

Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period

*Proceedings of a Fourth International
Symposium on the Hebrew of
the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*

Edited by

JAN JOOSTEN

JEAN-SÉBASTIEN REY

BRILL

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the Hellenistic Period

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

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Peter W. Flint

Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar

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ABBREVIATIONS

AncBi	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford, 1907)
BET(h)L	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BH	Biblical Hebrew
<i>Bib(l)</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BiOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BJ	Bible de Jérusalem
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CD	Damascus Document
<i>DCH</i>	D. J. A. Clines et al., eds., <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> , vols. 1–4 (Sheffield, 1993–)
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSSE</i>	F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition</i> . 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000)
EA	El Amarna
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
ETHL	Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GKC	W. Gesenius, ed. E. Kautsch, trans. A. Cowley, <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (Oxford, 1910)

HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., <i>The Hebrew and Aramic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , tr. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden, 1994–2000)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HDSS	E. Qimron, <i>The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> , HSS 29 (Atlanta, 1986)
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBL.MS	JBL Monograph Series
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, <i>A grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> , SubBi 27 (Rome, 2006)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JN(W)SL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSJS	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT.S	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner, W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> (Wiesbaden, 1962)
<i>KTU</i>	<i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
<i>LOT</i>	Z. Ben-Hayyim, <i>The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans</i> , 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957–1977)
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
NIV	New International Version
NP	Noun Phrase
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

OBO	Orbus Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTSt	Old Testament Studies
PP	Prepositional Phrase
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
<i>SBL</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature</i>
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SH	Samaritan Hebrew
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SS(t)LL	Studies in Semitic Language and Linguistics
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
T	Tiberian Hebrew
TAD	B. Porten, A. Yardeni, <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> (Jerusalem, 1986–1993).
<i>Tarb.</i>	<i>Tarbiz</i>
TJ	Talmud de Jérusalem
TB	Talmud de Babylone
TM	Texte massorétique
TOB	Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible
VT	Vetus Testamentum
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

PREFACE

In linguistic perspective, the Hebrew texts from the Dead Sea area are at once revealing and enigmatic. Revealing, because they make it possible, in many cases, to trace processes in the development of the Hebrew language, from Biblical to Mishnaic Hebrew, that would have remained hidden in the absence of texts from the intermediary period. Enigmatic, because the texts contain many features without manifest counterpart in either Biblical or Mishnaic Hebrew. This double character makes the investigation of Qumran Hebrew and contemporary varieties of the language a challenging undertaking. Linguistic research is, of course, a necessary prerequisite for continued process in the interpretation of the texts.

The Hebrew of the Hellenistic period is characterized at once by conservatism and innovation. Old forms and constructions, preciously preserved from classical Hebrew, coexist with entirely new features whose origin is sometimes difficult to ascertain. Together, the old and the new lend the language its unique cast. In the investigation, too, of Qumran Hebrew and Ben Sira, old and tried methods evolve alongside new approaches.

A series of international symposia, initiated by Takamitsu Muraoka in close conjunction with Elisha Qimron, has been instrumental in furthering and developing this field of research. The earlier symposia were held in Leiden in 1995 and 1997, and in Beer-Sheva in 1999.

The studies collected in the present volume are reworked versions of papers read at the fourth international symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scroll and Ben Sira, held in Strasbourg in May 2006. Thanks are extended to the Faculté de Théologie Protestante of the Université Marc Bloch in Strasbourg whose financial support made the organization of the event possible. Thanks are due also to chief Rabbi René Gutman, Dr Salomon Lévy and their community who took an active part in the logistic side of the symposium. The editors are grateful to Florentino García Martínez for accepting the volume of proceedings in the series *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, and to the publisher,

E. J. Brill. The indexes were prepared by Mr. Sun-Jong Kim of Strasbourg University.

Jan Joosten
Jean-Sébastien Rey

UN GROUPE DE MOTS EN HÉBREU BIBLIQUE ET QOUMRANIQUE : ÉTUDE SÉMANTIQUE

MOSHE BAR-ASHER

Jérusalem

1. Carol Newsom a publié seize fragments du rouleau 4Q374. Il s'agit d'un fragment important et volumineux et de quinze autres bribes de fragments¹ d'un texte qui a été intitulé « 4Q374 Exodus / Conquest Tradition ». ² Le passage le plus considérable est la deuxième colonne du fragment n°2. L'édition qu'en a donnée Newsom est acceptable³. Il est dûment accompagné d'une traduction anglaise⁴ et d'annotations riches d'informations utiles et d'interprétations pertinentes⁵. Deborah Dimant qui a reexaminé tous les fragments du rouleau consacre un long développement à ce passage. Elle a fait d'intéressantes suggestions touchant à la lecture et à l'interprétation du texte⁶.

2. Mais Newsom aussi bien que Dimant n'ont pas épuisé tant s'en faut les informations linguistiques fournis par le texte. Il convient de prêter attention au détail des faits de langue, notamment en ce qui concerne la morphologie, la syntaxe et la sémantique. Dans la présente étude, je voudrais me concentrer sur un point de lexique qui présente un rapport avec un

¹ Plusieurs d'entre eux ne consistent plus qu'en quelques lettres, comme exemple les fragments 5 et 8 (voir C. Newsom, « 4Q374. 4Q Discourse on the Exodus Conquest Tradition », in M. Broshi et al. (éd.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*, DJD 19 (Oxford, 1995), 106–107 et D. Dimant, « A Prayer for the People of Israel: On the Nature of Manuscript 4Q374 » [hébreu], *Meghillot* 4 (2006), 44–45).

² Voir la recension détaillée que D. Dimant, *op. cit.*, a faite du travail de J. Strugnell sur le manuscrit avant qu'il ait été transmis à Newsom. Voir aussi ses remarques sur la première publication de ce texte par Newsom elle-même.

³ C. Newsom, DJD 19, 102.

⁴ C. Newsom, DJD 19, 102.

⁵ C. Newsom, DJD 19, 102–103.

⁶ D. Dimant, « *A Prayer for the People of Israel* », 28–41

nom et un verbe de la Bible. J'examinerai l'ensemble de la question dans une perspective novatrice en proposant des définitions inédites.

מחיגה / הָגָא

3. Voici la formulation des l. 6 à 9 de la 2^e colonne du 2^e extrait selon la lecture qu'en a fait C. Newsom⁷ :

- 6 [ו]יתננו לאלוהים על אדירים ומחיג[ה] לפרעה עב[ו]
 7 [ו]תמוגגו ויתנועעו לבם וימסו קרב[ו]ה[ם] [ו]ירחם בכ[ו]
 8 ובהאירו פנו אליהם [] למרפא < > ויגבירו לב[ם] עוד ודעת[ו]
 9 וכל לא ידעוך ויתמוגגו ויתנ[ו] עו[ו] חָגָא לק[ו]

La lecture que Dimant⁸ a proposée de ces quatre lignes est identique à celle de Newsom à un détail près : alors que Newsom reconnaît dans le premier mot de la l. 6 la forme יתננו [ו], Dimant préfère supposer une leçon ותננו⁹. Selon elle, il n'y a pas de lacune au début du mot. C'est le scribe qui a commencé la ligne avec un petit décalage par rapport à la marge.

4. Il est aisé de voir que l'extrait tout entier parle de l'Égypte, comme l'affirme explicitement la formule לפרעה [ה] ומחיג[ה] à la l. 6. Comme Newsom et Dimant l'ont démontré fort justement, ce passage présente un lien thématique et linguistique évident avec deux chapitres de la Bible. Il importe d'entrer dans le détail des faits, car cela permettra de mieux comprendre l'emploi de ces expressions en hébreu biblique et en hébreu de Qoumran.

a) Dans la 2^e colonne du 2^e extrait du rouleau 4Q374 on décèle un écho évident du chapitre 19 d'Isaïe où sont évoqués les plaies qui menacent l'Égypte ainsi que les remèdes qui y mettront fin :

- וסכרתי את מצרים ביד אדנים קשה
 « Je livrerai l'Égypte aux mains d'un maître impitoyable... » (verset 4) ;
 ונהר יהרב ויבש
 « Le fleuve tarira et se desséchera » (verset 5) ;
 ערות על יאור על פי יאור וכל מזרע יאור ייבש נדף ואיננו

⁷ Voir C. Newsom, DJD 19, 102.

⁸ Voir D. Dimant, « *A Prayer for the People of Israel* », 28, 29.

⁹ Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de traiter la question de savoir si le pronom suffixé est à la troisième personne du singulier masculin (יתננו = יתן אותו) ou à la première personne du pluriel (יתננו = יתנו אותנו).

« Les prairies sur le Nil, sur le bord du Nil, tous les champs ensemencés le long du Nil seront desséchés, dispersés, anéantis » (verset 7) ;

ואנו הדיגים ואבלו כל משליכי ביאור חכה

« Les pêcheurs gémiront, ce sera le deuil pour tous ceux qui lancent l'hameçon dans le Nil » (verset 8).

Mais surtout le chapitre 19 d'Isaïe décrit le déclin de l'Égypte une fois la sagesse ôtée à ses habitants et ses sages devenus ineptes :

אך אוילים שרי צען חכמי יעצי פרעה עצה נבערה. איך תאמרו אל פרעה בן חכמים אני

« Les princes de Tsoan ne sont que des insensés, les plus sages conseillers de Pharaon forment un conseil stupide ; comment direz-vous à Pharaon : 'Je suis fils de sages' (...)

אים אפוא חכמיך

Où sont-ils donc tes sages ? (...)

נואלו שרי צען

Ils déraisonnent, les princes de Tsoan (...)

התעו את מצרים

Ils ont fait divaguer l'Égypte (...)

ה' מסך בקרבה רוח עוועים והתעו את מצרים

L'Éternel a répandu au milieu d'eux un esprit de vertige ; ils ont fait divaguer l'Égypte (...)

כהתעו שכור בקיאו

Comme un homme ivre chancelle en vomissant (...)

ביום ההוא יהיה מצרים כנשים וחרד ופחד

En ce jour, l'Égypte sera comme des femmes : Elle tremblera et aura peur (...)

והיתה אדמת יהודה למצרים לחגא, כל אשר יזכיר אותה אליו יפחד

Et la terre de Juda sera pour l'Égypte une ¹⁰תָּגָא ; dès qu'on lui en parlera, elle sera dans l'épouvante (Isaïe 19:11–21). Mais après les plaies viendra la guérison :

ונגף ה' את מצרים נגף ורפוא... ורפואם

« Quand l'Éternel frappera l'Égypte, il la frappera tout en la guérissant... Et il les guérira » (ibid. 22).

b) L'extrait de Qoumran se rattache aussi au Psaume 107,26–27 :

יעלו שמים ירדו תהומות, נפשם ברעה תתמוגג. יחוגו וינועו כשכור וכל חכמתם תתבלע

¹⁰ Il peut être opportun de signaler que le mot תָּגָא est formé sur le schème *pu^{ca}a(h)* comme גֵּלָה « bille », תָּקָה « statut » etc. Toutefois, l'orthographe du mot a été modifiée : le ה- a été remplacé par א- (c'est ce qu'on appelle l'orthographe « araméenne »). Le remplacement de תָּגָה par תָּגָא rappelle la forme כַּמְשָׁרָה « comme une cible » (Lamentations 3,12). De plus, la vocalisation de ce mot (תָּגָא) est différente puisque le *heth* est ponctué d'un *qamaṣ qatan* au lieu d'un *qubbuṣ*. Manifestement, la pharyngale *heth* a provoqué l'ouverture de [u] (*qubbuṣ*) en [o] (*qamaṣ qatan*). Toutefois cette évolution n'a pas affecté תָּקָה bien que dans ce mot la voyelle [u] soit précédée de la pharyngale *heth* et suivie de l'emphatique *qoph*.

« Ils montaient aux cieux, ils descendaient dans l'abîme ; sous le mal leur âme fondait. Ils tournoyaient (יְחֹגְגוּ) et titubaient comme des gens ivres et toute leur sagesse était anéantie ».

5. Les expressions חגו לק[ול] ומחיג[ה] [לפרעה] qui figurent dans le texte de Qoumran (l. 6 et 9 respectivement) sont manifestement à mettre en relation avec les versets :

והיתה אדמת יהודה למצרים לחגא

« Et la terre de Judée sera pour l'Égypte une *hoggā*(?) » (Isaïe 19,17) ;

יחוגו וינעו כשכור

« Ils tournoyaient (יְחֹגְגוּ) et titubaient comme des gens ivres » (Psaume 107,27).

Les formules ויתמוגגו ויתנעו (l. 7) et ויתמוגגו ויתנעו (l. 9) renvoient à :

נפשם ברעה תתמוגג

« sous le mal leur âme fondait (תתמוגג) » (Psaume 107,26)

Et à :

יחוגו וינעו

« Ils tournoyaient (יְחֹגְגוּ) et titubaient (יְנַעְנְעוּ) » (*ibid.* 27).

Quant à la phrase וימסו קרבי[ה]ם (l. 7), elle fait écho à :

ביום ההוא יהיה מצרים כנשים וחרד ופחד (...) והיתה אדמת יהודה למצרים לחגא, כל אשר יזכיר אותה אליו יפחד

« L'Égypte sera comme des femmes. Elle tremblera et aura peur (...) Et la terre de Juda sera pour l'Égypte une *hggā* ; dès qu'on lui en parlera, elle sera dans l'épouvante » (Isaïe 19,16–17).

6. J'ai déjà dit que Newsom et surtout Dimant ont signalé les parallèles entre l'extrait de Qoumran et les passages bibliques cités ci-dessus. Mais leur analyse n'a pas pris en compte toutes les implications de cette mise en parallèle. Je voudrais me concentrer ici sur l'usage des verbes et des noms dérivés des racines חג"ג et חו"ג... (Psaumes 107,27) ; לְחֹגְגָא (Isaïe 19,17) ; מחיגה et חגו (Rouleau de Qoumran). Je voudrais me concentrer tout particulièrement sur la signification du substantif מחיגה¹¹.

¹¹ Voici le passage en son entier : « Ils en firent un Dieu sur les puissants et un sujet de *māhīgā(h)* pour Pharaon ». Il n'est pas facile de déterminer qui sont les אדירים dont il est ici question (les Égyptiens ? Pharaon ? Israël ?). Peut-être y a-t-il une nette antithèse entre אדירים על אדירים, c'est-à-dire « un Dieu pour Israël » et « sujet de *māhīgā(h)* pour Pharaon ». Il n'est pas superflu d'établir une équivalence entre אדירים et Israël. Mais ce n'est pas ici le lieu de disserter sur l'identité de ces אדירים.

Les deux éditrices du texte ont fait remarquer que le nom *מחיגה* n'est jamais attesté auparavant dans aucune source. Newsom le traduit par *a cause of reeling* « cause de vertige et de vacillement ». De son côté, Dimant consacre quelques lignes à la formation de ce mot d'un point de vue grammaticale et ajoute : « À la base du terme *מחיגה* on discerne l'image de la convulsion et du tremblement corporel dont Pharaon fut saisi au point de "tituber comme des gens ivres" ». Cette interprétation se fonde sur la ligne suivante¹² où figurent des verbes exprimant la terreur et l'effroi, lesquels sont d'ailleurs repris à la ligne 9¹³. Cf. par exemple le verbe *הגו* à la ligne 9.

7. Je considère comme suffisamment fondées les opinions respectives de Newsom et de Dimant, la première interprétant *מחיגה* comme un mot exprimant le vertige et le vacillement et la seconde y voyant une désignation de la convulsion et du tremblement. De fait, le thème de la peur est exprimé dans la phrase qui vient immédiatement après : *[י]תמוגגו ויתנועעו* « Ils sont en pamoison¹⁴ et ils vacillent et leurs entrailles fondent ». Pourtant j'ai de bonnes raisons de penser que là n'est pas le sens principal du mot *מחיגה* dans le passage en question. En d'autres termes, l'interprétation de ce nom par « peur » ne rend pas de façon exhaustive la plénitude du sens de *מחיגה* dans ce contexte.

Tout le monde sait qu'il faut interpréter les mots d'un texte donné à la lumière du contexte immédiat et du contexte général où ils figurent et bien entendu en fonction de sa structure grammaticale. Examinons attentivement les extraits d'Isaïe et de Psaume 107 cités ci-dessus où figure les mots *הָקָא* (Isaïe 19,17) et *חֲזוֹנוֹ* (Psaume 107,27) et essayons d'analyser ces termes du point de vue grammatical et sémantique avant de diriger nos regards sur l'extrait de Qoumran qui reprend la formulation des versets bibliques, notamment à travers l'utilisation des termes *מחיגה* et *הגו*. Dans

¹² Dimant a en vue la formule *ויתמוגגו ויתנועעו וימסו קרבי[ה]ם* « Ils sont en pamoison et ils vacillent et leurs entrailles fondent ».

¹³ Elle a en vue la formule *יתמוגגו ויתנועעו* « Ils sont en pamoison et ils vacillent ».

¹⁴ On sait que la racine *מח* décrit la déliquescence du cœur et la peur, comme il appert des versets : *נמגו כל ישרי כנען* « Tous les habitants de Canaan sont tombés en déliquescence (נמגו) » (Exode 15,15) ; *נמגו כל ישרי הארץ* « Tous les habitants du pays sont tombés en déliquescence (נמגו) » (Josué 2,9).

cette perspective, מְחִיגָה et les mots similaires¹⁵ apparaissent sous un jour nouveau.

8. Analysons tout d'abord la formation de מְחִיגָה. La *scriptio plena* avec *yod* après le *heth* reflète presque à coup sûr une forme מְחִיגָה plutôt qu'une forme מְחִיגָה (מְחִיגָה). En effet le *yod* en syllabe entravée atone n'est presque jamais noté dans la graphie de Qoumran¹⁶. Par conséquent מְחִיגָה dérive de la racine ח"ג et son schème morphologique est du type מְפִילָה comme מְדִיבָה « selle », « mortier » (Ms. Parme B [de-Rossi 497] de la Michnah, ordre *Teharot* : *Kelim* 23,2 ; *Tevul Yom* 2,3¹⁷ ; cf. aussi la vocalisation babylonienne de ce mot)¹⁸ ; מְדִיבָה « État » (Esther 1,1)¹⁹ ; מְרִיבָה « querelle » (Nombres 20,13) ;²⁰ מְשִׁימָה « charge » attesté au pluriel en hébreu rabbinique : מְשִׁימוֹת (Talmud de Babylone, *Yebamot* 45b²¹)²².

9. Sachant que la racine ח"ג est une racine à deuxième radicale en *waw* et la racine ח"ג"ג une racine à deuxième radicale redoublée, les noms et les verbes qui en dérivent sont sémantiquement proches les uns des autres (comme d'autres paires de racines des mêmes types qui ont tendance à être interchangeable). Le sens fondamental de ces deux racines est celui de « mouvement circulaire, tournoiement ». La racine ח"ג est attestée à

¹⁵ Par « similaire » je veux dire non identique. Voir ci-dessous §§ 8–9. En effet מְחִיגָה dérive, semble-t-il, de la racine ח"ג (du reste ח"ג du texte de Qoumran est peut-être également tiré de ח"ג). En revanche, חִיגָה et חִיגָה dérivent de ח"ג"ג.

¹⁶ Voir E. Qimron, *A grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Thèse de doctorat, Université hébraïque de Jérusalem (hébreu), 1976, 53–55.

¹⁷ Mais le ms. Kaufmann (*Kelim*) lit ce mot en מְדִיבָה (d'après le schème מְפִילָה). Et au traité *Tevul Yom*, la seconde main du ms. Kaufmann lit מְדִיבָה (d'après le schème מְפִילָה).

¹⁸ Voir notamment I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (Jérusalem, 1985), [hébreu], 1006. La première des deux occurrences est ponctuée tantôt מְדִיבָה (d'après le système babylonien), tantôt מְדִיבָה (d'après le système de Tibériade).

¹⁹ C'est aussi le cas dans la vocalisation babylonienne (voir I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition*, 1006).

²⁰ Au même endroit I. Yeivin mentionne aussi la vocalisation babylonienne.

²¹ Dans son édition du Talmud d'après la tradition de Sanaa (Yémen), le rabbin Yosef 'Amer adopte la même vocalisation qui correspond ici à la lecture des rites sépharades et achkénazes. Par la suite, le mot se transmet avec cette forme aux époques ultérieures et à l'hébreu moderne.

²² Le mot figure dans le commentaire d'un verset : שׁוֹם תְּשִׁים עֲלֶיךָ מֶלֶךְ...מִקְרָב אַחֲרֶיךָ תְּשִׁים עֲלֶיךָ « “Alors tu devras placer (שׁוֹם תְּשִׁים) un roi au-dessus de toi... c'est un de tes frères que tu placeras (תְּשִׁים) comme roi au-dessus de toi” » (Deutéronome 17,15) – כל מְשִׁימוֹת שְׂאֵתָהּ מְשִׁים – « toutes les charges (מְשִׁימוֹת) que tu confies (מְשִׁים) ne pourront être confiées qu'à un de tes frères ».

travers le verbe הָג על מים : הָק הָג « Il a tracé (הָג^{23}) un cercle à la surface des eaux » (Job 26,10) ainsi qu'à travers les substantifs הוֹג et מְהוֹגָה : הוֹג שָׁמַיִם « la voûte des cieux » (Job 22,14) ; הוֹג הָאָרֶץ « le cercle de la terre » (Isaïe 40,22) ; $\text{וּבְמַחְוֵה יִתְאַרְהוּ}$ « et avec un crayon il le dessine » (Isaïe 44,13). Quant à la racine הָג , elle est actualisée avec cette acception dans le verbe הוֹגוּ qui figure en Psaume 107,27 : « Ils tournoyaient (הוֹגוּ^{24}) et titubaient (יָנוּעוּ) »

10. Je pense que dans les contextes où figurent le nom הָגָא (Isaïe 19,17) et le verbe הוֹגוּ (Psaumes 107,27) la notion de tournoisement se double d'une autre signification qui est peut-être le sens principal. Dans le verset des Psaumes il est question d'un homme ivre titubant et tournant sur lui-même : « Ils tournoyaient et titubaient comme des gens ivres ». Pour le psalmiste, cette situation exprime la perte (passagère) de l'intelligence et de la raison, comme il apparaît dans le deuxième hémistiche du verset : $\text{וְכָל חִכְמָתָם חֲתַבְלַע}$ « Et toute leur sagesse était anéantie ». Il en va de même dans l'énumération extrêmement détaillée de la situation de l'Égypte en Isaïe 19,11–22²⁵ : « Les princes de Tsoan ne sont que des insensés. Les sages conseillers de Pharaon forment un conseil stupide... Les princes de Tsoan sont fous ». De fait, un homme qui a perdu la raison risque de divaguer et de chanceler, comme le dit le verset 13 : « Ils ont fait divaguer l'Égypte ». Et cette divagation se manifeste comme suit : « Comme un homme ivre chancelle en vomissant » (*ibid.* 14).

²³ Comme nous le disions ci-dessus, la forme הָגוּ לְקוֹל qui figure à la ligne 9 de l'extrait pourrait être une forme à deuxième radicale en *waw*.

²⁴ Il va sans dire qu'à partir de la signification primaire de הָגָה « tourner » s'est développée la signification courante de « fêter ». Ce fait est suffisamment connu. D'autre part, on peut se demander si le *dagesh* figurant dans le verbe הוֹגוּ n'a pas une valeur péjorative. Auquel cas, ce verbe serait en fait tiré de la racine הוּ"ג (הוֹגוּ). En effet, la *scriptio plena* n'est pas attestée pour les verbes à deuxième radicale redoublée. De fait, si le verbe était tiré de la racine הוּ"ג , la graphie attendue aurait été une *scriptio defectiva* sans *waw*, c'est-à-dire הוֹגוּ comme תָּכַזוּ et autres formes du même type. Ce phénomène a été étudié par Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition*, 362 : « Dans certains mots, le *dagesh* sert à exprimer une connotation péjorative ». Yeivin renvoie à ses prédécesseurs et ajoute des faits par lui glanés, comme par exemple : $\text{בַּעֲבוּר הַרְעֵמָה}$ « afin de l'oppresser » (1 Samuel 1,6) en face de $\text{אֵל הַכְּבוֹד הַרְעִים}$ « le Dieu de gloire a appesanti » (Psaumes 29,3). Peut-on aller jusqu'à dire que la formation du mot הָגָא obéit à un mécanisme similaire ? Ni pour le premier exemple (הוֹגוּ) ni pour le second (הָגָא) je ne suis pas certain qu'il s'agisse d'une gémation secondaire.

²⁵ C'est bien pourquoi j'ai cru bon de citer *in extenso* les versets d'Isaïe 19 (voir ci-dessus § 4).

Ces deux chapitres de la Bible présentent le même tableau, mais l'enchaînement des actions diffèrent de l'un à l'autre. En Psaumes 107, ירדו תהומות יעלו שמים « Ceux qui étaient descendus sur la mer dans des navires » (verset 23) sont décrits comme des gens ivres :

יהונו וינועו כשכור

« Ils tournoyaient (יהונו) et titubaient (ינועו) comme des gens ivres ».

La conséquence de cette ivresse est la perte de la sagesse :

וכל חכמתם תתבלע

« Et toute leur sagesse était anéantie ».

En Isaïe, ceux qui ont perdu la sagesse et le discernement se sont transformés en conseillers ineptes, ceux qui ont sombré dans la stupidité et sur lesquels s'est déversé un esprit de vertige sont devenus pareils à des gens ivres qui divaguent :

כהתעות שכור בקיאו

« Comme un homme ivre chancelle en vomissant »

et font divaguer :

והתעו את-מצרים

« Ils ont fait divaguer l'Égypte »

11. Ainsi donc, les tournoissements et les vacillements sont l'expression de la confusion et la traduction matérielle de la perte du discernement, de l'intelligence et de la sagesse. Qui sait du reste s'il n'est pas question ici de la folie pure et simple ? En d'autres termes, הו"ג et הו"ג"ג qui désignaient au départ un mouvement circulaire ou une démarche titubante et tournoyante en sont arrivés à exprimer le dérèglement et la confusion de l'intelligence, la perte du discernement jusqu'à l'anéantissement passager de la sagesse et à l'aliénation mentale. On dirait que quand Isaïe dit de la terre de Judée qu'elle sera une הו"ג pour l'Égypte, il veut signifier que la Judée plongera l'Égypte dans la confusion et l'hébétude. Je voudrais appliquer la même interprétation à מחיגה : ce mot qui décrivait la démarche vacillante et le tournoissement en est arrivé à désigner le vacillement et la confusion de l'intelligence, l'absence de sagesse pouvant aller jusqu'à une situation aussi extrême que la démence ponctuelle et terrifiante (« et leurs entrailles fondent »).

12. De fait, Isaïe évoque la peur provoquée par une הו"ג :

והיתה אדמת יהודה למצרים להו"ג

« Et la terre de Judée sera pour l'Égypte une תָּזָא » (Isaïe 19,17).

Le comportement de l'homme ivre qui vacille et semble en proie à la démence a en effet de quoi effrayer. Auparavant on lit explicitement :

ביום ההוא יהיה מצרים כנשים וחרד ופחד

« En ce jour, l'Égypte sera comme des femmes : Elle tremblera et aura peur » (*ibid.* 16).

Cette peur est suscitée par la confusion qui s'est emparée des sages et des gouvernants de l'Égypte, par l'hébétude qui frappe les conseillers de Pharaon. Quand on est réduit à ce point, on ressemble à un homme que son ivresse a plongé dans un état de confusion insensée proche de la démence. Cette éclipse de la sagesse, cette confusion du bon sens exprimés par le mot תָּזָא a quelque chose d'effrayant pour ceux qui en sont témoins ainsi que pour ceux qui dépendent de l'individu ainsi affecté.

À mon sens, c'est cela qui est sous-tendu par l'expression מחיגה לפרעה dans l'extrait de Qoumran. Un souverain qui succombe à la confusion et à l'hébétude (מחיגה) est un spectacle effrayant pour les sujets qui en dépendent : יתמוגגו ויתנועעו וימסו קרביהם « Ils sont en pamoison, ils vacillent et leurs entrailles fondent ».

13. Si mon interprétation de מחיגה est juste et que ce mot ayant initialement l'acception physique de « mouvement circulaire et tournoyant », « vacillement », « vertige » en est arrivé à désigner la confusion, l'hébétude (au sens que nous prêtons au mot תָּזָא dans Isaïe et au mot מחיגה dans le texte de Qoumran), force est d'admettre que nous nous trouvons en présence non seulement d'un vocable inconnu, mais aussi d'une extension de sens concernant deux mots dérivés des racines חו"ג et חג"ג. Cela n'a du reste rien de surprenant. Nous constatons en effet qu'en hébreu tout comme dans d'autres langues, les verbes de mouvement qui désignent le vacillement, le mélange et le tournoiement en arrivent à désigner la confusion mentale et l'hébétude.

14. Cette évolution est bien attestée à travers la racine בל"ל. Le verbe בָּלַל désigne le mélange comme dans le verset : סלת בלולה בשמן « de la fleur de farine... mélangée (בלולה) à l'huile » (Nombres 28,5 et *passim*). כי שם בָּלַל ה' « Car c'est là que l'Éternel confondit (בָּלַל) la langue de toute la terre » (Genèse 11,9). À partir de cette racine a été tiré le *nif'al* נָבַל qui désigne l'inepte : עם נָבַל ולא חכם « Peuple inepte (נָבַל) et insensé » (Deutéronome 32,7). On sait par ailleurs que la racine בלב"ל est l'élargissement quadrilatère de בל"ל. C'est sur elle qu'ont été formés בלבול

« confusion » et מְבֹלְבֵל « confus ». Citons ici l'opinion de Zeev Ben-Hayyim : « Le nom biblique נָבֵל²⁶ pris au sens d'inepte désigne en fait celui dont l'intelligence est confuse (בלולה), en proie à la démence. Il en va de même pour les termes tardifs מְבֹלְבֵל et מְטוֹרֵף²⁷.

15. Ces changements sémantiques ne se limitent pas aux racines qui désignent l'idée de mélange, de confusion ou de mouvement circulaire et tournoyant. Il apparaît que les verbes de mouvement exprimant l'action d'agiter, de remuer ou de frapper en arrivent à signifier l'hébétude démentielle. C'est le cas du verbe פָּרַף « frapper », « agiter »²⁸ sur lequel a été formée l'expression דַּעְתוֹ נִטְרָפָה²⁹ « il a sombré dans la démence » (littéralement « son intelligence a été remuée »), ainsi que le participe substantivé מְטוֹרֵף « dément ». Le sens de base est attesté dans des passages comme : טַרַף בְּקַלְפֵי « Il agita l'urne (*Yoma* 4,1) ; שְׂכַל הָעָם הָיוּ מְטַרְפִּים אֶת לִוְלְבֵיהֶם ; (ms. Kaufmann, *Sukkah*, 3,9³⁰) Mais dans le texte imprimé de la Michnah, le mot מְטַרְפִּים (מְטַרְפִּין) a été remplacé par מְנַעֲנְעִין. À partir du verbe פָּרַף « agiter » se sont développées les acceptions secondaires de מְטוֹרֵף et נִטְרָפָה דַּעְתוֹ et autres expressions du même genre.

Le verbe עָרַעַר « saper » exprime à l'origine l'idée d'ébranler et de remuer, comme dans le verset עָרַעַר תְּחַעֲרָעַר בְּבַל הַרְחָבָה עָרַעַר « Les murailles de Babylone seront complètement sapées (עָרַעַר תְּחַעֲרָעַר) » (Jérémie 51,58). Plus tard on trouve l'expression דְּבָרִים שְׂמַעְרַעְרִים אֶת הַנֶּפֶשׁ « les choses qui ébranlent (שְׂמַעְרַעְרִים) l'âme » (Maïmonide, *Michneh Torah*, הלכות מאכלות, [Lois des aliments interdits], XIV, 15). À partir de là s'est constituée l'expression מְעוֹרַעַר בְּנַפְשׁוֹ « malade mental » abrégée en מְעוֹרַעַר.

²⁶ Comme l'a bien démontré Z. Ben-Hayyim, « Erkhe Millim », *Tarbiz* 50 (1981), 192–199. Il distingue une forme נָבֵל « inepte », « idiot » (de la racine בל"ל) d'une forme נָבֵל « bas », « mauvais » (de la racine נב"ל).

²⁷ Voir Z. Ben-Hayyim, « Erkhe Millim », 198.

²⁸ E. Ben Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* [hébreu] fait figurer ce verbe à l'article פָּרַף II et מְטוֹרֵף à l'article פָּרַף I qu'il glose par הִטָּף « ravir ». L'exemple par lequel il illustre cette acception est טַרַף הָאֲרִיָּה אוֹ הַלְּבַב אֶת הַכֶּבֶשׂ « le lion ou le loup ravit le mouton ». Il cite encore d'autres passages. Bien entendu, il n'a pas raison sur ce point.

²⁹ Plus tard le *nif'al* דַּעְתוֹ נִטְרָפָה a remplacé le *nitpa'al* דַּעְתוֹ נִטְרָפָה.

³⁰ La version du ms. Parme A (de-Rossi 138) et celle du ms. Cambridge (sous une forme légèrement différente dans les deux cas : מְטַרְפִּין בְּלִוְלְבֵיהֶן) concorde avec le ms. Kaufmann. Il en va de même dans la Michnah jointe au Talmud de Jérusalem (cette source est citée dans le dictionnaire de Ben Yehudah), dans le manuscrit yéménite de l'ordre *Mo'ed* et dans d'autres textes encore.

16. On peut supposer que certaines des expressions qui se réfèrent au dérangement mental sont à l'origine des tournures elliptiques: נְטָרְפָה דעתו a été simplifié en מטורף דעת « dément » abrégé מטורף ; מעורער בנפשו « dérangé » abrégé en מעורער. À côté de ces expressions se sont aussi constitués des termes abstraits : טירוף « folie » ; ערעור « dérangement mental » ; en vertu du même principe on obtient מבולבל דעת > מבולבל « mentalement confus » ainsi que le nom abstrait בלבול « confusion mentale ». Rien n'empêche d'ailleurs de penser que des processus similaires expliquent la formation de נבך « inepte » et des noms abstraits תְּנָא וְתִיגָה. Mais peut-être que ces expressions se sont constituées d'une autre façon. Elles s'expliqueraient en vertu de la conception selon laquelle l'intelligence est placée dans la tête de l'être humain et qu'elle y est fortement établie ; et donc, à partir du moment où la tête est agitée, la raison est affectée³¹.

17. On trouve dans d'autres langues³² des parallèles à l'évolution sémantique qui mène de l'image du mélange et du mouvement circulaire et tournoyant à l'idée de confusion mentale. Je me contenterai ici de mentionner un microsyntaxme et un mot qui constituent à mon sens des avatars du *yiddish* en hébreu moderne³³.

a) Il me semble que l'expression מעורב בדעת employée par Yehudah Leyb Gordon transpose l'adjectif yiddish צומישט *tsumisht* qui signifie « mélangé », « confus » et qui désigne par extension quelqu'un dont la raison est

³¹ De fait, l'antonyme de מבולבל et de מטורף est מיושב בדעתו < מיושב בדעתו « de sens rassis ».

³² J'ai retenu plusieurs exemples tirés de diverses langues, notamment du grec et de l'anglais. En grec, le verbe πλανάω dont le sens de base est « errer », « vagabonder », « être égaré » a développé le sens secondaire de « se méprendre », « devenir fou », « être dans la confusion ». De façon plus révélatrice encore, l'anglais *wander* « errer », « vagabonder » a donné lieu au sens secondaire de « se méprendre ». Mentionnons à ce propos l'expression *his mind is wandering* « il a l'esprit qui divague », « il est devenu fou ». Je voudrais enfin évoquer un exemple tiré de l'arabe marocain (dans les parlers musulmans et juifs). On trouve là un verbe *txəlxəl* dont le sens de base est « être secoué » dont le sens dérivé est « perdre la raison ». Ce verbe a donné lieu à la formation du participe (éventuellement adjectivé ou substantivé) *mxəlxəl* « un peu fou » ou « complètement fou ». Signalons à ce propos que le dictionnaire Colin d'arabe marocain (parlers musulmans) mentionne la forme verbale *thəlhəl* « devenir fou ». Mais pour illustrer l'emploi participial, il cite l'exemple *mhəlhəl f 'aqlo* « dérangé », « dément ». À mon sens, le mot *mxəlxəl* (sans *f-'aqlo*) exprime la même chose. Que le lecteur prenne garde : la translittération en *xəlxəl* que j'emploie et la translittération en *həlhəl* utilisée par Colin se réfèrent à la même prononciation. Dans le corps du texte, je me contenterai de mentionner deux adjectifs de l'hébreu moderne qui constituent manifestement des traductions-calques du *yiddish*.

³³ Pour ces mots du *yiddish* j'ai pris conseil auprès de mes savants confrères M. le Professeur Shmuel Werses et Mme le Professeur Hava Turniansky. Qu'ils soient remerciés pour leur aimable collaboration.

confuse et troublée³⁴. Cette expression sert de titre à une nouvelle de cet auteur³⁵. Il réapparaît ensuite dans le corps même du récit : לא האריך ימים³⁶ « La seule chose qui subsistât fut ce grand effroi que m'inspirait (צבי המעורב בדעת) Tsvi à l'âme dérangée³⁷ »³⁸ « Un homme affecté par un mauvais esprit, un homme fou à l'âme dérangée (משוגע) (מעורב בדעת) ». On remarquera que l'homme à l'esprit dérangé est désigné doublement au moyen de משוגע et מעורב בדעת. Gordon qui avait une connaissance approfondie de la langue des sources rabbimiques n'ignorait certes pas l'expression du Talmud : לעולם תהא דעתו של אדם מעורבת עם : « Il faut toujours avoir l'esprit concerné par les autres hommes » (Talmud de Babylone, *Berakhot*, 17a). C'est ce passage du Talmud qui est à l'origine de l'expression מעורב בדעת עם הבריות « qui a l'esprit concerné par les autres hommes ». Ce tour désigne l'une des qualités les plus appréciées chez un maître-officiant qui récite la prière ממעש עני הנני par laquelle débute l'office de Mousaph du Nouvel An et de Kippour dans les rites achkénaze et sépharade adopté par les Hassidim. Manifestement c'est de là que Gordon a tiré l'expression מעורב בדעת à laquelle il a conféré un sens nouveau afin de rendre le mot yiddish *tsumisht*.

b) En hébreu contemporain, on emploie le participe מְסוּבָּב (souvent prononcé מְסוּבָּב avec [u]) qui est à coup sûr un calque du yiddish צעדרייטער⁴⁰, littéralement « tourné » et par extension « dérangé », « fou » et autres acceptions du même genre⁴¹.

18. Comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus, on pourrait encore s'étendre sur ce sujet, mais les données que j'ai exposées ici sont suffisantes pour corroborer mon interprétation de תְּהַגֵּה וְהִגָּה comme des dérivés des racines תְּהַגֵּה et הִגָּה qui désignent un mouvement tournoyant. Ces mots semblent en

³⁴ Voir U. Weinreich, *Modern English - Yiddish Yiddish - English Dictionary*, New York, 1968, 339 ; dans la même entrée figure aussi le nom צומיש *tsumish* et le verbe צומישן *tsumishn*.

³⁵ Voir Kitve Y.L. Gordon, *Proza* (Tel-Aviv, 1960), 126-140.

³⁶ Kitve Y.L. Gordon, *Proza* (voir n. 31), 128.

³⁷ Les trois derniers mots sont mis en valeur dans le texte original.

³⁸ Kitve Y.L. Gordon, *Proza* (voir n. 31), 128.

³⁹ Kitve Y.L. Gordon, *Proza* (voir n. 31), 129.

⁴⁰ Voir U. Weinreich, *Modern english - yiddish*, 351. M. Weinreich fait figurer l'infinitif צעדרייטן. L'équivalent allemand de צעדרייטער est *verdreht* qui signifie également « un peu dérangé ».

⁴¹ Signalons que la nouvelle édition du dictionnaire Even-Shoshan ne joint aucune illustration au mot מְסוּבָּב.

outre avoir acquis avec le temps le sens secondaire de confusion mentale, de perplexité et d'hébétéude, peut-être même de démence (passagère).

CONCLUSION

19. Ainsi donc, il arrive souvent que les rouleaux de Qoumran apportent un complément d'information sur des phénomènes déjà répertoriés de l'hébreu. Parfois aussi, ils nous révèlent l'existence de mots inconnus auparavant. Enfin, certaines découvertes éclairent d'un jour nouveau des termes connus depuis des générations, comme dans le passage des rouleaux qui a fait l'objet de la présente étude.

Comme l'ont fait remarquer les éditrices du texte qoumranique, מְחִיגָה est un terme inédit. Cette graphie doit sans doute s'interpréter comme une notation pour מְחִיגָה, mot tiré de la racine חו"ג. À l'origine, cette racine désignait un mouvement circulaire et tournoyant. Avec le temps, חו"ג et la racine apparentée חג"ג ont développé le sens secondaire tournoiement de la tête dans l'acception figurée de confusion mentale, perplexité, hébétéude. Il semble que c'est ainsi qu'il faut interpréter l'expression יְהוּגוּ וַיִּנְוְעוּ כַּשְׂכּוֹר « Ils tournoyaient et titubaient comme des gens ivres » qui signifie que la sagesse de l'homme ivre disparaît et est anéantie. Il en va de même pour le substantif תְּגָא (tiré de la racine חג"ג). Le même sens transparait également dans le substantif מְחִיגָה. Bien entendu, toute information provenant d'autres sources est bienvenue pour corroborer la suggestion que nous avons développée ici.

AMORAIC HEBREW IN THE LIGHT OF BEN SIRA'S LINGUISTIC INNOVATIONS*

HAIM DIHI

Beer-Sheva

We can divide the linguistic innovations in Ben Sira into two groups: (1) those that are common to Ben Sira and the later books of the Bible and/or the Dead Sea Scrolls and/or the Mishnaic literature and/or Aramaic; (2) those that are unique to Ben Sira. Some of the latter may be ascribed to the author's uncommon linguistic gifts and to the literary genre of his work—wisdom literature—which makes use of poetic features, including parallelism, meter, rhyme, and alliteration. It seems to be only a matter of chance that none of his other unique coinages are found only in Ben Sira.

In the present lecture, I wish to focus exclusively on the linguistic innovations common to Ben Sira and Amoraic literature. Let me stress from the outset that these innovations appear in the latter quite independently and not as part of citations from, or within paraphrases of Ben Sira.

The language of the Amoraim, unlike that of the Tannaim, has not been widely studied. Breuer, for example, emphasizes that “The Hebrew of the Amoraim, which strongly influenced the development of the Hebrew language, has not been sufficiently studied; this is especially true of Amoraic Hebrew as preserved in the Babylonian Talmud.”¹

* I would like to thank Prof. D. Talshir and Prof. H. Cohen, who read the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions.

¹ Y. Breuer, “On the Hebrew Dialect of the Amoraim in the Babylonian Talmud,” *Language Studies* 2–3 [1987], 127. The major studies of Amoraic language include the following: E. Y. Kutscher, “Some Problems of the Lexicography of Mishnaic Hebrew and Its Comparison with Biblical Hebrew”, *Archive of the New Dictionary of Rabbinic Literature* 1 (1972), 29–82, 54–65; M. Sokoloff, “The Hebrew of Bereshit Rabba According to MS Vat. Ebr. 30,” *Lěšonénu* 33 (1969), 25–42, 135–149, 270–279; Y. Breuer, *The Babylonian Talmudic Hebrew According to the Manuscripts of Tractate Pesahim* (Jerusalem, 2003). For other studies of Amoraic language see Y. Breuer, *Tractate Pesahim*, p. 1 n. 4.

The pioneers in the study of this dialect—notably Kutscher and Sokoloff—reached the conclusion that it was a dead literary language that did not experience the changes and developments typical of a living idiom. According to these scholars, Amoraic Hebrew continued the literary traditions of the dialects that preceded it, chiefly biblical and Tannaitic Hebrew. They also emphasized the prominent influence of Aramaic, the spoken vernacular of the Amoraim, on their Hebrew.²

A watershed in research about the nature of Amoraic Hebrew are the two studies by Breuer.³ Breuer presents evidence of linguistic innovations that reflect natural internal development of the language. Some of these innovations occur occasionally in the language of the Tannaim, while others make their first appearance in Amoraic Hebrew. With regard to the former, Breuer asks whether they really were first used by the Tannaim and then became widespread in the Amoraic age, or whether they penetrated the language of the tannaim only in a later stage of the redaction.⁴

Amoraic Hebrew innovations that have no parallel in Tannaitic Hebrew and that cannot be explained as the result of Aramaic influence (in some cases even when there is a parallel in Aramaic they are not necessarily influenced by that language) indicate, as stated above, internal development of the sort typical of living rather than dead languages. On the basis of these findings, Breuer offers two possibilities: (1) Amoraic Hebrew was a spoken language, to some unknown extent; (2) in some circumstances, the natural internal developments that are characteristic of a living idiom may take place in a dead language as well.

In my lecture today, as I have already noted, I want to discuss especially those innovations that are common only to Ben Sira and Amoraic Hebrew (and, in one case, to Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew as well). It is particularly important to note that these innovations do not occur in later Aramaic (Western, Eastern, or other dialects) or in late biblical Hebrew.

² On the influence of Aramaic see Kutscher, “Lexicography,” 55; Sokoloff, “Bereshit Rabba,” 297.

³ Breuer, “The Hebrew of the Amoraim,” 127–153; Breuer, *Tractate Pesahim*.

⁴ Consider for example the word אַלְמַלִּי. It occurs only once in Tannaitic literature (according to the evidence of the texts), but is very common in the Babylonian Talmud. In Tannaitic literature and the Jerusalem Talmud, we find אֵילִילִי instead. Breuer (“The Hebrew of the Amoraim,” 129–132) asks whether this unique occurrence in Tannaitic literature is an authentic feature of this dialect or whether it was interpolated at a later stage of textual transmission.

Consequently, these innovations in Amoraic Hebrew can be attributed neither to Aramaic nor to biblical Hebrew.

Let us now proceed to the main evidence, after which I will expand on several examples.

There are a total of 12 innovations common to Ben Sira and Amoraic literature that are not found in the Bible, Tannaitic literature, or Aramaic. They fall into two categories: nine morphological and three semantic.

In Hebrew alphabetical order, they are as follows:

1. The adjective גבהון, meaning “a proud or supercilious person,” occurs once in Ben Sira:

4:29 [A] אל תהי גבהון בלשוניך ורפי ורשיש⁵ במלאכתך
Be not haughty in your speech,
nor lazy and slack in your deeds.⁶

Within Amoraic literature, the Midrash Hagadol (a very late midrash) contains the feminine form גבהנית. This is thus a morphological innovation.

2. There is one occurrence of the substantive גרגרת, meaning “organ of eating,” in Ben Sira:

36:23 [B] כל מאכל אוכל גרגרת* אך יש אוכל ..ו..ל >נע<ים**
* [כ]רש** כל...תסוגר ב.. אך יש מאכל ממאכל תנעם
The gullet can swallow any food,
yet some foods are more agreeable than others.

In the Tannaitic literature, the word גרגרת means “windpipe”. In the sense of “organ of eating” it is found only in the amoraic literature, once each in Vayyiqra Rabbah, Qoheleth Rabbah, and Shemot Rabbah. Here the innovation is both morphological and semantic with respect to biblical Hebrew. Ben Sira used the singular, whereas in the Bible (Prov. 1, 9; 3, 3, 22; 6, 21) we find only the plural, in the sense of “throat” or “neck.” Because the Tannaim also used the singular form, however, the morphological innovation is not included here.

⁵ The vocalization of רשיש is present in the manuscript. On the original vocalization in the manuscript, see Z. Ben-Hayyim (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem, 1973), 5.

⁶ Translations of Ben Sira are based on Di Lella’s commentary (P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Anchor Bible (New York, 1987), but modified silently where appropriate to my understanding of the text.

3. The root **דא"ב** occurs once in Ben Sira in the *hifil*, with the meaning “cause pain”:

4:1 [A] בני אל תלעג לחיי עני ואל תדאיב נפש עני ומר נפש
My son, do not mock the poor person's life,
or wear out the expectations of an embittered spirit.

There is also one instance of this root in the *hifil* in Amoraic literature, in the Babylonian Talmud (Ned. 22a). This is thus a morphological innovation

4. The abstract noun **דלות** occurs twice in Ben Sira:

10:31 [A] [המ]כבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יתר
והנקלה בעשרו בדלותו נקלה יותר
Honored in poverty, how much more so in wealth!
Dishonored in wealth, in poverty how much the more!

דלות is frequent in amoraic literature.⁷

5. The root **חכ"ם** occurs in Ben Sira three times in the *nifal*:

37:19 [B] *יש חכם לרבים נחכם ולנפשו הוא גואל*⁸
A person may be wise and benefit many, yet appear to himself to be foolish.

37:22 [B] ויש חכם לנפשו נחכם ופרי דעתו על גויתו⁹
When one is wise to his own advantage,
the fruits of his knowledge are seen in his own person.

37:23 [B] [ויש חכם לעמו נחכם פרי דעתו בגויתם]¹⁰
When one is wise to his people's advantage,
the fruits of his knowledge are seen in his peoples.

There is only one instance of the root **חכ"ם** in the *nifal* in Amoraic literature, in Midrash Heikhalot. This is therefore a morphological innovation.

6. The adjective **טפשת** occurs once in Ben Sira as follows:

42:6 [B] על אשה רעה* חותם חכם ומקום ידים רפות תפתח**
**טפשה *ע' אשה ר' חותם ומ' יד' ר' תפתח

⁷ See below, the expanded discussion of the noun “דלות”.

⁸ The same version is also found in manuscripts C and D. The only difference between the manuscripts is in the last word of the second hemistich. In Manuscript C it is **גואל**, as in Manuscript B, whereas in Manuscript D the word is **גואל**, which is also found as a marginal gloss in Manuscript B.

⁹ The text is the same in manuscripts B and C. The only difference between the manuscripts is in the verb, with **נחכם** replaced by **יהכם**.

¹⁰ This verse appears as an addition in the body of the manuscript. The same text is found in Manuscript D, except for the verb, with **נחכם** replaced by **יהכם**.

... Of a seal to keep a foolish wife at home, and of a key where there are many hands.

In the Masada scroll the text reads:

42:6 [M] שֶׁת חוֹתֶם וּמְקוֹם יָדַיִם רַבּוֹת מִפְתָּהּ ...

... [And on an evil wife, of] putting a seal, and where many hands are—a key.

In the margin of Manuscript B, the adjective רעה is replaced by טפשה. In the scroll from Masada, the first part of hemistich A is missing. Yadin¹² proposed filling in the lacuna with (על אשה רעה ת) שֶׁת חוֹתֶם. Strugnell¹³ rejected this solution and proposed (על אשה מ[ת]טפ) שֶׁת חוֹתֶם. This would refer to a woman who behaves like a fool or pretends to be one. Qimron,¹⁴ too, rejects Yadin's reconstruction, noting that there is not enough room on the line for all the words proposed by Yadin. He adds that Yadin's reconstruction is unacceptable if we compare it with the text of Manuscript B. He suggests filling in the lacuna with (על אשה טפ) שֶׁת חוֹתֶם. According to Qimron, the form טפשה is preferable to טפשה, found in the margin of Manuscript B, whose origin is evidently a scribal error or a misreading of the word טפשה. The form טפשה is to be preferred both because it is found in mishnaic literature (whereas the form טפשה occurs in Hebrew only in later texts) and also because the feminine ending ת- is common in feminine participles and adjectives chiefly in the pattern *gittel*.¹⁵

Of the two readings, that in the margin of Manuscript B, טפשה, and Qimron's suggested reconstruction טפשה, the latter seems preferable on morphological grounds.¹⁶

There is one instance of the adjective טפשה in Amoraic literature, in Midrash Tanhuma. In Tannaitic literature, we find the masculine form

¹¹ Chapter 42 opens with the header, "but of these things do not be ashamed." In vv. 1–8 Ben Sira lists things of which one should not be ashamed. Among these deeds, according to v. 6a [B], is putting a seal on a bad woman, that is, locking her up so that she can cause no harm.

¹² Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), 24.

¹³ J. Strugnell, "Notes and Queries on the Ben Sira Scroll from Masada", *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), 115.

¹⁴ E. Qimron, "Notes on the Reading", *Masada VI* (1989), 228–229.

¹⁵ Other examples of feminine adjectives of pattern *gittel* include גזמה, אלמה (both only in the Babylonian Talmud) and חרשה. On this pattern, see I. Avinery, *Heical Hammishqalim*, A Thesaurus of the Hebrew Radical Nouns (Tel Aviv, 1976), 446.

¹⁶ Although it is conjectural, whereas the reading of Manuscript B is certain.

טיפש. In Aramaic we find the adjective טפשה. This is a morphological innovation.

7. The root יש"ן occurs once in Ben Sira as a verbal noun in the *qal*, in the *q'tilah* (or *q'têlah*) pattern:

34:20 [B] מכאוב ונדד ישינה* וצער ותשניק ופני** הפוכות עם איש כסיל
*ישנה **פנים

Bilious distress, and loss of sleep, and restless tossing for the glutton!

The verbal noun ישינה appears in amoraic literature three times: once in the Babylonian Talmud and twice in Vayiqra Rabbah. This is a morphological innovation.

8. There is one instance of the root כפ"ף in the *hifil* in Ben Sira:

4:7 [A] האהב לנפשך לעדה ולשלטון עוד הכאף ראש
Endear yourself to the assembly; before the city's¹⁷ ruler bow your head.

In Amoraic literature, too, we find one occurrence of the root כפ"ף in the *hifil*, in the Babylonian Talmud. This is thus a morphological innovation.

9. The verbal noun form associated with the *hifil* of the root נש"ג is found twice in Ben Sira, in the sense of “ability” or the “property acquired by a person in his lifetime”:

14:13 [A] בטרם תמות היטב לאוהב והשיגת ידך תן לו
Before you die, be good to (your) friend, and give him a share in what you have.

32:12 [B] תן לו* [כ]מתנתו** לך בטוב עין ובהשגת***
*לאל * כמתתו** [כ]הגשת [כ]הגיש

Give to the Most High as He has given to you, generously, according to your means.

In the Amoraic literature, the verbal noun השגה occurs three times in association with יד ‘hand’ (השגת יד) with the same sense as that given it by Ben Sira: once in the Babylonian Talmud and twice in the Jerusalem Talmud. The noun השגה is a morphological innovation.

10. The root ער"ך appears twice in Ben Sira in the *hifil* with the meaning “arrange.”

¹⁷ Various commentators, drawing on the Syriac version (ולשלטנא דמדינתא אמך רשך), emend the word עוד to עיר. On this emendation, see, e.g., R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), vol. II, 37.

39:17 [B] ב[ד]ברו יעריך נר... ומוצא פיו אוצרו
 By His word He orders the luminaries in the heavenly height,
 and by the utterance of His mouth is His treasure.¹⁸

50:18 [B] ויתן השיר קולו ועל המון העריכו נרו
 And the song gave its voice and over the multitude they arranged his lamp.

In Amoraic literature, ער"ך in the *hifil*, meaning “arrange” or “organize,” occurs four times: in *Pesiḳta de-Rav Kahana*, *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, and twice in *Tanhuma*. This is therefore a morphological innovation.

11. The noun רוכל occurs twice in Ben Sira with the sense of “tale-bearing.”

11:29 [A] לא כל איש להביא אל בית ומה רבו פצעו רוכל
 Bring not everyone into (your) house,
 for many are the wounds inflicted by the slanderer.

11:30 [A] אורב הרוכל כדוב לבית לצים וכמרגל יראה ערוה
 Like a cage hunting falcon is the heart of the scoundrel
 and like a spy he will pick out defects.

In the Amoraic literature there is one instance of רוכל in this sense, in Midrash Zuta. This is therefore a semantic innovation.¹⁹

12. The last innovation, unlike the others, is common to Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Amoraic literature. The root כלכ"ל occurs twice in Ben Sira in the *hitpael*, with the sense of “set erect” or “carry”:

12:15 [A] עד עת עמד לא יופיע ואם נמוט לא יתכלכל
 So long as you stand he does not show himself, but if thou stumble he does
 not restrain himself.

¹⁸ Here the English is based on the Charles' edition (R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford, 1913), vol. I, 457). In the first verse, he reconstructs the first clause based on the Syriac translation (“במאמרה מדנה שמשא” [= בדברו ... (מזריח את השמש)]. Many emendations and diverse interpretations have been proposed for both verses, but this is not the place to discuss them.

¹⁹ As we see it, the root כלכ"ל is polysemous, meaning both ‘trade’ and ‘bear tales’. On this possibility, see, e.g., F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907), 940. Another possibility is to divide כלכ"ל into two homonyms, כלכ"ל₁ ‘trade’ and כלכ"ל₂ ‘bear tales’. On this possibility, see, e.g., L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner (et al.), *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (tr. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson, Leiden 1994–2000), vol. III, 1236–1237. All the same, it should be emphasized that in any case the word רוכל with the sense of “tale-bearing” is found in both Ben Sira and the Amoraic literature.

43:3 [B] בהצהירו ירתיח תבל לפני חרבו מי יתכלכל
 At noon it scorches the surface of the earth, and who can bear its fiery heat?

The version in the Masada scroll is:

43:3 [M] בהצהירו יר<ת>ח תבל ולפני חרב מי יתכזולל
 At noontide he brings the world to bo[ili]ng heat,
 And before scorching heat who can maintain himself?

Some scholars suggest reading the last word here as יתכלכל, as in Manuscript B.²⁰ Qimron suggests reading יסתולל, with the sense of “hold”.²¹

The root כלכל in the *hitpaal* occurs five times in Amoraic literature: twice in tractate Soferim, once in Midrash Tanhuma, and twice in *Pesiqta Rabbati*. This is therefore a morphological development.

Before we turn to address one example at greater length, it should be emphasized that the mere distinction between Tannaitic language and Amoraic language is insufficient.²² Rather, we must further divide the latter into two sub-dialects. The first is the language of the Amoraim of Eretz Israel, including the Hebrew of the Jerusalem Talmud and of the aggadic midrashim, which were composed in the Galilee in the fifth and sixth centuries. The second is the language of the Babylonian Amoraim, reflected in the Babylonian Talmud.²³ The baraitot in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds must also be distinguished. According to Moreshet,²⁴ the baraitot in the Jerusalem Talmud should be grouped with Tannaitic sources, whereas those in the Babylonian Talmud constitute a separate group. The latter set of baraitot evince a strong influence of Amoraic language, both Hebrew and Aramaic, and should consequently be seen as reflecting a transitional stage between the two dialects—that of the Tannaim and that of the Amoraim.

²⁰ For example, Yadin, *Masada*, 29.

²¹ Qimron, “Masada,” 228, 230.

²² On the importance of dividing Mishnaic language into two dialects, see Kutscher, “Lexicography,” 40; M. Bar-Asher, “The Different Traditions of Mishnaic Hebrew,” *Tarbiz* 53 (1984), 187–188; Breuer, “The Hebrew of the Amoraim,” 127; Breuer, *Tractate Pesahim*, 1–2.

²³ On the importance of the further subdivision of the Amoraic dialect see Kutscher, “Lexicography,” 55, 65; Breuer, *Tractate Pesahim*, 13.

²⁴ M. Moreshet, “New and Revived Verbs in the Bāraytot of the Babylonian Talmud (In Comparison with MH² in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim),” *Archive of the New Dictionary of Rabbinic Literature* 1 (1972), 160.

One Example at Length

1. The abstract noun דלות in the sense of “poverty”

10:31 [A] המ[תכבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יתר
והנקלה בעשרו בדלותו נקלה יותר

In Manuscript B the text reads:

המתכבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יתר
והנקלה בעשרו נקלה יותר

These first four stichoi of verse 31, are very similar in content to the last four stichoi, but are couched in more poetic terms:

הנכבד בעיניו בעשרו איכבה
והנקלה בעשרו בעיניו איכבה²⁵

In 10:31, Ben Sira contrasts the behavior of a poor man who has become rich with that of a rich man who has become poor. According to Ben Sira, if a man behaves honorably when he is poor he will certainly do so if he becomes wealthy. By contrast, a person who behaves dishonorably when he is rich will certainly continue to do so should he lose his property.

The abstract noun דלות, formed from the noun דל plus the suffix וית, should be understood to mean “poverty.” This interpretation is corroborated by the occurrence of the synonym עוני in the first two stichoi of the verse, as well as by the word עושר “wealth,” used in the second stich as the antithesis of דלות. According to Elwolde,²⁶ Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls evince a tendency to create abstract nouns from concrete substantives and adjectives.²⁷ The noun דלות is thus a morphological innovation with respect to biblical Hebrew, which employs the concrete substantive דל for a “poor person” but not the abstract דלות for the condition of

²⁵ Thus in Manuscript B; the text of Manuscript A is corrupt.

²⁶ J. F. Elwolde, “Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah”, in: T. Muraoka, J. F. Elwolde, eds., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University*, STDJ 26 (Leiden, 1997), 44.

²⁷ It is true that the suffix -ūt is widespread in Second-Temple Hebrew and Aramaic, but in fact can be traced back to classical biblical Hebrew, as e.g. “כבדות” ‘heaviness’ or ‘difficulty’ (Exod. 14:25) and “מסכנות” ‘poverty’ (Deut. 8:9). The cognate suffix -ūtu is found already in Akkadian, for example: *ardūtu* ‘slavery’; *šarrūtu* ‘kingdom’; *almānūtu* ‘widowhood’. On this suffix in Akkadian and biblical Hebrew see: P. Joüon, T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome, 1996), §88Mj; C. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Michigan, 1978), 79–80, n.170.

“poverty.” We find the same situation in the Dead Sea Scrolls (דל but not דלות).

The only instances of the noun דלות in the Rabbinic literature are in Amoraic texts—a total of 68 occurrences, distributed as follows: 60 in the Babylonian Talmud, five in the Jerusalem Talmud, and three in late aggadic midrashim.²⁸ For example:

TJ *Horayot* 2,6d :

וְאִם דָּל הוּא וְאִין יָדוּ מִשְׁגַּת' אֵת שֶׁהוּא רָאוּי לְבוֹא לְיַדֵּי דְלוּת. יֵצֵא מִשִּׁיחַ שְׂאִינּוּ רָאוּי לְבוֹא לְיַדֵּי דְלוּת, וְהָרִי נִשְׂיָא אִינּוּ רָאוּי לְבוֹא לְיַדֵּי דְלוּת... שְׂאִינּוּ רָאוּי לְבוֹא [בְּקִלּוּת וְכֵן] <לְיַדֵּי> דְלוּת וְכֵן דְּלֵי דְלוּת “If, however, he is poor and his means are insufficient” (Lev. 14:21): One for whom it is appropriate to descend into poverty (דלות). This excludes the Messiah, for whom it is not appropriate to descend into poverty (דלות). But what about the *nasi*, for whom it is not appropriate to descend into poverty (דלות)? ... [It means someone] for whom it is not appropriate to descend into poverty (דלות) nor into utter destitution (דלי דלות).

TB *Nazir* 40b :

מֵה לְהַצִּד הַשׁוּוֹה שְׁבֵהן שָׁכַן אִין קֶרְבָּנוּ בְּדְלוּת תֹּאמֵר בְּמִצְוֵרַע שֶׁקֶרְבָּנוּ בְּדְלוּת... another common property of [the Levites and the Nazirite] is that their sacrifice could not be offered in poverty (דלות), whereas the sacrifice of a leper could be offered in poverty (דלות).

The noun דלות is not found in Aramaic.

In this example, we can see an important development in the language of the Amoraim. Although adding the suffix *-ūt* to the noun דל would not seem to be a major innovation, the fact that the abstract noun דלות never appears in the Bible nor in Tannaitic literature but is quite common among the Amoraim, especially in the Babylonian Talmud but also in western texts, indicates that the Amoraim coined this term. Similarly, the fact that the Amoraim invented a new word, especially one which has several synonyms (such as עוֹנֵי and מִסְכְּנוֹת) in both the Bible and Tannaitic literature, which served them as both a literary and linguistic source, strongly suggests the type of development typical of a living language.

CONCLUSION

A close study of all of the linguistic coinages common to Ben Sira and Amoraic Hebrew indicates that they represent different degrees of inno-

²⁸ Midrash Agur, Midrash Mishlei [1050 CE] and Midrash Yehudit [1050 CE].

vation. They can be classified into two groups on the basis of two different parameters:

1. Major and minor innovations
2. Innovations found in older Amoraic texts and those found in later ones.

Major and minor innovations

According to the first parameter, major innovations that reflect dynamic linguistic processes include *דלוּת*, *ישינה*, *השיגה*²⁹ and the verb *הדאיב*.³⁰ In addition, as noted above, in most of these cases there were synonyms available in the Bible and Tannaitic literature. On the one hand, then, there was no real need for these coinages in Amoraic Hebrew; on the other hand, the existence of the biblical and Tannaitic synonyms means that the absence of the neologisms in biblical and Tannaitic Hebrew is not simply a matter of chance.

The minor innovations include the noun *גבהניית*;³¹ the verb *הכאף*;³² the verb *הערירך*;³³ the verb *נחכם*;³⁴ the adjective *טפשת*;³⁵ and the verb *התכלכל*.³⁶

²⁹ This word reflects the switch from *heqtel* pattern to *haqtalah* pattern, a transition that began in Tannaitic Hebrew and continued in Amoraic language. Both patterns are found in Tannaitic Hebrew (e.g. *ההר* and *הבדלה*), sometimes even for the same root (e.g., *הפסק* and *הפסקה*). In our case, *הישג* is used both by the Tannaim and the Amoraim, whereas the newer form *השגה* is used only by the Amoraim. On the transition from *heqtel* to *haqtalah* in amoraic Hebrew, see Breuer, *Tractate Pesahim*, 11.

³⁰ It is true that this is a *hifil* form derived from a root that appears in the *qal* in the Bible, a derivation that is almost automatic (from intransitive to transitive verb); still, because there are only three instances of the root *דא"ב* in the Bible in the *qal* (Jer 31, 12; Jer 31, 25; Ps 88, 10), and none in Tannaitic Hebrew, its use in the *hifil* by the Amoraim is an indication of a certain degree of innovation.

³¹ The creation of a feminine noun from a masculine noun is no astounding coinage; but the rarity of the masculine form indicates that there is some level of innovation here.

³² Here we have a newly created *hifil* conjugation form whose meaning is the same as that of the *qal* conjugation (in the Bible the *qal* of *כפ"ף* is transitive: Isa. 58:5: ... *הלכף כאגמון* ... *ראשו*... [to bow down his head like a rush]).

³³ Here too we have a newly coined *hifil* that semantically duplicates the *qal* (in the Bible, *ער"ך* in the *qal* is transitive). On the indiscriminate use of *hifil* and *qal* by Ben Sira, see M. Moreshet, "The *hif'il* in Mishnaic Hebrew as equivalent to the *qal*" in M. Bar-Asher, ed., *Qōves Ma'āmarim bi-Lšon Hazal 2* (Jerusalem, 1980), 271–272.

³⁴ The root occurs in the Bible in the *qal* (although in biblical Hebrew there is no automatic relationship of active-passive between the *qal* and *nifal*, there is in Mishnaic Hebrew, so the use of the root in the *nifal* is should not be considered a major innovation. On the relationship between *qal* and *nifal* in biblical Hebrew, see, e.g., Muraoka, *Grammar*, §40a, §51c. On the relationship between *qal* and *nifal* in Mishnaic Hebrew, see, e.g., M. Bar-Asher, "The Conjugations of Tannaitic Hebrew (A Morphological Study)," *Language Studies* 5–6 (1992), 124.

Classification by the date of the text

Earlier texts

1. The major innovations are found mainly in earlier amoraic texts: the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and aggadic Midrashim (Bereshit Rabbah, Vayiqra Rabbah, Qoheleth Rabbah). E.g., דלות of 68 occurrences only three are in later texts; ישינה Babylonian Talmud and Vayiqra Rabbah; השיגה the two Talmuds; תדאיב the Babylonian Talmud.
2. Some of the less significant innovations are also found in early Midrashim: גרגרה two occurrences in early Midrashim (Vayiqra Rabbah and Qoheleth Rabbah) and one in a later Midrash (Shemot Rabbah); הכף Babylonian Talmud; העריך two occurrences in early Midrashim (Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana and Avot de-Rabbi Nathan), and one in a later Midrash (Tanhuma); נהכמ Midrash Heikhalot.

Later texts

1. Of the major innovations, we find only three instances of the noun דלות in later Midrashim: Midrash Agur, Midrash Mishlei and Midrash Judith, as compared to 65 occurrences in earlier texts.
2. Most of the minor innovations are found in later texts: גבהנית once in Midrash Hagadol; גרגרה one of its three occurrences in a later text (Shemot Rabbah); העריך one of its three occurrences is in a later text (Tanhuma); רוכל one occurrence in a later Midrash (Shir ha-Shirim Zuta); טפשה one occurrence in Tanhuma; the verb התכלכל five occurrences, all of them late (tractate Soferim, Tanhuma, and Pesiqta Rabbati).

It follows clearly from the evidence that Amoraic Hebrew features a number of linguistic innovations that it shares only with Ben Sira but which cannot be found in other earlier literary texts. Some of the innovations, at least those that are most clearly new coinages, point to linguistic changes and processes that are typical of a living language. They strengthen the argument, derived from Breuer's studies, as to the nature

³⁵ Another feminine adjective derived from a masculine adjective found in Tannaitic literature, and thus not a major innovation; but the fact that this adjective does not ever appear in either the Bible or in Tannaitic literature is important.

³⁶ Although in biblical Hebrew there is no direct link between the *piel* and *hitpa'el* conjugations, there is such a relationship in Mishnaic Hebrew, so the innovation is relatively minor. On the relationship between *pi'el* and *hitpa'el* in biblical Hebrew, see, e.g., Muraoka, *Grammar*, §40a, §53i. On the relationship between *pi'el* and *hitpa'el* in Mishnaic Hebrew, see, e.g., M. Bar-Asher, "Conjugations," 124.

of this dialect. Our findings suggest that we must qualify the assertion that Amoraic Hebrew was a dead literary language.³⁷

Even if we adhere to the conventional view that Amoraic Hebrew was mainly a literary language, our findings indicate that in any case many linguistic changes and innovations did in fact take place.

³⁷ Unless we maintain, with Breuer, that linguistic changes and processes can take place in a dead language as well; or, in his words: "...if we assume that Amoraic Hebrew was not a spoken language, we must conclude that written non-spoken languages can develop" (Breuer, "The Hebrew of the Amoraim," 149).

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN QUMRAN HEBREW

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Language is a structured unity formalized in a system that allows for a choice between contextually and grammatically equivalent wordings and constructions. These choices on the part of the author are important when analysing the style of a composition. The linguistic collective is constantly exposed to a stylistic experience in the choice of words and constructions, and this experience subsequently influences the language in its way of forming structures.¹ The great obstacle in dealing with choices between various lexical and grammatical expressions in Ancient Hebrew is, needless to say, that we have little knowledge of the options that were available to writers in those days, and exactly which leading style characterized the various epochs in ancient Israel.²

It has been fully established, however, that the various text types in Biblical Hebrew have their specific grammatical constructions, and this difference between text types is likely to be found in Qumran Hebrew as well.³ In addition, by comparing texts from the Bible and from Qumran it seems possible to trace some linguistic development as reflected within the different text types. The aim of this article is, thus, to point to some aspects of the verbal system in Qumran Hebrew from the point of view of text type and genre, and to discuss the concurrence between text type and

¹ Cf. N.E., Enkvist, *Stilforskning och stilteori*, Lund 1973, 158.

² See further M. Bar Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible*, Sheffield 1988, ch. 5 'Style', with special reference to p. 199.

³ See *inter alia* W. Schneider, *Grammatik des Biblischen Hebräisch. Ein Lehrbuch*, München 2001, and A. Niccacci, "Basic Facts and Theory of the Biblical Hebrew Verb System in Prose" in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. E. van Wolde, Leiden 1997, 167–202, and T. Muraoka, "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew" in *Diggers at the Well*, ed. T. Muraoka & J.F. Elwolde, (Leiden, 2000), 192–214.

formal expressions, as well as the diachronic development of the language.

1. TEXT TYPE

In biblical prose narrative the most current text types are ‘narrative discourse’,⁴ and ‘procedural discourse’ and ‘hortatory discourse’, whereas ‘descriptive discourse’ is commonly embedded in the other text types. As the scenery is seldom described and the characters are depicted by their doings and sayings, not their moral qualities or appearance, the biblical styles admits very little space for description. It is occasionally employed to stress the customary character of some activities, either by using the *yiqtol*, as in Num 9:18ff., or by the *w^eqatal*, as in Gen 29:2–3.

Narrative discourse differs from procedural discourse in that though both are sequential, i.e., a matter is evolved in a sequence, narrative discourse spans a period of time while procedural instruction is located to the sphere of the future and does not span a certain period of time.⁵ By nature, hortatory discourse is agent-oriented—something is requested from someone—which, of course, is not the case with description, and neither request nor description are sequential in character.

Essential for all prose composition is the balance between narration and dialogue, and in this respect the biblical narratives are literary masterpieces. In biblical style, the narrator mostly restricts himself to stating what can be observed—including the conversations. This restriction makes dialogue an important constituent element of the narrative, and practically the only means to form a psychological analysis. Dialogue is, by nature, in the form of direct speech, which *per se* may contain any of the text types mentioned above, and hence is not a text type of its own. Also, not all direct speech is dialogue. Extensive procedural portions of the Pentateuch are formally cast in direct speech but lack any dialogue; and the same is true for admonitions, which form a characteristic part of the wisdom literature.

⁴ In contrast to the Ugaritic literature, the Bible almost completely lacks poetic narratives.

⁵ A procedural précis that registers how things were done (e.g. Num 10:13–28) is not sequential, inasmuch as it develops no reference time of its own which moves a story forwards.

A perusal of the Qumran sectarian literature reveals that it differs both from the biblical literature and from the ancient traditional Jewish literature. The Qumran literature is rich in apocalyptic and eschatological texts, liturgies and parabiblical texts, but it contains no large historical work, and the main part of the non-biblical material consists of community rules and interpretations of biblical texts. There are some wisdom texts, but nothing that compares with other works from Jewish antiquity, and the same goes for the halakhic material. The fact that genres are not fixed once for all, but rather are cultural products and thus constantly in change, is illustrated by 4QApocryphon of Joseph, a narrative work interspersed with apocryphal psalms.

2. TENSE, ASPECT AND MODE

In language as a structured unity, the verb with its prominent characteristics—tense, aspect and mode—is of utmost importance. The formal expressions of these categories shift over time, which means that new forms take over old functions.

Tense may be divided into: (a) ‘time perspective’, which is intra-textual and refers to what is posterior, anterior or zero to the point of reference, and (b) the more objective ‘location in time’, which is interpreted from the context. By nature, narrative discourse refers to the past and is normally expressed by the *wayyiqtol* form, which not only locates an event to the past, but also determines the zero reference time. In addition, *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* are both apt to be located in the past, but there is a difference with respect to their possibility to feature a progression in a story: only *wayyiqtol* is sequential and can move the action forwards, whereas *qatal* is “parasitic” and adapts to the reference time of the story.⁶ From a diachronic perspective, the extended use of the active participle with verbal force, especially when construed with *hyh* ‘to be’, and the disappearance of the non-past *qatal*, and the non-modal *yiqtol* as well, have attracted scholarly interest.⁷

⁶ See G. Hatav, *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality*. Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1997), 6, 196–197.

⁷ Cf. T. Muraoka, “An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew” in *Diggers at the Well*, 192–214, with reference to p. 212.

Mode is usually described as the speaker's attitude concerning the factuality of the action or state featured by the verb.⁸ This attitude may involve an element of the speaker's own will (deontic), or express a general possibility or probability (epistemic). Also, there is an intrinsic connection between modality and futurity. When indicating the present or the future, the *yiqtol* is almost exclusively modal in character, and the *weqatal* is more or less modal when projected to the future.⁹

Aspect is partly subjective in character, and as such it depends on the need for, or interest in, mediating the author's view of a situation.¹⁰ The aspectual value is constative/perfective in *wayyiqtol* (< *wa-yaqtul-Ø*) and in *qatal*. It is cursive/imperfective in *qotel* and *yiqtol* (< **yiqtul-u*). At the same time, *yiqtol* is explicitly modal in character, which in turn neutralizes the idea of ongoing activity, and in effect *yiqtol* mostly refers to the general present or the future.

The aspectual value of a verbal form can hardly be discussed as isolated from an utterance in which it forms an integral part. Aspect affects sentences rather than individual verbs and phrases,¹¹ which brings us to another factor, namely grounding. In the foreground are the actions that propel the story forwards, in the background those parts that do not. In narration, the *wayyiqtol* forms propel the sequential progression of the event line, while non-sequential forms, such as *x-qatal-*, *qotel* and verbless clauses are used for flash-backs, accompanying activities, descriptions and all kinds of comments.

In the following, a number of samples from different genres and text types within the Qumran literature will be discussed for the purpose of establishing in what way the text types differ from one another as regards the verbal syntax. Some chosen examples will be discussed: (a) the

⁸ R.L. Trask, *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*, (London, 1993), 92.

⁹ J. Joosten maintains that *yiqtol* belongs entirely to the modal forms, the volitives and the *weqatal*, see his "The Indicative System of the Biblical Hebrew Verb and its Literary Exploitation" in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. E. van Wolde (Leiden, 1997), 51–71. Cf. J. Lyons, *Semantics*, Cambridge 1977, p. 677.

¹⁰ Aspect, as a chiefly subjective category, is not easily distinguished from *Aktionsart*, which describes both the inherent as well as the grammaticalized modes of action. Aspect is generally perceived as a communicative signal concerning how a speaker wants a situation to be viewed: either as a single whole (perfective) or as to its internal character (imperfective). From this follows that intrinsic modes of action, such as "ingressive" vs. "terminative", "momentary" vs. "iterative" are more apt to be subsumed under the concept of *Aktionsart*, cf. Ö. Dahl "Aspect" in *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (1994).

¹¹ C. Smith, *The Parameters of Aspect*, (Dortrech, 1991), 7.

examples from the very few *historical* prose texts will demonstrate narrative discourse, (b) the examples from the large material of *instructions* will demonstrate procedural discourse, and (c) those from the considerably few *wisdom texts* will demonstrate hortatory and descriptive discourse. A comparison with similar passages from the Bible will be made in order to see in what way they differ from the Qumran samples from a diachronic perspective, bearing in mind, of course, that these represent an entity of its own, an independent type of Hebrew.

3. HISTORICAL PROSE – NARRATIVE TEXT

In biblical historical prose, the parts of the narrator and the parts of the characters are almost equal in extent, and this lends the presentation a scenic-dramatic touch, underlined by phrases calling for attention and particles introducing the characters' speech.

Within the parabiblical literature, the prose text 1Q*Words of Moses*¹² presents itself as a typical pastiche imitating the style of Deuteronomy. The historical framework in which the year after the departure from Egypt is duly given, and the phrase אנוכי מצוך היום 'I command you today',¹³ linked to the alternation between speech by God and Moses, all provide evidence for this statement. As the text is generally cast in direct speech, the references to past occurrences are in the *qatal*, of which there are 27 instances, but about half a dozen of these are in wholly reconstructed passages. In addition to six plausible reconstructed cases, the past narrative form *wayyiqtol* is found in 1Q22 f1i:11: ויקרא מושה לאלעזר: 'so Moses called Eleazar'. Exhortations are cast in volitive forms followed by *wegatal*, such as in 1Q22 frg. 1 i 2:

לאמור [הקהל א]ת כול הע[ד]ה ועלה א[ל הר נבו] ועמדתה [שמ]ה
(And God spoke to Moses): saying: Assemble the whole congregation and
climb Mount Nebo and stand there,

followed by: 1Q22 frg. 1 i 3:

פ[ש]ור לראשי א[בות ללו]י[ים] וכול ה[כוהנים] וצויתה
Explain (to the family heads etc.) and command (the Israelites).¹⁴

¹² I.e., 1Q22, but the account provided here holds for 4Q*Apocryphon of Moses*^{a,b} as well.

¹³ 1Q22, viz., 1 i 9, 1 ii 2, 4.

¹⁴ Cf. 1Q22 1 i 8, 10 ii 1, 10, iii 4.

Highly biblical is the impersonal introductory והיה (καὶ ἔσται) followed by *yiqtol* – *wegatal* in 1Q22 frg. 1 i 10:

והיה [א]שר יבואו ע[לי]הם כול הקללות [ות] והשיגום ע[ד] אובדם
And so it will be, that all the curses will happen to them and catch them
until they perish.¹⁵

Apparently, the linguistic development forces the author to employ the participle in the illocutionary utterance in 1Q22 frg. 1 i 7:

[כי] מגיד אנו [כי] אשר יעזבוני
Indeed, I hereby declare that they will abandon me.

This stands in sharp contrast to earlier usage, which employs the *qatal* for the so-called coincident case.¹⁶

The allusion to Deut 6, 10–12 shows both similarities and dissimilarities to the biblical model:

והנה כי יביאך יהוה אלהיך אל־הארץ אשר נשבע לאבותיך... לתת לך ערים גדלות וטבת... ואכלת
ושבעת השמר לך פְּרִי־תְשׁוּבָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִיאָךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:

And when the Lord your God brings you into the land which he swore to your fathers... to give you large and beautiful cities...and you will eat and be satisfied be careful lest you forget the Lord, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery.

This is to be compared to 1Q22 frg. 1 ii 2–4:

[אנוכי] מצוך [הי]ום אשר ת[עשה אותם כא]שר א[תה] עובר את ה[ירדן]
I command you today, that you do them as you cross the Jordan,

ל[תת] לכה [ער]ים גדולות [וטובות]
for the purpose of giving you large and beautiful cities.

...ואכל[ת]ה ושבעתה
...and you will eat and be satisfied.

[השמר] למה ירום [לב]בכה ושכ[חתה א]שר אנוכי [מצו]ך היום
Be careful lest your heart grow proud and you forget what I command you today.

¹⁵ Compare the non-introductory והיו in 1 i 8. Introductory והיה is very uncommon in the Qumran texts as compared to the Bible, cf. 1QS VI 4 (4Q258 2 9) 11Q58 11, and introductory יהיה is, it would seem, confined to a biblical quotations and allusions.

¹⁶ Cf. P. Joüon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome, 1999), § 112*f*. For a similar wording see 1 Chr 29:13 מוֹדִים אֲנִיחֶנּוּ לָךְ ‘we thank you’, which both “performs the action of thanking and informs about this performance”, thus J. Joosten, “The Predicative Participle in Biblical Hebrew”, *ZAH* 2 (1989), 129–159 with reference to p. 151. , cf. also Ez 2:3 and Jer 38:14.

The three *weqatal* forms from Deuteronomy: ‘you will eat and be satisfied’ and ‘forget’, are neatly incorporated into the new composition, whereas the infinitive construct לַחַח involves an awkward change of subject. Also, remarkably enough, the author uses לָמָה instead of כֵּן for ‘lest’.¹⁷

Among the parabiblical historical narratives, the Hebrew fragment of the *Book of Tobit* 4Q200 is most interesting, inasmuch as the *inf abs* is used at least three times instead of a *wayyiqtol*:

4Q200 frg. 2 2 וּסְבוּל אֹתָכָה and she bore you (in her womb),

4Q200 frg. 4 2–3 וְאָמַר לוֹ (Tobiah came) and said to him,

4Q200 frg. 5 2 וַנִּפְּץ וְהִנֵּחַ and he blew (it in his eyes),

4Q200 frg. 6 4 בְּכֵן דִּבֶּר טוֹבִי וַכָּתוּב then Tobit spoke and wrote.

The *inf abs* in lieu of a finite verb is encountered in biblical prose, and this usage is favoured in later biblical style.¹⁸ In the preserved fragments of the Hebrew Tobit, the *inf abs* replaces *wayyiqtol* to such an extent that this form occurs only once, viz., וִירָא ‘and he saw’, 4Q200 frg. 5 5. However, it would seem that 4Q200 frg. 6 4 בְּכֵן דִּבֶּר טוֹבִי וַכָּתוּב ‘then Tobit spoke and wrote’ illustrates a tendency of later style, namely that sequentiality, as expressed by *wayyiqtol*, may be replaced by the particle בְּכֵן ‘then’, which serves the task of connecting the various points in the progression of the narrative.¹⁹

The scarcity of narrative material in the Qumran literature makes any judgement concerning the dialogue portions uncertain. In the dialogue in 4Q200 there is at least one occurrence of *weqatal*, viz., 4Q200 frg. 4 5: בִּי אָבִי תִשְׁלַחֲנִי וְהִלַּכְתִּי אֶל אָבִי ‘let me go so that I may go to my father’,²⁰ which is only to be expected in view of the style encountered in the model biblical literature. Conspicuous, in contrast, is the periphrastic construction *h^eyē qōtēl*, replacing the simple imperative in the 2nd person singular:

4Q200 frg. 2 3 הִיָּזְכֵר [ז]כֵר remember (God) (μνημόνευε, Tobit 4,5),

4Q200 frg. 2 4 אֱמַת הִיא [עוֹשָׂה] [do] the truth,

4Q200 frg. 2 6 צְדָקוֹת [עוֹשָׂה] בני my son, [give...] alms,²¹

¹⁷ See Deut 4:9, 23; 6:12; 8:11; 11:16; 12:13, 19, 30 and 15:9, cf. BDB, 554.

¹⁸ See E. König, *Syntax*, §§ 281_{a,b} and 376_l, cf. GKC § 113 y, and M. Smith, ‘The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A preliminary survey’, in *Diggers at the Well*, 256–267, with reference to pp. 264ff.

¹⁹ Qoh 8, 10, Esth 4, 16 and 4Q248 1 3 show a similar usage. In Christian Palestinian Aramaic, בְּכֵן answers to Greek τότε, BDB, p. 486. In addition, the recurrent Biblical Aramaic אַדְרִין and בְּאֲדִין serve a connective and sequential function, as is also the case in Genesis Apocryphon 5:9; 11:12 etc.

²⁰ Very likely also in 4Q200 3 3 וְהֵאֲמִין.

²¹ Cf. the Aramaic 4Q196 10 1 בְּרִי הוּי עֲבַד צְדָקָתָא.

On one occasion an active predicative *qotel* preceded by *hyh* occurs in running narration:

4Q200 frg. 6 2 והיו המה מברכים and they were blessing.

In later biblical style, the periphrastic construction is fairly common as far as the past is concerned, but it is uncommon in the imperative and occurs only once in Ben Sira, 5,11 (A) היה ממהר להאזין (A) be swift to hear.²²

Accordingly, it seems that in comparison with biblical usage, the few narrative Qumran texts exhibit conspicuous alternative constructions of the consecutive forms, such as the *inf abs* and particles in sequential text-binding function. Also, the the periphrastic construction *hyh* with participle is used remarkably often.

4. INSTRUCTIONS – PROCEDURAL TEXT

Within the halakhic material, 4QMMT stands out as most interesting. Its style is argumentative and refers to the authoritative opinion of the authors.²³ It is reasoning with a pronounced subject ‘we’, and is characterized by its use of *verba dicendi* with *ו* introducing the object clause. The very form renders the occurrence of narration, or description in the past, most unlikely. More apt to occur are consecutive forms in the present and the future, and in fact *weqatal* occurs three times:

B 66 כתוב שמעת שיגלה וכבס it is written that from the time that he shaves and washes; C 13–15 והיא כי [יב]א עליך... ושבתה and when (this) happens to you, you will return; C 28–31 והרהיק... ושיתקן... and ask him to strengthen (you) and remove etc.²⁴

Moreover, in 4QMMT the modal and subjunctive character of the *yiqtol* form is clearly stressed, not least by the fact the the particle *–ו* normally goes before the *yiqtol*. The *–ו* clause recurrently serves as object of the

²² See the discussion by W. Th. van Peursen, in “Periphrastic Tenses in Ben Sira”, in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. T. Muraoka & J.F. Elwolde (Leiden, 1997), 158–175, with reference to pp. 170f. Besides, the construction יהיה קוטל occurs solely in 4Q385a 18 ii 4: ויהי ירמיה מקונן, which is striking in view of passages like 2 Chr 24:14; 30:10 and Neh 2:10–15. The Temple Scroll stands out by its recurrent use of יהיה קוטל. See further T. Muraoka “The Participle in Qumran Hebrew” in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages*, ed. T. Muraoka & J.F. Elwolde, (Leiden, 1999), 188–203, with reference to pp. 196f.

²³ Compare the recurrent חושבים in B2, B 29, B 37 and B 42.

²⁴ E. Qimron, *Miqsat Ma‘ase ha-Torah*, DJD X, 78.

verbs ‘think’ חשב, ‘say’ אמר, ‘write’ כתב, ‘know’ ידע, and ‘ask’ בקש in indirect speech, as can be gathered from the following examples:²⁵

- B 37 [אנח]נו חושבים שאיכל we think that one might eat,
 B 64–65 א[נחנו] א[ומרים] שלא י[בואו] we say that they may not enter,
 B 66 כתוב שמעת שיגלה וכבס it is written that from when he shaves and washes,

As stressed by E. Qimron,²⁶ *sh* does not introduce a causal clause in 4QMMT, because in causal clauses *כי* is employed, in contrast to Mishnaic Hebrew usage. Furthermore, there are 21 participles in all, twelve in main clauses and nine in dependent clauses.²⁷ The periphrastic construction *hyh* with the participle occurs a couple of times:

- B 12–13 עון ... מ[סני]אים so as not to bring guilt,
 B 16 בשל שא יהיה הטהר מהה so that the pure man may sprinkle,

However, the construction does not automatically indicate an ongoing activity. In some cases, there is no active verbal form involved. In those cases *hyh* marks time or purpose only, such as in:

- C 24 הת[ורה] את – שהיא ירא[ת] who feared the law
 C 26 היא [נצל] he was delivered
 B 49 ולהיות יראים and to stand in awe

In these cases the participle is, accordingly, not fully active but adjectival, and this turns *hyh* into a time-determining copula, a feature of the uncontestedly late biblical prose.²⁸

In the likewise halakhic 4Q*Tohorot* (4Q274–278) the style is totally different. The author has no addressee in mind. The text is, consequently,

²⁵ In addition to the passages adduced above, see B 77–78: [כתוב שלא] יהיה שעטנו ‘it is written that it may not be of mixed stuff’; C 6: [כתוב] ... ש[לוא] תביא ‘it is written...that you must not bring’; C 8–9: אתם יודעים שלא ימצא ‘and you know that no (deceit) may be found’; C 12: [את] כתוב [שתסור] ‘it is even written that you will turn away’; C 17: כתוב ... שיבואו ‘it is written ...that they shall come’; C 28: ובקש מלפנו שיתקן ‘and ask him to strengthen’. Also, *sh* introduces a purpose clause in C 10: [כתוב]נו אליכה שתבין ‘we have written to you that you might discern’ and C 30: בשל שתשמח ‘so that you will rejoice’ (בשל = Aram. *ḏ* בדיל), and a temporal clause in C 21: אחרית ימים שישובו (this is) ‘the end of the days, when they return’.

²⁶ *Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah*, DJD X, 74f.

²⁷ See M. Smith, “Grammatically Speaking: the Participle as the main Verb of Clauses (Predicative Participle) in Direct Discourse and Narrative in Pre-Mishnaic Hebrew” in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages*, 278–332, with reference to p. 314. The corresponding number of predicative participles is fifteen cases in the Damascus Document, and thirteen cases in the War Scroll.

²⁸ See, e.g., 2 Chr 30,10 ויהיו משחקים עליהם ומלעגים בהם ‘but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them’. and inter alia: Neh 1,4; 2,13.15; 3,26; 6,19, 13,22. 2 Chr 5,8; 10,6; 21,9; Esth 2,15; 6,1; 9,21. 27 and Dan 1,16.

not agent-oriented, and is thus procedural rather than hortative. The topic in question is put in prior position and is followed by the injunction expressed by a *yiqtol* or a *weqatal* in the 3rd person, e.g., 4Q274 frg. 1 i 3–4:

איש מכול הטמאים [אש]ר [יגע] בו ורחץ במים ויכבס בגדיו ואחר יואכל

Any one of the unclean who has a discharge shall bathe in water and wash his clothes, and then he may eat,

followed by

הזובה דם לשבעת הימים אל תגע בזב ובכול כלי [א]שר יגע בו הזב

and any woman who has her period, for seven days she must not touch a man who has a discharge, or any vessel that he comes in contact with.

Next, it is important to find out whether the text-linguistic patterns of biblical instructions are operating in the procedural sections of the large sectarian compositions, such as the Damascus Document, the Serekh ha-Yahad and the War Scroll. In the Bible, a sequence of instruction starts with an imperative, or a *yiqtol*, and is followed by a string of *weqatal* forms, which thus form the main line of the discourse.²⁹ The structure of the biblical procedural instruction may be gathered from the example Ex 29:1b–7; 10–12:

Take, לקח, one young bull and two rams without blemish, and unleavened bread, unleavened cakes mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers spread with oil; you shall make, תעשה, them of fine wheat flour. And you shall put, ונתת, them in one basket and present, והקרבת, them in the basket, and the bull and the two rams—but Aaron and his sons you shall bring, תקריב, to the door of the tent of meeting, and wash, ורחצת, them with water. And you shall take, ולקחת, the garments, and put on, והלבשת, Aaron the coat and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastpiece, and gird, ואפדת, him with the skilfully woven band of the ephod; and you shall set, ושמת, the turban on his head, and put, ונתת, the holy crown upon the turban. And you shall take, ולקחת, the anointing oil, and pour it on his head and anoint him.Then you shall bring, והקרבת, the bull before the tent of meeting. Aaron and his sons shall lay, וקמד, their hands upon the head of the bull, and you shall slaughter, ושחטת, the bull before the Lord, at the door of the tent of meeting, and you shall, ולקחת, take part of the blood of the bull and put it upon the horns of the altar with your finger—but the rest of the blood you shall pour out, תשפך, at the base of the altar.

As can be observed, the main line of the instruction consists of *weqatal* forms, irrespective of the switch from ‘you’ to ‘Aaron’ as the subject of the

²⁹ A short text, like Ex 29:1–34, has no less than 116 *weqatal* forms that are sequential and projected to the future, but only twenty *yiqtol* forms and no participles.

sentence. The *yiqtol* form, in turn, is used for acts that accompany the main points in the principal action, such as how the wafers were to be made, viz., *בְּשֶׁמֶן סִלַּת הַטִּיִּם תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם*, and for the pouring out of the rest of that blood at the base of the altar: *וְאֶת־כָּל־הַדָּם תִּשְׁפֹךְ אֶל־סוּד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, as well as for bringing Aaron and his sons to prominence in the procedure described: *וְאֶת־אַהֲרֹן וְאֶת־בָּנָיו תִּקְרִיב*.

Considering their mandatory position in the clause—*weqatal* is initial, *yiqtol* is not—one might conclude that there is no difference between them as regards grounding, but what matters is why—e.g., Ex 29:10 reads: *וְכִסְמֵה אֶהְרֹן וּבָנָיו אֶת־יְדֵיהֶם עַל־רֹאשׁ הַפָּר*, and thus indicates that this action constitutes a main part of the procedure—and what difference a change of word order to *וְאֶהְרֹן וּבָנָיו יִסְמְכוּ אֶת יְדֵיהֶם עַל רֹאשׁ הַפָּר* would make in view of the observations made above.

In contrast to biblical style, the Qumran War Scroll contains about 186 *yiqtol* forms and 67 *weqatal* forms.³⁰ As far as the relative numbers are concerned, the different verb forms in the War Scroll do not deviate very much from the non-narrative portions of the Bible. In general, the *weqatal* forms in the War Scroll are found interspersed in rows of prescriptive *yiqtol* forms, but in several passages either *weqatal* or *yiqtol* forms are predominant, if not exclusive. Accordingly, in 1QM XV 4–7 there are six *weqatal* forms in succession, and in 1QM I 8–15 and I 16–II 14 the sequential procedure instruction contains solely *yiqtol* forms.

Moreover, the word order (*waw*) x-*yiqtol* definitely seems to refer to a shift in focus, rather than to any accompanying act, which contrasts with the biblical usage in procedural discourse. 1QM XVII 12–15 illustrates this point:

And the priests shall blow, *יִרְעוּ*, the trumpets of the wounded and the Levites and all the people with rams' horns shall blow, *יִרְעוּ*, a signal for battle, and the infantrymen shall stretch out, *יִשְׁלְחוּ*, their hand to battle against the Kittim ... and all the people shall quiet, *יִיָּחֵן*, the sound of the signal.

In this passage the *yiqtol* forms do not feature any act that accompanies the main sequence of actions to be taken. Rather, the *yiqtol* forms feature the main sequence.

³⁰ The War Scroll is here the same as 1QM, collated with the fragments from cave 4. See S. Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Theology, University of Copenhagen, 2004, with reference to pp. 60 and 77-94.

In the halakhic portions of CD, viz., cols. XV–XVI, IX–XIV, the *yiqtol* forms outnumber the *wegatal* forms by 167 to 33. From this it is clear that the *wegatal* forms³¹ by no means constitute the main line of the instruction. Rather, they are found in extended protases and in apodoses of conditional clauses with מִי־ ³² or of other kinds of protases, more often than not in clauses that come close to a condition, as is evident from:³³

IX 3–4: whoever brings, אשר יביא, an accusation... bringing it, והביאו, in the heat of anger,... he is a vengeance-taker, נוקם הוא.

XII 2–3: everyone, כל איש, whom the spirits of of Belial dominates, אשר ימשלו, so that he advises, ודבר, apostasy, he will be sentenced, ישפט.

Furthermore, there are several instances that illustrate a predicative use of the infinitive in Qumran Hebrew. This point is very well illustrated by quoting Qimron's discussion of 1QM XVII 7:³⁴

להאיר בשמחה ברית ישראל ... להרים באלים משרת מיכאל
he shall light up the covenant of Israel with joy and exalt the authority of Michael

Also, 4Q MMT, B 76–78, illustrates that *šellō' liqtol* may be alternated with *šellō' yiqtol*:

כתוב שלוא לרבעה כלאים it is written that one may not let it mate with other species,

which is to be compared to what follows:

כתוב שלוא יהיה שעטנו ושלווא יזרע שדו it is written that it may not be of mixed stuff, and that he must not sow his field (with mixed species).

³¹ See CD IX 3–4, 12, 13–15, 16–20, 21; X 13; XI 1; XII 2–3, 5, 14, 18; XIII 3–4, 5–6, 11–12, 16; XIV 2, 13, 20, 21, XV 3–4, 14, XVI 17, 20. In CD *qatal* with conjunctive *waw* appear in three cases only, viz. XIX 34, XX 11, 23. In addition, *qatal* with conjunctive *waw* is not encountered in the War Scroll.

³² See VII 6–7; IX 12, 21; XII 5; XIII 3,4,5,6, XV 3,4, cf., Th. W. van Peursen, “The Conditional Sentence with אם in Qumran Hebrew”, in *Diggers at the Well*, 215–231, with reference to pp. 224–225.

³³ In addition to the passages adduced above the following may be considered: IX 13–15: (concerning illegal objects) ‘the one making restitution shall confess, והתודה, to the priest and it shall belong, והיה, to him alone,... So also every lost item... shall belong, והיתה, to the priests’; IX 16–20: ‘Anything כל דבר in which a man sins, אשר ימעל, and his fellow sees it, וראה,... he shall report it, וידיעהו,... and the Overseer shall record it, יכתבו, until he repeats it in the sight of someone reporting it again, ושב והודיע. If he still reiterates it and is caught, אם ישוב וניחשפ, ... his fate is sealed’ and XIII 11–12: (everyone who is added to the congregation)... ‘he shall examine him, יפקדו, ... and assign him’, וכתבוהו.

³⁴ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Atlanta, 1986), 70–72.

The sectarian writings show an inclination for the final infinitive *liqtol*. Especially in the preamble of 1QS the recurrent use of the final infinitive lends structure to the statement on the purpose of the Community. One can safely assume that the *liqtol*—being flexible in function—borrows tense, mood and aspect from the context, primarily from the *yiqtol* form with which it freely interchanges, and from this one might even conclude that its modal force is analogous to the modality of the *yiqtol* form.³⁵ However, the relative positions of *yiqtol* and *weliqtol* in the clause are the same as for *yiqtol* and *weqatal*. That is to say, *weliqtol* is mostly clause initial, *yiqtol* is not. Consequently, it may be argued that in procedural discourse *weliqtol* serves the same function as *weqatal* in biblical procedural discourse, and that its future and modal sense is to be viewed in the light of this analogy.

In 1QM I 4–5, for instance, it would thus seem that not only *liqtol* equals *yiqtol* but also that *weliqtol* equals *weqatal*:

ובקצו יצא בחמה גדולה להלחם ... ואפו להשמיד ולהכרית את קרן יִשְׂרָאֵל

And in his time, he shall go out in great anger to fight (against the kings of the North), and in his wrath he *will destroy* and *cut down* the strength of Israel.

In this passage, accordingly, the clause *ואפו להשמיד* substitutes for *ואפו* and *ולהכרית את קרן* by analogy it may be argued that the following *ולהכרית את קרן* corresponds to the more classical *ולהכרית את קרן יִשְׂרָאֵל*.

Actually, *liqtol* and *weliqtol* tend to appear in clusters, e.g., CD VI 14–VII 4:³⁶

(VI 14) if they are not careful to act according to the specifications of the Law for the era of wickedness, and to separate, *ולהבדל*, from corrupt people and to avoid, *ולגזול*, filthy wicked lucre... (VI 16) as they let widows' wealth become, *להיות*, their booty, whilst murdering, *ירצחו*, orphans... (VI 20ff) to love, *לאהוב*, each his brother as himself, and to grasp, *ולהחזיק*, the hand of poor and needy and alien, and to seek, *ולדרוש*, each the welfare of his fellow, never betraying, *ולא ימעל*, a family member; keeping away, *להזיר*, from fornication according to the ordinance, reproving, *להוכיח*, each his fellow according to the command, without bearing grudge, *ולא לנשור*, day after day, and to separate, *ולהבדל*, from all kinds of ritual impurity according to their ordinance, not befouling, *ולא ישקץ*, each his holy spirit.

³⁵ See O. Cohen, “Shimushim predikativim be-tsurat ha-maqor ha-natuy ‘liqtol’ ba-Ivrit shel bayit sheni” *Mehqarim Be-Lashon* 10 (2005).

³⁶ For the sake of brevity, only VI 14–15, 16, and VI 20–VII 1–4 are quoted from.

As can be gathered from the above, it appears that *weliqtol* occurs in positions that allows for a *weqatal*, whereas the simple *liqtol* allows for a translation that is explanatory in function rather than consecutive. Besides, it may be noticed that *w^{lō}3yiqtol* interchanges with *w^{lō}3liqtol*.

An explanatory sense of the *liqtol* is ubiquitously located to the past in a narrative context, for instance, CD A XIX 20–21:

ויבחרו איש בשרירות לבו ... ויפרעו ביד רמה ללכת בדרכי רשעים
each chose to follow his own willful heart; ...and arrogantly threw off all
restraint, *by walking* in wicked customs,

however, *weliqtol* in the sphere of the past appears somewhat awkward, as it neither corresponds to a *weyiqtol*, nor to a *weqatal*, viz., 1QM XIV 5–6:

He has gathered, אסף, a congregation of nations for annihilation without
remnant, *and (this)* to restore, ולהרים, by verdict those failing in courage, and
to open, ולפתח, the mouth of the dumb.

We may tentatively conclude that in the same way as the simple *liqtol* may serve the function of future *yiqtol*, the *weliqtol* may occupy the position and serve the function of the *weqatal*.

5. WISDOM TEXTS – HORTATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE

The wisdom texts from Qumran share several traits with the sectarian texts, which suggests that the Qumranites took over and developed literature that was common to all groups in Jewish antiquity. *4QInstructions* is similar in genre to Proverbs and Sirach and other contemporary sapiential books. The style is mostly hortative, and the person addressed is a student taking counsel on cosmic matters, such as creation and judgement, as well as everyday matters. In the best preserved part, fragment two, column three, the instruction mainly deals with financial matters and reverence for parents. The vocabulary and the thought of this, in its time, obviously very influential work differs from the rest of the Qumran corpus, which actually suggests a pre-Qumranic origin.³⁷ The fragmentary condition of the document makes all computations uncertain. The grammatically most conspicuous usage is that of the particle אֵל.

³⁷ See J. Strugnell, D. Harrington, DJD XXXIV, “General Introduction”, with special reference to, sect. 4.10 and 6.2–3.

In Biblical Hebrew, the particle אז has two chiefly different functions. The most common in the Bible is ‘then’, ‘at that time’, the second, less common, expresses a logical consequence in the apodosis ‘under those circumstances’ with a protasis introduced by אם , לולא , לו , אהלי , or a suppressed protasis. In biblical usage, however, the apodosis is by no means linked to the form $w^{\circ}\bar{a}z$,³⁸ which is shown by, e.g., Prov 2,4–5: $\text{אם־תִּבְקֹשֶׁנָּה כְּכֶסֶף} \dots \text{אז תִּבְיִן יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים תִּמְצָא}$ ‘if you seek it like silver... then you will understand the fear of the LORD and find the knowledge of God’.

The particle אז is extremely common in 4Q*Instructions* as compared to the rest of the Qumran literature. In the entire extant Qumran material one may count 25 cases of a simple $\bar{a}z$ and 32 of $w^{\circ}\bar{a}z$.³⁹ Remarkably enough, out of the total of 57, not less than 26 are in 4Q*Instructions*; and what is more, all of them have the *waw* apodoseos, that is $w^{\circ}\bar{a}z$, which perhaps indicates that they express a grammatical consecution as much as a consequence; compare the following extract from 4Q416 2 iii 6–10:

ואם שמו בראושכה למות הפקידהו ורוחכה אל תחבל בו ואז תשכב עם האמת ובמותכה יפר[ח לעו]לם
זכרכה ואחריתכה תנחל שמחה ... ואם ישיבכה לכבודכה התהלך וברז[נ]היה דרוש מולדיו ואז תדע
נהלתו

If he puts it on your head for death, deposit it, and do not corrupt your soul with it, and *then* you will lie down with the truth, and upon your death, your memory will blossom, and your posterity will inherit joy... If he restores you in glory, conduct yourself; and as to the mystery of existence, seek its origins; and *then* you will know his inheritance

The frequent employment of $w^{\circ}\bar{a}z$ does not seem to affect the use of *wegatal* in 4Q*Instruction*,⁴⁰ which perhaps could be suspected.

In 4Q*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*, finally, the text is descriptive in character. Obviously, the harlot depicted in Proverbs ch. 7 has inspired the metaphor. In 4Q184 the descriptive part is held in *yiqtol* forms. In fig. 1 1–14 the devices of the wicked woman towards an honourable man are depicted as follows:

(1-2) she produces nothingness, תוציא הבל, תוציא הבל, she is always seeking error, תועות
תשחרר תמיד □ With raillery and jesting she flatters, (7) תהל[ת]ק she pitches her
tent, and settles, תאהל שבת ותשכון, תאהל שבת ותשכון, among the tents of silence. (10ff) In the

³⁸ The form $w^{\circ}\bar{a}z$ occurs only four times Ex 12,48, Lev 26,41, Josh 1,8, Jer 32,2. In addition, $\bar{a}z$ is found only five times in Proverbs: 1,28; 2,5.9; 3,23; 20,14.

³⁹ Instances of $m\bar{e}\bar{a}z$ and those in entirely reconstructed passages were not counted.

⁴⁰ 4Q416 1 13, 4Q417 2 i 15 (=4Q418 7a 1), 4Q418 81+81a 19, 4Q418 88 ii 7–8, 4Q418 103 ii 7, 4Q418 126 ii 15, 4Q418 127 2–3, ten in all.

entrance of her house she walks, תצעד... She lies secretly in wait, תארוב,... in the city streets she veils herself, תתעלף, in the town gates she takes her stand, תתחיצב... her eyes dart, ישכילו, here and there, she flutters, תרים, her eyelids lewdly, looking for a righteous man, and she overtakes him, ותשיגהו, a strong man, and she trips him up, ותכשילהו.

In the end of fragment one, 4Q184 frg. 1 14–17, the wicked woman's doings are expressed by infinitives. Thus, this lewd woman is looking for:

honest men to lead astray, להטות,
 innocent youths (to keep) from obeying the commandments,
 firm men to make empty with wantonness, להביל בפהו,
 honest men to make them break the law, [להשנות ח]ויק,
 to cause humble men to rebel, להפשיע ענוים,
 and divert their steps, ולהטות פעמיהם, from the way of righteousness,
 to put insolence (sc. in the heart) להביא זד[ו]ן
 to side-track people, להשגות אנוש,
 and to seduce men, ולפתות, with smooth words.⁴¹

In Proverbs 7 in contrast, description forms the main part of the discourse, as the admonisher describes what he has observed as to the wicked ways of the harlot. This he does by means of *yiqtol* and *qotel* forms, interspersed with verbless clauses, Prov 7:10–12:

והנה אשה לקראתו שית זונה ונצרת לב
 and lo, a woman meets him, dressed as a harlot, wily of heart,
 המקה היא וסכרת בבייתה לא־ישכנו רגליה
 she is loud and wayward, her feet do not stay at home,
 פעם בחוץ פעם ברחוב ונאצל כל־פנה תארוב
 now in the street, now in the market, at every corner she lies in wait.

Her actions are described by frequentative *weqatal* forms—in order to stress the habitual character of her doings—followed by a continuative *wayyiqtol*, v. 13:

והחזיקה בו ונשקה־לו העזה פניה ותאמר לו
 she seizes him and kisses him, and shamelessly she says to him:

After this seductive address of hers, the misguided lad is likened to a dumb animal. Here *qotel*, *yiqtol* and *qatal* are all employed, v. 22–23:

הולך אחריה פתאם כשור אל־טבח יבוא ... כמהר צפור אל־פח
 All at once, he follows her, as an ox goes to the slaughter.... as a bird
 rushes into a snare

⁴¹ Interestingly enough, there are no predicative participles, except for משגות 'her trails lead astray'.

The description of the wicked woman in the Qumran context is plausibly allegoric and refers to religious adversaries. Still it is conspicuous that the author—clinging to the biblical model—retains the descriptive *yiqtol*, which is not modal in character, since the action described is not located in the future. At the same time, it should be noticed that at the end of fragment one, the *liqtol* replaces the descriptive *yiqtol*, a feature that is not paralleled in Proverbs 7, and testifies to the inclination for the *liqtol* construction in later style.

6. CONCLUSION

The approach of discussing verbal syntax on the basis of some chosen passages from the Qumran material representing various genres and text types, in comparison with similar biblical texts, facilitates the establishment of synchronic and diachronic similarities and dissimilarities.

In the historical prose from Qumran there is a great difference between pastiche texts, such as 1Q*Words of Moses*, and an apocryphal narrative like the Hebrew version of *Tobit*, 4Q200. In common they show traits of a development in the verbal system vis-à-vis similar biblical texts, especially as to the use of verbal forms and particles.

As regards the instructions given in 4QMMT and 4Q*Tohorot*, they differ in terms of author's intention. The former is argumentative, the latter instructive, and the halakhot are stated directly as a part of a given procedure—a style which adheres to the rest of the sectarian writings. The difference between procedural discourse in the Bible and in the sectarian Qumran compositions—as are evidenced from the Damascus Document and the War Scroll—is that in the former, *weqatal* features the main line of the discourse, which is not the case in the latter.

In Qumran Hebrew procedural discourse, the *yiqtol*–(we)*yiqtol* pattern is sometimes changed into *yiqtol*–(we)*liqtol*. It has been suggested that the *liqtol*, being flexible in meaning and function, here exhibits a modality that is analogous to the modality of the *yiqtol* form. It may also be suggested that *liqtol* with prefixed *waw* in procedural discourse serves the same function as *weqatal* in Biblical Hebrew, and that its modal force is to be perceived from this analogy.

The wisdom texts from Qumran share several traits with both the sectarian texts and the biblical sapiential writings. In 4Q*Instruction* the ample use of *w^ʿāz* is unparalleled. In 4Q184 *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* the

preserved text is partly descriptive in character. The descriptive portion is cast in *yiqtol* forms adhering to Proverbs 7. At the end of the fragment, the focus is on the wicked woman's purpose, rather than her actual doings, and is hence expressed by final *liqtol* clauses, which brings about a change in style within the fragment.

THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE AS FINITE VERB
AND STANDARD LITERARY HEBREW
OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

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The infinitive absolute in Northwest Semitic has been intensively studied. Occurrences of the form in extra-biblical sources have been identified in the El-Amarna letters and Ugaritic from the 14th century B.C.E., in Phoenician inscriptions from the 10th century B.C.E., Moabite from the 9th century B.C.E., Old Aramaic from the 8th century B.C.E., and Hebrew from the 7th century B.C.E.:¹ The following are representative examples:

1. El Amarna: *ù ma-ti-ma šu-ut a-nu i-di-šu* “And when he died, truly I learned of it” (EA 89,38–39);
2. Ugaritic: *šmx btlł ‘nt* “the Virgin Anat rejoiced” (KTU 1.4 V,20);
3. Phoenician: [a] *אם נחל תנחל* “If you surely inherit” (KAI 3:3 [bronze spatula]); [b] *ירחב אנך* “I enlarge” (KAI 26 A I 16 [Azatiwada]);
4. Moabite: *וישראל אבד אבד* “and Israel perished utterly” (KAI 181,7 [Mesha stela]);²
5. Aramaic: *הסכר תהסכרהם* “you must hand them over” (KAI 224,2 [Sefire]); *רקה תרקהם* “you must placate them” (KAI 224,6);
6. Epigraphic Hebrew: [a] *שלח את שלום ביתך* “I hereby send greetings to your household” (papMur 17a,1); [b] *ויקצר עבדך ויכל ואסם כימים* “and your servant repeated and measured /finished³ and stored⁴ for the

¹ The earliest datable example in the Hebrew epigraphic material is from Wadi Murabbaʿāt in the 7th century. The example from Mešad Ḥašavyahu (Yavne-Yam) may also be from the 7th century. The most notable examples are a bit later from the beginning of the 6th century at Arad. For dates of the Hebrew inscriptions, see J. Renz, *Die althebräischen Inschriften, I: Text und Kommentar* (Darmstadt, 1995).

² For different grammatical interpretations of the syntagm *אבד אבד*, see J. Hofstijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, HdO 120 (Leiden, 1995), 5.

³ *ויכל* has been interpreted as either [wayyāxol] (ויכל) “and he measured” or [wayxal] “and he finished”.

days” (KAI 200,5 [Mešad Ḥašavyahu]); [c] אל אלישב ועת נתן לכתיים יין “to Eliyashiv, and now give the Kittim wine” (Arad 1,1–3).

The phenomenon is best attested in the Biblical Hebrew corpus, where its distribution in the Classical Biblical Hebrew of the First Temple Period and in the Late Biblical Hebrew of the Second Temple Period has been duly noted. It also shows up infrequently in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Ben Sira. Of the many scholars who have written on the infinitive absolute, the following deserve special mention: Solá-Solé on infinitives in general in the Semitic languages,⁵ Goldenberg on theoretical aspects of the “tautological” infinitive,⁶ Moran on the infinitive absolute in the El-Amarna material,⁷ Huesman and Hammershaimb on the infinitive absolute in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic,⁸ Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), Rubinstein, and Muraoka on Biblical Hebrew,⁹ and Carmignac on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira.¹⁰ The most recent discussion is that of Smith¹¹ on the predicative infinitive absolute from the last symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira.

⁴ The infinitive absolute [wəʾāsōm]. Some have preferred, however, to interpret this form as the perfect with conjunctive *waw*: [wəʾāsam].

⁵ J.M. Solá-Solé, *L’infinitif sémitique: contribution à l’étude des formes et des fonctions des noms d’action et des infinitifs sémitiques*, Bibliothèque de l’école pratique des hautes études section des sciences historiques et philologiques 315 (Paris, 1961).

⁶ G. Goldenberg, “Tautological Infinitive”, *IOS* 1 (1971), 36–85.

⁷ W.L. Moran, “The Use of the Canaanite Infinitive Absolute as a Finite Verb in the Amarna Letters from Byblos”, *JCS* 4 (1950), 169–172; “Does Amarna Bear on Karatepe? – An Answer”, *JCS* 6 (1952), 76–80. Both articles are reprinted in W.L. Moran, *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings*, J. Huehnergard, S. Izre’el, eds., HSS 54 (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2003), 151–157, 165–172. See also A.F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan*, HdO 25 (Leiden, 1996), 2: 383–415.

⁸ J. Huesman, “Finite Uses of the Infinitive Absolute”, *Bibl* 37 (1956), 271–295; E. Hammershaimb, “On the So-called *Infinitivus Absolutus* in Hebrew”, in D.W. Thomas, W.D. McHardy, eds., *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 85–94. See also M. Zohori, *The Absolute Infinitive and Its Uses in the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem, 1990) [Hebrew].

⁹ N.H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), *ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer* (Jerusalem, 1948), I: 282–305 [Hebrew]; A. Rubinstein, “A Finite Verb Continued by an Infinitive Absolute in Hebrew”, *VT* 2 (1952), 362–367; T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem, 1985), 83–92.

¹⁰ J. Carmignac, “L’Infinitif absolu chez Ben Sira et à Qumran”, *RQ* 12 (1986), 251–261.

¹¹ M.S. Smith, “The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 256–267.

The following is a brief survey of the uses of the infinitive absolute with examples from Biblical Hebrew:

1. It functions emphatically¹² by virtue of its paronomastic construction: *שָׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן* “Be sure to keep” (Deut 6,17).
2. It functions as a finite verb when occurring with the conjunction *waw* and following another verbal form, e.g., *וַיִּרְא פַרְעֹה כִּי הִיטָה הַרוּחָה וַתִּקְבֹּד אֶת לִבּוֹ*, e.g., “but Pharaoh saw that there was relief and he hardened his heart” (Exod 8,11); *וַשְׁבַּחְתִּי אֲנִי וְאָרָאָה... וְשָׁבַחְתָּ אֲנִי* “I further observed... then I praised” (Eccl 4,1–2).
3. It functions as an imperative in clause-initial position without the conjunction *waw*, e.g., in both versions of the Decalogue: *זְכוֹר אֶת יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת* “Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy” (Exod 20,8); *שָׁמֹר לְקֹדֶשׁוֹ* “Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy” (Deut 5,12). Some have preferred, however, to interpret the use of the infinitive in initial position as *casus pendens*, i.e., marking focus.¹³
4. It functions adverbially, e.g., *וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ מִגַּד הַרְחֵק*, e.g., “and she sat afar” (Gen 21,16); *וַיִּגַּשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַשָּׁבָּח וְהָעֶרֶב* “the Philistines stepped forward morning and evening” (1 Sam 17,16). See also the adverbs *מְהֵרָה* “quickly” and *הַרְבֵּה* “much”.
5. In poetry it may be the subject of a nominal clause, e.g., *אֲכֹל דְּבַשׁ הַרְבוּת לֹא*, e.g., “It is not good to eat much honey” (Pr 25,27).¹⁴
6. In poetry, less commonly in prose, it may serve as an object, e.g., *לֹא אָבֹוּ בְּדַרְכֵי הַלֹּדֶד* “they did not want to walk in his ways” (Isa 42,24).¹⁵
7. It is rarely governed by a preposition, e.g., *בְּהִנָּחַל עַל־יוֹם גּוֹיִם* “when the Most High gave to the nations an inheritance” (Deut 32,8); *אַחֲרֵי שָׁתָה* “after drinking” (1 Sam 1,9); *עַד כְּלָה* “utterly” (2 Kgs 13,17); *מִהַרְבֵּה* “out of many” (Jer 42,2).

I wish to discuss one use of the infinitive absolute in the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period, viz., number 2 above: the infinitive absolute with the conjunctive *waw* functioning as a finite verb, a use that is also known in El-Amarna, Ugaritic, and Phoenician, though the *waw* is not obligatory in these languages and a noun or pronoun follows the infinitive absolute (see the extra-biblical examples 1,2,3[b] above). In particular, I would like to pose and address the question, “Why did the number of occurrences of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb increase in the late

¹² T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words*, 86.

¹³ J.H. Hospers, “Some Remarks about the So-called Imperative Use of the Infinitive Absolute (Infinitivus pro Imperativo) in Classical Hebrew”, K. Jongeling et al., eds., *Studies in Hebrew & Aramaic Syntax Presented to Professor J. Hofhijzer* (Leiden, 1991), 97–102.

¹⁴ R.J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*² (Toronto, 1976), 37 (§202).

¹⁵ R.J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 37 (§203).

books of the Old Testament at a time when other uses of the infinitive absolute were disappearing?”

1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

The distribution of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb in the Biblical Hebrew corpus is curious:¹⁶

Genesis 1x, Exodus 1x, Joshua 1x, Judges 1x, 1 Samuel 2x, 1 Kings 1x, Isaiah 2x, Jeremiah 10x, Ezekiel 2x, Amos 1x, Haggai 1x, Zecharia 3x, Ecclesiastes 2x, Esther 9x, Daniel 2x, Nehemiah 4x, 1 Chronicles 2x, 2 Chronicles 1x.

The data show clearly that the phenomenon is less frequent in books from the First Temple Period than in compositions from the Second Temple Period and from the period of transition between the First and Second Temple Periods (Jeremiah). This is in contrast with the other uses of the infinitive absolute, which tend to vanish in Late Biblical Hebrew. Cf., e.g., the imperative in the syntagm *הָלֹךְ וְדַבֵּר* “go and speak” (2 Sam 24,12), which is replaced by an imperative in the parallel passage *לֵךְ וְדַבֵּר* (1 Chr 21,9).

The use of the infinitive absolute in general, and as a finite verb in particular, is limited in two other Second Temple Period corpora—the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira—as has been demonstrated by Kutscher,¹⁷ Qimron,¹⁸ Carmignac,¹⁹ Muraoka,²⁰ Smith,²¹ and van Peursen.²² Cf., e.g., the Masoretic text of Isaiah with 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b,

¹⁶ The numbers are according to Rubinstein, “Finite Verb”. The addition or subtraction of an example here and there does not change the general picture.

¹⁷ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden, 1974), 346–348.

¹⁸ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, Georgia, 1986), 47 (§310.140); E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Miqṣat Ma‘ase ha-Torah*, DJD X (Oxford, 1994), 81 (§3.4.2.4).

¹⁹ J. Carmignac, “L’Infinitif”.

²⁰ T. Muraoka, “An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 195.

²¹ M.S. Smith, “Infinitive Absolute”.

²² W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, SSSL 41 (Leiden, 2004), 245–250.

where infinitive absolute forms (with the exception of דָּבַר in 1QIsa^a) are replaced by perfect forms:

“No one sues justly or pleads honestly; they rely on emptiness and speak falsehood, conceiving wrong and begetting evil” (MT Isa 59,4).

אין קורה בצדק ואין נשפט באמונה בטחו על תהו ודבר שו הרוה עמל והולידו און

בטחו על תהו דברו שוא הרו עמל והולידו און (1QIsa^b).

One can also find in the Dead Sea Scrolls imperatives where the MT has infinitive absolutes:

“you shall eat this year... sow and reap and plant vineyards and eat their fruit” (MT Isa 37,30).

אכולו השנה... זרעו וקצרו ונטעו כרמים ואכולו פרים (1QIsa^a)

ונטעו [כרמים] ואכולו (1QIsa^b)²³

The first infinitive absolute of the MT is paralleled by an imperative in 1QIsa^a and the final infinitive absolute of the MT *kethiv* is paralleled by an imperative in 1QIsa^a (as in the MT *qere*) but by an infinitive absolute in 1QIsa^b. The MT imperative וְנָטְעוּ appears to be paralleled in 1QIsa^a by an infinitive absolute ונטעו.²⁴

There are no examples of the infinitive absolute with *waw* functioning as a finite verb in Ben Sira, but there is an attestation of the infinitive absolute without *waw* functioning as an imperative in final position in a clause: בני את כל מלאכתך בענוה הלוך (MS C 3,17) “my son, in all your affairs go humbly”.²⁵

In other Second Temple Period sources one finds that the infinitive absolute has either disappeared or has left only traces. It is absent from the Bar Kokhba letters, contracts from the Judean Desert, and the earliest Tannaitic sources. Traces of the infinitive absolute remain in the written and oral traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, e.g., *šēmōr* (שמור) in Exod

²³ T. Muraoka, “Approach to Morphosyntax”, 195–196; S.E. Fassberg, “The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 94–109.

²⁴ Contra E.Y. Kutscher (*Linguistic Background*, 347), who believed that ונטעו reflected a plural imperative in which the *‘ayin* was written in the wrong part of the word because it was no longer pronounced.

²⁵ Cf. the parallel passage, בני בעשרך התהלך בענוה (MS A), where התהלך is most likely an imperative and not an infinitive absolute.

20,8 and Deut 5,12, whose *o*-vowel goes back to the infinitive absolute.²⁶ As has been shown by Ben-Ḥayyim, the written tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch reveals some features known from the Second Temple period;²⁷ the oral tradition clearly goes back to Second Temple times.²⁸ The following examples from the Samaritan tradition are representative of finite verbs that parallel the Tiberian infinitive absolute:

וישבו המים מעל הארץ הלוך וָשׁוּב (MT Gen 8,3) “the waters then receded steadily from the earth”

וישבו המים מעל הארץ הלכו וּשְׁבו (SamPent Gen 8,3)

וַיִּשְׁבּוּ אַמְמַם מִיַּיַל אֶרְצָא אֱלֹאֵקוּ וְשִׁאֲבוּ (SamPent oral tradition).

The infinitive construct in Late Biblical Hebrew, in contrast, thrives and by the end of the period is the only infinitival form in Hebrew. It assumes some of the functions of the infinitive absolute, e.g., in paranomasia for emphasis הָבֵל הַבְּלֵנוּ “we have acted corruptedly” (Neh 1,7) and הָיִיתָ אֱהִיָּהּ “I will surely be” (Ps 50,21).²⁹ The modal use of the infinitive construct expressing obligation, permission, or prohibition³⁰ gains in prominence in Late Biblical Hebrew,³¹ and it is possible that this phenomenon is inversely related to the disappearance of the modal function of the infinitive absolute as an imperative,³² e.g., וְאֶחָיִהֶם בְּחִצְרֵיהֶם לְבֹא לְשַׁבַּע הַיָּמִים “and their kinsmen in their villages were obliged to join them every seven days” (1 Chr 9,25); וְהַמְשַׁרְרִים הַיָּמֵן אֶסְפָּה וְאִיתָן בְּמִצְלָחִים נֹחֶשֶׁת לְהַשְׁמִיעַ “and the singers Heman, Asaph, and Ethan should sound the bronze cymbals” (1 Chr 15,19). The modal use is particularly salient in commands negated by לֹא and אֵין “he should not be reckoned as first-born” (1

²⁶ Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions* (Jerusalem, 2004), 208–210.

²⁷ Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, 4. On the origin of the Samaritans and their Pentateuch, see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, 1992), 82–100; B.K. Waltke, “Samaritan Pentateuch”, *ABD*, 932–940.

²⁸ E.g., Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, 205–206 (§2.14.4).

²⁹ Ps 50 is thought to be late. See, e.g., C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1906), 415. This psalm is attributed to the Asaphites, who were Temple singers in the Second Temple (Neh 7,44).

³⁰ GKC, 349 (§114). For classical examples, see עלי לַחַה לֶךְ “I would have owed you” (2 Sam 18:11) or הֲלֹא לַכֶּם לִדְעַת אֵת הַמִּשְׁפָּט “For you ought to know what is right!” (Mic 3:1).

³¹ It is also attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls and contemporaneous Aramaic. See B.K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990), 609–610 (§36.2.3f); E. Qimron, *Hebrew of Dead Sea Scrolls*, 70–72 (§400.02); E.Y. Kutscher, “Hebrew Language: The Dead Sea Scrolls”, *EJ*, 16:1988.

³² See S.E. Fassberg, “The Overlap in Use between the Infinitive Construct and the Infinitive Absolute in Biblical Hebrew”, *Sara Japhet Fs.* (forthcoming).

Chr 5,1); “one must not enter the palace gate” (Est 4,2); וגם ללוים אין לשאת את המשכן ואת כל כליו לעבדתו “the Levites should not carry the Tabernacle and all its various service vessels” (1 Chr 23,26).

In Late Biblical Hebrew the infinitive construct even replaces the infinitive absolute following the conjunction *waw* and functions as a finite verb: “Thus I will do to this place says the Lord and to its inhabitants, and I will make this city like Tophet” (Jer 19,12); “and when we make offerings to the Queen of Heaven and pour libations to her” (Jer 44,19), “but Aaron and his sons made offerings upon the altar of burnt offering and upon the altar of incense, performing all the tasks of the most holy place, and made atonement for Israel” (1 Chr 6,34); “only let God give you sense and understanding and let him put you in charge of Israel and you must observe the Teaching of the Lord your God” (1 Chr 22,12).

2. STATE OF RESEARCH

The increased frequency of the infinitive absolute as a finite form in the post-exilic books of the Old Testament has been explained in different ways. Ewald in his syntax wrote:

“In the older pieces of composition, such brevity is still rare; and it occurs most readily in cases where the action [indicated by the infinitive] is simultaneous with that which is previously mentioned, and where there is no change in the person... In later writers, however, this brief construction comes to be more and more freely employed... and at last it becomes so prevalent, that, in giving a rapid description, even a large numbers of verbs may be presented thus, in outline...”³³

In the grammar of Gesenius one finds:

“...the infinitive absolute sometimes appears a substitute for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea... or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with

³³ G.H. Ewald, *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament*, transl. J. Kennedy from the 8th German edition (Edinburgh, 1891), 263 (§c).

this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner...”³⁴

The grammar of Joüon-Muraoka states:

“The reasons which have motivated the choice of the inf. abs. are not clearly understood: sometimes there is probably a desire for variety or a stylistic affectation; sometimes the author wished to use a form with a vague subject like *one* or *they*.”³⁵

Bergsträsser merely noted that it appears to be more common in the younger language.³⁶ Gordon connected the early northern Canaanite evidence with the data from the post-exilic period and attributed the phenomenon in part to the “reunion of far-northern Jews with their Judean coreligionists during the Restoration.”³⁷ Davila has also entertained the possibility that the phenomenon is a northern dialectal feature.³⁸ Rubinstein believed that the syntagm under discussion reflected vulgar speech and attributed it to “scribes or copyists, who resorted to it when they could not be certain of the form of a finite verb.” He added:

“At a time when the older consecutive constructions were in dissolution, the use of a neutral verbal form such as the inf. abs. would prove a congenial substitute for the difficult consecutive tenses. It is at least significant that in the preponderant majority of our instances the inf. abs. occurs precisely at the point where one would expect a transition to the appropriate consecutive form of the verb.”³⁹

Hammershaimb took issue with Rubinstein’s laying the blame on scribes and copyists. Instead, he preferred to invoke the principle of *lectio difficilior*. Consequently, he considered the infinitive absolute as finite verb to be an authentic usage.⁴⁰ Qimron has interpreted the frequency of the infinitive absolute as finite verb in Late Biblical Hebrew and at Qumran as indica-

³⁴ GKC, 345 (§113y).

³⁵ P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*², SubBi 27 (Rome, 2006), 400 (§123x).

³⁶ G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1929), II: 67 (§12m).

³⁷ C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, AnOr 38 (Rome, 1965), 80 (§9:29). See also C.H. Gordon, “North Israelite Influence on Postexilic Hebrew”, *IEJ* 5 (1955), 86–87.

³⁸ J. Davila, “Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew”, *Maarav* 5–6 (1990 = *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislaw Segert*), 84.

³⁹ Rubinstein, “Finite Verb”, 365.

⁴⁰ Hammershaimb, “So-Called *Infinitivus Absolutus*”, 91 n. 1.

tion that the syntagm was indeed in use when Mishnaic Hebrew was spoken, and thus is neither “an imitation nor a literary convention.”⁴¹

Finally, though he did not refer to Late Biblical usage, mention should be made of Tur-Sinai’s explanation as to the origin of the infinitive absolute as finite verb. He derived the function from a syntagm containing infinitival paranomasia that was subsequently deleted. The omitted paranomasia functioned at first adverbially as did the remaining infinitive absolute, e.g., *ויתקעו בשופרות ונפוץ הכדים* “they sounded the horns and smashed the jars” (Judg 7,19), which Tur-Sinai derived from a reconstructed *ויתקעו בשופרות [ויתקועו*] נפוץ*.⁴²

3. INTERPRETATION OF DATA

I do not feel that the explanations that have been put forward adequately account for the expanded use of the phenomenon in Late Biblical Hebrew. The infinitive absolute in place of a finite form is without doubt an old feature and goes back to an early stage of Northwest Semitic, as demonstrated by its attestations in El Amarna, Ugaritic, and Classical Biblical Hebrew. Rubinstein’s interpretation of the increased use as reflecting scribal difficulty and uncertainty in dealing with consecutive tenses is not convincing since the scribes of the period are often successful in imitating the consecutive tenses. The notion that the phenomenon is due to stylistic variation, while no doubt true, does not explain why this use of the infinitive absolute should have enjoyed a renaissance in Late Biblical Hebrew.

Do the occurrences of the infinitive absolute as finite form in the Second Temple Period reflect an authentic spoken feature of the language, as Qimron believes on the basis of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Gordon on the basis of Old Canaanite? One must admit, *prima facie*, that the frequency of the infinitive absolute as finite verb in Late Biblical Hebrew and its proven Northwest Semitic antiquity support their position. One might further buttress their argument by pointing to other Old Canaanite

⁴¹ E. Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E.–200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents”, in D. Dimant, U. Rappaport, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (Jerusalem/Leiden 1992), 358–359. See also Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 47–48 (§310.14).

⁴² Tur-Sinai, *ha-Lashon*, 300.

and Late Biblical Hebrew isoglosses, as did Gevirtz,⁴³ who noted also the use of relative *-š*,⁴⁴ the demonstrative pronoun *וּ*, the *quivis* construction (repetition of a singular word; e.g., *יום ויום* vs. *יום יום* of Classical Biblical Hebrew), the pluralization of construct formations (e.g., *חרשי עצים* “wood workers” vs. classical *עץ חרשי*), the word order of noun and modifying numeral (*ימים שלושה* “three days” vs. classical *שלושה ימים*)⁴⁵ and lexemes such as *חשבון* “reckoning, account”, *מצלתיים* “cymbals” (vs. classical *צלצלים*), *עשתי*, *עשתי עשרה* and *עשרה* “eleven”.

Nonetheless, I am not convinced that the increased use of the infinitive absolute as finite verb indeed reflects the spoken Hebrew of the period. It is now a commonplace that many deviations from the Classical Hebrew language that are found in the late biblical books of the Old Testament reflect the spoken language or languages (Hebrew and Aramaic) of the time.⁴⁶ The authenticity of such features, however, is proven only when the same phenomena occur in other corpora, viz., the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, Tannaitic Hebrew, the Samaritan Pentateuchal traditions, contemporaneous Aramaic, and unequivocally colloquial documents such as the Bar Kokhba letters. Note, e.g., the following phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features found in Late Biblical Hebrew texts, all of which have been shown to reflect genuine phenomena on the basis of corroborating features in other corpora:⁴⁷ the vocalization of the relative particle *-š* with *šewa* before 3rd person pronouns *שְׁהוּא* (Eccl 2,22) and *שְׁהֵם* (Eccl 3,18) as well as the general increased use of

⁴³ S. Gevirtz, “Of Syntax and Style in the ‘Late Biblical Hebrew’ – ‘Old Canaanite’ Connection”, *JANES* 18 (1986), 25–29.

⁴⁴ For the most recent discussion on the origin and chronological development of this particle, see J. Huehnergard, “On the Etymology of the Hebrew Relative *š* -”, in S.E. Fassberg, A. Hurvitz, eds. *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (Jerusalem/Winona Lake, Indiana, 2006), 103–125.

⁴⁵ S. Weitzman, “The Shifting Syntax of Numerals in Biblical Hebrew: A Reassessment”, *JNES* 55 (1996), 177–185, argues that this word order is not only a feature of Late Biblical Hebrew.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the works of Kutscher, Ben-Hayyim, Bendavid, Morag, Hurvitz, Qimron, and Bar-Asher. In his pre-Dead Sea Scrolls study, Kropat attributed the changes in Chronicles (*vis-à-vis* the earlier parallel biblical passages) solely to Aramaic influence. See A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen; Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen*, BZAW 16 (Giessen, 1909), 72–75.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., S. Morag, “On the Historical Validity of the Vocalization of the Hebrew Bible”, *JAOs* 94 (1974), 307–315; A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, transl. J. Elwolde, (Cambridge, 1993), 112–160.

-ש; the *nuf^cal* conjugation (נִלְדוּ “they were born” in 1 Chr 3,5;20,8);⁴⁸ the frequency of compound forms composed of הִיהַ + participle, the *quivis* construction and plural of construct formations mentioned above, and the nouns תַּעֲנִית “fast” (Ezra 9,5), vs. classical צוּם, מְדַרֵּשׁ “study” (2 Chr 24,27), and the proper noun יְשׁוּעַ vs. classical יְהוֹשֻׁעַ.

This is not the case, however, for the infinitive absolute as a finite verb. Unlike in Late Biblical Hebrew, this phenomenon is fossilized in the written and oral Samaritan Pentateuchal traditions, it is absent from Ben Sira, the Bar Kokhba letters, and Tannaitic Hebrew, and it is infrequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁹ Thus it would appear that the only conclusion that may be drawn from the attestations in Late Biblical Hebrew is that the feature is a classicism, or to use the term of Haneman in discussing biblicalisms in the Mishna, a “borrowing” from the First Temple Period.⁵⁰

The verbal system attested in post-exilic Hebrew books is replete with classicisms and hypercorrections, also known as pseudo-classicisms.⁵¹ The existence of *waw*-consecutive syntagms and the lengthened and apocopated modal forms bear ample evidence of this.⁵² In the case of the infinitive absolute with the conjunction *waw* functioning as a finite verb, it

⁴⁸ The vowel *u* in this form was viewed in older grammars as a probable pointing mistake for *o*, e.g., Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II: 130 (§26m). In the discussion following the oral presentation of the paper, J. Joosten questioned the interpretation of נִלְדוּ as a *nuf^cal* verb, pointing out that there are no other examples of the pl. of the verb נִלְדַּו in the Old Testament with which to compare.

⁴⁹ M. Eskhult goes so far as to say “extremely rare”. See, M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Uppsala, 1990), 106–107. For a list of attestations, see Smith, “Infinitive Absolute”, 254–265. Yet, despite the relatively limited number of examples, Qimron believes it was used in the spoken language at Qumran because of the occurrences in non-biblical texts such as 4QMMT, 4QTob (five examples), and 4QTNaph. See Qimron, “Observations”, 358–359; Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat*, 81. Some additional members of the symposium also voiced this position in comments following the paper. I would stress that in these same non-biblical texts there are also many examples of the *waw consecutive*, whose use can only be interpreted as imitating Classical Biblical Hebrew. On classicisms and pseudo-classicisms, see below.

⁵⁰ G. Haneman, “Biblical Borrowings in the Mishna”, *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1969), 2:95–96 [Hebrew].

⁵¹ J. Joosten, “Pseudo-Classicism in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, *Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, & the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997*, STDJ 33 (Leiden, 1999), 146–159.

⁵² See also M. Eskhult, “Verbal Syntax in Late Biblical Hebrew”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 84–93; J. Joosten, “The Disappearance of Iterative WEQATAL in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System”, in S.E. Fassberg, A. Hurvitz, eds. *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (Jerusalem/Winona Lake, Indiana, 2006), 135–147.

would appear that some scribes chose to imitate this classicism. It, like other *waw*-consecutive syntagms, must have been viewed as elegant and elevated style.⁵³ It is important to stress that, in contrast, the functions of the infinitive absolute that were not related to the *waw*-consecutive syntagms fell by the wayside.

The relatively high number of examples of the infinitive absolute as finite verb in Jeremiah and in Esther supports this interpretation of the data. The language of the book of Jeremiah reflects the beginning of a transitional stage between the Hebrew of the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods, and as such, is full of classical as well as some post-classical features. The scribe or scribes of the book of Jeremiah, in particular, had a predilection for the infinitive absolute in syntagms with a *waw*. Is it mere coincidence that nearly 70% (eleven of sixteen) examples in the Old Testament of an infinitive absolute followed by *waw*-consecutive (e.g., הִלֵּךְ וּקְרָא “Go and call in the ears of Jerusalem” [Jer 2,2]) are found in this book?⁵⁴

In the case of the book of Esther, it has been demonstrated that its author deliberately imitated the language and literary motifs of the Joseph cycle, which was written in pure classical Hebrew. Cf. ויסר... ויתן “and he removed... and he gave it.. and he he had him dressed... and he had him ride... and they cried before him ‘Abrek’ and they placed him” (Gen 41,42–43) vs. ... ויסר ויקרא לפניו... וירכבוהו... וילבש... ויתנה... (Est 8,2; 6,11).⁵⁵ It is noteworthy that the one example of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb in Genesis occurs in the Joseph cycle, Gen 41,43, ויקרא לפניו אברך ונתון אתו “and they cried before him, ‘Abrek!’ and he placed him”, and also occurs with the same verb in Est 6,8–9: ונתון הלבוש והסוס... וביאו לבוש מלכות... “let them bring royal garb... and let them give the garb and the horse”.

⁵³ Joüin and Muraoka (*Grammar*, 400 [§123x]) come close to expressing this view in their formulation: “sometimes there is probably a desire for ... a stylistic affectation ...”.

⁵⁴ S.E. Fassberg, “Sequences of Positive Commands in Biblical Hebrew: לך אָמַר, לך וְאָמַרְתָּ, לך וְאָמַרְתָּ”, in S.E. Fassberg, A. Hurvitz, eds. *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (Jerusalem/Winona Lake, Indiana, 2006), 57 n. 21.

⁵⁵ M. Gan, “The Book of Esther in the Light of the Story of Joseph in Egypt”, *Tarbiz* 31 (1961), 146–149 [Hebrew]; A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (Tel-Aviv, 1967), 61–62 [Hebrew].

4. CONCLUSION

The use of the infinitive absolute with *waw* functioning as a finite verb reflects archaizing on the part of the scribes. Methodologically, one can only prove that a phenomenon in Late Biblical Hebrew texts is a living spoken feature when there is corroborating evidence from other Second Temple sources. This is not case for the infinitive absolute as finite verb. I suggest viewing the use of the infinitive absolute with *waw* as finite verb in Late Biblical Hebrew as part of the “Standard Literary Hebrew” of the Second Temple Period that combines classical and post-classical elements. Like Greenfield’s “Standard Literary Aramaic”,⁵⁶ a classification proposed in order to emphasize the similarity between different Aramaic corpora as well as to stress the literary nature of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls as against those who maintained that the Qumran scrolls evidenced colloquial Palestinian Aramaic, I believe that the Hebrew of the post-exilic biblical books, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Ben-Sira reflects a standardized literary language. Others, of course, have also spoken of a literary language during the Second Temple Period.⁵⁷ Polak’s investigations into the sentence complexity of Late Biblical Hebrew texts, in which he shows that Hebrew prose in the Late Pre-exilic and Exilic period has more subordinate clauses, more clauses including three, four or more arguments, and more expanded noun strings than in the Pre-Exilic period, reinforce our assertion.⁵⁸ The standardized literary language is a web, not always seamless, but a web, nonetheless, of First Temple and Second Temple elements. It differed considerably from the colloquial speech of

⁵⁶ J.C. Greenfield, “Standard Literary Aramaic”, in A. Caquot, D. Cohen, eds., *Actes du premier congrès de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris, 16–19 juillet 1969* (The Hague, 1974), 281–289 [reprinted in S.M. Paul et al., eds., *‘Al Kanfei Yonah; Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 2001), 111–120]. See also J.C. Greenfield, “Aramaic and Its Dialects”, in H.H. Paper, ed., *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations. Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March–April 1975* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 34–36 [reprinted in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah*, 366–368].

⁵⁷ Already C. Rabin, “The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew”, *ScrHier* 4 (1958), 144–161. See more recently J. Blau, “A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in T. Muraoka, J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 20–25.

⁵⁸ F. Polak, “The Oral and the Written: Syntax, Stylistics and the Development of Biblical Prose”, *JANES* 26 (1998), 59–105; “Sociolinguistics and the Judean Speech Community in the Achaemenid Empire”, in O. Lipschits, M. Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2006), 600–606.

the time (cf. the Bar Kokhba letters) and from the legal language of the period as reflected in letters and legal documents from the Judean Desert and the Mishna.

CONSTITUENT ORDER IN EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

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Leuven

Existential clauses, viz. nominal clauses including an explicit predicator of existence שׁ or ׀א, have been treated in detail by Martin Baasten in one of the previous symposia on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira.¹ In the present contribution, one specific type of existential clauses will be dealt with, viz. existential clauses containing a noun phrase (NP) and a (possessive or locative) prepositional phrase (PP)². In particular, the issue of the relative order of the different constituents of such clauses will be addressed. As is well-known from Biblical Hebrew, and as Baasten, and before him Carmignac have remarked for Qumran Hebrew,³ the prepositional phrase and noun phrase may occur in either order after שׁ or ׀א. In certain cases, the prepositional phrase or the noun phrase may even precede the predicator of existence.

According to Baasten, “there does not seem to be a functional opposition” between the NP-PP and the PP-NP orders.⁴ In my own linguistic research on Job 12–14, I found, however, that in Biblical Hebrew there often is a functional difference between the different constituent orders,⁵ which naturally raises the question if the same could apply for Qumran

¹ M. Baasten, “Existential Clauses in Qumran Hebrew”, in T. Muraoka, J. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 1–11.

² In most cases, the prepositional phrases are headed by the prepositions ל or ב, although also other prepositions like אֶת, עַם, לַנֶּגֶד, תַּחַת and בֵּין occur. For reasons to be explained below, clauses with comparative and exceptive prepositional phrases—headed by prepositions like כּ, זוּלַת(י), מִבְּלַעַי—shall not be dealt with explicitly and shall not be included in the statistics.

³ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”; J. Carmignac, “L’emploi de la négation אֵין dans la Bible et à Qumran”, *RQ* 8 (1974), 407–413.

⁴ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 3.5.9.

⁵ Van Hecke, P., *Job 12–14. A Functional-Grammatical and Cognitive-Semantic Approach* (Melle, 2005) [to appear in *Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, Assen], 258.

Hebrew. Moreover, many other oppositions in constituent order are known to be functionally relevant, both in Hebrew and in other languages. Without giving an overview of the vast amount of work that has been done on constituent order in Biblical Hebrew, some examples could be mentioned. As far as verbal clauses are concerned, one could point to the modal difference between clauses with initial *yiqtol* and clauses with non-initial *yiqtol*.⁶ Or one could mention the discursive function of clauses of the *x-qatal* type.⁷ Mention could also be made of the two thorough monographs by Walter Groß on constituent order in the pre-verbal and post-verbal field in verbal clauses.⁸ Also in nominal clauses, constituent order has been regarded as a functionally relevant factor. Several of the contributions to the 1999 volume on nominal clauses edited by Cynthia Miller address this point,⁹ as did earlier studies of nominal clauses.¹⁰ Even in a clause type very close to the one studied in the present contribution, viz. nominal clauses with a prepositional phrase, constituent

⁶ See e.g. A. Niccacci, "A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: *Yiqtol* and Position in the Sentence", in *Liber Annuus. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 37 (1987), 7–19; E. J. Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose", in *HUCA* 60 (1989), 1–37; A. Shulman, *The Use of Modal Verb Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996); J. Joosten, "The Syntax of Volitive Verbal Forms in *Qoheleth* in Historical Perspective", in A. Berlejung, P. Van Hecke, eds., *The Language of Qohelet in Its Context. Essays in Honour of Prof. A. Schoors on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, OLA 164 (Leuven, 2007), 47–61.

⁷ See e.g. E. Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible 1: Elements of a Theory", in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35 (1978), 168–175; E. Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible 2: Syntax and Semantics", in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 (1982), 26–38; A. Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, JSOT.SS 86 (Sheffield, 1990).

⁸ W. Groß, *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa. Untersucht an den Büchern Dtn, Ri und 2Kön*, FAT 17 (Tübingen, 1996); W. Groß, *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld. Syntaktische, pragmatische und übersetzungstechnische Studien zum althebräischen Verbalsatz*, BZAW 305 (Berlin – New York, 2001); see also A. Moshavi, "The Discourse Functions of Object/Adverbial-Fronting in Biblical Hebrew", in S. E. Fassberg, A. Hurvitz, eds., *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting. Typological and Historical Perspectives* (Jerusalem, 2006), 231–245.

⁹ R. Buth, "Word Order in the Verbless Clause. A Generative-Functional Approach", in C. L. Miller, ed., *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew. Linguistic Approaches*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 1 (Winona Lake, 1999), 79–108; E. J. Revell, "Thematic Continuity and the Conditioning of Word Order in Verbless Clauses", in C. L. Miller, ed., *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew. Linguistic Approaches*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 1 (Winona Lake, 1999), 297–319.

¹⁰ See the differentiation between clauses of identification and clauses of classification on the basis of constituent order in F. I. Andersen, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch*, JBL.MS 14 (Nashville – New York, 1970), and the critiques and additions to this approach in J. Hofstijzer, "The Nominal Clause Reconsidered", in *VT* 23 (1973), 446–510.

order was shown to play an important role by Muraoka (Biblical Hebrew) and Baasten (Qumran Hebrew).¹¹

All of the studies mentioned above argue that variation in constituent order is often functionally relevant, which justifies the question whether also the opposing orders in existential clauses would have different functions. It is to this question that I now turn.

1. CONSTITUENT ORDER IN EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES: THE GENERAL TENDENCY

In the existing literature, briefly mentioned above, a number of factors influencing the constituent order have been discussed which might also be of influence in existential clauses. One of these factors is the part of speech to which the constituents belong: several authors have pointed to the fact that pronominal constituents tend to assume a different position in the clause than their nominal counterparts. E.g., pronominal constituents tend to move closer to the verb than their nominal equivalents with the same syntactic function.¹² This phenomenon is cross-linguistically well attested.¹³ I just present one of Dik's example clauses from French, but many more could be given: "Jean a donné le livre à son frère" becomes "Jean lui a donné le livre", with pre-verbal movement of the *complément d'objet indirect* when it is pronominalized.

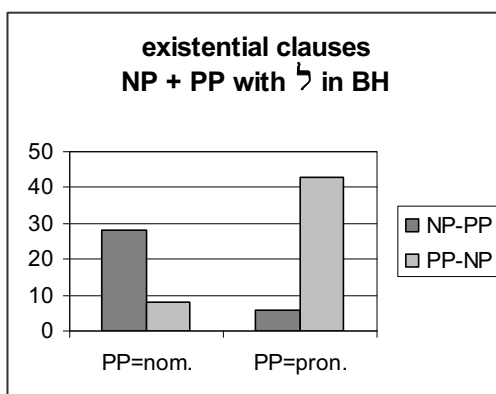
The same factor plays an important role in the relative constituent order of prepositional phrases and noun phrases in existential clauses, both in Biblical and in Qumran Hebrew. Starting with Biblical Hebrew and limiting my research to existential clauses with a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition -ל , I counted 28 cases where the nominal PP

¹¹ T. Muraoka, "The Biblical Hebrew Nominal Clause with a Prepositional Phrase", in L. Van Rompay, ed., *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax*, FS Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), 143–151; M. Baasten, "Nominal Clauses with Locative and Possessive Predicates in Qumran Hebrew", in T. Muraoka, J. Elwolde, eds., *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah*, STDJ 33 (Leiden, 1999), 25–52.

¹² See L. Lode, "Postverbal Word Order in Biblical Hebrew. Structure and Function", in *Semitics* 9 (1984), 113–164, here 114–115.139; T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem – Leiden, 1985), 44; J-M § 155t; Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, 261. 290–295.

¹³ See S.C. Dik, K. Hengeveld, *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, Functional Grammar Series 20 (Berlin – New York, 1997), 411–413: "LIPOC" (language-independent preferred order of constituents)".

follows the NP, as in 1Sam 17,46 *יש אלהים לישראל*,¹⁴ against 8 cases in which the nominal PP precedes the NP as in Job 14,7 *יש לעץ תקוה*.¹⁵ If the prepositional phrase is pronominal, the situation is reversed: in not more than 6 cases the the PP follows the NP (so e.g. in Joel 1,18: *אין מרעה להם*),¹⁶ while in 43 the nominal PP precedes the NP, and thus immediately follows the predicator of existence (so e.g. in Gen 11,30: *אין לה ולד*),¹⁷ completely similar to the position of pronominal complements in verbal clauses. The correlation between the part of speech of the PP (nominal v. pronominal) and the relative order of the clause constituents is illustrated in the following graph 1:



The same tendency can be observed in Qumran Hebrew. Taking into account the PPs not only with the preposition -ל, but also with other locative prepositions, I found 19 cases for the order NP-PP with a

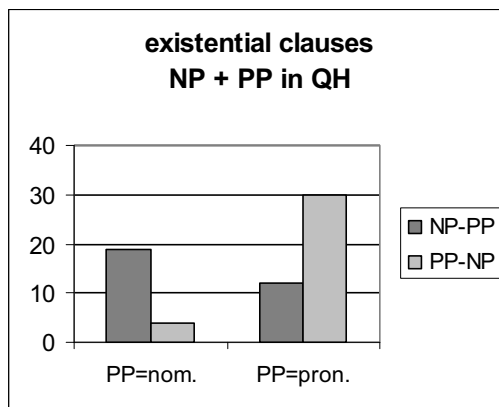
¹⁴ אין – NP – PP(nominal): Gen 47,4; Num 27,11; Josh 18,7; 1 Sam 18,25; Isa 2,7 (bis); 40,28; Jer 8,15; 12,12; Nah 2,10; 3,3; Ps 73,4; Job 22,5; 26,6; Prov 25,28; Qoh 4,8.16; 8,15; 10,11; Neh 2,14; 2 Chr 12,3; יש – NP – PP(nominal): 1 Sam 17,46; Jer 31,16.17; Job 25,3; Qoh 2,13; Ezra 10,2; 2 Chr 15,7.

¹⁵ אין – PP(nominal) – NP: Deut 22,26; 1 Sam 14,6; 2 Kgs 4,2; Jer 26,16; Job 32,12; יש – PP(nominal) – NP: Job 14,7; 28,1; 38,28.

¹⁶ אין – NP – PP(pronominal): Isa 45,9; 50,10; Hos 10,3; Joel 1,18; Ps 3,3; 55,20. I am not aware of any cases in which the prex יש is followed by NP and a pronominal PP (in this order).

¹⁷ אין – PP(pronominal) – NP: Gen 11,30; Ex 22,1; Lev 11,10.12; 25,31; Num 27,4.9.10; 35,27; Deut 12,12; 14,10.27.29; Josh 22,25.27; 1 Sam 27,1; 2 Sam 18,18; 19,7; 20,1; 21,4; Isa 55,1; Jer 8,17; 14,19; 39,10; 46,23; Ezek 42,6; Hos 8,7; Mal 1,10; Ps 119,165; 146,3; Prov 6,7; Esth 2,7; 2 Chr 14,12; 35,3; יש – PP(pronominal) – NP: Gen 33,11; 43,7; 44,19.20; 1 Kgs 17,12; Jer 41,8; Ruth 1,12; Qoh 4,9; 1 Chr 29,3.

nominal PP,¹⁸ with only 5 cases of the opposite order.¹⁹ On the other hand, 30 cases of the PP-NP order can be found with a pronominal PP,²⁰ with 12 cases of the alternative order.²¹ In graph 2 the correlation between the two variables in Qumran Hebrew is illustrated:



Even though, in Qumran Hebrew, the tendency for pronominal PP's to move before the NP is less marked than in Biblical Hebrew—a phenomenon to which I shall return later—the general rule both for Biblical and for Qumran Hebrew is clear: if the PP is nominal, it follows the NP; if it is pronominal, it precedes.²² Exceptions to the rule occur when a

¹⁸ 1QS^a II 9; 1QH^a XI 20–21; XII 20; XIV 6.13; XV 11; XVII 14; XXII 7; 4Q169 3–4 ii 6; 4Q184 1 7; 4Q221 2 i 2; CD-B XX 5–6; 4Q381 76+77 11; 4Q385a 17 ii 6; 4Q400 1 i 14; 4Q511 1 6; 11Q14 1 ii 11.13.14. Some of these cases are not fully retained in the manuscript, but can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of certainty.

¹⁹ 4Q88 10 9; 4Q223–224 2 iv 3; 4Q270 7 i 14; 4Q372 1 18; 11Q19 LXVI 6 [= Deut 22,26].

²⁰ 1QS VI 12.13; 4Q158 10–12 5; 4Q176 14 6; 4Q 221 2 i 1; 4Q223–224 2 i 49.53; 4Q223–224 2 ii 6 [= Jub 35 13]; 4Q223–224 2 iv 12; 4Q251 16 5; CD-A V 17; IX 14–15; X 12–13; XIV 16 (bis) = 4Q266 10 i 9; CD-B XX 10; 4Q267 6 3 = 4Q270 3 ii 14; 4Q274 3 ii 3; 4Q300 8 6; 4Q374 2 ii 4; 4Q379 13 2; 22 i 3; 4Q381 76–77,9; 4Q394 8 iv 5 = 396 ii 7; 4Q405 23 i 10; 4Q410 1 5; 4Q511 3 5; 11Q19 XLVIII 5; XLIX 15; LII 16.

²¹ 1QS IV 14; V 13; 1QM I 6; 1QH^a XVI 27; XX 19; CD-A II 6–7; 4Q219 2 24; 4Q266 6 i 7–8; 4Q300 7 2; 4Q389 8 ii 3; 4Q491 13 7; 11Q19 LXVI 8.

²² Statistically speaking the correlation is highly significant, with a Pearson's chi-squared value of 34.455 and 13.7306 for the BH and the QH respectively, resulting in p-values of < 0.001. This means that the probability of the influence of the choice of a nominal v. pronominal NP on the constituent order in the clause is higher than 99.9% (assuming that the constituent order is the dependent variable, i.e. that the order is influenced by the part of speech of its constituents, and not the other way around). Even though the inclusion of some instances might be debatable, and even if some instances might have been overlooked, the general tendency is statistically clear.

nominal PP precedes the NP or when a pronominal PP follows after the NP. In a limited number of cases, which can also be regarded as exceptions to the default order, either the PP or the NP precedes the predicator of existence. Also here, the part of speech to which the PP belongs, seems to play an important role: in QH, all the cases of a PP preceding the predicator of existence are nominal (e.g. 4Q181 2,6 וְלִטְבוֹ אֵין חֶקֶר “and to his goodness there is no limit”), while also in BH most are.²³ On the other hand, PPs are always pronominal when a NP precedes the predicator in QH (e.g. 4Q181 2,6 וְהִפְזָ אֵין בּוֹ “and there is no delight in it”), while BH has only a few exceptions to this tendency.²⁴ Although the present analysis focuses on the clauses in which both NP and PP follow the predicator of existence—by far the majority of cases—I shall come back to the instances with a fronted NP or PP at the end of this contribution. Before turning to the different exceptions, I shall, however, first try to account for the general ordering principle itself, viz., that nominal PPs follow the NP, while pronominal ones precede the NP.

2. EXPLAINING THE GENERAL TENDENCY?

Remarking a general tendency is, however interesting, not sufficient if one wishes to describe linguistic phenomena of the kind discussed here. At least two important questions remain: firstly, how should the difference in constituent order between clauses with a nominal and a pronominal PP be accounted for; and secondly, how should the exceptions to the general rule be explained, which are too numerous to just ignore.

In order to deal with both questions, I should like to call to mind the terminology introduced by Functional Grammar and in particular by the late Amsterdam linguist Simon Dik. Dik—and others before him—have argued that clause constituents do not only have syntactic functions (as e.g. Subject or Object) and semantic functions (as e.g. Agent or Patient) in the clause,²⁵ but also have distinct pragmatic functions. Those pragmatic

²³ 1QM XIV 8.11 (bis) = 4Q491 8–10 i 5–6.9; 1QH^a XVII 17; XVIII 10; 4Q181 2.6. Exceptions in BH are Deut 19,6; 2 Sam 18,22 and Neh 2,20.

²⁴ 1QH^a XV 17; 4Q179 1 i 6.11; 1 ii 10. Exceptions in BH are Jer 49,1 and Prov 30,27.

²⁵ See Dik, Hengeveld, *Functional Grammar*, 117–124. Different linguists have proposed different classifications of semantic functions, see e.g. the famous article by C. J. Fillmore,

functions are related to the way in which the information in the clause is organised. Put simply, each (declarative) clause is saying something about something else. The elements in the clause about which assertions are made in the clause are labelled technically as the clause's *Topic*, while what is asserted about the Topic is called the clause's *Focus*. Thus, in a neutral clause as "I read a book", the Topic is "I", and the Focus—that what is said about the "I"—is "read a book". In this case, the Topic coincides with the syntactic subject, but this need not be the case. With the appropriate intonation, the pragmatic functions of the constituents could switch, even though their syntactic functions remain the same. With the clause's accent on "I" ("I read the book"), the Topic of the clause is that "[someone] read the book", the Focus being that it was "I" who did so. For this reason, a clause like "I read the book" is often reformulated as a cleft-sentence of the type "It is I who read the book". This example illustrates the fact that the Topic-Focus opposition does not necessarily coincide with the Subject-Predicate opposition, although it typically does. If it does not, however, this should be linguistically marked, by e.g. intonation or by using special focus-promoting construction as the cleft-construction mentioned above.²⁶ Next to intonation and focus-constructions, also constituent order may indicate how the functions of Topic and Focus are distributed in the clause, as many authors have observed, both in general and with regard to Hebrew.²⁷ Taking an

"The Case for Case", in R. T. Harms, ed., *Universals in Linguistic Theory* (New York, 1968), 1–88.

²⁶ Cleft-constructions also occur in Qumran Hebrew, see e.g. 4Q162 (pIsab) 2,7: הם אשר ייהו מאסו תורה יהוה.

²⁷ K. Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form. Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71 (Cambridge, 1994); Dik, Hengeveld, *Functional Grammar*, 420–427. For Hebrew, see B. L. Bandstra, "Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: Syntactic Observations on Genesis 22 from a Discourse Perspective", in W. R. Bodine, ed., *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, 1992), 109–124; M. Rosenbaum, *Word-Order Variation in Isaiah 40–55*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 36 (Assen, 1997); T. Goldfajn, *Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*, Oxford Theological Monographs (New York, 1998); Buth, "Word Order"; J.-M. Heimerdinger, *Topic, Focus and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives*, JSOT.S 295 (Sheffield, 1999); Revell, "Thematic Continuity"; C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Explaining Fronting in Biblical Hebrew", in *JNWSL* 25 (1999), 173–186; C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Towards a Better Understanding of Biblical Hebrew Word Order", in *JNWSL* 25 (1999), 277–300; Moshavi, "Object/Adverbial-Fronting"; K. Shimasaki, *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew. A Study of Word Order and Information Structure* (Bethesda, 2002); S. J. Floor, *From Information Structure, Topic and Focus, to Theme in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*, Ph.D.-dissertation (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 2004); N. P. Lunn, *Word-*

example from Dutch, a clause like “I read THAT book” would typically be rendered as “DAT boek heb ik gelezen”, with the fronting of the object and the subsequent inversion of the S-V order.

It would lead us too far to develop the concepts of Topic and Focus in detail here. For additional reference, it may suffice to point to the literature listed in note 27. One distinction that will prove to be important in the rest of this contribution, however, is the one Dik has made between New and Given Topics.²⁸ Although topical information in the clause is typically indeed already known to both the speaker and the addressee—the reason for which the term “Topic” is sometimes used for so-called “old information” or “given information” in the clause—this need not be the case. While Topics tend to be maintained during several, subsequent clauses—thus forming a topical chain of Given Topics—New Topics are naturally introduced at several occasions in a discourse or narration, resulting in a Topic shift. This distinction is important in the present context since New Topics and Given Topics typically occupy different positions in the clause.

With the concepts of Topic and Focus in mind, we may now return to the existential clauses in Qumran Hebrew, and to the two questions formulated above. Why, as a general rule, does the PP follow the NP when the former is nominal and precede the NP when it is pronominal? This question is difficult to answer, since the alternative orders are limited to two (NP-PP and PP-NP), while the factors influencing the order are possibly quite numerous. Several authors have attempted to formulate some general rules responsible for all constituent orders in Hebrew. In the introduction to his edited volume on Topic continuity, Givón introduced the general principle that the most important pragmatic task should be taken care of first, i.e. that, if the Topic is clear, making the comment (in other words, presenting the Focus material) is the most urgent task, while if the Topic is ambiguous, establishing it should be done first.²⁹ Myhill added an important qualification to this rule, viz. that *in languages with a high frequency of the VS order* (as in Hebrew), the most important new

Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry. Differentiating Pragmatics and Poetics, Paternoster Biblical Monographs (Milton Keynes – Waynesboro, 2006).

²⁸ Dik, Hengeveld, *Functional Grammar*, 313–326.

²⁹ T. Givón, “Topic Continuity in Discourse. An Introduction”, in T. Givón, ed., *Topic Continuity in Discourse. A Quantitative Cross-Language Study*, Typological Studies in Language 3 (Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 1983), 1–41, here 20.

information comes first.³⁰ This explains why focused or contrasted constituents are usually put in first position, as Myhill indicated, but possibly also why New Topics tend to come in first position, while Given Topics (often in the form of personal pronouns) are moved to a later position, in order to leave the first position to the Focus. The reason behind this tendency is that one needs to know what the clause is about—more technically: what its Topic is—before one can start making assertions about it. This tendency explains, among other things, why, in nominal clauses, the subject usually precedes the predicate, unless the subject is a personal pronoun.³¹ Revell specified that beside the pragmatic function of the constituents, also their degree of referentiality may influence their position in the clause.³² More specifically, he comes to the conclusion that Hebrew tends to place the constituent with the highest degree of referentiality in first position in order to maximally maintain the textual cohesion or thematic continuity. If, however, this cohesion is already guaranteed by the context or by the clause type, the first position can be left to other constituents.

Although the principles mentioned here need to be made more operational and to be tested on a large textual corpus, they may provide the theoretical background with which the observed distribution of constituent orders in existential clauses can be explained. Tentatively, one could argue that, if both the subject (NP) and the predicate (PP) are nominal, it is the subject, which is typically also the Topic, that precedes. If, on the other hand, the PP is pronominal, it usually is the clause's Given Topic with a high degree of referentiality and thus precedes the NP *if* establishing the referential connection with what precedes is necessary. This explains why in relative existential clauses, the pronominal PP—by definition the Topic of the clause—almost invariably precedes the NP, both in Biblical Hebrew and in Qumran.³³ One could reasonably argue that the pronominal PPs are moved forward in the clause because of their length. Indeed, it is an established cross-linguistic principle that

³⁰ J. Myhill, "Word Order and Temporal Sequencing", in D. L. Payne, ed., *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility*, Typological Studies in Language 22 (Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 1992), 265–278, here 275–276.

³¹ J-M § 154fa.fd.

³² Revell, "Thematic Continuity", 308.

³³ Notable exceptions are Ps 55,20 אשר אין חלפות למו; 4Q266 6 i 8 אשר יש הרחש תחתו (on the latter case, see below).

shorter constituents tend to come earlier in the clause than longer ones.³⁴ Although this factor could play a role in the case of frontward movement of pronominal PPs in existential clauses, the influence of the constituent's referentiality seems to be higher than that of its length, as examples from Biblical Hebrew may illustrate: in 2 Kgs 4,2 *אין לשפחהך כל* “your servant has nothing”, the PP *לשפחהך* moved to the initial position, in spite of its length, but because of its high degree of referentiality, being a reverential equivalent to *לי*. Also in Jer 26,16 *אין-לאיש הזה משפט-מות* “this man has no sentence of death [should not be put to death]”, the PP moved to the front being highly referential, in spite of its length.

3. EXPLAINING THE EXCEPTIONS

Having observed the general tendency in the relative order of NP and PP in existential clauses, and having formulated an—albeit tentative—explanation for it, the exceptions to the general rule should now be discussed and be accounted for. I shall first turn to the cases in which, contrary to the expectations, a nominal PP precedes the NP, after which the cases in which a pronominal PP follows the NP shall be dealt with.

3.1. *PP(nom)-NP*

A first case of a nominal PP preceding the NP occurs in 4Q223–224 (Papyrus Jubilees^b) 2iv,3f (=Jub 37,18):

[...מנה]נא שבועה [ולנ]חשים שבועה נא[מנה]... “Neither the sons of m[an] [nor sn]akes have a tru[stworthy] oath”.³⁵ In this case, it is not so much the PP that moved forward, but, rather, the NP that took the ultimate position because of its length and complexity. Even though the text is broken after [...מנה]נא שבועה, it can safely be reconstructed on the basis of other versions of the book of Jubilees of which 4Q223–224 is a manuscript. It is quite certain, therefore, that a relative clause “which they swear forever” followed the NP [...מנה]נא שבועה. As mentioned above, it is well-known,

³⁴ See Dik, Hengeveld, *Functional Grammar*, 404 (‘Principle of Increasing Complexity’); 411–413. See also Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, 270–271; J-M §154h.

³⁵ Translation according to F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* (Leiden, 2000).

both in Hebrew and cross-linguistically, that long and complex clause constituents (as NPs followed by a relative clause) tend to occupy clause-final positions, and this phenomenon also seems to be at work in the present text.

A second instance of a PP(nom)-NP order is found in 4Q270 7i, 14f, in manuscript E of the Damascus Document: *אין לאמ[ן]ת רוקמה בתוך העדה* “for mothers there is no רוקמה in the midst of the congregation”. This pericope is well known among Qumran scholars because of its semantic crux רוקמה, for which new proposals continue to be made.³⁶ However one may wish to interpret the word (‘authority’, ‘legal claim’), it is clear that it designates something the ‘fathers’ of the congregation have, and the ‘mothers’ have not, explaining why someone who complains about the fathers is permanently expelled from the congregation, whereas someone who complains about the mothers is (only) punished for ten days. The forward movement of the PP *לאמ[ן]ת* should therefore be understood as a way to mark it for what Dik would call Contrastive Focus. If a speaker wishes to provide information that runs counter to what the addressee thinks, or that is opposed to other information that the addressee might have, the contrasting element in his/her statement receives Contrasting Focus and is often fronted in the clause, which is the case in our present verse. With appropriate intonation, the English rendering of the clause runs as follows, then: “for the MOTHERS do not have any legal claim/authority in the congregation (unlike the fathers who do)”.

The same case applies to 11Q19 66,6, which is a literal quote from Deut 22,26: *הטא מוח אין לנערה* “the girl does not have a sin of death (=the girl did not commit a crime to be punished by death)”. In this clause, a contrast is made between a girl who is a victim of rape in the open field, and who is innocent, and her assailant who—obviously—is guilty. The forward movement of the PP marks it for Contrastive Focus: “The GIRL did not commit a crime worthy of death (in contrast to the offender)”. It should be noted that also in the preceding clause the constituent referring

³⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 617: “mingling (?)”; J. Elwolde, “*Rwqmh* in the Damascus Document and Ps 139:15”, in T. Muraoka, J. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 65–83, 73: “‘essential being’, ‘authority’, or ‘status’”; V.A. Hurowitz, “רוקמה in Damascus Document 4QD^c (4Q270) 7 i 14”, in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9 (2002), 34–37, here 35: “legal claim”.

to the girl is fronted, in this case before the vetitive verbal form, for the same reason: ולנערה לא־תעשה דבר “do not do anything to the GIRL”.³⁷

The final two cases of a PP(nom.)-NP order are very similar to each other. 4Q372 (Joseph Apocryphon^b) 1,18f reads אין בידך כל חמס “in your hand there is no violence whatsoever”, while 4Q88 (Psalms^f) 10,9 has כי אין בקרבך בליעל “in your midst there is no Belial”. In both cases, the PP consists of a preposition followed by a short noun (יד or קרב) to which a personal pronoun is attached. As Groß and others have argued, PPs of this kind—and especially ביד—tend to behave as prepositions and take the position usually taken by pronominal PPs in the clause.³⁸ As I have demonstrated above, the regular position for pronominal PPs in existential clauses is immediately after the predicator of existence, which is exactly the position the two PPs have taken here.

In sum, then, the exceptions to the rule that nominal PPs follow after the NP/Subject of existential clauses are few, and can adequately be explained without weakening the general rule.

3.2. NP-PP(*pronom*)

The cases in which a pronominal PP, contrary to the expectations, follows after the NP are more numerous, but can be grouped in a number of distinct categories. A first group of instances consists of clauses introduced by אין(ו) or לא־אין and concluding a previous statement:

- 1QS IV 14 לא־אין שארית ופליטה למו
 “without remnant or survivor for them”
 1QS V 13 לא־אין שארית ופליטה למו
 “without remnant or survivor for them”
 1QM I 6 ואין עוזר לו

³⁷ The examples of fronted NPs for Contrastive Focus, to which others taken from Biblical Hebrew could be added (see Job 14,7), gainsay to a certain extent the conclusion Rechenmacher reached, viz. that אין is never used for contrasting negations of the type “not X, but Y” (H. Rechenmacher, “לא־ and אִי in Nominal Clauses”, in *JMWSL* 29 (2003), 67–85). His argument is that no correction sentences with אם כי can be found after אין-clauses, and that there are no contextual factors pointing to a contrastive negation in the case of אין-clauses. The second argument seems to be contradicted, in my opinion, by the examples discussed above, while at least one counter-case to the first argument can be found: in 1 Sam 21,5 an אין-clause is followed by a correction clause: אין לחם חל אֶל־תחת ידי כי אם לחם קדש יש (note the fronting of the contrastive NP before the predicator of existence in the correction phrase).

³⁸ Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, 268–270.

- “and there is no helper for him”
 1QH^a XVI 27 אין מעוז לי
 “there is no refuge for me”
 4Q219 2 24 ואין אמת אהם
 “and there is no truth with them”
 CD-A II 6–7 לאין שארית ופליטה למו
 “without remnant or survivor for them”
 4Q389 8 ii 3 ואין משיע להם
 “and there is no rescuer for them”
 4Q491 13 7 ואין רוח ביניהמה
 “and there is no space between them”
 11Q19 LXVI 8 ואין מושיע לה
 “and there is no rescuer for her”

Although also occurring in earlier stages of the Hebrew language, the clause type לאין(ו) or לאין followed by an indefinite noun phrase (e.g. לאין (מספר) became particularly popular in Late Biblical Hebrew and in Qumran.³⁹ Baasten has adequately described the function of this clause-type at the end of a sentence or a paragraph as “indicating the circumstance under which the events described take place or the end result of these events”.⁴⁰ Moreover, he has pointed to the fact that, even though constructions with לאין(ו) or with לאין are syntactically different, they serve the same function, viz., as a conclusion of a preceding statement. When a pronominal PP is added to this clause-type, it tends to follow in the second position, after the NP. This position, which differs from the expected PP(pron)-NP order, can best be explained by the fact that the Focus of such concluding clauses is not so much on the lack of a (possessive) *relation* between the referent of the pronoun and the preceding NP, but rather on the *absence*, the *non-existence* of the NP in the first place. Taking the example of CD-A II 6–7 לאין שארית ופליטה למו, the Focus of the clause is not so much that they do not *have* a remnant, but rather that there *is* no remnant. However subtle this difference might be, it explains the position of the pronominal PP after the NP, in contrast to clauses with a PP-NP order, where the (possessive) relation between the two constituents receives a stronger focus. Since the focus of this type of concluding clauses is on the *non-existence* of the NP, the latter keeps as close as possible to the negative predicator of existence, forcing the PP backward.

³⁹ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 9, with reference to E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, 1986), 77 (§ 400.09).

⁴⁰ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 4.

The NP-PP(pronominal) order is thus characteristic for the typical concluding לאין(ו)/לאין-clauses. This also explains, in my opinion, the difference between CD-A 2 6–7 לאין שארית ופליטה למו and 4Q374 2 ii 4 ואין שריית ופליטה [לכם], one of the contrast pairs Baasten found difficult to explain. In my view, the Damascus text has the order which is typical for a concluding statement, whereas the text in 4Q374, however lacunous it may be, does not seem to be a conclusion at all, and follows the default order. The following word ולצאצאיהם indicates that the clause under investigation is an indicative prediction, and not a conclusion, as García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate: “you shall have neither remnants nor survivors, but their descendants...”. It is even possible that the text opposes the “you”, who will have no remnants, to the referents of the third person pronouns, who *will* have descendants. In that case, the PP [לכם] would have Contrasting Focus, making a position after the NP even less likely: “YOU will have no remnants, but THEIR descendants...”. None of the other אין-PP-NP clauses that I found, including the ones mentioned by Baasten (CD-A IX 14–15; 4Q405 23 i 10–11; 4Q223–224 2 i 53–54),⁴¹ are of the concluding type, indicating that concluding existential clauses have a very strong tendency to place the pronominal PP in final position, and, reversily, that אין-NP(indet.)-PP(pron.) clauses are most often concluding statements.

Not all existential clauses with a pronominal PP following a NP are of the latter type, however. Four more cases of such clauses in Qumran Hebrew do not fit into this category and need to be explained further. In 4Q300 (Mysteries^b) 7 2 ואין לענה לנגדו “and there is no greater poison for him [than one who takes vengeance by bearing a grudge]”, the reason for putting the NP before the compound PP is of a pragmatic nature. Although the context is very fragmentary,⁴² the clause at hand seems to stand in contrast with what must have preceded, just like the previous line also includes an opposition between what is “evil” and “righteousness” (or between the “wicked” and the “just”). In contrast to something positive mentioned before, the clause then asserts “and there is no greater POISON for him than an avenger...”. In order to mark the constituent לענה for this Contrastive Focus, it is fronted before the pronominal PP.

In 4Q266 (Damascus Document^a) 6 i 7f. אשר יש הרחש תחתו, the head or the beard of somebody attained by the skin disease נתק is compared to a

⁴¹ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 5.

⁴² See, however, the parallel fragments 4Q299 7 and 4Q300 6.

plant “under which the worm is”. In the relative clause, the PP has the final position. It will be clear that no Contrastive or other Focus is put on the preceding NP. As Baasten has remarked,⁴³ this is the only case in Qumran Hebrew, however, where a definite NP is used in an existential clause with *יש*. I have not been able to find any cases of this construction in BH nor in the Mishna, either, which makes a comparison difficult. I believe, however, that the higher topicality and referentiality of the definite NP (in contrast to an indefinite one) may be the cause of the NP-PP order in this case. Also the fact that the definite NP goes on to be the Subject of the next main clause *ויקין שרשו* may have necessitated its forward movement in order to firmly establish it as a New Topic.

The final case of a NP-PP(pron.) order is found in 1QH^a XX 19, *ואין צדיק עמכה* “and there is no one righteous with you”. The lacunous context—having no parallels in other Hodayot manuscripts—does not allow us to say more about this clause, however. The clause could be of the concluding type, but the NP could just as well have been moved forward for Contrastive Focus.

One group of prepositional phrases that as a rule come in the final position of existential clauses—and therefore were not included in this survey on the variation in constituent order—are PPs headed by comparative and exceptive prepositions as *כ*, *מבלעדי* or *זולת(י)*.⁴⁴ The tendency of these PPs to take the final position, even when pronominal, can easily be explained: the (non-)existence of the NP/Subject is confirmed first, only after which it makes sense to point to the exceptions or the comparable cases. In unmarked cases, in English as in Hebrew, one will say “There is no one like you” and not “Like you there is no one”, and in the same sense “There is no god except for you” is unmarked when contrasted with “Except for you, there is no god”. In this sense, the constituent order reflects the semantic content of the expression or the logic of the argument, one could say, and follows what Dik calls the “Principle of

⁴³ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 2–3.

⁴⁴ With NPs headed by *כ*: 4Q377 2 ii 8; 4Q460 8 5 (?); *זולת(י)*: 1QS XI 18; 4Q264 1 6; 4Q379 22 i 5; with NPs headed by *מבלעדי*: 4Q377 2 ii 8; 4Q428 18 5. In some cases the NP can even be left out, with the negation *אין* being used absolutely “there is none like/except...”: 4Q161 5–6,12; 4Q381 44 4; 76–77 14; 1QH^a XV 32; XVIII 9; 4Q432 12 2; 4Q504 1–2r 9. Exceptions for the NP-PP order with these prepositions cannot be found in QH, but are extant in BH, see Is 43,11: *מושיע מבלעדי מושיע*; 45,5: *זולתי אין אלהים*.

Iconic Ordering”, which is one of the more important general principles guiding constituent ordering cross-linguistically.⁴⁵

3.3. *Fronted PP*

In a small number of cases, the PP does not follow after the predicator of existence, but precedes it.

- 1QM XIV 8⁴⁶ ולכול גבוריהם אין מעמד
 “and to all their heroes there is nowhere to stand”
 1QM XIV 11⁴⁷ ולכול גבוריהם אין מציל
 “and to all their heroes their is no saviour”
 1QM XIV 11 ולקליהם אין מנוס
 “and to their swift ones there is no escape”
 1QH^a XVII 17 ולהכמתכה אין מדה
 “and to your wisdom there is no measure”
 1QH^a XVIII 10 ולגבורתכה אין מחיר
 “and to your strength there is no price”
 4Q181 2 6 ולטובו אין חקר
 “and to his goodness there is no limit”

In all of these instances, the fronted position marks the PP for Contrastive Focus, just like the frontward movement of the nominal PP before the NP in the post-predicator field does in the two examples discussed above (4Q270 7 i 14f and 11Q19 LXVI 6). In a sense, the fronted position could be regarded as the superlative of this PP(nom)-NP order. The fronted constituents all stand in parallel or contrast to other elements in the text. In order to mark the constituents for standing in this parallel or contrast, they are put in a marked, fronted position. I am not sure if this position should be regarded as an extraposition, as Baasten suggested;⁴⁸ it could be compared to fronting constituents in the preverbal field in nominal clauses, which, in my opinion, is no case of extraposition or dislocation, either. The typical use of this order for marking constituents for Contrastive Focus explains why most of the fronted PPs are nominal, as mentioned in n. 23: in comparing or contrasting different items, several Topics need to be active simultaneously in the discourse, which is only

⁴⁵ See Dik, Hengeveld, *Functional Grammar*, 399f.

⁴⁶ = 4Q491 8–10 i 5–6.

⁴⁷ = 4Q491 8–10 i 9.

⁴⁸ Baasten, “Existential Clauses”, 6–7.

possible by referring to them with a noun. In some unambiguous cases, one of the items could possibly be referred to with a pronoun (as in Deut 19,6 (ולו אין משפט־מות), but this is the exception.

3.4. *Fronted NP*

1QH^a XV 17 ומחסי בשר אין לי
 “and the defences of the flesh I do not have”
 4Q179 1 i 6 וניחוח אין בו
 “and a good odour there is not in it”
 4Q179 1 i 11 ובאי מועד אין בהם
 “and the goers to the feast are not in them”
 4Q179 1 ii 12 והפץ אין בו
 “and delight there is not in it”

By analogy to the cases with fronted PPs, one could assume that fronting marks the NPs for Contrastive Focus, too, be it in contrast with other items mentioned in the text, or in contrast with what the addressee of the text thinks or expects. Unfortunately, all cases occur in contexts that are too damaged to draw any conclusions on possible contrasts or parallels of the fronted constituents. It is worthy of note, however, that the texts in which the extant cases are found are both poetic. In semitic poetry, a relatively high frequency of fronted constituents can be found,⁴⁹ often because of the chiasmic lay-out of the typical parallel cola in poetry: elements are fronted in the second colon of a bicolon in order to stand immediately next to the element with similar syntactic function of the first colon, a movement also known as attraction.⁵⁰ Whether this phenomenon also plays a role in the present cases, is hard to say. What is clear, however, is that the fronted NPs are linguistically marked.

4. CONCLUSION

In the first part of this contribution, the general rule was formulated that nominal PPs follow the NPs in existential clauses, while the pronominal PPs precede. The analysis of the exceptions to this rule do not necessitate a reformulation of the general tendency, since they could all be explained

⁴⁹ Lunn, *Word-Order Variation*, 8.

⁵⁰ JM §155oa.

as caused by a number of factors that have been recognized as influencing constituent order in other types of clauses, too. The factors discerned here are: the length/complexity of the constituent, the semantic properties both of the existential construction and of some prepositions, the degree of referentiality of the constituents and, most importantly, the pragmatic functions (Topic/Focus) of the constituents involved.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL QUALIFIERS IN QUMRAN HEBREW:
REFLECTIONS ON ADJUNCT EXPRESSIONS IN THE
MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE (1QS)

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Circumstantial qualifiers are any word, phrase or sentence which is not an obligatory constituent of the main sentence or main sentences.¹ On the phrase level and the sentence level this is as much as the English term “adjunct”, but in a text linguistic perspective it is fruitful to expect linguistic devices for marking circumstantial information also on the discourse level.

The Arabic grammatical tradition has coined its own term, *ḥāl*, for circumstantial qualifiers on the phrase and sentence levels. On the *phrase level*, the accusative case is an exceedingly productive device for generating adverbial expressions of all kinds. In particular, the active participle in the accusative case is an adverbial adjunct, as in the Arabic school example *ġā'a Zaydun rākiban* “Zayd came riding”, in which the participle *rākiban* corresponds naturally to the English ing-form and the Swedish *ande/ende* forms: *Zayd came riding* and Swedish *Zayd kom ridande*, where “riding” and “ridande” are non-obligatory adverbial complements to the main sentence *Zayd came*. In a similar manner Arabic may use infinitives and other nouns in the accusative case as complementary devices for the expression of *ḥāl*. The Arabic school grammars give many examples:²

(1) *'istaqbalūhu ġulūsan* “they received him seated”.

¹ Cf. J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1968), 344 f. The treatment in P. H. Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge, 1981), 136 ff, is less fruitful on this point. It does not consider adjuncts on the sentence level and is mainly concerned with the generative problem of finding a *formal* way of identifying circumstantial qualifiers.

² This one and those above are taken from J. A. Haywood, H. M. Nahmad, *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language* (2nd ed., London, 1965), 394 f.

This means, that they received him while they remained seated, where *ǧulūsan* is the infinitive (*maṣdar*) of the verb “to sit” in the accusative case.

On the sentence level the repository of Arabic *ḥāl* devices exhibits the exceedingly common verbal *ḥāl*, usually consisting of an imperfect verb form asyndetically attached to the main sentence, as in the school example:

(2) *ǧaʿa Zaydun yarkabu* “Zayd came riding”.

Example (2) is practically equivalent in meaning with the beforementioned *ǧaʿa Zaydun rākiban*. There are numerous other devices for the expression of *ḥāl* in Arabic, but for the present purpose – discussing circumstantial qualifiers in the Manual of Discipline, the elementary examples given above should be enough.

The impetus to the considerations indicated above were examples of adjuncts in the Hebrew Bible that seemed to be quite similar in function to the Arabic *ḥāl* devices presented above. Some examples in the book of Qoheleth were discussed at a conference in Leuven in October 2004.³ Other examples were from pre-exilic Hebrew, e.g. in the book of Judges:

Judges 9:56

וַיִּשָׁב אֱלֹהִים אֶת רֵעַת אַבִּימֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְאַבְיוֹ לְהַרְגֹת אֶת־שִׁבְעֵים אָחָיו

Thus God repaid the wickedness that Abimelech had done to his father by murdering his seventy brothers. (NIV)

God punishes Abimelech for his crime of murdering his brothers. In this context it is not possible to interpret the infinitive as expressing a purpose or a consequence. The infinitive construct *lahārōg* simply informs us of the nature of the crime.

The existence of circumstantial imperfects in Biblical Hebrew was noticed by H. S. Nyberg in his *Hebreisk grammatik* (1952, §86t). For example:

Gen 48:10

וַעֲיַיִן יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּבָדוּ מִזֶּקֶן לֹא יוּכַל לְהֵאוֹת

Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age, and *he could not* see well. (NRSV)

The negative imperfect phrase in Gen 48:10 corresponds to an Arabic *ḥāl* imperfect expressing a circumstantial information that in the context receives consequential nuance: the eyes of Israel were dim, *so that he could*

³ “The syntax of narrative discourse in Qoheleth”, paper read at *The Symposium in honour of Prof. A. Schoors: The Language of Qoheleth in its Context* at the Catholic University of Leuven 21–22 October 2004 (forthcoming).

not see. This sense of consequence has no direct marker in the text, but is a result of the ability of circumstantial expressions to convey both *finality* (intention: in order to) and *consequence* (so that...), senses that are common also in Arabic *ḥāl*-constructions.⁴

Our observations of *ḥāl*-constructions in Hebrew led to a special study of the functions of the infinitive construct in the book of Judges, which was published in the Stig Norin Festschrift 2005.⁵ Our basic methodological hypothesis in the latter article was that it is fruitful to compare syntactical phenomena in Arabic and Hebrew and that syntactical constructions in the two languages may mutually elucidate each other. The result of our study was that, in particular, the infinitives in classical Arabic and classical Hebrew exhibit parallel constructions. On one hand the so-called absolute object (*al-mafʿūl al-muṭlaq*) corresponds to the infinitive absolute in Hebrew having the basic function of an emphasis, on the other the Arabic infinitive in the accusative being an adverbial qualifier corresponds to the Hebrew infinitives *liqṭōl* and *qəṭōl*. It was shown that both *liqṭōl* and *qəṭōl* may be used with adverbial functions in Judges.⁶ The frequent usage of *liqṭōl* as a circumstantial qualifier indicates that the syntagm *liqṭōl* in fact functions as an alternative infinitive in classical Hebrew, and that the nuances of finality so often perceived in the texts represent a secondary phenomenon originating from the use of the infinitive as a general adverbial adjunct.

In the present article, we will use the same fundamental hypothesis when analysing circumstantial expressions in the Manual of Discipline. Considering the high frequency of the infinitive construct with lamed in this text, the main emphasis will be on the various uses of the *liqṭōl* form, but initially examples of other circumstantial qualifiers will be given as well.

Needless to say, the Manual of Discipline is indeed different from the book of Judges. It is halakic and principally non-narrative. It is prescript-

⁴ T. Leahy, “Studies in the Syntax of IQS”, *Biblica* 41 (1960), 137, properly notes that “Frequently, however, the explicative use seems to blend either into purpose or result”.

⁵ B. Isaksson, “Infinitiven som adverbialt komplement i Domarboken. En komparativ studie”, in K. Syreeni, A. Gerdmar, eds., *Nomen et Nomina. Festschrift till Stig Norin*, Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 70 (Uppsala, 2005), 107–118.

⁶ As W. Th. van Peursen has pointed out, the circumstantial infinitive (which he calls “epexegetical”) is attested also in the text of Ben Sira, *The verbal system in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira* (Leiden, 2004), 265.

tive and normative. And yet there are numerous circumstantial expressions also in this sectarian rule of the Qumran community.

There are a few examples of circumstantial asyndetic imperfects, as in VI 25–26:

1QS VI 25–26

ואשר ישיב את רעהו בקשי עורף ידבר בקוצר אפים לפרוע את יסוד עמיתו באמרות את פי רעהו הכתוב לפניו [ה] ושיעה ידו לוא.

Anyone who answers his comrade defiantly *or impatiently*, thereby rejecting the instruction of his fellow and rebelling against the orders of his higher-ranked comrade, has usurped authority (Accordance, my italics)

The imperfect *yadabber baqoṣer ʿappayim* is actually not an alternative as the little word “or” in the translation of Accordance intimates, but a circumstantial expression expounding the previous main sentence: “in that he speaks impatiently”. Charlesworth translates “And one who answers his fellow with stubbornness, addresses him impatiently,...”. In the same passage we can see also the circumstantial nuance of the infinitive *lifroʿ*^a. A final nuance (“in order to rebel”) would not fit the context. The infinitive does not describe an intention or a consequence, but further expounds the description of the impatient and stubborn man.

In another instance from III 20 we encounter a subordinate clause that would have been called by the Arab grammarians a *ṣifa*, an asyndetic relative clause with a simple imperfect. Such a clause may also be interpreted as a verbal circumstantial clause. Both are, in fact, called a *ṣifa* in Arabic grammars:

1QS III 20

ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו

The authority of the Prince of Light extends to the governance of all righteous people; *therefore, they walk in the paths of light*. (Accordance, my italics)

In the translation of Accordance, the word “therefore” has no specific representative in the Hebrew text; it could be supplanted by the more neutral circumstantial “in that”. The example is a good illustration that circumstantial expressions easily take explanatory or consequential connotations. This interpretation is confirmed by the next parallel clause III 21, where the circumstantial clause is introduced by the conjunction *wa-*:

1QS III 21

וביד מלאך חושך כול ממשלת כול בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו

The authority of the Angel of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people *when they walk in the paths of darkness*.

Finally, an asyndetic *ḥāl* imperfect is found in IV 23–24:

1QS IV 23–24

עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר יתהלכו בחכמה ואולה

Until now the spirits of truth and deceit struggle in the heart of humans, and (so) *they walk in wisdom or vileness*. (Charlesworth)

Accordance puts a period after *geber*, but against such a punctuation speaks that the following imperfect *yithalləkū* lacks a subject. Accordance is forced to supply a subject, “All people”, which is not reflected in the text. Charlesworth is better on this point and translates “and (so) they walk in wisdom or vileness”. Wernberg-Møller translates correctly: “(some) walking in wisdom and (some) in vileness”.⁷

We have found only one example of a participle in adjunct function, and its interpretation is not undisputed. It is the nifal participle *nəkōnā* in VIII 4–6:

1QS VIII 4–6

בהיות אלה בישראל נכונה עצת היחד באמת למטעת עולם

When these become in Israel, – *the council of the community being established in truth* – an eternal plant (Charlesworth, *my italics*)

The clause *nəkōnā* ^a*ṣat hay-yaḥad bə^{em}met* may be interpreted in other ways, as Accordance “then shall the council of the Yahad truly be established, an eternal planting” shows. On this passage we rely on Wernberg-Møller and Charlesworth since the construction *ḥāyā lmatṭaʿat* “become a planting” is so frequent in biblical Hebrew.⁸

In spite of the interesting instances of imperfects and the (only?) instance of a participle in *ḥāl* function, the most common device for circumstantial expressions in the Manual of Discipline is the infinitive construct. The infinitive construct as such is attested 226 x in the text, of which the

⁷ Other instances of the imperfect with circumstantial sense are found in IX 23 ff. Circumstantial usage of the imperfect in Biblical Hebrew has been observed by H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* (Stockholm, 1972), § 86t.

⁸ The circumstantial usage of the participle in Biblical Hebrew has been observed by many scholars, although with varying terminologies, cf. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, § 89m, P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, vol II (Roma, 1991), § 126a; it is attested also in Ben Sira, see van Peursen, *Verbal system in Ben Sira*, 231 f.

vast majority, 170 x, show a prefixed lamed, 24 x a prefixed *ba-*,⁹ and in 21 instances the infinitive has no prefixed particle at all.¹⁰ The rest are instances with less frequent particles like *ʿad-*, *ʿal-*, *lipnē-*, etc. The infinitive without any prefixed particle functions just like an infinitive with lamed, except that a *liqtōl* cannot partake in a construct chain. One example will suffice to illustrate this:

1QS IX 20–21

ולהשכילם כול הנמצא לעשות בעת הזאת והבדל מכול עול מכול איש ולוא הסר דרכו מכול עול
He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself from perversity. (Accordance)

This passage exhibits an initial infinitive with the common modal sense, which Waltke & O'Connor points out always occurs in verbless clauses. The following *laʿāsōt* comes close to a *complement* to the preceding infinitive: He shall teach them to live—*laʿāsōt*—in this time. The following infinitive *wehibbādel* lacks lamed but is co-ordinated with the preceding infinitive as an added complement to *lahaskilām*. The infinitives *laʿāsōt* and *wehibbādel* may be interpreted as complements to the initial infinitive, but also as circumstantial adjuncts, describing life according to *ha-n-nimšāʾ*, the revealed law. The infinitives may also be interpreted as having a final nuance expressing the purpose: in order that they know how to live. The best interpretation in this case is probably that of a complement: He is to teach them to do all that is revealed of the law in this time and separate themselves from every man. The last clause with the infinitive *hāser* is a crux. It is mostly translated as a relative clause, but as all can see, *we-lōʾ mikkol ʿāwēl hāser darkō*, being introduced by the conjunction *wə-*, cannot be a relative clause. It is a circumstantial nominal clause giving information about the kind of *ʾāš* to keep separated from: (he is such that) there is no keeping his way from perversity. Such a man is not accepted for fellowship.

⁹ 1QS I 2–3,5–6,8,10–14,16,18,20–21,23–26; II 2–3,5–6,8–17,19–22,24–III 11; III 13–14,16–23; IV 1–13,15–16,18–V 15; V 17–18,20–VI 3; VI 5–12,14–18,20–22,24–VII 11; VII 14–16,18–VIII 1; VIII 3–5,9–24,26; IX 1–3,5–10,12–14,17–X 6; X 8–10,12–13,15–18,20–XI 5; XI 7,11–14,16,18–20.

¹⁰ III 5,15; IV 5,7,9(3x),25; V 4; VI 21; VII 6; VIII 2; IX 13,19,20(2x); X 8,13(2x), 14,26.

Waltke & O'Connor comment on the special compound between lamed and *qatōl* in the *liqtōl* form,¹¹ and other grammars like Gesenius-Kautzsch have treated that point as well.¹² Obviously, the compound is old, and seems to have gradually replaced the infinitive without lamed during the Old Testament period. In Mishnaic Hebrew *liqtōl* has replaced the infinitive without initial particle. It is therefore probable that *liqtōl* was felt like an ordinary infinitive of the verb among the Qumran Hebrew speakers.

The most conspicuous usage of the infinitive with lamed in 1QS is the modal one, exclusively used in verbless clauses.¹³ It is found throughout the text, but is specially frequent in the introductory section, I 1–14. There are admittedly some parallels in late Biblical Hebrew, but the frequency of this usage is clearly nonbiblical and deserves recognition here as a contrast to the circumstantial uses interspersed in the same passage:

1QS I 1–15 Translation

ל] [-- שים להיו [ספר ס] רך היהד.	[...] the Rule of the Community.
לדרוש ² אל ב[כול לב] וב[כול נפש	<i>They shall seek</i> God with all their heart and with all their soul,
[לעשות הטוב והישר לפניו כאשר ³ צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים.	<i>they shall do</i> that which is good and upright before Him, just as He commanded through Moses and all His servants the prophets,
ולאהוב כול ⁴ אשר בהר	<i>they shall love</i> everything He chose,
ולשנא את כול אשר מאס לרחוק מכול רע	<i>they shall hate</i> everything He rejected, distancing themselves from all evil
ולדבוק בכול מעשי טוב. ⁵	<i>they shall hold fast</i> to all good deeds;
ולעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ⁶ בארץ.	<i>they shall practice</i> truth, justice and righteousness in the land,
ולוא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב אשמה ועיני	<i>they shall walk no longer</i> in a guilty, willful heart and lustful desires, <i>wherein they did</i>

¹¹ B. K. Waltke, M. P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, 1990), §36.2.3a.

¹² W. Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch* (trans. by A. E. Cowley, 2d ed., Oxford, 1910), §114 f, n. 1.

¹³ Commented on by E. Qimron in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Harvard Semitic Studies 29 (Atlanta, 1986), § 400.02, and in "The Language", in *Qumran Cave 4: V (Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 10 (Oxford, 1994), § 3.4.2.1.

זנות ⁷ לעשות כול רע.	<i>every evil thing.</i>
ולהבי את כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל בברית חסד להוחד בעצת אל ⁸	<i>They shall induct all who volunteer to live by the laws of God into the Covenant of Mercy, whereby they are joined to God's society.</i>
ולהתהלך לפניו תמים כול ⁹ הנגלות למועדי תעודותם.	<i>They shall walk faultless before Him, according to all that has been revealed for the times appointed them.</i>
ולאהוב כול בני אור איש ¹⁰ כגורלו בעצת אל	<i>They shall love all the Children of Light—each commensurate with his rightful place in the council of God—</i>
ולשנוא כול בני חושך איש כאשמתו ¹¹ בנקמת אל.	<i>they shall hate all the Children of Darkness, each commensurate with his guilt and the vengeance due him from God.</i>
וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם ¹² והונם ביחד אל לברר דעתם באמת חוקי אל וכוחם לתכן ¹³ כתם דרכיו וכול הונם כעצת צדקו.	<i>All who volunteer for His truth should bring the full measure of their knowledge, strength and wealth into the Community of God, purifying their knowledge in the verity of God's laws, properly exercising their strength according to the perfection of His ways, and likewise their wealth by the canon of His righteous counsel.</i>
ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד ¹⁴ מכול דברי אל בקציהם	<i>They shall not deviate in the smallest detail from any of God's words as these apply to their own time.</i>
ולוא לקדם עתיהם	<i>They shall neither advance their holy times</i>
ולוא להתאחר ¹⁵ מכול מועדיהם.	<i>nor shall they postpone any of their prescribed festivals.</i>
ולוא לסור מחוקי אמתו ללכת ימין ושמאול	<i>They shall turn aside from His unerring laws walking neither to the right nor the left.</i>

As has been pointed out by Waltke & O'Connor and others,¹⁴ the modal sense of the infinitive has some parallels in the late books of the Hebrew Bible, especially in Chronicles, and also in negative clauses like Qoh 3:14 “nothing can be added to it”. But its frequency and unmistakably imperative nuance seem to be an innovation in Qumran Hebrew. In this preamble of the Manual of discipline, 1:1–15, we can notice that in the long series of exhortations only the first is introduced without a

¹⁴ Waltke & O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §36.2.3f.

coordinating *waw*.¹⁵ The *la'āsōt* in 1:2 is inconclusive since the lacuna does not permit us to know what preceded it.¹⁶ The whole series of exhortations continues with *wələ'əhōb* (l. 3), *wəlišnō'* (l. 4), *wəlidbōq* and *wəla'āsōt* (l. 5), *wəlo' lāləkət* (l. 6), *ūləhābī* (l. 7), *ūləhithallek* (l. 8), *wələ'əhōb* (l. 9), *wəlišnō'* (l. 10), *wəlo' liš'ōd* (l. 13), *wəlo' ləqaddem* (l. 14), *wəlo' ləhit'aḥer* (l. 14), and finally *wəlo' lāsūr* (l. 15). Interspersed in this series of commands are asyndetically inserted infinitives that state further circumstances of the previous main command (infinitive with initial *wə-*), its proper practice or another comment. In line 4, the readers are commanded to hate everything God has rejected *by distancing* from all evil, in line 6–7 they are to walk no longer in a wilful heart since with such a heart they would do all kinds of evil things. The phrase *la'āsōt kōl rā'* in line 7 cannot be a command, it has no negation (which would be required to give the command a suitable meaning), it is just an explanation of the nature of a life in lustful desires.¹⁷ The second *la'āsōt* in line 7 is a complement of the introductory *ūləhābī*. The *ləhiwwāḥed* in line 8 can be interpreted as either having just a descriptive nuance (“being joined to the Yahad”) or as having a consequential sense (“so that they become joined to the Yahad”). It is the honour of T. Leahy that he already in 1960 recognized the circumstantial character of *lāləkət yāmin ūšəm'ōl* in 1:15: “going to right or left”, a meaning that “expresses neither purpose, nor yet the result of turning aside, but rather tells in what the turning aside consists”.¹⁸

Thus, the infinitives with initial *wə-* are usually more independent commands. The conjunction *wə-* co-ordinates the separate commands on the phrase level, while subordinated infinitives expounding the commands are added by asyndesis. In one case (1:12) subordinated infinitives are combined by a *waw* in an additive co-ordination: *ləbārer... wəkōḥām lətakken* “purifying ... and properly exercising their strength”.¹⁹

¹⁵ This observation was made already by T. Muraoka in “Notae Qumranicae philologicae”, *Revue de Qumran* 17, no. 65-68 (1996), 575.

¹⁶ Thus Muraoka, “Notae Qumranicae philologicae”, 576.

¹⁷ Muraoka uses the term “epexegetical” for this usage, with parallels in the Greek syntactical terminology, “Notae Qumranicae philologicae”, 575, or the Latin term “gerund”, Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, vol II, § 124o. We consider the term “circumstantial” more fruitful, being rooted in comparative Semitic syntax.

¹⁸ Leahy, “Studies in the syntax of 1QS”, 137.

¹⁹ The conjunction *wə-* may co-ordinate linguistic entities on several levels of language: phrases, subordinated clauses, main sentences.

A clear or probable circumstantial function of *liqtōl* in 1QS is attested in about 44 instances of a total of 170, or 26 %.²⁰

Other uses of the infinitive are complements to verbs or for expressing a final or consecutive meaning. It is not possible to discuss all these cases here. Some significant instances will be treated in the following.

1QS II 11–12

ארור בגלולי לבו לעבור הבא בברית הזוהר

“Damned be anyone who – *initiated with unrepentant heart* – enters this Covenant”

In 2:11–12 the subject of the *ʿārūr* must be the *habbāʿ* in line 12: “Cursed be he who enters”. The phrase *laʿābōr* is a circumstantial qualifier describing the state of mind in the initiation. Many scholars translate עבר as “transgress, sin” and some even emend to עבד “worship”, but the root עבר is used in close connection to the preceding phrase *wakōl hāʿōbōrim babbārit* “and all those who cross over into the covenant” (II 10) in the specific meaning of being initiated into the covenant (II 10), and this is the most fitting meaning of the root עבר also in II 11–12. The subject of *ʿārūr* is the active participle *habbāʿ* “he who enters”, giving the main clause the meaning “Cursed be he who enters this covenant”, connected with the circumstantial clause *bagillulē libbō laʿābōr* “being initiated with his idols retained in his heart”.²¹

In the passage about God’s purification of man by/in his truth, IV 20–21, many translators have tried to render the infinitives with a final nuance, but an interpretation that describes means or method or the kind of action involved is more fitting:

²⁰ I 4,7,8,15,16(2x),24; II 8,11–12(1x),12,25; III 6,8–9(2x),16; IV 11,20–21(2x),21–22(2x),26; V 4,12–13(2x),23–24(2x); VI 7(2x),14–15(2x); VII 1,14,18,22–24(2x); VIII 1–4(1x),7–9(1x),9–10(1x); IX 8–9(2x),9–10(1x); X 10–11(1x); XI 1(2x). Leahy, “Studies in the syntax of 1QS”, 137 f, states 26 instances of “explicative” infinitives. The uses of the infinitive that Qimron in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, § 400.02:2, calls “indicative” are in reality circumstantial, which, as he notes, in many cases are equivalent to a participles (also in circumstantial position). Qimron’s example (p. 72) from 1QM XII 9 is instructive: ארץ וכעבי טל לכסות ארץ “and as clouds of dew *covering* the earth”.

²¹ We are not convinced of T. Muraoka’s argument that the subject of the *ʿārūr* is the infinitive *laʿābōr*, see “Notae Qumranicae Philologicae (2)”, 67 f. In spite of Muraoka’s example Mal 2:2, where a perfect *ʿārōti* (not a passive participle) is found with the nonpersonal object *birkōtēkam* giving the meaning “I have cursed your blessings” (or better “I have turned your blessings into curses”), it is not satisfying to consider an infinitive *laʿābūr* (Muraoka prefers this hifil reading) the subject of the passive participle *ʿārūr*.

1QS IV 20–21

ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר וזקק לו מבני איש להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי בשרו ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה.

By His truth God shall then purify all human deeds, and refine some of humanity, *extinguishing* every perverse spirit from the inward parts of the flesh, and *cleansing* from every wicked deed by a holy spirit.

After an imperfect *yabārer* and perfect “consecutive” *wāziqqeq* follow two infinitives, *lāhātem* and *lātahārō*, describing the manners or moments of the purification. It is *possible* to translate *lāhātem* as “in order to extinguish” or “so that he extinguishes”, but such an interpretation fails to distinguish the goal from the procedure to achieve that goal.²² The goal is to “refine some of humanity”, and the procedure to reach this goal is to extinguish perverse spirits and to perform a cleansing from wicked deeds by a holy spirit.

In IV 26, where God is said to allot the two spirits to the sons of men, both final and circumstantial nuances are expressed by *liqṭōls*:

1QS IV 26

וינחילן לבני איש לדעת טוב [ורע] ל[ה]פיל גורלות לכול חי לפי רוחו

he allots them to the sons of man, so imparting knowledge of good [and evil,] *deciding* the fate of every living being by the measure of his spirit.

The first infinitive, *lādaʿat*, has a final sense: the spirits have the purpose of imparting knowledge. The second infinitive, *lāhappil*, is best described as expounding the significance of the imparting of knowledge by the two spirits: by this procedure the fate of a living being is determined by the measure of his spirit.

1QS II 25–26

וכול המואס לבוא [בברית א]ל ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא...

Anyone who refuses to enter [the society of G]od *preferring to continue* in his wilful heart, shall not [be initiated into...] (*Accordance, my italics*)

In II 25–26 *lālekēt* is best interpreted as describing the state of the heart of one who refuses to enter the covenant. A sense of consequence (so that he continues...) is possible but less feasible.

²² A more difficult case is IV 11, in which the infinitive with lamed, *lālekēt*, expounds the expression *kibbūd lēb* “hardness of heart”: “וכיבוד לב ללכת בכול דרכי חושך: “and hardness of heart, *walking* in all the ways of darkness (Charlesworth)”. The passage is part of the description of the principles or consequences of the Spirit of Deceit beginning in IV 9. The meaning of *lālekēt* can be interpreted as a circumstantial, as Charlesworth and Wernberg-Møller have done, but it also is close to a *consequence* of the hardness of heart.

In III 8–9 the infinitives are used to describe how the cleansing of man’s flesh is worked out. A meaning of finality does not fit here, nor is the purification with water a goal in itself:

1QS III 8–9

ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר בשרו להזות במי גדה ולהתקדש במי דוכי

It is by humiliating himself under all God's ordinances, that his flesh can be cleansed, *by sprinkling* with water of purification, *and by sanctifying* himself with water of purity. (Wernberg-Møller, my italics)

The infinitives *lahazzōt* and *lahitqaddeš* give information about the concrete process of purification by alluding to the regulations for cleaning leprosy. This is how the cleaning of the flesh should be done. The infinitives do neither describe a consequence, nor a purpose.

1QS VII 22–24

כול איש אשר יהיה בעצת היחד על מלואת עשר שנים ושבח רוחו לבגוד ביחד ויצא מלפני הרבים ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב אל עצת היחד עוד

Any man who, having been in the Council of the Yahad for ten full years, backslides spiritually *by being treacherous* towards the community, and he leaves the general membership, *walking in his wilful heart*, may never again return to the Council of the Yahad.

The passage VII 22–24 regulates the treatment of backsliders. Backsliding is expressed by the perfect “consecutive” *wašābā rūḥō* “and his spirit turns back”, which is followed by two infinitives *libgōd* and *lālēket*. It is more natural to interpret these infinitives as informing of the manner and character of the backsliding person rather than of the consequences of backsliding. Especially *lālēket* is difficult to take as consequential, since having left the society the backslider *is* already in his wilful heart.

1QS IX 8–9

והון אנשי הקודש ההולכים בתמים. אל יתערב הונם עם הון אנשי הרמיה אשר לוא הזכו דרכם להבדל מעול וללכת בתמים דרך

(the Sons of Aaron shall decide...) on money matters for the holy men who walk blamelessly. Their wealth is not to be admixed with that of rebellious men, who have failed to cleanse their path *by separating* from perversity and *walking* blamelessly. (Accordance)

In the passage IX 8–9 regulating the property of the members of the Yahad, the infinitives *lahibbādel* and *lālēket* describe what the rebellious men should have done to cleanse themselves, but which they failed to do. The sense of the infinitives cannot be consequential (“so that they separated themselves”), nor describe a purpose (they failed “in order to sepa-

rate themselves”). The sense is instead describing the means by which they should have been cleansed: *by separating, by walking blamelessly*.

SUMMARY

Our hypothesis was that ancient Semitic devices for the expression of circumstantial qualifiers on different levels of language were still used in Qumran Hebrew. Some of those devices are reflected in elementary Arabic syntax, such as a participle or an infinitive in the accusative case on the phrase level or an asyndetically added imperfect on the sentence level. We have discussed a few examples of imperfects functioning as circumstantial qualifiers to a main sentence. We have also shown that one of several syntactical functions of the infinitive construct with lamed is clearly that of a circumstantial qualifier, and we have pointed out that this function cannot be an innovation in Late Biblical Hebrew, since it is a living usage already in the book of Judges.

L'EXCÉDENT MASSORÉTIQUE DU LIVRE DE JÉRÉMIE ET L'HÉBREU POST-CLASSIQUE

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Les différences entre le texte massorétique (TM) et la Septante en ce qui concerne le livre de Jérémie sont bien connues¹. La version grecque est plus courte, d'un septième environ², que le TM, et dans la deuxième partie du livre biblique, les chapitres y figurent dans un ordre différent. Déjà Jean David Michaelis, au XVIII^e siècle, avait soutenu que le texte grec reflétait un texte hébreu plus ancien que le TM³. F. C. Movers en fit la démonstration dans une monographie publiée en 1837⁴. D'autres savants, tel K. H. Graf, attribuèrent les différences à l'incompétence et à l'arbitraire du traducteur grec⁵. La question est restée vivement débattue

¹ Ces différences existent entre la Septante originelle (le *Old Greek*), représenté par le Codex Vaticanus, et le TM. La plupart des autres manuscrits de la Septante montrent un texte qui a été corrigé sur un texte hébreu de type proto-massorétique. Voir J. Ziegler, *Ieremias - Baruch - Threni - Epistula Ieremiae*, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum vol. 15 (Göttingen, 1957).

² D'après Driver, qui se fonde sur un décompte des mots, le texte grec est plus court d'un huitième, voir S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh, 1897 ; nouvelle impression : Gloucester MA, 1972), 269. Un nouveau comput par Y.-J. Min établit que le texte grec est plus court d'un septième, voir E. Tov, « Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah », in P.-M. Bogaert, éd., *Le Livre de Jérémie*, BEThL 54 (Leuven, 1997²), 145-167 en particulier 148, n. 15.

³ Les débuts de la discussion sur les deux textes de Jérémie sont retracés par Keil dans l'introduction à son commentaire sur Jérémie, voir C. F. Keil, *Biblischer Commentar über den Popheten Jeremia und die Klagehieder* (Leipzig, 1872) ; dans la traduction anglaise de D. Patrick, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, Commentary on the Old Testament 8 (Réimpression : Grand Rapids MI, 1991), 31.

⁴ F. C. Movers, *De utriusque recensiois vaticiniorum Jeremiae graecae Alexandr. et hebraicae Masor., indole et origine* (Hamburg, 1837).

⁵ Voir J. Wichelhaus, *De Ieremiae versione alexandrina* (Halle, 1846) ; K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1862).

durant tout le XIX^e siècle, autour de ces deux positions⁶. Une troisième hypothèse théoriquement possible, à savoir que la Septante reflèterait un texte hébreu secondaire par rapport au TM, n'a pas trouvé de défenseurs.

Parmi les rouleaux bibliques retrouvés à Qumran, un manuscrit fort fragmentaire de Jérémie, 4QJer^b, donne le texte du chapitre 10 dans une version courte recouvrant d'assez près la Septante. 4QJer^b et la Septante semblent notamment partager, en Jr 10, l'omission des versets 6–8 et 10 et la délocalisation du verset 5b. La publication de ce manuscrit par Gerald Janzen, en 1973, a déclenché une nouvelle vague d'intérêt pour le problème textuel du livre de Jérémie⁷. Face aux données qumraniennes, la majorité des spécialistes s'est ralliée à l'idée selon laquelle le texte grec reflète, *grosso modo*, une recension ou une édition hébraïque, et que cette dernière est plus ancienne que la recension/édition dont descend le TM⁸. Dans le détail, il reste évidemment possible que le TM ait préservé l'une ou l'autre leçon ancienne et que l'omission de la Septante reflète une erreur d'*homoioteleuton* ou d'*homoiarcton*⁹. Mais ce n'est pas la règle. Dans l'ensemble, il est assez certain que le TM représente une version révisée et complétée du livre de Jérémie.

Les « plus » du TM se présentent alors comme des ajouts secondaires. Il s'agit de mots, d'expressions, de versets et de quelques passages plus élaborés. Les ajouts figurent à différents endroits et affectent autant les parties poétiques et les sermons deutéronomistes que les récits biographiques qui composent le livre. L'origine de ces ajouts pourrait être diverse. Nul ne sait si le TM est le fruit d'un projet unique de réécriture ou d'un long processus scribal¹⁰. La datation de la « rédaction finale » du

⁶ Voir la présentation du débat dans Driver, *Introduction*, 269–70.

⁷ J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 6 (Cambridge MA, 1973).

⁸ C'est là l'avis de P.-M. Bogaert, E. Tov, H.-J. Stipp, A. Aejmelaeus, Y. Goldman, A. Schenker et autres. La thèse opposée, de la primauté du TM, est encore défendue par G. Fischer. Beaucoup d'exégètes, spécialistes du livre de Jérémie adoptent aussi cette dernière position, mais sans réelle connaissance du débat ni des méthodes de la critique textuelle.

⁹ Voir, p. ex., H.-J. Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches. Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO 136 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1994). Le récent article de Lundbom, qui attribue les deux tiers des omissions de la Septante à des erreurs de scribe dans le modèle hébreu défie le bon sens, voir J. R. Lundbom, « Haplography in the Hebrew Vorlage of LXX Jeremiah », *Hebrew Studies* 46 (2005), 301–320.

¹⁰ Aejmelaeus a récemment présenté quelques arguments en faveur d'une rédaction échelonnée sur une longue période, voir A. Aejmelaeus, « "Nebuchadnednezzar, my servant": Redaction History and Textual Development in Jer 27 », in F. García

texte long n'a pas non plus été déterminée¹¹. Dans certains cas, il s'agit peut-être de matériaux anciens, voire authentiques, qui n'avaient pas été inclus dans la première édition du livre, mais qui émanent néanmoins du prophète ou de ses disciples immédiats¹². Dans d'autres cas, il s'agit certainement de *Fortschreibungen* secondaires, d'ajouts tardifs dans l'esprit et dans le style du texte ancien.

1. ÉLÉMENTS DE L'HÉBREU POST-CLASSIQUE DANS LES « PLUS » MASSORÉTIQUES

Pour soutenir la priorité chronologique du texte court, représenté par la Septante, plusieurs chercheurs ont noté que certains « plus » du TM se caractérisent par l'emploi de mots et de formes tardifs. Aucune recherche systématique n'a été faite jusqu'à ce jour, mais le poids cumulatif des exemples observés est considérable¹³. Voici quelques cas significatifs :

1. L'adverbe יומם employé comme un nom

Jr 33,20 : כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲתֵּמְרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־בְּרִיתִי הַלַּיְלָה וּלְבַלְתִּי הָיִית יוֹמָם וְלַיְלָה בְּעַתְּמָם

Ainsi parle l'Éternel: Si vous pouvez rompre mon alliance avec le jour et mon alliance avec la nuit, en sorte que **le jour** et la nuit ne soient plus en leur temps...¹⁴

En hébreu classique, יומם, en accord avec sa morphologie, n'est employé qu'en fonction d'adverbe¹⁵. Mais à l'époque post-classique, יומם est attesté

Martínez, M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, BEThL 192 (Leuven, 2005), 1–18, en particulier 16–18.

¹¹ Bogaert opte pour le troisième siècle, Schenker et Aejmelaes pour le second siècle avant l'ère commune, voir P.-M. Bogaert, « Le livre de Jérémie en perspective : Les deux rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours », *RB* 101 (1994), 363–406, en particulier 398–400 ; A. Schenker, « La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers Hasmonéens ? », *ETHL* 70 (1994), 281–293 ; Aejmelaes, « "Nebuchadnednezzar" », 13. Mais les arguments déployés restent fragiles.

¹² C'est là l'avis exprimé par Tov, « Some Aspects », 154.

¹³ Stüpp a collectionné les mots et les expressions utilisés dans le texte long (TM) mais pas dans le texte court (Septante), voir, p. ex., H.-J. Stüpp, « Linguistic Peculiarities of the Masoretic Edition of the Book of Jeremiah : An Updated Index », *JNSL* 23 (1997), 181–202. Mais il n'a pas prêté attention au fait que plusieurs expressions limitées au texte long représentent l'hébreu biblique tardif.

¹⁴ Un emploi semblable se rencontre au verset 25 (absent également dans la Septante).

¹⁵ JM §102b. Le livre de Jérémie lui-même emploie יומם en fonction adverbiale, voir : Jer 8,23 ; 14,17 ; 16,13 ; 31,35. La phrase בַּעַד יוֹמָם (Jr 15,9) est parfois cité comme un

également en fonction nominale. L'emploi se rencontre en hébreu biblique tardif :

Né 9,19 : נְאֻמָּה בְּרַחֲמֵיךָ הַרְבִּים לֹא עָזַבְתָּם בְּמִדְבָּר אֶת־עַמּוּד הָעֵנָן לֹא־סָר מֵעֲלֵיהֶם בְּיוֹמָם
לְהַנְחֵתָם בְּהַדְרָךְ

Dans ton immense miséricorde, tu ne les abandonnas pas au désert, et la colonne de nuée ne cessa point de les guider **le jour** dans leur chemin...¹⁶

Ainsi qu'à Qumran ¹⁷:

4QGen^s : וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹמָם¹⁸

Deux considérations expliquent l'emploi nominal dans l'hébreu post-classique. Premièrement, on sait qu'après l'époque classique, la fonction adverbiale de la terminaison *-am* n'était plus ressentie avec la même force. Un développement analogue affecte le mot וַיִּקְרָא, « vide », utilisé comme adverbe en hébreu classique, comme adjectif dans la Mishna¹⁹. Deuxièmement, il faut compter avec la possibilité d'une influence du nom araméen יוֹמָם, « jour ». Ne percevant plus la fonction adverbiale du mot יוֹמָם, les auteurs tardifs ont pu y reconnaître la forme hébraïque du nom araméen. Ainsi, en hébreu post-classique, la différence entre יוֹם et יוֹמָם n'est plus d'ordre grammatical mais d'ordre lexical, le premier signifiant « journée », le second signifiant le « jour » par opposition à la nuit. Il ne s'agit pas, à mon sens, d'un développement naturel de la langue, mais de la réinterprétation d'une forme archaïque, d'un pseudo-classicisme. Mais ce n'est pas le lieu ici d'approfondir cette hypothèse.

exemple d'emploi nominal (voir, p. ex., BDB 401b). L'expression étant unique, il est difficile de se prononcer avec assurance. Il semble néanmoins préférable d'expliquer Jr 15,9 à partir de l'emploi adverbial. Comparons Pr 31,15, בְּעוֹד לַיְלָה, où le mot לַיְלָה paraît se trouver également en fonction adverbiale, « de nuit ». En effet, au vu de 2 S 3,25 בְּעוֹד הַיּוֹם avec le nom marqué de l'article, on se serait attendu à בעוד הלילה si לַיְלָה était un nom.

¹⁶ L'exemple le plus ancien de l'emploi nominal serait Ez 30,13, mais le texte de ce verset n'est pas confirmé par la Septante et semble être corrompu.

¹⁷ Voir E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Harvard Semitic Studies 29 (Atlanta GA, 1986), 108. Comme l'indique Qimron, à Qumran on trouve même le mot avec l'article, הַיּוֹמָם (4Q503 passim).

¹⁸ L'emploi nominal se rencontre dans le Pentateuque Samaritain en Gn 8,22, voir R. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11. Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (Oxford, 1998), 140. La suggestion de Hendel, à savoir qu'il s'agirait d'un cas de dittographie du *mem*, est peu heureuse.

¹⁹ Voir la discussion de cette forme dans M. Bar-Asher, « On Several Linguistic Features of Qumran Hebrew », in M. F. J. Baasten, W. Th. van Peursen, eds., *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118 (Leuven, 2003), 73–93, en particulier 73–78.

Quelque soit l'explication de יומם, « jour », le mot apparaît clairement comme un élément post-classique. Sa présence dans le livre de Jérémie pourrait donc étonner. Or, tout le passage Jr 33,14–26 manque dans la Septante. Comme l'a reconnu Pierluigi Piovanelli, la linguistique historique et la critique textuelle s'allient pour indiquer la date tardive de cette péricope²⁰.

2. La préposition ל exprimant le mouvement vers une localité

Jr 3,17 : כָּעֵת הַהִיא יִקְרָאוּ לִירוּשָׁלַם כְּסֵא יְהוָה וְנִקְוָה אֵלֶיהָ כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם לְשֵׁם יְהוָה לִירוּשָׁלַם
 En ce temps-là, on appellera Jérusalem le trône de l'Éternel; toutes les nations s'assembleront à Jérusalem, au nom de l'Éternel.

Ernst Jenni a attiré l'attention sur le fait que le mouvement vers un lieu s'exprime au moyen de la préposition אל en hébreu classique²¹, et que l'emploi de la préposition ל représente un aramaisme tardif²². Or, les mots לִירוּשָׁלַם יְהוָה לְשֵׁם יְהוָה n'ont pas d'équivalent dans la Septante. À nouveau, il paraît s'agir d'un ajout secondaire reflétant l'hébreu post-classique.

3. En Jr 41,1 nous lisons l'expression רַבֵּי הַמְּלָךְ, « les grands du roi (de Juda) ». La formule n'est pas attestée ailleurs en hébreu. Il s'agit probablement d'un aramaisme²³. Or, il est intéressant d'observer que les mots רַבֵּי הַמְּלָךְ n'ont pas d'équivalent dans la Septante et manquent dans le passage parallèle en 2 R 25,25. En se fondant sur ces faits, le dictionnaire de Brown, Driver et Briggs qualifie l'expression de glose tardive (*late gloss*)²⁴. En 39,13 se trouve l'expression רַבֵּי מְלָךְ־בְּבָבֶל, sur laquelle nous reviendrons ci-dessous.

²⁰ Voir P. Piovanelli, « JrB 33,14–26 ou la continuité des institutions à l'époque maccabéenne », in A. H. W. Curtis, Th. Römer, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*, BETL 128 (Leuven, 1997), 255-276. On peut consulter aussi P. Cummins, « A Test Case in Text Transmission: Jeremiah 33:14–26 », *CBQ* 2 (1940), 15–27 ; P.-M. Bogaert, « Urtext, texte court et relecture : Jérémie XXXIII 14–26 TM et ses préparations » in J. A. Emerton, *Congress Volume - Leuven 1989*, SVT 43 (Leiden, 1991), 236–247 ; J. Just, « The diverse forms of Jeremiah and history writing with Jer 33 as a test case », *JNSL* 20 (1994), 31–48.

²¹ Noter אליה dans ce verset ainsi que Gn 1,9 אֶדָּה אֶל־מִקּוֹם אֶדָּה.

²² E. Jenni, « Miscellen zu Einzeltexten: Jer 3,17 "nach Jerusalem": ein Aramaismus », *ZAH* 1 (1988). Voir aussi BDB ל 1.g., 511a.

²³ Voir, p. ex., KAI 222A 39, 40 ; Ahiq 33. Il n'est pas impossible que הַמְּלָךְ וְגַדְלָיו en Jon 3,7 reflète également l'expression araméenne, cette fois-ci en traduction.

²⁴ BDB 913b. Voir aussi Voir Stipp, « Linguistic Peculiarities », 190–191.

4. חֲרֵי יְהוּדָה « les nobles de Juda »

L'expression חֲרֵי יְהוּדָה figure deux fois dans le livre de Jérémie, en 39,6 et 27,20. L'expression est connue de l'hébreu biblique tardif (Né 6,17 ; 13,17) et représente probablement l'influence de l'araméen d'empire sur l'hébreu administratif de l'époque perse²⁵. L'expression חֲרֵי se rencontre en 1 R 21,8, mais il pourrait s'agir là d'un élément dialectal reflétant l'hébreu du nord²⁶.

Jr 39,6 se trouve dans une péricope ne figurant pas dans la Septante, alors que le passage parallèle en Jr 52,10, attesté également dans la Septante, lit חֲרֵי יְהוּדָה à la place de שְׂרָי יְהוּדָה²⁷:

Jr 39,6 : וַיִּשְׁחַט מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל אֶת־בְּנֵי צִדְקָהוּ בְּרִבְלָה לְעֵינָיו וְאֶת כָּל־חֲרֵי יְהוּדָה שְׁחַט מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל
Le roi de Babylone fit égorger à Ribla les fils de Sédécias en sa présence; le roi de Babylone fit aussi égorger tous les **nobles** de Juda.

Jr 52,10 : וַיִּשְׁחַט מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל אֶת־בְּנֵי צִדְקָהוּ לְעֵינָיו וְגַם אֶת־כָּל־שְׂרָי יְהוּדָה שְׁחַט בְּרִבְלָתָהּ

En Jr 27,20, la phrase contenant notre expression manque également dans la Septante²⁸.

5. Le pronom démonstratif féminin זאתה

Jr 26,6 : וְנִתְתִּי אֶת־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה כְּשֵׁלָה וְאֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאתָה אֶתָּן לְקַלְלָה לְכָל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ
Alors je traiterai cette maison comme Silo, et je ferai de **cette** ville un objet de malédiction pour toutes les nations de la terre.

La forme est unique. Le *qeré* corrige en זאת. Dans une étude récente, Moshe Bar-Asher a proposé une discussion complète de la forme זאתה²⁹. Il se pourrait qu'elle représente une formation tardive créée par analogie à un moment où le morphème *-t* n'était plus ressenti comme l'expression du féminin. Comme l'indique Bar-Asher dans une note, le pronom זאתה n'a pas d'équivalent dans la Septante³⁰.

²⁵ Voir notamment Cowley 31, l. 18 חרי יהוד ; 30, l. 19 חרי יהודיא.

²⁶ Voir Driver, *Introduction*, 188 et 553.

²⁷ Voir aussi 2 R 25,7.

²⁸ Voir Driver, *Introduction*, 553 ; Stipp, « Linguistic Peculiarities », 190.

²⁹ M. Bar-Asher, « On Several Linguistic Features of Qumran Hebrew », in M. F. J. Baasten, W. Th. van Peursen, eds., *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118 (Leuven, 2003), 73–93, en particulier 80.

³⁰ L'expression זאתה se lit dans les versets 9, 11, 12, 15 et 20 du même chapitre de Jérémie ; le pronom démonstratif est chaque fois traduit dans la version grecque.

Le livre de Jérémie date de la fin de l'époque classique de la littérature hébraïque. Il n'est donc guère étonnant de rencontrer quelques éléments relativement tardifs dans ce livre. On trouve, par exemple, dans les parties communes au TM et à la Septante, le pronom אננו, « nous » (42,6 *ketiv*), et le nom commun דבר, « parole prophétique » (5,13)³¹.

Les éléments énumérés ci-dessus semblent pourtant refléter une époque bien plus tardive, où l'hébreu classique n'était plus pratiqué. Plus précisément, ils reflètent une époque où la pratique de l'hébreu classique n'était plus tout à fait en continuité avec les textes anciens. Les scribes qui ont créé la forme proto-massorétique du livre de Jérémie se sont efforcés d'imiter le style des textes reçus³². Cependant, sur le plan linguistique l'imitation ne réussit pas toujours. Certains mots et expressions figurant dans les ajouts ne reflètent pas l'hébreu classique de l'époque de Jérémie, mais l'hébreu post-classique de Néhémie ou des rouleaux de Qumran.

2. ÉTUDE D'UN PASSAGE ABSENT DE LA SEPTANTE

Il reste tout à fait possible que les ajouts du texte massorétique n'aient pas tous la même origine³³. Certains ajouts ont pu se fonder sur des fragments textuels anciens. La plus grande partie de l'excédent massorétique semble toutefois refléter une époque tardive, y compris du point de vue linguistique. Pour conforter cette vision des choses, nous étudierons de près un exemple d'ajout massorétique, à savoir Jr 39,11–13 :

³¹ Voir, p.ex., R. Steiner, « A Colloquialism in Jer. 5:13 from the Ancestor of Mishnaic Hebrew », *JSS* 37 (1992), 11–26.

³² Cet effort de continuer le style ancien explique le fait, souvent observé, que les ajouts dans le TM de Jérémie reprennent des expressions du texte ancien. On a noté également que les ajouts aux textes poétiques sont écrits en poésie, tandis que les ajouts aux textes en prose sont écrits en prose. Voir, p. ex., Tov, « Some Aspects », 155.

³³ Je fais abstraction ici des cas d'haplographie dans la *Vorlage* de la LXX, voir ci-dessus, n. 9.

11 וַיִּצְוֶה נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל עַל־יִרְמְיָהוּ
 בֶּן־דָּבָר לְאמֹר:
 12 קַח־נָּו וְעֵינַיִךְ שִׁים עָלָיו וְאַל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאֹמָה הֲעַ
 כִּי אִם כְּאִשֶּׁר יִדְבַר אֱלֹהִים כִּן עֲשֵׂה עִמּוֹ:
 13 וַיִּשְׁלַח נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן רַב־טַבָּחִים וְנְבוּשַׁזְבָּן רַב־סָרִיס
 וְנֶרְגַל שַׂר־אַצָּר רַב־מָג וְכָל רַבֵּי מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל:

11 Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, avait donné cet ordre au sujet de Jérémie

par (?) Nebuzaradan, chef des gardes:

12 Prends-le, et veille sur lui; ne lui fais aucun mal, mais agis à son égard comme il te dira.

13 Nebuzaradan, chef des gardes, Nebuschazban, chef des eunuques, Nergal Scharetser, chef des mages, et tous les chefs du roi de Babylone, envoyèrent...

Ces versets suivent dans le TM un autre passage absent de la Septante, Jr 39,4–10, lequel forme un doublet avec Jr 52,7–16 // 2 R 25,4–12, relatant la prise de Jérusalem par les troupes de Nabuchodonosor, la capture du roi Sédécias et la destruction de la ville. Les versets 11–13 n'ont pas de parallèle en Jr 52 // 2 R 25. Ils manquent dans le texte original de la Septante. Dans la version grecque, on passe directement de la prise de Jérusalem au traitement de faveur accordé à Jérémie.

TM	LXX
39,1–3	46,1–3
La 9 ^e année de Sédécias, Nabuchodonosor investit Jérusalem. La 11 ^e année, une brèche est ouverte dans la ville. Les princes babyloniens viennent s'asseoir à la porte du Milieu	
39,4–10 (cf. Jr 52,7–16 // 2 R 25,4–12)	_____
Sédécias s'enfuit, il est capturé, et conduit à Ribla devant N. Ses fils sont égorgés devant lui. La ville est détruite, une partie de la population exilée. Les petites gens restent dans le pays.	
39,11–13	_____
N. ordonne à Nebouzaradan de prendre soin de Jérémie. Nebouzaradan et d'autres hauts fonctionnaires envoient...	
39,14	46,14
Ils envoient prendre Jérémie qui est emprisonné dans la cour de garde et le remettent à Guedalia	

Le passage que nous voulons discuter est très court. Un regard superficiel laissera l'impression qu'il représente le même style et la même langue que le reste du livre. Pourtant, lorsqu'on applique une analyse plus fine, on décèle plusieurs traits post-classiques.

1. רַבִּי מְלֶךְ-בְּכָל

Le trait le plus frappant est probablement l' occurrence du mot רב au sens de « chef ». Comme en Jr 41,1, signalé ci-dessus, il s'agit probablement d'un aramaisme tardif. L'emploi du mot a pu être induit par la présence des termes רב־טַבָּחִים, רב־סָרִיס, רב־מַגַּן et רב־מַגַּן, mais son existence en hébreu reflète certainement l'influence du langage administratif de l'empire perse. Il est peu probable que ce mot représente l'hébreu de l'époque de Jérémie.

2. קַחֲנוּ

En hébreu classique, les formes de l'impératif qui insèrent un *nun* devant le suffixe personnel de la troisième personne du singulier s'alignent formellement et fonctionnellement sur la forme longue de l'impératif³⁴. La fonction de l'impératif long a été mise au jour, indépendamment et pratiquement en même temps, par Steve Fassberg et par Ahuva Shulman³⁵. La forme longue exprime un mouvement vers le locuteur ou parfois plus généralement une action en faveur du locuteur. La même fonction se constate avec l'impératif suivi du *nun*. Ainsi, pratiquement tous les cas de l'impératif de לקח ל suivis du *nun* expriment un mouvement vers le locuteur :

Jr 36,14 : הַמְגִלָּה אֲשֶׁר קִרְאתָ בָּהּ בְּאָזְנֵי הָעָם קִטְנָה בְּיָדְךָ וְלֹךְ וַיִּשָׂחַ בְּרוּדָה בְּרִידָה בְּוַגְדֵיהֶוּ אֶת־הַמְגִלָּה
בְּיָדוֹ וַיָּבֵא אֲלֵיהֶם

Prends en main le livre dans lequel tu as lu, aux oreilles du peuple, et viens ! Baruc, fils de Nérija, prit en main le livre, et se rendit auprès d'eux³⁶.

³⁴ Voir J. Joosten, « The Lengthened Imperative with Accusative Suffix in Biblical Hebrew », *ZAW* 111 (1999), 423–426.

³⁵ Voir S. Fassberg, *Studies in Biblical Syntax* (Jerusalem, 1994), 13–35 ; A. Shulman, *The Use of Modal Verb Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose*, dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996, 65–84.

³⁶ Voir aussi 1 S 16,11 et 20,21.

Le seul cas dans la bible hébraïque qui se soustrait à cette règle est celui de Jr 39,12³⁷, où le fait de *prendre* le prophète n'implique pas un mouvement vers le locuteur. La forme classique s'emploie ici avec une fonction non classique. L'élément paraît ainsi refléter le style de scribes de l'époque perse ou hellénistique, empruntant une forme qu'ils connaissent par l'étude des textes anciens, mais dont ils ignorent la fonction précise.

Le même phénomène peut d'ailleurs être constaté pour les formes longues de l'impératif : celles-ci sont encore employées en hébreu biblique tardif et dans les rouleaux de Qumran, mais pas toujours avec leur fonction ancienne³⁸. Ainsi, l'emploi de נָקְרָה לָהֶם en Né 13,29 ou de שמחה en 4QPs^f 10,7–8 paraît être pseudo-classique³⁹.

3. מאומה רע

Le pronom indéfini מאומה se rencontre dans la Bible hébraïque 32 fois, presque toujours dans une phrase négative (plus rarement dans une phrase interrogative ou conditionnelle). Deux fois, il se renforce du nom כל :

2 S 3,35 : אוֹ כֹל־מְאוּמָה אִי בּוֹא־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ אֶשְׁעֵם־לָהֶם (voir aussi Gn 39,23)
...si je goûte du pain ou **quoi que ce soit** avant le cocher du soleil.

Une fois il définit un nom à l'état construit :

Dt 24,10 : כִּי־תִשָּׂה בְרֵעֲךָ מִשְׂאֵת מְאוּמָה
Si tu fais à to prochain un prêt **quelconque**...

Et une fois il se combine avec une phrase adverbiale :

Dt 13,18 : וְלֹא־יִדְבַק בְּיָדְךָ מְאוּמָה מִן־הַחֲקֹם
Rien de ce qui sera voué à l'interdit ne s'attachera à ta main.

³⁷ Le cas de Job 5,27 n'est pas suffisamment clair.

³⁸ Ceci est contesté par S. Fassberg, « The Preference for Lengthened Forms in Qumran Writings », *Meghillot* 1 (2003), 227–240, 232 n. 37. Mais Qimron admet que la forme longue a perdu sa fonction spécifique dans les écrits de Qumran, voir E. Qimron, « Prayers for the Festivals from Qumran: Reconstruction and Philological Observations », in M. F. J. Baasten, W. Th. van Peursen, eds., *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118 (Leuven, 2003), 383–393, en particulier 385–386.

³⁹ Voir J. Joosten, « Pseudo-classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew », in T. Muraoka, J. F. Elwolde, eds., *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1997* (Leiden, 1999), 146–159, en particulier 156–157.

Le cas en Jr 39,12 est le seul, dans la Bible, où *מְאוּמָה* est défini par un adjectif. Il s'agit peut-être d'un hasard. Si l'on disposait de beaucoup plus de textes en hébreu ancien, d'autres cas de *מְאוּמָה* + adjectif se trouveraient peut-être. Notons cependant que le sens de Jr 39,12 s'exprime en hébreu classique sans ajout de l'adjectif :

Gn 22,12 : אֶל־תְּשַׁלַּח יָדְךָ אֶל־הַנְּעָר וְאֶל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוּמָה :
N'étends pas ta main sur le jeune homme et ne lui fais rien.

Ou bien il s'exprime sans *מְאוּמָה* :

1 S 29,7 : וְעַתָּה שׁוּב וְלֵךְ בְּשָׁלוֹם וְלֹא־תַעַשׂה רָע בְּעֵינַי סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים :
À présent, retourne et va-t-en en paix, pour ne rien faire de mal aux yeux des ducs philistins⁴⁰.

D'autre part, il convient d'observer que Jr 39,12 trouve un parallèle syntaxique dans le document de Damas :

CD XVI 13 : אֵל יְדוּר אִישׁ] לְמִזְבֵּחַ מְאוּם אָנוּס :
Qu'on ne voue à l'autel **rien** d'illégalement acquis⁴¹.

Dans ce passage, *מְאוּמָה* se présente comme un allomorphe de *מְאוּמָה*⁴². Grammaticalement, la phrase est analogue à celle qui nous intéresse, avec une expression négative suivie de *מְאוּמָה* / *מְאוּם* + adjectif.

Dans les limites de notre savoir actuel, il paraît donc probable que la grammaire de Jr 39,12 reflète un état de langue tardif. Si chacune des composantes de la phrase *וְאֶל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוּמָה רָע* est classique, leur combinaison n'est pas attestée de cette manière avant les textes de Qumran.

4. פְּאֻשֵׁר יְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ כִּן עֲשֵׂה עִמּוֹ

En hébreu classique, l'impératif occupe avec une grande régularité la première position dans la phrase. Certaines conjonctions telles *לֵכֵן* et *גַּם* précèdent normalement l'impératif, ainsi que le vocatif. D'autres éléments de la phrase occupent la position devant l'impératif en cinq pourcent des cas seulement, d'après le décompte exhaustif d'Ahuva Shulman : dans ce cas, l'élément précédent l'impératif reçoit une certaine emphase. Enfin, il n'y a pratiquement pas d'exemples dans la prose

⁴⁰ Voir aussi És 56,2.

⁴¹ Le passage est partiellement attesté dans un manuscrit de Qumran (mais l'expression qui nous intéresse se trouve dans la lacune : 4Q271 4 ii 13 אֵל יְדוּר אִישׁ לְמִזְבֵּחַ מְאוּם אָנוּס).

⁴² Dans le Rouleau du Temple, *מְאוּם* remplace le mot biblique *מְאוּמָה* : comparer 11QT LV 11 et Dt 13,18.

classique d'un impératif prenant la troisième position dans la phrase, après deux autres constituantes⁴³.

Le présent exemple ne se conforme pas à ces règles. Il est vrai que כן est une reprise de כְּאֲשֶׁר יְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ ; cependant, le début de la phrase paraît surchargé. En hébreu classique, on se serait attendu soit à כְּאֲשֶׁר יְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ *עֲשֵׂה עִמּוֹ, sans reprise, comme dans l'exemple suivant :

Jr 50,15 : כְּאֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה עִשְׂרֵי לָהּ
Faites-lui comme elle a fait.

Soit, préférablement, à *כְּאֲשֶׁר יְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ *, comme en :

2 S 7,25 : וְעָשִׂה כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ
Agis selon ta parole.

En hébreu biblique, Jr 39,12 est le seul exemple de la construction en ... כן כאשר + impératif. Mais ce schéma est attesté dans les rouleaux de Qumran, p. ex :

4Q416 2 iii 4 כַּאֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתָּ כֵּן הִשְׂבִּיבוּהוּ
Comme tu l'as reçu, ainsi rends-le⁴⁴.

Une fois de plus, on voit que les parallèles syntaxiques les plus proches de notre passage ne viennent pas de l'époque de Jérémie, mais de l'hébreu de l'époque hellénistique.

Les éléments énumérés n'ont sans doute pas tous le même poids. Néanmoins, il est surprenant de trouver, dans l'espace de trois versets, autant d'indices de l'hébreu tardif. D'ailleurs, le présent relevé n'est sans doute pas tout à fait exhaustif⁴⁵. Si le genre d'innovations décelées ci-dessus reste difficile à dater avec précision, on peut néanmoins noter que la langue de Jr 39,11–13 présente des points communs avec l'hébreu de l'époque perse et, plus encore, avec l'hébreu de Qumran. L'élément pseudo-classique occupe une place importante : tout se passe comme si

⁴³ Voir J. Joosten, « The syntax of volitive verbal forms in Qoheleth in historical perspective », à paraître dans un volume dirigé par P. Van Hecke.

⁴⁴ Voir aussi 4Q416 2 iii 17.

⁴⁵ La première phrase de l'ajout, en Jr 39,11 est d'analyse délicate. Le problème se résoudrait si on pouvait considérer que בִּיד indique simplement le complément d'objet indirect (et pas « à travers ») : « Nabuchodonosor (...) donna cet ordre au sujet de Jérémie à Nebuzaradan ». En hébreu classique, בִּיד signifie toujours « par, à travers », mais en hébreu post-classique on rencontre quelques cas douteux où le sens « à » semble possible ; voir 1 Ch 24,19 ; 1QH IV (Sukenik XVII) 12 ; CD XIX 2. Dans la Septante, בִּיד est parfois traduit par un simple datif : Ex 9,35 ; Lv 8,36 ; Jos 21,8 ; Né 8,14.

l'auteur de ces versets s'efforce d'écrire en hébreu classique, tout en y mêlant, de façon involontaire peut-être, des formes et des expressions venant de l'araméen ou de dialectes hébreux plus tardifs. Linguistiquement, notre passage se démarque assez fortement du reste du livre de Jérémie, si du moins on fait abstraction d'autres passages qui manquent également dans la version grecque. Globalement, le livre de Jérémie se trouve en continuité avec le style classique. Par contre, notre passage relève d'une époque où cette continuité n'existe plus. L'hébreu classique est passé au stade de langue morte : on étudie les textes et on les interprète, mais on ne maîtrise plus entièrement leur langue.

Si la plume à laquelle sont dus ces versets avait écrit le livre entier, il faudrait faire commencer l'âge post-classique dans l'histoire de la langue hébraïque avec le livre de Jérémie. Mais il n'en est rien. Le gros du livre de Jérémie est écrit dans un hébreu classique respectable, avec seulement quelques signes avant curseurs des changements à venir. Seuls les passages qui, au témoignage de l'histoire du texte, ont été ajoutés plus tard montrent les indices évidents de l'hébreu tardif.

Concluons par quelques remarques d'ordre historique. Les données, assez complexes, prêtent à confusion :

- d'après Jr 39,1-4 + 14 (LXX 46,1-4 + 14), les ministres babyloniens font libérer Jérémie de la cour de garde, où il est prisonnier, dès l'occupation de Jérusalem, le neuvième jour du quatrième mois de la onzième année de Sédécias. Ils le remettent alors à Guedalia fils d'Ahiqam.

- D'après Jr 40,1-6 (LXX 47,1-6), Nebuzaradan, chef des gardes arrivé à Jérusalem le dixième du cinquième mois de l'année onze de Sédécias (Jr 52,12), trouve Jérémie à Rama parmi les Judéens enchaînés qu'on déportait à Babylone. Il le fait libérer avec des paroles chaleureuses et lui permet de rester auprès Guedalia, qui entre-temps a été établi sur les villes de Juda.

Ces deux notices contenues dans le texte ancien de Jérémie, attesté par le TM et par la Septante, sont probablement authentiques l'une et l'autre⁴⁶. Elles ne se concilient pas facilement. Si le prophète avait été

⁴⁶ L'officier Nebuzaradan est connu, sous le nom de Nabu-zer-iddin, par un texte Babylonien, voir D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon. Schweich Lectures 1983* (London, 1985), 74. Le personnage de « Nabou Sarsekim, chef des eunuques », mentionné au verset 3, a récemment été identifié dans une tablette en cunéiforme datant

libéré par les Babyloniens dès la prise de la ville, comment a-t-il pu se trouver parmi les déportés peu de temps après ? L'harmonisation n'est cependant pas impossible : dans le désordre de l'occupation, Jérémie a pu être envoyé en exil par erreur. Nebuzaradan aurait alors corrigé cette erreur administrative en le libérant une deuxième fois.

- En Jr 39,11–13, passage absent de la Septante, le scénario de 39,1–4 + 14 est modifié : la première libération de Jérémie n'intervient pas dès l'occupation de la ville, mais un mois plus tard, après l'arrivée de Nebuzaradan. Il ressort aussi de ces versets que la bienveillance envers Jérémie découle d'un ordre exprès donné par Nabuchodonosor.

La version de Jr 39,11–13 n'est pas compatible avec celle de 39,1–4 + 14. Il faut choisir l'une des deux versions : celle du TM ou celle du texte court représenté par la Septante. Celle du texte court n'est pas sans poser quelques problèmes, comme nous l'avons vu. Celle du TM en pose bien plus. Si c'est Nebuzaradan lui-même, organisateur de la déportation des Judéens, qui avait libéré Jérémie de la cour de garde, on comprend d'autant moins que le prophète se retrouve captif peu après. En outre, lorsqu'en Jr 40,1–6 Nebuzaradan explique à Jérémie la raison de sa libération, tout se passe comme s'il le rencontre pour la première fois. Enfin, on voit mal comment un historien Judéen aurait su ce que Nabuchodonosor avait ordonné à son chef des gardes. Les deux notices du texte court sont ici plus laconiques et constatent simplement les faits intervenus à Jérusalem et en Judée. Dans l'ensemble, Jr 39,11–13 a donc moins de chances que les deux notices du texte court de refléter une information historique fiable. Ainsi, le regard historique confirme l'analyse linguistique et philologique—même si les données textuelles et linguistiques restent autrement plus convaincantes que les données historiques.

Si les versets 11–13 sont un ajout tardif dans le chapitre 39 de Jérémie, pourquoi les a-t-on ajoutés ? Il n'est pas impossible que l'ajout reflète une tentative d'harmoniser Jr 39,1–4 + 14 avec 40,1–6 en suggérant que Jérémie aurait été libéré une seule fois, et par Nebuzaradan. Si c'est là la motivation de ces versets, on ne peut pas dire que la tentative soit réussie. Les deux notices ne peuvent en aucun cas se référer au même événement car la première fois, Jérémie se trouve à la cour de garde, à Jérusalem (Jr 39,14), la seconde fois, à Rama (Jr 40,1). De toute façon, l'harmonisation

de l'an 595 av. J.-C. et conservée actuellement au *British Museum*, voir http://www.24hourmuseum.org.uk/nwh_gfx_en/ART48827.html.

n'était probablement pas le seul but poursuivi par l'auteur de Jr 39,11–13. Il y a une autre raison. Outre le fait de souligner le rôle de Nebuzaradan et de dater l'événement quelques semaines plus tard, l'effet des versets 11–13 est de faire découler la libération de Jérémie d'une décision personnelle de Nabuchodonosor. L'intérêt du roi babylonien pour le bien-être du prophète pourrait constituer la pointe du passage. Plusieurs chercheurs ont observé que l'image de Nabuchodonosor n'est pas la même en Jérémie Septante et en Jérémie TM : là, il est l'ennemi mortel de Juda, ici il est également le lieutenant de Dieu. Un détail révélateur à cet égard est l'appellation *serviteur de YHWH*, qui ne s'applique à Nabuchodonosor que dans le TM⁴⁷. Il semble qu'avec le temps l'hostilité viscérale pour celui qui avait détruit le temple et la ville, et conduit en exil ses habitants, se soit estompée. On a été amené à reconnaître en lui un représentant de Dieu, à qui le pouvoir terrestre avait été délégué pour un temps. À la lumière de cette transformation, il devient compréhensible qu'on ait voulu affirmer que Nabuchodonosor lui-même avait donné des ordres concernant le bien-être du prophète Jérémie.

CONCLUSIONS

L'état de langue que l'on appelle hébreu biblique tardif, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, se rencontre notamment dans les livres des Chroniques, d'Esdras-Néhémie, d'Esther, d'Ecclésiaste et de Daniel. Tous ces livres manifestent quelques particularités linguistiques qui les distinguent du corpus classique. L'hébreu de Qumran, ainsi que l'hébreu de Ben Sira, montre beaucoup de points communs avec l'hébreu biblique tardif.

Le même état de langue se trouve dans quelques parties du livre de Jérémie. Il s'agit de parties qui sont absentes du texte grec et qui selon les meilleurs spécialistes de l'histoire du texte ont été ajoutées secondairement à un texte plus ancien. L'analyse d'un seul exemple a montré que les passages concernés ne reflètent pas l'hébreu classique avec quelques déviations sporadiques (comme on peut en trouver dans tout le livre de Jérémie), mais doivent réellement être comptés dans le corpus des textes post-classiques.

⁴⁷ Voir Aejmelaeus, « "Nebuchadnednezzar" » (avec références à la littérature).

Ceci implique qu'une partie au moins des « plus » massorétiques sont effectivement de date tardive. Ils ne sont dus ni à Jérémie, ni aux fils de Nériya⁴⁸, ni à la première génération de disciples du prophète. Ils viennent d'une époque bien plus tardive, post-exilique. Il n'est pas exclu qu'ils reflètent l'époque hellénistique. Les données linguistiques ne permettent pas d'être plus précis sur leur datation exacte.

Il se pourrait que l'excédent massorétique de Jérémie soit tardif dans son ensemble. Mais il est également possible qu'on doive reconnaître quelques fragments anciens parmi les ajouts. Sur ce point, les spécialistes ne sont pas d'accord. Une recherche linguistique plus poussée pourrait sans doute contribuer à la solution de cette question.

⁴⁸ Contre R. Steiner, « The Two Sons of Neriah and the Two Editions of Jeremiah in the Light of Two Atbash Code-Words for Babylon », *VT* 46 (1996), 74–84. D'après Steiner, Baruch serait le rédacteur final du texte court (égyptien), Séraya celui du texte long (babylonien).

REMARQUES SUR LE VOCABULAIRE HÉBREU
DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET DE L'ÉTUDE
À QUMRÂN ET DANS BEN SIRÀ

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L'importance des écrits de sagesse dans la bibliothèque de Qumrân a bien été mise en valeur par les publications de ces dix dernières années¹. Comme leurs parallèles bibliques, ces écrits sapientiaux, parfois attestés en plusieurs exemplaires—jusqu'à huit pour 4QInstruction/*mûsâr l'mēbîn*—,

¹ Cf. par exemple A. Caquot, « Les textes de sagesse à Qumrân (aperçu préliminaire) », *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses (RHPR)* 76 (1996), 1–34 ; T. Elgvin et alii, *Qumran cave 4. XV. Sapiential Texts. Part I*, DJD 20 (Oxford, 1997) ; J. Strugnell, D. Harrington et T. Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV. Sapiential Texts. Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr Lmēvîn) : 4Q415ff...*, DJD 34 (Oxford, 1999) ; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, « 4QSapiential-Didactic Work C », S. Tanzer, « 4QInstruction-like Composition A et B », et E. Chazon, « 4QDidactic Work C », in S.J. Pfann et alii, *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI. Cryptic Texts*, DJD 36 (Oxford, 2000), 247–248, 320–346, 351–352 ; H.C. Hempel, A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL 159 (Leuven, 2001) ; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 44 (Leiden, 2001) ; S. White Crawford, « 4QTales of the Persian Court (4Q550A-E) and its Relation to Biblical Royal Courtier Tales, Especially Esther, Daniel and Joseph », in E.D. Herbert, E. Tov, eds., *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London, 2002), 121–137 ; M.J. Goff, *The Wordly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden, 2003) ; É. Puech, « Morceaux de sagesse populaire en araméen : 4QProverbes araméens (=4Q569) », *Revue de Qumrân (RQ)* 21/3 (2004), 379–386 ; idem, « La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte qumranien de sagesse 4 Q418 69 ii », in C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, S. Paul eds., *Sefer Moshe : The Moshe Weinfield Jubilee Volume. Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (Winona Lake, 2004), 427–444 ; idem, « Il libro della Sapienza e i manoscritti del Mar Morto : un primo approccio », in G. Bellia, A. Passaro, eds., *Il Libro della Sapienza : Tradizione, redazione, Teologia III. Convegno di Studi Biblici, Palermo 22-23 marzo 2002, Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia* (Roma, 2004), 131–155 ; A. Paul « Bulletin du judaïsme ancien (II). Qumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte », *Recherches de science religieuse* 94 (2006) 129–160 ; A. Lemaire, « Les écrits de sagesse à Qumrân et l'interprétation du site », *Journal Asiatique (JA)* 294 (2006), 53–65 ; M.J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom. The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SVT 116 (Leiden, 2007).

étaient apparemment liés à une certaine forme d'enseignement destiné à de jeunes hommes se préparant à entrer dans la vie active. Il nous paraît donc intéressant d'examiner d'un peu plus près, de façon préliminaire, le lexique de l'enseignement et de l'étude à Qumrân et dans Ben Sira dont font partie plusieurs verbes et noms que nous regrouperons par racine.

1. LMD

Le verbe LMD est déjà bien attesté dans la Bible, en particulier dans le Deutéronome² et dans les Psaumes³ ; il signifie généralement « apprendre » au *qal* et « enseigner » au *piel*. À Qumrân, il est employé en liaison aussi bien avec des personnages comme Énoch (4Q227 2,1) ou Moïse (1QM X,2) que pour la tâche du *maskîl* (1QS III,13 ; cf. aussi 1 QS IX,13) et du *m^ebaqqēr* (CD XV,14 = 4Q266 8 i 5 ; 270 6 ii 7). Il peut avoir comme complément d'objet direct : *hkmh* (4Q413 1-2,1), *bynh* (1QH^a X,17 ; 4Q372 3,5 ; 381 76-77,13), *skl* (1QS IX,13), *twrh* (4Q372 1,27) *hwq* (1QM X,2 ; 4Q372 1,27 ; 495 1,2) *hmšptym* (4Q158 7-8,4 ; cf. 11Q5 XXIV,8), *mlhmh* (1QM XIV,6 ; 4Q491 8-10,4 ; cf. 1QM VI,12-13 ; 4Q471 1,7) ou des personnes (4Q381 42,1 ; 69,4). Le complément est parfois précédé de la préposition *b-* (1QH^a XV,10 ; 1QS III,13 ; 4Q264a 1,5), spécialement dans l'expression *lmd bspr^a hgy* (1QSa I,7 ; cf. 4Q249a 1,5), alors que le phénomène du complément d'objet précédé de *b-* ne semble apparaître qu'une fois en hébreu biblique, en Is 40,14⁵.

Deux noms se rattachent à cette racine : *mlmdy*, « mon enseignant » (11Q5 XXI,14 = Ben Sira 51,17) qui a probablement deux antécédents bibliques (Pr 5,13 et Ps 119,99) et *l(y)mwd*, « disciple », (CD XX,4 ; 1QH^a X,39 ; XV, 10.14 ; 4Q428 3,9 ; 10,7) dont on ne peut rapprocher qu'Is 8,16 en hébreu biblique. Le nom *talmîd*, « disciple », qui n'est attesté qu'une seule fois dans la Bible (1 Ch 25,8) ne semble pas attesté à Qumrân mais on y rencontre deux fois le nom *talmûd*, totalement absent de l'hébreu biblique : une fois dans le Peshet de Nahum de la première moitié du I^{er} s. av. n. è. (4Q169 3-4 ii 8) à propos de « l'enseignement (*tlmw*) mensonger » d'Ephraïm, c'est-à-dire, dans le contexte, proba-

² Dt 4,1.5.14 ; 5,28 ; 6,1 ; 11,19 ; 20,18 ; 31,19.22.

³ Ps 18,35 ; 25,4.5.9 ; 34,12 ; 51,15 ; 60,1 ; 71,17 ; 94,10.12 ; 119,12.26.64.66.68.99.108.124.135.171 ; 132,12 ; 143,10 ; 144,1.

⁴ À distinguer de *lmd + spr* en Dn 1,4.

⁵ En 2 Ch 17,7.9, le sens locatif est évident.

blement de l'enseignement oral des Pharisiens⁶ qui font errer « beaucoup (*rbym*) », et une autre fois dans 4Q525 dans un passage qui semble un éloge du sage dans l'enseignement duquel se conduiront (*ythlkw*) ensemble (ou “la communauté de” *yhd*) tous ceux qui le connaissent et qui célébreront son deuil et garderont sa mémoire... peut-être avec une allusion à l'enseignant de la communauté, tandis que, à partir de la ligne 18, le texte vise le *mbyn*, apparemment l'étudiant avancé (*infra*). On voit là que l'enseignement, le *talmûd*, renvoie alors apparemment à l'enseignement d'une certaine conduite, d'une certaine pratique, connotation que l'on retrouvera dans la tradition rabbinique. Cependant on soulignera que, à Qumrân, ce mot ne semble rattaché ni à un écrit, ni à un livre.

Il semble que l'emploi du verbe LMD en hébreu corresponde assez généralement à celui de ʾLP en araméen (cf. spécialement avec pour complément *hkmh* : 4Q213 l i 10 .13.14).

2. YRH (II OU III)

Le verbe YRH au sens d'enseigner, instruire, est surtout utilisé au *hiphil*. À Qumrân, c'est essentiellement Dieu (*ʾl* : 1QS X,13 ; XI,17 ; 1QSb 3,23) qui instruit⁷ avec, en particulier, comme complément *kl dʿh*, « toute connaissance » (1QS XI,17 = 4Q264,5). Cependant, en 1QpHab X,11, celui qui distille le mensonge enseigne beaucoup de monde/*rbym*.

On rattache directement à ce verbe deux participes présents exprimant apparemment la même fonction, celle d'enseignant, d'instructeur. L'un est au participe *qal* : *ywrh*. Cette forme ne semble pas attestée en hébreu biblique et ne se retrouve que dans l'écrit de Damas désignant le Créateur (CD III,8), « le maître de (celui qui enseigne la) justice à la fin des jours » (VI,11) et « le maître unique ou de la communauté » avec

⁶ Cf. B.Z. Wacholder, « A Qumran Attack on the Oral Exegesis? The Phrase *ʾsr btlmwd šqrm* in 4 QPeshar Nahum », *RQ* 20 (1966), 575–578 (avec bibliographie) ; J.C. Vanderkam, « Those Who Look for Smooth Things, Pharisees, and Oral Law », in S.M. Paul et alii eds., *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, SVT 94/1 (Leiden, 2003), 464–477, spéc. 475–477. Sur l'opposition entre l'enseignement oral des Pharisiens et l'usage de l'écriture dans l'enseignement essénien, cf. A. Lemaire, « Lire, écrire, étudier à Qoumrân et ailleurs », in A. Lemaire, S. Mimouni eds., *Qoumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère. Actes de la Table Ronde, Collège de France, 16 novembre 2004*, Collection de la *Revue des Etudes Juives* (Paris, 2006), 63–79.

⁷ Cf. déjà, pour la Bible, S. Wagner, « *yarâ* III; *môreh* », in G.J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament VI* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 1990), 339–347, spéc. 344–345.

référence à sa mort (XX,14) Cette particularité linguistique est difficile à expliquer puisque le verbe YRH n'est pratiquement pas utilisé au *qal* et que, dans l'écrit de Damas lui-même, la forme *ywrh* alterne avec la forme plus courante au hiphil *mwrh*, en particulier dans les deux syntagmes *mwrh šdq*, « maître de justice » (XX,32) et « le maître unique » ou « maître de la communauté (*mwrh hyhyd*) » (XX,1). Encore plus curieux, le syntagme érasé en XIX,35 : *ywr mwrh* semble révéler une sorte de coexistence des deux formes. L'apparition de la forme particulière *ywrh* dans l'écrit de Damas est probablement liée à une exégèse de Dt 11,14, Jr 5,24 et surtout de Jl 2,23 (« il donne la pluie d'automne selon la justice [*hmwrh lšdqh*] »), compris éventuellement avec certaines versions (Symmaque et Targum) comme « le maître de justice »⁸. Il semble que l'alternance *ywrh/mwrh*, pour désigner la « première pluie » (celle de l'automne), a conduit à accepter une même alternance pour l'homonyme *mwrh* « maître », « celui qui enseigne ». En quelque sorte, on assisterait dans l'hébreu de Qumrân à l'apparition d'une variante linguistique *ywrh* sous l'influence d'une exégèse d'un passage biblique, une allusion à cette exégèse se retrouvant probablement en 1QH VIII,16 (=XVI,16)

La deuxième forme, la plus fréquente, *mwrh*, est déjà attestée dans la Bible⁹ (2 R 17,28 ; Is 9,14 ; 30,20 ; Hab 2,18 ; Pr 5,13 [en parallèle à *mlmd*] ; Jb 36,22 ; 2 Ch 15,3). À Qumrân, elle se retrouve essentiellement dans le syntagme célèbre et souvent étudié¹⁰ *mwrh hšdq*, « le maître de justice » (1QpHab I,13 ; II,2 [*mwrh hšdqh*] ; V,10 ; VII,4 ; VIII,3 ; IX,9 ; XI,5 ; 1Q14 8–10,6 ; 4Q171 1+3–4 iii,15.19 ; 3–10 iv,7 ; 4Q172 7,1 ; 173 1,4 ; 2,2). On notera que ce dernier est un prêtre suivant 4Q171 1+3–4 iii,15, le syntagme *khn mwrh* étant déjà attesté en 2 Ch 15,3 en parallèle au nom *twrh* (infra). De plus, on notera que le syntagme *mry šqr* de 1QpHab XII,11 est apparemment repris de *mwrh šqr* de Hab 2,18 et Is 9,14 où il s'applique à un prophète.

⁸ Cf. C.A. Keller, in E. Jacob *et alii*, *Osée, Joël, Amos, Abdias, Jonas*, Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament XIa (Neuchâtel, 1965), 133.

⁹ S. Wagner, « *yarâ III; môreh* », in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* VI (1990), 339–347.

¹⁰ Cf. G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, SUNT 2 (Göttingen, 1963) ; J. Weingreen, « The Title *Môrêh Šedek* », *JSS* 6 (1961), 162–164 ; R. Meyer, « Melchizedek von Jerusalem und Morezedek von Qumran », in *Volume du Congrès. Genève 1965*, SVT 15 (Leiden, 1966), 228–239, spéc. 232–234 ; A.M. Honeyman, « Notes on a Teacher and a Book. I. *Moreh Haššedeq* », *JJS* 4 (1953), 131–132 ; J.C. Reeves, « The Meaning of *Moreh Šedek* in the Light of 11QTorah », *RQ* 13 (1988), 287–298.

Comme nous venons de le mentionner, ce qui est enseigné par le *mwrh*, c'est la *twrh*, litt. l'« instruction ». Ce mot a déjà une longue histoire en hébreu biblique. Si son sens primitif désignant le contenu de l'enseignement, l'instruction, semble encore bien attesté en Isaïe¹¹, il est aussi utilisé pour désigner le genre littéraire d'un écrit et d'un livre. C'est déjà le cas du Deutéronome (Dt 31,12) pour souligner qu'il s'agissait là d'un livre rédigé pour être enseigné¹². Plus tard, ce même mot servira à caractériser tout le contenu du Pentateuque. C'est seulement parce que cet enseignement du Pentateuque comportait, de fait, les lois propres à Israël que le terme de *tôrâh* en est venu, peu à peu, à désigner les, ou plutôt, la « loi »¹³ (juive) comme le confirme la traduction fréquente par *nomos* dans la Septante.

Qu'en est-il dans l'hébreu de Qumrân ? On note d'abord que ce mot est très fréquent (177 fois). Il sert apparemment à caractériser le contenu du rouleau du Temple si l'on en croit l'utilisation de l'expression *htwrh hz'ł*, « cette *tôrâh* » (11Q19 L,7.17 ; LVI,21 ; LIX,10 ; 4Q364 20a-c,8¹⁴ ; 4Q470 2,1 ; cf. aussi *zw'ł htwrh* : 11Q19 LVII,1 ; *spr htwrh* : 11Q19 LVI,4 ; 4Q273 2,1 ; cf. 4Q177 1-4,14 : *spr htwrh šnyt*¹⁵ ; CD V,2 : *spr htwrh hłtwm* ; CD VII,15 : *spry htwrh*). Cependant, ailleurs, le mot *twrh* est aussi assez souvent précisé par le nom propre « Moïse » : *twrt mšh* (CD XV,2.9.12 ; XVI,2.5 ; 1QS V,8 ; VIII,22 ; 4Q256 IX,7 ; 4Q266 8 i 3 ; 11,6 ; 4Q270 6 ii 18). Ces syntagmes sont déjà connus en hébreu biblique (*twrt mšh* : Jos 8,31.32 ; 1 R 2,3 ; 2 R 14,6 ; 23,25 ; Mal 3,22 ; Dn 9,11.13 ; Esd 3,2 ; 7,6 ; Ne 8,1 ; 2 Ch 23,18 ; 30,16) même s'ils n'apparaissent que dans des livres post-exiliques ou dans des additions tardives.

Cependant l'hébreu de Qumrân atteste certains syntagmes nouveaux : - *byt htwrh* : « maison de la *tôrâh* ». Cette expression, apparemment propre à l'écrit de Damas (CD XX,10.13), y désigne le groupe dirigé par « le maître unique » ou, plutôt, « le maître de la communauté (*mwrh hyhyd/ywrh hyhyd* : XX,1.14) ». Dans ce contexte, *twrh* gardait proba-

¹¹ J. Jensen, *The Use of Tôrâh by Isaiah. His Debate with the Wisdom Tradition*, CBQMS 73 (Washington, 1973), spéc. 26-27.

¹² Cf. B. Lindars, « Torah in Deuteronomy », in P.R. Ackroyd, B. Lindars eds., *Words and Meanings, Essays Presented to D.W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 117-136.

¹³ Cf. G. Östborn, *Tôrâ in the Old Testament. A Semantic Study* (Lund, 1945).

¹⁴ Citation de Dt 1,1-6 : *b'ł ʔ htwrh hzw'ł*.

¹⁵ Avec A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a-b})*, STDJ 13 (Leiden, 1994), 109, on peut traduire : « c'est à nouveau le livre de la *Tôrâh* ».

blement la nuance d'« instruction », d'enseignement donné par le *ywrh/mwrh*.

- *ʿSy (h)twrh*, « les faiseurs de *tôrâh* ». Ici, à nouveau, il ne faut peut-être pas se précipiter pour traduire « les observants de la Loi » en pensant plus généralement à ceux qui mettent en pratique l'« instruction » (1QpHab VII,11 ; cf. VIII,1 ; XII,5 ; 4Q171 1-2 ii 3). Le parallélisme semble indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un synonyme des hommes de *ʿmt*, « vérité » (VII,10 ; VIII,1 ; XII,5) et le contexte indique un rattachement direct à l'enseignement du maître de justice (VII,4 ; VIII,3). On retrouve cette association dans l'expression *mʿsy htwrh*, « la pratique de la *tôrâh* », dans la fameuse lettre 4QMMT=4Q398 14-17 ii 3 (cf. aussi 1QS V,21 ; VI,18).

- *Kprwš htwrh*, « selon l'interprétation (exacte) de la *tôrâh* » (CD IV,8 ; VI,14 ; cf. CD XII,6 ; 4Q267 9 iv 2). D'une certaine façon, cette expression semble analogue à l'expression biblique tardive apparemment absente à Qumrân¹⁶ « comme il est écrit dans la *tôrâh* de Moïse (*kktwb b(spr) twrt mšh*) » (Jos 8,31 ; 1 R 2,3 ; 2 R 14,6 ; Esd 3,2 ; 2 Ch 23,18 ; 25,4 ; cf. Esd 3,4 ; Ne 8,15 ; 10,35.37 ; 2 Ch 30,5.18 ; 31,3 ; 35,12.26). La référence n'est plus directement au livre de la *tôrâh* mais à son interprétation (exacte).

- Ce changement de perspective est encore plus clair avec l'emploi du verbe et du nom dérivé de la racine DRŠ en lien avec la *Tôrâh*, avec des expressions telles que *drwš htwrh* (4Q159 5,6), *dwrš htwrh* (CD VI,7 ; VII,18 ; 4Q174 1-2 i 11 ; 4Q177 10-1,5 ; 4Q266 3 iii 19 ; 4Q267 2,15=CD), *dwrš btwrh* (1QS VI,6) *mdrš htwrh* (CD XX,6 ; 1QS VIII,15 ; 4Q258 VI,7 ; 4Q266 5 i 1 ; 11,20). Cf. *infra* DRŠ.

- Déjà dans la Bible, le verbe BQŠ peut être associé à DRŠ (par ex. Jg 6,29 ; Ez 34,6 ; So 1,6 ; Ps 24,6 ; Ps 38,13 ; Jb 10,6). On le retrouve à Qumrân avec pour complément la *tôrâh* : 4Q216 ii,13 ; 4Q306 2,3 ; 4Q398 11-13,7. Cf. *infra* BQŠ.

Le fait que la *tôrâh* soit au cœur de l'enseignement et de la recherche à Qumrân correspond à sa place centrale dans le livre de Ben Sira (cf. en particulier 39,1ss)¹⁷.

¹⁶ On rencontre seulement plusieurs fois *kšr ktwb... b-* suivi probablement de « Jérémie » en 4Q163 1,4, du « livre d'Isaïe le prophète » en 4Q265 1,3, des « chants de David » en 11Q13 II,9-10 et de *spr mšh* dans le Florilège de 4Q174 1-2 i 2.

¹⁷ Cf. récemment, J. Rogers, « Wisdom in Sirach », *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 30 (2004), 61-79, spéc. 71-74.

3. ŠKL

Le verbe *škl* ne semble attesté qu'au *hiphil* dans les textes de Qumrân. Comme en hébreu biblique, les commentateurs ont parfois hésité entre un sens presque passif : « être intelligent » et un sens factitif : « rendre intelligent, instruire ». Il est vrai que l'on peut supposer normalement que celui qui « instruit » (sens factitif) est lui-même déjà quelqu'un d'« instruit ». En quelque sorte, le sens factitif suppose implicitement que le sujet ait déjà la qualité qu'il veut transmettre. Il en va de même avec celui qui enseigne la sagesse et qui est normalement déjà un sage qui domine la sagesse et peut donc l'enseigner (cf. Ben Sira 15,10). Le sens factitif est évident lorsque le verbe est suivi d'un complément d'objet direct de personne (par ex : *wḥkmt bny šnym lššykl tmymy drk* : 1QS IV,22 avec ici un double complément, le contenu de l'instruction étant placé avant) ou quand il est en parallèle avec le verbe *lmd* au *piel* (4Q381 69,4), tandis que le parallélisme semble impliquer un sens passif pour le syntagme *mškyly bynh* en 1QM X,10. En fait, le contenu de l'instruction est le plus souvent précédé de la préposition *b-*. Ainsi : *lššylym brzy pl' w'mt*, « en les instruisant des mystères du prodige et de la vérité » 1QS IX,18 ; cf. aussi 1QS XI,1 ; 1QSa I,7 ; 1QH^a XV,26... Cette construction ne semble attestée en hébreu biblique qu'en Daniel 1,17, verset très intéressant pour l'expression du cursus des études de jeunes gens appelés à de hautes fonctions (*wḥškl bkl spr wḥkmh*, « et [Dieu les] instruisit dans toute écriture/littérature et sagesse »).

Comme dans cette dernière citation, le sujet du verbe au *hiphil* peut être la divinité, en particulier dans les Hymnes (1QH^a XV,26 ; XVIII,4...). Cependant ce peut être aussi un des responsables de la communauté, en particulier le *mebaqer* (CD XIII,7 : *wzḥ srk hmbqr lmqnh yšykl 't hrby m'šy 'l*, « et voici la règle du *mebaqer* du camp : il instruira les nombreux des (hauts-)faits de Dieu... » et/ou le *mšykl* (1QS IX,12.18.20), si bien que l'on peut se demander s'il s'agit bien de deux responsables différents.

Le contenu de l'« instruction » est exprimé de manières variées : *ḥkmh* (1QS IV,22 ; cf. 4Q381 76-77,8 ; 4Q525 1,2 ?), *bynh* (1QM X,10 ; 4Q300 1a11-b,2 ; 4Q418 165,3), *lqh* (1QS XI,18), *rzy pl' w'mt* (1QS IX,18 ; cf. 1QH^a XIX,10 ; XX,20 ; 4Q256 XVIII,1 ; 4Q258 VIII,3), *ḥwqy ḥbryt* (1QSa I,7)...

En fait, c'est surtout le participe présent du verbe qui est le plus connu des Qumranologues car il sert à décrire le rôle d'un personnage essentiel :

le *maskîl*¹⁸. Ce dernier mot est attesté 37 fois à Qumran mais on le rencontre déjà 35 fois en hébreu biblique, en particulier dans 13 incipits de psaumes. On notera d'ailleurs surtout ici son emploi dans le livre de Daniel 1,4 où il est associé à *ḥkmh* (avec, semble-t-il, une connotation passive comme en Ben Sira 7,2 ; 10,23.25 où il s'agit de l'« esclave intelligent ») tandis que le sens actif, lié au verbe *byn*, apparaît en Dn 11, 33.35¹⁹ et qu'il est difficile de préciser la nuance en Dn 12,3.10 où, cependant, les *maskîlîm* sont appréciés très positivement.

Avec C. Newsom, on peut traduire *maskîl* à Qumrân comme désignant un « instructeur », un « maître » dont le rôle essentiel est assez bien défini par 1QS III,13 : « le *maskîl* instruira et enseignera tous les fils de lumière (*lmskyl lhbyn wllmd...*) ». Ainsi, toujours avec C. Newsom, « Though it is not possible to present the arguments for each case here, I interpret all of the references to the *maskîl* in the Qumran literature as referring to the one who performs the official function of instruction in the community, that is, to the Instructor or Master. Even if some of the occurrences should be read in the nontechnical sense, as referring simply to a wise person or sage (rather than the Instructor or Master), the values and accomplishments associated with the wise person form part of the ideal that would pertain especially to the leaders of the community »²⁰.

Bien plus, avec G. Vermes²¹ et C. Newsom²², le *maskîl* semble exercer le rôle qui, dans d'autres textes, est rattaché à celui qui est désigné comme le *mebaqquer*, « inspecteur, gardien », car c'est lui qui doit examiner les candidats pour décider de leur entrée et de leur avancement (1QS IX,14-16). Comme il est normal, afin de pouvoir transmettre son savoir, le *mebaqquer/maskîl* doit d'abord être lui-même un savant (CD XIV,9-10 ; 1QS IX,12-13). Par son enseignement (1QS IX,18-20) et par sa présidence de la prière, spécialement des bénédictions (1QS IX,26-X,5 ; 1QSb I,1 ; III,22 ; V,20), il apparaît comme le véritable formateur et chef de la communauté (*yḥd*) de par sa fonction didactique qui transparait aussi

¹⁸ Cf., par exemple, C. Newsom, « The Sage in the Literature of Qumran : The Functions of the *Maskîl* », in J.G. Gammie, L.G. Perdue eds., *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, 1990), 373-382.

¹⁹ Pour les *maskîlîm* dans Dn 11-12, cf. récemment, J.J. Collins, « Teacher and Servant », *RHPR* 80 (2000), 37-50, spéc. 41-45 ; Ch. Hempel, « *Maskîl(im)* and *rabbim*: from Daniel to Qumran », in Ch. Hempel, J. M. Lieu eds., *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, JSJS 111 (Leiden-Boston, 2006), 133-156.

²⁰ C. Newsom, *art. cit.*, 374, n. 4.

²¹ G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, 1975), 22-23.

²² C. Newsom, *art. cit.*, 375.

dans les prières qui lui sont rattachées (cf. en particulier 4Q400–406, les chants du sacrifice du sabbat²³). C'est lui qui est visé dans le « *Midrash* pour l'instructeur concernant les hommes de la *Tôrâh* » (4Q256 IX,1 ; 258 I,1)²⁴, ce qui signifie probablement que c'est lui qui est responsable de la « maison de la *Tôrâh* » (cf. *supra*, CD XX,10.13).

Le nom *skl* exprime la « perspicacité », l'« intelligence ». Lors de l'examen (*pqd*) des candidats, l'examen de son intelligence (*sklw*) va souvent de pair avec celle de sa conduite (*m'syw* : CD XIII,11 ; 1QS VI,14), plus précisément celle de sa pratique de la *Tôrâh* (*m'syw btwrh* : 1QS V,21 ; VI,18). De manière plus générale, les gens semblent appréciés *lpy skl(w/m)* (1QS V,21.24 ; IX,15...), tandis que *skl* peut être associé à *bynh* (1QS IV,3 ; 1QH^a VI,3 ; 4Q424 3,7 ; 4Q502 2,4) et/ou à *hkmh* (1QS IV,3.18 ; 4Q424 37).

4. BYN

Le verbe, déjà bien attesté en hébreu biblique, signifie généralement « comprendre, être intelligent/perspicace » et peut être employé au *qal*, *niph'al*, *hiphil*, *polel* et *hitpolel*. Dans la Bible, on le retrouve surtout dans les Proverbes, les Psaumes, Job et Daniel. Il n'est pas toujours facile de distinguer la nuance des diverses conjugaisons : même si le sens factitif « faire comprendre, expliquer » ne semble apparaître qu'au *hiphil* (par ex. Dn 8,16.17 ; 10,14 ; Ps 119,27.34.73...), certains emplois du *hiphil* ne semblent pas comporter la nuance factitive (ainsi : Dn 8,5.27 ; 9,23 *byn//hbn* ; 10,11...) ; il en va de même du *polel*²⁵. De plus, on notera que, en Dn 9,2, *bynty bsprym*, semble se référer à une étude des livres prophétiques tandis que Dn 9,23 et 10,1 renvoie à un effort de compréhension des visions. Nous sommes donc en présence d'un verbe qui peut signifier « comprendre/considérer/étudier » au *qal*, *polel*, *hiphil* et *hitpolel* (*htbwnn* parallèle à *drwš* en 4Q416 2 iii 14), et « faire comprendre, expliquer, enseigner » au *hiphil*. Dans ce dernier sens, et en liaison avec ce que nous vu précédemment, on citera Dn 11,33 : « Les *maskîls* du peuple instruiront/expliqueront à beaucoup (*ybynw lrbym*) ».

²³ Cf. aussi 4Q511 2 i 1 ; 11Q17 VII,9.

²⁴ Sur d'autres documents qumraniens comportant le terme *maskil* dans leur titre ou à leur début, cf. M.J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom* (2007), 150–151.

²⁵ Cf. D.J.A. Clines éd., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* II (Sheffield, 1995), 145.

Dans les textes de Qumrân, il semble que le sens intransitif domine au *hiphil* dans CD II,14 ; VIII,12 ; XIX,24 tandis que le sens factitif est assez clair en CD XIII,5–6 (sujet : *mebaqger* et lié à l'expression *bprwš htwrh*) ; XIII,8 (sujet *mebaqger* ; parallèle à *yškyt*) ; 1QS III,13 (sujet *mškyt*, parallèle à *lmd*, complément « les fils de lumière ») ; XIV,22 (complément : *yšrym*) ; VI,15). Le problème devrait normalement être le même avec le participe : alors que le participe *niphal nâbôn* a toujours un sens passif et plus encore le participe *polal* caractéristique de Qumrân, spécialement dans l'expression *mbwennyym bspr hghy* (CD X,6 ; XIII,2 ; cf. aussi 4Q266 8 iii 5 ; 4Q267 9 v 12 ; 4Q270 6 iv 17), le participe *hiphil mēbîn* devrait normalement avoir un sens factitif : « celui qui fait comprendre, explique... » mais, en fait, il semble avoir pratiquement toujours la même nuance que le *qal* : « celui qui comprend » : 1QHa X,18.

Ce participe est souvent attesté dans l'Instruction *mūsār lēmēbîn* (4Q415ss) avec une connotation nominale pour désigner celui auquel s'adresse l'instruction (cf. le syntagme *wth mbyn* : 4Q416 4,3 ; 4Q417 1 i 1.14...), c'est-à-dire apparemment un jeune homme qui reçoit une formation pratique, morale et religieuse avant son entrée dans la vie active. On serait presque tenté de traduire « étudiant » ou même, plus précisément, « étudiant avancé » (« celui qui est capable de comprendre »). Cet emploi original ne semble pas avoir de parallèle exact en hébreu biblique même si on pourrait en rapprocher quelque peu 1 Ch 25,8 : « l'expert avec l'apprenti (*mēbîn 'im-talmūd*) », ainsi que Ben Sira 36,19 ; 42,21...

Par ailleurs, le nom *mbynh*, « compréhension, discernement », non attesté en hébreu biblique qui emploie *bynh*, semble particulier à 4QInstruction (4Q417 2 i 10.11 ; 29 i 7 ; 4Q418 43–45 i 8? ; cf. cependant aussi 4Q440 3 i 18)²⁶.

²⁶ Cf., par exemple, A. Schoors, « The Language of the Qumran Sapiential Works », dans C. Hempel et alii eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL CLIX (Leuven, 2002), 61–95, spéc. 83.

5. DRŠ

Comme l'a bien montré Avi Hurvitz²⁷, l'emploi du verbe *drš* a déjà connu une évolution diachronique au sein de l'hébreu biblique. Signifiant « chercher, interroger, rechercher », dans le domaine religieux et, en hébreu biblique classique, il a généralement un théonyme comme complément d'objet direct en référence à la demande d'un oracle divin tandis que, en hébreu biblique tardif, le complément d'objet direct de *drš* devient un texte écrit : « commandement », « *Tôrah* » tandis que le mot *mdrš*, absent de l'hébreu classique, apparaît aussi deux fois dans les Chroniques (2 Ch 13,22 ; 24,27), visiblement en référence à un texte écrit.

À Qumrân, l'emploi du verbe *drš*, attesté quelque 133 fois, se situe tout à fait dans la ligne de cette évolution. S'il y a encore des échos de l'expression de l'hébreu classique « chercher Dieu » (cf. CD I,10–11 ; VI,6 ; 1QS I,1 ; 1QH^a XII,6.14.15.16 ; 4Q372 1,19) et, si le verbe peut aussi renvoyer à l'examen, au test d'une personne (CD XV,11 ; 1QS VI,14.17 ; VIII,24 ; 1QSa II,10 ; 1Qsb III,10 ; 4Q266 8 i 2 ; 4Q424 3,1.4 ; 11Q19 LV,5.19 ; LVI,1 ; LXI,9), il s'agit concrètement de le rechercher « dans ses commandements » (1QS V,11 ; cf. 4Q266 2 i 4 ; 4Q268 i 6 ; 4Q375 1 ii 7 ; 4Q392 1,3 ; 4Q418 81,7), de rechercher la volonté divine (1QS V,9) ou la justice (4Q298 3–4 ii 5 ; cf. 4Q298 1–2 i 3 ; 4Q420 1 ii 3) ou encore la sagesse (4Q525 2 ii 2 ; 5,6.7).

De façon particulière, dans l'écrit de sagesse 4Q416,417,418, la recherche a pour objet le *rz nhyh*, « la mystère de l'existence » (4Q416 2 iii 9.14 ; 4Q417 1 i 6 ; 4Q418 9,8) avec l'invitation faite, même au pauvre, de rechercher la science/connaissance (*'drwš d't*).

Cette recherche doit normalement durer pendant un tiers de la nuit et est directement liée à la « lecture dans le livre » et à la bénédiction (1QS VI,7). Elle est aussi une des caractéristiques du sabbat (4Q251 1–2,5). D'après 1QS VI,6, le livre à lire (*qr²*) et dans lequel quelqu'un doit étudier jour et nuit (*drš*) est la *Tôrâh*.

Dans ces conditions, le participe présent exprimant la durée d'une fonction est souvent attesté dans le syntagme *dwrš htwrh* (CD VI,7 ; VII,18 ; 4Q174 1–2 i 11 ; 4Q266 3 iii 19). On remarquera que

²⁷ A. Hurvitz, « Continuity and Innovation », dans A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem, 1972), 7–9 (hb) ; « Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew », in A. Lemaire, M. Saebo eds., *Congress Volume Oslo 1998*, SVT 80 (Leiden, 2000), 143–160, spéc. 152–153.

l'expression est au singulier et qu'elle est liée à une interprétation de textes bibliques (Nb 21,18 ; 24,13 ; 2 S 7,12–14 ; Am 9,11) qui mettent singulièrement en valeur cette expression qui pourrait viser le fondateur du groupe, appelé ailleurs le « maître de justice » (cf. *supra*). On notera que *Tôrâh* est alors toujours précédé de l'article tandis qu'il reste indéfini dans l'expression *dvrš twrh* de Ben Sira 32,15 où, en parallèle à *mwsr* et à *lqh* (32,14), *twrh* semble garder le sens général d'instruction.

La mise en valeur du *dvrš htwrh*, au singulier, semble s'opposer à l'expression plurielle péjorative *dršy (h)hlqwt* (1QH^a X,15.32.34 ; 4Q163 23 ii 10 ; 4Q169 3–4 i 2.7 ; 3–4 ii 2.4 ; 3–4 iii 3.6 ; 4Q177 9,4) dans lequel il est assez évident, d'après le contexte, qu'il s'agit des Pharisiens²⁸. Comme on l'a déjà noté²⁹, il y a très probablement ici un jeu de mot *hlkwt/hlqwt*, ce qui signifie que le résultat habituel de l'activité du verbe *drš*, « rechercher, interpréter », la *derashah*, est la mise en évidence des règles de conduite (*hlkwt*).

Cette importance de l'activité dénotée par le verbe *drš* à Qumrân est confirmée par les attestations du mot *mdrš*, « recherche, étude, interprétation ». Attesté seulement deux fois dans la Bible, on le retrouve 12 fois à Qumrân où cette activité semble directement liée à la *Tôrâh*. En effet, le syntagme *mdrš htwrh* (CD XX,6 ; 1QS VIII,15 ; 4Q259 iii 6), probablement synonyme de *mdrš spr mšh* (4Q249 verso 1), semble l'activité essentielle pour connaître la volonté divine. Le fait qu'il s'agisse généralement d'une activité d'interprétation semble confirmé par 4Q174 1–2 i 14 où *mdrš* est en parallèle avec *pšr*. La finale de l'écrit de Damas semble indiquer que cette interprétation a été mise par écrit : « voici tout (est) écrit sur le dernier *mdrš htwrh* » (4Q270 7 ii 15 ; cf. 4Q266 11,20), peut-être le titre-même de l'écrit de Damas³⁰, tandis que 4Q258 I,1 (cf aussi 4Q256 IX,1) révèle qu'une partie, au moins, de la règle de la communauté pourrait avoir été désignée par le titre : *mdrš lmskyl 'l nšy htwrh...*, « Midrash pour l'instructeur concernant les hommes de la *Tôrâh*... ».

²⁸ Cf., par exemple, A.I. Baumgarten, « Seekers after the Smooth Things », in L.H. Schiffman, J.C. Vanderkam eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls II* (Oxford, 2000), 857–859; L.H. Schiffman, « The Pharisees and Their Legal Traditions According to the Dead Sea Scrolls », *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8 (2001), 262–2177, spéc. 265 ; J.C. VanderKam, « Those Who Look for Smooth Things, Pharisees, and Oral Law », dans S.M. Paul et alii eds., *Emanuel* (2003), 464–477.

²⁹ Cf. déjà J.M. Baumgarten, « The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period », *JSS* 3 (1972), 7–29, spéc. 26, n. 1.

³⁰ Cf. H. Stegemann, « 269. 4QDamasus as Documented frags 10,11 (Re-edition), 15, 16 », in S.J. Pfann et alii, *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI*, DJD 36 (2000), 201–211, spéc. 210–211.

En fait, le syntagme *ḥšy ḥtwrh* est probablement synonyme de *byt ḥtwrh* (CD XX,10.13 ; cf. *supra*) et ce dernier peut être rapproché de *byt mdrš* probablement attesté dans le livre de Ben Sira 51,23³¹. Si les deux textes de référence du groupe de Qumrân ont comme titre « midrash », il semble assez légitime que, suivant le parallèle de Ben Sira 51,23, on puisse considérer l'installation de Qumrân comme une sorte de *beit midrash*³².

6. ḤQR

Le verbe *ḥqr*, « chercher » est parallèle au verbe *drš* en 11Q19 LV,5.19³³ et ce parallélisme est aussi attesté en Ben Sira 3,21. Il peut faire particulièrement référence à la recherche/étude de la sagesse avec l'expression *ḥqry šwryš bynh*, « ceux qui recherchent les racines de la compréhension » (4Q301 1,2 ; 2b,1) qui semble, à nouveau, faire référence à des étudiants scrutant les mystères de la vie tandis que le nom *ḥqr* semble se limiter à l'expression *lʾyn ḥqr*, « insondable » (1QH^a V,5 ; XI,20 ; XIII,20...).

³¹ Après l'hésitation de plusieurs commentateurs (cf., par exemple, C.A. Rollston, « Ben Sira 38 :24–39 and the *Egyptian Satire of the Trades* : a Reconstruction », *JBL* 120, 2001, p. 131–139, spéc. 139), malgré W. Th. van Peursen (« Sirach 51:13–30 in Hebrew and Syriac », dans M.F.J. Baasten, W. Th. van Peursen éd., *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka*, OLA 118, Leuven, 2003, p. 357–374, spéc. 367, 369–370) mais avec la position nuancée de M. Gilbert (« Venez à mon école (Si 51,13-30) », dans I. Fischer et alii éd., *Auf den Spuren der schriftgelehrten Weisen. Festschrift für J. Marböck*, BZAW 331 (Berlin, 2003), p. 283–290, spéc. 288), *byt mdrš* semble préférable à *byt musr*.

³² Cf. A. Lemaire, « L'enseignement essénien et l'école de Qumrân », in A. Caquot et alii eds., *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven/Paris, 1986), 191–203 ; « Qumrân : sa fonction et ses manuscrits », in E.-M. Laperrousaz ed., *Qumrân et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte. Un Cinquantenaire* (Paris, 1997), 117–149 ; P.S. Alexander, « Literacy Among Jews in Second Temple Palestine : Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran », in M.F.J. Baasten, W. Th. van Peursen eds., *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka*, OLA 118 (Leuven/Paris, 2003), 4–24, spéc. 14–23 ; D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (Oxford, 2005), spéc. 214–239.

³³ Cf. aussi 4Q420 1 ii 3 ; M. J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom* (2007), 163.

7. BQŠ

Le verbe BQŠ signifie aussi « chercher », avec éventuellement la nuance de demander. Dans un contexte d'étude, il peut être aussi employé en parallèle à *drš* (1QS V, 11 avec pour complément *ḥwqwhy*, « ses décrets ») et avoir pour complément *bynḥ* (1QH^a VI, 3 ; 4Q412 1, 6 ?), *ḥmwnḥ* (4Q298 1-2 i 2), ou encore la *Tôrâh* (4Q206 II, 13 ; cf. 4Q398 11-13, 7 *mbqšy twrh*).

On note que les trois verbes DRŠ, ḤQR et BQŠ sont déjà associés en Ben Sira 6, 27 tandis que BQŠ est aussi mentionné en 7, 6 et 11, 10.

8. HGH/Y

Le verbe *hgh/y*, « méditer, murmurer par une lecture à voix basse » est, lui aussi, parallèle à *drš*, « étudier », en 4Q418 43-45 i 4, avec pour complément le fameux *rz nhyh*, « mystère de l'existence », qui est le principal objet de l'étude du *mēbîn* dans l'instruction *mūsār l'mēbîn*. Il peut aussi avoir pour objet la *d't* dans le syntagme *kwl hwgy d't* (4Q403 1 i 36 ; cf. 4Q 403 1 i 37 ; 4Q405 4-5, 5). On notera que le verbe se retrouve trois fois dans 4Q525 (2 ii + 3, 6 ; 14 ii 9 un appel adressé au *mēbîn* ; 23, 7).

Le nom « méditation » se retrouve sous les formes *hgy*, *hgy?*, *hwgy*, *hwg* et *hgywn*. On remarque surtout l'importance de l'expression *mbwnn(y) bspr hhwg/y*, « versé/expert dans le livre de méditation », qualité demandée pour tous ceux qui exercent une quelconque responsabilité (CD X, 6 ; XIII, 2 ; XIV, 8 ; 4Q266 8 iii 5 ; 4Q267 9 v 12 ; 4Q270 6 iv 17). C'est dans ce livre que doit être enseigné (*lmd*) tout israélite (1QSa I, 7)³⁴. On s'accorde généralement à interpréter le *spr hhwg* comme une expression visant les livres qu'il faut méditer et singulièrement la *tôrâh*, l'emploi du mot *hgy* renvoyant à une lecture à voix basse, au murmure de celui qui lit un texte en privé, ce qui implique que, à Qumrân, chacun pouvait lire directement dans le texte la *Tôrâh* au lieu de simplement l'écouter proclamer comme dans les synagogues contemporaines, ce qui conduira à la désignation *miqrâ?*, non attestée à Qumrân et opposée à celle de *spr hhwg*³⁵.

³⁴ Cf. *ḥzwn hhwgy* (ou *hhwgy?*) *lspr zkrwn*, « la vision de la méditation sur un livre de mémorial » : J. Strugnell et alii, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV. Sapiential Texts. Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mūsār l'mēvîn)* : 4Q415ff, DJD XXXIV (1999), 151ss : 4Q417 1 i 16...

³⁵ Cf. A. Lemaire, « Lire, écrire, étudier à Qoumrân et ailleurs », in A. Lemaire, S. Mimouni eds., *Qoumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère* (Paris/Louvain, 2006), 63-79.

9. YSR

Le verbe YSR, « éduquer, avertir, réprimander » est bien attesté dans la Bible et surtout fréquent dans le Deutéronome (4,36 ; 8,5 ; 21,18 ; 22,18), Jérémie (2,19 ; 6,8 ; 10,24 ; 30,11 ; 31,18 ; 46,28), les Psaumes (2,10 ; 6,2 ; 16,7 ; 38,2 ; 39,17 ; 94,10.12 ; 118,18) et les Proverbes (9,7 ; 19,18 ; 29,17.19 ; 31,1) et on le retrouve une vingtaine de fois dans les textes hébreux non-bibliques de Qumrân. La nuance d'éducation et d'instruction paraît assez claire en CD IV,8 ; XX,31 ; 1QS III,6 ; IX,10 ; 1QH^a 10,7 ; 4Q266 III 6 ; 269 10 ii 2 ; 270 1b ii 3 ; 286 14,2 ; 504 1-2 iii 6 ; 6,15) tandis que celle de « corriger » semble présente en 4Q266 8 ii 5 ; 270 i 15.16 ; 275 2,1 ; 11Q19 LXIV,3 ; LXV,14. Ce verbe est associé à la « communauté » (*yh[y]d*) en CD XX,31 ; 1 QS III,6 ; IX,10 ; 1QH^a 10,7).

Au total, ce verbe apparaît essentiellement dans les textes réglementaires de la Communauté, ainsi que dans les prières, et on retrouve ces deux genres littéraires (1QS VI,14 ; 1QSa I,8 ; 1QH^a X,14 ; XIV,4 ; 4Q438 3,3 ; 4Q439 1 i+2,4 ; 4Q469 2,2 ; 4Q504 1-2 v 17) dans les textes utilisant le mot *mûsâr*, « instruction, avertissement, correction ». Cependant ce dernier mot est aussi fréquent dans les textes sapientiaux : 4Q299 30,4 ; 4Q412 1,5 ; 4Q416 2 iii 13 ; 4Q418 9+9a-c,13 ; 169+170,3 ; 297 ; 4Q424 3,7 ; 4Q425 1+3,1 ; 4Q525 1,2. Cette mise en valeur de *mûsâr* dans les textes de sagesse correspond à la fréquence de ce mot dans le livre des Proverbes (30 fois) et à son attestation dans Ben Sira (6,22 ; 32,2).

10. PŠR

Le verbe PŠR, « interpréter », absent de l'hébreu biblique, n'est probablement attesté que deux fois dans les textes de Qumrân : en 1QpHab II,8 et vraisemblablement 1Q22 1 i 3, tandis que le mot, *pēšer*, « interprétation », est très fréquent à Qumrân (probablement 111 fois). Il est le plus souvent attesté à l'état construit avec le suffixe de la 3^e personne du singulier : *pišrô*. Ce mot a semblé si caractéristique de la littérature qumranienne qu'il a été gardé tel quel pour désigner un genre littéraire particulier de commentaire pratiqué dans les textes de Qumrân³⁶.

³⁶ Cf. par exemple, M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim : Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, 1979) ; D. Dimant, « Pesharim, Qumran », in D.N. Freedman

Il s'agit là visiblement d'un type d'enseignement caractéristique d'un courant ou d'une école d'interprétation de la littérature hébraïque de référence, surtout des textes prophétiques. La fréquence de ce mot est d'autant plus caractéristique de l'enseignement donné à Qumrân qu'il n'apparaît qu'une seule fois dans la Bible hébraïque, dans un texte sapientiel tardif de sagesse mantique (Qo 8,1)³⁷

CONCLUSION

Cette étude préliminaire du vocabulaire hébreu de l'enseignement et de l'étude à Qumrân révèle l'importance de ce vocabulaire lié au fonctionnement du groupe de Qumrân. Le vocabulaire utilisé est, en partie, repris de l'hébreu biblique, surtout de l'hébreu biblique tardif, mais comporte aussi un certain nombre d'apparentes innovations, soit dans le vocabulaire même (*talmûd*, *mbynh*...), soit dans des syntagmes (*spr hhyg*, *rz nhyh*, *dwrš htwrh*, *byt htwrh*, *mdrš htwrh*...). Un coup d'œil rétrospectif met plus particulièrement en évidence l'abondance des participes présents : *maskîl*, *yôreh/môreh* (*haššedeq*), *mēbîn*, *dôreš* (*hattôrâh*), *hry* (*šršy bynh*), *mbqšy* (*twrh*), *hwgy* (*d'ct*) dont les premiers sont devenus de véritables noms de fonction jetant quelque lumière sur l'activité essentielle du groupe résidant à Qumrân³⁸.

ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary* V (New York, 1992), 244–251 ; S.L. Berrin, « Pesharim », in L.H. Schiffman, J.C. VanderKam eds., *Encyclopaedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* II (2000), 644–647 ; cf. aussi M.J. Bernstein, *ibidem*, 647–656.

³⁷ Cf., par exemple, S.C. Jones, « Qohelet's Courtly Wisdom : Ecclesiastes 8 :1–9 », *CBQ* 68 (2006), 211–228, spéc. 212–217. Les nombreuses attestations de l'araméen *pšar* dans le livre de Daniel (chapitres 2, 4 et 5), sont aussi tardives (II^e s. av. n. è.).

³⁸ Cf. A. Lemaire, « Reflexions sur la fonction du site de Qumrân », in D. Dlugosz, H. Ratajczak eds., *Jozef Tadeusz Milik et cinquante ans de la découverte des manuscrits de la Mer Morte de Qumrân* (Varsovie, 2000), 37–43 ; *JAJ* 294 (2006), 53–65 ; « Lire, écrire, étudier à Qumrân et ailleurs », in A. Lemaire, S. Mimouni eds., *Qumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère* (2006), 63–79.

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF THE CONSTRUCT PHRASE IN QUMRAN HEBREW

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The construct phrase or chain is one of the fundamental features of Hebrew or Semitic syntax. In Biblical and Qumran Hebrew one can identify only limited incipient phenomena of an alternative, analytical syntagm as would develop to its full in Modern Hebrew.

What interests us in this presentation is not the morphology or syntax of the construct phrase, but the logico-semantic structure encoded by this syntactic means, namely what logico-semantic relationship is expressed by this dependence structure in which one nominal is logico-semantically dependent on the immediately following nominal. We are therefore not concerned with a syntagm of apposition between two nominals which indicate an underlying relationship of equation: e.g., יצא דוד בני, “David my son went out”, where David is my son.

Any respectable Hebrew grammar discusses what functions this vital block of the Hebrew linguistic structure designates. Here categories such as possessive, subjective or objective genitive are mentioned. There is, however, no agreement as to what logico-semantic categories such as these are to be identified nor as to which of such functions is to be assigned to specific cases. For example, Williams¹ mentions Ps 44,23 צאן טְבֵּקָה glossed “sheep for the slaughter” and Isa 53,5 מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנו “chastisement for our welfare” as examples where this bound structure is said to indicate result. He probably means that, in the latter case, welfare results from chastisement. Such an analysis is difficult to apply to the first case, for the phrase hardly means “a sheep ended up being slaughtered”; the difficulty arises from the fact that in the second case the two terms of the phrase denote an action and a state respectively, whereas the first term of the first

¹ R. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (Toronto, 1967), §44.

pair refers to a tangible object. We shall see that such ambiguity and uncertainty of analysis and interpretation in logico-semantic terms arises in many other cases. We often believe that we know what a given construct phrase as a whole means. When we attempt, however, to analyse its semantic structure and define it in logico-semantic terms, we get sometimes stuck. We know what *שְׁבֶתָהּ שְׁבֶתָהּ*, a common phrase in the Mishnaic literature, means, but how do we define the logico-semantic relationship between the two nouns? “A pertaining to B” is too generic and not very illuminating.² This is my daily experience as a lexicographer. I naively assume that I know what such a common Greek lexeme as *ἐρχομαι* means. But when I try to define as a sentence or half-sentence, instead of translation equivalents in English, what this verb means in a particular occurrence of it, I find my lexicographical task quite a challenge.

To my best knowledge this question in Hebrew morphosyntax has not yet received adequate attention for any period or corpus of Hebrew,³ with the exception of Mishnaic Hebrew.⁴ What I present here is not much more than a tentative, exploratory study based on a small sample of Qumran Hebrew texts: 1QpHab, 1QS cols 1–3, 1QH^a cols. 9–10. The tentative nature of this enquiry means, among other things, that the list of logico-semantic categories is most likely not complete, in need of supplementation and refinement when more texts are studied.

The quantifier *כָּל* followed by a noun phrase as well as the syntagm in which the first term is a participle or adjective such as *שְׁבִי פֶשַׁע* “those who

² One experiences basically the same difficulty with regard to the genitive case, a syntactic category affiliated with the construct. The genitive in Greek is said to be “immensely versatile and hard-worked”: C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge, 1953), 37. The same can be said of the accusative, though perhaps to a lesser degree.

³ In our Egyptian Aramaic grammar we did attempt to go a little farther than is customary in the extant literature: see T. Muraoka - B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden, 2003), §61c. For Hebrew, see, for instance, Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, §36–49; W. Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch*, second English ed. revised by A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910), §128; E. König, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), §§335–337; C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, 1956), §76–77; P. Jouon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome, 2006), §129d–h; B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, 1990), §9.5; J. C. L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar ~ Syntax* (Edinburgh, 1994), §32–35; L. Glinert, *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew* (Cambridge, 1989), §6.9–17.

⁴ See M. Azar, *The Syntax of Mishnaic Hebrew* [תחביר לשון המשנה] (Jerusalem, 1995), esp. §6.2.5.

break with iniquity” or מרת נפש “bitter in spirit”⁵ have not been studied. On the other hand, cases in which the second term is expressed as a pronominal suffix are included here. What kind of noun phrase does not allow such suffixation is a separate issue, and also falls outside of the scope of the present investigation.

A) *Origin: N₁ originates in or from N₂*

1QpHab I 11 תורת אל; 1QS III 5 משפטי אל;
 1QpHab VII 5 דברי עבדיו 7, further glossed as ib.
 1QH^a X 16 המון מים רבים | עקול⁶
 1QpHab VI 6 את עולם ואת מסם “the yoke and the taxes imposed by them”
 ?1QS I 8 יחד אל 12 עצת, I 8

The third example above shows that our morpho-syntactic analysis has implications for semantic analysis of lexemes involved. In this particular case, the noun המון cannot be a virtual quantifier like כול as in 1QH^a XIX 30 רוב אמתכה והמון חסדיכה. Otherwise it would make the following רבים redundant. Hence it must signify “mighty, loud sound; din”.

B) *Quality: N₁ is characterised by N₂*

1QpHab II 1, V 11 איש הכזב; VIII 11 אנשי חמס
 1QH^a IX 22 סוד הערוה ומקור הנדה כור העוון ומבנה החטאה רוח התועה ונעוה⁷
 1QS I 10, II 16 בני אור; I 11 בני חושך; III 20 דרכי אור; III 21 דרכי חושך
 1QpHab VII 11 עבודת האמת; 1QH^a IX 27 עבודת העוון ומעשי הרמיה
 1QS I 13 צדקו | עצת; 1QH^a X 13 בחירי צדק
 1QH^a IX 8 עולמי עד; 1QSb V 18 קצי עד; 1QS IV 7 ברכות עד 13, חרפת עד 13
 1QH^a V 12 ש[מ]חת עד; 1QH^a IX 11 רוחות עולם; 1QH^a IX 15 בריית יחד | עולמים “an eternal covenant of the community” rather than “.. of the eternal community”⁸
 1QS I 22 רחמי חסד(ו) II 1 חסדי רחמים

⁵ On the latter syntagm, see T. Muraoka, “The status constructus of adjectives in Biblical Hebrew”, *VT* 27 (1977), 375–80, and Joüon - Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §129i-ia.

⁶ The vertical stroke marks the boundary between the immediate constituents at the highest level. At the next level we would place a stroke between המון and מים רבים, thus חמון | מים רבים.

⁷ The closing phrase, רוח התועה ונעוה, is most likely no construct phrase, *pace* E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch mit massoretischer Punctuation, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Darmstadt, 1986), 115 (“ein Geist des Irrtums”) and A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, *La Bible: Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris, 1987), 235 (“l’esprit d’égarement”). On the syntactic function of the definite article, see Joüon - Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §138c.

⁸ Cf. Num 25,13 בריית קהנת עולם, for which the Septuagint has διαθήκη ιερατείας αιώνια “an eternal covenant of priesthood”.

It stands to reason that in this category the second term signifies a certain quality or character, and as such it is often an abstract noun.

The last pair, in which the two identical lexemes are reversed in order, is particularly interesting. Of course, *חסדו* in the second example can be analysed as the plural of *חסד* with a possessive suffix, a phenomenon which sometimes meets us in the Qre tradition of the Massoretic Bible text.⁹ In addition we need to remember that the double plural in a construct phrase is fairly common in Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew as in *בתי כנסיות* “synagogues”. The syntagm is already known to Biblical Hebrew, e.g. 1 Chr 5,24 *אנשי שמוה* “men of renown”, though not confined to Late Biblical Hebrew, as shown by Deut 9,9 *לוחות האבנים* “the stone tablets”.¹⁰ The two nouns, both of which are highly frequent in the Bible, often occur in conjunction, but always coordinated as in Hos 2,21 *ובקהקד* and *ובקהמם* (see also Dan 1,9) and Isa 63,7 *וקרב הקדיו* (see also Ps 25,6),¹¹ but never in a construct chain as in our 1QS passages. Moreover, when *חסד* occurs in the Bible as the first term, its *nomen rectum* is always a person or God: e.g. Isa 55,3 *חסדי דוד*; 63,7 *חסדי יהוה*. Among the Dead Sea documents this combination of the two nouns as a construct chain appears to be unique to 1QS, thus an innovation of its author. If *חסדו* at 1QS II 2 contains the singular of the noun, it would characterise *רהמי*, and the immediate constituent analysis of the entire phrase would be analogous to that of *הר קדשו* “his holy mountain”.¹²

C) *Possessive: N₂ possesses or owns N₁*

Inalienable—

1QpHab II 2 *פיא אל*
 1QpHab II 4 *שם קודשו*
 1QS III 1 *נפשו*; 1QH^a X 32 *נפש אביון*

Alienable—

1QpHab VI 1 *ושללם .. והונם*; VIII 12 *הון עמים*; IX 5 *שלל העמים*
 1QS I 12 *דעתו וכוחו והונו*; III 2 *דעתם וכוחם והונם*

⁹ On this morphological issue as applied to Qumran Hebrew, see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, 1986), §322.141.

¹⁰ See Joüon - Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §136o; Qimron, *Hebrew*, §400.06; Azar, *Syntax of Mishnaic Hebrew*, §6.2.2.2.

¹¹ See also 4Q286 1 ii 8 *והסדי אמת ורהמי עולמים*; 11Q5 XIX 8 *חסד ורחמים*.

¹² Joüon - Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §129kb.

N_2 is personally or metaphysically affiliated or associated with N_1

1QpHab VI 4 אותותם “their symbols”

1QpHab VI 5 מוראם “their object of worship”

1QS I 10 גורלו (איש כ); I 11 אשמתו (איש כ); III 6 עצת אמת אל רוח | רוח, cf. III 7 רוח קדושה; III 17 הפציהם “what they desire” or “matters which interest, concern them” (so 1QH^a IX 13)

D) *Partitive*: N_1 is part of N_2 or belongs to a group denoted by N_2

1QpHab II 5, IX 6 אחרית הימים

1QpHab V 5 רשעי עמו

1QH^a IX 24 מספר שני עולם | תקופות

E) *Topical*: N_1 about N_2

1QpHab II 5 פשר הדבר; II 12 פשרו

1QS II 13 דברי הברית הזות

F) *Relational*: someone is N_1 in relation to N_2

1QpHab II 9, VII 5; 1QS I 3 עבדיו

1QpHab II 10 עמו

1QS III 24 אל ישראל “the God of Israel”; ib. מלאך אמתו “His angel of truth”

1QH^a IX 18 צאצאיהם

1QH^a IX 29 רוח שפתים

The above-given definition of the logico-syntactic relationship represented here indicates that we are dealing here with a nominal clause of equation, “A is B”, out of which one core constituent is not visible in the construct phrase.

The same can be said of such common expressions as *אֲשֶׁתִּי, אִישִׁי, בְּנִי*, with which one should compare an utterance such as *וְהֵייתִי לָהֶם* Jer 31,33 or *וְהָיָה לִי לְאִשָּׁה* Gen 20,12 or *לְאֱלֹהִים וְהָיָה יְהוָה לְעַם*.

G) *Locational*: N_1 is localised in N_2 , in space or time

1QpHab III 1 ערי הארץ; III 11 הים

1QpHab XI 13 עורלת לבי

Compare Gen 24,3 אלהים בשמים ואתה על הארץ with Eccl 5,1 אלהים בשמים ואתה על הארץ

Ga) *Locational*: N_1 is a time or place where N_2 properly belongs

1QS II 24 (ו) מקום גורלו (ו); 1QS II 24 (ו) בית מעמד (ו)

1QH^a X 20 צרור החיים (or K)

1QH^a X 22 מצעדי .. מצעדי

H) Objective: N_2 is affected by action N_1 , or N_1 is directed to or aimed at N_2

1QpHab III 3 פחדם ואימתם
 1QpHab V 4 משפט כול הגוים; 1QpHab VII 16 משפטם
 1QS II 9 נקמתכה; III 15 שלומם “their retribution”
 1QS II 24 אהבת חסד
 1QH^a X 33 עבודתכה

Ha) N_2 is effected by N_1

1QS I 19 אל ישועות, cf. I 21 צדקות אל, 1QS II 6 נוקמי נקם and II 7 משלמי גמולים

Hb) Subjective: N_1 is effected by N_2

1QpHab III 15 מהשבתם “their thought”; 1QS II 17 גלוליו, cf. II 12 גלולי
 13 (לב(ו); III 2 מהרשו; III 3 שיבתו “his repentance”
 1QH^a X 7 מענה לשון
 ? 1QpHab V 10 מורה הצדק | תוכחת “.. by the teacher ..”¹⁴

I) Membership: N_1 consists of N_2 's, or N_2 is a member of N_1

1QpHab IX 7 חיל הכתיאים
 1QS II 17 גורלו [note the distinction from (J) 1QS II 2 אל גורל
 1QH^a X 12 קהלת רשעים; 1QH^a X 30 קהלים; X 32 עדת דורשי חלקות

J) Representation: N_1 is represented, typified or embodied by N_2

1QpHab V 9 בית אבשלום
 1QS I 12 אמת | חוקי אל
 1QS II 2 דרכיו
 1QS II 15 קנאת משפטי(ו)
 1QS III 22 (?) פשעי מעשיהם

K) Purpose or benefit: N_1 is for the purpose of, or for the benefit of, or meant for N_2

1QpHab VI 4 כלי מלחמות
 1QpHab VIII 2, X 3 בית המשפט
 1QpHab XI 7 יום הכפורים
 1QS II 3 אור החיים; III 7 שכל חיים
 1QS III 9 מי דוכי
 1QS III 23 קצו “his time”

¹³ Cf. T. Muraoka, “Notae Qumranicae philologicae (2)”, *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1995), 55–73, esp. 67f., and Ezek 14,3 where the noun גלולים is rendered with *διανοήματα*.

¹⁴ So B. Nitzan, for instance, in her *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* [(1QpHab) [מגילת פשר חבקוק ממגילות מדבר יהודה (1QpHab) [1QpHab]]], 166, but cf. K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 15] (Tübingen, 1953), 183: “... bei der Anklage gegen den Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit.”

L) *Appositional*: N_1 is known under the name of, or symbol of, or expressible as N_2

1QpHab VIII 1 בית יהודה
 1QpHab IX 2 גוית בשר(ו)¹⁵
 1QS III 6 יחד עצתו (?), cf. 1QpHab XII 4 עצת היחד

M) *Action*: N_1 is a time when or a place where N_2 takes place or belongs to

1QpHab VIII 9 בתחלת עומדו “when he started functioning (as the high priest)”
 1QpHab XI 6 בית גלות(ו)
 1QpHab XI 6 מועד מנוחת (יום הכפורים)
 1QpHab XII 14, XIII 2 יום המשפט
 1QS III 15 קצי שלומם “the times for their retribution”; III 18 מועד פקודתו; III 23 מועדי צרותם

N) *Condition*: N_2 finds itself in a condition denoted by N_1 : related to (B)

1QpHab IX 11 מרירי נפש “acute injuries afflicted on the soul”¹⁶
 1QS I 7 שרירות לב (אשמה); II 14 שרירות לב(י)
 1QS I 13 תם דרכיו, cf. the underlying clause תמים דרכו
 1QS II 7 חושך מעשי(כה)
 1QS II 8 אפלת | אש עולמים

O) *Material*: N_1 is made of or from N_2 :

1QpHab X 5 אש גופרית
 1QH^a IX 21 יצר החמר ומגבל המים¹⁷

P) *Instrument*: N_2 serves as an instrument or cause for N_1 :

1QpHab X 13 משפטי אש
 1QS II 12 מכשול עוונ(ו)

Q) *Time-span*: N_1 is a period of time when N_2 is active or in force

1QS II 19 יומי | ממשלת בליעל
 1QH^a IX 16 קציהם .. דוריהם

R) *Experience*: N_1 is what is experienced by or happens to N_2

1QS III 13 תולדות | כול בני איש
 1QS III 14, 23, 1QH^a IX 18 נגיעיהם
 ?1QpHab XI 12 קלוננו מכבודו (גבר)

¹⁵ On the repetition of two synonyms, see Elliger, *Studien*, 202f. and Nitzan, *Pesher*, 182.

¹⁶ Or מרורי נפש: cf. Nitzan, *Pesher*, 184, and W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Missoula, 1979), 156f. The syntactic analysis is unlikely to be affected.

¹⁷ The second phrase, מגבל המים, possibly falls under G (locational) or O (material) in view of 1QH^a XI 23 אני יצר החמר מה אני מגבל במים.

S) Content: N_1 consists of N_2

1QS III 14 פקודת נגיעיהם

T) Pertinence: N_1 pertains, applies or is relevant to N_2

1QH^a IX 10 חוקיהם

1QH^a IX 33 משפטי נגיעי “the judgements pertaining to my afflictions”

U) Property: N_1 is a property or trait of N_2 (reverse of B²)

1QH^a IX 19 חכמת דעתכה

1QH^a IX 32 גדול חסדיכה

1QH^a IX 32 רוב עוון

1QH^a X 7 חזוק מותנים ואמוץ כזה

1QH^a X 18 ערול שפה

V) Problem cases

1QpHab I 13 מורה הצדק; II 2 מורה הצדקה¹⁸

1QS III 4,9, IV 21 מי נדה (T?) | | III 5 מי רהצ 5, which latter indisputably falls under (K).

1QH^a IX 18 מספר | דורות עולם; 1QH^a IX 24 מספר | שני עולם.

¹⁸ The interpretation of the title of the leader of the Qumran community is disputed: “the teacher of righteousness” (H) or “the legitimate teacher” (B). See M. A. Knibb, “Teacher of righteousness” in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 2000), 918.

THE WORD תְּחִלִּיף IN BEN SIRĀ¹

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In Ben Sira there are three occurrences of the word תְּחִלִּיף. As early as 1897 W. Bacher wrote in a discussion of Ben Sira's vocabulary: 'The most prominent new word is תְּחִלִּיף "successor" (xliv. 17; xlvi. 12; xlvi. 8), a word like תְּלַמִּיד, formed after the model of abstract nouns but designating a person'.²

In the late eighteen-nineties and the early twentieth century, the interpretation of תְּחִלִּיף as 'successor' is also found in the *editio princeps* by Cowley–Neubauer, and in studies by Krauss and Smend.³ It occurs in the translations of 48,8 of Peters, Matthes–Dyserinck and others.⁴ In 48,8 this

¹ The investigations have been supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

² W. Bacher, "The Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus", *JQR* 9 (1897), 543–562, esp. 557.

³ A.E. Cowley and A. Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus* (Oxford, 1897), give 'successor' in the glossary prepared by S.R. Driver (p. xxxv) and in the translation of 44,17 (p. 23); they use 'succeed' in their translation of 46,12 (p. 31) and 48,8 (p. 37); S. Krauss, "Notes on Sirach", *JQR* 11 (1898–99), 150–158, esp. 157, gives the translation 'successorem facere' for תְּחִלִּיף in 48,8, which he reads as a verb; R. Smend gives the translation 'Ersatz, Nachwuchs, Nachfolger' in his commentary on 44,17 (*Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin, 1906), 422) and in the glossary of his *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Berlin, 1906), 68 (for the alternative meanings 'Ersatz, Nachwuchs', see below).

⁴ Thus Smend, *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 87 ('Nachfolger'; see preceding footnote); G.H. Box and W.O.E. Oesterley, "Sirach", in: R.H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), 268–517, esp. 500; N. Peters, *Liber Iesu filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus hebraice* (Freiburg i.B., 1905), 133 ('successorem'); J.C. Matthes and J. Dyserinck, *De spreuken van Jezus Sirach. Uit het Hebreeuws vertaald* (The Hague, 1908), 146 ('opvolger'); P.C. Beentjes, *Jesus Sirach en Tenach* (PhD diss., Nieuwegein, 1981), 118–119 ('opvolger'); cf. I. Lévi, *L'Éclésiastique ou la Sagesse de Jésus, fils de Sira I* (Paris, 1898), 135 ('pour te succéder'); G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach, ATD, Apokryphen I* (Göttingen, 2000), 325: '(einen Propheten,) den du nach dir nachfolgen ließest'; P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AncBi 39 (New York, 1987), 529 ('the prophet to succeed to your place'); M. Kister, *לפירושו של ספר בן סירא* ("A Contribution to the Interpretation of Ben Sira"), *Tarb.* 59 (1989–90), 303–378, esp. 358: יורש (with references to 46,12; 48,8). See further below, §5.

interpretation of תחליף may be due to its rendering as διάδοχος in the Septuagint.⁵

Although accepted by a number of scholars, the meaning that the *editio princeps* and other studies attributed to the newly discovered lexeme also met strong opposition. In 1897 it was contested in an article by David Kaufmann, entitled ‘Das Wort תחליף bei Jesus Sirach’. According to Kaufmann, the meaning ‘successor’ is problematic in each of its three occurrences. He prefers the meaning ‘substitute’ (*Ersatz*), a meaning that fits 48,8 and, *per analogiam*, should be assumed in the other two places as well.⁶ Other interpretations that have been put forward are: ancestor, supplement, substitute, offspring, procreator, compensation, change, reward.⁷

In the last years of the nineteenth century a short but fierce debate about the meaning of the newly discovered lexeme was raging. But the discussion did not last for long. It is worthwhile, therefore, taking a fresh look at this word and its possible range of meanings.

⁵ Compare also the Arabic cognate خليفة *khalīfā*.

⁶ D. Kaufmann, “Das Wort תחליף bei Jesus Sirach”, *MGWJ* 41 (1897), 337–340, esp. 337. In a response to Kaufmann, A.E. Cowley and A. Neubauer (“The Word תחליף in Ecclus. xlv. 17”, *JQR* 9 [1897], 563) minimalised the differences between their own interpretation and that of Kaufmann, suggesting that Kaufmann did not fully comprehend the notion of the English ‘successor’. But the difference between Cowley’s and Neubauer’s ‘successor’ and Kaufmann’s ‘Ersatz’ is undeniable.

⁷ Cf. J.C. Matthes, “Bemerkungen zu dem hebräischen Texte Jesus Sirachs und seiner neuesten Übersetzung”, *ZAW* 29 (1909), 161–176, esp. 170 (comment on 44,17): ‘einer, der neue Sprossen treibt’; Matthes–Dyserinck, *Spreuken van Jezus Sirach*, 134 (translation of 44,17): ‘stamvader’, 140 (translation of 46,12): ‘(hun naam) verjonge zich’; Peters, *Liber Iesu filii Sirach*, 115 (translation of 44,17): ‘supplementum’, 125 (translation of 46,12) ‘renovet’. As we mentioned above, R. Smend gives the translation ‘Ersatz, Nachwuchs, Nachfolger’ in his *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt*, 422 (comment on 44,17) and in the glossary of his *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach Hebräisch und Deutsch* (p. 68). He uses ‘Nachwuchs’ in his translation of 44,17 (p. 79) and 46,12 (p. 83); Lévi, *L’Écclésiastique I*, 89 (44,17), 116 (46,12): ‘surgeon’; G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 303 (translation of 44,17): ‘der Überlebende’, 316 (translation of 46,12): ‘(und ihr Name) möge von neuem hervortreten unter ihren Kindern’; V. Rysse, “Die Sprüche Jesus’ des Sohnes Sirachs”, in E. Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments 1. Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen, 1900), 230–475, esp. 451 (translation of 44,17): ‘der Fortpflanzer’, 463 (translation of 48,8): ‘Ersatz’; M.H. Segal, *ספר בן סירא השלם* (*The Complete Book of Ben Sira*) (2nd ed.; Jerusalem, 1958), 308 (on 44,17): תחליפין הליפין של אחר, 331 (on 48,8): ממה שבא במקומו של אחר, ממה שאיננו מקום; Krauss, ‘Notes’, 157 (in a discussion of 44,17, on the basis of the Syriac translation): ‘compensatio’; 158 (in a free translation of 44,17): ‘(there was) a change, a reward, a compensation’; and *ibid.*, 157 (in a comment on 46,12): ‘If this text might be explained without reference to the verse already discussed above, it would admit of a still simpler meaning, תחליף = innovare, as in Isaiah lx. 31’.

1. RELATED HEBREW WORDS FROM THE SAME ROOT;
ROOT MEANING

The word תחליף does not occur in the Bible, but we find some other words from the root חלף. The first is חליפה. For this word BDB⁸ (322a) gives as a general meaning: ‘a change (from idea of *replacing, changing, substituting*, cf. Ar., Aram.)’. This meaning is reflected in the translation equivalents given: ‘change of raiment’ (Gen 45,22bis; Jud 14,12.13; 2 Kgs 5,22.23), ‘relays’ (1 Kgs 5,28; cf. Job 10,17), ‘revival after death, under fig. of relief from military service’ (Job 14,14), and ‘changing, varying, of course of life’ (Ps 55,20). Similar meanings are given in HALOT⁹ (319a) except that for Ps 55,20 the meaning ‘agreement’ is given; and under ‘changing, relief’ 1 Kgs 5,28 חליפות חדש is translated with ‘in turns for a month’.¹⁰

חלף is used as a place name in Jos 19,33 and as a preposition in Num 18,21.31. The place name has been interpreted as ‘substitute settlement’ or ‘reed settlement’.¹¹ The preposition means ‘as a reward for, in return for’.

The verb חלף has a wide range of meanings. BDB 322 and HALOT 321 give for the Hiphil the following renderings: ‘change (trans.)’ (garments: Gen 35,2, Ps 102,27; wages: Gen 31,7.41; without object: Lev 27,10), ‘substitute i.e. cause to succeed’ (Isa 9,9), ‘to change for better, renew’ (strength; Isa 40,31; 41,1; cf. Sir 43,30); ‘shew newness’ (of tree: putting forth fresh shoots Job 14,8; of bow Job 29,20). With this latter meaning one can compare the Qal with the meaning ‘come on anew, i.e. sprout again’ (grass; Ps 90,5.6).¹² For the changing of garments the Piel is used in Gen 41,14; 2 Sam 12,20. In Lev 27,10 HALOT gives the meaning ‘replace’.

The usages of the verb attested in the Hebrew Bible display several nuances that support various shades of meaning that may also colour the meaning of תחליף. Thus

⁸ F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907).

⁹ L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson (5 vols.; Leiden, 1994–2000).

¹⁰ See also D.J.A. Clines et al., eds., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (= DCH; Sheffield, from 1993), 3.223.

¹¹ Thus HALOT 321b.

¹² DCH 3.239a derives חלף ‘to grow, sprout’ in Ps 90,6 from a different root than the other occurrences of the verb חלף.

Job 14,7 יהליף יכרת ועוד יחליף אם כי יש לעץ תקוה 'For there is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again' (RSV)

has been put forward as an argument for the interpretation of החליף as 'he who puts forth fresh shoots', i.e. 'ancestor' (Peters, Lévi, Matthes¹³), 'substitute' (*Ersatz*; Kaufmann, Segal¹⁴), or 'renew' (interpreting תחליף in 46,12 as a verb; Krauss¹⁵), 'renewer, procreator' (*Fortpflanzer, Erneuer*; Ryssel¹⁶). The verb החליף carries the nuance of 'renewal' also in

Job 29,20 חליתי ביד יחדש עמדי וקשתי ביד יחדש עמדי 'My glory was fresh in me, and my bow was renewed in my hand' (KJV),¹⁷ and

Isa 40,31 וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח 'But they who wait for the LORD shall renew their strength'.¹⁸

The nuance of 'substitution' is visible in

Isa 9,9 נחלית געו וארזים נחלית 'The sycamores have been cut down, but we will put cedars in their place' (RSV).¹⁹

Obviously, the notions of 'substitution' and 'succession' are closely related, because both notions refer to someone or something that takes the place of someone or something else. For the nuance of succession, substitution, Segal refers to Mesha 6 ויחלפה בנה 'and his son reigned after him'.²⁰

In Ben Sira חלף is used in similar ways to those used in the Hebrew Bible. Thus we find the expression החליף כח (cf. Isa 40,31) in 43,30 (Btxt+mg); the meaning 'sweep on, pass on, pass by', fits 11,19 (A) חלף וזן חלף and 42,20 (Btxt) חלף כל דבר (Bmg: חלף מנו כ' דבר). In 42,25 (M) חלף טובו (B: טובם) it probably means 'to cause to pass over from the one to the other, to bequeath' ('להוריש, להעביר').²¹

¹³ Cf. N. Peters, *Das Buch Ben Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*, EHAT 25 (Münster, 1913), 379 (on 44,17); Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique* I, 89 (on 44,17); Matthes, "Bemerkungen", 170 (on 44,17).

¹⁴ Kaufmann, "Das Wort חלף", 339; Segal, *Book of Ben Sira*, 308 (on 44,17).

¹⁵ Krauss, "Notes", 157 (on 46,12).

¹⁶ Ryssel "Sprüche", 451 (on 44,17).

¹⁷ Krauss, "Notes", 157.

¹⁸ Cf. Krauss, "Notes", 157 (on 46,12). Krauss claims that החליף in Job 14,7; 29,20 has the same meaning as החליף כח in Isa 40,31.

¹⁹ Cf. Cowley-Neubauer, *Original Hebrew*, xxxv; Segal, *Book of Ben Sira*, 308 (on 44,17).

²⁰ Segal, *ibid.*

²¹ Kister, סדרה של ספר בן סירא, 357–358; contrast e.g. Smend, *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 75: 'Jedes übertrifft das andere mit seiner Vortrefflichkeit'; Cowley-Neubauer, *Original Hebrew*, 15: 'One thing upon another for the sake of its good'; Y.

In Mishnaic Hebrew we find in addition to חליפה ‘replacement, substitution’ and the verb חלף ‘to change, exchange’, also חליפין ‘exchange, substitution’ and חילוף ‘exchange, relief, change, substitution’.²² Thus the various forms derived from the root חלף are all related to the notion of ‘substitution’. The meaning ‘shoot’ is attested in the expression חליפות תרדין ‘the young shoots of beet growing out of the root’.²³

2. NOUN PATTERN

In the discussion of the meaning of תחליף, the fact that it belongs to the pattern תקטיל plays a role as well. Two issues are at stake. The first question is whether the noun pattern can inform us whether it is an abstract noun (e.g. ‘a substitute’) or a concrete noun (e.g. ‘a successor’). Kaufmann and Krauss used the fact that the תקטיל pattern often has an abstract meaning as an argument for their interpretation as ‘substitute’ (*Ersatz*).²⁴ But according to Bacher תחליף is ‘a word like תלמיד, formed after the model of abstract nouns but designating a person’.²⁵

The other question is to what *binyan* תחליף is related. Some authors have argued that the תקטיל pattern is especially related to the Hiphil. According to Ryssel the relationship between the תקטיל pattern and the Hiphil is not sufficiently accounted for by the translations ‘sprout’, ‘successor’ or ‘substitute’. He prefers the interpretation ‘procreator’

Yadin, *Mishnaic Hebrew* (The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada) (Jerusalem, 1965), 45: ‘One with other exchangeth their (respective) good’.

²² M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (2 vols.; New York, 1886–1903), 456, 469, 471–472; J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und Midraschim* (4 vols.; Leipzig, 1876–89), II, 61–63.

²³ Thus Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 472. Jastrow gives this example under the lemma חלף; for the various forms and vocalisations of this word in the manuscripts see A. Damry, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew According to Ms. “Kaufman 2” of the Mishna in Comparison with Ms. “Kaufman 1”* (PhD diss., Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2006), 353–354 (I am grateful to Professor David Talshir for drawing my attention to this study).

²⁴ Kaufmann, “Das Wort תחליף”, 339 (on 44,17): ‘Mann kann darum auch, wie die Form es gebietet, bei der Annahme ursprünglich abstracter Bedeutung des Wortes bleiben. Wie תחליף Faltung und dann erst תחליף im neueren Hebraismus Gebieten und Befehl bedeutet, so heisst תחליף Ersatz, Stellvertretung und dann erst Stellvertreter.’ Krauss, “Notes”, 158: ‘In spite of the analogy of תלמיד it is highly improbable that תחליף is used in a concrete sense; while there are many examples in support of the substantive in the abstract sense’.

²⁵ Cf. Bacher, “Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus”, 557; cf. D. Strauss, *Sprachliche Studien zu den hebräischen Sirachfragmenten* (Zürich, 1900), 581.

(‘Fortpflanzer’) or ‘renewer’ (‘Erneuer’).²⁶ In a similar way Box and Oesterley arrive at their translation, ‘continuator, renewer’, i.e. one who begins to build up a people anew.²⁷

In Biblical Hebrew the noun pattern תִּקְטִיל is rare and appears in some loan words from Aramaic, mainly in Late Biblical Hebrew.²⁸ It is used for abstract nouns, e.g. תְּכַרִּיךְ ‘mantle’, but can also designate persons, e.g. תַּלְמִיד ‘disciple’. It is more frequent in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g. תְּבַשִּׁיל ‘cooked food’, תְּשִׁמִּישׁ ‘service’.²⁹ In Arabic תִּקְטִיל is a productive pattern and words with this pattern are most often related to the intensive stem, occasionally to the causative stem. In Aramaic too words of this pattern have usually an abstract meaning, but occasionally a concrete meaning.³⁰

We should show the utmost caution in drawing any conclusion about the meaning of תְּחַלִּיף on the basis of its noun pattern. One could claim that the תִּקְטִיל pattern argues for an abstract meaning rather than a concrete designation of a person, but the multiple exceptions to the rule, including תַּלְמִיד, which is perhaps the most well-known example of this pattern, argues against such a claim. Likewise, the association of the תִּקְטִיל pattern with the Hiphil is not very strong. In Aramaic there is indeed a non-exclusive relation with the causative stem, but the relationship with the doubled stem is stronger and the few examples of the pattern in Classical Hebrew do not have a particular relationship with the Hiphil. If the comparative evidence from Mishnaic Hebrew and from other Semitic

²⁶ Ryssel, “Sprüche”, 451 (on 44,17).

²⁷ Box–Oesterley, “Sirach”, 483: ‘Its form (תְּחַלִּיף) is similar to such Hifil noun-formations as תַּלְמִיד (“disciple”), and it seems best to explain its meaning from the Hifil of the verb (תְּחַלִּיף) as it is used in Job xiv. 7 = “to put forth fresh branches”, “sprout again”. So here the noun would mean “continuator”, “renewer” (one who starts the race afresh).’

²⁸ C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1908–1913), I, 386; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle, 1922), 496 (§61wn); P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SubBi 14/I-II (rev. ed.; Rome, 1993), I, 261 (§88Ld); W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1910), §85r; A. Hurvitz, *בין לשון ללשון* (*The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew*) (Jerusalem, 1972), 138 n. 185.

²⁹ M.H. Segal, *דקדוק לשון המשנה* (*A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*) (Tel Aviv, 1936), 82; idem, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), §265.

³⁰ Thus Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, 386. But cf. idem, *Syrische Grammatik* (12th ed.; Leipzig, 1976), §143 on nouns with the *t* prefix: ‘Abstrakta meist zum Pa^cel und dessen Refl., z. T. zum Af^cel, einige mit konkreter Bedeutung’.

languages argues for a specific link with a certain *binyan*, it argues for a link with the Piel rather than with the causative stem.³¹

3. COGNATES IN ARAMAIC

In the discussions about the meaning of תחליף and the related forms in Biblical Hebrew, many scholars refer to Aramaic, either for the תקטיל pattern or for the root תלף. M. Wagner considers the Biblical Hebrew preposition תלף 'as a reward for, in return for' (see above) an Aramaic loan word,³² BDB refers to the use of תלף, ܬܠܦ in the Targums and the Peshitta for Hebrew תחה in e.g. Gen 4,23,³³ and Gary A. Rendsburg has argued that תחליף in Gen 31,7.41 is one of the Aramaic features in Genesis 30–31.³⁴

Various words derived from the root תלף occur in Aramaic, most of them expressing notions such as 'substitute, exchange'. For the meaning 'successor', which has been proposed for Hebrew תחליף, one can compare חלפה in Sefire iii 22, which probably means 'his successor'.³⁵

In discussions about תחליף references have also been made to Syriac ܬܠܦܘܬܐ 'exchange, substitute' (J. Payne Smith³⁶), 'res permutata, compensatio' (Brockelmann³⁷), 'res pro altera mutata, vicarius' (R. Payne

³¹ Cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, AnOr 33 (3rd ed.; Rome, 1995), §56l; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, die Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitate* (Göttingen, 1984), 441; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (2 vols.; 3rd ed.; Cambridge, 1896), I, §202.

³² M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*, BZAW 96 (Berlin, 1966), 102.

³³ BDB 332a. Compare the combination of תחה and תחליף in Sir 48,8.

³⁴ G.A. Rendsburg, "Aramaic-like Features in the Pentateuch", paper presented at the *SBL Annual Meeting*, Philadelphia, November 2005. On the Aramaic features in Genesis 30–31 see also Rendsburg, "Linguistic Variation and the 'Foreign' Factor in the Hebrew Bible", *Israel Oriental Studies* 15 (1996), 177–190, esp. 182; J.C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Studies and the Bible", in J.A. Emerton, ed., *Congress Volume Vienna 1980*, VTS 32 (Leiden, 1981), 110–130, esp. 129–130.

³⁵ Thus e.g. J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions 2. Aramaic Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli* (Oxford, 1975), 55 (reading *helpel*); J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, BiOr 19/A (2nd ed.; Rome, 1995), 158–159 (reading a participle of תלף); cf. J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, HdO 21 (2 vols.; Leiden, 1995), 1.376.

³⁶ *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903), 609b.

³⁷ *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.; Halle, 1928), 236.

took the place of the generation that was destroyed and thus began a new world.

Other translations attribute to הַחַיִּי a meaning that is related to the root חַי in some biblical passages where tree imagery is used, especially Job 14,7. This leads to the translation ‘offspring’ (Matthes, Smend: *Nachwuchs*; Lévi: *surgeon*) or ‘procreator’ (Ryssel: *Fortpflanzer*) and may also be the background of Skehan’s and Di Lella’s free translation ‘he kept the race alive’.⁵² I. Lévi makes the metaphor explicit: when humanity was destroyed, Noah was the offspring that replaced the tree that was cut down; from him the new mankind arose.⁵³ In other words: Noah was the shoot that came up from the stump of the human race (cf. Isa 11,1).⁵⁴

Both ‘successor’ and ‘offspring’ or ‘procreator’ contain the notion of ‘continuation’. This notion is most prominently expressed in Box’s and Oesterley’s translation ‘the continuator’.⁵⁵ It is also the underlying idea of Sauer’s translation ‘survivor’: Noah escaped destruction and was saved for a new life, which made the continuation of the history of mankind possible.⁵⁶

The translations ‘offspring’, ‘shoot’, ‘procreator’ and ‘continuator’ all reflect the notion of the continuity of the human race. However, whereas ‘shoot’ and ‘offspring’ relate Noah to the past (i.e. ‘the tree that was cut off’), ‘procreator’ or ‘Fortpflanzer’ express his relationship to the subsequent generations. In a similar way R.T. Siebeneck’s designation

similarly Segal (for references see above, note 7); see also M. Weigold, “Noah in the Praise of the Fathers: The Flood Story in *Nuce*”, in: G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér, eds., *The Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, JSJS (Leiden, forthcoming).

⁵² Skehan–Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 503; for the other authors mentioned here see the full bibliographical references in notes 3–4, 7.

⁵³ Lévi *L’Écclesiastique* I, 89: ‘La métaphore serait excellente: au temps où fut détruite l’humanité, Noé fut le *surgeon* qui remplaça l’arbre tronqué et d’où sortit la nouvelle humanité’. Kaufmann also referred to Job 14,7 (above, note 51), but he arrived at a different translation.

⁵⁴ The phenomenon that a word refers to both a shoot of a tree and a human descendant is well known; cf. Biblical Hebrew יונק, יונקה; Arabic حمل *haml*, حبلى *habal*; Greek μόσχος; Latin *fetus*. E.Y. Kutscher puts forward these examples for his argument that a similar semantic range of meanings can be assumed for the Hebrew root עבר; see his ערכי המילון החדש לספרות חז"ל (*Archive of the New Dictionary of Rabbinical Literature*) I (Ramat Gan, 1972), 83–89 (I am grateful to Professor David Talshir for this reference).

⁵⁵ Box–Oesterley, “Sirach”, 483.

⁵⁶ Cf. Sauer *Jesus Sirach*, 303 (translation): ‘zur Zeit der Vernichtung war er der Überlebende’; 304 (comment): ‘Er entgeht der Vernichtung in der Sintflut, übersteht also mit Gottes Hilfe den Tod und wird für ein neues Leben, das die Fortführung der Geschichte der Menschheit ermöglicht, gerettet.’

‘remnant’ connects Noah to the past,⁵⁷ whereas the translation ‘ancestor’, proposed by Peters, Lévi and Matthes–Dyserinck, links him up with future generations.⁵⁸

In this verse most translations and commentaries attribute to תחליף meanings that are related to genealogical continuation, with or without using the tree imagery which is found in Job 14,7. A much different interpretation is reflected in S. Krauss’ translation ‘compensation’, which agrees with the general meaning of חליף in Biblical Hebrew, ‘to change, exchange’, rather than with its particular meaning in the Job passages.⁵⁹

46,11–12	B	כל אשר לא נשא לבו יהי זכרם לברכה	והשופטים איש בשמו ולא נסוג מאחרי אל ושמם תחליף לבניהם
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In this case it is difficult to establish whether תחליף is a noun (thus e.g. Lévi) or a verb (thus e.g. Cowley–Neubauer). Opinions differ also about the nuance expressed by this word. Most proposals found in the literature agree with the proposals given for the other two occurrences of this word. Is here, again, the notion of succession involved (Cowley–Neubauer), or rather that of substitution (Kaufmann, Segal⁶⁰) or that of ‘sprout, offspring’ (Lévi, Box–Oesterley⁶¹)? This latter interpretation seems the most appropriate continuation of the blossoming bones mentioned in the preceding line.⁶² Others have suggested that in this case תחליף is best

⁵⁷ Cf. R.T. Siebeneck, “May Their Bones Return to Life! – Sirach’s Praise of the Fathers”, *CBQ* 21 (1959), 411–428, esp. 422: ‘Sirach retains the established data but brings to it the specification that at the time of God’s anger Noe had “renewed the race”, thereby becoming a “remnant” that was left on the earth at the time of the deluge (44,17)’.

⁵⁸ For bibliographical references see above, note 5.

⁵⁹ Krauss, “Notes”, 157 (‘compensatio’), 158 (‘At the time of destruction there was a change, a reward, a compensation’).

⁶⁰ Cf. Kaufmann, “Das Wort תחליף”, 338: ‘Einen greifbaren Sinn aber bietet es, in dem Namen, dem Nachruf einen Ersatz für die verlorenen, heimgegangenen Väter zu erblicken: “ist der Leib in Staub zerfallen, lebt der grosse Name noch”.’; Segal, *Book of Ben Sira*, 320: שמם הטוב יעבור לבניהם, ובניהם יהיו במקום אבותיהם.

⁶¹ Lévi, *L’Ecclesiastique* I, 116; Box–Oesterley, “Sirach”, 492. Lévi reads a noun (‘leur surgeon’ i.e. ‘their wild shoot’), Box and Oesterley a verb (‘sprout afresh’); cf. W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17th ed.; Leipzig, 1921), 235b: ‘sich fortpflanzen lassen’; Skehan–Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 516: ‘And their names receive fresh luster in their children’.

⁶² Cf. Lévi, *L’Ecclesiastique* I, 116: ‘Dans ce cas, תחליף ne saurait être un verbe, mais un substantif. L’image se continuerait: après les ossements, ce serait le nom des justes qui serait leur surgeon par leurs enfants, qui recevrait une nouvelle vie dans la vénération de leurs descendants’. For the notion ‘to blossom, flower’, in funerary formulae, see M. Kister, “Some Blessing and Curse Formulae in the Bible, Northwest Semitic Inscriptions, Post-

translated with ‘renew’ (Peters, Sauer⁶³) or ‘become young again’ (Ryssel⁶⁴). The translation ‘renew’ is supported by the use of הִלֵּךְ in Isa 40,31.⁶⁵

5. ANCIENT VERSIONS

In 44,17 Gr has ἀντάλλαγμα, ‘that which is given or taken in advance’. This occurs also in Sir 6,15 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα, ‘there is no price, compensation (to a faithful friend)’, where it corresponds to מְחִיר ‘price’ in MS A and in a similar expression in 26,14 (Hebrew text not extant). Corresponding to מְחִיר it occurs also in 3 Kgs 20[21],2; Job 28,15; Jer 15,13. In Ps 54[55],20 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντάλλαγμα, ‘for they do not change (their ways)’, it corresponds to a word of the root הִלֵּךְ, namely הִלֵּיפָה (cf. above §2). It occurs further corresponding to תְּמִירָה ‘exchange’ (Ru 4,7),⁶⁶ and כֶּפֶר ‘bribe’ (Am 5,12).⁶⁷ In the New Testament it occurs in Matt 16,26 and Mark 8,37, where it is translated with ܘܫܠܘܬܐ in the Peshitta.⁶⁸

Syr has ܘܫܠܘܬܐ. 7h3 et al. read ܠܠܗܘܐ ܘܫܠܘܬܐ. 7a1 et al. have ܘܫܠܘܬܐ and Aphrahat’s quotation of this verse in *Dem.* 13,5 has ܘܫܠܘܬܐ. R.J. Owens has convincingly argued that the reading of 7h3 is preferable, being the *lectio difficilior*. The Syriac word ܘܫܠܘܬܐ played a role in the discussion of the meaning of the Hebrew הִלֵּךְ in this verse, both as a translation and interpretation of the Hebrew text and as a Syriac cognate form from the root ܫܠܐ.

The Syriac words derived from the root ܫܠܐ display a wide range of meanings, which cover many proposals made for the meaning of the

Biblical Literature and Late Antiquity”, in M.F.J. Baasten and W.Th. van Peursen, eds., *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, OLA 118 (Leuven, 2003), 313–332, esp. 320–322.

⁶³ Peters, *Liber Iesu filii Sirach*, 125: *et nomen eorum renovet filii eorum*; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 316: ‘und ihr Name möge von neuem hervortreten unter ihren Kindern’.

⁶⁴ Ryssel, “Sprüche”, 458: ‘und ihr Name verjünge sich in ihren Kindern’.

⁶⁵ Cf. Krauss, “Notes”, 157, quoted above note 7 (end). See further above, §2.

⁶⁶ Krauss, “Notes”, 158, refers to the parallelism of הִלֵּיפָה and תְּמִירָה in the prayer for the Eve of the Day of Atonement.

⁶⁷ E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (2nd ed.; with “Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint” by T. Muraoka; Grand Rapids, 1998), 108c.

⁶⁸ Thus Krauss, “Notes”, 157. ܘܫܠܘܬܐ occurs in the Peshitta and Curetonian of Matt 16,29 and the Peshitta of Mark 8,38; the Sinaiticus of Mark 8,38 has ܘܫܠܘܬܐ.

forced and an alternative understanding, namely that Noah was the shoot that came up from the stump of the human race, perfectly fits the context and agrees with usages of the verb תחליף in the Bible. In the third passage, about the Judges (46, 12), we cannot be certain whether תחליף is a noun or a verb. If it is a noun, the parallels with other blessing formulae about the dead argue for the interpretation of תחליף as ‘shoot, offspring’, but a meaning such as ‘substitute’ cannot be ruled out.

It is tempting to go beyond these general, and partly even negative statements, but we have to be aware where we stand. Due to its small size, the Classical Hebrew corpus contains many words that occur only once, twice or three times. The discovery of new texts, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls or Ben Sira sometimes gives new occurrences of words and usages that are rare in the Bible, but at the same time confronts us with new rare words and does not take away the fundamental problems related to the lexicography of a small ancient corpus. Some questions are answered, others are raised.⁸⁹

Our discussion about the rare word תחליף confronts us with the fundamental question as to the methodology of the interpretation of unique or rare words. James Barr, Chaim Cohen and other scholars who have addressed the issue of *hapax legomena* in the Bible have demonstrated the difficulties related to the indirect sources of information available, such as etymology, cognates, synonyms and antonyms, and the interpretations reflected in the Ancient Versions. They have also warned us that we should not be tempted to attach too much weight to these sources of information, simply because no other source is available.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See e.g. Elwolde’s contribution to the first symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira, Qimron’s analysis of the Qumran vocabulary in his grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Haim Dihi’s study on linguistic innovations in Ben Sira: J.F. Elwolde, “Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah” in T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde, eds., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995*, STDJ 26 (Leiden, 1997), 17–55; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, 1986), 87–115; H. Dihi, “Non-biblical Verbal Usages in the Book of Ben Sira”, in T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, STDJ 36 (Leiden, 2000), 56–64.

⁹⁰ J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (repr. with additions and corrections; Winona Lake, 1987); H.R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic*, SBL Dissertation Series 37 (Missoula, 1978), esp. 19–32 (= “Chapter 2: Methodology”); F.E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew. A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms*, SBL Dissertation Series 74 (Missoula, 1984).

We have investigated the sources that could provide information about the meaning of תחליף and made some suggestions as to its meaning in the three Ben Sira passages in which it occurs. Our general methodological considerations, however, prevent us from drawing definitive conclusions. What we can do is to accept the challenge to go as far as we can get, without pretensions that distort the framework of a sound philological and lexicographical analysis.

THE TYPE **וְאָבְנָה** IN THE HEBREW OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

ELISHA QIMRON

Beer-sheva

In Biblical Hebrew the form of the conversive imperfect differs according to persons; while the second and third persons sometimes have a short form, the first person has a regular form or a lengthened one. For example, instead of **וְתֵשֶׁב** in the second and third person one finds **וְאָשׁוּב** and **וְאָשׁוּבָה** in the first person. In ל"י verbs there are only two types: short and regular. In the second and third person the form is short (**וְתֵהִי** and not **וְתִהְיֶה**) while in the first person short and regular forms occur side by side (**וְאָהִי** / **וְאֶהְיֶה**).¹

Why do the forms differ according to persons? As is known such a distinction is understandable in the modal imperfect where one finds **וְתֵשֶׁב** 'let her return' vs. **וְאָשׁוּבָה** 'I wish that I return'. The meaning of a wish of a person with regard to himself differs from a wish regarding others. This is why one say in English "I shall go" but "You will go" (namely, if you wish). Similarly, the Imperative in Hebrew has two separate forms **וְתֵהִי** but **וְתֵהִי לִי**, as Fassberg has indicated.²

Bergsträsser has suggested that the above distinction according to persons in the conversive imperfect is not original in Hebrew but rather an analogy to the modal system. The conversive imperfect originally was realized short in all persons, while the modal imperfect has short forms in the second and third person and lengthened forms in the first person. Later on the long forms of the modal imperfect replaced the short forms of the conversive imperfect in the first person. Bergsträsser's suggestion is based on short forms such as **וְאָרָא** and **וְאָרָאָה** in the consonantal text of the Torah.³

¹ M. Lambert, *Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque* (Paris, 1946) §713.

² S. E. Fassberg, *סוגיות בתחביר המקרא* (Jerusalem, 1994), 13–35.

³ G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik II* (Leipzig, 1929), §5d.

David Talshir has substantiated Bergsträsser's suggestion with evidence from late Biblical Hebrew and the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴ On the other hand, Anson Rainey has indicated that the Mesha inscription uses only the short form **ואעש** in the first person.⁵ Yet the distribution of the forms within the Bible is not consistent with the suggestion.

The clearest evidence for this process relates to the **ל"י** forms where the distinction between apocopated and non-apocopated forms is indicated in the unvocalized text and does not depend on later pronunciation traditions. This enables us to follow the historical development of this paradigm in the various texts of early Hebrew. We shall see that Bergsträsser suggestion is not supported by the biblical data but by the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Samaritan Text. This is an excellent example of the contribution of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the understanding of Biblical Hebrew. We shall also re-examine the history of the conversive imperfect in the light of the distinction of the forms according to persons.

The following table indicates the distribution of the apocopated and non-apocopated forms in the various phases of the Bible:

Gen - Deut

apocopated	non-apocopated
נִאֲרָא Gen 31:10, 41: 22, Deut 9:16	וַאֲשַׁתְּהוּרָה Gen 24:48
וַיִּבְרָן Deut 2:1, 8; 3:1	וַאֲצוּרָה Deut 1:16, 18
וַאֲבָרָן Deut 9:15, 10:5	
וַאֲשַׁתְּהוּרָה Gen 24:46	
וַאֲרָא Exod 6:3	
וַאֲרָד Exod 9:15	
וַיִּבְרָהִי Num 13:33	
וַאֲעַל Num 23:4, Deut 10:3	
וַיִּבְרָד Deut 2:33	
וַיִּבְרָעַל Deut 3:1	
וַאֲצוּר Deut 3:18	
וַאֲעַשׂ Deut 10:3	
Total: 18x	Total: 3x

⁴ D. Talshir, התפתחות מערכת העתיד המהופך בויקה אל המערכת המודאלית, *Tarbiz*, 56 (1987), 585–591.

⁵ A. F. Rainey, "Mesha' and Syntax" in *JSPT Supplement Series 343* (Sheffield, 2001), 288–291.

Jos - Kgs

apocopated

וארא Jos 7: 21 Qri
 ואהי Jud 18:4
 וארב Jos 24:3 Ktib

Total: 3x

non-apocopated

ואראה Jos 7:21 Ktib, Jud 12:3
 ואהיה 2 Sam 7:6, 9, 22:24
 וארבה Jos 24:3 Qri
 ונעשה Jos 9:24
 ונראה 1 Sam 1:14
 נְאֻעָה 1 Sam 13:12
 ואשגה 1 Sam 26:21
 ונהיה 2 Sam 11:23
 ואבכה 2 Sam 12:22
 ואבנה 1 Kgs 8:20
 ואענה 1 Kgs 11:39

Total: 14x

Isa - Job

apocopated

וארא Jer 3:8, Ezek 1:4, 15, 27, 23:13,
 44:4, Zach 2:1, 5, 5:9, Prov 7:7
 ואהי Ezek 11:16, Hos 13:7, Ps
 18:24, 38:15, 63:14, 69:12, Job
 30:9
 ונהי Isa 64:5
 ואען Jer 11:5, Zach 4:4, 11, 12, 6:4
 ואש Jer 15:6
 נְאֻפָּת Jer 20:7
 ונעש Jer 35:10
 ואעש Ezek 12:7, 20:9, 22, 24:18
 נְאֻכָּל Ezek 43:8

Total: 30x

non-apocopated

ואראה Isa 6:1, Jer 31:26, Ezek 1:1,
 28, 2:9, 8:2, 7, 10, 10:1, 9,
 11:1, Zach 5:1, 6:1
 ואהיה Hos 11:4, Ps 102:8, Job 7:20,
 Prov 8:30 (x2)
 נְאֻעָה Amos 4:10
 ונהיה Jer 44:17
 ואבכה Ps 69:11
 ואקנה Jer 13:2, 32:9
 ואשקה Jer 25:17
 ואצוה Jer 32:13
 ואכסה Ezek 16:8
 ואעשה Ezek 20:14
 וארעה Zach 11:7 (x2)
 ואקוה Ps 69:21
 ואחזה Prov 24:32

Total: 30x

Koh - Chron**apocopated**

נֶאֱמַר Dan 10:5, Neh 4:8
 ואהי Neh 1:4, 2:11, 13, 15 (x2)

Total: 7x

non-apocopated

ואראה Koh 4:1, 7, Dan 8:2 (x2), 3,
 10:8
 ואעשה Dan 8:27
 ואתודה Dan 9:4
 ונחנה Ezra 8:15
 ואצוה Ezra 8:17, Neh 7:2
 ואבכה Neh 1:4
 ונבנה Neh 3:38
 נֶאֱעָלָה Neh 12:31
 ואכה Neh 13:25
 ואהיה 1 Chron 17:5, 8
 ואבנה 2 Chron 6:10

Total: 18x

DSS**apocopated**

Total: 0x

non-apocopated

ואהיה 1QH x 10, 12, 17 xi 9, xiv
 27, xvi 28, 4Q433 1 3,
 4Q481d 3 3
 ואראה 4Q180 2 ii 9, 4Q238 1 4,
 4Q468d 4, 4Q391 9 3, 65 4,
 4Q481d 3 3
 וארצה 1QS x 13
 ואחלה 1QH viii 29, 4Q438 5 3
 ואצפה 4Q511 42 5
 ונודה 4Q521 7 7
 ונעלה 4Q364 24 15 (= ונעל Deut
 3:1)

Total: 20x

COMMENTS

In the Pentateuch the apocopated forms prevail and only three non-apocopated forms occur.⁶

By contrast it is the non-apocopated forms that predominate in the early historical books of the Bible.

In Isaiah to Job both forms are equally frequent and used as free variants. In the late biblical books the non-apocopated forms prevail. In the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls the non-apocopated forms are used exclusively and this is the case in the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁷

One can conclude that no phase of Biblical Hebrew is consistent with regard to this paradigm. Yet, on the one hand, the contrast between the Torah and the late biblical books is striking and, on the other hand, the contrast between the Torah and the early historical books is puzzling.

It is in fact the consistent use of the long forms in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Samaritan Hebrew which substantiates Bergsträsser's view.

The clear-cut distinction according to persons in the conversive imperfect indicates that the conversive imperfect was alive in the Second Temple period. In the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls this distinction is consistent. In Samaritan Hebrew there are only long forms in the first person but in the second and third persons both short and regular forms are found (and not only short ones as in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls).⁸ The view that the conversive imperfect was archaic in the Second Temple period is therefore unjustified. The data show that the process begun at an early stage of Biblical Hebrew and culminated in the

⁶ These exceptions have *waw* as a second root consonant. וְאָבָה occurs only once in the Bible while וְאָבָה occurs five times and וְאָבָה only once. Both וְאָבָה and וְאָבָה occur in the same expression אַתְּכֶם בַּעַת הַיּוֹם (וְאָבָה) אַתְּכֶם בַּעַת הַיּוֹם.

⁷ In each of the references in the Torah cited in the table the Samaritan Pentateuch has a non-apocopated form.

⁸ Z. Ben-Hayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew, Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions* (Winona Lake, Indiana 2000), §2.9.6, says that only a few apocopated forms are preserved. In fact there are plenty. The Samaritan Pentateuch almost always agrees with the Masoretic text and the apocopated forms prevail also in the oral pronunciation tradition even in the most frequent verbs, e.g. וְאָבָה. Non-apocopated forms occur in e.g. *wyebeki* (= SP וְיָבַח), in pi'el: *wyegalli* (= SP וְיָגַל), *wyekassi* (= SP וְיָכַס) in nip'al *wyirra'i* (= SP וְיָרָא) in several verses וְיָרָא occurs in a few manuscripts). The details need further study but the picture as whole is clear: the apocopated forms are much alive in the Samaritan tradition in the second and third person in contrast to the form of the first person.

Hellenistic era.⁹ How can a still progressing phenomenon be archaic? The contrast with Mishnaic Hebrew is striking. Mishnaic Hebrew has no conversive forms. Nor is there a distinction according to persons. Forms such as **ואבנה** in the Dead Sea Scrolls have nothing to do with Mishnaic Hebrew **אבנה** or with the Biblical Hebrew indicative **יבנה** since they are used only in the first person in contrast to **ויבן**, **ותבן**. They are the last stage of the conversive imperfect patterned after the modal imperfect. The Dead Sea Scrolls system is almost perfectly consistent using **ואבנה**, **ונבנה** in the first person and **ויבן**, **ותבן** in the other persons. It is by no means an imitation of Biblical Hebrew but rather the last stage of the process visualized by Bergsträsser. The similarity with Samaritan Hebrew is striking and excludes any possibility of explaining the system as an artificial creation.

⁹ In late Biblical Hebrew it is still unfinished.

QUELQUES PARTICULARITÉS LINGUISTIQUES COMMUNES À 4QINSTRUCTION ET À BEN SIRA

JEAN-SÉBASTIEN REY

Metz

Le manuscrit de 4QInstruction a été publié en 1999 par John Strugnell et Daniel Harrington¹. Les chercheurs s'accordent globalement pour dater la composition de l'époque pré-essénienne et de faire de Siracide, Énoch, et 4QInstruction des écrits plus ou moins contemporains. La longueur du rouleau (entre 23 et 30 colonnes)² et le nombre de copies retrouvées (au moins sept)³ dans les grottes de Qumrân témoignent de son importance pour la communauté. Ces dix dernières années, les études à son sujet ne cessent de se multiplier⁴. Les chercheurs se sont surtout intéressés au contenu du rouleau en particulier aux sections eschatologiques. Cependant, peu d'études concernent ses caractéristiques linguistiques⁵.

¹ J. Strugnell, D. J. Harrington, T. Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4 XXIV, Sapiential Texts, Part 2*, DJD XXXIV (Oxford, 1999). Abrégé ensuite DJD XXXIV.

² T. Elgvin reconstruit un rouleau de 23 colonnes pour 4Q418 (cf. « The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A », *RdQ* 16 (1995), 559–580) ; A. Steudel et B. Lucassen identifient 30 colonnes pour ce même rouleau (cf. DJD XXXIV, 18–19).

³ Les éditeurs recensent sept manuscrits alors que E. J. C. Tigchelaar en compte huit. Voir l'état de la question dans E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, STDJ 44 (Leiden, 2001), 15–17.

⁴ On trouvera une bibliographie et un état de la question récent dans D. J. Harrington, « Recent Study of 4QInstruction » dans F. García Martínez, A. Steudel et E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *From 4QMMT to Resurrection. Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, STDJ 61 (Leiden, 2006), 105–124 et dans B. G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels, The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (Tübingen, 2005), 4–7.

⁵ On notera deux contributions : J. Strugnell, « The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations » dans D. W. Parry, E. Ulrich, *The Provo international Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 30 (Leiden, 1999), 595–608 (cet article a été repris substantiellement dans l'introduction de DJD XXXIV, 2001) ; A. Schoors, « The Language of the Qumran Sapiential Works » dans C. Hempel, A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL 159 (Leuven, 2002), 61–95.

Outre leur datation commune, *4QInstruction* et le Siracide portent des similitudes qui justifient leur comparaison : tous deux ont été retrouvés dans les grottes de Qumrân, ils utilisent un même genre littéraire associant sentences sapienciales et sections cosmologiques, enfin, ils se présentent comme l'instruction d'un maître à un disciple qu'ils appellent « fils ». Sur le plan linguistique, les deux textes portent à la fois des caractéristiques propres à l'hébreu tardif, voire mishnique, et des éléments qui les rattachent fondamentalement à la langue classique. Ils sont donc deux témoins de l'évolution de la langue entre l'hébreu classique et mishnique.

Le but de cette étude est de montrer que *4QInstruction* et Ben Sira utilisent des constructions syntaxiques similaires qui n'ont pas d'équivalents dans la littérature hébraïque tardive. On se limitera à trois exemples. Dans une première partie, on analysera la formule *אל תקטול* qui apparaît massivement dans nos deux textes. Dans une seconde partie, on s'intéressera aux particules *פן* et *למה* lorsqu'elles introduisent une proposition finale négative signifiant « de peur que... ». Dans une troisième partie, on considérera l'emploi du pronom suffixe pour exprimer le réfléchi, particularité attestée dans le Siracide et en *4QInstruction*.

1. LA FORMULE *אל תקטול*

D'un point de vue statistique, on peut dire que la formule *אל תקטול* est caractéristique de *4QInstruction* (66 emplois sur 187 à Qumrân)⁶ et de Ben Sira (216 emplois). Avant d'aborder l'étude de la construction dans notre corpus, il est nécessaire d'en clarifier son sens et sa situation dans l'histoire de la langue hébraïque.

1.1. *Les formules אל תקטול et לא תקטול, aspects diachroniques*

La plupart des grammaires de l'hébreu biblique distinguent la formule *אל תקטול* de la formule *לא תקטול*⁷. Jan P. Lettinga appelle la première « prohibitive », c'est-à-dire « un souhait ou un désir négatif ou une interdiction

⁶ Sur l'emploi des données statistiques en ce qui concerne *4QInstruction* en rapport avec les autres textes de Qumrân, on peut se référer aux remarques méthodologiques de J. Strugnell et D. J. Harrington dans *DJD XXXIV*, 22–24.

⁷ Le verbe de la formule *אל תקטול* est habituellement à la forme courte (jussive) alors que, dans la construction *לא תקטול*, le verbe est à la forme longue.

incidente », et la seconde « vétitive », c'est-à-dire « une interdiction formelle ou catégorique »⁸. Cette distinction sémantique entre les deux formules est bien attestée par le traducteur de la Septante qui rend habituellement אל תקטול par μή suivi du subjonctif ou par μή suivi de l'impératif, alors qu'il traduit לא תקטול par οὐκ suivi de l'indicatif futur⁹.

E. Qimron a montré que cette distinction tendait à s'estomper en hébreu tardif¹⁰. À cet effet, il cite deux exemples tirés des textes tardifs de l'Ancien Testament :

Dt 23,22 : כִּי־תִדְרֹךְ נָדָר לַיהוָה אֶלְהֵי־ךָ לֹא תֵאָחֵז לְשִׁלְמוֹ :

« Si tu fais un voeu au Seigneur ton Dieu, tu ne tarderas pas à l'accomplir ».

LXX : οὐ χρὸνιεύς.

Qo 5,3 : כִּאֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ נָדָר לְאֱלֹהִים אַל־תֵּאָחֵז לְשִׁלְמוֹ :

« Si tu fais un voeu à Dieu, ne tarde pas à l'accomplir. »

LXX : μή χρὸνίστης

⁸ J. P. Lettinga, §72 i 1.4. La distinction est reprise par W. Th. van Peursen « Compared with the vetitive, the prohib. tends to be more urgent, referring to a specific action on the part of the addressee » (*The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, SStLL 41 (Leiden, 2004), 191) ; A. Shulman commente soigneusement la distinction sémantique entre les formules אל תקטול et לא תקטול dans « The Function of the “Jussive” and “Indicative” Imperfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose », *ZAH* 13 (2000), 168–180 ; C. Brockelmann note que primitivement il y avait entre les deux expressions une différence sur le plan de l'intensité (« verschiedene Stärke des Affekts ») mais qu'ultérieurement les deux expressions portent une signification équivalente. Il cite Gn 19,17 ; Gn 24,8 ; 1 Sm 14,36. *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirch Kreis Moers, 1956), 3–4 ; W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, § 107o.

⁹ Sur le sens de cette distinction en grec, cf. E. Ragon, A. Dain, § 374–375. La distinction entre les formes אל תקטול et לא תקטול est aussi attestée en araméen d'empire et en araméen biblique (S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), § 6.5.4.6–7). Elle disparaît en araméen judéo palestinien. Le Targum traduit systématiquement les deux formules par אל suivi de l'imparfait (E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (Ramat Gan, 1974)). En Ougaritique, la forme 'al suivie de l'imparfait est la plus fréquente, mais on trouve quelques cas rares de lamed suivie de l'imparfait, notamment dans les formes intéro-négatives (J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, AOAT 273 (Münster, 2000), 815–816, § 87.14 et 87.2). En phénico-punique, la plupart du temps, on trouve la négation אל bien qu'on ait, parfois, בל suivi de l'imparfait pour exprimer une interdiction plus énergique (J. Friedrich, W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, AnOr 46 (Rome, 1970), § 318).

¹⁰ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scroll*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, 1986), § 400.13, a essayé de montrer que la distinction entre les deux formes reflétait une différence dans le niveau social du locuteur (cf. 1 R 3,26 en opposition à 1 R 3,27). Hypothèse similaire dans A. Shulman, « The Function of the “Jussive” and “Indicative” Imperfect » ; A. Bendavid considère que qu'il s'agit de simples variations stylistiques (cité par Joüon-Muraoka § 113m, n. 2).

Dt 19,14 : לא תסיג גבול רעהך

« Tu ne déplaceras pas les limites du terrain de ton voisin ».

LXX : οὐ μετακινήσεις

Pr 22,28 : אל-תסג גבול עולם

« Ne déplace pas une borne ancienne »¹¹.

LXX : μὴ μέταίρει

Enfin E. Qimron donne un troisième exemple tiré de deux copies différentes de 1QS : dans l'une on trouve la formule לא יוכל alors que dans le texte parallèle on a אל יוכל (cf. 1QS V 16 // 4Q258 I 8 // [4Q256 IX 10])¹².

Néanmoins, en hébreu biblique ancien, on remarque déjà des cas où les deux formules se recouvrent sans nuance de sens. En voici quelques exemples :

a) Le verbe ירא est habituellement précédé de la négation אל pour dire « ne crains pas » ou « ne craignez pas », cependant il apparaît parfois avec la négation לא.

Dt 31,8 : לא תירא ולא תהת « Ne crains pas et ne te laisse pas abattre ».

LXX : μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλιάσητε¹³

Dt 1,21 : אל-תירא ואל-תהת « Ne crains pas et ne te laisse pas abattre ».

LXX : μὴ φοβείσθε μηδὲ δειλιάσητε

On peut objecter que le contexte des deux versets est différent, cependant le parallélisme est frappant. En Dt 7,18 et en Jos 10,8, on trouve une même situation, cette fois-ci dans un contexte similaire :

Dt 7,18 : לא תירא מהם « Ne les crains pas ». LXX : οὐ φοβηθήση αὐτούς

Jos 10,8 : אל-תירא מהם « Ne les crains pas ». LXX : μὴ φοβηθῆς αὐτούς

b) Le verbe עלה est précédé de la négation לא en Dt 1,42 mais dans le texte parallèle en Nb 14,42, on le trouve avec la négation אל :

Dt 1,42 : לא תעלו ולא-תקחמו פי איני בקרבכם ולא תנגפו לפני איביכם

« Vous ne monterez pas ! Vous ne combattrez pas, car je ne suis pas au milieu de vous ! Ne vous faites pas battre par vos ennemis ! »

LXX : οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε

¹¹ Ces deux exemples sont repris par W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 191.

¹² 1QS et 4Q258 présentent cependant des variantes considérables.

¹³ Ici, la LXX a compris la négation לא comme un אל.

Nb 14,42 : אֶל־תַּעֲלוּ כִּי אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְלֹא תִגָּדְפוּ לִפְנֵי אֹיְבֵיכֶם :

« Ne montez pas, car Yhwh n'est pas au milieu de vous ; n'allez pas vous faire battre par vos ennemis. »

LXX : μή ἀναβαίνετε

c) En Ex 23,6–9, on note, dans une même section, une série d'impératifs négatifs de type לא תקטול et, au milieu, une interdiction de la forme אל תקטול. La formule אל תקטול est ainsi mise en emphase par rapport aux formules לא תקטול. Mais la distinction est d'ordre stylistique et non d'ordre sémantique.

d) À certains endroits, on remarque des formules vétitives où l'on attendrait la négation לא, pourtant l'auteur emploie la négation אל :

Lv 19,4 : אֶל־תִּפְגְּנוּ אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֵלֵהֶם מִסִּבָּה לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם :

« Ne vous tournez pas vers les faux dieux, ne vous fabriquez pas des dieux en forme de statue. C'est moi, le Seigneur, votre Dieu. »

Inversement, on trouve des commandements prohibitifs où l'on attendrait la négation אל alors que l'auteur emploie la négation לא :

2 S 5,23 : וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בַּיהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא תַעֲלֶה הַסֵּב אֶל־אֲחֵרֵיהֶם וּבָאֲתָ לָהֶם מִמּוֹל בְּכַאִים :

« David interrogea le Seigneur, qui déclara : Tu n'attaqueras pas de front. Tourne-les sur leurs arrières et tu arriveras vers eux en face des micocouliers ».

1 R 12,24 : כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־תַעֲלוּ וְלֹא־תִלָּחֲמוּן עִם־אֲחֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל :

« Ainsi parle le Seigneur : Vous ne devez pas monter au combat contre vos frères, les fils d'Israël »¹⁴.

Finalement, la distinction établie par les grammairiens entre les deux formulations est juste dans la plupart des cas en hébreu biblique ancien. Le traducteur de la LXX l'atteste encore quelques siècles plus tard. Néanmoins, il faut constater une certaine souplesse et une distinction de sens qui n'est pas toujours claire. Des variations existent probablement pour des raisons stylistiques. Dès l'hébreu biblique ancien, on relève des situations où les deux expressions se recourent d'un point de vue sémantique. Il faut donc être prudent lorsque l'on définit comme une caractéristique de l'hébreu tardif la superposition des deux formules, d'autant que la distinction subsiste en hébreu mishnique¹⁵.

¹⁴ L'auteur du second livre des Chroniques reprend la formule sans la modifier (cf. 2 Ch 11,4).

¹⁵ La distinction demeure, avec souplesse, en hébreu mishnique : « This characterization is reflected in the rule, albeit not of universal application, that אֵין עוֹשִׂין and לא תַעֲשֶׂה express a permanent prohibition, whereas אל תַעֲשֶׂה states a prohibition applicable

1.2. *La formule אל תקטור en 4QInstruction*

Examinons maintenant l'utilisation de ces deux formules en *4QInstruction*. On trouve 66 fois la formule אל תקטור et 13 fois la formule לא תקטור. Dans la plupart des cas, la formule לא תקטור a un sens prédictif. Cela se remarque notamment par l'expression fréquente : לוא תמצא « tu ne trouveras pas » (4Q415 11 13 ; 4Q416 2 iii 3 ; 4Q418 103 ii 9 ; 4Q418 127 1 ; 4Q418 148 i 2 ; avec d'autres verbes 4Q418 200 3 ; 4Q416 2 i 16 // 4Q417 2 i 23 // 4Q418 7b,7 ? ; 4Q423 1,2 i 3). En trois occurrences, la formule לא תקטור pourrait exprimer un impératif négatif. Malheureusement, leurs contextes lacunaires ne nous permettent pas d'en saisir le sens :

4Q415 9 5 : עם אולת לוא תשוה לרישׁן « Avec folie, ne compare pas ta pauvreté[] »¹⁶.

4Q417 2 i 3 : וגם את רווח לא תבלע « Et aussi tu ne communiqueras¹⁷ pas son esprit ».

4Q418 87 14 : « [Et] toi, ne faiblis pas ».

En ce qui concerne la place de la formule אל תקטור dans la proposition, nous constaterons que, dans la majorité des cas (28 fois sans compter les passages parallèles), elle est située en tête de proposition. Dans trois cas, elle est située en fin de proposition (deux fois après le complément d'objet direct et une fois après un vocatif) :

4Q416 2 ii 8 : וחוקיכה אל תרף « n'abandonne pas tes prescriptions »

4Q416 2 ii 16 : לאשר אין כוחכה אל תגע « ce qui n'est pas en ton pouvoir, ne le touche pas »¹⁸

4Q416 2 ii 14 : ואתה אל תבטח למה... « Et toi, ne fais pas confiance, de peur que... »

Le reste du temps elle est positionnée en milieu de proposition, le plus souvent après un groupe prépositionnel :

here and now », M. Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden, 1997), 174. « The use of the negative adverbs אל, אין, לא follows the same rules as in BH. (...) אל is only used with the imperfect to express a negative wish, an exhortation, or a mild prohibition. With ordinary prohibitions, as well as in negative statements with the perfect and imperfect, לא is used », M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1970), 223.

¹⁶ Pour la construction de לוא + cf. Est 3,8 ; 5,13 ; Jb 33,27 ; Pr 26,4 ; Lm 2,13 ; Os 10,1. Le contexte très lacunaire de ce passage en rend l'interprétation incertaine.

¹⁷ Il est également possible de traduire « tu ne confondras pas son esprit ».

¹⁸ אל se construit habituellement avec ב ou éventuellement avec גגע.

4Q416 2 ii 6 : « Et par tes paroles, ne considère pas comme peu de choses] ton esprit. »

4Q416 2 ii 6 : « Contre aucun prix n'échange¹⁹ ton esprit saint. »

4Q416 2 ii 17–18 : « Et pour aucun prix ne vends ton honneur »

4Q416 2 iii 5 : « Et également, de tout homme que tu ne connais pas, ne prends pas d'argent »

4Q418 103 ii 4 : «] *ton commerce ne le mélange pas avec ce qui [est à ton prochain] de peur que...* »

Mais on la trouve aussi une fois après un complément d'objet direct (4Q417 2 i 7 : « et ne considère pas un homme inique comme une aide »).

Enfin, on recense quatre cas où la formule est directement précédée d'un vocatif :

4Q416 2 ii 14 : « Et toi, ne fais pas confiance »

4Q416 2 iii 8 : « Toi qui es pauvre, ne convoite pas autre chose que ton héritage. »

4Q416 2 iii 12 : « Toi qui es pauvre, ne dis pas : "je suis pauvre" »

4Q417 2 i 9 : « [Toi qui es pauvre, la charité,] ne (la) *vacat* supprime pas de ton cœur »

S. E. Fassberg a montré que Ben Sira avait une prédilection pour placer le vocatif en tête de proposition, alors que l'auteur du livre des Proverbes, et de façon plus générale, l'hébreu biblique ancien, le plaçait plutôt après le verbe²⁰. On retrouve cette même caractéristique en 4Q*Instruction*.

On recense un cas où un complément d'attribution est inséré entre la négation *al* et le verbe (4Q417 2 i 9 : « et n'élargis pas pour toi seul [*ton appétit* dans ta pauvreté]). Une telle construction, bien que rare, est attestée en hébreu biblique pour marquer une emphase (ex. Ps 6,2 : « ne me châtie point dans ta colère, ne me reprends point dans ta fureur » ; Ps 38,2 ; Is 64,8 ; Jr 15,15)²¹. En hébreu tardif, on ne trouve qu'un seul cas, à Qumrân, en

¹⁹ *mor* provient certainement de la racine *mor* (Cf. DJD XXXIV, 98 et A. Caquot, « Les textes de sagesse de Qoumrân (Aperçu préliminaire) », *RHPhR* 76 (1996), 1–34). Comparer 1QH^a VI 31 (= xiv 20) : « Je [n]échange [pas] contre une fortune ta vérité » et Si 7,18^[A] « N'échange pas un ami pour de l'argent ».

²⁰ S. E. Fassberg, « On Syntax and Style in Ben Sira: Word Order », dans T. Muraoka et J. F. Elwolde, *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, STDJ 33 (Leiden, 1999), 131.

²¹ Joüon-Muraoka, § 160f.

4Q177 XI 7²², qui est une citation du Ps 6,2. Il pourrait donc s’agir d’un classicisme en 4QInstruction.

Enfin, on trouve, à quatre reprises, la particule אַל dans une proposition nominale. Cette situation, bien que rare, est attestée en hébreu biblique (cf. par ex. 2 S 1,21). À Qumrân, on ne relève qu’un seul exemple en 4Q266 11 5 (parallèle 4Q270 7 i 19) qui est une citation de Jl 2,13. Une telle structure n’est pas attestée non plus dans le Siracide. Autant dire que le cas est unique en hébreu tardif et qu’il pourrait s’agir, ici également, d’un classicisme.

4Q416 2 ii 9–10 : אַל מַנּוּחַ בַּנֶּפֶשׁכָּה וְאַל תְּנוּמָה לְעֵינֶיכָה עַד עֲשׂוֹתֶכָּה מִצִּוִּיתוֹ : « qu’il n’y ait pas de repos pour ton âme ni de sommeil à tes yeux jusqu’à ce que tu aies accompli [ses] comman[dements] »
 4Q417 2 i 21–22 : אַל דְּמוּי לַכֹּהֵן יִמּוּם וְלַיְלָה וְאַל מַנּוּחַ לַנֶּפֶשׁכָּה [עַד] אֶהְיֶיבֶכָּה לְנוֹשֵׁתָה כִּן : « Qu’il n’y ait pas [de tranquillité pour t]oi jour et nuit et qu’il n’y ait pas de repos pour ton âme [jusqu’à ce que] tu aies [tou]t remboursé à ton créancier. »

1.3. L’expression en Siracide

La situation est assez similaire dans le Siracide²⁴. Ben Sira emploie 216 fois la formule אַל תְּקַטּוּל alors qu’il n’utilise que sept fois la formule לא תְּקַטּוּל dans un sens impératif (Si 3,14^A ; 4,4a–5 ; 7,30 ; 9,13 ; 11,34[33] ; 31[34],16de). Dans ces sept cas, le sens de la formule אַל תְּקַטּוּל ne présente guère de différence avec la formulation אַל תְּקַטּוּל²⁵.

En Si 4,4a–5, la formule אַל תְּקַטּוּל apparaît après sept formules לא תְּקַטּוּל. Le traducteur grec a traduit l’ensemble par μη̄ suivi du subjonctif ou de l’impératif ne faisant ainsi pas de distinction entre אַל et לא.

²² A. Stuedel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})*, STDJ 13 (Leiden, 1994), 74.

²³ Les éditeurs (DJD XXXIV, 173, 176, 189) proposent de restaurer dans la lacune soit מְשִׂיזֵי soit מְשִׂיזֵי, « sa créance ». Mais ces deux restaurations ne conviennent ni pour l’espace, ni pour la trace de lettre à la cassure du fragment de la colonne ii (pied de *lamed*). La restauration אֵל convient parfaitement pour l’espace, les traces et le sens. Je remercie É. Puech qui m’a suggéré cette solution.

²⁴ Pour la formule אַל תְּקַטּוּל, dans le Siracide, on peut se reporter à : S. E. Fassberg, « On Syntax and Style in Ben Sira », 117–131 ; W. Th. van Peursen, « Negation in the Hebrew of Ben Sira », dans T. Muraoka et J.F. Elwolde, *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, 131 ; W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 186–187 ; 189 ; 191–192.

²⁵ Le syriaque traduit indistinctement les deux formules par ܐܠܝܡܢܘܢܝܢ.

La situation est identique en Si 7,30 où la construction avec לא se situe après une série de אל תקטול. Là aussi, le traducteur grec ne marque pas de nuances²⁶.

En Si 5,2, l'auteur s'inspire vraisemblablement de Nb 15,39. Or, il remplace la formule אל תקטול לא par une formule אל תקטול (Si 5,2 : אל תלך אחרי לבך : « ne marche pas derrière ton cœur et tes yeux » ; Nb 15,39 : וְלֹא-תִתְּרוּ : « ne suivez pas vos cœurs et vos yeux »).

On trouve au moins deux cas où la formule אל יקטול est employée dans un sens prédictif pour exprimer un indicatif futur alors qu'on aurait dû avoir לא יקטול (Si 6,8 : כי יש אוהב כפי עת ואל יעמוד ביום צרה : « Car il y a l'ami selon le temps et il ne tiendra pas au jour de la détresse »²⁷ ; Si 38,4 : וגבר : « et l'homme intelligent ne les rejettera pas »). Un tel cas particulier ne semble pas avoir de parallèle en hébreu biblique classique et doit résulter de la confusion sémantique des deux formules.

La position de la formule אל תקטול dans la proposition a été soigneusement étudiée par S. E. Fassberg²⁸. On retrouve les mêmes caractéristiques que dans 4QInstruction. À savoir que, dans la plupart des cas, la prohibition est placée en tête de proposition, cependant on la trouve également en milieu (49 cas) ou en fin de proposition (trois cas). Elle est alors souvent placée après un groupe prépositionnel, plus rarement après un complément d'objet direct.

1.4. Conclusions

Nous avons constaté que les deux auteurs employaient abondamment la formule אל תקטול aux dépens de la formule לא תקטול. Cette constatation d'ordre statistique établit un lien entre nos deux corpus. Néanmoins, il est possible qu'elle soit due à leurs genres littéraires. Les livres des Proverbes et de Qohelet utilisent également la formule אל תקטול mais dans une moindre mesure (63 fois et 14 fois). L'auteur des *Proverbes d'Ahiqar* l'emploie 43 fois alors qu'il n'utilise jamais la formule לא תקטול. Le texte étant relativement court, la fréquence doit être à peu près équivalente à celles du Siracide et de 4QInstruction.

²⁶ Cf. W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 192.

²⁷ LXX : οὐ μὴ παραμείνη ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεώς σου.

²⁸ S. E. Fassberg, « On Syntax and Style in Ben Sira », 122–124.

La formule *לא תקטול*, lorsqu'elle est employée, ne reflète pas une intensité particulière et le traducteur grec du Siracide ne fait pas de distinction entre les deux formulations. Ben Sira semble même les confondre puisqu'en Si 6,8 et Si 38,4, il emploie la formule *אל תקטול* pour exprimer un indicatif négatif.

La place de la formule dans la proposition fournit un indice diachronique. A. Shulman a montré que, dans l'hébreu biblique ancien, les formes volitives (impératifs, *א*, suivi du jussif, cohortatifs) apparaissent en tête de proposition dans 95 % des cas et en deuxième position dans 5 % des cas²⁹. De son côté, J. Joosten a souligné le fait que cette proportion était considérablement modifiée dans le livre de Qohelet (la formule *אל תקטול* se situe dix fois en tête de proposition et neuf fois en position médiane)³⁰. Nous avons vu que cette proportion avait également évolué en Ben Sira et en 4Q*Instruction*. On peut donc en conclure qu'il s'agit là d'une caractéristique syntaxique propre à l'hébreu tardif.

Enfin, l'emploi du volitif directement après un vocatif est également une caractéristique commune à 4Q*Instruction* et au Siracide³¹.

2. L'UTILISATION DES PARTICULES *פן* ET *למה*

2.1. Utilisation de la formule ... *פן* ... *אל תקטול*

Ces deux textes utilisent à de nombreuses reprises la particule *פן* « de peur que ». Elle est employée en hébreu biblique ancien et tend à disparaître en hébreu tardif³². À Qumrân, elle apparaît 64 fois dont 31 fois en

²⁹ A. Shulman, *The Use of Modal Verb Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Doctoral Thesis, Graduate Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, 1996.

³⁰ J. Joosten, « The Syntax of Volitive Verbal Forms in Qohelet in Historical Perspective », à paraître.

³¹ Dans les *Proverbes d'Alhiqar*, on trouve aussi un cas où le vocatif est placé en tête de proposition, juste avant la prohibition (TAD C1.1.80). Cf. S. E. Fassberg, « On Syntax and Style in Ben Sira », 128–129.

³² Elle est attestée 133 fois en hébreu biblique mais n'apparaît qu'une fois en 1 Ch 10,4 et jamais dans Esd, Ne, Est, Qo, Ct, Lm, Ez, Dn. La particule est habituellement remplacée par *למען לא*. Cette dernière expression n'apparaît que dans les textes exiliques et post-exiliques. Cf. A. Hurvitz, *בין לשון ללשון* (Jérusalem, 1972) ; Joüon-Muraoka, § 169d. M. F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, JSOT.S 90 (Sheffield, 1990), 172–173 ; R. M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-Exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source*, OTSt 419 (New York, 2005), 53–55. I. Young note que la situation de

4QInstruction. On la trouve également 34 fois dans le Siracide. Nos deux textes utilisent donc massivement une particule qui tend à disparaître en hébreu tardif.

On peut pousser plus loin le particularisme. En effet, la construction syntaxique ...אל תקטיל... פן est caractéristique des deux textes. Elle est attestée 19 fois en 4QInstruction³³ et 18 fois en Ben Sira³⁴. Or, cette construction est relativement rare en hébreu biblique ancien (15 attestations, dont huit dans le livre des Proverbes)³⁵. À Qumrân, en dehors de 4QInstruction, on ne la trouve qu'une seule fois, en 4Q364 26c-d 1 qui est une citation de Dt 9,27–29³⁶.

Autant dire que la formule n'apparaît jamais en hébreu tardif³⁷ à l'exception de ces deux textes qui l'emploient massivement.

2.2. L'utilisation de למה dans le sens de פן

Une autre particularité commune à ces deux textes est l'emploi de למה dans le sens de « de peur que » à la place de פן. On la trouve sept fois en Siracide et cinq fois en 4QInstruction.

Cet emploi de למה est attesté au moins deux fois en hébreu biblique (1 S 19,17 et 2 S 2,22)³⁸. Il se retrouve également dans des lettres rédigées

cette particule est complexe puisqu'elle est aussi rare dans le livre des Rois (hébreu biblique ancien) que dans le livre des Chroniques (hébreu tardif). Cf. le passage de 2 R 18,32 // Is 36,18 où l'auteur du deuxième livre des Rois utilise כי là où l'auteur d'Isaïe a פן. Cf. I. Young, « Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew inscriptions » dans I. Young, *Biblical Hebrew, Studies in Chronology and Typology*, JSOT.S 369 (Sheffield, 2003), 287.

³³ 4Q416 2 i 5.14 ; 4Q416 2 ii 11.16.18.20 ; 4Q416 2 iii 4.6.8 ; 4Q417 2 i 10.20.26 ; 4Q418 7b 10 ; 4Q418 8 11.17 ; 4Q418 9+9a-c 2.4.7 ; 4Q418 33 2.

³⁴ Pour l'utilisation de פן dans le Siracide, on peut se reporter à W. Th. van Peursen, « Negation in the Hebrew of Ben Sira », 230–233.

³⁵ Gn 19,17 ; Nb 16,26 ; Dt 9,27–28 ; Jg 18,25 ; 2 S 1,20 ; 17,16 ; Ps 28,1 ; 59,12 ; Pr 9,8 ; 20,13 ; 24,17–18 ; 25,8–10 ; 26,4 ; 30,6.10 ; Is 28,22 ; Jr 1,17.

³⁶ Il faut probablement ajouter 4Q525 14 ii 21 dont la négation est restaurée dans une lacune.

³⁷ La seule mention étant une citation de Dt 9,27–29.

³⁸ 1 S 19,17 : שְׁלַחְנִי לְמַה אֶמִּיתָךְ « laisse-moi partir de peur que je ne te tue ». 2 S 2,22 : סוּר לָךְ מֵאֶרְצָה מֵאֶרְצִי לְמַה אֶכְבֶּה אֶרְצָה « Écarte-toi de moi, de peur que je ne t'abatte à terre ». Cf. Jouion-Muraoka § 161h. Il faudrait certainement ajouter deux occurrences en Qo 5,5 et 7,16–17. Les traductions modernes ont traduit par l'interrogatif « pourquoi » (TOB, BJ, Segond). Néanmoins, le traducteur de la Septante l'a compris comme un פן, puisqu'il l'a traduit par ἵνα μή en Qo 5,5 et en 7,17, et par μήποτε en 7,16, d'une part ; d'autre part, on retrouve dans ces trois attestations de למה une construction du type ...אל תקטיל... למה, comme en Siracide et en 4QInstruction. Pour l'interprétation de למה dans le sens de « de peur que » en

en araméen d'empire (TAD A6.15.7 (= G. R. Driver 12) ; D7.16.3 ; D23.1.II.12) et dans les *Proverbes d'Ahiqar* (TAD C1.1.126³⁹ et peut-être C1.1.200). Il est aussi recensé une fois en araméen biblique (Esd 4,22)⁴⁰. En hébreu tardif, on trouve plutôt שלמה (Ct 1,7) ou אשר למה (Dn 1,10) dans le sens de « de peur que ». Il s'agit certainement d'une transposition de l'araméen דיילמה (Esd 7,23) ou دلמא (en syriaque ܕܠܡܐ)⁴¹. Il semblerait que cet emploi de למה ait disparu en hébreu mishnique.

La forme est attestée sept fois en Siracide (Si 8,1 ; 11,33 ; 12,5 ; 12,12b.d ; 30,12.). Le grec l'a rendu par μήποτε (8,1d ; 11,33 ; 12,12d ; 30,12), par ἴνα μή (12,5), et par μή suivi du subjonctif (12,12b). Le syriaque l'a rendu cinq fois par ܕܠܡܐ et deux fois par ܠܡܐ (12,12b ; 30,12). L'ensemble des versions s'accorde donc pour traduire la forme par une proposition finale négative.

- Si 8,1^[A] : אל תריב עם איש גדול למה תשוב על 42ב³
 אל תריב עם קשה ממך⁴³ למה תפול בידו
 « Ne te dispute pas avec un homme puissant
 de peur que tu ne te retournes contre lui
 Ne te dispute pas avec un plus fort que toi
 de peur que tu ne tombes dans son pouvoir ».
 LXX : μή διαμάχου μετὰ ἀνθρώπου δυνάστου μήποτε
 ἐμπέσης εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ⁴⁴.
 Si 11,33^[A] : גור מרע כי רע יוליד למה מום עולם תשא

Qohelet, cf. A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words, A Study of the Language of Qohelet*, OLA 41 (Leuven, 1992), 137–138.

³⁹ Cette référence est particulièrement significative puisqu'on retrouve une formule du type אל תקטול... למה : « ne bande pas ton arc et ne décoche pas ta flèche contre un juste de peur que dieu n'accoure à son aide et qu'il ne la retourne contre toi ».

⁴⁰ Cf. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 439–440, § 7.5.9.8. M. Dahood (« Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth », *Bib* 33 (1952), 195) rapproche cet usage de למה de l'utilisation de la conjonction לם en Phénicien (*CIS* 3.21 ; cf. J. Friederich, W. Röllig, *Phönizisch - Punische Grammatik*, 130, § 258 b). Mais, en raison du nombre d'occurrences de cette particule dans le sens de « de peur que » en araméen, il paraît plus sensé de considérer l'usage hébreu comme un aramaïsme plutôt qu'un « phénicisme ».

⁴¹ Cf. Joüion-Muraoka § 161h « la particule interrogative évolue vers le sens négatif “pour que... ne pas”. (...) En hébreu postérieur, avec le relatif servant de liaison, il a nettement ce sens ».

⁴² Z. Ben Hayyim lit [ל]בוי, M. Segal lit ידו (P. C. Beentjes n'a rien transcrit). La base du *bet* est visible ainsi qu'un *lamed* supralinéaire.

⁴³ La base du *mem*, ainsi que l'angle supérieur droit. La tête du *kaph* final est également visible.

⁴⁴ La LXX n'a retenu que les stiques a et d probablement par *homoioteleuton* alors que le syriaque n'a retenu que les stiques c et d. Ce dernier attestant le stique c, il faut certainement le retenir comme original. Il a traduit למה par ܕܠܡܐ.

- « Tremble devant le mal car il engendrera le mal
de peur que tu ne portes une tâche éternelle. »
LXX : μήποτε μῶμον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δῶ σοι
- Si 12,5^[A] : כלי חם אל תתן לו למה בם יקביל אליך
« Ne lui donne pas des armes de guerres
de peur qu'il ne les utilise contre toi. »
LXX : ἐμπόδισον τοὺς ἄρτους αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δῶς αὐτῷ ἵνα μὴ
ἐν αὐτοῖς σε δυναστεύσῃ⁴⁵
- Si 12,12b.d^[A] : אל תעמידה אצלך למה יהדפך ויעמד תחתך ;
אל תושיבהו לימינך למה יבקש מושבך
« Ne le place pas à coté de toi,
de peur qu'il ne te renverse et ne prenne ta place.
Ne le laisse pas s'asseoir à ta droite,
de peur qu'il ne convoite ta position. »
LXX : μὴ στήσης αὐτὸν παρὰ σεαυτῶ μὴ ἀνατρέψας σε στῆ
ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον σου μὴ καθίσῃς αὐτὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου μήποτε
ζητήσῃ τῆς καθέδρας σου.
- Si 30,12^[B] : ובקע מתניו כשהוא קטן למה ישקה [יקשיה | ישקה] ומרה בך
« Brise-lui les reins pendant qu'il est petit,
de peur qu'il ne devienne obstiné et qu'il ne se rebelle contre
toi »
LXX : μήποτε σκληρυνθεὶς ἀπειθήσῃ σοι

La forme est attestée cinq fois en 4QInstruction⁴⁶ :

- 1Q26 1 5 // 4Q423 4 1 : השמר לכה למה תכבדה ממנו « Garde-toi, de peur que
tu ne t'honores plus que moi⁴⁷ »
4Q416 2 ii 14 // 4Q418 8 15 : ואתה אל תבטח למה תשנא « Mais toi, ne fais pas
confiance⁴⁸ de peur que tu ne sois détesté⁴⁹ »
4Q417 2 i 22-23 // 4Q418 7b 6 : אל תכזב לו למה תשה עון « Ne le trompe pas
de peur que tu ne te charges⁵⁰ d'une faute »

⁴⁵ Le syriaque s'accorde ici avec l'hébreu.

⁴⁶ Nous n'avons mentionné que les exemples dont le contexte permet une interprétation certaine. Il faudrait peut-être ajouter 4Q418 172 11–12 :

[] שנה {למה} שנה []
[] שיבה למה חדמון []
[] dans tout leur pâturage {de peur que} année [après année]
[] ramène la de peur qu'elle ressemble []

⁴⁷ Ou « de peur qu'elle ne t'honore plus que moi/lui ». F. García Martínez, *DSSSE*², 67, traduit : « Why should you glorify yourself more than him », mais cf. DJD XXXIV, 537.

⁴⁸ L'expression אל תבטח ne se retrouve pas telle quelle ni dans l'AT ni à Qumrân. Elle est en revanche très fréquente chez Ben Sira (Si 5,5.7 ; 13,11 ; 15,4 ; 16,3 ; 32,15 ; 35,21) où elle est toujours suivie d'un complément introduit par על אל, ou ב, ce qui n'est pas le cas en 4Q416. Sans complément, nous optons pour la forme *Hiph'il* : « ne fais pas confiance ».

⁴⁹ Pour le sens שנא au *Niph'al*, cf. Si 13,10. Il est bon de comparer l'ensemble de cette proposition avec Si 13,10–11, qui regroupe les deux expressions.

4Q418 88 ii 3 : השמר לכה למה תערב לך] « Garde-toi, de peur que *tu ne sois responsable de* [»

4Q418 103 ii 6-7 : [«] מסהורכה אל תערוב אשר] [לרעכה] למה יהיה כלאים כבפרד : « ton commerce ne le mélange pas avec ce qui [est à ton prochain⁵¹] de peur qu'il ne devienne hybride comme *une mule* ».

Cet emploi de למה est plutôt rare ailleurs à Qumrân. On le trouve, néanmoins, une fois en 1Q22 (1QDibrêh Moshe) et trois fois dans le *Document de Damas* :

1Q22 1 ii 4 : [Garde-toi,] de peur que ton [co]ur ne s'élève »

4Q266 5 ii 2-3 // 4Q267 5 iii 5 : איש מאלה לא יקרא בספר התורה] למה ישוג בדבר « Aucun d'eux ne lira le livre de la Torah de peur qu'il ne commette une faute mortelle »⁵²

4Q266 8 i 1-2 // CD XV 11 : ואל יודיעהו איש המשפטים עד] עמדו לפני המבקר למה : « Que personne ne lui fasse connaître les instructions avant qu'il se tienne devant l'examinateur de peur qu'il ne soit trouvé inexpérimenté lorsqu'il l'examinera »

4Q271 3 8 // 4Q269 9 1 // 4Q270 5 14 : כול מומיה יספר לו למה יביא עליו את : « Qu'il lui révèle tous ses défauts de peur que vienne sur lui le jugement de condamnation »

En conclusion, on remarque que l'on trouve une nouvelle particularité linguistique, rare, commune à Siracide et à 4QInstruction. Il s'agit d'une construction caractéristique de l'hébreu tardif puisque, excepté les deux exemples en 1 S 19,17 et 2 S 2,22, l'ensemble des attestations ne se trouve qu'en Qohelet(?), Siracide, 4QInstruction, 1Q22 et 4QD.

3. L'UTILISATION DU PRONOM SUFFIXE POUR EXPRIMER LE RÉFLÉCHI

Pour exprimer le réfléchi, l'hébreu emploie ordinairement la forme verbale appropriée, le *Hitpa'el* ou, dans certains cas, le *Niph'al*⁵³. Il peut également employer un suffixe nominal après une proposition (Jg 3,16 : « Ehud se fit une épée » ; cf. aussi Gn 8,9b ; 33,17 ; 1 S 1,24 ; 2 R 5,11 ; Is 3,9) ou, dans quelques cas rares, le pronom suffixe

⁵⁰ Pour תשה, il faut certainement lire une forme de נשא. L'auteur aurait confondu le *aleph* du *he* comme à la ligne 19, lire לוא à la place de ליה.

⁵¹ Pour la restauration, cf. DJD XXXIV, p. 332.

⁵² En 1QS^a I 5, texte très proche de 4Q266 5 ii 2-3, on a פן יסוג.

⁵³ Cf. Joüon-Muraoka § 51c et § 53i.

associé à la particule אֵל de l'accusatif (Ex 5,19 ; Jr 7,19 ; Ez 34,2.8.10)⁵⁴. Mais en principe, le suffixe verbal n'est jamais employé pour exprimer le pronom réfléchi⁵⁵ (sauf en Ez 29,3⁵⁶ : $\text{וְאֲנִי עָשִׂיתִנִּי}$ « et moi, je me suis fait moi-même »).

Pourtant, trois cas en Siracide (Si 7,7 [2x] et Si 7,16) attestent une telle construction. On a pu penser qu'il s'agissait d'une erreur de grammaire, mais au moins deux exemples en 4QInstruction (1Q26 l 5.8 // 4Q423 4 l 1) confirment qu'il s'agit bien d'une tournure propre à l'hébreu tardif et, plus particulièrement, à nos deux auteurs. En dehors de ces cinq cas, nous avons trouvé un seul autre exemple à Qumrân, douteux textuellement, en 4Q364 26b,e ii 3⁵⁷.

Les trois cas en Siracide sont les suivants :

Si 7,7 : $\text{אֵל תְּרַשִׁיעַךְ בַּעֲדַת שְׁעָרֵי אֵל}$
 $\text{וְאֵל תְּפִילְךְ בַּקְּהֵלָה}$
 « Ne te déclare pas coupable dans l'assemblée de la porte⁵⁸,
 et ne t'abaisse pas toi-même dans la foule. »
 LXX : $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$

⁵⁴ Joüon-Muraoka § 146k.

⁵⁵ Joüon-Muraoka § 62b.

⁵⁶ cf. A. Abronim, הערות (Notes), *Les.* 1 (1927–1928), 206–210. W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 54, ajoute 1 S 2,29 : $\text{וְתִכְבֹּד אֶת־בְּנֵיךָ מִמֶּנִּי לְהַבְרִיאָכֶם מִרְאֵשִׁית קָל־מִנְחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַמִּי}$: « Et (pourquoi) as-tu honoré tes fils plus que moi, vous vous engraissez du meilleur de toutes les offrandes d'Israël, mon peuple ? ». Mais cet exemple est incertain puisqu'il s'agit d'un infinitif avec suffixe. Cf. la remarque de J. Joosten dans W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 54, note 10.

⁵⁷ 4Q364 26b,e ii 3 : $\text{וְיֹאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלֵי פִסְלָכֶם שְׁנֵן לִוְחֹת אֲבָנִים}$: « Et Yhwh me dit : “taille-toi deux tables de pierres” ». Ce texte cite Dt 10,1 : $\text{וְיֹאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלֵי פִסְלֵי־לָךְ שְׁנֵן־לִוְחֹת אֲבָנִים}$: « Yhwh me dit : “taille, pour toi, deux tables de pierres” ». En Dt 10,1, le pronom réfléchi est exprimé avec une préposition suivie du pronom suffixe alors qu'en 4Q364 26b,e ii 3, le pronom suffixe est directement attaché à l'impératif. Mais, il s'agit probablement d'une haplographie. Un autre exemple serait possible en 11QPs^a XXII 14 si on lit, avec M. Morgenstern, חֲתַבְעַךְ comme un imparfait deuxième personne féminin de חָבַע « chercher, demander » avec un suffixe réfléchi. Il traduit alors ainsi $\text{וְהִלּוּמוֹת נְבִיאִים חֲתַבְעַךְ}$ « consider the vision spoken of you, and seek out the dreams of the prophets ». M. Morgenstern, *DSD* 14 (2007), 193. Je remercie J. Joosten de m'avoir signalé cette référence.

⁵⁸ Littéralement : « l'assemblée des portes de dieu ». Mais il faut corriger le texte hébreu à partir du grec et du syriaque qui s'accordent pour lire « l'assemblée de la ville ». M. Ségol, $\text{סֵפֶר בֵּן סִירָא הַשְּׁלֵם}$ (Jerusalem, 1997), 45, propose de lire soit בַּעֲדַת אֵל , « l'assemblée divine » avec le Ps 82,1, soit בַּעֲדַת שַׁעַר , « l'assemblée de la porte », c'est-à-dire le lieu de la ville où l'on porte le jugement. אֵל serait une dittographie du וְאֵל qui suit. L'erreur de scribe se serait produite après les traductions grecque et syriaque qui lisent toutes deux « l'assemblée de la ville ». Une *Vorlage* בַּעֲדַת עִיר nécessiterait de corriger considérablement le texte hébreu : supprimer le שֵׁן , puis une métathèse, puis une dittographie. Mieux vaut supposer que les traducteurs grec et syriaque ont actualisé l'expression.

καὶ μὴ καταβάλης σεαυτὸν ἐν ὄχλῳ
 « Ne pêche pas contre l'assemblée de la ville,
 ne t'abaisse pas toi-même dans la foule. »
 Syr : ܩܘܘܝܢܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ
 ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ
 « Ne te condamne pas toi-même dans l'assemblée de la ville,
 Et ne te soumets pas toi-même à leurs jugements ».

Dans le premier stique, la LXX a ignoré le pronom suffixe et a traduit par une forme active « ne pêche pas » ; dans le second stique, elle a bien rendu le pronom suffixe par une forme réfléchie *μὴ καταβάλης σεαυτόν*. Le traducteur syriaque, lui, a rendu les deux formes par un réfléchi.

Si 7,16a : ܐܠ ܗܫܝܒܝܚ ܒܡܗܝ ܥܡ
 « Ne te surestime pas parmi les hommes du peuple »
 LXX : μὴ προσλογίζου σεαυτὸν ἐν πλήθει ἁμαρτωλῶν
 « Ne te joints pas à l'assemblée des pécheurs »
 Syr : ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ
 « N'aie pas pitié de toi même plus que d'un homme de ton peuple »

Le grec et le syriaque, même s'ils traduisent diversement le verbe *חשב*, s'accordent pour traduire le pronom suffixe par un pronom réfléchi.

On retrouve ce même type de construction en 4QInstruction :

1Q26 1 5 (// 4Q423 4 1) : ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ
 « Garde-toi, de peur que *tu* ne t'honores plus que *moi*⁵⁹ »

A. Schoors⁶⁰ mentionne un deuxième exemple en 1Q26 1 8 :

1Q26 1 8 : ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ
]ל[« N[e] [t']enorgueillis pas devant tous[»

Néanmoins, cet exemple présente deux inconvénients. Tout d'abord, le *taw* de la deuxième personne du masculin singulier est restauré ; une reconstruction *ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ* serait tout aussi probable, sinon plus, dans ce contexte⁶¹. Ensuite, la lecture d'un *gimel* avant le *dalet* ou le *res* nous paraît improbable. La trace de lettre est bien trop haute pour correspondre à la

⁵⁹ Ce premier exemple est discutable en raison de son contexte lacunaire. En effet, le sujet du verbe *ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ* pourrait être une troisième personne fém. sing. « De peur qu'elle ne t'honore plus que lui/moi ». F. García Martínez, *DSSSE*², 67, traduit : « Why should you glorify yourself more than him ». On notera aussi que le premier impératif emploie le pronom réfléchi avec la préposition *lamed* comme en Jg 3,16 : ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ ܩܘܘܠܘܥܐ « Ehud se fit une épée » (cf. Gn 8,9b ; 33,17 ; 1 S 1,24 ; 2 R 5,11 ; Is 3,9 ; Joïon-Muraoka, § 146k).

⁶⁰ A. Schoors, « The language of the Qumran Sapiential Works », 72.

⁶¹ Voir les arguments des éditeurs dans DJD XXXIV, 537–538.

fin de la jambe du *gimel* (cf. le *gimel* suivit d'un *dalet* dans le נגד qui suit). Aussi, il serait préférable de lire un *waw* et de restituer ג[ורלכה « ton lot devant tous... ».

On peut mentionner encore deux exemples, malheureusement incertains en raison de leurs contextes lacunaires.

4Q417 1 ii 13 : לאמת תדרוש אל תפתכה לְן « Tu rechercheras la fidélité et ne te laisse pas séduire... »

4Q417 1 ii 14 : בלוא צִיִּי נבונות בשר אל תשגכה : « ... sans qu'il commande les intelligences de la chair. Ne t'égare pas[...] »

En conclusion, la plupart des exemples fournis par 4Q*Instruction* sont incertains en raison du contexte lacunaire des fragments. Cependant, le cas de תכבדכה en 1Q26 1 5 (// 4Q423 4 1) est suffisamment probant pour conclure que nos deux textes présentent une particularité unique.

4. CONCLUSION

Dans cette analyse, nous avons montré que 4Q*Instruction* et le livre du Siracide présentaient des constructions syntaxiques similaires qui ne se retrouvent pas, ou rarement, en hébreu tardif. Nous avons relevé les éléments suivants :

- l'abondance de la formule אל תקטול aux dépens de la formule לא תקטול.
- Nous avons remarqué que les deux formules אל תקטול et לא תקטול ne présentaient plus de réelles distinctions de sens. Ceci est particulièrement notable dans le Siracide où les deux formules se recourent et où les versions anciennes ne font pas de distinctions.
- Nous avons noté que la position de la prohibition au milieu ou en fin de proposition reflétait une syntaxe tardive.
- L'abondance de la formule אל תקטול... פן... est certainement le point clé de notre démonstration. En effet, d'une part cette expression est particulièrement rare, tant en hébreu classique qu'en hébreu tardif. D'autre part, la particule פן tend à disparaître en hébreu tardif où elle est remplacée par la formule למען ל. On peut donc parler d'un classicisme commun, voire d'un pseudo-classicisme⁶², puisque nous avons remarqué que la position de la formule אל תקטול en milieu de proposition était plutôt une caractéristique tardive.

⁶² J. Joosten, « Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew » dans T. Muraoka, J. F. Elwolde, *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, 146–159.

- L'emploi de la particule למה chez ces deux auteurs est, elle aussi, une caractéristique commune, rare, et qui disparaît en hébreu mishnique.
- L'emploi du pronom suffixe pour exprimer le réfléchi était un cas particulier connu de Ben Sira. On retrouve une même construction syntaxique en 4QInstruction. L'état fragmentaire et l'absence de vocalisation des textes peuvent cependant, mais difficilement, laisser planer un doute sur l'interprétation de ces formules.

Ces éléments syntaxiques devraient être complétés par une comparaison sur le plan sémantique. On pourrait ainsi noter que le Siracide et 4QInstruction emploient tous deux le verbe לקה dans un sens cognitif⁶³ et qu'ils utilisent fréquemment le *Niph'al* de שמר ou le participe *Hiph'il* de בן.

L'ensemble de ces éléments nous invite à proposer quelques conclusions. Notre but n'est pas de montrer que Ben Sira et 4QInstruction sont le fruit d'un même auteur. Malgré les ressemblances, les deux textes présentent aussi de sérieuses différences. On peut noter, par exemple, l'emploi de la particule וא en 4QInstruction (39 fois) alors qu'elle a quasiment disparu de l'hébreu tardif (60 fois ailleurs à Qumrân) et qu'elle n'apparaît que trois fois en Siracide. Cependant, il faut justifier l'origine des tournures syntaxiques communes qui leurs sont propres. Nous avons noté trop d'éléments pour que ces dernières soient le fruit du hasard. Nous savons que Ben Sira ouvrit une école de sagesse (Si 51,23). En a-t-il suivi une ? Puisque ces deux auteurs sont plus ou moins contemporains et qu'ils se situent dans une même zone géographique, il est possible qu'ils aient reçu une même formation. Il apparaît clairement, dans tous les cas, qu'ils se situent tous deux dans un courant sapientiel similaire.

Nous avons aussi souligné le fait que la plupart des constructions syntaxiques relevées apparaissent, pour certaines, bien qu'en moindre mesure, dans le livre des proverbes, mais également dans les *Proverbes d'Ahiqar* rédigés en araméen d'empire au Ve siècle avant J.-C. Ces constatations nous amènent ainsi à conclure que, outre les éléments diachroniques, il faut aussi tenir compte d'une influence du genre littéraire sur le vocabulaire et sur la syntaxe employés par un auteur.

Ainsi, faut-il attribuer les concordances linguistiques de 4QInstruction et de Ben Sira à une même école ou simplement à un genre littéraire

⁶³ Cf. A. Lange, « Kognitives *lqh* in Sap A, im T^cnak und Sir », *ZAH* 9 (1996), 190–195. Un tel emploi de לקה est attesté cinq fois en hébreu biblique (Jr 9,19 ; Ez 3,10 ; Pr 4,10 ; 21,11 ; 24,32) et deux fois ailleurs à Qumrân (4Q469 2 2 ; 11Q5 XXII 13).

commun ? Il ne semble pas possible d'apporter une réponse claire. Peut-être faut-il accorder du sens à ces deux hypothèses.

SPOKEN HEBREW OF THE LATE SECOND TEMPLE
PERIOD ACCORDING TO ORAL AND WRITTEN
SAMARITAN TRADITION*

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Three different varieties of the Hebrew language are in use among present days Samaritans: Modern Israeli Hebrew, Samaritan Neo-Hebrew,¹ and Samaritan Hebrew. While Samaritan Neo-Hebrew is the language used mainly for liturgical compositions after the revival of Hebrew in the 12th century CE, Samaritan Hebrew (= SH) is the Hebrew language employed in the reading of the Torah as transmitted in the Samaritan community. The present contribution will focus on the latter only.

The linguistic evaluation of SH has undergone dramatic changes over the last 50 years, especially due to the work of Zeev Ben-Hayyim.² While Rudolf Macuch in his comprehensive “Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch” (1969) tried to explain most of the peculiarities of SH as the result of influence from the Arabic vernacular adopted by the Samaritans around the 11th century CE,³ Ben-Hayyim successfully demonstrated

* Thanks are due to Mr. James Harland (Bethel/Oxford) for his thoughtful comments and for correcting my English.

¹ For a detailed account of the latter, see Moshe Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew: a linguistic analysis of its different types*, Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics 43 (Leiden/Boston, 2005).

² See especially Zeev Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans* (5 volumes) (Jerusalem, 1957–1977 [= LOT I–V]). Volume 5 contains a grammar of Samaritan Hebrew which was subsequently translated into English: Zeev Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar of Samaritan Hebrew: based on the recitation of the law in comparison with the Tiberian and other Jewish traditions* (revised edition in English with assistance from Abraham Tal) (Jerusalem, Winona Lake, 2000).

³ However, the replacement of Samaritan Aramaic by Arabic as the vernacular was obviously a gradual process, see Haseeb Shehadeh, “The Arabic translation of the Pentateuch”, in Alan D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen, 1989), 481–516 (especially 483–489).

that the language of the Samaritan reading of the Torah preserves the characteristics of Hebrew as spoken in the late Second Temple period:

“[...] [T]he characteristics of S[amaritan] H[ebrew] developed in the wake of the linguistic trends that became prominent in the period of the Second temple [...] S[amaritan] H[ebrew] preserves one of the language types spoken amongst the last generations of Hebrew speakers before Hebrew was displaced by Aramaic.”⁴

It seems to me, nevertheless, that the exact place of SH within this rather broad linguistic context has not yet been sufficiently described, neither in terms of language history nor in terms of Hebrew dialectology. Towards this aim, I shall deal with the following sub-problems:

1. Samaritan Hebrew and the history of the Hebrew language,
2. SH as a Hebrew dialect,
3. The linguistic relation between the oral and the written tradition of SH,
4. SH and the phonetics of late Second Temple Hebrew.

1. SAMARITAN HEBREW AND THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE

As has been convincingly demonstrated by Ben-Hayyim and others, SH shares many linguistic features with the Hebrew language attested in the scrolls from Qumran, and with Mishnaic Hebrew. As to the question of whether the particular features of SH should be described in terms of Hebrew language history or rather in terms of Hebrew dialectology, Ben-Hayyim's conclusion is as follows:

“Given that the spiritual center of the Samaritans was throughout the generations in the hill country of Ephraim, [...] we are tempted to attribute the particular features of the language of the S[amaritan] P[entateuch] to differences of dialect between the Hebrew in use in Ephraim and that current in Judah in general and [in] the Jerusalem area in particular. However, sustained and careful attention to the differences in orthography and word formation reveals that many of the features of SH are the same as those evident in non-Biblical Hebrew literature among the Jews, such as rabbinic literature. Furthermore, now that we have access to a number of [...] works [...] preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and find their linguistic features similar to SH, it is entirely certain that we

⁴ Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 340.

cannot ascribe the differences between the Biblical Hebrew of the Jewish Pentateuch and those of the SP to differences of place alone, but rather to differences of time.”⁵

Thus, Ben-Hayyim clearly expresses the view that the relation of Samaritan Hebrew towards other forms of Hebrew, especially Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew, should be described in terms of language history rather than in terms of Hebrew dialectology.⁶ This view has even been reinforced by Moshe Florentin:

“The cause of these dissimilarities [*i.e.* between Samaritan Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew] was time [...]: We believe that SH postdates not only [the] H[ebrew of the] D[ead]S[ea]S[crolls], but the Hebrew reflected in the good manuscripts of the Mishnah as well. By contrast to our lack of knowledge of any linguistic trends which are defined by geographical location, the history of the Hebrew language has pointed out a number of linguistic phenomena which have intensified over the course of time.”⁷

However, Florentin’s view seems problematic from at least two different perspectives:

—His postdating of SH compared to the Hebrew language of the Dead Sea scrolls is contradicted by a number of features in which SH preserves a more conservative stage of language history. One of them is the weakening of the laryngeals and pharyngeals. SH does not attest the complete weakening of these: While historical \aleph and η merged in SH into [ʔ] under all circumstances, historical η and ε show a different development: Although having merged into [ʔ] in most cases, they merged into [ʕ], which was retained under special phonetic conditions.⁸ Therefore, SH attests a more conservative stage not only in comparison to Samaritan Aramaic, which does not seem to have retained [ʕ] under any circumstances,⁹ but also in comparison to the Hebrew language of

⁵ Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 4 and compare Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, 15.

⁶ Similarly Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, 15.

⁷ Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew*, 15f.

⁸ See Zeev Ben-Hayyim, “Some problems of a Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew”, *Biblica* 52 (1971), 229–255 (especially 248–250). This phonetic development is not unique to SH, but it is known from Galilean Aramaic as well, see Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, “Studies in Galilean Aramaic” (Hebr.), in *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), 169–226 (especially 209–226).

⁹ In a Samaritan Aramaic acrostic poem, עבדִתְנוּן appears at the beginning of the η -line. According to the phonetic rules operative in SH, one would have expected that this word started with [ʕ]; its place in the acrosticon proofs, however, that the first consonant is [ʔ], see Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 38. Similarly Rudolf Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*, *Studia Samaritana* 4 (Berlin/New York, 1982), 9.

some of the documents from the Judean desert.¹⁰ Thus, e.g. the language of the scribe of 1QIs^a seems to have been characterized by a complete weakening of the laryngeals and pharyngeals.¹¹

—Although our knowledge of the dialect geography of Hebrew in ancient times is admittedly very limited, this does not, of course, exclude the existence of dialects or even the possibility to reconstruct some of their features. For example, if two varieties of Hebrew contain corresponding features which cannot be related one to the other through a language historical development, we should conclude that we are dealing with two different dialects of Hebrew, even if we do not know exactly in which areas these dialects were spoken.¹²

In the following, I will not attempt a presentation and analysis of those features in which SH seems to attest a more advanced stage in terms of language history than Biblical Hebrew as known from the Masoretic tradition, since they have been treated in different studies and are generally acknowledged by scholars.¹³ Rather, I would like to present in the following some instances where the Samaritan reading tradition of the Torah contains features which are more conservative in terms of Hebrew language history than their respective counterparts in the Masoretic tradition. The observation that these conservative features may be identified within SH side by side with the more advanced ones mentioned above seems to be a first and very strong argument in favor of the thesis that SH is a Hebrew dialect of its own.

1.1. *Internal passive*

It is usually assumed, both from a text-critical as well as from a linguistic point of view, that one of the characteristics which set the Samaritan Pentateuch apart from its Masoretic counterpart, is the prevalence of a strong tendency to replace internal passive forms.¹⁴

¹⁰ See Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Harvard Semitic studies 29 (Atlanta, 1986), 25.

¹¹ See Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *The language and linguistic background of the Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden, 1974), 505–511.

¹² Similarly Moshe Bar-Asher, *לשון חכמים. תדפיס מוקדם מתוך ספר היובל לרב מרדכי ברויאר*, (Jérusalem, 1991), § 10–11. Compare below, chapter 2.

¹³ The most significant of these features have been collected in Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, passim.

¹⁴ See Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 177–179.

Nevertheless, SH preserves not a few instances of internal passive forms, corresponding to *qal* passive and *hof'al*. As to *pu'al*-forms, a conclusive result regarding their existence in SH is impossible, since they would have become homophone with the respective forms of *pi'el*.¹⁵

Significantly, the internal passive forms of SH appear even in contexts where the consonantal framework would have allowed for a reading in the active as well. This demonstrates that these forms are not just survivals, preserved in the consonantal framework only due to an allegedly conservative attitude of scribes, but a living feature in the Hebrew language used at the time when the reading tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch emerged and became fixed, i.e. the late Second Temple period or, more specifically, the late 2nd century BCE.¹⁶

Moreover, although a comparison with the Masoretic text of the Pentateuch reveals a number of instances where the latter preserved internal passive forms which were replaced in the Samaritan tradition, the opposite phenomenon—internal passive forms preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch, but replaced in the Masoretic—is attested as well. One example is Gen 44:28, where the MT reads וַיֵּצֵא הָאֱחָד מֵאֶתוֹ וַאֲמַר אֵד טָרַף טָרַף, while the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *wēmār* “and it was said” instead of וַאֲמַר “and I said”.

As to the distribution of internal passive forms as contained in the Masoretic vocalization, on the one hand, and the Samaritan vocalization, on the other, a comparison related to the Book of Genesis shows a very interesting and somewhat unexpected figure:¹⁷

Both the MT and the SP preserve internal passive forms in 13 cases. Out of these thirteen, the MT and SP share 7 cases of internal passive forms,¹⁸ with the MT leaving 6 internal passive forms where the SP has active forms,¹⁹ as well as the SP containing 6 internal passive forms where the MT has active forms.²⁰

Evidently, this scheme makes it rather difficult to compare the Masoretic and the Samaritan tradition in terms of preservation versus aban-

¹⁵ See Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 182.

¹⁶ See below, note 42.

¹⁷ The Samaritan vocalization of the Pentateuch is best available in the transcription of the Samaritan reading of the Torah as published by Zeev Ben-Hayyim in *LOT IV*.

¹⁸ Gen 4:24; 12:15; 38:24; 41:28; 44:3; 50:26. Additionally, the SP contains a *qal* passive participle in Gen 25:10 as against a *pu'al* in the MT.

¹⁹ Gen 2:1; 4:26; 7:19.20; 10:21; 40:15.

²⁰ Gen 12:16; 38:14; 41:28.31; 44:28; 48:2.

donment of internal passive forms. Although there is an obvious tendency in the Samaritan Pentateuch to change internal passive forms into active forms, the Masoretic vocalization attests a similar tendency, too, and even to a similar extent.

1.2. *Dual*

As has already been observed by Zeev Ben-Hayyim,²¹ the Samaritan reading tradition preserves the dual of nouns before the personal suffix, unattested in the Masoretic tradition:

Gen 11:31 (SP): ואת שרי ואת מלכה כלתו [...] ואת שרי ואת מלכה כלתו
(*kallūtu* “his two daughters”, instead of *kallūto* “his daughters”)

Gen 19:15 (SP): ואת שתי בנותיך
(*bānūtak* “his two sons”, instead of *bānūtək* “his sons”)

Regarding this feature, the Samaritan reading tradition clearly preserves a more conservative stage in the history of the Hebrew language than the Masoretic vocalization.

1.3. *The article*

Since the article does not appear in writing in certain positions (i.e. between preposition and noun), but only in the reading, we may separately analyze the application of the article in the consonantal framework and its application in the reading tradition.

If we compare the application of the article in the consonantal framework of the MT, the Masoretic vocalization and the Samaritan vocalization,²² we arrive at the following picture: The most conservative stage in terms of language history is preserved in the consonantal framework of the Masoretic text, which is hardly surprising. It may be more surprising to see, however, that the Masoretic vocalization attests the most advanced stage of these three corpora as regarding the application of the definite

²¹ Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 229.

²² The consonantal framework of SP exhibits the same rules for the application of the definite article as the Samaritan vocalization, see Stefan Schorch, *Determination and the Use of the Definite Article in the Samaritan and in the Masoretic Text of the Torah*, *JSS* 48 (2003), 287–320, and compare below, 2.1.

article. Although the Samaritan reading tradition attests a more advanced stage than the Masoretic consonantal framework, it is nevertheless more conservative with regard to the application of the article than the Masoretic vocalization.²³

The above examples demonstrate that the opposition of preservation versus abandonment of archaic or conservative features does not suffice to describe the relationship between the language of the Masoretic text of the Pentateuch and that transmitted in the Samaritan version. Although in many respects both the Masoretic consonantal framework as well as the Masoretic vocalization preserve a stage which is more conservative than SH in terms of Hebrew language history, nevertheless a number of features exist where the Samaritan Pentateuch preserves the more conservative stage vis-à-vis the Masoretic text. Therefore, the linguistic distinctiveness of each version as opposed to the other seems rather to be determined by a different distribution of features which are either conservative or advanced in terms of Hebrew language history. Thus, SH cannot just be regarded as reflecting a more advanced stage in the history of the Hebrew language than the Hebrew as preserved in the Masoretic text, but should be described as a Hebrew dialect of its own.

2. SAMARITAN HEBREW AS A HEBREW DIALECT

Apart from the different distribution of linguistically conservative and linguistically advanced features, the existence of a dialectal difference between the Samaritan and the Masoretic tradition is confirmed by further evidence: The existence of features in one version which cannot be explained as being related to corresponding features in the other version through a language historical development.²⁴

2.1. *The article*

One such feature is the use and meaning of the definite article: Although the two parts of the Masoretic tradition significantly differ from one

²³ For a detailed account of this view see Schorch, *Determination*.

²⁴ See above, 1.

another in this field, they both share at least one common and very significant feature: the generic use of the article. In SH, however this function is something of an exception, both in the written and in the oral tradition. Thus, the Samaritan tradition as a whole, is set apart from the Masoretic tradition as a whole, by many differences regarding the generic use of the article, e.g.

Exod 34:3 (MT): גם הוצאן והבקר אל ירעו אל מול ההר ההוא

Exod 34:3 (SP): וגם צאן ובקר אל ירעו אל מול ההר ההוא

Lev 26:19 (MT): ונתתי את שמיכם כברזל

Lev 26:19 (SP): ונתתי את שמיכם *כברזל²⁵

This difference cannot be explained as the result of historical linguistic development, due to the following observations regarding the use of the article: As shown above, the bi-partite Samaritan tradition reflects, generally speaking, an intermediate stage in terms of Hebrew language history regarding the use of the definite article, being more advanced than the consonantal framework of the Masoretic text, but more conservative than the Masoretic vocalization. The generic use of the definite article is here an exception, since its distribution does not vary in a significant way between the consonantal framework of the Masoretic text and its vocalization, but between the two traditions. Thus, the generic use of the definite article should be regarded as a dialectal feature of Masoretic Hebrew as opposed to the Samaritan tradition, where this feature is very infrequent.

2.2. *The inflection of the noun לילה*

A second exemplary feature is the construct state of the noun לילה: While the Masoretic tradition has ליל, the construct state of לילה in SH is *līla* (Exod 12:42 – MT ליל שְׁמֵרִים, SP *līla sēmīram*).²⁶ Again, the difference between the two forms, ליל in the Masoretic text and *līla* in SH, cannot be

²⁵ The transcription of the Samaritan vocalization into Masoretic vocalization signs is for the sake of the comparison. The Samaritan reading has *kābarzal*.

²⁶ In SH, the absolute and the construct state of לילה are identical in spelling (לילה) and pronunciation (*līla*).

described in terms of language history, but clearly points to a dialectal diversity between the two traditions.²⁷

3. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE WRITTEN AND THE ORAL TRADITION OF SAMARITAN HEBREW

One of the key problems of the linguistic evaluation of SH seems to be the question of the relationship between the written and the oral transmission. As in many other cases, Ben-Hayyim and Macuch went here in almost opposite directions: Macuch's book attests a clear tendency to base the grammatical description of SH on the language as transmitted in the manuscripts. Ben-Hayyim, on the other hand, obviously favors the reading tradition as the authentic testimony of SH²⁸ and regards the written text merely as an archaic survival of an older linguistic stratum, dating back to the First Temple period:

“From the Hebrew of the First Temple period, only one literary source has been preserved among the Samaritans: the Torah as preserved in Samaritan Torah scrolls.”²⁹

According to Ben-Hayyim, this older textual stratum was interpreted by the reading tradition in the context of a new linguistic environment – לשון עתיקה במציאות חדשה.³⁰

It seems, however, that neither of the two scholars take sufficient account of the facts. Macuch did not pay enough attention to the observation that the spelling in Samaritan manuscripts is to a high degree dependent on the reading tradition, as has been pointed out by BEN-Hayyim:

“שכן אין דומה הנוסח השומרוני לנוסח היהודי בצורת מסירתו. [...] מאות כתבי היד של הנוסח השומרוני הידועים נבדלים זה מזה בדרכי הכתיב הבדלים רבים [...]. לפיכך אתה מוצא חילופים

²⁷ For a similar situation in Mishnaic Hebrew as compared to Biblical Hebrew, see Moshe Bar-Asher, לשון חכמים, § 10-11.

²⁸ See especially his chapter “Material for the Grammar”, in Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 13–17.

²⁹ Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 3.

³⁰ This is of course the title of a famous book written by Ben-Hayyim: לשון עתיקה במציאות חדשה: שיחות על בעיות בלשון העברית החדשה (Jerusalem, 1953). A good example for this view is Ben-Hayyim's explanation of the emergence of the *nif'al*^b, see below.

בכתבי יד של הנוסח השומרוני בינם לבין עצמם בכתוב תבות [...] בעוד ההגייה היא לעולם אחת
 31" [...]

Therefore, the text as transmitted in writing obviously has to be interpreted in light of the reading.

On the other hand, Ben-Hayyim and SH research in his footsteps treated the consonantal framework and the reading as two different linguistic corpora (one from the period of the First Temple, the other from the late Second Temple period), thus underestimating the high measure of homogeneity which exists between the reading tradition and the consonantal framework. Although thus neglected, however, this homogeneity between the two parts of the Samaritan tradition is a very prominent feature. Unlike the Masoretic tradition, in which differences between the oral and the written transmission are obvious,³² the Samaritan tradition appears to have harmonized the written and the oral transmission of the text of the Pentateuch to a high degree. This is apparent on different levels, as will be indicated by the following two examples:

—While the Masoretic text shows significant differences regarding the rules by which the application of the definite article is governed in the written consonantal framework as opposed to the vocalization, both parts of the Samaritan tradition are uniform in this respect.³³

—Both the consonantal framework of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its oral reading tradition are characterized by the same tendency to create a clear-cut linguistic distinction between the God of Israel, on the one side, and other gods or men, on the other. Thus, the word אלהים, when referring to the God of Israel, is always used in the Singular, but in the Plural, when referring to other gods.³⁴ The following examples may illustrate this tendency of the Samaritan Pentateuch against the

³¹ “The Samaritan text of the Torah is not similar to the Jewish text regarding the way of its tradition. [...] The hundreds of known manuscripts of the Samaritan text are different one from the other in their spelling in numerous instances [...]. Therefore, one encounters differences in the various manuscripts of the Samaritan text regarding the spelling, while the reading is always the same [...]” (Zeev Ben-Hayyim in his preface to the synoptic edition of the Samaritan and the Masoretic text of the Torah, prepared by Abraham and Ratzon Sadaka).

³² Clear examples are the differences between *Ketib* and *Qere*.

³³ See Schorch, *Determination*, 304–306.

³⁴ See Stefan Schorch, *Die (sogenannten) anti-polytheistischen Korrekturen im samaritanischen Pentateuch*, *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum*, Theologische Fakultät Leipzig 15/16 (1999), 4–21 (especially 15–17).

background of the respective original reading as preserved in the Masoretic text:

Gen 35:7 (MT): גַּלְוֹ אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים

Gen 35:7 (SP): גַּלְהֵ אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים

Exod 22:8 (MT): יִרְשִׁיעַ אֱלֹהִים

Exod 22:8 (SP): יִרְשִׁיעַנִי הָאֱלֹהִים*³⁵

Similarly, the Samaritan reading tradition makes a difference in the pronunciation of אֲדֹנִי “(my) Lord”: When referring to the God of Israel, it is *ādāni*, while *ādanni*, when referring to men.³⁶ Within the Masoretic tradition, distinctions like this are known from the vocalization (אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה) *versus* (אֲדֹנִי נַפְשִׁי), but not from the consonantal framework. Most obviously, therefore, this homogeneity of the oral and the written transmission is a feature which sets the Samaritan tradition apart from the Masoretic.

That the written and the oral tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch should not be treated separately is supported by a further argument, extending to the date of origin of the consonantal framework of the Samaritan Torah, on the one hand, and of the reading tradition, on the other.

It is generally acknowledged that the final form of the written Samaritan Pentateuch was shaped and edited towards the end of the 2nd century BCE.³⁷ The main argument for this conclusion is the comparison with Biblical manuscripts found in the Judean Desert: The Samaritan Pentateuch shares the same editorial tendencies like biblical manuscripts from Qumran from the end of the 2nd century BCE. Before and after that very period, different editorial tendencies were at work, and therefore the Samaritan Pentateuch must have undergone its final editing at that time. This editorial process mainly consisted of two features:

—The literary harmonization of parallel passages,³⁸ which means that differences between parallel passages in the Book of Deuteronomy and the former books of the Pentateuch, as e.g. in the Ten commandments, have been leveled out.

³⁵ The Samaritan reading has *yars̄ȳyinnu*, being the Samaritan equivalent to יִרְשִׁיעַנִי.

³⁶ See Schorch, *Die (sogenannten) anti-polytheistischen Korrekturen*, 18.

³⁷ See Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, *Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's compilation in light of the Qumran biblical scrolls*, in Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields (ed.), *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden, 2003), 215–240 (especially 239–240).

³⁸ See Eshel, *Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's compilation*, 238–240.

—Linguistic harmonization, adaptations and updating.³⁹

With regard to the latter, the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its pre-Samaritan predecessors resemble phenomena well observable in 1QIsa^a,⁴⁰ although the scribe of 1QIsa^a seems to have been much more careless in matters of orthography than it is observable in the (pre-)Samaritan tradition.

The conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that the consonantal framework of the Samaritan Pentateuch is in essence a product of the late 2nd century BCE. It not only was edited at that time, but due to the editing principles prevalent in the Samaritan text, especially due to its strong tendency towards linguistic updating, it reflects the language of the time of its editing to a large extent. Thus, it cannot be regarded as a testimony of the First temple period, as Ben-Hayyim did,⁴¹ although most of its texts seem to have originated at that time.

As to the reading tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, its emergence and development into a fixed set of reading rules, including vocalization, stress, interpunction and phonetic realization, this should be dated towards the end of the 2nd century BCE. This has been demonstrated in a comprehensive text-historical analysis of the Samaritan reading tradition and its context.⁴²

Therefore, the emergence of the Samaritan reading tradition dates more or less to the same time as the editing of the written framework of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Moreover, due to the way the editing of the Samaritan Pentateuch has been carried out, both, the written framework as well as the reading tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, should be expected to reflect more or less the same language, i.e. the same stage in terms of history and dialectology of the Hebrew language.

On account of these evidence the two parts of the Samaritan tradition—the oral and the written part of tradition—should not be treated separately but should be regarded as one linguistic corpus only, dating to the late 2nd century BCE.

³⁹ See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, 1992), 89–97.

⁴⁰ See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 91.

⁴¹ See above.

⁴² See Stefan Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes: Die samaritanische Lesetradition als Textzeugin der Tora. Band 1: Genesis*, BZAW 339 (Berlin, New York, 2004), 39–61.

4. SH AND THE PHONETICS OF LATE SECOND TEMPLE HEBREW

Due to the above described characteristics of the bi-partite Samaritan tradition, linguistic phenomena apparently deviating from this homogeneity would be an extraordinary feature and should be very carefully analyzed.

4.1. *The assimilation of ת in the hitpa'el*

Maybe the most prominent example is the occurrence of what has been described by Ben-Hayyim in the footprints of the medieval Samaritan grammarians as a *nif'al* with geminated second radical (= *nif'al^b*), e.g.:

timmakkar (MT: תַּמְכַּר; Lev 25:23)

The emergence of these SH forms has been explained by Ben-Hayyim as the interpretation of older forms transmitted in the consonantal framework within the linguistic context of the late Second Temple period:

According to Ben-Hayyim, in the Hebrew dialect used by the scribes of the pre-Samaritan and Samaritan tradition (and in late Second Temple Hebrew in general⁴³), numerous verbs originally used in the *qal* came to be used in the *pi'el*. On the other hand, the *hitpa'el* replaced the *pu'al* as the regular passive of the *pi'el*. In many cases, therefore, the old opposition of active *qal* vs. passive *nif'al* had been replaced by the opposition *pi'el* vs. *hitpa'el*. Ben-Hayyim argues that the *nif'al^b* appears in places where readers of the late Second Temple period were confronted with passive verbal forms, which were *nif'al*, according to the consonantal framework, but should have been *hitpa'el*, according to the language the readers were familiar with. In order to preserve the written text, on the one hand, and to be in line with their Hebrew dialect, on the other, the *nif'al^b* arose as a kind of a blend.⁴⁴

In light of the aforementioned textual features of the Samaritan Pentateuch, this view is obviously problematic, since, according to all our knowledge about the textual character of the pre-Samaritan texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch, the copyists would have changed the written text

⁴³ See Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 49.

⁴⁴ See Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 222f.

in line with what they read, i.e. we could expect them writing an *hitpa^cel* instead of the *nif^cal*.

And indeed, the Samaritan scribes *did* change some of the verbal forms in question into the *hitpa^cel*. Thus, e.g., Masoretic text in Gen 45:24 reads אל תִּרְגְּזוּ בדרך, while the Samaritan text has תתרגזו [*titraggāzu*].⁴⁵ In Exod 15:14, however, the same verb רג"ז appears in the Samaritan text in *nif^cal^b* as against the Masoretic *nif^cal*:

Gen 45:24 (MT): אל תִּרְגְּזוּ בדרך
Gen 45:24 (SP): אל תתרגזו בדרך [*titraggāzu*]

Exod 15:14 (MT): שמעו עמים ירגזון
Exod 15:14 (SP): שמעו עמים וירגזו [*wyirraggāzu*]

Thus, the same verb is once applied in the *hitpa^cel*, and once in *nif^cal^b*, without any difference in meaning.⁴⁶

This phenomenon of *hitpa^cel* and *nif^cal^b*-forms freely interchanging is well observable with regard to other verbs as well: Out of a total of 31 verbs applied in the Samaritan reading tradition in the *nif^cal^b*, nine are attested in the *hitpa^cel* as well:⁴⁷

בר"ך – *yibbārrāk* (Gen 48:20) vs. *wētbārrāk* (Deut 29:18)
כס"י – *tikkassi* (Deut 22:12) vs. *witkassi* (Gen 24:65)
מכ"ר – *yimmakkār* (Lev 25:15) vs. *wētmakkartimma* (Deut 28:68)
נה"ל – *yin'nālu* (Num 18:23) vs. *yitnālu* (Num 26:55)
נה"ם – *wyin'nām* (Gen 6:6) vs. *wyit'nām* (Deut 32:36)
נצ"ל – *yinnāṣṣāl* (Deut 23:16) vs. *wyitnāṣṣālu* (Exod 33:6)
ענ"י – *tjyanna* (Lev 23:29) vs. *wētānni* (Gen 16:9)
קד"ש – *wyiqqāddāšu* (Num 17:3) vs. *yitqāddāšu* (Exod 19:22)
רג"ז – *wyirraggāzu* (Exod 15:14) vs. *titraggāzu* (Gen 45:24)

Due to the harmonizing tendencies prevalent in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the existence of these parallel forms seems astonishing: How can it be that the same tradition which otherwise has a very strong tendency towards homogenization retains these parallel forms?

⁴⁵ A further reference for the interchange between a verbal form in the *qal* (MT) and a verbal form in the *hitpa^cel* (SP) is found in Num 26:55 (MT יִתְחַלּוּ vs. SP יתחלו [*yitnālu*]). Interchanges between *nif^cal* (MT) and *hitpa^cel* (SP) are attested in Num 21:27 (MT ותכנן vs. SP ותכנן [*witkūnān*]) and Num 24:7 (MT ותנשא vs. [*witmašša*]).

⁴⁶ There are no further instances of neither *hitpa^cel* nor *nif^cal* in the text of the Pentateuch.

⁴⁷ The references were collected from the concordance compiled by Ben-Hayyim, *LOT IV*, 3–310.

The most probable answer seems to be that at the time when the Samaritan reading tradition emerged, the two sets of forms were homophone. The forms of *nif^cal^b* and *hitpa^cel* quoted above must have been pronounced in the same way, i.e. the *ṣ* of the *hitpa^cel* was totally assimilated to the first consonant of the root, as it was in Palestinian Aramaic.⁴⁸ Thus, the forms in which the *ṣ* appears in writing represent nothing else than a historical spelling. As has already been mentioned, the Samaritan tradition has no consistent orthography,⁴⁹ and thus the two spellings simply existed forth in writing one along with the other.

Obviously, the assumption that the *ṣ* of the *hitpa^cel* is totally assimilated to the first root consonant is not confirmed by the contemporary pronunciation of SH. Therefore, we should ask when and why the original pronunciation was abandoned and the *ṣ* was re-introduced in pronunciation as [ʔ].

As is well known, the consonantal inventory of SH underwent a change somewhere after the 15th century BCE. Prior to that date, the consonants *ḥpdt* were pronounced in a twofold way—plosive or fricative—similarly to the *begadkephat*-consonants in Masoretic Hebrew. This twofold realization, however, was abandoned, and the fricative pronunciation disappeared.⁵⁰ Most probably, in the course of this process the historical [ʔ] of the *hitpa^cel* was reintroduced in pronunciation as well, wherever it was retained in the consonantal framework of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Thus, it seems to me that the parallel existence of *nif^cal^b* forms and of *hitpa^cel* forms in the consonantal framework of the Samaritan Pentateuch is a clear indicator that the [ʔ] of the *hitpa^cel* was assimilated to the first root consonant in spoken SH.⁵¹

4.2. *The pronunciation of Nun paragogicum*

A further important point where there appears to be an inhomogeneity in the Samaritan tradition is the parallel existence of imperfect forms with and without the so-called *Nun paragogicum* (i.e. *yiqteḥun*). Scholars usually

⁴⁸ See Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 118.

⁴⁹ See above.

⁵⁰ See Ben-Hayyim, *A grammar*, 30-34.

⁵¹ This view was already expressed by Ben-Hayyim, although he does not seem to have thought of the evidence quoted above, see his *A grammar*, 87.

claim that the Samaritan Pentateuch less often attests the long forms than the Masoretic text does.⁵² However, this is not the case since, in the light of a detailed comparison, a different scheme appears, revealing an almost equally widespread use in both versions, pointing even to a slight plus on the side of the Samaritan Pentateuch (MT: 99; SP: 106). It seems, that this scheme sets SH apart from both the Hebrew in the non-biblical scrolls from Qumran as well as from Mishnaic Hebrew.

What is our focus here, however, is the observation, that the two forms, with and without *Nun paragomicum*, exist side by side in the Samaritan Pentateuch, without any difference in meaning.⁵³ Again, according to the textual principles governing the editing of the Samaritan Pentateuch we would have expected that the pre-Samaritan or Samaritan scribes unified the use of the written forms. Since they did not, we should conclude that there was no difference in reading between the two.

This conclusion is well in line with Hebrew and Aramaic documents from Qumran along with further Palestinian sources which demonstrate that the forms with and without final *Nun* after vowel were often interchangeable. In accordance with a suggestion by Ben-Hayyim we may suppose that this interchangeability goes back to the nasalization of long vowels in final syllables.⁵⁴ It seems thus that the original SH pronunciation was characterized by the nasalization of long vowels in final syllables.

5. CONCLUSION

SH, as it is heard in the reading of the Torah among the Samaritan community until our days, originates in the late Second Temple period and was the language spoken among the (proto-)Samaritans in the late

⁵² See Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 45.

⁵³ W. Randall Garr expressed the view that the use of paragomic *nun* in Biblical Hebrew was a rhetorical device, see his “The paragomic *nun* in rhetorical perspective”, in Steven Fassberg, Avi Hurvitz (ed.), *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic setting: Typological and historical perspectives* (Jerusalem, Winona Lake, 2006), 65–74. For the comparison of the use of paragomic forms in the MT respectively the SP, this question seems less important.

⁵⁴ Kutscher’s suggestion that a nasal was regularly added to a vowel in an originally open final syllable is not supported by Samaritan Hebrew, since there are no other examples for the addition of a nasal. For references, see Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27.

second century BCE. SH is a Hebrew dialect of its own, distinct from both the Hebrew dialect as preserved in Tiberian Hebrew pronunciation of the Bible and from Mishnaic Hebrew. Although, in general, SH is very well preserved in the Samaritan reading tradition, some of the characteristics of the ancient pronunciation did not survive and have to be reconstructed, among them most prominently the total assimilation of [ʔ] in the t-stem (*hitpaʕel*) and the nasalization of long vowels in final syllables.

כֵּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה (BEN SIRACH 20,4; 30,20)
MEANING AND TRANSMISSION

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Our article deals with a passage in Ben Sira whose meaning and transmission are rather complicated. It is one of a limited number of passages that appear in the book in various forms in two different places and regarding which the textual witnesses differ considerably (a synopsis of the texts is provided at the very end of the article). Most of the editions, translations, and commentaries to Ben Sira treat these passages along two guiding lines, that in themselves are understandable: (1) Only one of the repeated passages is retained in the book, while the other is regarded a secondary interpolation; (2) The Greek or Syriac evidence is considered preferable in comparison with the late Geniza manuscripts. The passage under discussion is a fine example of this line of treatment.

According to Ms B of the Geniza, Ben Sira 30,20c–e reads:

כֵּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוֹנֵס מִשְׁפָּט כֵּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה וַיִּי מִבְּקֶשׁ מִיָּדוֹ

Usually translated as:

So is he that would do right with violence
As is an eunuch that sojourns with a virgin
And the Lord demands of him

The ancient translations reflect parts of this text. The Greek attests only the last clause וַיִּי מִבְּקֶשׁ מִיָּדוֹ (20e), albeit in a different place, while the Peshitta retains the last two clauses כֵּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה וַיִּי מִבְּקֶשׁ מִיָּדוֹ (20d–e). Both the Greek and the Syriac probably reflect a text such as the first two clauses (20c–d), i.e., כֵּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוֹנֵס מִשְׁפָּט כֵּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה, although in inverted order, also in chapter 20 verse 4, where no Hebrew text has survived. Smend,¹ followed by many others, presents the text only in

¹ R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906).

chapter 20 and abstracts it from chapter 30. Even the edition of the Academy of the Hebrew Language,² that by definition provides only the text preserved in Hebrew manuscripts, prints the entire tri-cola verse in chapter 20, rather than in chapter 30, without taking into consideration that there is no Hebrew evidence *ad locum*, and in spite of the fact that the translations to chapter 20 have only two of the three cola, and in reverse order.³

In our view this line of treatment is questionable.

1. THE TEXTUAL WITNESSES FOR BEN SIRA 30,18–20

In a string of sayings on the good life (Ben Sira 30,10–31,11), one paragraph appears that deals with the incapability to enjoy the good, 30,18–20 (Ms B). This paragraph is connected to the previous verses by the keywords 'good' טוב and 'wealth' עושר, but it nevertheless interrupts the sequence of verses focusing on pain and sadness that impair life.⁴ Verses 18–20 thus constitute a sub-unit in its own right that neither continues the previous verses nor is it continued in the following verses.

In Ms B from the Geniza—a photocopy is appended at the end of the article—the copyist lost an entire passage, and copied on the right hand margins, marking the place of the insertion by a circellus in between the first and second lines.⁵ The passage, including the omitted lines,⁶ reads as follows:

² *The Book of Ben Sira*, The Academy of the Hebrew Language (Jerusalem, 1973).

³ While a list at the end of the edition, 69, mentions the verse of chapter 20 among others that were printed in a place other than suggested by the manuscripts, the reader, while consulting the edition, is not aware of this fact, and, moreover, has no indication whatsoever that this text exists in ms B of chapter 30.

⁴ Verse 17, on the one hand: טוב... נוחת עולם מכאב נאמן, טוב... לירד שאול מכאב עומד; and vv. 21–22 on the other: אל תתן לדין נפשך... שמחת לבב הם חיי איש... The meaning of דין is probably 'sorrow'. The form דין (here and on other occasions in Ben Sira) may have been read דין, as suggested by H. Dihi, "Din she'Ēno Mishpat be-Ben Sira", in D. Sivan, P.I. Halevy-Kirtchuk, eds., *Yaakov Bentolila Volume* (Beer Sheva, 2003), 124–130 [Hebrew]. Alternatively, it may have been written דין (i.e. דין), and corrected into the more familiar דין.

⁵ See *Facsimiles of the Fragments Hitherto Recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford/Cambridge, 1901), 17; P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (Leiden, 1997), 54.

⁶ In between curly brackets. Other signs used are: square brackets indicate reconstructions; upper lines indicate a dubious reading; "mg" indicates a marginal gloss.

7(mg. מצגת גלול. גלול (מצגת גלול	18b	תנופה מצגת לפני גלול	טובה שפוכה על פה (פום. mg.) סתום	18a
[מ]צגת גלול	19b	אשר לא יאכלון ולא יר[יהון]	מה יע[יל לגלול]לי הגוים	19a}}
ואין נהנה ממנו	19d		כן מי שיש לו עושר	19c
			{[רואה]8 בעיניו9 ומתאנה}}	20a
משפט (mg. בגזל. באונס (בגזל	20c	כן עושה באונס	כאשר סירים(!)10 יחבק נערה ומתאנה	20b
(mg. [ו]ן) מידו (בידו)	20e	ויי מבקש מידו	כן נאמן לן עם בתולה	20d

- 18 Good things poured out before a closed mouth
Are as an offering that is placed before an idol.
- 19 How can (such) profit the images of the heathen
Which are unable either to eat or smell?
So is he who possesseth wealth
And hath no enjoyment of it:
- 20 he seeth with his eyes and sigheth
as a eunuch that embraceth a maiden.¹¹
So is he that would do right with violence
As is an eunuch that sojourneth with a virgin
And the Lord demands of him

In the first verse (18a–b), the sage compares dainties presented to a closed mouth—self-evidently a pointless deed—to an offering presented to an idol. The second verse (19a–b) elaborates on the same point, referring to idols that cannot profit from the offering since they can neither eat nor smell.¹² The meaning and structure differ in the translations that probably read גולל instead of גלול, or at least understood it to mean ‘grave(s)’: Greek ἐπι τάφῳ Syriac קברא.¹³ According to the translations, then, the first line argues against offerings to the dead, probably perceived as offe-

⁷ The meaning of the gloss is not clear; we would expect לגלול.

⁸ The reconstruction follows the Greek; the Peshitta reads וחזא, with a *waw*.

⁹ In the Academy of the Hebrew Language edition, the reading is בעיני; the hole in the Ms does not allow to discern whether the heads of the letters that survived are of *nun yod* or *nun waw*.

¹⁰ A corrupted reading of סרים.

¹¹ G.H. Box and W.O.E. Oesterley, “Sirach”, in R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha I* (Oxford, 1913), ad chapter 30, 415–6.

¹² For the use of טובה (as well as טוב) in the context of eating, see Qoh 5,10 ברבות הטובה ‘When goods increase, they increase who eat them’; 6,3 ‘but he does not enjoy life’s good things’; and in Ben Sira 11,19 [מ]טוב[תי] ‘I have found rest, and now I shall enjoy my goods!’.

¹³ N. Avigad, “‘ir ha-Quarim shel Yerushalayim Bīmey ha-Bayit ha-Sheni”, in M. Avi Yonah, ed., *Sefer Yerushalaim*, I (Jerusalem, 1956), 323 [Hebrew], describes the graves of the nich caves, the most ancient of which dates to two hundred years B.C. He comes to the conclusion that since no round stones were discovered, the גולל mentioned in the Mishna probably refers to any stone used to cover the grave.

rings to idols that, like the dead, can neither eat nor smell.¹⁴ The translations may well preserve the original setting of the first two lines.¹⁵

The sage then moves on to another example of someone that does not enjoy the good available to him (19cd–20a): רואה בעיניו ומתאנה וכן מי שיש לו עושר ואין נהנה ממנו ‘So is he who possesses wealth, and has no enjoyment of it: he sees with his eyes and sighs’. This rich man is further compared to a eunuch who while hugging a girl, cannot but sigh: כאשר סריס יחבק נערה ומתאנה (20b).

If this is indeed the line of thought to this point, a question arises regarding the meaning of the rest of the text (20c–e). At first sight, it seems to offer yet another case comparable to the rich man and the eunuch, i.e., the נאמן that sleeps with a virgin. However, the text takes an important turn as indicated by the adjoining cola that compare the נאמן to someone who ‘executes judgment unjustly’—עושה באונס משפט—ויי מבקש מידו. The focus thus moves from those who cannot enjoy the offerings presented to them, or one who does not enjoy his own riches, or one who cannot enjoy the maiden at hand, to someone that engages in a forbidden pleasure and is bound to be punished by the Lord.

This passage is attested in this form only in the Hebrew text. In the independent ancient translations—the Greek and the Peshitta—substantial parts are missing:

The Greek differs from the Hebrew considerably:

¹⁴ The practice of presenting offerings to the dead is mentioned in Ahikar 2,10 ברי אשוד על קברא דודיקא; J. Rendel Harris et al., *The Story of Ahikar*² (Leiden, 1913), 41. It is followed by Tobit 4,17 (short version) ἔχχεον τὸν ἄριστον σου ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων ‘Place your bread on the grave of the righteous’, whose Aramaic counterpart reads להמך לחםך; A. Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit* (Oxford, 1878), 8. F. Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (New York, 1958), 70, comments that since ἔχχεω suggests wine rather than bread, the expected reading would be להמרך rather than להמך. Our text however features שפך alongside טובה that is certainly not restricted to wine. The subject is mentioned once in the Bible: ויצמדו לבעל פער ויאכלו זבחי מתים (Ps 106,28). The issue seems to have aroused a fierce debate as attested in the literature of the last centuries B.C.E. Close to Ben Sira is the passage that warns against the habits of the gentiles in Jubilees 22,17–18: ‘They offer their sacrifices to the dead and they worship evil spirits and they eat over the graves...’; and see further 2 Macc 12,43–45.

¹⁵ The form גלול, contrary to the regular *pluralis tantum* גלולים, is not attested anywhere. The גולל is mentioned in the Mishna.

18 ἀγαθὰ ἐκκεχυμένα ἐπὶ στόματι κεκλεισμένῳ	טובה שפוכה על פה סתום
θέματα βρωμάτων παρακείμενα ἐπὶ τάφῳ	תנופה מצגת לפני גלול
19 τί συμφέρει κάρπωσης εἰδώλω	{{מה יעיל לגלול לי הגויים}}
οὔτε γὰρ ἔδεται οὔτε μὴ ὀσφρανθῆ	אשר לא יאכלון ולא יר[יחון]
οὕτως ὁ ἐκδιωκόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου	~~~~
~~~~	כן מי שיש לו עושר
~~~~	ואין נהנה ממנו
20 βλέπων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ στενάζων	{[רואה] בעיניו ומתאנה}}
ὡσπερ εὐνοῦχος περιλαμβάνων παρθένον	כאשר סרירם (!) יחבק נערה
καὶ στενάζων	ומתאנה
~~~~16	כן עושה באונס משפט
~~~~	כן נאמן לך עם בתולה
~~~~	ויי מבקש מידו

(1) The first two verses referring to the grave and the idols more or less agree with the Hebrew.¹⁷ Following, however, is an additional clause: οὕτως ὁ ἐκδιωκόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου ‘So is the one persecuted by the Lord’. It probably reflects מיי מבקש מידו (20e) that concludes the Hebrew (and Syriac) text.¹⁸ Its different location may indicate that it was not an original component in the text, and may have been written in the margins and copied into the wrong place. On the other hand, it is attested in both the Hebrew and the Syriac, at the end of the paragraph. Hence, it may have rather been deliberately moved in the Greek in order to juxtapose the idols and the Lord. The location of this clause in the Greek is quite

¹⁶ The line ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα—rendering the clause כן עושה באונס משפט—is attested at this point in the margins of Ms B, as well as in the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensions. Rahlfs argues that it was imported from chapter 20,4, and does not include it in his text; A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, II (Stuttgart, 1935). Ziegler, on the other hand, accepts it as part of the original Greek translation; J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*² (Göttingen, 1980). Were this line original, how did it happen to disappear from the Mss representing the main Greek tradition?

¹⁷ The addition of κάρπωσης seems to have emerged from the Greek translator. Since the subject changes from graves to idols, the translator felt he needed to specify the subject in the second stich: τί συμφέρει κάρπωσης εἰδώλω, i.e., ‘what good is an offering to the idols’ (κάρπωσης renders עולה in 45,16). The Syriac translator, who shares the change of subject, does not feature this addition: מנא הנינא אית לצלמא דעממא.

¹⁸ This rendering may echo Qoh 3,15 ויהי יבקש את נרדף ‘and God seeks the pursued’ rendered in the LXX: καὶ ὁ θεὸς ζητήσῃ τὸν διωκόμενον. It has been conjectured, however, that the Greek originally read ἐκδικούμενος ‘avenged’; see J. H. A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus; the Greek Text of Codex 248* (Cambridge, 1909), 177. The Syro-Hexapla—הכנא הכנא—manifestly shows the connection between the texts, since the verb בע עושה is closer to the Hebrew ש"ב"ק than it is to Greek ἐκδιώκω.

awkward, all the more so with the opening οὕτως that forms an illogical connection with the previous lines.

(2) The Greek translation has no counterpart for the verse: כן מי שיש לו עושר ואין נהנה ממנו (19c–d); the rich man thus completely disappears. Nevertheless, the following clause that describes the rich man in the Hebrew text—רואה בעיניו ומתאנה—is reflected in the Greek as well βλέπων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ στενάζων. Its function in the (Greek) context is obscure, since it neither continues the preceding οὕτως ὁ ἐκδιωκόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου—why would someone persecuted by the Lord stare and sigh?—nor can it begin a new subject without specifying who is gazing and groaning. It would seem that the rich man verse dropped out due to the other changes introduced into the text. Significantly, οὕτως that awkwardly introduces וימי מבקש מידו in the Greek, may well represent כן that begins the rich man line in the Hebrew.

(3) Two additional consecutive clauses are absent in the Greek: כן עושה באונס משפט כן נאמן לן עם בתולה (20c–d). Many scholars accept the Greek evidence on this point, especially since the missing lines reappear in chapter 20 verse 4. We doubt whether this is indeed the case. In our view, the fact that וימי מבקש מידו—connected as it is with the נאמן verse in both the Hebrew and the Syriac—survived in the Greek, proves that the נאמן was part of his text as well.

(4) The clause כן נאמן לן עם בתולה כאשר סריס יחבק נערה is rendered ὡςπερ εὐνοῦχος περιλαμβάνων παρθένον, the equivalent of נערה being παρθένος. This too may suggest that the line כן נאמן לן עם בתולה was in the translator's *Vorlage* and influenced his choice of equivalents.¹⁹

The Greek's daughter-translations do not contribute appreciably to the reconstruction of the original Greek translation and its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The Syro-Hexapla reads:²⁰

סימא דמאכלתא דסימן קדם קברא	18 טבתא דאשידן על פומא סכירא
אפלא גיר אכל אפלא גריח	19 מנא מותרא דבחתא לפתכרא
דחזא בעינוהי ומתתנה	20 הכנא אינא דמתתבע מן מריא

¹⁹ However, it may also be an innocent translational choice; see also his assumed choice of equivalents in chapter 20. The meaning of παρθένος is both 'maiden, girl' and 'virgin'. It is the equivalent of בתולה in the LXX as well as in Ben Sira 9,5. Nevertheless, it is used in Gen 24 (four times) and 34 (twice) for נערה, and in Is 7,14 for עלמה. Similarly, παρθενίαις renders נעורים in Si 15,2, and בתולים in Si 42,10.

²⁰ A.M. Ceriani, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus: Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, VII (Milano, 1874).

אֲכֹנָא דְאוּנוּכְסָא עִפְק לְבְתוּלָתָא וּמִתְתַנְּהּ הֲכִנָּא אִינָא דְעַבְד בְּקִטְיָרָא דִּינָא

The Vulgate reads:²¹

- 18 bona absconsa in ore cluso,  
 quasi adpositiones epularum circumpositae sepulchro  
 19 quid proderit libatio idolo,  
 nec enim manducat nec odorabitur  
 20 sic qui effugatur a Domino  
 et portans mercedes iniquitatis  
 21 videns oculis et ingemescens  
 sicut spado conplectens virginem et suspirans

The last clause in the Syro-Hexapla—הֲכִנָּא אִינָא דְעַבְד בְּקִטְיָרָא דִּינָא—accords with the hexaplaric version that, unlike the main Greek Mss, includes a translation of כֵּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוּנוֹס מִשְׁפֵּט, i.e., οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα.²²

The Vulgate, on the other hand, seems to support the main Greek tradition that does not represent this clause. The Vulgate's additional hemistich—*et portans mercedes iniquitatis*—seems to be the translator's contribution intended to complement the single hemistich *sic qui effugatur a Domino*.²³

The second independent translation, the Peshitta,²⁴ is closer to the Hebrew version, except for two missing cola:

- 18 טַבְתָּא דְמַכְסִין עַל פּוּמָא דְמַכְסִי. אִיךְ מֵאֲכַלְתָּא דְסִימֵן עַל קְבֵרָא.  
 19 מִנָּא הֲנִינָא אִית לְצַלְמָא דְעַמְמָא. דְלָא אַכְלִין וְלָא שְׁתִין וְלָא מְרִיחִין.  
 הֲכִנָּא מִן דְאִית לֵה עוֹתָרָא וְלָא מִתְחַשֵּׁחַ בֵּה.  
 20 וְחֹזָא בְעֵינֵיהּ וּמִתְתַנְּהּ. אִיךְ מֵהִימְנָא דְדַמְך לֹת בְּתוּלָתָא וּמִרְיָא תְבַע בְּאִידָהּ.

The Syriac does not offer a counterpart for: כֵּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוּנוֹס מִשְׁפֵּט (20b), nor for the following כֵּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוּנוֹס מִשְׁפֵּט (20c). The סְרִיס verse attested in both the Hebrew and the Greek thus disappears in the Syriac. On the other hand, the Syriac attests the נֶאֱמַן verse in both chapter 30 and 20; in chapter 30 it is continued by וּמְרִיָּא תְבַע בְּאִידָהּ, in chapter 20 by הֲכִנָּא מִן דְעַבְד. דִּינָא בְּאוּלְצִנָּא. It would seem that the Syriac translator gives up the סְרִיס line since for him נֶאֱמַן and סְרִיס are one and the same; translating both would mean an awkward comparison between one מֵהִימְנָא and another מֵהִימְנָא,

²¹ R. Weber (et al), *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart, 1969).

²² This clause appears in the Syro-Hexapla in chapter 20 as well.

²³ It may echo Cain's words גָּדוֹל עוֹנִי מִנְשֵׂא "My punishment is too great to bear" (Gen 4,13).

²⁴ P.A. de Lagarde, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi* (Leipzig, 1861).

since it regularly renders both terms in the Peshitta. This might be true for the Greek translator as well.

How do the Hebrew text and the ancient translations relate to one another? In the Hebrew the *סריס* seems to have attracted the *נאמן*. The Greek undoubtedly reflects the *סריס* saying, relating as it does to a eunuch that hugs a virgin and sighs, and does not represent the *נאמן* saying. The Syriac, on the other hand, undoubtedly reflects the *נאמן* saying, since it addresses the *מהימנא* that sleeps with a virgin, while the *סריס* saying is lacking. Habitually, textual transmission processes would lead us to argue that the Hebrew text is the later version since it conflates two alternative sayings, while the Greek and the Syriac represent earlier stages in the transmission of the text, each reflecting only one of the sayings. This process, however, hardly fits our texts. The Greek and the Syriac do not accord against the Hebrew but rather go their own ways in other respects as well, in an attempt to make sense of this garbled text, but with little success. It would seem that the translators rather skipped parts of the text that can hardly be considered secondary additions; such are the rich man line missing in the Greek, and the eunuch line missing in the Syriac. The *נאמן* verse is attested in the Hebrew and the Syriac, and if *ויי מבקש מידו* is originally connected to the *נאמן*, the Greek too betrays its presence in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

It would seem that the long Hebrew version—in itself an elaborate text—accounts, *grosso modo*, for the texts as they appear in the translations.

## 2. BEN SIRA 20,4 IN THE TRANSLATIONS

As mentioned, part of the end of the passage in chapter 30—*כן עושה באונס כן בתולה* (20c–d)—is attested in the ancient translations in chapter 20 verse 4, without evidence in the Hebrew Mss. Two comments are in order: (1) This is not a case of a short text versus a long one, since the Hebrew text is simply not preserved at this point.²⁵ The translations probably go back to a Hebrew *Vorlage*. (2) This verse is awkwardly interpolated in a string of sayings that praise the wisdom of silence; it does not affect the context and is not affected by it.

The Greek reads:

²⁵ The extant editions are misleading, e.g., Smend, Sirach, and the Academy of the Hebrew Language edition; see note 3 above.

ἐπιθυμία εὐνούχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα, οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα

‘As is the lust of a eunuch to deflower a virgin so is he that executes judgment with violence.’

The daughter-translations reflect exactly the same text:

Syro-Hexapla:

רגתה דאונכסא למבתלו עלימתא, הכנא אינא דעבד בקטירא דינא

Vulgate (vv. 2–3):

*Concupiscentia spadonis devirginavit iuvenem,  
sic qui facit per vim iudicium inique*

The Peshitta reads:

מתרגר מיהימנא למדמך עם²⁶ בתולתא הכנא מן דעבד דינא באולצנא

‘A eunuch lusting to sleep with a virgin, so is he that executes judgment with violence.’

It is hardly contestable that a text such as the text attested in chapter 30 verse 20c–d underlies the translations in chapter 20 verse 4, although in a reverse order, i.e., נאמן לך עם בתולה כן עושה באונס משפט.²⁷ The Greek and the Syriac share elements that suggest that they are inter-related: both understand the assumed נאמן to mean ‘eunuch’, and both invest the indicative בתולה לך עם נאמן with an optative sense: the Greek has ἐπιθυμία εὐνούχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα ‘the lust of the eunuch to deflower a girl’,²⁸ and the Peshitta מתרגר מיהימנא למדמך עם בתולתא ‘a eunuch lusts to sleep with a virgin’.²⁹ It is not likely that they had a different Hebrew text, since the second hemistich rather fits the Hebrew text as preserved in Ms B of chapter 30. It is difficult to explain the comparison that emerged in the translations: why would a eunuch lusting for intercourse be compared to someone who executes judgment unjustly?

²⁶ Ambrosianus ms mistakenly repeats עם.

²⁷ The translations do not have a comparison word at the beginning. It is not likely that it occurred in their Vorlage but they chose not to represent it.

²⁸ The Greek reads νεάνις, i.e., ‘a maiden’ rather than ‘a virgin’. One may argue that this element is borrowed from the טריס line in chapter 30—כאשר טריס יחבק נערה—but it is more likely to be a translational choice: since he chose the verb ἀποπαρθενῶσαι, a neologism derived from παρθένος, he preferred to variegate the complement and chose νεάνις.

²⁹ The difference between the Greek and the Syriac—the former presenting a noun the latter a verb—scarcely suggests that the translators arrived at the same solution independently.

Clearly, these words of wisdom raise intriguing questions regarding their meaning, their place in the context, and the history of their transmission.

### 3. כן נאמן לן עם בתולה (30,20d)

#### 3.1. *The Meaning of לן עם*

What is the meaning of the phrase *לן עם בתולה* in the hemistich? The ancient translators seem to have understood it in a sexual sense. The Greek has no counterpart for this line in chapter 30. In chapter 20, however, he chose the unequivocal neologism ἀποπαρθενῶσαι ‘deflower’, mirrored in the Syro-Hexapla through לְמַבְתְּלוּ and in the Latin by *devirginavit*. The Syriac has דַּמַּךְ in chapter 20 and דַּמַּךְ לוּת in chapter 30. Both phrases appear in the Peshitta in a sexual meaning, the difference being probably dictated by the form of the Hebrew: שָׁכַב עם is rendered by דַּמַּךְ עם, while שָׁכַב אֵת is paralleled by דַּמַּךְ לוּת.³⁰ It is questionable whether in our case the translator deliberately used the alternative forms in order to distinguish between לוּת בְּתוּלָתָא (30,20) ‘lie beside’, and מְהִימְנָא דַּמַּךְ עִם בְּתוּלָתָא (20,4) ‘have intercourse with’, since there is no evidence in the dictionaries for such a difference between the phrases in Syriac texts.

There is scarcely any evidence regarding the use of *לן עם*. Nevertheless, it seems that in the Tannaïtic literature it does not necessarily indicate sexual relationships. This is the case in the following Mishna:

המגרש את אשתו ולנה עמו בפונדקי, בית שמי אומ': אינה צריכה הימנו גט שיני, ובית הלל אומ': צריכה ממנו גט שיני.

He who divorced his wife and spent a night with her in an inn, the House of Shammai say, She does not require a second writ of divorce from him. And the House of Hillel say, She requires a second writ of divorce from him (Gittin 8,9; similarly Eduyoth 4,7; and three other occurrences in the Tosefta).

The Tosefta adds: *על מה נחלקו? על שבעל* ‘concerning what did they differ? concerning a case in which they actually has sexual intercourse’ (Tosefta

³⁰ For the sexual connotation of דַּמַּךְ לוּת see particularly Num 5,20 ויתן איש בך את שכבתו ‘if a man other than your husband has had carnal relations with you’, rendered by דַּמַּךְ גְּבֵרָא לוּתְכִי.

Gittin 6,8). Clearly, לנה עמו in the Mishna is not understood in a sexual sense but rather similar to לישון עם, that is ‘sleep beside’.³¹ Our passage, then, may have referred to someone who sleeps near a virgin, at her side, rather than with her. In the course of time this meaning of לן עם may have changed and the expression may have been understood sexually. Hence it attracted the severe comparison with an evil judge and was threatened with divine punishment.

### 3.2. *The meaning of נאמן*

#### 3.2.1. *Is נאמן a Eunuch?*

In the Hebrew version the סריס and the נאמן appear side by side and function in parallel sayings: כאשר סריס יחבק נערה ומתאנה (30,20b), and כן נאמן לן עם בתולה (30,20d). Both words were translated in the Greek version by the same term: εὐνοῦχος stands for סריס in chapter 30 verse 20b, and presumably for נאמן in chapter 20 verse 4. The Peshitta, that does not reflect the סריס line, uses מהימנא for נאמן in chapter 30 and probably also in chapter 20. While מהימנא carries the meaning of both ‘a eunuch’ and ‘a trustworthy person’, and is used as an equivalent for both in the Peshitta, the translator seems to have meant the former, at least in chapter 20 where he specifies מתרגר מהימנא למדמך עם בתולתא, that is, he only lusts for the girl but can do nothing about it.

Modern commentators mostly followed the ancient translations, taking נאמן to mean ‘a eunuch’. For instance, Schechter and Taylor render our verse in chapter 30 as follows:³²

As an eunuch (?) embraceth a maiden and groaneth. So is he that doeth judgement with violence (?) So is an eunuch (?) that lieth with a virgin And the Lord requireth at his hand.

Smend, who offers our text only in chapter 20 in accordance with the Greek, writes:³³

³¹ E.g., מתייחד אדם עם אמו ועם בתו וישן עמהן בקרוב בשר, ‘A man may stay alone with his mother or with his daughter. And he sleeps with them with flesh touching’ (Kidushin 4,12); וישנתי עמו במטה ובשרו נגע בבשרי, אבל לא נתכוין לדבר אחר ‘and slept with him in the same bed and while his flesh touched mine he never had the intention of any inappropriate action’ (Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan, version A, 2).

³² S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Cambridge, 1899), xxxvi.

³³ Smend, *Sirach*, 34.



Wie ein Eunuch der bei einer Jungfrau nächtigt So wer das Rechte übt mit Gewalt.

Segal practically distorts the meaning of the verse in his commentary to chapter 20:³⁴

כמו סריס האונס בתולה ולן עמה כל הלילה ובכל זאת אין לו הנאה ממנה  
 ‘like a eunuch that forces himself upon a virgin and sleeps with her the entire night and nevertheless cannot have her’.

Skehan and Di Lella, who, like Smend, offer the text only in chapter 20, translate:³⁵

Like an eunuch lusting for intimacy with a maiden...

‘Eunuch’ is also regularly the meaning provided for נאמן in the glossaries provided in the editions of Ben Sira.³⁶ The dictionaries, however, disregard this possible meaning of נאמן, except for Ben Yehuda, s.v. נאמן, who asserts:

אין ספק בדבר כי זו [נאמן] מלה שהיתה נהוגה בזמנו של בן סירא בדבור העברי במשמ' זו  
 [‘סריס’].³⁷

‘There is no doubt that it [i.e., נאמן] is a word that was used in the time of Ben Sira in the Hebrew Language in this meaning [i.e., eunuch].’

Did נאמן indeed carry the meaning of ‘a eunuch’? On the one hand, the translations may suggest that the ancient Hebrew word carried the meaning of ‘a eunuch’, just as the Syriac מהימנא carries a double meaning. The fact is, however, that there is no evidence that would support such a meaning in Hebrew. Moreover, the Hebrew text in Ben Sira chapter 30 suggests that the words carry different meanings. The structure of this paragraph does not allow for parallel lines; it rather moves on from one subject to another. After the rich man is compared to a eunuch, one would not expect the eunuch to be compared to yet another eunuch. As for the meaning, if לן עמ carries a sexual meaning there is naturally no

³⁴ M.H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem*² (Jerusalem, 1959), 120 [Hebrew].

³⁵ P. W. Skehan and A. A. di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (New York, 1987), 296.

³⁶ See also D. Strauss, *Sprachliche Studien zu den hebräischen Sirachfragmenten* (Zürich, 1900), 54. He believes that מהומן, the name of the eunuch in Esth 1, 10, substantiates this meaning of נאמן.

³⁷ E. Ben Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* VII (Jerusalem, 1926), 3469 [Hebrew], followed by M.H. Segal, “The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira”, *JQR* 25 (1934–1935), 120, note 28.

room for a eunuch, and if it just means ‘lie beside’ it is unclear why he is compared to an evil judge or is threatened by divine punishment.³⁸

We believe that the verse would fit the context better assuming that נאמן carries a different meaning than that suggested by both the ancient translators and the modern scholars.

### 3.2.2. נאמן – a trustworthy person who functions as ‘a Best-Man’

In our view, נאמן in our passage may well refer to a trustworthy person who functions as ‘a best-man’.

In Akkadian the *susapinnu* is the bride’s best-man,³⁹ and is very close to her.⁴⁰ He also holds the official position of the bride’s protector.⁴¹ Moreover, the *susapinnu* is said to have been present in the bridal room in order to verify the bride’s claim to virginity (*signum virginitatis*).⁴²

In the Bible there is no equivalent for the Akkadian term. However, the need to verify the claim of virginity underlies the law in Deut 22,13–

³⁸ Th. Tyler, “Ecclesiasticus: The Retranslation Hypothesis”, *JQR* 12 (1900), 558–559, wonders how נאמן could mean here ‘a eunuch’. Kna’ani, seemingly unaware of the problems involved, explains נאמן in Ben Sira as a trustworthy person; J. Kna’ani, *Otzar ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*, x (Jerusalem-Ramat-Gan, 1969) [Hebrew].

³⁹ S. Greengus, “Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites”, *JCS* 20 (1966), 68; M. Malul, “Susapinnu; the Mesopotamia Paranymp and his Role”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 32 (1984), 274. *Susapinnu* was probably borrowed from a non-Semitic language, and came into Aramaic through the Assyrian dialect; S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974), 94. Malul, “Susapinnu”, 275–278—following A. van Selms, “The Best Man and Bride – from Sumer to St. John”, *JNES* 9 (1950), 73–74—suggested to derive *susapinnu* from *šusippu/šusippu* ‘a girdle for covering the loins’ (originally a Sumerian word). The bride wore it on the day of her wedding so that it would absorb the blood. The *susapinnu*, according to this suggestion, gained his title since he was responsible for this evidence-garment; M. Malul, “השושבין בטקס הנישואין במרוקו”, in I. Ben-Ami, ed., *Recherches sur la culture des juifs d’Afrique du Nord* (Jerusalem, 1991), 124 [Hebrew]. The problem with this suggestion (besides the problematic interchange s/š) is that we would expect a form such as **šusippānu*, comprising the stem *šusip* and the ending *ānu*, rather than the irregular *-īnu*; W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Roma, 1952), 70; Kaufman, *Akkadian*, 104. B. Gross, *The Nominal Patterns פועלן and פעילן in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew* (Jerusalem, 1994), 169–170 [Hebrew], suggested—following J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*², IV (Berlin-Wien, 1924), 526—to derive נאמן from שׁוֹשְׁבִין (in Syriac שׁוֹשְׁבִין and in Jewish Aramaic שׁוֹשְׁבִין mean ‘neighbour’). This was rightly rejected by S.A. Kaufman, “Akkadit Vearamit Bavlit”, *Leshonenu* 36 (1973), 103–104 [Hebrew], since it is derived from *še bābi*.

⁴⁰ The best-man used to bring presents for the bride to the bridal room. He was her permanent companion before the wedding. See Malul, “Susapinnu”, 259.

⁴¹ Malul, “Susapinnu”, 257–258.

⁴² Malul, “Susapinnu”, 256, 269, 278.

18 that deals with a man who libels his wife that she was not a virgin and her parents produce the evidence that she was:

הנה הוא שם עליית דברים לאמר לא מצאתי לבתך בתולים ואלה בתולי בתי ופרשו השמלה לפני זקני העיר  
 ‘so he has made up charges, saying, I did not find your daughter a virgin. But here is the evidence of my daughter’s virginity! And they shall spread out the cloth before the elders of the town’ (v. 17).

The situation that entails the need to verify the claim of virginity and the process involved appear in two fragments of the Damascus scroll that speak about women who were trusted to decide whether a woman was a virgin or not.⁴³ Significantly, these women are qualified as נשים נאמנות:⁴⁴

4Q271, f. 3 [+4Q 269, f.9, ll. 6–8 + 4Q 270, f. 5, ll. 20–21]:⁴⁵  
 (12) וכול (13) [בת אשר יצא] עליה שם רע בבתוליה בבית אביה אל יקח איש כי אם  
 (14) [יבקררה] בראות נשים נאמנות וידעות ברורות ממאמר המבקר אשר על (15) [כל אנשי  
 המחנה] ואחר יקחנה.

(12) and any (13) woman upon whom there is a bad name in her maidenhood in her father’s home, let no man take her, except upon (14) examination by trustworthy women of repute selected by command of the supervisor over (15) all the people of the camp. Afterwards he may take her.

4Q159 (Ordinances), ff. 2–4, ll. 8–9:⁴⁶

(8) כי יוצי איש שם רע על בתולת ישראל אם ב[יום] קחתו אותה יואמר ובקררה (9) [נשים] נאמנות  
 ואם לוא כחש עליה והומתה.

(8) If a man defames an Israelite virgin, if he speaks out on the day he marries her (9) and trustworthy women shall examine her, and if he has not lied about her, she shall be executed.

The term שושבין first occurs in the rabbinic literature.⁴⁷ He is described as a man of honor,⁴⁸ close to the families of the bride and groom, and enjoying their trust.⁴⁹ He accompanied the bride during the time between the

⁴³ See J.H. Tigay, “Examination of the Accused Bride in 4Q159”, *JANES* 22 (1993), 129–134.

⁴⁴ We thank Elisha Qimron for these references as well as for his reading suggestions.

⁴⁵ J. M. Baumgarten, *The Damascus Document*, DJD 18 (Oxford, 1996), 175.

⁴⁶ J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4. I*, DJD 5 (Oxford, 1968), 8.

⁴⁷ For a comprehensive survey of the use of שושבין see N.H. Tur-Sinai, “שושבין”, in *The Language and the Book*, iii (Jerusalem 1955), 335–343 [Hebrew].

⁴⁸ Cf. the saying שושבינא ובוחר סק דרגא ובוחר (Yevamot 63a), i.e. ‘go up a rank and choose a best-man’.

⁴⁹ Cf. the saying איזה הוא האוהב? שושבינו שושבינו (Sanhedrin 3,5). N. Rubín, *The Joy of Life; Rites of Betrothal and*

engagement and the wedding, and protected her after the wedding.⁵⁰ His original task, however, must have been to verify the bride's claim of virginity,⁵¹ as attested in the Akkadian literature. The Tosefta tells about this ancient custom as follows:

ביהודה בראשונה היו שושבינין ישנין במקום שחתן וכלה ישינין, ובגליל לא נהגו כן. כל שאינו נוהג כמנהג זה אינו יכול לטעון טענת בתולים.

'In olden times in Judah the best men would sleep in the place in which the bride and groom were sleeping. But in Galilee they did not have that custom. Anyone who did not follow this custom has no claims against the virginity of the girl' (Tosefta Ketubbot 1,4).⁵²

The Tosefta, then, testifies that in ancient Judah the young couple shared the bridal room with others whose task it was to verify the claim of virginity. Obviously, this habit did not persist, since it is said to have been habitual only in the far past, בראשונה.⁵³

Did this habit exist in the days of Ben Sira? Does it echo in his words in our passage? If this custom is referred to in the saying בתולה—נאמן לן עם—the verb לן עם must then mean 'sleep where she sleeps'—it accords with

*Marriage in the Talmud and Midrash* (Tel Aviv, 2004), 225 [Hebrew], suggests that the bride's wedding was her father's or brother's close friend.

⁵⁰ E. Westermarck, *A Short History of Human Marriage* (New York, 1926), 212; Malul, "Susapinnu", 258–259, 262–263, 271–274.

⁵¹ R. Patai, *Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East* (New York, 1959), 66–70, describes the customs of verifying the signs of virginity of the bride in the night of the wedding in the Bible and throughout the Ancient Near East, emphasizing the importance attributed to this process.

⁵² Similarly, Yerushalmi Ketubboth 12a. See also A.S. Hirschberg, "Minhagē ha'Erusin vahaNiššuin biZman ha-Talmud", *He'atid* 5 (1923), 95–96 [Hebrew]. The Tosefta, *ibid.*, quotes other old customs, such as: 'In olden times in Judah they would appoint two best-men, one of the side of the groom, and one on the side of the bride. And even so, they appointed them only for the marriage. But in Galilee they did not have that custom'.

⁵³ See Rubin, *Joy of Life*, 225–233. The Karaites were particularly strict regarding this role of the best-man. See, e.g., the words of Nahawendi 5,1 והייבים אב ואם להעמיד ששבין לבתם 'mother and father have to appoint a best-man for their daughter so that he spreads a cloth on the bed underneath them'; B. Nahawendi, *Sefer Dinim (Mas'at Binyamin)* (Ramla, 1979) [Hebrew]; similarly, I. Hadassi, *Eshkol Hakkofer* (Gozlova, 1836), 141b [Hebrew]. Aharon Nikomodeo praises this custom among the Karaites: מנהג טוב ראיתי לקהלות בעלי מקרא שמתקנים שושבינים בשעת כניסה לחפה והם פקידים עליהם על בתולי הנערה להוציא את השמלה 'I have encountered a fine custom in the community of the Karaites; they appoint best-men at the time the couple enters the canopy who are in charge of approving the girl's virginity by carrying out the cloth so that no one will be able to slander her. And it is written in the Torah השמלה 'But here is the evidence of my daughter's virginity! And they shall spread out the cloth'—these are the best-men. And it is a fine custom'; A. Nikomodeo, *Sefer ha-Mitsvot ha-Gadol ha-Niqra Gan Eden* (Gozlova, 1866), 151b [Hebrew].

the parallel saying on the eunuch who embraces a girl and cannot but sigh. Just as a eunuch is appointed to guard the women and cannot fulfill his lust, the best-man too is appointed to guard the virgin bride and cannot touch her. In this case, a text comparing the two becomes plausible, since both can only look with their eyes and sigh:

כאשר סרים יחבק נערה ומתאנה      כן נאמן לן עם בתולה

We believe that this was the original text, but even if such a straightforward text never existed, the connotation of the ancient habit echoes in our text. The Sage may even be arguing against it.

In its present context, with the reproachful comparison *כן עושה באונס* on the one hand, and the divine judgement *ויי מבקש מידו*, on the other, it seems to have undergone a substantial transformation. It intimates that the *נאמן* betrayed those who entrusted the virgin to his protection. In this case, the meaning of *לן עם* is probably sexual, and the deed attributed to the *נאמן* breaches all moral boundaries. In this garb the saying on the *נאמן* draws its meaning from a different level of relationships, that of forbidden liaisons between the bride/virgin and the *נאמן* appointed to guard her.

Indeed, the intimacy between the bride and her best-man is said to have sometimes resulted in distorted liaisons. The Akkadian literature attests intimate relations between the bride and the *susappinu* in the bridal room.⁵⁴ Hence, Lambert suggested that in ancient times the *susappinu* had the right of the first night, the *ius primae noctis* (see appendix I).⁵⁵

The Rabbinical literature offers plenty of evidence regarding such forbidden liaisons:

One tradition tells about a woman that confides to Rabbi Akiva that her best-man slept with her on the night of her wedding:

כשנכנסתי לחופה נדה הייתי ופירש ממני בעלי ובא עלי שושביני, והיה לי בן זה.

‘On the day of my wedding I was *nidda* and my husband kept away from me; but my best-man had intercourse with me and this son was born to me’ (Kalla, 16).⁵⁶

Another story tells about a husband who wanted to discredit his wife and her best-man in order to avoid paying her Ketubba but his plan failed.

⁵⁴ Malul, "Susappinu", 257, 269.

⁵⁵ W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), 240.

⁵⁶ M. Higger, *Masekhet Kalla* (New York, 1936), 148 [Hebrew]; similarly, Kalla Rabbati 2,2, 192-193.

מעשה באחד שנתן עיניו באשתו לגרש' והיתה כתובתה מרובה. מה עשה? הלך אצל שוש[בינה] והאכילם והשקם ושיכרן והושיבן על מיטה אחת. והביא לובן של ביצה והיטיל ביניהן והעמיד להם עדים. ובא לבית דין, והיה שם זקן אחד מתלמידי שמאי הזקן ובבא בן בוטא שמו. אמ' להן: כך מקובלני משמאי הזקן: לובן ביצה סולד מן האור ושכבת זרע דוחה מן האור. בדקו ומצאו כדבריו והביאוהו לבית דין והילקוהו והגבוהו כתובתה ממנו.

There was a man who wanted to divorce his wife, but hesitated because she had a big marriage settlement. What did he do? (He) went to her best-man and he gave them a good feast and made them drunk and put them in one bed. He then brought the white of an egg and scattered it among them and brought witnesses and appealed to the Beth Din. There was a certain elder there of the disciples of Shammai the Elder, named Baba ben Buta, who said: This is what I have been taught by Shammai the Elder, that the white of an egg contracts when brought near the fire, but semen fades in front of the fire. They tested it and found that it was so, and they brought the man to the Beth Din and flogged him and made him pay her Kethuba (Gittin 57a).

In *Pesikta Rabbati* both the eunuch and the best-man appear:

למלך שנכבד לביתו וראה לאשתו מנשקת ל!שרים! [לסריס], אמ' לשושבינו!ו! מגרשה אני, טורפה אני, תלך לבית אביה... אמ' לו: עכשיו מעמדת לך בנים נאים וגבורים והם יורדים עמך למלחמה. אמר לו: אין הימנה תוחלת אינה מולדת. אמ' לו: ועל דבר שאין הימנה! הנייה את כועס?

A king who has come into his house saw his wife kissing a eunuch and said to the representative of his wife's family, "I will divorce her, I will cast her out – let her go to her father's house". The best-man asked: "My lord, why?" The king replied: "Because I found her kissing a eunuch". The other said: "Now she will bring up handsome and valiant sons for you, who will go down with you to battle". The king said: "Nothing is to be expected from her. She cannot bring forth children". The other replied: "And because of a thing from which no benefit can possibly come, you are angry?" (*Pesikta Rabbati*, Judah and Israel 11).⁵⁷

Both the סריס and the שושבין are responsible for the woman; the former is characterized as impotent, the latter as the woman's confidential guardian, even after the marriage.

The essence of the role of the שושבין rested upon his trustworthiness. The moment he betrayed the trust bestowed upon him he could no longer hold on to his role as guardian.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ M. Friedmann, *Pesikta Rabbati* (Wien, 1880), 46a. The text follows the Ma'agarim of the Academy of the Hebrew Language; similarly, Numbers Rabba 2,15.

⁵⁸ See Hirschberg, "Minhagē", 97. A story on a best-man's misconduct appears also in *Leviticus Rabba* 20,10 (Margoulioth edition, p. תסה), as well as in *Pesiqta deRav Kahana*, Aharei Mot (Mandelbaum edition, p. 397); Sh. Buber, *Midrash Tanhuma ha-Qadum ve-ha-Yashan* (Vilna, 1885), Aharei, vi, p. 64 [Hebrew].

Even if נאמן once carried the meaning of סרים in Hebrew—the only evidence to that are the Greek and Syriac translations to chapter 20 whose Hebrew *Vorlage* does not exist—this is not the meaning Ben Sira had in mind, but rather the best-man who is in charge of the well-being of the virgin/bride before and after the wedding.

If נאמן indeed refers to the שושבין, the text gains sense. The comparison between the judge and the נאמן stands to reason since both play a role based on their trustworthiness. Violating this trust means breaking into the very field they were appointed to guard. Just as the judge's role is to guard the rights of the litigants in a trial, the role of the נאמן is to guard the virgin; he is expected to fulfill his mission since he is believed to be an honorable and trustworthy man, and as such would not harm her in any way.⁵⁹

### 3.2.3. *Another Possibility: נאמן – a trustworthy person functioning as 'a Guardian'*

Another possibility that comes to mind is that נאמן may have been, at a certain stage, the Hebrew term for a guardian, i.e., someone who is legally responsible for the care and management of a person or property of an incompetent or minor.

It is doubtful whether Biblical literature is aware of guardianship and if it has a term for it. Biblical אמן usually denotes somebody who takes care of babies or little children,⁶⁰ without the mentioned juridical connotation. The only case that may involve guardianship is that of Mordecai and Esther. The verb used there is אמ"ן that either means simply 'to raise', 'to take care of', or actually 'to be a guardian': ויהי אמן את הדסה היא אסתר בת דוד 'He had brought up (RSV) / was foster father to (JPS) Hadassah—that is, Esther—his uncle's

⁵⁹ In Neh 13,13 those nominated as responsible for the distribution of the funds are characterized as 'trustworthy': כי נאמנים נחשבו ועליהם: 'I put the treasures in the charge of the priest Shelemiah, the scribe Zadok... for they were regarded as trustworthy persons, and it was their duty to distribute the portions to their brothers'. Kuthim tractate 1,13 reads: דבר שנחשדו בהן אין נאמנין עליי: 'the general principle is that in regard to matters in which they are suspected [of carelessness] they are not trusted'. The נאמן is made responsible regarding different commitments, such as pottery (Hagiga 3,5), tithes (Demai 4,5), and deposits (Sifre Deuteronomium, 357); he may as well have been the one trusted with the welfare of the bride.

⁶⁰ E.g., Num 11,12; Is 49,23.

daughter, for she had neither father nor mother... and when her father and mother died, Mordecai adopted her as his own daughter' (Esth 2,7). Similarly, ואת מאמר מרדכי אסתר עשה כאשר היתה באמנה אהו 'for Esther obeyed Mordecai just as when she was brought up by him (RSV) / as she had done when she was under his tutelage' (JPS) (2,20).⁶¹ In the LXX Esther is described as Mordecai's foster child, *παῖς θρεπτή*. Specially intriguing is the rendering of לבת לו לקחה מרדכי as *ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτήν ἑαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα*, i.e., 'he brought her up for a wife for himself'. One wonders whether this is a mere Midrashic interpretation,⁶² or rather reflects an actual habit known to the translator from his milieu.⁶³ In the last analysis, it is difficult to base on this meager evidence any conclusion regarding the biblical terminology. It would be farfetched to suggest that, אמן being reserved for the care of small children, a by-form such as נאמן was created to denote a guardian.⁶⁴

In the Rabbinical literature, the term used for a guardian is אפוטרופוס.⁶⁵ Like the best-man, the guardian is characterized as a trustworthy man, known for his integrity, and trusted to take care of others' property and needs.⁶⁶ Usually he was appointed to take care of minors and orphans, but Greek documents from the Judaean desert refer to the *ἐπίτροπος* as representing women.⁶⁷ Philo too has evidence on that regard,⁶⁸ and—

⁶¹ The Peshitta renders באמנה by בהימנותא, suggesting that הימנותא means 'guardianship'.

⁶² Cf. Bav. Megilla 13a: 'אלא ל'בית' מאיר אל תקרא ל'בת' אלא ל'בית' בת, i.e. 'wife'. The first Targum to Esther features a doublet that may reflect this Midrash: 'and Mordecai took her to himself to his house and called her daughter'. In Babylonian Aramaic *קרי* is 'a wife'.

⁶³ Regularly, the guardian would raise his protégé as his daughter until she is married, as portrayed in a late Midrash: והיה אותו אפוטרופוס אדם. והיה אותו אפוטרופוס שלה. ויהיה אצלו אמה. בקש להשיאה... (Exodus Rabba 46,5). Interestingly, the guardian, אפוטרופוס, is described as being נאמן, a trustworthy person.

⁶⁴ Cf. Donolo to Sefer Yešira: ויש לפרשו כמו 'ואהיה אצלו אמו', that is, 'I was with Him as a confidant' (Prov 8,30) should be explained just as האומן את היונק, 'as a nurse carries an infant', and it should be explained like נאמן since the *nun* is not part of the stem; Sh. Donolo, *Sefer Yetsira* (Warsaw, 1884), 131 [Hebrew].

⁶⁵ In Greek the main meaning of *ἐπίτροπος* is a high rank official, but it also indicates someone officially appointed to protect the defenseless. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, I (Oxford, 1940), 669; S. Belkin, "The Problem of Paul's Background", *JBL* 54 (1935), 52–55; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto, 1974), 49.

⁶⁶ M. Berlin, Sh.J. Zevin, *Talmudic Encyclopedia*², II (Jerusalem, 1976), 121 [Hebrew].

⁶⁷ *Naḥal Še'elim* 64, line 4: Σάλομη... Μαναήμου συνπαροντος αυτη επιτροπου τουδε του πραγματος χαριν... 'Salome... daughter of Menahem, present with her as a guardian...'; 69, line 4: ἐξεδετο Σελα... δια... επιτροπου αυτης τουδε του πραγματος χαριν 'Sela... gave in marriage [her daughter...] through... her guardian for this matter'; also,



much later—one of the *Ketubbot* found in the Cairo Geniza relates that the bride appointed a priest to be her guardian (*Ketubba* 16, lines 15–16).⁶⁹

The danger of forbidden liaisons echoes in a phrase repeatedly mentioned in Rabbinical literature: אין אפטרופוס לעריות ‘No guardian is appointed over prohibited sexual relations’ (*Tosefta Ketubbot* 1,6).⁷⁰ *Yerushalmi Ketubbot* 28d makes clear what the meaning of this saying is: אפי' חסיד ‘Even the most pious of all pious men is not appointed a guardian to keep a watch against violations of the laws of fornication’.⁷¹ The Babylonian Talmud points in the same direction: ‘There is no guardian against unchastity, and the warden himself might have intercourse with them’ (*Nidda* 30b).⁷² This sharp observation—שומר גופיה בא עליהן—reflects on the passage under discussion: A guardian that sleeps with the virgin violated the trust bestowed upon him and has proven by his behavior that indeed ‘there is no watchman over prohibited sexual relations’.

In sum, Ben Sira may be using נאמן as a general definition of a guardian who is known for his trustworthiness, or testify to the use of נאמן as a term that actually means אפטרופוס.

65, line 15; cf. H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, DJD 27 (Oxford, 1997), 209, 232, 255, and in the introduction, 145–146.

⁶⁸ Philo, *Laws* 3,67 ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἄρα τι τῆ ψυχῆ πέπονθας πρὸς τὴν παῖδα οἰκειον, ἴθι πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ζῶντες τυγχάνωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἢ ἐπιτρόπους ἢ ἄλλους κυρίους... αἴτει πρὸς γάμον... ‘but if, indeed, you have any legitimate feeling of love for the maiden in your soul, go to her parents, if they are alive, and if they are not, then go to her brother or to her guardians, or to any other persons who chance to be her protectors, and... ask her in marriage...’.

⁶⁹ M. A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine*, II (Tel Aviv, 1981), 184–186 [Hebrew]: ומניית הדא טלית[ה] כלתא ית שלה כהנא ביר יעקב... אפטרופוס דידה, the priest, b. R. Jacob... to be her agent and to care for her affair’.

⁷⁰ Similarly, *Ketubbot* 13b (twice); *Hullin* 11b; *Nidda* 30b.

⁷¹ N. Rakover, *Nivé Talmud* (Jerusalem, 1991), 27 [Hebrew], explains: ‘one does not appoint even a honest man to be a guard in a court of women, even if he stands on the outside, since there is no guardian, i.e., no one to make sure that he does not come closer to these women, since there is no protection in the world that can secure abstinence from forbidden sexual liaisons’; cf. also B.M. Lewin, *Otzar Ha-Geonim, Tractate Ketubot* (Jerusalem, 1938), 11 [Hebrew].

⁷² S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Kifshutah; A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta* (New York, 1967), 197 [Hebrew], remarks: “Juvenalis mocks at the advice to bolt the door of the woman’s room, asking: quis custodiet ipsos custodes?, that is, and who will guard the guards?”. This saying probably goes back to Aristoteles. See G. Elkoshi, *Thesaurus Proverbiorum et Idiomatum Latinorum*² (Jerusalem, 1981), 391.

4. כן עושה באונס משפט (30,20)

4.1. *The meaning of באונס*

The meaning of כן עושה באונס משפט depends on the understanding of באונס. The ancient translations understood באונס to mean ‘by force’, ‘by coercion’, Greek: ἐν βίᾳ, Syriac: באולצנא. The modern commentators followed suit, understanding the line as ‘do judgement with violence’. However, the verse does not make much sense with באונס meaning ‘with violence/coercion’. Indeed, the ancient Hebrew and Aramaic dialects do not attest such a usage; אונס rather means ‘misjudgment’, ‘lawlessness’.⁷³ This is indeed its meaning in our verse; a judge who judges lawlessly. This meaning is clearly indicated by the gloss in Ms B that offers גזל instead of אונס. The נאמן that sleeps with a virgin is compared to a judge that exercises judgement lawlessly.

4.2. *The place of כן עושה באונס משפט in context*

The position of the hemistich כן עושה באונס משפט in our paragraph in chapter 30 is quite uncertain. In the Hebrew version as preserved in Ms B it is coupled with the eunuch line:

כאשר סרים יחבק נערה ומתאנה      כן עושה באונס משפט

This connection is hardly acceptable, since it is not clear why a saying whose emphasis is clearly on the eunuch’s inability to fulfil his lust for the girl—the sage takes the trouble to emphasize that he is groaning—would be coupled with a comparison to someone who exercises injustice. In addition, the verse in chapter 20 proves that the line כן עושה באונס משפט belongs with the Neeman line rather than with the eunuch line. In this case, in chapter 30 it is part of a tri-cola verse that concludes the passage:

כן עושה באונס משפט      כן נאמן לן עם בתולה      וימי מבקש מידו

It has a quite reasonable meaning: the trusted person that sleeps with the virgin entrusted to him is comparable to an evil judge, since both violate those who are at their mercy, and since both assumed the position of the

⁷³ For a comprehensive study of the usage of אונס see D. Talshir, “On the Use of אונס in Aramaic and in Hebrew”, *Meghillot* 3 (2005), 205–229 [Hebrew].

highest authorities, one in reference to those he judges, the other in reference to his *protege*, there is no one that can judge them and God alone can punish them.

Nevertheless, two remarks are in order: first, since tri-cola verses are not common in Ben Sira, it is possible that the text in its present form is a result of a later expansion.⁷⁴ Secondly, the hemistich *כּן עושה באונס משפט* is not attested in chapter 30 either in the Peshitta or in the main Greek tradition, although in other matters they do not join hands against the Hebrew version. One may imagine, therefore, that the hemistich *כּן עושה באונס משפט* is a later addition in chapter 30. In this case, the hemistich *כּן עושה באונס משפט* was complemented in two different ways: one survived in chapter 30: *כּן עושה באונס משפט ויײ מבקש מידו*, the other in chapter 20 (although in an inverted order): *כּן עושה באונס משפט כּן נאמן לן עם בתולה*.

#### 5. ויײ מבקש מידו (30,20E)

The hemistich *ויײ מבקש מידו* is well rooted in the tradition of Si 30. In fact, all the available textual witnesses include it. In Ms B of the Geniza and in the Peshitta it concludes the paragraph and is unequivocally connected with the *נאמן* that sleeps with a virgin and deserves divine punishment. According to our interpretation, the best-man or guardian that takes advantage of his position and violates the virgin instead of guarding her, is compared to the judge that distorts justice. And, since both assume the position of supreme authorities—the judge in his court and the best-man/guardian in regard to the maiden at his mercy—nobody can challenge them (*quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* ‘who will guard the guards?’) and God alone can punish both the evil judge and the treacherous best-man.⁷⁵

In the Greek (as well as in its daughter-translations) the line *ויײ מבקש מידו* follows immediately after the reference to the idols. As argued, it may have been moved to its new location in order to juxtapose the idols and the Lord. The translator seems to be responsible for this new arrangement, for several reasons: (1) Unlike the rest of the paragraph, this line is obviously reformulated by the translator, as *ויײ מבקש מידו* becomes *οὐτως ὁ*

⁷⁴ See Segal, *Ben Sira*, 16.

⁷⁵ The gloss *בדין* was corrected into *בידו*, but it might have referred to both the judge and the best-man.

ἐκδωκόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου (2) It begins with οὕτως that is possible in Greek but can hardly be carried over into Hebrew as an introductory word for a text such as ויִי מבקש מידו. (3) The Greek text in its present form makes little sense: it is not clear who this person is that God is going to punish, since the text to this point speaks of abstract deeds rather than of a person engaged in them and hence punishable by the Lord.

The Greek form of the text suggests a somewhat closer connection between three elements in our text (1) ויִי מבקש מידו that is placed closer to the beginning of the paragraph; (2) the saying that regards those who would not or cannot eat—טובה שפוכה על פה סתום ‘Good things poured out before a mouth that is closed’; (3) the description of those who refrain from the good available to them as ‘he sees with his eyes and groans’. All three combine in a succinct saying quoted in the Palestinian Talmud in the name of Rav.⁷⁶

עתיד אדם ליתן דין וחשבון על כל מה שראת עינו ולא אכל

A man is going to have to give an account of himself for everything that his eye saw and he did not eat. (Palestinian Talmud, Qidushin 66b).⁷⁷

We doubt whether this tradition supports the priority of the Greek text in comparison with the Hebrew or the Syriac. If the saying or tradition quoted in the Palestinian Talmud existed in the days of Ben Sira, it may have served him as a starting point for his own argumentation. It is more likely, in our view, that the words of Ben Sira rather echo in the somewhat puzzling saying quoted in the Palestinian Talmud. In the Hebrew and the Syriac, ויִי מבקש מידו forms the last accord in the passage; it is directly connected with the best-man/guardian that sleeps with the virgin, but may reflect on the entire paragraph as well.

⁷⁶ We are grateful to Menahem Kister for this intriguing reference that gives yet another twist to this intricate passage.

⁷⁷ It goes on as follows: ר' לעזר חשש להדא שמועתא ומצמית ליה פריטין ואכיל בהון מכל מילה חדא בשתא: ‘R. Eleazar took account of this teaching and set aside coins to purchase every species at least once a year’.

## 6. THE PATTERN OF COMPARISON

6.1. *The structure of 30,18–20*

The structure of our passage in chapter 30,18–20 is not clear, partly because part of it fell out and is now written in the margins. It comprises a collection of sayings interconnected in various ways.

6.1.1. *The verses on the grave and/or idols*

The first two verses do not use comparison words at all:

תנופה מצגת לפני גלול	18b	טובה שפוכה על פה סתום	18a
{אשר לא יאכלון ולא יר[יחון]}	19b	{מה יע[יל לגלול]לי הגוים}	19a

The first verse is asyndetic and the relationship between its hemistichs is decided by their place: the first offers a convention, ‘good things poured out before a closed mouth’, self-evidently a pointless deed, the second introduces a novel thought and functions as the main sentence, i.e., ‘an offering that is placed before an idol’.⁷⁸

The second verse, according to the Hebrew version, explains why there is no point in an offering to idols, since they are not able to eat or smell. In the translations, however, the subject changes, graves in the first verse, idols in the second; the latter thus becomes an asyndetic comparison: the offerings to the dead are compared to the offering to idols, both ineffective deeds.⁷⁹

6.1.2. *The verse on the rich man and the eunuch*

The incapability of the dead/idols to enjoy the offerings presented to them is compared to the rich man that does not enjoy his riches. This time the relationship between the verses is clearly indicated by the comparison word כן ‘thus’, ‘so’; It comprises three cola:

⁷⁸ The Peshitta adds a comparison word—אִךְ ‘as’—before the second hemistich.

⁷⁹ It occurred to us that the second line that concentrates on the idols is a secondary interpolation that happened after גלול/גולל was understood to mean ‘idol’. Such an interpolation should have happened at a very early stage since it is attested in all the extant textual witnesses. However, it is not likely that the translations preserve both the allegedly original meaning of גלול/גולל and the supposedly secondary addition dependent on the word’s mistaken interpretation.

ואין נהנה ממנו	19d	{כן מי שיש לו עושר	19c
		{[רואה] בעיניו ומתאנה}}	20a

Since tri-cola verses are quite rare in Ben Sira, one wonders whether they were meant as two asymmetrical hemistichs:

{[רואה] בעיניו ומתאנה}}	20a	וכן מי שיש לו עושר ואין נהנה ממנו	19
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Another possibility would be to match the third line with the following eunuch line:⁸⁰

ואין נהנה ממנו	19d	{כן מי שיש לו עושר	19c
כאשר סירים(!) יחבק נערה ומתאנה	20b	{[רואה] בעיניו ומתאנה}}	20a

However, the use of **כאשר** in Biblical Hebrew in a closing line is questionable, the regular pattern being: ...כך...⁸¹ also once in Ben Sira.⁸²

Several problems combine at this point: (1) the irregular tri-cola verse; (2) the relatively long hemistich on the eunuch; and (3) the repetition of the word **מתאנה** in two adjacent hemistichs. These difficulties may suggest that the line **רואה בעיניו ומתאנה** was in fact meant to replace the word **מתאנה** in the eunuch line, i.e.:

ואין נהנה ממנו	¹ 19	כן מי שיש לו עושר	¹ 19
[רואה] בעיניו [ומתאנה]	⁸ 20	כאשר סירים(!) יחבק נערה	² 20

Unfortunately, there is no evidence for this supposition.

### 6.1.3. *The סרים and נאמן verses*

According to Ms B, there are two hemistichs on the eunuch and two on the best-man/guardian:

כאשר סרים יחבק נערה ומתאנה	כן עושה באונס משפט
כן נאמן לך עם בתולה	ויי מבקש מידו

In the eunuch verse, the first hemistich begins with **כאשר**, the second with **כן**, a well established pattern. The following verse compares the eunuch to

⁸⁰ In Ms B the eunuch line is arranged as an opening line; however, this may be the result of the omission of the previous lines now written in the margins.

⁸¹ E.g., **כאשר עץ הגפן כעץ היער אשר נתתיו לאש לאכלה כן נתתי את יושבי ירושלים**, 'Like the wood of the grapevine among the trees of the forest, which I have designated to be fuel for fire, so will I treat the inhabitants of Jerusalem' (Ezek 15,6); **אך כאשר יאכל את הצבי ואת האיל כן תאכלנו הטמא**; 'Eat it, however, as the gazelle and the deer are eaten: the unclean may eat it together with the clean' (Deut 12,22).

⁸² **כאשר נקדשת לעיניהם בני כן לעינינו הכבד בני**, 'As in us thou hast been sanctified before them, so in them be thou magnified before us' (Ben Sira 36,4).

a best-man/guardian. The comparison between the eunuch and the best-man/guardian is linked by כן, just as the rich man verse began with כן, in reference to the preceding graves/idols. According to this assumed structure both the eunuch and the best-man/guardian are criticized: the eunuch is compared to someone who practices injustice: כן עושה באונס משפט, and the best-man/guardian is warned with divine punishment: ויניי מבקש מידו. However, both the structure and the meaning are arguable. Regarding the structure, beginning two adjacent hemistichs with כן seems to be indicative of a problem in the transmission of the text and its arrangement. As for the meaning, it presents a rather awkward comparison between an evil judge and a eunuch, since the latter serves as an example of someone who cannot enjoy the good available to him—‘and sighs’ the sage emphasizes—rather than somebody who is wrong doing.

We believe that the arrangement in Ms B and the meaning it entails was not originally the sage’s intent; the original comparison that underlies our text is rather:

כאשר סריס יחבק נערה ומתאנה    כן נאמן לן עם בתולה

(1) It has an established structure: ...כן... כאשר... (2) It presents a parallel set of components: סריס//נאמן, the eunuch//best-man or guardian, two who were appointed to guard women; יחבק//לן, embraces//sleeps beside, two actions of intimacy that are nevertheless limited; נערה//בתולה, girl//virgin, deliberately naming the more general נערה in connection with the eunuch, and specifically בתולה in relation to the best-man or guardian whose specific task was to make sure that the bride was a virgin. (3) It presents a logical statement: a comparison between two, the eunuch and the best-man/guardian, who are very close to the girl/virgin, but cannot realize their lust for them.

In the course of time, as the נאמן line was misunderstood and taken to refer to a best-man/guardian who breaks all moral expectations of him and sleeps with the virgin entrusted to him, it attracted the lines that compare the best-man/guardian to an evil judge and threaten him with divine punishment. The text of chapter 20 too testifies to the connection between עושה באונס משפט and נאמן לן עם בתולה. Hence, the hemistich כן עושה באונס משפט has nothing to do with the סריס line, or any other part of this passage that deals with the inability to enjoy the good and does not care to pass judgement on wrongdoing. It refers solely to the נאמן. The נאמן hemistich thus grew into a tri-cola verse:

20c    כן עושה באונס משפט    20d    כן נאמן לן עם בתולה    20e    ויניי מבקש מידו

In the text as preserved in Ms B the first two cola begin with כּן. We could not find another example that would advocate this pattern.⁸³ The first כּן may have been added when the hemistich *כּן עושה באונס משפט* was matched with the preceding eunuch line and assumed the position of a closing line in the verse.

In their given form, the first two cola beginning with כּן function as an asyndetic comparison, the first—*כּן עושה באונס משפט*—presenting the self-evident saying, the second—*כּן נאמן לן עם בתולה*—being the main idea advocated by the sage. Like a judge that is appointed to do justice but betrays those who depend on him, thus the best-man/guardian who is entrusted with the well being of a virgin but takes advantage of her.⁸⁴ Without the first כּן, this is anyway the meaning of the verse.

Since the hemistich *כּן עושה באונס משפט* is not represented in chapter 30 in the translations as described above it is worthwhile to consider the structure of the passage without it. It would look as follows:

כּן נאמן לן עם בתולה ויִי מבקש מידו. כאשר סרים יחבק נערה ומתאנה

## 6.2. *The reverse order in chapter 20 verse 4*

The Greek and Syriac translations in chapter 20 verse 4 present a reverse order of the cola in the *נאמן* verse:

ἐπιθυμία εὐνούχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ  
κρίματα

Literally, ‘As is the lust of a eunuch to deflower a virgin so is he that executes judgment with violence’.

The Peshitta:

מתרגר מהימנא למדמך עם בתולתא הכנא מן דעבד דינא באולצנא

Literally, ‘A eunuch lusting to sleep with a virgin, so is he that executes judgment with violence’.

⁸³ See, however, phrases such as *כעמי כעמך* ‘my people as your people’ (1 Kings 22,4); *כגר כאורה* ‘the sojourner as well as the native’ (Lev 24,16); *וכן ירבה וכן יפריץ* ‘But the more they were oppressed, the more they multiplied and the more they spread abroad’ (Ex 1,12); *כּן העם הזה וכן הדוי הזה לפני* ‘That is how this people and that is how this nation looks to Me’ (Hag 2,14). A somewhat dubious example is found in 4Q185, fr. 1–2, col. 2, l. 14: *כּן נתן לאבתי כּן ירשנה* (E. Qimron’s reading, by oral communication).

⁸⁴ The translations, because of the missing lines, do not support the suggested structure.



These comparisons, expressed by οὐτως and הַכֵּנָה, do not make much sense, since it is not clear why the lustful eunuch is compared to a violent judge. However, if we consider the parent-text probably reflected in the translations, it will become clear how the structure changes the meaning.

We assume that the Hebrew text behind the translations was similar to that of chapter 30, only in reverse order:

נאמן לך עם בתולה    כן עושה באונס משפט.

This structure of this context-free verse clearly suggests that the first hemistich presents the self evident, while the second offers the novel idea. The sage argues against distorted justice, and compares the wrong doing judge to the most dismaying moral misconduct of a best-man/guardian who violates the virgin entrusted to him.

In the context of chapter 30, where the נאמן verse follows that of the סריס, it is clearly the main idea, while the evil judge is the common idea. Hence the different structure: first the comparative phrase on the evil judge, only then the idea that the sage wants to highlight, the treacherous best-man/guardian:

(כן) עושה באונס משפט    כן נאמן לך עם בתולה

In our view, the order suggested by chapter 30, is highly preferable; it is improbable that the specific case of the best-man/guardian was presented as the self evident case, while the common idea of injustice would be substantiated by a comparison to the treacherous best-man or guardian.

## 7. THE DUPLICATION OF THE נאמן VERSE

The textual attestations of the verse on the נאמן occur in two different places; in chapter 20 verse 4 and in chapter 30 verse 20c–e. Where is its original place?

1. The Greek and the Syriac display the verse in chapter 20 verse 4. The context, vv. 1–8 (verses 5–9 are extant in Ms C of the Geniza), praises silence and is hardly consonant with our verse in terms of contents and structure (יש... ויש..). It is undoubtedly out of place.

Segal suggested that its original place was in chapter 19, after verse 25.⁸⁵ The verse reads:

ἔστιν πανουργία ἀκριβῆς καὶ αὐτὴ ἄδικος καὶ ἔστιν διαστρέφων χάριν τοῦ ἐκφᾶναι κρίμα ‘There is a cleverness that is exact but unjust, and there are people who abuse favors to gain a verdict’.

It may have attracted our verse that also refers to perverted justice, although it is still awkward in this context, since the passage (19,20–25) juxtaposes the good quality of wisdom and the bad quality of shrewdness, and does not deal with just or unjust verdicts.⁸⁶

The passage then goes on to speak about a cunning person whose real intentions are not clear (vv. 26–28). Skehan and di Lella believe that the נֶאֱמַר verse belongs in this context, just before v. 28, as an absolute example of someone who does not behave as expected of him.⁸⁷ This suggestion is highly improbable.

Technically, it is quite easy to explain how the verse ended up in the wrong place. The verse may have been written in the margins in between chapters 19 and 20 and copied in the wrong place, to the left (chapter 20) rather than the right column (chapter 19).

At any rate, if a verse such as 19,25, that deals with an ἄδικος ‘unjust’ behavior and distorted κρίμα ‘judgement’, attracted the verse under discussion, it is quite clear why the order of its cola is inverted in comparison with chapter 30; it reads:

ἐπιθυμία εὐνοῦχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βία κρίματα

Presumably reflecting:

נֶאֱמַר לֵן עִם בְּתוּלָה כַּן עוֹשֶׂה בְּאוֹנֵס מִשְׁפָּט

The נֶאֱמַר comes first, presenting a case of glaring wrongdoing, and only then is the person who distorts justice and is the main issue in this context compared to him. In chapter 30, on the other hand, the transparent case is that of the person that distorts justice, while the issue under discussion is the best-man/guardian who sleeps with the virgin. It would seem that the order in chapter 30 is by far more plausible since the self-evident procla-

⁸⁵ Segal, *Ben Sira*, 118.

⁸⁶ Ms 248 has an additional line at this point: καὶ ἔστι δικαίων κρίσει σοφός. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, 149, believes it was meant as a variant.

⁸⁷ Skehan and di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 298.

mation relates to injustice, while the more particular and rare saying on the נאמן is the one that needs support.

2. In contrast with chapter 20, where the verse is obviously out of place, and unlike chapter 19 where it is a secondary example in a context that deals with something completely different, in chapter 30 the phrase quite naturally fits the context. On its own—*כִּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה*—it corresponds marvelously to the *סָרִיס* line, since both the *סָרִיס* and the *נֶאֱמַן* are by definition very close to the girl/virgin and cannot have intimacy with her. In its expanded form, with the reproach addressed to the *נֶאֱמַן*, it applies to a different aspect of the intimacy between the virgin and her best-man or guardian, that of unthinkable sexual liaisons. It thus expresses a turn in the thought of the sage, moving from those who cannot enjoy the good available to them to those who engage in forbidden and illegal pleasures.

It would seem then that the words of wisdom on the trustworthy person—a best-man or guardian—who sleeps with the virgin, with its severe moral significance, found its way in different designs into different contexts that are not necessarily its natural setting, but nevertheless offer an additional aspect to the sage's arguments.

Several other cases of verses that appear in different places in Ben Sira in various forms and intents, and which show similar complicated relationships between the textual witnesses, support our argument that the *נֶאֱמַן* verse may have been used twice in the book, and certainly should not be obliterated from chapter 30 (see appendix II, especially examples 3 and 4).

## CONCLUSION

In this paper we have dealt with the meaning and location of the verse *כִּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה*.

The term *נֶאֱמַן*, attested in chapter 30 verse 20 in Ms B of the Geniza, as well as the Peshitta, and probably reflected in both the Greek and Syriac versions in chapter 20 verse 4, is not a eunuch, as suggested by the ancient translations and accepted almost unanimously by modern scholars, but rather a trustworthy person appointed to guard the virgin/bride, possibly a Hebrew substitute for either *שׁוֹשְׁבִין* or *אֶפְסָרוֹפּוֹס*.

The verse *כִּן נֶאֱמַן לֶן עִם בְּתוּלָה* reflects different levels of social habits and debates. It seems to echo an ancient habit according to which the best-

man shared the bridal room as a witness to the bride's claim of virginity. It further reflects the problematic nature of the close relationship between the bride and her best-man that sometimes resulted in forbidden liaisons.

As for the original location of the verse, we argued that the editors and commentators of Ben Sira were wrong to abstract this verse from chapter 30 and retain it in chapter 20. First of all, it is crystal clear that it is out of place in chapter 20. One has to assume that it ended up there by mistake while originally belonging elsewhere, possibly in chapter 19. However, the latter too does not easily accommodate it. The textual witnesses support its occurrence in two different places, in various forms, serving unrelated contexts. It may have well been used for different purposes, once highlighting the treacherous נאמן (chapter 30), and once the evil judge (possibly, in chapter 19). Several other verses also occur in Ben Sira in different places and different forms.

## APPENDIX I

### *IUS PRIMAE NOCTIS* 'THE RIGHT OF THE FIRST NIGHT'

The right of the first night—*ius primae noctis*—means the right of the ruler to sleep with the bride in the night of her marriage, before she becomes the property of her husband.⁸⁸ Is the *ius primae noctis* a folkloristic motif or was it actually valid at a certain stage?

Lambert⁸⁹ and Tigay⁹⁰ argued that the ancient Babylonian literature proves that this law was in fact carried out. Lambert suggested that at a later stage this task passed to the *susapinnu*. Others—Greengus,⁹¹ von Soden⁹² and Malul⁹³—argued that in spite of the ancient version of the epic of Gilgamesh,⁹⁴ the Akkadian myth does not prove the actual execution of this rite.

Herodotus recounts: “The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of

⁸⁸ The same right is accorded in the Akkadian literature to the bridegroom's father; see R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (Horn, 1988), 36–37.

⁸⁹ Lambert, *Wisdom*, 339–340.

⁹⁰ J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), 182–184.

⁹¹ Greengus, “Marriage”, 68–69.

⁹² W. von Soden, “Gab es in Babylonien die Inanspruchnahme des *ius primae noctis*?”, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 71 (1981), 103–106.

⁹³ Malul, “*Susapinnu*”, 270.

⁹⁴ Philadelphia Tablet, col. iv, l. 32–34; Tigay, *Evolution*, 182.

Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger” (I, 199). Even if he indeed testifies to an actual Babylonian custom, its connection to the *ius primae noctis* is questionable.

The late Rabbinical literature seems to be aware of the *ius primae noctis*, probably reflecting an extant traditions:⁹⁵

1. בתולה שניסת ברביעי תיבעל תחילה להגמון. ‘If a virgin is married on Wednesday the local army commander will have the first act of sexual relations with her’ (Ketubbot 3b);⁹⁶
2. וגזרו שיהא איסטרטיוס בועל תחילה. ‘They decreed that a soldier should enjoy the right of the first act of intercourse’ (Yerushalmi, Ketubbot 25c).⁹⁷
3. ‘That they were fair... when a bride was made beautiful for her husband, the chief entered and enjoyed her first’ (Genesis Rabba, 26).⁹⁸
4. ומפני מה מת בתואל? שהוא היה מלך בארם נהרים וכל בתולה שתנשא בועל אותה לילה הראשון. ‘Why did Betuel die? Since he was king in Aram Naharaim and every virgin about to be married he would have intercourse with her in the first night and afterwards she would return to her husband’ (Yalqut Shimeoni, Genesis, 109).
5. מלכי יון מושיבין קסטריאות בעיירות להיות מענים את הכלות ואח"כ היו נשואות לבעליהן ומנעו. ‘The Greek kings appointed soldiers in the towns to sleep with the brides and afterwards they were married to their husbands and they prevented Israel to enjoy their wives to fulfill what is said: You shall betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her’ (Megillat Taanit, 17 Ellul, Scholion I, ms Cambridge).⁹⁹
6. הניחו מלכות יון את קסדור בירושלים לטמא את הנשים קודם שינשאו. ועוד גזר... כל מי שנשוא. ‘the kingdom of Greece placed Kasedor in Jerusalem to defile the women before they get married... and it was further decreed that whoever marries a woman the chief will have sex with her first’ (Sefer ha-Zikhronot).¹⁰⁰
7. Rashi explains the words הנס באותו הגם (Shabbat 23a) as follows: שגזרו יוונים על כל בתולות הנשואות להיבעל לטפסר תחלה, ועל יד אשה נעשה.

⁹⁵ Hirschberg, “Minhagé”, 98.

⁹⁶ A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* (Leipzig, 1853–77), i, 13; vi, 2.

⁹⁷ Lieberman, *Tosefta*, 187.

⁹⁸ A. Marmorstein, *Midrash Haserot Viterot* (London, 1917), 23–24, especially, note 101 [Hebrew].

⁹⁹ The word קסטריאות should be read קסטדיאות, derived from the Greek κουστωδία ‘guarding’. See V. Noam, “The Seventeenth of Elul in Megillat Ta’anit”, *Zion* 59 (1994), 437 [Hebrew]; V. Noam, *Megillat Ta’anit; Versions, Interpretation, History* (Jerusalem, 2004), 230–231 [Hebrew].

¹⁰⁰ E. Yassif, *The Book of Memory that is the Chronicles of Jerahme’el* (Tel Aviv, 2001), 374 [Hebrew].

הנס 'The Greek ordered all married virgins to have sexual intercourse with the ruler first, and it was by a woman that the miracle happened'.

In the middle ages it was believed that in the feudal society in Europe, as well as in the Islamic countries, the suzerains were the first to sleep with the brides of their vassals.¹⁰¹ However, both Frazer¹⁰² and Boureau, who dedicated an entire book to this question,¹⁰³ showed that the *ius primae noctis* is nothing more than a folkloristic motif that was passed from generation to generation but was never enacted.¹⁰⁴

## APPENDIX II REPEATED VERSES IN BEN SIRA

The appearance of similar proverbs in various contexts is known from the book of Proverbs, demonstrating the variegated use of words of wisdom, on the one hand, and the complex process in which the book was created, on the other. Several such cases are found in Ben Sira:

1. The hemistich טוב ורע חיים ומות serves as an opening to two different end-clauses:

11,14 (Ms A): טוב ורע חיים ומות ריש ועושר מיי הוא  
ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος πτωχεία καὶ πλοῦτος παρὰ κυρίου ἐστὶν  
Good things and bad, life and death, poverty and wealth, come from  
the Lord.

37,18 (Ms B): טוב ורע(ה) וחיים ומות ומושלת במ כליל לשון:  
ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος καὶ ἡ κυριεύουσα ἐνδεδεχῶς αὐτῶν  
γλῶσσά ἐστιν  
four turns of fortune appear, good and evil, life and death;  
and it is the tongue that continually rules them.

This case is probably not a result of the process of transmission but rather the choice of the sage to use the same clause in two different sayings he designed.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Westermarck's *Short History* is dedicated to this subject.

¹⁰² J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I (London, 1919), 481–534.

¹⁰³ A. Boureau, *The Lord's First Night; the Myth of the Droit de Cuissage* (Chicago, 1998).

¹⁰⁴ See also R. Patai, "Jus Primae Noctis", in I. Ben-Ami, D. Noy, eds., *Studies in Marriage Customs* (Jerusalem, 1974), 179; Malul, "Susapinnu", 260.

¹⁰⁵ Many cases of this sort are found in the book of Proverbs, e.g., בן חכם ישמח אב ובן כסיל, בן חכם ישמח אב ובן כסיל, 'A wise son makes a glad father, but a foolish son is a sorrow to his mother' (10,1),

2. The following saying occurs in the Hebrew text (Ms C), as well as in the Greek and the Syriac versions in chapter 26,1.

אשה טובה אשרי בעלה ומספר ימיו כפלים  
 γυναικὸς ἀγαθῆς μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ  
 καὶ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ διπλάσιος  
 Happy is the husband of a good wife;  
 the number of his days will be doubled.

In the Peshitta, it reoccurs towards the end of the same chapter, v. 26, in a context that similarly deals with the virtues of a good woman and is similarly suitable for this saying. The last part of the chapter (vv. 19–27) has no counterpart in the Greek and is not preserved in a Hebrew version. Hence the provenance of the text that contains a duplication of the mentioned saying remains unclear.

The following two cases are closer to the case under discussion in this paper. The relationship between the textual witnesses is similarly complicated and may testify to an intricate process of transmission. However, it is also possible that the sage chose to use them twice in slightly different forms, in various contexts, and for divergent purposes.

3. In chapter 4,25–28 a quite reasonable series of don'ts occurs:

ואל אלהים היכנע	אל תסרב עם האל	25
ואל תעמוד לפני שבלת	אל תבוש לשוב מעון	26
ואל תמאן לפני מושלים	אל תצע לנבל ונפשך	27
כי כאשר כרצונו תשפט עמו	אל תשב עם שופט עול	

25 μὴ ἀντίλεγε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ  
 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας σου ἐντράπηθι  
 26 μὴ αἰσχυνθῆς ὁμολογήσαι ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις σου  
 καὶ μὴ βιάζου ῥοῦν ποταμοῦ  
 27 καὶ μὴ ὑποστρώσης ἀνθρώπῳ μωρῷ σεαυτὸν  
 καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον δυνάστου  
 28 ἕως θανάτου ἀγώνισαι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ σοῦ

25 Never speak against the truth,

---

compared with בן חכם ישמח אב וכסיל אדם בוזה אמו 'A wise son makes a glad father, but a foolish man despises his mother' (15,20); 'Treasures gained by wickedness do not profit, but righteousness delivers from death' (10,2), compared with לא יועיל הון ביום עברה וצדקה תציל ממות 'Riches do not profit in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivers from death' (11,4); see A. Rofé, *Introduction to Psalms and to Wisdom Literature* (Jerusalem, 2004), 99–102 [Hebrew].

but be mindful of your ignorance.

26 Do not be ashamed to confess your sins,  
and do not try to stop the current of a river.

27 Do not subject yourself to a foolish fellow,  
nor show partiality to a ruler.

28 Strive even to death for the truth  
and the Lord God will fight for you.

The second line of v. 27—אל תשב עם שופט עול כי כאשר כרצונו תשפט עמו—forms a fine continuation of the previous lines, and is continued quite suitably by the following verse that speaks about justice (v. 28). Nevertheless, this line is absent in both the Greek and Syriac version *ad locum*.

A similar saying occurs in chapter 8,14 (Ms A), in a different series of dont's:

ואם הלויית כמאבד	אל תלוה איש חזק ממך	12
ואם ערבת כמשלם	אל תערב יתר ממך	13
כי כרצונו יש[פט]	אל תשפט עם שופט	14

12 μὴ δανείσῃς ἀνθρώπῳ ἰσχυροτέρῳ σου

καὶ ἐὰν δανείσῃς ὡς ἀπολωλεκῶς γίνου

13 μὴ ἐγγυήσῃς ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν σου

καὶ ἐὰν ἐγγυήσῃς ὡς ἀποτείσων φρόντιζε

14 μὴ δικάζου μετὰ κριτοῦ

κατὰ γὰρ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ κρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ

12 Do not lend to a man who is stronger than you;  
but if you do lend anything, be as one who has lost it.

13 Do not give surety beyond your means,  
but if you give surety, be concerned as one who must pay.

14 Do not go to law against a judge,  
for the decision will favor him because of his standing.

A similar text appears in the Greek. The Syriac, however, does not represent the last verse, i.e., אל תשפט עם שופט כי כרצונו ישפט, לא; instead, it reads: תתב עם דינא עולא בדינא דלא איך צבינה תדון עמה, a verbatim rendering of the verse missing in chapter 4: אל תשב עם שופט עול כי כאשר כרצונו תשפט עמו.¹⁰⁶ The fact is that this line appears in two different forms and focuses on distinctive issues: in chapter 4 the subject is an evil judge, שופט עול, continuing the preceding saying on the mean person, נבל, while in chapter 8 the subject is not an evil judge, but rather a judge in reference to his elevated posi-

¹⁰⁶ It is difficult to explain why in the edition of the Academy for Hebrew Language, both versions of the verse are introduced in chapter 8,14, while in chapter 4,27 it has no trace.



tion in comparison to a simple person. It thus continues the preceding sayings that deal with a mightier person, איש חזק ממך, or a person who has advantage over someone else, יתר ממך. Hence, it is imaginable that the sage deliberately created two different forms of the same saying to suit the various contexts.

4. In chapter 12,13–14 (Ms A) two verses appear asserting that one should not pity someone who was hurt because he came too close to a danger from which he should have stayed away in the first place.

וכל הקרב אל ח[י]ת שן	מ(ה)[י] יוחן חובר נשוך	13
ומתגלל בעונתיו	כן חובר אל אשת זדון	14
	לא יעבר עד תבער בו אש	

13 τίς ἐλεήσει ἐπαιιδὸν ὀφιόδηκτον  
καὶ πάντα τοὺς προσάγοντας θηρίοις  
14 οὕτως τὸν προσπορευόμενον ἀνδρὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ  
καὶ συμφυρόμενον ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ

13 Who will pity a snake charmer¹⁰⁷ bitten by a serpent,  
or any who go near wild beasts?

14 So no one will pity a man who associates with a sinner  
and becomes involved in his sins.

Verse 14 comprises three lines; the last one may not have been part of the original saying, the sage trusting his listener or reader to arrive by himself at the self evident conclusion. This is the situation in the Greek version that reflects the first two hemistichs only. The Syriac to v. 14 also has only two hemistichs, but the missing line is rather ו:מתגלל בעונתיו:

הכנא אף כל מן דמשתותף לגברא עולא לא נעבר עדמא דתאקד בה נורא.

The last line—לא יעבר עד תבער בו אש—appears in the Greek version in a well structured paragraph in chapter 23, that did not survive in the Hebrew Mss.¹⁰⁸

16 δύο εἶδη πληθύνουσιν ἀμαρτίας  
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐπάξει ὀργήν  
17 ψυχὴ θερμὴ ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον  
οὐ μὴ σβεσθῆ ἕως ἂν καταποθῆ

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Deut 18,11; Psa 58,6.

¹⁰⁸ Although chapters 21–24 did not survive in Hebrew Mss, the edition of the Academy for Hebrew Language bothered to adduce this line ‘in its place’ according to the Greek, and did not mention it in chapter 12 where it is attested in both the Hebrew and the Syriac.

ἄνθρωπος πόρνος ἐν σώματι σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ  
 οὐ μὴ παύσῃται ἕως ἂν ἐκκαύσῃ πῦρ  
 ἄνθρώπῳ πόρνω πᾶς ἄρτος ἡδύς  
 οὐ μὴ κοπάσῃ ἕως ἂν τελευτήσῃ

16 Two sorts of men multiply sins,  
 and a third incurs wrath.

17 The soul heated like a burning fire,  
 will not be quenched until it is consumed;  
 a man who commits fornication with his near of kin,  
 will never cease until the fire burns him up.  
 To a fornicator all bread tastes sweet,  
 he will never cease until he dies.

This paragraph (except for the second line) is found in the Syriac version; the third line that concerns us here reads:

גברא דפחו בצערא דבסרה לא נתניח עדמא דתאקד בה נורא.

A man who commits fornication with his near of kin will never cease until the fire burns him up.

It would seem that the natural place of the line under discussion is in chapter 23, but it is not necessarily inept in chapter 12. Firstly, it is attested in both the Hebrew and the Syriac. Second, the sage may have intended to make clear that whoever associates with a malicious woman risks to be burnt by fire. It is important to note that while in the Hebrew the sage warns against associating with a malicious woman, the translations speak of a malicious man. It would seem that the woman is preferable,¹⁰⁹ in view of the comparison between a bad woman and a snake or a wild beast that occurs elsewhere in Ben Sira (not preserved in the Hebrew Mss):

25,15 οὐκ ἔστιν κεφαλὴ ὑπὲρ κεφαλὴν ὄφεως  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θυμὸς ὑπὲρ θυμὸν ἐχθροῦ

16 συνοικῆσαι λέοντι καὶ δράκοντι εὐδοκῆσω  
 ἢ συνοικῆσαι μετὰ γυναικὸς πονηρᾶς

15 There is no venom worse than a snake's venom,  
 and no wrath worse than an enemy's wrath.

16 I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon  
 than dwell with an evil wife.

¹⁰⁹ The words *ומתגלל בעונתו* would refer, according to the translations, to the malicious man, while according to the Hebrew version they mean the man that associates with the malicious woman.

5. In the Greek version of chapter 27,4–7 some λογισμός ‘test’ sayings occur. The Syriac reflects only vv. 5–6. There is no Hebrew version that survived for this chapter.

27,4 ἐν σείσματι κοσκίνου διαμένει κοπρία  
 οὕτως σκύβαλα ἀνθρώπου ἐν λογισμῶ αὐτοῦ  
 5 σκεύη κεραμέως δοκιμάζει κάμινος  
 καὶ πειρασμὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐν διαλογισμῶ αὐτοῦ  
 6 γεώργιον ξύλου ἐκφαίνει ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ  
 οὕτως λόγος ἐνθυμήματος καρδίας ἀνθρώπου  
 7 πρὸ λογισμοῦ μὴ ἐπαινέσης ἄνδρα  
 οὕτος γὰρ πειρασμὸς ἀνθρώπων

4 When a sieve is shaken, the refuse remains;  
 so a man's filth remains in his thoughts.  
 5 The kiln tests the potter's vessels;  
 so the test of a man is in his reasoning.  
 6 The fruit discloses the cultivation of a tree;  
 so the expression of a thought discloses  
 the cultivation of a man's mind.  
 7 Do not praise a man before you hear him reason,  
 for this is the test of men.

A Hebrew version for vv. 5–6 is found in chapter 6,22 (Ms A), without any parallel in either the Greek or the Syriac. The context in chapter 6 praises wisdom that while acquired through little labor produces lots of fruit. The mention of agriculture and fruit (6,19) in the course of describing the labor of wisdom may have attracted the verses that include a reference to fruit that discloses the cultivation of a tree (27,6).

These examples, including the passage under discussion in this paper, clearly show that there is no direct interrelationship between the Syriac and the Greek regarding the history of the text. Consequently, they have to be considered in relation to their surmised *Vorlage*. It is difficult to say whether the translators themselves are responsible in certain cases for major changes such as omissions, additions and transformations of verses and paragraphs, vis-a-vis the extant Hebrew text, or rather had different texts in front of them. It is worth mentioning that the missing verses are rather found in the earlier chapters; the translators, therefore, cannot be said to have omitted certain materials in order to avoid duplications. As for the Hebrew text, usually we would not consider the duplicated verses as floating verses moving from one context to another in the course of transmission; rather, the sage used the same words of wisdom in slightly different forms for the benefit of various contexts.

**I. Ben Sira 30:18–20**

Greek Version

18 ἀγαθὰ ἐκκεχυμένα ἐπὶ στόματι κεκλειομένηφ  
 θέματα βρωμάτων παρασκευάμενα ἐστὶ τάρψφ  
 19 τί συμφέρει κάρτιστος ἐιδόλωφ  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἔδεται μὴ ὄψρασθῆ  
 οὔτως ὁ ἐδαιουκόμενος ὑπὸ κυρίου

-----  
 ~~~

20 βλάπτων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ στενάζων

ὡς περ εὐνόχως περιλαβάνων παρθέρον καὶ στενάζων

 ~~~

Vulgata

18 bona absconsa in ore cluso quasi adpositiones epularum circumpositae sepulchro  
 19 quid proderit libatio idolo nec enim manducat nec odorabitur  
 20 sic qui effugatur a Domino et portans mercedes iniquitatis  
 21 videns oculis et ingemescens sicut spado complectens virginem et suspirans

Syro-Hexapla

סִימָא דַמְאֲבִלְתָא דְסִינְן קִוּם קִבְרָא  
 אִפְלָא גִיר אִכֵּל אִפְלָא נִירָה  
 דְחָזָא בְעֵינֵיהּ וּמְתַתְנָה  
 אִכְנָא דְאוּנוּכְסָא עִפְקָא לְבַתּוּלָתָא וּמְתַתְנָה  
**הַכְנָא אִינָא דְעַבְדָּא בְקִשְׁרָא דִינָא**

**II. Ben Sira 20:4**

Greek version

ἐπιθυμία εὐνοῦχου ἀποπαρθεύουσα νεάνιδα  
 οὔτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ ἐπιματα

Vulgata (vv.2–3)

concupiscentia spadonis de virginavit iuvenem sic qui facit per vim iudicium inique

Syro-Hexapla

דְחָזָא דְאוּנוּכְסָא לְמַתְחֵלָא עַל־יִמְתָּא הַכְנָא אִינָא דְעַבְדָּא בְקִשְׁרָא דִינָא

Geniza Ms B

18 טובת שפוכה על פה סתום

18 תנופה מצננה לפני גליל

{ 19 } מה יעיל לגלילי הגוים

19 אשר לא יאכלו ולא יירחצו]

~~~~~  
 19 כן מי שיש לו עושה

19 ואין נהנה ממנו

20 [ורואה] בעיניו [ומתאנה]}}

20 כאשר סרירי(1) יחבק נערה ומתאנה

20 כן עושה באונס משפט

20 כן נאמן לך עם בתולה

20 וימי מבקש מדו

Peshitta

טבתא דמכסין על פומא דמכסי
 אך מאבילתא דסינן על קברא
 מנא דנבנא את ל'צלמא דעמנא
 דלא אכלין ולא שתיין ולא מרחיין

הכנא מן דאית לה עותרא

לא מתחשה בה

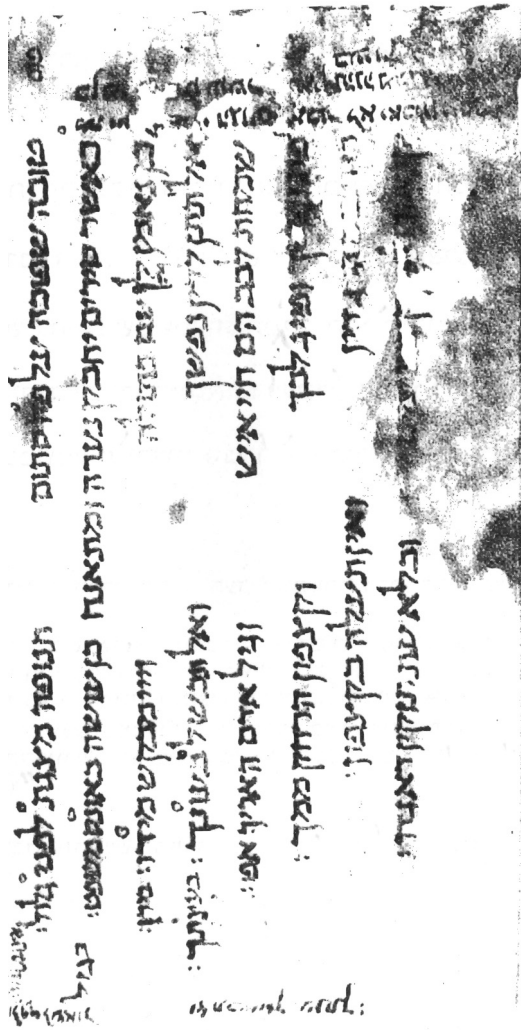
הוזא בעיניה ומתתנה

אך מהנמא דדמך לות בתולתא

ומרא תבע באידה

Peshitta

מתרגמ מהנמא למדמך עם בתולתא
 והכנא מן דעבד דינא באולצנא



Ben Sira 30,18–24 (Ms B)

THE WEAK CONSONANTS
IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
AND IN THE HEXAPLA TRANSLITERATIONS\*

ALEXEY (ELIYAHU) YUDITSKY

Beer-sheva

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the transliterations of Hebrew in the Hexapla are chronologically close; one expects, therefore, that their Hebrew be similar as well. There are indeed some similarities, yet the differences seem to be much more striking.

The relations between Qumran Hebrew and the Hexapla transliterations were discussed by Einar Brønno,<sup>1</sup> who compared several linguistic features in these sources involving vowel length. Brønno contended that the vowel of the *qull* scheme was short in the Hebrew of the DSS and in the Hexapla, whereas it underwent lengthening in Tiberian Hebrew (henceforth T). On the other hand, he inferred that Tiberian Hebrew and the Hexapla distinguished between pausal and non-pausal forms while DSS Hebrew did not.

The aim of the present essay is to compare the behavior of the weak consonants in these two sources. It seems that in some points, for example, in their treatment of glides, these traditions resemble each other so that one can be supported by the other. In other respects, for example, the treatment of the gutturals, the traditions diverge.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Isaiah Scroll DSIa and the Greek Transliterations of Hebrew", *ZDMG* 106 (1956), 252–258, based on the lecture delivered at the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge in August 1954.

I. GLIDES INTERCHANGE

1.1. The interpretation of the hexaplaric word $\omega\epsilon\beta\eta$ 35,19<sup>2</sup> is not immediately obvious.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere the lexeme $\omega\iota\upsilon\beta$ has a iota in the transliteration: $\omega\eta\beta$ (T אִיב) 31,9, $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha$ (T אִיבִי) 18,38, $\sigma\sigma\iota\epsilon\beta\alpha$ (T אִיבִי) 18,41 etc.<sup>4</sup> Omission of the consonantal [y] in $\omega\epsilon\beta\eta$ requires an explanation.<sup>5</sup> In order to probe the question one should compare $\omega\epsilon\beta\eta$ with 'אואב' 4Q98g 6 and 'אואבִים' 4Q88 X 11 which occur several times in the DSS. As was remarked by Qimron,<sup>6</sup> the semi-vowels [y] and [w] as well as the glottal stop [ʔ] (*aleph*) are liable to undergo weakening in intervocalic position and, as a result, to be used interchangeably. This phenomenon called “glides interchange”<sup>7</sup> is common to the idiom of the DSS as well as to various traditions of Hebrew and other languages.<sup>8</sup> The absence of the iota, therefore, is preferably explained as the sound change [y] → [ʔ].<sup>9</sup> In other hexaplaric sources there is an additional form displaying such a shift: $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\omega\nu$ (T הַיִּוֹן) Ps 9,17.<sup>10</sup>

1.2. As for the semi-vowel [w], I found in the Hexapla an example of the shift [w] → [ʔ]: $\alpha\omega\nu$ (T צִוֹן) 49,6 lacks [w], in contrast to $\alpha\upsilon\omega\nu\alpha\nu$ (T צִוֹנִים)

<sup>2</sup> Hexapla citation is by G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae* (Vatican, 1958). Unless otherwise indicated references are to the book of Psalms.

<sup>3</sup> In the Tiberian tradition 'אִיבִי שקר' parallels to 'שׁוֹנְאֵי הַנֶּבִּים'. In the Hexapla אִיבִי and שׁוֹנְאֵי have a plural suffix instead of possessive pronoun: $\omega\epsilon\beta\eta$ (= אִיבִי), $\sigma\omega\eta$ (= שׁוֹנְאֵי).

<sup>4</sup> See E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der Mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Leipzig, 1943), 61.

<sup>5</sup> Speiser, Brønno and others prefer to interpret this form as a scribal error, see E. A. Speiser, “The Pronunciation of Hebrew according to the Transliterations in the Hexapla”, *JQR* 16 (1925–6), 354, E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 62.

<sup>6</sup> 'א' קימרון, "על דיפתונגים והגאי מעבר במגילות מדבר יהודה", מחקרים בלשון ב-ג (תשמ"ז) 263–264.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the nature of glides see, for example, P. Ladefoged and I. Maddieson, *The Sound of the World Languages* (Oxford, 1996), 322–326.

<sup>8</sup> See 408, E. קוטשר, הלשון והרקע הלשוני של מגילת ישעיהו השלמה ממגילות ים המלח, ירושלים תשי"ט. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, 1986), 26, 31–33, "תמורות", מחקרים בשומרנית בעברית ובארמית, edited by M. Bar-Asher and M. Florentin (Jerusalem, 2006), 74–75. In the latter paper, Qimron shows that in the Samaritan tradition the quality of the glide is defined by the preceding vowel. However, this is not a situation in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other traditions of the Biblical Hebrew, see "על דיפתונגים" א' קימרון.

<sup>9</sup> A similar explanation was proposed by O. Pretzl in “Die Aussprache des Hebräischen nach der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes”, *BZ* 20 (1932), 16. Twenty years later the same explanation was adduced by Gumpertz, יג"פ גומפרץ, מבטאי, 82. שפתנו, ירושלים תשי"ג.

<sup>10</sup> See F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol. II, 1875 (Hildesheim, 1964), 99. This form was also adduced by Gumpertz, יג"פ גומפרץ, מבטאי שפתנו, 82.

89,33 with [w]. Possibly, the words $\sigma\mu\sigma\omega\theta\alpha\iota$ (T מְצִוֵּתִי) 89,32 and $\sigma\phi\omega\theta\alpha\iota$ (T שְׁפֹאוֹתֶיכָה) 89,35 can also be accounted for by comparison with 'שפאותיכה' 1QIsa 37,29, 'ספוח' 1QM V 12, 'מצאותי' 4Q129r 16 of the DSS. The phonetic process entailed here can be characterized as follows:
 $mV\dot{\varsigma}w\acute{o}t\alpha y \rightarrow mV\dot{\varsigma}'\acute{o}t\alpha y$, $\acute{s}Vp\acute{w}\acute{o}t\alpha y$ (or $\acute{s}Vp\acute{y}\acute{o}t\alpha y$) $\rightarrow \acute{s}Vp'\acute{o}t\alpha y$.<sup>11</sup>

1.3. A number of peculiar transliterations are worth mentioning in this connection. In the words $\alpha\epsilon\alpha$ (T הֶיָּה) 89,42 and $*\epsilon\omega\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta$ <sup>12</sup> (T יִשְׁבִּי) 49,2 the epsilon probably renders the semi-vowel [y] pronounced with distancing of the tongue from the palate.<sup>13</sup> Regarding [w] two further examples can be adduced: $\beta\sigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ (T בְּשָׁלוֹן) 30,7 and $\beta\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\theta\omega$ (= בְּגִתוֹתוֹ , T בְּגִתוֹתוֹ) 46,4.<sup>14</sup> The transcription with *ov*, usually used to depict the vowel [u], attests to the weakening of [w].<sup>15</sup>

1.4. Thus we find that the traditions of DSS and Hexapla concur with regard to the weakening of the glides. However, the idiom of the Hexapla tends to preserve the original phonetic quality of the glides, as in $\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho$ (T יְתֵר) 31,24, $\iota\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (T יְהִיֶּה) 89,37, $\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\delta$ (T לְדָוִד) 29,1 et al., $\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\nu\sigma\upsilon$ (T הַשְׁתַּחֲוִי) 29,2. In DSS usually the letters γ , γ' , α appear with respect to the rules of the Biblical tradition. In the Tiberian tradition, the glides are very stable; there is almost no evidence of their weakening. In the Babylonian tradition and in Mishnaic Hebrew there are more examples of this phenomenon.<sup>16</sup> Many instances also occur in the tradition of the Bible scribes.<sup>17</sup> Conversely, in the Samaritan tradition the glides lose their original quality and are conditioned by the preceding vowel.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the Hebrew of the Hexapla transliterations and the Hebrew of the DSS occu-

<sup>11</sup> See "על דיפתונגים", קימרון, 268–270. Compare also E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 174. However, there are alternative explanations of these forms.

<sup>12</sup> The last letter is illegible.

<sup>13</sup> A similar explanation was suggested by Brønno; see *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 278. Since the semi-vowel [y] is regularly rendered by ι (iota), in these instances, the ϵ has to designate a sound more open than [y].

<sup>14</sup> The conjunction γ is transliterated as a rule by *ov*, see E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 227–237.

<sup>15</sup> Compare E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 369. The contention regarding [y] expressed in the footnote 13 also applies to the semi-vowel [w].

<sup>16</sup> See "על דיפתונגים", קימרון, and "וי"ו לסימון הגה מעבר", קימרון, edited by Z. Talshir et al. (Beer-Sheva, 2001), 262–275.

<sup>17</sup> Such as עשום 2 K 23,4, דויג 1 S 22,18 etc, see "על דיפתונגים", קימרון, especially p. 267, remark 47.

<sup>18</sup> See "תמורות לעיצורים", קימרון, 74–75.

py an intermediate position along the scale of instability in the retention of glides.

2. GUTTURALS

2.1. There is a consensus among Hebraists that the gutturals underwent weakening in the idiom of the DSS.<sup>19</sup> Yet, there is some disagreement concerning the pronunciation of these consonants in the Hexapla. Elsewhere<sup>20</sup> I have supplied indirect evidence from the Hexapla showing that the gutturals preserved their consonantal value. But were they weakened? It is assumed that the anaptyctic vowels evolved after the gutturals to prevent their reduction or to ease their pronunciation. Accordingly, the extent of anaptyctic vowel insertion can indicate a corresponding degree of guttural weakening.<sup>21</sup>

The rules for the addition of the anaptyctic vowels in Tiberian Hebrew are given in the Hebrew grammars of Bergsträsser,<sup>22</sup> Lambert,<sup>23</sup> and others. In the Hebrew of the Hexapla there are also anaptyctic vowels, for example $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu$ (T $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu$) 89,38, $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (T $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$) 46,4. As Brønno rightly suggested,<sup>24</sup> they intimate a preservation of the gutturals; otherwise there would have been no need to resort to anaptyctic vowels.

3.2. But what are the rules governing the insertion of anaptyctic vowels? It seems, the Hexapla rules differ from those of the other traditions of Biblical Hebrew.

The rules for the anaptyctic vowel [e] are similar to those of Tiberian Hebrew: namely, the anaptyctic vowel is mandatory in both sources in the same phonological environment.<sup>25</sup> The following cases are attested:

<sup>19</sup> See הלשון והרקע הלשוני 398–403, E. Qimron, HDSS, 25.

<sup>20</sup> "ביצוע העיצורים הגרמיים במסורת תעתיק אוריגנס" א' יודיצקי, (forthcoming). The paper is based on my lecture delivered at the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of Judaic Studies in Jerusalem in July 2005.

<sup>21</sup> See for example G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1918, 21929), I§21r.

<sup>22</sup> G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II§21d-h.

<sup>23</sup> M. Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque*, (Paris, 1946), 314–321.

<sup>24</sup> E. Brønno, "Zu den Theorien Paul Kahles von des Entstehung der tiberischen Grammatik", *ZDMG* 100 (1950), 531.

<sup>25</sup> Such correspondences with Tiberian Hebrew are not the rule in Jerome's transcriptions: eelim (T $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\imath\imath\imath$) 2 K 4,27, ieros (T $\imath\epsilon\imath\imath$) Ho 10,11, but eezinu (T $\epsilon\epsilon\imath\imath\imath\imath$) Joel 1,2, nesab (T $\imath\epsilon\imath\imath\imath$) Jes 2,22, see T. Harviainen, *On the Vocalism of the Closed Unstressed Syllables in Hebrew* (Helsinki, 1977), especially pp. 57–61.

a) *With an anaptyctic vowel*

א: \*εξινου<sup>26</sup> (T וְיִצְחָק) 49,2, νεεμαναθ (T תְּמַנְתָּ) 89,29, νεεμαν (T תְּמַנְתָּ) 89,38;

י: ελιθ (T תְּלִיחָה) 30,4, εεμεδεθ (T תְּמַדְתָּה) 30,8; 31,9, εετηθ (=תְּטִיחָה, T תְּטִיחָה) 89,46;

ה: εεμου (T תְּמַחָה) 46,4;

ה: νεελαθαχ<sup>27</sup> (T תְּלִיחָה) 28,9, εεזεκ (T קִיחָה) 35,2, \*εεליκ (T קִיחָה) 36,3.

There is one exceptional form: οσιαεμας (T תְּמַחָה). This verb should be taken as the *yiqtal* pattern of *qal*, whereas in the Tiberian parallel it is *hiḥil*.<sup>28</sup> Notwithstanding the unexpected alpha, the anaptyctic vowel is [e].

b) *Without an anaptyctic vowel*<sup>29</sup>

א: ουθεζορηνι (=יְחִיזְקִי, T יְחִיזְקִי) 18,40;

י: βελλενουου (T וְיִצְחָק) 35,25;

ה: ιειε (T תְּיִחָה) 89,37;

ה: θεθι<sup>31</sup> (T תְּיִחָה) 18,37, θεθαι (T תְּיִחָה) 18,40, ουιερογου (T וְיִצְחָק<sup>32</sup>) 18,46, ιεδאל (=לְיִחָה, T וְיִחָה) 49,9, ιειε (T תְּיִחָה) 89,49.

The only exception is βελλενουου, but this is the only word in the list in which the vowel [e] is accentuated in the conjugation (יְחִיזְקִי\*<sup>34</sup>).

3.3. The rule inserting anaptyctic vowel [a] in Hexapla has no parallel in Tiberian Hebrew since the anaptyctic vowel [a] simply does not occur.

<sup>26</sup> It is written σεξινου, which has to be corrected to εξινου. In the Hexapla the prefix of *hiḥil* imperative displays the vowel [e] (compare εεζεκ below). See Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 101.

<sup>27</sup> This noun is of *qil* stem; see Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 139.

<sup>28</sup> See Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 96–97. See also עברית וארמית נוסח שמרון, 76, fn. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Possibly the words ιεμου (T וְיִצְחָק) 49,4, ιεζεβου (T יְעִזְבוּ) 89,31 belong to this category, but they can also reflect forms with a vowel after the guttural *yihemrū*, *yīʿezebū*.

<sup>30</sup> The similarity to תְּאִזְרֵךְ Jer 1,17 is striking.

<sup>31</sup> This noun, as well as θεθαι nearby, is of *qil* stem, see Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 246, compare *tēt* in Samaritan Hebrew, see עברית וארמית נוסח שמרון, כרך ה, ירושלים תשל"ז ה, 244.

<sup>32</sup> This verb is of *yiqtol* pattern. In Tiberian Hebrew a prefix vowel is lowered to [a] on account of the guttural *h*.

<sup>33</sup> In Tiberian Hebrew future forms of תְּיִחָה take no anaptyctic vowel after *h*.

<sup>34</sup> In the verb form without pronominal suffix יְחִיזְקִי\* the stressed syllable does not display an anaptyctic vowel. Once the pronominal suffix is added, the stressed syllable is destressed and an anaptyctic vowel becomes mandatory in a syllable closed by the guttural in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural form, see for example G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II§23c. This is not the case in the hexaplaric form under discussion.

א: \*γααα (T הָאָאָא) 31,24;
 י: συναζεροθ<sup>35</sup> (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 28,7, οσαιαλεζ (=זְלַרְי<sup>36</sup> T זְלַרְי) 28,7, ιακωβ
 (T בְּקַצְי) 46,8;
 ה: θανουσαι (T תְּנִנְי) 28,6; 31,23, εσθανου (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 29,2, ελθαρεις (= לֶאֱ
 שְׁתַּרְרִי,<sup>37</sup> T אֶל-תְּתַרְרִי) 35,22, μασε (T מְתַרְרִי) 46,2.

There are two putative exceptions. The first one θααγε (T תְּתַרְרִי) 35,28 can hardly be *qal* or *hifil* because the prefix vowel in these conjugations is [e] in the Hexapla.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, according to Mercati,<sup>39</sup> the second alpha and the gamma are written one over another. Thus, the equally possible form is θαγγε that should be better analyzed as the *piel* form *thagge*.<sup>40</sup> The other exception is the word ουδαρηεμ which is a corruption of \*ουααρηεμ (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 49,14. Even though the suggested correction is acceptable, the form should not be interpreted as displaying an anaptyctic vowel; rather the first alpha belongs to the conjunctive *waw*.<sup>41</sup>

3.4. There are two forms with [i] before the guttural: ουφρου (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 35,26, ιδαυ (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 35,26; neither shows an anaptyctic vowel.

3.5. The behavior of [o] in this context is problematic. Brønno, Jansens and other scholars have not found any instance of [o] in unstressed syllable closed by the guttural. But there is, perhaps, one case; it is the verb ιοβαδου (T יֹאבֹדוּ) 49,11. This verb is puzzling: on account of the short first vowel and the medial [a] instead of the long pausal [e].<sup>42</sup> If we assume that the form in the Hexapla is not *qal* as in the Tiberian tradition, but *hofal*, we would be able to overcome the abovementioned difficulties. According to this analysis ιοβαδου may be taken as a passive form *yoʿbadū*

<sup>35</sup> The form is unclear; see Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 103–104.

<sup>36</sup> This verb displays the *yaqtīl* pattern.

<sup>37</sup> This verb displays the *yaqtīl* pattern.

<sup>38</sup> Regarding the prefix vowel of *hifil* future see Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 97–98.

<sup>39</sup> G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae, Osservazioni: Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplati* (Vatican, 1965), 263.

<sup>40</sup> Lambert already suggested that 'וְנִצְרָה־תִּי' Is 8,19 is best be taken as *piel*, see Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* §917, 321.

<sup>41</sup> The rules governing the pronunciation of the conjunctive *waw* differ from those of Tiberian Hebrew; for example in the Hexapla vowel [a] occurs even before the penult, οαδωρ (T וְרִי) 49,12, οαλσωυ (T וְנִצְרָה־תִּי) 35,28, etc., See Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 227–237.

<sup>42</sup> For previous explanations of ιοβαδου, see Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie*, 41–42. The Aramaic form יֹאבֹדוּ does not account for the short [o] and it would be the only Aramaic verbal form in the Hexapla.

similar to Tiberian Hebrew *יִאָבְדוּ\**, with consonantal aleph which would account both for the short [o] and the following [a]. If this analysis is correct, the aleph is consonantal and has no anaptyctic vowel; it means that no anaptyctic vowel is used after [o] in the Hexapla.<sup>43</sup>

3.6. To sum up, an anaptyctic vowel evolves in the Hexapla only after the vowel [e],<sup>44</sup> and the rules for its evolvment are similar to those of Tiberian Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> There is no evidence for the use of anaptyctic vowel in the vicinity of other vowels. Judging from the non-use of the anaptyctic vowel the gutturals in the Hexapla appears to be relatively stable; at any rate, they were more stable than in any other known tradition of Biblical Hebrew (excluding the tradition of the biblical consonantal text).

<sup>43</sup> Formally, *יִאָבְדוּ* can be taken as either *hofal* or passive *qal*. From the morphological standpoint the passive *qal* suits perfectly even though such a form is not found elsewhere. Indeed, the verb *אבד* is intransitive, but Biblical Hebrew uses forms with the vowel [u] to express intransitivity, e.g. *וְרָמַי* Ps 77, 18, *וְהָרְבִי* Jd 16, 8, compare also infinitive with [u] in the Scrolls, as *בְּמִלּוּאוֹת* 1QS VII 20, see (השש"ה) לשוננו סז "ענות והברותיה", לשוננו סז (השס"ה), 21–26, esp. p. 25, fn. 19 (in this point Qimron follows Yahalom and Ben-Hayyim, see *שפת השיר של י' יהלום, שפת השיר של ז' בן-חיים, במלחמתה של לשון ירושלים תשל"ב*, 50–66, הפיוט הארץ-ישראלי הקדום, ירושלים תשמ"ה (25)). But *hofal* cannot be excluded either; compare for example *וְהָרְבִי* Job 30, 15 which has the same meaning as *וְהָרְבִי* and *וְהָרְבִי*. Moreover, in the Bible there are more than 20 forms of *hifil* of the root *אבד*, and only one of them, a peculiar *אבדה* Jer 46, 8, is a future form. Basing ourselves on Origen's transliterations we can assume that there were more *hifil* forms in the biblical consonantal text that are no longer used in Tiberian Hebrew. The verb *אבד* is an additional example to those of Ginsberg in his trail-blazing paper למסורת, see ח"א "מבעד למסורת", 208–223. It is interesting that David Yelien more than century ago wrote (see *ד' ילון (=מן המודיעים)*, "חקר בניין הקל ותולדותו", הגן, בעריכת ל' רבינוביץ, סז. (1899) "ולא רק זאת, גם בעתידים של תמונת הפעל עצמה יגלה לנו המחזה המתמיה הזה בעינו, כי מכל (פטרסבורג תר"ס (1899) ששה ושמונים השרשים אשר בהם נמצאה תמונת הפעל בכלל, לא נמצא העתיד מגזרת השלמים בכל התנ"ך רק בארבעה שרשים, וגם בהם הוא נמצא במדה מחוקה מאד, כמעט מלה אחת לכל שרש, ומנחי הלמד לא נמצא כלל" in free translation: "With respect to future forms in the conjugation of *hofal*, an unusual situation arises, namely, 86 roots normally take the *hofal* form, but the future of the strong verbs occurred only in four roots in the entire Biblical text, and even then, in a very restricted fashion, that is, virtually once for each root, and in *ל*" verbs it does not occur at all." In other words, there are almost no future forms of *hofal* of the strong verbs in the Bible. It can be assumed that the original future of *hofal* was punctuated as *nifal*, as *qal* or as other conjugations.

Thus the occurrence of the word *יאבדו* and the like in DSS requires the context to be checked, because the form can be interpreted as active *qal* or as passive *qal*, as well as *hofal*.

<sup>44</sup> This fact was already noted by G. Janssens; see *Studies in Hebrew Historical Linguistics Based on Origen's Secunda* (Leuven, 1982), 91. However, he failed to draw the required conclusions.

<sup>45</sup> This astounding fact is to be adduced as important evidence for the authenticity of the Biblical Hebrew traditions, particularly the Tiberian punctuation and the Hexapla transliterations.

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