretation") in literary works that reckon with a periodisation of history.¹⁰ In the eyes of the Peshar exegetes, the meaning of their prophetic base texts becomes fully known only in the latter days. This is the time in which the Teacher is portrayed to have lived, and his historical position accounts for the insight he received into the words of the ancient prophets. It is also the period in which the Peshar commentators consider themselves to be living; the fact that they belong to the same period in history as the Teacher and continue the exegetical tradition he instigated imbues their interpretations with special authority.

Peshar Habakkuk refers to the special insight imparted on the Teacher when it claims that God revealed "all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" to him.¹¹ There has been a debate on the content of the revelation Peshar Habakkuk claims was bestowed upon the Teacher.¹² In the light of the

Literatur-geschichtliche Perspektiven, ed. Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Herwig Görgemanns, and Michael von Albrecht, STAC 51 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 147–98; Pieter B. Hartog, "Peshar as Commentary," in *Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

9 *Peshar Nahum*, 16 (her italics).

10 Shani Tzoref, "Peshar and Periodization," *DSD* 18 (2011): 129–54.

11 1QpHab 7:5.

12 The following discussion is based on Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 166–73; Albert I. Baumgarten, "What Did the 'Teacher' Know? Owls and Roosters in the Qumran Barnyard," in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown*, ed. Shani L. Tzoref and Ian Young, PHSC 20 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 235–57. Cf. Pieter

preceding statement that God did not reveal “the end of time” to Habakkuk (1QpHab 7:2), many scholars have argued that God did reveal the end of time to the Teacher. Others, however, point to this interpretation of Hab 2:3a in the same column:

כִּי אֵד עוֹד חֲזוֹן לְמוֹעֵד יִפִּיחַ לִקְץ וְלֹא יִכּוֹב פֶּשֶׁרוֹ אֲשֶׁר יֵאָרֹךְ הַקֶּץ הָאֲחֵרֹן וְיִתֵּר עַל כּוֹל
אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ הַנְּבִיאִים כִּי אֵל רִזִּי אֵל לְהַפְלֵה

“For the vision is still for an appointed time, it hurries towards the end and does not lie” (Hab 2:3a). Its interpretation: that the final age shall be long and extend beyond everything the prophets have said, for God’s mysteries are wondrous.

1QpHab 7:5–8

The idea that “the final age shall be long” derives from the base text and does not imply that the Teacher or his followers once calculated the end of time.¹³ What this interpretation does tell us, however, is that it is impossible *in principle* to know the end of time, “for God’s mysteries are wondrous.”¹⁴ This is confirmed later on in the same column, where it is said that “all the ages of God shall come according to their plan, as he decreed for them in the mysteries of his prudence.”¹⁵ Thus, 1QpHab 7 contrasts “God’s mysteries” and “the mysteries of his prudence” with “the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets”: whereas the latter are said to have been revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness, the former are in principle beyond human scrutiny.¹⁶ What was revealed to the Teacher was not, therefore, the end of time, but the special relevance of the words of the ancient prophets for the historical experiences of

B. Hartog, “‘The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest’: Eschatological Development and Literary History in Peshar Habakkuk,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 59–80 (76–78).

13 Pace Stuedel, “אֲחֵרִית הַיָּמִים,” 235–36; Florentino García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumranica minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*, ed. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 195–226 (212–13).

14 Similarly André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. Geza Vermes (Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian, 1962), 262; Naphtali Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962); Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, SBLDS 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 216–17; Billah Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 171; Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 13–14.

15 1QpHab 7:13–14.

16 Similarly Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 171.

the movement in the latter days. The Peshar commentators, in their turn, are implied to continue the revelation to the Teacher of the particular meaning of these ancient words.

To sum up: interpretations in the Pesharim emphasise the temporal gap that separates the ancient prophet from the Teacher and his followers. The prophet lived in an earlier period than the Teacher and uttered words that were meaningful in his own days. The Teacher, in contrast, lived in the latter days and was able to survey the whole of history. As a result he received a fuller insight in the words of the ancient prophets, even if he, too, did not know when the end of time would come. The Peshar commentators walk in the Teacher's footsteps and continue the exegetical tradition he instigated.

1.1 *The Interests of the Commentator*

As we have seen in chapter 7, the main interest of the Peshar commentators is to explain Scripture in light of the historical memory of the Qumran movement, and vice versa. The narrative the Pesharim present depends on the assumption that the base texts of the Qumran commentaries are applicable to the latter days, in which the Peshar exegetes considered themselves to be living. Thus the Peshar exegetes understood their base texts to concern aspects of the past, present, or future of the historical experiences of their movement. But to these commentators the past, present, and future were no separate categories. On the contrary: there may be an earlier and a later in the latter days, but these are intricately related. Experiences considered to precede the composition of a Peshar are used, therefore, to create an expectation for the times to come.

Two examples may illustrate this principle. The first is this interpretation of Hab 2:15–16:

הוי משקה רעיהו מספח חמתו אף שכר למען הבט אל מועדיהם פשרו על הכוהן הרשע אשר רדף אחר מורה הצדק לבלעו בכעס חמתו אבית גלותו ובקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים הופיע אליהם לבלעם ולכשילם ביום צום שבת מנוחתם שבעתה קלון מכבוד שתה גם אתה והרעל תסוב עליכה כוס ימין ה' וקיקלון על כבודכה פשרו על הכוהן אשר גבר קלונו מכבודו כיא לוא מל את עורלת לבו וילך בדרכי הרויה למען ספות הצמאה וכוס חמת [א] ל תבלענו לוס[י]ף [ע] ל [כול ק]ל[ונ]ו ומכאוב

“Woe to him who makes his neighbour drink, mixing his poison, even strong drink, so that one may look on their feasts” (Hab 2:15). Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who has pursued the Teacher of

Righteousness in order to reproach¹⁷ him in the anger of his wrath, in his house of exile. And at the time of the festival of the rest of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them in order to reproach them and to make them stumble on the day of fasting, the Sabbath of their rest. “You are more glutted with disgrace than with glory! Drink, you, and stagger! The cup of the Lord’s right hand shall turn against you, and disgrace on your glory!” (Hab 2:16). Its interpretation concerns the priest whose disgrace is greater than his glory, for he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart and went in ways of saturation to quench his thirst. But the cup of [Go]d’s wrath shall devour him to increase [all] his [d]isg[ra]ce and pain.

1QpHab 11:2–15

By rendering the participles in Hab 2:15 (משקה, מספח) with perfect tenses in his interpretation (הופיע, רדף), the commentator suggests that the situation described in the lemma belongs to an earlier stratum in the history of the movement than the time when the Peshar was written.¹⁸ In his interpretation of Hab 2:16, the commentator retains the imperfect tense from the lemma (תסוב) in his explanation (תבליענו). In this way, he has the two interpretations reinforce one another: applying both Hab 2:15 and Hab 2:16 to the Wicked Priest, the commentator expects the punishment of this opponent on the basis of the fulfilment of Hab 2:15. The commentator in this passage builds an expectation for the future on the basis of an earlier stratum in the historical memory of the movement: just as the situation depicted in Hab 2:15 has come true, so the punishment of the Wicked Priest foretold in Hab 2:16 will be realised.¹⁹

A second case is this interpretation of Nah 3:1–3:

17 בלע more straightforwardly means “to swallow.” Yet, on the basis of 1QpHab 5:8–12 it can be argued that a second meaning for this root was “to reproach.” See Matthew Morgenstern, “Notes on the Language of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Meghillot 2*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Devorah Dimant (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2004), 157–68 (157–60). I thank Arjen Bakker for the reference.

18 To be sure, this does not mean that the passage has a historical background. Cf. Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, BJS 94 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 93–97, who argues convincingly that this interpretation of Hab 2:15 is mediated by the Hodayot.

19 Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Temporal Shifts from Text to Interpretation: Concerning the Use of the Perfect and Imperfect in the *Habakkuk Peshar* (1QpHab),” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael T. Davis and Brent A. Strawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 124–49 (145–46).

הוי עיר הדמים כולה [כחש פר] ק מלאה פשרו היא עיר אפרים דורשי החלקות לאחרית הימים אשר בכחש ושקר[ים] תהלכו לא ימוש טרף וקול שוט וקול רעש אופן וסוס דהר ומרכבה מרקדה פרש מעלה להוב חרב וברק חנית ורוב חלל וכבוד פגר ואין קץ לגויה וכשלו בגויתם פשרו על ממשלת דורשי החלקות אשר לא ימוש מקרב עדתם חרב גוים שבי ובז וחרור בינותם וגלות מפחד אויב ורוב פגרי אשמה יפולו בימיהם ואין קץ לכלל חלליהם ואף בגוית בשרם יכשולו בעצת אשמתם

“Woe, city of blood! Every one of her has filled her with [lies and untru]th” (Nah 3:1a–bα). Its interpretation: it is the city of Ephraim, of the Seekers of Smooth Things in the last days, who [w]alk in lies and untru[th.] “Prey shall not cease, nor the sound of the whip, nor the sound of the rattling wheel, nor the rushing horse, nor the leaping chariot, the ascending horseman, the flashing of the sword, the flickering of the spear! A multitude of wounded and a heap of carcasses! And there is no end to the corpses, and they shall trip over their corpses” (Nah 3:1bγ–3). Its interpretation concerns the rule of the Seekers of Smooth Things, from the midst of whose council shall not cease the sword of the people, captivity, and spoil, and fire among them, and exile out of fear for the enemy. Guilty corpses shall fall in their days and there is no end to the totality of their wounded—and so they shall trip over the corpses of their flesh, because of their guilty counsel.

4Q169 3–4 ii 1–6

The woe oracle in Nah 3:1a–bα is read by the commentator as a description of “the city of Ephraim, of the Seekers of Smooth Things in the last days.”²⁰ By applying this lemma to the city of Ephraim and the Seekers of Smooth Things, the commentator situates it in the present of the historical memory of the movement to which he belongs. The filling of the city is implied to have come true in the times of the commentator. In the second unit, the retribution to “the city of blood” foretold in Nah 3:1bγ–3 is also applied to the Seekers of Smooth Things,²¹ who shall receive retribution “because of their guilty counsel.” Here too, the coming true of an earlier event is meant to safeguard to fulfilment of a

20 On the possibly metaphorical meaning of “city” see pp. 282–83.

21 Shani Berrin (Tzoref), “The Use of Secondary Biblical Sources in Peshar Nahum,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 1–11 (5–8) notes that there has been some discussion about the question whether the Seekers of Smooth Things are here referred to as victimizers or victims. I agree with Tzoref that it makes more sense to take them as victims. This means that the scriptural picture of retribution is applied to the Seekers of Smooth Things in the Peshar. See also eadem, *Peshar Nahum*, 237–44.

later one, and the commentator develops his expectation for the future of the Seekers of Smooth Things on the basis of an earlier stratum in his historical memory.

1.2 *Implicit and Explicit Assumptions*

Like the hypomnemata, the Peshar commentators rarely reflect explicitly on their interests and perspective. Implicit echoes of their perspective are ubiquitous in the Qumran commentaries, though. One example is the use of the quotation formula פֶּשֶׁר לְאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים. This formula is explicit about the assumption that the prophetic base text can be applied to the latter days, but implicit about the idea that the latter days are now. Consider, for instance, this interpretation of Isa 30:15–18:

כִּי אֵל כִּי וְהָאֵל אֱמַר ה' קָדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשׁוּבָהּ וְנִחַת [תוֹשְׁעוֹן בְּהַ] שְׁקֵט וּבִטָּח תִּהְיֶה גְבוּרַתְכֶמָּה וְלֹא אֲבִיתֶמָּה וְהָאֵל אֱמַר ה' לֹא כִּי אֵל עַל סוֹס נָנוּס עַל כֵּן תִּנְסוּן וְעַל קַל נִרְכַּב עַל כֵּן יִקְלוּ רֹדְפֵיכֶמָּה אֵלֶּף אֶחָד מִפְּנֵי גְעֵרַת אֶחָד מִפְּנֵי גְעֵרַת חֲמֹשֶׁה תִּנְסוּן עַד אִם נוֹתַרְתֶּמָּה כְּתָרָן עַל רֹאשׁ הָר וּכְנֹס עַל גְּבֻעָה לְכֵן יִחַכֶּה אֲדוֹנֵי לַחֲנִי [נִבְ] מֵה וּלְכֵן יִרוּם לְרַחֲמֶכֶּמָּה כִּי אֱלֹהֵי מִשְׁפַּט ה' אֲשֶׁרֵי כוֹל חוֹכֵי לוֹ פֶּשֶׁר הַדְּבָר לְאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים עַל עֵדֶת דְּ[וֹרְשֵׁי] הַחֲלֻקוֹת אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם

[“Fo]r th[is] said the Lord, the Holy One of Israel: ‘In returning and r[es]t [you shall be saved, in qui]etness and trust shall be your strength! But you did not want this and [said:] “No! For we shall flee on horseback”—therefore, you shall flee! and “We shall ride on the swift”—therefore, your pursuers shall be swifter! One thousand (shall flee) from the rebuke of one, from the rebuke of five you shall flee, until you remain as a flagpole upon a mountain top and like a sign upon a hill.’ Therefore, the Lord shall wait to show favo[ur] towards you. And therefore he shall rise to comfort you, for the Lord is a god of justice—happy are all those who wait for him” (Isa 30:15–18). The interpretation of the matter with regard to the latter days concerns the congregation of the S[eekers] of Smooth Things, who are in Jerusalem.

4Q163 23 ii 3–11

In this interpretation, the commentator applies the lemma to a group portrayed as contemporary with the Qumran movement. By so doing, he takes up the implicit assumption that the members of the movement to which he belongs live in the latter days.

The one case of explicit reflection in the Pesharim on the interpretations developed in them is this interpretation of Hab 2:1–3:

ואתיצבה על מצורי ואצפה לראות מה ידבר בי ומה [ישיב ע]ל תוכחתי ויעניי ה' [ויומר כתוב חזון ובא]ר על הלוחות למען ירוץ [הקורא בו ...] וידבר אל אל חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על הדור האחרון ואת הקץ לוא הודעו ואשר אמר למען ירוץ הקורא בו פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים כיא עוד חזון למועד יפיח לקץ ולוא יכזב פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול אשר דברו הנביאים כיא רזי אל להפלה אם יתמהמה חכה לו כיא בוא יבוא ולוא יאחר פשרו על אנשי האמת עושי התורה אשר לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון כיא כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם כאשר חקק להם ברזי ערמתו

"I shall stand firm on my watchpost and I shall station myself in my fortress, and I will watch to see what he shall say to me and what [he shall answer t]o my reproof. And the Lord answered me [and said: 'Write the vision down, insc]r]ibe it on the tablets so that [he who reads it] may run'" (Hab 2:1–2) [...] And God told Habakkuk to write down what is to come on the last generation, but the end of time he did not make known to him. And for what he says: "So that he who reads it may run" (Hab 2:2b), its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets. "For the vision still has an appointed time, it will run to an end and not fail" (Hab 2:3a). Its interpretation is that the final age shall be long and extend beyond everything the prophets have said, for God's mysteries are wondrous. "If it tarries, wait for it; it shall surely come and not be delayed" (Hab 2:3b). Its interpretation concerns the men of truth who observe the Law, whose hands will not slacken from the work of truth as the final age is drawn over them, for all the ages of God shall come according to their plan, as he decreed for them in the mysteries of his prudence.

1QpHab 6:12–7:14

As has been indicated above, the import of this passage has been much discussed. For now it suffices to say that these lines explicitly identify the interpretations of the Teacher of Righteousness as divinely inspired. The Peshar commentators, in their turn, invoke the image of the Teacher for themselves, and so present their interpretations as partaking in the same divine revelation that was imparted on the ancient prophet and the Teacher of Righteousness.²²

22 On the Teacher as a prototype see Jutta Jokiranta, "The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social Identity Approach," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 254–63; eadem, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 175–77. On the Teacher as a focal point of identity see also George J. Brooke, "The 'Apocalyptic' Community, the Matrix of the Teacher and Rewriting

1.3 *Technical Terminology*

The Pesharim use various types of technical terminology in their interpretations. A well-known case is that of sobriquets. These are a sort of code names, used to refer to protagonists in the Pesharim. Most of them derive from Scripture, but not necessarily in a direct way. Other sobriquets have different origins: “the Wicked Priest” (הכֹּהֵן הַרָשָׁע), for instance, may well be a pun on the term “the high priest” (הַכֹּהֵן הַרָאשׁ).²³ Both types of sobriquets function as technical terminology in the Pesharim.

This view of sobriquets as a type of technical terminology differs from Devorah Dimant’s approach towards these code names. Stressing their scriptural background, Dimant argues that sobriquets imply pesher-type interpretations of Scripture:

Another type of biblical interpretation is the use of various sobriquets in the pesharim to refer to historical persons. Most of these sobriquets serve as cryptograms for pesher-type interpretations of biblical passages.... Although these sobriquets cannot formally be considered “pesharim,” they are derived by the same exegetical principles.²⁴

If sobriquets are tacit references to interpretations of Scripture, as Dimant argues, every passage that features a sobriquet invokes the scriptural co-text from which the sobriquet derives. In that case, sobriquets are no technical terms, but depend on the exegetical preferences of the commentators. Dimant’s view is problematic for two reasons, however. First, Dimant implies that sobriquets with a scriptural background function differently from non-scriptural sobriquets. Yet there is no reason to suppose this is the case: scriptural and non-scriptural sobriquets occur in the same contexts and fulfil the same function. Second, even if Dimant is correct that some sobriquets once functioned as hidden scriptural interpretations, this does not mean that they continued to do so. Scholars such as Philip Davies and Matthew Collins have shown that many sobriquets underwent a development before they were used in the Pesharim.²⁵

Scripture,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–53.

23 So Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, CQS 3 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 70.

24 “Pesharim, Qumran,” in *ABD* 5:244–51 (248).

25 Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 87–105; idem, “What History Can We Get from the Scrolls, and How?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 31–46; Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, LSTS 67 (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

In the early stages of this development, some of these sobriquets may have functioned as hidden scriptural interpretations. In later stages, however, they would have crystallised into technical terms. As the Pesharim often represent the final stages in this development, the sobriquets in the Qumran commentaries do seem to be used in a technical fashion. This idea gains strength from the observation that non-scriptural sobriquets such as “the Wicked Priest” or “the Lion of Wrath” occur only in the Pesharim. Hence it is justified to take the use of sobriquets in the Pesharim as a case of technical terminology that reflect the perspective of the Peshar commentators.

1.4 *Paraphrase*

The Pesharim often use synonyms of words from the lemma or paraphrase of the entire lemma in their interpretations. Bilhah Nitzan distinguishes between two kinds of paraphrase: “stylistic” and “exegetical.”²⁶ The first kind refers to cases where “there is no semantic difference with the words of the prophet”;²⁷ the second points to cases where “the act of paraphrase also contains an exegetical conception.”²⁸ But the distinction between these two kinds of paraphrase is not absolute: even in the case of “stylistic” paraphrase, the Peshar commentators perspectivise their base texts in line with their own interests. The interpretation of Hos 2:10 in Peshar Hosea A, quoted in chapter 7,²⁹ is a case in point: in addition to a paraphrase of the lemma this interpretation contains several elements which have no basis in the lemma and reflect the interests of the Peshar commentators. Another example of the same procedure is this interpretation of Hab 1:6a:

כיא הנני מקים את הכשדאים הגוי המר [והנמ]הר פשרו על הכתיאים א[שר המ]ה
קלים וגבורים במלחמה לאבד רבים [...] בממשלת הכתיאים ירש[ו] ארצות רבות ולוא
יאמינו בחוקי א[ל]

“For, behold, I raise up the Chaldaeans, that bitter [and has]ty nation!” (Hab 1:6a). Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, w[ho ar]e swift and mighty in battle to destroy many [...] during the rule of the Kittim they

26 The English terms are from Shani Berrin (Tzoref), “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–33 (128, n. 68). Cf. Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 40–42.

27 *Peshar Habakkuk*, 41.

28 *Peshar Habakkuk*, 42.

29 See pp. 150–51.

shall inher[it man]y [lands] and they shall not believe in the statutes of [Go]d.

1QpHab 2:10–15

Nitzan points out that the paraphrase of “that hasty nation” from the lemma with “who are swift” in the interpretation exhibits no exegetical intention. But if we consider the expression “that bitter and hasty nation” as a whole, the exegetical intention of the Peshar commentator becomes clearer already: in the interpretation these words are rendered as “who are swift and mighty in battle to destroy many.” And this paraphrastic rendering of Hab 1:6a does not stand on its own, either: it is part of a larger interpretation of the lemma, which adds to the paraphrase elements without a basis in the lemma. What appears to be a straightforward paraphrase is, thus, part of an interpretation section which reflects the intentions and perspective of the Peshar commentators. This case is similar to the one we encountered in the hypomnemata (P.Ryl. 1.24):³⁰ even when the commentator remains close to the wording and contents of the lemma, he promotes a certain understanding of that lemma by paraphrasing it in his own words.

2 Application

One of the hallmarks of the Pesharim is that they apply Scripture to non-scriptural persons and events. This application implies a particular view of time and history, which should make us wonder if “application” is the most suitable term to capture what the Peshar commentators are doing. “Application” seems to imply the notion of a fixed history to which Scripture is then applied. But this, as we have seen, is problematic. Even if there is a historical kernel in the Pesharim,³¹ it is clouded by a web of intertextual links between the Pesharim, other Early Jewish writings, and Scripture. What is more, the Pesharim do not merely apply Scripture to historical facts, but they may derive historical facts from Scripture.³² The Pesharim, as has been shown in chapter 7, present us

³⁰ See pp. 213–14.

³¹ As has been argued by John J. Collins, “Prophecy and History in the Pesharim,” in *Authoritative Scriptures*, 209–26; idem, “Historiography in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 119–32 (123–26).

³² Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 87–105. For a discussion of Davies’s views see Collins, “Prophecy and History,” 220–22. On the type of historiography the Pesharim represent see

not with history to which Scripture is applied, but with a historical memory constructed on the basis of and in dialogue with the scriptural base texts of the Pesharim. When I speak of “application” in this pages, therefore, I do so not because I think this term provides a wholly apt description of the hermeneutics of the Pesharim, but because I find its alternatives at least equally problematic.

One alternative is “fulfilment,” which is sometimes used to characterise the hermeneutics of the Pesharim as “fulfilment hermeneutics.”³³ But this term can mean two rather different things in the secondary literature. Some scholars speak of “fulfilment” to refer to the coming true of a predicted event: Nahum predicted the fall of Nineveh; when Nineveh fell, this prophecy was fulfilled. For Michael Fishbane, the absence of such fulfilment is a trigger for re-interpreting an original prophetic utterance.³⁴ But the situation in the Pesharim is more complicated than this use of “fulfilment” can account for: if we embrace this definition of “fulfilment,” the Qumran commentaries turn out to interpret both prophecies that have been fulfilled and prophecies that still await fulfilment.³⁵ Other scholars use “fulfilment” to refer to the increased relevance of prophetic words for later readers. According to this view, the meaning of the words of the prophets as they are read by their later interpreters is in a way “fuller” than it was when these words were first uttered or composed. But this is not to say that their initial meaning is irrelevant. This understanding of “fulfilment” comes close to the situation in the Pesharim, as the Qumran commentaries describe the Teacher and his followers as having a “fuller” insight in the words of the ancient prophets than the ancient prophets themselves. Nonetheless, the ambiguity of the term “fulfilment” in the secondary literature has led me to speak of “application” instead.

As an illustration of this resource, which is ubiquitous in the Pesharim, consider this interpretation of Nah 3:1bγ–3:

לא ימוש טרף וקול שוט וקול רעש אופן וסוס דהר ומרכבה מרקדה פרש מעלה להוב
וברק חנית ורוב חלל וכבוד פגר ואין קץ לגויה וכשלו בגויתם פשרו על ממשלת דורשי

George J. Brooke, “Types of Historiography in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography: L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne*, ed. idem and Thomas Römer, BETL 207 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 211–30.

33 E.g., in James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 14–16.

34 *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985; repr. 1986), 444: “The essential hermeneutical issue rather arises for this traditum when later prophets regard its manifest content as having failed, and so as being in need of revision; or as having referred all along to the period in which they now flourish.”

35 So also Isaac Rabinowitz, “‘Pēsher/Pittārōn’: Its Biblical Meaning and its Significance in the Qumran Literature,” *RevQ* 8/30 (1973): 219–32 (231).

החלקות אשר לא ימוש מקרב עדתם חרב גוים שבי ובזו וחרור בינותם וגלות מפחד
 אויב ורוב פגרי אשמה יפולו בימיהם ואין קץ לכלל חלליהם ואף בגיית בשרם יכשולו
 בעצת אשמתם

“Prey shall not cease, nor the sound of the whip, nor the sound of the rattling wheel, nor the rushing horse, nor the leaping chariot, the ascending horseman, the blade, the flickering of the spear! A multitude of wounded and a heap of carcasses! And there is no end to the corpses, and they shall trip over their corpses” (Nah 3:1bγ–3). Its interpretation concerns the rule of the Seekers of Smooth Things, from the midst of whose council shall not cease the sword of the people, captivity, and spoil, and fire among them, and exile out of fear for the enemy. Guilty corpses shall fall in their days and there is no end to the totality of their wounded—and so they shall trip over the corpses of their flesh, because of their guilty counsel.

4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6

The commentator understands Nah 3:1bγ–3 to refer to the punishment of the Seekers of Smooth Things. It has been shown that this passage takes up language and imagery from Dan 11:32–35.³⁶ This allusion implies an interpretation of the verses in Dan 11. As it appears, the commentator takes Dan 11:32–35 as referring to the same event as the lemma and applies both Nah 3:1bγ–3 and Dan 11:32–35 to the same event in the historical memory of the Peshar exegete. This is not to say that Nah 3 and Dan 11 describe a similar historical situation:³⁷ within their scriptural co-texts, the historical situations described in Nah 3:1bγ–3 and Dan 11:32–35 are not all that similar. It is the exegetical interest of the Peshar exegete and his interest in the historical memory of the movement to which he belonged that led him to apply both Nah 3:1bγ–3 and Dan 11:32–35 to the punishment of the Seekers of Smooth Things.

3 Application and Normativity

The example from 4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6 exemplifies a major difference between the hermeneutics of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. Both commentaries can take passages from the base text to be directly relevant for the time of the exegete. In the hypomnemata Homer can be taken to give normative advice (“Normativity” resource), in the Pesharim prophetic Scripture can be employed to make sense of the contemporary experiences of the Peshar

36 See pp. 158–59.

37 As Tzoref, “The Use of Secondary Biblical Sources,” 7–8 suggests.

commentators. But the Normativity and Application resources are not identical. They reflect different views on the temporal position of the base text author and the commentator.

In the hypomnemata, Homer often becomes a timeless source of wisdom. The hypomnema commentators surely recognised the poet as a figure from the past, but he did not belong to the past only. In many interpretations of the *Iliad*, Homer's past-ness plays no role and carries no hermeneutical importance. Consider, for instance, the references to the *neoteroi* in P.Oxy. 8.1086. Though the concept of "more recent [poets]" seems to define Homer as a figure from the past, the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 does not employ Homer's past-ness to express a preference for his view or that of the *neoteroi*.³⁸ Instead, both views are juxtaposed as alternatives. Clearer even are comments on Homer's language. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the hypomnemata approach Homer's language not as an archaic dialect, but as merely different from their own *koine* Greek. So when Homer uses the verb ἡγεμονεύω with a dative rather than a genitive in *Il.* 2.816, this "case exchange" is ascribed not to Homer's antiquity, but to his idiosyncratic use of the language.³⁹ In the eyes of the hypomnema commentators, Homer may have been a historical person, but his language is not old-fashioned: it is simply different.⁴⁰

This suspension of Homer's past-ness in the hypomnemata also underlies those interpretations that depict Homer as a source of normative wisdom. The point of the interpretation of *Il.* 2.767 in P.Oxy. 8.1086 is not to urge later readers of the *Iliad* to do as Homer once described the Greeks did. Instead, P.Oxy. 8.1086 portrays Homer as directly summoning his readers to use mares in battle. For this commentator, Homer is not a figure belonging solely to the past. He belongs to the present of the commentator as well, where he issues

38 In other instances such preferences could, of course, be expressed. Cf. Francesca Schironi, "Theory Into Practice: Aristotelian Principles in Aristarchean Philology," *CP* 104 (2009): 279–316 (310): "The νεώτεροι can only try to imitate 'the poet' but their results are so openly inferior that Aristarchus cannot but notice their bad outcome" (310).

39 P.Oxy. 8.1086 3:26–29 (106–109).

40 This lack of interest in historical grammar may explain why the Homeric epics took pride of place in language teaching throughout much of Greek history. It seems that Homer's language was of continuous relevance—not as a model to be repeated, but as an illustration of Ἑλληνισμός. See Filippomaria Pontani, "Ex Homero grammatica," in *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Matthaios, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos, *TiCSup* 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 87–103; idem, "Only God Knows the Correct Reading!": The Role of Homer, the Quran and the Bible in the Rise of Philology and Grammar," in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. Maren R. Niehoff, *JSRC* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 43–83 (44–55).

normative statements on war tactics. From the perspective of the hypomnemata, the *Iliad* is not a writing from long-gone ages whose contents must be appropriated in later times, but a timeless source of wisdom. The hypomnema commentators do seem to have had a sense of history and Homer's position in history, but they often suspend the past-ness of the poet and his works in their interpretations, thus evoking an image of timelessness for the *Iliad*.

The Pesharim take a different route. Instead of *suspending* the past-ness of their base texts, the Qumran commentaries *emphasise* it. The Pesharim reflect a view of history as being divided into divinely ordained periods. Each period resembles and is significant for understanding other periods, and the closer one comes to the end of history the fuller one's insight in the divine plan behind the course of history becomes. This is why the Pesharim situate the Teacher of Righteousness—the implied commentator in these commentaries—within the latter days, just before the end of time. This implies that the Teacher has a fuller insight into the applicability and meaning of the words of the ancient prophets than the prophets had themselves. Habakkuk and the other prophets are portrayed as belonging to an earlier period in history. Due to this position in history they were unable to grasp the full potential of their words. Hence, whereas Homer's past-ness plays a limited role in the hermeneutics of the hypomnemata, the past-ness of the ancient prophets and the position in history of the Teacher of Righteousness are a pivotal part of the hermeneutics of the Pesharim commentators.

4 Analogy

The Pesharim often draw analogies between scriptural passages. However, due to their implicit presentation these analogies are not always easy to recognise.⁴¹ Two cases should suffice to illustrate the use of analogical reasoning in the Pesharim. The first example is this interpretation of Hab 1:17:

על כן יריק חרבנו תמיד להרוג גוים ולוא יחמל פשרו על הכיאים אשר יאבדו רבים בחרב
נערים אשישים וזקנים נשים וטף ועל פרי בטן לוא ירחמו

“Therefore he unsheathes his sword to kill peoples and he shows no mercy” (Hab 1:17). Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, who shall

41 On the implicit presentation of references to and quotations from other scriptural passages in the Pesharim see pp. 153–54, 158–60.

destroy many by sword, youngsters, adults, and elderly men, women and children, and they shall not show pity on the fruit of the womb.

1QpHab 6:8–12

It has been shown in chapter 7 that “and they shall not show pity on the fruit of the womb” is a quotation of Isa 13:18 in the version of 1QIsa^a. The connection between this passage and Hab 1:17 depends on lexical and thematic similarities.⁴² What is more, the quotation from Isa 13:18 fulfils a hermeneutical purpose in the interpretation of Hab 1:17. The Isaiah verse is part of an oracle against Babylon (Isa 13:1), which predicts Babylon’s destruction by the Medes (Isa 13:17). By applying Isa 13:18 (and Hab 1:17) to the Kittim, the commentator draws an analogy between them and the Medes. This analogy communicates a specific message: just as the Medes in Isa 13:18, the Kittim in Peshar Habakkuk must be considered a tool in God’s hand, which he allows to distribute judgement. In the eyes of the commentator, the Kittim fulfil a similar role in the divine plan as the Medes in Isa 13:17–19.⁴³

A second case of analogical reasoning is this interpretation of Hos 2:8a, bβ:

לכן הנני שך את דרכ[ה] בסירים ונתיבותיה [לוא תמצא פשרו אשר⁴⁴ בשגעון] ובעורון
ובתמהון [לבב ...] וקץ מועלם לוא [... כיא] הם דור הפקודה

[“Therefore, see, I hedge] her [way] with thorns and her paths [she shall not find” (Hos 2:8a, bβ). Its interpretation is that with madness] and with blindness and with confusion [of heart ...] and the period of their treachery does not [... for] they are the generation of the visitation.

4Q166 1:7–10

The terms “blindness” and “confusion” occur in Deut 28:28 and Zech 12:4. The use of these terms in the Peshar probably goes back to Deut 28:28, which the Peshar exegete considered to be analogous to Hos 2:8a, bβ. Understanding the latter passage to refer to the punishment of the opponents of the movement to which he belonged, the Peshar commentator puts the punishment of his opponents on a par with the covenant curses in Deut 28.

42 Cf. Isa 13:5 and Hab 1:8; Isa 13:17 and Hab 1:6; the use of על כן in Isa 13:7, 13 and Hab 1:15–17; perhaps also the use of הרב in Isa 13:15 and Hab 1:17 (as quoted in 1QpHab).

43 For the Kittim as a means of divine punishment cf. 1QpHab 2:10–13; 9:3–7.

44 Reconstructed according to *DSSSE* 1:330; Roman Vielhauer, “Materielle Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der beiden Pescharim zum Hoseabuch (4QpHos^a und 4QpHos^b),” *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 39–91 (46).

This connection between Hos 2:8a, b β and Deut 28:28 depends on their thematic similarity: both describe the punishment of those who forsake God and his commandments, brought upon them by God rather than a human agent. But this interest in Deut 28:28 and its enactment in the days of later authors and readers is not the invention of the Peshet exegete. It is unclear if the use of Deut 28:28 in Peshet Hosea A was mediated by Zech 12:4.⁴⁵ The reference to “that day” in Zech 12 lends an eschatological overtone to that chapter which may have appealed to the Peshet exegete.⁴⁶ At the same time, Zechariah’s prediction of the salvation of Judah and Jerusalem does not sit well with the interests of the Peshet commentator(s).⁴⁷ But even if Zech 12:4 played no role, the use of the terms “blindness” and “confusion” in other Qumran scrolls demonstrates that the Peshet commentator did not stand alone in his use of Deut 28:28. Apocryphon of Jeremiah C employs terminology from Deut 28 and Lev 26,⁴⁸ and the use of the terms “blindness,” “confusion,” and “bewilderment of heart” in 4Q387 2 ii 4 implies that the author of the Apocryphon considered these curses to be enacted in his own times.⁴⁹ Words of the Luminaries is indebted to Deut 28 and Lev 26 as well,⁵⁰ and the prayer for healing in 4Q504 1–2r ii

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- 45 Zech 12:4 probably depends on Deut 28:28, and the Zechariah verse may be part of the same exegetical tradition as Peshet Hosea A. See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 501; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 319–22; Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School*, JSOTSup 167 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 130–31; Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9–14*, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 148–49.
- 46 Adam S. van der Woude, *Zacharia*, POT (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1984), 225–33; Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah*, 351–59; Katrina J.A. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, CBET 6 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994), 140–70.
- 47 On Jerusalem in the Pesharim see 4Q162 2:2–8; 4Q163 23 ii 3–13; perhaps also 4Q169 3–4 ii 1–2. Cf. also Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism*, SDBSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 303–18; Émile Puech, “Jérusalem dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *RevQ* 25/99 (2012): 423–38 (429–31).
- 48 Monica Brady, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 88–109; also Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 519–50 (548).
- 49 So Deborah Dimant, DJD 30:182.
- 50 See Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 69; Esther G. Chazon, “The Words of the Luminaries and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times,” in *Seeking the Favor of God*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K.

appears to invoke Deut 28:28 to equate this healing “with the removal of the curse of punishment for sin.”⁵¹ These passages show that the use of Deut 28:28 in Peshet Hosea A is no isolated occurrence, but is part of a broader exegetical tradition in Ancient Judaism, which exhibits a particular interest in the covenant curses and their enactment in the times of later authors and readers.

5 Structure

The Peshet commentators, like those of the hypomnemata, engage the structure of their base texts in various ways. Apart from the co-text of their lemmata in the base text, the Peshet exegetes are sensitive to the syntax and the use of parallel constructions in their base texts. These three structural elements may constitute the basis for scriptural interpretations in the Qumran commentaries.

5.1 *Contributions of the Co-text*

Unlike the hypomnemata, the Pesharim exhibit no clear preference for co-textual readings of their lemmata. The difference is not absolute, of course: just as the hypomnemata may neutralise the co-textual meaning of a lemma, so the Pesharim may endorse it. Nonetheless, many interpretations in the Pesharim do imply a neutralisation or redefinition of the co-texts of their lemmata in the base text.

The concept of “atomisation” has played an important role in scholarship on the Pesharim. Karl Elliger is one of the scholars who defined atomisation as a key characteristic of Peshet hermeneutics:

Wenn die Auslegung dennoch den modernen Leser ... nicht überzeugt, so liegt das an einem ... charakteristischeren Zuge, daß sie nämlich den Text bei allem Eingehen auf den Wortlaut zugleich atomisiert. Gewiß beachtet sie im allgemeinen peinlich jedes einzelne seiner Elemente und sorgt fast skrupelhaft dafür, daß es in der Auslegung zur Geltung kommt. Aber das geistige Band, das die Elemente zusammenhält, vernachlässigt sie um so mehr und zerschneidet es oft genug.⁵²

Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, 3 vols., SBLEJL 22 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006–2008), 2:177–86.

51 Billah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 84.

52 *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1953), 139.

Elliger's definition of atomisation as the deconstruction of the co-text of lemmata has not gone unchallenged. For Nitzan, for instance, atomisation is not primarily about dissolving co-textual connections, but about providing a new co-text for the lemma:

In sum, we must say that “atomisation” is not really “atomisation” as Elliger has described it. Rather, the author sometimes separates a verse from its scriptural co-text and explains it through a transfer to a new co-text.⁵³

In view of the methodology adopted in this book, Elliger's and Nitzan's understandings of “atomisation” are equally problematic. The neutralisation of co-texts in the hypomnema contradicts Elliger's view that atomisation is a defining characteristic of the Pesharim. The neutralisation of co-textual links and the establishment of new co-textual connections is an essential part of any act of exegesis; it is not typical for the Pesharim. At the same time, Nitzan's approach is problematic because it subsumes two resources—the neutralisation of co-textual links and the re-contextualisation of a lemma—under one heading. The point is similar to the case of etymology in chapter 8: the acts that Nitzan describes, even if they occurred simultaneously in the minds of the Peshar commentators, should be distinguished for analytical purposes. Thus, I will avoid the term “atomisation” in this section and speak of “neutralising the co-text” as a resource which can be used as part of a larger hermeneutical operation.⁵⁴

5.1.1 Neutralising the Co-text

A striking case of co-text neutralisation in the Pesharim is this interpretation of Hab 1:12–13:

53 *Peshar Habakkuk*, 54. Nitzan's term נתוק ההקשר is rendered in English by Tzoref as “re-contextualization” (“Qumran Pesharim,” 128–29). “This term,” Tzoref states, “is preferable to the ‘atomization’ of Elliger and Bruce, or even Horgan's intermediate description of the ‘removal of isolated elements’” (129).

54 My approach towards “atomisation” resembles that of Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše, who also understand the phenomenon as a well-defined resource (although they do not use that term) which is part of a larger hermeneutical movement. See “The Qumran Pesharim and the Derveni Papyrus: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Ancient Jewish and Ancient Greek Commentaries,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange et al., VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 895–922 (896–99).

[הלוא אתה ה' מקדם אלוהי קודשי לוא נמות אתה ה'] למשפט שמתו וצור למוכיחו יסדתו טהור עינים מראות ברע והבט אל עמל לוא תוכל פשר הדבר אשר לוא יכלה אל את עמו ביד הגוים וביד בחירו יתן אל את משפט כול הגוים ובתוכחתם יאשמו כל רשעי עמו אשר שמרו את מצוותו בצר למו כיא הוא אשר אמר טהור עינים מראות ברע פשרו אשר לוא זנו אחר עיניהם בקץ הרשעה למה תביטו בוגדים ותחריש בבלע רשע צדיק ממנו פשרו על בית אבשלום ואנשי עצתם אשר נדמו בתוכחת מורה הצדק ולוא עזרוהו על איש הכוב אשר מאס את התורה בתוך כול עצתם

[“Are you not from of old, Lord, my holy God: we shall not die. Lord,] you have placed him for judgement, and Rock, you have established him as his rebuker—eyes too pure to see evil in evil—but you cannot observe sorrow” (Hab 1:12–13a). The interpretation of the matter: that God shall not destroy his people by means of the nations, but shall deliver the judgement of all the nations into the hands of his chosen ones. And by their rebuke all the wicked of his people shall be held guilty—(the rebuke of those) who have kept his commandments in their distress, for this is what he says: “Eyes too pure to see evil” (Hab 1:13a α). Its interpretation: that they have not whored after their eyes in the time of wickedness. “Why do you observe, traitors, and keep silent when the wicked one swallows who is more righteous than he?” (Hab 1:13b). Its interpretation concerns the House of Absalom and the men of their council, who have kept silent at the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness and have not helped him against the Man of the Lie, who despised the law in the midst of their entire council.

1QpHab 4:16–5:12

In its scriptural co-text, Hab 1:12–13 contain the answer of the prophet Habakkuk to God’s foretelling of the advent of the Assyrians in Hab 1:5–11. In Hab 1:12a, Habakkuk voices his hope that their punishment by the Assyrians shall not cause the wholesale devastation of God’s people. In Hab 1:12b–13, he acknowledges that the Lord has placed the Assyrian people for judgement and chastisement, for God is too pure of eyes to see evil and cannot observe sorrow. That God is the subject of Hab 1:13 is apparent not only from the 2nd person singular form *תוכל*, but also from the use of a similar expression in Hab 1:3, where God is stated to make the prophet observe sorrow. Hence, the co-text of these verses within the book of Habakkuk has them refer to the Assyrians, who have been established by God to execute judgement on his people. The reason for this is the fact that God cannot observe the wicked deeds of his people any longer.

The Peshar commentator neutralises this co-textual meaning of the lemma in various ways.⁵⁵ To begin with, the Peshar commentator takes the phrases “you have placed him” and “you have established him,” which in their co-text refer to God’s appointment of the Assyrian people, as a reference to God’s elect,⁵⁶ who are appointed to judge and chastise. If Carmel McCarthy is right and the suffixes in Hab 1:12–13 are ambiguous also in MT,⁵⁷ this ambiguity may have come to the aid of the Peshar commentator when he read these verses as he did. Secondly, in contrast to the co-textual meaning of the lemma, the Peshar commentator does not take “eyes too pure to see evil in evil” as a parallel to “but you cannot observe sorrow.” Instead, the first phrase is read in apposition to “you have established him.” Third, Hab 1:13b is not taken as a continuation of Hab 1:12–13a: the Peshar commentator takes the “traitors” as the subject of Hab 1:13b, even though in the scriptural co-text these traitors are the object of the verb.

This understanding of the “traitors” as the subject of Hab 1:13b is related to a variant reading in the Peshar: the lemma has תביטו instead of MT’s תביט. This reading has engendered a scholarly debate over the question which came first: the neutralisation of co-textual relationships or the plural reading of the verb.⁵⁸ But this way of putting the question does not do justice to the hermeneutics involved in this and similar cases. The singular verb ותחריש in Hab 1:13b must make us hesitant to think that the commentator himself altered the shape of

55 Cf. the discussion in Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 155–58.

56 There has been some discussion on whether this form has to be taken as a singular or a plural. For an overview of the discussion see William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk*, SBLMS 24 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 86–87. In my view the plural understanding of the form is the more probable solution.

57 *The Tiqqune Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament*, OBO 36 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 107. Cf. Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 158.

58 The first option comes down to reading תביטו as an exegetical variant. For this viewpoint see F.A.W. van ’t Land and Adam S. van der Woude, *De Habakuk-rol van ’Ain Fasha: Tekst en vertaling*, STV 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954), *ad loc.*; Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 52; Timothy H. Lim, “Eschatological Orientation and the Alteration of Scripture in the Habakkuk Peshar,” *JNES* 49 (1990): 185–94 (191–93); idem, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 98–104.

The second option allows for the fluid state of the scriptural text in the period in which the scrolls were written and assumes that the reading does not originate with the Peshar exegete. For this view see Elliger, *Studien*, 136; William H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran*, SBLMS 11 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1959), 29.

the lemma all too systematically.⁵⁹ At the same time, the neutralisation of the co-text of Hab 1:13 in this interpretation section does not seem to be a mere response to a scribal error copied with the lemma: it is part of a larger process of neutralising the co-textual meanings of Hab 1:12–13 in Peshar Habakkuk. This demonstrates once more that the transmission and the interpretation of Scripture are no separate processes: both are intricately intertwined and work together to lend to the lemma a meaning which ties in with the interests of the Peshar commentator.⁶⁰

5.1.2 Upholding the Co-text

An illustrative case of how the Pesharim may uphold the co-text of their lemmata is this interpretation of Hos 2:10–12:

[לוא ידעה כיא] אנוכי נתתי לה הדגן [והתירוש והיצהר וכסף] הרביתי וזהב עשו [לבעל פשרו] אשר אכלו [וי] שבעו וישכחו את אל המא[כלם ואת כול] מצוותיו השליכו אחרי גום אשר שלח אליהם [ביד] עבדיו הנביאים ולמתעיהם שמעו ויכבדום וכאלים יפחדו מהם בעורונם לכן אשוב ולקחתי דגני בעתו ותירושי [במועדו] והצלתי צמרי ופושתי מלכסות את [ערותה] ועתה אגלה את נבלותה לעיני מאה[ביה ואיש] לוא יצילנה מידי פשרו אשר הכם ברעב ובערום להיות לקלו[ן] וחרפה לעיני הגואים אשר נשענו עליהם והמה לוא יושיעום מצרותיהם

[“She did not know that] I gave her grain [and wine and oil. And silver] I increased, but they used gold [for Baal” (Hos 2:10). Its interpretation:] that they at [e and w]ere satisfied, but they forgot the God who fe[d them and all] his commandments that he had sent them [through] his servants the prophets they threw behind them. And they listened to their misleaders and honoured them, and feared them as gods in their blindness. “Therefore I shall again take my grain at its time, and my wine [at its moment,] and I shall take away my wool and my linen from covering [her shame.] And now I shall uncover her shamelessness to the eyes of

59 So also Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 29. Lim’s attempt to attribute the haphazard way in which the commentator would have altered his base text to “the atomizing mind-set with which the pesharist exegeted scripture” (*Holy Scripture*, 103–4) is ad hoc. Lim is right in pointing out the often unsystematic character of scribal revisions (“Eschatological Orientation,” 193; idem, *Holy Scripture*, 104, n. 14). But this observation can be interpreted in various ways and serve equally well—possibly even better—in support of those who assume a scribal error to be behind the reading in 1QpHab.

60 Cf. my critique of Lim’s suggestions about the use of variant readings in the Pesharim on pp. 154–58.

[her] lov[ers—and no one] shall be able to deliver her from my hand!" (Hos 2:11–12). Its interpretation: that he has stricken them with famine and nakedness, to be a sham[e] and a scorn in the eyes of the peoples on which they have leaned—and they shall not be able to rescue them from their distress.

4Q166 2:1–14

In their scriptural co-text, Hos 2:10–12 belong to a complaint by God about his people, depicted as an adulterous woman. In Hos 2:10, God describes how he has bestowed upon his people food, drink, and wealth in abundance. Yet his people used these gifts to serve Baal.⁶¹ Hos 2:11–12 describes God's response: he shall take back his gifts of food and drink and remove his wool and linen to uncover the nakedness of his people in front of its lovers.

The Peshar commentator largely upholds the co-textual meaning of these verses. In his paraphrase of Hos 2:10, the commentator uses language from Deut 6:11–12 and 8:10–14, but stays close to the contents of the lemma: "they ate and were satisfied" corresponds with the description of God as the provider of food, drink, and wealth; "they forgot the God who fed them" paraphrases "she did not know that I gave her grain and wine and oil." In the same interpretation section, the comment that the subjects of the interpretation "honoured" their misleaders and "feared them as gods" is a close paraphrase of the remark in the lemma that "they used gold for Baal." In the interpretation of Hos 2:11–12, "famine" and "nakedness" echo God's taking back food and drink and uncovering his people's shame (Hos 2:11). Likewise, the idea that God shall put his people to shame in the eyes of its lovers is echoed in the interpretation in the statement that God "has stricken them ... to be a shame and a scorn." Finally, "no one shall be able to deliver her from my hand" in Hos 2:12b is paraphrased as: "And they shall not be able to rescue them from their distress." Thus, in his interpretation of Hos 2:10–12, the Peshar commentator closely paraphrases the contents of his verses and remains close to their co-textual meaning.

And yet, even in this case not every aspect of the interpretation sits well with the co-textual meaning of Hos 2:10–12. One deviation is the interpretation of the "lovers" in Hos 2:11–12 as a reference to foreign nations ("the peoples on which they have leaned"). In the scriptural co-text, the lovers in this verse stand

61 The term בעל refers to the idol going by that name (so John Day, "Hosea and the Baal Cult," in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. idem [New York: T&T Clark, 2010], 202–24 [205–9]) or to idols more generally. Within the context of the metaphor of the adulterous woman, the alternative meaning of the word—"husband"—constitutes a meaningful double entendre.

most naturally for idols (cf. “Baal” in Hos 2:10) rather than foreign nations.⁶² The interpretation in the Peshar might reflect a particular historical experience of the movement to which the Peshar commentator belonged.⁶³ But the reading of the Peshar may be informed by other passages in the book of Hosea as well. In Hos 5:13–15, for instance, Ephraim and Judah are portrayed as turning to Assyria for help after they discovered their miserable state. However, Assyria is unable to heal Ephraim or to remove Judah’s ulcer: as God is the reason for their sickness “there is no one to save” (Hos 5:14bβ; cf. Hos 2:12b). Similarly in Hos 8:9b–10, where Ephraim is rebuked for hiring “lovers” among the nations.⁶⁴ Passages like these may have guided the Peshar commentator in his interpretation of “lovers” in Hos 2:12b as foreign nations rather than idols.⁶⁵ The result is an interpretation of Hos 2:10–12 which remains generally close to the co-textual meaning of these verses, but in some details (and for reasons not entirely clear) contrasts with it.

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- 62 So also Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, POT (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1968), 62; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 230 (on Hos 1:7), 249; Roman Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 349 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 155; Day, “Hosea and the Baal Cult,” 208–9.
- 63 Many scholars apply these lines in Peshar Hosea A to the conflict between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, culminating in the latter’s reappointment as high priest by the Romans in 63 BCE. There is some disagreement on which peoples are meant by “the peoples on which they have leaned.” See Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 278 (n. 1); Joseph D. Amusin, “Observatiunculae Qumraneae,” *RevQ* 7/28 (1971): 533–52 (545–52); idem, “The Reflection of Historical Events of the First Century BC in Qumran Commentaries,” *HUCA* 48 (1977): 123–52 (146–50); Tal Ilan, “Shelamzion in Qumran: New Insights,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmonians to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 27–31 January 1999*, ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 57–68; Roman Vielhauer, “Reading Hosea at Qumran,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91–108 (94). See also Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonian State*, SDBSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 145–46.
- 64 Note that the *binyan* of בָּהָרָא differs between Hos 2 and Hos 8: Hos 2 uses the Piel, Hos 8 the Qal. On the Piel of בָּהָרָא, which is only used in a context of adultery see David Winton Thomas, “The Root בָּהָרָא, ‘love’ in Hebrew,” *ZAW* 57 (1939): 57–64.
- 65 Cf. Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 155.

5.1.3 Redefining the Co-text: Word Boundaries

Hebrew manuscripts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, unlike their Greek counterparts, do not use *scriptio continua*. As a result, word boundaries in Hebrew manuscripts were usually clear. As has been illustrated in the preceding chapter, however, drawing word boundaries can be a hermeneutical procedure and imply an interpretation of a lemma.⁶⁶ Several scholars have argued that the Pesharim employ the redefinition of word boundaries as an exegetical resource. This section is intended to counter their claim. To that end I discuss three passages that have been adduced as evidence for the redefinition of word boundaries in the Pesharim and explain why I find none of them convincing.

5.1.3.1 1QpHab 3:6–13

The first example is this interpretation of Hab 1:8–9a:

וקול מנמרים סוסו וחדו מזאבי ערב פשו פרשו פרשו מרחוק יעופו כנשר חש לאכול
כולו לחמס יבוא מגמת פניהם קדים פ[שר]ו על הכתיאים אשר ידושו את הארץ
בסוס[יהם] ובבהמתם ומרחק יבואו מאיי הים לאכול [את] כול העמים כנשר ואין
שבעה ובחמה יכ[מרו וב]חרן אף וזעף אפים ידברו עם כול [העמים כי]א הוא אשר
אמר מגמ[ת פניהם קדים]

“And its horses are swifter than panthers and keener than evening wolves. Its steeds spring about, its steeds fly from afar just as a vulture hasty to eat! All of it comes for violence, the stammer of their faces forward” (Hab 1:8–9a). Its in[terpretati]on concerns the Kittim, who trample the earth with [their] horses and with their beasts, and come from a distance, from the islands of the sea, to eat all [the] peoples like a vulture, but without satisfaction. And they gr[ow hot] with anger, and [with] angry fury and vexed faces they speak with all [the peoples, fo]r this is what he says: “The stammer of their faces forward” (Hab 1:9aβ).

1QpHab 3:6–13

Isaac Rabinowitz first observed that פניהם is written as two words—פני or פנו and הם—in 1QpHab.⁶⁷ The space between these words has been taken as a

66 Cf. the case of *καίετοδ* in *Il.* 21.356 (see pp. 226–27).

67 “The Second and Third Columns of the Habakkuk Interpretation-Scroll,” *JBL* 69 (1950): 31–49 (47–48).

scribal error⁶⁸ or simply deemed insignificant.⁶⁹ Yet some scholars have argued that the space did carry hermeneutical weight for the commentator and reflects his reading of Hab 1:8–9a.⁷⁰

The conviction that this division of words functions as an hermeneutical resource rests on two assumptions. Firstly, the commentator must have worked from an MT-like text of Hab 1:9. Secondly, the commentator must have intended the space in question to carry hermeneutical significance. Both assumptions are problematic. With regard to the first, we may observe that Hab 1:8–9a as quoted in 1QpHab 3:6–9 exhibit relatively many variants vis-à-vis MT. Most of these variants are of limited importance, but their cumulative effect is to indicate that Hab 1:8–9a as it is quoted in Peshar Habakkuk deviates from MT.⁷¹ The space between פני or פנו and הם need not have been deliberate, therefore. The second assumption is even more problematic, as our analysis of this lemma-interpretation unit is encumbered by semantic difficulties in the lemma.⁷² We do not know for certain how the commentator read the lemma and how he intended to render it in his interpretation. In view of these problems a convincing argument that the Peshar exegete used word-splitting as an exegetical resource in this passage cannot be made.

What is more, there are two indications *against* attributing hermeneutical significance to the space between פני/פנו and הם. Firstly, the plural forms “faces” and “they speak” in the interpretation imply a reading in the lemma of “faces” with a plural suffix. The expression מגמת פניהם would be taken as “the stammer of their faces” and lead to the idea that the subjects of the interpretation speak with an angry voice. Secondly, the reading הם קדיים פני/פנו would

68 So Elliger, *Studien*, 161.

69 So seemingly Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 14, 29; definitely Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 159.

70 William H. Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BA* 14 (1951): 53–76 (63, n. 30) proposes to read פנו הם “his face, they are,” and this reading is the basis for the treatment of this passage in idem, *Midrash Peshar*, 69–70.

71 For a full discussion see Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 11–17.

72 Every word in Hab 1:9aβ exhibits its own difficulties. מגמת is a *hapax legomenon* and it is impossible to determine with certainty from what root it is derived. From a modern linguistic perspective, the form is best taken as a derivation from גמ”ם “to be abundant.” However, with Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 69 I assume that the Peshar commentator derived the form from גמ”ם “to stammer”; hence the idea of speaking in 1QpHab 3:13. The problems with פניהם are the subject of this paragraph. The form קדיים, which is a variant vis-à-vis MT’s קדימה, could refer to the East wind, to the East more generally, or simply to forward motion.

yields an ungrammatical sentence. Even if the Peshet commentator took פני/פנו as a plural (“my faces” or “his faces”), the number and gender of the pronoun should correspond with those of מגמת. The idea that the pronoun does not refer to מגמה, but to the subject of the interpretation section (the Kittim)⁷³ is problematic in light of the explicit quotation of Hab 1:9aβ in the Peshet. The quotation formula marks a break between the preceding interpretation section and the quotation. It makes most sense, therefore, to take Hab 1:9aβ as a grammatical unit. As the reading “the stammer of their faces” makes good sense in connection with the preceding interpretation section, this reading is to be preferred to others which assume the use of word-splitting as an exegetical resource.

5.1.3.2 1QpHab 8:3–13

A second case of alleged word-splitting is this interpretation of Hab 2:5–6:

ואף כּיּא הוּן יבגוד גבר יהיר ולוא ינוה אשר הרחיב כשאול נפשו והוא כמוה לוא ישבע ויאספו אלו כול הגוים ויקבצו אלו כול העמים הלוא כולם משל עליו ישאו ומליצי חידות לו ויומרו הוי המרבה ולוא לו עד מתי יכביד עלו עבטט פשרו על הכוהן הרשע אשר נקרא על שם האמת בתחלת עומדו וכאשר משל בישראל רם לבו ויעזוב את אל ויבגוד בחוקים בעבור הון ויגזול ויקבוץ הון אנשי חמס אשר מרדו באל והון עמים לקח לוסף עליו עון אשמה ודרכי ת[ו]עבות פעל בכול גדת טמאה

“And surely, wealth shall make the haughty man act treacherously, but he shall not abide who opens his mouth like Sheol and like death is never satisfied. But all the nations shall gather against him, and all the peoples shall collect themselves to him. Will they not all raise a proverb against him and riddling songs mocking him? And they shall say: ‘Woe to him who increases, but has not. How long shall he load himself with debts?’” (Hab 2:5–6). Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called by the name of truth at the start of his standing. But as he ruled over Israel, his heart grew haughty and he deserted God and he acted treacherously against (his) statutes for the sake of wealth. And he robbed and amassed the wealth of the men of violence, who had rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of the peoples so as to add sinful guilt on him. And he behaved in rep[ro]bative ways, in all defiling impurity.

1QpHab 8:3–13

73 So Rabinowitz, “The Second and Third Columns,” 36. Elliger builds on Rabinowitz’s suggestion and takes the form קדים as a participle from the root כיד (Studien, 146, 175). By so doing, he applies the same haphazard methods for which he criticises Brownlee.

In William Brownlee's view, עבטט in the lemma (here translated with "debts") lies behind the phrases "sinful guilt" and "defiling impurity" in the interpretation.⁷⁴ Read as one word, עבטט (MT reads עבטיט) means "pledge." As this meaning is not reflected in the interpretation, Brownlee suggested that the commentator divided this one word into two: עב ("cloud") and טיט ("mud"). Both "cloud" and "mud," in Brownlee's view, can be used as symbols for sin.⁷⁵ In that capacity they inform the expressions "sinful guilt" and "defiling impurity." This case of word-splitting cannot be observed in the manuscript, but it may be supported by some ancient versions and medieval manuscripts.⁷⁶

The secondary literature on this passage reflects a scholarly disagreement on the correspondence between lemma and interpretation. Brownlee argues that the clause "how long shall he load himself with debts?" in the lemma lies behind the clauses "so as to add sinful guilt on him" and "and he behaved in repulsive ways, in all defiling impurity" in the interpretation.⁷⁷ Elliger holds that the clause "how long shall he load himself with debts?" in the lemma informs only the last clause ("and he behaved in repulsive ways, in all defiling impurity") in the interpretation.⁷⁸ And Nitzan connects the clause in the lemma with the clause "so as to add sinful guilt on him" in the interpretation, arguing that the clause "and he behaved in repulsive ways, in all defiling impurity" is a plus with no basis in the lemma.⁷⁹ In my view, Elliger's explanation makes most sense: the clause "woe to him who increases, but has not" appears to inspire the idea in the interpretation that the Wicked Priests amassed riches for himself. This idea finds expression in the clauses running from "and he robbed and amassed the wealth of the mean of violence" until "so as to add sinful guilt on them." The final clause in the lemma then corresponds with the final clause in the interpretation.⁸⁰

The question must be, therefore, whether the interpretation of עבטט in the lemma as "all defiling impurity" in the interpretation implies the use of word-splitting as a hermeneutical resource. I doubt this for two reasons. First, even if "cloud" and "mud" serve as symbols for sin in Isa 44:22; 57:20, these passages

74 "Biblical Interpretation," 67; idem, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 58–59; idem, *Midrash Peshet*, 134, 142. Brownlee's interpretation is followed by Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, CCWJCW 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; repr. 1994), 239; Nitzan, *Peshet Habakkuk*, 178. Elliger, *Studien*, 145–46, 197 mentions it as an option.

75 On "cloud" and "mud" as symbols for sin see Isa 44:22; 57:20, both cited by Brownlee.

76 See Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 58–59 for the evidence.

77 *Midrash Peshet*, 142.

78 *Studien*, 145–46.

79 *Peshet Habakkuk*, 178–79.

80 So also Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 239.

yield no connection between the words “cloud” and “mud” on the one hand and “impurity” and “defilement” on the other. Brownlee’s attempt to draw such a link by stating that “instead of having the glory cloud of the Shekinah rest upon him, he was weighed down with a cloud (or mass) of mud (= sin and impurity)”⁸¹ is ad hoc and unconvincing. Second, the phrases “sinful guilt” and “defiling impurity” in the interpretation are both derived from Leviticus: the first from Lev 22:16, the second from Lev 18:19.⁸² It is probable, therefore, that the Peshar commentator interpreted his lemma with these word pairs from Leviticus in mind. The use of the same word pairs in other Qumran scrolls supports this argument.⁸³ Hence, it is easiest to assume that our exegete read עבטט just how it presents itself in the lemma—as one word—and rendered it with a phrase he drew from Leviticus.

5.1.3.3 1QpHab 11:8–15

The third example is this interpretation of Hab 2:16:

שבעתה קלון מכבוד שתה גם אתה והרעל תסוב עליכה כוס ימין ה' וקיקלון על כבודכה
פשרו על הכוהן אשר גבר קלונו מכבודו כיא לוא מל את עורלת לבו וילך בדרכי הרוייה
למען ספות הצמאה וכוס חמת [א] ל תבלענו לוסיה [ע] ל [כול ק] ל [ונ] ו ומכאוב

“You are more glutted with disgrace than with glory! Drink, you, and stagger! The cup of the Lord’s right hand shall turn against you, and disgrace on your glory!” (Hab 2:16). Its interpretation concerns the priest whose disgrace is greater than his glory, for he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart and went in ways of saturation to quench his thirst. But the cup of [Go]d’s wrath shall devour him to increase [all] his [d]isg[ra]ce and pain.

1QpHab 11:8–15

Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript the reconstruction of the final part of this interpretation section is unclear. Brownlee holds that this

81 *Midrash Peshar*, 134.

82 So also Lou H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab),” *RevQ* 3/11 (1962): 323–64 (349); Jean Carmignac, É. Cothenet, and H. Lignée, *Les textes de Qumran traduits et annotés* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 108.

83 For “sinful guilt” see 1QS 5:15; 4Q512 15 i–16 1; 11Q19 35:8 (// 4Q524 1 3). For “defiling impurity” see 1QM 13:5; 4Q286 7 ii 4 (// 4Q287 6 4); 4Q381 69 2; 4Q512 1–6 9; 11Q19 45:10 (// 11Q20 12:4); 48:16, 17.

interpretation of Hab 2:16 follows the order of the lemma and the final part of the interpretation should contain “an interpretation of the word *qîqālôn* which would have some sort of affinity with the following reference to ‘pain’ (*makh’ôv*).”⁸⁴ He suggests that the commentator read קיקלון (“disgrace”) as two words—קי (“to vomit” [= קיא]) and קלון (“disgrace”)—and he reconstructs the final part of the interpretation as גו[ו]ל[ק] עליו קי לויסיף (“to increase on him the vomit of his disgrace”).

This reading of קיקלון as two words is supported by the Vulgate and some medieval manuscripts.⁸⁵ Yet it is problematic in the context of Peshar Habakkuk. The meaning “vomit” is absent from this interpretation of Hab 2:16, unless we accept Brownlee’s doubtful reconstruction. The reference to “pain” in the interpretation does not imply a reference to “vomit” in the lemma, either: the pain of the priest may be considered to result from his drunkenness or to be part of the divine punishment executed on him. What remains, therefore, is Brownlee’s conviction that “an allusion to ‘vomit’ is particularly pertinent in the context of drunkenness (Isa. 19:14; 28:8; Jer. 48:26) and satiation (Prov. 25:16).”⁸⁶ This may be true, but it can hardly serve as proof: a reference to disgrace (קיקלון) would be equally pertinent in this context. Hence, this interpretation of Hab 2:16, like the interpretations of Hab 1:8–9a and 2:5–6, cannot serve as evidence for the use of word-splitting as an exegetical resource in the Pesharim.

5.1.4 Redefining the Co-text: Verse Divisions

The absence of word-splitting in the Pesharim does not mean that the Qumran commentaries refrained from redefining the co-text of their lemmata. Some interpretations in the Pesharim imply a redefinition of verse boundaries in their base text. The use of this resource is difficult to detect, as the establishment of verse boundaries is always an interpretative enterprise. What is more, if a system of smaller sense divisions was known at the time of writing of the Pesharim, it allowed for a great deal of variety.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, the following two cases show clearly enough that the Peshar commentator may consciously

84 *Midrash Peshar*, 193.

85 Meinrad Stenzel, “Habakkuk II 15–16,” *VT* 3 (1953): 97–99 (97); Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 194.

86 *Midrash Peshar*, 194.

87 Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004; repr., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 135–42. Tov points out that verse divisions are absent from the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls, with 4QDan^a and 4QDan^d as possible exceptions.

redraw the verse boundaries as they are implied in the scriptural co-text of their lemmata.

It has been shown that 1QpHab 4:16–5:8 departs from the co-textually appropriate meaning of Hab 1:13 by not taking Hab 1:13aα (“eyes too pure to see evil”) and Hab 1:13aβ (“but you cannot observe sorrow”) as parallel half-verses.⁸⁸ Instead, the commentator takes Hab 1:13aα as an apposition to the suffix in “you have established him” in Hab 1:12. This re-definition of the verse boundaries implied in the co-text of the lemma supports the commentator’s interpretation of the “him” in the lemma as the elect who are to pass judgement on all the nations.

A second example is the interpretation of Nah 3:1bγ–3 in 4Q169 3–4 ii 3–6.⁸⁹ Within its scriptural co-text the words לֹא יִמוּשׁ טֶרֶף (MT has יָמִישׁ) belong most naturally with Nah 3:1. Peshar Nahum, however, adds them to Nah 3:2–3 and so redefines the verse boundaries of the scriptural co-text of its lemma. This change possibly reflects an attempt by our commentator to solve a grammatical difficulty in Nah 3:2–3. For the most part these verses are made up of single noun groups (Nah 3:2–3a). These noun groups do not constitute nominal sentences, nor are they governed by a finite verb form.⁹⁰ Thus, the noun groups “the sound of the whip”; “the sound of the rattling wheel”; “the rushing horse”; “the leaping chariot”; “the ascending horseman”; “the blade”; and “the flickering of the spear” are isolated exclamations. These exclamations add to the dramatic effect of Nah 3:2–3 as they paint a vivid picture of impending doom. Their grammatical form is unusual, though, and the Peshar commentator may have wished to smoothen this passage by having the finite verb “it shall not cease” in Nah 3:1bβ govern the noun groups in Nah 3:2–3a as its subjects. The *waw* that precedes “the sound of the whip” (which is absent from MT) also served his intentions, as it establishes a connection between “prey” in Nah 3:1bβ and “the sound of the whip” in Nah 3:2a.

5.2 *Syntax*

The Pesharim exploit the interpretative possibilities of the syntax of their base texts in different ways. To begin with, the Peshar commentator may redefine the syntax of their base texts. Moreover, the use of subjective or objective genitives and the occurrence of paratactic or asyndetic constructions offer fruitful triggers for interpretation.

88 See pp. 257–60.

89 Cf. pp. 158–59, 243–45, 250–51.

90 The subject of “they shall stumble” in Nah 3:3b is the inhabitants of the city.

5.2.1 Alternative Syntax

Two examples from Peshar Nahum illustrate how the Peshar commentators may alter the syntax of their lemmata. The first one is this interpretation of Nah 3:1a–bα:

הוי עיר הדמים כולה [כחש פר] ק מלאה פשרו היא עיר אפרים דורשי החלקות לאחרית
הימים אשר בכחש ושקר [ים י] תהלכו

“Woe, city of blood! Every one of her has filled her with [lies and untru]th” (Nah 3:1a–bα). Its interpretation: it is the city of Ephraim, of the Seekers of Smooth Things in the last days, who [w]alk in lies and untru[th.]

4Q169 3–4 ii 1–2

According to Tzoref, the reference to the Seekers of Smooth Things in the interpretation goes back to the mention of “city of blood” in the lemma; the verbal form *יתהלכו* is connected with *כולה* in the lemma by means of anagram; and the word *מלאה* has no equivalent in the interpretation.⁹¹ I consider Tzoref’s reading problematic, however, as a result of its strict focus on individual words or word-groups.⁹² Moreover, Tzoref’s understanding of this passage is difficult to accept because it pays too little attention to the order of words (in particular the positions of *כולה* and *יתהלכו*) in the lemma and its interpretation. In my view, the syntax of this passage played a key role in how our commentator interpreted it. Thus, the idea in the lemma of the city of blood having been filled with lies and untruth informs the comment in the interpretation that the Seekers of Smooth Things “walk in lies and untruth.” This correspondence suggests that our exegete did not take *מלאה* in its co-textually most appropriate sense, as an adjective with “city.” Instead, he read *מלאה* as a verb meaning “he filled her.” The subject of this verb must be *כולה*. This word-form was understood to mean “all of her”—namely, all of the inhabitants of the city of blood—rather than “she entirely.” This reading of *כולה* informed the reference to the Seekers of Smooth Things in the interpretation, whom the commentator presents as the inhabitants of the city of Ephraim. If this explanation of the hermeneutics of this passage is accepted, it demonstrates that the Peshar commentator carefully followed the order of his lemma and based his interpretation of Nah 3:1a–bα on an alternative understanding of its syntax.

A second example also comes from Peshar Nahum:

⁹¹ *Peshar Nahum*, 235–37.

⁹² See pp. 186–87.

גם היא בגולה ה[לכה בשבי גם] עילוליה ירוטשו בראש כל חוצות ועל נכבדיה יורו
גורל וכול ג[דו]ל[יה רותקו] בזקים פשרו על מנשה לקץ האחרון אשר תשפל מלכותו
ביש[ראל ...] נשיו עילוליו וטפו ילכו בשבי גבוריו ונכבדיו בחרב [יבדו]

“She, too, w[ent] into exile, [into captivity—also] her children. They are dashed in pieces on every street corner. And on her honoured ones they cast the lot, and all [her] n[ob]les [are bound] in chains” (Nah 3:10). Its interpretation concerns Manasseh in the final period, whose kingship over Is[rael] shall be weakened [...] his women, his children, and his sucklings shall go into captivity. His warriors and his honoured ones [shall perish] by the sword.

4Q169 3–4 iv 1–4

The sentence “she, too, went into exile, into captivity—also her children. They are dashed in pieces on every street corner” is ambiguous. Its vocalisation in Codex Leningradensis suggests a division before “also her children.” For two reasons this seems to be the most natural reading of the sentence. Firstly, this reading neatly divides the sentence into two parts that each begin with “also.” Secondly, the words “child” and “to dash in pieces” occur together elsewhere,⁹³ which suggests that they belong together also here. Our commentator, however, deviates from this co-textual meaning of the lemma: the comment that “his women, his children, and his sucklings shall go into captivity” shows that the Peshar commentator construed “also her children” with what precedes rather than what follows.⁹⁴

5.2.2 Subjective and Objective Genitive

Subjective and objective genitives present notorious challenges for interpreters. This interpretation of Hab 2:4b illustrates how the Peshar exegetes dealt with them:

וּצְדִיק בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ יַחִיהַּ] פִּשְׁרוֹ עַל כּוֹל עוֹשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה בְּבֵית יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר יִצְלִים אֵל מִבֵּית
הַמִּשְׁפָּט בְּעִבּוֹר עֲמֻלָּם וְאִמְנָתָם בְּמִוֶּרֶת הַצְּדָק

[“And the righteous one shall give life through faith in him” (Hab 2:4b).]
Its interpretation concerns all the doers of the Law in the House of Judah,

93 2 Kgs 8:12; Isa 13:16; Hos 14:1.

94 So also Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 282; Gregory L. Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition*, JSPSup 35, C1S 8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 544–45.

whom God shall save from the House of Judgement on account of their toil and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.

1QpHab 7:17–8:3

The traditional reading of Hab 2:4b, both in MT and as a quotation in the Peshier, reads באמונתו as pointing to the faith *of* the righteous one. Yet, our exegete seems to have understood it as expressing faith *in* someone. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar translate: “But the righteous man will live because of their loyalty to him.”⁹⁵ For them, the suffix refers to a personality not mentioned in the lemma, whom the commentator identifies with the Teacher of Righteousness in his interpretation. I have elsewhere argued that the commentator may have taken the suffix in באמונתו as referring back to the “righteous.” This righteous person would have been identified with the Teacher and understood to give life (reading a Piel or a Hiphil instead of a Qal for יחיה) to those who have faith in him. Thus, the commentator would have understood the lemma as: “The righteous shall give life through faith in him.”⁹⁶ But even if this latter suggestion is not accepted, the Peshier commentator did read the suffix of באמונתו as an objective rather than a subjective genitive.

5.2.3 Temporal Sequence

Parallelism occurs frequently both in the base texts of the Pesharim and in their interpretation sections. This shows that the Peshier commentator were sensitive to the poetic quality of parallel words and word groups. Even so, our exegetes may neutralise parataxis or asyndesis in their base texts and take parallel constructions as expressions of a temporal sequence. A first example is this interpretation of Ps 37:11:

וענוים ירשו ארץ והתענגו על רוב שלום פשרו על עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את
מועד התענית ונצלו מכול פחי בליעל ואחר יתענגו [ב]כול [...] י הארץ והתדשנו בכול
תע [...] בשר

“And the humble shall inherit the earth and they shall enjoy in abundant peace” (Ps 37:11). Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor, who shall accept the period of distress and shall be saved from all the snares of Belial. And afterwards they shall enjoy [a]ll [...] of the earth and be fat with all [...] of flesh.

4Q171 1–10 ii 9–12

95 DSSSE 1:17.

96 See Pieter B. Hartog, “Re-Reading Habakkuk 2:4b: Lemma and Interpretation in 1QpHab VII 17–VIII 3,” *RevQ* 26/101 (2013): 127–32.

In their scriptural co-text the two halves of Ps 37:11 are paratactic. Yet the Peshet commentator breaks down the parallelism in the lemma and has the two parts of Ps 37:11 point to a temporal sequence. The first part (“and the humble shall inherit the earth”) informs the idea that the congregation of the poor shall be saved from the snares of Belial. The second part governs the idea that the congregation of the poor shall enjoy the goods of the earth. Moreover, the temporal division the commentator draws between the two parts of Ps 37:11 is explicated by the adverb “afterwards.”

A similar case is this interpretation of Ps 37:14–15:

חרב פתחו רשעים וידרוכו קשתם לפיל עני ואביון לטבוח ישרי דרך חרבם תבוא בלבם
וקשתותיהם תשברנה פשרו על רשעי אפרים ומנשה אשר יבקשו לשלוח יד בכוהן
ובאנשי עצתו בעת המצרף הבאה עליהם ואל יפדם מידם ואחר כן ינתנו ביד עריצי
גואים למשפט

“The wicked unsheathe the sword and string their bows to bring down the humble and poor, to slaughter the upright of way. Their swords shall come to their hearts, and their bows shall be broken” (Ps 37:14–15). Its interpretation concerns the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh who seek to lay hands on the priest and the men of his council in the time of testing coming upon them. But God shall deliver them from their hands. And after that they shall be given into the hands of the ruthless of the nations for judgement.

4Q171 1–10 ii 16–20

The bipartite structure of the base text, which relates the plans of the wicked and their obstruction, is paralleled in the interpretation section. The clause from “its interpretation concerns” until “coming upon them” corresponds with Ps 37:14 and relates the plans of the “wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh.” The clause “but God” until “for judgement” corresponds with Ps 37:15 and tells about the deliverance by God of “the priest and the men of his council.” Just as in Ps 37:11, however, the Peshet exegete neutralises the parallelism in his base text and reads the two halves of Ps 37:15 as indicating a temporal sequence. In his exposition he marks this temporal sequence by means of the adverbial phrase “and after that.”

5.3 *Rendering Repetition*

The understanding of parallel structures as indicating a temporal sequence is not the only way Peshet exegetes may deal with repetitions in their lemmata. Another procedure is to assign a different topic to each of the parts of a repetitive structure in the lemma. Two examples should suffice to illuminate the use of this resource. The first one is the interpretation of Hab 1:5:

[ראו בוגדים וה]בי[טו והתמהו תמהו כיא פעל פועל בימיכם לוא תאמינו כיא] יסופר
 [...] פשר הדבר על] הבוגדים עם איש הכזב כי לוא [האמינו בדברי] מורה הצדקה
 מפיא אל ועל הבוג[דים בברית] החדשה כ[י]א לוא האמינו בברית אל [ויחללו] את
 ש[ם] קודשו וכן פשר הדבר [על הבו]גדים לאחרית הימים המה עריצ[י הבר]ית
 אשר לוא יאמינוא בשומעם את כול הבא[ות ע]ל הדור האחרון מפי הכוהן אשר נתן
 אל ב[לבו בינ]ה לפשור את כול דברי עבדיו הנביאים [אשר] בידם ספר אל את כול
 הבאות על עמו

["Look, traitors, behold, and be utterly astonished! For I am performing a deed in your days which you shall not believe, when] it is told" (Hab 1:5) [... The interpretation of the matter concerns] the traitors with the Man of the Lie, for they [have not believed the words] of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. (It also) concerns the trai[tors within the] new [covenant,] f[or] they have not believed God's covenant [and have profaned] his holy na[me.] And thus, the interpretation of the matter [concerns the trai]tors in the latter days. They are the ruthle[ss ones of the cove]nant, who do not believe when they hear everything that is to co[m]e upon the last generation from the mouth of the priest, in [whose heart] God has given [insig]ht to interpret all the words of his servants, the prophets, through [whom] God has told everything that is to come upon his people.

1QpHab 1:16–2:10

As I have indicated elsewhere, I consider this interpretation of Hab 1:5 to depend on the repetitive syntactic structure of the lemma.⁹⁷ Assuming that the reference to the third group of traitors in 1QpHab 2:5–10 is an addition to Peshar Habakkuk, I hold that the initial reference to two groups of traitors is based on the two clauses "look ... and behold" and "and be utterly astonished" in Hab 1:5. When 1QpHab 2:5–10 was added to Peshar Habakkuk, the hermeneutics of this passage changed. The reference to three groups of traitors came to reflect the three roots (תמ"ה, נב"ט, רא"ה) that describe the actions of the traitors in the lemma. These roots, like the two clauses that informed the initial association with two groups of traitors, occur in a paratactic structure in the lemma. The commentator neutralises this structure and takes the clauses or roots in the lemma as a peg for his references to groups of traitors.

A second example is this interpretation of Ps 37:7:

97 See my "The Final Priests of Jerusalem' and 'The Mouth of the Priest,'" 66–68.

ל[דו]ם ל[ה' ו]התחולל לו ואל תחר במצליח דרכו באיש [עושה] מזמות [פשר] ו עו
 איש הכזב אשר התעה רבים באמרי שקר כיא בחרו בקלות ולוא שמ[עו] למליץ דעת
 למען יובדו בחרב וברעב ובדבר

[“Be sile]nt for [the Lord. And] wait for him, but do not stay with him whose way is successful, the man [who hatch]es plots” (Ps 37:7). Its [in-terpre]tation] concerns the Man of the Lie, who has misdirected many with deceitful words, as they chose worthless things and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge, so that they shall perish through the sword, through hunger, and through pestilence.

4Q171 1–10 i 25–ii 1

Almost all elements in this interpretation section are hermeneutically derived from the lemma. Moreover, the exposition exhibits a chiasmic structure compared to the lemma. So, “the man who hatches plots” from the lemma is identified with the “Man of the Lie” in the interpretation. The notion of being successful is also applied to the “Man of the Lie,” as he is said to have “misdirected many with deceitful words.”⁹⁸ The commentator seems to have derived תחר from אחר and read ואל תחר במצליח דרכו in the lemma as “do not stay with him whose way is successful.” The reference to choosing worthless things is the interpretation of this command, which indicates that staying with him whose way is successful is exactly what those misdirected by the Man of the Lie did. Finally, the exhortation to trust in God is echoed in the description of the punishment of those who do not heed this exhortation.

Two elements are absent from this survey of equivalents: the clause “and wait for him” in the lemma and the mention of “the Interpreter of Knowledge” in the interpretation. This suggests that these elements are also equivalent. Their hermeneutical connection depends on the suspension of parallelism in Ps 37:7. In its scriptural co-text, the clauses “be silent for the Lord” and “and wait for him” parallel one another. By neutralising this parallelism the Pesher commentator is able to take the first phrase as a command to trust in God (corresponding with the prediction of punishment in the interpretation),

98 George J. Brooke, “The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?” in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 85–100 (94) argues that the verbal form מצליח (“he is successful”) in the lemma is reflected in the term מליץ הדעת (“the Interpreter of Knowledge”) in the interpretation. My explanation does not necessarily exclude Brooke’s: one word (in this case מצליח) may be understood in different ways at the same time.

whereas the second phrase is an exhortation to stay faithful to the Interpreter of Knowledge, who now has become the referent of the suffix in לוֹ.והתחולל⁹⁹

6 Single Words

The final category of resources that govern scriptural expositions in the Pesharim are those that concern the interpretation of single words. Whereas the resources themselves are similar to those used in the hypomnemata, their employment in the Pesharim tends to be part of larger and more intricate exegetical procedures than is the case in the hypomnemata.

6.1 *Levels of Generality*

The interpretation of Hab 2:4b in Peshar Habakkuk is a good example of semantic limitation. In its scriptural co-text, the verb חיה״ה in this verse probably refers to the survival of the righteous part of God's people after the Chaldaean invasion.¹⁰⁰ The Peshar commentator, however, takes חיה״ה more specifically to refer to salvation from the final judgement.¹⁰¹ This limitation of the meaning of the verb may not have originated with our commentator. To begin with, even if salvation from judgement is not the co-textual sense of חיה״ה in Hab 2:4b, it may nonetheless be implied. The assurance in Hab 2:4b that the righteous will live is a response to the cry “my holy God, we shall not die” in Hab 1:12.¹⁰² Hab 1:12 also portrays the Chaldaeans as executing judgement. Thus, the situation depicted in Hab 2:4—the destruction of the wicked and the living of the righteous—may be implied also to result from the Chaldaeans' execution of God's judgement. Even if the part of Hab 1:12 that pictures the Chaldaeans as

99 Cf. this interpretation of a 3rd person singular pronominal suffix with that of באמונתו in 1QpHab 7:17–8:3.

100 There has been much discussion on the interpretation of this verse. In my view, there is good reason to assume that Hab 2:4 does not just indicate the survival of the righteous whilst they await the fulfilment of the vision, but also that fulfilment itself, that is, their survival of the Chaldaean invasion. Cf. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha—Nahum—Habakuk—Zephanja*, KAT (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), 216; Adam S. van der Woude, *Habakuk Zefanja*, POT (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1978), 38.

101 Cf. Thierry Legrand, “« Son interprétation concerne tous ceux qui pratiquent la Torah ... »: Relecture et interprétation d'Habacuc 2,4 dans le *Peshar d'Habacuc* (1QpHab VII–VIII) et le *Targum d'Habacuc*,” in « *Le juste vivra de sa foi* » (*Habacuc 2,4*), ed. Matthieu Arnold, Gilbert Dahan, and Annie Noblesse-Rocher, LD 246 (Paris: Cerf, 2012), 11–40 (31): “L'auteur du *peshar* précise et actualise ce passage.”

102 So Rudolph, *Micha—Nahum—Habakuk*, 216; Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 215–16.

executors of divine judgement was taken differently from its co-textual sense in Peshar Habakkuk, the association of ה"ח with salvation from judgement may have supported the reading of Hab 2:4 in 1QpHab 7:17–8:3. Moreover, Early Jewish and Christian writings testify to a developing eschatological reading of Hab 2:4. This tradition is most clearly attested in the New Testament, but it dates back before that and may well have influenced the Peshar exegete.¹⁰³

An example of the reverse procedure—semantic extension—comes from Peshar Nahum. In its interpretation of Nah 3:10,¹⁰⁴ the Peshar commentator renders the reference to “her children” in the lemma with the expression “its women, its children, and its sucklings” in the interpretation. Tzoref describes the resource involved in this interpretation as *ribbûy* or “expansion” and suggests cautiously that the use of this resource was triggered by the particle “also” in the lemma.¹⁰⁵ This particle governs semantic extensions in the rabbinic literature¹⁰⁶ and seems to have done the same here. Hence, this interpretation of Nah 3:10 in Peshar Nahum implies a semantic extension of “her children” in the lemma to include women and sucklings.

6.2 *Stressing the Unstressed*

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the commentator in P.Oxy. 8.1086 portrays Homer as a teacher of military tactics by stressing the gender of a word in the lemma beyond its co-textual demands. A comparable case in the Pesharim is the interpretation of the term “righteous.” The Peshar commentators do not stress the gender, but the number of this term. This leads to interpretations that apply the term, which is often used in a broad sense in scriptural lemmata, to a single righteous individual: the Teacher of Righteousness.¹⁰⁷

103 See August Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem: Auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Habakuk 2,2ff.*, NTSup 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1961); Stephen Hultgren, *Habakkuk 2:4 in Early Judaism, in Hebrews, and in Paul*, CahRB 77 (Paris: Gabalda, 2011).

104 4Q169 3–4 iv 1–4.

105 *Peshar Nahum*, 282.

106 See Moses Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 5th ed. (New York: Bloch, 1968), 124–25, 182–85; Alexander Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 238–41.

107 See 1QpHab 1:12–14 (probably); 5:8–12; possibly also 4Q171 1–10 iii 17–20. Most scholars assume that “righteous” in Hab 2:4b is interpreted as collectively referring to “all the doers of the Law in the House of Judah,” but see Hartog, “Re-Reading.” In 4Q171 1–10 ii 22–24, “righteous” in Ps 37:16 seems to be identified with עושה התורה in the interpretation. This expression may either refer collectively to “doers of the Torah” (so *DSSSE* 1:344, which

Another case where a Peshet commentator stresses the number of a word in the lemma beyond its co-textual demons is the interpretation of Ps 37:14aγ–b in Peshet Psalms A. MT of 37:14aγ–b reads: “To bring down the humble and poor, to slaughter the upright (pl.) of way.” The parallel suggests that the expression “the humble and poor” is similar in meaning to “the upright of way”: Ps 37:14aγ refers in a general sense to those who are humble and poor. The Peshet commentator, however, breaks down this parallel structure and reads Ps 37:14aγ as a reference to “the priest.” Ps 37:14b is taken as a reference to “the men of his council.” This interpretation stresses the difference in gender between the two parts of Ps 37:14. His emphasis on the number of these expressions allows the commentator to apply the first half-verse to an individual oppressed figure and the second half-verse to a group of oppressed persons.

6.3 *Synonymy and Polysemy*

Interpretations in the Pesharim often make use of synonymous and polysemous meanings of words in their lemmata. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the workings of this resource. The first one comes from Peshet Isaiah A:

וינקפו ס[ובכי היער] בברל ולבנון באדיר [יפול המה ה]כתיאים אש[ר] יפ[לו]
 ביד ישראל וענוי [יהודה ישפטו את] כול הגואים וגבורים יחתו ונמס ל[בם] ...
 ולבנון בא[דיר יפול המה ה]כתיאים אשר ינת[נו] ביד גדולו [...]ים בברחו מלפ[ני]
 יש[ראל]¹⁰⁸

“[And the th]ickets [of the forest shall be struck away] with an axe, and the Lebanon [shall fall] by a mighty one” (Isa 10:34). [They are the] Kittim, wh[o] shall fa[ll] into the hands of Israel. And the humble ones of [Judah shall judge] all the peoples, and the mighty ones shall be dismayed and [their] hea[rt] shall melt.... “And the Lebanon [shall fall] by a mi[ghty one]” (Isa 10:34b). They are the] Kittim, who shall be gi[ven] into the hands of his powerful ones [...] at his flight be[fore Is]rael.

4Q161 8–10 iii 6–8, 11–13 (Allegro 8–10 2–4, 7–9)

reconstructs כול before עושה) or point to an individual “doer of the Torah” (so Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:12–13).

108 The reconstruction of these lines has been heavily contested. There is no need to rehearse all the debates here. The most important discussions are Horgan, *Pesharim*, 82–86; Moshe J. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshet Technique,” in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 635–73 (641–43).

There is no scholarly agreement on the co-textually most appropriate meaning of Isa 10:34b. On the one hand, references to “the tallest trunks” and “the loftiest” in Isa 10:33 may imply the meaning “grandeur” for אֲדִיר in Isa 10:34.¹⁰⁹ If the term is so read, it refers to the trees of the Lebanon that will be cut off “with their grandeur.”¹¹⁰ On the other hand, the instrumental *bet* in Isa 10:34a suggests that the *bet* in Isa 10:34b must also be taken as instrumental. In my view, the chiasmic structure of Isa 10:33b–34 suggests the first interpretation to be more appropriate: Isa 10:34b not only parallels Isa 10:34a, but also Isa 10:33bα (“and the highest ones shall be hewn down”). Therefore, the meaning “grandeur” is the most likely co-textual meaning of אֲדִיר in Isa 10:34b. Our commentator, however, opts for the second reading: he takes the *bet* in באֲדִיר as instrumental and interprets the noun to refer to the agent of Lebanon’s fall.¹¹¹ Who exactly is meant by the “mighty one” in Isa 10:34b is a topic of scholarly debate,¹¹² but the interpretation of Isa 10:34b in Peshar Isaiah A presents this

109 So LXX (which displays a special interest in the “haughty” [ὕψηλός]) and the Vulgate. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 118–19 adopts this reading for Isa 10:34b, but does not notice the change in meaning in the Peshar.

110 For אֲדִיר as referring to the trees of the Lebanon see also Zech 11:1–2.

111 Similarly John M. Allegro, DJD 5:14; Richard Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 202–16 (203); Christian Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, ATANT 98 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2010), 247, 248. Carmignac, Cothenet, and Lignée, *Textes*, 70, 72 read “par (la main des) puissants,” which captures the sense of the *bet*, but goes back to an incorrect reading אֲדִירִים (on which see Jean Carmignac, “Notes sur les Peshârîm,” *RevQ* 3/12 [1962]: 505–38 [512–13]).

112 The “mighty one” in Isa 10:34b is most naturally equated with “Israel” in the interpretation. After all, “Lebanon” in the lemma stands for the Kittim, and the interpretation holds Israel responsible for the destruction of the Kittim.

Metzenthin holds a different view and argues that the “mighty one” must be equated with the messianic figure referred to further down the same column in Peshar Isaiah A (4Q161 8–10 iii 15–29 [Allegro 8–10 11–24]) (*Jesaja-Auslegung*, 247). Such a messianic reading may tie in with the interpretation of (a part of) Isa 10:34–11:1 in 4Q285 5, which has often been linked to this Peshar (for instance by Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34”). At the same time, there is no reason to assume a priori that both texts contain the exact same interpretation of these Isaianic verses, as Geza Vermes, “The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar of the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285),” *JJS* 32 (1992): 86–90 helpfully points out.

There are two more specific problems with Metzenthin’s argument. First, his *theological* argument that Israel is a tool in God’s hand and does not itself execute the judgement on the Kittim does not mean that on a *hermeneutical* level “Israel” in the interpretation cannot be connected with “a mighty one” in the lemma. Second, his comment that “die

“mighty one” as the one who brings about the fall of Lebanon. To arrive at this understanding of his lemma the Peshet commentator employs a synonymous meaning of the *bet* in Isa 10:34b.

My second example of synonymy and polysemy is this interpretation of Nah 2:13a:

ארי טורף בדי גוריו ומחנק ללביותיו טרף [פשרו על דמיטרוס אשר עשה מלחמה] על
כפיר החרון אשר יכה בגדוליו ואנשי עצתו

“The lion tears its whelps [and] strangles its lionesses as prey” (Nah 2:13a).
[Its interpretation concerns Demetrius, who has waged war against] the
Lion of Wrath, who slays his nobles and the men of his council.

4Q169 3–4 i 4–6

The interpretation of this half-verse in Peshet Nahum depends on the exegetical potential of the prepositions בדי and ל-. Within the co-text of Nah 2:13a, both prepositions mean “for the sake of.” The lamed can be used as an object marker, and the commentator employs this synonymous meaning of the preposition in his interpretation. The preposition בדי is more difficult to account for. It seems to have troubled the Peshet commentators: in chapter 7 we have seen that 1QpHab 10:5–13 understands בדי in Hab 2:12–13 as “resulting in” rather than “for the sake of,” and Emanuel Tov has collected evidence to suggest that the preposition baffled ancient translators too.¹¹³ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the commentator in Peshet Nahum interpreted this preposition as he did: as a marker of the direct object of the verb טורף.¹¹⁴

Auslegung von Vers 34b in Zeile 12 vielmehr darauf [hinweist], dass unter dem Begriff אדיר eine göttliche Figur subsumiert wurde” (247) assumes that the form גדולו in the second interpretation of Isa 10:34b is a singular. But this is far from certain. Some scholars read the plural גדולי here (Carmignac, “Notes sur les Peshârîm,” 513; *DSSSE* 1:316; cf. also Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 185; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 84), and even those who read גדולו may interpret this form as a defectively spelled plural (Horgan, *Pesharim*, 84; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 2 vols. [Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2010, 2013], 2:264). If we assume that the two interpretations of Isa 10:34b describe a similar situation, the plural form ענוי in 4Q161 8–10 iii 7 (Allegro 8–10 3) further supports a plural reading of גדולו in 4Q161 8–10 iii 12 (Allegro 8–10 8). Hence, the “mighty one” in Isa 10:34b was probably taken as a reference to Israel, which will execute judgement on the Kittim.

113 *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, rev. 2d ed., JBS 8 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 164–66.

114 See Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshet Nahum*, 145–46.

6.4 *Figurative Reading*

In addition to straightforward synonymous or polysemous meanings of words the Peshar commentators may offer figurative readings of elements in their lemmata. An illustrative case is this interpretation of Hab 1:10b:

והוא לכול מבצר ישחק ויצבור עפר וילכדהו פשרו על מושלי הכתיאים אשר יבזו על
מבצרי העמים ובלעג ישחוקו עליהם ובעם רב יקיפום לתפושם ובאמה ופחד ינתנו
בידם והרסום בעוון היושבים בהם

“And he laughs at every fortress and he piles up dust to capture it” (Hab 1:10b). Its interpretation concerns the rulers of the Kittim, who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them with derision. And they surround them with a large army to capture them and with terror and dread they shall be given into their hand, and they shall tear them down because of the iniquity of their inhabitants.

1QpHab 4:3–9

The reference to piling up dust in the lemma informs the reference to a large army in the interpretation. In my view, the correspondences between the lemma and its interpretation are as follows:

Lemma	Interpretation
“and he ... at every <i>fortress</i> ”	“who despise the <i>fortresses</i> of the peoples”
“[he] <i>laughs</i> ”	“[they] <i>laugh</i> at them with derision”
“he piles up dust”	“and they surround them with a large army to capture them”
“to capture it”	“and with terror and dread they shall be given into their hand, and they shall tear them down because of the iniquity of their inhabitants”

If these correspondences are correct, our exegete provides a figurative reading of the term “dust.” Whereas in its scriptural co-text this term describes the military tactics of the Chaldaeans,¹¹⁵ the Peshar commentator takes it as a

¹¹⁵ Wilhelm Nowack, *Die kleine Propheten*, HKAT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), 278; Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT (Leipzig: Deichert, 1922), 343; Van der Woude, *Habakuk*, 24.

reference to “a large army.”¹¹⁶ This metaphor is a traditional one: it occurs in the Targum to Hab 1:10 and in medieval exegesis¹¹⁷ and ultimately goes back to scriptural passages like Gen 3:19, where “dust” refers to Adam, and Gen 13:16; 28:14; Num 23:10, where “dust” points to a multitude of people. Moreover, the figurative reading in Peshet Habakkuk may have been supported either by the overlap of consonants (‘*ayin* and *reš*’) between the words עפר (“dust”) and עַם רב (“a large army”) or by the phonetic (and occasionally graphic) similarity between *bet* and *pe*.

A second case of figurative reading is this interpretation of Nah 3:8:

הַתִּיטִיבִי מִנִּי אֲמוֹן הַיּוֹשְׁבָה בְּיַרְדֵּן פְּשְׁרוֹ אֲמוֹן הֵם מְנַשֶּׁה וְהַיַּרְדֵּן הֵם גְּדוֹן לִי
 מְנַשֶּׁה נֹכְבְּדֵי הָעִיר הַמְּחֻזָּקִים אֵת מְנַשֶּׁה מִיָּם סָבִיב לָהּ אֲשֶׁר חִלְּהָ יָם וּמִיָּם חֲמוּתֶיהָ
 פְּשְׁרוֹ הֵם אֲנָשֵׁי חַיִּל גְּבוּרֵי מַלְחָמָתָהּ

“Are you better than Am[on, situated among] rivers?” (Nah 3:8aαβ). Its interpretation: “Amon”—they are Manasseh; and “the rivers”—they are the import[an]t ones of Manasseh, the noble ones of the [city that supp]ort Ma[nasseh.] “Water surrounds it whose strength is the sea, and water is its walls” (Nah. 3:8aβ–b). Its interpretation: they are the men of its [a]rmy, the warrio[rs of] its [w]ar.

4Q169 3–4 iii 8–11

This passage develops both the metaphor of a city as a group of people and that of a river as a group of people. The first interpretation takes the city Amon as referring to Manasseh and its rivers to “the important ones of Manasseh.”¹¹⁸ The metaphor of rivers as people continues in the second interpretation, as “men of” and “warriors of” are the equivalents of “water” in the lemma.¹¹⁹

116 Similarly Brownlee, *Midrash Peshet*, 78; Nitzan, *Peshet Habakkuk*, 44–45, 162.

117 See Robert P. Gordon, “The Targum to the Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Texts: Textual and Exegetical Notes,” *RevQ* 8/31 (1974): 425–29.

118 אֲמוֹן as such does not indicate a city, but a god of the city Thebes.

According to Tzoref, “no inherent exegetical connection is obvious between Amon and Manasseh” (*Peshet Nahum*, 277, n. 35). However, the overlap of consonants between the word-forms אֲמוֹן and מְנַשֶּׁה may have influenced their equation.

119 Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshet Nahum*, 279 agrees with the identification of “warriors of” with the second “water;” but identifies the first “water” with the personal pronoun “they.” This is also possible. The metaphor would be similar, however, as in this case, “men of” is to be identified with “sea.” Tzoref also points out that the metaphor is “extended from [the] previous unit.”

These metaphors are not unique to this passage. Equations of cities with groups of people occur elsewhere in the Pesharim.¹²⁰ In 4Q169 3-4 ii 1-6, the “city of blood” from Nah 3:1 is equated with “the city of Ephraim, of the Seekers of Smooth Things.” This image may point to the community of the Seekers of Smooth Things rather than an actual city, or to both. In 4Q169 3-4 iii 5-8, Nah 3:7a β -b, which contain an explicit reference to Nineveh, are understood as referring to the Seekers of Smooth Things.¹²¹ In 1QpHab 10:5-13, the exegete applies the reference to building a city in Hab 2:12-13 to the Spouter of the Lie, accusing him of “building a useless city with blood and erecting a community with deceit.” The parallel between building a city and founding a community indicates that the same metaphor is at work here.¹²² Finally, the mention of a city in Hab 2:8b may have triggered the reference to the community of the Teacher in 1QpHab 9:8-12.¹²³

The metaphorical identification of rivers with people also occurs in 4Q169 1-2 ii 3-5. Those lines deal with Nah 1:4a: “He rebukes the sea and dries it up, and all the rivers he parches dry.” The second part of this half-verse is applied to a group of people, as the reference to “their leaders” suggests.¹²⁴ This group may have been the Kittim, whose leaders are referred to elsewhere in the Pesharim.¹²⁵ The Kittim may be identified with “the sea” in the first part of this half-verse, too, despite the fact that the actual term כתיאים (or something similar) is absent from the manuscript.¹²⁶ Hence the figurative interpretations in 4Q169 3-4 iii 8-11 do not stand on their own, but find parallels in other passages in the Pesharim.

120 Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 45-46, who also refers to the related metaphorical understanding of “house” as referring to communities.

121 On this passage see Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 45; David Flusser, “Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes in Peshar Nahum,” in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, trans. Azzan Yadin, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 1:214-57 (238-39); Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 262-65.

122 Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 45. Cf. Flusser, “Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes,” 237.

123 The hermeneutics of this passage are not entirely clear. See Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 153-57 for a discussion.

124 So also Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 77-78.

125 1QpHab 4:5, 10.

126 So also George J. Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire*, ed. Loveday Alexander, JSOTSup 122 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 135-59 (138-39). Berrin (Tzoref), *Peshar Nahum*, 75-77 is slightly more cautious.

6.5 *Form or Appearance*

As we have seen in the hypomnemata, the form or appearance of individual words often serves as a trigger for interpretation. This is the case in the Pesharim, too, as the next examples aim to demonstrate.

6.5.1 Partial Overlap

Partial overlaps between different word forms frequently serve the Peshar commentators in their interpretations. A well-known example of this resource is this interpretation of Hab 1:11:

אז חלף רוח ויעבר וישם זה כוחו לאלוהו פשרו [ע]ל מושלי הכתיאים אשר בעצת בית
אשמ[תם] יעבורו איש מלפני רעיהו מושלי[הם ז]ה אחר זה יבואו לשחית את הא[רץ]

“Then he changes his mind and moves on and he whose strength is his god shall devastate” (Hab 1:11). Its interpretation [con]cerns the rulers of the Kittim, who, by the counsel of their guil[ty] house, move on, every man in the place of his fellow. Their rulers, one after another, shall come to destroy the ear[th.]

1QpHab 4:9–13

The form וישם is a variant in the lemma vis-à-vis MT’s ואשמ. Three roots may be behind the form in the lemma.¹²⁷ Firstly, it may derive from אשׁם “to be guilty,” just as the form in MT. The form would be an inverted imperfect rather than a perfect, and it may be explained as a harmonisation with ויעבור; the *alef* could have fallen out.¹²⁸ Second, the form may be a Qal of שמׁם “to destroy.”¹²⁹ Thirdly, it may be a Qal or—less likely—a Hiphil of שׁיׁם “to place, put, set.”¹³⁰

127 Cf. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 22–25.

128 Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 81.

129 Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation,” 64; idem, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 23–24; idem, *Midrash Peshar*, 82; Chaim Rabin, “Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll and the Zadokite Documents,” *VT* 5 (1955): 148–62 (158); Carmignac, Cothenet, and Lignée, *Textes*, 100; Shemaryahu Talmon, “Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts,” *Textus* 4 (1964): 95–132 (130–31); Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 227; Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 47.

130 Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*, 22. See also Arie van der Kooij, “Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible and the History of Reception: The Case of Habakkuk 1:11–12,” in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel*, ed. Ulrich Dahmen, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 91–108 (93–98).

In my opinion, the interpretation of this verse in the Peshar depends on a reading which derives **וישמ** from both **אשמ** and **שמ**.

The lemma divides naturally into two: the division is between **ויעבור** and **וישמ**. The interpretation mimics this structure, and “their rulers” begins a new sentence. Thus, the first half of the interpretation (“its interpretation concerns the rulers of the Kittim, who, by the counsel of their guilty house, move on, every man in the place of his fellow”) is informed by the first half of the lemma, whilst the second half of the interpretation (“their rulers, one after another, shall come to destroy the earth”) mirrors the second half of the lemma.¹³¹ The link between the second part of the lemma and its interpretation seems to imply the reading of **וישמ** as deriving from **שמ**. This reading of **וישמ** is reflected by the synonym **שח** in the interpretation.

Scholars have argued that the expression “their guilty house” (**בית אשמתם**) goes back to **וישמ** too. This connection depends on a reading which derives **וישמ** from **אשמ**. If we accept this suggestion,¹³² this second interpretation is another case where the interpretation of an element in the lemma evokes a partially similar word-form.

A second example concerns the interpretation of Ps 37:7 and 8–9a in 4Q171 1–10 i 25–ii 4. The MT of these two verses contain the word-form **תתחר**, which is best understood as a Hithpael of **חר** “to be angry.” Yet the Peshar does not read **תתחר**, but **תחר**. This may be a harmonisation of MT’s Hithpael to the more common Qal of **חר**,¹³³ but the lack of any reference to anger in the Peshar suggests that the Peshar exegete did not derive **תחר** from **חר**. Brooke argues that the Peshar may allude to Isa 29:20–24, where Jacob is said no longer to grow pale (**חור**), as the scoffer shall be judged and those led astray come to understanding. Moreover, the commentator may allude to Ezek 14:21–15:5, where

131 Van der Kooij, “Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible and the History of Reception,” 94–95 relates this interpretation section as a whole to the first part of the lemma, apparently assuming that the second part of Hab 1:11 is not interpreted in this passage. Note that Hab 1:11 is quoted in 1QpHab 4:13. Cf. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle,” 340–41. Yet, from 1QpHab 3:6–17 we may conclude that re-citations of parts of the lemma do not always concern passages that have not been interpreted before.

132 Elliger, *Studien*, 132–33 and Van der Kooij, “Textual Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible and the History of Reception,” 94–95 point out that **אשמ** occurs often in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Hence, the commentator may not have been in need of a peg in the lemma for him to employ this root here.

133 So Hartmut Stegemann, “Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs 37),” *RevQ* 4/14 (1964): 235–70 (247, n. 38); Dennis Pardee, “A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4 (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, vol. v, n° 171),” *RevQ* 8/30 (1973): 163–94 (190).

חר"ר describes the burning of the useless vine. "By implication the commentator's audience is warned against being consumed with those who follow the one who makes his way prosperous."¹³⁴

In addition to the roots suggested by Brooke I propose that the root אחר"ר informs the interpretation of Ps 37:7–9a in Peshar Psalms A. This root commonly occurs in the Piel and means "to stay behind, delay" (intransitive and transitive). The only occurrence in the Hebrew Bible of אחר"ר Qal is Gen 32:5.¹³⁵ In that verse, the parallelism with גו"ר suggests the meaning "to sojourn, to stay with" for אחר"ר. This meaning would fit the interpretation of Ps 37:7 well: ואל תחרו במצליה דרכו would have been read as "do not stay with him who makes his way prosperous" and inspired the reference in the interpretation to those choosing to follow the worthless teachings of the Man of the Lie. The more common meaning of אחר"ר ties in well with the interpretation of Ps 37:8–9a: the comment "they do not refuse to return from their wickedness" corresponds to ואל תחר אך להרע in the lemma, which was apparently read as: "Do not stay behind still to do evil." Hence, even if some details of the derivation of תחר from אחר"ר may cause problems,¹³⁶ the Peshar commentator probably interpreted these lemmata with this derivation in mind.

6.5.2 Anagram

A first example of anagram is the interpretation of Hab 2:16 in 1QpHab 11:8–15.¹³⁷ The lemma reads והרעל, which "describes the staggering of an inebriate,"¹³⁸ instead of MT's והערל "to be uncircumcised." The Peshar explains the verb in two different ways. First, the reference to staggering governs the

134 "The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries," 95.

135 2 Sam 20:5 may have a Qal in the *k^etib*, but this is not certain.

136 The two main concerns are the vocalisation of the verb and the role of the preposition that accompanies it. The form תחר may be taken as a Qal imperfect, with the silent *alef* having dropped out as a result of the weakening of gutturals. See Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 25–26 (§ 200.11). That the falling out of the *alef* can occur with root letters is suggested for instance by the spelling שרית for שארית (e.g., 1QS 4:14; 5:13). Another, but less likely, possibility would be to read the form as Piel. And perhaps we need not look for exact grammatical correspondence; the mere overlap of letters between חר"ה and אחר"ר may have been sufficient basis for this interpretation. The preposition *bet* often occurs with the transitive root חר"ה and indicates the object of anger. If the Peshar commentator reinterpreted the verb in Ps 37:7–9a, he also reinterpreted the *bet*: it no longer indicates the object of the action described by the verb, but marks vicinity ("with").

137 Cf. p. 155.

138 Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 250.

comment on the priest's going "in ways of saturation."¹³⁹ Secondly, the Peshar commentator derived the comment "he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart" from the lemma. The resource involved is anagram: the commentator changes the position of *reš* and *ʿayin* in *והרעל* and so finds a peg in the lemma for the idea that the priest did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart.

Brownlee identified another case of anagram in this interpretation of Hab 2:19–20:

הוי הו[י אומר] לעץ הקיצה ע[ורי] ל[א]בן דומם [הוא יורה הנה הוא תפוש זהב וכסף
וכול רוח אין בקרבו וה' בהיכל קודשן] הס מלפניו כול הארץ¹⁴⁰ פשרו על כול הגוים
אשר עבדו את האבן ואת העץ וביום המשפט יכלה אל את כול עובדי העצבים ואת
הרשעים מן הארץ

"Woe, wo[e who says] to wood "awake!" (and) "ge[t up!]" to a dumb st[o]ne. [Does it instruct? See, it is covered with gold and silver, but there is no spirit at all in it! But the Lord is in his holy temple:] Hush for him, all the earth!" (Hab 2:19–20). Its interpretation concerns all the peoples who serve stone and wood. But on the day of judgement God shall destroy all who serve idols and all the wicked from the earth.

1QpHab 12:14–13:4

In Brownlee's view, the reference to "the temple" (היכל) in the lemma informs the use of the verb "he shall destroy" (יכלה) in the interpretation. This use of anagram would have been part of a larger hermeneutical operation in which the mention of the temple in Hab 2:20 is transformed into a reference to the day of judgement:

Two puzzles arise in connection with this interpretation: (1) How did the expositor come around to the suggestion that Hab. 2:19–20 relates to the "Day of Judgment"? (2) How could a man so much interested in the temple and its priesthood pass over this reference to the temple without any comment? The solution to both of these puzzles is found

139 Similarly Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 244. For a different alignment of the lemma and its interpretation see Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 190–95; Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 47.

The comment that the teacher "went in ways of saturation to quench his thirst" exhibits influence from Deut 29:8, but the connection between the two passages probably does not amount to an actual allusion. Cf. 1QS 2:14 and see Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 61.

140 The manuscript reads הרץ, which is a scribal error due to the weakening of gutturals. See Horgan, *PTSDSSP 6B:184* (n. 189).

in the observation that the interpreter took the word *bhykl* (“in the temple”) as an abbreviation ... of *B(ywm) H(mshpt) YKL(h)*—“on the Day of Judgement He will destroy.” Every letter of the last Hebrew word except one appears to be drawn from the word “in-the-temple”; but reflection will show that even it is not an extra letter, for a mere shift in the letter order ... will show that *yklh* (He will destroy) is itself derived from *hykl* (temple).¹⁴¹

Elliger challenged Brownlee’s explanation of the connection between *היכל* and *יכלה*, arguing that the frequent occurrence of *משפט* and *כל”ה* in the Pesharim makes a peg for *יכלה* in the lemma unnecessary.¹⁴² True as Elliger’s observation may be, it does not explain why the Peshar commentator passes over the reference to the temple in Hab 2:16. It seems to me that Brownlee is right when he assumes that such a reference cannot be glossed over in silence. Hence I accept Brownlee’s suggestion that this interpretation of Hab 2:16 is another case of anagram.¹⁴³

6.5.3 Similar Letters and Vocalisation

A simple interchange of graphically similar letters (*kaf* and *bet*) informs the interpretation of Isa 54:11bβ in Peshar Isaiah D:

ויסדתיך בספי[רים פשר הדבר אש]ר יסדו את עצת היחד [ה] כוהנים והע[ם] ... עדת
בחירו כאבן הספיר בתוך האבנים

“And I shall establish you with sapphi[res]” (Isa 54:11bβ). The interpretation of the matter: *thajt* they have founded the council of the community, [the] priests and the peop[le ...] the assembly of his chosen ones like a sapphire stone in the midst of stones.

4Q164 11–3

141 “Biblical Interpretation,” 70.

Brownlee later retracted his explanation of *בהיכל* as an abbreviation, suggesting instead that the commentator’s explanation of the lemma goes back to an association of *הס* with the final judgement. The same tradition, he argues, is reflected in the Targum to this verse. See “The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan,” *JJS* 7 (1956): 169–86 (175–76).

142 *Studien*, 160, 224–25. See also Solomon Zeitlin, “The Hebrew Pogrom and the Hebrew Scrolls,” *JQR* 43 (1952): 140–52 (149–50); more cautiously Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 246; Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk*, 198. For *משפט* and *כל”ה* see 1QpHab 5:3; 12:5; 4Q169 1–2 ii 4.

143 So also Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 286–87.

As a result of this interchange of graphically similar letters the commentator is able to render “with sapphires” in the lemma with “like a sapphire stone” in the interpretation. Another interchange of graphically similar letters occurs in this interpretation of Nah 3:7a β -b:

ואמרו שודדה נינוה מי יגוד לה מאין אבקשה מנחמים לך פשרו [על] דורשי החלקות
אשר תובד עצתם ונפרדה כנסתם ולא יוסיפו עוד לתעות [את ה]קהל ופת[אים] לא
יחזקו עוד את עצתם

“And they shall say: ‘Nineveh is ruined; who will mourn for her? Whence could I seek comforters for you?’” (Nah 3:7a β -b). Its interpretation [concerns] the Seekers of Smooth Things whose counsel shall perish and whose society shall be disbanded, and they shall not continue to mislead [the] assembly and the simp[le ones] shall no longer hold fast to their counsel.

4Q169 3-4 iii 5-8

Brooke has suggested that “4QpNah 3-4 iii 6 ... could just as well read *šwrđh*, ‘escaped, abandoned’ (pual) as *šwddh*.”¹⁴⁴ By means of anagram this reading may have inspired the reference to the Seekers (דורשי) of Smooth Things in the interpretation. But even if we do not accept Brooke’s reading of 4Q169,¹⁴⁵ the connection between שודדה and דורשי is a possibility. In that case, the resources involved would have been an exchange of graphically similar letters (*daleth* and *reš*) and anagram.

Interchanges between similar letters may involve phonetical similarities as well. A possible case in the Pesharim concerns the interpretation of Hab 2:2b in 1QpHab 7:3-5. Brownlee and Brooke have suggested that the reference to “mysteries” (רז) in the interpretation goes back to the mention of “running” (רו”ץ) in the lemma.¹⁴⁶ In my view, the phonetic similarity between *zayin* and *šade* may play a role in the interpretation, but the frequent occurrence of the term “mystery” elsewhere in Peshar Habakkuk and the Dead Sea Scrolls shows that it may not be in need of a peg in the lemma.

144 “The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries,” 96.

145 The manuscript does appear to have *daleth* twice. See the photographs at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499045> and <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499044> (last accessed 11 October, 2016).

146 See Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar*, 111; Brooke, “Qumran Peshar,” 497; idem, “The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries,” 94.

Finally, the vocalisation of words may play a role in their interpretation. Two examples of this procedure have been adduced already in earlier paragraphs. In 1QpHab 7:17–8:3, the Peshet commentator appears to have read יחיה in Hab 2:4b as a Piel or a Hiphil rather than a Qal.¹⁴⁷ And in 4Q169 3–4 ii 1–2 the commentator seems to have understood מלאה as a verb with a suffix rather than a feminine adjective.¹⁴⁸

7 Conclusion

This hermeneutical profile has brought to light two main differences between the hypomnemata and the Qumran commentaries. In the first place, the interests of the Peshet exegetes are more narrow than those of the hypomnema commentators. Whereas the composers of the hypomnemata mine the *Iliad* for information on a wide variety of topics and aspects of human life, the Peshet commentators are interested only in the historical experiences of their movement and the connection of these experiences with Scripture. And whereas the hypomnemata foster the ideal of all-round Ἑλληνισμός, the Pesharim construe a historical memory for the movement in which they originated on the basis of their prophetic base texts. Both commentary traditions communicate a message to their readers, but the contents of these messages and the interests of the hypomnema and Peshet commentators differ notably.

A second difference is the preference for non-co-textual readings in the Pesharim. We have seen that both commentary traditions may neutralise or uphold the co-textual meaning of their lemmata as they see fit. Yet generally speaking, the Pesharim neutralise or redefine the co-text of their lemmata more frequently than the hypomnemata. The Qumran commentaries are also more eager than their Greek counterparts to explore the interpretative possibilities of the syntax or the parallel structure of their base texts. The hypomnemata, on the other hand, are keener than the Pesharim to explain inconsistencies in their base texts and to make sure the *Iliad* can be understood as a smooth composition.

Both differences reflect the different perspectives that the hypomnema and Peshet commentators impose on their base texts. It has been shown in this chapter that the two commentary traditions construe both the base text author and the gap that separates the commentator from the base text in different ways. For the hypomnema commentators the *Iliad* is a product of the

147 See pp. 271–72 and Hartog, “Re-Reading.”

148 See p. 270.

pen of a conscious writer named Homer, who had methodically laid out the epic. As a consequence, lemmata from the *Iliad* are best understood within the co-text with which Homer provided them. Moreover, the hypomnemata approach Homer as a timeless source of wisdom touching on almost every aspect of human life.

The Pesharim lack this notion of a conscious author who systematically composed a literary work. As a consequence the Qumran commentaries are less bound to the co-textual meaning of their lemmata than the hypomnemata, and the Peshar commentators can neutralise or redefine the co-textual meanings of their lemmata more easily than the hypomnema commentators can. In addition, the comparatively narrow interest of the Pesharim in the historical experiences of the movement in which they originated is related to the connection between the base text author and the later exegete. Whilst the hypomnemata often suspend Homer's belonging to the past, the Peshar commentators stress the position of the Teacher of Righteousness (and by implication the Peshar commentators themselves) in the latter days, in contrast to the ancient prophets, who belong to an earlier era. This temporal gap between the ancient prophets and the Teacher is the foundation of scriptural interpretation in the Pesharim: because the Teacher is living in the latter days, he acquires a full understanding of the words of the ancient prophets.

The hypomnemata and the Pesharim also exhibit similarities. Many resources, such as the use of technical terminology, analogical reasoning, and resources concerning the meaning or appearance of single words, occur in both commentary traditions. These resources seem to have been part of a common stock of hermeneutical approaches that was wide-spread in the ancient world and do not point automatically to connections between the two traditions discussed in this book. It is important, furthermore, to evaluate also these similarities against the background of the perspective the hypomnemata and the Pesharim impose on their base texts. Technical terminology in the hypomnemata, for instance, reflects the grammatical, literary, or text-critical interests of these Greek commentaries, whilst technical terminology in the Pesharim echoes the historical memory of the Peshar exegetes. Moreover, analogy in the hypomnemata depends on the assumption that Homer wrote the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, whereas the Pesharim employ analogical reasoning to apply two scriptural passages to the same event.

This demonstrates that the contacts between the scholarly communities that produced the hypomnemata and the Pesharim and the networks to which these groups belonged did not lead to the mere adoption of Greek practices, methods, and concepts of textual scholarship by the Peshar commentators. As the Qumran exegetes embraced, for instance, the commentary format, the

use of sigla, or some hermeneutical resources as a result of the exchange of knowledge within scholarly networks in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, they also adapted these elements to their own interests. Rather than straightforward Greek influences, therefore, the Pesharim reflect intricate processes of glocalisation.

Pesher and Hypomnema

The comparison of two commentary traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman period in the preceding chapters has yielded both similarities and differences. These invite two related conclusions. First, the hypomnemata on the *Iliad* and the Qumran Pescharim are at home in similar settings. Both commentary traditions reflect the activities of scholars and intellectuals engaged in the systematic and meticulous scrutiny of their literary heritage. Second, the similarities and differences between these traditions point to the workings of intellectual networks across Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and Palestine. These intellectual networks constituted a globalised context for the exchange of knowledge. The Pescharim demonstrate that the Pesher exegetes were familiar with Alexandrian textual scholarship and appropriated it to their own ends. The Qumran commentaries can be understood as glocal phenomena that intricately combine global practices (the production of systematic commentaries) with local aims and interests (the development of a narrative historical memory for the movement to which the Pesher commentators belonged).

The scholarly background of the hypomnemata and the Pescharim is evident from their bifold structure. The lemma-interpretation distinction that permeates these commentaries and is physically expressed through the use of sense dividers defines the hypomnemata and the Pescharim as systematic interpretations of their base texts. Moreover, the scholarly ambitions of the hypomnema and Pesher commentators come to the fore in their use of marginal signs; their references to Homeric or scriptural passages, other authors, literary traditions, or fellow interpreters; their references of multiple interpretations; and their use of a wide variety of exegetical resources and interpretative strategies.

The scholarly setting of the hypomnemata and the Pescharim finds further confirmation in the handwriting of their manuscripts and the fluid nature of the commentaries themselves. Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that many commentaries were written by scholars, either for personal or for classroom use. Some hypomnema or Pesher manuscripts (e.g., P.Oxy. 2.221v or 1QpHab) may even be the product of a scholar and a student working together. The fluid character of the hypomnemata and the Pescharim is most evident in P.Oxy. 8.1086 and Pesher Habakkuk. The first commentary is a compilation of Aristarchean interpretations of *Il.* 2. These interpretations were drawn from other sources, with which they are sometimes at variance (e.g., Schol. A). Accumulations of interpretative material occur also in the Pescharim: 1QpHab 2:5–10 is a later

addition to Peshar Habakkuk; interlinear additions in 4Q163, 4Q169, and 4Q171 seem to point to the accrual of information in Peshar Isaiah C, Peshar Nahum, and Peshar Psalms A; and the use of demonstrative pronouns to introduce some interpretation sections may reflect the use of sources in the Qumran commentaries. Hence, the Pesharim and the hypomnemata are the product of a similar kind of scholarly activity and they are at home in similar scholarly and intellectual communities.

Yet to say that the hypomnemata and the Pesharim are scholarly writings is not to suggest that all hypomnemata and Pesharim fulfil the same purpose. Nor does it imply that these two scholarly traditions are uniform. Some hypomnemata were presumably used for teaching purposes (P.Oxy. 8.1086), others served the personal needs of scholars (P.Oxy. 2.221v), or functioned as scholarly master copies (BKT 10.16897). The contents of the hypomnemata may also differ: whereas P.Oxy. 8.1086 exhibits an outspoken Aristarchean preference, P.Oxy. 2.221v contains the views of a much broader range of scholars, including the Pergamene Crates. Similarly, the Pesharim fulfil different purposes and lay different emphases. Some Peshar manuscripts appear to have served as a scholar's personal copies (4Q163), others more readily qualify as a copy for expert consultation (4Q169) or were used in a teaching setting (1QpHab).

The hypomnemata and the Pesharim may reflect the same type of activity, but they do not present the same type of scholarly tradition. It has been pointed out in chapter 6 that many hypomnemata reflect a type of scholarship that appreciates disagreement and debate. P.Oxy. 2.221v is a striking example. The Pesharim, in contrast, reflect a type of scholarship that centres on the voice of one privileged commentator: the Teacher of Righteousness. The portrayal of the Teacher in the Pesharim results from the Peshar commentators, who accrue his authority for themselves and so present their interpretations as uniquely valid. A second difference between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim came to light in chapters 9 and 10: whereas the hypomnemata favour co-textual readings of their lemmata and exhibit a particular interest in smoothing out inconsistencies in the *Iliad*, the Pesharim contain more non-co-textual readings of their base texts and are more prone than their Greek counterparts to explore the interpretative possibilities of their lemmata.

These differences reflect the various perspectives the hypomnema and the Peshar commentators impose on their base texts. The hypomnema exegetes conceive of Homer as a single, conscious author, who meticulously composed his epics. Thus by studying the literary and co-textual features of the *Iliad* they will be able to recover Homer's original words and intentions. This is important, as Homer was also considered a teacher: his works contain knowledge on almost every aspect of life and a good acquaintance with Homer

was the basis for Greek culture and identity (Ἑλληνισμός). The interests of the Pesharim are narrower and focus on the historical memory of the movement to which the Pesharim exegetes belonged and its connection to Scripture. In their view, the ancient prophets were divinely inspired to say and write the things they wrote and said. The Teacher of Righteousness partook of the same divine inspiration, but, living in the latter days, obtained a fuller insight in the whole of history and the position of his movement within it. The Teacher's interpretations are alleged to reflect his superior insight, and the Pesharim commentators claim themselves to be continuing the tradition the Teacher initiated. Thus there is no room for debate in the Pesharim: only the divinely sanctioned interpretations of the Teacher and his followers can be true; all others must be condemned.

The similarities and differences between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim illustrate the processes of globalisation that brought about the Qumran commentaries. Such processes depended on the presence and workings of intellectual networks throughout the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. These networks connected Egypt and Palestine with one another. Literary references to networks of intellectuals in both localities occur in the Letter of Aristeas, the colophon to Greek Esther, the prologue to Greek Sirach, and the works of Philo and Josephus. As Jews in Egypt were closely acquainted with Alexandrian textual scholarship and travelled to Palestine, they probably constituted an important channel through which knowledge of Alexandrian scholarship reached Jews in Palestine. Members of the movement in which the Pesharim originated appear to have obtained some familiarity with the forms and methodology of Alexandrian textual scholarship. Hence they adopted the systematic commentary format from the scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library who had first developed it.

The existence of contacts between the Pesharim commentators and scholarly communities closely familiar with Alexandrian textual scholarship is supported by the macro-structural similarity between the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. As has been pointed out, exegetical works that distinguish explicitly between lemmata and their interpretations are relatively rare in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Yet Alexandrian scholars, in the wake of Aristarchus, promoted this type of scholarly literature. From Alexandria the commentary format spread to Hellenistic-Roman Palestine. Some physical features of the Pesharim manuscripts, such as the use of marginal signs in 4Q163, lend further support to this scenario.

The reasons for the Pesharim commentators to adopt this form of exegetical literature may reflect their interest in the historical experience of the movement to which they belonged. Chapters 7 and 10 have shown that the

Pesharim provide their readers with a narrative interpretation of their base texts, in which Scripture is explained in light of the historical memory of the movement and vice versa. The systematic, running form of Alexandrian commentary writing may have appealed to the Peshar commentators for the opportunities it offered to align Scripture neatly with this historical memory. At the same time, the prominence of the Alexandrian Library and Museum in the Hellenistic and Roman periods may also have triggered the adoption of this form of Alexandrian scholarly literature by the Peshar exegetes. As they presented their interpretations in a way echoing those of their Alexandrian counterparts, the Peshar commentators appropriated the authority and appeal of the Alexandrian Library and Museum for themselves.

The hermeneutical profiles of the hypomnemata and the Pesharim in chapters 9 and 10 have brought out differences between the two commentary traditions, which are related to the perspective they impose on their base texts. However, the hermeneutical comparison has also demonstrated that many exegetical resources occur both in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim. These parallels confirm the connection between the two traditions and the workings of intellectual networks throughout the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. At the same time, resources similar to the ones used in the hypomnemata and the Pesharim are common throughout the ancient world and do not point to an exclusive relationship between the two commentary traditions treated in this book. Rather, they demonstrate that both the hypomnemata and the Pesharim were part of broader intellectual traditions that include interpretations of written texts and other sources in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

To sum up: the Pesharim and the hypomnemata are the result of similar kinds of scholarly engagements with a base text. At the same time, they embody different scholarly traditions. This shows that the Pesharim not only adopted, but also adapted the forms and assumptions of Alexandrian scholarly literature. From that perspective the Pesharim are yet another illustration of glocalisation in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: in the Pesharim, global intellectual conventions are adopted on a local level, where they serve local purposes. The movement in which the Pesharim originated was not sealed off from the world that surrounded it. On the contrary, the Peshar commentators were part of intellectual networks that included Jews and non-Jews in Egypt and enabled knowledge of Alexandrian textual scholarship to reach Jewish intellectuals in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine.

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Plates



PLATE 1 →

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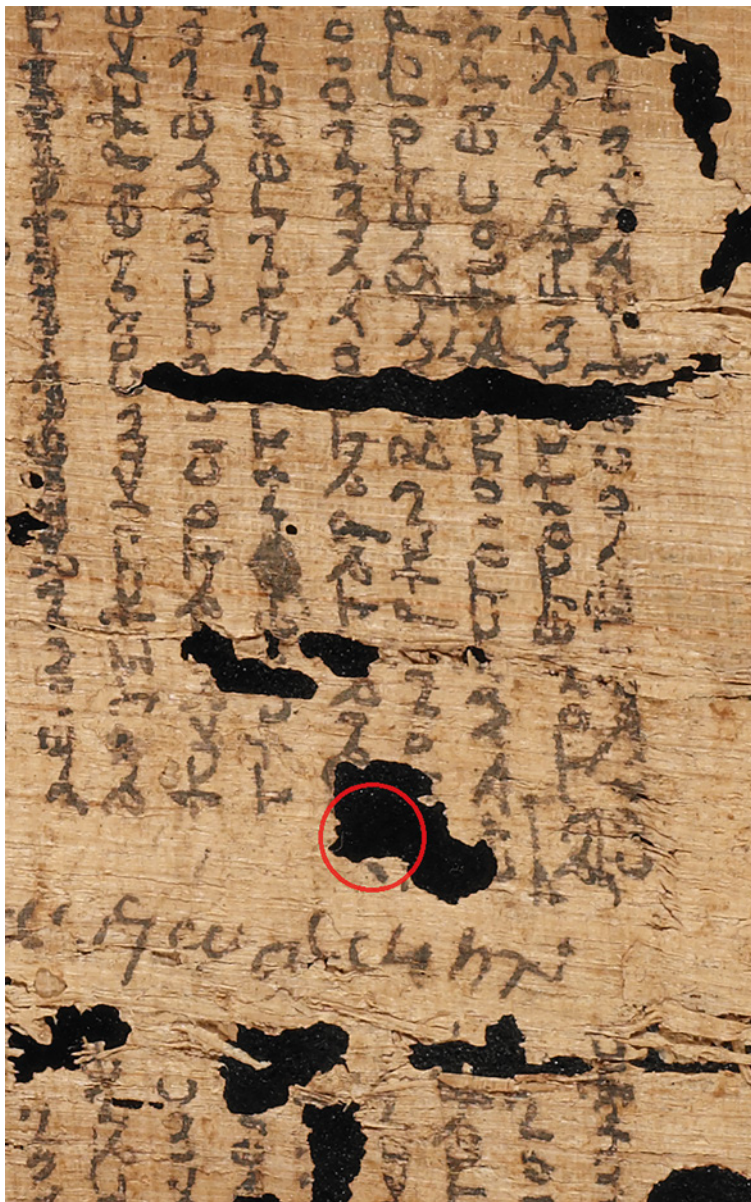


PLATE 3 (ABOVE)

A slash-shaped sign between P.Oxy. 2.221v 10–11.

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PLATE 2 (LEFT)

“Ammonius, son of Ammonius” (P.Oxy. 2.221v).

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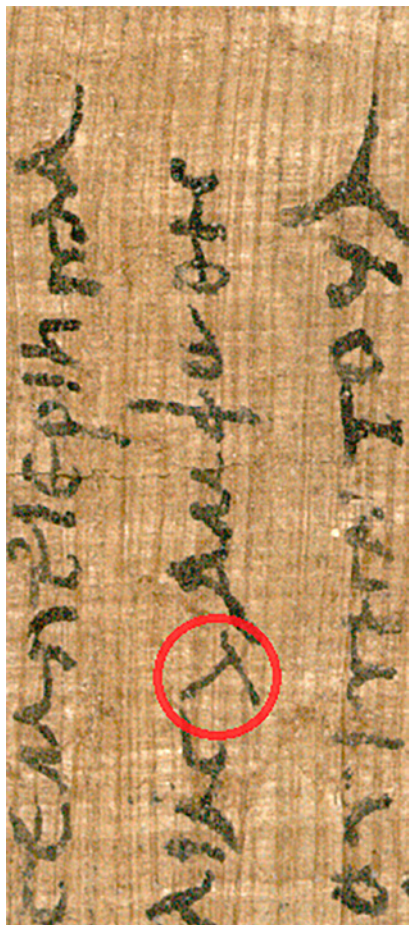


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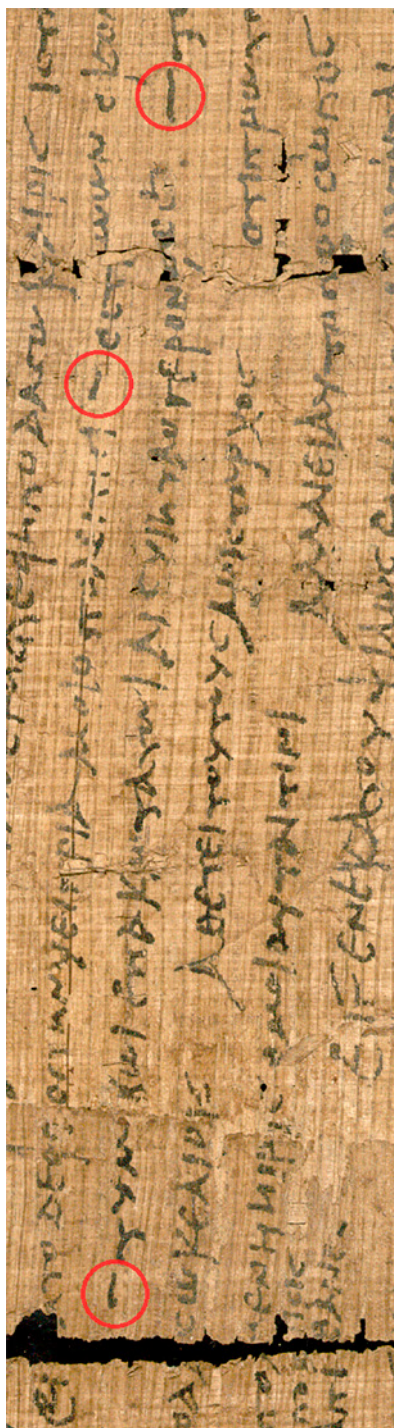


PLATE 5
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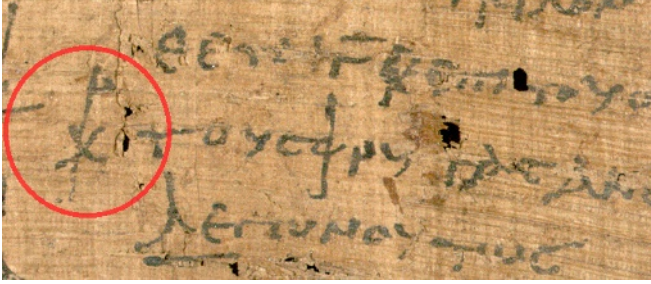


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